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Arabic Literary Culture in Southeast Asia in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries

A.C.S. Peacock

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Arabic Literary Culture in Southeast Asia in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries

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Cover illustration: Ibn ʿAllān, the opening of *al-Mawāhib al-Rabbāniyya*, with interlinear Javanese translation. Jakarta, Perpustakaan National, MS A 105

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Note on Transliteration and Dates

Diacritics are omitted on the Arabic titles of Malay works to allow them to be distinguished from Arabic texts. In general Arabic names in Malay contexts are treated as naturalised and therefore do not have diacritics, but inevitably when dealing with a multilingual environment some inconsistencies have arisen for which the reader's forbearance is requested. Dates are given in AH/AD format where possible; however, as the AH calendar was not invariably used in Southeast Asia, especially in Java, some dates are not available in AH form in the primary sources and therefore these dates are given in AD form only.

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Abbreviations

EI^2	*Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd edition, ed. P.J. Bearman et al (Leiden, 1960–2005)
EI^3	*Encyclopaedia of Islam* THREE, 3rd edition, edited by Kate Fleet et al. (Leiden, 2007-).
GAL	Carl Brockelmann*, Geschichte der arabischen Literatur* (Leiden, 1942–9, 2 vols, 2nd ed).
GAL S	Carl Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur. Supplementband* (Leiden, 1937–42; 3 vols).
Jakarta	Manuscript references to Jakarta indicate manuscripts held in the collections of the Perpustakaan Nasional Republik Indonesia (National Library of Indonesia)

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

The history of Arabic literature outside the Arab world remains surprisingly under-researched. As the language of the Qur'an, of law and theology, Arabic manuscripts circulated wherever there were Muslims, and numerous original works were produced by authors who were not native speakers of Arabic, in locations as diverse as Mali, India, the Maldives and Dagestan. Yet with a few exceptions,[1] this body of literary production and its relationship to the textual culture of the Middle East has received very little scholarly attention. This lacuna in research is especially evident in the region that is the focus of this book, Muslim Southeast Asia. Despite the fact that Indonesia has the largest Muslim population of any country in the world, the study of Southeast Asian Islam is usually entirely neglected by scholars of Arabic and the Middle East. The same is true of its indigenous Arabic literary production; only a handful of authors from the region are mentioned in Brockelmann's *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*,[2] which remains the basic reference work on Arabic literature, and even these are beset with elementary mistakes. Meanwhile, specialists on Southeast Asia have tended to emphasise the importance of the

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[1] The most important exception is the major series of publications regarding Arabic in Sub-Saharan Africa, *The Arabic Literature of Africa* (5 volumes out of 6 published, Leiden, 1993–). For India see M.G. Zubaid Ahmad, *The Contribution of India to Arabic Literature* (Allahabad, 1946); for Daghestan see M. Kemper, "An Island of Classical Arabic in the Caucasus: Daghestan," in F. Companjen, L. Marácz and L. Versteegh (eds) *Exploring the Caucasus in the 21st Century: Essays on Culture, History and Politics in a Dynamic Context* (Amsterdam, 2010), 63–89. For a recent survey of the ways in which Arabic literary culture linked the medieval Islamic world, see Muhsin Musawi, *The Medieval Arabic Republic of Letters: Arabic Knowledge Construction* (Notre Dame, 2015).

[2] Carl Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur* (Leiden, 1942–9), II, 422, notes Yūsuf al-Maqāṣīrī's *Zubdat al-Asrār*, ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Qahhār's *Kitāb fī Shurūṭ al-Ḥajj*, and Sultan Aḥmad al-Ṣāliḥ of Bone's *al-Nūr al-Hādī*. A further five authors are added in the Supplement, V, 628–9, which includes the fairly egregious mistake of confusing a work from Bornu near lake Chad with one from Borneo (no. 7). Clearly, Brockelmann is not wholly at fault here, as he had little to go on beyond the published catalogue of the Jakarta collection at the time of his first edition, and, apart from at Leiden, few Southeast Asia manuscripts survive in European collections. The following catalogue of the Jakarta collection of Arabic manuscripts used by Brockelmann has not yet been superseded: R. Friederich and L.W.C. van den Berg, *Codicum arabicorum in bibliotheca societatis artium et scientiarum quae Bataviae flore asservatorum catalogum inchoatum* (Batavia and The Hague, 1873). This catalogue and the circumstances of its production are discussed further in Chapter 7.

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textual heritage of indigenous languages such as Javanese and Malay, and assume Arabic is an alien language restricted to ritual use. A similar tendency is also reflected in collections of Southeast Asian manuscripts held in the west, mostly compiled in colonial times, in which Arabic texts are disproportionately under-represented.[3]

This book concerns both the Arabic texts that were composed in seventeenth to eighteenth-century Southeast Asia, or for a Southeast Asian audience, and the Arabic texts that were read and copied in the region. Together this complex of reading, writing and copying practices constitutes a 'textual culture'.[4] As well as contributing to the understanding of the diffusion of the Arabic written tradition, it also seeks to advance debates on the historic characteristics of Islam in the region as reflected in the textual record, for as A.H. Johns noted in an article which to date represents one of the very few surveys of Arabic in the region, Arabic manuscripts "are not simply relics, of interest only to specialists and of tangential interest at best to social or even intellectual history. They reflect the texture of Muslim life and thought, and are an important component of the processes by which Indonesia came to have the largest Muslim population of any country in the world."[5] Although some attention has been given to the nature of the books studied in the region's *pesantren*s (religious schools, also known as *pondok*s, what would be called in the Middle East *madrasa*s),[6] to date the consumption of Arabic textual culture by elites in Southeast Asia has largely been ignored by scholarship. Yet in Southeast Asia, the *pesantren* may be a relatively recent institution, with little evidence for its existence before the eighteenth century, and it only became widespread in the nineteenth century.[7] Indeed, this book will argue that the royal court, rather than the *pesantren*, was the major centre for the writing and reading of an indigenous Southeast Asian Arabic literature before the nineteenth century.

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[3] These issues are discussed in Annabel Teh Gallop, "Shifting Landscapes: Remapping the Writing Traditions of Islamic Southeast Asia through Digitisation," *Humaniora* 32/2 (2020): 97–109.

[4] For an introduction to this concept, see Joe Bray and Ruth Evans, "Introduction: What Is Textual Culture?" *Textual Cultures* 2 (Autumn, 2007): 1–8.

[5] A.H. Johns, "In the Language of the Divine: The Contribution of Arabic," in Ann Kumar and John H. McGlynn (eds), *Illuminations: Writing Traditions of Indonesia* (Jakarta, 1996), 33–48, at p. 33.

[6] Martin van Bruinessen, *Islam di Nusantara: Kitab Kuning, pesantren dan tarekat* (Selangor, 2018); Martin van Bruinessen, "Kitab Kuning: Books in Arabic Script Used in the Pesantren Milieu: Comments on a New Collection in the KITLV library," *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 146 (1990): 226–269; for Java and Madura a classic study is L.W.C. van den Berg, "Het Mohammedaansche Godsdienstonderwijs op Java en Madoera en de daarbij gebruikte Arabische Boeken," *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 31 (1886): 518–55.

[7] Michael Laffan*, The Makings of Indonesian Islam: Orientalism and the Narration of a Sufi Past* (Princeton, 2011), 26–7; cf. Martin van Bruinessen, "Shariʿa Court, Tarekat and Pesantren: Religious Institutions in the Banten Sultanate," *Archipel* 50 (1995): 195; Alex Soesilo Wijoyo,

In part, the marginalisation of Arabic's role in the region is a consequence of scholarship having often seen Southeast Asian Islam as somewhat remote from Middle Eastern norms. Recently the existence of a 'monsoon Islam' has been posited by Sebastian Prange, which he describes as a "particular form of Islamic thought and practice" that emerged from the spread of Islam through Muslim merchants and the effects on Islam of their interaction with non-Muslim societies across the Indian Ocean.[8] While this did not constitute a theological departure, the practices, including the textual culture, of Muslims of 'monsoon Asia' are said to be distinctive:

> They produced new interpretations of Islamic law designed to meet the specific needs of their heterogeneous communities; many prayed in buildings that looked like Hindu temples, and some practiced matrilineality contrary to the otherwise staunchly agnatic Islamic tradition; they professed new understandings of religiously sanctioned warfare (*jihād*), and to that end even redefined what constitutes the 'Muslim world.'[9]

Sebastian Prange argues that the ʿulamaʾ in traditional centres of Islamic learning, such as Mecca, Cairo, Baghdad or Fes did not address the concerns of Muslims in the Indian Ocean world, either practically in terms of details of commercial law, or in terms of the social problems with which they grappled such as intermarriage between Muslim men and non-Muslim women.[10] The distinctive answers given to such questions by the Shafii Malabari jurist Zayn al-Dīn (d. 991/1583) in his work of *fiqh*, *Fatḥ al-Muʿīn*, he argues, were "of key importance to the formation of Monsoon Islam by Muslim trading communities in other parts of maritime Asia. Southeast Asia in particular was not only closely connected to the same maritime trade networks that South India was part of but shared a similar trajectory of Islamization." Prange states that the *Fatḥ al-Muʿīn* in particular is widely attested in Southeast Asia

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"Shaykh Nawawi of Banten: Texts, Authority and the Gloss Tradition," PhD thesis, Columbia University, 1997, 34; Francis Bradley, *Forging Islamic Power and Place: The Legacy of Shaykh Dāʾūd Bin ʿAbd Allāh al-Faṭānī in Mecca and Southeast Asia* (Honolulu, 2015), esp. chapters 6 and 7.

[8] Sebastian R. Prange, *Monsoon Islam: Trade and Faith on the Medieval Malabar Coast* (Cambridge, 2018), 3.

[9] Prange, *Monsoon Islam*, 4.

[10] Prange, *Monsoon Islam*, 116–8.

where it remains a standard legal text.[11] A similar argument has been made by Mahmood Kooria, who has argued for a 'cosmopolis' of Islamic law shared between South and Southeast Asia.[12] This builds on Ronit Ricci's concept of an Arabic literary 'cosmopolis' in the Indian Ocean world, which itself is ultimately indebted to Sheldon Pollock's idea of a Sanskrit cosmopolis in the same region. Ricci's work examines how a single text, the Arabic *Book of a Thousand Questions*, which was aimed at introducing the precepts of Islam to recent converts, was transmitted in Tamil, Javanese and Malay versions. She identifies this 'Arabic cosmopolis' as a "translocal Islamic sphere constituted and defined by language, literature and religion."[13]

It is certainly valid to look for commonalities between the cultural and textual practices of South and Southeast Asia, which shared numerous commercial, political and cultural ties. However, the studies undertaken to date have not taken sufficient account of our manuscript evidence for the circulation of texts. While the *Fatḥ al-Muʿīn* may be a 'standard text' in modern Indonesia,[14] it is poorly represented in collections of Southeast Asian manuscripts, where other Shafii texts, and even some non-Shafii ones, predominate. If anything, its introduction to Southeast Asia is likely to date to the nineteenth century, and possibly was facilitated by the emerging print culture of the period.[15] Indeed, the *Fatḥ al-Muʿīn* may well have been disseminated to Southeast Asia not from India but rather from Mecca, where commentaries on it by the émigré Banten scholar al-Nawawī (1230/1813–1314/1897) and his younger contemporaries were written.[16] Manuscript evidence thus calls into question the date of the dissemination of this text. Similarly, despite the undoubted popularity of the *Book of a Thousand Questions*, this also certainly circulated widely far beyond the Indian Ocean world, in Persian and Turkish versions, for example.[17] Both these phenomena raise questions about the nature of the 'Arabic cosmopolis' and 'monsoon Islam' that have been posited and their relationship to the textual and religious culture of the broader Islamic world. Whilst some recent scholarship has underlined the connections between the Arabic literary culture of India and that of the central Islamic lands, to date such research has been restricted to the western Indian Ocean, and the place of Southeast Asia in the broader literary and intellectual networks of the Arabophone Islamic world has been neglected.[18] It is only on the basis of a study of the extant, but almost entirely unexplored manuscript record, that we can understand these relationships.

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[11] Prange, *Monsoon Islam*, 118; for an analysis of the *Fatḥ al-Muʿīn* see Mahmood Kooria, *Islamic Law in Circulation: Shāfiʿī Texts across the Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean* (Cambridge, 2022), 226–278.

[12] Mahmood Kooria, "Languages of Law: Islamic Legal Cosmopolis and its Arabic and Malay Microcosmoi," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 29 (2019): 705–722; see also Kooria, *Islamic Law in Circulation*, esp. 246–255, including a critique of Prange's reading of the *Fatḥ al-Muʿīn*.

[13] Ronit Ricci, *Islam Translated: Literature, Conversion and the Arabic Cosmopolis of South and Southeast Asia* (Chicago, 2011), 4.

[14] Its popularity was noted in 1886 by van den Berg, "Het Mohammedaansche Godsdienstonderwijs op Java en Madoera," 533. For a rare reference to a manuscript see Achadiati Ikram, *Katalog naskah Palembang / Catalogue of Palembang Manuscripts* (Jakarta, 2004), 53–4. No manuscripts are attested in the published collections from Aceh (Ali Hasjmy and Tanoh Abee), Jakarta or Buton; however, Mahmood Kooria notes the existence of one in the Museum Aceh (undated), and one in Leiden of Javanese provenance, dated 1860. See Kooria, *Islamic Law in Circulation*, 228, n. 1.

[15] A lithograph was published in Bulaq in 1870; an undated lithograph was published at Surabaya by al-Hidaya press. See further on its circulation Kooria, *Islamic Law in Circulation*, 228, n. 1, 269–270, 334–5, and ibid, 313–6 on the emergent print culture of the period; for al-Nawawī al-Bantanī see Wijoyo, "Shaykh Nawawi of Banten".

This book focuses on the manuscript evidence for Arabic textual culture in Southeast Asia, as is unavoidable given the lack of printed editions of most texts examined here. The manuscripts themselves, through the marginalia and colophons providing places and dates of copying, collations, ownership, and patronage, constitute the major source not just for the circulation of texts but for intellectual culture and links between the Middle East, India and Southeast Asia. By drawing on the manuscript evidence for Southeast Asian Arabic textual culture, a sharper picture of the intellectual history of the region and its international connections emerges, complementing and in some respects modifying that provided by Azyumardi Azra in his seminal study of networks of scholars between the Southeast Asia and the Middle East in the same period.[19]

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[16] Van Bruinessen, "Kitab kuning: Books in Arabic Script," 247; van Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning*, 106; Kooria, *Islamic Law in Circulation*, 281–320.

[17] See for example the discussion of the text in medieval Anatolia in A.C.S. Peacock, *Islam, Literature and Society in Mongol Anatolia* (Cambridge, 2019), 191–202.

[18] Some examples of such studies of the literary connections of South Asia and the Middle East are as follows: Francis Robinson, "Ottomans-Safavids-Mughals: Shared Knowledge and Connective Systems," *Journal of Islamic Studies* 8 (1997): 151–184; Stefan Reichmuth, *The World of Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī* (Cambridge, 2009); Christopher Bahl, "Histories of Circulation: Sharing Arabic Manuscripts across the Western Indian Ocean, 1400–1700." PhD thesis, SOAS University of London, 2018; Christopher Bahl, "Arabic Grammar Books in Ottoman Istanbul: The South Asian Connection," in Esther Miriam-Wagner (ed.), *A Handbook and Reader of Ottoman Arabic* (Cambridge, 2021), 65–86; James White, *Persian and Arabic Literary Communities in the Seventeenth Century: Migrant Poets between Arabia, Iran and India* (London, 2023).

[19] Azyumardi Azra, *The Origins of Islamic Reformism in Southeast Asia: Networks of Malay-Indonesian and Middle Eastern 'Ulamā' in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Honolulu, 2004).

The study is based in large part on the serendipitous survival of the library of the sultanate of Banten in northwest Java, which was almost entirely in Arabic. As the sultanate was abolished in 1813, and the library confiscated some two decades later, it represents an unparalleled source for Arabic textual culture in the region in the seventeenth to eighteenth centuries, and is preserved – at least in part – in the collections of the National Library of Indonesia. This collection is often the sole source for many of the texts discussed here, a testimony both to their limited circulation, but also the conditions of preservation in a region where relatively few manuscripts predate the nineteenth century, and cultural imperatives mean manuscripts are often valued as *pusaka* or sacred heirlooms, and sometimes not to be revealed to outsiders.[20] Outside of public collections, such as the National Library of Indonesia, manuscripts are often poorly – or not at all – conserved, and stored in conditions that make them extremely vulnerable to Southeast Asia's humid climate and termites, despite their sacred status. These factors naturally render this reconstruction of the Arabic textual culture of Southeast Asia both tentative and liable to correction. Recent digitisation work by schemes such as the British Library's Endangered Archives Programme[21] and the Digital Repository of Endangered and Affected Manuscripts in Southeast Asia (DREAMSEA) attached to Hamburg University and Syarif Hidayatullah State Islamic University, Jakarta[22] has uncovered many previously unknown or little known collections and made them accessible, and it is likely that the continuation of this work will present new insights. This book is thus not intended as the final word on Arabic in Southeast Asia, but rather it is written in the hope that it represents a significant advance in the existing state of knowledge, given the lack of a single monograph-length study of the subject (and indeed, barely any relevant articles addressing the subject directly).

In addition, the present study contributes to the growing body of research on libraries and book collecting in the Islamic world. This field has developed considerably in recent years, with some highly sophisticated studies, but remains focused on collections from the Middle East, with a particular emphasis on the medieval period.[23] As we shall see, while the Banten sultanate's library clearly has its own distinctive features, many of the manuscripts it contained were in fact of Middle Eastern provenance. It is hoped that the perspective on book culture in the region that the Banten library affords will also contribute to the broader understanding of Arabic and Islamic manuscript cultures and reading practices.

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[20] Cf. William Cummings, *Making Blood White: Historical Transformations in Early Modern Makassar* (Honolulu, 2002), 52–3, 49, 122. See also Timothy E. Behrend, "Small Collections of Javanese Manuscripts in Indonesia," *Archipel* 25 (1988): 23–42.

[21] https://eap.bl.uk/.

[22] https://dreamsea.co/.

[23] A comprehensive survey is not possible here, but the studies of Konrad Hirschler offer fine introductions, with references to earlier and ongoing scholarship: Konrad Hirshler, *Medieval Damascus: Plurality and Diversity in an Arabic Library – The Ashrafiya Library*

In terms of chronology, this book focuses on the Arabic literary culture of Southeast Asia in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, excluding the substantial textual production of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The reasons for this choice are severalfold. Firstly, the establishment of colonial dominance across almost all of Islamic Southeast Asia (barring Aceh) by the early nineteenth century marks a singular shift in the cultural as well as the political climate. Secondly, by the nineteenth century, Southeast Asian Muslims were influenced by religious trends from Cairo, rather than Medina, with the texts they read constituting an "increasingly standardised path of Islamic learning."[24] Thirdly, the development of new technologies, or their introduction to the region, fundamentally altered the nature of Southeast Asia's relationship with the central Islamic lands and India. While steam ships facilitated the hajj, enabling ever greater numbers of Southeast Asian Muslims to visit and study in the holy cities of Mecca and Medina, the establishment of printing presses allowed the circulation of new texts, previously unknown in the region.[25] Communities of Hadrami Arabs, though present in the region since at least the seventeenth century, dramatically expanded during the nineteenth. These Hadramis were both merchants and holy men, and the latter in particular propagated an Arabic textual culture of hagiographies and litanies that endures into modern times in Indonesia and deserves separate study.[26]

Catalogue (Edinburgh, 2016); idem, *A Monument to Medieval Syrian Book Culture – The Library of Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī* (Edinburgh, 2020). Mention should also be made of the recent publication of the catalogue of the library of the Ottoman sultan Beyazid II: Gülru Necipoğlu, Cemal Kafadar, and Cornell H. Fleischer (eds), *Treasures of Knowledge: An Inventory of the Ottoman Palace Library (1502/3–1503/4)* (Leiden, 2019).

[24] Laffan, *The Makings of Indonesian Islam*, 27, 39.

[25] See Eric Tagliacozzo, *The Longest Journey: Southeast Asians and the Pilgrimage to Mecca* (New York, 2013), and for a useful survey of the changes in this period, with particular attention to the Indian Ocean world, see R. Michael Feener, "New Networks and New Knowledge: Migrations, Communications and the Refiguration of the Muslim Community in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries," in *The New Cambridge History of Islam*, vol. 6, ed. Robert Hefner, *Muslims and Modernity: Culture and Society since 1800* (Cambridge, 2006), 39–68. See also Michael Laffan, "A Sufi Century? The Modern Spread of the Sufi Orders in Southeast Asia" in James Gelvin and Nile Green (eds), *Global Muslims in the Age of Steam and Print* (Berkeley, 2014), 25–49, esp. 32–35.

[26] Ismail Fajrie Alatas, *What is Religious Authority? Cultivating Islamic Communities in Indonesia* (New Jersey, 2021), esp. 59–83, 126–7, 145, 192–4, 199–200.

A second limitation is geographical scope, which needs some explanation. Arabic literary culture did not spread uniformly across the region. In fact, up to the beginning of the nineteenth century, it was concentrated in four regions that form the focus of this book: Aceh in North Sumatra, Banten in northwest Java, southern Sulawesi, and to a much lesser degree, Palembang in South Sumatra, where, however, interest was more in Malay translations of Arabic classics than the originals (Fig. 1.1). Subsequently, in the nineteenth century, Arabic texts are composed by authors from disparate parts of the region, most prominently Patani on the Malay peninsula, as well as Buton Island in Southeast Sulawesi.[27] Even here, there were substantial differences of approach. The works by Patani scholars were largely composed, as far as is known, in Mecca, where several other Southeast Asian scholars working in both Arabic and Malay were active, most notably the Borneo scholar Muhammad Arsyad al-Banjarī (d. 1233/1818) and the aforementioned al-Nawawī al-Bantanī, who wrote exclusively in Arabic.[28] Their works were and then brought back to the Malay peninsula by returning hajjis and their students. In contrast, the principal Arabic author of Buton was the sultan, Muḥammad ʿAydarūs (r. 1824–1851), who is not known ever to have left the island.

Clearly, a degree of caution is needed about the accuracy of this picture of the geographical distribution of Arabic, given that survival rates for manuscripts from before the nineteenth century are poor, meaning much has been lost to us. Indeed, the picture presented here is partly a consequence of one unusual survival, the library (or at least parts of it) of the sultans of Banten. As we shall see, Arabic played an especially important role in the Banten sultanate, and many of our surviving texts, including those of authors from Aceh and Sulawesi, have come down to us in copies made in Banten. Conversely, only a handful of manuscripts from the Sultanate of Bone in southern Sulawesi survive to give an impression of Arabic literary culture there and in the neighbouring and rival Makassarese sultanates of Talloq and Gowa. It is easy to imagine

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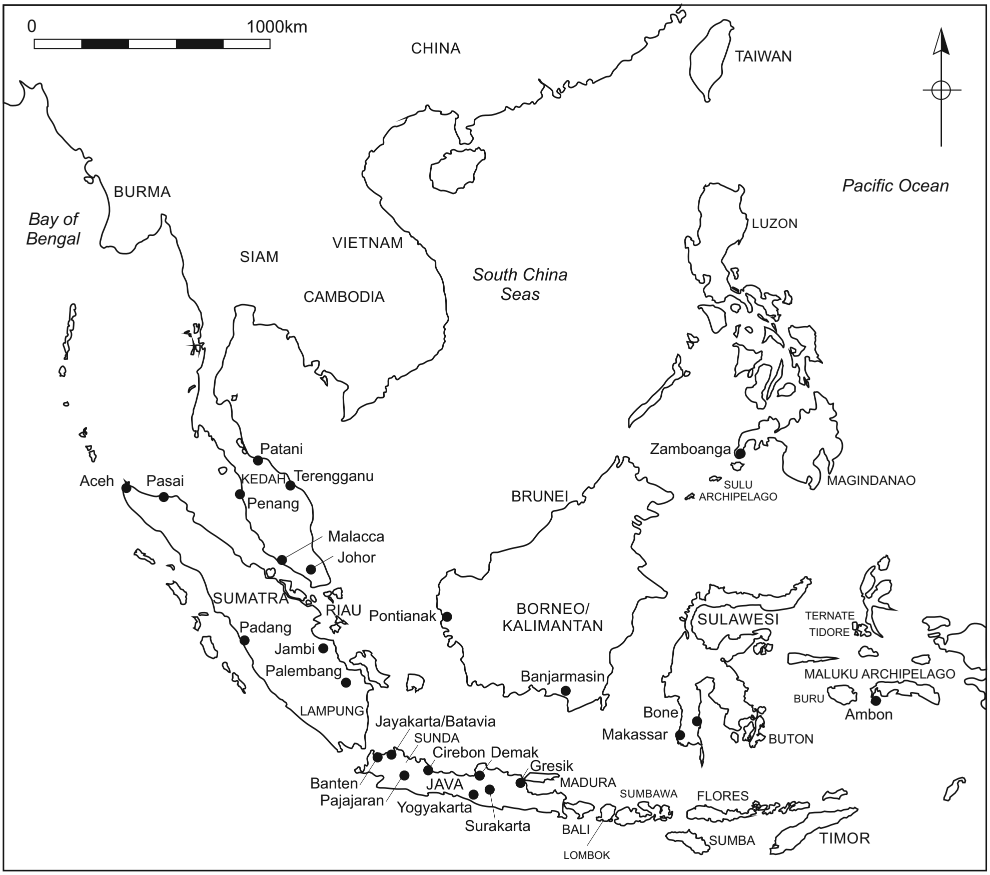
[27] The Arabic production by scholars from Patani remains largely unexplored; for an introduction, which emphasises their Malay works, see Bradley, *Forging Islamic Power and Place*. It seems clear that this activity on the part of Patani scholars did not significantly predate the nineteenth century (ibid, 2–4, 84–5). For Buton see A.C.S. Peacock, “Arabic Manuscripts from Buton, Southeast Sulawesi, and the Literary Activities of Sultan Muḥammad ʿAydarūs (1824–1851),” *Journal of Islamic Manuscripts* 10 (2019): 44–83; idem, “The Arabic Manuscripts of the La Ode Zaenu Collection, Buton,” in Majid Daneshgar and Ervin Nurtawab (eds), *Malay-Islamic Indonesian Studies: A Festschrift in Honor of Peter Riddell* (Leiden, 2023), 51–85.

[28] On these see Wijoyo, “Shaykh Nawawi of Banten”; Basri Basri, “Indonesian Ulama in the Haramayn and the Transmission of Reformist Islam in Indonesia (1800–1900),” PhD dissertation, University of Arkansas, 2008.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Pasai
KEDAH
Terengganu
Penang
BRUNEI
SULU ARCHIPELAGO
MAGINDANAO
Malacca
Johor
SUMATRA
RIAU
Pontianak
BORNEO/ KALIMANTAN
SULAWESI
TERNATE
TIDORE
Padang
Jambi
Palembang
Banjarmasin
MALUKU ARCHIPELAGO
BURU
Ambon
LAMPUNG
Jayakarta/Batavia
SUNDA
Bone
Makassar
BUTON
Cirebon
Demak
Gresik
Banten
Pajajaran
JAVA
Yogyakarta
Surakarta
MADURA
SUMBAWA
FLORES
BALI
LOMBOK
SUMBA
TIMOR

FIGURE 1.1 Southeast Asia in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries

that the loss of earlier manuscripts distorts our picture. This is very likely to be the case for Buton, where there are some hints that the vigorous Arabic literary culture of the nineteenth century had antecedents dating back at least to the eighteenth century, if not earlier. Yet the surviving evidence is exiguous in the extreme, owing to the loss of earlier manuscripts.[29] Those Buton manuscripts that survive largely derive from the collections of two court functionaries, the last sultan's chief secretary, Abdul Mulku Zahari, and the last chief imam, La Ode Zaenu. Moreover, the present study is circumscribed by the inaccessibility of manuscript collections in the Hijaz and Yemen, especially Hadramaut, that may shed much light on the diffusion of Arabic to Southeast Asia owing to its close links with these regions.[30]

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[29] Peacock, "Arabic Manuscripts from Buton," 50–51.

Nonetheless, there is good reason to believe that the picture painted above of a decidedly uneven distribution of Arabic textual culture is broadly accurate. In much of Java, where there was a long tradition of using Javanese as a literary, administrative and epigraphic language dating back to the ninth century, there was a strong preference for continuing to use Javanese, especially in the centre and east.[31] Thus in Mataram, which emerged as the major Muslim kingdom in Java in the late sixteenth century and survived until 1755, there is very little record of the use of Arabic at all, although the libraries of its successor courts in Surakarta and Yogyakarta survive and are well documented. Beyond the copying of magnificent Qur'ans, the Mataram court and those of Surakarta and Yogyakarta seem to have evinced very little interest in the copying or composition of Arabic texts.[32] Yet the majority of the Javanese literature from the seventeenth to eighteenth centuries deals with Islamic themes and is influenced to some degree, and probably often indirectly, by Arabic antecedents. In central Java in particular, Sufism played a major role in mediating between Islamic and pre-Islamic Javanese culture, in what has been described as a 'mystic synthesis' that received courtly patronage.[33] Despite the lack of extant Arabic texts from this region, Arabic was valued; in courtly literature Arabic and Javanese were compared to a person's right and left eyes; the former gives a vision of God, the latter of the self, but both must be mastered. As the eighteenth-century Javanese text *Sĕrat Wulang Pakubuwana* puts it,

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[30] An example of the relevance of Hadrami material to the study of an Arabic author and Sufi in nineteenth-century Southeast Asia is provided by Ismail Fajrie Alatas, "A Ḥadramī Sufi Tradition in the Indonesian Archipelago: The Itineraries of Ibn Yaḥyā (1794–1849) and the Ṭariqa ʿAlawiyya," in Michael Feener and Anne Blackburn (eds), *Buddhist and Islamic Orders in Southern Asia: Comparative Perspectives* (Honolulu, 2019), 20–47. It is not clear how useful such Hadrami manuscripts will be for earlier periods, given that although links certainly pre-existed the nineteenth century, they intensified considerably then. Still, research on such collections, especially in Tarim, should be a priority for future scholarship.

[31] A useful introduction to Indonesian textual traditions in different languages is Ann Kumar and John H. McGlynn (eds), *Illuminations: Writing Traditions of Indonesia* (Jakarta, 1996).

[32] See further the discussion in Chapter 7, esp. pp. 332–334 below.

[33] M.C. Ricklefs, *Mystic Synthesis in Java: A History of Islamization from the Fourteenth to the early Nineteenth Centuries* (Norwalk, 2006).

> What is wrong with not knowing Arabic
> Is that you know not the order of life,
> The Life of the All-Disposing …
> What is wrong with not knowing Javanese
> Is that your speech is confused and far from good. …
> The proper manner of speaking is founded upon Javanese literature.[34]

This synthesis is exemplified in a Javanese translation of a famous Arabic Sufi text, Muḥammad b. Faḍlallāh al-Burhānpūrī's *al-Tuḥfa al-Mursala* (discussed further in Chapters 2 and 3) that circulated in courtly circles in late eighteenth to early nineteenth-century Yogyakarta. The prose Arabic is rendered palatable to a Javanese audience not simply by introducing Hindu-Javanese cultural references, but also by transforming it into verse, the preferred means of literary expression in Javanese court circles. More dramatically, in the translation, the Sufi doctrine of the Seven Grades of Being is explained through Hindu-Javanese metaphors of Vishnu and Krishna.[35] Notwithstanding tensions as to how far this synthesis could be taken, even in the late eighteenth century pious members of the court elite still believed in indigenous Javanese spirits that were subordinate to God, such as Ratu Kidul, the Goddess of the Southern Ocean, who was also envisaged as the sultan's supernatural lover.[36]

While Javanese possessed a deliberately cultivated prestige as a courtly language in central Java,[37] it was not Arabic's only competitor. In much of island Southeast Asia a highly complex multilingual situation obtained. For instance, in Banten, located in the Sunda region, the local indigenous language of the peasantry was Sundanese; despite its written use at the pre-Islamic court of kingdom of Pajajaran based in Pakuan, it had lost its prestige by the sixteenth century, and was replaced by Javanese as the courtly language of Banten, in which administrative documents and the dynastic history the *Sejarah Banten* were written. Indeed, the spread of Javanese in Sunda seems to be linked to the process of Islamisation.[38] For dealing with the outside world, the principal lingua franca of commerce and diplomacy was Malay, and a number of works of Malay literature were copied in Banten.[39] Arabic, as we shall see, was used for a wide range of religious and diplomatic purposes and was highly esteemed by the sultans, who patronised a number of works in it. The difference from the overwhelmingly Javanese literary culture of central Java may be explained in part by Banten's situation as an emporium reliant on trade and pepper exports for its wealth, in contrast to the inland central Javanese kingdoms whose economy was based on agricultural surplus. This may have meant Malay, and Arabic, were in much wider use in the first place in Banten as a cosmopolitan port. In addition, there may have been less attachment to Javanese in a Sundanese speaking region, and the Banten court sought to underline its legitimacy as the successor to the Sundanese kingdom of Pajajaran. The old border between Sunda and Java at the Pamali river thus represented a major cultural faultline since pre-Islamic times, and one that endured subsequently owing to the different economic and linguistic backgrounds of the regions.[40]

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[34] *Sĕrat Wulang Pakubuwana* cited in Ricklefs, *Mystic Synthesis*, 127.

[35] Ricklefs, *Mystic Synthesis*, 164–5; P.J. Zoetmulder, *Pantheism and Monism in Javanese Suluk Literature: Islamic and Indian Mysticism in an Indonesian Setting*, ed. and trans. M.C. Ricklefs (Leiden, 1995), 111–114.

[36] Ricklefs, *Mystic Synthesis*, 186–7; see also M.C. Ricklefs, *The Seen and Unseen Worlds in Java, 1726–1749: History, Literature and Islam in the Court of Pakubuwana II* (Honolulu, 1998).

[37] G. Mudjanto, *The Concept of Power in Javanese Culture* (Yogyakarta, 1986), 53–101.

A similarly complex picture existed elsewhere. In Aceh, the main literary language was Malay, with Acehnese developing as a vehicle for epic poetry by the seventeenth century, while, as in Banten, Arabic was used for diplomacy as well as Islamic texts. Western languages were known too. From the sixteenth century Portuguese was widely understood among merchants, but it was also spoken by members of the Muslim elite across Southeast Asia. In Makassar, the chancellor Patingalloang (d. 1645) was fluent in Portuguese, Spanish, Makassarese and Malay. He seems to have been behind the translation into Makassarese of technical treatises on gunnery and arms manufacture from Spanish, Portuguese, Malay and Turkish, and amassed an impressive library which he even attempted to stock with the most recent Latin geographical treatises. His son, Karaeng Karunrung (1631–1685), was similarly fluent in Spanish and Portuguese, and maintained his father's fine library, while at the same patronising the most prolific Arabic author from Southeast Asia, Yūsuf al-Maqāṣīrī, with whom he corresponded not in their native Makassarese but in Arabic.[41] Nonetheless, the Makassar court patronised literature in Malay and Makassarese, and the latter was the main vehicle for local historical writing. Its close relative, Bugis, predominated in the east, but had a longer literary tradition, with parts of its great epic *La Galigo* possibly dating back to the fourteenth century.[42]

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[38] Edi S. Ekadjati, "Cultural Plurality: The Sundanese of West Java," in Kumar and McGlynn, *Illuminations*, 101–128, esp. 113, 115.

[39] See chapter 8 below and also Titik Pudjiastuti, *Perang, Dagang, Persahabatan: Surat-Surat Sultan Banten* (Jakarta, 2007) for examples of Malay as a diplomatic language in Banten.

[40] Romain Bertrand, *L'Histoire à parts égales: Récits d'une rencontre, Orient-Occident* (*xvi*^{e}–*xvii*^{e} *siècle*) (Paris, 2011), 316–7.

[41] On Pattingalloang see Anthony Reid, "A Great Seventeenth Century Indonesian Family: Matoaya and Pattingalloang of Makasar," in Anthony Reid, *Charting the Shape of Early*

This list could be extended considerably, but it is important to note there was no simple divide between a local vernacular and a transnational cosmopolitan language. Across Southeast Asia, both Arabic and Malay were used alongside each other, but often in different spheres. Malay, and in Java Javanese, were, however, the principal languages of Islamic education. As Drewes put it, after Arabic, Malay was the "language of Islam par excellence in Southeast Asia."[43] In addition to its uses for religious education – which doubtless derived from its status as a commercial lingua franca – Malay was widely used for literary texts. For example, even in regions outside of the Malay-speaking zone in western Indonesia, literary Malay was considered a suitable vehicle for historical writing, in places as remote as Ambon, Sumbawa, and Buton, whereas Arabic never was.[44]

When considering the contours of the Arabic literary tradition in Southeast Asia, we must thus take account of the contexts in which the language was used. The first and most obvious is the field of religion. Even in areas of the Muslim world where knowledge of Arabic is restricted to a small number of ʿulama', believers will memorise the words of the Qur'an and prayers in the original. Texts commonly recited in Arabic in Southeast Asia include the Mawlid texts which would be chanted to celebrate the Prophet's birthday, and *rātib*s, litanies dedicated to the founder of a Sufi order such as ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī. The ʿulama' would also have recourse to other more specialised texts to support their teaching – manuals of creed (*ʿaqīda*), of religious law (*fiqh*), or of the sayings of the Prophet (*ḥadīth*), itself a source of law for most Muslims. Indeed, it was above all for law that a knowledge of Arabic was essential. Al-Shāfiʿī (d. 204/820), founder of the eponymous madhhab that dominated Southeast Asia, argued that Arabic was the language of sharia, without which

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Modern Southeast Asia (Chiang Mai, 1999), 126–154; on Karaeng Karunrung see further pp. 385–388 below.

[42] Cummings, *Making Blood White*, 42; also Roger Tol, "A Separate Empire: Writings of South Sulawesi" in Kumar and McGlynne, *Illuminations*, 213–231.

[43] G.R. Drewes, "The Study of Arabic Grammar in Indonesia," in Pieter Willem Pestman (ed.), *Acta Orientalia Neerlandica; Proceedings of the Congress of the Dutch Oriental Society* (Leiden, 1971), 61–70, p. 63.

[44] For a survey of Malay literature that focuses on the regional centres of Malay literary production, giving a sense of its geographic spread, see Teuku Iskandar, *Kesusasteraan Klasik Melayu Sepanjang Abad* (Jakarta, 1996).

a proper understanding of the law was impossible,[45] and the credibility of the ʿulama' depends on their mastery of at least enough Arabic to allow them to read and teach elementary texts. Traditionally, Arabic texts might be taught through an oral interpretation of the text in Malay or Javanese (or a vernacular such as Acehnese) without any preliminary instruction in Arabic, the language being absorbed simply through osmosis and exposure, a method which was apparently more effective than might be imagined.[46] A second method involved the teacher explaining the text word for word through the vernacular. This seems to lie behind the interlinear translations into *pegon* (Arabic script Javanese) and Malay that appear by the seventeenth century, which are essentially student glosses (although they are rarely found in other languages of the region).[47]

In the nineteenth century, some ʿulama' in Southeast Asia – especially immigrant Hadramis – composed Arabic-language commentaries or supercommentaries on such works, or abridgements. These were designed to render often long and complex texts in fields such as *fiqh* accessible to fellow ʿulama' locally in convenient format, but there is little evidence of such activities in earlier periods.[48] The dominant role of Arabic in the intellectual culture of the ʿulama' in the region can be seen from those of their libraries that have been documented. In the Qur'an school of Tanoh Abee in Aceh, which houses a collection of manuscripts belonging to the family of the school's owners, there were approximately 700 manuscripts surviving in the 1980s, when a catalogue was made. Of these only 120 were in Malay, with 580 in Arabic, and none apparently in Acehnese, even though the latter was the language of teaching.[49] It should be emphasised that these proportions reflect the fact that this is the library of member of the local ʿulama' class. In the collection of Ali Hasjmy (d. 1998), an Acehnese scholar and politician, the proportion is 45% each for Malay and Arabic with 10% Acehnese.[50] Elsewhere in Indonesia, the Abdul Mulku Zahari collection in Buton, belonging to the descendants of the sultans' secretaries, the proportion is approximately one third each to Malay, Wolio and Arabic, with a much greater mixture of texts, including history and poetry, although the Arabic ones are almost entirely concerned with religion, and Sufism in particular.[51] Again, the proportions differ in another Butonese library belonging to a religious scholar that has recently been digitised, with a greater proportion of Arabic texts and far fewer Wolio ones.[52]

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[45] Johns, "In the Language of the Divine," 34; Kooria, "Languages of Law," 719.

[46] Drewes, "The Study of Arabic Grammar," 63–4; Johns, "In the Language of the Divine," 40–41.

[47] Drewes, "The Study of Arabic Grammar," 64; Kooria, *Islamic Law in Circulation*, 325–8; Ismail Yahya, *Penerjemahan Manuskrip* Masā'il Al-Taʿlīm *Ke Dalam Aksara Pegon Pada abad Ke-17 M* (Sukoharjo, 2018), 37–8, 41; Ronit Ricci, "Reading between the Lines: A World of Interlinear Translation," *Journal of World Literature* 1 (2016): 68–80.

[48] Alatas, *What is Religious Authority?*, 72–73.

[49] Henri Chambert-Loir, "A Qur'an School Library," in Kumar and McGlynn, *Illuminations*, 38–9. For a catalogue of roughly half the collection, see Oman Fathurahman, *Katalog Naskah Dayah Tanoh Abee Aceh Besar* (Jakarta, 2010).

[50] Oman Fathurahman and Munawar Holil, *Katalog Naskah Ali Hasjmy Aceh* (Tokyo, 2007).

Although introductory texts on Islam make up a substantial proportion of the Arabic literature that circulated in Southeast Asia, as we will analyse in more detail in Chapter 7, they do not account for a significant quantity of the indigenous Arabic literary production, which was concerned above all with Sufism, much of it aimed at resolving advanced questions of metaphysics. Such issues could be, and were, debated in Malay and other languages, and the choice of Arabic was not necessarily determined by an author's mastery of the language. Some texts dealing with complex metaphysical issues composed in Southeast Asia are written in an extremely awkward Arabic. Perhaps the most striking example is the treatise *al-Nūr al-Hādī* written by the sultan of Bone in South Sulawesi, Aḥmad al-Ṣāliḥ (r. 1775–1812). The sultan was also the author of a Bugis-language journal, and a number of poems attributed to him were also in Bugis, while we have translations of *al-Nūr al-Hādī* into Bugis and Malay.[53] These facts suggest that Arabic enjoyed a prestige beyond its utility as a tool of communication that impelled the sultan, however awkwardly, to write in this language. This prestige may have been connected to a perception of Arabic as a repository of esoteric knowledge to which only an elite could or should have access, an idea doubtless ultimately derived from the Qur'anic concept that that the sacred text is written in an inimitable, miraculous tongue. Such a situation obtains today, for example, with the ʿAlawī Bohra community of Gujarat, whose religious texts are almost entirely in Arabic. Yet, beyond memorising the Qur'an, ordinary believers are not allowed to learn Arabic, knowledge of which is restricted to the highest clerics. Arabic is a language of secrecy, that serves to protect esoteric knowledge from ignorant believers.[54] Likewise, the Mughal emperor Akbar in 1582 banned "the common people" from learning Arabic as part of his religious reforms "because such people generally cause mischief".[55] Both Arabic language and script could be invested with almost supernatural powers. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa records how in Malabar there grew a tree called the *darakht al-shahāda*, the leaves of which, when they changed colour in autumn, revealed the writing of the Muslim profession of faith, "lā ilāh illā allāh Muḥammad rasūl allāh." Muslims would use the leaves for healing, and they were also introduced into the presence of the infidel king, and "when he read the Arabic script and understood what it said, he converted to Islam."[56] Legends of Islamisation from early modern Makassar also emphasise the miraculous role of Arabic writing and speech in effecting conversion.[57] Benedict Anderson has argued that "Arabic was maintained as the language of 'initiation' precisely because Arabic was *not* understood; the whole point of a spiritual ritual in an uncomprehended language is that it manifests power, and implies a deliberately nonrationalist mode of cognition."[58] At the other end of the Indian Ocean, in Southern Madagascar, Arabic forms the lexical basis for a secret language known only to religious specialists, the *katibo*.[59]

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[51] Achadiati Ikram et al, *Katalog Naskah Buton: Koleksi Abdul Mulku Zahari* (Jakarta, 2010).

[52] Peacock, "The Arabic Manuscripts of the La Ode Zaenu Collection".

[53] See the discussion in Chapter 5. The Arabic of *al-Nūr al-Hādī* is preserved in Jakarta MS A 108, the Malay and Bugis versions in Jakarta ML 69.

[54] Olly Akkerman, "The Bohra Manuscript Treasury as a Sacred Site of Philology: a Study in Social Codicology," *Philological Encounters* 4 (2019): 182–201, at pp. 186–7.

[55] Makhanal Roychaudhury, *The Din-i-Ilahi or, The Religion of Akbar* (Calcutta, 1941), 253–4.

The potentially esoteric associations of Arabic gave the Arabic script itself an aura of both sanctity and power, to such an extent that it has even been claimed that "Islam was viewed and had an intrinsic appeal as strange and powerful writing."[60] As a result, despite the widespread existence of indigenous syllabaries, Arabic script was adapted for Javanese (where it is known as *pegon* or *gundul*), Makassarese (*serang* script), Wolio and numerous other languages. Often, however, it coexisted alongside the older Indic script system, which continued to be used for Javanese, Makassarese, Bugis and other languages. Indeed, it has been argued that the coming of Islam actually reduced literacy in Southeast Asia. Whereas the old Indic syllabaries seem largely to have been taught domestically, passed on by mothers or siblings, the introduction of a more formal system of education in the form of Qur'an schools may have restricted literacy to religious experts.[61] It must be said, however, that a firm basis for this claim is lacking. In many respects the Arabic script is simpler to master than the old Indic syllabaries, and the argument for reduced literacy contradicts the extensive evidence for a massive expansion of textual production in a wide range of languages across Southeast Asia and the Indian

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[56] Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Riḥla*, ed. Ṭalāl Ḥarb (Beirut, 1992), 571.

[57] Cummings, *Making Blood White*, 38–9.

[58] Benedict Anderson, *Language and Power: Exploring Political Cultures in Indonesia* (Ithaca, 1990), 127.

[59] Kees Versteegh, "Arabic in Madagascar," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 64 (2001): 177–187.

[60] Cummings, *Making Blood White*, 155.

[61] Anthony Reid, *Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce*, vol. 1, *The Lands Below the Winds* (New Haven, 1990), 224.

Ocean world more broadly that coincides with the spread of Islam in the seventeenth century.[62]

The third realm in which Arabic was used was, in contrast, entirely practical. Arabic served as a lingua franca of the Indian Ocean world beyond Southeast Asia, and was far from being the preserve of Muslims alone. Many of the earliest Middle Eastern merchants found in India and Southeast Asia were Jews who used Arabic even among themselves for communication, as numerous notes and letters in Judaeo-Arabic discovered in the Cairo Geniza attest. When Europeans first ventured to Southeast Asia, they regularly brought with them Arabic letters of introduction and even Arabic interpreters, enabling communication between merchants and travellers. Most of our surviving examples of Arabic epistolography from the region are letters addressed to Europeans. These are often composed in a 'bazaar Arabic,' very different from the *fuṣḥā* of the classical texts, mixed with local phrases and grammar. Such variants of Arabic have rarely attracted scholarly attention, but several of the documents from Southeast Asia exhibit defective grammar, including in extremis failure to observe grammatical gender (which Austronesian languages lack), and vocabulary choices influenced by Malay or Javanese. On occasion these features can render the document barely comprehensible. Even official letters issued by both the sultans of Aceh and Banten regularly show such characteristics, albeit in varying degrees.

In understanding the nature of textual production in Arabic in Southeast Asia, these three – if ostensibly somewhat paradoxical – roles must be born in mind. The original texts composed in Southeast Asia were to a large extent determined by the perception of Arabic as a suitable vehicle for debating and conveying highly sensitive esoteric knowledge. At the same time, Arabic was the language of scripture, of legal and credal texts that guided the believer, or at least the ʿulama'. Even if such texts were only accessible to a small proportion of the population, their utility ensured that they were widely copied. Finally, Arabic represented a lingua franca in which diplomacy and commerce could be conducted, complementing Southeast Asia's regional lingua franca of Malay, and rivalling Portuguese as an international tongue of the whole Indian Ocean world. These characteristics mean, however, that many of the texts and genres of Arabic literature for which it is most famous today do not seem to have been written or even read in the region. History, poetry, and belles-lettres all remained the province of Southeast Asian languages such as Javanese, Malay, Bugis and Makassarese. Arabic classics which were best sellers in the central Islamic lands such as al-Ḥarīrī's *Maqāmāt* or the poems of al-Mutanabbī are not represented by a single manuscript from or circulating in Southeast Asia known to me.[63] Al-Buṣīrī's famous *Qaṣīda al-Burda* in praise of the Prophet is one of the very few Arabic poems that seems to have been appreciated in Southeast Asia, yet its circulation was limited.[64] Even Arabic technical works on medicine are similarly largely unknown, despite the existence of an extensive medical literature in Malay, attesting local interest in such texts.[65] All this points to the fact that there was no interest in the wholesale appropriation of the Arabic literary tradition, but only select parts for very particular purposes. The emergence of Southeast Asian Arabic literature needs to be understood, therefore, not merely against the background of the spread of Islam in the region, but the specific cultural and social transformations that lay behind it.

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[62] See Chapter 2, pp. 20–21; ironically evidence for this massive increase in literary production is provided by Reid.

The book starts with a chapter of contextualisation outlining the diffusion of both Islam and Arabic in Southeast Asia and the broader Indian Ocean world, drawing attention to the parallels between the rise of Arabic textual culture in the region, Islamisation, state formation and the emergence of vernacular languages. It sets the scene for the following chapters by examining the early diffusion of Sufism in the region, for this was to constitute the prime focus of local Arabic literary production, in particular the passionate debates over the correct understanding of the monist doctrine of *waḥdat al-wujūd* (unity of being) associated with Ibn ʿArabī (d. 638/1240). This chapter will primarily be useful for readers who are unfamiliar with these themes, and aims to synthesise the existing state of the art in order to provide context for the new research that is presented subsequently.

Chapter 3 turns to the earliest centre of Arabic literature in Southeast Asia, Aceh in North Sumatra, where a number of texts dealing with the problem of *waḥdat al-wujūd* were produced by scholars writing during the seventeenth century, a question which had political as well as theological implications. The chapter demonstrates that the Arabic literary production of Aceh was prompted by contemporary debates in Malay texts. The Arabic reflections of these debates attracted an international audience, meaning Acehnese polemics on *waḥdat al-wujūd* reverberated across the *dār al-Islām*, as is demonstrated by the manuscript evidence from places as diverse as the Balkans and Morocco.

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[63] A small number of Arabic poetry manuscripts are held in the National Library in Jakarta, although very few formed part of the Banten sultanate library. For a list see G.W.J. Drewes, *Een 16de eeuwse Maleise vertaling van de Burda van al-Būṣīrī: Arabisch lofdicht op Mohammad* (Leiden, 1955), 20–21.

[64] Drewes, *Een 16de eeuwse Maleise vertaling van de Burda van al-Būṣīrī*, 18–20.

[65] For an impression of this literature see Siti Marina Mohd. Maidan, *Al-Tibb: Healing Traditions in Islamic Medical Manuscripts* (Kuala Lumpur, 2018).

Chapter 4 examines the origins Arabic textual production in the sultanate of Banten, which began in the 1630s with an embassy from Banten to Medina. Although this embassy has long been known to scholarship, the texts it brought back have remained unstudied to date. These comprise specially commissioned works by the Hijazi scholar Ibn ʿAllān, in particular a 'mirror for princes' surviving in a unique Jakarta manuscript, *al-Mawāhib al-Rabbāniyya.* Although ostensibly prompted by the Banten court's questions about the works of Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī, *al-Mawāhib al-Rabbāniyya* in fact represents a palimpsest of quotations from different authors, but above all the noted Hanbali scholar Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya (d. 751/1350), confirming evidence presented in Chapter 3 for a Hanbali intellectual influence in Southeast Asia not previously identified in scholarship.

Chapter 5 looks at the works of the major Arabic author of the sultanate of Banten, Yūsuf al-Maqāṣīrī. The evidence of manuscripts he copied is used to enhance our understanding of Shaykh Yūsuf's career, in particular his studies in the Middle East, while an analysis of the texts he composed suggests that he too was responding to the polemics around *waḥdat al-wujūd* that had reached the court of Banten by this point. The political relevance of this controversy resulted in Yūsuf dedicating works to the sultan of Banten.

Chapter 6 turns to the eighteenth century, examining the works of and manuscripts collected by an almost entirely forgotten author, ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Qahhār, a Sufi shaykh closely associated with the Banten court, and the better known ʿAbd al-Ṣamad al-Palimbānī, who wrote primarily in Malay but also composed some works in Arabic. Both figures spent extended periods in the Hijaz before returning to Southeast Asia.

In Chapter 7, we examine the library of the Banten *kraton* (court), which was largely in Arabic, and constitutes the major source for the circulation of Arabic texts in the region. The origins of the manuscripts, copying practices in Banten, and the identity of individuals whose manuscripts made their way into the collection are described. Finally, the library is compared with other pre-modern Islamic libraries from the Indian Ocean region and beyond.

The final chapter turns from literary texts to the practice of epistolography, and uncovers evidence for the use of Arabic across an extremely wide geographical area, much broader than the surviving literary texts. Arabic letters were written not just as a means of diplomatic communication with outside powers, but also were composed by Southeast Asians writing to each other, especially, but not exclusively, ʿulamaʾ.

CHAPTER 2

Islam and Arabic Textual Culture in Southeast Asia and the Indian Ocean World

Literacy in Southeast Asia long predated Islam. Strongly influenced by Hindu-Buddhist culture, the region formed part of a Sanskritic zone that stretched across the Indian Ocean from India, and Sanskrit inscriptions from Borneo date to as early as the fourth century AD. By the seventh century, Indic scripts had been adapted to record Malay, and by the ninth century Javanese inscriptions are recorded.[1] Sumatra was such a centre of Sanskrit learning under the regional empire of Srivijaya that Buddhist pilgrims from China stopped there to perfect their language skills before proceeding to India.[2] Although Islam reached Southeast Asia by the thirteenth century, it was not until the seventeenth century a significant local written tradition in Arabic developed. The seventeenth century also witnessed the spread of Islam into previously unconverted regions such as Sulawesi, and the emergence of Arabic can also be seen as part of a larger web of cultural developments in the region. As Anthony Reid notes, the corpus of Southeast Asian written texts from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is 'vastly greater' than for any earlier period.[3] Reid argues that the impetus behind this expansion was the development of a network of rich trading cities that bound the region together, the patronage of their courts, and stimulus of the presence of foreign merchants and missionaries.[4] Reid characterises the early modern period in Southeast Asia between *c.*1450 to 1680 as the 'Age of Commerce' in which increased commercial activity and connectivity underlay growing prosperity in the region. It may be, as some scholars have argued, that Reid's thesis gives undue credit to the role of commerce and underestimates technological, cultural and

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[1] On Malay see James T. Collins, *Malay World Language: A Short History* (Kuala Lumpur, 2018), 8–9; on Javanese and in general on the adaptation of Indian writing systems, see J.G. Casparis, *Indonesian Palaeography: A History of Writing in Indonesia from the Beginning to c. A.D. 1500* (Leiden, 1975).

[2] Paul Wheatley, *The Golden Khersonese* (Kuala Lumpur 1966), 41–2.

[3] Anthony Reid, *Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce*, vol. 1, *The Lands Below the Winds* (New Haven, 1990), 231.

[4] Reid, *Lands Below the Winds*, 232.

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environmental factors,[5] but there is little doubt of both the increased connectivity and the transformations in textual cultures that mark the period. It was then that the written form of languages such as Acehnese and Makassarese first emerged,[6] and these developments were reflected more broadly in the Indian Ocean world beyond Southeast Asia. Around the seventeenth century in Southwest India, Malayalam was first written down in Arabic script, giving birth to a vernacular called Arabi-Malayalam which was predominantly used for religious works, such as poems on the Sufi saint ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī. Its rise may be associated with the dislocations caused by the Portuguese conquest of the Malabar littoral.[7] The seventeenth century also sees the emergence of Arwi, Arabic script Tamil, which was similarly largely used for popular devotional works and *fiqh*.[8]

Southeast Asia also became more tightly bound to the Middle East, both by political and economic ties, and by intellectual networks. Medieval sources occasionally mention the presence of Southeast Asians in the Middle East, such as a certain Masʿūd al-Jāwī who was a prominent Sufi in thirteenth-century Yemen.[9] Such early references are extremely scant, and usually lacking in detail, but by the seventeenth century, as the important work of Azyumardi Azra has shown, Southeast Asian scholars were regularly making their way to the holy land of the Hijaz, to undertake the pilgrimage, to study in the intellectual as well as religious heart of the Islamic world, and sometimes to take up permanent residence there.[10] Others, however, returned, bringing the manuscripts and the proficiency in Arabic they had acquired back to Southeast Asia, and thus ensuring the further diffusion of Arabic textual culture there.

This chapter will investigate the connected but separate processes of Islamisation, state formation and the spread of Arabic in Southeast Asia. First, I examine the medieval diffusion of Arabic and Islam in the eastern reaches of the Indian Ocean, before turning to the transformations of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries that witnessed the further spread of Islam and the rise of major Islamic states in Southeast Asia. Parallel to this was the emergence of a Southeast Asian Islamic literature, articulated in Javanese, Malay and Arabic. Finally, I examine the seventeenth-century development of the Hijaz as the intellectual hub of the Indian Ocean world, attracting students and scholars from Southeast Asia and India. The Sufi ideas of *waḥdat al-wujūd* propagated there would have a major influence on the development of both Islam in Southeast Asia and its Arabic textual culture.

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[5] Cummings, *Making Blood White*, 35–7; Victor Lieberman, *Strange Parallels. Southeast Asia in Global Context, c. 800–1830*. Vol. 1: *Integration on the Mainland* (Cambridge, 2003), 15–21.

[6] On Makassarese, see Cummings, *Making Blood White*, 41–51; on Acehnese see Leonard Y. Andaya, *Leaves of the Same Tree: Trade and Ethnicity in the Straits of Melaka* (Singapore, 2010), 137–143.

[7] P.K. Yasser Arafath, "Polyglossic Malabar: Arabi-Malayalam and the Muhiyuddinmala in the Age of Transition (1600s–1750s)," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* series 3, 30/3 (2020): 517–539.

[8] Torsten Tschacher, *Islam in Tamilnadu: Varia* (Halle, 2001; Südasienwissenschaftliche Arbeitsblätter Band 2), 59–60.

[9] R. Michael Feener and Michael F. Laffan, "Sufi Scents Across the Indian Ocean: Yemeni Hagiography and the Earliest History of Southeast Asian Islam," *Archipel* 70 (2005): 185–208.

[10] Azra, *Origins*.

1 The Diffusion of Arabic and Islam in the Eastern Indian Ocean

Even before Islam, Middle Eastern merchants regularly penetrated the Indian Ocean, but it seems these contacts greatly increased with intensity in the early Abbasid period.[11] Initially, however, Middle Eastern interest was directed more towards China and its products than Southeast Asia per se, although early geographical and travel narratives such as the account of Abū Zayd al-Sīrāfī (c. late ninth to early tenth century) included brief information about the Southeast Asian lands on the route eastwards.[12] The booming economy of Abbasid Baghdad expanded demand for eastern luxuries such as silk and porcelain, and a substantial colony of Muslim merchants settled in China. Chinese policy towards these foreign Muslim merchants fluctuated; in the ninth century, they were expelled after a riot, but they were a significant presence again by the eleventh century. Links seem to have intensified in the Mongol period. By the fourteenth and early fifteenth century, Muslim merchants were making their fortunes in South China, and their elaborate graves can be found in Quanzhou.[13] Southeast Asia was an important intermediary in this trade, a point for ships to stop and take on supplies, but also home to settlements like Malacca which afforded access to the Chinese market when China itself was closed.[14] The region's products were highly prized in India the Middle East and beyond, in particular spices and incense. Southeast Asia became known in Arabic as *taḥt*

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[11] See John W. Chafee, *The Muslim Merchants of Premodern China: The History of a Maritime Asian Trade Diaspora, 750–1400* (Cambridge, 2018).

[12] Abū Zayd al-Sīrāfī, *Accounts of China and India*, ed. and trans. Tim Mackingtosh Smith (New York, 2014); for other examples of Arabic texts discussing Southeast Asia from the ninth to fifteenth centuries, see G.R. Tibbetts, *A Study of the Arabic Texts Containing Material on South-East Asia* (Leiden, 1979).

[13] Chafee, *Muslim Merchants*, 140–157.

[14] A.C.S. Peacock, "Melaka in the Arabic, Persian and Turkish Sources" (forthcoming).

al-rīḥ, 'The lands below the winds', a term appropriated from the Malay conception of the region (*di bawah angin*) referring to the monsoons that made trans-oceanic commerce possible, or sometimes simply as Jāwa, a term which in Arabic (along with its adjective *jāwī*) traditionally denotes not just Java but the entire archipelagic region and its peoples.[15]

Islam became increasingly an important presence in maritime South and Southeast Asia, which had been predominantly Buddhist and Hindu. In the fifteenth century, China again closed its ports to foreign merchants, and essentially made Malacca on the Malay peninsula its window onto the outside world, the emporium where foreigners were allowed to do business.[16] The Arabic navigational treatises of Aḥmad b. Mājid and Sulaymān al-Mahrī, composed in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, show a profound knowledge of the routes across the Indian Ocean as far as Malacca, but their information about points further east is negligible.[17] Yet by the early sixteenth century, Muslim sultanates were dotted across Southeast Asia as far east as Sulu, whose ruler had probably converted in the second half of the fifteenth century.[18] One of the earliest grammars of Arabic printed in Europe, in 1538, noted that Arabic was used even in Maluku in Eastern Indonesia, where Arab merchants had persuaded the ruler to convert.[19]

Throughout the Indian Ocean world, merchants were a key agent in spreading Islam, and thus across the region we can find numerous examples of Muslim communities under non-Muslim rule. Southern India, for instance, a key stop on the routes across the Indian Ocean, acquired substantial Muslim populations long before the first minor Muslim states were founded in the region in the early sixteenth century. Local tradition asserts that the first mosque in India was built at Kodunggalur in Malabar in 629, and while this dating is unlikely, there certainly were Muslim merchants resident in Malabar by the eighth century.[20] By the ninth century, epigraphy attests a Muslim presence in Sri Lanka.[21] By the thirteenth century Muslims dominated the sea trade of Malabar that stretched to China and Arabia.[22] A similar pattern obtained in Southeast Asia, where patterns of conversion usually seem to follow international trade routes. Regions that were less well connected by trade tended to convert later (or not at all). The conversion of the ruling dynasty seems to have usually, as far as we can judge, been preceded by a Muslim presence, although the sparse and scattered evidence makes any interpretation tentative. There are occasional indications of the presence of individual Muslims in Southeast Asia beforehand, but it was not until the thirteenth century that the first significant Muslim communities and sultanates emerge.[23] By this date there were certainly Muslims in Brunei, and possibly even as far east as Sulu.[24] Often the evidence is sporadic. A famous Malay legal inscription from Terengganu on the east coast of the Malay peninsula confirms Islam had reached there by the fourteenth century, and evidently was adopted by the local ruler,[25] but apart from this single stone, we know almost nothing of the early history of Islam in this region.

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[15] Michael Laffan, "Finding Java: Muslim Nomenclature of Insular Southeast Asia from Śrîvijaya to Snouck Hurgronje," in Eric Tagliacozzo (ed.), *Southeast Asia and the Middle East: Islam, Movement and the Longue Duré*e (Stanford, 2009), 17–67.

[16] For Malacca and China in this period see Geoff Wade, "Engaging the South: Ming China and Southeast Asia in the Fifteenth Century," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 51 (2008): 578–638; Ralph Kauz, "Paliuwan 怕六灣 : Trader or Traitor? a Samarqandi in Mediaeval Melaka," in Ralph Kauz (ed.), *Aspects of the Maritime Silk Road : from the Persian Gulf to the East China Sea* (Wiesbaden, 2010), and on its relations with the wider Indian Ocean see Peacock, "Melaka in the Arabic, Persian and Turkish Sources".

[17] G.R. Tibbetts, *Arab Navigation in the Indian Ocean before the Portuguese* (London, 1971).

[18] Cesar Adib Majul, *Muslims in the Philippines* (Quezon City, 1999), 11–12, 68.

[19] Guilielmus Postellus, *Grammatica arabica* (Paris, *c.*1538), 3. I am indebted to Jan Just Witkam for this reference.

Sometimes Islam was brought not by direct contact with the Middle East, but by other intermediaries, including Chinese Muslims. An Arabic gravestone from Brunei commemorating the death of local sultan (or Maharaja as it entitles him) was probably produced in Quanzhou on commission around 1300.[26] In parts of the north Java coast, early Muslims seem to have been Chinese immigrants, founding the sultanates of Demak and Gresik in the early fifteenth century.[27] India was another important vector of transmission of the faith. The Malay court chronicle of the North Sumatran polity of Samudera-Pasai, the *Hikayat Raja Pasai*, possibly the first Southeast Asian sultanate, specifically mentions in its legend of the Islamisation of the region that Islam was brought from Mecca via Malabar.[28] However, while acknowledging that Islam did not come from a single place, it is necessary to recognise that the tracing of 'origins' can be highly problematic, and the search to identify Indian, Chinese or Arab influences can become meaningless. Muslims from a wide variety of locations mixed in the cosmopolitan emporia of Southeast Asia, and these Muslims might themselves have multiple affiliations. For instance, one of the leading figures of seventeenth century Islam in Southeast Asia, Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī (d. 1068/1658), who wrote in both Malay and Arabic, was of Hadrami descent, but came to Southeast Asia from India, having been born in Gujarat (as his *nisba*, referring to the port of Ranir/Rander, suggests) and studied with a Hadrami *sayyid* in the Deccan, Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar b. ʿAbdallāh Bā Shaybān.[29] Many of the merchants who frequented Southeast Asian ports doubtless possessed similarly complex identities. Moreover, by al-Rānīrī's lifetime, Southeast Asians might equally well encounter Indian intellectual influences in the Hijaz, as suggested by the spread there of the Shattariyya order from India, which will be discussed below.

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[20] Prange, *Monsoon Islam*, 35–8.

[21] Ludvik Kalus and Claude Guillot, “Réinterprétation des plus anciennes stèles funéraires islamiques nousantariennes: III. Sri Lanka,” *Archipel* 72 (2006): 15–68.

[22] Prange, *Monsoon Islam*, 50–58.

[23] For the process of Islamisation see M.C. Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia since 1200* (Stanford, 2008; 4th ed.), 1–16; Ricklefs, *Mystic Synthesis*, 11–32; For a useful survey taking account of the extensive older literature see Anthony Reid, “The Islamization of Southeast Asia,” in idem, *Charting the Shape of Early Modern Southeast Asia* (Chiang Mai, 1999), 15–38; see also G.W.J. Drewes, “New Light on the Coming of Islam to Indonesia?” *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 124 (1968): 433–459.

[24] Graham Saunders, *A History of Brunei* (London, 1994), 35–6; Majul, *Muslims*, 68.

[25] The exact reading of the date has been disputed, see C.O. Blagden, “A Note on the Terengganu Inscription,” *Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 2 (1924): 252–63; Syed Muhammad Naguib al-Attas, *The Correct Date of the Trengganu inscription* (Kuala Lumpur 1970); Ahmat Adam, *The New and Correct Date of the Terengganu Inscription* (Kuala Lumpur, 2017). However, there is no doubt it is fourteenth century.

[26] Chen Da-Shen, “A Brunei Sultan in the Early 14th Century: Study of an Arabic Gravestone,” *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 23 (1992): 1–13.

Two polities stand out in both traditional and modern historiography for their role in the early spread of Islam, Samudera-Pasai in North Sumatra and Malacca on the west coast of the Malay peninsula. The traditional histories of both emphasise their links to the Middle East, and their associations with the Arabic speaking world, and both are conventionally assigned a major role in the development of a Malay Islamic literature in the Arabic script which drew in part on Persian models. In considering the origins of Arabic textual culture in Southeast Asia, it is worth giving them some attention as we are much better informed about them than we are about other regions, in part owing to the preservation of a substantial corpus of inscriptions from Samudera-Pasai as well as relatively early chronicles in Malay for both sultanates.

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[27] Alexander Wain, "China and the Rise of Islam on Java," in A.C.S. Peacock (ed.), *Islamisation: Comparative Perspectives from History* (Edinburgh, 2017), 419–443.

[28] A.H. Hill, "Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai," *Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 33/2 (1960): 55–6, 117–8. See, however, the new edition by Russell Jones, *Hikayat Raja Pasai* (Kuala Lumpur, 2016), 12, 105, in which he suggests the correct reading is Mengiri, rather than Maʿbari. Nonetheless, it is clear the location must be in India.

[29] On al-Rānīrī's life see Paul Wormser, *Le Bustan al-Salatin de Nuruddin ar-Raniri: Réflexions sur le rôle culturel d'un ćtranger dans le monde malais au* xvii^{e} *Siècle* (Paris, 2012), 41–56.

The sultanate of Samudera-Pasai was probably founded in the late thirteenth century.[30] Indeed, the *Hikayat Raja Pasai*, probably originally composed in the mid-fourteenth century, proudly proclaims at its start that "of the countries here below the winds it was Pasai which first took to the faith of God and His Prophet."[31] The *Hikayat* recounts how the shortly after the death of Prophet, the Caliph sent a ship to Samudera bearing "all the regalia and panoply of royalty." While clearly the historicity of the story is incredible, it expresses the desire of Samudera-Pasai's rulers to associate themselves with the holy land of the Hijaz and to obtain both prestige and legitimacy through appointment by a Caliph. The influence of the Middle Eastern connection is also suggested by the Ayyubid-style regnal titles they adopted, such as al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ and al-Malik al-Ẓāhir, as well as in *Hikayat Raja Pasai*'s claim that Islam was established in Pasai by a descendant of the Caliph Abū Bakr.[32] The famous Maghrebi traveller Ibn Baṭṭūṭa visited Pasai around 745/1345–6, and related approvingly how al-Malik al-Ẓāhir "loved *fuqahā'* who attended his court (*majlis*) to read and debate." Al-Malik al-Ẓāhir (probably a regnal title, whose bearer is to be identified with Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (d. 755/1355)),[33] was also apparently keen on *jihād*, regularly raiding his infidel neighbours, on whom he imposed the *jizya* – an adaptation of sharia to local circumstances, for theoretically only *ahl al-kitāb* were eligible for the poll tax, not the Buddhists or animists who would have predominated in Sumatra.[34]

Ibn Baṭṭūṭa indicates the connected nature of this Indian Ocean world, for he was guided in the Pasai court by an amir called Dawlasa, an old acquaintance of his from Delhi, where Dawlasa had been sent as ambassador by the ruler of Pasai.[35] Iranians evidently had a prominent role at the Pasai court, for the chief qadi bore the name Amīr Sayyid al-Shīrāzī, while there was another *faqīh* named Tāj al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī.[36] Mortuary inscriptions from Pasai confirm the picture of a cosmopolitan community, attesting immigrants from as far afield as Java, Bengal and Gilan. Even a descendant of the Abbasid family took up residence there towards the end of the fourteenth century, and he and his descendants held the position of *ṣadr*, chief advisor on religious and political affairs. Doubtless, the presence of this august lineage did much to enhance the prestige of the sultanate in this remote corner of the *dār al-Islām*, as is suggested by the elaborate tombs of imported Cambay marble that were constructed for these Abbasids.[37]

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[30] On its history see Claude Guillot and Ludvik Kalus, *Les monuments funéraires et l'histoire du sultanat de Pasai à Sumatra, XIII^e–XVI^e siècles* (Paris, 2008). Some debatable evidence might point to even earlier precedents at Lamreh near modern Banda Aceh. Suwedi Montana, "Nouvelles données sur les royaumes de Lamuri et Barat," *Archipel* 53 (1997): 85–95 mentions a gravestone from Lamreh of a sultan Sulayman b. Abdallah dated 608/1211, but provides no photograph; in view of this fact, and that 608 could very easily be 680, it seems difficult to assert that Lamreh was Islamised significantly before Samudera-Pasai, even if this claim has crept into the literature (e.g. Ricklefs, *History of Modern Indonesia*, 4). More recent research on the gravestones at the site of Lamreh dates them to the fifteenth century, suggesting this is approximately the date when Islam became firmly established there. See R. Michael Feener et al, "Islamisation and the Formation of Vernacular Muslim Material Culture in 15th-Century Northern Sumatra," *Indonesia and the Malay World* 49/143 (2021): 1–49.

[31] Translation adapted from Hill, "Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai," 46, 109. "Negeri yang di-bawah angin ini Pasai-lah yang pertama membawa iman akan Allah dan akan rasul Allah"; *Hikayat Raja Pasai*, ed. Jones, 1.

[32] Hill, "Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai," 56, 59; 117–8, 120; *Hikayat Raja Pasai*, ed. Jones, 13–15.

[33] Guillot and Kalus, *Les monuments,* 69, 72, 75, 192.

[34] Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Riḥla*, 620.

The overwhelming majority of these fourteenth to fifteenth century inscriptions from Pasai are in Arabic; just one in Malay and a handful in Persian have come to light.[38] The *Sejarah Melayu* (Malay Annals, compiled in the early seventeenth century on the basis of earlier materials) tells us that "at that time all the people of Pasai knew Arabic."[39] Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's account of his visit does not mention the language difficulties that he alludes to elsewhere in his travels, and apparently discussed *fiqh* all day long with the sultan, an enthusiastic adherent of the Shafii school.[40] Nonetheless beyond the epigraphic record and these few allusions, there is little concrete evidence for the reading of Arabic texts in North Sumatra, still less their composition. The gravestones show the use of quotations from the Qurʾan, hadith, a well known prayer by Imam al-Shāfiʿī, and occasional elegiac verses by the famous early poets Labīd b. Rabīʿa (d. c. 41/660) and Abūʾl-ʿAtāhiya (130/748–211/825) (Fig. 2.1).[41] However, given these

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[35] Ibn Battuta, *Riḥla*, 621.

[36] Ibn Battuta, *Riḥla*, 619.

[37] Guillot and Kalus, *Les monuments*, 100–1, 168–9.

[38] Guillot and Kalus, *Les monuments*, 124; for Persian inscriptions see now the four discussed in Majid Daneshgar, Gregorius Dwi Kuswanta, Masykur Syafruddin and R. Michael Feener, "A 15th-Century Persian Inscription from Bireuen, Aceh: An Early 'Flash' of Sufism before Fanṣūrī in Southeast Asia," in Majid Daneshgar and Ervan Nurtawab (eds), *Malay-Indonesian Islamic Studies: A Festschrift in Honor of Peter G. Riddell* (Leiden, 2023), 86–103.

[39] *Sejarah Melayu*, ed. W. Shellabear (Kuala Lumpur, 2017 [1975]), 58: "segala orang Semudra pada zaman itu tahu Bahasa Arab"; cf. the English translation, *Sejarah Melayu: 'Malay Annals'*, translated by C.C. Brown with a new introduction by R. Roolvink (Kuala Lumpur, 1983), 46. The *Sejarah Melayu* exists in numerous variants, and Brown's translation differs in places from Shellabear's text.

[40] Ibn Battuta, *Riḥla*, 621.

[41] Guillot and Kalus, *Les monuments*, 31–8.

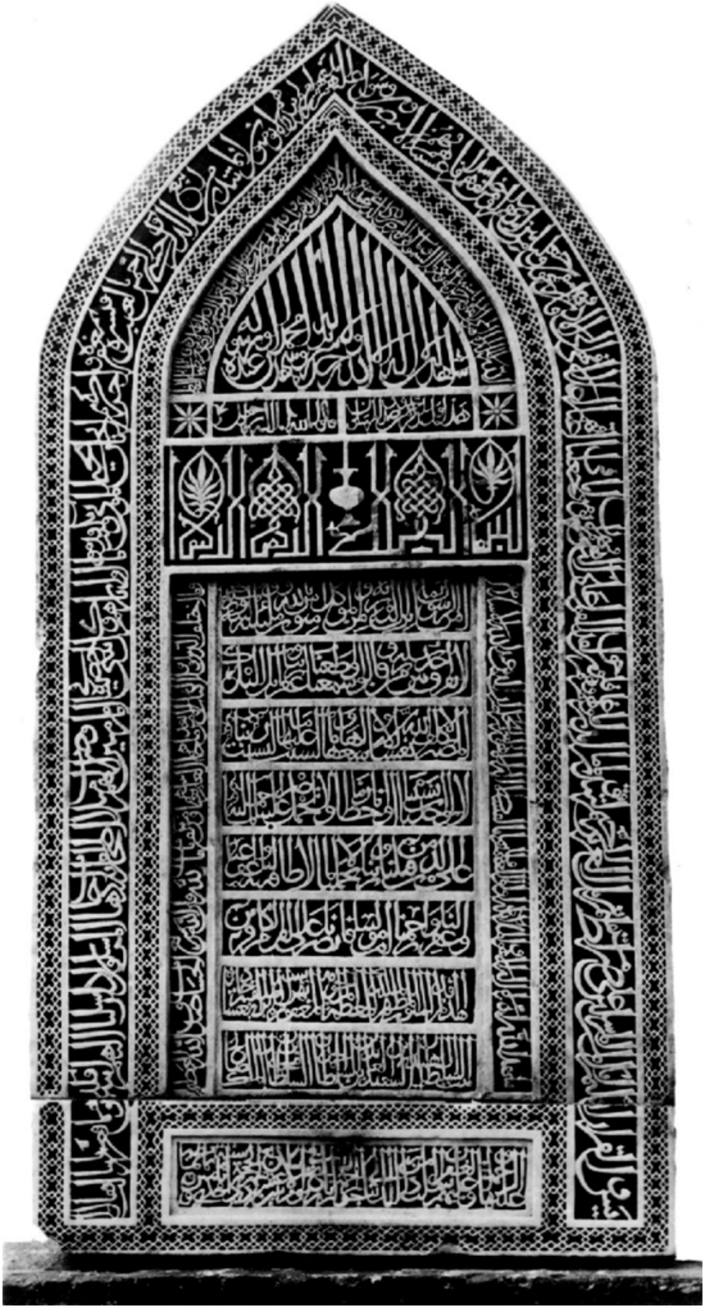

FIGURE 2.1 Headstone commemorating a daughter of Sultan Zayn al-ʿAbidīn of Samudera-Pasai, d. 831/1428. White marble, imported from Cambay in Gujarat. (Leiden University Library, MS Or.23.481, photograph 79)

gravestones were generally produced on commission in Cambay and exported to Pasai, they may show us more about the diffusion of Arabic in Gujarat rather than Sumatra. Locally produced gravestones, known as *batu Aceh*, which appear from the second quarter of the fifteenth century, tend to have much simpler inscriptions, comprising often only a name and a date, and sometimes just a Qurʾanic verse.[42]

A number of Malay works have come down to us that were produced in Pasai, included the history of the dynasty, *Hikayat Raja Pasai*, and possibly a hagiographical work on the Prophet, the *Hikayat Nabi Wafat*.[43] Yet no Arabic texts or manuscripts have survived from the sultanate, with the exception of an Arabic letter composed on behalf of Sultan Zayn al-Dīn IV in 1516 or early 1517, addressed to Alfonso de Albuquerque, governor of the Portuguese Estado da Índia, complaining of the activities of two Portuguese privateers (Zayn al-Dīn evidently being unaware that Albuquerque had died two years earlier).[44] The letter is composed in a simple, terse but frequently obscure Arabic owing to its use of numerous loan-words from Malay and Portuguese. Kalus and Guillot suggest that, along with evidence that in the late fifteenth century the ruler of Pasai could only speak Malay, this indicates that knowledge of Arabic there sharply declined over the fifteenth century.[45] However, it is important to have regard to the different contexts within which the language was used. Epigraphy on specially commissioned funerary monuments that were often exported from India cannot be considered equivalent to a local diplomatic note. Even in Aceh in the early seventeenth century, when a scholar who wrote fluent Arabic in his literary works, Shams al-Dīn al-Sumāṭrāʾī, occupied a senior position in the bureaucracy, including dealing with foreign merchants, the Acehnese chancery was issuing Arabic documents with seriously deficient grammar.[46] It is hard then to generalise on the basis of the handful of sources that we have about a 'decline', and it is difficult to use Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's silence over linguistic difficulties as positive evidence for anything. It is perhaps equally likely that standards of Arabic were never especially high in Pasai. Indeed, it is possible that Persian was more widespread than Arabic, even if it is less well represented in epigraphic record. The Malay romance *Hikayat Bayan Budiman* which can probably be dated to fifteenth or early sixteenth century Pasai is based on the Persian *Ṭūṭī-nāma*,[47] and slightly later Malay texts from North Sumatra regularly include Persian quotations. Indeed, the diffusion of a Persophone diaspora far beyond the littoral emporia is suggested by the role of certain Khwāja ʿAlī in compiling our earliest extant Malay manuscript, the *Nītisārasamuccaya*, a code of laws which dates to the fourteenth century and originates from the remote highlands of South Sumatra.[48] Meanwhile, a Persian letter from Malacca dated 1516, probably written by a Jew in the employ of the Portuguese administration, confirms the use of Persian as a lingua franca in the region.[49] These Persianate connections are also suggested by an anecdote which is meant to underline Pasai's reputation as a centre of Islamic learning within the region. The *Sejarah Melayu* records how Sultan Mahmud Syah of Malacca, which emerged in the fifteenth century as a major Muslim emporium on the west coast of the Malay peninsula, sent to Pasai for an explanation of a tricky theological problem debated between the ʿulama' of Ma Wara al-Nahr, Khurasan and Iraq. The sultan of Pasai gathered all the scholars (*pandita*) in order to compose an answer to the problem.[50] It is interesting to note that the debate, which seems to have revolved around God's attributes, is placed firmly in the Iranian cultural sphere of Iraq to Central Asia, rather than say, the Hijaz, suggesting again the Iranian influences in the region.

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[42] Elizabeth Lambourn, "The Formation of the Batu Aceh Tradition in Fifteenth-Century Samudera-Pasai," *Indonesia and the Malay World* 32/93 (2004): 211–248.

[43] Vladimir Braginsky, *The Heritage of Traditional Malay Literature: A Historical Survey of Genres, Writings and Literary Views* (Leiden, 2005), 89–90, 111, 117.

[44] Arquivo Nacional Torre do Tombo, Lisbon, Colecção de cartas, Núcleo Antigo 891,mç. 1, Doc. No. 59, discussed and edited in A.C.S. Peacock, "Three Arabic Letters from North Sumatra of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," *Indonesia and the Malay World* 44/129 (2016): 188–210, with further comments in Chapter 8 below.

[45] Guillot and Kalus, *Les monuments*, 124.

[46] See Chapter 8 below.

Malacca is often regarded as the successor of Pasai as the major Muslim sultanate in the region, and similarly inherited a reputation as a great Islamic centre, perhaps in large part because Javanese sultanates often claimed a connection with it. Although much of its early history is uncertain, Malacca was probably founded in the early fifteenth century by a prince from Temasik (Singapore) who intermarried with the Pasai royal family. Like Pasai, links with the Middle East were embedded in its foundational myths. The *Sejarah Melayu*, which was probably composed in its current form in seventeenth century Johor, but drew on earlier traditions that stretched back to the sultanate of Malacca itself, records that, "All the merchants from above the winds and below the winds came to Malacca; the port of Malacca was very busy in that period. It was named Malakat by all the Arabs, meaning the meeting place of all merchants, because there are many different types of commerce there."[51] Yet visitors from the Middle East were unimpressed. The navigator Aḥmad b. Mājid wrote at the end of his poem *al-Maʿlaqiyya*, giving sailing directions to the city that its people

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[47] Braginsky, *Heritage*, 416–420; also A.C.S. Peacock, "Notes on Some Persian Documents from Early Modern Southeast Asia," *Sejarah: Journal of the Department of History, University of Malaya* 27 (2018): 81–97; in general see also Tomáš Petrů, "'Lands below the Winds' as Part of the Persian Cosmopolis: An Inquiry into Linguistic and Cultural Borrowings from the Persianate Societies in the Malay World," *Moussons* 27 (2016): 146–161.

[48] Uli Kozok et al, *A 14th Century Malay Code of Laws: The* Nītisārasamuccaya (Singapore, 2015), 348–353.

[49] Jorge dos Santos Alves and Nader Nasiri-Moghaddam, "Une lettre en persan de 1519 sur la situation à Malacca," *Archipel* 75 (2008): 145–166; also discussed in Peacock, "Notes on Some Persian Documents."

[50] *Sejarah Melayu*, ed. Shellabear, 246–7; trans. Brown, 148.

> have no culture at all. The infidel marries Muslim women while the Muslim takes pagans to wife. You do not know whether they are Muslim or not. They are thieves for theft is rife among them and they do not mind. The Muslim eats dogs for meat for there are no food laws. They drink wine in the markets and do not treat divorce as a religious act. They think little of promises and presents and generally despise them. They appear liars and deceivers in trade and labour. Be careful of them for you cannot mix jewels with ordinary stones.[52]

In contrast, traditional Malay historiography emphasises Malacca's claims to inherit Persian, Arab, and Islamic culture. The *Sejarah Melayu* states Malacca's rulers were descended not just from Alexander the Great, ruler of Rum, but also from the Sasanian shah Anushirwan the Just.[53] It recounts how the conversion of the third sultan Muhammad Syah was effected by an Arab scholar who came by boat from Jeddah, Saiyid Abdul Aziz,[54] while Sufism was brought by a Meccan scholar, Maulana Abu Bakar, who sailed from Jeddah to Malacca to induct its rulers into the Sufi secrets in the book written by his master, Maulana Abu Isyak, entitled the *Durr Manzum*.[55] Some substance is given to these accounts by the Portuguese apothecary Tomé Pires, who wrote in Malacca in 1515, shortly after its fall. Tomé Pires records how Malacca itself was founded by communities of "rich Moorish merchants" which included "Parsees" (Persians), "Arabian Moors" and Bengalis who had moved there from

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[51] *Sejarah Melayu*, ed. Shellabear, 78 (my translation; cf. trans. Brown, 90): "Maka segala dagang atas angin dan bawah angin sekaliyannya datang ke Melaka; terlalu ramai banda Melaka pada zaman itu. Maka oleh segala orang Arab dinamainya Malakat, ertinya perhimpunan segala dagang, kerana banyak jenis dagangan ada di sana."

[52] Tibbetts, *A Study*, 206.

[53] *Sejarah Melayu*, ed. Shellabear, 78; trans. Brown, 14, 49 (with differences from Shellabear's text).

[54] *Sejarah Melayu*, ed. Shellabear, 72; trans. Brown, 44, 94.

[55] *Sejarah Melayu*, 150–151; trans. Brown, 92.

Pasai at the encouragement of Iskandar Syah.[56] He also records that the population of Malacca comprised, among others, "Moors [i.e., Muslims] from Cairo, Mecca, Aden. … Rumes [Rumis], Turks, Turkomans".[57] This cosmopolitan environment is reflected in the *Sejarah Melayu*'s tales of the confusion resulting from Malays' mispronunciation of Arabic, and the mangling of Malay by the Middle Eastern scholar Sadar Jahan, teacher of sultan Mahmud Syah.[58]

Arabic was widely used on tombstones of the royal families of Malacca as well as in Pahang, but these are limited to pious formulae and the names and titles of the deceased. There is no evidence for the composition of Arabic texts in Malacca, although we can assume some, like the *Durr Manzum* mentioned in the *Sejarah Melayu*, made it there; exactly what this text was is unclear. However, it is clear from the context that it was some sort of Sufi tract, and Sufis, next to traders, are often cited as a major force for conversion to Islam in Southeast Asia. The claims of Sufi holy men to supernatural powers may have been more influential in the conversion of nobles and rulers who might have regarded merchants as of rather lower social standing.[59] Possibly Sufi phrases have been detected on fifteenth century tombstones from Malacca and elsewhere,[60] although this is hardly surprising given that Sufism more or less *was* Islam in its premodern form, as Nile Green has observed,[61] while commerce and kingship were umbilically linked in ports whose prosperity and indeed existence depended almost entirely on their mercantile role. Yet, no Sufi literature in any language can be indubitably attributed to either the Malacca or Pasai sultanate. Indeed, the only Arabic texts that can be identified as possibly having circulated in Malacca are two works of Shafii law, *al-Taqrīb* by Abū Shujāʿ al-Iṣfahānī (d. after 500/1106) and its commentary by Ibn Qāsim al-Ghazzī (d. 918/1522), *al-Fatḥ al-Qarīb*,[62] which are both mentioned in the local digest of laws, the *Undang-Undang Melaka*.[63] Given the considerable difficulties in dating the *Undang-Undang Melaka*, parts of which go back to the sultanate but some of which is clearly later, even the date of the circulation of these texts is debatable, and, at least in the case of al-Ghazzī's work, is likely to postdate the fall of Malacca to the Portuguese in 1511. Both works circulated widely in Southeast Asia, and were standard reference books on Shafii *fiqh*.

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[56] Tomé Pires, *The Suma Oriental*, trans. Armando Cortesão (London: Hakluyt Society, 1944), vol.2, 240.

[57] Tomé Pires, *The Suma Oriental*, vol. 2, 268.

[58] *Sejarah Melayu*, ed. Shellabear, Chapter 20; trans. Brown, 147–8. For a discussion see Romain Bertrand, "The Making of a 'Malay Text': Peter Floris, Erpenius, and Textual Transmission In and Out of the Malay World at the Turn of the 17th Century," *Quaderni Storici* 48 (2013): 151–3.

[59] Ricklefs, *History of Modern Indonesia*, 15.

[60] Othman Mohd. Yatim, *Batu Aceh: Early Islamic Gravestones in Peninsular Malaysia* (Kuala Lumpur, 1988), 67–8, 72–4.

[61] Nile Green, *Sufism: a Global History* (Oxford, 2012), 126.

[62] See Kooria, *Islamic Law in Circulation*, 91–2 for these two works, although Kooria gives Abū Shujāʿ's death date as 1197. For his dates, I follow Felicitas Opwis, "Abū Shujāʿ," *EI*^{3}.

The reputation of both Pasai and Malacca as centres of Islam in Malay historiography thus did not translate into an Arabic textual culture, at least not one that has come down to us. Despite the presence of Middle Eastern ʿulamaʾ and merchants, literary production seems, on surviving evidence, to have been conducted in Malay, and even then, relatively few works can be firmly attributed to the patronage of either sultanate. It is not until the sixteenth century that the first significant evidence of the composition of Islamic religious texts appears in Southeast Asia, with fragmentary evidence from both Java and North Sumatra. It is to the growth of Islamic states and concomitant emergence of an Islamic literature in these regions that we now turn.

2 Political and Religious Transformations in the Sixteenth Century

The sudden appearance of European sources for Southeast Asia with the Portuguese presence in the region that was consolidated by their conquest of Malacca in 1511 can detract attention from the broader, and largely unconnected, political and religious changes that affected both North Sumatra and Java. The expansion of Islam and the end of the old Hindu-Buddhist kingdoms of Java in the sixteenth century brought into existence new states that patronised Islamic literature and vaunted their own supposed Arab ancestors as a source of legitimacy, while in Sumatra the powerful new sultanate of Aceh absorbed smaller polities and established itself as a major point of contact with India and the Middle East.

In Java, the early sixteenth century is marked by Demak's expansion over much of the Pasisir (the northern coast of Java). It is unknown exactly when Majapahit, the major Hindu kingdom of pre-Islamic Java was finally extinguished, but it was probably around 1517; yet Majapahit continued to act as a source of legitimacy to which later Muslim dynasties, such as Mataram, traced their origins. Indeed, despite Demak's expansionism, in some parts of Java Hindu kingdoms continued to rule. In particularly, the Sundanese speaking regions of west Java continued to be dominated by the poorly attested Hindu kingdom of Pajajaran based at Pakuan until the late sixteenth century. Nonetheless, Islam continued to spread on the northern coast even in areas nominally subject to Pajajaran's control, in particular in the two ports of Cirebon and Banten. Islam had come to Cirebon in the late fifteenth century. According to its traditional histories (probably dating from the late seventeenth and the eighteenth century but including earlier material), the key figure in the Islamisation of the city and that of Banten is the saint Sunan Gunungjati, one of the nine Wali Songo or leading saints associated with the Islamisation of Java. Sunan Gunungjati is said to have been born in 1448 with the name of Sharif Hidayat Allah, the son of a union between an Egyptian Hashemite and the daughter of the king of Pajajaran. The saint conquered Banten, which he bequeathed to his son Hasanuddin, while Cirebon went to his other son; this shared ancestry meant the sultans of Banten would assert suzerainty over Cirebon to the end of the seventeenth century. In reality, Demak may have been Banten's overlord until 1545. Over the second half of the sixteenth century, the Banten kingdom expanded into the Lampung area of South Sumatra – an important region for the growing of pepper, one of the major sources of wealth of the sultanate – and also finally destroyed Pajajaran, possibly by 1579, but at any rate by the end of the sixteenth century.[64]

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[63] Liaw Yock Feng (ed.), *Undang-Undang Melaka dan Undang-Undang Laut* (Kuala Lumpur, 2003), 55–6.

This period in Banten's history is poorly attested; our main indigenous source is the seventeenth century Javanese court chronicle, the *Sejarah Banten*, apart from passing references in European sources which are inevitably largely concerned with trade, and which indicate that the growing presence of European merchants destabilised the sultanate in the late sixteenth century.[65] While the descendants of Sunan Gunungjati did not yet claim the title of sultan, they asserted their claim to a prestigious religious ancestry through the foreign title Maulana that they used. The rulers' genealogy was itself a source of legitimacy, allowing them to trace their ancestry through the local saint back to the family of the Prophet, and court tradition underlined their Arab origins.[66] Nonetheless, the region's international connections predate (albeit possibly not by much) the coming of Islam. At the beginning of the sixteenth century indigenous sources reveal commercial links between Pajajaran and Ryukyu, China and India.[67] Indeed, the *Sanghyang Siksakandang Karesian*, a Sundanese text from Pajajaran composed in 1518, refers to the need for knowledge of the languages of China, India, Egypt, Mecca, Deccan and Persia.[68] The new Islamic Banten kingdom thus fitted into international networks that were developing even before its emergence, and the process of Islamisation continued long after its foundation. Pajajaran survived later than Hindu kingdoms in other parts of Java, and even at the end of the sixteenth century, non-Muslim peasants were cultivating pepper in the heart of the Banten state.[69] In addition to their claims to Arab descent, the rulers of Banten also sought to link themselves to Pajajaran. The *Sejarah Banten* records how after Sunan Gunungjati conquered Banten, he headed for the sacred mount Pulasari when 800 ascetics (*ajar*) dwelled under a descendant of the rulers of Pajajaran. This latter ceded his place to Sunan Gunungjati's son Maulana Hasanuddin, and the *ajar* embraced Islam and served the sultan of Banten.[70] Clearly, the story is intended to convey the transfer of legitimacy from Pajajaran to Banten. However, it also points to deep rooted local traditions for ascetics to associate with courts and rulers, which is significant in the context of the court's intense interest in Sufism as is demonstrated in seventeenth and eighteenth century texts. Possession of divine *waḥy* was a crucial factor in securing the ruler's legitimacy, and this could be demonstrated through the physical radiance (*cahya*) of the ruler.[71] The emphasis on the possession of divine radiance is not one which was limited to Banten, but could be found more broadly in Java, as well as Aceh and Sulawesi.[72] As will be argued in Chapters 3 and 5, these concepts played a significant part in the development and patronage of Arabic literature.

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[64] For Banten's history in the period see Ota Atsushi, *Changes of Regime and Social Dynamics in West Java: Society, State and the Outer World of Banten, 1750–1830* (Leiden, 2006), 15–16; and in more detail Hosein Djajadiningrat, *Critische beschouwing van de Sadjarah Banten: bijdrage ter kenschetsing van de Javaansche geschiedschrijving* (Haarlem, 1913); Johan Talens, *Een feodale samenleving in koloniaal vaarwater: Staatsvorming, koloniale expansie en economische onderontwikkeling in Banten, West-Java (1600–1750)* (Hilversum, 1999); also Bertrand, *L'Histoire*; and J. Kathirithamby-Wells, "Banten: A West Indonesian Port and Polity During the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," in J. Kathirithamby-Wells and John Villiers (eds), *The Southeast Asian Port and Polity: Rise and Demise* (Singapore, 1990), 107–125.

[65] Claudie Guillot, "Libre entreprise contre économie dirigée: guerres civiles à Banten, 1580–1609," *Archipel* 43 (1992) : 57–72.

Similarly dramatic was the political realignment in North Sumatra at the beginning of the sixteenth century. The sultanate of Pasai was briefly occupied by the Portuguese and then was extinguished entirely by a new power, Aceh, that came to dominate most of north Sumatra. Aceh's wealth was built on the export of pepper and other spices to the west; given the Portuguese ambition to monopolise control of the trade routes it was inevitable that the two powers would clash repeatedly, notwithstanding occasional peace overtures. As part of its war against the Portuguese, Aceh established contact with the Ottoman empire, sending repeated embassies to Istanbul. The Ottomans shared an interest in not just keeping the trade routes open but in deterring Portuguese aggression, for in 1517 the Portuguese had managed to sack Mecca's port Jeddah. It suited both sides to depict the Portuguese threat as an attack on Islam, even if in reality economic motives weighed more heavily.[73] The earliest Ottoman aid probably reached Aceh in 1538–9, and several embassies were subsequently sent by Aceh under ʿAla' al-Din Riayat Syah al-Qahhar (r.1537–1571), certainly in 1568, and possibly earlier.[74] Although Portuguese sources claimed Turks were assisting the Acehnese at the siege of Malacca in 1547, in reality the concrete aid provided by the Ottoman state was probably limited to some munitions. There were doubtless some Turkish mercenaries present in the region, albeit probably not in such quantities as the Portuguese sources envisage. Yet even if the military threat of an Acehnese-Ottoman alliance was less significant than the Portuguese sources imply, relations between the two Muslim powers intensified. In the sixteenth century, not only do we have plentiful evidence of Acehnese ships reaching Arabia, bringing their precious supplies of pepper,[75] but Ottoman influence is evident in Acehnese political culture, with the appearance of distinctively Ottoman iconography in the sultanic great seal, one of the symbols of the sultanate.[76]

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[66] Ota, *Changes of Regime*, 54.

[67] Bertrand, *L'Histoire*, 315.

[68] Bertrand, *L'Histoire*, 111.

[69] Ota, *Changes of Regime*, 29.

[70] Bertrand, *L'Histoire,* 317–8; Djajadiningrat, *Critische beschouwing*, 31ff; Titik Pudjiastuti, *Menyusuri Jejak Kesultanan Banten* (Jakarta, 2015), 268–70, 459–60, 499.

[71] Ota, *Changes of Regime*, 53.

[72] Reid, "Islamization," 15.

In addition, Aceh had close relations with India; the monsoon dictated that, at least on the outward journey from the Middle East to Southeast Asia, ships would stop at an Indian port, and there were strong economic and cultural ties between North Sumatra and India dating back to pre-Islamic times.[77] Portuguese sources record that an alliance between Aceh, Calicut, Bijapur and

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[73] For the Portuguese as a threat to Islam, see A.C.S. Peacock, "India and the Indian Ocean World as seen by Firaki, an Ottoman historian of Süleyman's reign" in M. Fatih Çalışır and Suraiya Faroqhi (eds), *Süleyman the Lawgiver and his Age* (Istanbul, 2020), 301–322.

[74] Anthony Reid, "Turkish Influence in Western Indonesia," *Journal of Southeast Asian History* 10 (1969): 395–414.

[75] C.R. Boxer, "A Note on Portuguese Reactions to the Revival of the Red Sea Spice Trade and the Rise of Atjeh, 1540–1600," *Journal of Southeast Asian History* 10/3 (1969): 415–428.

[76] Annabel Teh Gallop, "Ottoman Influences in the Seal of Sultan Alauddin Riayat Syah of Aceh (r.1589–1604)," *Indonesia and the Malay World* 32/93 (2004): 176–90.

[77] On Aceh's Indian connection see E. Edwards McKinnon, "Indian and Indonesian Elements in Early North Sumatra," in Anthony Reid (ed.), *Verandah of Violence: The Background to the Aceh Problem* (Singapore, 2006), 22–37.

Gujarat launched a coordinated series of attacks on Portuguese possessions in 1570–71.[78] Mughal influences can be observed in Malay literature from Aceh which develops from the early seventeenth century.[79] The new economic and political rivalries seem to have enhanced relations and traffic between the disparate parts of the Indian Ocean. If the formal alliances did not endure, the increased commerce between two sides gave an impetus to the increasing numbers of pilgrims and scholars making their way westwards.

Given the important role that links with the Middle East played in the politics of both Aceh and Banten in their different ways, it is a pity that our evidence of the intellectual connections between these regions remains exiguous for the sixteenth century. In large part this is doubtless because only a tiny number of manuscripts survive from before *c.*1600. Nonetheless by around this date, we have reports of European travellers that confirm the existence of schools where Arabic and the Qurʾan was taught in Aceh, Banten, and even in the remote east in Magindanao and Ternate, attended by the aristocratic and mercantile elite.[80] These European accounts are decidedly unilluminating on what texts exactly were taught. However, a rare surviving manuscript from the period that may well have been used in such a context is a Persian grammar of Arabic, entitled *Khulāṣat ʿIlm al-Ṣarf*, actually the well known *Marāḥ al-Marāḥ* which was dedicated to a sultan, perhaps that of Banten, in 990/1582. Written on Javanese *dluang* paper, the text is furnished with an interlinear Malay translation, suggesting the complexity of the multi-lingual environment: both Malay and Persian serve as intermediaries for a native Javanese speaker (Fig. 2.2).[81] It seems that teaching of Banten princes was undertaken by the court qadi,[82]

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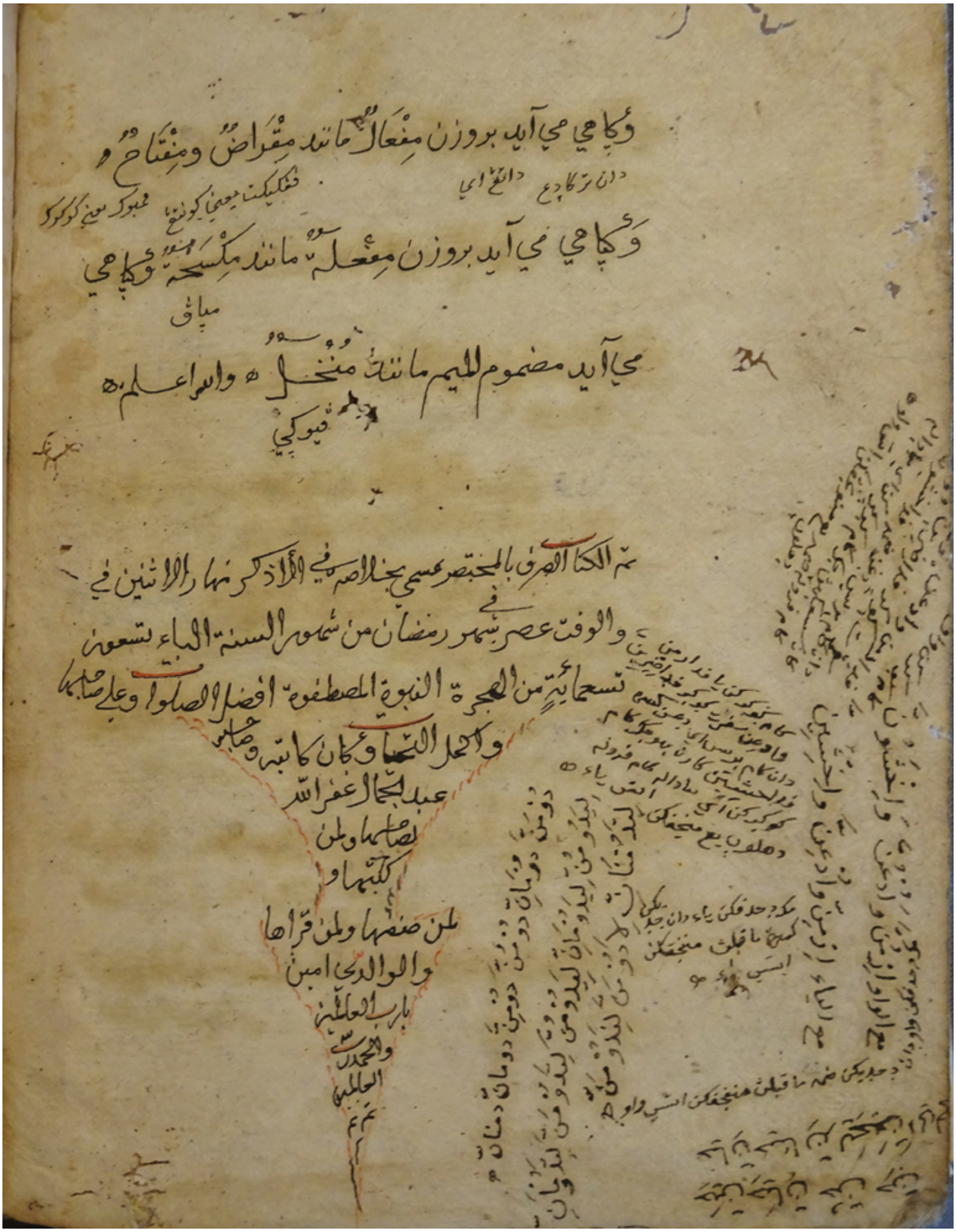
[78] Reid, "Turkish influence," 406.

[79] Vladimir Braginsky, "Structure, Date and Sources of Hikayat Aceh Revisited: The Problem of Mughal-Malay Literary Ties," *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 162–4 (2006): 441–475.

[80] Reid, *Lands Below the Winds*, 224; Bertrand, *L'Histoire*, 112, 319; the difference between such schools and the *pesantren* is that the latter, like the madrasa, taught *fiqh*; however, we have no information about the curriculum in such early schools, nor is there any reason to believe they were residential, like the later *pesantren*.

[81] Leiden MS Or 1666, Alessandro Bausani, "Un manoscritto persiano-malese di grammatica araba del xvi secolo," *Annali dell' Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli* 19 (1969): 69–98, and for the identification of the text see Majid Daneshgar, "Persianate Aspects of the Malay-Indonesian World: Some Rare Manuscripts in the Leiden University Library," *Dabir: Samuel Jordan Center for Persian Studies* 8 (2021): 63–7.

[82] Bertrand, *L'Histoire*, 319.



وكاهي مي آيد بروزن مِفعال مانند مِقراض ومِفتاح و
وكاهي مي آيد بروزن مِفعلة مانند مِكسحة وكاهي
مي آيد مضموم الميم مانند مُنخل والله اعلم

تم الكتاب الصرف بالمختصر مسمى بخلاصة في الاذكر نهار الاثنين في
والوقت عصر شهر رمضان من شهور السنة الباء تسعين
تسعمائة من الهجرة النبوة المصطفوية افضل الصلوات وعلى صاحبها
وآله التحيات وكان كاتبه وصاحبه
عبد الجمال غفر الله
لصاحبها ولمن
كتبها و
لمن صنفها ولمن قراها
والوالدين امين
يا رب العالمين
والحمد لله رب
العالمين
تم

FIGURE 2.2 Colophon of the Persian adaptation of the Arabic grammar treatise *Marāḥ al-Marāḥ* copied in Java, possibly Banten, in 990/1582. Leiden University Library, MS Or. 1666, fol. 33b

who was often a foreigner,[83] and most probably did not know Javanese, and therefore used the intermediary of Malay. Yet the new Islamic knowledge circulated in traditional forms. A palm leaf manuscript in Javanese dating to sixteenth century and originating from the East Pasisir contains texts on Islamic theology and *ikhtilāj*, divination by the twitching of the body parts.[84]

Further light on the early dissemination of Arabic texts in the region is shed by a collection of six manuscripts in Cambridge University Library, which were all procured in Southeast Asia shortly after 1600.[85] They were collected, and in some cases copied, by Pieter Willemsz. van Elbinck (Peter Floris), a merchant who visited Southeast Asia several times between 1604 and 1615. Most likely they were acquired during van Elbinck's visit to Aceh in 1604, when he himself copied a Malay version of the story of Joseph and compiled a Malay-Dutch vocabulary. Another manuscript comprises a Malay translation of a commentary on Sūrat al-Kahf,[86] and there is also an interlinear translation of Sūrat al-Mujādala as well as a mirror for princes attributed to Ḥusayn Wāʿiẓ al-Kāshifī but in fact substantially based on al-Ṭurtushī's *Sirāj al-Mulūk*, and a cosmogony.[87] In addition, there is a copy of al-Būṣīrī's famous praise poem on the Prophet, the *Qaṣīda al-Burda*, with interlinear Malay translation, the Arabic poem *al-Amālī* in praise of the *tawḥīd* by al-Ūshī (composed 569/1173) (Fig. 2.3),[88] a text on marriage law, and a fragment of the story of the Prophet's

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[83] Van Bruinessen, "Sharia court," 168, who notes that by the seventeenth century the qadis were generally Javanese. However, senior religious officials were clearly Arab in the eighteenth century (e.g. Ota, *Changes of Regime*, 41, 59), and it seems likely that they might have been charged with Arabic instruction.

[84] Leiden University Library, Or 366, see the discussion Farouk Yahya, *Magic and Divination in Malay Illustrated Manuscripts* (Leiden, 2016), 43–4.

[85] Ph. Van Ronkel, "Account of Six Malay Manuscripts of the Cambridge University Library," *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 46 (1896): 1–53; see also Bertrand, "The Making of a 'Malay Text.'" For a more recent survey of texts from North Sumatra from this period see Peter G. Riddell, "Breaking the Hamzah Fansuri Barrier: Other Literary Windows into Sumatran Islam in the Late Sixteenth Century CE," *Indonesia and the Malay World*, 32:93 (2004): 125–140.

[86] Peter G. Riddell, *Malay Court Religion, Culture and Language: Interpreting the Qurʾān in 17th Century Aceh* (Leiden, 2017), 11–13.

[87] Jelani Harun, "Nasihat al-Muluk: Cermin Hati Raja-Raja Daripada Syeikh Husain Wa'iz al-Kashifi" in Jelani Harun and Ben Murtagh (eds), *Esei Penghargaan kepada Profesor Emeritus V.I. Braginsky: Mengharungi Laut Sastera Melayu/Festschrift in Honour of Professor Emeritus V.I. Braginsky: Crossing the Sea of Malay Literature* (Kuala Lumpur, 2013), 188–216.

[88] For the two poetic texts see Drewes, *Een 16de eeuwse Maleise vertaling van de Burda van al-Būṣīrī*. The provenance of this manuscript (Cambridge University Library MS Ll. 6. 25) is debated; while Drewes believed it was brought by van Elbinck from Aceh, it has been suggested it originates from Java, possibly from Gresik or Banten, on the basis of the

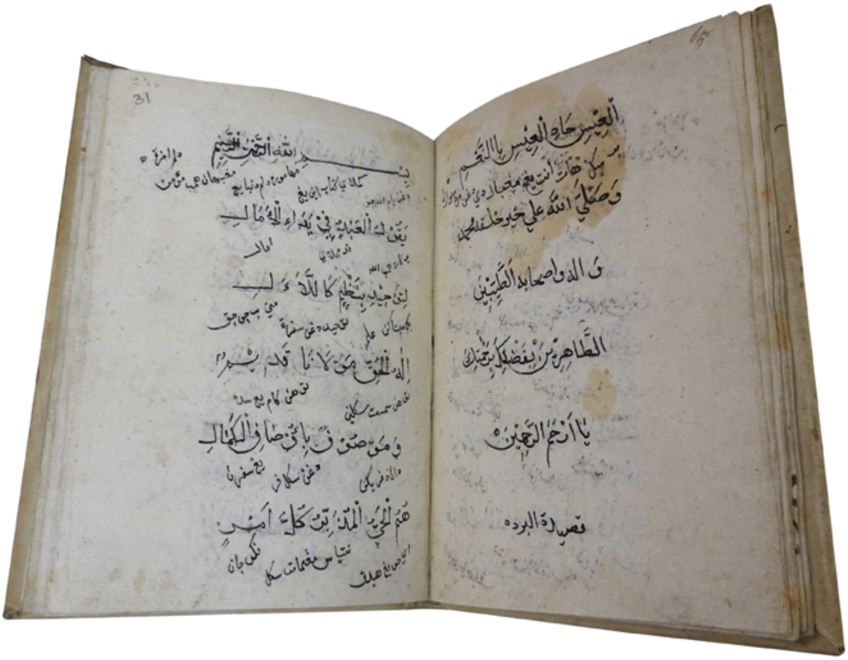

FIGURE 2.3 The conclusion of al-Buṣīrī's *al-Burda* and beginning of al-Ushī's *al-Amālī*, with interlinear Malay translation. Aceh, c.1604. Cambridge University Library MS Ll.d. 25, fol. 30b–31a

descendant Muḥammad Ḥanafiyya, whose adventures became a popular subject of Malay literature.[89] One other early manuscript, written before 1590 and probably from Aceh, a translation of the *ʿAqāʾid* of al-Nasafī (d. 537/1142), exhibits the same features of Arabic text and interlinear Malay translation.[90] Perhaps the most intriguing feature is the suggestion of a distinctive influence of the Central Asian Maturidi theological school that was also closely associated with Hanafism, both al-Nasafī's *ʿAqāʾid* and al-Ushī's *Lāmiyya* being Maturidi-Hanafi. This suggests that the texts did not reach Aceh from other

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presence of a Javanese text in the same manuscript. The latter, however, is evidently on different paper, so whether the manuscript should be considered a single codicological unit in origin is doubtful (M.C. Ricklefs, P. Voorhoeve and Annabel Teh Gallop, *Indonesian Manuscripts in Great Britain: A Catalogue of Manuscripts in Indonesian Languages in British Public Collections* (Jakarta, 2014), 112).

[89] For a detailed description of these fragments see L.F. Brakel, *The Hikayat Muhammad Hanafiyyah: A Medieval Muslim-Malay Romance* (The Hague, 1975), 73–4.

[90] Syed Muhammad Naquib Al-Attas, *The Oldest Known Malay Manuscript: A 16th Century Malay Translation of the* ʿAqāʾid al-Nasafī (Kuala Lumpur, 1986).

ports on the Indian Ocean littoral, which, from Yemen to South India, were overwhelmingly Shafii-Ashʿari, but rather from north India, Bengal or possibly even the Ottoman empire itself, where Maturidism was the official theological school.[91] Subsequent works composed in Aceh during the seventeenth century reveal a continuing interest in Maturidi texts, which indeed, in the form of al-Nasafī's *ʿAqāʾid*, became a standard part of the Southeast Asian curriculum.[92]

Small and unrepresentative though this handful of manuscripts is, it suggests quite a range of Islamic material circulated by *c.*1600, including Qur'an commentaries, poetry, advice literature, credal works and law. The fact that all are either in Malay or else in bilingual Arabic-Malay versions suggests that while these works were certainly focussed on religion, there was little attempt to keep knowledge restricted to a 'religious specialists' as Reid argues – indeed the very fact that a European was allowed access to them contradicts such an idea. Rather, the existence of bilingual texts suggests a desire to render them accessible to a wider audience. The existence of these early manuscripts also contradicts the suggestion by Paul Wormser that before the middle of the seventeenth century, Malay versions of basic works of piety, such as Qur'an translations or commentaries, and hadith did not exist in Aceh, for it was the place of origin of most of the above manuscripts.[93] Nonetheless, there were clearly limitations to how widely such works would have circulated in a region where the first language of most of the populace would have been Acehnese rather than Malay, which functioned more as a language of court and commerce.

Perhaps surprisingly, none of these texts are directly connected with Sufism. This may reflect the fact simply that van Elbinck was not allowed access to texts concerning esoteric knowledge, for it is clear that Sufism had already reached Southeast Asia by this point. One of these manuscripts, MS Cambridge Gg 6.40, invokes the great Sufi saint ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī (d. 561/1156) in its colophon,[94] and other evidence suggests the influence of the Qadiri order named after him in the region, as is discussed below. Several sixteenth century works in Javanese, all probably originating from the Pasisir, indicate the fairly wide diffusion of Sufism by this period.[95] Possibly the most important of these, and indeed the most securely dated, as its manuscript has been present in Europe since the late sixteenth century, is *The Admonitions of Seh Bari*, which appears to represent a record of the oral teachings of a Javanese holy man to his disciples. These dealt with various contentious points in metaphysics, such as the nature of God's attributes and the correct understanding of the unity of God (*tawḥīd*). Although the *Admonitions* holds the famous theologian al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111) up as a model who can counter heretical doctrines, it seems to be an entirely originally work which draws on, but is not fundamentally derived from, Arabic Sufi and dogmatic literature.[96] It shows an awareness of the great but ever contentious Sufi Ibn ʿArabī (d. 638/1240), the interpretation of whose ideas were the subject of heated polemics in the Islamic world.[97] Especially contentious were the monist implications of the idea of *waḥdat al-wujūd* or 'Oneness of Being' which is associated with him.[98] Although *waḥdat al-wujūd* is not explicitly mentioned in the *Admonitions*, it seems to be implied in Seh Bari's criticism of Ibn ʿArabī's idea that the world's development from the primordial essence can be compared to the growth of a tree from a little seed, or the creation of iron objects from one piece of iron into which they can be melted down again.[99] Thus the *Admonitions* aims in part to counter erroneous monist doctrines. The struggle over *waḥdat al-wujūd* is a characteristic of much Southeast Asian Islamic literature of the seventeenth to eighteenth century, as will be explored in subsequent chapters.

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[91] Philipp Bruckmayr, "The Spread and Persistence of Māturīdi Kalām and Underlying Dynamics," *Iran and the Caucasus* 13 (2009): 59–92, at pp. 74–5.

[92] Ibid 75; see also the discussion of the Malay version of al-Nasafī's *ʿAqāʾid* in Bertrand, *L'Histoire*, 330–1.

[93] Paul Wormser, "La place des oulémas dans la société acihaise du XVI^{e} au XXI^{e} siècle," *Archipel* 87 (2014): 8–9.

[94] Harun, "Nasihat al-Muluk," 200.

[95] Bertrand, *L'Histoire*, 331–337.

The *Admonition*s is thus very far from being an introductory overview of the basic precepts of Islam for recent converts. Rather, it confirms that already by the sixteenth century, Javanese Sufis were engaging in complex metaphysical discussions on highly contentious issues, as Seh Bari's fulsome condemnation of "false doctrines" held by Sufi shaykhs who were "infected by heresy" suggests.[100] These disputes were not purely theoretical, but evidently also revolved around praxis, such as the obligation to perform ritual prayer (*ṣalāt*).[101] A similar insistence on the need for Sufis to perform prayer in another early Javanese text suggests that is was widely being ignored.[102]

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[96] See the detailed description in G.W.J. Drewes, *The Admonitions of Seh Bari: A 16th Century Javanese Muslim Text attributed to the Saint of Bonaṅ* (Leiden, 1969), 17–32. In general on *waḥdat al-wujūd* in Southeast Asia see Zoetmulder, *Pantheism and Monism in Javanese Suluk Literature*.

[97] Alexander Knysh, *Ibn ʿArabī in the Later Muslim Tradition: The Making of A Polemical Image in Medieval Islam* (New York, 1999).

[98] On this phrase see Richard Todd, *The Sufi Doctrine of Man: Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī's Metaphysical Anthropology* (Leiden, 2014), 46–9.

[99] Drewes, *The Admonitions of Seh Bari*, 59–61.

[100] Drewes, *The Admonitions of Seh Bari*, 75.

[101] Drewes, *The Admonitions of Seh Bari*, 93.

[102] Bertrand, *L'Histoire*, 333.

Nonetheless, there were also texts designed to aid the process of Islamisation. Arabic legal texts circulated in Java accompanied by interlinear translations that probably derive from their pedagogical uses, where each word of the original would be orally translated literally and then noted down by the student. Our earliest reliably dated Arabic text from Java is a bilingual Arabic-Javanese *fiqh* manual, the *Masāʾil al-Taʿlīm* also known as *al-Muqaddima al-Haḍramiyya* by the Hadrami author ʿAbdallāh Bā Faḍl (d. 918/1529), of which a manuscript dated 1624 survives in the British Library (Ms Sloane 2645).[103] Other texts deal with the problems of a society still undergoing a slow process of conversion and religious change. A sixteenth century Javanese ethical code, partly derived from Arabic models of the genre of *tahdhīb al-akhlāq*,[104] was destined for recent converts or those who were in danger of being attracted by the pre-Islamic faith. It aimed to combat rank heresies such as those who "trifle with religion, for instance by worshipping idols or participating in the worship of infidels. … or [who] claim apostleship after the passing away of the Prophet of God … or to claim prophethood."[105] Such challenges to Islam are also reflected in Arabic sources from Java. The *Muqaddimat al-Fawāʾid allatī lā budda min al-ʿAqāʾid*, written for ʿAbd al-Qādir, the son of the sultan of Banten, Abūʾl-Maʿālī b. Abī al-Mafākhir (r. 1647–1651), provides a basic creed of belief in God, his Prophets, and his saints (*awliyāʾ*). It concludes that unlike a prophet, a saint need not be infallible (*maʿṣūm*), but he must adhere to sharia. Sainthood, therefore, is defined as, "adhering to the external demands of sharia. He who has no sharia, has no sainthood, even if he flies in the air, walks on water, or eats people, and so on."[106] This allegation of cannibalism among would-be saints should be treated with the same scepticism afforded to the claim that they could fly or walk on water. Nonetheless, the creed is not phrased in bombastic terms, and it may reflect the continuation of pre-Islamic Hindu-Buddhist ascetics who sometimes asserted such supernatural powers. In the inland Sunda hinterland, Hindu beliefs and even texts continued to circulate into the eighteenth century.[107] Nor was this restricted to Java; Hindu-Buddhist tantric practices survived among some Sufis of Aceh into the late sixteenth century, and are advocated in texts as late as the nineteenth century.[108]

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[103] Yahya, *Penerjemahan Manuskrip* Masāʾil at-Taʿlīm *Ke Dalam Aksara Pegon*.

[104] Bertrand, *L'Histoire*, 332; G.W.J. Drewes, *An Early Javanese Code of Muslim Ethics* (The Hague, 1978). *Tahdhīb al-akhlāq* treatises dealt with the cultivation of ethical behaviour.

[105] Drewes, *An Early Javanese Code of Muslim Ethics*, 33.

[106] MS Jakarta A 108, p. 409.

هو التقييد بظواهر الشريعة اما من لا شريعة له لا ولاية له ولو طار في الهواء ومشى على الماء واكل الناس و غير ذلك من الاجناس

This treatise has sometimes been attributed to Yūsuf al-Maqāṣīrī, although this is uncertain.

[107] Ekadjati, "Cultural Plurality," 115, 121–2.

By the end of the sixteenth century, the last significant Hindu-Buddhist states in Java had been absorbed by their Muslim rivals, and the process of Islamisation was advanced if far from uniformly complete. In Aceh, Banten and Mataram, powerful states had come into existence that would endure throughout the seventeenth century before weakening in the eighteenth century. Sufism was evidently widespread, although we know little to nothing about *ṭarīqa* organisation. Given that when we do have *silsila*s, from the seventeenth century onwards, these never mention Southeast Asian Sufis of an earlier generation but are directly linked to Middle Eastern or occasionally Indian teachers, it seems unlikely that Sufism was yet structured around *ṭarīqa*s in the Lands Below the Winds. While individual members of the Qadiriyya were active in the region by the sixteenth to early seventeenth centuries, there is no evidence that they possessed an institutional structure locally.

3 Seventeenth Century Transformations and the Centrality of the Hijaz

The seventeenth century is marked by two apparently paradoxical phenomena, the spread of Islam and the growth of European power. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, Islam was adopted as the official religion of the kingdom of Gowa-Talloq (Makassar) in 1014/1605. The newly Muslim rulers spread Islam by the sword, not just to neighbouring Bone, their traditional enemies, but also to the island of Sumbawa. South Sulawesi seems to have been Islamised with astonishing speed, at the same time as it urbanised: Makassar itself rose from being, as Reid characterises it, "a small animist village at war with its neighbours" in the sixteenth century into a great metropolis and commercial centre by the early seventeenth century.[109] An ostentatious display of interest in things Arabic was perhaps a way of these recent converts emphasising their credentials. Rulers adopted an Arabic name alongside their Makassarese regnal names and titles. Sultan al-Malik al-Saʿid, we are told by a local chronicle,

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[108] Vladimir Braginsky, "The Science of Women and the Jewel: the Synthesis of Tantrism and Sufism in a Corpus of Mystical Texts from Aceh," *Indonesia and the Malay World* 32/93 (2004): 141–175; idem, "The Manner of the Prophet – Concealed, Found and Regained. Revisiting the Science of Women," *Indonesia and the Malay World* 45/132 (2017): 250–291.

[109] Reid, "Islamization," 24.

"was skilled at writing in Arabic."[110] Rulers' seals in Sulawesi were in Arabic rather than Malay, as elsewhere in the archipelago,[111] while the possession of Islamic manuscripts served to assert the Makassar rulers' credentials as supporters of Islam. The *santari*, members of the ʿulamaʾ appointed by the rulers to the mosques they founded, were charged with keeping the sacred Islamic texts. The rulers also sponsored a system of education based on the mastery of reading and writing texts in a mixture of Arabic, Malay and Makassarese, the latter newly literarised in the sixteenth century.[112]

The spread of Islam was accompanied by a deepening of links with the Middle East of existing dynasties. Around 1638, according to the *Sejarah Banten*, the ruler of Banten requested from the Sharif in Mecca the title of sultan; this was emulated by the rulers of Makassar and Mataram, and the local Makassarese chronicle of Gowa-Talloq even claims that sultan al-Malik al-Saʿid "befriended" the *muftī* of Mecca.[113] We need not take all such claims at face value, although they were not purely legitimatory, for we have textual evidence that the Sharifs did on occasion engage directly with Southeast Asian rulers in the seventeenth century, responding to requests for books and scholars, as is discussed in more detail in Chapter 4. Additionally, manuscripts were sometimes given as diplomatic gifts. Al-Malik al-Saʿid of Makassar, for instance, was presented with a Qur'an by Nawāb Mīr Jumla of Golconda in the Deccan.[114] Yet the claims of the grant of titles are somewhat more suspect. As a vassal of the Ottoman sultan, the Sharif would have had very limited authority to bestow titles on other rulers. While the Sharifs may have responded amicably to overtures from the distant rulers of the Lands Below the Winds, it is also likely that the more or less simultaneous appearance of the title of Sultan in Banten, Mataram and Makassar reflects a deepening process of Islamisation whereby the characteristically Middle Eastern title, long in use in North Sumatra and Malacca, had an increasing appeal. Such links with the Middle East could be a double-edged sword for Southeast Asian rulers; a fatwa issued from Mecca at the behest of Acehnese elites is said to have authorised the deposition of the last sultanah of Aceh in 1699 on the basis that female rule was contrary to sharia.[115]

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[110] William P. Cummings, *A Chain of Kings: The Makassarese Chronicles of Gowa and Talloq* (Leiden, 2007), 47.

[111] Annabel Teh Gallop, *Malay Seals from the Islamic World of Southeast Asia: Content, Form, Context, Catalogue* (Singapore, 2020), 547–8.

[112] Cummings, *Making Blood White*, 156–8.

[113] Bertrand,"The Making of a 'Malay Text,'" 157; Cummings, *Chain*, 47; see also p. 112 below.

[114] Cummings, *Making Blood White*, 158.

The deepening Islamisation is also reflected in the enhanced role of Sufis at court. The prominent Sufis, Shams al-Dīn al-Sumāṭrā'ī and Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maqāṣīrī, both major figures in the religious history of Islamic Southeast Asia and Arabic language textual production, played important political roles in the Aceh and Banten sultanates respectively, while dedicating some of their works to the sultans. Sufism appears to have become increasingly formally organised and *ṭarīqa*s seem to have been in the first instance based around courts and only subsequently diffused more widely into society. The Qadiriyya was possibly initially the most important *ṭarīqa*, and can be traced in Banten, Aceh and the Minangkabau highlands; the use of regnal names such as ʿAbd al-Qādir (one of the names of Abū'l-Mafākhir, sultan of Banten, 1596–1651), may indicate royal interest in this order, although its popular spread probably dates only to the eighteenth or nineteenth century.[116] There is also some evidence of the early spread of the Kubrawi order to Banten as early as the sixteenth century, for the dynastic founder Sunan Gunungjati is attributed with a *silsila* connecting him to the order. Although this order was of Central Asian origin and influential in India, it has been argued that it may have reached Banten via China, where the Kubrawiyya also had a presence.[117] By the late seventeenth century the Shattariyya, an order of Indian origin, with a particular interest in esoteric practices, was also increasingly popular in court circles. More closely connected to the Middle East were the Naqshbandiyya and ʿAydarusiyya orders, members of whom were present in Southeast Asia since the seventeenth century. The ʿAydarusiyya, named after Abū Bakr al-ʿAydarūs, the fifteenth-century patron saint of Aden, were especially closely connected to Hadramaut.[118]

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[115] Sher Banu A.L. Khan, *Sovereign Women in a Muslim Kingdom: The Sultanahs of Aceh, 1641–1699* (Singapore and Ithaca, 2017), 249–253.

[116] For early Qadirism in the region, see A.C.S. Peacock, "Sufi Cosmopolitanism in the Seventeenth Century Indian Ocean: *Sharīʿa*, Lineage and Royal Power in Southeast Asia and the Maldives," in J. Gedacht and R. Michael Feener (eds), *Challenging Cosmopolitanism: Coercion, Mobility and Displacement in Islamic Asia* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2018), 60–63; for the later spread of the Qadiriyya in Banten see van Bruinessen, "Sharia court," 177–8.

[117] Alexander Wain, "The Kubrawīya and Early Javanese Islam: Reassessing the Significance of a 16th century Kubrawī silsila in the Sejarah Banten Rante-Rante," *Indonesia and the Malay World* 49/143 (2021): 42–62.

[118] Martin van Bruinessen, *Tarekat Naqsybandiyah di Nusantara: survei historis, geografis, dan sosiologis* (Bandung, 1992); idem, "The Origins and Development of the Naqshbandi

It is hard to date the beginnings of Hadrami immigration to Southeast Asia; we have the names of individuals present in Aceh from as early as the sixteenth century. There are occasional hints of their presence in Southeast Asia in the seventeenth century too, most notably in the person of Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī, but even in eastern Indonesia, a Hadrami named Shaykh ʿUmar Bā Maḥṣūn rose to prominence at the court of Bima in Sumbawa, then only recently Islamised, and was buried in the royal cemetery.[119] They are much more prominent in the eighteenth century, which has been dubbed a "Hadrami century".[120] Most of these Hadramis were sayyids able to claim an exalted ancestry linking them to the Prophet, and they were much in demand at Southeast Asian courts which wanted to "place themselves on the trading map." The presence of sayyids allowed them to show they were "civilized and comfortable places for the pursuit of profit."[121] Given their prestige, the sayyids often intermarried with the royal families and sometimes established themselves in power. In Aceh, after the deposition of the last sultana by fatwa in 1699, she was replaced by an Arab sayyid of the Jamāl al-Layl dynasty.[122] This Hadrami sayyid dynasty also took power in the Comoros and in Perlis in the Malay peninsula. Hadramis intermarried with the Bugis royal family, and established what has been described as "a creole Arab sultanate" in Pontianak on Borneo in the later eighteenth century.[123] These Hadramis largely adopted the Malay language, including for writing, assumed a mixture of Malay and Arabic titles, and intermarried with local elites, while their genealogical claims assured their high status. Yet the Hadrami diaspora seems to have made little significant contribution to Arabic literature in Southeast Asia before the nineteenth century. Beyond Bā Faḍl's *Masāʾil al-Taʿlīm*, the text on Shafii law that we know was circulating in early seventeenth century Java, few texts reveal direct Hadrami connections. There are certainly manuscripts in Southeast Asia that were copied in Yemen, but, as will be discussed in Chapter 7, their transmission was complex.

Hadramis were far from being the only Middle Easterners to take up residence in Southeast Asia. Mercenaries and merchants from the Ottoman lands

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Order in Indonesia," *Der Islam* 67 (1990): 153–4; Engseng Ho, *The Graves of Tarim: Genealogy and Mobility across the Indian Ocean* (Berkeley, 2006), 166–7.

[119] Michael Feener, "ʿAbd al-Samad in Arabia: The Yemeni Years of a Shaykh from Sumatra," *Southeast Asian Studies* 4 (2015): 264.

[120] Ho, *Graves of Tarim,* 162; cf. Sumit K. Mandal, *Becoming Arab: Creole Histories and Modern Identity in the Malay World* (Cambridge, 2017), 25–32.

[121] Ho, *Graves of Tarim*, 169.

[122] The name of sultana Kamāla al-Din's successor is somewhat unclear; see Khan, *Sovereign Women*, 250–252, and Azra, *Origins*, 78–9.

[123] Mandal, *Becoming Arab*, 31; cf. Ho, *The Graves of Tarim*, 159–173.

and Iran were scattered across the region, with a substantial Persian community in Siam. Among the others, we know of ʿulamaʾ from Egypt and Syria who travelled to Aceh and even as far as Makassar in search of employment and opportunities; the autobiographical account of one such scholar tells us that he was impelled by the corruption and lack of opportunities in the Ottoman learned hierarchy to seek his fortune abroad, although evidently, despite his Azhar education, he failed, and was forced to return to the Middle East in dudgeon. His account coheres with what we know of the Ottoman ʿulamaʾ in the period, as the value of stipends was eroded by inflation and intense factionalism barred outsiders from advancement in Istanbul.[124]

The career bottle-neck of seventeenth century Istanbul for aspirant ʿulamaʾ may have been one factor that contributed to the rise of the Hijaz as *the* intellectual centre of the Islamic world by the seventeenth century. Control of the Hijaz and its holy cities was essential to the prestige of the Ottoman dynasty, whose role as protectors of the pilgrimage contributed to their legitimacy, and vast subsidies were sent from endowments in Egypt to support religious foundations and the upkeep of scholars in the Hijaz.[125] However, Ottoman authority was circumscribed by the prestige of the Sharifs, the rulers of Mecca who claimed descent directly from the Prophet. Even in the sixteenth century, at the height of their power, Ottoman influence had been limited, and by the seventeenth century, Ottoman authority in Arabia was waning, as their withdrawal from Yemen in 1638 underlined. The Hijaz seems to have enjoyed a rather freer intellectual atmosphere than Istanbul, which for most of the seventeenth century was riven with strife between the reformist, puritanical Qadızadeli movement, inspired by the ideas of the sixteenth century preacher Mehmed Birgevi, and its enemies, predominantly Sufis of whom the Qadızadelis did not approve (although some Qadızadelis certainly had Sufi affiliations).

Wealthy donors from outside the empire, above all Mughal India, ensured the flourishing of numerous religious endowments in the Hijaz.[126] The Mughal elite also evinced an increasing interest in undertaking the hajj in person from the seventeenth century, and the Hijaz became a favoured place of exile for wealthy members of Mughal notables who had fallen out of favour at home.[127]

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[124] A.C.S. Peacock, "The Economic Relationship between the Ottoman Empire and Southeast Asia in the 17th Century" in A.C.S. Peacock and A.T. Gallop (eds), *From Anatolia to Aceh: Ottomans, Turks and Southeast Asia* (Oxford, 2015), 79–81.

[125] Naser Dumairieh, *Intellectual Life in the Ḥijāz before Wahhabism: Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī's (d. 1101/1690) Theology of Sufism* (Leiden, 2022), 35–42; Suraiya Faroqhi, *Pilgrims and Sultans: The Hajj under the Ottomans* (London, 1994).

[126] Dumairieh, *Intellectual Life in the Ḥijāz before Wahhabism*, 27–35.

[127] Dumairieh, *Intellectual Life in the Ḥijāz before Wahhabism*, 33.

Sufis and scholars from India regularly travelled to the Hijaz to study, and to teach.[128] Peaceful and prosperous with their rich endowments, Mecca and Medina must have seemed like a safe haven in a century otherwise buffeted by environmental, economic and religious crises across the Islamic world and beyond.[129] Ironically, the introduction of the Portuguese *cartaz* system, which attempted to control shipping by licensing all vessels, may have contributed to the intensified communications in the period by reducing the danger of piracy and improving knowledge of the oceanic weather and current systems. This made travel by ship safer, and expanding commercial opportunities facilitated people 'paying their way' on the long journey to the Hijaz.[130] A further impetus behind the emergence of the Hijaz as a major intellectual centre after the sixteenth century may have been Iran's official conversion to Shiism under the Safavids, who seized power in 907/1501. Their aggressive promotion of Shiism meant that scholars who had previously been attracted to study in centres such as Shiraz were displaced to the Ottoman lands, where they could still be taught "the books of the Persians", by which was meant the rational sciences – philosophy, logic and theology.[131] Another centre for the cultivation of the rational sciences was the Maghreb, whose scholars also made their way westwards to teach in Cairo, Damascus and the Hijaz in the period.[132]

Despite the prestige of Mecca, it was Medina that emerged as the major scholarly hub, attracting *mujāwir*s (resident Muslim students) from across the *dār al-Islām*.[133] Study revolved not around institutions, but informal circles studying in the house of an individual scholar. A rich and scarcely studied textual culture developed especially in Medina; scholars usually had their own personal libraries, sometimes running to thousands of volumes, which would often be endowed as a *waqf* for students upon his death. As a result, large public libraries attached to mosques and *madrasas* developed too.[134] These scholars taught and sometimes wrote about a wide range of sciences from medicine to agriculture to music theory,[135] but Medina became especially famed in the seventeenth century as a centre for the study of the rational sciences, hadith and Sufism.[136]

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[128] Some of these Indian connections are described in Scott Kugle, *Hajj to the Heart: Sufi Journeys across the Indian Ocean* (Chapel Hill, 2021).

[129] See for example, Geoffrey Parker, *Global Crisis: War, Climate Change and Catastrophe in the Seventeenth Century* (New Haven, 2013).

[130] Tagliacozzo, *The Longest Journey*, 24–5; Dumairieh, *Intellectual Life in the Ḥijāz before Wahhabism*, 21–3.

[131] Khaled El-Rouayheb, *Islamic Intellectual History in the Seventeenth Century: Scholarly Currents in the Ottoman Empire and the Maghreb* (Cambridge, 2015), 13, 26–8, 37–46.

[132] El-Rouayheb, *Islamic Intellectual History,* 131–170.

[133] Dumairieh, *Intellectual Life in the Ḥijāz before Wahhabism*, 46–47, 53.

[134] Dumairieh, *Intellectual Life in the Ḥijāz before Wahhabism*, 57–61.

[135] Dumairieh, *Intellectual Life in the Ḥijāz before Wahhabism*, 61–63.

The emergence of the Hijaz in this period as an intellectual centre attended by numerous Southeast Asian students constituted the single most important development in shaping the intellectual and textual culture of Islam in the Lands Below the Winds. In the Hijaz, scholars from the peripheries of the Ottoman empire, and beyond, had an impact they did not obtain in Istanbul, with its more limited opportunities. Indian, Kurdish, Egyptian and Maghrebi scholars, to name but a few, all mingled here, alongside the Southeast Asians who studied at their feet. Some have seen the Hijaz in this period as giving birth to what have been described as Islamic 'reform' or 'revivalist' movements from the seventeenth century onwards that spread into India, Southeast Asia and Africa, as well as to the Wahhabi movement in Arabia, although the latter is something of an outlier.[137] This process has been associated with an intellectual trend that has been branded by some modern scholars 'neo-Sufism,' or a sort of 'demysticized Sufism' that rejected popular Sufi practices and the ideas of Ibn ʿArabī and emphasised the exemplary character of Muhammad who becomes the central figure in Sufism (*al-Ṭarīqa al-Muḥammadiyya*). In Azra's formulation, the "puritanical and activist" neo-Sufism represented "a rapprochement between the *sharīʿah*-orientated *ʿulamāʾ* (more specifically the *fuqahāʾ*) and the *ṣufīs*" and it aimed at "the moral reconstruction of Muslim society," as contrasted with the earlier Sufism, which had primarily stressed the individual not society.[138] Azra argues, for example, that the works of the leading Medinan scholar Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī, with whom many Southeast Asians studied, show

> the concern among the Haramayn scholars about, and commitment to, intellectual reform among their fellow Muslims in the Malay-Indonesian world. They simply would not allow them to go astray because of any misunderstanding of the proper relationship between *sharīʿah* and Sufism.[139]

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[136] Dumairieh, *Intellectual Life in the Ḥijāz before Wahhabism*, passim; El-Rouayheb, *Islamic Intellectual History*, 35, 164–166, 254–6.

[137] E.g. Azra, *The Origins of Islamic Reformism in Southeast Asia*; John Voll, "Muḥammad Ḥayyā al-Sindī and Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb: An Analysis of an Intellectual Group in Eighteenth-Century Madīna," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 38, No. 1 (1975): 32–39; the earliest formulation of 'neo-Sufism' is in Fazlur Rahman, "Revival and Reform," in P.M. Holt et al (eds), *The Cambridge History of Islam* (Cambridge, 1970), vol. 2.

[138] Azra, *Origins*, 33.

[139] Azra, *Origins*, 43.

However, as Ahmad Dallal has noted, the coinage 'neo-Sufism' is not grounded in evidence, Ibn ʿArabī's influence continued to pervade Sufism in the eighteenth century, and in fact a Muḥammad-orientated piety can be traced back to him.[140] A simple dichotomy between sharia-compliant and antinomian Sufi is ahistorical, for Ibn ʿArabī and most of his followers were careful to emphasise the importance of sharia. Yet it does seem that at least some *ṭarīqa*s experienced major organisational changes in the eighteenth century, and it has been argued that it is this that constitutes neo-Sufism.[141] For example, the Khalwatiyya discouraged initiation into multiple *ṭarīqa*s and sought rather to assert an exclusive relationship between *murshid* and *murīd*; rituals associated with *dhikr* were also changed.[142] The question of *ṭarīqa* organisation in the eighteenth century is complex and under-researched, but such processes seem distinct from the "reform and revival agenda" which Azra attributes to neo-Sufism. In fact, it is entirely clear that the main contribution of the Hijaz to the intellectual culture of Southeast Asia was the transmission of ideas of *waḥdat al-wujūd* ('unity of Being') and the attendant debates around their implications and correct interpretation. We can see this through the cases of Ṣibghatallāh and Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī, scholars resident in Medina who were widely influential in Southeast Asia as well as the broader Islamic world.

The Indian scholar Sayyid Ṣibghatallāh (d. 1015/1606) was a leading figure in the Shattari and Naqshbandi *ṭarīqa*s. He was born in Broach (Baruj) in Gujarat, and later settled in the Deccan where he received the patronage of Sultan Ibrāhīm ʿĀdilshāh of Bijapur. The latter arranged for him to perform the hajj (in fact the second time he had done so) in 1005/1596. Ṣibghatallāh then settled in Medina, supported by the gifts from the sultans of Ahmadnagar, Bijapur and local Ottoman officials. He translated from Persian into Arabic a famous Shattari text by the Indian Sufi Muḥammad Ghawth (d. 970/1562), *al-Jawāhir al-Khamsa*, which promoted the use of yoga techniques in meditation. *Al-Jawāhir al-Khamsa* in its Arabic form became extremely popular, and its ideas spread as far as North Africa and Indonesia.[143] Ṣibghatallāh thus exemplifies how the Hijaz could serve to circulate ideas across the *dār al-Islām*. He also vigorously promoted the ideas of Ibn ʿArabī, in particular the doctrine of *waḥdat al-wujūd*. Although Ibn ʿArabī does not seem to have used this phrase, he was commonly associated with this doctrine, claimed by its opponents to be pantheist, and thereby threatening the fundamental Muslim belief in God's oneness (*tawḥīd*).[144]

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[140] Ahmad Dallal, *Islam without Europe: Traditions of Reform in Eighteenth-Century Islamic Thought* (Chapel Hill, 2018), 14–16.

[141] Nehemia Levtzion, "Eighteenth Century Sufi Brotherhoods: Structural, Organisational and Ritual Changes," in Peter Riddell and Tony Street (eds), *Islam: Essays on Scripture, Thought And Society, A Festschrift in Honour of Anthony H. Johns* (Leiden, 1997), 147–160.

[142] Levtzion, "Eighteenth Century Sufi Brotherhoods."

[143] El-Rouayheb, *Islamic Intellectual History*, 249–251; Azra, *Origins*, 13–15; Atallah S. Copty, "The Naqsbandiyya and its Offshoot the Naqshbandiyya-Mujaddidiyya in the Haramayn in the 11th/17th Century," *Die Welt des Islams* 43 (2003): 323–4; Richard Eaton, *Sufis of Bijapur 1300–1700: Social Roles of Sufis in Medieval India* (Princeton, 1978), 112–118; Carl W. Ernst,

A popular exegesis of *waḥdat al-wujūd* was written by Ṣibghtallāh's associate and compatriot Muḥammad b. Faḍlallāh al-Burhānpūrī (d. 1028/1619), *al-Tuḥfa al-Mursala ilā Rūḥ al-Nabī*.[145] In this work, which rapidly gained enormous popularity throughout the *dār al-islām* and was the subject of numerous commentaries, al-Burhānpūrī aimed to explain the unity of being through the concept of Seven Grades of Being. This concept was highly influential in Southeast Asia, under its Malay name *Martabah Tujuh*. In this fundamentally neo-Platonic system, God is Being, and is manifested in seven grades. The concept is ultimately derived from the writings of Ibn ʿArabī's chief disciple Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī (d. 673/1274), who had identified a system of five 'presences' which constituted Being.[146] ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Jīlī (d. 832/1428) played a major role in the dissemination of this idea through his treatise *al-Insān al-Kāmil* which offered a synopsis and interpretation of Ibn ʿArabī's views on Being. God is manifested in 'the perfect man', Muḥammad, and this manifestation is realised in several 'grades.' Again al-Qūnawī's influence is clear, although his idea of 'presences' (*ḥaḍarāt*) was changed into 'grades' (*marātib*).[147] The stage of 'the perfect man' is attainable by those who are able to look within themselves to realise the divine attributes that are inherent – but unrecognised – within them and thereby attain perfection. Muḥammad Ghawth's *al-Jawāhir al-Khamsa* had extended this into a system of Six Grades of Being,[148] and emphasised the concept of the cosmos as emanation of the divine which is crucial to the Shattariyya.[149] Whether or not there were precise antecedents

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"Traces of Šaṭṭārī Sufism and Yoga in North Africa," *Oriente Moderno* 92 (2012): 361–7; for *al-Jawāhir al-Khamsa* in Indonesia see below Chapter 7.

[144] On Ibn ʿArabī and his later opponents see Knysh, *Ibn ʿArabī in the Later Islamic Tradition.*

[145] On al-Burhānpūrī as Ṣibghatallāh's pupil, see Itzchak Weismann, *The Naqshbandiyya: Orthodoxy and Activism in a Worldwide Sufi Tradition* (London, 2007), 70, citing al-Kūrānī's *ijāza* to al-ʿAyyāshī; see also Antony H. Johns, "Burhānpūrī, Muḥammad b. Faḍlallāh," *EI*³, and for a brief biography, al-Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat al-Athar fī Aʿyān al-Qarn al-Ḥādī ʿAshar*, ed. Muḥammad Ḥusayn Muḥammad Ḥasan Ismāʿīl (Beirut, 2006), vol 4, 112.

[146] Todd, *The Sufi Doctrine of Man*, 175–6.

[147] Helmut Ritter, "ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Djīlī," *EI*².

[148] A.H. Johns, *The Gift Addressed to the Spirit of the Prophet* (Canberra, 1978), 126.

[149] Scott A. Kugle, "Heaven's Witness: The Uses and Abuses of Muhammad Ghawth's Mystical Ascension," *Journal of Islamic Studies* 14 (2003): 10–11.

for the theory's expression as seven grades, al-Burhānpūrī's real contribution was in presenting these concepts that formed the basis of Shattari thought in a concise form, for the brief *al-Tuḥfa al-Mursala* is in some ways a collection of aphorisms rather than an extended exegesis of the concept. Indeed, its meaning was sufficiently ambiguous that it could be used by opposing sides in debates on *waḥdat al-wujūd*.[150]

To summarise: according to al-Burhānpūrī, the seven grades are as follows: *aḥadiyya*, which is the innermost essence of God; *waḥda*, or first determination, which is God's knowledge of his essence and attributes with them differentiated one from another; *wāḥidiyya*, or second determination which is God's knowledge of his essence, attributes, and all existents as differentiated one from another. These first three stages are uncreated and eternal, unlike the next four.[151] The fourth is the world of spirits (*ʿālam al-arwāḥ*), then the world of ideas (*ʿālam al-mithāl*), the world of bodies (*ʿālam al-ajsām*) and the world of man (*ʿālam al-insān*). The final stage of man "is called the grade of the perfect man and the full supervention and unveiling from the standpoint of perfection, and this was the Prophet." It is attained when "when in [man] are manifested or supervene all the preceding grades in an unveiled manner."[152] This seven grade system also constitutes different structures of consciousness which Sufis may attain, for meditating on the Unity of Being is presented as a prerequisite to attaining God.[153] Emulation of the Prophet and thereby attaining the grade of perfect man was the Sufi's ultimate goal. Again, this idea of the importance of Unity of Being for spiritual realisation can be traced back to al-Qūnawī. If all beings contain all being within themselves, the goal of the spiritual path is to discover this common measure of everything in oneself.[154]

Aware of the potential criticisms of anything hinting of pantheism, al-Burhānpūrī insisted that *waḥdat al-wujūd* and sharia were compatible. This may have been a particularly sensitive point for the Shattaris, for Muḥammad Ghawth had been accused of heresy by his enemies, and even threatened with execution. Muḥammad Ghawth had explained that the cosmos came into being through emanations from the divine, an idea which his enemies asserted contradicted the Qur'anic idea of creation ex nihilo,[155] and al-Burhānpūrī's work seems to aim to reconcile these two positions. Later generations of Shattaris were at particular pains to defuse accusations of the harmful implications of *waḥdat al-wujūd* by promoting the importance of sharia,[156] and al-Burhānpūrī's work can be seen as a part of this agenda. Yet it is clear that *al-Tuḥfa al-Mursala* appealed widely beyond Shattari circles too. It reached Southeast Asia by the early seventeenth century, certainly before 1630.[157] The seven-grade system of *al-Tuḥfa al-Mursala* was also popularised by its incorporation into Malay works; for example the romance *Hikayat Syah Mardan*, composed in the seventeenth century, and surviving in a surprisingly large number of manuscripts, depicts the path of the *sālik* (lit. 'wayfarer', the Sufi aspirant) through the seven grades to achieve final annihilation in God.[158]

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[150] A.H. Johns, "Friends in Grace: Ibrahim Al-Kurani and ʿAbd Al-Ra'uf Al-Singkili," in S. Udin (ed.), *Spectrum: Essays Presented to S. Takdir Alisjahbana* (Jakarta, 1978), 467. See also Chapter 3 below.

[151] Johns, *Gift*, 7.

[152] Johns, *Gift*, 142

[153] Johns, *Gift*, 147

[154] Todd, *Sufi Doctrine of Man*, 94–5.

[155] Kugle, "Heaven's Witness," 32–3.

However, al-Burhānpūrī's greatest influence on Southeast Asian scholars was mediated through their studies with Medina's most prominent intellectual in the seventeenth century, Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī (1025/1616–1101/1690).[159] Of Kurdish origin, al-Kūrānī had studied in his homeland, then in Baghdad, Damascus and Cairo, before finally moving to Medina around 1061/1651 to study with the noted scholar and Sufi Aḥmad al-Qushāshī (d. 1071/1661), who embodies the diverse religious culture in Medina at the time. A specialist in the works of Ibn ʿArabī, in madhhab al-Qushāshī was both Maliki and Shafii. Having studied with the influential pupil of Ṣibghatallāh, Aḥmad al-Shinnāwī (d. 1028/1619), al-Qushāshī became a leading proponent of both *waḥdat al-wujūd* and the Shattariyya, but he was also associated with at least ten other orders, including the Qadiriyya and the Naqshbandiyya.[160] This eclecticism in *ṭarīqa* especially, but also to a degree in madhhab, was characteristic of the period, and was emulated by al-Kūrānī too, who succeeded al-Qushāshī as the Hijaz's authoritative exponent of *waḥdat al-wujūd* and al-Burhānpūrī's system, in addition to numerous other subjects. Al-Kūrānī held *ijāza*s to teach Hanafi,

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[156] Carl Ernst, "Persecution and Circumspection in Shattari Sufism," in idem, *Refractions of Islam in India: Situating Sufism and Yoga* (New Delhi, 2016), 86–93.

[157] Johns, *Gift*, 9; Johns, "Friends in Grace," 476.

[158] Vladimir Braginsky, "*Hikayat Shah Mardan* as a Sufi Allegory," *Archipel* 40 (1990): 107–135; on p. 109, Braginsky notes the *Hikayat Syah Mardan* survives in at least thirty manuscripts, as opposed to an average of ten for most Malay romances, an indicator of its remarkable popularity.

[159] On al-Kūrānī in general see Ömer Yılmaz, *İbrahim Kûrânî: Hayatı, Eserleri ve Tasavvuf Anlayışı* (Istanbul, 2005); Dumairieh, *Intellectual Life in the Ḥijāz before Wahhabism*.

[160] El-Rouayheb, *Islamic Intellectual History*, 51, 251; Azra, *Origins*, 15–16; Dumairieh, *Intellectual Life in the Ḥijāz before Wahhabism*, 130–134.

Hanbali and Maliki *fiqh*, in addition to Shafii, which was his native lawschool.[161] He was affiliated to at least nine orders, including the Kubrawiyya, Rifaʿiyya and Qadiriyya, into all of which he was initiated by Aḥmad al-Qushāshī, although the Naqshbandiyya and Shattariyya seem to have been the most significant for him, as they were for his teacher.[162] The point of initiation into multiple orders seems to have been to enable the *sālik* to claim as many avenues of contact as possible with the founding figures of Sufism.[163] The most audacious element of al-Kūranī's intellectual project was the defence of *waḥdat al-wujūd* by drawing on the works and ideas of none other than Ibn ʿArabī's greatest opponents, the controversial Hanbali thinkers Ibn Taymiyya (d. 728/1328) and his student Ibn al-Qayyim al-Jawziyya (d. 751/1350), noted for their vehement opposition to Sufism. By the seventeenth century, however, a synthesis was underway, and Hanbalis no longer rejected Sufism. Al-Kūrānī went to considerable efforts to seek out manuscripts of the works of these two Hanbali thinkers, and was strongly influenced in his theology by Ibn Taymiyya.[164]

Both al-Qushāshī and al-Kūrānī taught a wide circle of students, among them numerous Southeast Asians, the most prominent of whom were ʿAbd al-Raʾūf al-Singkilī and Yūsuf al-Maqāṣīrī, who both returned to Southeast Asia after a long stay in the Middle East.[165] Al-Kūrānī wrote numerous works, primarily on Sufism but also on grammar, hadith, *fiqh* and the Qurʾan, many of them short treatises composed at the behest of hajjis. Among al-Kūrānī's voluminous works – more than 100 in total, mostly still unpublished – are six treatises written at the request of Southeast Asians. The most famous, and the only one to be published, is the *Itḥāf al-Dhakī bi-Sharḥ al-Tuḥfa al-Mursala ilā Rūḥ al-Nabī*, composed before 1071/1661, was written in response to queries from the Jāwa about al-Burhānpūrī's work.[166] In 1078/1667–8, al-Kūrānī composed the *Mirqāt al-Suʿūd ilā Ṣiḥḥat al-Qawl bi-Waḥdat al-Wujūd*.[167] Undated are three other treatises, *al-Kashf al-Muntaẓar li-mā yarāhu al-Muḥtaḍar*, written to confirm the validity of ʿAbd al-Raʾūf al-Singkilī's treatise *Sakarat al-Mawt*;[168] *al-Maslak al-Jalī fī Ḥukm Shatḥ al-Walī*[169] and *Kashf al-Mastūr fī Jawāb Suʾāl ʿAbd al-Shakūr*.[170] A further work addressed to the Jāwa by al-Kūrānī was *al-Jawābāt al-Gharawiyya ʿan al-Masāʾil al-Jāwiyya al-Jahriyya*.[171] Perhaps curiously, despite their ostensible audience, none of these works by al-Kūrānī, even the famous *Itḥāf al-Dhakī* which is extant in at least 30 copies, have been found in Southeast Asian collections, and are instead are preserved exclusively in Indian and Middle Eastern manuscripts.[172] Nonetheless, other works by al-Kūrānī certainly were brought back to Southeast Asia, and the location of the preserved manuscripts may simply reflect the vagaries of survival.[173] Most of al-Kūrānī's works written for the Jāwa thus concentrate on the exegesis of *waḥdat al-wujūd*.

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[161] Naser Dumairieh, "Intellectual Life in the Ḥijāz in the 17th Century: The Works and Thought of Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī (1025–1101/1616–1690," PhD dissertation, McGill University, 2018, 424–6.

[162] Dumairieh, *Intellectual Life in the Ḥijāz before Wahhabism*, 131–133.

[163] Ernst, "Persecution and Circumspection," 95.

[164] El-Rouayheb, *Islamic Intellectual History*, 271, 282–4; the influence of Ibn Taymiyya and Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya is also discussed in Basheer Nafi, "Taṣawwuf and Reform in Pre-Modern Islamic Culture: In Search of Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī,"*Die Welt des Islams* 42 (2002): 307–355; see also Dumairieh, *Intellectual Life in the Ḥijāz before Wahhabism*, esp. 145, 185, 189, 299.

[165] Dumairieh, *Intellectual Life in the Ḥijāz before Wahhabism*, 135–137.

[166] Dumairieh, *Intellectual Life in the Ḥijāz before Wahhabism*, 146.

These debates over *waḥdat al-wujūd* would fundamentally shape the Arabic textual culture of Southeast Asia of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. At stake was not simply a theoretical concept, but one which ultimately determined man's place in the cosmic order, and one which was pregnant with not just religious, but also political implications. As we shall discuss in subsequent chapters in depth, the idea that the Sufi aspirant, in the form of the ruler himself, could attain the status of the perfect man had obvious attractions for rulers grappling with how to consolidate their rule, as were the sultans of relatively newly Islamised lands in Southeast Asia. Two of al-Kūrānī's Southeast Asian pupils, ʿAbd al-Rāʾūf al-Singkilī and Yūsuf al-Maqāṣīrī, obtained prominent positions in the courts of Aceh and Banten respectively, and propagated their interpretations of *wujūdī* ideas through the Arabic texts they composed. Yet at the same time, it must be borne in mind that this courtly interest in Ibn ʿArabī and *waḥdat al-wujūd* was by no means an exclusively Southeast Asian phenomenon in this period, but was also replicated in both the Ottoman and Mughal empires. In this sense, Southeast Asian interest in these subjects, rather than representing some aberrant regional deviation from 'orthodoxy',[174] was a reflection of the way Islam and Islamic textual culture there was profoundly connected to that of the wider Muslim world.[175]

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[167] Dumairieh, *Intellectual Life in the Ḥijāz before Wahhabism*, 150–151; British Library, MS India Office Delhi Arabic 710c, fols 20a–b.

[168] Dumairieh, *Intellectual Life in the Ḥijāz before Wahhabism*, 153.

[169] Dumairieh, *Intellectual Life in the Ḥijāz before Wahhabism*, 156.

[170] Dumairieh, *Intellectual Life in the Ḥijāz before Wahhabism*, 158; for the identity of this ʿAbd al-Shakūr, see Chapter 7 below, pp. 291–296.

[171] Azra, *Origins*, 42–3, with examples of other lost works by other scholars addressed to the Jāwa.

[172] A partial exception is a manuscript of *al-Maslak al-Jalī*, copied by ʿAbdallāh al-Jāwī, which originally came from Banten, although it is now held in Leiden. Even this manuscript (Leiden University Library, Or 5660/2), however, is likely to have been copied by ʿAbdallāh in the Hijaz, for it bears an *ijāza* (fol. 12a) from an unnamed shaykh to ʿAbdallāh, referring to his own teacher, al-Kūrānī; ʿAbdallāh al-Jāwī is known to have copied other manuscripts in Medina. Commentaries on *al-Tuḥfa al-Mursala* which were known in Southeast Asia include al-Burhānpūrī's own commentary on his work, *al-Ḥaqīqa al-Muwāfiqa*, and a commentary ascribed to ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Ḥusaynī al-Ṭabarī, both of which are preserved a late eighteenth century manuscript from Bengkulu, South Sumatra, MS Leiden University Library, Or 7022. In addition, the commentary *al-Mawāhib al-Mustarsala* by Ibrāhīm al-Shāmī was written in Aceh and read in Banten, as is discussed below.

[173] See the discussion of al-Kūrānī's manuscripts in Banten in Chapter 7.

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[174] Cf. Azra, *Origins*, 40–44.

[175] Hüseyin Yılmaz, *Caliphate Redefined: The Mystical Turn in Ottoman Political Thought* (Princeton, 2018); Francis Robinson, "Ottomans-Safavids-Mughals: Shared Knowledge and Connective Systems," *Journal of Islamic Studies* 8 (1997): 164–9.

CHAPTER 3

Arabic in Aceh and the *Wujūdī* Debates

The earliest Arabic texts composed in Southeast Asia come from early seventeenth century Aceh and focus on the question of *waḥdat al-wujūd*, showing the strong influence of Muḥammad b. Faḍlallāh al-Burhānpūrī's *al-Tuḥfa al-Mursala*. The scholars who composed these texts, Shams al-Dīn al-Sumāṭrāʾī (d. 1039/1630) and his opponent Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī (d. 1068/1658), were associated with the Acehnese court, and wrote in both Malay and Arabic. The emergence of an indigenous Arabic literary tradition in Aceh paralleled the centralisation and territorial expansion of the sultanate under Sultan ʿAlaʾ al-Din Riayat Syah Sayyid al-Mukammil (r. 997/1589–1013/1604), and his grandson Sultan Iskandar Muda (1607–1637). Aceh became the leading power in Southeast Asia, its ports frequented by European as well as Indian and Middle Eastern merchants who sought to purchase its major export, pepper, for which Aceh had become the principal entrepot not under Portuguese control.[1] These political developments were accompanied by the appearance of Malay literature.[2] In contrast to the scant number of Malay texts that can be securely attributed to Aceh's predecessor, Samudera-Pasai, and the very few that can be dated to the sixteenth century, an extensive Malay literature in both prose and verse emerged from the early seventeenth century in Aceh. It covered a wide range of genres including history, advice literature, and above all religion, and the Arabic textual production of Aceh was closely intertwined with it. The religious texts composed in Aceh in this period comprised Malay translations and adaptations of Arabic works, but also original compositions in both languages. Our earliest Arabic author, Shams al-Dīn al-Sumāṭrāʾī, was himself a disciple of the prominent Sumatran Sufi, Hamzah Fansuri, one of our earliest authors in Malay and an avid proponent of *waḥdat al-wujūd*. The ideas

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[1] For a survey of Aceh's history see Anthony Reid, "Aceh," *EI*³; more detailed studies include Denys Lombard, *Le sultanat d'Atjéh au temps d'Iskandar Muda 1607–1636* (Paris, 1967); Takeshi Ito, "The World of the Adat Aceh: A Historical Study of the Sultanate of Aceh", PhD dissertation, Australian National University, 1984; Amirul Hadi, *Islam and State in Sumatra: A Study of Seventeenth Century Aceh* (Leiden, 2004); the most comprehensive narrative of the political history of the sultanate is Mehmet Özay, *Açe Darüsselam Sultanlığı* (Istanbul, 2018); for the intellectual history of the period, see Peter Riddell, *Islam and the Malay-Indonesian World* (Honolulu, 2001), Chapters 8 and 9.

[2] For a survey of the Malay literary production of Aceh in the period see Iskandar, *Kesusasteraan Klasik Melayu Sepanjang Abad*, 311–421; also Braginsky, *Heritage*, 431–453, 615–699.

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of Hamzah and Shams al-Dīn were rebutted by al-Rānīrī, while the debate was continued later in the seventeenth century by another bilingual author, ʿAbd al-Raʾūf al-Singkilī, and reverberates in the Arabic works composed in Banten and Sulawesi, as we will investigate in Chapters 5 and 6.

Arabic, then, was not simply a tool for importing the textual traditions of the Middle East, for this Arabic textual production can only be understood in the context of its Malay counterparts, and the relationship between the Malay and Arabic texts thus forms a prominent theme of this chapter. Yet the protagonists in these debates were also closely linked to the Middle East and India. Al-Rānīrī was a Gujarati by birth, albeit of Hadrami ancestry, while ʿAbd al-Raʾūf al-Singkilī had studied in various places in Arabia, but especially Medina, with its most prominent exponents of *waḥdat al-wujūd*, Aḥmad al-Qushāshī and Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī. We know less for sure about the education of Hamzah Fansuri and Shams al-Dīn, but both evidently had an excellent grasp of Arabic, and in the case of Hamzah, a knowledge of Persian and Persian classics of Sufism too.[3]

Although *waḥdat al-wujūd* is typically associated with Ibn ʿArabī, the Acehnese controversy was not a simple case of a pro- and anti-Ibn ʿArabī factions, still less 'orthodoxy' and 'heterodoxy' as it is sometimes characterised.[4] All sides regularly invoke Ibn ʿArabī with praise,[5] and indeed cite the same commentators on his works in support of their opposing positions. Thus al-Mahāʾimī and al-Qūnawī are extensively quoted by al-Rānīrī with great approval in his *Hujjat al-Siddiq*,[6] and al-Mahāʾimī is also invoked by Shams al-Dīn, who shows distinct influence from al-Qūnawī.[7] Moreover, to many modern Muslims many aspects of the supposedly 'orthodox' al-Rānīrī's theology may seem shocking,[8] while efforts have been made to salvage the 'orthodoxy' of Hamzah from his critics.[9] Such approaches are rooted more in contemporary understandings of Islam than any kind of valid historical perspective. Orthodoxy is not a useful concept for our purposes, for with the lack of any central authority to impose a single interpretation of dogma and praxis, what characterised 'orthodoxy' is in the eye of the beholder. All participants in these debates insisted on the importance of compliance with sharia.

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[3] Syed Muhammad Naguib al-Attas, *The Mysticism of Hamzah Fansuri* (Kuala Lumpur, 1970), 14.

[4] See for example Reid, "Aceh": "The learned Gujarati-born Nuruddin Raniri … returned to convince the new ruler to adopt a more hard-line interpretation of Sunnī orthodoxy"; for another example see Lombard, *Le sultanat d'Atjéh*, 163.

[5] On al-Rānīrī's attitude towards Ibn ʿArabī, see the discussion below, pp. 87–94.

[6] Syed Muhammad Naguib al-Attas, *A Commentary on the* Ḥujjat al-Ṣiddīq *of Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī* (Kuala Lumpur, 1986), 93–4, 102.

[7] Mohamad Nasrin Nasir, *The Metaphysical Epistemology of Shams al-Dīn al-Sumāṭrāʾī: A Study of the* Ḥaqq al-Yaqīn fī ʿAqīdat al-Muḥaqqiqīn (Kuala Lumpur, 2019), 151, 185–187.

[8] Karel Steenbrink, "Jesus and the Holy Spirit in the Writings of Nur al-Din al-Raniri," *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations* 1/2 (1990): 192–207, esp. 203–5.

[9] Thus Syed Muhammad Naguib al-Attas, in his important works on Hamzah (*Rānīrī and the Wujūdiyya of 17th century Acheh* (Singapore, 1966) and *The Mysticism of Hamzah Fanṣūrī*

The debates on *waḥdat al-wujūd* in Aceh were of political as well as theological relevance. In the *Syair Bahr al-Nisa*, a Malay poem by an anonymous contemporary of Hamzah Fansuri's, the poet described the progression through the various stages of Being to attain the status of the perfect man, before concluding by addressing Sultan ʿAla' al-Din Riayat Syah Sayyid al-Mukammil in terms that underlined the union of saintliness and rulership he embodied as one who had achieved this status, and to which his very name al-Mukammil alluded:

Syah Alam raja yang adil,
Raja kutub yang sempurna kamil,
Wali Allah sempurna wasil
Raja arif lagi mukammil

The Ruler of the world is a just king,
A pole and a possessor of the fullness of excellence,
A saint of God who has achieved [lofty] Union,
A monarch-gnostic who has obtained perfection.[10]

Such ideas of kingship were not unique to Aceh, but can also be observed in the contemporary Safavid and Mughal realms, as well as having roots locally

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(Kuala Lumpur, 1970)) is at pains at every instance to defend his subject and to accuse al-Rānīrī of misrepresenting or misunderstanding him. Some of al-Attas's objections may have merits, but his project is ultimately rooted in a desire to make Hamzah an acceptable part of the Malay literary cannon free of embarrassing taints of 'unorthodoxy' as perceived by twentieth century Muslims. Al-Attas's own attitude seems to have changed later in his career, for his *Commentary on the* Ḥujjat al-Ṣiddīq *of Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī* (Kuala Lumpur, 1986) is much more sympathetic to al-Rānīrī, and curiously, barely mentions Hamzah Fansuri, despite the fact that both this and his earlier *Rānīrī and the Wujūdiyya* present edition, translation and commentary on the same polemical treatise by al-Rānīrī that al-Attas had initially identified as aimed against Hamzah and his supporters, the Malay *Hujjat al-Siddiq li-Dafʿ al-Zindiq*.

[10] *Syair Bahr an-Nisa*, text and translation with minor adaptations from V.I. Braginsky, … *And Sails the Boat Downstream: Malay Sufi Poems of the Boat* (Leiden, 2007), 107.

in Hindu and Buddhist thought which envisaged the ruler as a *bodhisattva*.[11] Yet without parallels in either India or the Ottoman lands was the Acehnese custom of giving names redolent of Sufi terminology to sultanic palaces and even pleasure gardens. Sultan Iskandar Thani built a garden called 'the garden of *ghairah*' which was situated beside the river named Dar al-ʿIshq, while its mosque was called ʿIshq Mushahada. Another mosque built by the sultan in Banda Aceh was called Bait al-Mushahada. A royal halting place on the road to Pasai was called ʿIshq Dunya; Sultan Iskandar Thani stooped there on his way to venerate the graves of the saints of Pasai in 1048/1638.[12] The nomenclature, drawing on the Sufi concepts of *ʿishq*, *mushāhada* and *ghayra*,[13] reflects the way in which Sufism thoroughly permeated courtly practice.

The degree to which court and Sufism were interlinked may help explain why the debates over *waḥdat al-wujūd* seemed to attain a particular intensity in Aceh, and were imbued with political resonance. Ideas of sacral kingship appealed to the autocratic ambitions of the Acehnese sultans in the late sixteenth to seventeenth centuries,[14] and traces of this ideology can be found in Malay court texts such as the history of Iskandar Muda, the *Hikayat Aceh*, probably composed after his death in the mid seventeenth century to memorialise his rule.[15] Yet Acehnese politics was unstable, with power contested not just between royalty and nobility, but within each group. Iskandar Muda seems to have murdered his son and heir shortly before his death, leaving the succession to his foreign-born son-in-law from Pahang on the Malay peninsula, Iskandar Thani (r. 1636–1641).[16] Noted for his extravagance and disliked by the Acehnese as an outsider, Iskandar Thani was persuaded by his main advisor, al-Rānīrī, to launch a persecution of the followers of the late Hamzah Fansuri and Shams al-Dīn al-Sumāṭrāʾī, despite the latter's close links to Iskandar Muda. This seems to signal a distinct although not fully understood shift in dynastic ideology, but may be related to an attempt by Iskandar Thani to buttress his legitimacy by portraying himself as a pious Islamic ruler; his reign also witnessed persecutions of non-Muslims, such as Portuguese and Chinese residents of Aceh.[17] Iskandar Thani died, probably murdered, at the age of thirty-one in 1641, and was succeeded by Iskandar Muda's daughter Safiyyat al-Din. Her reign inaugurated a period of female rule under four sultanahs whose authority was increasingly contested by both religious and political rivals.[18] Two years after her accession, al-Rānīrī fell from power and was forced to return to India. He was replaced at court by a Minangkabau holy man, Sayf al-Din or Sayf al-Rijal, who seems to have been instrumental in his fall, while Safiyyat al-Din appears to have embraced an ideology of sacral rule similar to that of Iskandar Muda, whose memory she promoted.[19] ʿAbd al-Raʾūf al-Singkilī held a position of major importance at her court and under the three sultanahs who succeeded her, and promoted a reconciliation between the two sides in the *wujūdī* debates, as is discussed further below.

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[11] Azfar Moin, *The Millennial Sovereign: Sacred Kingship and Sainthood in Islam* (New York, 2012); A.C. Milner, "Islam and Malay Kingship," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 1 (1981): 50–51; cf. Lombard, *Le sultanat d'Atjéh*, 134, 173.

[12] See Al-Attas, *Mysticism*, 16–17.

[13] *ʿishq* signifies 'divine love'; *mushāhada* means 'the observation of God', which is the Sufi's aim; *ghayra* means 'divine jealousy', i.e. God's demand that the Sufi devote himself exclusively to God.

[14] For rulership and religion in Aceh see Hadi, *Islam and the State*, esp. 48–64.

[15] Braginsky, "Structure, Date and Sources of Hikayat Aceh Revisited," 441–467.

[16] For Iskandar Muda's reign see Lombard, *Le sultanat d'Atjéh*; for subsequent events see Hadi, *Islam and the State*, 70–90; Laffan, *The Makings of Indonesian Islam*, 12–19.

Although the Arabic works discussed here are not explicitly dedicated to rulers, in contrast to some of the Malay ones, they were composed by leading participants in court life, and this political context is thus essential for evaluating them. In this chapter, I shall offer an overview of the Arabic literary production of Shams al-Dīn al-Sumāṭrāʾī, al-Rānīrī and ʿAbd al-Rāʾūf al-Singkilī, before examining their international reverberations. Texts resulting from the controversy were read in Medina by the famous Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī, who responded to them in several treatises, as did the major Syrian scholar ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī. Manuscripts show such works were read in places ranging from Morocco to India to the Balkans. This was not, then, a purely local debate, but also one which spoke to issues that preoccupied Muslims across the *dār al-Islām*. However, to understand it we must first investigate the origins of *wujūdī* debates in Aceh and their articulation by Hamzah Fansuri, who, although writing exclusively in Malay, had a major impact on the Arabic textual production of the region.

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[17] Reid, "Aceh".

[18] Khan, *Sovereign Women in a Muslim Kingdom*, esp. 32–33; also Peacock, "Sufi Cosmopolitanism," 60–65.

[19] A.C.S. Peacock, "Jamāl al-Ḥusaynī's *Rawżat al-Aḥbāb* between Herat, Istanbul and Sumatra: The Transformations of a Timurid Persian History of the Prophet and Early Islam," Sacha Alsancakli and Philip Bockholt (eds), *Authorship and Textual Transmission: Contextualising Ideological Variants in Persian Texts from the 11th to 19th Centuries* (Paris, 2023), 21–57; on Safiyyat al-Dīn and the memorialisation of Iskandar Muda, see Braginsky, "Structure, Date and Sources of Hikayat Aceh Revisited".

1 The Appearance of the *Wujūdiyya* in Aceh

While it has been suggested that epigraphic materials indicate interest in *wujūdī* ideas in Aceh as early as the fifteenth century,[20] our first clear dated evidence is provided by Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī. In his Malay *Bustan al-Salatin*, al-Rānīrī mentions the presence of several Middle Eastern ʿulama' in Aceh who were debating the *waḥdat al-wujūd* issue there in the second half of the sixteenth century. During the reign of Sultan ʿAli Riayat Syah (987/1571–983/1579), a certain Azhar-educated Shafii scholar named Shaykh Nūr al-Dīn came from Mecca to teach rational sciences (*ilmu maakulat*) in Aceh, where he died. This suggests Aceh's connections to broader intellectual debates internationally, for the study of the rational sciences was being vigorously promoted in India by Akbar in this period, and was increasingly popular in the Hijaz.[21] Another Middle Eastern scholar present in Aceh mentioned by both al-Rānīrī and our other main local source for the period, the Malay *Hikayat Aceh*, is Shaykh Ibrāhīm b. Abdallāh al-Shāmī al-Shāfiʿī, who died in 1040/1630.[22] Shaykh Ibrāhīm is said to have been an expert in *fiqh*, but it seems from al-Rānīrī that in general these foreign scholars were valued because of Acehnese interest in their expertise in metaphysical questions:

> In the hijri year 990/1582 two scholars came [to Aceh] from Mecca, one called Shaykh Abū'l-Khayr b. Shaykh Ibn Ḥajar who composed the book entitled [*al-*]*Sayf al-Qāṭiʿ* concerning the *aʿyān thābita* (immutable entities) and taught the science of *fiqh* in Aceh Dar al-Salam. The second was Muḥammad Yamanī, who was an expert in *ʿilm al-uṣūl* [legal theory]. The two shaykhs debated the problem of the *aʿyān thābita*. That debate stopped, because no one could resolve it. Then those two shaykhs departed. Later there came a scholar from Gujarat named Shaykh Muḥammad Jīlānī b. Ḥasan b. Muḥammad, of the clan of Hamid and the tribe of Quraysh, a native of Ranir, a Shafii in legal school. That Shaykh taught the sciences of logic [*mantik maani*], rhetoric [*bayan badi*], *usul* and *fiqh* in the land of Aceh Dar al-Salam. However, all the students

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[20] Daneshgar et al, "A 15th-Century Persian Inscription from Bireuen".

[21] Ali Anooshahr, "Shirazi Scholars and the Political Culture of the Sixteenth-Century Indo-Persian World," *The Indian Economic and Social History Review* 51 (2014): 331–352, esp. 336–7, 344; El-Rouayheb, *Islamic Intellectual History*, 13–59.

[22] Nur al-Din al-Raniri, *Bustan al-Salatin*, ed. Siti Hawa Haji Salleh (Kuala Lumpur, 2010), 7; *Hikayat Aceh*, ed. Teuku Iskandar (Kuala Lumpur, 2001), 74.

> (*talibulilmi*) wanted to study Sufism [*ilmu tasawuf*]. The shaykh put it off until his second visit [to Aceh], and sailed to Mecca.[23]

Later, al-Rānīrī tells us, under the reign of Sultan ʿAla' al-Din Riayat Syah, his uncle Muḥammad Jīlānī returned to Aceh to teach Sufism and resolved the question of the *aʿyān thābita*.

The *aʿyān thābita* are 'the immutable entities' or 'fixed prototypes' through which God was revealed to the world according to Ibn ʿArabī's metaphysics; they also had an important place in al-Burhānpūrī's scheme. Critics of Ibn ʿArabī such as Ibn Taymiyya saw the doctrine of *aʿyān thābita* as leading implicitly to pantheism.[24] Al-Rānīrī himself makes this point in his anti-heretical Malay work entitled the *Hall al-Zill*, instructing the believer to "have nothing to do with the belief of the misled *wujūdiyya* who declare that the Fixed Prototypes have being (*berwujud*). – We take refuge from such. Were they to have being, then there would be innumerable thousands of beings within God".[25]

Al-Rānīrī's report thus suggests that questions of *waḥdat al-wujūd* and the legacy of Ibn ʿArabī were being debated in Aceh by the late sixteenth century. No other record is known of the existence of a work entitled *al-Sayf al-Qāṭiʿ*;[26] as for its author, he is presumably meant to be the son of the famous Meccan scholar Ibn Ḥajar al-Haytamī (d. 973 or 974/1566–7), who was known for his works on a wide range of fields from *fiqh* to Sufism, and as a vocal defender of Sufi practices against detractors such as Ibn Taymiyya.[27] Abū'l-Khayr, however, does not appear to be recorded in other sources. The other scholars mentioned by al-Rānīrī are equally obscure, although it is tempting to suggest that, notwithstanding the difference of patronymic,[28] the Shaykh Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbdallāh al-Shāmī may be identified with a Shaykh Ibrāhīm b. Abī Bakr al-Shāmī al-Azharī who when in Aceh wrote a commentary on *al-Tuḥfa al-Mursala*, which discusses the question of the *aʿyān thābita*.[29] Ibrāhīm b. Abī Bakr's work, *al-Mawāhib al-Mustarsala ʿalā al-Tuḥfa al-Mustarsala* is undated, but at least one of its manuscripts dates to the late seventeenth century, and the text may be considerably older, as the epithets with which it refers to al-Burhānpūrī seem to suggest he was still alive at the time of its composition.[30] If al-Burhānpūrī and Shaykh Ibrāhīm were contemporaries, this would fit with the chronology suggested for the latter by al-Rānīrī.

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[23] Nur al-Din al-Raniri, *Bustan al-Salatin*, 4–5.

[24] Knysh, *Ibn ʿArabi in the Later Islamic Tradition,* 101–105.

[25] Translation from Johns, *Gift*, 114, n. 39; for the original text see C.A.O. van Nieuwenhuijze, "Nūr Al-Dīn Al-Rānīrī als Bestrijder der Wuǧūdiya," *Bijdragen tot de taal-, land- en volkenkunde* 104 (1948): 404–5.

[26] *Al-Sayf al-Qāṭiʿ* was, however, the name of a protective prayer (*ḥizb*) popular in Rifaʿi circles in the period and attributed to Aḥmad al-Rifāʿī himself, a fact which may be of some significance given al-Rānīrī's known affiliation to the Rifaʿiyya. The prayer *al-Sayf al-Qāṭiʿ* is discussed in a dedicated treatise by an Aleppan author of the early seventeenth century, who says he was taught it by a Kurdish Sufi shaykh in Aleppo's Kurdish quarter. See Abū'l-Yumn al-Batrūnī al-Ḥalabī al-Ḥanafī, *al-Fajr al-Ṭāliʿ fī Dhikr al-Sayf al-Qāṭiʿ*, Cairo, Dār al-Kutub, MS 1233 taṣawwuf Ṭalʿat ʿArabī. Possibly al-Rānīrī is referring obliquely to this text, or possibly it has no relation at all. On al-Rānīrī's Rifaʿi affiliation see Ahmad Daudy*, Syekh Nuruddin ar-Raniry: Sejarah Hidup, Karya dan Pemikiran* (Banda Aceh 2006; previously published as *Allah dan Manusia dalam Konsep Nuruddin Ar-Raniry* (Jakarta, 1982), 34; al-Attas, *A Commentary*, 14–15.

[27] For his biography, see al-ʿAydarus, *al-Nūr al-Sāfir fī Akhbār al-Qarn al-ʿĀshir*, ed. Ahmad Ḥalw et al (Beirut, 2001), pp. 390–396; for his defence of Sufism see Khaled El-Rouayheb, "From Ibn Hajar al-Haytami (d. 1566) to Khayr al-Din al-ʿAlusi: Changing Views of Ibn Taymiyya among non-Hanbali Sunni Scholars," in Yossef Rapoport and Shahab Ahmad

Al-Rānīrī's depiction of the intellectual culture his uncle encountered in Aceh, with its obsession with Sufism to the detriment of other subjects, is not to be taken at face value, as the Erpenius manuscripts described in Chapter 2 clearly show that quite a range of texts circulated in Aceh, including *fiqh*, and the date of 990/1582, as we shall discuss below, is decidedly suspect. However, his basic point of Acehnese interest in *wujūdī* debates is borne out by our earliest original Arabic works from north Sumatra which all relate to this question. The earliest attested Arabic author from Southeast Asia is Shams al-Dīn al-Sumāṭrāʾī, whose *Jawhar al-Ḥaqāʾiq*, discussed further below, presents what seems to be a variation of al-Burhānpūrī's Seven Grades system. If we assume that Shams al-Dīn was aware of al-Burhānpūrī's work, it must therefore have been written no later than 1630, the date of Shams al-Dīn's death, and no earlier than 999/1590, the date of composition of *al-Tuḥfa al-Mursala*.[31] Shams al-Dīn was also a disciple of Hamzah Fansuri, probably the first author to compose substantial Sufi works in Malay, in both prose and verse. Before considering Shams al-Dīn's contributions, then, we must briefly evaluate Hamzah, who was to have a critical influence over the development of Arabic textual culture in Southeast Asia.

(eds), *Ibn Taymiyya and His Times* (Karachi, 2010), 269–318, esp. 271–5, 287–91; also Aaron Spevack, *The Archetypical Sunni Scholar: Law, Theology, and Mysticism in the Synthesis of al-Bajuri* (New York, 2014), 76–9.

[28] This might be explained by copyist error in the manuscript tradition.

[29] Johns, *Gift*, 133–4, 143 § 13.

[30] Ismail Yahya, *Suntingan dan Terjemahan*, 54.

[31] Anthony Johns, "Burhānpūrī, Muḥammad ibn Faḍlallāh," *EI*³. The date of composition of the *Tuḥfa* is given in al-Kūrānī, *Itḥāf al-Dhakī: Tafsir Wahdatul Wujud bagi Muslim Nusantara*, ed. Oman Fathurahman (Jakarta, 2012), 181.

Very little is known for sure of Hamzah Fansuri's life; his *nisba* indicates an origin from Fansur (Barus), a port in west Sumatra, in a region known for its exports of camphor. Even his dates are uncertain, and it has been proposed that he died as early as 933/1527 on the basis of a poorly recorded funerary stela from Mecca that has now probably been destroyed.[32] However, the contextual evidence strongly points to him having lived in the late sixteenth and possibly early seventeenth century, and he probably was associated with the court of the Acehnese sultan ʿAla' al-Din Riayat Syah Sayyid al-Mukammil, to whose regnal title Syah Alam he alludes in his works.[33] He may even have lived into the reign of Iskandar Muda.[34]

Unlike most later writers, Hamzah does not use al-Burhānpūrī's Seven Grades of Being system, but rather refers to five grades (*martabah*).[35] This may suggest he was writing before *al-Tuḥfa al-Mursala*'s diffusion to Southeast Asia. However, it is unclear how quickly the text spread to the region, so such a judgement is uncertain; it is also possible that he simply preferred to use the established five-grade system which had a pedigree stretching back to Ibn ʿArabī's leading disciple and interpreter, Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī.[36] Hamzah's works suggest he had a good knowledge of Arabic and Persian, as he quotes extensively in both languages, although where this was acquired is harder to ascertain. Hamzah's own poems allude to various places in the Middle East, in particular Mecca,[37] as well as various Southeast Asian toponyms, in the context of the poet's mystical experiences. However, in trying to use these as biographical data two problems beset us. Firstly, some of the placenames are highly ambiguous. When Hamzah refers to an association with Shahr-i Naw,[38] this could refer to the Persian name for Ayutthaya in Siam, which had a substantial émigré Persian population, and thus is a possible candidate for Hamzah having acquired some knowledge of Persian; or, it has been suggested, to a town in Azerbaijan called Naw Shahr (although this seems rather unlikely);[39] or, rather less exotically, a place in Aceh which was also known as Shahar Nu.[40] Similarly, Kudus could refer to either Jerusalem or its namesake on the northern coast of Java – or indeed, possibly both, with a deliberate poetic ambiguity.

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[32] C. Guillot and L. Kalus, "La stèle funeraire de Hamzah Fansuri," *Archipel* 60 (2000): 3–24, and see the response by Vladimir Braginsky, "On the Copy of Hamzah Fansuri's Epitaph Published by C. Guillot & L. Kalus," *Archipel* 62 (2001): 22–33; Braginsky at the conclusion of his article calls for Muslim scholars with access to Mecca to investigate the gravestone. However, it was apparently found in the Bāb al-Maʿlā cemetery, which was at least partially destroyed by the Saudis in 1925. At the moment, we have only the uncertain transcription that came into Guillot and Kalus's hands, which is not supported even by a photograph.

[33] Al-Attas, *Mysticism*, 12–14; Vladimir Braginsky, "Towards the Biography of Hamzah Fansuri. When Did Hamzah Live? Data From His Poems and Early European Accounts," *Archipel* 57 (1999): 135–175 at 144–8.

[34] Braginsky, "Towards the Biography," 165–6.

[35] Al-Attas, *Mysticism*, 69–72.

[36] Todd, *The Sufi Doctrine of Man*, 98–101.

[37] G.W.J. Drewes and L.F. Brakel, *The Poems of Hamzah Fansuri. Edited with an introduction, a translation and commentaries, accompanied by the Javanese translations of two of his prose works* (Dordrecht, 1986), 98–9, 108–9.

[38] Drewes and Brakel, *Poems of Hamzah Fansuri*, 88–9.

Secondly, while there is no need to dismiss the possibility that Hamzah's poems do reflect some biographical data, it is often hard to separate from poetic expression. The only concrete information they give us is that Hamzah was certainly affiliated to the Qadiri order, as he mentions repeatedly.[41] The most explicit account of Hamzah's wanderings comes in poem that seems to be by a pupil of Hamzah's called Hasan Fansuri (although it has been suggested this was simply a pseudonym for Hamzah):[42]

> Syekh al-Fansuri terlalu ʿali
>   Beroleh khilafat di benua Baghdadi
> Datang ke Makkah, bertambah nurinya
>   Di syekh al-ʿasyiqin pun perbuatannya
> Maʿun al-awliyaʾ di dalam Makkah
>   Bukannya masyhur di 'dar al-jubbah'?
> Darajatnya ʿali bertambah-tambah
>   Tampalkan iman di benua Madinah
> Damir al-ʿilm daripada ustadz kami
>   Bukannya patutnya sindirkan nyanyi
> Tahqiqat al-isyarah bi'l-maʿnawi
>   Daripada syekh al-faqir Hasan Fansuri[43]

> Shaykh [Hamzah] al-Fansuri the most exalted obtained [Sufi] *khilāfa* in Baghdad.
> He came to Mecca, where his light increased; he was made the Sufis' shaykh.

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[39] Al-Attas, *Mysticism*, 9–10.

[40] *Hikayat Aceh*, 84, 105; cf Braginsky, 'Towards the Biography,' 138.

[41] Al-Attas, *Mysticism*, 10–11; Drewes and Brakel, *Poems of Hamzah Fansuri*, 44–5, 92–3, 96–7.

[42] Drewes and Brakel, *Poems of Hamzah Fansuri*, 21–2; Syed Muhammad Naquib al-Attas, *Concluding Postscript to the Origin of the Malay Shair* (Kuala Lumpur, 2018, 1st ed. 1971), 31–35 ; Drewes, loc cit, defends the accuracy of the ascription in the text.

[43] J. Doorenbos, *De Geschriften van Hamzah Pansoeri: Uitgegeven en Toegenlicht* (Leiden, 1933), 62, spelling modernised.

> The aid of the saints in Mecca, is he not famous in the Arab lands?[44]
> His rank is high and ever increasing; he mends the faith in Medina.
> The innermost knowledge comes from our master; is it not right to hint at it in song?
> The verification of these indications in literal form comes from the humble Shaykh Hasan Fansuri.

An association with Mecca and in particular Medina, where there was increasing interest in *waḥdat al-wujūd* in this period, certainly makes sense, but such poetic data must be interpreted with caution. It is not impossible that Hamzah could have acquired Arabic and Persian even in the Sumatran town of Barus, which had a reputation as a centre of learning, and which had had strong links with Iran in earlier times (although it is debatable whether they survived past the fifteenth century).[45] At any rate, Hamzah's works as a whole do not simply represent the importation of an alien religiosity, but also reflect distinct local issues. He singles out for criticism groups of ascetics who seem to be engaging in Tantric practices. This may reflect either the surviving of pre-Islamic Sumatran Hindu practices, possibly subsumed in Sufism, or else their importation into Aceh from India where the Sufi-Tantric synthesis had already started to take shape by the thirteenth century in Bengal, one of Aceh's closest trading partners.[46] Nonetheless, Hamzah's discussion of these tantric practices was entirely ignored in the debate that raged about his works in seventeenth century Southeast Asia.[47]

Hamzah's understanding of *waḥdat al-wujūd* is expounded in his three brief prose treatises in Malay, the *Asrar al-ʿArifin*, the *Syarab al-ʿAsyiqin,* and perhaps most explicitly in *al-Muntahi*, as well as his poems. The power of Hamzah's work seems to have derived not from any particular originality of thought, but rather from the striking imagery with which he expressed monist ideas; his poems have been described both as a "whirl of metaphors" and a "whirl of euphonic effects."[48] His comparison of God and the cosmos to the sun and its rays, the sea and its waves became a signature mark of Hamzah's ideas. In the poems, in particular, Hamzah claims to have attained true oneness with the divine and compares himself to controversial Sufis of old such as Bāyazīd Bisṭāmī (d. 261/874) and al-Ḥallāj (d. 309/922).[49]

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[44] The Malay has "dār al-jubba" meaning literally "the abode of the robe", the jubbah being the robes characteristic of Arabia.

[45] Vladimir Braginsky, "Hamzah Fansuri," *EI*^{3}; Daniel Perret and Hedi Surachman, "Jejak-jejak Persia di Barus," *AMERTA* 25 (2020): 1–11.

[46] Braginsky, "The Science of Women and the Jewel," 141–175.

[47] For Hamzah's reception in the region see Vladimir Braginsky, "The Name and the Named: On the Extent of Hamzah Fansuri's Renown in the Malay Indonesian World (Notes and Materials)," in Wan Mohd Nor Wan Daud and Muhammad Zainiy Uthman (eds), *Knowledge, Language, Thought, and the Civilization of Islam: essays in honor of Syed Muhammad Naquib al- Attas* (Skudai, 2009), 365–438.

[48] Braginsky, "Towards the Biography," 140.

Dengarkan olehmu hai orang kamil
Jangan menuntut ilmu yang batil
Tiada bermanfaat kata yang jahil
Ana'l-Haqq Mansur inilah wasil

Hamzah Fansuri terlalu karam
Ke dalam laut yang mahadalam
Berhenti angin ombaknya padam
Menjadi sultan pada kedua alam

Listen oh perfect man
Do not pursue vain knowledge
Nothing is to be gained from the words of ignorant people
Manṣūr [al-Ḥallāj's] words "I am the Supreme Reality" were spoken in union
Hamzah Fansuri is completely submerged
In the unfathomable Ocean
When the gale dies down and the waves subside
He will be the Sovereign of both worlds.[50]

Indeed, Hamzah may well be the 'Prophet' that several European sources mention at the court of Aceh in the early seventeenth century.[51] Hamzah claimed to embody Muḥammad's pre-eternal light, the Nūr Muḥammad,[52] and some of his work might be read as implying he had ascended to heaven, putting himself on the same level as the Prophet.[53] This claim was not wholly original, for both Bāyazīd Bisṭāmī and Muḥammad Ghawth had done exactly the same. The latter described his own heavenly ascent in a prose treatise in which he insisted on his privileged knowledge of the divine realities, thus asserting a cosmic status that rivalled even that of the Prophet, whose ascension he claims to have emulated.[54] Doubtless at least some of the controversy over Hamzah's works revolved around the implications of such claims, but Hamzah also repeatedly emphasises the importance of sharia.[55] Even if Hamzah was careful to leave a degree of ambiguity in his written works, he was perhaps popularly identified as a prophet.

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[49] Drewes and Brakel, *Poems of Hamzah Fansuri*, 82–3, 88–9, 118–9.

[50] Drewes and Brakel, *Poems of Hamzah Fansuri*, 84–5.

[51] Braginsky, "Towards the Biography," 149–50, 163–72.

[52] Drewes and Brakel, *Poems of Hamzah Fansuri*, 89 (Poem XVI).

[53] Drewes and Brakel, *Poems of Hamzah Fansuri*, 9, 64–5 (Poem VII, l. 17), 108–9 (Poem XXI, l. 14).

The diffusion of Hamzah's works – or at least his verse – was not limited to a rarified intellectual elite. The poems were designed for public performance, despite their heavy load of Arabic vocabulary, and it has been suggested they even draw on oral formulaic techniques of composition.[56] Sweeney explains this apparent contradiction by noting that, "the formulaic patterns exploited by him in his poetry reflect his attunement to the expectations of a listening audience. And if it be thought that the literate complexity of his message was incompatible with those expectations, it should be stressed that for that audience, the pleasure of listening stemmed to no small extent from the rhythmic play of the sound." Hamzah's poems, then, however abstruse their contents, were designed to have a wide appeal.[57] Evidence of the popular percolation of his ideas is limited given our very few sources for thought and culture beyond the courtly elite, but again European travellers offer some hints. A Dutch merchant, Frederik de Houtman, who came to Aceh in 1599 and stayed for several years, learning Malay, records his debates with members of the ʿulamaʾ who interrogated him about the notion that Jesus was the spirit of God.[58] The spirit is a key idea in Hamzah's thought, as well as al-Burhānpūrī's. While we cannot rely on de Houtman's account for the theological details, it does suggest Acehnese interest in the idea of spirit, and that these debates were not restricted to the court. Hamzah's thought was also to exercise a major influence on Shams al-Dīn al-Sumāṭrāʾī.

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[54] Kugle, "Heaven's Witness," esp. 11–24.

[55] Cf. Azyumardi Azra, "Opposition to Sufism in the East Indies in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth centuries," in I.J.F. de Jong and Bernd Radtke (eds), *Islamic Mysticism Contested: Thirteen Centuries of Controversies and Polemics* (Leiden, 1999), 673–4.

[56] Amin Sweeney, "Malay Sufi Poetics and European Norms," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 112 (1992): 88–102, esp. 98.

[57] Sweeney, "Malay Sufi Poetics," loc cit.

[58] Steenbrink, "Jesus and the Holy Spirit"; also discussed by Braginsky, "Towards the Biography of Hamzah Fansuri," 135–175.

2 Shams al-Dīn al-Sumāṭrā'ī and the First Arabic Literature from Sumatra

In the *Bustan al-Salatin*, noting Shams al-Dīn's death in 1039/1630, al-Rānīrī calls him "the shaykh who was knowledgeable of all sciences, who was especially famous for his knowledge of Sufism, and several books he composed."[59] This is strange praise from one who elsewhere condemned Shams al-Dīn and Hamzah as rank heretics, as we shall see, and it is possible, although unlikely, that this section of the *Bustan* is not by al-Rānīrī.[60] Shams al-Dīn had already enjoyed a position of importance at court under 'Ala' al-Din Riayat Syah Sayyid al-Mukammil, who may also have been Hamzah's patron.[61] Shams al-Dīn possibly is the individual described in the *Hikayat Aceh* as the *shaykh al-islām* whom 'Ala' al-Din Riayat Syah ordered to deal with correspondence from Portuguese merchants.[62] He is also depicted as receiving a visitor from Mecca, Mir Ja'far, who was an associate of Ṣibghatallāh, suggesting his links with Arabia.[63] European sources also repeatedly mention a 'chief bishop' or 'sheriff' with whom they had to negotiate over trade terms, who spoke fluent Arabic; he has been identified with Shams al-Dīn.[64] Malay texts indicate Sultan Iskandar Muda was probably himself a *murīd* of Shams al-Dīn,[65] and the latter certainly presided at public religious ceremonies as well. In short, Shams al-Dīn played a major role in political, commercial and religious life.[66] He also composed a large number of works, primarily in Malay but also in Arabic. If Hamzah addressed both an elite and wider audience, Shams al-Dīn wrote for the intellectual and courtly elite, and his Malay works were sometimes specifically dedicated to royal patrons, such as the *Mir'at al-Qulub*, written for Iskandar Muda to explain the seven Grades of Being and God's attributes.[67] Peter Riddell has suggested that "the doctrines taught by Shams al-Dīn served the purposes of a ruler preoccupied with self-glorification", for Iskandar Muda may have seen in "pantheistic Sufism a means for enhancing the popular perception of his kingship as one sanctioned, blessed and in-dwelt by God."[68] Doctrines that suggested that man was a manifestation of God might thus serve to elevate the ruler to semi-divine status.

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[59] Nur al-Din al-Rānīrī, *Bustan al-Salatin*, 7.

[60] Wormser, *Le Bustan al-Salatin*, 145–155, and see further the detailed discussion in Vladimir Braginsky, *The Turkic-Turkish Theme in Traditional Malay Literature: Imagining the Other to Empower the Self* (Leiden, 2015), 37–8, n. 61, who argues in favour of the authenticity. Further bolstering the attribution to al-Rānīrī is the unique mention of his uncle's earlier visit to Aceh.

[61] The main studies are C.A.O. van Nieuwenhuijze, *Šamsu'l-Dīn van Pasai: Bijdrage tot de Kennis der Sumatraansche Mystiek* (Leiden, 1943); Anthony H. Johns, "Shams al-Dīn al-Samāṭrā'ī," in Joseph E. Lowry and Devin J. Stewart (ed.) *Essays in Arabic Literary Biography, 1350–1850* (Wiesbaden, 2009), 357–371; Nasir, *Metaphysical Epistemology*. Unfortunately, most of Shams al-Dīn's works remain unpublished or inadequately published.

[62] *Hikayat Aceh*, 68.

[63] *Hikayat Aceh*, 97–8.

[64] Annabel Teh Gallop, "Gold, Silver, Lapis Lazuli: Royal Letters from Aceh in the Seventeenth Century," in R. Michael Feener, Patrick Daly & Anthony Reid (eds), *Mapping the Acehnese Past* (Leiden, 2011), 162; Ito, "World of the Adat Aceh," 249–251, 260–1; Hadi, *Islam and the State*, 148–153.

[65] Ito, "World of the Adat Aceh," 249; Lombard, *Le sultanat d'Atjeh*, 161–2.

[66] Cf. Ito, "World of the Adat Aceh," 262.

In his Malay work *Haqq al-Yaqin*, composed in 1026/1617,[69] Shams al-Dīn provided a bilingual Arabic-Malay introduction explaining his reasons for writing in the vernacular:

> When I saw many of the righteous brethren who were strong were unable to follow Sufism seriously because of their ignorance of Arabic and Persian, but who know the tongue of Samudera – may God give them the best reward for their search [for knowledge] and equip them for meeting on the day of light [resurrection] – I desired to translate what the strength of men of God has compiled, and the cream of God's saints has declared – may God cover them with his approval and clothe them the cloak of his forgiveness. So I compiled the meanings of words on heavenly truths, with expressions that indicate their subtleties, and I composed with that familiar speech, writing in the well understood tongue, so that they can learn Sufism in the vernacular tongue, and it can be explained to them with eloquent hints [*ishāra*]; I explained thereby the path of the wayfarers and described the way of the travellers who gradually pass through the stages [*maqāmāt*] of the gnostics who declare the unity of God, journeying towards the perfection of the perfect.[70]

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[67] van Nieuwenhuijze, *Šamsu'l-Dīn*, 301, 318

[68] Riddell, *Islam and the Malay-Indonesian World*, 112.

[69] No title is given for this in van Nieuwenhuijze's edition, but it is clearly the same text as that given by Nasir, *Metaphysical Epistemology*, 61; the date given by Nasir is 1026, that in van Nieuwenhuijze 1020; most likely the digit 'six' was missed out by the copyist of the Leiden ms.

[70] van Nieuwenhuijze, *Šamsu'l-Dīn*, 291; Leiden University Library, MS Or 1983, pp. 24–5.

Shams al-Dīn thus presents himself as a translator of Arabic and Persian Sufism into Malay, the tongue of Samudera.[71] This does not quite do justice to his thought, which is permeated with an admiration for Hamzah Fansuri. Shams al-Dīn composed a Malay commentary on Hamzah's poems, and he frequently cites Hamzah's verses in his Malay prose works.[72] Shams al-Dīn's works generally lack Hamzah's striking metaphors and are written in the dry technical prose that characterises many writings in the Qunawian tradition, including *al-Tuḥfa al-Mursala*,[73] features which are exemplified in his most substantial Arabic work, the *Jawhar al-Ḥaqāʾiq*.[74] This treatise is in essence an exposition of the Grades of Being system, buttressed by an introduction and conclusion that invoke various other eminent Sufis, including al-Ghazālī, the Indian commentator on al-Qūnawī's works al-Mahāʾimī (d. 835/1432), Abū Bakr al-Shiblī (d. 334/946), and the great patron saint of Aden, Abū Bakr al-ʿAydarūs (d. 914/1508).[75] Shams al-Dīn also quotes from the *Naẓm al-Sulūk* of Ibn al-Fāriḍ (d. 632/1234). This latter work was popular with numerous later interpreters of Ibn ʿArabī; al-Qūnawī would always end his lectures with a quotation from the poem.[76] Following al-Mahāʾimī,[77] Shams al-Dīn explains how God must be understood both anthropomorphically and transcendentally (*li-takun maʿrifatuka maʿrifa kāmila hiya al-jāmiʿa bayna al-tanzīhiyya wa al-tashbīhiyya*). When God desired to be known he revealed himself through His names and attributes. When he created the spirit of Muḥammad, this was manifested through the light of his attributes, which can be transmitted to believers.

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[71] Glossed as "Bahasa orang Pasai" (the language of the people of Pasai) in the interlinear translation to the *Haqq al-Yaqin*.

[72] Published in Drewes and Brakel, *Poems of Hamzah Fansuri*, 190–222; for a list of manuscripts of Shams al-Dīn's commentary see Braginsky, "The Name and the Named," Appendix 1.III.

[73] There are occasional metaphors, including one of the sea and the boat, derived from Hamzah in some of Shams al-Dīn's Malay prose works, although infrequently; see Braginsky, *Heritage*, 642.

[74] A.H. Johns, "Reflections on the Mysticism of Shams al-Din al-Samatra'i (1550?-1630)" in Jan van der Putten and Mary Kilcine Cody (eds), *Lost Times and Untold Tales from the Malay World* (Singapore, 2009), 148–163; also discussed with a different interpretation of the context of its composition in A.H. Johns, "Love of Learning and the Desire for God: Shams al-Din al-Sumatra'i and the Wujudiyya Tradition in 16th–17th century Aceh," *Hamdard Islamicus* 36/2 (2013): 7–43.

[75] van Nieuwenhuijze, *Šamsu'l-Dīn*, 247.

[76] Todd, *Sufi Doctrine of Man*, 19.

[77] For this concept in al-Mahāʾimī see Nasir, *Metaphysical Epistemology*, 127.

In the following five chapters, Shams al-Dīn explains the Grades of Being system, of which there are five corresponding grades.[78] The first three agree with al-Burhānpūrī's as expounded in *al-Tuḥfa al-Mursala: aḥadiyya, waḥda* and *wāḥidiyya*. After these, Being is then manifested in the worlds of sprits (*ʿālam al-arwāḥ*) and the seen world (*ʿālam al-shahāda*). The theme of five is repeated throughout the work. In the introduction, God's work of creation is described as having five levels – of our essences, spirits, the spirit of the prophet, material forms and human. There are also five groups on whom blessings are sought: the Prophet, his family, his companions, their followers the imams, and "our brothers." Johns argues that Shams al-Dīn's teaching is based on five sources – the Qur'an, hadith, hadith qudsi, the *āthār* (utterances of the Prophet's Companions) and the sayings of Sufis, although the text does not explicitly state this.[79] Even so, it is evident that five-fold scheme is far from accidental. Johns notes in one essay that the *Jawhar al-Ḥaqāʾiq*'s structure of introduction + five chapters + conclusion may be intended to correspond to al-Burhānpūrī's sevenfold system. Johns went on to suggest that the *Tuḥfa* provided Shams al-Dīn with the organising structure and terminology of his work. Even though the *Tuḥfa* is never mentioned explicitly, there are allusions both to book and its author, Johns initially thought, but subsequently he recanted this view.[80] Certainly, it shares with the *Tuḥfa* essentially the same Qunawian metaphysics, and the same insistence on the necessity of sharia.

Why then does Shams al-Dīn diverge from al-Burhānpūrī's seven grades system? In his reconsideration of the problem, Johns suggested that the *Jawhar al-Ḥaqāʾiq* may have been composed in ignorance of al-Burhānpūrī's work, and indeed possibly even before the *Tuḥfa* was written.[81] However, it is surely significant that Shams al-Dīn's five-grade system parallels that discussed by Hamzah Fansuri in his *Syarab al-ʿAsyiqin*.[82] Here, Hamzah outlines five grades (*martabah*), but he does not elaborate them at length. Similarly, al-Burhānpūrī's description, despite its fame, is highly schematic. Shams al-Dīn discusses each grade in much greater depth than either author, and seems to be trying to bring Hamzah's five-fold scheme into harmony with al-Burhānpūrī's. Yet the notion of *al-insān al-kāmil*, which is central to al-Burhānpūrī's scheme, is not mentioned at all in the *Jawhar al-Ḥaqāʾiq*. Rather, the work concludes with a discussion of the common Sufi practices of *dhikr* (ritual chanting of God's name), *murāqaba* (meditation), *tawajjuh* (self orientation towards God) and *mushāhada* (contemplation of the vision of God). Each of these is envisioned as one of the stages (*maqāmāt*) through which the aspirant Sufi must pass to attain unity of singularity (*tawḥīd fardāniyya*), which is the "*tawḥīd* of our lord the chosen one [Muhammad], the *tawḥīd* of the *ūlū'l-ʿazm*," the great prophets. Progression through Shams al-Dīn's *maqāmāt* thus holds the promise of attaining the spiritual level of the Prophet; this is essentially identical with the doctrine of the perfect man, although the term is not used here.

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[78] Braginsky, *Heritage*, 642–3 seems to have been unaware of the Arabic work, and his comments on the differences between Hamzah and Shams al-Dīn should be adjusted in light of the *Jawhar*'s text.

[79] Johns, "Mysticism," 153–4.

[80] Johns, "Love of Learning," 32–3.

[81] Johns, "Love of Learning," 33.

[82] See al-Attas, *Mysticism*, 67–72, 435.

It is instructive to compare the *Jawhar al-Ḥaqāʾiq* with the Malay treatise *Mirʾat al-Qulub*, written for Iskandar Muda, in which Shams al-Dīn gives a brief summary of the seven grades system and the attributes of God, which are also based on groups of seven.[83] Again, this treatise is not simply a Malay synopsis of al-Burhānpūrī, for it is enriched with verses by Hamzah Fansuri with which it concludes.[84] Similarly, the Malay *Haqq al-Yaqin fi ʿAqidat al-Muhaqqiqin* has much in common with the Arabic *Jawhar al-Ḥaqāʾiq*. It outlines the metaphysics of Being, this time using the seven grade system which it explicitly attributes to al-Burhānpūrī, and in its conclusion shows how the *sālik* can progress through the stages of *murāqaba*, *tawajjuh* and *mushāhada* to oneness with the divine, and contains quotations from both Hamzah Fansuri and classics such as ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Jīlī, al-Ghazālī and in particular the Persian author Shabistarī (d c. 741/1340).[85] It has been suggested that despite its explicit reference to al-Burhānpūrī, Shams al-Dīn's system is indebted to first hand reading of al-Qūnawī.[86]

Johns has suggested that Shams al-Dīn adopted the seven grades system after he became aware of the *Tuḥfa*, possibly around 1610–1616.[87] While the differences between the five and seven grade system in the Arabic *Jawhar al-Ḥaqāʾiq* and the Malay works is at first sight perplexing, Shams al-Dīn's agenda is evidently to integrate Hamzah Fansuri's ideas into a broader scheme of *wujūdī* thought, making them compatible with al-Burhānpūrī's system. In the *Haqq al-Yaqin*, therefore, Hamzah is thus implicitly presented as the equal of authorities such as Shabistarī, author of the famous Persian Sufi verse treatise *Gulshan-i Rāz*.[88] Even more boldly, in the *Jawhar al-Ḥaqāʾiq*, Hamzah's five-grade system is reconciled with al-Burhānpūrī's through a scheme that can be read as comprising either (or both) a five-fold or a seven-fold format. The differences between these works suggests continuing experimentation, possibly for different audiences, but it underlines the intertextuality of the Arabic and Malay literary traditions in North Sumatra.

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[83] Van Nieuwenhuijze, *Šamsu'l-Dīn*, 318–322.

[84] Van Nieuwenhuijze, *Šamsu'l-Dīn*, 322.

[85] See the English translation given in Nasir, *Metaphysical Epistemology*, 59–149.

[86] Nasir, *Metaphysical Epistemology*, 204–9, 237.

[87] Johns, "Love of Learning," 34.

[88] See for example Nasir, *Metaphysical Epistemology*, 148 where the Prophet, Shabistarī and Hamzah Fansuri are quoted consecutively by Shams al-Dīn.

A key element of Shams al-Dīn's approach is his insistence on the importance of the physical practices of *dhikr, tawajjuh, murāqaba*, and *mushāhada*. While these are common to most systems of Sufism, Shams al-Dīn envisaged them as stages (*maqāmāt*) paralleling the Grades of Being through which the aspirant Sufi progresses. *Dhikr* forms the focus of a problematic Arabic treatise attributed to Shams al-Dīn, the *Risāla Tubayyinu Mulāḥaẓat al-Muwaḥḥidīn wa ʾl-Mulḥidīn fī Dhikr Allāh*. This deals with the meaning of the phrase "no god but God" in the *shahāda*, the repeated recitation of which formed a crucial part of *dhikr* ceremonies. Shams al-Dīn distinguishes between the *dhikr* of the novice (*al-mubtadiʾ*), the wayfarer (*al-mutawassiṭ*) and the adept (*al-muntahī*). The adept recites the phrase repeatedly "until all created beings in their entirety dwindle and disappear in his sight, and there appears the light of his monotheistic unity [with God] (*nūr tawḥīdihi*)."[89] The performance of *dhikr* is thus the crucial part of the *sālik*'s journey to achieve realisation of his oneness with God. However, the point of the *Risāla* is to explain the difference between what is meant by the 'true monotheists' (*al-muwaḥḥidīn al-ṣiddīqīn*) and the 'heretics' (*al-mulḥidīn al-zindīqīn*) when they utter the *shahāda*. Shams al-Dīn states that both mean "there is nothing existent except for God" (*lā mawjūd illā allāh*) but their intention is different. True monotheists believe that all existence is simply metaphorical shadow (*ẓill majāzī sarābī*) with relation to God, who is manifested the grades of *waḥda, wāḥidiyya, ʿālam al-arwāḥ, ʿālam al-mithāl, ʿālam al-ajsām* and *ʿālam al-insān* – in other words through al-Burhānpūrī's system (with just *aḥadiyya*, which is not strictly speaking a grade of manifestation, not mentioned). The heretics, in contrast, do not accept the existence of the shadow or the *marātib*, but assert "the true oneness in the plurality of creation despite their rejection of the 'grades'" (*al-waḥda al-haqīqiyya fī al-kathra al-khalaqiyya maʿa ʿadam ḥifẓihim lil-marātib*). Thus the *marātib* act as the key concept to avoid rank heresy.

The *Risāla* differs from the *Jawhar al-Ḥaqāʾiq* both in its insistence on differentiating between heretical and acceptable belief, a theme not raised in the *Jawhar* at all, and its wholesale adoption of al-Burhānpūrī's seven grades system. The latter factor may, as noted above, simply reflect Shams al-Dīn's own intellectual development. However, in contrast to the *Jawhar al-Ḥaqāʾiq*, which is written in a grammatically accurate Arabic with a pleasing *sajʿ* introduction

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[89] Van Nieuwenhuijze, *Šamsu'l-Dīn*, 268.

(just as the *Haqq al-Yaqin* has), the *Risāla*'s text is full of mistakes and infelicities. Some of these may be ascribed to copyist error, but it is also entirely possible that the *Risāla* is not by Shams al-Dīn at all. Similar problems arise with the *Nūr al-Daqā'iq* which is written in an Arabic replete with the most elementary grammatical mistakes. Johns remarks that, "Though the disregard of grammar is enough to shock the Arabist, yet it shows what kind of Arabic was current in this extremity of the Muslim world, and what sense was made of it."[90] The substantial difference in style between these and Shams al-Dīn's lucid *Jawhar* and the elegant Arabic *sajʿ* prefaces to his Malay works suggests that the *Nūr al-Daqā'iq* and *Risāla* may have been written by others but ascribed to him to bolster their authoritativeness. Indeed, the insistence on distinguishing 'monotheists' (*muwaḥḥidūn*) from 'heretics' (*mulḥidūn*) places the *Risāla* firmly in the period of the dramatic polemics that would break out after Shams al-Dīn's death in the reign of Iskandar Thani.

3 Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī and the Response to Hamzah and Shams al-Dīn

Controversies over *waḥdat al-wujūd* began in earnest shortly after Shams al-Dīn's death in 1630 with the elevation of the immigrant *ʿālim* Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī to a prominent position at the court of Aceh under Iskandar Thani. Al-Rānīrī arrived in Aceh in 1047/1637,[91] and was soon appointed *shaykh al-islām*, a position from which he was removed shortly after Safiyyat al-Din's accession, and replaced with a certain Minangkabau scholar, Sayf al-Rijal, who seems to have been aligned with al-Rānīrī's intellectual opponents. Al-Rānīrī returned to Gujarat in 1054/1644, and spent the rest of his life in India until his death in 1068/1658.[92] Almost nothing is known of his career after leaving Aceh. Despite the relative brevity of his employment at the court of Iskandar Thani and Safiyyat al-Din, al-Rānīrī played an important part in acculturating Southeast Asian audiences to the classics of Islam through his Malay translations and adaptations of Arabic texts, as well composing a small number of works in Arabic, most of which are now lost. He also had – albeit indirectly – a crucial role in the development of Arabic textual culture in Southeast Asia through his polemics against Hamzah Fansuri and Shams al-Dīn, which provoked responses from later writers in Aceh and beyond, including as far afield the Hijaz.

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[90] A. Johns, "Nūr al-Daḳā'iḳ by the Sumatran mystic Shamsu'l-Dīn ibn ʿAbdullāh," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 3/4 (1953): 137.

[91] Royal Asiatic Society, London, MS Raffles Malay 8, p. 3, cited in Wormser, *Le Bustan al-Salatin*, 42, n. 128.

[92] For the chronology see P. Voorhoeve, "Van en over Nūruddīn ar-Rānīrī," *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 107 (1951): 353–368; Wormser, *Le Bustan al-Salatin,* 41–45. On Sayf al-Rijal see Takeshi Ito, "Why did Nūruddīn ar-Rānīrī leave Aceh in 1054 A.H.?" *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 134 (1978): 489–491; Michael Laffan, "When is a Jawi Jawi? A Short Note on Pieter Sourij's 'Maldin' and his Minang Student 'Sayf al-Rijal'," in Jan van der Putten and Mary Kilcline Cody (eds) *Lost Times and Untold Tales from the Malay World* (Singapore, 2009), 139–147; Sher Banu A.L. Khan, "What Happened to Sayf al-Rijal?" *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 168 (2012): 100–111.

One of the most famous of his works, as attested by the large number of extant manuscripts, is his vast Malay *Bustan al-Salatin*, which adapts, consolidates and translates a variety of Arabic texts to present an overview of the history of the Muslim world; one of its most frequently used sources is the *Rawḍ al-Manāẓir* by Ibn al-Shiḥna (d. 815/1412),[93] while it also draws extensively on al-Ghazālī's *Naṣīḥat al-Mulūk*, the *Taʾrīkh al-Khulafāʾ* by al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505), and the *Rawḍ al-Rayāḥīn*, a collection of biographies of pious Sufis by al-Yāfiʿī (d. 768/1367). Its aim was to impart *adab* to its Southeast Asian audience.[94] Another very widely disseminated text was al-Rānīrī's *al-Sirat al-Mustaqim*, a compendium of Shafii *fiqh* based on classic works such as al-Nawawī's *Minhāj al-Ṭālibīn* and Zakariyyā al-Anṣārī's (d. 926/1520) *Manhaj al-Ṭullāb*. Other works adapted Arabic theological texts into Malay. The *Durrat al-Faraʾid bi-Sharh al-ʿAqaʾid* is a Malay translation of Saʿd al-Dīn al-Taftāzānī's commentary on the *ʿAqāʾid* of al-Nasafī, while the *Hidayat al-Habib fi al-Targhib waʾl-Tarhib* (composed 1045/1636) is an abridged Malay translation of the collection of hadiths by al-Munẓirī (d. 656/1258) entitled *Kitāb al-Targhīb waʾl-Tarḥīb*.[95]

Al-Rānīrī did not merely translate such texts, but adapted them to address contemporary issues. Al-Rānīrī's best-known polemical work, *al-Tibyan fi Maʿrifat al-Adyan*, which condemns Shams al-Dīn and Hamzah Fansuri, is in fact adapted from the concluding parts of an earlier Arabic work, *Kitāb al-Tamhīd fī Bayān al-Tawḥīd*, a Hanafi-Maturidi heresiography by Abū Shakūr al-Sālimī (fl. second half of eleventh century).[96] Al-Rānīrī's other main polemical treatise addressing the *waḥdat al-wujūd*, the Malay *Hujjat al-Siddiq li-Dafʿ al-Zindiq*, strongly resembles *al-Durra al-Fākhira* by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Jāmī (d. 898/1492), written in Timurid Herat. Both works are structured around a debate between the *mutakallimūn*, the *falāsifa*, and the Sufis, suggesting the widely circulated *al-Durra al-Fākhira* may have been an inspiration for the

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[93] Wormser, *Le Bustan al-Salatin*, 76–8, 143, 156–60.

[94] Wormser, *Le Bustan al-Salatin*, 121–130, 206–8.

[95] Daudy, *Syekh Nuruddin ar-Raniry*, 46–56; Wormser, *Le Bustan al-Salatin*, 48–9.

[96] P. Voorhoeve, *Twee Maleise Geschriften van Nūruddīn ar-Rānīrī* (Leiden, 1955), 9–11.

Hujjat al-Siddiq.[97] While al-Jāmī's aim is to prove the superiority of Sufi *waḥdat al-wujūd* metaphysics over its competitors, al-Rānīrī's is to prove that rectitude of a certain type of Sufi, those who adhere to the correct interpretation of *waḥdat al-wujūd* versus the errant *wujūdiyya*.

In his bilingual introduction to *al-Tibyan*, al-Rānīrī explained how,

> When there appeared the heretical, errant Wujūdiyya who were the misguided students of Shams al-Dīn al-Sumāṭrā'ī, they debated with us in the presence of the righteous sultan of the age, may God let him dwell with him, our lord Sultan Iskandar Thani ʿAla' al-Din Mughayat Syah, who has the title of Marhum Dar al-Salam, the supreme upholder of religion. They said, "God is our self and our being, and we are his self and his being."[98]

Elsewhere in *al-Tibyan*, al-Rānīrī specifies that his opponent was a certain Kamāl al-Dīn, who was evidently the teacher of his later opponent Sayf al-Rijal who would topple him, and who was a follower of the teachings of Shams al-Dīn and Hamzah. Indeed, al-Rānīrī complained that Kamāl al-Dīn had taught his pupils that when they prayed saying the *takbīr*, they were actually saying in their hearts, "I am God who is great".[99] However, of the written works, al-Rānīrī singles out for criticism Hamzah's *Muntahi* and Shams al-Dīn's *Mir'at al-Muhaqqiqin* and *Haqq al-Yaqin*, as well as his now apparently lost *Kitāb al-Khirqa*, writing that,

> It is an obligation on all kings, notables and believers to burn and condemn all the books of Hamzah Fansuri and Shams al-Dīn al-Sumātrā'ī as was done by the sultan in the land of Aceh Dar al-Salam, so that all of God's servants are not led astray by reading them.[100]

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[97] Curiously, al-Attas neglects to comment on the very clear structural similarities between the two works in his otherwise comprehensive *Commentary*. For evidence for interest in al-Jāmī's works among Southeast Asian audiences, see below, pp. 148–149, 168–170.

[98] Al-Rānīrī, *al-Tibyan fi Maʿrifat al-Adyan*, facsimile text in Voorhoeve, *Twee Maleise Geschriften*, 3–4.

فلما ظهر قوم من الوجودية الزنادقة الملاحدة الضالين من تلمذة شمس الدين الشمطرائي الغاوين فتباحثوا معنا ايام بحضرة السلطان الاصلح الزمان اسكنه اللّٰه في بحبوحة الجنان مولانا السلطان اسكندر ثاني علاء الدين مغاية شاه الملقب بمرحوم دار السلام القائم لدين اللّٰه وقالوا ان اللّٰه نفسنا ووجودنا ونحن نفسه و وجوده

[99] Al-Rānīrī, *al-Tibyan fi Maʿrifat al-Adyan* in Voorhoeve, *Twee Maleise Geschriften*, 112.

[100] Al-Rānīrī, *al-Tibyan fi Maʿrifat al-Adyan*, in Voorhoeve, *Twee Maleise Geschriften*, 111. "Maka fardu atas raja-raja dan orang besar-besar dan segala ahulul-iman menunu dan

Indeed, according to al-Rānīrī, the debates he held with the errant *wujūdiyya* in front of Iskandar Thani led not only to the burning of their books but also to their killing:

> The Muslims issued a fatwa that they were infidels who should be killed; indeed, some of them even decreed likewise themselves. Some repented, but some of those who repented apostatised back to their old, vain beliefs. The leader of the people who did wrong was killed, praise to God, lord of both worlds.[101]

Events are recounted in slightly different form in another work of al-Rānīrī's, *al-Fath al-Mubin*, which insists on the sultan's role in the persecution:

> The [heretics] say, "The world is God and God is the world." Then the sultan ordered them to repent of their infidel belief. They were ordered several times to repent but they did not wish to, to the extent that they fought with the sultan's messenger. Then the sultan ordered that they be killed and ordered that all the books composed by their teachers be collected in the middle of the square before the mosque named Bayt al-Rahman. And the sultan ordered those books to be burned.[102]

Of the known Arabic works by al-Rānīrī, most seem to have somehow addressed the *wujūdī* controversy. With one partial exception these are today lost, and are known only from mentions in his other works, as well as references in the biographical dictionary of Indian scholar by ʿAbd al-Ḥayy b. Fakhr al-Dīn al-Ḥasanī (1869–1923), the *Nuzhat al-Khawāṭir*, who appears to have

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memusuhi segala kitab Hamzah Fansuri dan Sham al-Din al-Syumatra'i seperti ditunu sultan di negeri Aceh Dar al-Salam supaya jangan sesat segala hamba allah memutalakkan diya."

[101] Al-Raniri, *al-Tibyan fi Maʿrifat al-Adyan* in Voorhoeve, *Twee Maleise Geschriften*, 5.
فافتي المسلمون علي كفرهم و قتلهم و منهم من افتي كذلك انفسهم فتاب بعضهم واعرض بعض و من
الذين تابوا ارتدوا علي ما كانوا من العقائد الباطلة فقتل دابر القوم الذين ظلموا والحمدلله رب العالمين

[102] Al-Rānīrī, *al-Fath al-Mubin*, pp. 3–4, unpublished manuscript cited in Daudy, *Syekh Nuruddin ar-Raniry*, 39, n. 13: "dan lagi kata mereka itu al-ʿalam huwa allah wa allah huwa al-ʿalam bahwa alam itu Allah dan Allah itu alam. Setelah sudah demikian itu, maka disuruh raja akan mereka itu membawa taubat daripada i'tikad yang kufur itu. Maka dengan beberapa kali disuruh raja jua akan mereka membawa taybat, maka sekali-kali tiada ia mau taubat, hinnga perperanglah mereka itu dengan pesuruh raja. Maka disuruh oleh raja bunuh akan mereka itu, dan disuruh himpukan segala kitab karangan guru mereka itu di tengah medan masjid yang bernama Baitur Rahman. Maka disuruh oleh raja tunukan kitab itu."

seen manuscripts of at least some of them.[103] A number of these works were also evidently held in the library of the late Junus Djamil of Aceh, where they were consulted by Ahmad Daudy, who records brief comments on them in his book on al-Rānīrī. Regrettably this library was badly damaged in the 2004 tsunami and while not totally destroyed is not accessible to researchers.[104] It is possible, then, that manuscripts of at least some of these works survive either in India or Southeast Asia, awaiting discovery and analysis. For the moment, though, we know little more than the titles of all but the last listed work:

– *Al-Lamaʿān fī Takfīr man qāla bi-khalq al-Qurʾān*
– *Ṣawārim al-Ṣiddīq li-Qaṭʿ al-Zindīq*
– *ʿAqāʾid al-Ṣūfiyya al-Muwaḥḥidīn*[105]
– *Raḥīq al-Muḥammadiyya fī Ṭarīq al-Ṣūfiyya*
– *Ḥāshiyat al-Tuḥfa al-Mursala*
– *Daʿwā al-Ẓill maʿa ṣāḥibihi*

Evidently, some of these works dealt with Sufism, while some were more directly heresiographical and polemical. Judging from the title, *Al-Lamaʿān fī Takfīr man qāla bi-khalq al-Qurʾān* was a critique of the Muʿtazili implications of Hamzah's thought regarding the created nature of the Qurʾan, a theme that occurs elsewhere in al-Rānīrī's works. According to Daudy, the *Lamaʿān* was dedicated to sultan Abū'l-Mafākhir of Banten (1596–1651) and was composed in response to his questions,[106] suggesting that the controversies in Aceh had already started to attract international attention. The *Ṣawārim al-Ṣiddīq* may have been an Arabic version of the *Hujjat al-Siddiq*, although this is uncertain.[107] The *ʿAqāʾid al-Ṣūfiyya al-Muwaḥḥidīn* was evidently concerned with the correct forms of Sufi doctrine, presumably also attacking forms of monism that al-Rānīrī regarded as dangerous. We know nothing of *Raḥīq al-Muḥammadiyya*, our only source for which is al-Ḥasanī's *Nuzhat al-Khawāṭir*. Al-Ḥasanī says that, "This was the finest of his compositions, but he died before he could add the preface (*khuṭba*). Shaykh al-Ḥājj Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbdallāh copied it from its final draft (*naqala min musawwadatihi*) and added the preface. He finished copying from the author's final draft on 19 Dhū'l-Ḥijja 1069[7 September 1659]."[108]

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[103] For these see P. Voorhoeve, "Lijst der Geschriften van Raniri," *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 111 (1955): 152–161; Wormser, *Le Bustan al-Salatin*; al-Attas, A *Commentary on the Hujjat al-Siddiq,* 24–28; ʿAbd al-Ḥayy b. Fakhr al-Dīn al-Ḥasani, *Nuzhat al-Khawāṭir wa-Bahjat al-Masāmiʿ wa'l-Nawāẓir* (Hyderabad, 1976, 2nd ed.), ed. Sharaf al-Dīn Aḥmad, vol. 5, p. 360, no. 578.

[104] Daudy, *Syekh Nuruddin ar-Raniry*, 46–56. Daudy refers to having seen the *Lamaʿān*, *ʿAlāqat allāh biʾl- ʿĀlam*, the *ʿAqāʾid al-Ṣūfiyya al-Muwaḥḥidīn* and the *Nubdha fī Daʿwā al-Ẓill.* For information on the current state of the library I am grateful to Masykur Syafruddin, who visited what was left of it in 2017, and states that he saw a work by al-Rānīrī still surviving, although it is not clear which (pers. comm. 18 February 2020).

[105] Although Daudy specifically states this work was in Arabic (*Syekh Nuruddin ar-Raniry*, 55), he gives a substantial quotation in classical Malay which is evidently not his own translation (ibid; p. 204–5); sadly the manuscript appears to be lost, but possibly it was a bilingual work.

[106] Daudy, *Syekh Nuruddin ar-Raniry*, 54.

[107] Al-Attas, *Commentary on the Hujjat al-Siddiq*, 28.

Two other texts which have not come down to us, but which al-Rānīrī mentions in his other works, indicate his interest in al-Burhānpūrī. He is said to have made a Malay translation of a Persian work by al-Burhānpūrī, *ʿAlāqat Allāh bi'l-ʿĀlam*, and an Arabic translation of Burhānpūrī's *Ḥāshiyat al-Tuḥfa al-Mursala*, which was apparently accompanied by an interlinear Malay translation.[109] This latter reference is confusing; possibly the work concerned is al-Burhānpūrī's commentary on the *Tuḥfa al-Mursala*, which bears the title *al-Ḥaqīqa al-Muwāfiqa lil-Sharīʿa*, but this was written in Arabic originally.[110] Although the precise nature of al-Rānīrī's contributions to these works cannot be judged, it does suggest that his objection to Shams al-Dīn was not based on his adaptation of the Grades of Being system, and the *Tuḥfa al-Mursala* cannot have been among the books burned at his behest if he himself wrote a commentary on it. Although al-Rānīrī's published works on Sufism, such as the *Lata'if al-Asrar* in Malay, do not adopt the seven grades, he is careful to refer to al-Burhānpūrī and Ibn ʿArabī with respect. Despite his reputation as the arch-opponent of Hamzah and Shams al-Dīn, al-Rānīrī also has monist inclinations, and carefully differentiates between what he characterises heretical *wujūdī*s (*wujudiyya mulhid*) and orthodox *wujūdī*s (*wujudiyya muwahhid*).[111]

The only one of al-Rānīrī's Arabic works to be partially preserved is the *Daʿwā al-Ẓill maʿa Ṣāḥibihi*, a dialogue between the shadow and its possessor, in which the possessor of the shadow signifies God, and which is intended to criticise the ideas of Shams al-Dīn and Hamzah. The comparison of the world to God's shadow is indeed reflected, albeit considerably more subtly, in the *Risāla* attributed to Shams al-Dīn, while Hamzah Fansuri also described the relationship of God and being through a comparison with sun and shadow. However, given al-Rānīrī's treatment of his opponents' arguments elsewhere, in his Malay works, is often highly disingenuous, we should not necessarily expect to find the arguments he cites preserved in his opponents' works.

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[108] ʿAbd al-Ḥayy b. Fakhr al-Dīn al-Ḥasanī, *Nuzhat al-Khawāṭir wa-Bahjat al-Masāmiʿ wa'l-Nawāẓir* (Hyderabad, 1976, 2nd ed.), ed. Sharaf al-Dīn Aḥmad, vol. 5, p. 360, no. 578.

[109] Daudy, *Syekh Nuruddin ar-Raniry*, 55, Ahmad Daudy, "Tinjauan atas *al-Fath al-Mubin ʿala al-Mulhidin* karya Syaikh Nuruddin ar-Raniri," in Ahmad Rifaʿi Hasan (ed.), *Warisan Intelektual Islam Indonesia* (Bandung, 1987), 26.

[110] Johns, *Gift*, 5; P. Voorhoeve, *A Handlist of Arabic Manuscripts in the Library of the University of Leiden and other Collections in the Netherlands* (The Hague, 1980, 2nd ed.), 381, Leiden University Library, Or 7022; British Library, Or 16767/3, fol. 43b–55b.

[111] Cf. al-Attas, *Mysticism*, 59–60; al-Attas, *Commentary on the* Ḥujjat al-Ṣiddīq, 95. For a similar distinction made in contemporary Ottoman debates see Naser Dumairieh, "Could Sufism Have Been a Means of Spreading Ibn Taymiyya's Thought in the Ottoman Empire?" *The Muslim World* 122 (2023): 433.

The short text of the *Daʿwā al-Ẓill* is preserved in two early twentieth century Banten manuscripts with interlinear Javanese translations (Fig. 3.1), in which the Arabic is often corrupt.[112] These, however, probably derive from quotations of this text in Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī's *al-Maslak al-Jalī*, as will be discussed further

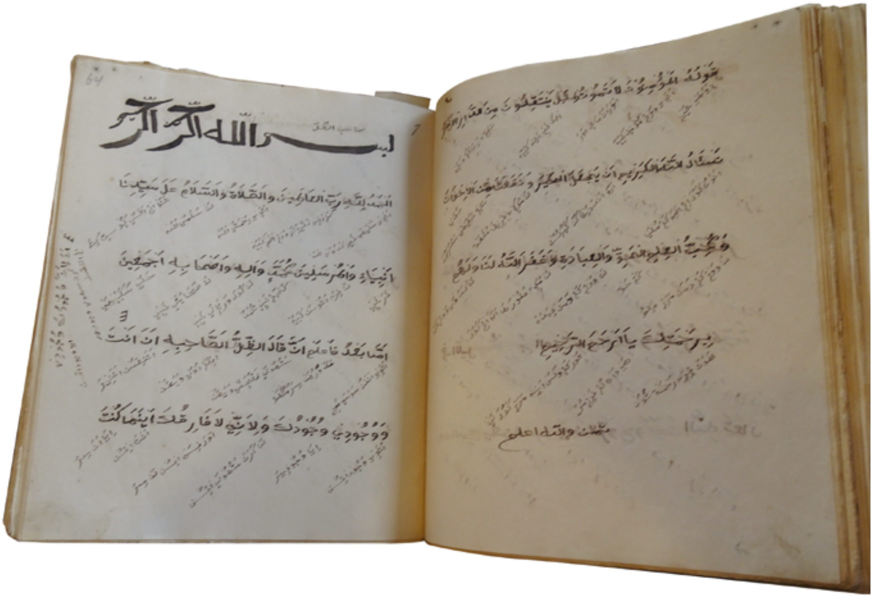

FIGURE 3.1 Al-Rānīrī's *Daʿwā al-Ẓill maʿa Ṣāḥibihi*. Early twentieth century MS from Banten. Leiden University Library, MS Or 8541, fol. 64a

below.[113] Al-Kūrānī quotes the text, which attributes the idea of the relationship of the shadow and its owner to al-Rānīrī's opponents:

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[112] Leiden University Library, Or 8540, fol. 39–41r and Or 8541, fol. 64r–67v. Apparently, the *Hall al-Zill* was separately translated into Arabic on the basis of a Tamil version made from the Malay by a student of al-Rānīrī's in Ceylon. See P. Voorhoeve, "Supplement op de lijst der geschriften van Raniri," *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 117 (1961): 482.

> The shadow said to its owner, "I am you and you are I, because your being is my being and my being is your being, because I am not separated from you wherever you are. Were it not for your being how would I be? It is the case that my being is your being, not that of any other." This is what he [al-Rānīrī] quoted from them and he refuted it in the terms that will be quoted below.[114]

Al-Kūrānī launches on a long exegesis of every phrase attributed to al-Rānīrī's opponents, concluding that "what they intended was correct, but it was clumsily and inadequately expressed" (*qaṣd al-rajul ṣaḥīḥ lākin al-ʿibāra rakīka ghayr wāfiyya*).[115] He then resumes quoting al-Rānīrī's *Daʿwā al-Ẓill*:

> The owner of the shadow replied, "Your statement that 'I am you' is invalid, because I created you from nothing; at that time you had no being, so how can I be you? As for your statement 'You are I', it is also invalid, because of your lack of essential being, for I am essential being, for you borrowed your being from my being. If I took back the borrowing from you, you would be nothing, just as you were previously, so how can you be I? The invalidity of your statement is apparent. As for your statement, 'Your being is my being,' this is also invalid, for your being is contingent and my being is necessary, and it is impossible for the necessary to be contingent, and for the contingent to be necessary. As for your statement, 'My being is your being,' this is also invalid, because you are created in time and I am preeternal, and there is nothing beside me in my eternity. How can that which is created in time unite with that which is characterised as preeternal? For when I existed, there was nothing with me, and that is also the case now. You believe that no being has reality, but your belief is void, for you have neither prior nor subsequent existence. How

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[113] This text was briefly noted by Azra, *Origins*, 62–3, without mentioning either its title or its relationship to the *Daʿwā al-Ẓill*.

[114] Istanbul, Beyazıt Devlet Kütüphanesi, MS Veliyüddin Efendi 1815, fol. 143b; London, British Library, MS Delhi Arabic 710, fol. 47b:
قال الظل لصاحبه انا انت وانت انا لأن وجودك وجود ووجودي وجودك ولأني لا افارقك اينما كنت ولو لا
وجودك فاين لي وجود فصح ان وجودي وجودك لا غير هذا ما نقله عنهم و ردّه بما سيأتي نقله

[115] Veliyüddin Efendi 1815, fol. 144a; Delhi Arabic 710, fol. 48a.

> on earth can you be equal to me and united with me? As for your statement, 'Were it not for your existence, how could I exist?' It is correct in as far as you are a manifestation of my existence, otherwise you have gone astray for you intended union with me. As for your statement, 'My existence is your existence, nothing else,' this is even more disgraceful and void, for you do not possess any fundamental existence, like the mirage, or the existence of a reflection in the mirror, or a figment of the imagination to one who imagines it, and everything that you claimed is void."[116]

The surviving portions of the text are evidently incomplete. For example, in the *Tibyan*, al-Rānīrī describes how he wrote the *Daʿwā*, but gives rather different emphasis to its contents and the claims of his opponents:

> They [the heretical *wujūdiyya*] said, "God is our self and our being, and we are his self and his being," I composed the *Nubdha fī Daʿwā al-Ẓill maʿa Ṣāḥibihi* to condemn their wrongful words and their evil creed, saying "You have thereby claimed divinity, like Pharaoh who said that 'I am your Lord most High,' [Q. 79: 24] but in fact you are infidels." And they frowned and bowed their heads.[117]

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[116] Veliyüddin Efendi 1815, fol. 144a; Delhi Arabic 710, fol. 48a–b.
فاجاب صاحب الظل فاما قولك انا انت فباطل لأنك وقد خلقتك من قبل و لم تك شيئا فحينئذا ما كان وجودك فكيف انا انت واما قولك انت انا فهذا ايضا باطل لأنك عدم محض وانا وجود محض ولأنك انت استعرت وجودك من وجودي فان اخذت عاريتي منك فانت لا شئ كما كنت من قبل فكيف انت انا فظهر بطلان قولك واما قولك وجودك وجودي فهذا ايضا باطل لأنك ممكن الوجود وانا واجب الوجود فمحال ان يكون الواجب ممكنا والممكن واجبا واما قولك وجودي وجودك فايضا باطل لأنك محدث وانا قديم وما معي شئ في ازلي فكيف يتحد المحدث مع من له وصف القدم و لاني / كنت و لم يكن معى شئ وانا الآن كذلك وفى ظنك لكل وجود من حيث ظنك لا حقيقة فظنك باطل لانه ليس لك وجود من قبل ولا من بعد فيا عجبا كيف تساوى وتتحد معى واما قولك ولو لا وجودك فاين لى وجود فصحيح ان اردت بقولك انت مظهرى والا ضللت لانك ادعيت الاتحاد معى واما قولك فصح ان وجودى وجودك لا غير فهذا اشد قبحاً وبطلانا لانك في نفس الامر ليس لك وجودا اصلاً الا كوجود السراب او كوجود المرئى في المرأة او كوجود الخيال للمتخيل فبان ان كل ما ادعيت باطل انتهى

[117] Al-Rānīrī, *al-Tibyan*, in Voorhoeve, *Twee Maleise Geschriften*, 4.
وقالوا ان اللّٰه نفسنا ووجودنا ونحن نفسه و وجوده فالفت في بطلان قولهم الباطلة وعقائدهم الفاسدة نبذة في دعوى الظل مع صاحبه وقلت انكم ادعتم الاهوية كما ادعى فرعون انا ربكم الاعلي بل انكم قوم كافرون فعبسوا و نكسوا رؤسهم وهم مشركون

While the surviving parts of the text do condemn the implications of the errant *wujūdiyya*'s monism, they do not invoke this comparison with Pharaoh's claim to divinity. However, the surviving texts make it clear that, despite the similarities in title, the *Daʿwā al-Ẓill* is an entirely separate work from al-Rānīrī's Malay *Hall al-Zill*.[118] Although the *Hall al-Zill* does start with a discussion of the notion of God's shadow and the world as God's mirror, it is not framed in the dialogue format of the *Daʿwā al-Ẓill*, and the Malay text also goes on to discuss related questions such as the *aʿyān thābita* which do not feature in the extant parts of the *Daʿwā al-Ẓill*.

Thus al-Rānīrī's Arabic works addressed similar issues concerning the correct understanding of *waḥdat al-wujūd* as his Malay polemics and heresiographies. In the case of the *Lamaʿān* the choice of Arabic may have been dictated by addressing a wider audience, in this case the ruler of the Javanese sultanate of Banten; indeed, in his *Fath al-Mubin*, al-Ranīrī calls on the people of Aceh, Banten and Makassar to join him in opposing Hamzah.[119] The manuscript evidence suggests that in fact the works of Hamzah and his circle circulated widely in these places. Banten is explicitly mentioned in verses by a disciple or imitator of Hamzah, a certain ʿAbd al-Jamal, whose works are found alongside Hamzah's in Leiden MS Or 2016, the earliest extant witness to Hamzah's works dating to 1704 and owned by the sultan of Banten, Abū'l-Maḥāsin Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn (r. 1690–1733) (Fig. 3.1).[120] Sultanic interest in Banten in the questions of *waḥdat al-wujūd* is also suggested by other manuscripts, such as the commentary on al-Burhānpūrī composed in Aceh by Shaykh Ibrāhīm b. Abī Bakr, *al-Mawāhib al-Mustarsala* (Jakarta A 98) owned by sultan Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn. Another *wujūdī* manuscript associated with the Banten court is the Indian scholar al-Mahāʾimī's (d. 835/1431), *Mashraʿ al-Khuṣūṣ* (Leiden Or 5675), owned by Sultan Muḥammad Shifā (Fig. 3.2). This was a commentary on the *Nuṣūṣ* of al-Qūnawī. Further evidence for interest in these ideas in the Banten region is afforded by a manuscript of Shams al-Dīn al-Sumaṭrāʾī's collected works in Malay, including the *Mir'at al-Qulub* which outlines the seven grades of being and attributes of God to Iskandar Muda. This manuscript, Leiden Or 1332, probably dates to the late seventeenth century on the basis of its paper, while it evidently originates from west Java as indicated by the Sundanese language elements it contains.[121] An eighteenth century copy of Shams al-Dīn's *Jawhar al-Ḥaqā'iq* was owned by Sultan Muḥammad of Banten (Jakarta A 31) (Fig. 3.3). All of these manuscripts postdate the controversy in Aceh, but they attest to the fact it rapidly spread to Java, and attracted sultanic interest.

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[118] The Malay text of *Hall al-Zill* is published in facsimile in van Nieuwenhuijze, "Nūr Al-Dīn Al-Rānīrī als Bestrijder der Wuǧūdiya," 54–76.

[119] Braginsky, "The Name and the Named," 401.

[120] Doorenbos, *De Geschriften van Hamzah Pansoeri,* 89. As with Hasan Fansuri, al-Attas believed ʿAbd al-Jamal to be another name for Hamzah Fansuri himself: al-Attas, *Concluding Postscript*, 35–50.

At this juncture it is worth pausing to consider what exactly was at stake in these debates, and why it attracted this royal interest. The notion attributed by al-Rānīrī to his enemies that "God is our self and being and we are His self and being" does not actually appear in any surviving text by its alleged proponents. While it is not impossible that later followers of Shams al-Dīn, such as Kamāl al-Dīn, did adopt these notions and their books perished in the great book burning at Bayt al-Rahman, al-Rānīrī specifically associates this doctrine with Hamzah and Shams al-Dīn. Moreover, it is, on the surface, hard to imagine why these notions attracted sultanic attention to the degree that executions and public book burnings were required. Indeed, both Shams al-Dīn and al-Rānīrī repeatedly invoke the same authorities to support their views – Ibn ʿArabī, al-Mahā'imī, and Muḥammmad b. Faḍlallāh al-Burhānpūrī (Hamzah tends to refer more rarely to specific authorities). As a result, some scholars have seen these debates as in reality a cover for members of the ʿulama' vying for positions at court.[122] Nonetheless, there is ample reason to believe that the *waḥdat al-wujūd* question was genuinely contentious and pregnant with potential political as well as theological meaning.

A close reading of al-Rānīrī's critique of Hamzah and Shams al-Dīn shows that in many respects it reflects less a nuanced examination of their views than much earlier polemics against Ibn ʿArabī. Beyond the statement "God is our self and our being," some of al-Rānīrī's objections to Hamzah centred around the following:[123]

- His interpretation of the hadith, *man ʿarafa nafsahu fa-qad ʿarafa rabbahu* (he who knows himself knows his lord), for claiming that this meant that "the Self of the Hidden Treasure is none other than one's self, and everything is in God's knowledge; like the seed and the tree; the tree resides in its completeness within the seed." Al-Rānīrī believes this is infidelity because of its implications. He similarly criticises Hamzah's metaphor that

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[121] Van Nieuwenhuijze, *Šamsu'l-Din*, 299–300.

[122] Ito, "World of the *Adat Aceh*," 256; P. Wormser, "The Religious Debates of Aceh in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century: An Invisible Cultural Dialogue?" *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 55 (2012): 369–382.

[123] Al-Attas, *Mysticism*, esp. 31, 38–53.

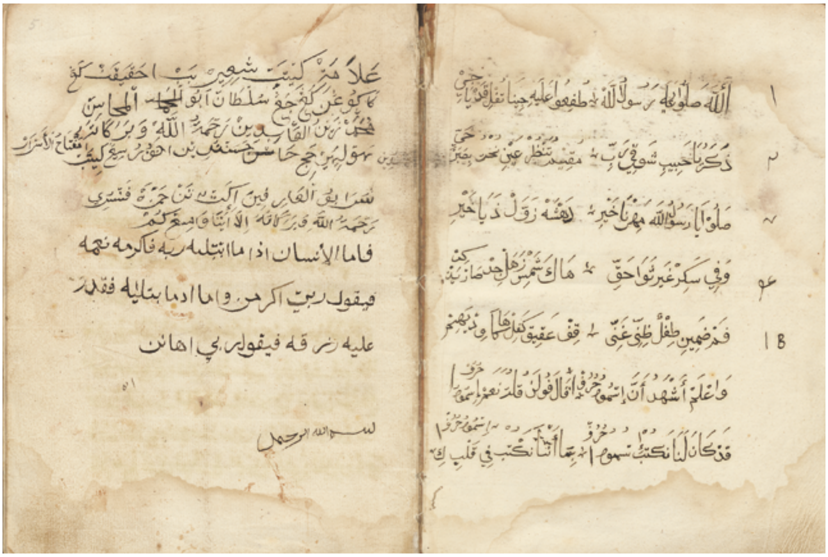


FIGURE 3.2 Collected works of Hamzah Fansuri his circle, owned by sultan Abū'l-Maḥāsin Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn, dated 1116/1704. Leiden University Library, MS Or 2016, fol. 5a

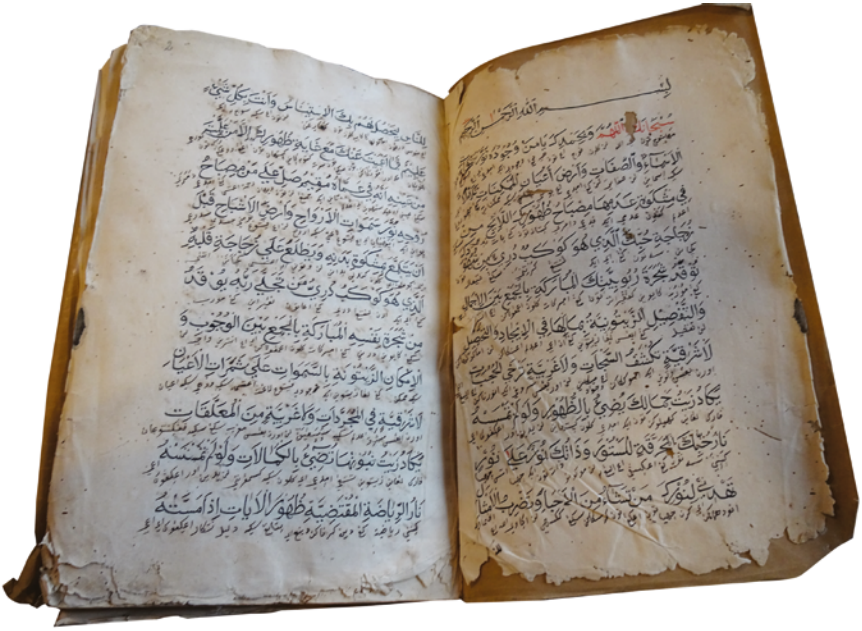
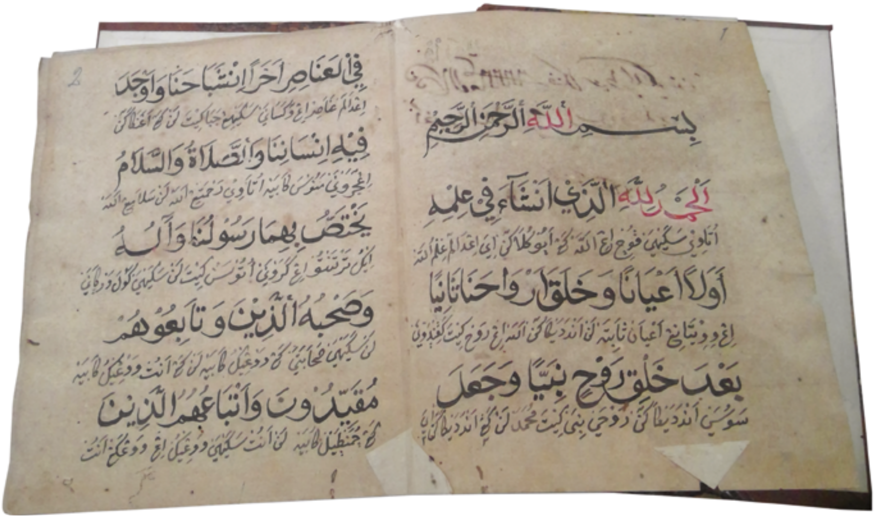


FIGURE 3.3 Al-Mahāʾimī's *Mashraʿ al-Khuṣūṣ ilā Maʿnā al-Nuṣūṣ* dated 1142/1729, owned by Sultan Abu'l-Fath Muḥammad Shifāʾ Zayn al-ʿĀrifīn. Leiden University Library, MS Or 5675, fol. 1b–2a



بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
الحمد لله الذي انشاء في علمه
أولا أعيانا وخلق ارواحنا ثانيا
بعد خلق روح نبينا وجعل

في العناصر اجزاء اشباحنا واوجد
فيه انساننا والصلاة والسلام
يختص بهما رسولنا وآله
وصحبه الذين وتابعوهم
مقيدون واتباعهم الذين

FIGURE 3.4 Shams al-Dīn al-Sumāṭrāʾī, *Jawhar al-Ḥaqāʾiq*, formerly part of the Banten sultans' library. Jakarta, Perpustakaan National, MS A 31/1

the relationship between God and man is like that between the sea and the waves and the sun and its heat on the same grounds.

– The assertion that both God and the world were eternal and non-existent
– The assertion that the Qur'an was created.

For all that al-Rānīrī frequently singles out Ibn ʿArabī for praise, invoking him as the model of the right type of *wujūdī*,[124] his objections recall Ibn Taymiyya's critique. Ibn Taymiyya attacked Ibn ʿArabī for the failure to distinguish between creator and creation, which he saw as leading to idolatry and polytheism. Specifically, Ibn Taymiyya had singled out Ibn ʿArabī's treatment of the figure of Pharaoh for criticism, arguing that Pharaoh's claims to lordship embodied the problems of Ibn ʿArabī's approach. Pharaoh, reviled by most Islamic tradition as the embodiment of tyranny, is understood by Ibn ʿArabī to have died a true believer,[125] a claim which became the topic of frequent polemics in the later Islamic tradition. Exactly the same Qur'anic passage as that cited by Ibn Taymiyya is invoked by al-Rānīrī in the bilingual preface to his *al-Tibyan fi Maʿrifat al-Adyan* in his attack on the Acehnese *wujūdiyya*:

> You have thereby claimed divinity thereby, like Pharaoh who said that "I am your Lord most High," [Q. 79: 24] but in fact you are infidels. And they frowned and bowed their heads

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[124] E.g. al-Attas, *A Commentary*, 91, 99.
[125] Knysh, *Ibn ʿArabi*, 106.

Al-Rānīrī also emulates Ibn Taymiyya's attack on Ibn ʿArabī in comparing Hamzah's beliefs to ideas of *ḥulūl* (incarnation) and *ittiḥād* (union).[126] Al-Rānīrī's denunciations of Christianity in his work[127] bring to mind Ibn Taymiyya's earlier polemics against Ibn ʿArabī, which insisted on the similarity of Ibn ʿArabī's monist views to Christian doctrines of incarnation.[128] Similarly, al-Rānīrī's critique of the Muʿtazilite implications of Hamzah's thought, especially the doctrine of the createdness of the Qurʾan, may also be indebted to Ibn Taymiyya's discussion of the Muʿtazilite origins of Ibn ʿArabī's ideas.[129] His condemnation of the idea of the pre-eternal nature of the spirit also closely resembles one of the preoccupations of Ibn Taymiyya's disciple, Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya, in his popular *Kitāb al-Rūḥ*.[130]

Daudy suggests al-Rānīrī's metaphysics actually aimed to compromise between the ideas of the *mutakallimūn* and Ibn ʿArabī, whom he scrupulously avoids criticising.[131] However, even Ibn Taymiyya was cautious about directly attacking Ibn ʿArabī, attributing the most dangerous interpretations of his works to Ibn ʿArabī's followers like al-Qūnawī, and it is likely that al-Rānīrī is following the same approach. Despite the evident affinities between Ibn Taymiyya's attitude to Ibn ʿArabī and al-Rānīrī's towards the Acehnese *wujūdiyya*, it is uncertain that the influence is direct, given the lack of any references to Ibn Taymiyya in al-Rānīrī's works. However, there is reason to think that Ibn Taymiyya may have been considerably more widely read in the period than is sometimes credited. While El-Rouayheb argues Ibn Taymiyya was not widely read outside of Hanbali circles in the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries,[132] Ibn Taymiyya's critique of Ibn ʿArabī was certainly known in later times. For example, it was debated by the fifteenth century by al-Ahdal in Yemen, whence al-Rānīrī's ancestors came.[133] In the seventeenth century Ibn Taymiyya was read by Shafiis like al-Qushāshī and al-Kūrānī in the Hijaz with the aim of harnessing his thought to justify *waḥdat al-wujūd*.[134] In his defence of *waḥdat al-wujūd*, al-Kūrānī sought out neglected works by Ibn Taymiyya and his pupil Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya.[135] A further example of Ibn Taymiyya's influence in the period was his reception in Ottoman Hanafi circles; the jurist al-Āqhiṣārī (d. 1040/1631) drew on him extensively, without acknowledging his name.[136] Indeed, it seems scholars from different madhhabs regularly engaged with Ibn Taymiyya without citing him, as happened in fourteenth century Granada.[137] This deliberate avoidance of Ibn Taymiyya's name by later scholars may have been connected to his controversial reputation; his opposition to practices such as *ziyāra*, the visiting of saints' tombs, and his scheme to recast Islamic society according the practices of the pious Muslims of the Prophet's time (*salaf*) were considered both by ʿulamaʾ and the authorities a threat to the established order.[138] Such was his proclivity for offending the powers that be that one modern scholar has asked, "Did Ibn Taymiyya have a screw loose"?, and he died in prison.[139] Therefore even when scholars engaged with less controversial aspects of Ibn Taymiyya's thought, they tended to avoid mentioning his name to escape censure.[140]

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[126] Al-Rānīrī, *Tibyan fi Maʿrifat al-Adyan*, in Voorhoeve, *Twee Maleise Geschriften*, 18, 94; Daudy, *Syekh Nuruddin ar-Raniry*, 213; cf. El-Rouayheb, *Islamic Intellectual History*, 315; Knysh, *Ibn ʿArabi*, 90; the term *ittiḥād* could refer to the union of divine and human nature in Christ (obviously an idea vehemently rejected by Muslims); but it was also sometimes used by Sufis to express the idea of union with God.

[127] Al-Rānīrī, *Tibyan Maʿrifat al-Adyan*, in Voorhoeve, *Twee Maleise Geschriften*, 27–8, 34–7; al-Attas, *Commentary*, 95. On al-Rānīrī's sometimes ambiguous attitude to Christianity see Steenbrink, "Jesus and the Holy Spirit".

[128] Knysh, *Ibn ʿArabi*, 90.

[129] Knysh, *Ibn ʿArabi*, 91, 107.

[130] Y. Tzvi Langermann, "Ibn al-Qayyim's *Kitāb al-Rūḥ:* Some Literary Aspects," in Birgit Krawietz, Georges Tamer & Alina Kokoschka (eds.), *Islamic Theology, Philosophy and Law: Debating Ibn Taymiyya and Ibn Qayyim Al-Jawziyya* (Berlin, 2013), 140.

[131] Daudy, *Syekh Nuruddin*, 78–87.

[132] El-Rouayheb, *Islamic Intellectual History*, 282–3; see also on al-Kūrānī and Ibn Taymiyya, Nafi, "Taṣawwuf and Reform in Pre-Modern Islamic Culture," 333–4.

Ibn Taymiyya's works were thus circulating and discussed in the period, although it seems those of his pupil Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya were better known.[141] As we shall see in Chapter 4, Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya's ideas certainly did reach mid-seventeenth century Southeast Asia, whereas there is no early manuscript evidence for Ibn Taymiyya's works being read directly in the region. Further evidence of al-Rānīrī's connections to Hanbalism comes from al-Ḥasanī's biographical dictionary of Indian scholars, the *Nuzhat al-Khawāṭir*.

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[133] Caterina Bori, "Ibn Taymiyya (14th to 17th Century): Transregional Spaces of Reading and Reception," *The Muslim World* 108 (2018): 105–112; also on al-Ahdal's anti-monistic works, but without discussing Ibn Taymiyya's influence on them, see Knysh, *Ibn ʿArabi*, 234–46.

[134] El-Rouayheb, *Islamic Intellectual History*, 282–3; see further on Ibn Taymiyya's influence in the period Dumairieh, "Could Sufism Have Been a Means of Spreading Ibn Taymiyya's Thought?".

[135] El-Rouayheb, *Islamic Intellectual History*, 16–17.

[136] Mustapha Sheikh, "Taymiyyan Influences in an Ottoman-Hanafī Milieu: The Case of Ahmad al-Rūmī al- Āqhisārī," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 25 (2015): 1–20.

[137] Islam Dayeh, "Reading Ibn Taymiyya in Granada. A Study of Inexplicit Citation," *The Muslim World* 108 (2018): 154–171.

[138] Dayeh, "Reading," 169; Sheikh, "Taymiyyan Influences," 18.

[139] Donald P. Little, "Did Ibn Taymiyya Have a Screw Loose?," *Studia Islamica* 41 (1975): 93–111.

[140] Dayeh, "Reading," 170.

[141] Bori, "Ibn Taymiyya," 115.

Its author, al-Ḥasanī, mentions nothing of al-Rānīrī's stay in Southeast Asia, but he does list three of his Arabic works: *al-Lamaʿān bi-Takfīr man qāla bi-khalq al-Qurʾān*, *Ṣawārim al-Ṣiddīq li-Qaṭʿ al-Zindīq* and the *Raḥīq al-Muḥammadiyya fī Ṭarīq al-Ṣūfiyya*. Al-Ḥasanī had evidently seen a manuscript at least of this last work in the library of Nūr al-Dīn, son of the Prime Minister of Bhopal and consort of its ruler, Ṣiddīq Ḥasan Khān al-Qannaujī (1832–1890), who was a noted promoter of Hanbalism. Al-Ḥasanī also notes that he saw a note on the manuscript's cover in the hand of Shaykh Muḥammad Abū Bakr al-Ḥanafi al-Aḥmadābādī.[142] Although this individual remains unidentified, al-Ḥasanī's comments confirm the circulation of at least some of al-Rānīrī's Arabic works in India, as well as Southeast Asia. The fact that they ended up in the library of a scholar known for his enthusiastic promotion of Hanbalism gives further credence to the Taymiyyan associations of al-Rānīrī.[143] It is possible, however, they may have reached India only in the late nineteenth century from Yemen, where we know a large proportion of the Hanbali texts in Ṣiddīq Ḥasan Khān's library originated.[144]

In considering the vehement – and sometimes violent – debates about *waḥdat al-wujūd* in Aceh, it is worth recalling the fundamental implications of pantheism. Theologically, Ibn ʿArabī's monist doctrines could be seen as calling into question God's omnipotence and laying the door open to those with fraudulent pretensions to religious leadership and even polytheism. Ibn Taymiyya had objected to Ibn ʿArabī not simply on theological grounds, but also political. His claim to sainthood risked provoking messianic movements and religious imposters thereby giving rise to political unrest. In the view of at least one modern scholar, Ibn Taymiyya's objections had a good deal of truth to them. Knysh argues his theory of the perfect man and the hierarchy of holy men ruling the universe "was indeed widely used by various Islamic political and religious figures to substantiate and further their claims to political leadership and messianic guidance. Indirectly, therefore, Ibn ʿArabī may be said to have provided ideological underpinnings for a series of quasi-messianic, reformist and schismatic movements in Islam."[145] At the same time, his vision of the potential for a carefully selected elite to attain a status at least equal to Prophethood had obvious attractions for rulers, and Ibn ʿArabī attracted the patronage of both Mughals and Ottomans. Indeed, scholars have noted the parallels between the debates in Aceh and those in India, where Ibn ʿArabī's doctrines were highly influential under Akbar and his successors, but were also the topic of heated polemics. The *dīn-i ilāhī* invented by the Mughal Emperor Akbar was strongly influenced by the ideas of Ibn ʿArabī.[146] Akbar was seen as possessing divine light, putting him on a par with the divinity himself; the blurring of the division between creator and created did indeed lead ultimately to his repudiation of Islam, at least in the eyes of Akbar's numerous critics. The Indian Naqshbandi Sirhindī, al-Rānīrī's contemporary, vigorously opposed the *dīn-i ilāhī*, and the pantheistic ideas which had allowed it to flourish, condemning *bidʿa*, although, like al-Rānīrī, he expressed his admiration for Ibn ʿArabī and sought to develop a version of *waḥdat al-wujūd* that avoided its pantheist implications.[147]

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[142] al-Ḥasanī, *Nuzhat al-Khawāṭir*, vol. 5, p. 360, no. 578; Wormser, Le *Bustan al-Salatin*, pp. 53, 55, suggests that the manuscript might have been in north India, in the region of Qannauj, on the basis of the *nisba* in the owner's name as given by al-Ḥasanī: Nūr al-Dīn b. Ṣiddīq Ḥasan al-Qannaujī; however the *nisba* is misleading, and Ṣiddīq Ḥasan Khān's strongest links were with Bhopal in central India. Apparently after his death, his library was moved to Lucknow by his sons, where it is possible elements of it have survived, see Claudia Preckel, "Screening Ṣiddīq Ḥasan Khān's Library: The Use of Ḥanbalī Literature in 19th-Century Bhopal," in Birgit Krawietz, Georges Tamer & Alina Kokoschka (eds.), *Islamic Theology, Philosophy and Law: Debating Ibn Taymiyya and Ibn Qayyim Al-Jawziyya* (Berlin, 2013), 169, 191.

[143] Preckel, "Screening Ṣiddīq Ḥasan Khān's Library," 193–217.

[144] Preckel, "Screening Ṣiddīq Ḥasan Khān's Library," 178–180, 187–9.

It is thus probably not coincidental that al-Rānīrī reports the arrival of foreign scholars in Aceh to debate the controversial topic of the *aʿyān thābita,* the key to Ibn ʿArabī's metaphysical system, in the year 990AH [1582AD] – exactly the year that Akbar officially promulgated the *dīn-i ilāhī*. The suggestion, perhaps, is that the arrival of these debates heralded a perversion of, if not the destruction of Islam. Al-Rānīrī was not the only one to note the significance of the year. Akbar's arch-critic Badā'ūnī grouped together all of Akbar's regulations of which he disapproved under the year 990 "in order to give more force to his conclusions regarding Akbar's deviation from Islam."[148] It was given added importance by the fact that the year 990 also marked the return of the conjunction to Jupiter and Saturn to the position it had held at the birth of Islam, and was celebrated in India as the millennium.[149] The Indian connection of the Acehnese debates is reflected not merely in the fact of al-Rānīrī's own Indian origin, but also in the fact his arch-opponent Sayf al-Rijal, although of Minangkabau ancestry, is said to have come to Aceh from Surat,[150] while Ibrāhīm al-Shāmī's *al-Mawāhib al-Mustarsala* specifically states that al-Burhānpūrī's treatise had reached Aceh from India.[151]

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[145] Knysh, *Ibn ʿArabī*, 110.

[146] Irfan Habib, "A Political Theory for the Mughal Empire: A Study of the Ideas of Abu'l-Fazl," *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress* 59 (1998): 329–340, see also note 159 below for scholarship on Aceh's connnection to India in this regard.

[147] Aziz Ahmad, "Religious and Political Ideas of Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindī," *Rivista degli studi orientali* 36 (1961): 259–270; Alberto Ventura, "A letter of Šayh Aḥmad Sirhindī in defense of the 'Waḥdat al-Wuğūd,'" *Oriente Moderno*, NUOVA SERIE, 92/2 (2012): 509–517; on Sirhindī and Ibn ʿArabī, see Arthur Buehler, "Ahmad Sirhindi: A 21st-Century Update," *Der Islam* 86 (2011): 122–144.

[148] Roychaudhury, *Din-i Ilahi*, 243.

[149] Moin, *The Millennial Sovereign*, 133, 154.

In sum, al-Rānīrī's attacks on Hamzah and Shams al-Dīn seem to have been impelled by fears that their teachings led directly to the most erroneous interpretations of Ibn ʿArabī and were influenced by Taymiyyan polemics against the latter, which were given extra potency by the recent controversies in India and the Acehnese political environment. While little of al-Rānīrī's Arabic oeuvre has survived, it evidently had a considerable impact in the seventeenth century, being read as far afield as Banten and, as we shall see, the Hijaz. Al-Rānīrī also played a crucial role in involving the Acehnese rulers in these debates, suggesting that under Iskandar Thani's brief reign a reaction against the earlier ideal of the ruler as supreme gnostic had set in. Moreover, the polemics al-Rānīrī had started played a further role in stimulating Arabic textual production later in seventeenth century Aceh.

4 ʿAbd al-Raʾūf al-Singkilī, the Pupil of al-Qushāshī and al-Kūrānī

Whereas we can have almost no concrete information regarding the intellectual formation of Shams al-Dīn al-Sumāṭrāʾī and Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī, the next major Arabic author we will consider, ʿAbd al-Raʾūf al-Singkilī (c. 1024/1615–c.1105/1693) gives us a detailed account of his studies in Arabia in his *ʿUmdat al-Muhtajin*.[152] Originating from Singkel near Barus in western Sumatra, ʿAbd al-Raʾūf travelled to Arabia around 1052/1642, staying for nineteen years and studying in several places in Yemen including Duha, Mukhaʾ, Bayt al-Faqih and Zabid, the intellectual centres of the Tihama, as well as Jeddah, Mecca and Medina. He studied with Aḥmad al-Qushāshī and Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī, who initiated him into various *ṭarīqa*s, although the Shattariyya seems to have remained the most important for him, as it was for his teachers.[153] On his return to Aceh, conventionally dated to *c.*1661, he seems to have become closely associated with the court, for he composed at the request of Sultanah Safiyyat al-Din a Malay compendium of Shafii *fiqh*, the *Mir'at al-Tullab*.

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[150] Ito, "Why did Nuruddin," 489; also on the Indian connection of the debates see G.W.J. Drewes, "Nur al-Din al-Rānīrī's Charge of Heresy against Hamzah and Shamsuddin from an International Point of View" in C.D. Grijns and S.O. Robson (eds.): *Cultural Contact and Textual Interpretation: Papers from the fourth European colloquium on Malay and Indonesian studies, held in Leiden in 1983* (Dordrecht and Cinnaminson, 1986), 54–9.

[151] *Suntingan da Terjemahan Manuskrip al-Mawāhib al-Mustarsalah ʿalā at-Tuḥfah al-Mursalah*, ed. Ismail Yahya (Jakarta, 2018), 54:
ثم مما صنف في هذا العلم العظيم الحاوى لكل معنى رسالة ارسلت من الديار الهندية الى الجزيرة
المعمورة الاشية منسوبة الى السيخ الفاضل والامام العالمى الكامل الفائز بقصب السبق في حلبة ميدان
معرفة الحق العارف باللّٰه شمس الدين الحاذق محمد بن فضل اللّٰه

[152] Edited and translated in Peter Riddell, *Transferring a Tradition: ʿAbd Al-Raʾūf Al-Singkilī's Rendering into Malay of the Jalālayan Commentary* (Berkeley, 1990), 23–238.

ʿAbd al-Raʾūf is best known for his Malay works, which dealt with Sufism, *fiqh* and *tafsīr*.[154] Especially famous was his Malay *Tarjuman al-Mustafid*, a rendering of well-known commentary on the Qur'an, the *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn*, which takes its name from its two authors, Jalāl al-Dīn al-Maḥallī (d. 864/ 1459) and his pupil Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/ 1505). This is an introductory *tafsīr* that avoids taking a dogmatic position. ʿAbd al-Raʾūf 's Malay version is probably based on his oral exposition of the text, and comprises a verse by verse translation which is then interspersed with comments derived largely (though not exclusively) from the *Jalālayn*; but it was also a relatively free translation that in places adapted, expanded or rearranged the original commentary.[155] The *Tarjuman* also has additions by ʿAbd al-Raʾūf's student, Baba Daud Rumi, which were derived from al-Khāzin's exegesis, *Lubāb al-Taʾwīl fī Maʿānī al-Tanzīl*.[156] His *fiqh* compilation composed at the request of Safiyyat al-Din, the *Mir'at al-Tullab*, represents an adaptation of Zakariyyā al-Anṣārī's *Fatḥ al-Wahhāb bi-Sharḥ Manhaj al-Ṭullāb*, but also contains numerous references to Ibn Ḥajar al-Haytamī's *al-Fatḥ al-Jawwād*.

Much of ʿAbd al-Raʾūf's Malay corpus thus represents adaptations of Middle Eastern classics of legal and religious literature, based primarily on a Mamluk era canon, much as al-Rānīrī's does. Out of the thirty-six works ʿAbd al-Raʾūf is known to have composed, his principal work entirely in Arabic is *Tanbīh al-Māshī ila Ṭarīq al-Qushāshī*. The only other major work written entirely in Arabic is a brief treatise on death, the *Lubb al-Kashf wa'l-Bayān li-Mā Yarāhu al-Muhtaḍar bi'l-ʿIyān*, which was more widely circulated in a later Malay translation,[157] although a couple of other treatises exist in bilingual versions.[158]

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[153] See for his biography, Azra, *Origins*, 70–77; Peter Riddell, *Transferring a Tradition*, 11–14.

[154] For an overview of the Malay works, which makes no discussion of the Arabic ones, see Azra, *Origins*, 79–84; see also the list in P. Voorhoeve, "Bajan Tadjalli: gegevens voor een nadere studie over Abdurrauf van Singkel," *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 85 (1952): 87–117.

[155] A.H. Johns, "The Qur'ān in the Malay World: Reflections on ʿAbd al-Raʾūf of Singkel (1615–1693)," *Journal of Islamic Studies* 9 (1998): 142–3.

[156] Riddell, *Transferring a Tradition*, 42–44.

[157] For the Arabic text see Leiden University Library, Or 5660, fol. 1b–5a. For the Malay translations, see Voorhoeve, "Bajan Tadjalli," 113, no. 13.

[158] Voorhoeve, "Bajan Tajalli," 114–5, nos. 16 and 17. Oman Fathurahman (ed.) *Tanbih al-Masyi: Menyoal Wahdatul Wujud: Kasus Abdurauf Singkel di Aceh Abad 17* (Jakarta and Bandung,

Curiously, ʿAbd al-Raʾūf protests his limited ability at Malay in the Arabic preface to his Malay *Mirʾat al-Tullab*.[159] He writes that:

> [Sultanah Safiyyat al-Din], out of her intense love, asked me to write down the sharia laws which are relied on by Shafii ʿulamaʾ and are required by those who hold the position of qadi in the Sumatran Jawi tongue [Malay]; I found this difficult owing to my lack of fluency in that language as a result of my long absence and residence in the land of Yemen, Medina and Mecca, may God honour them with the glory of the Lord of Men [Muḥammad]. Then God sent to me two sincere, virtuous brothers who were fluent in that language, may God protect them and preserve them in ample health and happiness.[160]

Such a statement may be read as an attempt to assert his own status as an expert in Arabic and Islam, rather than read literally, but it also points to ʿAbd al-Raʾūf's close association with Safiyyat al-Din's court.

The monolingual Arabic *Tanbīh al-Māshī*, composed between 1661 and 1670, thus represents ʿAbd al-Raʾūf's most substantial contribution to the Arabic literature of Southeast Asia.[161] It is doubtless not coincidental that it is in part a discussion of the *waḥdat al-wujūd* controversy.[162] Although it mentions none of ʿAbd al-Raʾūf's predecessors in Aceh by name, it is evidently intended to steer a middle course between the sides of Hamzah Fansuri and Shams al-Dīn on the one hand and Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī on the other, while appealing to the authority of the author's teachers in Arabia, Aḥmad al-Qushāshī and Ibrāhīm

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1999), 28–30. These are the *Risalah Adab Murid Akan Syeikh* and *Risāla Mukhtaṣara fī Bayān Shurūṭ al-Shaykh wa'l-Murīd.*

[159] Azra, *Origins*, 79.

[160] Al-Shaykh ʿAbd al-Raʾuf al-Singkili, *Mirʾat al-Tullab fi Tashil Maʿrifat Ahkam al-Shariʿa lil-Malik al-Wahhab*. Alih aksara Muliadi Kurdi and Jamaluddin Thaib (Banda Aceh, 2012), xxxvii–xxxviii.

فانها قد سألتني من شدة حبها ان اكتب ما يحتاج اليه من تولى في امر القضاء من الاحكام الشرعية المعتمدة عند العلماء الشافعية بلسان الجاوية السمطرائة و كنت استثقل ذلك لقلة فصاحتي في ذلك اللسان بطول غربتي واقامتي في الديار اليمنية ومكة والمدينة شرفهما اللّٰه بشرف سيد البرية ثم من اللّٰه علي بالاخوين لي الصالحين الفصيحين في ذلك اللسان حفظهما اللّٰه تعالى وابقاهما في خير وعافية ونعم وافية

[161] The date of al-Qushāshī's death of 1071/1660 is given in the text, giving a terminus ante quem, *Tanbih al-Masyi*, 158–9.

[162] *Tanbih al-Masyi*, 35–88.

al-Kūrānī. However, curiously the seven grades are not discussed in the *Tanbīh al-Māshī*, even though it is an explicitly Shattari text – indeed the earliest Shattari text from Southeast Asia. It seeks to explain to the *murīd* the idea of *waḥdat al-wujūd* in the light of teachings of al-Qushāshī and al-Kūrānī, who are both mentioned in several places and their works cited,[163] and to explain the role of Shattari *dhikr* in allowing the adept to attain oneness with God.[164]

ʿAbd al-Raʾūf starts by discussing the unity of God (*al-tawḥīd*), as a prelude to clarifying the correct interpretation of *waḥdat al-wujūd*. While ʿAbd al-Raʾūf does not discuss the Grades of Being system, he does embrace an even more obviously neo-Platonic view of the world as emanation (*fayḍ*), which he states comes from al-Kūrānī's *Bulghat al-Masīr*, a work which does not appear to have come down to us.[165]Al-Kūrānī does discuss this concept in his *Qaṣd al-Sabīl*, on the basis of Ibn ʿArabī's ideas.[166] The insistence on the world as emanation, however, is also a fundamental Shattari insight,[167] and suggests that the whole treatise is permeated by Shattarism. This is how ʿAbd al-Raʾūf summarises al-Kūrānī's view:

> He concluded that the existence of the world is not independent existence, but emanations, and the meaning of emanation is like the emanation of God's knowledge. It cannot be described as identical with God because it is created [*mubdaʿan*], but it cannot be characterised as other than God and completely separate since it can be described as secondary being [*wujūd thānin*] that exists independently along with him. God existed in pre-eternity with nothing with Him, because He was before everything; this is also the case now the world is created [*ḥādith*]; because it is an emanation of His Being, it cannot be described as something that exists with him, but something that exists in him [*mawjūd bihi*], but it

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[163] Al-Kūrānī is mentioned with citations attributed to the *Bulghat al-Masīr* in *Tanbih al-Masyi*, 94–5, 98–9, and elsewhere on pp 156–7; al-Qushāshī's *al-Simṭ al-Majīd* is cited with reference to *dhikr* on pp. 118–119; al-Qushāshī is mentioned on pp. 124–5, 158–9.

[164] The connection between *dhikr* and oneness was not exclusive to the Shattariyya, but can be found in other *ṭarīqa*s including the Qadiriyya. See Zoetmulder, *Pantheism and Monism*, 115–124.

[165] On this work, see Dumairieh, *Intellectual Life in the Ḥijāz before Wahhabism*, 168; Fathurahman ed., *Ithaf al-Dhaki*, 205.

[166] Dumairieh, *Intellectual Life in the Ḥijāz before Wahhabism*, 223–235.

[167] Cf. Kugle, "Heaven's witness," 10–11.

> does not have the grade of identity with him [*maʿiyya*], but the grade of dependency.[168]

ʿAbd al-Raʾūf comments: "This is what is meant by *waḥdat al-wujūd*: the world is not a secondary existence that is independent of God." He is at pains to correct dangerous misconceptions arising from *waḥdat al-wujūd*, He quotes the view (discussed earlier in the *Risāla Tubayyin* attributed to Shams al-Dīn, and in al-Rānīrī's *Daʿwā*) concerning the world being simply God's shadow. This is an essentially monist formulation that avoids its worst dangers; without the possessor of the shadow there can be no shadow; but at the same time the shadow is not the same as the 'essence' (*dhāt*) of God, so as ʿAbd al-Raʾūf explains, if a human tries to emulate the divine fiat '*kun*' (be!), then nothing will happen, underlining he is not identical with the deity. (In fact, no text that has come down to us advocates such a simplistic and literal understanding.) Similarly, he warns against some interpretations of the hadith, *man ʿarafa nafsahu fa-qad ʿarafa rabbahu*, saying, "do not be deceived by those who have concluded that the believer (*al-ʿabd*) is identical with God." This hadith appears repeatedly in Hamzah's writings, and, as we have seen, was also the subject of al-Rānīrī's criticism,[169] but Hamzah of course never expressed any such crude interpretation.

To an extent, then, ʿAbd al-Raʾūf seems to be setting up straw men to demolish, much like al-Rānīrī does; yet on occasion his view is close to Hamzah's, for example regarding the critical issue of the Spirit and the Nūr Muḥammad. Both Hamzah and ʿAbd al-Raʾūf believe the world is created not out of nothing but out of God's mercy.[170] It is from God's mercy and his knowledge that the Spirit and the Nūr Muḥammad proceed,[171] being created, in ʿAbd al-Raʾūf 's phrase

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[168] *Tanbih al-Masyi*, 94–5.

وحاصله ان وجود العالم لكونه ليس وجودا مستقلا استقلالا بل فائضة والمراد بالفيض هو كفيض العلم منه تعالي كما لا يتصف بكونه عين الحق لكونه مبدعا كذلك لا يتصف بانه غيره مغائرة تامة بحيث يتصف بانه وجود ثان معه مستقل فان اللّٰه كما كان في الازل ولا شئ معه لكونه الاول قبل كل شئ فكذلك كان لان العالم حادث لكنوه من فيد وجوده لا يتصف بكونه موجودا معه بل موجودا به فليس له رتبة بل رتبة التبعية انتهى

[169] *Asrar al-ʿAsyiqin*, in al-Attas, *Mysticism*, 392–3; *Sharab al-ʿAsyiqin*, in *Mysticism*, 429; al-*Muntahi*, 448, 450.

[170] Noted by Fathurahman in his introduction, *Tanbih al-Masyi*, 65–6; for the text see *Tanbih al-Masyi*, 10–7; cf. Hamzah, *Asrar al-ʿAsyiqin*, in al-Attas, *Mysticism*, 255, 375; adapun Rahman itu pertama memberi Rahmat bagi semesta sekalian ʿalam – yaʿni menjadikan semesta sekalian: "Al-Rahman is [the Name] by which He first bestows his mercy upon the World – that is that He creates all."

[171] Cf Hamzah, *Asrar al-ʿAsyiqin*, in al-Attas, *Mysticism*, 376–7.

‘before all things’ (*qabl al-ashyāʾ*). Here, it is possible to discern a distinct political relevance, as the idea of the ruler as possessing the Nūr Muḥammad and cosmic wisdom was being promoted by other texts composed under Safiyyat al-Din’s patronage, including an Arabic work entitled the *ʿUmdat al-Ansāb*, an adaptation and abridgement of Jamāl al-Ḥusaynī’s *Rawḍat al-Aḥbāb*, a Persian work originally written in late Timurid Herat.[172] The idea of the ruler possessing divine effulgence may have been particularly attractive given questions over the legitimacy of female rule.

At the same time, the *Tanbīh al-Māshī* gives every appearance of a work intended to promote reconciliation. Whereas al-Rānīrī singles out his opponents in Aceh by name, ʿAbd al-Raʾūf at no point identifies them. Rather, he warns his readers in general terms of the dangers of being deceived by the technical terms of the Sufis,[173] a theme we also find in al-Rānīrī’s *Hujjat al-Siddiq*.[174] Nonetheless, he avoids the polemical tone of al-Rānīrī (or indeed the *Risāla Tubayyin*), and indeed in both his Arabic *Tanbīh al-Māshī* and the Malay *Daqaʾiq al-Huruf* specifically warns against the tendency to condemn Muslims as heretics or infidels.[175] ʿAbd al-Raʾūf stresses the need to “cover up the faults of fellow Muslims.”[176] This irenic approach doubtless derived from his master, al-Kūrānī, who affirmed that no one who said the *shahāda* should be denounced as an infidel.[177] A further impetus may have been a possible kinship with Hamzah Fansuri, as some scholars have suggested; at the very least he was came from the same area of Sumatra, Singkel being a town near Fansur.[178] Finally, given Safiyyat al-Din’s need to sure up her position, a break with the policy of persecution instigated by her late husband would doubtless have been welcomed by many.

Apart from the discussion of *waḥdat al-wujūd*, much of the *Tanbīh al-Māshī* is devoted to discussion of the practice of *dhikr*. ʿAbd al-Raʾūf explains that

> There are many ways [of performing *dhikr*]; learn them with the guidance of a shaykh, and do not do so without him. It is renowned that he

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[172] Peacock, “Jamāl al-Ḥusaynī’s *Rawżat al-Aḥbāb* between Herat, Istanbul and Sumatra,” 42–50.

[173] *Tanbih al-Masyi*, 96–7.

[174] Attas, *Commentary*, 102–3.

[175] *Tanbih al-Masyi*, 62–3, 136–9; somewhat ironically though, ʿAbd al-Raʾuf does approvingly quote al-Ghazālī accusing of *kufr* those who attribute exoteric meanings to the esoteric speech of Sufis (*Tanbih al-Masyi*, 9–7).

[176] *Tanbih al-Masyi*, 140–1.

[177] Copty, “Naqshbandiyya,” 344.

[178] See Fathurahman, *Tanbih al-Masyi*, Introduction, 26; Azra, *Origins*, 71.

> who has no shaykh, Satan is his shaykh. Seek the most perfect shaykh, and strive seriously in seeking, for he who strives in the search will find and obtain what is sought. Be trained by him, make your will one will with his will, and do not desire anything but that which he desires, and thereby you shall reach, by God's will, the oneness which is sought by every seeker who journeys towards God, and in God is success.[179]

The description of the practices of *dhikr* is heavily reliant on Muḥammad Ghawth's *al-Jawāhir al-Khamsa* which is repeatedly mentioned,[180] as are the treatises by the *murshid* of Ṣibghatallāh and al-Burhānpūrī, Wajīh al-ʿAlawī.[181] It is through *dhikr* that the *murīd* is promised that he will attain the grade of *aḥadiyya*, oneness with the absolute one, and in keeping with Shattari tradition, the significance of the bodily performance of these rituals is emphasised. So too are the esoteric properties of the letters of the Arabic script. The emphasis on Shattari practices and explicit references to Shattari masters makes this the earliest work from Aceh that explicitly advocates a specific *ṭarīqa*, for there is little *ṭarīqa*-specific about the earlier works of Hamzah, Shams al-Dīn or al-Rānīrī, even if we do know in both the first and last cases at least some of their *ṭarīqa* affiliations, to the Qadiriyya and the Qadiriyya-Rifaʿiyya respectively.

For the reader of the *Tanbīh al-Māshī*, who is repeatedly addressed as the *murīd*, the shaykh is to be ʿAbd al-Raʾūf himself, a claim which is reinforced by the author's inclusion of his Shattari and Qadiri *silsila*s at the book's end, both of which lead back via al-Qushāshī to Muḥammad Ghawth, and ultimately to ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib.[182] Perhaps one reason for the work's composition in Arabic rather than Malay is to impose some of the "effort in seeking"

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[179] *Tanbih al-Masyi*, 114–5:

واما كيفياته فكثيرة تعلم بارشاد الشيخ ولا يغني عن الشيخ وقد اشتهر عنهم من لا سيخ له فالشطان شيخه فاطلب الشيخ الكامل المكمل وجد في الطلب لان من جد في التلب وجد وظفر المطلوب وتأدب معه واجعل ارادتك بارادته ارادة واحدة فلا تريد الا ما اراده تصل بذلك باذن اللّٰه الى التوحيد الذى هو المطلوب لكل طلب سائر الى اللّٰه وباللّٰه التوفيق

[180] *Tanbih al-Masyi*, 116–7, 118–9, 126–7, 136–7, 154–5.

[181] *Tanbih al-Masyi*, 116–7. Given the programme of reconciliation promoted by the *Tanbīh*, it is perhaps significant that Wajīh al-Dīn not only was a prominent defender of Muḥammad Ghawth, but also wrote a treatise condemning the *takfīr* of other Muslims. See Kugle, A *Hajj of the Heart,* 131–135, 188–9.

[182] *Tanbih al-Masyi*, 158–163.

(*al-jidd fīʾl-ṭalab*)[183] that is required of the *murīd*. Arabic thus serves to veil the practices of the *dhikr* ritual from the uninitiated and untrained. Moreover, as the learned language of Islam, the use of Arabic by all three of the authors discussed here would have served to bolster the authority of their ideas, even if these were also conveyed by the Malay treatises they composed. To a degree, they may also have been intended to address an international audience, for by mid-seventeenth century the Acehnese *wujūdī* debates were resonating not just in Banten but also in the Hijaz.

5 The Acehnese *Wujūdī* Debates in the Ḥijāz

ʿAbd al-Raʾūf al-Singkilī was one of the most prominent students of the great Medinan scholar of the seventeenth century, Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī; others included the Sulawesi Sufi, Yūsuf al-Maqāṣīrī, discussed further in Chapter 5. Some of al-Kūrānī's students, including ʿAbd al-Raʾūf, continued to maintain contact with their teacher through letters after their departure from the Hijaz. For instance, al-Kūrānī's *Kashf al-Muntaẓar limā Yarāhu al-Muḥtaḍar* was written to validate al-Singkilī's approach to the state of one who was about to die, which he had expressed in his treatise *Sakarat al-Mawt*.[184] The *Kashf al-Muntaẓar* was written in response to a letter ʿAbd al-Raʾūf had sent to al-Kūrānī from Aceh asking for his advice.[185] The interlinked nature of Malay and Arabic texts is also reflected in the preface of ʿAbd al-Raʾūf's *Lubb al-Kashf waʾl-Bayān limā Yarāhu al-Muhtaḍar biʾl-ʿIyān*, in which the author states it was written in response to texts the author had read in Malay (*bi-lughat al-Jāwī*).[186] Possibly, it too was destined for al-Kūrānī's eyes, hence the choice of Arabic.

Al-Kūrānī penned several treatises responding to questions from the 'Jāwa', as their prefaces indicate. The most widely read of these was the *Itḥāf al-Dhakī*, surviving in at least 30 manuscripts, which constituted a commentary on al-Burhānpūrī's *al-Tuḥfa al-Mursala*, and was probably composed in 1665,[187] possibly, as has been suggested, at the behest of ʿAbd al-Raʾūf.[188] However, the commentary on al-Burhānpūrī is in fact subordinated to al-Kūrānī's real agenda, which is primarily to rebut al-Taftāzānī's arguments against *waḥdat al-wujūd*.[189] The *Itḥāf al-Dhakī* rapidly reached a wide international audience. When the Moroccan scholar al-ʿAyyāshī visited the Hijaz, he brought with him queries from colleagues in Morocco about the *Itḥāf al-Dhakī* and another treatise by al-Kūrānī, *al-Lumʿa al-Saniyya*. In response, al-Kūrānī penned the *Nibrās al-Īnās bi-Ajwibat Ahl Fās*.[190] Later on, the *Itḥāf* was used by ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī in his own defence of *waḥdat al-wujūd*.[191]

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[183] *Tanbih al-Masyi*, 114.

[184] Dumairieh, *Intellectual Life in the Ḥijāz before Wahhabism*, 153; also on ʿAbd al-Raʾūf and al-Kūrānī see Johns, "Friends in Grace".

[185] Voorhoeve, "Bajan Tadjalli," 99; Oman Fathurahman, "New Evidence for Intellectual and Religious Connections between the Ottomans and Aceh," in A.C.S. Peacock and Annabel Teh Gallop (eds), *From Anatolia to Aceh: Ottomans, Turks and Southeast Asia* (Oxford, 2015), 297.

[186] Leiden University Library, Or 5660, fol. 1b: *waqftu ʿalā baʿḍ al-rasāʾil bi-lughat al-Jāwī.*

[187] El-Rouayheb, *Islamic Intellectual History*, 320.

While the exchange indicates that the questions that concerned the Jāwī students of al-Kūrānī were of wider interest, there is actually no discernible trace of the Acehnese debates in the *Itḥāf*, despite the mention of them in the preface. There is a complete absence of references either direct or indirect to Hamzah Fansuri, Shams al-Dīn al-Sumāṭrāʾī or Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī.[192] Of more interest from this point of view is al-Kūrānī's *al-Maslak al-Jalī fī Ḥukm Shaṭḥ al-Walī* which addresses directly the dispute between al-Rānīrī and the followers of Hamzah and Shams al-Dīn.[193] Although neither party is named, their identity is unmistakable from the quotations attributed to them.

Al-Maslak al-Jalī was composed in response to questions from the 'islands of Southeast Asia' (*jazāʾir al-Jāwa*) that reached al-Kūrānī in 1084/1673, showing the dispute was still rumbling on some three decades after al-Rānīrī had been ousted and forced to leave Aceh. Although al-Rānīrī is not named directly, it is entirely clear that it is his polemic that lay behind the dispute. *Al-Maslak al-Jalī* starts by stating its purpose of addressing "what is said by some of the Jawa who are attributed with knowledge and piety, 'God is our self and being and we are his self and being'" – precisely the statement that al-Rānīrī attributes to Hamza and Shams al-Dīn. The first part of *al-Maslak al-Jalī* analyses well known texts ranging from al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ* to Ibn ʿArabī's *al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya*. After evaluating the possible interpretations of the statement "God is our self and being," al-Kūrānī concludes that while the phrase's inner meaning is acceptable, the superficial one is dangerous and the masses (*al-ʿāmma*) should not be exposed to it, lest it result in strife (*fitna*). Al-Kūrānī goes on to relate,

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[188] Riddell, *Islam and the Malay-Indonesian World*, 128.

[189] For a lucid exposition of the *Itḥāf al-Dhakī* see El-Rouayheb, *Islamic Intellectual History*, 320–332; also Oman Fathurahman, "*Itḥāf al-dhakī* by Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī: A Commentary of *Waḥdat al- Wujūd* for *Jāwī* Audiences," *Archipel* 81 (2011): 177–198.

[190] Dumairieh, *Intellectual Life in the Ḥijāz before Wahhabism*, 285.

[191] El-Rouayheb, *Islamic Intellectual History*, 332.

[192] Fathurahman, "*Itḥāf al-Dhakī* by Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī," 182.

[193] Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī, *al-Maslak al-Jalī fī Ḥukm Shaṭḥ al-Walī*, Istanbul, Beyazit State Library, MS Veliyüddin 1815, fol. 127b–146b; other mss: see Süleymaniye Serez 3939/6, fol. 42a–50; British Library Delhi Arabic 710 (g), fol. 40b–51b; Leiden University Library, Or 5660/2.

> This is what happened according to what we have been told by our friends from that land [Jāwa] whom we trust. Some of the ʿulama' who came to that land branded the man who made that statement [that "God is our self and being and we are his self and being"] an unbeliever. The affair was brought before the sultan, and they asked the man who made that statement to repent. He refused, saying, "Why should I repent, when no one here knows the meaning of this statement?" They did not listen to him, and the affair ended up with him and those who agreed with him being ordered to be killed by being thrown on the fire. The trustworthy narrator told me that the man who made that statement did not burn.[194]

Evidently, this is the same story related by al-Rānīrī about the dispute in front of the sultan of Aceh, with some differences of details. Here it is multiple foreign ʿulama' who accuse the individual, who is himself – rather than his books – subjected to burning on the pyre. Given our only other account is al-Rānīrī's, in which there are minor variations between the version in the *Tibyan* and the *Fath al-Mubin*,[195] it is hard to know whether the differences in details reflect anything more than simply confusion added by the passage of time. Indeed, although the manuscripts I have examined agree, in one instance simple textual corruption may be responsible, for shortly afterwards al-Kūrānī starts referring to the accuser in the singular, in contrast to the plural used above:

> His statement that "no one here knows the meaning of this statement" shows that he meant the correct, sharia-compliant meaning, but he failed to express it a way that would remove the suspicion of the scholar who branded him an unbeliever.[196]

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[194] Veliyüddin Efendi 1815, fol. 143a; Delhi Arabic 710, fol. 47a.
كذلك كان فيما حكاه لنا الثقة من اصحابنا من اهل تلك البلاد ان قائل الكلام المذكور كفّره بعض العلماء الواردين الى تلك البلاد وارتفع امرهم الى السلطان فاستتابوا القائل فلم يتُب وقال كيف اتوب ولا احد هنا يعرف معنى هذا الكلام ولم يسمعوا كلامه فانجر الامر الى ان امر بقتله و بقتل من وافقه ورموهم في النار قال الراوي الثقة لا فلم يحترق القائل انتهى

[195] See pp. 79–80 above.

[196] Veliyüddin Efendi 1815, fol. 143a–b; Delhi Arabic 710, fol. 47a.
و قول القائل لا احد هنا يعرف معنى هذا الكلام يدل على انه قصد بذلك معنى صحيحا شرعيا لكنه عجز عن التعبير عنه بعبارة تزيل شبهة العالم المكفر له

In a fascinating passage that gives a unique insight into the circulation of texts from Southeast Asia in the Hijaz, al-Kūrānī relates how he personally was aware of the contents of the works of al-Rānīrī (*al-ʿālim al-mukaffir*):

> I became acquainted with the treatise by the scholar who branded his opponents infidel (*al-ʿālim al-mukaffir*) in which he cited a statement by the aforementioned individual and his followers, and refuted it. That statement shows that they did not intend the meaning that the one who branded them heretics understood. The situation calls for it to be quoted and transcribed in order that doubt be removed. After the introduction to his treatise, the one who branded his opponents infidel said, "When the heretical *wujūdī* people appeared and debated with us, they said, 'God is our self and being and we are his self and being,' and I responded with definitive proofs and clear evidence, and they were amazed."[197]

The quotation indicates that the treatise al-Kūrānī saw was al-Rānīrī's *al-Tibyan*, slightly abbreviated, which describes the debate with the 'heretical *wujūdiyya*' in almost identical terms in its Arabic introduction.[198] This fact suggests, incidentally, another possible purpose of the Arabic prefaces to these Malay texts, of providing a synopsis of their purpose and contents to an international audience unacquainted with Malay. At any rate, the passage is clear evidence that a copy of the *Tibyan* was available in the Hijaz, doubtless brought by one of the Jāwa. As noted above, al-Kūrānī also includes substantial quotations from al-Rānīrī's *Daʿwā al-Ẓill maʿa Ṣāḥibi*. Evidently, then, both these texts had made their way to the Hijaz.

It is intriguing that despite the lack of textual evidence for Hamzah Fansuri or Shams al-Dīn propagating the statement that "God is our self and being, we are his self and being," al-Kūrānī does not dismiss this as a distortion, but rather devotes the treatise to explaining how it is a legitimate expression of *waḥdat al-wujūd*. Despite the tendency in much modern scholarship to see Shams al-Dīn and Hamzah as representatives of 'heterodoxy' and al-Rānīrī as the voice of orthodoxy, the entire point of *al-Maslak al-Jalī* is to rescue al-Rānīrī's opponents from the charge of unbelief and to affirm their ideas are compliant with sharia. Al-Kūrānī's target instead is *al-ʿālim al-mukaffir*, al-Rānīrī, who considered only the superficial (*ẓāhir*) interpretation of the controversy. The debate was also picked up by another major scholar, ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī of Damascus (1050/1641–1143/1731), a prominent defender of Ibn ʿArabī against his detractors.[199] ʿAbd al-Ghanī learned of the 'Javanese question' from reading *al-Maslak al-Jalī* and wrote his own defence of the proposition that "God is our self and being, we are his self and being," based entirely on quotations from the Qur'an.[200] ʿAbd al-Ghanī's approach to the question was thus quite different from al-Kūrānī's who had resorted to authorities such as Ibn ʿArabī; by rejecting any other source than the Qur'an, ʿAbd al-Ghanī aims to show incontrovertibly the compatibility of the proposition with revealed religion.

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[197] Veliyüddin Efendi 1815, fol. 143b; Delhi Arabic 710, fol. 47b.

ثم وقفت على رسالة العالم المكفر نقل كلاما عن القائل المذكور ومن تبعه في ذلك وردّه عليهم وذلك
الكلام يدل على انهم لم يقصدوا المعنى الذي فهمه المكفر فيستدعي المقام نقل وتحريره بتوفيق اللّٰه
لتزول الشبهة قال المكفر بعد خطبة رسالته لما ظهر القوم الوجودية الزاندقة فتباحثوا معنا وقالوا ان اللّٰه
نفسنا ووجودنا ونحن نفسه ووجوده اجبتهم بحجج قاطعة ودلائل ساطعة فبهتوا

[198] *Al-Tibyan fi Maʿrifat al-Adyan* in Voorhoeve, *Twee Maleise Geschriften*, 3–4, see full quotation above, p. 79.

The impact of the Acehnese debates in the Hijaz is reflected in another untitled Arabic text, by the late seventeenth century scholar Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Manūfī, who taught at the Muradiyya Madrasa in Mecca.[201] His treatise, which survives in an eighteenth century manuscript from Aceh furnished with a Malay interlinear translation (Fig. 3.5), was evidently composed, like al-Kūrānī's works, as a response to questions about the *waḥdat al-wujūd* controversy in Aceh, and indeed, its introduction is in places word-for-word identical with *al-Maslak al-Jalī*.[202] Al-Manūfī's treatise starts by quoting the belief of Kamāl al-Dīn and Sayf al-Dīn (the propagators of Hamzah's doctrines in Aceh after his death) that "God is our self and being, we are God's self and being" and al-Rānīrī's denunciation of this as *kufr*. Al-Manūfī is highly critical of al-Rānīrī's accusations of heresy, and quotes the opinion of Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī and al-Nawawī at length to the effect that other Muslims should not be accused of *kufr* without reason. The discussion then moves onto the views of Ibn ʿArabī and Ibn al-Fāriḍ, with al-Manūfī criticising those who make exaggerated claims on the basis of their teachings, such as that humans

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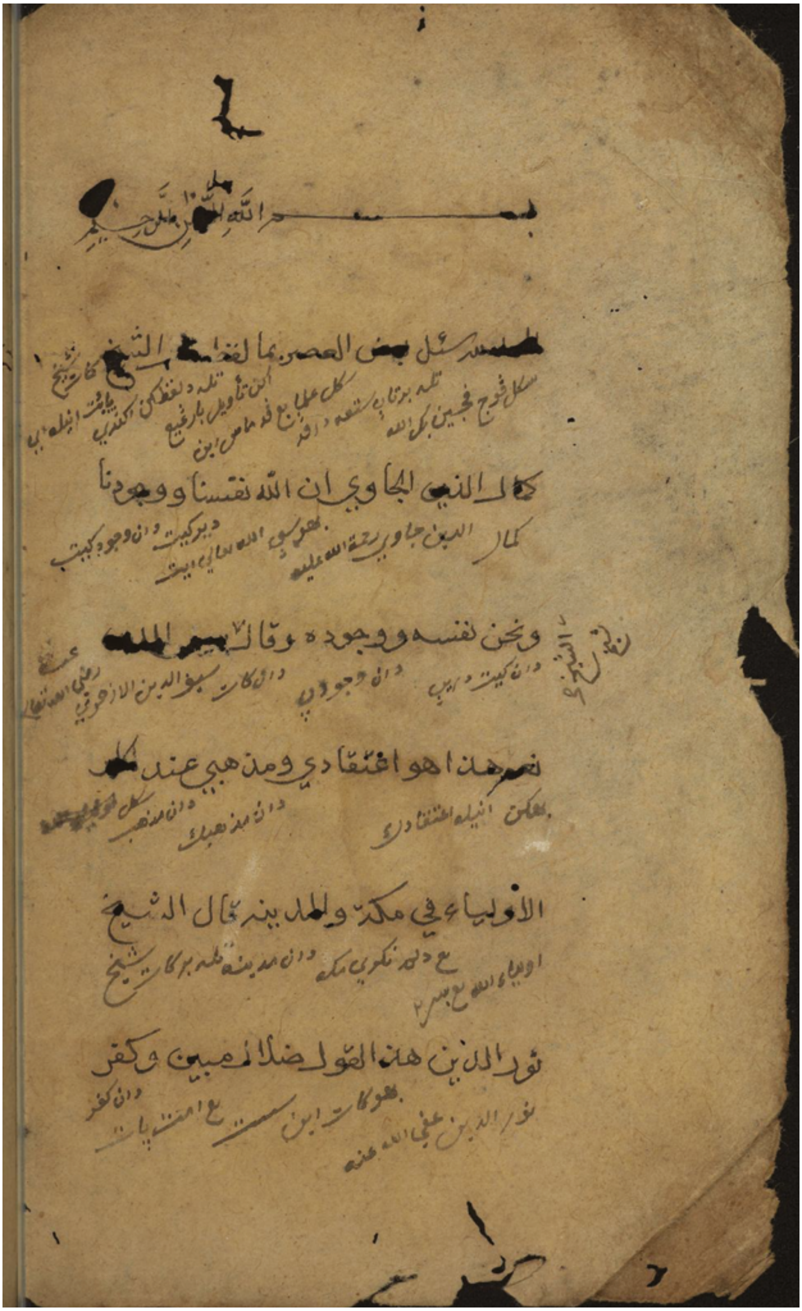
[199] On him see Akkach, Samer, "ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī", *EI*³.

[200] Al-Nābulusī's untitled treatise is published by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Badawī, *Shataḥāt al-Ṣūfiyya* (Cairo, 1949), 191–199. The edition is based on Majmūʿa no 4008 in the Zahiriyya library, Damascus.

[201] On him see ʿAlī b. Tāj al-Dīn b. Taqī al-Dīn al-Sinjarī, *Natā'ij al-Kirām fī Akhbār Makka wa'l-Bayt wa-Wulāt al-Ḥarām*, ed. Majida Faysal Zakariyya (Mecca, 1998), vol. 4, 370; presumably he was the son of Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Manūfī (d. 1044/1634–5), a scholar and Sufi, see al-Muḥibbī, *Khulāsat al-Athar*, vol. 3, 344–6.

[202] Princeton University Library, MS Garrett 476L. The manuscript was first identified and discussed in Laffan, "When is a Jawi Jawi," 141–5, although Laffan did not identify the author.



بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

[illegible] سئل بعض العصر بما لفظ [illegible] الشيخ

ستله برتاي ستڠه دافد سكل علماء يڠ دامس اين اكن تأويل بارڠ تله دلفظكن [illegible] كات شيخ

كمال الدين الجاوي ان الله نفسنا ووجودنا

كمال الدين جاوي رحمة الله عليه بهوسڽ الله تعالى ايت ديري كيت دان وجود كيت

ونحن نفسه ووجوده وقال [illegible]

دان كيت دريڽ دان وجودڽ دان كات سيف الدين الازهري رضي الله تعالى عنه

نعم هذا هو اعتقادي ومذهبي عند [illegible]

بهكن اينيله اعتقادكو دان مذهبكو دان مذهب سكل [illegible]

الاولياء في مكة والمدينة قال الشيخ

اولياء الله يڠ بسر٢ يڠ دنكري مكة دان مدينة تله بركات شيخ

نور الدين هذا القول ضلال مبين وكفر

نور الدين عفى الله عنه بهوكات اين سست يڠ امت ڽات دان كفر

FIGURE 3.5 Treatise by Muḥammad al-Manūfī on the *wujūdī* debates in Aceh, with interlinear Malay translation. Princeton University Library, Islamic Manuscripts, Garrett no. 476L, fol. 1a

(*al-ʿābid*) and God are identical, and al-Manūfī repeatedly cites al-Taftāzānī's critique of Ibn ʿArabī. However, the work concludes with a strong defence of the teachings of Ibn ʿArabī and Ibn al-Fāriḍ "and their followers." Here the Malay translator interpolates "and their followers from the verifying ʿulama' of Aceh Dar al-Salam such as Shaykh Hamzah Fansuri, Shaykh Shams al-Dīn al-Sumātrā'ī, Shaykh Kamāl al-Dīn al-Āshī and Shaykh Sayf al-Dīn al-Azharī."[203] This seems to be an allusion to al-Rānīrī's opponent, Sayf al-Rijal. More importantly, al-Manūfī's work shows that the reverberations of the Aceh debates in the Hijaz was not limited to al-Kūrānī's immediate circle, and confirms the controversy revolved about the interpretation of Ibn ʿArabī rather than being a wholly Acehnese creation.

As the mention of al-Rānīrī in both al-Manūfī's treatise and the quotations from his *Daʿwā al-Ẓill* and the *Tibyan* in al-Kūrānī's *al-Maslak al-Jalī* confirm, by the second half of the seventeenth century Southeast Asian authors and their Arabic, and even Malay, texts were known in the Hijaz. Men such as ʿAbd al-Ra'ūf al-Singkilī doubtless acted as a conduit, although *al-Maslak al-Jalī* was composed a good decade after ʿAbd al-Ra'ūf's return to the Hijaz. Nonetheless, it is possible that ʿAbd al-Ra'ūf, who remained in touch with al-Kūrānī, requested the composition of the treatise from his erstwhile teacher to put an end conclusively to the controversy. While the heated debates on *waḥdat al-wujūd* may have had their local relevance in Acehnese politics, they also demonstrate the integration of Acehnese intellectual life with that of the rest of the *dār al-Islām*, where the composition of treatises on *waḥdat al-wujūd* was increasingly popular in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. As ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī wrote in his *Īḍāḥ al-Maqṣūd min Maʿnā Waḥdat al-Wujūd*, "the problem of *waḥdat al-wujūd* is one which the ʿulama' have spoken about extensively both of old and recently."[204] Indeed, the idea of the desirability of sultanic intervention in these debates was neither an Acehnese nor a Mughal innovation. The Ottoman Shaykh al-Islam Kemal Pashazade (d. 940/1534), for instance, had written that

> Know that the great shaykh and noble exemplar, pole of the gnostics and imam of the monotheists Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-ʿArabī al-Ṭayyī al-Hātimī al-Andalusī [i.e. Ibn ʿArabī] is a perfect *mujtahid* and a virtuous guide, whose wonderous deeds, breeches of established customs and numerous pupils are accepted by the ʿulama' and the virtuous. Whoever denies this, makes a mistake, and whoever insists in his denial, is in error. It is up to

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[203] Princeton University Library, MS Garrett 476L, p. 29

[204] Istanbul, Sülmaniye Library, MS Aşir Efendi 434, fols 75b–82a, at fol. 76a.

> the sultan to punish him and turn him from this belief, for the sultan is charged with commanding what is right and forbidding what is wrong.[205]

In this context, it is natural the issues raised by the Achenese controversy would find an international audience, as is illustrated by the extant manuscripts. *Al-Maslak al-Jalī* is found in a copy in a *majmūʿa* which was endowed to be kept in the *bezistan* (covered market) of Serez in northern Greece for public reading on payment of a surety,[206] while another copy formed part of a *majmūʿa* of al-Kūrānī's writings owned by the Ottoman *shaykh al-Islām* Veliyüddin Efendi (d. 1182/1768).[207] A manuscript of *al-Maslak al-Jalī* was in the library of the Mughal sultans.[208] Ibrāhīm b. Abī Bakr al-Shāmī's *al-Mawāhib al-Mustarsala*, another Acehnese work on *waḥdat al-wujūd*, is preserved in a Rabat manuscript as well as Southeast Asian ones.[209] As the Rabat manuscript is not written in Maghrebi script, it is likely it was copied in the Hijaz and brought thence to Morocco, and it is doubtless not coincidental that, as noted above, al-Kūrānī's *Itḥāf al-Dhakī* rapidly provoked reactions from Moroccans.

It was doubtless the broader intellectual ramifications of the Acehnese debate on *waḥdat al-wujūd* which attracted the international interest in the texts it spawned, meaning that, through al-Kūrānī's quotations of the *Daʿwā al-Ẓill*, al-Rānīrī's words were read in places as varied as the Hijaz, Damascus, Istanbul and the Balkans. If the debate cannot be reduced to simple political exigencies, there is nonetheless a direct parallel between political change and the composition of such texts in Aceh. With the change of dynasty in 1699,

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[205] Cited in Abū'l-Yusr ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-Raḥīm, *al-Tibr al-Masbūk fi Naṣīḥat al-Akhyār wa'l-Mulūk*, Istanbul, Süleymaniye Library, MS Köprülü Fazıl Ahmed Paşa 787, fol, 3b:

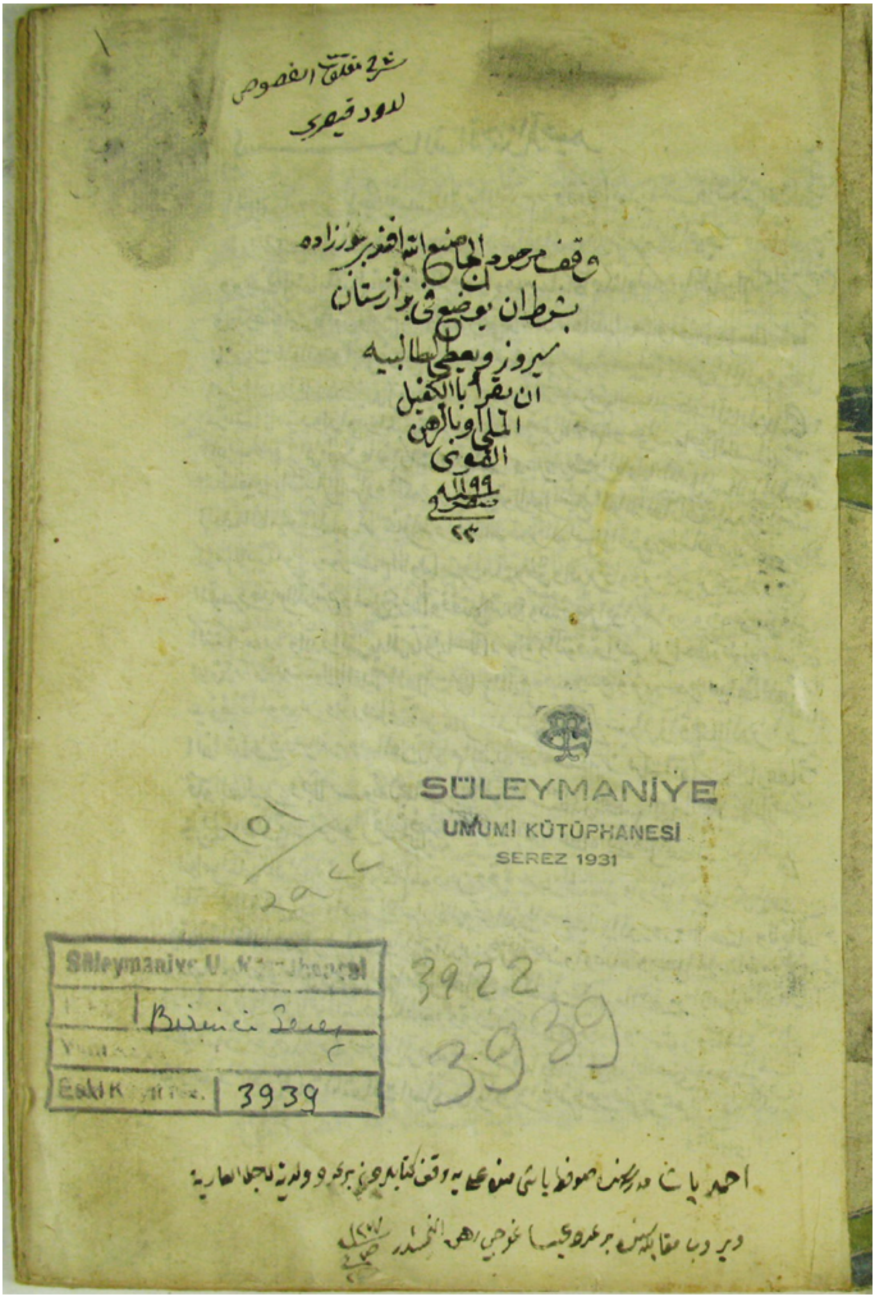
و من ذلك ما ذكر خاتمة المحققين ابن كمال الوزير في حق الشيخ الكبير محيى الدين العربي جعل مثواهما الجنة الحي القدير حيث قال اعلموا ان الشيخ الاعظم والمقتدي الاكرم قطب العارفين وامام الموحدين محمد بن علي العربي الطائي الخاتمي الاندلسي مجتهد كامل ومرشد فاضل له مناقب عجيبة وحوارق عادات وتلاميذ كثيرة مقبولة عند العلماء والفضلاء من انكر فقد اخطأ ومن اصر في انكاره فقد ضل ويجب علي السلطان تأديبه وعن هذا الاعتقاد تحويله اذ السلطان مأمور بامر المعروف والنهي عن المنكر

[206] Istanbul, Süleymaniye Library, MS Serez 3939, fol. 1a.

[207] Istanbul, Beyazit State Library, MS Veliyüddin Efendi 1815.

[208] British Library, Delhi Arabic 710.

[209] Rabat, Bibliothèque nationale, MS 1026 (D 1206), dated 1112/1700–1. For the other extant manuscripts, see Appendix 2.



شرح مفتاح الفصوص
لداود قيصري

وقف مرحوم الحاج صنع الله افندي بوزاده
بشرط ان يوضع في بزستان
سيروز ويعطى لطالبيه
ان يقرأ بالكفيل
الملي او بالرهن
القوي
١١٩٩

SÜLEYMANİYE
UMUMİ KÜTÜPHANESİ
SEREZ 1931

Süleymaniye U. Kütüphanesi
Birinci Serez
Eski Kayıt No. 3939

3922
3939

FIGURE 3.6 Waqf inscription on the *majmūʿa* of Sufi texts, including al-Kūrānī's *al-Maslak al-Jalī*, endowed by Sunullah Efendi to the *bezistan* (market hall) of Serez, northern Greece to be given to those who ask for it to read on condition they pay a deposit. Istanbul, Süleymaniye Library, MS Serez 3939, fol. 1ª

when the Hadrami Jamāl al-Layl rulers came to power, new texts on *waḥdat al-wujūd* largely ceased to be produced, although old ones certainly continued to circulate, as the probably eighteenth century copy of al-Manūfī's treatise from Aceh suggests. The political, cultural, and economic environment changed radically in the eighteenth century. Power passed from the sultans to the notables (*orang kaya*) who made and unmade the rulers, while control of Aceh's major exports, pepper and tin, passed to the Dutch. Eighteenth century Aceh was much less centralised, and few literary works or authors can be associated with sultanic patronage. The Malay textual production of eighteenth century Aceh, which is much slighter than that of the seventeenth century, is predominantly comprised of translations of Arabic works on grammar, *fiqh* and *ʿaqīda*, above all al-Sanūsī's *Umm al-Barāhīn*, a noted summary of Ashʿarite doctrine. A Malay translation of Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī's *Kashf al-Muntaẓar limā Yarāhu al-Muḥtaḍar* by Khatib Seri Raja bin Hamzah al-Asyi al-Qadiri al-Syattari made in 1199/1784 is the only text potentially relevant to Sufism, but even this is more legal in intent.[210] Despite rule by an Arab dynasty, no new Arabic texts were composed in Aceh that have been identified to date. The new cultural environment is suggested by the rise of Acehnese as a literary medium, almost entirely for poetry, especially epics like the *Hikayat Meukota Alam* that commemorated the glory days of Iskandar Sultan's rule. In the absence of centralised rule, both the potency of the *wujūdiyya* controversy and the desire to compose texts, especially Arabic texts, relating to it dwindled.

Finally, we must in this connection raise the question of the audience of these Arabic texts. With the exception of al-Rānīrī's lost *al-Lamaʿān*, none of the Arabic texts from Aceh are known to have a dedicatee, in contrast to the Malay ones, which frequently state in their prefaces they were written for one ruler or another. The lack of any surviving manuscripts of the Arabic texts from the seventeenth century also hinders our investigation. As is suggested by the evidence of the local Arabic epistolography, to be discussed in Chapter 8, standards of Arabic were not especially high in early seventeenth century Aceh, suggesting a very limited local audience for these works. There would presumably have been a small local elite interested in Sufism that was acquainted with Arabic, but there is no reason to believe any of the rulers of Aceh had any facility with the tongue (unlike the case in Banten later in the eighteenth century, as will be discussed in Chapter 7). It is likely, then, that the Arabic compositions served two purposes. Firstly, they served to provide authority for the Malay compositions of the same authors by putting forth their ideas in Arabic, the supreme language of religion and law in the Islamic world, as well as demonstrating their authors' intellectual mastery. Ironically, this may well explain the efforts to compose works like the *Nūr al-Daqāʾiq*, with its atrocious Arabic, despite the fact it also exists in a Malay version. Rendering the text into Arabic, albeit badly, aimed to enhance its author's authority among a local Sumatran audience. Secondly, the use of Arabic may have been intended specifically to address an international audience, as the dedication of *al-Lamaʿān* to Abū'l-Mafākhir of Banten suggests, and as the circulation of al-Rānīrī's works in the Middle East through their quotations by al-Kūrānī indicates.

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[210] Iskandar, *Kesusasteraan*, 425; on the Arabic text see Dumairieh, *Intellectual Life in the Ḥijāz before Wahhabism,* 122, 153.

CHAPTER 4

The Banten Mission to Mecca and the Works of Ibn ʿAllān

The earliest detailed account of intellectual interactions between Southeast Asians and the Middle East is provided by the Javanese chronicle of Banten, the *Sejarah Banten*, composed around 1662–3.[1] This relates how in the 1630s,[2] the ruler of Banten had sent a mission to Mecca, to the Sharif Zayd b. Muḥsin (r. 1041/1631–1077/1666); this was rewarded with gifts and titles, including that of sultan. In addition, the embassy requested the explanation of three books, and tried to attract a local scholar, Ibn ʿAllān, to Banten, but he could not be persuaded to leave his homeland.[3] This passage has attracted considerable speculation over the years, in particular with regard to the identity of the three books.[4] While the *Sejarah Banten* gives the titles of the texts as *Marqum, Wujudi* and *Muntahi*, these are so brief as to be highly ambiguous, and no authors are specified; but the title *Wujudi* has been taken to point to a connection with the contemporary Acehnese debates over the doctrine of *wahdat al-wujūd*, and it has been suggested that the third text is none other than Hamzah Fansuri's *Muntahi*, which was certainly known in Banten by the seventeenth century.[5]

There is indeed evidence of interest in *wujūdī* debates in texts produced or copied in Banten, as is discussed further in Chapters 5 and 7, and al-Rānīrī's composition of the lost *al-Lamaʿān fī takfīr man qāla bi-khalq al-Qurʾān* for Abūʾl-Mafākhir, the same ruler who sent the mission to Mecca, is suggestive in this respect. Yet the Arabic sources tell a very different story as to the court's preoccupations in the 1630s. The Hijazi scholar, Muḥammad ʿAlī b. Muḥammad ʿAllān b. Ibrāhīm al-Bakrī al-Ṣiddīqī (996/1588–1057/1648), known in brief as Ibn ʿAllān, whom the *Sejarah Banten* mentions, has left a substantial literary output, including a number of works he composed in response to questions

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[1] For the date, see Djajadiningrat, *Critische beschouwing*, 7.

[2] The dates in the *Sejarah Banten* are ambiguous, see Djajadiningrat, *Critische beschouwing*, 177–180; Pudjiastuti, *Menyusuri Jejak Kesultanan Banten*, 33–9.

[3] Text and Indonesian translation in Pudjiastuti, *Menyusuri Jejak Kesultanan Banten*, 340–346, esp Canto XXXXVI.7, XXXVII.9; Djajadiningrat, *Critische beschouwing*, 50–51, 174.

[4] van Bruinessen, "Sharia court," 167; Laffan, *The Makings of Indonesian Islam*, 17; Djajadiningrat, *Critische beschouwing*, 50–51, 174.

[5] van Bruinessen, "Sharia court," 193, n. 10; Drewes and Brakel, *Poems of Hamzah Fansuri*, 251–2.

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from Banten.[6] These allow us for the first time to establish the nature of at least some of the issues with which the Bantenese were concerned, shedding considerable light on the religious and political environment in Banten in the period. Rather than Ibn ʿArabī, it seems the Banten ʿulamaʾ and court were both fascinated and perturbed by the ideas of Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111), for Ibn ʿAllān tells us that he was asked to explain two of the latter's works.

During his lifetime, al-Ghazālī had been a highly controversial figure, for the ʿulamaʾ had seen his attempt to integrate Sufism into the mainstream of Sunnism as a threat to their position as religious authorities by giving Sufis a superior status. In Andalusia, al-Ghazālī's works were publicly burned at the command of the Almoravid rulers, spurred on by the complaints of ʿulamaʾ.[7] Subsequently, al-Ghazālī's synthesis between Sunnism and Sufism became widely accepted, but controversy continued to echo. Al-Shaʿrānī (d. 973/1565) relates in the introduction to his biographical dictionary of Sufis, *Lawāqiḥ al-Anwār*, how Sufis have been subject to hypocritical and baseless condemnations, and singles out the Almoravid Maliki ʿulamaʾ for their hostility toward al-Ghazālī as an example of this. Al-Shaʿrānī's real target is probably his Maliki enemies in Egypt of his day, but the anecdote was also circulated widely by later writers, drawing on al-Shaʿrānī, such as al-Munawī (d. 1031/1621) and Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī (d. 1205/1790).[8] The controversy in later periods, when the role of Sufism in Muslim society was well established, probably derives from the resemblance between Ghazālian metaphysics and the monist doctrines of Ibn ʿArabī. Al-Taftāzānī (d. 793/1390), who penned an extensive refutation of Ibn Arabī's monism, noted the similarity between the idea of divine effusion (*fayḍ* or *iḥāṭa*) in Ibn ʿArabī and al-Ghazālī's theory that creation is a 'spilling over' of necessary existence onto receptive quiddities. Al-Taftāzānī argued that the distinction – and thus the distinction between heresy and right belief – was that al-Ghazālī described the divine effusion as the bestowal of existence upon creation, whereas the *wujūdiyya* see the divine existence as pervading all creation.[9] Recent research has confirmed that al-Ghazālī's works are heavily indebted to Avicennan Neo-Platonism, and do indeed veer strongly towards monism.[10] In the seventeenth century, such concerns were doubtless all the more relevant with the spread of Shattarism and its reliance on the idea of divine effusion.

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[6] Apparently entirely neglected by western scholarship, the most comprehensive studies of Ibn ʿAllān known to me are Sâmî es-Sakkâr, "İbn Allan," *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul, 1999), vol. 19, 307–8; Muḥammad Ḥabīb al-Ḥīla, *al-Taʾrīkh waʾl-Muʾarrikhūn bi-Makka* (London, 1994), 314–330. While valuable for their lists of Ibn ʿAllān's works, neither discusses his relations with Banten except in passing. He should not be confused with his relative, the noted Naqshbandi Aḥmad b. ʿAllān (d. 1023/1624), who also had some influence in Indonesia: see van Bruinessen, "Origins and Development of the Naqshbandi Order," 154, n. 9, and Le Gall, *A Culture of Sufism*, 96–7.

[7] Delfina Serrano Ruano, "Why Did the Scholars of al-Andalus Distrust al-Ghazālī? Ibn Rushd al-Jadd's *Fatwa* on *Awliyāʾ Allāh*," *Der Islam* 83 (2006): 137–156; a good overview of al-Ghazālī and some of the contemporary controversies surrounding him is Kenneth Garden, *The First Islamic Reviver: Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī and his Revival of the Religious Sciences* (New York, 2013).

[8] Nora S. Eggen, "A Book Burner or Not? History and Myth: Revisiting al-Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ and the Controversies over al-Ghazālī in the Islamic West," *Journal of Arabic and Islamic Studies* 18 (2018): 87–109, esp. 89–91.

Whether it was these specific allegations that bothered the Banten court, however, is far from clear. Although some of al-Shaʿrānī's works certainly were read in eighteenth century Banten (see Appendix 2), we have little evidence for the situation in earlier periods, and there is no evidence al-Taftāzānī's treatise was known in Southeast Asia. The writings of Ibn ʿAllān for the Banten sultans do not, on the face of it, engage with al-Ghazālī's more controversial works, such as the *Iḥyāʾ ʿUlūm al-Dīn*, which outlined his view of the place of Sufis in the religious hierarchy, or the *Iqtiṣād al-Iʿtiqād*, which presented his cosmology and his view of the divine attributes. The Bantenese questions and Ibn ʿAllān's responses revolved around two of al-Ghazālī's works where there is little trace of the philosophical speculations evident elsewhere: the *Naṣīḥat al-Mulūk*, a mirror for princes that provided advice on governance (the attribution of which, at least as a whole, to al-Ghazālī has been questioned by modern scholarship),[11] and *al-Durra al-Fākhira*, a treatise on eschatology which even in Ibn ʿAllān's day was regarded as being of somewhat questionable authenticity.[12] Al-Ghazālī's principal concern in the *Naṣīḥat al-Mulūk* was to emphasise the need for the ruler to be just, and the divine punishment that awaited him if he fell short. The second part of the work – most probably not originally by al-Ghazālī – shows much less concern with legal themes, and is more a patchwork of anecdotes exalting sultanic power.[13] Even if the two halves of the text are obviously by different hands, there is no evidence that any doubts about the ascription were raised in pre-modern times when both were read and appreciated as a single work. The *Naṣīḥat al-Mulūk* had originally been composed in Persian for the Seljuk sultan Muḥammad Ṭapar (r. 498/1105–511/1118), but became famous in the Islamic world in its twelfth century Arabic translation, also known as *al-Tibr al-Masbūk fi Naṣīḥat al-Mulūk*, although the full name is not used in either Ibn ʿAllān's work or other Javanese manuscripts of the text, where it is referred to simply as *Naṣīḥat al-Mulūk*. The Arabic translation had been made by ʿAlī b. Mubārak b. Mawhūb al-Irbilī for the atabeg Alp Qutlugh Inānj Beg b. Qaymāz al-Zaynī and its fame far eclipsed that of the original Persian, existing in numerous manuscripts.[14]

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[9] Knysh, *Ibn ʿArabi*, 152–3.

[10] Frank Griffel, *Al-Ghazzālī's Philosophical Theology* (New York, 2009), esp. Chapters 8 and 9 and pp. 254–255.

[11] Patricia Crone, "Did al-Ghazālī Write a Mirror for Princes? On the Authorship of *Naṣīḥat al-Mulūk*," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 9 (1987): 167–191.

[12] This text has been translated by J.I. Smith as *The Precious Pearl: a translation from the Arabic with notes of the Kitāb al-Durra al-fākhira fī kashf ʿulūm al-ākhira of Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ghazālī* (Missoula, 1979); see p. 123 below for the question of its authenticity.

[13] See Crone "Did al-Ghazālī Write a Mirror for Princes?"; Carole Hillenbrand, "Islamic Orthodoxy or Realpolitik? Al-Ghazālī's Views on Government," *Iran* 26 (1988): 81–94, esp. 92.

Ibn ʿAllān's were not the first works to reach Java that dealt with aspects of al-Ghazālī's thought. Al-Ghazālī features in a very different form in the sixteenth century Javanese text, the *Admonitions of Seh Bari*, which survives in a unique manuscript. Taco Roorda, the nineteenth century Dutch orientalist who was the first to describe the manuscript, argued that it came from Banten, although its editor and translator, G.J.W. Drewes disagreed, attributing it to east Java on the basis that this was the home of its purported author, the saint Pangeran Bonang.[15] Be that as it may, it is intriguing that here al-Ghazālī emerges as the upholder of orthodoxy, invoked to condemn the heretical theological and Sufi doctrines that evidently were circulating in Java. These are characterised as denying the eternity of God's attributes, in particular his role as creator, although of course we are reliant purely on the depiction of the opponents of these doctrines.[16] Al-Ghazālī may have been understood, then, as the arch-opponent of beliefs associated with a certain, poorly attested strand of Sufism deemed heretical by its enemies, while at the same time he personified the Sufi who is unjustly vilified by his opponents.

However, it was the *Naṣīḥat al-Mulūk* rather than any of al-Ghazālī's more obviously Sufi works that attracted Southeast Asian attention in the seventeenth century. The *Naṣīḥat al-Mulūk* strongly influenced two Malay texts from Aceh that were composed around the same period as Ibn ʾAllān's works, al-Rānīrī's *Bustan al-Salatin*, and Jawhari Bukhari's *Taj al-Salatin*. In al-Rānīrī's *Bustan*, composed between 1638 and 1641, the *Naṣīḥat al-Mulūk* was the most used source, accounting for no fewer than a quarter of all the didactic stories in this huge work.[17] Al-Rānīrī drew on the Arabic rather than the Persian original of the text, as one might expect in view of the latter's apparently limited circulation.[18] The *Bustan* sticks more closely to the original than does the *Taj al-Salatin*, composed in 1603;[19] yet the latter is even more extensive in its use of the *Naṣīḥat al-Mulūk*, of which it is in large measure a free translation, albeit with the order of the text altered and numerous embellishments.[20] Curiously though, both Malay texts are reticent in acknowledging their debt to the *Naṣīḥat al-Mulūk*, instead citing as their sources numerous books they did not use, some of which even seem to be entirely imaginary or invented.[21] This custom of citing non-existent books as sources may lie behind the references to unidentified texts cited in the *Sejarah Banten*, the *Marqum*, *Muntahi* and *Wujudi*.

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[14] On the Persian and Arabic text see F.R.C. Bagley (ed. and trans.), *Al-Ghazzālī's Book of Counsel for Kings* (Naṣīḥat al-Mulūk) (London, 1964), xvi–xxiv.

[15] Drewes, *The Admonitions of Seh Bari*, 2.

[16] Drewes, *Admonitions of Seh Bari*, 75ff.

[17] Wormser, *Le Bustan al-Salatin*, 79.

There is further evidence for the circulation of the Arabic version of al-Ghazālī's text in Southeast Asia. A curious manuscript of the *Naṣīḥat al-Mulūk*, which presents the Arabic text along with its Malay and Dutch translations, was donated to Edinburgh University in 1706.[22] The Dutch version was made by James Walker, a Scotsman in Dutch service, who dedicated it to William of Orange. Walker claims that the translation from Arabic into Malay was undertaken by a certain Haji Ismail, otherwise unidentified. Both the Arabic and Malay manuscripts are copied by a European hand, presumably that of Walker himself, while Walker also notes that the Malay translation was presented to one of the kings of the 'Eastern islands.' However, this somewhat strange work presents further evidence for the circulation of al-Ghazālī's *Naṣīḥat al-Mulūk* in the region during the seventeenth to eighteenth centuries. This picture is confirmed by the National Library in Jakarta. Apart from Ibn ʿAllān's commentaries, the Banten sultanate library possessed at least one copy of al-Ghazālī's *Naṣīḥat al-Mulūk*. Of the two Jakarta manuscripts of the work (MS A 102, A 103), MS 102 was undoubtedly part of the royal library of Banten, for it bears the names of both a son of Sultan Muḥammad Shifā (r. 1733–1747) and Pangeran Raja Kusuma,[23] the uncle of the ruler of Banten, who is said by a contemporary

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[18] Wormser, *Le Bustan al-Salatin*, 159–60.

[19] Wormser, *Le Bustan al-Salatin*, 179–80.

[20] Braginsky, *The Heritage of Traditional Malay Literature*, 432–4.

[21] Wormser, "Les oulemas," 9; cf. Wormser, *Le Bustan al-Salatin*, 75–9.

[22] Edinburgh University Library, MS Dc.6.73–4 (see Ricklefs, Voorhoeve and Gallop, *Indonesian Manuscripts in Great Britain*, 120). This manuscript is briefly discussed in Su Fang Ng, *Alexander the Great from Britain to Southeast Asia: Peripheral Empires in the Global Renaissance* (Oxford, 2019), 197–8.

[23] Jakarta MS A 102, fol. 2a. The inscription reads:
Milik Muhammad Raji bin Muhammad Shifa' al-Jawi
(another hand)
Peling kitab iki olehe Pangeran Raja Kusuma
telung riyal. Maka .. .... isun ...

Dutch witness writing around 1787 to have "spent most of his time in religious observations and daily lamentation of the state of his fatherland."[24]

Southeast Asia was not alone in its interest in al-Ghazālī. The Arabic *al-Tibr al-Masbūk* had circulated widely in the late Mamluk and Ottoman periods, as extant manuscripts attest,[25] and was frequently adapted and translated. The Ottoman litterateur Aşık Çelebi (d. 979/1572), for instance, had rendered al-Ghazālī's *al-Tibr al-Masbūk* into Ottoman Turkish for Süleyman the Magnificent at the behest of the vizier Rüstem Pasha, who pointed to its utility to "revive God's sunna."[26] Another Ottoman adaptation of *al-Tibr al-Masbūk* was made for Süleyman's son, prince Beyazid.[27] In the seventeenth century, a mufti of Belgrade compiled an Arabic treatise dealing largely with rulers' relations with ʿulamaʾ, which alluded to al-Ghazālī's work in its title, *al-Tibr al-Masbūk fī Naṣīḥat al-Akhyār waʾl-Mulūk*.[28] This later interest was not restricted to the *Naṣīhat al-Mulūk*. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, there was a revival of interest in al-Ghazālī's works across the Islamic world. Their adaptation into Malay was undertaken by ʿAbd al-Ṣamad al-Palimbānī (d. after 1206/1791, and discussed further in Chapter 6), including a widely read

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telung riyal, isun wehaken ing anake ro2 lanang
Ratubagus Shaʿban lan Ratubagus Ilyas(?).
Property of Muhammad Raji bin Muhammad Shifaʾ al-Jawi
(another hand)
Remembrance this book was obtained by/from Pangeran Raja Kusuma
three riyals. So .. .... I ...
three riyals, I gave to his two sons
Ratubagus Shaʿban and Ratubagus Ilyas(?).

According to Ali Akbar, whom I am indebted for the reading of this inscription, the agent of the verb 'olehe' 'obtained' is ambiguous, and it could mean it was acquired either by or from Pangeran Raja Kusuma. Given the reference to paying his two sons, the latter interpretation sees more likely.

[24] Ann Kumar, *Java and Modern Europe: Ambiguous Encounters* (London, 2013), 263.

[25] E.g. the following Süleymaniye MSS (Istanbul): Reisülküttab 936, copied 859/1455; Reisülküttab 935, copied 910/1505 in a village outside Marʿash from a ms belonging to Sībāy, amir of Aleppo; Nuruosmaniye 4341, an illuminated Mamluk copy dated Rabīʿ I 857/1453; Ayasofya 2851, dated 867/1457–8.

[26] Aşık Çelebi, *Tercüme-i el-Tibr el-Mesbuk fi Nasihati-l-Muluk*, Istanbul, Süleymaniye, MS Nurusomaniye 3741; another copy, dated 1151/1738–9, is Süleymaniye MS Ibrahim Efendi 463.

[27] ʿAlaʾi b. Muḥibbī el-Şerif, *Neticetü's-Suluk fi Nasihati'l-Muluk*, Süleymaniye MS Nurusomaniye 2256.

[28] Abūʾl-Yusr ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-Raḥīm, *al-Tibr al-Masbūk fī Naṣīḥat al-Akhyār waʾl-Mulūk*, Süleymaniye, MS Köprülü Fazıl Ahmed Paşa 787, dated 1082/1671–2 (autograph); another copy with slightly different introduction, Süleymaniye H. Husnu Paşa 642.

translation of al-Ghazālī's *Bidāyat al-Hidāya*, a Sufi guide to dogmatics and sharia (*Hidayat al-Salikin*, 1192/1778) and an abridgement of the *Iḥyā ʿUlūm al-Dīn*, entitled the *Sayr al-Salikin* (1203/1788).[29]

These examples show that interest in al-Ghazālī's works, and especially his mirror, was widespread in both courtly and ʿulama' circles in the fifteenth to eighteenth centuries; that of the court of Banten reflected its growing participation in aspects of the literate culture of the central Islamic lands, in which al-Ghazālī's works were circulated, adapted and translated both in scholarly and courtly circles. Nonetheless, a close reading of Ibn ʿAllān's works suggests a considerably more complicated picture of textual transmission, in which the *Naṣīḥat al-Mulūk* is used as the occasion to introduce a much more diverse range of texts, above all those associated with the Hanbali school, which as we have seen in Chapter 3 has left distinct traces in al-Rānīrī's works too. It is thus only by a close reading of these texts, in particular Ibn ʿAllān's commentary on parts of the *Naṣīḥat al-Mulūk* entitled *al-Mawāhib al-Rabbāniyya*, that we can start to understand the preoccupations of the Banten court and how Ibn ʿAllān sought to address them. First, however, let us consider Ibn ʿAllān's own account of the Banten mission, which has not previously received scholarly attention.

1 Ibn ʿAllān and the Circumstances of the Commentaries' Composition

At the start of his commentary on the eschatological work attributed to al-Ghazālī, *al-Durra al-Fākhira*, entitled *Ghawṣ al-Bihār al-Dhākhira* (Fig. 4.1), Ibn ʿAllān relates how the fame of the author spread across the Indian Ocean, prompting Abu'l-Mafākhir to send an embassy to the Hijaz in search of explanations of his writings:

> The ʿulama' of distant regions became aware of the content of the fine pearls [of his writings] and their exquisite gems of outstanding qualities. They wanted to adopt these lights [of knowledge], and [to benefit from] the bounty of these glittering jewels; but it was difficult for them to attain them, and they remained far from acquiring them owing to a well protected veil and precious covering. The righteous, noble, highly respected ʿulama' of Java raised a petition to their glorious king, the noble, generous, warrior sultan, the defender of Islam and Muslims, who has been appointed to spread honourable justice over the years in succession;

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[29] Laffan, *The Makings of Indonesian Islam*, 30; see further Chapter 6 below.

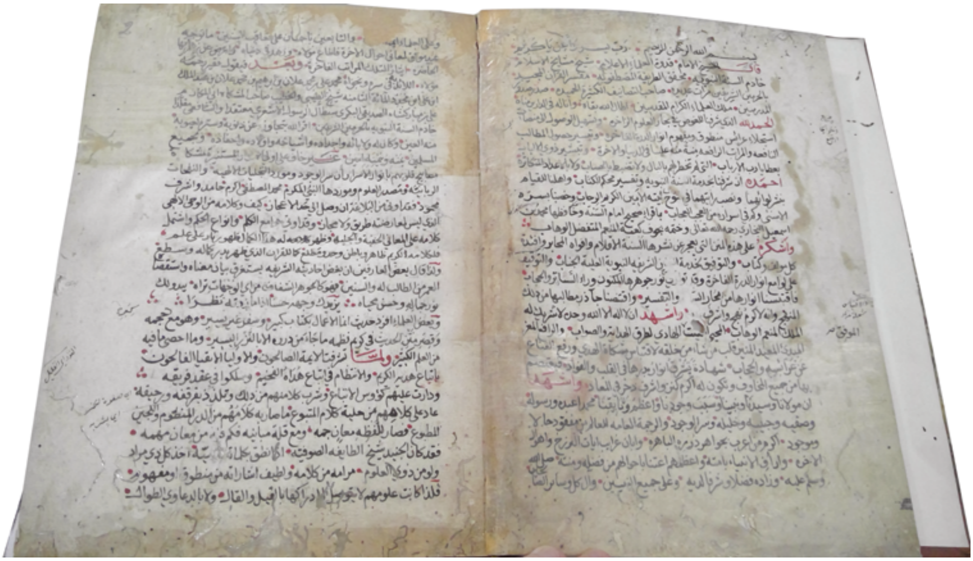

FIGURE 4.1 Ibn ʿAllān, *Ghawṣ al-Biḥār al-Dhākhira*, dedicated to Sultan Abū'l-Mafākhir of Banten. Jakarta, Perpustakaan National, MS A 32, pp. 2–3, copied in the *majmaʿ* of Qāyitbāy in Shawwāl 1046/February-March 1637, by Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ṣaʿdī

the possessor of dazzling glory, pure diligence, and both outward and inward fortune, Abū'l-Mafākhir ʿAbd al-Qādir, may his glory increase and his fortune be perpetuated. The king contemplated and examined, then cogitated and considered; he knew that light had only been granted to this gnostic [al-Ghazālī] and he had only reached this knowledge by following the Prophet Muhammad, born in the Holy Land [of the Hijaz]; and he realised that this [knowledge] could not be acquired except from the family of the Prophet, and is found only in the secret corners of their retreats, for they are the possessors of virtue and chivalry –

[verse] "The water is my father's and grandfather's water; and my well is one I myself dug and cased with stones"[30]

– in particular the one who increases their honour with that of the Holy Land [of the Hijaz], the perfect one who constantly receives perfection [i.e. the Sharif]. [Abū'l-Mafākhir] sought him out and asked about seeking him from that secure place, the courtyard of the secure house [the Kaʿba], the place where mercy descends, the source of fragrance, where there are various types of emanations and epiphanies, and gifts and bounties in their various forms, [for this was] the first house that was made blessed for humans, to which they were guided by clear signs. Its virtue exceeds what we can say, for it is apparent and can do without superfluous discussion.

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[30] A well known verse attributed to the Umayyad poet Sinān b. al-Faḥl al-Ṭā'ī.

The aforementioned king, in order to reach his desire, and acquire the realisation of his request, sought out the most eminent man of his age and time, the kernel of the great tree, the fruit of the Muḥammadan tree, the uttermost secret – for man is the secret of his father[31] – he who possesses the perfection which God has gathered in him in every aspect, the Sayyid al-Sharif, refuge of the mighty and the weak, whom his Lord, blessed and exalted is He, chose to rule His Sacred place and His people, and chose him to strengthen the laws of this noble place with his excellence and nobility, whose residents cultivate the perfection of truths and the light of subtleties, whose bounty is apparent and exalted, whose virtues and learning is evident, and which glitters through the light of his sovereignty, for he is from the tree whose trunk is rooted to the ground, its branches reach into the skies –

[Verses]: "That with which he is embellished is beyond praise, for praise is too low for his heights".[32]
[Verses by another author] "If proof is needed for daylight, one cannot rely on anything in the mind"[33]

– our lord and master who trusts in his Master in both esoteric and exoteric affairs, the perfect one, the unifier, the just, the submissive to his wrathful Lord in whom he trusts, the Sharif Zayd b. Muḥsin b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥasan, may God favour his servants with the perpetuation of his justice, aiding him, praise be to Him, and preserving his kingdom and felicity. The king [Abū'l-Mafākhir] wrote to his exalted presence, and sent to his noble court a letter in which he asked a favour of him [the Sharif] and requested his aim, wherein the question did not go amiss, to explain to him the two books of *al-Durra al-Fākhira fī ʿUlūm al-Ākhira*, and the book of *Naṣīḥat al-Mulūk*, both of them by the Imam Ḥujjat al-Islām [al-Ghazālī].[34]

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[31] A hadith usually related in the form *al-walad sirr abīhi*, "the child is his father's secret", i.e. the child resembles his father. Ibn ʿAllān is suggesting that because of his distinguished descent, the Sharif resembles his forefather Muḥammad.

[32] These verses appear, with a variant, in al-Subkī's *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfiʿiyya*, where they form the start of a qasida addressed to the great hadith collector al-Bukhārī. Given Ibn ʿAllān's expertise in hadith, this is highly unlikely to be accidental. In al-Subkī's version the second *miṣrāʿ* runs *kaʾannamā al-madḥ min miqdārihi yaḍiʿu.* See Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfiʿiyya*, ed. Maḥmūd Muḥammad al-Ṭannāḥī and ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ Muḥammad al-Ḥulw (Beirut, nd), vol. 2, 212.

[33] This verse is from the *Dīwān* of al-Mutanabbī, in which, however, the first *miṣrāʿ* appears with the variant *laysa yaṣiḥḥu fīʾl-afhāmi shayʾun*. The meaning here is that the Sharif's virtues are so evident that they need no further proof.

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[34] Jakarta A 32, pp. 3–4 (for other mss see n. 40. below).

وقف علماء الاطراف * على جواهر درره الظراف * وقلائد جواهرها العلية الاوصاف *فارادوا اقتباس تلك الانوار* ولطف تلك الجواهر العلية المنار* فعز عليهم وصولها * وتباعد عليهم للحجاب المصون وكريم الستائر حصولها * فرفع الصلحاء اولو الفخار * من علماء جاوا السامين المقدار * الى الملكهم السلطان الماجد * الكريم المكرم المجاهد * الذاب عن الاسلام والمسلمين * المنتصب لنشر العدالة الشريفة على تعاقب السنين * صاحب المجد الباهر * والجد الطاهر والسعد الباطن والظاهر * ابي المفاخر عبدالقادر * زاد مجده ودام سعده * ففكر الملك ونظر * ثم تأمل واعتبر * فعلم ان النور ما اعترى كلام هذا العارف * ولا اعتلى على هذه المعارف * الا باتباع المصطفى اشرف مولود ببلد الحرام * عليه الصلاة والسلام * ورأى ان هذا لا يؤخذ الا عن بيت النبوة * ولا ويوجد الا في خبايا زواياهم لانهم اولوا المكارم والفتوة *

* فان الماء ماء ابي وجدي * وبئري ذو حفرت و ذو طويت *

خصوصاً الذي زاد شرفهم بشرف بلد الحرم * والكامل يقبل الكمال على الدوام * فقصد طَلَبه وسأل طُلبه من ذلك المكان المكين * الذي هو سوح البيت الامين * مهبط الرحمات * ومورد النفحات * و به انواع الفيوض والتجليات * واصول وفروع العطايا والهبات * اول بيت وضع للناس مباركاً وهدى ذا اياتٍ بينات * فضله فوق ما نقول * كما له ظهر وغني عن نشر القال والقيل والمقول * و قصد الملك المذكور علاه في وصول الارب * وحوز لتحقيق الطلب * عين انسانها فى زمانه وعصره * وانسان عينها في وقته ودهره * لباب الدوحة النبوية * وثمرة الشجرة المحمدية * سر السر والمرء سر ابيه * ذو الكمال الذي جمع اللّٰه اصوله و فروعه ونوره وثوره فيه * السيد الشريف * ملاذ القوى والضعيف * الذي اختاره مولانا سبحانه وتعالى واجتباه لولاية حرمه * واهله واصطفاه لإحكام احكام هذا المحل الكريم بفضله وكرمه * من به اينع كمال الحقائق * ونور الدقائق * وظهر فضلُه وسما * وظهرت الفضائل والعلوم * ولمعت بانوار ولايته لأنه من دوحة اصله ثابت وفرعها في السما *

* علا عن المدح ما يُزان به * كانما المدح من عليائه يضع *

[غيره] *ليس بثابت في الذهن شيء * اذا احتاج النهار الى دليلٍ *

مولانا وسيدنا الواثق بمولاه فيما ظهر وبطن * الكامل الجامع العامل العادل الخاضع لمولاه الخاشع له المعتمد عليه الشريف زيد بن محسن بن

الحسين بن الحسن * احسن اللّٰه على العباد بدوام عدالته * وامداد بحمده وبقا مملكته وسعادته * فكتب الملك الى جنابه * وارسل الى كريم رحابه * كتاباً يطلب فيه من فضله و يصل مراده * والسؤال وقع في محله * ان يشرح له كتابى الدرة الفاخرة * في علوم الآخرة * وكتاب نصيحة الملوك * كلاهما للامام حجة الاسلام

Zayd b. Muḥsin then assigned the task to Ibn ʿAllān on 25 Shaʿbān 1046/ 22 January 1637. Ibn ʿAllān must have been the obvious candidate for answering the Bantenese questions for a number of reasons. He was a scholar distinguished by his prolific oeuvre – he is credited by his contemporary, Ibn al-ʿUjaymī, with more than 400 works both long and short, and was known as "the Suyūṭī of his age", after the famous fourteenth-century Egyptian polymath.[35] The seventeenth-century Syrian historian al-Muḥibbī, whose *Khulāṣat al-Athar* is a major source for the intellectual history of the period, tells us that, "If he was asked about a problem he would immediately pen a treatise in response."[36] He was acknowledged by al-Muḥibbī as "the reviver of the sunna in the land of Hijaz."[37] Ibn ʿAllān's distinguished descent, traceable ultimately to the Caliph Abū Bakr, would have given him a distinct prestige, as would his membership of a well-established dynasty of scholars. He was particularly famed for his lectures on al-Bukhārī's hadith collection and *fiqh*. Nonetheless, Ibn al-ʿUjaymī indicates that Ibn ʿAllān appealed primarily to the foreign contingent resident in the Hijaz: "The people of Mecca were not interested in studying with him, and rarely did one or two of them attend [his lectures]; most [of the students] were Jāwa or Yemenis." Indeed, "he became rich at the end of his life from the great amount he was given by the Jāwa".[38] Possibly this refers to the rewards the Banten mission presumably bestowed on Ibn ʿAllān.

Despite his reputation, there is also reason to think that the Sharif may have been hoping that Ibn ʿAllān would accept the entreaties of the Banten mission to come to Southeast Asia. Al-Muḥibbī recounts a couple of anecdotes that suggest relations between the Sharif and Ibn ʿAllān were distinctly uncomfortable. Trouble seems to have started after the flood of 1039/1629 which destroyed much of the Kaʿba, a place with a special association for Ibn ʿAllān, for it was there that he taught his famous classes on the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī. The builders working on its restoration had erected a tent, where Ibn ʿAllān completed his class and then drank coffee. His enemies informed the Sharif that Ibn ʿAllān had "made God's house a coffeehouse" (*jaʿala bayt allāh ḥānat al-qahwa*). The furious Sharif immediately imprisoned Ibn ʿAllān. However, when the Sharif went to perform evening prayers in his palace, it was struck by what seemed to be an earthquake – but which his vizier explained was in fact a miracle (*karāma*) by Ibn ʿAllān. The Sharif immediately ordered Ibn ʿAllān's release, but it seems this was not the end of the affair. The Sharif had asked for a fatwa on whether the Kaʿba should be restored, to which the ʿulamaʾ of Mecca had unanimously replied that it was a religious obligation (*farḍ kifāya*) on all Muslims and the Sharif in particular. Ibn ʿAllān, however, subsequently resiled from this position, stating that "such a work should only be undertaken by the great sultan (*al-sulṭān al-aʿẓam*)" – i.e. the Ottoman ruler, the Sharif's sovereign. This caused the majority of the other ʿulamaʾ to change their position too, and Ibn ʿAllān even sent a copy of a treatise he composed on the subject of the restoration to the Kaʿba, *Inbāʾ al-Muʾayyad al-Jalīl Murād bi-Bināʾ Bayt al-Wahhāb al-Jawwād*, to Sultan Murad IV, whose name its title reflects, seeking a financial recompense for himself.[39] In other words, Ibn ʿAllān was trying to undermine fundamentally the Sharif's authority in favour of the Ottoman sultan. It is not surprising, then, that the Sharif may have considered that some alternative, lucrative employment at a distant court was the best way of ridding himself of this inconvenient figure.

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[35] Ibn al-ʿUjaymī, *Zawāyā al-Taṣawwuf wa'l-Ṣūfiyya al-Musammā Khabāyā al-Zawāyā*, ed. Ahmad ʿAbd al-Raḥīm al-Sāyiḥ and Tawfīq ʿAlī Wahba (Cairo, 2017), 299; cf. al-Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat al-Athar*, vol. 4, 184.

[36] al-Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat al-Athar*, vol. 4, 183.

[37] al-Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat al-Athar* vol. 4, 181.

[38] Ibn al-ʿUjaymī, *Khabāyā al-Zawāyā*, 300.

Nonetheless, the Sharif was to be disappointed. As the *Sejarah Banten* notes, Ibn ʿAllān declined the invitation to visit Banten in person, but he did compose several works in response. The earliest of these is the *Ghawṣ al-Biḥār*, a commentary on a popular work attributed to al-Ghazālī dealing with eschatology, *al-Durra al-Fākhira*. Unlike Ibn ʿAllān's commentaries on the *Naṣīḥat al-Mulūk*, which are attested only in Banten manuscripts, the *Ghawṣ al-Biḥār* also circulated in the Middle East, with several manuscripts extant in Cairo.[40] The text was drafted (*taswīd*) in Shawwāl 1046/February-March 1637 in the *majmaʿ* of Qāyitbāy,[41] according to the colophon of the Jakarta copy, which was made by Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ṣaʿdī.

Ibn ʿAllān's commentary is introduced with much additional material culled from classic sources. After his introduction cited above, setting out the circumstances in which the translation was made, Ibn ʿAllān introduces three chapters entitled *fāʾida* (benefits); the first of these is the biographical notice on al-Ghazālī lifted directly from Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī's biographical dictionary of prominent Shafiis, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*. The second *fāʾida* discusses the attribution of the work to al-Ghazālī, noting the doubts expressed by the prominent Shafii jurist Ibn Ḥajar al-Haytamī about this, and the considerable amount of textual corruption (*taḥrīf*) he believed it to contain. Ibn ʿAllān also underlines his own authority to transmit the works of al-Ghazālī, holding an *ijāza* for them from the imam of Maqam Ibrahim, Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh al-Ṭabarī, which could be traced back to Ibn Ḥajar al-Haytamī and al-Suyūṭī.[42]

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[39] The above account derives from al-Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat al-Athar*, vol. 4, 186.

[40] Cairo, Dār al-Kutub, MS 172 taṣawwuf Ḥalīm ʿArabī (dated 1047/1637–8); Cairo, al-Azhar, MS adab wa-faḍāʾil 2135 (dated Jumada II 1110/December 1698); Cairo, Wizarat al-Awqaf (number unknown).

[41] The reference is presumably to the madrasa built next to the Kaʿba by the Mamluk sultan Qāyitbāy (r. 872/1468–901/1496).

The third *fāʾida* lays out Ibn ʿAllān's aim in composing the work:

> The purpose of writing this commentary is to excerpt the hadith and the quotations in it, and explain some of the instructions that are covered by its expression, and their contents, and to warn about those things that have been corrupted by common copyists, and the mistakes made by ignorant common people.[43]

In addition, Ibn ʿAllān aims to expand and update (*takmīl*) the text by referring to sources discussing the same topics by other ʿulamaʾ. He singles out he following works: the *Kitab al-ʿĀfiya* by Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq al-Mālikī (Ibn ʿAṭiyya of Seville, d. 541/1147); *Kitāb al-Tadhkira fī Umūr al-Ākhira* by al-Qurṭubī (d. 671/1273); *Kitāb al-ʿUlūm al-Fākhira* by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Makhlūf al-Thaʿālibī (d. 875/1479); *Sharḥ al-Ṣudūr bi-Dhikr Aḥwāl al-Mawt wa'l-Qubūr* by al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505); the commentary on the hadith collection of al-Bukhārī (d. 256/870) by Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī (d. 852/1449) entitled *al-Fatḥ al-Bārī*, among other commentaries.[44] This is far from an exhaustive list, for other sources, such as *al-Miṣbāḥ al-Munīr* (a *tafsīr* by Ibn Kathīr, d. 774/1334), are cited in the body of the text.[45] However, it voices concisely Ibn ʿAllān's intention to expand on al-Ghazālī's work with reference to classic authors.

The interest in this type of work in Southeast Asia in the period is suggested by a comparable eschatological work by al-Rānīrī, whose Malay *Akhbar al-Akhira fi Ahwal al-Qiyama* is said to have been written at the request of Sultana Safiyyat al-Din of Aceh. The topics it dealt with were sensitive for it discussed the Nūr Muḥammad and the creation of Adam, as well as resurrection, heaven and hell. This suggests that it was actually intended, like so many of al-Rānīrī's works, as an attack on Hamzah Fansuri's conception of the primordial Nūr

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[42] Jakarta, MS A 32, pp. 9–10.

[43] Jakarta, MS A 32, p. 10.
المراد من كتابة هذا الشرح تخريج الاحاديث والاثار المذكورة فيه و بيان بعض الاشارة التي يشتمل عليها
اللفظ وتحتويه والتبنيه علي ما حرفه بعض النساخ العوام وما عليه بعض الجهلة الطغام

[44] Jakarta, MS A 32, p. 10.

[45] Jakarta, MS A 32, p. 13.

Muḥammad, and thus the whole basis of monist metaphysics.[46] The popularity of the work is indicated by the existence of Acehnese, Bugis and Javanese translations.[47] However, there does not seem to be any direct discussion of the Acehnese controversies in the *Ghawṣ al-Biḥār*.

As soon as the draft of the *Ghawṣ al-Biḥār* was complete, in the same month of Shawwāl 1046/February-March 1637, Ibn ʿAllān started work on the first of his two commentaries on the *Naṣīhat al-Mulūk*, entitled the *Naṣḥ al-Nāṣiḥ Naṣīḥa fī Sharḥ al-Naṣīḥa*. The draft was compiled, according to the colophon, in a month and ten days in the Qāyitbāy *madrasa* in Mecca (the same place the Jakarta manuscript of the *Ghawṣ al-Biḥār* was copied). It survives in an apparently unique fair copy (*mubayyaḍa*) in Jakarta (MS A 104) which was made in Dhū'l-Ḥijja 1046/April 1037 (Fig. 4.2). Although the Bantenese request is at no point mentioned, it seems highly likely that it was in fact composed in answer to it, for the text explicitly states it was commissioned by Sharif Zayd b. Muḥsin, and no other copy apart from the Jakarta one is known. It seems fairly certain this manuscript entered the royal library of the sultans of Banten, for MS A 104 bears the ownership statement of a Pangeran Hasanuddin (?). Therefore presumably this manuscript was brought to Java by the sultan's mission.

Ibn ʿAllān's *Naṣḥ al-Nāṣiḥ* comprises largely a grammatical and lexical commentary on al-Ghazālī's text, which is quoted in red ink in full. Nonetheless in places, Ibn ʿAllān does allow himself digressions. For example, even the mention of one of the *laqab*s of the original dedicatee of the *Naṣīḥat al-Mulūk*, Ghiyāth al-Dīn, prompts a long disquisition over two pages of the iniquity of using 'al-Dīn' *laqab*s, a trend which Ibn ʿAllān attributes to the coming of the Seljuk Turks.[48] He notes at length the views al-Nawawī, al-Qurṭubī, and al-Sakhāwī to support his opposition, even if it must be said it evidently did not have much of an impact on any readers at the Banten court, given the enduring popularity of 'al-Dīn' *laqab*s to the end of the dynasty. Evidently the *Naṣḥ al-Nāṣiḥ*, with its emphasis on the semantic interpretation of al-Ghazālī's text, did not satisfy the Bantenese. Although its date is not given, it must have been subsequently that Ibn ʿAllān composed a second text dealing with the *Naṣīḥat al-Mulūk*, entitled *Al-Mawāhib al-Rabbāniyya ʿan al-Asʾila al-Jāwiyya*.

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[46] Daudy, *Syekh Nuruddin*, 51.

[47] Wormser, *Le Bustan al-Salatin*, 50–51.

[48] Jakarta A 104, pp. 3–5.

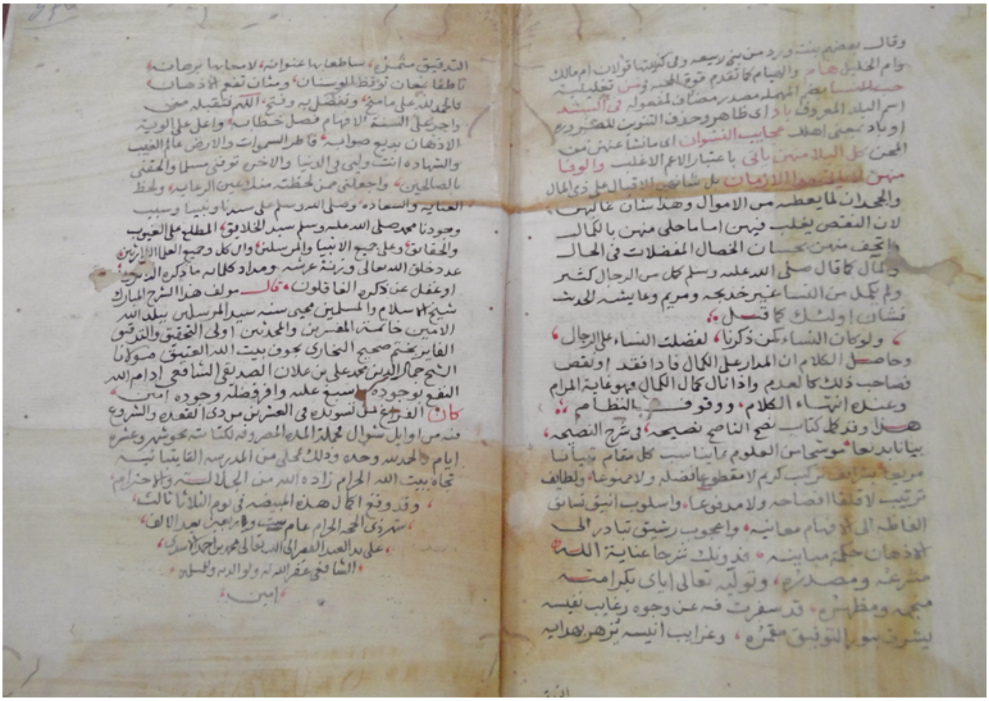

FIGURE 4.2 Ibn ʿAllān, colophon of the *Naṣḥ al-Nāṣiḥ Naṣīḥa fī Sharḥ al-Naṣīḥa*, Jakarta, Perpustakaan National, MS A 104, p. 370. Copied in Mecca in Dhū'l-Ḥijja 1046/April 1037 by Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Asadī

2 *Al-Mawāhib al-Rabbāniyya*

Al-Mawāhib al-Rabbāniyya ʿan al-As'ila al-Jāwiyya ("Divine Gifts in response to the Javanese Questions") survives in a single manuscript, Jakarta A 105 (Fig. 4.3).[49] A 105 is undated, but is evidently an eighteenth century manuscript

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[49] Voorhoeve, *Handlist of Arabic Manuscripts,* describes Leiden MS Or 7504/4, pp. 21–22 as a fragment of the text. This is a late nineteenth century collective manuscript formerly in the possession of Snouck Hurgronje, but which drew in parts at least on eighteenth century copies. In reality, however, this is not a fragment of the text of the *Mawāhib* but a summary of the circumstances under which it was composed. According to this, the questions arose because Sultan Abū'l-Mafākhir ʿAbd al-Qādir had ordered his chief qadi Munīr al-Dīn to apply Maliki law in Banten. *Al-Mawāhib al-Rabbāniyya* thus constitutes Ibn ʿAllān's comments on the Maliki practice of *taʿzīr* (discretionary punishments). This may seem surprising in an area otherwise known to be wholly Shafii, and perhaps points to a more fluid attitude towards madhhab in the seventeenth century, something which is confirmed by the presence of Hanbali and Maturidi texts in Banten (see Appendix 2).

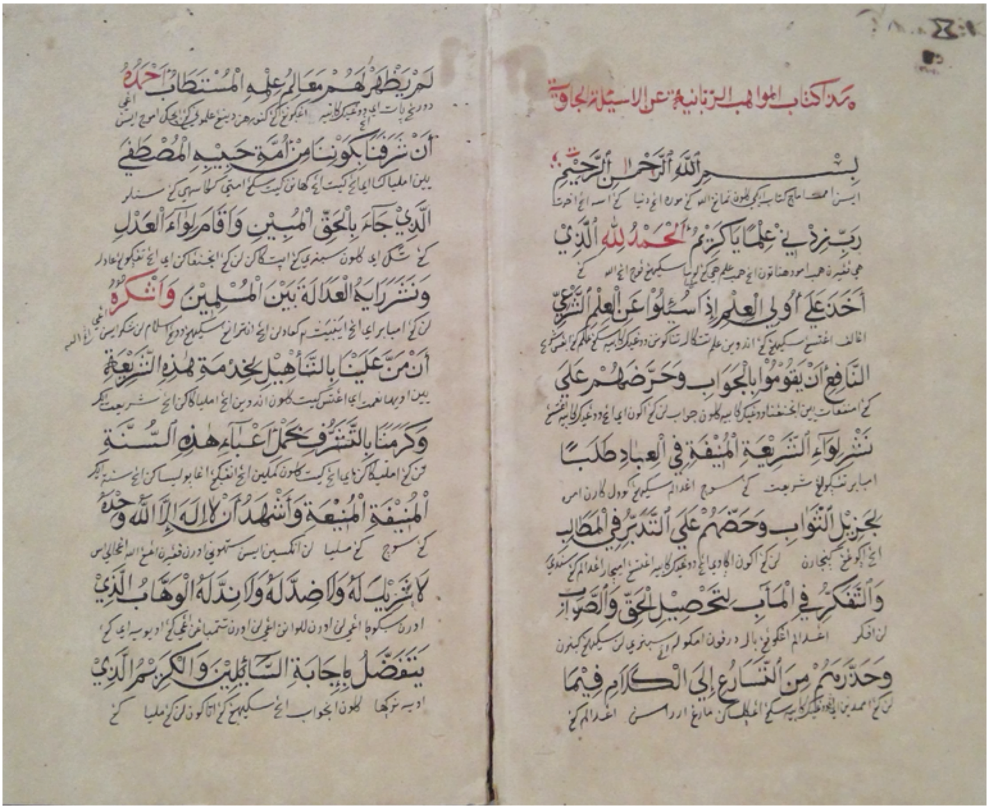

FIGURE 4.3 Ibn ʿAllān, the opening of *al-Mawāhib al-Rabbāniyya*, with interlinear Javanese translation. Jakarta, Perpustakaan National, MS A 105 (probably eighteenth century)

made in Banten, furnished with an interlinear Javanese translation. It is written in the Banten *naskh* typical of the court scriptorium (see further Chapter 7). Although the Arabic text is fully vocalised, there are numerous mistakes in the spelling, vowelling and pointing.[50] The work, according to the preface, was composed in response to the questions of "the king of Islam and the Muslims, supporter of the Prophet's sharia, vanquisher of infidel and heretic, Abū'l-Mafākhir ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Jāwī al-Shāfiʿī, may God perpetuate his

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This comment is possibly based on a superficial reading of the First Problem, which discusses *taʿzīr* and briefly alludes to Mālik b. Anas.

[50] For example: Jakarta, A 105, p. 55, l. 6 *lammā* for *li-mā*; p. 55 l. 7, *lil-mulk* for *lil-malik* (this consistently across the ms), p. 73, l. 9, Khamza for Hamza; p. 108, l. 3 *marṣūdūn* for *murṣidūn*.

glory and raise his zeal in seeking the happiness of this world and the next".[51] The 'questions' of the work comprise select passages from al-Ghazālī's *Naṣīḥat al-Mulūk*. *Al-Mawāhib al-Rabbāniyya* is divided into ten chapters, each chapter representing a question and its answer. The ten chapter-format was the classic structure of 'mirrors for princes', and derives from the ten branches of the tree of faith found in al-Ghazālī's work. This structure was widely imitated by later writers in the genre. However, the contents and intellectual inspirations of *al-Mawāhib al-Rabbāniyya* differ markedly from al-Ghazālī's original, and it uses the text in a very different way than the *Bustan al-Salatin* and the *Taj al-Salatin* do. The first chapter illustrates this. Al-Ghazālī's work starts by discussing rulers and justice, and is illustrated by anecdotes of figures from Persian and Islamic history enjoining the ruler to justice and discouraging him from oppression, such as Anūshirwān, Alexander the Great, and the Rāshidūn Caliphs.[52] Although the broad theme of the first chapter of *al-Mawāhib al-Rabbāniyya* is similar, discussing the ruler and justice, the approach is very different, despite the citation of the *Naṣīḥat al-Mulūk*. The moralising but entertaining anecdotes, which were the principal interest of Jawhari Bukhari and al-Rānīrī, are almost entirely excluded from *al-Mawāhib al-Rabbāniyya*, which focuses on the legal, intellectual and political quandaries posed by al-Ghazālī's text. In order to understand Ibn ʿAllān's agenda, and the sources of *al-Mawāhib al-Rabbāniyya*, it is necessary to analyse each problem in detail.

2.1 *First Problem* (*pp. 6–51*)

While each chapter is ostensibly based on Abū'l-Mafākhir's questions, the exact question at stake in the first chapter is at no point expressly stated, despite the chapter heading "*al-su'āl al-awwal*" (first question).[53] The chapter starts with the following hadith (given without *isnād*, as is generally the case in *al-Mawāhib al-Rabbāniyya*, despite Ibn ʿAllān's reputation as a hadith scholar):

> The Messenger of God, peace and blessings be upon him, said, "Rulers will be brought [before God] on the day of Resurrection, and God, exalted

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[51] *Al-Mawāhib*, Jakarta, A 105, p. 6 [henceforth *Al-Mawāhib*]. A previous study of this text, which largely offers an overview of the contents without addressing sources or purpose, is Tim Peniliti IAIN 'Sultan Maulana Hasanuddin' Banten, "Al-Mawahib ar-Rabbaniyah 'An Al-As'ilah al-Jawiyah dan Etika Kekuasaan," in Fadhal A.R. Bafadal and Asap Saefullah (eds), *Naskah Klasik Kegamaan Nusantara: Cerminan Budaya Bangsa II* (Jakarta, 2006), 55–96.

[52] Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ghazālī, *al-Tibr al-Masbūk fī Naṣīḥat al-Mulūk*, ed. Aḥmad Shams al-Dīn (Beirut, 1988), 43–65.

[53] *Al-Mawāhib*, p. 6.

> is He, will say, “You were the shepherds of my creation and the guardians of my property on earth.” Then He will say to one of them, “Why did you strike my servants beyond the [divinely] stipulated punishment (*ḥadd*, pl. *ḥudūd*) that I ordered?” And he will say, “Lord, They rebelled against you and dissented from you.”[54] And God will say, “It is not appropriate that your anger should exceed my own.” Then He will say to another, “Why did you punish my servants less than the stipulated punishment that I ordered?” And he will say, “Lord, I had mercy on them.” God will say, “You are more merciful than me. Take him who was excessive and him who was insufficient and fill the corners of hell with them.”[55]

This hadith does indeed appear in the *Naṣīḥat al-Mulūk*,[56] as Ibn ʿAllān states; however it is not given particularly prominent billing there, appearing towards the end of the first chapter on the principles of justice, rather than right at the beginning, where Ibn ʿAllān puts it. Ibn ʿAllān also gives variants of the hadith from Abū Yaʿlā’s *Musnad*, al-Suyūṭī’s *Jāmiʿ al-Kabīr* and other authorities. He then launches into a discussion of the nature of the *ḥudūd*, again buttressed by quotations from various well-known earlier authorities such as al-Samʿānī (d. 489/1166) and al-Ṭabarānī (d. 360/971). Ibn ʿAllān next examines a hadith from al-Nasāʾī, “a *ḥadd* [divinely ordained punishment] which is upheld on the earth is better for its people than rain for thirty mornings”,[57] along with its variants in Ibn Māja, and the version related by al-Ṭabarānī, “A day of a just imam is better than prayer for sixty [days] and a *ḥadd* which is upheld on earth by virtue of him is more nourishing than rain for forty years.”[58] The only anecdote in this section is a crucial one, an account of how the Umayyad Caliph ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz punished wine drinking more harshly than the Prophet, imposing eighty lashes instead of forty. This was required because of excessive wine drinking in his time. This variation is described as *ijtihād* (independent reasoning), and ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib is quoted in support of its use. This, in fact, is the key question at stake in the first problem – should the ruler be allowed to exercise his own independent reasoning in this way, despite the apparent prohibition from the hadith cited at the outset?

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[54] A reference to Q. 71. 21 قَالَ نُوحٌ رَّبِّ إِنَّهُمْ عَصَوْنِي وَاتَّبَعُوا مَن لَّمْ يَزِدْهُ مَالُهُ وَوَلَدُهُ إِلَّا خَسَارًا

[55] *Al-Mawāhib*, pp. 7–8.
قال رسول اللّٰه صلي اللّٰه عليه وسلم قؤتي بالولاة يوم القيٰمة فيقول اللّٰه جل و علا انتم كنتم رعاة خليقتي
و خزاينة ملكي في ارضي ثم تقول لاحدهم لم ضربت عبادي فوق الحق الذي امرت به فيقول يا رب
انهم عصبوك وخالفوك فيقول لا ينبغي ان يسبق غضبك غضبي ثم يقول لاخر لما عاقبت عبادي اقل
من الحد الذي امرت به فيقول يا رب رحمتهم فيقول اللّٰه انت ارحم مني خذاو الذي زاد والذي نقص
واحشوا بهم زوايا جهنم

[56] Al-Ghazālī, *al-Tibr al-Masbūk*, 16–17.

[57] *Al-Mawāhib*, p. 13.

[58] *Al-Mawāhib*, p. 14.

The answer comes from a rather surprising source, *al-Ṭuruq al-Ḥukmiyya fīʾl-Siyāsa al-Sharʿiyya* by the Hanbali author Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya (d. 751/1350). Direct quotations from the first chapters of *al-Ṭuruq al-Ḥukmiyya* account for no less than half of the first problem (twenty three pages out of forty five).[59] These discuss the role of the ruler as judge, and the standards of evidence that are admissible. Ibn Qayyim's work, rather than being a "mirror for princes" like al-Ghazālī's, is closer to the genre known as *adab al-qāḍī* which discusses judicial procedures.[60] *Al-Ṭuruq al-Ḥukmiyya* was an influential discussion of "public policy" (*al-siyāsa al-sharʿiyya*), which aims to assert the primacy of sharia backed by the coercive power of the ruler.[61] Like his teacher, Ibn Taymiyya, Ibn Qayyim was concerned about the consequences of Muslim rulers using procedures and coercive measures that did not derive from sharia.[62] To achieve this, the Hanbalis expanded the scope of *siyāsa sharʿiyya* to encompass not merely everything in conformity with sharia (as the Shafiis would have it) but rather, "that by the implementation of which the people become closer to righteousness and further from wrongdoing (*fasād*) even if it has not been stipulated by the Prophet nor revealed in the Qurʾan."[63]

Avoiding the spread of *fasād* (wrongdoing, corruption) is Ibn Qayyim's main concern, but if there is no ruling to be found in the Qurʾan or the hadith, from where should it derive? The Hanbali answer is through *ijtihād*, or independent reasoning; *ijtihād* is "legal reasoning that engages directly with the sources of Islamic law (primarily Qurʾan and hadith) without being bound by legal precedent".[64] Therefore the judge must have a sound knowledge of *fiqh*. *Ijtihād* was also a major preoccupation of thinkers in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and the importance of Ibn Qayyim in this period derives from his embrace of the principle of *ijtihād* in law.[65] After the long discussion of legal reasoning excerpted from *al-Ṭuruq al-Ḥukmiyya*, Ibn ʿAllān much more briefly cites the opinions of Mālik b. Anas and Jalāl al-Din al-Suyūṭī on the permissibility of punishments beyond the *ḥudūd*,[66] and briefly gives the opinion of Ibn Ziyād and Ibn Ḥajar regarding the necessity of *taqlīd* (following precedent, the opposite of *ijtihād*). The chapter concludes with a number of practical examples of the ruler exercising *ijtihād*, underlining the purpose of the chapter. While Ibn Qayyim had seen the ruler as providing the coercive force behind the implementation of sharia, in Ibn ʿAllān's conception it is the ruler himself who not just controls force but the judicial process, exercising *ijtihād*. These ideas seem to reflect the major juristic reinterpretations of the late Mamluk period, when Hanbali ideas became integrated into mainstream legal thinking.[67]

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[59] *Al-Mawāhib*, pp. 19–41.

[60] Abdessamad Belhaj, "Law and Order according to Ibn Taymiyya and Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya: a Re-examination of *siyāsa sharʿiyya*," in Birgit Krawietz and Georges Tamer (eds), *Islamic Theology, Philosophy and Law: Debating Ibn Taymiyya and Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya* (Berlin, 2013), 415.

[61] Belhaj, "Law and Order," 401.

[62] Belhaj, "Law and Order," 403.

[63] *Al-Mawāhib*, p. 32; Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya, *al-Ṭuruq al-Ḥukmiyya fīʾl-Siyāsa al-Sharʿiyya* (Cairo, 1317), 12; see the discussion of this passage in Belhaj, "Law and Order," 412–3. Text:
بل السياسة ما كان فعلاً به يكون معه الناس اقرب الي الصلاح و ابعد من الفساد و ان لم يضعه الرسول ولا نزل به وحي

This is actually a quotation from the famous eleventh-century Hanbali, Ibn ʿAqīl. See Baber Johansen, "Signs as Evidence: The Doctrine of Ibn Taymiyya (1263–1328) and Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya (d. 1351) on Proof," *Islamic Law and Society* 9 (2002): 181.

The excerpts from Ibn Qayyim in *al-Mawāhib al-Rabbāniyya* are introduced as being from the *khuṭba* (i.e. preface) to Ibn Qayyim's book, but are in fact considerably more extensive. The numerous examples from early Islamic history given by Ibn Qayyim are omitted, while some material is rearranged.[68] Indeed, the text as given by Ibn ʿAllān would be quite difficult for the untrained to follow. The omission of any indication of the chapter divisions means that material from disparate sections of *al-Ṭuruq al-Ḥukmiyya* is grouped together without any differentiation, while without the examples given in the original, the text is cloaked in a technical, legal vocabulary that would only have been accessible to those who already had some knowledge of the *adab al-qāḍī* literature.[69]

Eventually, Ibn ʿAllān seems to tire of his source, concluding his quotation of Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya with the comment that,

> He went on at length recounting cases and occurrences of this type, and the upshot is that the righteous ruler who gives good advice to his

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[64] El-Rouayheb, *Islamic Intellectual History*, 358. El-Rouayheb plays down the importance of *ijtihād* in this period. For a contrary view see Dallal, *Islam without Europe*, 8–9, 56–93.

[65] El-Rouayheb, *Islamic Intellectual History*, 192.

[66] *Al-Mawāhib*, pp. 42–3.

[67] Johansen, "Signs as Evidence," 179–181, 190–193.

[68] The material in Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya, *al-Ṭuruq al-Ḥukmiyya fīʾl-Siyāsa al-Sharʿiyya*, 220–26.

[69] Examples of such words are: *al-lawth*, weak evidence; *qarīna*, contextual evidence; *firāsa*, intuition as a valid method for settling legal disputes.

> subjects and who acts for God in his territory is entitled to discipline [people] as he sees fit to prevent [wrongdoing], even if excessively, by way of inflicting discretionary punishments (*taʿzīr*), prevention (*zajr*),[70] and forbidding the infringement of the rules that God has decreed and forbidden to be infringed or exceeded.[71]

In fact, the idea that the judge can impose any discretionary punishment that he sees appropriate is more commonly associated with the Maliki school, which is doubtless why the text acquired a reputation in Banten for being Maliki in orientation.[72] The first question closes with four anecdotes from the Hijaz, concerning the administration of justice by the Sharif of Mecca al-Ḥasan b. Abī Numayy (r. 973/1566–1009/1601). The purpose of these anecdotes is to show how the Sharif achieved his aims through circumstantial evidence (*amārāt*)[73] in the lack of firm proof (*bayyina*),[74] which also demonstrated his mastery of *ijtihād* (*waqaʿa lahu al-ʿamal biʾl-amārāt ṣādafa fīhā al-murād wa-kāna dhālika minhu min ḥusn al-ijtihād*).[75] In fact all four anecdotes show threats also being used to extract a confession from the guilty. The first anecdote concerns a dispute over ownership of a camel between an Egyptian and a Syrian in which the Sharif adjudicated; the second, a dispute over ownership of a slave-girl between an Egyptian and a Yemeni; and two cases of theft, at Jeddah customs house and during the hajj. I give one example of these to give a flavour of their contents:

> The sultanic customs house in the God-protected port of Jeddah suffered a loss of revenue and some of its contents were taken. The identity of the thief was unknown. The Sharif at that time was in Jeddah and was

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[70] For the definition of *taʿzīr*, see Christian Lange, *Justice, Punishment and the Medieval Muslim Imagination* (Cambridge, 2008), 215–8; for *zajr*, see ibid., 233, 235; also Johansen, “Signs as Evidence,” 176.

[71] *Al-Mawāhib*, pp. 41–2.
و اطال في ذكر قضايا ووقايع من هذا القبيل وحاصله ان للحاكم الصالح الناصح لرعيته المعامل لله في ولايته ان يؤدّب بما يراه زاجراً و لو بالزيادة علي وجه التعزير والزجر ونهي عن الاعتداء للاحكام التي بين اللّٰه و نهي عن الاعتداء بها و مجازتها

[72] Yosef Rapoport, “Legal Diversity in the Age of Taqlīd: The Four Chief Qāḍīs under the Mamluks,” *Islamic Law and Society* 10 (2003): 221; on the text’s reputation locally, see n. 49 above and Yakin, “Undhang-Undhang Banten,” 277.

[73] *Amārāt* literally means “hints”, “indications”, although the context here suggests ‘circumstantial evidence’ is more appropriate. See also Johansen, “Signs as Evidence,” 188.

[74] For *bayyina*, see Johansen, “Signs as Evidence,” 187–8.

[75] *Al-Mawāhib*, p. 45.

> informed. He asked, “Have you seen anything [unusual]?” [People] said, “Yes, a cord hanging from the top of the wall.” He ordered it to be brought to him, ran his hand over it and sniffed it, and recognised the scent of perfume. He ordered it to be taken and shown to the perfume makers. One of them said, “Yes, I recognise it, so-and-so bought it from me today.” The Sharif summoned him and asked him; he denied it, but [the Sharif] threatened him and he admitted the truth.[76]

The chapter concludes with threats of hellfire for those who are excessive or deficient in applying the *ḥudūd*, but the point is to allow considerable latitude in obtaining the evidence based on *ijtihād*. Intriguing too is the use of practical examples; Ḥasan b. Abī Numayy was no longer alive when the book was written, but Ibn ʿAllān’s text suggest his memory was cherished, and indeed upheld as exemplary; as the above anecdote suggests, the Sharif acts as investigator and judge, rather than simply supporting the qadi by offering the use of coercive force. Evidently this is meant to represent a model for Abū’l-Mafākhir.

The choice of the Hanbali Ibn al-Qayyim al-Jawziyya as a source may seem curious. Although one of the most widely read religious authors in modern Indonesia, his popularity in the region is not normally thought to predate the 1980s.[77] A scholar and student of the Hanbali polemicist Ibn Taymiyya, his legal method would have been quite different to that of the Shafii school espoused by both Ibn ʿAllān and the Banten court, which was widespread in the Indian Ocean world. Moreover, Ibn al-Qayyim seems to have had a highly ambivalent attitude towards Sufism, which was certainly already in vogue in various forms in Southeast Asia, as the Acehnese *wujūdī* debates suggest. Although some of Ibn al-Qayyim’s works are suffused with Sufi terminology, such as to convince earlier scholars he was himself a Sufi, more detailed studies have suggested his aim was actually to strip these terms of their specifically Sufi connotations and bring them back to conventional language, in an effort “to offer an alternative spirituality to Sufism, that is a generalised Sunni spirituality aimed at the internalising of religious precepts and obligations."[78] In a sense then, Ibn Qayyim's project is the mirror opposite of al-Ghazālī's, which was to integrate Sufism into the Sunni mainstream. Certainly, he was strongly opposed to the cult of saints and their miracles espoused by Sufis.

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[76] *Al-Mawāhib*, pp. 48–9:
ان الفرضة السلطانية ببندر جدة المحروس كسر بعض حواصله واخذ ما فيه و ما علم عين السارق و كان
الشريف حينئذ بجدة فاخبر بذلك فسأل هل رأيتم شيئاً قالوا نعم خيطاً معلقاً باعلا الجدار فأمر به فجيء
به اليه ففركه ثم شمه فوجد فيه ريح عطر فأمر بعرضه علي العطارة فقال احدهم نعم اعرفه شراه مني فلان
فدعاه الشريف فسأله فنكره فتهدده و توعده فأقر بالحق

[77] Syamsuddin Arif, “Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya in the ‘Lands Below the Wind’: An Ideological Father of Radicalism or a Popular Sufi Master?” in Birgit Krawietz and Georges Tamer (eds), *Islamic Theology, Philosophy and Law: Debating Ibn Taymiyya and Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya* (Berlin, 2013), 220–249.

Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya's views were widely regarded as problematic or even heretical by most Ashʿaris and Shafiis. However, by the seventeenth century Hanbalis were generally no longer anti-Sufi, and, as noted in Chapters 2 and 3, there were efforts to rehabilitate Ibn Qayyim and Ibn Taymiyya led by al-Kūrānī. Writing in Istanbul, the noted Ottoman litterateur Katip Çelebi (d. 1068/1657) was also familiar with Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya's *al-Ṭuruq al-Ḥukmiyya*, which had been translated into Turkish in the sixteenth century. Similarly Aşık Çelebi, whom we noted above had rendered al-Ghazālī's *al-Tibr al-Masbūk* into Ottoman, was also a translator of Ibn Taymiyya's treatise *al-Siyāsa al-Sharʿiyya*.[79] The confluence of these apparently contradictory intellectual currents, of the pro-Sufi al-Ghazālī, and the Sufis' Hanbali opponents, is a characteristic of the seventeenth century, even if in reality the divisions between there were historically less stark than entrenched positions on either side suggested. The very concept of *siyāsa sharʿiyya*, so fundamental to Ibn Taymiyya and Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya, derives from Ibn ʿArabī, who first used the term in his *al-Futūḥāt al-Makiyya* in his discussion of prophecy as justified by *siyāsa sharʿiyya* and divine law. Despite the notorious anti-Sufism of early Hanbalis, it has been argued that this concept influenced Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya's teacher, Ibn Taymiyya, in his own treatise on *siyāsa sharʿiyya*.[80] The harnessing of Ibn Qayim al-Jawziyya to Ibn ʿAllān's project is not therefore an anachronistic reference to a marginal medieval thinker. Rather it shows how *al-Mawāhib al-Rabbāniyya* is rooted in the contemporary intellectual debates in the Hijaz and beyond. Yet at the same time, Ibn ʿAllān's advice, which aimed at making the sultan himself not simply the coercive force behind the judgment of the qadis, but in fact the judge himself, differs significantly from that of Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya's approach. It may reflect a practical situation whereby the lack of educated jurists in Banten meant there was no other choice, although this is contradicted by the references in the *Ghawṣ al-Biḥār* to the role of the Banten ʿulama' in the decision to seek advice on al-Ghazālī's works.

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[78] Gino Schallenbergh, "Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya's Manipulation of Sufi Terms: Fear and Hope," in Birgit Krawietz and Georges Tamer (eds), *Islamic Theology, Philosophy and Law: Debating Ibn Taymiyya and Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya* (Berlin, 2013), 120.

[79] Boru, "Ibn Taymiyya," 117; on the Turkish translation see Derin Terzioğlu, "Bir tercüme ve bir intihal vakası, ya da İbn Teymiyye'nin *Siyasetü'ş-şerʿiyye*'sini Osmanlıcaya kim(ler) nasıl aktardı?" *Journal of Turkish Studies/Türklük Bilgisi Araştırmaları Dergisi* 31/2 (2007): 247–275.

[80] Belhaj, "Law and Order," 403.

2.2 *Second Problem* (*pp. 52–75*)

The question revolves around a passage from the *Naṣīḥat al-Mulūk* that discusses *siyāsa*, which in this context means 'punishment', 'discipline' or 'coercion' rather than public policy.[81] The passage discusses the brutal rule of the Umayyad governor of Iraq, Ziyād b. Abīhi. Again, large chunks of Ghazālī's text are quoted verbatim.[82] Determined to assert his authority, Ziyād ordered that anyone who went out at night should be killed, and patrolled the streets in person, executing 1500 people on his first night, and hanging their heads from his palace gate; on his second night he killed three hundred, and after that no one dared disobey his order. Ibn ʿAllān is broadly supportive of this, explaining that,

> Imam al-Ghazālī related this story because it explains the principle of nurturing awe for kings who are not well-established in their kingship which they have newly entered into. The ruler who does not employ discipline (*siyāsa*) is no danger in people's view, and thus people are angry with him, and always refer to him in ugly terms. Do you not agree that as people are rulers' vassals, and he rules over them, when he wishes to hold the subjects to account or inspire them with awe, he should make his status clear through discipline (*siyāsa*) first?[83]

This is followed by a further except from the *Naṣīḥat al-Mulūk* discussing how Ziyād b. Abīhi imposed peace on Basra, and a quotation from the thirteenth century hadith collection by Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-Ghāba fī Maʿrifat al-Ṣaḥāba*, that praises Ziyād for having been able to pacify Iraq with its own men, as opposed to the later Umayyad governor al-Ḥajjāj who was reliant on Syrian men and money, but was nonetheless confronted by numerous revolts.[84] However Ibn ʿAllān adds his own warning, saying, "What Ziyād did was by way of nurturing awe in this world and preserving its station, but it was also a turning away from the blossoms of the stages of the next world and its perfect gifts."[85] The dangers of worldly temptations are underlined by a hadith about the Byzantine emperor Heraclius, whom Muslim tradition believes to have embraced Islam, but, when his people rejected it, apostatised for the sake of his worldly kingdom.[86]

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[81] For this meaning see Lange, *Justice, Punishment and the Medieval Muslim Imagination*, 42–4.

[82] *Al-Mawāhib*, pp. 52–55 = al-Ghazālī, *al-Tibr al-Masbūk*, 63–4.

[83] *Al-Mawāhib*, pp. 55–6.

هذه الحكاية اوردها الامام الغزالي لما نباه من قاعدة تربية المهابة للملك الغير العريق في الملك الداخل
فيه و عبارته اما السلطان الذي لا سياسة له فليس في اعين الناس خطر و تكون الخلق عليه ساخطين
ثم يذكرونه في كل وقت بالقبيح الا ترى ان الناس اذا كان من عوام الولاة و تولي عليها و اراد ان يطلب
الحساب من الرعية او ما يكلّمهم بالهيبة و يظهر جاهه بالسياسة اولاً

Ibn ʿAllān then relates a story attributed to *al-ʿIqd al-Farīd lil-Malik al-Saʿīd*, a mirror for princes dedicated to the Artuqid ruler of Mardin, Najm al-Dīn Ghāzī (r. 637/1239–658/1260) composed by the Syrian scholar and occultist Kamāl al-Dīn Ibn Ṭalḥa. The passage relates how ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb patrolled Medina by night in person, and found a Bedouin disobeying his prohibition on going out at night. When challenged, the Bedouin replied that he had just arrived, and showed the Caliph, whom he did not recognise, his tent. ʿUmar heard the sound of a lonely woman moaning in childbirth inside the tent – we are given to understand the Bedouin has abandoned his wife. ʿUmar immediately sought the help of his wife, Umm Kalthūm, and both attended the Bedouin woman in person, who successfully gave birth to a son, and when after the birth Umm Kalthūm addressed her husband as *amīr al-muʾminīn*, the Bedouin was amazed.

While this anecdote does appear in broadly similar form in *al-ʿIqd al-Farīd*, the printed version has significant differences in the choice of vocabulary and indeed some of the details.[87] In Ibn Ṭalḥa's version, for instance, ʿUmar finds the tent of his own accord, while in Ibn ʿAllān's text he meets the Bedouin who leads him to it. This may be due to the complex textual tradition of *al-ʿIqd al-Farīd*, which also circulated under other titles, but the moral of the story also differs somewhat. In Ibn Ṭalḥa's text, when the Bedouin recognises the Caliph, the latter explains to him that, "Oh Arab brother, whoever rules over any of the Muslims' affairs must investigate them, both great and small, for he is answerable for them. If he neglects them he loses this world and the next."[88] According to Ibn ʿAllān's version, the moral is simply that "the interests of the kingdom are those of its people, and the wrongdoing of the kingdom is by their wrongdoing," turning the emphasis to the ruler's duty to avoid *fasād*, a primary concern of Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya.

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[84] *Al-Mawāhib*, pp. 59–60.

[85] *Al-Mawāhib*, p. 60:

وهذا الذي فعله زياد من تربية المهابة الدنيوية و حفظ مرتبها و الاعراض عن زهرات الدرجات الاخروية

[86] *Al-Mawāhib*, pp. 61–63.

[87] Ibn Ṭalḥa, *al-ʿIqd al-Farīd lil-Malik al-Saʿīd*, ed. Muḥammad Riḍwān Muhannā (al-Mansura, 2000), 119–120. On this work see, A.C.S. Peacock, "Politics, Religion and the Occult in the Life and Works of Kamal al-Din Ibn Talha, a Vizier, ʿālim and Author in Thirteenth-Century Syria," in C. Hillenbrand (ed.), *Syria in Crusader Times* (Edinburgh, 2020), 34–60.

The next passage considers the relationship between the ruler and his people in more detail. The sultan's position is compared to that of the soul (*al-rūḥ*), the people's to the body; the body's health is dependent on that of the soul. In fact, this whole passage is lifted verbatim and without acknowledgement from another mirror for princes, the *Sirāj al-Mulūk* by al-Ṭurṭushī (d. c. 520/1126), originally composed for the Fatimid vizier al-Baṭāʾiḥī. The quotation by Ibn ʿAllān constitutes Chapter Nine of this text, "Description of the Sultan's status vis-à-vis his subjects" (*Bayān maʿrifat manzilat al-sulṭān min al-raʿiyya*).[89] Ibn ʿAllān adds his own conclusion that

> The way to nurture awe is upholding the *ḥudūd* of the divine law, establishing the scales of justice in mankind, stilling the hand of the tyrant, petitioning courts of redress against tyrants, assisting the Muslims, and striving in the interests of monotheists.[90]

The chapter concludes that the best guidance for sultans is following the divinely ordained law.[91] Thus while the text may seem at times contradictory in its presentation of Ziyād, its fundamental message seems to be consistent with that of the first question: severity in a ruler is often necessary to prevent *fasād*, but it must remain within the bounds of the *ḥudūd* and the divinely prescribed sharia. However, the general tenor of the chapter rather contradicts al-Ghazālī's eighth principle that the ruler should make the utmost effort to behave gently and avoid governing harshly.

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[88] Ibn Ṭalḥa, *al-ʿIqd al-Farīd*, 120.

[89] *Al-Mawāhib*, pp. 66–69 = Abū Bakr al-Ṭurṭushī, *Sirāj al-Mulūk* (Beirut, 1995), 114–5.

[90] *Al-Mawāhib*, p. 70.
فالطريق لتربية المهابة اقامة الحدود الشرعية و نصب ميزان العدل في البرية و كف يد الظالم و رفع ظلام
سحائب المظالم واعانة المسلمين والسعي في مصالح الموحدين

[91] *Al-Mawāhib*, p. 74.

2.3 *Third Problem* (*pp. 75–84*)

The third problem ostensibly revolves around a passage in the *Naṣīḥat al-Mulūk* that concerns the ruler's duty to make his land prosper, "for whenever the territories are more prosperous, his people are wealthier and more thankful and they know that what wise men and ʿulama' said is true, without doubt, that is the proverb, 'Religion relies on the king, the king on the army, the army on money, and money on the prosperity of the land, and the prosperity of the land on justice for the believers, who will not support anyone in tyranny and injustice."[92]

Ibn ʿAllān starts his exposition by emphasising the necessity of justice through emulation of the Prophet, who was merciful but rigorous in his upholding of the *ḥudūd*, killing those who spread wrongdoing (*fasād*). He gives the example of the Prophet's Companion Saʿd b. Maʿādh, who, when asked to judge the treasonous behaviour of the Banū Qurayẓa tribe, ordered them to be beheaded.[93] At the same time, the reader is reminded that God has prepared heavenly bliss for the ruler who upholds justice and avoids the blandishments of the material world. There follows an anecdote concerning a certain Ibn Sabuktakin, ruler of Mosul who is said to have been married to Saladin's sister, who lavished his wealth on celebrating the Prophet's birthday and supporting the poor and pilgrims, while himself only wearing a shabby cloak.[94] Almost certainly this anecdote is lifted from a source (possibly of the Ayyubid period) that has not been identified. Generosity is thus seen as key to both the physical and moral prosperity of the realm.[95]

2.4 *Fourth Problem* (*pp. 84–105*)

This is the first occasion when the issue is actually framed as a question, and it refers back to the hadith which opened the First Problem:

> In the preceding hadith, rulers who go too far or are inadequate in [implementing] God's *ḥudūd* will be tormented [in hell]. In the *Naṣīḥa*, it is related on the authority of an old woman that, "Security is part of the discipline of the sultan, and the sultan must act according to discipline (*siyāsa*), and thereby be just, for the sultan is God's deputy on earth."[96]

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[92] *Al-Mawāhib*, p. 75 = al-Ghazālī, *Tibr al-Masbūk*, 46.

[93] *Al-Mawāhib*, pp. 77–8.

[94] *Al-Mawāhib*, pp. 79–80.

[95] *Al-Mawāhib*, pp. 81–3.

[96] Al-Ghazālī, *al-Tibr al-Masbūk*, 62. Ghazālī's text discusses the encounter between an old woman and a pilgrim. It is not clear however, that this meant to be her speech, but

> Sir, how can he simultaneously both protect the *ḥudūd* in law and protect from exceeding the *ḥudūd* with discipline, and how can he combine justice and force? Give an answer which will bring light to my heart and explain to my ignorance.[97] Make its expression simple, illustrate it with clear examples and easy explanations in order to clarify its *ḥudūd*, i.e. the *ḥadd* of discipline, the *ḥadd* of justice and the *ḥadd* of forgiveness.[98]

Ibn ʿAllān's response argues that *siyāsa* is achieved when the *ḥudūd* are fully adhered to, and the methods used in preventative discipline (*al-taʿāzīr al-zājira*) do not fall outside them; but, he says, there is no contradiction between justice and the use of force (*al-ʿadl wa'l-siyāsa lā munāfā baynahumā*).[99] He gives examples of the Prophet's own behaviour to support this.

Ibn ʿAllān again quotes the Hanbali Ibn ʿAqīl that *siyāsa* is about preventing *fasād*, wrongdoing (see above, First Problem).[100] For the definition of justice, he quotes al-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī's *al-Mufradāt fī Gharīb al-Qur'ān*, which sees justice as comprised of two types, one which derives from divine law and cannot be abrogated, and one which is contingent on circumstances, such as vengeance or reward, which can be abrogated.[101] However, most of the rest of the chapter is taken up with a long quotation from the *Sirāj al-Mulūk* by al-Ṭurṭushī.[102] Ibn ʿAllān summarises this (*mulakhkhiṣan*) as saying that the upholding of justice will be rewarded in the afterlife, whereas the work of making a country prosper alone will not,[103] but al-Ṭurṭushī's argument is in

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probably is rather al-Ghazālī's commentary on the encounter. See Bagley, *Al-Ghazali's Counsel for Kings*, 76.

[97] The text has *juhālī*; it may be a mistake for *jahālatī* 'my ignorance' (as the parallelism with the heart suggests) or *juhhālī* 'my ignorant people.'

[98] *Al-Mawāhib*, p. 85.

في النصيحة قال صاحب الرواية اخباراً عن قول العجوز و الامن انما يكون من سياسة السلطان فيجب علي السلطان ان يعمل بالسياسة و ان يكون عادلاً لأن السلطان خليفة اللّٰه في ارضه فكيف يا مولانا يجتمع حفظ الحدود في الشرع و حفظ الزيادة من الحدود مع السياسة و كيف يجتمع مع العدل و العنف اعطنا جواباً يتلألأ به قلبي و تفطنه جهالي وابسطوا فيه العبارة والرواية امثالاً مبيّنة و شروحاً مسهولة مع ان تبين حدودعا اعني حد السياسة و حد العدل و حد العفو

[99] *Al-Mawāhib*, pp. 86–7; cf. p. 89.

[100] *Al-Mawāhib*, p. 90.

[101] *Al-Mawāhib*, pp. 91–2 = al-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī, *al-Mufradāt fi Gharīb al-Qur'ān*, ed. Muḥammad Sayyid Kīlānī (Beirut, nd), 325.

[102] *Al-Mawāhib*, pp. 92–102 = al-Ṭurṭushī, *Sirāj al-Mulūk*, 121–2, 124–5, with omissions.

[103] *Al-Mawāhib*, p. 102.

fact considerably more complex. Just as al-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī had defined two types of justice, al-Ṭurṭushī confirms this in slightly different terms, arguing for the existence of a divine justice brought by Prophets and justice as practical governance (*siyāsa iṣṭilāḥiyya*). However, al-Ṭurṭushī sees them as two parts (*qism*) of the same thing. To uphold prophetic justice, the ruler should gather ʿulama' and *fuqahāʾ* "who uphold God's orders and protect his *ḥudūd*." The ruler must always consult them. As for the *siyāsa iṣṭilāhiyya*, he must consult viziers as well as ʿulama'. Al-Ṭurṭushī admits that even an infidel king might uphold this *siyāsa iṣṭilāḥiyya*, just as the kings of ancient Persia did, but this sort of *siyāsa* has been abrogated by the coming of Islam and sharia. Yet an infidel ruler who upholds *siyāsa iṣṭilāḥiyya* is better than a Muslim one who fails to uphold prophetic justice and *siyāsa* (*al-siyāsa al-nabawiyya al- ʿādiliyya*).[104]

Ibn ʿAllān's glossing over of the precise contents of the passage in al-Ṭurṭushī disguises – perhaps even to his audience – a fundamental distinction between al-Ghazālī and a minority of other ʿulama'. Al-Ṭurṭushī's position, like that of Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya and Ibn Taymiyya, is that *siyāsa* and sharia are entirely congruent with one another. In contrast, Anjum argues that al-Ghazālī had seen *siyāsa* as nothing other than the legal ordinances known to jurists.[105] *Siyāsa*-advocates like al-Ṭurṭushī sought to make an accommodation between the demands of practical politics and the divine law, given the limitations of the latter, as in practice do the Hanbalis with their insistence on the permissibility of *ijtihād*, including that exercised by the ruler as in Ibn ʿAllān's examples. *Siyāsa*'s opponents, like al-Ghazālī, were concerned to uphold the primacy of the *fuqahāʾ* as the interpreters of the divine law. Al-Ghazālī sees the *faqīh* as the ruler's principal guide, whereas al-Ṭurṭushī depicts him more as an advisor.[106] In *al-Mawāhib*, it is the sultan who decides, and his task goes beyond simply enforcing the will of the *fuqahāʾ*.

2.5 *Fifth Problem* (*pp. 105–113*)

This chapter resumes the discussion of the saying mentioned in the Third Problem, "Religion relies on the king, the king on the army, the army on money, and money on the prosperity of the land, and the prosperity of the land on justice." Again it is posed as a question, apparently citing sultan Abū'l-Mafākhir's own words:

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[104] For a discussion of the interpretation of this passage, see Ovamir Anjum, *Politics, Law, Community in Islamic Thought: the Taymiyyan Moment* (Cambridge, 2012), 99–101.

[105] Anjum, *Politics, Law, Community*, 105–6.

[106] Anjum, *Politics, Law, Community*, 104–7.

> What is meant by the statement that "The army [is supported by] money"? Does the money come from the king, or the army? If you say from the money of the king, from which money? If you say, the money deriving from the prosperity of the land, from which money does the land become prosperous? If you say by the land becoming prosperous through justice, what is the situation of justice through which the land becomes prosperous and money accruing [to it]? Make your speech and explanation simple, and inform us of the situation of the land, for I am asking for your advice and knowledge. Be more informative in your advice than in the others![107]

Ibn ʿAllān explains that the army is to be supported by the money in the public treasury (*bayt al-māl*) gathered by the means permitted by sharia: *al-fay'*, plunder, the property of those who die without heirs, *zakāt*, *jizya* and *kharāj*. He goes on to cite Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya again at length, excerpting the section of *al-Ṭuruq al-Ḥukmiyya* that deals with *muzāraʿa* (sharecropping).[108] This concerns the rights of any army preparing for jihad to make use of the farmers' land and its fruits. Ibn Qayyim insists that this be done in accordance with sharia and without using oppression. Ibn ʿAllān then addresses Abū'l-Mafākhir:

> Oh righteous king! If you want to set your kingdom right, establish the scales of Muḥammadan sharia and the customs of the Prophet, and avert your eye from gazing at the blossoms of the material world which your subjects possess. Seek sustenance from God and see how blessings will come to you, and good things will multiply for you. Seek sustenance from God, worship him and thank him.[109]

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[107] *Al-Mawāhib*, pp. 106–7.
فما عُنِيَ بقوله الجند بالمال هل المال من مال الملك او من مال الجند فان قلتم من مال الملك فمن اي المال و ان قلتم وصول المال من عمارة البلاد و من اي مال يكون البلاد معموراً فان قلتم تعمير البلاد بالعدل فكيف حال العدل الذي يصير به البلاد معموراً والمال واصلاً ابسطوا كلامكم و شرحكم و علّمونا حال الولاية لأني استنصحكم واستعلمكم و كونوا في نصحكم اليّ ابلغ مما سواها

[108] *Al-Mawāhib*, pp. 108–110 = Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya, *al-Ṭuruq al-Ḥukmiyya*, 228.

[109] *Al-Mawāhib* pp. 110–111.
فاذا اردت ايها الملك الصالح استقامك ملكك فأقم ميزان الشرع المحمدي والسنن الاحمدي واغضض طرفك عن النظر الي زهرات الدنيا التي في ايدي رعاياك واطلب الرزق من اللّٰه و انظر كيف تأتيك البركت و تتكاثر عليك الخيرات فاتبغوا عند اللّٰه الرزق واعبدوه واشكروا له

2.6 *Sixth Problem* (*pp. 113–119*)

The passage of the *Mawāhib* and its associated question run as follows:

> "The sultan should take what is [allowed to be] taken from the people in moderation, and give what he gives them in moderation, for each of these has a limit."[110] What is the limit that is determined for what is taken and given?

Ibn ʿAllān's starting point, as we may expect, is that this must be done within the bounds of the *ḥudūd* and the sharia, although again, his interpretation of the latter leaves considerable room for the ruler's discretion. When investigating crimes, the ruler should impose a penalty in line with the gravity of the offence and to discourage others "so that righteousness and happiness result, and damage and wrongdoing (*fasād*) are removed, even if it is by way of ordinary discipline (*siyāsa ʿādiyya*)."[111] Indeed, al-Ṭurṭushī is even quoted to the effect that "taking a single dirham from [the subjects] through negligence or violation, even if just, is more corrupting of their hearts than 10 dirhams taken through a recognised discipline in an accustomed way."[112] Similarly giving and charity must be done in accordance with sharia, and the ruler is warned that he is not to use the treasury's money for his purposes.[113]

2.7 *Seventh Problem* (*pp. 120–136*)

For the first time, the question moves away from the *Naṣīḥat al-Mulūk*, and again is phrased as Abū'l-Mafākhir's direct question to Ibn ʿAllān:

> I ask you for a blessing, for you to teach me prayer and what I should read it in, and how I should prepare for it in my heart. Please teach me an invocation I can read after it which will be easy for my tongue.[114]

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[110] *Al-Mawāhib*, pp. 113–4 = al-Ghazālī, *al-Tibr al-Masbūk*, 66.
و ينبغي للسلطان ان يأخذ الذي يؤخذ من الرعية بقدره و ان يهب ما يهبه بقدره لأن لكل من هذين الأمرين حداً فكيف الحد المقدّر في المأخوذ والموهوب

[111] *Al-Mawāhib*, p. 115.

[112] *Al-Mawāhib*, p. 116 = al-Ṭurṭushī, *Sirāj al-Mulūk*, Chapter 11.

[113] *Al-Mawāhib*, pp. 118–9.

[114] *Al-Mawāhib*, p. 120.
أسألكم بركة من عندكم ان تعلموني الصلاة و ما أقرأ فيها و ما استعدُّ لها بقلبي الي اخرها و ان تعلمني دعاءً أقرأه بعدها وان يكون الدعاء متيسر في لساني

Not for the only time, Ibn ʿAllān's answer seems to evade the question somewhat. He starts by explaining that communal prayer (*ṣalāt*) can only be conducted if its requirements are strictly observed – the worshipper must not be naked, must maintain silence during the prostrations, and must perform the prostrations correctly. Ibn ʿAllān mentions that the conditions for prayer are laid out in books of *fiqh* (*al-kutub al-fiqhiyya*) under the headings *bāb ṣifat al-ṣalāt* or *bāb kayfiyyat al-ṣalāt*, but are explained in detail by Abū Shujāʿ al-Iṣfahānī, referring to the famous compendium of Shafii law by Abū Shujāʿ, *Matn al-Ghāya wa'l-Taqrīb* (also known simply as *al-Taqrīb*).[115] This suggests that Ibn ʿAllān assumed the sultan could consult such texts, and indeed Abū Shujāʿ's text circulated widely in Southeast Asia (at least in later periods), although no copy has been found among the surviving manuscripts of the *kraton* library.

Ibn ʿAllān then addresses Abū'l-Mafākhir's question, "What I should read in [the prayers]?", explaining that as a minimum the *fātiḥa* should be read at every prostration. Again, Ibn ʿAllān explains that the details of what is to be read are expounded in the books of *fiqh*. The imam must read the sura concisely, and avoid going on at length. As for Abū'l-Mafākhir's question as to how to prepare his heart, Ibn ʿAllān replies that this has been discussed in works such as al-Ghazālī's *Iḥyā' ʿUlūm al-Dīn* as well as the *Ḥaqā'iq al-Tanbīh*, an unidentified work. Repentance and purity in deed, food, and clothing are required, which he supports with extensive reference to hadith.[116] For the question relating to private prayer (*duʿā*), Ibn ʿAllān points the sultan to al-Nawawī's *Kitāb al-Adhkār*, and his own commentary on that text in the four-volume *al-Futūḥāt al-Rabbāniyya*, as well as a work by his grandfather, ʿAbd al-Malik b. ʿAlī b. Mubārakshāh al-Ṣiddīqī, *al-Ḥabl al-Matīn fī'l-Adhkār wa'l-Adʿiya*.[117] Invoking his own family relationship to the caliph Abū Bakr, he relates a prayer than the Prophet taught his ancestor.

In sum, the section on prayer is concerned less with the sultan's private devotions, but rather, how he should conduct the public prayer. This suggests that Abū'l-Mafākhir envisaged himself as acting as the imam, and indeed, this interpretation is supported by evidence from VOC sources, albeit rather later, that depict the sultan as leading the prayers.[118]

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[115] *Al-Mawāhib*, p. 122.

[116] *Al-Mawāhib*, pp. 124–5.

[117] *Al-Mawāhib*, pp. 133–5.

[118] Talens, *Een feodale samenleving*, 161.

2.8 *Eighth Problem* (*pp. 136–142*)

Here we return to the question of the army and the ruler originally raised in the Third and Fifth Problems.

> Is the sultan entitled to grant some of his land to his army or heir legally? If your answer is affirmative, what is the position of the subsequent sultan after the one who made the grant? Is he allowed to take control of the land or not?[119]

Ibn ʿAllān's reply outlines the various circumstances under which land and cannot be seized, depending on the type of original grant, and the owner's rights. Land granted as *iqṭāʿ* (land-grants) can be seized by the sultan whenever he wishes, whereas land which is assigned as a *waqf* is permanently alienated from the sultan's control. The only source cited by Ibn ʿAllān for his concise discussion of land ownership is Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī.[120]

2.9 *Ninth Problem* (*pp. 142–148*)

This question concerns land use:

> Is the sultan allowed to charge his free subjects rent on land or not? Is he allowed to take a tithe on commercial income from Muslim merchants or not? Is he allowed to take a landtax (*kharāj*) from his Muslim subjects to prepare uncultivated land [?], and the wages of workers. If you say yes, how can it conform to sharia? If you say no, with what money should the king be strong when he has no money? If you say from the money of slaves and infidel, those who do not possess slaves and are not given the jizya by the infidel will become poor. The author of the account [al-Ghazālī] has warned against kings being weak and the ruin of the land on account of two matters: the weakness of the sultan, and his oppression.[121]

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[119] *Al-Mawāhib* p. 136.
هل للسلطان ان يهب ارضاً من ارضه لجنوده او لوارثه هبةً صحيحةً فان قلتم جاز وصح فكيف حال السلطان الذي بعد السلطان الواهب هل يجوز له ان يتولا الارض الموهوبة او لا

[120] *Al-Mawāhib*, p. 140 = Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, *al-Ḥāwī fī'l-Fatāwā fī'l-Fiqh wa ʿUlūm al-Tafsīr wa'l-Uṣūl wa'l-Iʿrāb wa-Sā'ir al-Funūn* (Beirut, 2015), 124 (chapter on *bāb iḥyā' al-mawāt*).

[121] *Al-Mawāhib*, pp. 142–3.
هل يجوز للسلطان ان يأخذ كري الارض من رعيته الاحرار او لا وهل يجوز له ان يأخذ عشر مال التجارة من تجار المسلمين او لا و هل له ان يأخذ خراجاً من رعيته المسلمين لتجهيز مرصة الضائع في الولاية

Despite the length and complexity of Abū'l-Mafākhir's problem, Ibn ʿAllān's reply is extremely concise, and consists largely of quotations from al-Nawawī's *Rawḍat al-Ṭālibīn wa-ʿUmdat al-Muftiyyīn*. This latter text was an abridgement of al-Rāfiʿī's *al-ʿAzīz*, a well known *fiqh* text which was itself a commentary on al-Ghazālī's *al-Wajīz*.[122] The excerpts Ibn ʿAllān selects from al-Nawawī basically emphasise the limitations of the ruler's power, but, at the same time, sometimes only indirectly address Abū'l-Mafākhir's questions. The first excerpt deals with the permissibility of people in the street resting or selling goods (an issue not raised by Abū'l-Mafākhir), where al-Nawawī stresses that this is allowed whether or not the ruler explicitly permits it, providing it does not block passers by. Turning to an issue that Abū'l-Mafākhir did raise, al-Nawawī forbids the taking of tithes (*ʿushūr*) on commerce through uncanonical dues (*maks*), but the collection of alms (*zakāt*) is of course permitted. However, non-Muslim merchants who enter the *dār al-Islām* can be required to pay the tithe. *Kharāj* cannot be taken except from land subject to *kharāj* (e.g. land seized from the infidel). The text stresses the rights of subjects to have basic services provided such as a city wall and irrigation canals, which should be paid for from the public treasury, and if not by leading Muslims (*dhawī al-makina min al-muslimīn*), but prohibits the ruler from using the funds from the treasury for private purposes. In other words, the *ḥudūd* and sharia must be rigorously adhered to; as for Abū'l-Mafākhir's concerns about the practical consequences of this, Ibn ʿAllān simply explains that God will provide to those who are pious: "Whoever obeys his Lord's command, [God] will give him a good life, and protect him in his soul, possessions and army, for God is all-powerful".[123]

2.10 *Tenth Problem (pp. 148–157)*

The tenth problem is of a wholly different nature to the preceding ones, moving to theology. The problem is not stated directly as a question, but revolves around varying interpretations of the relationship between the mind (*al-dhihn*)

واجرة العمال و اذ قلتم نعم فكيف حال لا يوافق الشرع وان قلتم لا فمن اي مال يكون للملك قوي و لا مال له فان قلتم من مال العبد والكافرين فمن لا عبيد له و لا يعطي جزية من الكفار لا يكفي ذلك صار ضعيفاً كيف و قد تعوّذ صاحب الرواية من الملك الضعيف و خراب الارض من شيئين احدها عجز السلطان والثاني جوره

[122] Kooria, *Islamic Law in Circulation*, 133.

[123] *Al-Mawāhib*, p. 147: فمن امتثل امر مولاه احياه حياة طيبة وحفظه في نفسه و ملكه و جنده و اللّٰه علي كل شيء قدير

and the external world (*al-khārij*), and thus ultimately the relationship between the intellect and God. Closely related to the problem of the intellect is the question of the divine attributes (*ṣifat al-maʿānī*). The question debates whether the divine attributes are present in the intellect through thought. This would therefore mean that God's attributes are present in the external world. After outlining the different interpretations of the intellect, the question is succinctly put: "Is it allowed to say that by mind is meant God's mind?"[124]

The question also asks about different interpretations of God's negative characteristics (*al-ṣifāt al-salbiyya*) – the qualities which cannot be found in God because they are beneath His dignity. No sources are explicitly cited in the Tenth Problem and answer other than Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī's *Jamʿ al-Jawāmiʿ fī Uṣūl al-Fiqh*,[125] a work which, despite its title, also discussed theological questions, although it has not been possible to connect any of the text in *al-Mawāhib al-Rabbānniya* with that in the printed edition of *Jamʿ al-Jawāmiʿ*. Yet the question of the attributes of God was one raised in the *Admonitions of Seh Bari*, where al-Ghazālī harshly criticises the 'heretical' Sufis for denying God's attributes (or at least their eternity). God's attributes were also the subject of a Malay treatise by Shams al-Dīn al-Sumāṭrāʾī, the *Mirʾat al-Muʾminin*,[126] and formed the focus of Hamzah Fansuri's *Asrar al-ʿArifin*. While it is possible that these works, and their monistic implications, form part of the background to the question posed to Ibn ʿAllān, the discussion of whether objects had an objective or external existence (*wujūd khārijī*) to the mind was an important part of the thought of the near-contemporary Indian Sufi Aḥmad Sirhindī (d. 1034/1624).[127] Sirhindī also argued that the attributes of God had an existence in addition (*zāʾid*) to his essence, while the question of the external existence outside of the mind is raised by ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn al-Bukhārī in his *Risāla fī Waḥdat al-Wujūd*.[128] The issue was controversial because the ignorant could claim identity with the divine by possession of God's attributes, which was possible if they could exist externally to Him, as ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī notes.[129]

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[124] *Al-Mawāhib*, p. 150.

هل يجوز ان يقال المراد بالذهن ذهن اللّٰه ام لا

[125] *Al-Mawāhib*, p. 156.

[126] Van Nieuwenhuijze, *Šamsu'l-Din*, 84–93, 363–73.

[127] Ansari, "Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindi's Doctrine of Wahdat al-Shuhud," esp. 296.

[128] Saʿd al-Dīn al-Taftazānī (attrib.), *Risāla fi Waḥdat al-Wujūd* (Istanbul, 1294), 13–145. On the attribution of this text see El-Rouayheb, *Islamic Intellectual History*, 314, n. 3.

[129] ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī, *Risāla fī Waḥdat al-Wujūd*, Süleymaniye MS Aşir Efendi 434, fol. 79b–80a.

The closest parallel to this passage, however, can be found in ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Jāmī's *al-Durra al-Fākhira*. Not to be confused with the eschatological work of al-Ghazālī of the same title discussed above, al-Jāmī's *al-Durra al-Fākhira* had been commissioned by the Ottoman Sultan Mehmed II and was written in 886/1481. It deals with the views of philosophers, theologians and Sufis on the Divine Essence and Attributes of God. Right at the beginning of the work, al-Jāmī condemns the views of both the Ashʿarites and the Muʿtazilites in the following terms:

> The apparent position of both al-Shaykh Abū al-Ḥasan al-Ashʿari and Shaykh Abū al-Ḥusayn al-Baṣri of the Muʿtazilites is that the existence of a Necessary Existent, indeed the existence of everything, is identical with its essence both in the mind (*dhihnan*) and externally (*khārijan*).[130]

Framed in the technical language of logic and *kalām*, and drawing heavily on the works of Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī among others, al-Jāmī's *al-Durra al-Fākhira* seeks to uphold the superiority of Sufism in understanding fundamental ontological questions. As Nicholas Heer puts it,

> In general Jāmī first presents first the opposing positions of the theologians and the philosophers and then the Ṣufī position. He presents the Ṣufī position not simply as a rationally possible alternative to the theological and philosophical positions, but as a clearly superior position, either because it reconciles the views of the theologians and philosophers on a particular question, or because it avoids the problems necessarily resulting from the position that the theologians and philosophers hold.[131]

Interest in al-Jāmī's *al-Durra al-Fākhira* among Southeast Asians is attested by two manuscripts copied by Yūsuf al-Maqāṣīrī in 1656 and 1664, as is discussed in more detail in Chapter 5.

Perhaps surprisingly, the term *waḥdat al-wujūd* at no point features directly in the Tenth Problem in *al-Mawāhib al-Rabbāniyya*; nor is the identity of the proponents of various ideas about God's attributes ever explicitly mentioned. Ibn ʿAllān answers that specialists in the principles of religious law (*al-uṣūliyyūn*) affirm the existence of essences (*aʿyān*) in the external world, and deny the identity of the mind with God's mind. This suggests that while there were indeed theological debates in Banten that touched on similar issues to those in Aceh, they were framed in rather different terms. The Tenth Problem only takes up a small proportion of the text of *al-Mawāhib*, under ten pages out of 157; compared to the very detailed discussion of the First and Second Problems, which alone take up half the text, the attention given to such issues is very limited.

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[130] Nicholas L. Heer, *The Precious Pearl: Al-Jāmī's al-Durrah al-Fākhirah, together with his glosses and the Commentary of ʿAbd al-Ghafūr al-Lārī* (Albany, NY, 1979), 34.

[131] Heer, *The Precious Pearl*, 7.

Indeed, the stark contrast between the issues discussed in *al-Mawāhib al-Rabbāniyya* and the *waḥdat al-wujūd* debates is underlined by the fact that Ibn ʿAllān wrote at least three works that either focused on or touched on the latter. One is *al-ʿIqd al-Farīd fī Maʿrifat al-Tawḥīd*, which survives in a unique copy made by Yūsuf al-Maqāṣīrī,[132] which may suggest that the treatise was also written at the behest of Jāwa students. Ibn ʿAllān states he was impelled to compose the work because of misconceptions about the concept of *waḥdat al-wujūd* prevalent in Sufi circles. The text is an uncompromising denunciation of such beliefs, Ibn ʿAllān announcing in his introduction that "anyone who claims that the Creator has united with or taken up a place in his creation is an infidel".[133] Yet this condemnation of monism does not mean Ibn ʿAllān was hostile to Ibn ʿArabī's thought or its later interpretations. Ibn ʿAllān wrote – or purported to write – a short treatise entitled *Rafʿ al- Ḥijāb ʿan ʿAraʾis al-Khamsa al-Abwāb*. According to one of the two manuscripts of this treatise (Leiden Or 5660/9), this commentary on chapters 50–54 of al-Jīlī's *al-Insān al-Kāmil* was written by Ibn ʿAllān in response to the questions of the ruler of Banten, Abū'l-Mafākhir's son Abū'l-Maʿālī. However, a second manuscript of the work (British Library, India Office, Loth 667, bearing the different title *Ijābat al-Akh al-Fāḍil al-Kāmil*, but containing the same text) states that it was composed by al-Qushāshī in response a question from Ibn ʿAllān.[134] It is of course entirely possible that both statements are true, given the flexible approach to authorship that many works of the period exhibit. Al-Qushāshī may well have written the work as in response to a question by Ibn ʿAllān – and this seems to be confirmed by their contemporary Ibn al-ʿUjaymī, who remarks that Ibn ʿAllān requested that al-Qushāshī comment on chapters of *al-Insān al-Kāmil* for him[135] – but this does not preclude Ibn ʿAllān from having repackaged the work as his own for presentation to the rulers of Banten. Certainly, there was interest in al-Jīlī's *al-Insān al-Kāmil* in Banten, as is suggested by the existence of a rather damaged manuscript of the eighteenth century from there, with interlinear Javanese translation.[136]

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[132] Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, MS Sprenger 677/3, fols. 107b–113b, see also fig. 3.4.

[133] Ibn ʿAllān, *al-ʿIqd al-Farīd*, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, MS Sprenger 677, fol. 108a كل من ادعى ان الباري اتحد مع مخلوق او حل فيه فقد كفر.

[134] Voorhoeve, *Handlist,* 130–131; cf Voorhoeve, "Menselijke onvolkomenheid bij een commentator van De Volkomen Mens," *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 109 (1953): 191.

Further engagement by Ibn ʿAllān with such topics is suggested by his best known composition, his commentary on the puritanical Ottoman preacher Mehmed Birgevi's (d. 981/1573) *al-Ṭarīqa al-Muḥammadiyya*, entitled *al-Mawāhib al-Fatḥiyya ʿalā al-Ṭarīqa al-Muḥammadiyya*, which exists in numerous manuscripts. Birgevi's work, which was massively influential, intended to promote the cultivation of piety in daily life by combatting innovation (*bidʿa*) and advancing a scripturally based form of Islam shorn of popular religious practices.[137] In many respects, then, Birgevi's project was similar to Ibn Taymiyya's, although this does not mean that Birgevi supported the latter's theological position, or indeed even that he was influenced directly by his works, despite their similarity of approach.[138] Birgevi condemned many of the practices typical of Sufism in this period, including *dhikr* and *samāʿ*, and was particularly influential among the Qadızadeli movement in the seventeenth century, but could not be ignored by others. A prominent proponent of *waḥdat al-wujūd*, ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī also wrote a commentary on Birgevi's work, which he entitled *al-Ḥadīqa al-Naddiyya fī Sharḥ al-Ṭarīqa al-Muḥammadiyya*.[139] ʿAbd al-Ghanī describes the work as one which "mixed legal questions and ascetics' stations, united both scholarly benefits and confessional rarities, which its author perfected and clarified, giving advice thereby to the *umma*".[140] It was also intended to defuse the use of Birgevi's

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[135] Ibn al-ʿUjaymī, *Khabāyā al-Zawāyā*, 300.

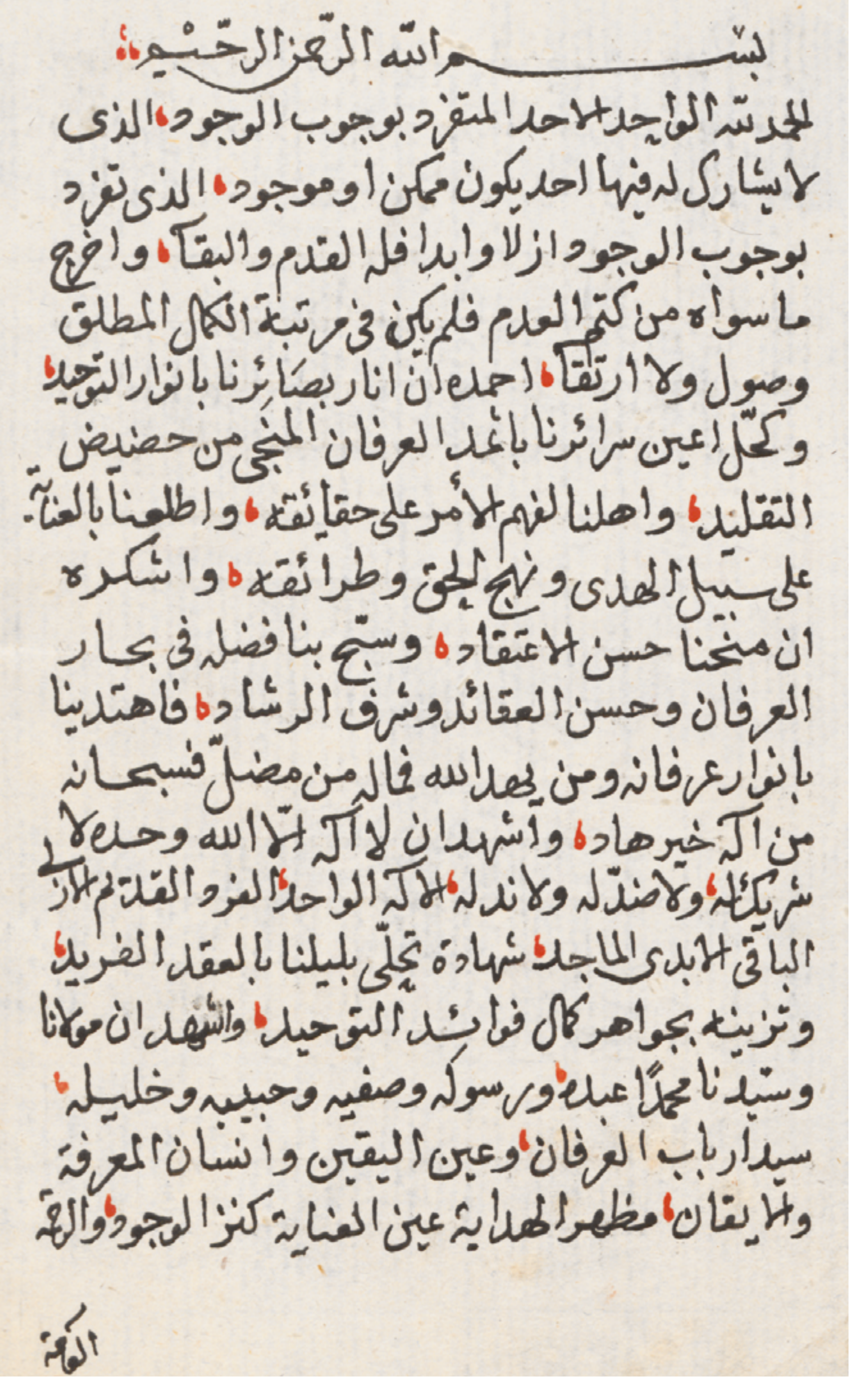
[136] Voorhoeve, *Handlist*, 130: Leiden University Library, Or 5669 "in very bad condition".

[137] See Katharina A. Ivanyi, *Virtue, Piety and the Law: A Study of Birgivī Meḥmed Efendī's* al-Ṭarīqa al-Muḥammadiyya (Leiden, 2020), esp. 117–159.

[138] El-Rouayheb notes (*Islamic Intellectual History*, 15) that Birgevi condemns some of the theological positions espoused by Ibn Taymiyya as heresy, *kufr*. On the lack of a direct connection between Ibn Taymiyya and Birgevi see Ivanyi, *Virtue, Piety and the Law*, 38–9.

[139] ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī, *al-Ḥadīqa al-Naddiyya fī Sharḥ al-Ṭarīqa al-Muḥammadiyya*, Istanbul, Suleymaniye Library, MS Ayasofya 1890.

[140] al-Nābulusī, *al-Ḥadīqa al-Naddiyya,* fol 2a
مزج هي مسائل الفقهيات بالمقامات الزهدييات وجمع بين الفوائد العلميات والفرائد الاعتقادات واتقن
تحريره واوض تقريره ونصح فيه الامة



بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
الحمد لله الواحد الاحد المتفرد بوجوب الوجود الذى
لا يشاركه فيها احد يكون ممكن او موجود الذى تفرد
بوجوب الوجود ازلا وابدا فله القدم والبقا واخرج
ما سواه من كتم العدم فلم يكن فى مرتبة الكمال المطلق
وصول ولا ارتقا احمده ان انار بصائرنا بانوار التوحيد
وكحل اعين سرائرنا باثمد العرفان المنجى من حضيض
التقليد واهلنا لفهم الامر على حقائقه واطلعنا بالعناية
على سبيل الهدى ونهج الحق وطرائقه واشكره
ان منحنا حسن الاعتقاد وسبح بنا فضله فى بحار
العرفان وحسن العقائد وشرف الرشاد فاهتدينا
بانوار عرفانه ومن يهد الله فما له من مضل فسبحانه
من اله خير هاد واشهد ان لا اله الا الله وحده لا
شريك له ولا ضد له ولا ند له الاله الواحد الفرد القديم الازلى
الباقى الابدى الماجد شهادة تحلى بلبلنا بالعقد الفريد
وتزينه بجواهر كمال فوائد التوحيد واشهد ان مولانا
وسيدنا محمدا عبده ورسوله وصفيه وحبيبه وخليله
سيد ارباب العرفان وعين اليقين وانسان المعرفة
والايقان مظهر الهداية عين العناية كنز الوجود والرحـ
الرحمة

FIGURE 4.4 Ibn ʿAllān, the opening of *al-ʿIqd al-Farīd fī Maʿrifat al-Tawḥīd*, copied by Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maqāṣīrī. Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, MS Sprenger 677, fol. 107b

work by ‘fanatics’ (*ahl al-taʿaṣṣub*), by whom it seems likely that al-Nābulusī meant the Qadızadelis.[141] Yet despite the central relevance of Birgevi’s work to *wujūdī* debates and the circulation of Ibn ʿAllān’s other works in the region, it does not seem *al-Mawāhib al-Fatḥiyya* was ever read in Southeast Asia.

The absence of discussion of the *waḥdat al-wujūd* debates in *al-Mawāhib al-Rabbāniyya*, despite Ibn ʿAllān’s other writings in this field, strongly suggests that in fact the nature of the controversy in Southeast Asia had yet to crystallise at the time of the Banten mission to Mecca. How then can we explain the discrepancy between the evidence of the texts we have and that of the *Sejarah Banten* which points specifically to a *wujūdī* connection, naming the texts that Ibn ʿAllān was asked about as *Muntahi*, the title of Hamzah’s work, and *Wujudi*? The discrepancy, I believe, can be explained by the dates. As noted above, Ibn ʿAllān gives unambiguous evidence that the embassy from Banten reached him in 1046/1637. Yet it was only the following hijri year, 1047/1637 that al-Rānīrī returned to Aceh and started his programme of persecution of the followers of Hamzah and Shams al-Dīn. It seems likely that there was no particularly dramatic controversy over *wujūdiyya* before this date. By the time the *Sejarah Banten* was composed, however, in 1662–3, the situation had changed. Al-Rānīrī’s intervention had provoked interest in Banten with Sultan Abu’l-Mafākhir commissioning the *Lamaʿān*, which undoubtedly targeted Hamzah Fansuri and his followers. The *Sejarah Banten*’s account thus reflects the preoccupations of the court in the 1660s, when it was composed, not the 1630s. It is also testimony to the speed with which the Acehnese controversies spread across Southeast Asia.

3 Politics and Religion in *al-Mawāhib al-Rabbāniyya*

Al-Mawāhib al-Rabbāniyya is a challenging text. With its extensive use of technical terminology (especially that of law, in the First Problem, and *kalām* and philosophy, in the Tenth Problem), it is by no means easy to follow for the uninitiated. In the First Problem, the rearrangement of Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya’s text, the omission of his chapter headings, and the lack of the illustrative examples he had provided, contribute to a text which is dense to the point of impenetrability in places. At the same time, the text is largely derived from quotations of earlier authors, especially Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya and al-Ṭurṭushī, and to a lesser extent al-Suyūṭī. Perhaps some 80–90% of the text is comprised of such quotations. *Al-Mawāhib* thus represents a collage of authoritative sources rearranged by Ibn ʿAllān for the Banten court, rather as al-Rānīrī's *Bustan al-Salatin* did for the Acehnese court, albeit in Malay. Indeed, the *Bustan* shares with *al-Mawāhib al-Rabbāniyya* not just an interest in the *Naṣīḥat al-Mulūk*, but also utilised extensively, albeit without acknowledgement, al-Ṭurṭushī's *Sirāj al-Mulūk*.[142] Such an approach was of course neither considered plagiaristic nor indeed surprising in a literary culture which regarded originality rather differently than we do today, and the proportion of quotations is paralleled in other works. Al-Ṭurṭushī, for instance, constituted the source of much of the Malay mirror for princes text composed in Aceh at the beginning of the seventeenth century that its compiler attributed to Kāshifī.[143] Nor was this a specifically Southeast Asian phenomenon. Al-Jāmī's *al-Durra al-Fākhira* largely comprises a patchwork of quotations from earlier works of Sufi theology, such as those of al-Qūnawī, Mulla Fenārī and Daʾūd al-Qayṣarī.[144]

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[141] Jonathan Allen, “Reading Mehmed Birgivî with ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī: Contested Interpretations of Birgivî’s al-Ṭarīqa al-Muḥammadīya in the 17th–18th Century Ottoman Empire,” in Lejla Demiri and Samuela Pagani (eds), *Early Modern Trends in Islamic Theology: ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī and His Network of Scholarship* (Tubingen, 2019), 153–70.

It seems that the pressing question for the Banten court and Ibn ʿAllān was not theology, as has commonly been supposed, but the one raised in the first half of the text: what is the relationship between *siyāsa* and sharia? Ibn ʿAllān's answers diverge significantly from al-Ghazālī's, who sees the sultan as subservient to sharia. Indeed, al-Ghazālī specifically argued that the sultan must exercise justice in strict accordance with the sharia, neither going beyond or less than what it stipulates.[145] In contrast, Ibn ʿAllān envisages the sultan as not just the holder of secular power, and the enforcer of sharia and the *ḥudūd*, but himself as the ultimate jurisconsult. Through his exercise of *ijtihād*, the sultan adjudicates God's law, and the concluding sentence of *al-Mawāhib* emphasises this point once again: "Man's duty is to undertake *ijtihād*, while God's duty is [to make possible] seeking the way [of truth]."[146] Indeed, implicit in the text is that the sultan has access to the books of *fiqh* that are mentioned, as well as other texts such as the *Iḥyāʾ*. As well as being the supreme *mujtahid*, the sultan is also envisaged as leading the prayers. In other words, Ibn ʿAllān offers a template of Islamic kingship which in fact diverges very substantially from al-Ghazālī's. Rather, the idea of the sultan as supreme *mujtahid* resembles closely ideas propagated by Akbar in India. In his famous *maḥḍar* (decree) of 1579, Akbar declared himself to be the imam and *mujtahid* of the age.[147] Akbar continued to hold to this position till the end of his reign two decades later.[148] This divergence from al-Ghazālī is also suggested by Ibn ʿAllān's choice of authors cited. Not only was al-Ṭurṭushī's view of the relationship between *siyāsa* and sharia fundamentally at odds with al-Ghazālī's, but he had in fact been the most prominent of al-Ghazālī's opponents. In a response to the *Iḥyāʾ*, al-Ṭurṭushī had accused al-Ghazālī of being a philosopher, an adherent of the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā and an esotericist (*bāṭinī*) or Ismaili[149] – effectively an accusation of rank heresy if not unbelief. The use of Hanbali authorities such as Ibn al-Qayyim further underminds al-Ghazālī.

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[142] Wormser, *Le Bustan al-Salatin*, 80–81.

[143] Jelani Harun, "*Naṣīḥat al-Mulūk*: Cermin Hati Raja-Raja", 208.

[144] Heer, *Precious Pearl*, 8.

[145] Cf. Crone, "Did al-Ghazālī Write a Mirror for Princes?" 172.

[146] *Al-Mawāhib*, p. 157.

To what extent may we regard the text as actually based around genuine questions from the Banten court? The *Sejarah Banten* records that Sultan Abū'l-Mafākhir regularly demanded to be informed of ongoing legal cases, and where the qadi could not adjudicate, the sultan made the decision. Cases between officials (*ponggawa*) were decided by the Sultan, rather than by the qadi. One of the earliest qadis attested, appointed on Abū'l-Mafākhir's death in 1651, was himself a prince, Pangeran Jayasantika.[150] Moreover, in the Javanese language code of laws ascribed to Sultan Abū'l-Mafākhir, the *Undhang-Undhang Sultan Abu'l-Mafakhir,* the sultan reserves to himself the right to pronounce verdicts based on *taʿzīr*, and to resort to *ijtihād*.[151] It seems highly likely then that rather than a literary conceit, the text does indeed reflect real questions from Banten. The allusion in the *Ghawṣ al-Biḥār*, cited above, to the role of the local ʿulamaʾ in seeking clarification perhaps reflects some sort of debate between local religious scholars and the sultan over the respective limits of their authority, questions that they tried and failed to resolve with the limited Islamic texts available to them, primarily al-Ghazālī, who was certainly known in some form in Java since the sixteenth century. In the eighteenth century, with Dutch domination, the sultans seem to have lost legal authority to the qadi, who was exercising *ijtihād* in his own right.[152] Yet the eighteenth-century copy of *al-Mawāhib al-Rabbāniyya* that has survived, together with its Javanese translation, suggests that the ruling dynasty did not meekly assent to its relegation to secondary importance in legal affairs, but continued to recall the prerogatives laid down by Ibn ʿAllān, who envisaged the sultan as the supreme arbitrator and judge.

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[147] Moin, *The Millennial Sovereign*, 139.

[148] Moin, *The Millennial Sovereign*, 145.

[149] Garden, *The First Islamic Reviver*, 154–5.

[150] Van Bruinessen, "Sharia court," 168, 170; Djajadiningrat, *Critische beschouwing*, 54–5, 66.

[151] Yakin, "Undhang-Undhang Bantĕn," 376.

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[152] Van Bruinessen, "Sharia court," 171–2; Yakin, "Undhang-Undhang Banten," 383; Yakin, "The Register of the Qadi Court "Kiyahi Pĕqih Najmuddin" of the Sultanate of Bantĕn 1754–1756 CE," *Studia Islamika* 22 (2015): 443–496, esp. 477.

CHAPTER 5

Arabic Texts and Court Sufism between the Hijaz and Sulawesi: Yūsuf al-Maqāṣīrī and His Followers

The interest in the works of Ibn ʿAllān in Banten suggests that by the 1630s there existed at least some scholars there who could grapple with complex Arabic texts. Nonetheless, the earliest evidence for original literary production in Banten dates only to the second half of the seventeenth century. The Sulawesi-born scholar Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maqāṣīrī (*c.*1037/1627–1111/1699),[1] who had studied for many years in the Middle East, including with the famed al-Kūrānī, served the court of Banten from roughly 1664 to 1683, composing a large number of Arabic works. Indeed, al-Maqāṣīrī is the first Southeast Asian author known whose literary output is exclusively in Arabic. (There are a small number of Makassarese texts attributed to him, but it is not clear whether these are pseudepigraphic, translations or actually original works).[2] Some of these Arabic works are dedicated explicitly to the sultan of Banten, but al-Maqāṣīrī continued to compose treatises that were sent to the court even after his exile to Ceylon by the Dutch in the wake of a failed rebellion in 1683, the last significant attempt by the Banten sultanate to resist Dutch encroachment, in which the Shaykh played a major role.

Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maqāṣīrī, who eventually died in exile in the Cape of Good Hope, is revered to this day both as an Indonesian hero and as a holy man, especially in his native island, where numerous hagiographies written in

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[1] While conventionally this name is transcribed al-Maqaṣṣārī (see for example Azra, *Origins*, passim), it is clear from manuscripts copied by al-Maqāṣīrī that the latter orthography was the one he consistently used. See fig. 5.1, 5.2.

[2] One such Makassarese text, published in transliteration and Indonesian translation on the basis of a *lontaraq* owned by the qadi of Gowa, H. Ibrahim Dg Kabe, is: Abd. Kadir Assegaf, *Kitab Lontara Syekh Yusuf* (Makassar, 2008). The work discusses *tawba* and *dhikr* which is consistent with al-Maqāṣīrī's other writings, but exhibits a distinct interest in the symbolism of the letter *alif*, which we do not find in his securely attributed works (but see Abu Hamid, *Syekh Yusuf: Seorang Ulama, Sufi dan Pejuang* (Jakarta, 1994), 254–5 for a discussion of its significance based on oral sources). At least in this instance the *lontaraq* is likely to be pseudepigraphic. For another example of a Makassarese text attributed to al-Maqāṣīrī, in this instance apparently poems in praise of God and the Prophet, see Cummings, *Making Blood White*, 155.

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lontaraq (palm leaf) form record semi-mythical versions of his life.[3] Modern scholarship notes his role in spreading the Khalwati *ṭarīqa*, of which a local variant in Sulawesi takes his name, and the Khalwatiyya-Yusufiyya had a particular appeal to Sulawesi courts and aristocrats.[4] However, the Arabic texts he wrote have rarely been studied, and only one has been edited. The absence of detailed studies of al-Maqāṣīrī's works has meant that scholarship has not yet adequately evaluated his place in the history of Islam in Southeast Asia, despite his immense status. The major English language study is a chapter in Azra's *Origins of Islamic Reformism*, which offers a useful overview of al-Maqāṣīrī's life and intellectual networks.[5] He gives less satisfactory detail on the intellectual content of al-Maqāṣīrī's works, describing him as a 'neo-Sufi' who rejected *waḥdat al-wujūd*, and was "rather overzealous in his reconciliation between the exoteric and esoteric aspects of Islam."[6] As we shall see, this does not really do justice to al-Maqāṣīrī's agenda.

Al-Maqāṣīrī's image has also been strongly influenced by his role in the resistance to the Dutch, as is reflected in the title of the main Indonesian study by Abu Hamid, which refers to him as a 'warrior' (*pejuang*). This has prompted rather free interpretations of al-Maqāṣīrī's works, which have been scoured for phrases that can relate them to their author's role in the jihad. His treatise *al-Ḥabl al-Warīd*, for instance, has been described as "a reflection on this campaign written in exile in Ceylon … It refers to the military authority to which al-Maqaṣṣārī resorted" and it even "recommends that his followers seek support from Sufi masters during times of war."[7] In reality, the text seems a conventional presentation of the requirements of absolute loyalty of the *murīd* to his shaykh, who is presented as being God's deputy (*khalīfa*); it also devotes some space to *dhikr*, and insists on the *sālik* following the path of sharia including fasting and performing prayers. In other words, it is an entirely conventional piece of Sufi literature. The tendency to force al-Maqāṣīrī into a preconceived role at the expense of what his writings actually tell us has left our understanding defective in numerous respects. For instance, despite the common ascription of his *ṭarīqa* affiliation to the Khalwatiyya, his works suggest he identified more closely with the Naqshbandi order, whose shaykhs he repeatedly invokes. He was one of the earliest adherents of the Naqshbandi *ṭarīqa* in Southeast Asia to be identified, although it was probably already known in Banten.[8] Van Bruinessen suggests that unlike the contemporary Shattariyya which struck roots in Southeast Asia, in the seventeenth century most Indonesian Naqshbandis were initiated in Arabia, in particular at the hands of Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī, and did not establish lasting lines locally as attested by *silsilas*.[9] In fact, however, al-Maqāṣīrī's teaching was continued by his disciple ʿAbd al-Baṣīr al-Ḍarīr. Moreover, al-Maqaṣīrī's works sometimes explicitly address the *waḥdat al-wujūd* controversy and engage with Hamzah Fansuri's ideas, but his involvement in these debates has not been acknowledged, and indeed explicitly denied, by earlier scholarship.[10]

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[3] R. Michael Feener, "Shaykh Yusuf and the Appreciation of Muslim 'Saints' in Modern Indonesia," *Journal for Islamic Studies* 18 (1999), 112–131; Simon Kemper, "The White Heron Called by the Muezzin: Shrines, Sufis and Warlords in Early Modern Java," in Joshua Gedacht and R. Michael Feener (eds), *Challenging Cosmopolitanism: Coercion, Mobility and Displacement in Islamic Asia* (Edinburgh, 2017), 81–120, at pp. 88–9. For one such Makassarese *lontaraq* hagiography of al-Maqāṣīrī, edited with an Indonesian translation, see Husnu Fahimah Ilyas (ed. and trans.), *Tradisi Pembacaan Hikayat Syekh Yusuf: Mendulang Berkah Pada Sang Sufi* (Jakarta, 2022).

[4] Martin van Bruinessen, "The Tariqa Khalwatiyya in South Celebes," in Harry A. Poeze and Pim Schoorl (eds), *Excursies in Celebes* (Leiden, 1991), 251–69; see also Abu Hamid, *Syekh Yusuf*, 232; Azra, *Origins*, 108.

[5] Azra, *Origins*, 87–108.

[6] Azra, *Origins*, 107.

[7] Kemper, "The White Heron Called By the Muezzin," 87–8.

In this chapter, I will firstly outline what we know of al-Maqāṣīrī's intellectual formation, and then examine some of his major works. His extensive corpus raises considerable problems of attribution and intertextuality that cannot be fully addressed here, but rather the aim is to offer an overview of his contribution, although a full list of his works will be found in Appendix 1. In addition, I examine al-Maqāṣīrī's impact, in particular through the Arabic works purportedly inspired by him that started to be composed in courtly circles in Sulawesi from the late seventeenth century onwards.

1 The Life and Intellectual Formation of Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maqāṣīrī

Yūsuf al-Maqāṣīrī was born in the recently Islamised kingdom of Gowa-Talloq, which at the beginning of the seventeenth century had embarked on an ambitious programme of external expansion and internal Islamisation through royal patronage of Islamic institutions such as mosques and Qur'an schools. Although this period is well covered by indigenous Makassarese sources – there was a strong tradition of historical writing in South Sulawesi – these concentrate more on political and commercial events. Makassarese language hagiographies embellish stories of his early life with extravagant claims for his descent, claiming variously that his father was the Prophet Khiḍr, the brother of Sultan ʿAla' al-Din of Gowa, or Sultan ʿAla' al-Din himself.[11] Al-Maqāṣīrī refers to himself, however, as the "son of Abū'l-Jalāl ʿAbdallāh, the Jāwī of Makassar" (see Fig. 5.1, Fig. 5.2), which seems to rule out such an association with ʿAla' al-Din.

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[8] van Bruinessen, *Tarekat Naqsybandiya*, 34–42; van Bruinessen, "Sharia court," 179.

[9] van Bruinessen, "Origins and Development of the Naqshbandi Order," 153–6.

[10] Abu Hamid, *Syekh Yusuf*, xxiv.

The royal annals of Gowa record al-Maqāṣīrī's birth in 1035/1626–7 and comment that he departed for Mecca in Rajab 1054/September 1644, reaching Banten in October that year. Yet as al-Maqāṣīrī was only eighteen at the time, and therefore unlikely to have had the prominence that would draw his movements to the attention of a chronicler, these dates are probably interpolations by later editors of the royal annals, reflecting his enormous posthumous reputation in South Sulawesi.[12] Thereafter, the annals record little but al-Maqāṣīrī's death in 1699, while the *lontaraq* hagiographies claim that on reaching Arabia, he travelled as far as Syria and even to Istanbul.[13] However, the most detailed contemporary account of al-Maqāṣīrī comes in a work compiled by his friend Ibn al-ʿUjaymī, *Khabāyā al-Zawāyā*, which deals with the leading Sufis of the seventeenth-century Hijaz. As it has not previously received scholarly notice it is worth quoting in full:

> Shaykh Yūsuf al-Tāj b. ʿAfīf al-Dīn b. Abī'l-Khayr al-Jāwī al-Maqāṣīrī, the virtuous shaykh, the Sufi, he who professes *tawḥīd* [*al-ṣūfī al-tawḥīdī*], the learned and diligent, the swimmer in the currents of the seas of *tawḥīd*, from which he extracted the unique essence by his fine diving. He was born in his country around [10]40[/1630], and undertook the hajj, joining the circle of Muḥammad ʿAlī ʿAllān [i.e. Ibn ʿAllān], then he went back to Yemen and joined the circle of our shaykh Aḥmad al-Ajl in Zabid, and ʿAbd al-Raḥīm al-Khāṣṣ, and was inducted into the *ṭarīqa* by Shaykh ʿAbd al-Bāqī al-Mizjājī. He then went back to the Haramayn a second time, performing the pilgrimage and visiting sacred sites, and meeting with our shaykh Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Qushāshī al-Aḥmadī in Medina. He studied with him, then travelled to Damascus [*al-shām*] where he joined the circle of shaykh Muḥammad Amīn and the Shaykh of Damascus [*al-shaykh al-Dimashqī*], whose intimate he became. He was inducted into the

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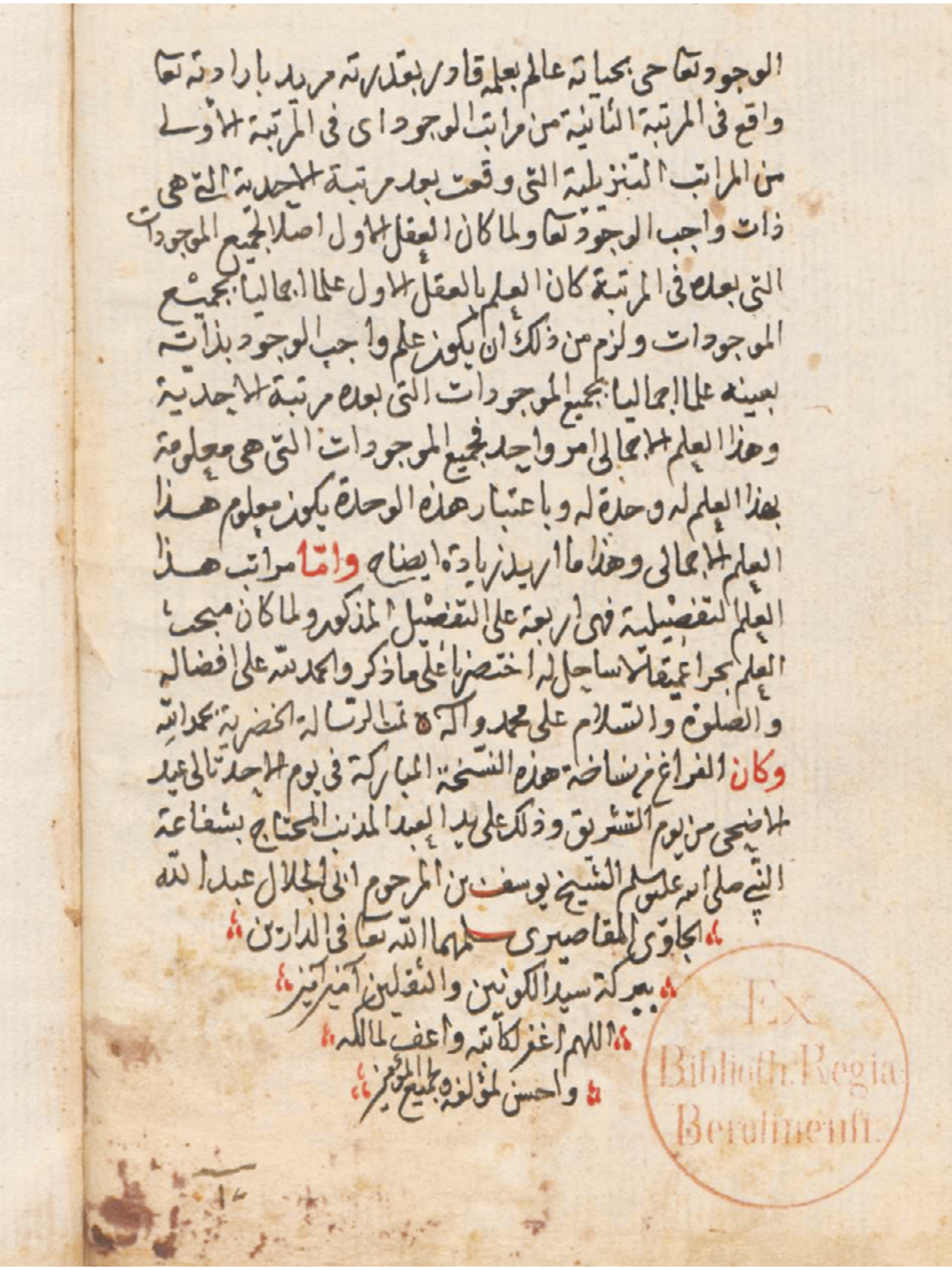
[11] Abu Hamid, *Syekh Yusuf*, 78–89 provides a translation of one of these Makassarese hagiographies; also Ilyas (ed. and trans.), *Tradisi Pembacaan Hikayat Syekh Yusuf*, 24–6; on the memory of al-Maqāṣīrī in Makassar, see Cummings, *Making Blood White*, 157–8, 168–9.

[12] A. Ligtvoet, "Transcriptie van het Dagboek der Vorsten van Gowa en Tello, III: Vertaling," *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 28 (1880), 105; William Cummings, *The Makassar Annals* (Leiden, 2010), 20, 39, 63, 64.

[13] Ilyas (ed. and trans.), *Tradisi Pembacaan Hikayat Syekh Yusuf*, 53–5.



الوجود تعا حي بحياته عالم بعلمه قادر بقدرته مريد بارادته تعا
واقع في المرتبة الثانية من مراتب الوجود اي في المرتبة الاولى
من المراتب التنزلية التي وقعت بعد مرتبة الاحدية التي هي
ذات واجب الوجود تعا ولما كان العقل الاول اصلا لجميع الموجودات
التي بعده في المرتبة كان العلم بالعقل الاول علما اجماليا بجميع
الموجودات ولزم من ذلك ان يكون علم واجب الوجود بذاته
بعينه علما اجماليا بجميع الموجودات التي بعد مرتبة الاحدية
وهذا العلم الاجمالي امر واحد لجميع الموجودات التي هي معلومة
بهذا العلم له وحدة له وباعتبار هذه الوحدة يكون معلوم هذا
العلم الاجمالي وهذا ما اريد زيادة ايضاح **واما** مراتب هذا
العلم التفصيلية فهي اربعة على التفصيل المذكور ولما كان مبحث
العلم بحرا عميقا لا ساحل له اختصرنا على ما ذكر والحمد لله على افضاله
والصلوة والسلام على محمد واله تمت الرسالة الخضرية بحمد الله
وكان الفراغ من نساخة هذه النسخة المباركة في يوم الاحد تالي عيد
الاضحى من يوم التشريق وذلك على يد العبد المذنب المحتاج بشفاعة
النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم الشيخ يوسف بن المرحوم ابي الجلال عبد الله
الجاوي المقاصيري رحمهما الله تعا في الدارين
ببركة سيد الكونين والثقلين آمين آمين
اللهم اغفر لكاتبه واعف لمالكه
واحسن لمؤلفه ولجميع المؤمنين

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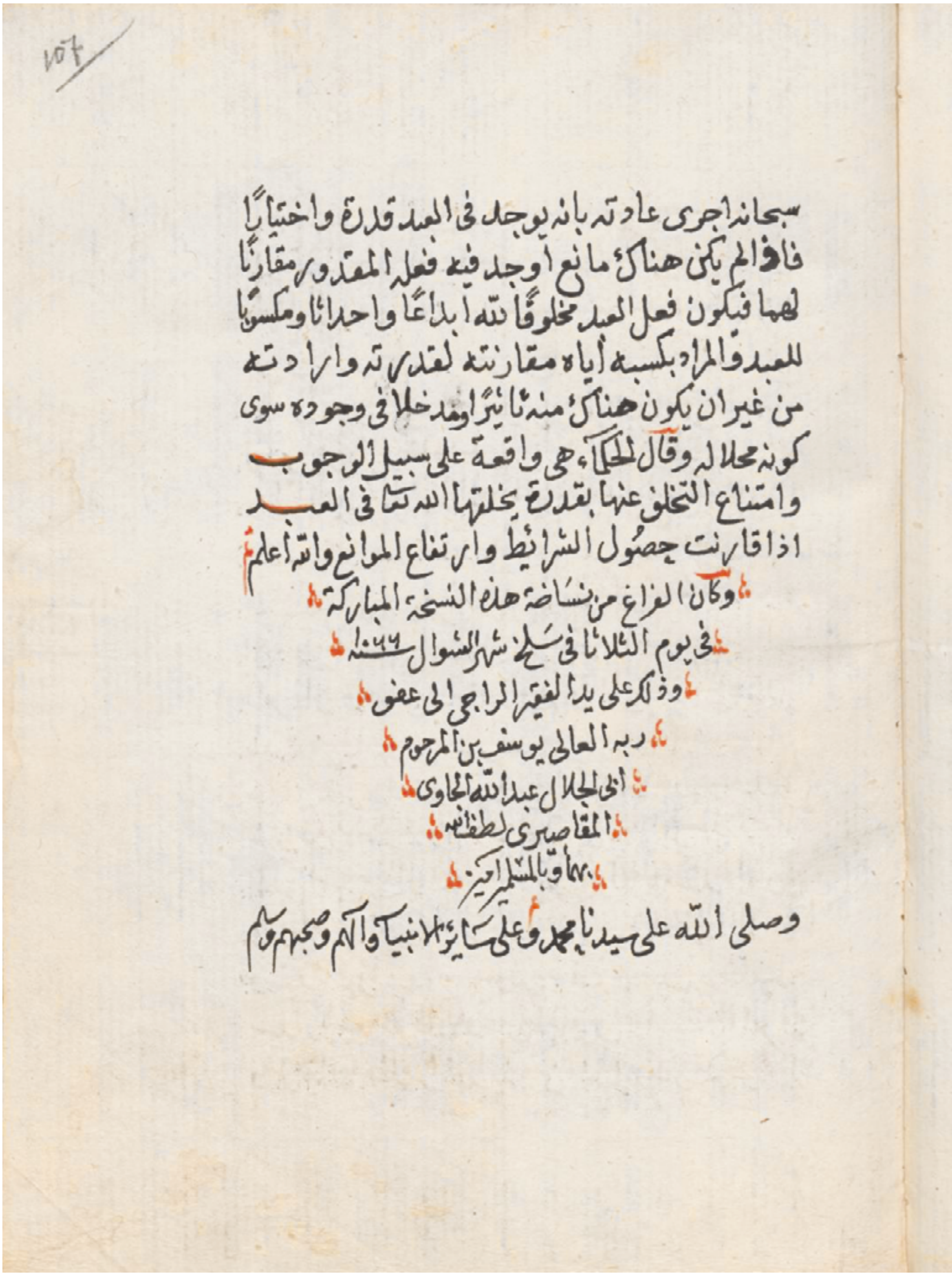
FIGURE 5.1 Muḥammad Amīn al-Bakrī al-Lārī, *al-Risāla fī Ithbāt Wājib al-Wujūd*, colophon showing the work was copied by Yūsuf b. *al-marḥūm* Abī'l-Jalāl ʿAbdallāh al-Jāwī al-Maqāṣīrī. Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, MS Sprenger 677, fol. 150b



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سبحانه اجرى عادته بانه يوجد في العبد قدرة واختيارا
فاذا لم يكن هناك مانع اوجد فيه فعله المقدور مقارنا
لهما فيكون فعل العبد مخلوقا لله ابداعا واحداثا ومكسوبا
للعبد والمراد بكسبه اياه مقارنته لقدرته وارادته
من غير ان يكون هناك منه تاثير او مدخل في وجوده سوى
كونه محلا له وقال الحكماء هي واقعة على سبيل الوجوب
وامتناع التخلف عنها بقدرة يخلقها الله تعالى في العبد
اذا قارنت حصول الشرائط وارتفاع الموانع والله اعلم

وكان الفراغ من نساخة هذه النسخة المباركة
في يوم الثلاثا في سلخ شهر الشوال سنة ١٠٦٦
وذلك على يد الفقير الراجي الى عفو
ربه العالي يوسف بن المرحوم
ابي الجلال عبد الله الحاوي
المقاصيري لطف الله
بهما وبالمسلمين امين
وصلى الله على سيدنا محمد وعلى سائر الانبيا واله وصحبهم وسلم

FIGURE 5.2 ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Jāmī's *al-Durra al-Fākhira*, copied by Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maqāṣīrī. Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, MS Sprenger 677, fol. 107a

> *ṭarīqa* by him, and he devoted himself to his service, studying with him, gaining benefit and joining his *ṭarīqa* [*intaṣaba ʿalayhi*]. He was inducted [*talaqqana*] by him, and put on [the *khirqa*] and was given permission to teach the books he had studied [*ajāza lahu*]. Then he went back to the Haramayn and studied with our shaykh Mulla Ibrāhīm [al-Kūrānī], joining his circle. We learned from each other, then he travelled to Yemen, where he studied with various masters, including our shaykh ʿAbd al-Raḥīm al-Khāṣṣ. The latter informed me that, "A disaster befell the passengers of a ship he was in, and he fell asleep, dreaming that he was suckling in my lap. Then he woke up and gave us tidings that we were out of danger. And so it passed, by God's will." [Shaykh Yūsuf] returned to his country and started corresponding with me; many people benefitted from him, and I heard that he attained a great rank with the sultan, such that the latter and his children studied with him, and benefitted from him in prayer. Thus did his wives, wealth and progeny multiply.[14]

Ibn al-ʿUjaymī's account seems to rule out the possibility that al-Maqāṣīrī was actually of royal descent; if so, the author evidently had no information about it, despite his relation of an anecdote suggesting al-Maqāṣīrī's possession of supernatural powers. Yet it is interesting to note that even after his return to Southeast Asia, al-Maqāṣīrī remained in contact with Ibn al-ʿUjaymī, pointing to the enduring exchange across the Indian Ocean. Ibn al-ʿUjaymī's account is also valuable for the information it gives us about al-Maqāṣīrī's studies, allowing a much more accurate picture of his travels to emerge. If it is true that he studied with Ibn ʿAllān, he must have arrived in the Hijaz before 1058/1648 when Ibn ʿAllān died, confirming at least in broad outline the chronology given by the Gowa chronicles. Given Ibn ʿAllān's reputation among the Jāwa, and indeed, at the court of Banten, it was natural that al-Maqāṣīrī should study with him, although it is curious that he does not mention his name anywhere in his works, although, as will be discussed below, we do have a manuscript copy of a treatise by Ibn ʿAllān in al-Maqāṣīrī's hand, confirming their association. The other figure mentioned, ʿAbd al-Raḥīm al-Khāṣṣ (1000/1591–2-1076/1665–6), was a Qadiri Sufi resident in Zabid,[15] who again is missing in al-Maqāṣīrī's writings, but is perhaps emphasised here owing to his importance to Ibn al-ʿUjaymī, whose shaykh he was.

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[14] Ibn al-ʿUjaymī, *Khabāyā al-Zawāyā*, 383.

[15] Ibn al-ʿUjaymī, *Khabāyā al-Zawāyā*, 210–211.

The other figures mentioned by Ibn al-ʿUjaymī do feature in sources written by al-Maqāṣīrī which allow further details to be gleaned. In his *Safīnat al-Najāt*, al-Maqāṣīrī records he was inducted into the Khalwatiyya by Shaykh Ayyūb b. Aḥmad b. Ayyūb al-Khalwatī of Damascus, the Naqshbandiyya by Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Bāqī al-Mizjājī in Zabid, and the Shattariyya by Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī of Medina.[16] Not all these names are entirely accurate, doubtless owing to copyist error. Another list is provided by the *waṣiyya* which he appended to a work compiled when he was in Ceylon, *al-Nafḥa al-Saylāniyya*, in which al-Maqāṣīrī lists the "perfect shaykhs" who had guided him. At the head of the list comes Ayyūb al-Khalwatī, while Muḥammad Mīrzā al-Shāmī, a resident of Medina, Muḥammad b. al-Wajīh al-Saʿdī al-Yamanī, Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī, Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-ʿUjaymī, Ibn ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Mizjājī al-Naqshabandī are also mentioned as his shaykhs.[17] The latter name is probably a copyist's mistake for Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Bāqī al-Mizjājī, as Azra notes,[18] a prominent Naqshbandi from Zabid, whose family had close connections with al-Kūrānī.[19] Muḥammad Mīrzā was another Naqshbandi, from Damascus, who had migrated to the Hijaz, and was also known for his interest in Ibn ʿArabī.[20]

The travels implied by both al-Maqāṣīrī's own account and Ibn ʿUjaymī confirm in outline the picture given by the *lontaraq* hagiographies, with al-Maqāṣīrī making repeated visits to Yemen, and studying for extended periods in both Medina and Damascus. One further figure should be mentioned, Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī, by whom al-Maqāṣīrī records having been inducted into the Qadiriyya in the *Safīnat al-Najāt*.[21] Al-Maqāṣīrī may have met al-Rānīrī in Aceh on his way to the Hijaz, given its role as a port linking Southeast Asia to the Middle East, such that it earned in later times the sobriquet 'Serambi Mekkah' or 'Veranda of Mecca'; a ship from Banten to Arabia may easily have stopped there. As Azra rightly points out, al-Rānīrī had already left Aceh by this point; he thus posits that al-Maqāṣīrī met him India, a journey which is otherwise unattested.[22] Yet the dates for al-Maqāṣīrī's biography given in the *lontaraq* hagiographies are at best rough estimates. While al-Maqāṣīrī may indeed have visited either Aceh or India, it is also entirely possible that al-Rānīrī himself came to Banten after leaving Aceh, given his lost composition *al-Lamaʿān* dedicated to the sultan of Banten. We have too little hard biographical information about either man to do much more than note their connection.

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[16] Tudjimah, *Syekh Yusuf*, 199–201.

[17] Jakarta, MS A101, p. 25; Azra, *Origins*, 91 states that ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Lahūrī and Muḥammad al-Mazrūʿ are also mentioned in this list but this is incorrect.

[18] Azra, *Origins*, 89–90.

[19] On this family see John O. Voll, "Linking Groups in the Networks of Eighteenth Century Revivalist Scholars: The Mizjaji Family in Yemen," in Nehemia Levtzion and John O. Voll (eds), *Eighteenth Century Renewal and Reform in Islam* (Syracuse, 1987), 69–92.

[20] Azra *Origins*, 91–2; Ibn al-ʿUjaymī, *Khabāyā al-Zawāyā,* 351–2.

[21] Tudjimah, *Syekh Yusuf*, 200.

[22] Azra, *Origins*, 89.

It is evident that from al-Maqāṣīrī's point of view, the most significant of his teachers was Ayyūb al-Khalwatī (994/1586–1071/1660), whom he describes as the "pole of wonders, wellspring of the extraordinary, the heir of Muḥammad and the Prophet's deputy, the master of his age and the leader of the people of his time."[23] This individual is doubtless to be identified with the 'Shaykh of Damascus' with whom Ibn al-ʿUjaymī records al-Maqāṣīrī studied. Ayyūb al-Khalwatī's enormous reputation is reflected in other works by his contemporaries, even if he is almost entirely unknown to modern scholarship; al-Muḥibbī describes him as a true *walī* (saint) who possessed the miraculous ability to be in two places at once.[24] Ayyūb al-Khalwatī rarely left Syria, which he regarded as a sacred land, home to the graves of uniquely potent saints with whom he communed on his pilgrimages (*ziyārāt*).[25] He left an extensive repertoire of writings in prose and verse that have been barely studied by scholars, many of which are gathered MS Berlin Wetzstein 1704, largely in the hand of his son Ismāʿīl, but with some autographs. Perhaps unsurprisingly given his position as imam of the Mosque of Selim in the Damascus suburb of Ṣāliḥiyya, Ayyūb al-Khalwatī was an enthusiastic supporter of the Ottoman dynasty. His treatise *ʿAqīlat al-Farīd wa-Khamīlat al-Tawḥīd* covers not just the practice of *khalwa* and the saints of Syria but concludes with lavish praise of the dynasty as righteous upholders of the sunna and suppressors of heresy. Indeed, Ayyūb described the Ottomans (*al-Rūm*) as no less than cousins of the Arabs, clearly an attempt to legitimise the Ottoman Caliphate. Unlike Medina ʿulamaʾ such as al-Kūrānī who seems to have avoided any entanglement with secular authorities, Ayyūb al-Khalwatī was thus an intensely political figure; in part this may be connected to the appeal of the Khalwatiyya to the Turks, and the fact that the order's principal *silsila*s comprised numerous Anatolians.[26] The *ʿAqīlat al-Farīd* was dedicated to a member of the Turkish elite, a certain Yūsuf Efendi, presumably a governor of Damascus. Wetzstein 1704 also contains a treatise on *wujūd* by the Ottoman scholar and *shaykh al-islām* Molla Fenārī (d. 843/1431), copied by Ayyūb, again pointing to his connections to Istanbul and the Ottoman dynasty's interest in Ibn ʿArabī, which Molla Fenārī enthusiastically promoted. There were also close links between Ayyūb al-Khalwatī and al-Kūrānī's circle; one text in Wetzstein 1704 copied by his son Ismail is by al-Shinnāwī, al-Qushāshī's teacher, and a reader's note relates a saying on al-Kūrānī's authority.[27]

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[23] Jakarta MS A 101, p. 25: *quṭb al-ʿajāʾib manbaʿ al-gharāʾib al-wārith al-Muḥammadi wa'l-khalīfa al-aḥmadī.*

[24] Al-Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat al-Athar*, I, 473–479.

[25] Ayyūb al-Khalwatī, *ʿAqīlat al-Farīd wa Khamīlat al-Tawḥīd*, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, MS Weztsein 1704, esp fol. 16^{a}.

[26] On the intimate relationship between the Khalwatis and the Ottomans see John Curry, *The Transformation of Muslim Mystical Thought in the Ottoman Empire: The Rise of the Halveti Order, 1350–1650* (Edinburgh, 2010).

Through shaykh Ayyūb al-Khalwatī, al-Maqāṣīrī was thus initiated into the Khalwati order, and it has been claimed that al-Maqāṣīrī's adoption of the sobriquet 'al-Tāj' by which he usually refers to himself derives from the title 'Tāj al-Khalwatī' allegedly awarded to him by Ayyūb al-Khalwatī.[28] However, it is more likely to refer to his affiliation with the Tajiyya, the Naqshbandi branch founded by Shaykh Tāj al-Dīn b. Zakariyyā (d. 1052/1642), an Indian scholar who had established himself in Mecca and played a major role in the spread of the Naqshbandiyya in the Hijaz.[29] Al-Maqāṣīrī's teacher Muḥammad Mīrzā had been one of Tāj al-Dīn's disciples, while the Tajiyya branch was led by the al-Mizjājī family, who are also listed by al-Maqāṣīrī among his teachers.[30] In contrast, Khalwati affiliations have left relatively little trace in al-Maqāṣīrī's works, which are more marked by Naqshbandi tendencies. For example in the *Zubdat al-Asrār*, his most widely circulated work, he invokes the authority of "the principles relied on by the Naqshbandi shaykhs", mentioning how "we obtained many benefits, with countless blessings, when we entered this *ṭarīqa* and were trained by our shaykh … Muḥammad Bāqī al-Naqshbandī al-Yamanī",[31] while there is no mention of either Khalwati shaykhs or practices. As their name implies, the Khalwatiyya espoused the practice of *khalwa*, a private retreat and contemplation, which could last up to forty days, and were enthusiastic proponents of vocal *dhikr*. The Naqshbandiyya, on the other hand, tended to espouse silent *dhikr* and avoided *khalwa*.[32] Al-Maqāṣīrī does not discuss *khalwa* at all, but it is possible that his attitude towards *dhikr* was influenced by Khalwati preferences, for he supported the vocal *dhikr*, as had al-Kūrānī who wrote a treatise on the subject,[33] and there were overlaps between the Khalwatiyya and Naqshbandiyya, especially given the non-exclusive nature of *ṭarīqa* allegiance in the period. Beyond the confines of *ṭarīqa*, Ayyūb's enthusiastic espousal of the cult of *awliyāʾ*, and his support for the Ottoman dynasty, may have made an impression on al-Maqāṣīrī, whose works, in particular the *Qurrat al-ʿAyn*, seem on occasion to address contemporary political issues in a way al-Kūrānī had avoided, as will be discussed below.

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[27] Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, MS Wetzstein 1704, fol. 50a–62b: al-Shinnāwī, *Ṣādiḥat al-Azal wa-Sāniḥat al-Nazal*, a Sufi poem and commentary, for the note see fol. 50a.

[28] Abu Hamid, *Syekh Yusuf*, 93; cf. Nabilah Lubis (ed.), *Syekh Yusuf Al-Taj al-Makasari: Menyingkap Intisari Segala Rahasia* (Bandung, 1996) (henceforth, *Zubdat al-Asrār*, ed. Lubis), 22.

[29] On him see Azra, *Origins*, 21–2; Le Gall, *A Culture of Sufism*, 94–98; and for a detailed biography, al-Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat al-Athar*, vol. 1, 512–8.

[30] Al-Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat al-Athar*, vol. 5, 512; Copty, "The Naqshbandiyya and its Offshoot," 326; Le Gall, *A Culture of Sufism*, 97.

[31] *Zubdat al-Asrār*, ed. Lubis. p. 114 mimmā iʿtamada ʿalayhi mashāʾikh al-Naqshandiyya.

[32] Dina Le Gall, "Forgotten Naqshbandīs and the Culture of Pre-Modern Sufi Brotherhoods," *Studia Islamica* 97 (2003): 87–119, at pp. 93–8.

Other evidence for al-Maqāṣīrī's activities in the Middle East comes from two manuscripts in his hand.[34] In Shawwāl 1066/August 1656, al-Maqāṣīrī had copied ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Jāmī's *al-Durra al-Fākhira* (Berlin, Sprenger 677/2, fols. 91a–107a) (Fig. 5.2),[35] the influential Arabic account of a debate between philosophers, theologians and Sufis which we have previously identified as a possible inspiration for al-Rānīrī's *Hujjat al-Siddiq* as well as the final question in Ibn ʿAllān's *al-Mawāhib al-Rabbāniyya*. Alongside al-Jāmī's text, Sprenger 677 contains a further work by Ibn ʿAllān, *al-ʿIqd al-Farīd fī Maʿrifat al-Tawḥīd* (fols. 107b–113a), and *al-Risāla fī Ithbāt Wājib al-Wujūd* (fols. 113b–150b) which the text attributes to Muḥammad Amīn al-Bakrī al-Lārī.[36] The latter text's colophon (fol. 150b, Fig. 5.1) states that it was completed by Yūsuf b. *al-marḥūm* Abīʾl-Jalāl ʿAbdallāh al-Jāwī al-Maqāṣīrī on the Sunday following ʿĪd al-Aḍḥā (i.e. in Dhūʾl-Ḥijja), but gives no year; almost certainly it is Dhūʾl-Ḥijja 1066/October 1656 that is meant. Although the section containing *al-ʿIqd al-Farīd* lacks a colophon, it is in the same hand as the other two texts where al-Maqāṣīrī identifies himself as the copyist. There is no doubt, then, that al-Maqāṣīrī is also the scribe of Ibn ʿAllān's *al-ʿIqd al-Farīd*. The fact that all three works concern the question of *waḥdat al-wujūd* confirms al-Maqāṣīrī's preoccupation with this question.

The *Ithbāt Wājib al-Wujūd* deals with the issues of the proofs of the Necessary Being and his attributes, an issue originally raised by Avicenna. The manuscript attributes the work to Muḥammad Amīn al-Bakrī al-Lārī, who was a Sufi much admired by Ayyūb al-Khalwatī, and who must be identified with the Muḥammad Amīn of Damascus with whom, according to Ibn al-ʿUjaymī, al-Maqāṣīrī studied in Damascus. Muḥammad Amīn was a son of the King of Lar in southern Iran. He had fled for the Ottoman empire when the Safavid Shah ʿAbbās conquered Lar in 1010/1602, taking refuge first in Baghdad, then moving to Mosul, Aleppo, and finally Damascus where he died in 1066/1656, the year that al-Maqāṣīrī copied the *Ithbāt al-Wujūd*.[37] Despite Muḥammad Amīn's contemporary reputation, Sprenger 677/4 seems to be the sole extant manuscript of this text, but there is more to it than meets the eye. It appears that in fact the text was lifted directly from a work of this title composed by Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Khafrī (d. 945/1535), a Shirazi scholar who had studied with Mīr Ṣadr al-Dīn Dashtakī (903/1498), the father of the better known Ghiyāth al-Dīn Dashtakī, founder of the Shirazi school of philosophy.[38] Al-Khafrī's works were popularised in the Ottoman lands by Muṣliḥ al-Dīn al-Lārī (d. 979/1572), who had studied with al-Khafrī, so Muḥammad Amīn al-Lārī's promotion of the work was not unprecedented.[39] Like Mīr Ṣadr al-Dīn, al-Khafrī was a defender of Avicenna from the criticisms raised against him by al-Ghazālī. He was also an exponent of *waḥdat al-wujūd* in the tradition of Ibn ʿArabī, although, despite the profound influence of Sufism on al-Khafrī's works, he does not seem to have had any *ṭarīqa* affiliation.[40] Al-Khafrī insisted on mastery of both intuitive and discursive philosophy, and the *Risāla fī Ithbāt Wājib al-Wujūd* (both in al-Khafrī's and Muḥammad Amīn's versions) has extensive recourse to ancient Greek philosophy, citing Thales of Miletus, Anaximenes, Empedocles, Pythagoras, Plato and Aristotle.

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[33] For the vocal *dhikr* in al-Maqāṣīrī's works, see for example the *Kayfiyyat al-Manfi*, Tudjimah, *Syekh Yusuf*, 35; on al-Kūrānī and *dhikr* see Dumairieh, *Intellectual Life in the Ḥijāz before Wahhabism*, 150; Le Gall, *A Culture of Sufism*, 100.

[34] These manuscripts are noted with images of the colophons by Nicholas Heer in "Two Arabic Manuscripts in the Handwriting of Shaykh Yūsuf al-Tāj" https://digital.lib.washington.edu/researchworks/bitstream/handle/1773/4881/yusuf-al-taj.pdf?sequence=9&isAllowed=y; however, Heer's description is incomplete.

[35] The first work in this *majmūʿa* is Ḥusayn al-Iskandarī's *Miftāḥ al-ʿIbāda wa-Waṣīlat al-Saʿāda* (fol. 1a–90b), which was copied in 1164/1750–1 by Ibn al-Ḥājj ʿĪsā al-Turkmānī. However, both the hand and the paper confirm it has no connection with the following three treatises copied by al-Maqāṣīrī, and it must have been bound together with them by a later owner.

[36] See above pp. 146–149, in more detail on these texts.

Al-Maqāṣīrī must have studied this text in Damascus with his teacher Muḥammad Amīn, and it is almost certain that Sprenger 677 was copied there. Not only is this the unique copy of this text attributing its authorship to Muḥammad Amīn, but several of its later owners are known Damascus bibliophiles, most prominently Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Maʿrūf bi'l-Dakdakjī (d. 1131/1719), whose interest in the text may also be explained by the fact that he was a student of al-Kūrānī's (Fig. 5.3).[41] There is no reason

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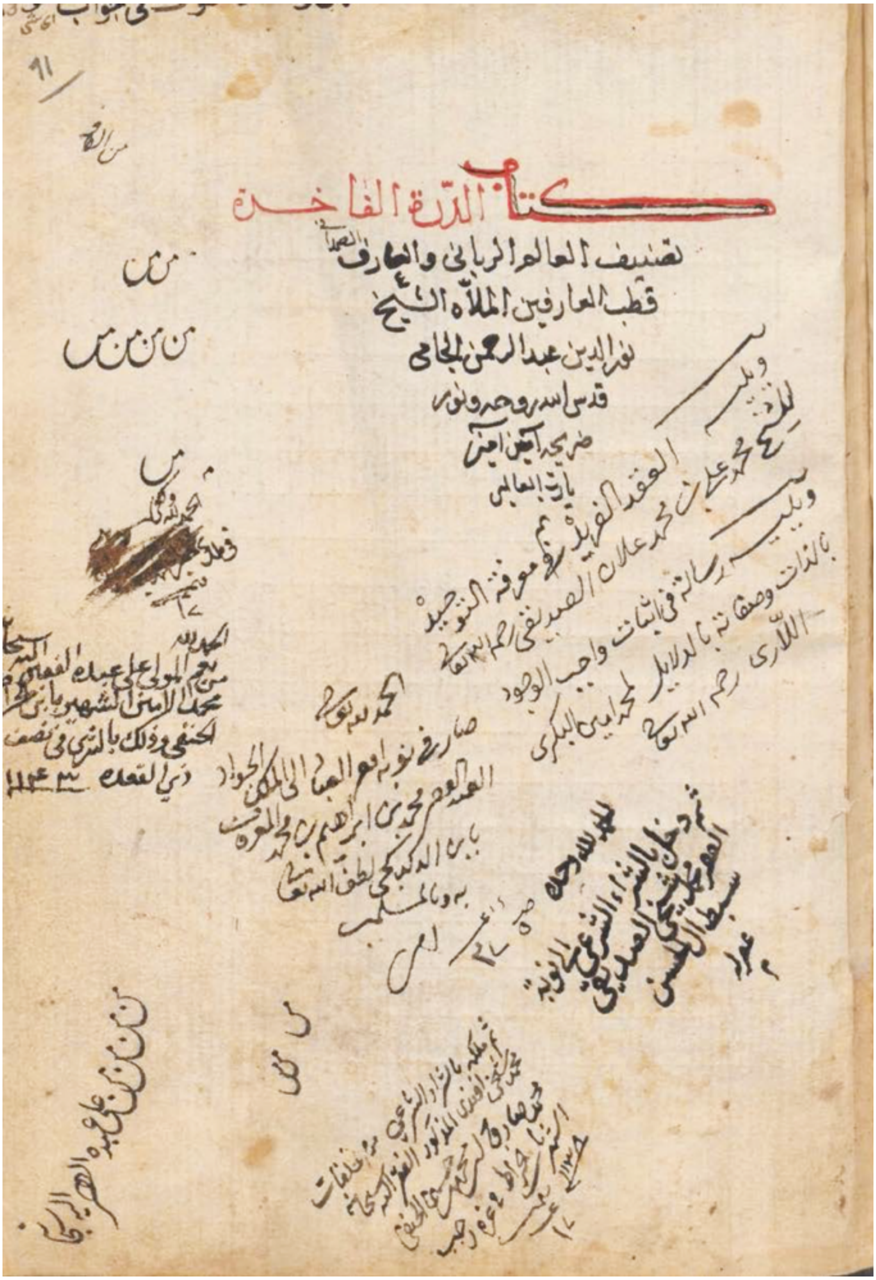
[37] Al-Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat al-Athar*, vol. 4, 303–4.

[38] On al-Khafrī see Ahab Bdaiwi, "Shiʿi Defenders of Avicenna: An Intellectual History of the Philosophers of Shiraz," University of Exeter, PhD thesis, 2014, 106–116.

[39] See Reza Pourjavady, "Muṣliḥ al-Dīn al-Lārī and His *Samples of the Sciences," Oriens* 42 (2014): 292–322.

[40] Bdaiwi, "Shiʿi Defenders of Avicenna," 109–110.

[41] Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, MS Sprenger 677, fol. 91a: other owners mentioned are Muḥammad Ṣādiq b. Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn al-Ḥanafi al-maʿrūf bi-Ibn al-Kharrāṭ, purchased it 1138/1725–6; Muḥammad Amin al-shahīr bi-Ibn al-Kharrāṭ al-Ḥanafī purchased it 1143/1730–1. For Ibn al-Dakdakjī's connection with al-Kūrānī, see Dumairieh, *Intellectual Life in the Ḥijāz before Wahhabism*, 166, 320.



كتاب الدرة الفاخرة
تصنيف العالم الرباني والعارف الصمداني
قطب العارفين العلامة الشيخ
نور الدين عبد الرحمن الجامي
قدس الله روحه ونور
ضريحه آمين آمين
يا رب العالمين

ويليه للشيخ محمد علان
العقد الفريد في معرفة التوحيد
لمحمد علان الصديقي رحمه الله تعالى
ويليه رسالة في إثبات واجب الوجود
بالذات وصفاته بالدلائل لمحمد أمين البكري
اللاري رحمه الله تعالى

الحمد لله تعالى
صار في نوبة أفقر العباد إلى الملك الجواد
العبد العاصي محمد بن إبراهيم بن محمد المعروف
بابن الدكدكجي لطف الله تعالى
به وبالمسلمين

FIGURE 5.3 Ownership marks on the titlepage of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Jāmī's *al-Durra al-Fākhira* copied by Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maqāṣīrī. including that of al-Kūrānī's Damascene pupil Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-maʿrūf bi'l-Dakdakjī (d. 1131/1719), Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, MS Sprenger 677, fol. 91a

to think al-Maqāṣīrī was aware of the text's original composition by al-Khafrī, but interest in the works of the Iranian philosophers among al-Kūrānī and his Southeast Asian students is revealed by a second manuscript, Princeton, Garrett collection, MS Yahuda 3872.[42] Three texts in this composite manuscript were copied by al-Maqāṣīrī in Rabīʿ II 1075/October-November 1664 in Medina, while he was studying under the direction of Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī, the long version of al-Jāmī's *al-Durra al-Fākhira*, his disciple ʿAbd al-Ghafūr al-Lārī's commentary on it, and al-Jāmī's *Risāla fi'l-Wujūd*.[43] The manuscript also contains an autograph of al-Kūrānī's *al-Lumʿa al-Saniyya*, his treatise on the so called Satanic verses of the Qur'an, and other works.

This manuscript is especially interesting as it shows the circle of Jāwa students that surrounded al-Kūrānī collaborating on copying a series of texts. At the end of *al-Durra al-Fākhira* (fol. 23a) (Fig. 5.4), al-Maqāṣīrī's colophon states that the work was copied at the behest of al-Kūrānī in Rabīʿ II 1075/October 1664 at the *ribāṭ* of Imam ʿAlī outside Medina by Yūsuf al-Tāj b. ʿAbdallāh b. Abī'l-Khayr al-Jāwī al-Maqāṣīrī al-Talluqī al-Munjalāwī, the penultimate *nisba* referring to Talloq in Makassar, the final one being unidentified. Accompanying the colophon are two collation notes, the first stating the work was collated by ʿAbd al-Ra'ūf al-Jāwī in Rabīʿ I 1078/August-September 1667 (Fig. 5.5); one must wonder whether this is in fact ʿAbd al-Ra'ūf al-Singkilī, who was also a member of al-Kūrānī's circle, although this date is considerably later than the traditional one given for his return to Aceh.[44] A second collation statement, dated Dhū'l-Qiʿda 1085/January 1675, is by Muḥammad Saʿīd al-Kawkanī; this *nisba* indicates that he was from Konkan, the west coast of India, and he was also a Naqshbandi, as is attested by his *nisba*s on several manuscripts he copied which have come down to us, primarily collections of al-Kūrānī's works.[45] ʿAbd al-Ra'ūf al-Jāwī's collation statement and the same date also occur at the end of al-Maqāṣīrī's copy of al-Lārī's commentary (fol. 39a). Other individuals involved in the copying and collation of this *majmūʿa* were a fellow-countryman of Yūsuf al-Maqāṣīrī's, a certain ʿAbd

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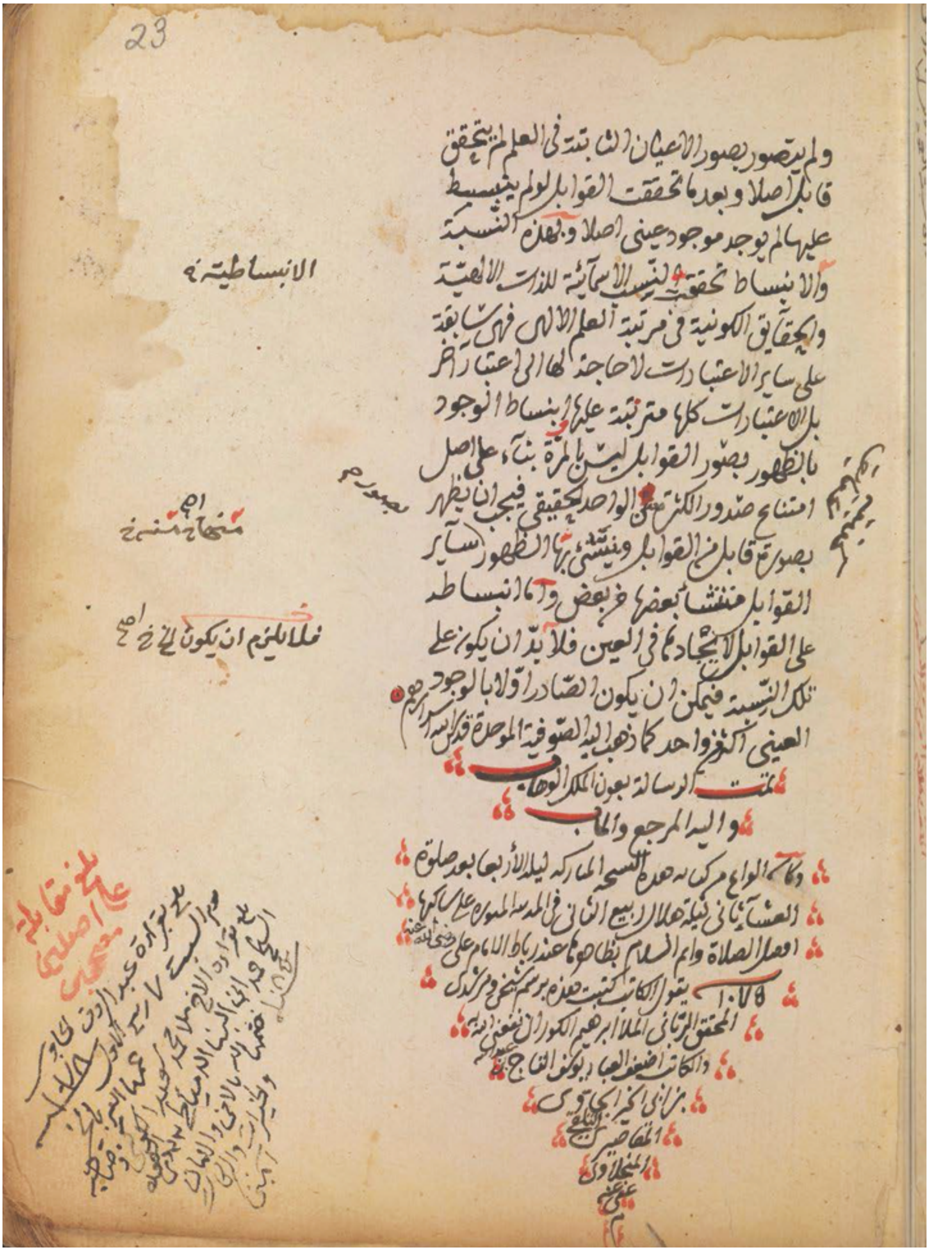
[42] This manuscript is discussed in Florian Schwarz, "The Arab Reception of Jāmī in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries: *al-Fawā'id al-ḍiya'iyya* and *al-Durra al-Fākhira*," in Thibaut d'Hubert and Alexandre Papas (eds), *Jāmī in Regional Contexts: The Reception of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Jāmī's Works in the Islamicate World, ca. 9th/15th–14th/20th Century* (Leiden, 2019), 177–195, esp. pp. 186–9.

[43] On this latter see Nicholas Heer, "Al-Jami's Treatise on Existence" in Parviz Morewedge (ed.), *Islamic Philosophical Theology* (New York, 1979), 223–36.

[44] See p. 95 above.

[45] Schwarz, "Arab Reception," 188–9.



23

ولم يتصور بصور الاعيان الثابتة في العلم لم يتحقق
قابل اصلا وبعد ما تحققت القوابل لو لم ينبسط
عليها لم يوجد موجود عيني اصلا وبهذه النسبة
والانبساط تحققت النسب الاسمائية للذات الالهية
والحقائق الكونية في مرتبة العلم الالهي فهي سابقة
على ساير الاعتبارات لا حاجة لها الى اعتبار آخر
بل الاعتبارات كلها مترتبة عليها انبساط الوجود
بالظهور بصور القوابل ليس بالمرة بناء على اصل
امتناع صدور الكثير من الواحد الحقيقي فيجب ان يظهر
بصورة قابل من القوابل وينشئ بها الظهور بساير
القوابل فتنشأ بعضها من بعض واما انبساطه
على القوابل لايجادها في العين فلا بد ان يكون على
تلك النسبة فيمكن ان يكون الصادر اولا بالوجود
العيني اكثر من واحد كما ذهب اليه الصوفية الموحدة قدس الله اسرارهم

تمت الرسالة بعون الملك الوهاب
واليه المرجع والمآب

وكان الفراغ من كتابة هذه النسخة المباركة ليلة الاربعاء بعد صلوة
العشاء ثاني ليلة هلال ربيع الثاني في المدينة المنورة على ساكنها
افضل الصلاة واتم السلام بظاهرها عند رباط الامام علي رضي الله عنه
سنة ١٠٧٥ يقول الكاتب كتبت هذه برسم الشيخ ومرشدي
المحقق الرباني الملا ابرهيم الكوراني نفعني الله به
والكاتب اضعف العباد يوسف التاج بن عبد الله
بن ابي الخير الجاوي
المقاصيري التلوقي
المنجلاوي
عفي عنه
آمين

الانبساطية

فلا يلزم ان يكون

FIGURE 5.4 ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Jāmī's *al-Durra al-Fākhira* copied in the *ribāṭ* of Imam ʿAlī outside Medina by Yūsuf al-Tāj b. ʿAbdallāh b. Abīʾl-Khayr al-Jāwī al-Maqāṣīrī al-Talluqī al-Munjalāwī in Rabīʿ II 1075/October 1664. Princeton University Library, Garret Collection, MS Yahuda 3872, fol. 23a

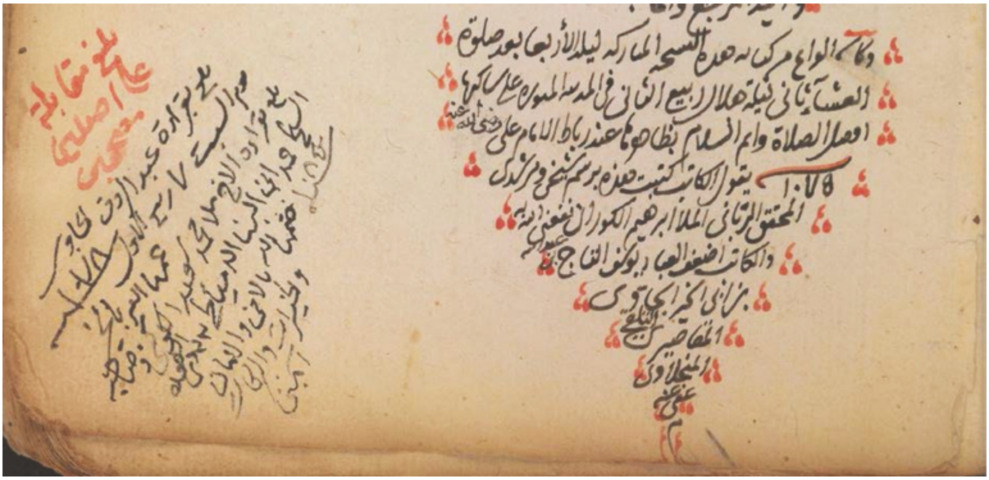


FIGURE 5.5 Colophon of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Jāmī's *al-Durra al-Fākhira* copied in the *ribāṭ* of Imam ʿAlī outside Medina by Yūsuf al-Tāj b. ʿAbdallāh b. Abī'l-Khayr al-Jāwī al-Maqāṣīrī al-Talluqī al-Munjalāwī in Rabīʿ II 1075/October 1664. Princeton University Library, Garret Collection, MS Yahuda 3872, fol. 23a (detail)

al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbdallāh al-Jāwī al-Maqāṣīrī al-Katūnukanī (fol. 85a) (Fig. 5.6), who copied al-Suyūṭī's *Kitab al-Taʿaqqubāt ʿalā al-Mawḍūʿāt*, an abridgement of Ibn al-Jawzī's collection of fabricated hadith, the *Kitāb al-Mawḍūʿāt*; like Shaykh Yūsuf he was a native of Makassar, while the *nisba* Katūnukanī seems to refer to Katangka, just outside modern Makassar, the low hill which was the site of the original town of Gowa, and the location of the royal tombs.[46] A further two notes by a certain ʿAbd al-Ḥakīm b. ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Jāwī al-Faṭānī in 1075/1664, state (fol. 96b) he collated the autograph of al-Kūrānī's *al-Maslak al-Wasaṭ al-Dānī*, and (fol. 137a) that he copied the *thabat* (catalogue of teachers) of Zakariyyā al-Anṣārī (Fig. 5.7). The *nisba* al-Faṭānī refers to Patani, on the east coast of the Malay peninsula, which later became noted for its religious ties with the Hijaz,[47] of which this must represent one of the earliest attestations.

Al-Maqāṣīrī thus took his place among a circle of disciples of al-Kūrānī from Southeast Asia and the broader Indian Ocean world – Sulawesi, Sumatra (if the identification with al-Singkilī is correct), Patani and Konkan. Middle Eastern or Maghrebi nisbas are notably absent among the copyists and collators of this manuscript, with the exception of al-Kūrānī's own and one by a certain Shaykh

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[46] I am grateful to Campbell Macknight for this information.

[47] See Bradley, *Forging Islamic Power and Place*.

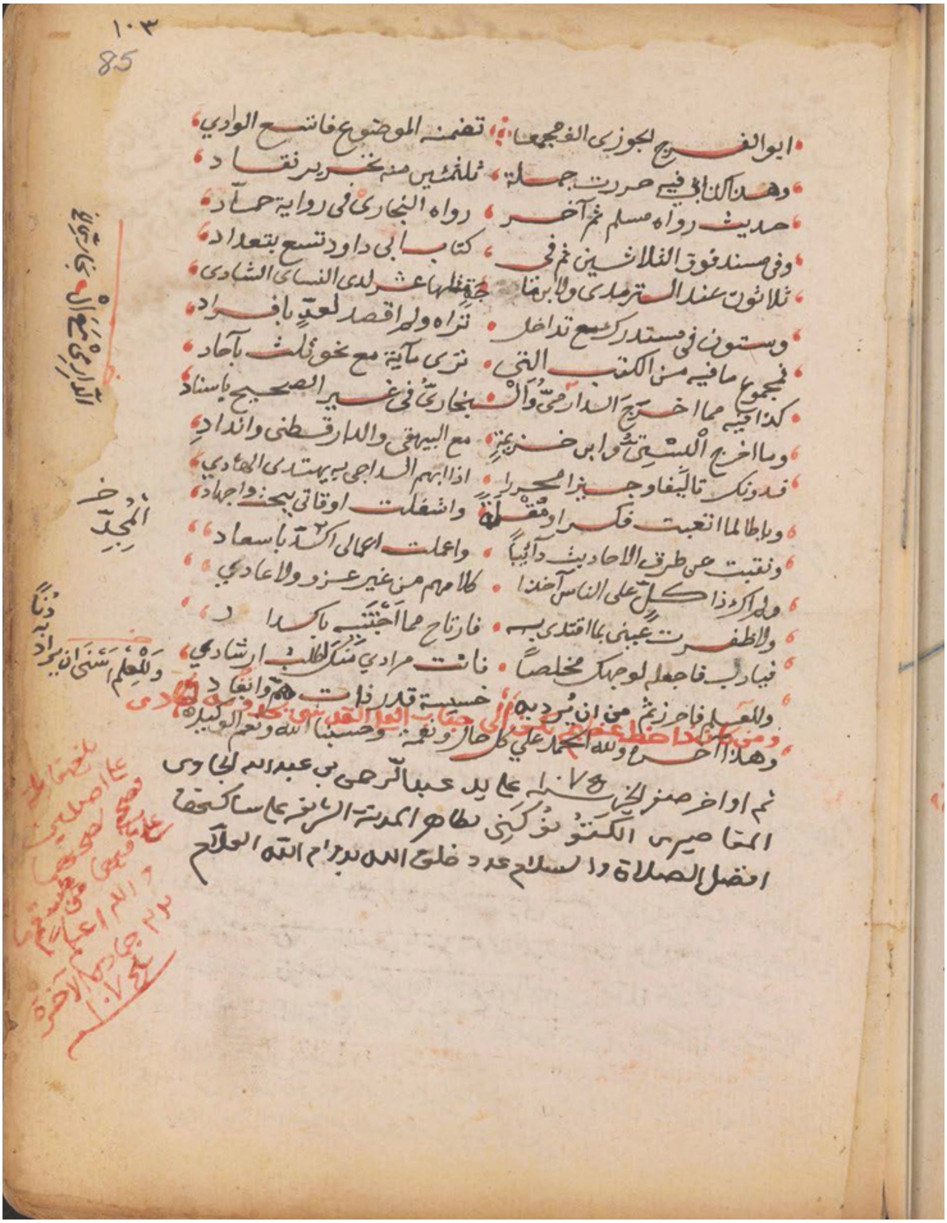
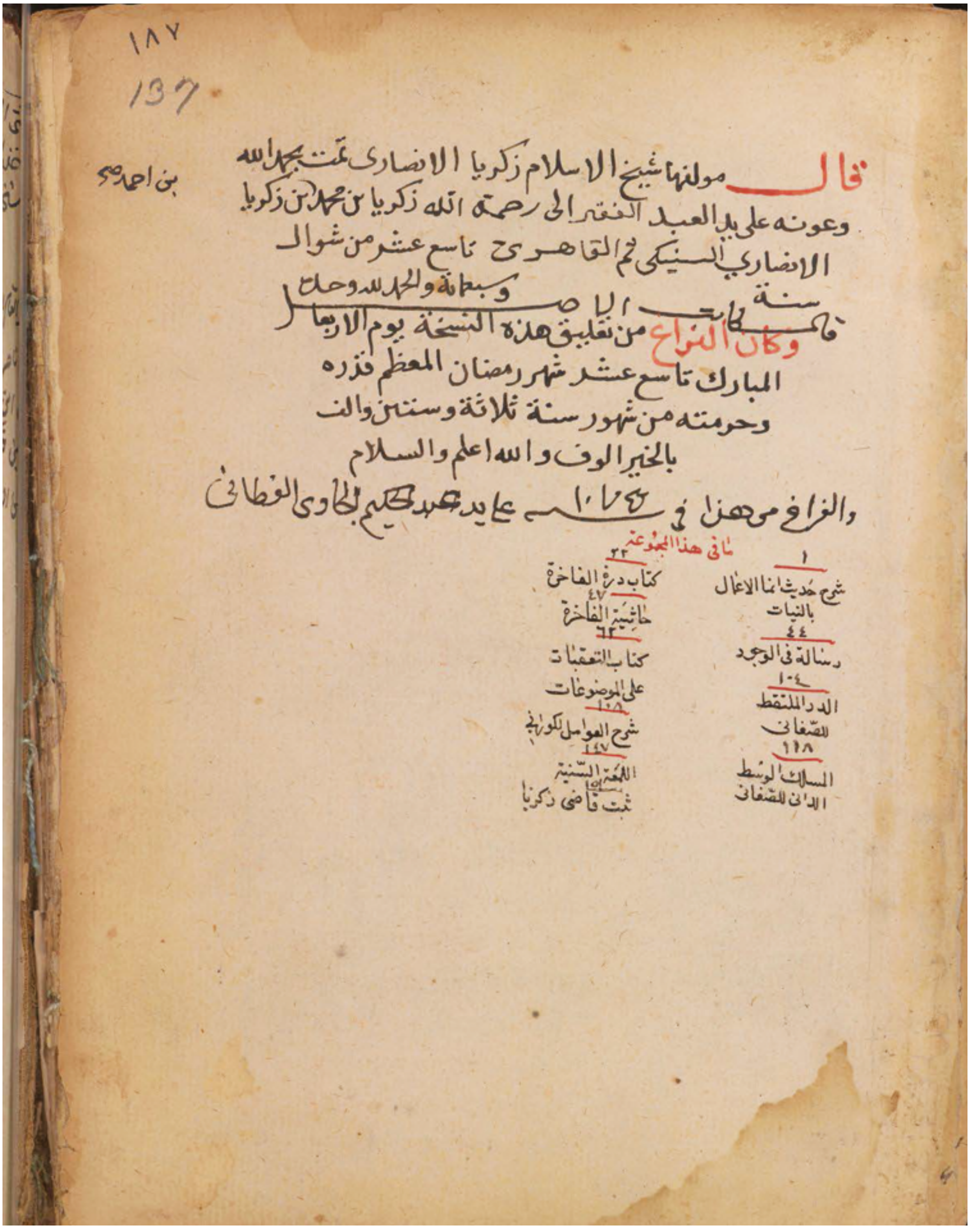


FIGURE 5.6 Colophon of al-Suyūṭī's *Kitab al-Taʿaqqubāt ʿalā al-Mawḍūʿāt*, copied by ʿAbd al-Raḥman b. ʿAbdallāh al-Jāwī al-Maqāṣīrī al-Katūnukanī in Medina in Ṣafar 1075/September 1664. Princeton University Library, Garret Collection, MS Yahuda 3872, fol. 85a



بن احمد

فقال مولنا شيخ الاسلام زكريا الانصارى تمت بحمد الله
وعونه على يد العبد الفقير الى رحمة الله زكريا بن محمد بن زكريا
الانصاري السنيكي ثم القاهري ح تاسع عشر من شوال
سنة وسبعمائة والحمد لله وحده
وكان الفراغ من تعليق هذه النسخة يوم الاربعا
المبارك تاسع عشر شهر رمضان المعظم قدره
وحرمته من شهور سنة ثلاثة وستين والف
بالخير الوف والله اعلم والسلام
والفراغ مو هذا في ١٠٧٤ على يد عبد الحكيم الجاوي الفطاني

ما في هذا المجموعة

١
شرح حديث انما الاعمال
بالنيات
٤٤
رسالة في الوجد
١٠٤
الدر الملتقط
للصغاني
١١٨
المسلك الوسط
الداني للصغاني

٢٢
كتاب درة الفاخرة
٤٧
حاشية الفاخرة
٦٢
كتاب التعقبات
على الموضوعات
١٠٨
شرح العوامل للكوراني
١٢٧
اللمعة السنية
ثبت قاضي زكريا

FIGURE 5.7 Colophon of Zakariyā' al-Anṣārī's *thabat*, copied by 'Abd al-Ḥakīm b. 'Abd al-Karīm al-Jāwī al-Faṭānī in 1075/1664. Princeton University Library, Garret Collection, MS Yahuda 3872, fol. 132b

Aḥmad b. al-Bannāʾ al-Dumyāṭī, presumably an Egyptian from Damietta (fol. 23a). This might suggest that students were clustered into regional study groups, for we know that al-Kūrānī attracted students from across the *dār al-Islām*. The manuscript is a rough copy, unlike the neatly written Sprenger 677, and represents the texts that were studied and debated by al-Kūrānī's circle at the behest of their master, whose role in encouraging the copying is reflected in the statement (*bi-rasm*) that occurs in the colophon on fol. 23a (Fig. 5.4). While the first three treatises copied by al-Maqāṣīrī revolve around *wujūdī* questions, the other texts indicate an interest in hadith and Qurʾan, while the *thabat* of Zakariyyā al-Anṣārī was presumably included as it offered ultimately an authorisation for all the books he transmitted via al-Kūrānī; Zakariyyā al-Anṣārī had a particularly important place among al-Kūrānī's *isnād*s as one of the main links to earlier generations of transmitters.[48]

The cosmopolitan environment of Arabia thus introduced al-Maqāṣīrī not just to local scholars, but also to the other students from the Indian Ocean world. Here it seems appropriate to raise the question of the possible influence of the Indian Naqshbandi, Aḥmad Sirhindī (d. 1034/1624), which Azra has detected in al-Maqāṣīrī's works, specifically a rejection of Ibn ʿArabī's *waḥdat al-wujūd* for the notion of *waḥdat al-shuhūd*, 'unity of witnessing' with which Sirhindī is usually associated.[49] In fact there are few indications of any influence from Sirhindī in al-Maqāṣīrī's works. It is true that al-Maqāṣīrī's doctrine that creation is like a shadow of its creator is reminiscent of Sirhindī, although he never elaborates the concept, whereas for Sirhindī, the understanding and experience of the shadow world (*ẓilliyāt*) was a crucial part of the *sālik*'s path.[50] Azra cites a passage from al-Maqāṣīrī's *Zubdat al-Asrār* which does refer repeatedly to *shuhūd*; when the *sālik* reaches the final stage of annihilation in God he will be immersed in God's epiphany through his constant witnessing of it, reaching the stage described in the hadith that "God will become his hearing and his seeing." Through this "witnessing" of the one in the many and the many in the one he will be overcome by the divine epiphany which will allow him to witness the object of being (*mawjūd*) which is self-existent (*al-qāʾim bi-nafsihi*).[51] However, there is no mention of *waḥdat al-shuhūd*, and the idea of *shuhūd* itself is a perfectly conventional part of Sufi vocabulary.

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[48] Dumairieh, *Intellectual Life in the Ḥijāz before Wahhabism*, 68, 74, 83, 155.

[49] Azra, *Origins*, 104.

[50] Cf. Ansari, "Sirhindi's *Wahdat al-Shuhud*," 296–9.

[51] Azra, *Origins*, 104, n. 97 cites *Zubdat al-Asrār* Jakarta MS A 101, 38–9, which corresponds to *Zubdat al-Asrār*, ed. Lubis, 94–6.

The suggestion of an association between al-Maqāṣīrī and Sirhindī is evidently based on the assumption that Sirhindī was an 'orthodox' opponent of *waḥdat al-wujūd*. Yet it has been suggested that there is little difference between the ideas of *waḥdat al-wujūd* and *waḥdat al-shuhūd*,[52] and in places al-Maqāṣīrī refers positively towards *waḥdat al-wujūd*. Moreover, in his time Sirhindī was a highly controversial figure, who was declared a heretic by the Mughals and seems to have come close to equating himself with the Prophet Muḥammad, whose presence he claimed to embody.[53] He may have been the target of a polemic by al-Maqāṣīrī's own teacher, Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī, although there is also some evidence to suggest an ambiguous and changing attitude by al-Kūrānī to aspects of Sirhindī's thought.[54] At any rate, Sirhindī's works were the subject of vigorous polemics in the Hijaz by the early 1660s, precisely the period when al-Maqāṣīrī was there, so it is unlikely that any putative influence Sirhindī on al-Maqāṣīrī can be ascribed to the latter's search for 'orthodoxy'.[55] Yet if the connection with Sirhindī is doubtful, al-Maqāṣīrī certainly did have contact with Indian Naqshbandis. A certain ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Lāhūrī (d. after 1070/1659) who was resident in the Hijaz was the source for his *Maṭālib al-Sālikīn*, which is basically a recopying of al-Lāhūrī's *Muntahā Maṭālib al-Sālikīn*.[56] ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Lāhūrī was, like al-Maqāṣīrī, a Naqshbandi exponent of *waḥdat al-wujūd* who insisted on the importance of sharia.[57] ʿAbd al-Karīm did also share a *silsila* with Sirhindī, for he had been initiated into the Naqshbandiyya by a certain Shaykh ʿAbd al-Waḥīd; the latter had been a disciple of Bāqī Billāh, who was Sirhindī's teacher.[58]

While these manuscripts provide us with a wealth of detail for aspects of al-Maqāṣīrī's time in the Middle East, we are paradoxically rather poorly informed about his return to Southeast Asia, for which our main source – apart from his own writings – are the comments of Dutch observers. Scholars have suggested he returned to Southeast Asia around 1664, but given the date of MS Princeton Yahuda 3872 which was certainly copied in Medina in the autumn of that year, it is likely that it was rather later. He settled in Banten, rapidly achieving prominence at the court of Sultan Ageng Tirtiyasa (r. 1651–1683), the grandson of Abū'l-Mafākhir, who was also known by his Arabic name Abū'l-Fatḥ b. Abī'l-Maʿālī. Traditional accounts suggest al-Maqāṣīrī was appointed tutor to the heir to the throne, Pangeran Gusti, later known as Sultan Haji or ʿAbd al-Qahhār. He is said to have acted as mufti, qadi and advisor to Sultan Ageng.[59] As relations between Banten and Batavia deteriorated, Dutch accounts emphasise his role in leading the resistance against the Dutch. These sources indicate that in the civil war between the pro-Dutch ʿAbd al-Qahhār and his father, Sultan Ageng, al-Maqāṣīrī took the latter's side. As the Dutch besieged Tirtiyasa in 1092/1682, Sultan Ageng, al-Maqāṣīrī and another prince, Pangeran Purbaya, fled to continue fighting in South Java. Despite Sultan Ageng's capture in 1096/1683, al-Maqāṣīrī continued the resistance and was only finally taken by trickery in December 1683. The Dutch certainly regarded al-Maqāṣīrī as a major security threat, hence their decision to exile him first to Ceylon, and then, in 1693, to the Cape of Good Hope, where he died in 1699.[60]

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[52] Buehler, "Aḥmad Sirhindī: A 21st-century Update," 122–141.

[53] Kugle, *Hajj to the Heart*, 226–8.

[54] Azra, *Origins*, 46; Copty, "The Naqshbandiyya and its Offshoot," 343–4.

[55] Copty, "The Naqshbandiyya and its Offshoot," passim.

[56] Azra, *Origins*, 91; Drewes, "Nur al-Din al-Raniri's Charge of Heresy," 57; ʿAbd al-Karīm's original is preserved, along with his other Arabic works, in Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, MS Pet. 527 (Ahlwardt No 4108).

[57] M. Tahir Mallick, "The Waṣīya of ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Lāhōri," *Hamdard Islamicus* 8 (1985): 41–61.

[58] Mallik, "Waṣīya," 47; on Sirhindī and Bāqī Billāh, see Ernst, *Refractions of Islam*, 50–52.

2 Al-Maqāṣīrī's Works and their Manuscripts

Although al-Maqāṣīrī refers in places to Muḥammad b. Faḍlallāh al-Burhānpūrī,[61] he does not embrace his scheme of seven Grades of Being (or the alternative five grade system), but rather avoids the question entirely, just as al-Rānīrī had. However, his prime concern is the same fundamental question of how the elite of believers (*akhaṣṣ al-khawwāṣ*) can attain the state of perfect man, an idea which goes back to al-Ghazālī.[62] Rather than Grades of Being, it is the practice of *dhikr* which is seen as holding the key. His major treatise discussing these ideas is the *Zubdat al-Asrār*, discussed in more detail below, but they are also reflected in many of his other writings.

Al-Maqāṣīrī's works tend to be short treatises, sometimes only a couple of pages long. They are thus generally preserved as part of *majmūʿas*, collective manuscripts, rather than independently. Nonetheless, in view of al-Maqāṣīrī's subsequent reputation, there are perhaps surprisingly few manuscript witnesses, with his works being collected in six major manuscripts of varying contents.[63] The two principal witnesses are Jakarta MSS A 101 and 108. The former is a collection of some 21 treatises of which six are explicitly attributed to al-Maqāṣīrī. It is written in a single hand, bears the copying date of 1186–7/1773 (Fig. 5.8), and may well have been produced in the Banten sultanate for the library of Zayn al-ʿĀshiqīn. Although no internal evidence explicitly confirms this, it is written in the style of *naskh* associated with the Banten court scriptorium (see Chapter 7). The second manuscript, A 108, also has a royal connection, coming from the court library of the Bone Sultanate in South Sulawesi, and contains 31 treatises in Arabic as well as a number of Bugis texts, and is discussed in more detail below. A single treatise by al-Maqāṣīrī is preserved in MS Jakarta A 45/2; as van Bruinessen notes, this is most likely a Banten manuscript, and its interlinear Javanese translation confirms its Javanese provenance (Fig. 5.9).[64] A further witness to the circulation of al-Maqāṣīrī's works, although now very badly damaged owing to iron gall corrosion, is Jakarta A 113, which contains two texts by al-Maqāṣirī alongside other, anonymous Sufi ones. We know this manuscript formed part of the Banten sultanate library on the basis of the last text in the *majmūʿa*, the *ʿUqdat al-Murīd*, which is mentioned in the 1833 catalogue of the library, discussed further in chapter 7.

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[59] Abu Hamid, *Syekh Yusuf*, 97–9.

[60] On al-Maqāṣīrī's exile see Kerry Ward, *Networks of Empire: Forced Migration in the Dutch East India Company* (Cambridge, 2009), 200–212.

[61] Tudjimah, *Syekh Yusuf: Riwayat dan Ajarannya* (Jakarta, 1997), 145.

[62] Jonathan A.C. Brown, "The Last Days of al-Ghazzālī and the Tripartite Division of the Sufi World Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazzālī's Letter to the Seljuq Vizier and Commentary," *The Muslim World* 96 (2006): 89–113.

Mention should also be made of one further Jakarta manuscript previously held in the Dinas Purbakala, which was used by Tudjimah as the basis of her Indonesian translation of several works by al-Maqāṣīrī. This seems to be lost, having in any event been in very poor condition, but contained several works not attested elsewhere, most importantly the *Safīnat al-Najāt*, where al-Maqāṣīrī provides an account of his teachers and their *silsila*s. The manuscript's colophon indicates it was copied in 1145/1733,[65] although this was apparently made from an undated autograph by al-Maqāṣīrī himself. The manuscript seems to have originated in Sulawesi, and was brought to Jakarta by the Indonesian Islamic scholar Hamka (1908–1981).[66] A further manuscript belonged to the personal collection of Hajji Wan Shagir Abdullah of

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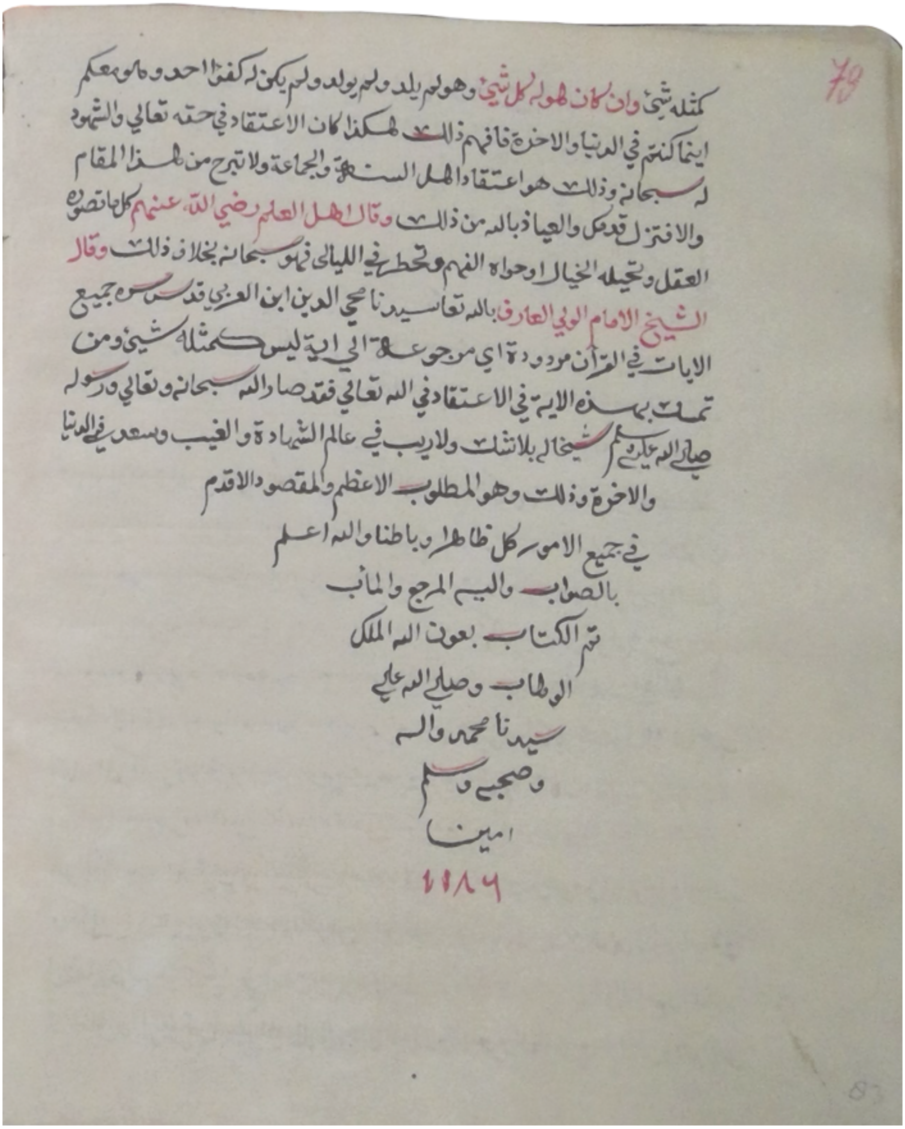
[63] van Bruinessen, *Tarekat Naqsybandiyah*, 36–39 provides a useful overview of these manuscripts and their contents, although omitting A 113, understandably in view of its poor preservation.

[64] van Bruinessen, *Tarekat Naqsybandiyah*, 37.

[65] Tudjimah, *Syekh Yusuf*, 193.

[66] I am very grateful to Martin van Bruinessen for giving me access to certain sections of a reproduction of this manuscript in his possession. Otherwise, the Hamka/Dinas Purbakala manuscript seems to be entirely lost, as far as is known, nor have I been able to trace the microfilm copies of it that Tudjimah states were lodged with the Muzium Pusat in Jakarta (now Perpustakaan Nasional) and at Leiden University Library. This means that for the most part these treatises are accessible only in Tudjimah's Indonesian translation.



79

كمثله شيء وان كان هو له كل شيء وهو لم يلد ولم يولد ولم يكن له كفوا احد وهو معكم
اينما كنتم في الدنيا والاخرة فافهم ذلك هكذا كان الاعتقاد في حقه تعالي والشهود
له سبحانه وذلك هو اعتقاد اهل السنة والجماعة ولا تبرح من هذا المقام
والافتزل قدمك والعياذ بالله من ذلك وقال اهل العلم رضي الله عنهم كل ما تصوره
العقل وتخيله الخيال او حواه الفهم وتحطر في الليالي فهو سبحانه بخلاف ذلك وقال
الشيخ الامام الولي العارف بالله تعالى سيدنا محي الدين ابن العربي قدس سره جميع
الايات في القرآن مردودة اي مرجوعة الي اية ليس كمثله شيء ومن
تمسك بهذه الاية في الاعتقاد في الله تعالي فقد صار لله سبحانه وتعالي ولرسوله
صلى الله عليه وسلم شيخا له بلا شك ولا ريب في عالم الشهادة والغيب وسعد في الدنيا
والاخرة وذلك وهو المطلوب الاعظم والمقصود الاقدم
في جميع الامور كل ظاهرا وباطنا والله اعلم
بالصواب واليه المرجع والمآب
تم الكتاب بعون الله الملك
الوهاب وصلى الله علي
سيدنا محمد وآله
وصحبه وسلم
امين
١١٨٦

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FIGURE 5.8 Colophon of Yūsuf al-Maqāṣīrī, *Maṭālib al-Sālikīn*, showing the date of copying of 1186/1773. Jakarta, Perpustakaan Nasional MS A 101, p. 79

Kalimantan Barat, and is said to have come from the royal library of Bone.[67] It thus was probably made before the British assault in 1814 in which substantial

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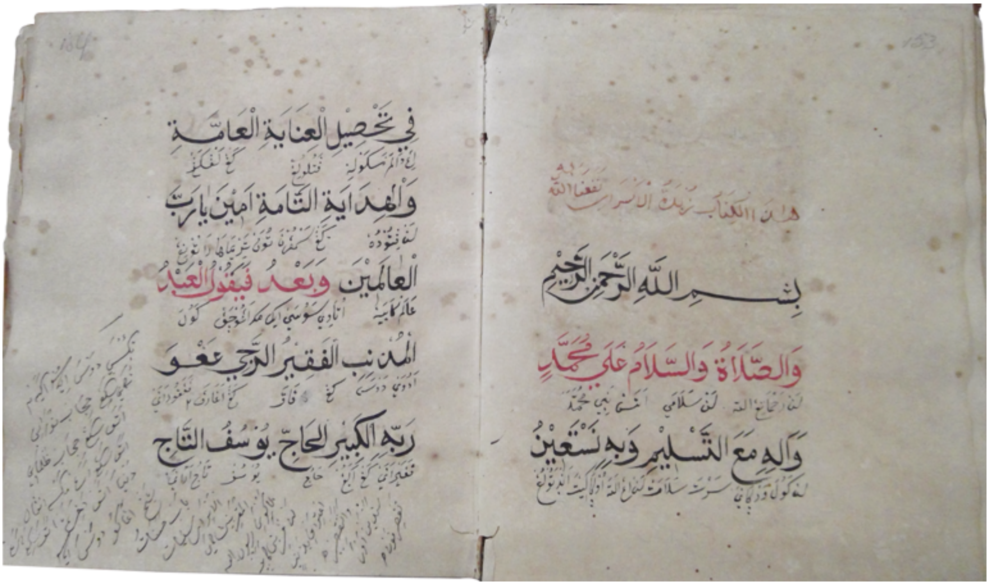
[67] van Bruinessen, *Tarekat Naqsybandiyah*, 38.


بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
والصلاة والسلام على محمد
وآله مع التسليم وبه نستعين

في تحصيل العناية العامة
والهداية التامة آمين يارب
العالمين وبعد فيقول العبد
المذنب الفقير الراجي عفو
ربه الكبير الحاج يوسف التاج

FIGURE 5.9 The opening of Yūsuf al-Maqaṣīrī's *Zubdat al-Asrār* with interlinear Javanese translation, probably Banten, eighteenth century. Jakarta, Perpustakaan Nasional MS A 45, pp. 103–4

parts of the Bone library were confiscated. There is only limited evidence for the circulation of al-Maqāṣīrī's works in the nineteenth century, however. A number of treatises by al-Maqāṣīrī are found in Leiden Or 7025,[68] while a copy of the *Tāj al-Asrār*, probably dating to *c.*1830–40 is found in Leiden Or 7741a/3.[69]

As van Bruinessen notes, no translations of al-Maqāṣīrī into Malay seem to exist.[70] The provenance of the manuscripts discussed above is also suggestive of the circulation of his works. Of the main manuscript witnesses, two are probably from Banten (Jakarta A 101, Jakarta A45), one was acquired in Banyumas in central Java (Leiden Or 7025),[71] while two are from South Sulawesi (Jakarta A 108 and the Dinas Purbakala ms); the manuscript of Wan Shaghir Abdullah must also have come from Sulawesi. No manuscripts of his works are attested from major North Sumatra collections, such as Tanoh Abee or Ali

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[68] Described in Jan Just Witkam, *Inventory of Oriental Manuscripts of the Library of the University of Leiden* (Leiden, 2007), vol. 8, sv; it contains the *Tāj al-Asrār*, the *Zubdat al-Asrār*, the *Sirr al-Asrār*, the *Qurrat al-ʿAyn* and three anonymous treatises on *dhikr*.

[69] See Witkam, *Inventory*, vol. 8, sv.; fol. 9a of the ms bears the date 1254/1838.

[70] Van Bruinessen, *Tarekat Naqsybandiyah*, 39.

[71] The manuscript was acquired there by Snouck Hurgronje, see Witkam, *Inventory*, vol. 8, sub Or 7025.

Hasjmy in Aceh.[72] However, van Bruinessen saw a manuscript belonging to the head of the Sammaniyya sub-branch of the Khalwatiyya in Palembang, the late Muḥammad Zayn Syukri, which contained three works by al-Maqāṣīrī,[73] and a manuscript from Aceh has a copy of his short treatise *Maṭālib al-Sālikīn*.[74] Nonetheless, it seems likely on present evidence that al-Maqāṣīrī's works had a limited circulation in Sumatra, and that interest in them declined during the nineteenth century, as reflected in the diminishing number of manuscripts – the opposite to the usual pattern in which later manuscripts are more plentiful than earlier ones. However, both these conclusions are highly tentative and provisional, and can only be verified or disproven on the basis of much more extensive work in manuscript collections in the region.

The number of al-Maqāṣīrī's works has not been established with certainty. It is clear that there is a good deal of borrowing between them. Often, al-Maqāṣīrī indicates his authorship in the introduction, referring to himself as *al-ḥaqīr al-faqīr Yūsuf al-Tāj*. However, there are severe problems with other works in the corpus. Some works attributed to al-Maqāṣīrī in modern scholarship lack any such attribution in their manuscript texts; this is true, for instance of the *Muqaddimat al-Fawāʾid* and the *Tuḥfat al-Abrār li-Ahl al-Asrār*, while only one of the three manuscripts of the *Fatḥ Kayfiyyat al-Dhikr* mentions the author.[75] Although on grounds of its contents and style the attribution to al-Maqāṣīrī is credible, it cannot be regarded as certain at this stage. Conversely, two different titles are given to a work with virtually identical contents, *al-Nafḥa al-Saylāniyya* and *Minḥat al-Saylāniyya fī Minḥat al-Raḥmāniyya*. The *Dafʿ al-Balā'* largely consists of text borrowed from the *Sirr al-Asrār wa Zubdat al-Asrār*.[76] On the other hand, the *Maṭālib al-Sālikin,* which is mentioned as if it was an original work of al-Maqāṣīrī's in the secondary literature, is in fact an almost word for word copy of the text of this title by ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Lāhūrī. Al-Maqāṣīrī does state in his introduction that he "took it from" the latter's work, but he in fact reproduced it exactly, merely altering the occasional colloquialism to more formal Arabic.

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[72] Fathurahman, *Katalog Naskah Dayah Tanoh Abee Aceh Besar*; Oman Fathurahman and Munawar Holil, *Katalog Naskah Ali Hasjmy Aceh* (Tokyo, 2007).

[73] Pers. comm. Martin van Bruinessen, 11 April 2020. The manuscript contained, according to its table of contents:
Silam al-Mustafidīn of Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī
Maṭālib al-Sālikin of al-Maqāṣīrī
Al-Risāla al-Yūsufiyya fi'l-Qawāʿid al-Ṣūfiyya of al-Maqāṣīrī (otherwise unattested)
Risālat Ghāyat al-Ikhtiṣār bi-Sirr al-Asrār of al-Maqāṣīrī
Al-Insān al-Kāmil of ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Jīlī
Adhkār al-Naqshbandiyya of Shaykh Wajīh al-Dīn al-ʿAlawī
Tafriḥat al-Dhākirin Tarjumat al-Jāhidīn
Al-Raghba fī Taḥṣīl al-Saʿāda al-Abadiyya
Fuṣūṣ al-Maʿrifa of Ibn ʿArabī
Aṣḥāb Rasūl Allāh
Al-Tuḥfa al-Mursala by al-Burhānpūrī
Seorang datang kepada Rasulallah
Bebarapa hadith al-Nabawi

[74] British Library MS Add 16773. See further Annabel Teh Gallop and Oman Fathurahman, "Islamic Manuscripts from Aceh in the British Library," *Journal of Islamic Manuscripts* 13 (2022): 151–224.

[75] Leiden University Library, Or 7025, fol. 75v–78v; Jakarta, A 108, A 101, pp. 105–7.

While a number of al-Maqāṣīrī's works were composed in Banten in particular his major treatises *Zubdat al-Asrār* and *Qurrat al-ʿAyn* which are discussed below, his period of exile in Ceylon seems to have been especially productive. The composition of these works on the island is alluded to either in their titles (by references either to Ceylon or exile) or by explicit statements in their prefaces; among these are the *Minḥat al-Saylāniyya, al-Nafha al-Saylāniyya, al-Baraka al-Saylāniyya, Kayfiyyat al-Manfī, Safīnat al-Najāt, Ḥabl al-Warīd* and the *Risālat Ghāyat al-Ikhtiṣār wa-Nihāyat al-Intiẓār*. Frequently, al-Maqāṣīrī refers to having composed these works at the request of individual disciples (*ṭullāb*). Many of these short treatises composed in Ceylon constitute explanations of topics which are raised in his longer, earlier works. *Al-Baraka al-Saylāniyya* expands on the meaning of the terms *al-ʿawāmm, al-khawāṣṣ* and *akhaṣṣ al-khawāṣṣ*.[77] The *Kayfiyyat al-Manfī* deals with the same subjects, and indeed its text is in places word for word the same as that in *al-Baraka al-Saylāniyya*. However, while the *Zubdat al-Asrār* is careful to avoid describing the method of performing *dhikr*, in the *Kayfiyyat al-Manfī* al-Maqāṣīrī gives detailed instructions of how to enunciate each word: "If you say the word *lā* [no, as in *lā ilah ilā allāh*] at the beginning of your *dhikr*, produce it from the depths of the navel extending to the brain in the head."[78] Similar instructions describe how each word of the *shahāda* is pronounced, involving the whole body.

These treatises written in Ceylon were not simply for the consumption of fellow exiles, for one of them, *Ḥabl al-Warīd li-Saʿādat al-Murīd,* written in Ceylon in 1099/1688 concludes with a dedication to Sultan Abū'l-Fatḥ of Banten.[79] Moreover, the fact that all these treatises are preserved in manuscripts from Southeast Asia suggests that al-Maqāṣīrī's Ceylon writings were intended as much for his devotees in Java as for the small local community of exiles in Ceylon.[80] How exactly such treatises were brought back to Southeast Asia is unclear, although it seems likely that elite convicts returning to their homeland would have been one means, and itinerant Muslims travelling between the two regions another one. Given the survival of these Ceylon texts in Southeast Asian manuscripts, evidently the exile and distance did not present too much an obstacle to their circulation. Indeed, exile in Ceylon may have obliged al-Maqāṣīrī to prioritise detailed written over oral exegesis which he could be confident would reach his disciples in Southeast Asia.

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[76] Both these points previously noted by Tudjimah, *Syekh Yusuf,* 18–19.

[77] Jakarta, MS A 108, pp. 68–79.

[78] Jakarta, MS A 108, p. 91 A detailed summary of these treatises can be found in Tudjimah, *Syekh Yusuf,* 22–6.

[79] Tudjimah, *Syekh Yusuf,* 147.

The brevity of many of al-Maqāṣīrī's works is consistent with a more general tendency among the leading ʿulama' of the period to compose brief treatises. Most of al-Kūrānī's works are similarly only a few pages long, and were composed specifically in response to questions from pilgrims to the Haramayn. In one treatise dated 1094/1683 dealing with *al-aʿyān al-thābita*, al-Kūrānī apologies for being unable to give a detailed response as the letter containing the question had only come with the pilgrims in Jumādā II and ships were due to depart the next month, at the beginning of Rajab.[81] The monsoon determined the times at which ships could sail, and those who missed the opportunity faced a delay of months until the winds were favourable. A similar phenomenon might explain much of the apparent intertextuality of al-Maqāṣīrī's works: these are brief treatises dashed off in response to questions from individual disciples that were taken across the seas to Java, so we can assume similar exigencies of shipping timetables also would have dictated his compositions. The repetition of materials should not therefore be characterised anachronistically as self-plagiarism, but rather be considered as part of a strategy to adapt parts of his existing works to the precise questions of each audience. Nonetheless, it does leave scholars with modern ideas of texts with something of a conundrum when trying to decide whether a given text should be classified as an independent work.

3 Yūsuf al-Maqāṣīrī's Writings on Sufism and Sultanic Power

The *Zubdat al-Asrār fī Taḥqīq Baʿḍ Mashārib al-Akhyār* was dedicated to Sultan Abū'l-Fatḥ b. Abī'l-Maʿālī of Banten, and was composed in Shawwāl 1087/ December 1676 (Fig. 5.10). It is the only one of al-Maqāṣīrī's works attested in five of the major manuscripts; it is also the only one to have been published in a

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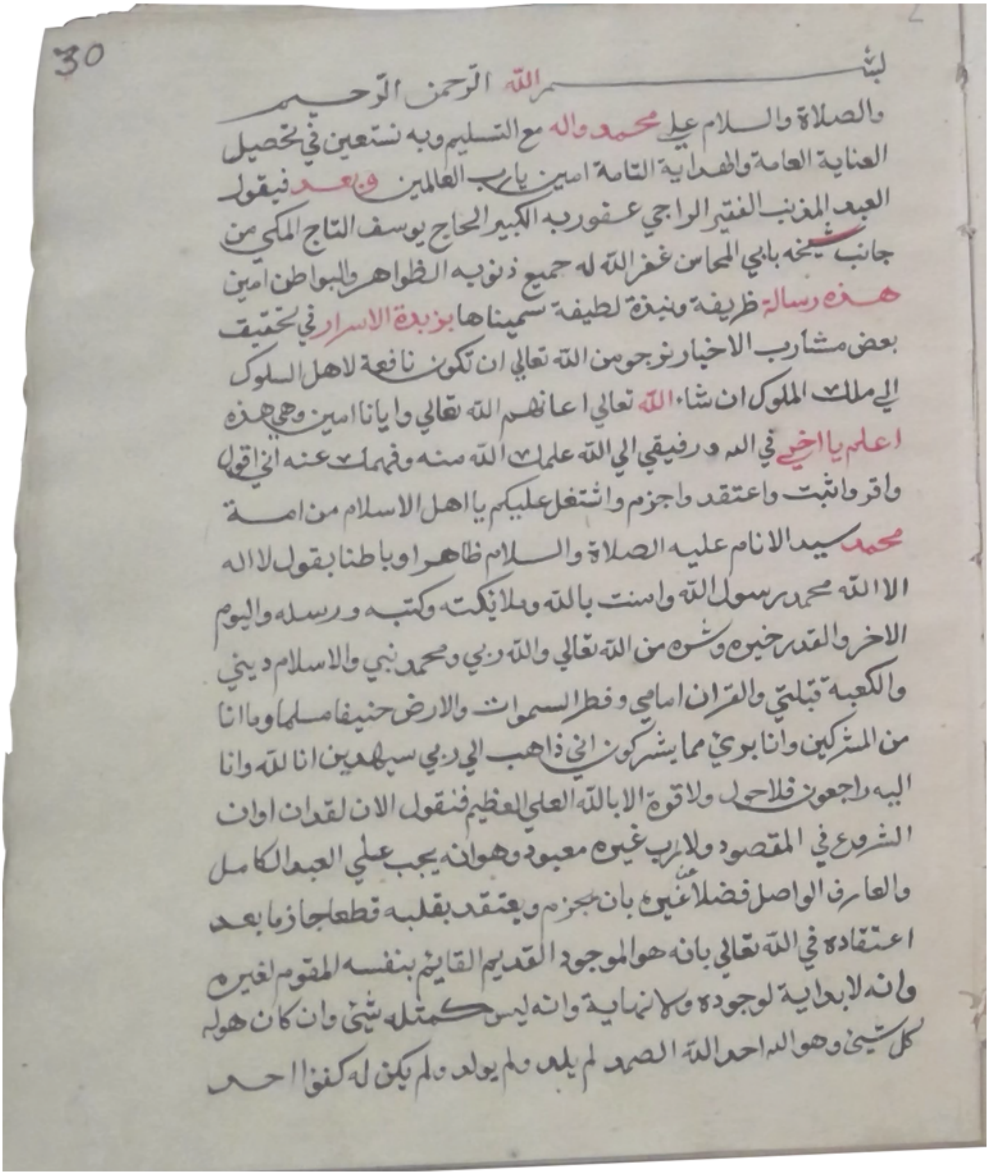
[80] On Ceylon as a place of exile, see Ronit Ricci, *Banishment and Belonging: Exile and Diaspora in Sarandib, Lanka and Ceylon* (Cambridge, 2018).

[81] Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī, *al-Tawṣīl ilā anna ʿalama allāh bi'l-ashyā' azalan alā al-tafṣīl*, Süleymaniye, MS Hamidiye 1440, fol. 33a–35a.



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بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
والصلاة والسلام علي محمد واله مع التسليم وبه نستعين في تحصيل
العناية العامة والهداية التامة امين يا رب العالمين وبعد فيقول
العبد المذنب الفقير الراجي عفو ربه الكبير الحاج يوسف التاج المكي من
جانب شيخه بابي المحاسن غفر الله له جميع ذنوبه الظواهر والبواطن امين
هذه رسالة ظريفة ونبذة لطيفة سميناها بزبدة الاسرار في تحقيق
بعض مشارب الاخيار نرجو من الله تعالي ان تكون نافعة لاهل السلوك
الي ملك الملوك ان شاء الله تعالي اعانهم الله تعالي وايانا امين وهي هذه
اعلم يا اخي في الله ورفيقي الي الله علمك الله منه وفهمك عنه اني اقول
واقر واثبت واعتقد واجزم واشتغل عليكم يا اهل الاسلام من امة
محمد سيد الانام عليه الصلاة والسلام ظاهرا وباطنا بقول لا اله
الا الله محمد رسول الله وامنت بالله وملائكته وكتبه ورسله واليوم
الاخر والقدر خيره وشره من الله تعالي والله ربي ومحمد نبي والاسلام ديني
والكعبة قبلتي والقران امامي وفطر السموات والارض حنيفا مسلما وما انا
من المشركين وانا بري مما يشركون اني ذاهب الي ربي سيهدين انا لله وانا
اليه راجعون فلا حول ولا قوة الا بالله العلي العظيم فنقول الان لقد ان اوان
الشروع في المقصود ولا رب غيره معبود وهو انه يجب علي العبد الكامل
والعارف الواصل فضلا عن غيره بان يجزم ويعتقد بقلبه قطعا جازما بعد
اعتقاده في الله تعالي بانه هو الموجود القديم القائم بنفسه المقوم لغيره
وانه لا بداية لوجوده ولا نهاية وانه ليس كمثله شيء وان كان هو له
كل شيء وهو الله احد الله الصمد لم يلد ولم يولد ولم يكن له كفوا احد

FIGURE 5.10 The opening of Yūsuf al-Maqaṣīrī's *Zubdat al-Asrār*. Jakarta, Perpustakaan Nasional MS A 101, p. 30

modern (albeit not critical) edition, while it was also provided with a Javanese translation in the eighteenth century, again the only one of al-Maqāṣīrī's works for which this is true.[82] The treatise aims to explain the correct understanding of God's nature, and to challenge erroneous *wujūdī* ideas. Al-Maqāṣīrī starts with a discussion of God's being, *iḥāṭa*, God's 'encompassing' of creation, derived from the Qur'an (4:126, 65:12). Although Azra argues this is one of al-Maqāṣīrī's key concepts,[83] in fact he gives it rather short shrift, explaining it as meaning God's encompassing through his knowledge, though he notes that some Sufis have used it as a technical term to denote the omnipresence (*maʿiyya*) of being. Al-Maqāṣīrī seems rather to shun this debate, directing the reader to consult his other treatises where it is discussed, and asserting that "our task is only to believe in both [*iḥāṭa* and *maʿiyya*]" (*mā lanā illā al-īmān bihimā*).[84] Similarly, the importance of accepting the ambiguous verses in the Qur'an (*al-āyāt al-mutashābihāt*), also identified by Azra as a major concern of al-Maqāṣīrī's (although in fact it can be traced to al-Kūrānī),[85] is dismissed in a couple of sentences. Rather more detail is given to the importance of repentance of sins, commonly identified in Sufi texts as an essential prerequisite for the *sālik*.

Al-Maqāṣīrī's main focus is on the importance of *dhikr*, a theme to which he returns repeatedly in the *Zubdat al-Asrār*, as in other works. Practice and theory are closely linked. For example, in his discussion of God's being (*wujūd*), which clearly aims to dispel any erroneous implications, al-Maqāṣīrī insists that it is through *dhikr* that the believer will come to understand this (*yafhamu al-ʿabd al-dhākir al-madhkūr ʿinda dhikrihi*). Al-Maqāṣīrī insists that the only reality is God, and everything else is but his shadow, drawing on a long metaphysical tradition. Originally *dhikr* was probably seen as simply as a form of prayer, but al-Ghazālī saw *dhikr* as a method for the Sufi wayfarer to prepare his spirit to receive divine mercy. Ibn ʿAṭā Allāh (d. 709/1309) (who is mentioned by al-Maqāṣīrī on occasion), the influential Shadhili, went even further, seeing *dhikr* as a means of achieving *fanāʾ* – a technique that allows is practitioner to ascend to the realms of *lāhūt* (the divine nature).[86] Al-Maqāṣīrī draws on this concept, refining it to comprise ascent to the status of *al-insān al-kāmil*. *Dhikr* was also widely perceived by Sufis as one of their key secrets. The teaching of specific *dhikr* formulae by the *murshid* formed the cornerstone of the initiation (*talqīn*) ceremonies, and as Schimmel puts it, “Each mystical state, each mental attitude is connected with a certain formula or a Divine name which works upon the soul and the suggestion of this word of recollection is a secret between the master and the novice, a secret which forms the cornerstone of his whole progress in the Path.”[87] We can also understand the “Secrets” of the *Zubdat al-Asrār*’s title to refer to these words of recollection.

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[82] The Arabic text of the *Zubdat al-Asrār* contained in Jakarta MS A101, the accompanying eighteenth century Javanese translation and a modern Indonesian translation are published in Lubis, *Syekh Yusuf Al-Taj al-Makasari*.

[83] Azra, *Origins*, 104.

[84] *Zubdat al-Asrar*, ed. Lubis, 76.

[85] Dumairieh, *Intellectual Life in the Ḥijāz before Wahhabism*, 160, 163, 176, 184.

[86] L. Gardet, "Dhikr," *EI*².

Al-Maqāṣīrī’s interest in *dhikr* may have been influenced by its importance in both Khalwati and Naqshbandi thought; however, al-Rānīrī, by whom he was inducted into the Qadiriyya, also discussed *dhikr*. In his *ʿAqaʾid al-Sufiyya al-Muwahhidin*, al-Rānīrī had emphasised that *dhikr* had been a cause for confusion between right belief and heresy, for both the *muwaḥḥid* and the *zindīq* could say in *dhikr* ‘*la ilāh ilā allāh*’. The difference between them was the *muwaḥḥid* meant that all created beings are only ‘metaphorical shadow’ (*ẓill majāzī*), whereas the infidel *wujūdī* meant that God was present in all beings.[88] Al-Maqāṣīrī makes a similar distinction:

> There is nothing worshipped, sought, loved, desired, nor any agent or real existence except God. Everything else is His shadow … Know that [existence] is like a person’s shadow, for example, it is not said that it is existent in itself, but it is said that it is a manifestation of the person’s existence; that which really exists is only the person, even if the shadow can be seen visually.[89]

Similarly, in the *Hujjat al-Siddiq*, al-Rānīrī says,

> So the being of God is Real Being and Absolute (*muṭlaq*), and the being of the world is metaphorical being and limited (*muqayyad*), a shadow and a possession (*milk*) of God’s being.[90]

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[87] Annemarie Schimmel, “Secrecy in Sufism,” in Kees W. Bolle (ed.), *Secrecy in Religions* (Leiden, 1987), 81–102, at p. 86.

[88] Daudy, *Syekh Nuruddin*, 204–5; For a parallel passage, see *Risāla tubayyinu*, in van Nieuwenhuijze, *Šamsu’l-Din*, 26–8.

[89] *Zubdat al-Asrār*, ed Lubis, 78.
ثم يفهم العبد الذاكر المذكور عند ذكره ايضا معنى تلك الكلمة بان لا معبود ولا مطلوب ولا مقصود ولا مراد ولا محبوب ولا معشوق ولا فاعل ولا موجود حقيقة الا اللّٰه و ما سواه انما هو ظل له تعالي والظل شيء معدوم موجوده كلا وجود بعد تحقيق الامر و ان كان مرئاً

[90] Al-Attas, *A Commentary*, 87.

For al-Maqāṣīrī, the key to attaining this understanding is through Sufi practices such as *dhikr* and *murāqaba*:

> If the believer does everything we have said with sincere intent towards God, in terms of speaking for God's sake, frequently performing *dhikr*, not neglecting Him, and perfectly following the Prophet of God, peace and blessings be upon him, both externally and internally, in the knowledge that all this can only be achieved by God's grace, not in exchange for knowledge or deeds, until being present with God exalted, constantly bearing witness to him, and contemplating him (*murāqabatuhu*) at all times and in every event becomes like a habit for him; then he will become, God willing, an imam in his time, a lord to the people of his age. He will be called God's friend and the one who knows Him. He will be one of the people of Truth, His deputy, glorious is He, and then he will be called the perfect man (*al-insān al-kāmil*), and the knower of God who attains Him without doubt.[91]

The practice of *dhikr* and *murāqaba* thus is no less than the path to becoming the perfect man, God's deputy on earth and his intimate Friend. Indeed, someone who truly attains this stage of the perfect man receives God's attributes (*khalaʿa ʿalayhi bi-anwāʿ ṣifātihi*).[92] Yet al-Maqāṣīrī is careful to exclude all Muslims from equal access to *dhikr* and other Sufi secrets. He distinguishes between the *dhikr* of the common people (*al-ʿawāmm*), the elect (*al-khawāṣṣ*) and the elect of the elect (*akhaṣṣ al-khawāṣṣ*).[93] Similarly, the discussion of *qibla* distinguishes between the *qiblat al-ʿawāmm*, that of the common people, which is prayer, and three other gradations of *qibla*, the *qibla* of the elect (*qiblat al-khawāṣṣ*), which emphasised God's universal presence through his encompassing (*iḥāṭa*).[94] Al-Maqāṣīrī also uses the opportunity to promote both himself and his own Naqshbandi teachers as authoritative exegetes of these secrets:

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[91] *Zubdat al-Asrār*, ed. Lubis, pp. 90–92:
ثم اذا فعل العبد كل ذلك وعمل جميع ما ذكرناه مع اخلاص النية لله تعالى في الكلام لوجه اللّٰه تعالى وتكثير الذكر وعدم غفلته عنه سبحانه وتعالى وكمال اتباعه لرسول اللّٰه صلى اللّٰه عليه وسلم ظاهرا وباطنا مع العلم بان ذلك الكل يكون بمحض فضل اللّٰه تعالى عليه لا بمقابلة علمه ولا عمله حتى صار كالعادة له بحضوره مع اللّٰه تعالى وشهوده الدائم له ومراقبته في جميع اوقاته وتقبلات احواله يصير ان شاء اللّٰه اماما فى زمانه وسيدا لاهل اوانه ويدعى بولى اللّٰه تعالى وعارفا به وكان اهلا للحق وخليفته عنه سبحانه فحينئذ يقال له بالانسان الكامل

[92] *Zubdat al-Asrār*, ed. Lubis, 100.

[93] *Zubdat al-Asrār*, ed. Lubis, 80.

[94] *Zubdat al-Asrār*, ed. Lubis, 112.

> He who turns to this *qibla* must imagine God, Exalted is He, appears with his full, enduring presence in every state he experiences. This is a principle the Naqshbandi shaykhs relied upon, may God sanctify their secrets. We obtained numerous benefits whose blessings are innumerable when we entered this *ṭarīqa*, and we were trained by our shaykh, the guide of the people, the Friend and Knower of God, our master Shaykh Muḥammad Bāqī al-Naqshbandī al-Yamanī, may God sanctify his secret, and we profited from him. Know this, but know too that everything that we have said cannot be known or verified except by someone who is us, and we are him, in both external and inward form.[95]

It is only this way that the believer can attain *waḥdat al-wujūd* which is free from any hint of polytheism (*waḥdat al-wujūd al-muṭlaqa … al-mubʿida ʿan shamāʾim rāʾiḥa min al-shirk*), and al-Maqāṣīrī specifically criticises any monist ideas that God is manifested in the believer (*al-maʿbūd ẓāhir fīʾl-ʿābid*).[96] However, al-Maqāṣīrī accepts that in ecstatic statements made by Sufis such as al-Ḥallāj, it is God who "reveals himself and speaks through the tongue of his servant, not his servant".[97] Contrary to van Bruinessen's suggestion that there is no evidence that al-Maqāṣīrī in his writings gave precedence to the Naqshbandiyya,[98] in fact this passage in the *Zubdat al-Asrār* seems to suggest that he was promoting his Naqshbandi shaykhs as a key to unlocking metaphysical secrets.

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[95] *Zubdat al-Asrār*, ed. Lubis, 112, 114.
المتوجه الى هذه القبلة لا بد له بان يتخيل الحق سبحانه وتعالى ظاهرا فيها بالحضور التام دائما في جميع حالاته فهذا الشغل كان مما اعتمد عليه مشائخ النقشبندية قدس اللّٰه اسراهم واما نحن فقد حصل لنا فوائد كثيرة ما لا تحصى بركته لما دخلنا فى هذه الطريقة وتربينا تحت يد شيخنا الامام مقتضى الانام الولى العارف باللّٰه تعالى مولانا الشيخ محمد باقي النقشبندى اليمنى قدس اللّٰه سره ونعنا به امين فاعلم ذلك لا يعرف ما قلناه ويتحقق به الى من كان هو نحن و نحن هو ظاهرا وباطنا

[96] *Zubdat al-Asrār*, ed. Lubis, 110.

[97] *Zubdat al-Asrār*, ed. Lubis, 99.

[98] van Bruinessen, *Tarekat Naqshbandiyah*, 41, discussing a possibly pseudiepographic *Risāla Naqshbandiyya* attributed to al-Maqāṣīrī: "Tetapi acuan-acuan kepada tarekat Naqsyabandiyah dalam tulisan-tulisan Yusuf yang lain, tidaklah menunjukkan secara khusus bahwa ia mengutamakan tarekat ini; pengarang tampaknya lebih membicarakannya daripada mengajarkannya secara khusus." "References to the Naqshbandiyya in Yusuf's other writings do not especially indicate that he prioritised this *ṭarīqa*; the author seems to discuss it more than specifically teaching it."

The *Zubdat al-Asrār* concludes with an injunction that it is only through loving God that one can become the perfect man (*al-insān al-kāmil*). The treatise seems to have several aims. It outlines how the believer can attain the status of perfect man, although at the same time it is careful not to give too much information on exactly which practices will allow the believer to do this. There is no advice on exactly what form the *dhikr* or *murāqaba* should take, for example. Rather, as al-Maqāṣīrī emphasises, it is only through his personal tuition that the believer can do this, through which the *murīd* and his shaykh will merge into one another. Indeed, as the very title of the work indicates, the Sufi knowledge al-Maqāṣīrī imparts is secret, and the treatise gives only a synopsis (*zubda*). Of course, al-Maqāṣīrī was far from exceptional in insisting in the secrecy of Sufi insights. This was a commonplace in Sufism, stemming from the concern that the ordinary people might misunderstand or misinterpret its ideas.[99]

The *Zubdat al-Asrār* suggests some of the reasons for al-Maqāṣīrī's influence in Banten. The treatise promises to show Sultan Abū'l-Fatḥ how to become the perfect man, God's imam, *khalīfa* and *walī* on earth, who himself shares in the divine attributes. That Abū'l-Fatḥ himself was the audience is suggested not just by the concluding sentences that name him, but also by a passage in the middle of treatise where al-Maqāṣīrī turns to address his audience as "Oh God's Friend, deputy, shadow and deputy" (*iʿlam yā walī allāh wa-nāʾibuhu wa-ẓill allāh wa-khalīfatuhu* …).[100] Even if the *Zubdat al-Asrār* is phrased in purely spiritual terms, it is easy to see the potential political attraction of such ideas to a sultan. Yet it should be emphasised that this is not simply – or indeed not at all – a question of legitimacy. There is no question of this doctrine being more widely disseminated to support the Banten sultan's political ambitions. Rather, this is a doctrine for the sultan's personal use, and indeed al-Maqāṣīrī specifically that the perfect man may be himself "one of God's secrets" (*huwa sirran min asrār allāh*) and unknown to others.[101] Instead of the system popularised by al-Burhānpūrī in which the *sālik* passes through the different grades of being until reaching annihilation in the divine,[102] al-Maqāṣīrī emphasises the distinction between the elect and the commoners, and is less than forthcoming over how to pass from the latter to the former. Al-Maqāṣīrī's system, with its emphasis on sharia compliance and its avoidance of discussion of the

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[99] Schimmel, "Secrecy in Sufism", 84.

[100] *Zubdat al-Asrār*, ed. Lubis, 104.

[101] *Zubdat al-Asrār*, ed. Lubis, 100, 102.

[102] See pp. 52–3 above.

Grades of Being, may have been intended as a specifically elitist reformulation or rebuttal of the widespread Qunawian/Burhanpurian metaphysics.

By restricting his works to Arabic, al-Maqāṣīrī sought to ensure the exclusivity of his own distinctive path to *waḥdat al-wujūd* to an educated elite. However, this does not mean that al-Maqāṣīrī's doctrines were only intended to be the preserve of the court or ruler, for we have evidence of their wider dissemination. After the Bantenese defeat by the Dutch in 1682, al-Maqāṣīrī sought refuge in the Banten countryside. In an untitled treatise, the author (who is not mentioned, but can only be al-Maqāṣīrī) tells us that it was composed "when God drove me, for an unknown reason, to the village of Rantu Batang, then to Bibul, a village in the region of Mandala village." There he encountered a man "from the people of those villages" (*min ahl tilka al-qurā*) called ʿAbd al-Jalīl, who was a *murīd* of al-Ḥājj ʿAbd al-Muḥyi who resided in the village of Karang.[103] These details allow us to locate al-Maqāṣīrī quite precisely, in the region of modern Parigi, Pangandaran Regency; Karang is where al-Maqāṣīrī was finally captured by the Dutch in 1683.[104] ʿAbd al-Muḥyi (1640–1715) is venerated to this day as the founder of the Shattariyya in Pamijahan, and regularly mentioned in local *silsilas* of the order.[105]

ʿAbd al-Jalīl asked al-Maqāṣīrī to explain the hadiths, "The believer's heart is God's throne" (*qalb al-muʾmin ʿarsh allāh*) and "he who knows himself knows his lord" (*man ʿarafa nafsahu ʿarafa rabbahu*)[106] and to write a complete *silsila* of his Shattari shaykhs.[107] Al-Maqāṣīrī turned down the latter request claiming lack of expertise (*mā kuntu min fursān hadhā al-maydān*), even if in the *Safīnat al-Najāt* he does provide us with his Shattari *silsila*, which he traced through al-Kūrānī. Interest in the Shattariyya in this rural environment is intriguing, for as discussed elsewhere it was commonly associated with court circles. Evidently, al-Maqāṣīrī was not keen to disseminate it. The hadith, "he who knows himself knows his lord" was still more controversial, for it is cited repeatedly by Hamzah Fansuri in his *Muntahi*, and lay behind some of al-Rānīrī's criticisms of him in *al-Tibyan* (see Chapter 3). As we have seen, Hamzah's ideas were certainly known in Banten by this date, and indeed a Javanese translation of the *Muntahi* was made of which we have a surviving manuscript from Banten dating to *c.*1680.[108]

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[103] Jakarta, A 101, p. 63.

[104] Abu Hamid, *Syekh Yusuf*, 105–6.

[105] Tommy Christomy, *Signs of the Saint: Narratives at the Sacred Sites of Pamijahan, West Java* (Canberra, 2008).

[106] Tudjima, *Syekh Yusuf*, 203.

[107] Jakarta, A 101, p. 63.

Al-Maqāṣīrī's exegesis is free of some of the uncompromising denunciations of errant interpretations that we find elsewhere in his work, and the *murshid*, ʿAbd al-Muḥyi, is referred to with respectful epithets (*ṭawwala allāh ʿumrahu wa aʿānahu allāh fī kull umūrihi*). Rather than denouncing the errant *wujūdiyya* as al-Rānīrī does, al-Maqāṣīrī uses these hadith to introduce the doctrine of the perfect man. The only possessor of a "true heart" (*al-qalb al-ḥaqīqī*) is the perfect man who is to be distinguished from "the defective man who is an animal manifested in the form of a human" (*al-insān al-nāqiṣ alladhī huwa al-ḥayawān al-ẓāhir bi-ṣūrat al-insān*), a favourite phrase of al-Maqāṣīrī's which confirms his authorship of the piece.[109] Al-Maqāṣīrī backs his exegesis with citations from famous Sufis such as Bāyazīd al-Bisṭāmī, Ibn ʿArabī, ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Jīlī and ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī. Rather briefer is the exegesis of "he who knows himself knows his lord," but al-Maqāṣīrī explains that among scholarly Sufis (*al-ʿārif min ahl al-ʿilm*) "he who knows himself" is understood as meaning "contingent non-existence, not necessary existence" for "the existence of something without being necessary is like its non-existence; and 'he knows his lord' is necessary existence." Here al-Maqāṣīrī is evidently alluding to his argument in the *Zubdat al-Asrār* that nothing except God has real existence. This, again, is clearly a way of avoiding *wujūdī* excesses, but, despite the philosophical vocabulary, al-Maqāṣīrī does not elucidate this further. Rather he comments that he who knows himself is someone attributed with the twenty negative attributes of God, while he who knows his Lord is someone attributed with the twenty positive attributes – which although not expressly stated here, we know from other writings such as the *Zubdat al-Asrār* was one of the characteristics of the perfect man.[110] This short treatise thus indicates how al-Maqāṣīrī propagated the doctrine of the perfect man beyond courtly circles, although his reticence in discussing the Shattariyya may suggest a reluctance to disseminate certain courtly religious practices. Nonetheless, it seems that al-Maqāṣīrī's interlocutors were also educated, Arabophone Sufis, who could follow the technical vocabulary in which much of al-Maqāṣīrī's treatise is framed.

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[108] Leiden University Library, Or 5716/2, see Braginsky, "The Name and the Named," 397, 409; cf. G. Th. Pigeaud, *Literature of Java: Catalogue raisonné of Javanese Manuscripts in the Library of the University of Leiden and other Public Collections in the Netherlands* (Leiden, 1968–80), vol. 2, 336.

[109] For the same phrase, see for example, *Zubdat al-Asrār*, ed. Lubis, 100.

[110] *Zubdat al-Asrār*, ed. Lubis, 100: thumma huwa subḥānuhu wa-taʿālā ayḍan lamma raʾā ʿabdahu al-madhkūr qābilan li-tajallīhi al-khuṣūṣī khalaʿa ʿalayhi bi-anwāʿ ṣifātihi wa-nuʿūtihi.

4 The *Qurrat al-ʿAyn*

While the *Qurrat al-ʿAyn*, which is preserved in Jakarta MS A101 and Leiden MS 7025,[111] bears neither dedicatee nor date, given its contents it seems highly likely to have been written during al-Maqāṣīrī's time in Banten. The treatise starts with a brief discussion of *dhikr* and the perfect man, but underlines that the latter must unite both sharia and Sufi insights (*al-jāmiʿ bayna al-ḥaqīqa wa'l-sharīʿa*).[112] The importance of sharia is something al-Maqāṣīrī stresses repeatedly in his other works too, but in the *Qurrat al-ʿAyn* he seeks to show how it should be supported. Citing the Prophetic hadith *al-sayf akhu'l-qur'ān*, "the sword is the Qur'an's brother", he explains that:

> Upholding the sharia can only be achieved through the policy of kings and sultans, the possessors of leadership and political skill from among the administrators and rulers. Likewise, upholding the sultanic kingdom and royal affairs can only be achieved through the diligent ʿulama' (*al-ʿulamā' al-ʿāmilīn*) and wise men who have mystical knowledge. Therefore since ancient times, generally every prophet has had a vizier who was a king, a possessor of leadership and political skill, while generally every king has had a vizier from God's prophets and friends, who possess perfection, perfectibility and status in the religion of Islam. Each one helps the other; understand that for that reason, it is not permissible for a king to be obliged to abdicate simply because of his wrongdoing, if he is acting in the interests of, and protecting, the sultanic kingdom and royal affairs.[113]

This seems to give the ʿulama' a rather greater role in governance than that envisaged by Ibn ʿAllān. Moreover, in al-Maqāṣīrī's view, it is only if the king's actions threaten the kingdom that he can be removed; in that case, he can be dispensed with even if he is personally virtuous. This view of the mutual support of rulers and ʿulama' is not especially original, although his readiness

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[111] Jakarta, MS A 101, pp. 50–63; Leiden University Library, Or 7025, fol. 53v–74v.

[112] Jakarta, MS A 101, p. 53.

[113] Jakarta, MS A 101, pp. 53–4.

قيام الشريعة لا يكون الا بسياسة ا لملوك والسلاطين اصحاب الرياسة والسياسة من اهل التدابير والامور الحكمية وكذلك ان قيام المملكة السلطانية والامور الملوكية لا يكون علي التمام الا بالعلماء العاملين الحكماء العارفين فلاجل ذلك كان من قديم الزمان الاول لغالب كل نبي وزير من الملوك اصحاب الرياسة والسياسة و لغالب كل ملك وزير من الانبياء والاولياء اصحاب الكمال والاكمال والمقام في دين الاسلام اذا احدهما يتايد بالاخر فافهم فلاجل ذلك لا يجوز انعزال الملك بمجرد فسقه ما دام مصلحا و حافظا للمملكة السلطانية والامور الملوكية

to see a personally virtuous ruler deposed goes beyond anything that can be found in standard advice literature. Such views would have had an especial relevance in late seventeenth century Banten, riven as it was by disputes between Sultan Ageng and his son – the former al-Maqāṣīrī's patron, the latter his pupil. It is possible that the treatise was written after the capture of Sultan Ageng, but to provide legitimacy for the removal of his son, who was collaborating with the Dutch. This, however, is speculation, although as will be argued below, other passages in the work seem to date it to the period of civil war, with their evocation of societal collapse.

However, in the *Qurrat al-ʿAyn* al-Maqāṣīrī evinces a very specific reason for supporting sultanic executive power. A brief discussion of the notion of *khalīfa* leads al-Maqāṣīrī to discuss those who dangerously imply that the *khalīfa* and God are identical. He singles out for repeated criticism those who claim "God is our self and our being, and we are his self and His being" (*inna allāh nafsuna wa-wujūduna wa-naḥnu nafsuhu wa-wujūduhu*). As will be recalled from Chapter 3, this was exactly the monist formulation with which al-Rānīrī credited Hamzah Fansuri and Shams al-Dīn al-Sumāṭrāʾī. Far from being doomed to oblivion, however, as Laffan suggests,[114] al-Maqāṣīrī's reference suggests that the problem was alive and well some fifty years later. While al-Maqāṣīrī does not allude to this earlier use, or given any precise indication of the identity of those who make this claim, he condemns it unequivocally, referring to these "disgraceful words and monstrous phrases" (*al-kalimāt al-shanīʿa wa'l-aqwāl al-bashīʿa*).[115] Al-Maqāṣīrī's objection is that such a formation leads to denial (*takdhīb*) of God and his Prophet, and is thus fundamentally incompatible with Islam. Indeed, he compares it to the Christian belief in Christ's divinity, but asserts that those who claim "God is our self and being and we are his self and being" are worse even than Christians; he brands them infidel heretics and erring deviants (*al-zanādiqa al-kafara wa'l-malāḥida al-ḍālla*). Again, this is reminiscent of al-Rānīrī's attacks on Hamzah. Such individuals, says al-Maqāṣīrī, must repent or face punishment including death:

> They must repent, and if they refuse, the decision is up to the imam or his deputy to do what he wishes with them by exercising his independent judgement (*al-umūr al-ijtihādiyya*), either by killing them or otherwise.[116]

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[114] Laffan, *The Makings of Indonesian Islam*, 16.

[115] Jakarta, MS A 101, p. 55.

[116] Jakarta, MS A 101, p. 61.

يجب استتابتهم وان ابوا ولم يتوبوا علي ذلك اختيار الامام او نايبه ان يفعل عليهم ما شاء من الامور
الاجتهادية اما بالقتل واما بغير ذلك

Al-Maqāṣīrī thus returns to the topic of *ijtihād* which formed such a crucial part of Ibn ʿAllān's advice to Sultan Abū'l-Mafākhir. The *Qurrat al-ʿAyn* shows no evidence of any direct borrowings from, or knowledge of, Ibn ʿAllan's *al-Mawāhib al-Rabbāniyya*, but given that al-Maqāṣīrī had, according to Ibn al-ʿUjaymī, studied with Ibn ʿAllān, and al-Maqāṣīrī's important rank in the Banten sultanate where the *Mawāhib* was read, it is natural that it comes to the same conclusion. Al-Maqāṣīrī argues it is up to the ruler to exercise *ijtihād*, with the provision that "the exercise of *ijtihād* by the ruler or his deputy should not lead to a great civil strife being stirred up in the sultanic kingdom and royal policy after the execution of the aforesaid exercise of *ijtihād*", for this risks damaging sharia and Islamic ordinances (*al-aḥkām al-islāmiyya*).[117] Again, these lines must have seemed especially pointed in the disturbed situation of late seventeenth century Banten. One might interpret this to be a plea for the warring parties of Abū'l-Fatḥ and his son ʿAbd al-Qahhār to set aside their disputes in the interests of Islam, but al-Maqāṣīrī's ostensible purpose is to underline the identity of interests of the ruler and the ʿulama', returning to the hadith he cited near the beginning of the *Qurrat al-ʿAyn* that "the sword is the Qur'an's brother" and adding that "Sultanic affairs are the sister of sharia, and the corruption of one leads to the corruption of both."[118] It is through repenting of his sins, the prerequisite for embarking on the Sufi path, that the sultan can exercise his *ijtihād* correctly and be sure of not erring in his decision. Yet a bleak atmosphere of the end of days prevails in the final sentences of the *Qurrat al-ʿAyn*.

> [The Prophet], peace and blessings be upon him said, "There will come a time when the best of you is one who does not command what is right and forbid what is wrong." He also said, "When civil strife multiplies, attend to your own business and leave public affairs." Likewise God's Messenger, peace and blessings be upon him, said, "At the time of the Sufyani strife at the end of time, the ʿulama' will be killed like dogs; would that they can avoid it …" All this indicates the necessity of purifying the soul, [when] civil strife appears and public affairs are abandoned, along with the maintenance of the political affairs of the kingdom and the principles of rule. Our age has entered into the end of time, which is why our age is corrupt, and evil deeds result from the evil of its people. Also at the end of time there are few ʿulama', and righteous sultans are lacking.

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[117] Jakarta, MS A 101, p. 61.

[118] Jakarta, MS A 101, p. 62.

> Their corruption combines with the corruption of the ordinary people and subjects.[119]

The *Qurrat al-ʿAyn* also seems to envisage a rather different role for the ruler than the *Zubdat al-Asrār*. While the latter work, by implication, if not by explicit statement, held the promise that the sultan could himself become the perfect man, endowed with divine attributes, in the *Qurrat al-ʿAyn* al-Maqāṣīrī rather portrays the sultan as one about to embark on the initial stage of the Sufi path through his repentance. While he will exercise *ijtihād* – and al-Maqāṣīrī is careful to leave the punishment of the heretics up to the discretion, suggesting rather than prescribing death – he is not himself a religious authority. It is only through his association with and reliance on the ʿulamaʾ that his decisions can be validated. The treatise is undated, but its bleak apocalyptic atmosphere may suggest that it was written during the last days of the sultanate before the Dutch take-over, or possibly shortly after. Such an interpretation would accord with the reduced role of the sultan described here, as a Sufi initiate reliant ultimately on the ʿulamaʾ rather than an advanced *sālik* on the way to becoming the perfect man.

The *Zubdat al-Asrār* and the *Qurrat al-ʿAyn* thus represent different responses to the same issue – the role of the ruler within the cosmic order. The differences between the works underline that al-Maqāṣīrī's thought should not be represented as monolithic, and certainly its political aspects probably developed as the actual role of the sultan in Banten became increasingly contentious. At the same time, compared to the seventeenth century Acehnese *wujūdī* works, al-Maqāṣīrī is much more unambiguous in stressing the integration of Sufism with politics; perhaps this is a legacy of his contacts with figures like Ayyūb al-Khalwatī and Ibn ʿAllān, both outspoken supporters of Ottoman rule. This vision exercised a particular influence not just in Banten, but also in al-Maqāṣīrī's homeland of Sulawesi.

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[119] Jakarta, MS A 101, pp. 62–3.
قوله صلي اللّٰه عليه و سلم سيأتين عليكم زمان خيركم فيه ما لم يأمر بمعروف ولم ينكر عن منكر و قوله ايضا صلي اللّٰه عليه وسلم اذا كثرت الفتنة فعليك بخويصة نفسك ودع الامور العامة وكذلك قال رسول اللّٰه صلي اللّٰه عليه وسلم عند وقت الفتنة السفيانية في اخر الزمان قتل العلماء كقتل الكلاب فياليتهم تجاننوا الحديث لان كذلك يدل علي وجوب تخليص النفس خاصة ظهرت الفتنة و ترك الامور العامة ومراعة الامور المملكة السياسية والقواعد السلطانية ولقد دخلنا وقتنا هذا في اخر الزمان فلاجل ذلك يكون زماننا هذا فاسدا و مفاسد بفساد اهله وانه في اخر الزمان ايضا و قلة العلماء و عدم السلاطين الصلحاء و فسادهم بفسادهم العوام والرعايا

5 The Disciples of al-Maqāṣīrī in Sulawesi

As noted above, two of our principal manuscript witnesses for al-Maqāṣīrī's works come from his native land of South Sulawesi, the now lost Hamka manuscript formerly held in the Dinas Purbakala, and MS A 108, described further below. It was in this region that al-Maqāṣīrī's reputation was greatest, and he remains widely venerated there today. Bugis and Makassarese *lontaraq* were composed to record the shaykh's hagiography, which served as a moral and educational lesson.[120] In 1689, the Sultan of Gowa, ʿAbd al-Jalīl, had petitioned the Dutch East India Company to allow Shaykh Yūsuf to return to Sulawesi. The Dutch commander of Fort Rotterdam wrote to his superiors that "the masses in Makassar hold this same Shaikh in such great love and awe as though he was a second Muḥammad."[121] ʿAbd al-Jalīl had claimed to the Dutch that he himself was a kinsman of the shaykh, whose mother had been married to Sultan Ḥasan al-Dīn, making them half brothers. The term brother often had a figurative use and possibly ʿAbd al-Jalīl's claim should perhaps not be taken at face value. Andaya suggests in reality it was "probably the hope that Syaikh Yūsuf, who was now considered a living saint by the Makassar people, could perhaps infuse a strong sense of unity and hope once again in the demoralized Makassar lands."[122] Abd al-Jalīl may have been hoping to improve his own political position vis-à-vis the Dutch backed Arumpone (ruler of Bone), Arung Palakka, who dominated South Sulawesi, and who secretly but successfully opposed Shaykh Yūsuf's return.[123] After Shaykh Yūsuf's death in 1699, ʿAbd al-Jalīl petitioned the Company to have the shaykh's remains conveyed to Makassar, and in 1704 he was able to send an emissary to the Cape bring them back. These reached Gowa in 1705, although South African Muslims believe he is buried at Faure on the Cape.[124]

It is not necessary to reduce ʿAbd al-Jalīl's interest in al-Maqāṣīrī to political opportunism. A Sufi treatise by Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maqāṣīrī written for ʿAbd al-Jalīl survives in a Bugis version, although it seems unlikely this was the original language.[125] An Arabic treatise, the *Bahjat al-Tanwīr*, was also written at ʿAbd al-Jalīl's request by Shaykh Yūsuf's disciple, Abū'l-Fatḥ Yaḥyā ʿAbd al-Baṣīr al-Ḍarīrī, known locally as Tuang Rappeng (Fig. 5.11). This latter is said by the *lontaraq* tradition to have been an Arab who came to Sulawesi in 1678 and died there in Rappeng in 1723,[126] although some doubt is cast on this by the comment at the end of one of his works where he apologies for his lack of mastery of Arabic.[127] Tuang Rappeng also composed an Arabic Sufi treatise for the Sultan of Bone, Idrīs Aʿẓam al-Dīn (r. 1696–1714). Despite the longstanding enmity between Gowa and Bone, and Arung Palakka's concern at Shaykh Yūsuf's potential for undermining his position, evidently the saint's prestige and authority was such that even Bone was not immune from it. Indeed, both manuscripts that preserve ʿAbd al-Baṣīr's works originate from the court of Bone. The first of these manuscripts is British Library MS Add 12367, which was seized by the British in 1814 from the palace of the Sultan of Bone, Sultan Muḥammad Ismāʿīl Muḥtāj al-Dīn (r. 1812–1823), at Bontoala outside Makassar (Fig. 5.11). The manuscript, which consists of treatises in Arabic, Buginese and Makassarese, was taken by John Crawfurd, the Resident of Semarang, along with thirty three other Buginese and Makassarese manuscripts.[128] The manuscript probably dates to the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century. The second manuscript is Jakarta A 108, mentioned above as a major source for the writings of al-Maqāṣīrī. The frontispiece of this manuscript identifies it as coming from the library of Sultan Aḥmad al-Ṣaliḥ of Bone, and it was copied by his qadi, Yūsuf, in Shaʿbān 1221/October-November 1805 (Fig. 5.12).[129]

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[120] On the hagiography as an education and oral transmission: Cummings, *Making Blood White*, 155.

[121] Leonard Andaya, *The Heritage of Arung Palakka. A History of South Sulawesi* (*Celebes*) *in the Seventeenth Century* (The Hague, 1981), 277.

[122] Andaya, *Heritage*, 277.

[123] Andaya, *Heritage,* 278; Ward, *Networks of Empire*, 206.

[124] Suleman Essop Dangor, *Shaykh Yusuf of Macassar: Scholar, Sufi and freedom fighter* (Sunnyvale, 2014), 45–8.

ʿAbd al-Baṣīr's *Bahjat al-Tanwīr*,[130] composed in response to the questions of "our brother, Fakhr al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Jalīl Sultan of Makassar," bears the completion date of 1126/1714 at its end;[131] evidently however, this is neither the date of

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[125] British Library Add 12367/C, fol. 90v–93r; Ricklefs, Voorhoeve, Gallop*, Indonesian Manuscripts in Great Britain*, 31.

[126] A.A. Cense, "De verering van Sjaich Jusuf in Zuid-Celebes," in *Bingkisan Budi: een bundel opstellen aan Dr Philippus Samuel van Ronkel door vrienden en leerlingen aangeboden op zijn tachtigste verjaardag* (Leiden, 1950), 50–57; Abu Hamid, *Syekh Yusuf*, 210–212.

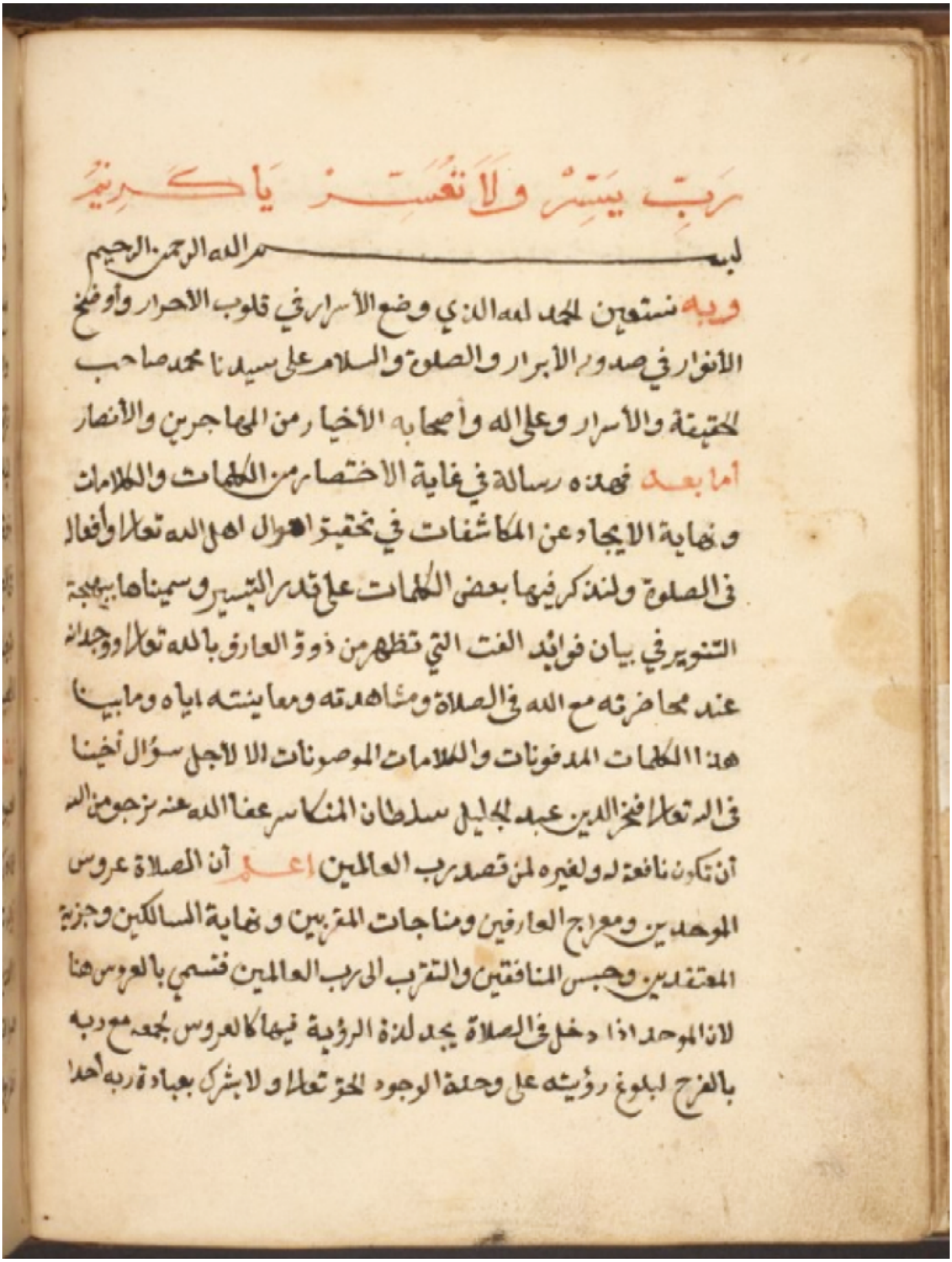
[127] Jakarta, A 108, p. 199:
وقد فرغ الكتاب المطلوب عن العبد الفقير الضعيف لا يصلح عنه بان لسانه ليس بلسان عربي

[128] Annabel Teh Gallop "The Royal Library of Bone: Bugis and Makassar manuscripts in the British Library" https://blogs.bl.uk/asian-and-african/2020/01/the-royal-library-of-bone-bugis-and-makassar-manuscripts-in-the-british-librar.html.

[129] The final folio of MS A 108 is severely damaged by iron gall, and scarcely legible. This is the date read by Friederich and van den Berg.

[130] British Library, Add 12367, fol. 28b–38b; Jakarta, A 108, pp. 168–199.

[131] British Library Add 12367, fol. 38b; Jakarta, A 108, p. 199.



رب يسر ولا تعسر يا كريم
بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
وبه نستعين الحمد لله الذي وضع الأسرار في قلوب الأحرار وأوضح
الأنوار في صدور الأبرار والصلوة والسلام على سيدنا محمد صاحب
الحقيقة والأسرار وعلى آله وأصحابه الأخيار من المهاجرين والأنصار
أما بعد فهذه رسالة في غاية الاختصار من الكلمات والكلامات
ونهاية الايجاد عن المكاشفات في تحقيق أحوال أهل الله تعلا وأفعال
في الصلوة ولنذكر فيها بعض الكلمات على قدر التيسير وسميناها ببهجة
التنوير في بيان فوائد الفتح التي تظهر من ذوق العارف بالله تعلا ووجدانه
عند محاضرته مع الله في الصلاة ومشاهدته ومعاينته اياه وما بين
هذه الكلمات المدفونات والكلامات الموصونات الا لأجل سؤال أخينا
في الله تعلا فخر الدين عبد الجليل سلطان المنكاسر عفا الله عنه نرجو من الله
أن تكون نافعة له ولغيره لمن قصد رب العالمين اعلم أن الصلاة عروس
الموحدين ومعراج العارفين ومناجات المقربين ونهاية السالكين وجزية
المعتدين وحبس المنافقين والتقرب الى رب العالمين فسمي بالعروس هنا
لان الموحد اذا دخل في الصلاة يجد لذة الرؤية فيها كالعروس لجمعه مع ربه
بالفرح لبلوغ رؤيته على وحدة الوجود الحق تعلا ولا يشرك بعبادة ربه أحدا

FIGURE 5.11 ʿAbd Baṣīr al-Ḍarīrī's *Bahjat al-Tanwīr*, composed for Sultan ʿAbd al-Jalīl of Makassar. British Library, MS Add 12367, fol. 28v

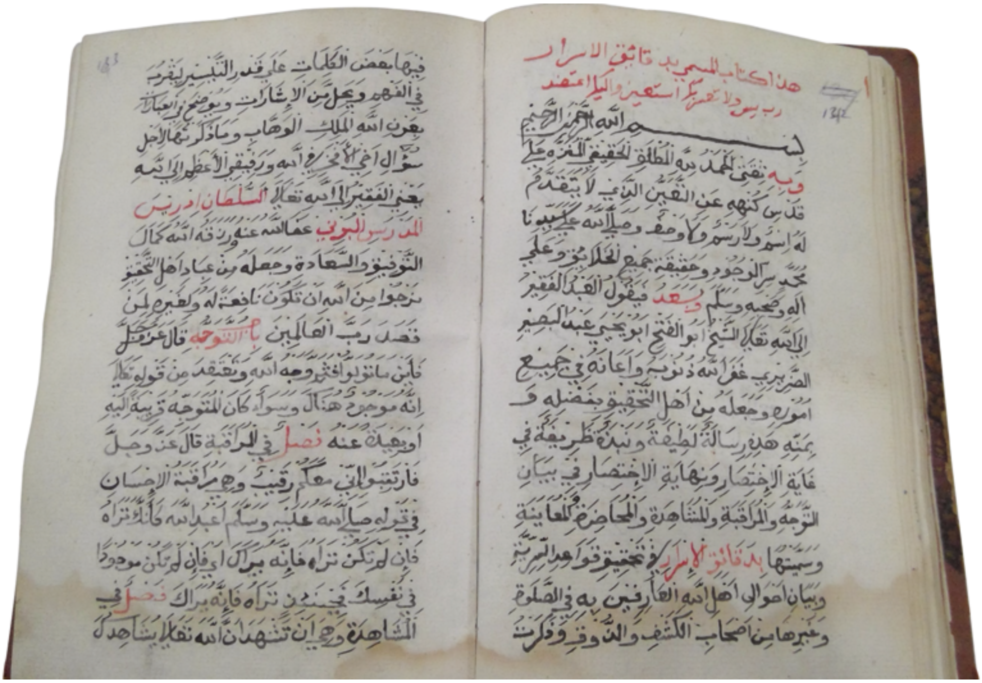


FIGURE 5.12 ʿAbd al-Baṣīr al-Darīrī's *Daqāʾiq al-Asrār*, part of a collection of Sufi texts made for Sultan Aḥmad al-Ṣāliḥ of Bone by his qadi Yūsuf, in Shaʿbān 1221/October-November 1805. Jakarta, Perpustakaan Nasional, MS A 108, pp. 132–3

composition, for ʿAbd al-Jalīl had died in 1709, nor the date of copying of the two manuscripts, both of which are later. Possibly it is the date of the manuscript from which the later copies were made. Like al-Maqāṣīrī, ʿAbd al-Baṣīr emphasises the interdependence and vital importance of sharia and *ḥaqīqa*, and seems not to draw on Qunawian/Burhanpurian metaphysics. The *Bahjat al-Tanwīr* discusses prayer, *mushahāda* (witnessing) and *muʿāyana* (contemplating) as ways of attaining the presence (*muḥāḍara*) of God, albeit with a particular emphasis on prayer and *dhikr*. A particular concern is to identify how to experience the epiphany of God (*tajallī*). ʿAbd al-Baṣīr writes

> Sultans, ministers and commanders experience *tajallī* through implementing God's administration and rules, by protecting the people and acting for their benefit so that they [the rulers] may be God's deputy [*khalīfa*] in matters exoteric, while God protects, maintains and rules over the Truth [*ḥaqīqa*]. But [the Prophet] said, "The sultan is God's deputy [*khalīfa*] on earth, and the deputy is the image of the One who

> deputises for him. There is no one who controls affairs except God, who made everything He created excellent; Know that the Deputy is controlled by God.[132]

On the one hand, then, ʿAbd al-Baṣīr is much more explicit than al-Maqāṣīrī in making earthly rulers God's agents and deputies, and it is through their function of ruling that they experience *tajallī*. On the other hand, the position of being God's deputy is not something reserved exclusively for the sultan, but rather is explicitly open to others who administer God's law on earth, such as viziers. ʿAbd al-Baṣīr's concept of rule thus appears rather different to al-Maqāṣīrī's and perhaps reflects local circumstances in South Sulawesi where high ranking nobles could act as partners and almost equals of the sultan.[133] Makassar's more diffuse political system with its powerful nobles who themselves claimed divine descent through their 'white blood' demanded a modification of the ideas propagated by al-Maqāṣīrī.

ʿAbd al-Baṣīr's second work, the *Daqāʾiq al-Asrār*, was written at the request of Sultan Idrīs Aʿẓam al-Dīn of Bone (r. 1696–1714) (Fig. 5.13).[134] It closely resembles the *Bahjat al-Tanwīr*, with the same emphasis on sharia and *ḥaqīqa*. Prayer, especially individual prayer, and *dhikr* are promoted as a way of attaining God. Al-Maqāṣīrī's distinction of different grades of *qibla* is developed here, with the *qibla* of the common people and elect, the *qibla* of the elect, and the *qibla* of the elect of the elect (*khāṣṣ al-khawāṣṣ*). Through prayer the distinction between the *qibla* and the person praying becomes annihilated in God, who is thereby revealed (*tajallī*). Discussing God's possession of both transcendence (*tanzīh*) and *tashbīh* (affinity with humans), ʿAbd al-Baṣīr offers his account of his encounters with the divine:

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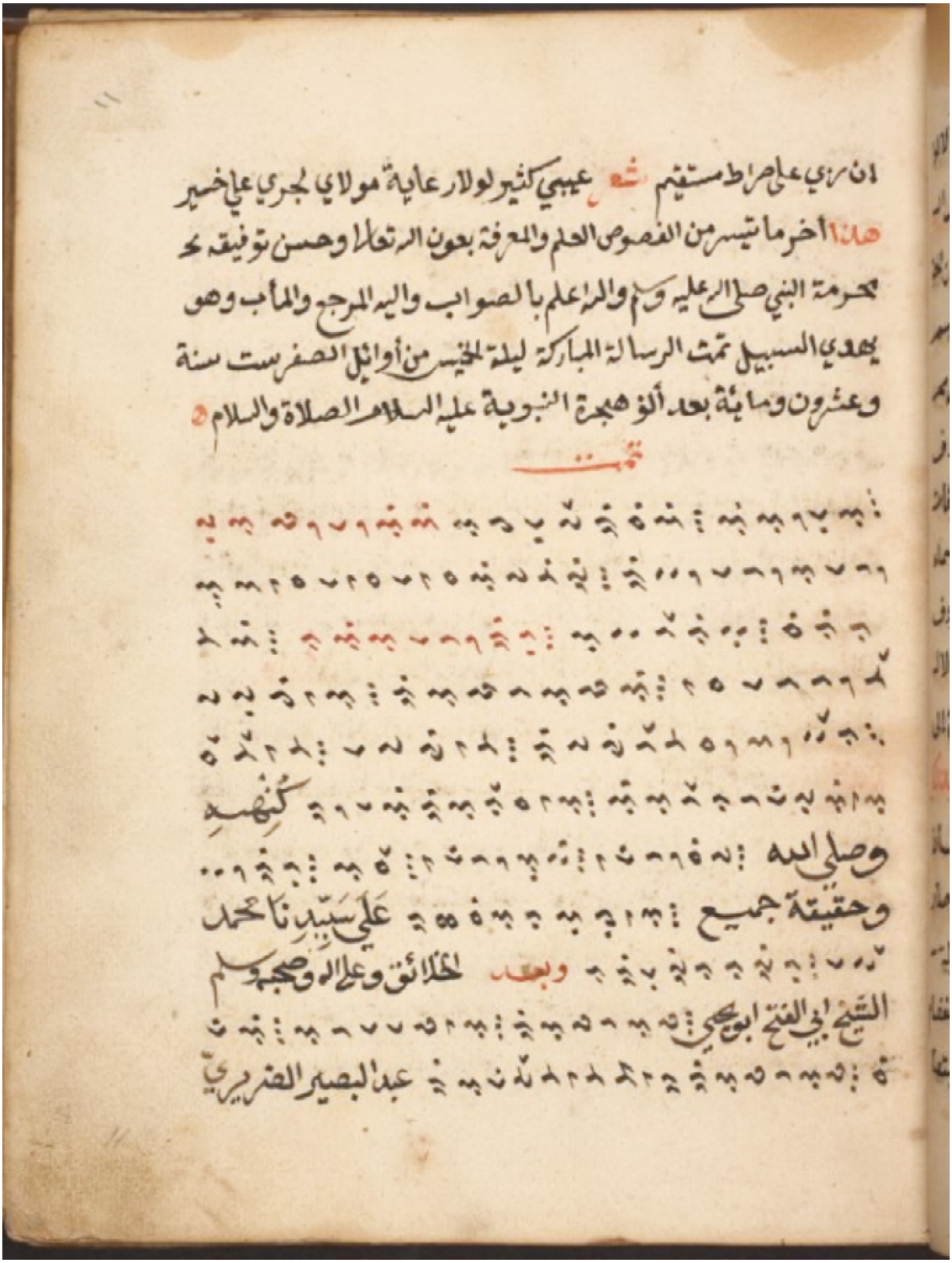
[132] British Library Add 12367, fol. 33b; Jakarta A 108,
للسلاطين والوزراء والامراء بجلالهم تدبير اللّٰه واحكامه برعاية الناس واصلاحهم ليكونوا خليفة اللّٰه في الظواهر وكان اللّٰه راعيا ومصلحا وحاكما علي الحقيقة ولكن قال صلى اللّٰه عليه وسلم السلطان خليفة اللّٰه في الارض و الخليفة صورة المستخلف و ليس المدبر من هذا الامر الا اللّٰه و هو الذي احسن كل شيء خلقه فاعلم ذلك والخليفة كانت مدبرة بتدبير اللّٰه بعلم ذلك و للعلماء والاولياء تجلي الحق سبحانه وتعالي لهم بتجلي الهادي و اسمه العالم

[133] Cummings, *Making Blood White*, 111–113.

[134] British Library, Add 12367, fol. 4a–11a. The title and first folio are missing in the British Library manuscript, and the catalogue gives the title *al-Risāla al-Mubāraka*; however, in other respects this is exactly the same text as that presented in Jakarta MS A 108 under the title *Daqāʾiq al-Asrār*.



ان ربي على صراط مستقيم شعر عيبي كثير لولا رعاية مولاي لجري على خير
هذا اخر ما تيسر من الفصوص العلم والمعرفة بعون الله تعالى وحسن توفيقه بح
بحرمة النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم والله اعلم بالصواب واليه المرجع والمآب وهو
يهدي السبيل تمت الرسالة المباركة ليلة الخميس من أوائل الصفر ست سنة
وعشرون ومائة بعد ألف هجرة النبوية عليه السلام الصلاة والسلام

تمت

FIGURE 5.13 The ending of ʿAbd al-Baṣīr al-Darīrī's *Daqāʾiq al-Asrār*, written for Sultan Idrīs Aʿzam al-Dīn of Bone and dated the beginning of Ṣafar 1126 (February 1714), which is followed immediately by a translation into Bugis. British Library, MS Add 12367, fol. 11r

> I first heard in the place a voice above the mountains which said, “Every being is the being of God, exalted is He, His attributes are His image.” This happened when I was in God-protected Banten; then when I was in this island I found similar things in a book.[135]

Possibly we are to understand that ʿAbd al-Baṣīr’s presence in Banten alludes to his discipleship with al-Maqāṣīrī there; in the presence of the shaykh he was able to experience directly the divine through the “voice above the mountains,”[136] whereas in Sulawesi he could only have it confirmed by book learning.

Nonetheless, here again in some respects ʿAbd al-Baṣīr’s approach diverged from al-Maqāṣīrī’s, for example through his interest in lettrism, which appears briefly at the end of the *Daqāʾiq al-Asrār*:

> Just as God exalted is he is encompassed in everything, and created beings are annihilated in his the glorious name, so is God encompassed in everything through the letters of creation; for the entirety of the name of created beings derives from the letters of creation.[137]

The belief that the letters of the Arabic script, as recorded in the Qurʾan, encoded the secrets of creation is commonplace among Sufis, and is found in the works of Ibn ʿArabī, al-Būnī and al-Qūnawī.[138] It is not however a major concern of al-Maqāṣīrī according to the works that have been firmly attributed to him.

The most striking example of al-Maqāṣīrī’s influence in South Sulawesi is through the Arabic work written by the Sultan of Bone Aḥmad al-Ṣāliḥ (r. 1775–1812), *al-Nūr al-Hādī* (Fig. 5.14).[139] The sultan tells us in the introduction that it was composed in Shaʿbān 1202/May 1788, when he was thirty two years

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[135] British Library, Add 12367, fol. 7a; Jakarta MS A 108, *Daqāʾiq al-Asrār*, pp. 143–4.
و قد سمعت اولا في المقام صوتا فوق الجبال قال كل موجود هي وجود الحق سبحانه و تعالي وصفته صورة وذلك لما كنت في محروس بنتن ثم وجدت في بعض الكتب مثل ذلك لما كنت في هذه الجزيرة

[136] Perhaps a reference to Gunung Karang in Banten, which was associated with various holy men.

[137] British Library, Add 12367, fol. 10b; Jakarta MS A 108, p. 156.
كما يكون اللّٰه سبحانه و تعالي محيطا في جميع الاشياء فتكون المخلوقات فانية في الاسم الجلالة فكان اللّٰه محيطا في جميع مع حروف الخلق لان اسم المخلوقات كله من حروف الخلق

[138] Schimmel, “Secrecy,” 90–91.

[139] An English translation of this text, rather curiously attributed by the translators to al-Maqāṣīrī himself, may be found in Mustapha Keran and Mohammad Haron, “Selected Sufi texts of Shaykh Yusuf: Translations and commentaries,” *Tydskrif vir Letterkunde* 45 (2008): 101–122. The translation is not wholly reliable.

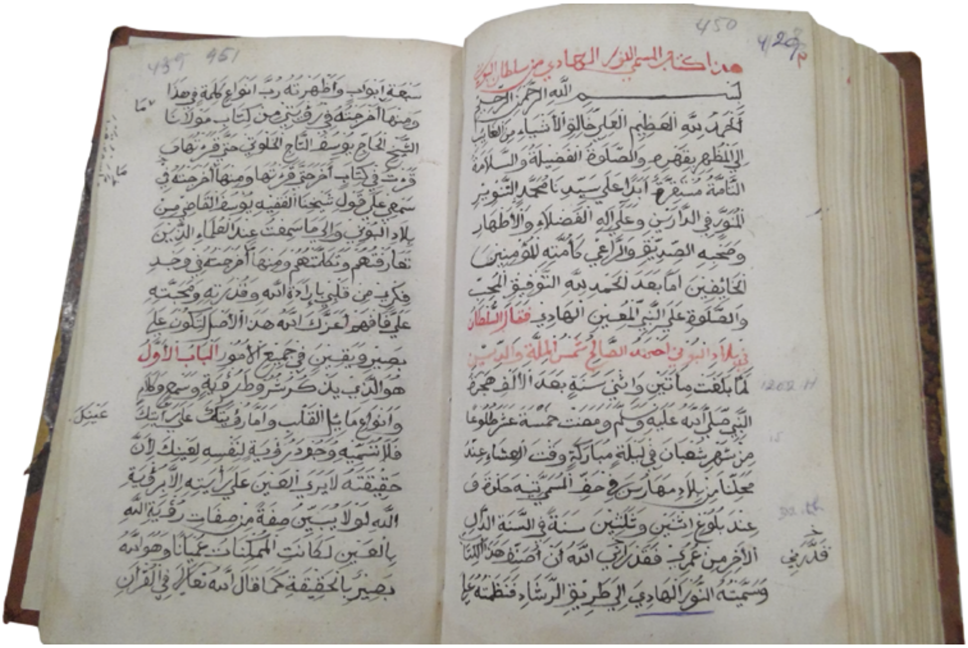

FIGURE 5.14 Sultan Aḥmad al-Ṣāliḥ of Bone, *al-Nūr al-Hādī*, Jakarta, Perpustakaan Nasional, MS A 108, pp. 450–451

old, “in our palace in the land of Maharus [Maros]”.[140] In his frequently awkward Arabic, the sultan explains his sources:

> God inspired me to compose this book, which I have called *The guiding light to the path of guidance*. I arranged it in seven chapters, and I showed a large variety of words in it. Some of them I derived from what I had seen of the book of our lord Shaykh al-Ḥājj Yūsuf al-Tāj al-Khalwatī which I read, and another book I read; some derived from the oral teachings of our shaykh the *faqīh* Yūsuf who is qadi of the land of Bone, and what I heard from the ʿulama’ I got to know and spoke to; and some derives from what my thoughts found in my heart, by God’s will, power and love.[141]

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[140] Maros province lies in western Sulawesi; there Aḥmad al-Ṣāliḥ had a palace, and owned rice fields. Rahilah Omar, “The History of Bone AD 1775–1795: The Diary of Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh Syamsuddin,” PhD thesis, University of Hull, 2003, 111, 322.

[141] Jakarta, A 108, pp. 450–451.
فقد رآني الله ان اصنف هذا الكتاب وسميته النور الهادي الى طريق الرشاد ونظمته على سبعة ابواب واظهرته رب انواع كلمة في هذا منها واخرجته في رؤيتي من كتاب مولانا الشيخ الحاج يوسف التاج

The arrangement into seven brief chapters may reflect the seven Grades of Being of al-Burhānpūrī's formulation. The first five chapters deal with the conditions for seeing, speaking, praying, performing ritual ablutions and contemplation, emphasising God's transcendent presence in all these acts. The sixth chapter underlines this, briefly discussing how there is no reality except God: "all things that exist come from God and God exists in all things"[142] – a formulation that it is unlikely al-Maqāṣīrī would have accepted, with his insistence that everything except God was merely his shadow. However, Aḥmad al-Ṣāliḥ does insist there is "no existence except God's existence" (*lā wujūd illā wujūduhu*). The final chapter discusses the pre-eternal divine light, Nūr Muḥammad, a key concept in this text. At the beginning of the treatise, the opening invocation asks for blessings upon "our lord Muḥammad the bringer of light in this world and the next" (*sayyidna Muḥammad al-tanwīr al-munawwir fī'l-darayn*), and it is alluded to in its very title, *al-Nūr al-Hādī*. Indeed, the very frontispiece of the manuscript also invokes the Nūr Muḥammad (Fig. 5.15). Aḥmad al-Ṣāliḥ writes towards the end of the treatise:

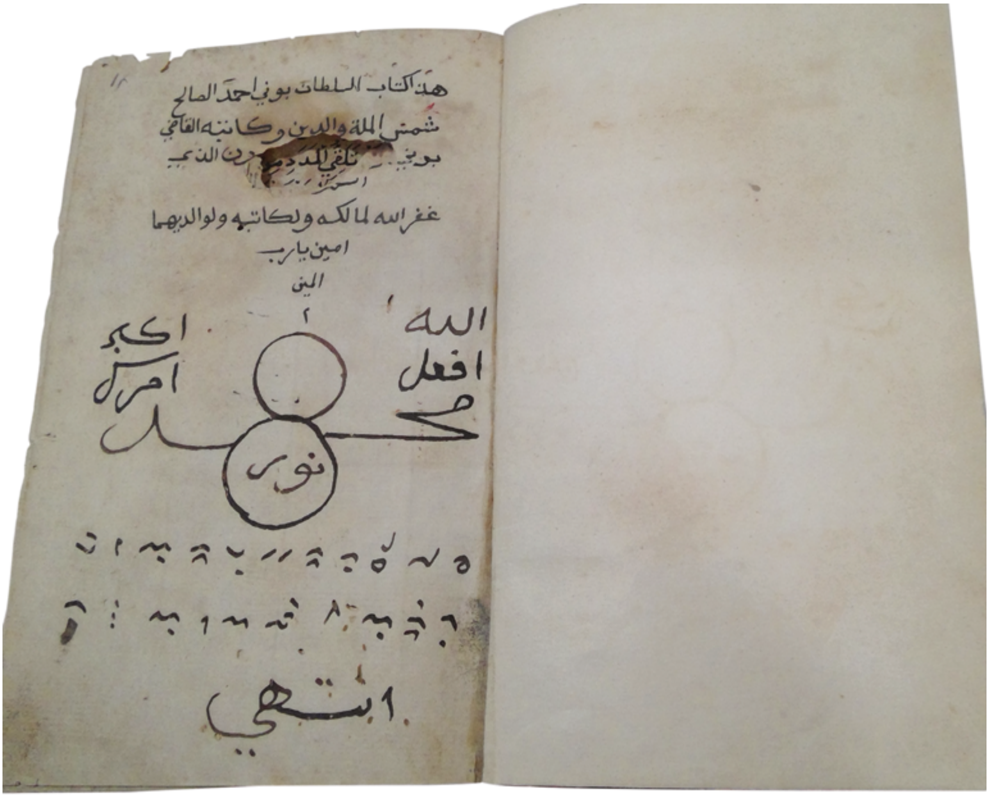
> We have no separation from our Prophet, peace and blessings be upon him, or from God; as He, exalted is He, said, "Man is my secret and my secret is my attribute and my attribute is not other than me." For the light of God's essence is called the Light of Muḥammad, and his light is called the soul; the soul is the object of desire and its light is called substance. There is no difference[143] between the light and its possessor, or anything else. It is like the conceiving of the expression, "the sun and its rays", as God says "the land was radiant with the light of its lord" (Q.39.69), or conceiving of the expression, "the sea and the waves." Oh brother, this is your knowledge of God's Unity.[144]

الخلوتي وقرءتها وقرءت في كتاب اخرجتي قرءتها ومنها ما اخرجت من سمعي على قول شيخنا الفقيه يوسف القاضي من بلاد البوني وما سمعت عند العلماء الذين تعارفتهم وتكلمتهم ومنها ما اخرجته في وجد فكري من قلبي بارادة اللّٰه وقدرته ومحبته

[142] Jakarta, A 108, p. 437: *kadhālika al-ashyā' mawjūda min allāh wa-allāh mawjūda fī'l-ashyā'*.

[143] The sense seems to require the *la-kāna* of the text to be read differently, as *lā kāna*, for example, as the following negative suggests.

[144] Jakarta, A 108, p. 438.
و ليس لنا فرقة عن نبينا محمد صلي اللّٰه عليه وسلم وعن اللّٰه لقوله تعالي الانسان سري وسري صفتي لا غيري لأن النور ذات اللّٰه هو المسمي نور محمد ونوره هو المسمي روحاً ونور الروح هو المسمي منياً ونوره هو المسمي عيناً ولكن اختلاف النور وصاحبه ولا غيره علي صاحب النور كتصور عبارة الشمس وضوئه كقوله تعالي اشرقت الارض بنور ربها و تصور عبارة البحر وموجه يا اخواني هذا معرفتك علي توحيد حق تعالي



هذ كتاب السلطان بوني احمد الصالح
شمس الملة والدين وكاتبه القاضي
بوني [illegible] الذي
[illegible]
غفر الله لمالكه ولكاتبه ولوالديهما
امين يارب

الله
افعل
اكبر
محمد
نور
انتهى

FIGURE 5.15 Frontispiece of the collection of Sufi texts made for sultan Aḥmad al-Ṣāliḥ of Bone by his qadi Yūsuf, in Shaʿbān 1221/October-November 1805, invoking the Nūr Muḥammad. Jakarta, Perpustakaan Nasional, MS A 108, p. 1

Despite claiming al-Maqāṣīrī as his inspiration, Aḥmad al-Ṣāliḥ in fact diverges substantially from him, for al-Maqāṣīrī does not devote any significant attention to the Nūr Muḥammad. The light of Muḥammad is a primordial substance, Muḥammad being an earthly incarnation of God's created light. The concept derives from Qur'an 5:15 and 33:46, which allude to Muḥammad as a light or a torch (*sirājan munīran*); it was not simply a metaphor, but was regarded as a physical manifestation, appearing, for example, in the faces and bodies of Muḥammad's ancestors. In some traditions the Nūr Muḥammad was the source for the creation of the world, the luminous essence out of which all substances were made.[145] The concept of the Nūr Muḥammad was developed by Ibn ʿArabī. He identifies the light with both the Spirit attributed to God that He breathed into Adam, and with what he calls 'the Muḥammadan reality' (*al-ḥaqīqa al-Muḥammadiyya*)[146] which is essentially an abstraction of the Nūr Muḥammad and of which, as Chodkiewicz puts it, "every prophet since Adam is but a partial refraction at a particular moment of human history."[147] The idea that the Nūr Muḥammad is eternal and transmitted in this world was one adopted by Hamzah Fansuri, who as noted in Chapter 3, claimed to physically embody it. Al-Rānīrī is particularly critical of Hamzah's insistence that the Light was eternal and existed separately from God, whereas al-Rānīrī argued it was simply one of God's attributes.[148]

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[145] Uri Rubin, "Pre-Existence and Light – Aspects of the Concept of Nūr Muḥammad", *Israel Oriental Studies* 5 (1975), 62–119 [Reprinted in: Uri Rubin, *Muhammad the Prophet and*

Yet the imagery used by Aḥmad al-Ṣāliḥ was surely unmistakable to anyone with even a passing acquaintance with Hamzah's works. The first concept dealt with by Aḥmad al-Ṣāliḥ in this passage is that of separation (*farqa*). In the *Asrar al-ʿAsyiqin*, Hamza writes, "Whoever knows his Self knows his lord – for he and his Lord are not 'separate' (bercerai). In the same manner as the sea and the waves are not 'separate', so [the Lord and His slave are nor separate]."[149] This is exactly what Aḥmad al-Ṣāliḥ says. Moreover the metaphors of light and sea deployed by Aḥmad al-Ṣāliḥ are immediately recognisable as those used by Hamzah. As Braginsky suggests, their simplicity and comprehensibility ensured their wide diffusion, both among Hamzah's supporters and adversaries.[150] A manuscript of theological texts in the possession of Snouck Hurgronje, originating from Tanah Datar in the West Sumatran highlands, sums up Hamzah's ideas as follows:

> Then Hamzah Fansuri in the land of Acheh composed a book entitled Drink of Lovers (*Sharabu'l-ʿAshiqin*). In it are manifested teachings on the doctrine of Oneness of Being (*wahdatu'l-wujud*). He made symbolic allusions pertaining to the relationship between God Most Exalted and the creatures, such as the analogy of the name 'cotton' and the cloth; and the sun and its reflection; and the waves and the ocean; and the earthenware vessels and the clay. Then this knowledge entered into the breasts of

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Arabia, Variorum Collected Studies Series (Ashgate, 2011), no. IV], esp. 69,83, 112–5; Michel Chodkiewicz, *Seal of the Saints: Prophethood and Sainthood in the Doctrine of Ibn ʿArabi* (Cambridge, 1993), 60–73.

[146] Chodkiewicz, *Seal of the Saints*, 60.

[147] Chodkiewicz, *Seal of the Saints*, 60.

[148] Steenbrink, "Jesus and the Holy Spirit," 203.

[149] Al-Attas, *Mysticism,* 392–3.

[150] Braginsky, "The Name and the Named," 378.

> the dull-witted, and it became as it were poison most venomous, and they refused to let go their hold of it. God alone knows best![151]

Works of the school of Hamzah Fansuri were certainly read in Sulawesi, for their influence can be seen in the mid seventeenth century verse account of Makassar wars with the Dutch, the *Syair Perang Mengkasar*.[152] An adaptation of the Malay poem *Bahr al-Nisa* ascribed to Hamzah also exists in Bugis.[153] Indeed, the *Syarab al-ʿAsyiqin* was still being recited at Sufi ceremonies in Makassar into the twentieth century.[154]

Thus despite proclaiming as his inspiration Yūsuf al-Maqāṣīrī, in reality, it is Hamzah's monist ideas, or at least their means of expression, that influenced Aḥmad al-Ṣāliḥ. It is worth considering briefly why both ʿAbd al-Baṣīr and Aḥmad al-Ṣāliḥ neglect al-Maqāṣīrī's key concept of *al-insān al-kāmil*. This absence is particularly striking given the importance modern scholarship has assumed *al-insān al-kāmil* had for royal legitimacy in South Sulawesi, especially given the fact that ʿAbd al-Baṣīr's two treatises are dedicated to the rulers of Bone and Gowa, while Aḥmad al-Ṣāliḥ was himself sultan. For example, Gibson argues that,

> The kings of South Sulawesi were among the last to convert [to Islam]. They were only persuaded to do so when a version of Islam became available that placed the ruler himself at the apex of the religious hierarchy. … It was relatively easy for them to transform the existing Indo-Austronesian model of the king as descendant of the divine ancestors into the Islamic model of the king as the Perfect Man. The cosmopolitan narrative of Islam was in this way appropriated by the rulers of South Sulawesi and transformed so that it could be integrated unto the existing regional narrative that legitimated their authority.[155]

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[151] Translation from al-Attas, *Mysticism*, 181; the passage was first noted by Doorenbos, *De Geschriften van Hamzah Pansoeri*, 222, n. 1; the manuscript is described in C. Snouck Hurgronje, "Een en ander over het inlandsch onderwijs in de Padangsche Bovenlanden," in C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspreide Geschriften*, ed. A.J. Wensick, vol. 4 (Bonn and Leipzig, 1924), pp. 47–49. See also on this imagery Zoetmulder, *Pantheism and Monism*, 274–5.

[152] Drewes and Brakel, *Poems of Hamzah Fansuri*, 27; Braginsky, "The Name and the Named," 398.

[153] Drewes and Brakel, *Poems of Hamzah Fansuri*, 19–20.

[154] Braginsky, "The Name and the Named," 398.

[155] Thomas Gibson, *Islamic Narrative and Authority in Southeast Asia. From the 16th to the 21st Century* (New York, 2007), 39.

It is certain that rulers were aware of the doctrine of the perfect man; Jakarta MS A 108, for example, contains a copy of the *Zubdat al-Asrār* and other writings that discussed *al-insān al-kāmil*, while there exists a Bugis translation of al-Jīlī's *al-Insān al-Kāmil*.[156] Indeed, the Nūr Muḥammad and *al-insān al-kāmil* are in many respects two different ways of expressing the same ultimate concept. The distinction, as Chodkiewicz puts it, is that the Muḥammadan light or reality emphasises primordiality whereas as *al-insān al-kāmil* emphasises finality (and indeed perfection should be understood in this sense).[157] Why, then, was the concept of *al-insān al-kāmil* not promoted in these texts from South Sulawesi, despite the great esteem in which al-Maqāṣīrī was held? The reason is perhaps not the fine distinction between the two concepts, but rather local cultural predispositions, as well as Aḥmad al-Ṣāliḥ's own experiences.

The concept of a primordial light had particular resonances in traditional South Sulawesi culture. The Bugis epic cycle *La Galigo*, parts of which certainly predate Islamisation and may be as old as the fourteenth century, presents the ancestors of Bugis dynasty as the gods, and portrays a religious system based partly on worship of the sun and moon from which the divine ancestors were themselves descended.[158] When the heaven-descended founder of a dynasty (*tomanurung*) first appeared on earth, his coming was accompanied by thunder and lightning.[159] In Islamised versions of the La Galigo texts, the epic cycle's hero Sawérigading is presented in terms reminiscent of the Prophet Muḥammad and his soul is sent to Mecca to be "reborn into a pure womb" – just as the Nūr Muḥammad traditions assert about the Muḥammadan light.[160] The Makassarese *lontaraq* tales of Shaykh Yūsuf portray his father – a semi-divine being – appearing on earth in a blaze of light, while burning light also marked Yūsuf's own birth.[161]

It is possible that these influences gave the Nūr Muḥammad doctrine more resonance on Sulawesi than that of *al-insān al-kāmil*. Furthermore, we must also take account of Aḥmad al-Ṣāliḥ's beliefs. Remarkably, his personal diary written in Bugis has been preserved. Although it does not refer directly to the composition of *al-Nūr al-Hādī*, one passage dated 8 October 1783 suggests the reason for the Arumpone's interest in the Nūr Muḥammad. The sultan wrote, "I dreamt that I was meditating. I saw light, exalted is His name, inside me that shines very brightly."[162] Reading *al-Nūr al-Hādī*, composed five years later, in the light of this passage, confirms that Aḥmad al-Ṣāliḥ saw himself as possessing the primordial divine light of prophecy and sainthood, through which all beings ultimately were generated, which indwelt in him just as it did Muḥammad. Dreams, of course, in the premodern Islamic world were seen as supernatural insights, so the fact it is recorded as such would have, if anything, underlined the veracity and authenticity of the vision, rather than its unreality as we might assume.

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[156] Voorhoeve, "Menselijke onvolkomenheid," 191.

[157] Chodkiewicz, *Seal of the Saints*, 71.

[158] Christian Pelras, *The Bugis* (Oxford, 1996), 85.

[159] Leonard Y. Andaya, "The Nature of Kingship in Bone," in Anthony Reid and Lance Castles (eds), *Pre-Colonial State Systems in Southeast Asia: The Malay Peninsula, Sumatra, Bali-Lombok, South Celebes* (Kuala Lumpur, 1975), 115–125, esp. 115–6.

[160] Pelras, *The Bugis,* 196–7; cf. Rubin, "Pre-existence," 73.

[161] Abu Hamid, *Syekh Yusuf*, 81; Ilyas (ed. and trans.), *Tradisi Pembacaan Hikayat Syekh Yusuf*, 26–30.

It would be mistaken to reduce Aḥmad al-Ṣāliḥ's vision of himself as the possessor of the Nūr Muḥammad either to simplistic parallels with traditional Bugis beliefs still less to political legitimacy. After all, *al-Nūr al-Hādī* was probably deliberately composed in the inaccessible language of Arabic, which the sultan himself was far from fully mastering, precisely as part of a cult of keeping Sufi doctrines accessible only to an elite. While the Arumpone is said to have declared the Khalwatiyya the official *ṭarīqa* of the kingdom of Bone in the late 1780s,[163] commoners were specifically banned from joining it.[164] Rather, the reasons for the work's composition should be sought in the court's steadfast commitment to Islam, especially the Naqshbandi *ṭarīqa*, and Aḥmad al-Ṣāliḥ's own personal spiritual development. Aḥmad al-Ṣāliḥ's diary paints a picture of a court intensely preoccupied with religion. In Rahilah Omar's words it shows that "literary activity in the court of Bone concerned itself exclusively with Islamic matters,"[165] with the copying of Qur'ans, Sufi, and *fiqh* texts. She writes that, "The only literary activity that was free from religious notions was the translation of letters from Bugis to Malay and to Dutch and vice versa".[166] The diary records gifts of books on several occasions. On 26 November 1777, Aḥmad al-Ṣāliḥ wrote that "the kadi gave me a kitab on Naqshbandiah along with another kitab that was written by Tuanta Salamaq [Shaykh Yūsuf]."[167] It is quite likely the qadi was none other than Yūsuf, the qadi and copyist of MS A 108, and the texts mentioned in the diary comprised some of the Naqshbandi ones found in that manuscript. Aḥmad al-Ṣāliḥ also claims to have been sent books by the Sharif of Mecca.[168] The Naqshbandi commitment to writing and copying may partly lie behind this literary activity,[169] but Rahilah Omar notes a tone of increasing piety in the diary through the 1780s. Moreover, as is suggested by his claims to a relationship with the Sharif, his interviews with hajis, his commissioning of copies of religious works and his own authorial activities exemplified by the composition of *al-Nūr al-Hādī*, for a ruler like Aḥmad al-Ṣāliḥ participation in an Islamic textual culture, piety, and rulership were inseparable.

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[162] Omar, "The History of Bone," 253.

[163] Omar, "The History of Bone" 230.

[164] Omar, "The History of Bone," 252–3; van Bruniessen, "Tariqa Khalwatiyya," 295.

[165] Omar, "The History of Bone," 225.

[166] Omar, "The History of Bone," 226.

[167] Omar, "The History of Bone," 229.

The enormous reputation of Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maqāṣīrī thus meant his name was lent to literary projects which were in some ways diametrically opposed to his agenda, for as argued above, he was deeply hostile to Hamzah Fansuri's ideas. Yet it is striking that these ideas came to be expressed, however awkwardly, in Arabic, demonstrating again the intertwined nature of the Malay and Arabic literature of Southeast Asia. The interest in the Nūr Muḥammad doctrine further underlines the way in which the Arabic textual culture of the region responded to specific local factors. Indeed, rather than intellectual content, perhaps al-Maqāṣīrī's true legacy to his followers in South Sulawesi was this idea of Arabic as a language of courtly Sufism, fit for articulating the secrets of the elitest of the elite (*khawwāṣ al-khawwāṣ*).

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[168] Omar, "The History of Bone," 230, 248.

[169] On this characteristic of the Naqshbandis, see Le Gall, *A Culture of Sufism*, 172–3, 182.

CHAPTER 6

Arabic Literary Culture in Eighteenth-Century Sumatra and Java

The eighteenth century is often seen as a period of 'reform' or 'revival' in Islam.[1] In hadith scholarship and law in particular the period has been characterised as having had "an originality and radicalism … that was hardly equalled in any other period of Islamic history."[2] Indeed, intellectuals of this period claimed to be embarking on a programme of *tajdīd* ('renewal'), as, however, had generations of scholars before them. Sufis exhibited an increasing interest in the idea of *al-ṭarīqa al-Muḥammadiyya*, 'the Muḥammadan way' – an emphasis on using spiritual exercises to connect the believer with the person of the Prophet, who could act as an intermediary between the *sālik* and God. This trend was associated with the revival in hadith studies in Sufi circles, for hadith served as a crucial link to the Prophet.[3] Yet such tendencies had antecedents too. *Al-ṭarīqa al-Muḥammadiyya* was being advocated in the sixteenth century by the Ottoman scholar Birgevi, and plenty of earlier Sufis had adduced an interest in hadith.[4] Indeed, much of the focus of the movements of the eighteenth century was the reinterpretation of earlier aspects of the Islamic intellectual heritage, as is attested by the growing interest in al-Ghazālī in the period. A further sign of continuity is the enduring influence of Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī into the eighteenth century.[5] A certain current of opposition to Sufism, led by the Arabian reformer Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb (d. 1206/1792), remained marginal.[6]

While earlier scholarship linked the changes in Muslim intellectual life in the period to European influence, to which the rise of these reformist movements

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[1] See, for example, Nehemia Levtzion and John O. Voll (eds), *Eighteenth-Century Renewal and Reform in Islam* (Syracuse, 1987).

[2] Dallal, *Islam without Europe*, 10.

[3] On this see John O. Voll, "'Abdallah ibn Salim al-Basri and 18th Century Hadith Scholarship," *Die Welt des Islams* New Series 42 (2002): 356–372.

[4] See, for example, Stefan Reichmuth, "Aspects of Prophetic Piety in the Early Modern Period Prophetic Piety and its Socio-Political and Individual Dimensions in the Early Modern Period," *Archives de sciences sociales des religions*, 62e Année, No. 178 (Juillet-septembre 2017): 129–150.

[5] Zachary Valentine Wright, *Realizing Islam: The Tijaniyya in North Africa and the Eighteenth-Century Muslim World* (Chapel Hill, 2020), 31–4.

[6] Cf. Dallal, *Islam without Europe*, 5–7.

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has been seen as a reaction, recent research has moved away from such a view.[7] With the benefit of hindsight, Europeans were increasingly having an impact on the territorial integrity, indeed the viability, of major Muslim states. Over the course of the eighteenth century, the Ottoman empire suffered major territorial loses to Russia, the Mughal empire was gradually dismembered by the British, and the Dutch established their control over Java, reducing the surviving sultanates of Banten and Mataram to satellites. Yet it is far from clear that these political developments fundamentally affected how Muslim intellectuals saw their world, especially those whose scholarly interests lay in Sufism and the religious sciences.[8]

This is not to say that the growing power of Europeans was completely without consequences. One characteristic of the period is increased mobility, both within the *dār al-Islām* in general and between Southeast Asia and the Hijaz in particular, and this was certainly facilitated by European ships. From *c.*1680 onwards, VOC ships actively encouraged Southeast Asian pilgrims to board them.[9] Increasing numbers of Jāwa found their way to Mecca and Medina, both as pilgrims and long term residents, among them the famous ʿAbd al-Ṣamad al-Palimbānī (d. after 1206/1791), from Palembang in South Sumatra, and the Kalimantan scholars Muhammad Nafis (1148/1735- d. unknown) and Muhammad Arsyad al-Banjari (1122/1710–1227/1812), who were both associated with the court of Banjar.[10] All three seem to have studied together, and the texts they composed played a major part in the development of Islam in the region. All wrote primarily in Malay, but whereas ʿAbd al-Ṣamad made his career in Arabia, probably never returning to Southeast Asia,[11] the Kalimantan scholars went back to their homeland after their studies. Nonetheless, ʿAbd al-Ṣamad exercised an important influence through his promotion of the Sammaniyya *ṭarīqa*, an offshoot of the Khalwatiyya associated with his teacher,

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[7] See Dallal, *Islam without Europe*, esp. 4–6, 21 for a critique.

[8] Dallal, *Islam without Europe*, 15.

[9] Tagliacozzo, *The Longest Journey*, 43, 70.

[10] On these and other Kalimantan scholars of the period see Azra, *Origins*, 117–122.

[11] I discount here the tale in the *Tawarikh Silsilah Negeri Kedah*, an early twentieth century work, that ʿAbd al-Ṣamad died in Kedah fighting the Siamese invaders at the age of 122 in 1254/1839. For a discussion arguing in favour of this date see Mohammed Hussain Ahmad, *Islam in the Malay World: al-Falimbānī's Scholarship* (Gombak, 2017), 45–56. The evidence for a brief return by ʿAbd al-Ṣamad to the archipelago in 1772 is late and probably designed to add lustre to the reputation of other scholars who claimed to be associated with him (see Ahmad, *Islam in the Malay World*, 53–5); in fact we know in 1772 he was still in Mecca whence he wrote to the Mataram sultan (see G.W.J. Drewes, "Further Data Concerning Abd al-Samad al-Palimbani," *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 132 (1976): 267–292, esp. 271).

Muḥammad Sammān (d. 1189/1775), the holder of the keys to the Prophet's tomb in Medina. The Sammaniyya combined an emphasis on connecting with the spiritual presence of the Prophet Muḥammad, in particular through the Nūr Muḥammad, with enthusiasm for vocal *dhikr*, while avoiding controversies over *wahdat al-wujūd*, at least in writing.[12] Muḥammad al-Sammān himself had been a disciple of the Damascus shaykh Muṣṭafā al-Bakrī (d. 1162/1749) who played a major role in the spread of the Khalwatiyya, especially in Egypt.[13] ʿAbd al-Ṣamad's pupils brought the Sammaniyya to Southeast Asia, where it rapidly became popular in South Sumatra and Sulawesi, replacing to some extent the Shattariyya at court.[14]

Arab settlement in Southeast Asia also seems to have intensified in this period, as is exemplified by the case of Palembang in South Sumatra, ʿAbd al-Ṣamad's home town, which developed as a political, economic and literary centre in the second half of the eighteenth century, with a good number of Arabic works being rendered into Malay there. Nonetheless, there was not necessarily any correlation between Arab settlement and Arabic textual production. As noted in Chapter 3, despite Aceh coming under the rule of the Hadrami Jamāl al-Layl dynasty at the end of the seventeenth century, textual production in Arabic almost entirely disappears there, and that in Malay diminishes, while the Acehnese vernacular was increasingly favoured for certain contexts. Yet, as we will discuss in Chapter 8, there is evidence for the use of Arabic as a diplomatic language in this period in Aceh and elsewhere.

The major Arabic literary figure of the eighteenth century in Southeast Asia is again associated with the Banten sultanate, ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Qahhār al-Bantanī, aside from the activities of Yūsuf al-Maqāṣīrī's followers in South Sulawesi, discussed in the previous chapter. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Qahhār lived and wrote in both the Hijaz and Banten, inducted the Banten sultans into Sufism, translated works by Hamzah Fansuri into Javanese, and left numerous manuscripts that shed light on his intellectual and religious affiliations, in addition to his original compositions. Despite his importance, he has attracted negligible scholarly attention to date. This chapter will focus on ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Qahhār, but first we will offer a survey of the other main Arabic literary activities in Southeast Asia in the period, which are primarily associated with Palembang and ʿAbd al-Ṣamad.

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[12] Wright, *Realizing Islam*, 34–38; see also Feener, "ʿAbd al-Samad in Arabia," 270–1.

[13] Drewes, "A Note," 75; El-Rouayheb, *Islamic Intellectual History*, 267–9, who notes that the old idea (espoused by Drewes, among others), that al-Bakrī was an opponent of *waḥdat al-wujūd* is incorrect; he was in fact a student of ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī. However, like Muḥammad al-Sammān, he put more emphasis, at least in his written works, on devotional practice, and in particular *murīd-murshid* relations.

[14] Laffan, *The Makings of Indonesian Islam*, 28–29, 31, 35–7.

1 Arabic Literary Culture in Eighteenth Century Palembang and the Works of ʿAbd al-Ṣamad al-Palimbānī

Palembang had a venerable history as a commercial entrepot. It was the capital of the great medieval trade-based polity of Srivijaya in the seventh to twelfth centuries, and although much of its later medieval history is obscure, it is clear that by the seventeenth century, it was again a major entrepot, now under the control of a Muslim dynasty with close links to Java. The importance, and international connections, of the sultanate of Palembang expanded over the eighteenth century. By the 1760s, European sources record that "Arab priests" were acting as royal advisers while Arabs, primarily Hadramis, had a dominant role in Palembang's trade. Rulers were keen to maintain the Arab presence. To benefit from the supernatural powers of the Prophet's kinsmen, and their commercial nous, they afforded them tax concessions and the privilege of marrying royal women.[15] The character of Palembang's governance changed, with an increasingly document-based written culture, which Andaya has suggested may be linked to the presence of "document-conscious Arabs attached to the court," a desire to emulate the more literate courts of Java, and expanding elite literacy.[16] The literisation of administration was accompanied by the development of a textual culture in Malay (and to a limited extent in Javanese). Alongside Malay historical and poetical works, a good number of Malay translations of Arabic texts were made. Yet despite Palembang's developing reputation as a centre for Islamic scholarship, it seems that literacy was restricted to circles closely associated with the court. A Dutch observer of Palembang, J.J. van Sevenhoven, writing in 1823 shortly after its annexation by the colonial authorities, remarked that few people could read the Qurʾan, and they understood little of Muslim doctrine. An exception to this intellectual wasteland was the substantial library of Sultan Mahmud Badruddin (r. 1804–1821), but only the Arabs would ever ask to borrow a book from it.[17]

The Malay translations should not be seen as part of a process of 'vernacularisation' that aimed to make Arabic accessible to a wide public, but rather as aimed squarely at the court. Two Palembang authors played a major role in this translation movement. Shihabuddin b. ʿAbdallah Muhammad wrote around the middle of the eighteenth century, and produced a Malay translation of al-Laqqānī's credal work the *Jawharat al-Tawḥīd* in addition to two Malay credal works, one of which attacks the *Martabah Tujuh* doctrine. Kemas Fakhruddin, who wrote under the patronage of Sultan Ahmad Najmuddin (1757–1774) and Sultan Muhammad Baha'uddin (r. 1774–1804), translated Shaykh Raslān al-Dimashqī's *Risāla fī'l-Tawḥīd*, pseudo-al-Wāqidī's *Futūḥ al-Shām* and two occult works, the *Khawāṣṣ al-Qur'ān*, dealing with the esoteric properties of the letters of the Qur'an[18] and the *Tuḥfat al-Zamān fī Ẓarf Ahl al-Yamān*, a divinatory work largely comprised of diagrams in both Arabic and Malay (Fig. 6.1).[19] Other translations include occult works by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Bisṭāmī (d. 858/1454), the *Shams al-Āfāq* and *Baḥr al-Wuqūf*, which had enjoyed popularity in the Ottoman empire and beyond, while Ibn al-Khashshāb's (*c.*650/1252) *al-Durr al-Nāẓim fī Faḍā'il al-Qur'ān*, also translated to Malay,[20] drew on occult texts including those of the famed thirteenth century magician and Sufi Aḥmad al-Būnī. These translations do not seem to have circulated beyond Palembang, or even beyond its court.

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[15] Barbara Watson Andaya, *To Live as Brothers: Southeast Sumatra in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Honolulu, 1993), 219–221; see also Feener, "ʿAbd al-Samad in Arabia," 262–5.

[16] Andaya, *To Live as Brothers*, 235.

[17] Laffan, *The Makings of Indonesian Islam*, 93. For the original account of Palembang in the period see J.J. van Sevenhoven, *Beschrijving van de hoofdplaats van Palembang* (Batavia, 1823); Indonesian translation as *Lukisan Tentang Ibu Kota Palembang* (Djakarta, 1971).

Parts of the *kraton* library were seized by the British in 1812, while a greater number of manuscripts were seized by the Dutch after they took control of the town in 1821. As a result, its contents are now widely dispersed, mainly in Jakarta, Leiden and London, and only a handful of its Arabic manuscripts have survived. These include popular, widely circulated works, such as al-Bayḍāwī's Qur'an commentary, the *Anwār al-Tanzīl*, al-Nawawī's *Kitāb al-Adhkār*, which is a work on devotional practice, and al-Laqqānī's commentary on his own *Jawharat al-Tawḥīd*, a verse synopsis of Ashʿari theology.[21] On the other hand, some works from the *kraton* were rarities. For example, the *Idrāk al-Ḥaqīqa fī takhrīj aḥādīth al-Ṭarīqa* by ʿAlī b. Ḥasan b. Ṣadaqa al-Miṣrī (fl. 1050/1640), composed at the request of the Ottoman vizier Bayram Pasha (d. 1048/1638) to comment on the traditions in Birgevi's *al-Ṭarīqa al-Muḥammadiyya*, is only attested by a relatively limited manuscript tradition compared to Birgevi's original (Fig. 6.2).[22] Ibn Shaddād al-Ḥimyarī's *Tuḥfat al-Zamān* is only known in

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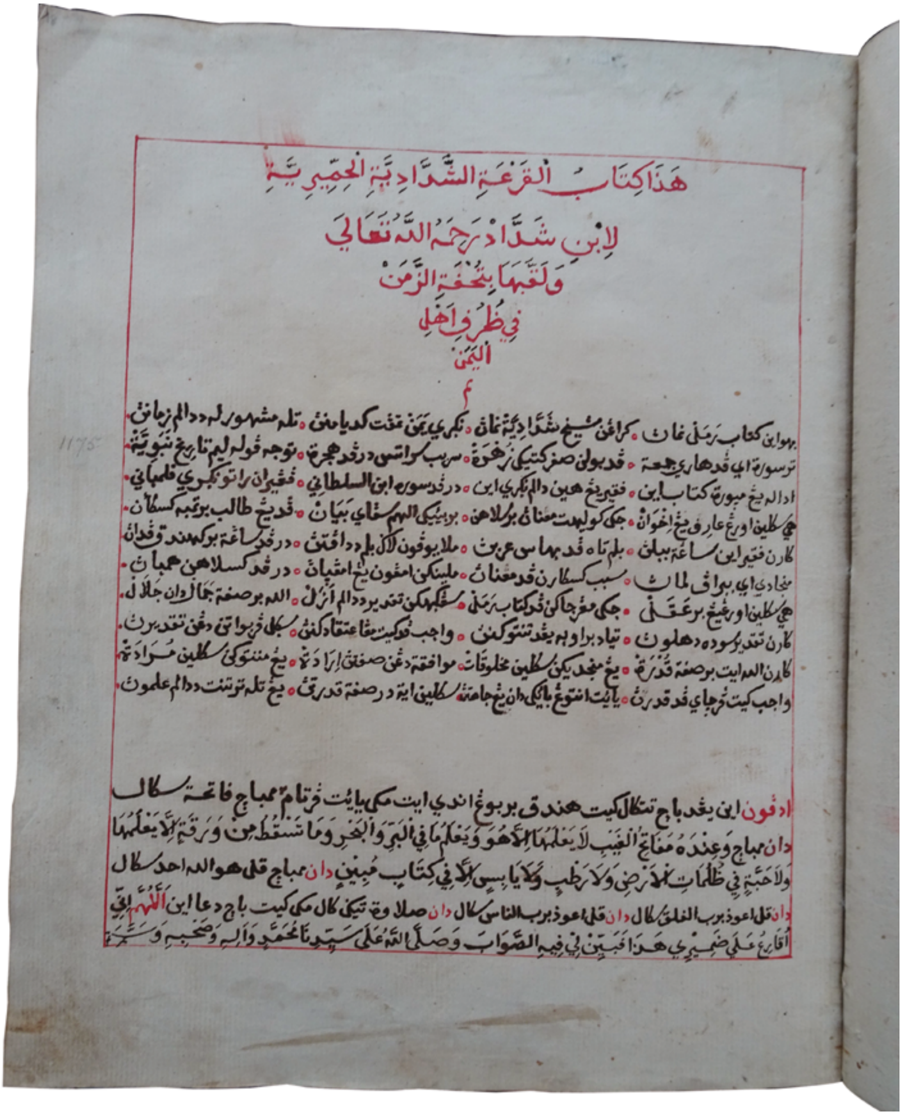
[18] On the problem of the attribution of this work's original, see G.W.J. Drewes (ed. and trans.), *Directions for Travellers on the Mystic Path: Zakariyyā' al-Anṣārī's Kitāb Fatḥ al-Raḥmān and Its Indonesian Adaptations. With an Appendix on Palembang Manuscripts and Authors* (Leiden, 1977), 221.

[19] Drewes, *Directions*, 219–20.

[20] Drewes, *Directions*, 205.

[21] Drewes, *Directions*, 202, 217–8, 224–5; Iskandar, *Kesusasteraan Klasik Melayu*, 438–441.

[22] GAL S II, 656; for the autograph, Cambridge University Library, MS Or 1260/8, see A.J. Arberry, *A Second Supplementary Hand-list of the Muhammadan Manuscripts in the University & Colleges of Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1952), no 132a. In addition to this, see the following mss not listed by Brockelmann: Istanbul, Süleymaniye Library, MSS Çorlu Ali



هذا كتاب القرعة الشدادية الحميرية
لابن شداد رحمه الله تعالى
ولقبها بتحفة الزمن
في ظرف اهل
اليمن

1175

FIGURE 6.1 The Malay adaptation of Ibn Shaddād al-Ḥimyarī's *Tuḥfat al-Zamān*, produced for the court of Palembang in 1175/1761. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Malay D.1

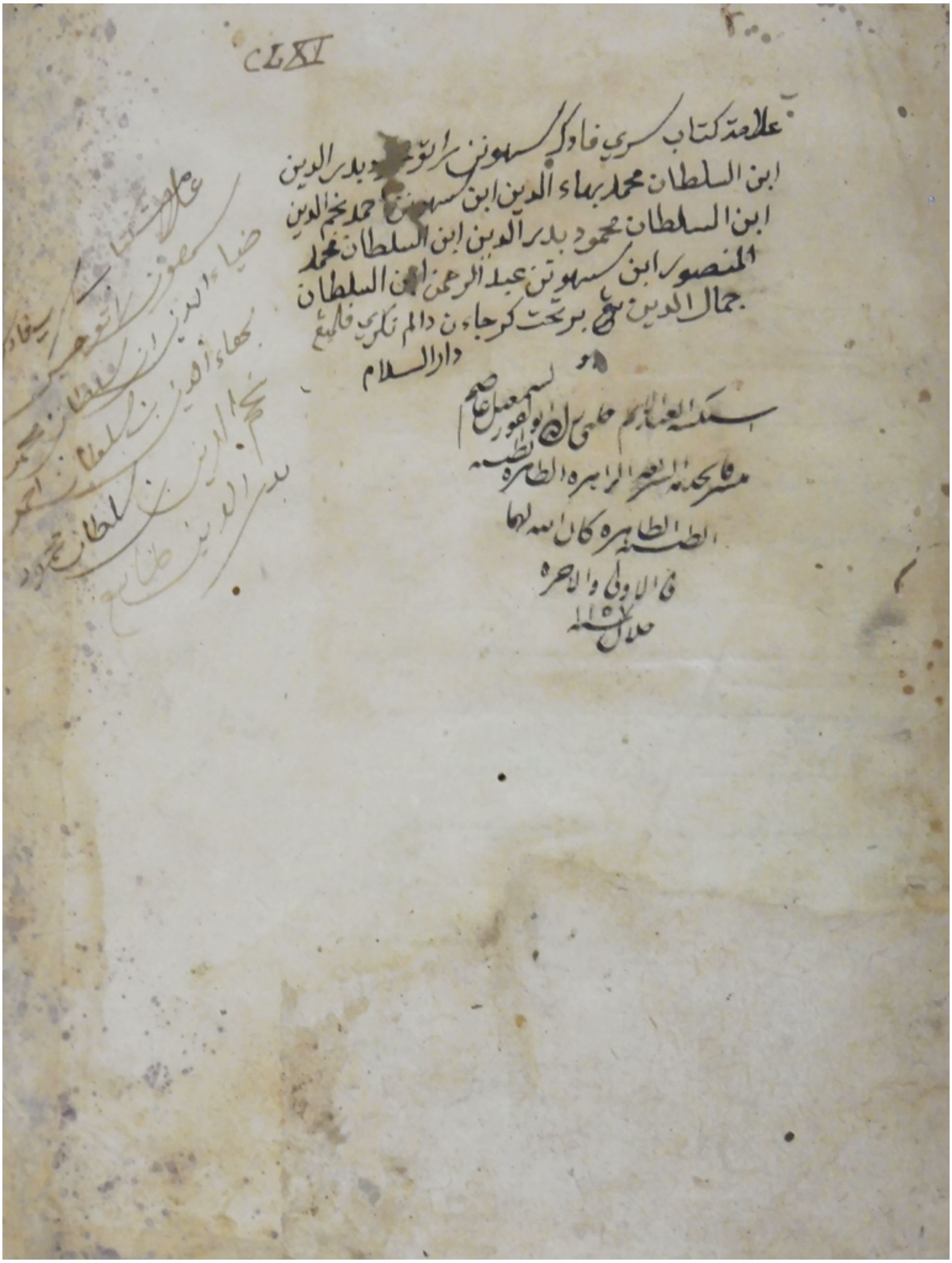


FIGURE 6.2 Title page of *Idrāk al-Ḥaqīqa fī Takhrīj Aḥādīth al-Ṭarīqa* by ʿAlī b. Ḥasan b. Ṣadaqa al-Miṣrī, copy from the Palembang *kraton* library, showing the ownership of sultan Badruddin Mahmud. Jakarta, Perpustakaan Nasional, MS A 161

two further manuscripts.[23] Of course the fact that numerous manuscript collections are uncatalogued means we cannot rule out the possibility of the existence of other copies of these works, but it does strongly suggest they were relatively unusual.

The literary tastes of the Palembang court are thus superficially eclectic. Alongside classics popular across the Islamic world such as the *Futūḥ al-Shām* and al-Bayḍāwī's *Anwār al-Tanzīl* we have in both Malay translation and Arabic a number of obscure works which do not seem to have been widely known. As Drewes noted, it is surprising that there is a complete absence of *fiqh* texts.[24] This may be attributed to the incomplete preservation of the library, although as we shall see in Chapter 7, a comparable phenomenon is to be observed in the remains of the Banten sultanate library. Compared to Aceh or Banten, philosophical Sufism is remarkable by its absence from Palembang, with no evidence for the circulation of the contentious works of Hamzah Fansuri, Shams al-Dīn al-Sumāṭrāʾī, or the Arabic originals of Ibn ʿArabī. The *kraton* library did, however, contain works by al-Rānīrī and ʿAbd al-Raʾūf al-Singkilī, as well as a Malay translation of Ibn ʿAṭāʾ Allāh's *Kitab al-Ḥikam*, a well known collection of Sufi aphorisms.[25] Some of the Sufi texts we do have – such as Kemas Fakhruddin's translation of Shaykh Raslān's *Risāla* and its commentary by Zakariyyā Anṣārī, and a Malay treatise by Shihabuddin – seem to be deliberately targeted against the Seven Grades theosophy and Akbarian monism. The essential point of Shaykh Raslān's *Risāla* is that polytheism (*shirk*) must be overcome before unity with God can be attained, which looks like an implicit attack on monism.[26] This impression is reinforced by the presence of al-Miṣrī's *Idrāk al-Ḥaqīqa*, which is based on the famous work by Birgevi, *al-Ṭarīqa al-Muḥammadiyya*, confirming the interest in Southeast Asia in this puritanical text. Even if Birgevi's work had attracted the attention of some proponents of *waḥdat al-wujūd*, al-Miṣrī's text contains little of the subversion of the original introduced by al-Nābulusī, but is merely an abridgement extracting the

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Paşa 82; Kılıç Ali Paşa 184; Reşid Efendi 1237; Beyazit State Library, MSS Veliyüddin 1933, 1934.

[23] The Palembang copy is Oxford, Bodleian MS d1; see also GAL S II 1042; M. Th. Houtsma, *Catalogue d'une collection de mss. arabes et turcs appartenant à la maison E. J. Brill à Leide* (Leiden, 1886), no 305. The manuscript was sold in 1900 to Princeton, where it is now held in the Garrett collection as MS 550Hq. The MS has an effaced ownership statement on fol. 6a dating to 1137 H. [1725/6], and subsequently belonged to Amīn ibn al-Ḥasan al-Ḥulwānī al-Madanī al-Ḥanafī of Medina. A third copy is Istanbul, Beyazit State Library, MS Umumi 7967, fols. 90b–125b.

[24] Drewes, *Directions*, 217–8.

[25] Drewes, *Directions*, 206–7.

[26] Drewes, *Directions*, 34–6.

most important hadith and Qur'an passages made for a patron, who, it seems, had a special interest in questions of heresy and right belief.[27]

The surviving texts may at first appear to suggest that the Palembang *kraton* rejected *waḥdat al-wujūd* and metaphysical speculation in favour of an austere piety; this was Drewes' view. It may seem paradoxical that we also find a notable interest in occult works, represented by al-Bisṭāmī and Ibn Shaddād al-Ḥimyarī. However, there is not necessarily a contradiction, for Birgevi in his *al-Ṭarīqa al-Muḥammadiyya* had included a chapter on charms and spells.[28] Even if Ibn Shaddād's text is a rarity, the esoteric interests it represents were very much part of the mainstream of eighteenth century Islam.[29] Moreover, the translation of the *Tuḥfat al-Zamān*, which was commissioned by the crown prince of Palembang in 1175/1761,[30] may also have functioned to promote acculturation to Arab, Islamic culture. The text opens with instructions for the various prayers to be read before divination is undertaken. The divination is itself based around the user rolling dices to be guided through a series of circles comprised of the names of Arab tribes, Caliphs, amirs, Yemeni fortress and cities which further lead to the names of classical Arabic poets such as al-Farazdaq, Abu Nuwās, al-Buḥturī, Ḥassān ibn Thābit and so on, which eventually lead in verse to the answer to the question posed (Fig. 6.3). The text, then, despite the presence of a Malay translation, presumes its user is versed in an Arab and specifically Yemeni cultural background, without which it remains incomprehensible. It seems reasonable to assume that the sort of supplementary information needed to make the text comprehensible would have been supplied by the translator/divinator himself.[31] At the same time, the translator's apologies for his poor Arabic in the introductory Malay verses to *Tuḥfat al-Zamān* should not be understood literally, but as a convention of Malay poetry. In this sense the translation can be seen as acting as a cultural bridge. The elaborate Persian-style gilt binding confirms that such a text was highly prized at the Palembang court (Fig. 6.4).

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[27] Bayram Pasha was also one of the dedicatees of an adaptation of Shahrastānī's heresiography by a certain Derviş Ahmed, see Nur Shafir, "How to Read Heresy in the Ottoman World" in Tijana Kristić and Derin Terzioğlu (eds), *Historicizing Sunni Islam in the Ottoman Empire, c. 1450–1700* (Leiden, 2021), 214.

[28] Wright, *Realizing Islam*, 42.

[29] Wright, *Realizing Islam*, 41–48.

[30] This is stated in the opening verses, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Malay d. 1, fol. 4a.

[31] MS Princeton, Garett 550qq is prefaced with a detailed explanation of how to use the book, which is absent from the Malay translation. This confirms that the accurate use of the latter would have depended on the divinator giving oral explanations.

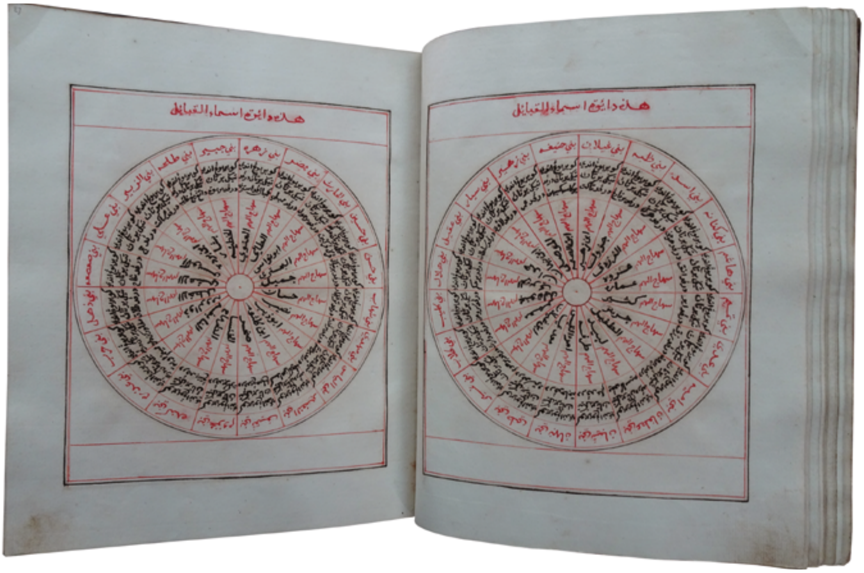

FIGURE 6.3 The section on Arab tribes in Ibn Shaddād al-Ḥimyarī's *Tuḥfat al-Zamān*, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Malay D.1, fol. 12b–13a

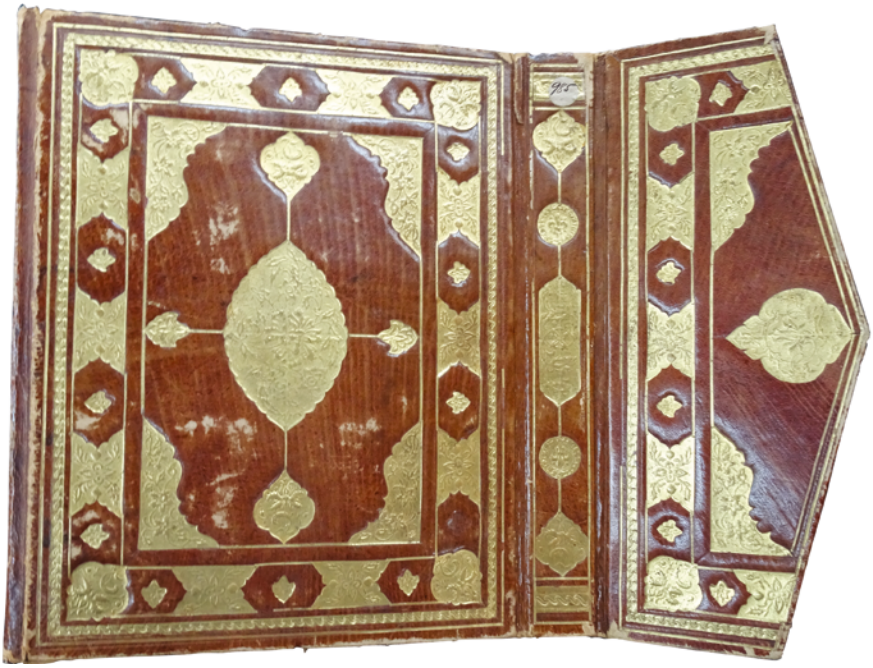

FIGURE 6.4 Binding of Ibn Shaddād al-Ḥimyarī's *Tuḥfat al-Zamān*, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Malay D.1

The common ground between religion and the occult is suggested by the activities of one early nineteenth century Palembang translator, Kemas Muhammad b. Ahmad, who both translated a hagiography of Muḥammad al-Sammān under the title *Nafahat al-Rahman fi Manaqib Ustadhna al-Azam al-Samman*, as well as al-Bisṭāmī's *Baḥr al-Wufūq*, which deals with divination based on magic squares (*wafq*).[32] That the same translator worked on these two ostensibly very different projects underlines that piety and occultism were not felt to be in any way contradictory.

Nor was this the only hagiography of Muḥammad al-Sammān. Shihabuddin's son, Muhammad Muhyiddin, prepared a Malay translation of a hagiography of Muḥammad al-Sammān in 1196/1781, shortly after the shaykh's death.[33] This places Muḥammad al-Sammān in a direct line of *awliyā'* stretching back to Bāyazīd Bisṭāmī and Ibn ʿArabī, emphasising his miracles (*karāmāt*).[34] Thus even if, as noted above, Muḥammad al-Sammān may not have written on *waḥdat al-wujūd*, his admirers in the Malay world were happy to associate with him with some of the more controversial figures of Sufi history. The composition of a Malay version of Muḥammad al-Sammān's hagiography so soon after his death confirms that the Sammaniyya rapidly reached Palembang, while the sultan of Palembang was sufficiently attracted by the Sammaniyya order that he sent Muhammad Muhyiddin to the Hijaz with 5000 rials to fund the construction of a Sammani *zāwiya* in Jeddah shortly after the shaykh's death.[35] Evidently, the association of Muḥammad al-Sammān and Ibn ʿArabī was no barrier to the Palembang sultans' support for the Sammaniyya, suggesting that Drewes's deductions about the intellectual orientations of the *kraton* may be misguided.[36]

The close relations between Sumatra and the Hijaz in this period are underlined by the case of ʿAbd al-Ṣamad, Palembang's most famous son. Manuscripts of his works were being copied in Aceh very shortly after their composition in the Hijaz, ʿAbd al-Ṣamad's place of residence for most of his life.[37] Although ʿAbd al-Ṣamad did compose in Arabic, as will be discussed below, he is best known for his Malay adaptations of al-Ghazālī's works, and he has been credited with popularising al-Ghazālī in the Malay world.[38] All his works were, however, written in the Hijaz, the best known of them being the *Hidayat al-Salikin fi Suluk Maslak al-Muttaqin*, a Malay adaptation of al-Ghazālī's *Bidāyat al-Hidāya*, composed in Mecca in 1192/1778, and the *Sayr al-Salikin ila ʿIbadat Rabb al-ʿAlamin*, an adaptation of al-Ghazālī's *Iḥyāʾ*, composed in Mecca and Taʾif between 1193/1779 and 1203/1789.[39] However, during his time in the Hijaz, ʿAbd al-Ṣamad also commissioned at least one Arabic work, from another disciple of Muḥammad al-Sammān, Ṣiddīq al-Madanī b. ʿUmar Khān. This text, the *Qaṭf Azhār al-Mawāhib al-Rabbāniyya min Afnān al-Nafḥa al-Qudsiyya*, was a commentary on a *qaṣīda* by Muḥammad al-Sammān, and evidently circulated in Southeast Asia too, judging by the Malay annotations to the extant Jakarta manuscript (A 450).

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[32] Drewes, *Directions*, 224–5.

[33] Drewes discusses this Malav text in "A Note on Muhammad al-Samman, his Writings, and 19th Century Sammàniyya Practices, Chiefly in Batavia, according to Written Data," *Archipel* 43 (1992), esp. 74–6.

[34] The text was published as Aliuddin Mahyudin (ed.), *Hikayat Syekh Muhammad Saman* (Jakarta, 1980).

[35] Martin van Bruinessen, "The Origins and Development of Sufi Orders (*tarekat*) in Southeast Asia," *Studia Islamika* 1 (1994): n. 19; Mahyudin (ed.), *Hikayat Syekh Muhammad Saman*, 62.

[36] As noted above (n. 13), Drewes wrongly thought that Muḥammad al-Sammān's own teacher, Muṣṭafā al-Bakrī, was opposed to monism, whereas more recent research has clarified that he too was a proponent of *waḥdat al-wujūd*.

Little concrete contemporary data survives about ʿAbd al-Ṣamad's life; he is claimed to have been of Yemeni descent, and was born in Palembang probably around 1132/1719,[40] migrating to Arabia the age of fourteen. Although most of his career was spent in Mecca and Medina, he probably also studied in Zabid in Yemen, and possibly Egypt and Syria.[41] By far our most important contemporary evidence for ʿAbd al-Ṣamad is a passage in the biographical dictionary by the Yemeni scholar ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Sulaymān al-Ahdal (d. 1250/1834).[42] Al-Ahdal met ʿAbd al-Ṣamad in 1206/1791 in Zabid, the cosmopolitan intellectual centre in the Tihama, where in the previous century, al-Maqāṣīrī and ʿAbd al-Raʾūf had studied. However, al-Ahdal's encounter was towards the end of ʿAbd al-Ṣamad's life, and the latter is presented as a senior scholar, who had studied with the great masters of Medina, and was greeted with much excitement by the Zabidi students. ʿAbd al-Ṣamad typified the intellectual interests of the period, and al-Ahdal notes how he vigorously promoted the study of al-Ghazālī's works. Al-Ahdal read the *Iḥyāʾ ʿUlūm al-Dīn* with ʿAbd al-Ṣamad and received an *ijāza* for the text from him.[43]

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[37] ʿAbd al-Ṣamad al-Palimbānī, *Hidayat al-Salikin*, British Library MS Or 16604, copied 5 Muharram 1192 (3 February 1778) in Aceh; also note another manuscript in Tanoh Abee copied in Mecca by Lebai Malim from Lam Bait in Aceh on 19 Jumadilakhir 1197 (22 May 1783) (Fathurahman, *Katalog Naskah Dayah Tanoh Abee Aceh Besar*, 196). Annabel Gallop, "Abdul Samad of Palembang, Malay guide to the writings of al-Ghazālī" https://blogs.bl.uk/asian-and-african/2017/02/abdul-samad-of-palembang-malay-guide-to-the-writings-of-al-ghaz%C4%81l%C4%AB.html.

[38] Ahmad, *Islam in the Malay World*, 240.

[39] Ahmad, *Islam in the Malay World*, 224–30.

[40] Ahmad, *Islam in the Malay World*, 35–44.

[41] Ahmad, *Islam in the Malay World*, 74–146; cf. Laffan, *The Makings of Indonesian Islam*, 29.

[42] ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Sulaymān al-Ahdal, *al-Nafas al-Yamānī waʾl-rawḥ al-rūḥānī fī Ijāzat al-quḍāh Banī al-Shawkānī*, ed. ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad al-Ḥabashī (Riyad, 2012), 152–7; text and full English translation in Ahmad, *Islam in the Malay World*, 287–95; analysis in Feener, "ʿAbd al-Samad in Arabia." There is further information in much later sources from the Malay world, but it should be regarded with considerable scepticism; see Ahmad, *Islam in the Malay World*, 34–65.

However, ʿAbd al-Ṣamad's interests were not limited to al-Ghazālī, and he incorporated aspects of Ibn ʿArabī and al-Jīlī's ideas concerning *al-insān al-kāmil* into his adaptations of al-Ghazālī's works. Some impression of his intellectual position is given by a long list of Sufi texts he commends in his *Sayr al-Salikin*, graded according to the *sālik*'s stage on the path, with different readings for the *mubtadiʾ* (initiate), *mutawassiṭ* (intermediate) and *muntahī* (advanced).[44] The *muntahī* was directed not just to Ibn ʿArabī's works, including even the controversial *Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam*, alongside al-Jīlī's *al-Insān al-Kāmil*, and works by defenders of *waḥdat al-wujūd* such as ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī and Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī. Indeed, ʿAbd al-Ṣamad even recommends Shams al-Dīn al-Sumāṭrāʾī's *Jawhar al-Ḥaqāʾiq*, along with the less controversial works of ʿAbd al-Ra'ūf al-Singkilī.[45] These are the only Southeast Asian authors mentioned; Yusuf al-Maqāṣīrī is completely absent. This list suggests that ʿAbd al-Ṣamad was himself committed to *waḥdat al-wujūd* even in its more controversial forms, although he evidently believed it should not be propagated to any but the advanced adept. ʿAbd al-Ṣamad's interest in the *wahdat al-wujūd* is most clearly expressed in a bilingual Arabic-Malay treatise, the *Zād al-Muttaqīn*, which he claims was based on Muḥammad al-Sammān's oral teachings.[46] There is also a Malay translation of the *Tuḥfa al-Mursala* furnished with Arabic preface by ʿAbd al-Ṣamad, which relates that the *Tuḥfa* was the first text that Muḥammad al-Sammān taught him.[47]

Moreover, while modern scholarship associates ʿAbd al-Ṣamad with the rise of the Sammaniyya at the expense of the Shattariyya, Shattari texts feature on the list, such as Muḥammad Ghawth's *al-Jawāhir al-Khamsa*,[48] alongside

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[43] Al-Ahdal, *al-Nafas al-Yamānī*, 152; cf Feener, "ʿAbd al-Samad in Arabia," 268.

[44] See Ahmad, *Islam in the Malay World*, 233–5; Azra, *Origins*, 133–4.

[45] ʿAbd al-Samad al-Falimbani, *Sayr al-Salikin wa-bi-l-hamish al-Jawhar al-Mawhub* (Semarang: Maktabat wa Matba'at Taha Putra, n/d), vol. 3, 179, 182.

[46] It is at present known from only two copies, one in Buton and the other in Kuala Lumpur. Ahmad, *Islam in the Malay World*, 252; ʿAbd al-Rahim Yunus, *Posisi Tasawuf dalam Sistem Kekuasaan di Kesultanan Buton pada Abad ke-19* (Jakarta, 1995), 63. National Library of Malaysia MSFB 1004; an edition and English translation by Ahmad is said to be in preparation.

[47] Reproduced in facsimile in Hj. Wan Mohd. Shaghir Abdullah, *Hidayatus Salikin*, vol. 2 (Kuala Lumpur, 1997), 233–281.

[48] ʿAbd al-Samad al-Falimbani, *Sayr al-Salikin*, vol. 3, 181.

Khalwati and Naqshbandi texts, and numerous works by Muḥammad al-Sammān himself.[49] The continuing eclecticism in both *ṭarīqa* and intellectual outlook is suggested by al-Ahdal's biography of ʿAbd al-Ṣamad too. Al-Ahdal implicitly compares ʿAbd al-Ṣamad to Ibn Taymiyya, quoting approvingly from Ibn al-Qayyim al-Jawziyya's *Madārij al-Sālikīn*. Yet Ibn Taymiyya had strongly criticised al-Ghazālī – although he did admit the *Bidāyat al-Mubtadī*, translated by ʿAbd al-Ṣamad, was an exception, to the extent that many denied its attribution to al-Ghazālī.[50] Moreover, Ibn al-Qayyim's *Madārij* – which is framed as a commentary on the *Manāzil al-Sāʾirīn* of the eleventh century Herat Sufi ʿAbdallāh Anṣārī – aimed in part to defuse potentially monist interpretations of Anṣārī's work, but it also constituted an attempt by Ibn al-Qayyim, inspired by Ibn Taymiyya, to return to the roots of Sufism, advocating a piety in which *kashf* (experiential knowledge of God) confirmed rather than challenged scripture.[51]

Al-Ahdal's admiration for both ʿAbd al-Ṣamad and for the Hanbali authors suggests the difficulty of reducing intellectuals of the period to simplistic pro- or anti-*waḥdat al-wujūd* positions, and indicates that the kind of synthesis advocated by al-Kūrānī endured. Indeed, al-Kūrānī's influence can be seen in ʿAbd al-Ṣamad's main Arabic work, the *Naṣīḥat al-Muslimīn wa-Tadhkirat al-Muʾminīn fī Faḍāʾil al-Jihād fī Sabīl Allāh*, completed in Mecca in 1187/1773.[52] The subject of this work, dealing with jihad, has long excited the attention of scholars – perhaps rather more so than readers of the period, for in contrast to ʿAbd al-Ṣamad's Malay works, which generally survive in multiple copies, the *Naṣīḥat al-Muslimīn* is preserved in only two manuscripts, both in Jakarta, Jakarta A 209 and V.d.W51, of which the former is the autograph (Fig. 6.5).[53]

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[49] Azra argues that ʿAbd al-Ṣamad followed al-Rānirī in dividing Sufism into a *wujūdiyyah mulḥid* and *wujūdiyyah muwaḥḥid*, and "was opposed to the uncontrollable speculative notion of mysticism" (Azra, *Origins*, 134). However, he bases these remarks on a Malay text, the *Tuhfat al-Raghibin*, which has now been reattributed to ʿAbd al-Ṣamad's contemporary Muhammad Arsyad al-Banjari. See Noorhaidi Hasan, "The Tuḥfat al-Rāghibīn: The Work of Abdul Samad al-Palimbani or of Muhammad Arsyad al-Banjari?" *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 163 (2007): 67–85; Ahmad, *Islam in the Malay World*, 261–3.

[50] For Ibn Taymiyya's critique of al-Ghazālī, see Ahmad Dallal, "Ghazali and the Perils of Interpretation," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 122 (2002): 774.

[51] Ovamir Anjum, "Sufism without Mysticism? Ibn al-Qayyim al-Ǧawziyyah's Objectives in the *Madārij al-Sālikīn*," *Oriente Moderno* 90 (2010): 161–188.

[52] For the date see Ahmad, *Islam in the Malay World*, 245. The text was published by the Ministry of Religious Affairs in Jakarta in 2009.

[53] The colophon of Jakarta A 209 reads as follows: *tamma taswīd hadhihi al-risāla al-musammā Naṣīḥat al-Muslimīn wa-Tadhkirat al-Muʾminīn ʿalā yad jāmiʿihā al-faqīr ilā allāh taʿālā ʿAbd al-Ṣamad al-Jāwī al-Falimbānī tilmīdh quṭb al-zamān walī allāh dhī al-ʿirfān sīdī al-shaykh Muḥammad al-Sammān nafaʿana allāh bihi waʾl-muslimīn yawm al-sabt*

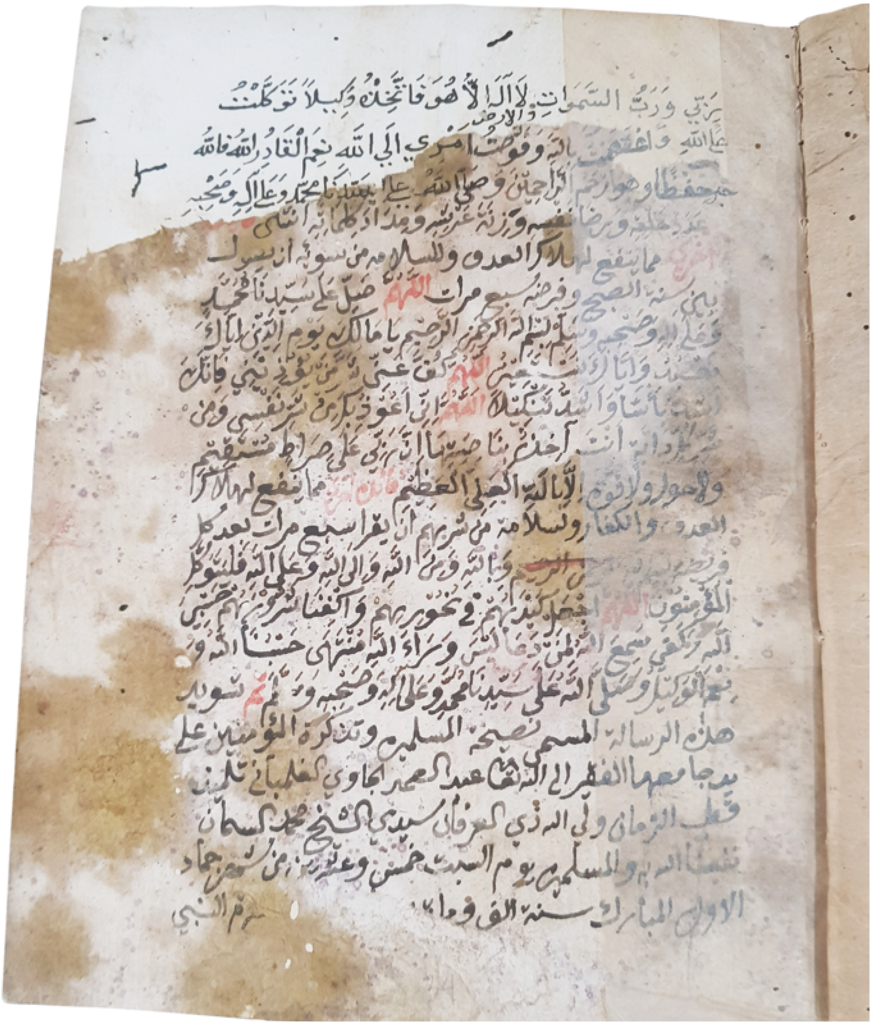

FIGURE 6.5 Colophon of the autograph manuscript of ʿAbd al-Ṣamad al-Palimbānī's *Naṣīḥat al-Muslimīn*. Jakarta, Perpustakaan Nasional, MS A 209

Writing in the early twentieth century, the Dutch government's advisor on Islam, Snouck Hurgronje, described the *Naṣīḥat al-Muslimīn* as a model for an Acehnese verse text composed at the height of the Dutch-Aceh war in 1894,

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khamsa wa-ʿishrīn min shahr Jumādā al-awwal al-mubārak sanat alf wa-miʾa. .... It is interesting how despite the lack of any obvious Sammaniyya related content in this text, ʿAbd al-Ṣamad emphasises his links to the *ṭarīqa* founder. The ms contains no subsequent evidence for its ownership or circulation.

the *Nasihat ureuëng muprang*, which he characterised as a "fanatical exhortation of all believers and the Achehnese in particular to do battle with all unbelievers and in particular the Dutch".[54] Azra follows the same line of argument, stating that ʿAbd al-Ṣamad wrote the work in Arabic rather than Malay so that it would not be understood by the Dutch.[55] This claim was also reiterated by Voorhoeve, who argued that the *Naṣīḥat al-Muslimīn* "contains fervent admonitions to holy war against infidels."[56] ʿAbd al-Ṣamad's reputation as a hard-line jihadi was given a further boost by the discovery of letters written by him to the sultan of Mataram and other Javanese princes which make reference to jihad. Ricklefs writes that they are "a significant historical landmark. They were the first evidence to come to light of an attempt from the world of international Islam to foment Holy War in Java in the second half of the eighteenth century."[57] Although Drewes argued they should be read in a purely local context, as letters of recommendation for Javanese pilgrims returning home,[58] Azra agreed with the basic idea that the letters were intended "to incite the Javanese rulers to take the lead in holy wars," above all against the Dutch.[59]

Few, if any, of the above references to ʿAbd al-Ṣamad's work seem to have been based on an acquaintance with the text of the *Naṣīḥat al-Muslimīn*. Rather more informed is the brief discussion by Mohammed Hussain Ahmad, who correctly notes that the text consists primarily of excerpts from the Qurʾan and hadith, and argues that rather than representing a fanatical exhortation to jihad it was "the work of a scholar who was concerned about the aggression of intruders into his homeland (and Islamic lands generally) and simply compiling Islamic texts and explaining them to his people … it also highlights his deep concern and sense of responsibility for his Jawi compatriots."[60] However, examination of the text throws Ahmad's analysis into doubt too. If ʿAbd al-Ṣamad was motivated to compose the work through concern at the plight of his Jawi co-religionists, one must wonder why he composed it in Arabic, in contrast to the majority of his other known works which are in Malay.

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[54] C. Snouck Hurgronje, *The Achehnese* (Leiden, 1906), vol. 2, 119.

[55] Azra, *Origins*, 140.

[56] P. Voorhoeve, "ʿAbd al-Samad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Palimbānī," *EI*².

[57] Merle Ricklefs, *Jogjakarta under Sultan Mangkubumi 1749–1792. A History of the Division of Java* (Oxford University Press, 1974), 154; Ricklefs reiterated this view in *Soul Catcher: Java's Fiery Prince Mangkunagara I 1726–95* (Singapore, 2019), 258.

[58] Drewes, "Further Data," 268.

[59] Azra, *Origins*, 143.

[60] Ahmad, *Islam in the Malay World*, 248.

The *Naṣīḥat al-Muslimīn* is divided into seven chapters:

1) On the virtues of jihad in God's path and in encouragement of it (comprised entirely of Qur'anic verses dealing with jihad)
2) Explanation of hadith concerning the virtue of jihad, which are numerous and reliable (*saḥīḥ*)
3) On the virtue of the *ribāṭ* and protecting it
4) Explanation of hadith on the virtue of charitable giving (*al-infāq*) for God's path, and equipping holy warriors (*ghuzāt*)
5) On the virtue of preparing weapons of jihad in God's path
6) On the virtue of martyrdom in God's path
7) Explanation of the rules (*aḥkām*) of jihad

The *Naṣīḥat al-Muslimīn* is comprised almost entirely of hadith from various well known authorities, such as al-Bukhārī, al-Suyūṭī, Ibn Ḥajar, al-Nawawī's *al-Minhāj* and al-Shaʿrānī's *Kashf al-Ghumma*. As in the seventeenth century works discussed in Chapters 3 and 4, the strong influence of Mamluk scholarship is noteworthy. There is little reference at all to any contemporary situation, with the possible exception of one brief line at end of chapter two:

> Jihad in the time of the Prophet was an obligation on the Muslim community (*farḍ kifāya*); some say it was an obligation on each individual Muslim (*farḍ ʿayn*). After the Prophet, the infidel fell into two categories: infidels in their own lands who were not attacking, in which case it is *farḍ kifāya*, and secondly infidels who entered the land of Islam seeking to fight; in this case jihad is a *farḍ ʿayn*, as al-Nawawī mentioned in *al-Minhāj*.[61]

While such a statement might be interpreted as an invocation to attack non-Muslim invaders, as ʿAbd al-Ṣamad indicates, it derives not from Southeast Asia but the Mamluk sultanate. Indeed, one might question to what extent there was a clear appreciation of the European threat in Southeast Asia, or the wider Muslim world, at this point. On the contrary, if ʿAbd al-Ṣamad had heard news of his homeland it would most likely have been of the growing power and prosperity of Palembang and the spread of Islam there. In fact, above all the *Naṣīḥat al-Muslimīn* reflects the increasing interest in hadith typical of

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[61] Jakarta A 209, p. 9
ان الجهاد في زمن النبي صلي اللّٰه عليه وسلم فرض كفاية و قيل بفرض عين واما بعده فللكفار حالان
احدهما يكون الكفار ببلادهم غير قاصدين شيئاً فالجهاد حيندئذ فرض كفاية الثاني يكون الكفار دخلوا
بلدة الاسلام قاصدين الحرابة فالجهاد حينئذ فرض عين كما ذكره النووي في منهاج وغيره

Sufi circles in the period, while harking back to earlier antecedents. As ʿAbd al-Ṣamad himself explains:

> The hadith that we have cited in this *Naṣīḥa* are quoted from *al-Jāmiʿ al-Ṣaghīr* of al-Ḥāfiẓ al-Suyūṭī, and the *Kashf al-Ghumma* of Shaykh ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Shaʿrānī, and the majority are from the treatise entitled *Maslak al-Rashād ilā al-Aḥādīth al-Wārida fi Faḍl al-Jihād* by the shaykh of our shaykhs, Mulla Ibrāhīm al-Kurdī al-Kūrānī, may God sanctify their secrets.[62]

The *Naṣīḥat al-Muslimīn* thus seems to derive largely from a lost work by al-Kūrānī which was evidently very similar in form, judging by its title.[63] Such interest in jihad is reflected in quite a few other texts from the period. Al-Kūrānī's contemporary, Muḥammad b. ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn al-Bābilī (d. 1077/1666) was an Egyptian specialist in hadith resident in the Hijaz who wrote a book on jihad dedicated to the Ottoman governor of Egypt.[64] ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī, whose works are recommended by ʿAbd al-Ṣamad in the *Sayr al-Salikin*, also wrote a treatise on jihad, although his focus was more on the 'greater jihad' against the self than the lesser one.[65] Interestingly, ʿAbd al-Ṣamad does not discuss this distinction at all. Possibly Sammani circles had a particular concern for these jihad-orientated texts, for ʿAbd al-Ṣamad ostentatiously calls himself the pupil (*tilmīdh*) of Muḥammad al-Sammān at both the beginning and end of the *Naṣīḥat al-Muslimīn*, again suggesting its intellectual inspiration must be located in the Hijaz rather than Southeast Asia, given the limited diffusion of the Sammaniya in the region at time it was composed. This impression is confirmed by another treatise on the same theme attributed to ʿAbd al-Ṣamad, the *Mulhiq fi Bayan Fawaʾid al-Jihad fi Sabil Allah*. This consists of prayers to be said to ensure the defeat of enemies, unbelievers and on jihad cited from

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[62] MS A 209
ان الاحاديث التي اوردناها في هذه النصيحة مقتبس من جامع الصغير للحافظ السيوطي ومن كشف الغمة للعارف بالله الشيخ عبدالوهاب الشعراني واكثرها من الرسالة المسمى بمسلك الرشاد الى الاحاديث الواردة في فضل الجهاد للعارف بالله شيخ مشايخنا ملا ابراهيم الكردي الكوراني قدس الله اسرارهم

[63] See Dumairieh, *Intellectual Life in the Ḥijāz before Wahhabism*, 169, 326, for al-Kūrānī's work, which is listed there as the *Maslak al-Irshād*.

[64] Nafi, "Tasawwuf and Reform," 314.

[65] See Rüdiger Lohlker, "Jihād in Ottoman Damascus: An Investigation into the Relation of Spiritual and Military Struggle," *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 105 (2015): 221–237.

Muḥammad al-Sammān and Muḥammad al-Sanūsī.[66] The prayers are cited in Arabic and then furnished with Malay translations, and the authorities cited point to a Sammani, Middle Eastern context for the work's composition rather than a Southeast Asian one. While it is possible that the circulation of such texts reflects to a limited degree the increasing pressures from Christian powers on the Ottoman empire, they are better understood in the context of the eighteenth century emphasis on hadith and the person of Muḥammad. Jihad was the Prophet's practice, and its emulation was therefore to be promoted. Certainly, the *Naṣīḥat al-Muslimīn* shares little in common with the Acehnese jihad manuals described by Snouck Hurgronje which explicitly and severely censure those who do not join the holy war against the Dutch. Indeed, on present evidence, it had very little impact on other texts.

As for ʿAbd al-Ṣamad's letters, a comparison with other examples suggests Drewes's reservations about their jihadi interpretation were correct. Two letters addressed to the sultan of Mataram and to another, uncertainly identified, Javanese prince have come down to us in a poor Dutch rendering of a Javanese translation of the original Arabic letters, which were intercepted by the Dutch at Semarang in 1772 before reaching their recipients.[67] A third letter in the same cache was composed by a certain Shaykh Muḥammad and was addressed to prince Mangkunagara. The two letters by ʿAbd al-Ṣamad are almost identical in contents, and evidently were intended to serve as letters of recommendations for two fellow ʿulamaʾ, who were bringing a present of Zamzam water to the Javanese rulers. The references to jihad are restricted to the opening compliments:

> Further, a sample of God's goodness is that He has moved the heart of the writer to despatch a letter from Mecca and, in addition, 'the Lord's favour', among all marks of honour which are as luminous as the stars that adorn the firmament, for the world is illuminated by the stars, which likewise is evidence of the power and the goodness of the Lord, as the latter lighten upon the garden of paradise, a garden defying enumeration and indeed of countless years' continuance, and with respect to which the Lord assures that those Sultans shall enter it whose magnanimity,

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[66] *Mulhiq fi Bayan Fawa'id al-Jihad fi Sabil Allah*, National Library of Malaysia, MSS 2269 (D), pp. 75–80. While the work contains no explicit attribution of authorship, it appears in a *majmūʿa* alongside either treatises by ʿAbd al-Ṣamad, notably *al-ʿUrwa al-Wuthqa* which gives his *silsila* to Muḥammad al-Sammān and the latter's masters.

[67] Drewes, "Further Data".

> virtue and prowess against enemies of other religion are without equal. Among these the king of Java, who maintains the religion of Islam and is triumphant over all potentates, and furthermore excels in good works in the war against those of other religion. The Lord reassures those who act in this way by saying, "Do not think that those who fell in the holy war are dead; certainly not, they are still alive" (Qur'an 2:154; 3:169). The Prophet Muḥammad says, "I was ordered to kill anyone but those who know God and me His Prophet." Those who are killed in the holy war are in odour of sanctity beyond praise; so this is a warning to all followers of Muḥammad.[68]

However, jihad references are found in other letters. Similar sentiments are expressed, even more clearly, in Shaykh Muḥammad's letter to Mangkunagara, which accompanied a present of a talismanic banner designed to assure the prince of victory over his enemies in battle.[69] Moreover, a letter written in c. 1824 by the Ahmad Tajuddin Halim Syah of Kedah to the Ottomans praises the sultan-caliph for having "made every unbeliever taste the cup of death with his sword" and as the "leader of ghazis", a longstanding element of Ottoman titulature.[70] Such compliments are perhaps apposite in a letter pleading for Ottoman aid against the infidel Siamese, but it is striking that Sultan Nuku of Tidore also described himself as *al-Sultan al-Sayid al-Jihadi* in a letter addressed to the English requesting an alliance against the Dutch in 1199/1785.[71] This may suggest that not too much should be read into the use of jihad references as anti-European propaganda.

On present evidence, ʿAbd al-Ṣamad's role in expounding jihad has thus been over-estimated by scholarship.[72] Of more significance was his promotion of the Sammaniyya *ṭarīqa*, his allegiance to which he prominently proclaimed in his writings. As we have seen, the Sammaniyya rapidly attained popularity in Palembang, and soon spread to Sulawesi, where it was adopted by the court of Buton. By the early nineteenth century, Buton became home to an impressive Arabic literary culture centred around Sufi texts, and numerous works were written in Arabic by Sultan Muḥammad ʿAydarūs (r. 1824–1851). ʿAbd al-Ṣamad's role in the dissemination of the Sammaniyya even to such distant regions is reflected in a rare copy of Muḥammad al-Sammān's *al-Nafaḥāt al-Ilāhiyya fī Kayfiyyat Sulūk al-Ṭarīqa al-Muḥammadiyya*, owned by Sultan Muḥammad ʿAydarūs, which was copied at the request of a pupil of ʿAbd al-Ṣamad's, Muḥammad Zayn b. Shams al-Dīn al-Jāwī (Fig. 6.6). Doubtless its association, if indirect, with ʿAbd al-Ṣamad would have made it a prized possession of the sultan's, especially given the emphasis on *murīd-murshid* ties that this text emphasises.[73] Other works by Muḥammad al-Sammān also circulated in Buton, and Arabic manuscripts copied there indicate an interest in the same texts by al-Ghazālī that ʿAbd al-Ṣamad translated, with Arabic copies of the *Bidāyat al-Hidāya* and the *Zād al-Muttaqīn* alongside his Malay works. Far from rejecting *waḥdat al-wujūd*, in Buton the Seven Grades system became institutionalised in the government of the sultanate. Indeed, the works of Hamzah Fansuri, al-Burhānpūrī, and Shams al-Dīn al-Sumāṭrāʾī were all studied in Buton, along with Shattari and Naqshbandi texts.[74] All these Buton manuscripts date to the early nineteenth century. Here at least, then, Abd al-Ṣamad's influence did not result in effacing other *ṭarīqa*s. Indeed, it would probably better to see the Sammaniyya influence as complementing and even reinforcing interest in *wujūdī* texts, for it is evident that ʿAbd al-Ṣamad himself encouraged their study for the *muntahī*. How much of this synthesis actually derived from the oral teachings of Muḥammad al-Sammān and how much from ʿAbd al-Ṣamad's own initiative is harder to say.

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[68] Drewes, "Further Data," 270.

[69] Drewes, "Further Data," 271–2.

[70] İsmail Hakkı Kadı and A.C.S. Peacock, *Ottoman Southeast Asian Relations* (Leiden, 2020), vol. 1, 76.

[71] Annabel T. Gallop and Bernard Arps, *Golden Letters: Writing Traditions of Indonesia Surat Emas: Budaya Tulis di Indonesia* (Jakarta, 1991), 132.

[72] This is not to suggest that Snouck Hurgronje was wrong about the Acehnese ʿulamaʾ's interest in jihad and related texts, just that the *Naṣīḥat al-Muslimīn* did not, on current evidence, feature among them. For an example of the commonplace book of a late nineteenth century Acehnese *ʿālim* containing substantial excerpts from Arabic treatises on jihad, see Jakarta, ML 260, discussed in A.C.S. Peacock, "Persian Kings, an Ottoman Sultan, and the Jihad Against the Dutch: A War Booty Manuscript from Aceh in Malay and

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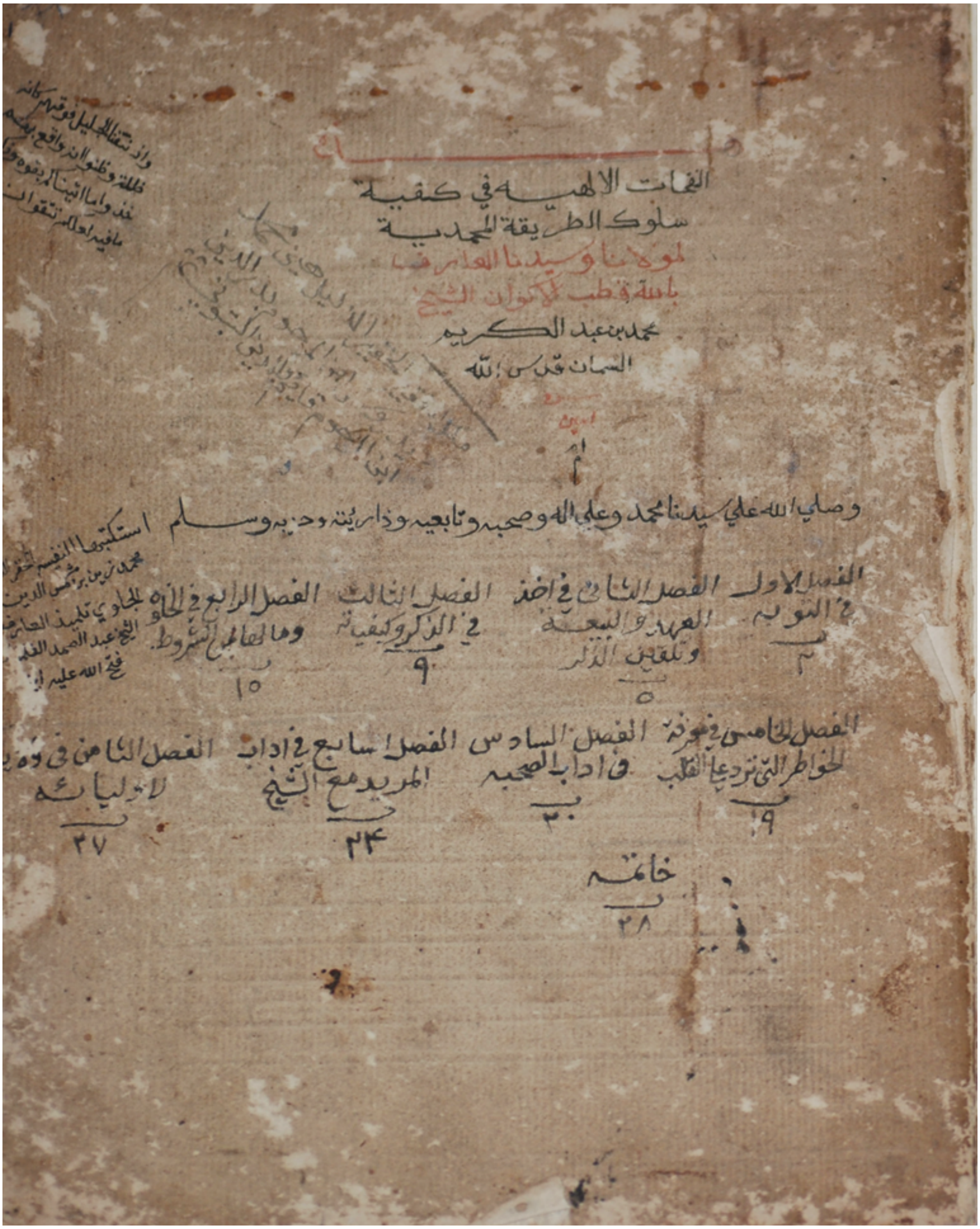
Arabic" in Mohamad Nasrin Mohamad Nasir (ed.), *Manuscript Studies in the 21st Century* (Kuala Lumpur, in press).

[73] Peacock, "Arabic Manuscripts from Buton," 55–8; cf. Drewes, "A Note," 76 on the rarity of Muḥammad al-Sammān's works in Indonesia.

[74] For these details, see Yunus, *Posisi Tasawuf*, 51–66; see also Achadiati Ikram et al, *Katalog Naskah Buton: Koleksi Abdul Mulku Zahari* (Jakarta, 2002).



النفحات الالهيه في كيفية
سلوك الطريقة المحمدية
لمولانا وسيدنا العارف
بالله قطب الاكوان الشيخ
محمد بن عبد الكريم
السمان قدس الله
سره
امين
ام

وصلي الله علي سيدنا محمد وعلي اله وصحبه وتابعيه وذاريته وحزبه وسلم

استكتبها الفقير الحقير
محمد زين بن ... شمس الدين
الجاوي تلميذ العارف
الشيخ عبد الصمد الفل
فتح الله عليه

الفصل الاول في التوبه ٣
الفصل الثاني في اخذ العهد والبيعة وتلقين الذكر ٥
الفصل الثالث في الذكر وكيفيته ٩
الفصل الرابع في الخلوة وما لها من الشروط ١٥
الفصل الخامس في معرفة الخواطر التي ترد على القلب ١٩
الفصل السادس في اداب الصحبه ٢٠
الفصل سابع في اداب المريد مع الشيخ ٢٤
الفصل الثامن في ... الاوليائه ٢٧
خاتمه ٢٨

FIGURE 6.6 Muḥammad al-Sammān, *al-Nafaḥāt al-Ilāhiyya fī Kayfiyyat Sulūk al-Ṭarīqa al-Muḥammadiyya*. MS in possession of Sultan Muḥammad ʿAydarūs of Buton, copied at the request of a pupil of ʿAbd al-Ṣamad al-Palimbānī's. Abdul Mulku Zahari collection, Bau-Bau, IS/14/AMZ; Image courtesy of British Library, Endangered Archives Programme, EAP 212/1/4

2 ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Qahhār and His Middle Eastern Teachers

In political and literary culture, the eighteenth century court of Banten presented a striking contrast to Palembang. If Palembang was on the up, then Banten's political demise had been evident since the late seventeenth century when the Dutch had seized effective control. Even if the sultans were divested of most of their political powers, however, links with Arabia remained strong. Like Palembang, Banten had a notable Arab population, and Arab ʿulamaʾ officiated at court. Banten had a longer established local administration than Palembang, operating predominantly in Javanese, but Arabic played a much larger role in court life. Whereas in Palembang, most of the Arabic manuscripts were evidently imported from the Middle East rather than copied locally, and no new Arabic works were composed there, the Banten *kraton* patronised the composition of new Arabic texts, as well as the recopying of older manuscripts locally. The latter were often furnished with interlinear translations, but the Arabic text maintained its primacy. I will discuss this phenomenon more fully in the discussion of the Banten *kraton* library in the following chapter, but here I wish to focus on the key figure in Arabic literature in eighteenth century Banten, ʿAbdallāh b ʿAbd al-Qahhār.

Like many of his contemporaries, ʿAbdallāh spent long periods studying in the Hijaz, but was also a close associate of the sultan of Banten Zayn al-ʿĀshiqīn (r. 1753–1773) and his son, the heir apparent and future sultan ʿAlī al-Dīn (r. 1773–1799), to whose reigns many of the manuscripts in the sultanate library date. Indeed, in quite a few instances, these manuscripts were evidently brought back from the Hijaz by ʿAbdallāh, who also composed his own Arabic works that were designed to explain Sufism to his royal audience, in addition to copying texts by earlier authors. ʿAbdallāh played a major part in disseminating both the Shattariyya and Rifaʿiyya orders at court and beyond, not just in northwest Java; his name can even be found in *silsila*s from as far away as Mindanao in the Philippines.[75] Despite ʿAbdallāh's major importance in the religious culture of late eighteenth century Java, he remains a largely unresearched figure. He does not receive even a passing mention in Azra's fundamental study on networks of ʿulamaʾ between Southeast Asia and the Middle East, and the titles of his original works are incorrectly recorded in

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[75] Tommy Christomy, "Ta'lif Shaykhuna al-Shaykh Haji ʿAbd Allah Ibn ʿAbd al-Qahhar al-Shattari al-Bantani dalam Naskah Maranaw, Lanay del Sur-Mindanao," in Titik Putjiastuti and Tommy Christomy, *Teks, Naskah da Kelisanan Nusantara: Festschrift Untuk Prof Achiadati Ikram* (Depok, 2011), 88–112.

Brockelmann.[76] Here, I aim to set out what we can glean of his life, his studies in the Hijaz, his works and his own intellectual interests as represented by some *majmūʿa*s that belonged to him

3 ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Qahhār's Life

Neither the date of birth nor the ancestry of ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Qahhār can easily be established. Although he has been identified as the son of the Sultan of Banten ʿAbd al-Qahhār (Sultan Haji), there is no evidence that this sultan had a son named ʿAbdallāh. A more credible story is related in the *Sejarah Cianjur*, which claims that a Shaykh ʿAbd al-Qahhār married a granddaughter of Sultan Ageng Tirtiyasa, whose son was ʿAbdallāh al-Rifāʿī, who is doubtless our author; this ʿAbdallāh al-Rifāʿī in turn married the daughter of the Adipati of Cianjur, Wira Tanu Datar IV.[77] This is supported by the fact that ʿAbdallāh's works do mention a connection to Cianjur.[78] In addition, he was active at the court of Cirebon. We do not have an exact date of birth or death for ʿAbdallāh, but the extant manuscripts and texts copied or written by him were made between 1154/1741 and 1196/1782.[79] This seems to suggest as date of birth sometime around 1710 to 1720, with his death after 1196/1782. He was thus an almost exact contemporary of ʿAbd al-Ṣamad al-Palimbānī.

Our main source for ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Qahhār's activities are his own writings and the manuscripts he copied and owned, many of which are now held by the National Library of Indonesia. It is not possible to reconstruct when he left the Hijaz to return to Southeast Asia with any certainty, but a number of manuscripts in ʿAbdallāh's hand mention the date and place of copying. A copy of Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Bāqī al-Zurqānī's *Asʾila* was made by ʿAbdallāh in Ṣafar 1159/February 1746 in Mecca (Fig. 6.7),[80] while ʿAbdallāh's own treatise on the hajj in the same composite volume is dated 1161/1748, and

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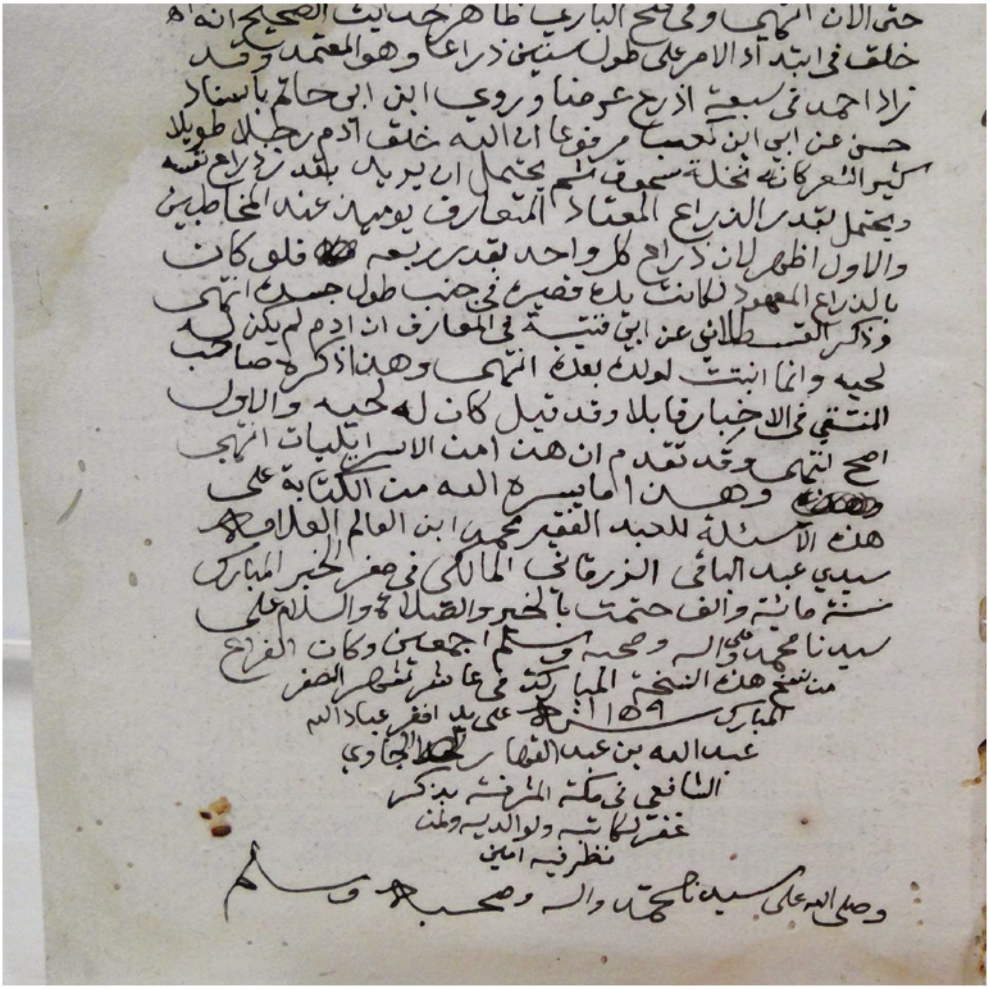
[76] The main studies are Ade Fakih Kurniawan, "Konsep ʿAwalim ʿAbd Allah b. ʿAbd al-Qahhar al-Bantani dalam Diskursus Wujudiyya," *Alqalam* 28/3 (2011): 419–448; Ade Fakih Kurniawan, "Konsep Tajalli ʿAbd al-Lāh ibn ʿAbd al-Qahhār al-Bantanī dan Posisinya dalam Diskursus Wujūdiyyah di Nusantara," *Ulumuna: Jurnal Studi Keislaman* 17/2 (2013): 275–302; Muhammad Shoheh, "Futuh Al-asrar Fi Fadhail At-tahlil Wa Al-adzkar Karya Syaikh ʿAbdullah bin ʿ Abd al-Qahhar al-Jawi al-Bantani," *Alqalam* 28/2 (2011): 279–318.

[77] Kurniawan, "Konsep Awalim," 424; Shoheh, "Futuh al-asrar," 285–6; these give his last attested date as 1190/1776, but see the discussion below.

[78] Jakarta, A 31, p. 237, *māʾ al-nujūr mujāwiratan*, glossed in *pegon* as Cianjur; cf. van Bruinessen, "Sharia Court," 182.

[79] Shoheh, "Futuh al-asrar," 286.

[80] Jakarta, A 131, p. 28.



حتى الان انتهى وفي فتح الباري ظاهر حديث الصحيح انه
خلق في ابتدا الامر على طول ستين ذراعا وهو المعتمد وقد
زاد احمد في سبعة اذرع عرضا وروى ابن ابي حاتم باسناد
حسن عن ابي ابن كعب مرفوعا ان الله خلق ادم رجلا طويلا
كثير الشعر كانه نخلة سحوق ثم يحتمل ان يريد بقدر ذراع نفسه
ويحتمل بقدر الذراع المعتاد المتعارف يومئذ عند المخاطبين
والاول اظهر لان ذراع كل واحد بقدر ربعه فلو كان
بالذراع المعهود لكانت يده قصيرة في جنب طول جسده انتهى
وذكر القسطلاني عن ابن قتيبة في المعارف ان ادم لم يكن له
لحيه وانما انبتت لولده بعده انتهى وهذا ذكره صاحب
المنتقى في الاخبار قايلا وقد قيل كان له لحيه والاول
اصح انتهى وقد تقدم ان هذا من الاسرايليات انتهى
وهذا اما يسره الله من الكتابة على
هذه الاسئلة للعبد الفقير محمد ابن العالم العلامة
سيدي عبد الباقي الزرقاني المالكي في صفر الخير المبارك
سنة مائة والف ختمت بالخير والصلاة والسلام على
سيدنا محمد وعلى اله وصحبه وسلم اجمعين وكان الفراغ
من نسخ هذه النسخة المباركة في عاشر من شهر الصفر
المبارك سنة ١١٥٩ على يد افقر عباد الله
عبد الله بن عبد القهار الجاوي
الشافعي في مكة المشرفة بذكر
غفر لكاتبه ولوالديه ولمن
نظر فيه امين
وصلى الله على سيدنا محمد واله وصحبه وسلم

FIGURE 6.7 Colophon to al-Zurqānī's *al-As'ila*, copied by ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Qahhār al-Jāwī in Mecca in Ṣafar 1159/February 1746. Jakarta, Perpustakaan Nasional, MS A 131, p. 29

was also apparently written while he was still in Mecca.[81] *Ijāza*s from his teachers also confirm his whereabouts. In 1161/1748, ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Qahhār was granted an *ijāza* by Yūsuf b. Aḥmad al-Ghazzī which specifically refers to his presence in *balad allāh al-ḥarām*, in other words Mecca.[82] An *ijāza* from his teacher Muḥammad al-Ṭabarī (discussed below) to ʿAbdallāh is dated

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[81] Jakarta, A 131, p. 74.

[82] Jakarta, A 656, fol. 148b–149a.

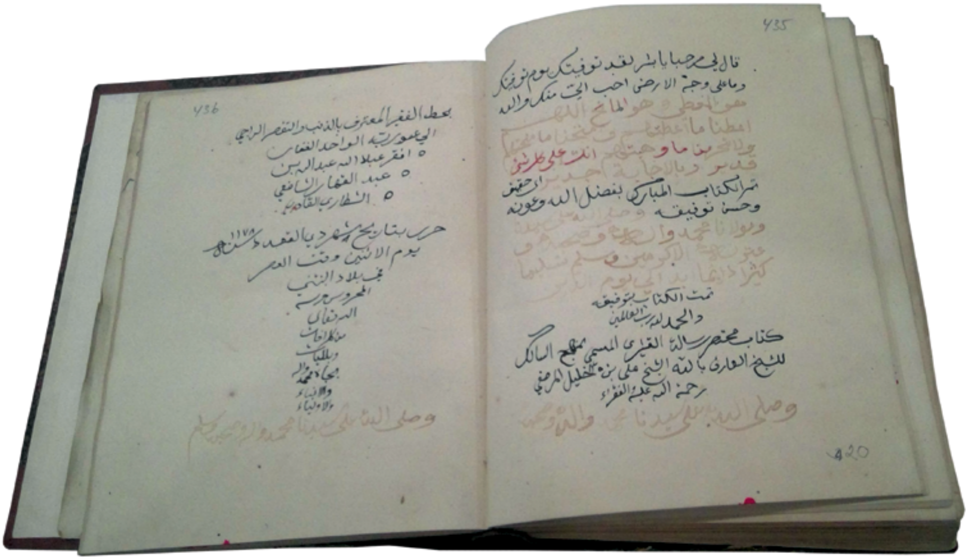

FIGURE 6.8 Colophon to the abridgement of al-Qushayrī's *al-Risāla*, the *Minhāj al-Sālikīn*, copied by ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Qādir in Banten in Dhū'l-Qiʿda 1187/January–February 1774. Jakarta, Perpustakaan Nasional, MS A 114, pp. 435–6

Jumādā II 1162/1749, indicating he was still present in the Hijaz at that point.[83] His *Fatḥ al-Mulūk* was dedicated to Zayn al-ʿĀshiqīn in 1184/1770,[84] suggesting he had returned to Java in the meantime. A colophon in a copy in Abdallāh's hand of an abridgement of al-Qushayrī's famous manual on Sufism, entitled *Minhāj al-Sālik ilā Ashraf al-Masālik*, states that it was copied in Banten in Dhū'l-Qiʿda 1187/January-February 1774 (Fig. 6.8).[85] In short, it seems ʿAbdallāh was active in the Hijaz in the 1740s and Banten in the 1770s, but we have no clear indication as to his whereabouts in the interim period.

As will be discussed in more detail below, ʿAbdallāh was *khalīfa* (i.e., effectively the regional head) of the Rifaʿi and Shattari orders, into which he personally inducted the sultans of Banten. In addition, he was most likely the chief *khaṭīb* of Banten, responsible for delivering the Friday sermon. This is suggested by a book of *khuṭba*s that was evidently in his possession, Jakarta MS A 74. Although the *khuṭba*s are by an Indian author, Muḥammad b. Ḥasan al-Kālīkūtī, the manuscript seems to have been made in Java. A note in

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[83] Jakarta, A 656, fol. 56a.

[84] Jakarta, A 111.

[85] Jakarta, A 114, p. 436.

ʿAbdallāh's hand on the opening folio asks for blessings upon Sultan Abū'l-Naṣr Muḥammad ʿĀrif Zayn al-ʿĀshiqīn.[86] The book offers a year-round collection of *khuṭba*s for each Friday, from the first of Muḥarram to the end of Dhū'l-Ḥijja. The text was evidently meant for the use of *khaṭīb*s rather than anyone else, as is suggested by the various stage notes it contains. For example, at the end of the sermon for the first Friday in Muharram, al-Kālīkūtī notes that if the sultan is present the preacher should use the formula "I remind you what God and his prophet ordered you" rather than "I order you."[87]

In addition to the court of Banten, ʿAbdallāh also had close connections to those of Palembang and Cirebon. One manuscript records his teaching of Shattari and Naqshbandi *dhikr* to a Palembang prince.[88] In Cirebon, where by the eighteenth century, there were four different *kraton*s owing to split in the ruling dynasty, a Shattari *silsila* names ʿAbdallāh as the teacher of a royal woman of the ruling dynasty, mentioned only by her title of Kanjeng Ratu Ibu, who was evidently the mother of the Cirebon sultans.[89] He is also named in *silsila*s from the junior Kaprabonan court in Cirebon. The Cirebon *silsila*s indicate he may also have played a role in the spread of the Rifaʿiyya, Muḥammadiyya and Naqshbandiyya *ṭarīqa*s.[90] Less clear, but nonetheless apparent, is ʿAbdallāh's influence in the Philippines, as we can see from the books of Muḥammad Saʿīd from Marano, believed to be the first of his society to undertake the hajj and stay in Mecca. A manuscript of the Shattari *silsila* in Marano City owned by him also contains a seal of ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Qahhār, suggesting the men's association, and as I will mention below, other texts in his library claim to be compositions by ʿAbdallāh.[91] The exact paths of transmission remain opaque, but they remind us that ʿAbdallāh was of more than purely local, Banteni significance. However, the wider influence of ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Qahhār in Southeast Asia requires further research.

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[86] Jakarta, A 74, p. ii.

[87] Jakarta, A 74, p. 7.

[88] Pigeaud, *Literature of Java*, vol. 2, 329; Leiden University Library, MS Or 5603.

[89] Oman Fathurahman, *The Shaṭṭāriyah Silsilah in Aceh, Java, and the Lanao area of Mindanao* (Jakarta, 2017), 53–5.

[90] Mahrus, "Karekteristik Silsilah Abdullah bin Abdul Kahhar dalam Naskah Syattariyah wa Muhamadiyah di Keraton Kaprabonan Cirebon Akhir Abad Ke-19," in Dewaki Kramadibrata (ed.), *Aksara, Naskah dan Budaya Nusantara* (Tangerang, 2017), 133–155; Christomy, *Signs of the Wali*, 99.

[91] Christomy, "Ta'lif Shaykhuna," 92.

4 The Formation of an Intellectual Network: ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Qahhār's Teachers

We are well informed about ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Qahhār's intellectual formation through the list of teachers he gives in the *silsila*s appended to his work *Fatḥ al-Mulūk*.[92] *Ijāza*s show that he studied for extended periods in Medina, Mecca and Yemen. Possibly the most important was Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Ḥusaynī (or al-Ḥasanī) al-Ṭabarī, whom ʿAbdallāh calls *ʿumdatī wa-waṣīlatī ilā allāh*.[93] Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Ṭabarī (d. 1173/1760), who had the *laqab* of al-Jamāl al-Akhīr, was imam at the Maqam Ibrahim in Mecca, and is best known as a historian of Mecca, having written the *Itḥāf Fuḍalāʾ al-Zamān*, dealing with the history of Mecca from earliest times to the present day, praising its Ottoman rulers, as well as several other historical works.[94] He was a member of a distinguished scholarly family of ʿAlid descent that had been influential in sixteenth and seventeenth century Mecca too, and his father, ʿAlī al-Ṭabarī, had taught ʿAbd al-Raʾūf al-Singkilī.[95] Muḥammad al-Ṭabarī wrote more than fifty works on a wide range of subjects from religion to literature, such as *al-Ḥujja al-Nāhiḍa fī Ibṭāl Madhhab al-Rāfiḍa*, apparently a condemnation of Shiism, and a commentary on the *Muʿallaqāt*, preserved in an autograph manuscript (MS Princeton Garrett 1).[96] However, only three of his works are preserved in Jakarta: al-Ṭabarī's list of the books he had studied and the authorities who had transmitted them to him, the *Fayḍ al-Aḥad*, discussed below, and two short texts on the benefits of the month of Shaʿbān and the Qurʾan, *Manhal al-ʿAṭshān fī Faḍl Laylat Niṣf Shaʿbān* and *Shajarat al-Rayḥān fī Khatm al-Qurʾān*. Both of the latter are copied in ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Qahhār's own hand.[97] Despite the evident interest in historiography that Meccans evinced in this period, ʿAbdallāh states he studied Sufism, *fiqh* and hadith with al-Ṭabarī, but makes no reference to his teacher's historical activities. This is reflected in the manuscripts by al-Ṭabarī in Jakarta, which are restricted to certain religious texts that were by no means necessarily the ones for which he was famous in the Middle East.

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[92] Jakarta, A 111.

[93] Jakarta, A 111.

[94] These are listed, with brief biographical detail, in al-Hīla, *al-Taʾrīkh wa'l-Muʾarrikhūn*, 402–4; see also GAL, S II 516.

[95] Azra, *Origins*, 24–5, 74

[96] ʿAbd al-Ḥayy al-Kattānī, *Fihris al-Fahāris wa'l-Athbāt wa-Muʿjam al-Maʿājim wa'l-Mashyakhāt wa'l-Musalsalāt*, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās (Beirut, 1986), sub *Fayḍ al-Aḥad*.

[97] Jakarta MS A 655, fol. 107b–112a *Manhal al-ʿAṭshān fī faḍl laylat niṣf Shaʿbān*, fol. 212a–217a *Shajarat al-Rayḥān fi Khatm al-Qurʾān*.

Muḥammad al-Ṭabarī's own teachers had included the hadith scholar ʿAbdallāh b. Sālim al-Baṣrī (d. 1134/1722),[98] and, in particular, the chief preacher at the mosque of Mecca and mufti of the Hijaz during the reign of Sultan Aḥmed III (1114/1703–1143/1730), ʿAbd al-Qādir b. Abī Bakr al-Ṣiddīqī, who was a noted poet and scholar. It is possible that ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Qahhār's father (of whom we know nothing else) also studied with ʿAbd al-Qādir, for a note in the end of the Banten copy of al-Ṭabarī's *Fayḍ al-Aḥad* states that a certain ʿAbd al-Qahhār studied with (*akhadha ʿinda*) ʿAbd al-Qādir.[99] Muḥammad al-Ṭabarī wrote a work devoted to Shaykh ʿAbd al-Qādir's qualities, the *Bayt al-Qaṣīda min Dhaka al-Ṭirāz*, while ʿAbd al-Qadir's son, Yaḥyā, also commemorated his father in the *Ṭārif al-Majd*.[100] The composition of these panegyric works suggests the prestige ʿAbd al-Qādir enjoyed in Mecca, while if the assumption ʿAbdallāh's father had studied with him is correct, it suggests how his son may have gained an entrée into scholarly circles in the Hijaz.

The most notable of al-Ṭabarī's works in the Banten collection is *Fayḍ al-Aḥad bi-ʿIlm ʿUluww al-Sanad*,[101] a work listing Ṭabarī's *sanads* and teachers, which was furnished with a Javanese translation and copied in a fine Banten *naskh* (see further Chapter 7 for a discussion of this script) (Fig. 6.9).[102] ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Qahhār tells us that he had been given an *ijāza* to transmit this work,[103] and a second copy (in Arabic only) also exists in a *majmūʿa* in ʿAbdallāh's possession which has on its front page the *ijāza* in al-Ṭabarī's own handwriting, dated 1162/1749.[104] The importance of the work from the point of view of the sultanate library was doubtless that it ultimately showed the source of ʿAbdallāh's authority to transmit the texts it held. Perhaps the most surprising feature of the *Fayḍ al-Aḥad* is the large number of Maghrebi shaykhs who feature in the transmission lines. Muḥammad al-Ṭabarī himself had studied with a certain Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh al-Maghribī who had also inducted him into an unspecified Sufi order, or perhaps various orders (*albasanī al-khiraq*).[105] Through Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh al-Maghribī, a large number of

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[98] On ʿAbdallāh b. Sālim see al-Hīla, *al-Taʾrīkh waʾl-Muʾarrikhūn*, 388–9; Voll, "ʿAbdallah ibn Salim al-Basri."

[99] Jakarta A 34, p. 314 اخذ السيخ عبد القهار ايضا عند سيدي عبد القادر المختلس واخذ الشهاب. That his father had scholarly interests is also suggested by Yūsuf al-Ghazzī's *ijāza*, which calls ʿAbdallah, "son of Shaykh ʿAbd al-Qahhār." Jakarta, A 656, p. 148.

[100] On these see GAL S II 516; al-Hīla, *al-Taʾrīkh waʾl-Muʾarrikhūn*, 390–391.

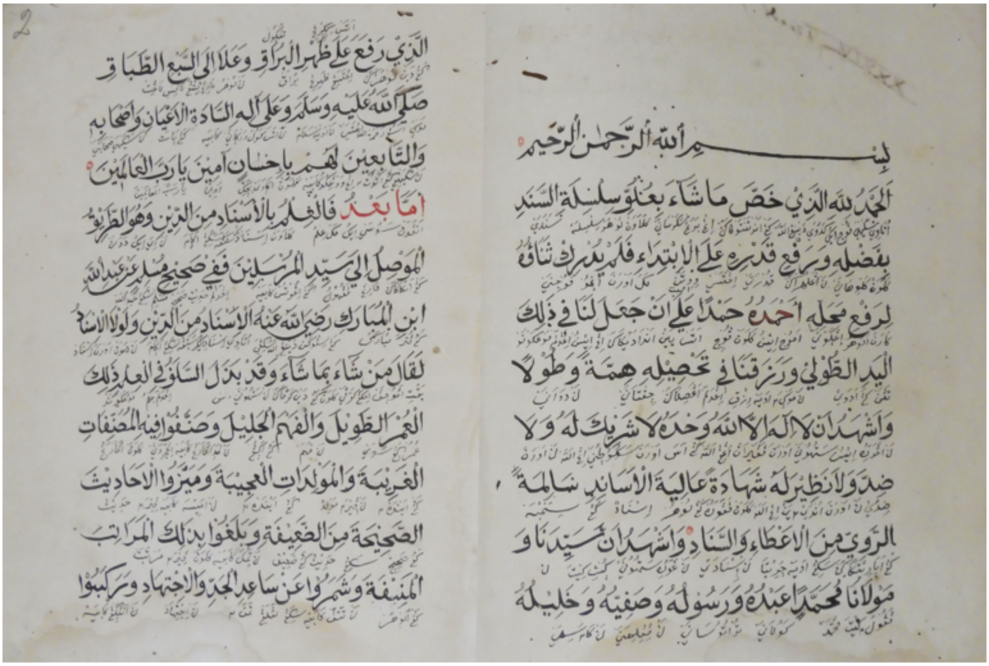
[101] Jakarta, A 34.

[102] GAL, S II, 516 mistakenly attributes this to another author, al-ʿIṣāmī.

[103] Jakarta, A 111.

[104] Jakarta, A 656, fol. 56b–137b.

[105] Jakarta, A 34, p. 71.



بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
الحمد لله الذي خص ما شاء بعلو سلسلة السند
بفضله ورفع قدره على الابتداء فلم يدرك شأوه
لرفع محله أحمده حمدا على ان جعل لنا في ذلك
اليد الطولى ورزقنا في تحصيله همة وطولا
واشهد ان لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له ولا
ضد ولا نظير له شهادة عالية الاسانيد سالمة
الروى من الاعطاء والسناد واشهد ان سيدنا و
مولانا محمدا عبده ورسوله وصفيه وخليله

الذي رفع على ظهر البراق وعلا الى السبع الطباق
صلى الله عليه وسلم وعلى آله السادة الاعيان واصحابه
والتابعين لهم باحسان آمين يا رب العالمين
أما بعد فالعلم بالاسناد من الدين وهو الطريق
الموصل الى سيد المرسلين ففي صحيح مسلم عن عبد الله
ابن المبارك رضي الله عنه الاسناد من الدين ولولا الاسناد
لقال من شاء بما شاء وقد بذل السلف في العلم ذلك
العمر الطويل والفهم الجليل وصنفوا فيه المصنفات
الغريبة والمولدات العجيبة وميزوا الاحاديث
الصحيحة من الضعيفة وبلغوا بذلك المراتب
المنيفة وشمروا عن ساعد الجد والاجتهاد وركبوا

FIGURE 6.9 Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Ṭabarī, *Fayḍ al-Aḥad* with interlinear Javanese translation. Jakarta, Perpustakaan Nasional, MS A 34

shaykhs from Fes feature in the chain of transmission of Muḥammad al-Ṭabarī's *ijāza*.[106] From al-Maghribī, al-Ṭabarī held an *ijāza* for *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, along with everything else al-Maghribī taught. Large parts of the *Fayḍ al-Aḥad* are thus devoted to describing these Maghrebi transmission lines.[107] Interestingly, although al-Ṭabarī also claimed to have an authorisation from eastern scholars (*ṭarīq al-mashāriqa*) for the transmission of *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, this also went through Muhammmad b. ʿAbdallāh al-Maghribī, who had a second chain of transmission via Syrian and Egyptian teachers, as well as the famous al-Qushāshī of Medina.[108] Maghrebi scholars had had a major impact in Egypt since the late seventeenth century, where they played a particularly important role in popularising the study of logic, although they were also proficient in other fields.[109] Some Maghrebis also visited or even made their careers in the Hijaz, and al-Ṭabarī seems to have played a major role in mediating these Maghrebi influences with Java.

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[106] Jakarta, A 34, pp. 71–2.
[107] E.g. Jakarta, A 34, pp. 81–103.
[108] Jakarta, A 34, pp. 104–106.
[109] El-Rouayheb, *Islamic Intellectual History*, 136–141.

Another teacher of ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Qahhār in the Hijaz was ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Ṭanṭāwī al-Azharī, whom he calls "the sea of understanding in his age" (*baḥr al-fahāma fī ʿaṣrihi wa dahrihi*). Al-Ṭanṭāwī taught in *al-masjid al-ḥarām* in Mecca, and is today best known for his attempt to refute the ideas of the Arabian religious reformer Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Wahhāb in his book *Kitab Raḍʿ al-Ḍalāla wa Qamʿ al-Jahāla* composed in 1156/1743.[110] We know of three other books he wrote, *Badhl al-ʿAsjad fī Shayʾ min Asrār Muḥammad, ʿIqd al-Zabarjad min Ḥurūf Muḥammad*, and *al-Taysīr li-Murīd al-Tafsīr*.[111] Whilst the third of these was presumably a Qurʾan commentary, the first two indicate some esoteric interest in letters and secrets associated with Muḥammad. As we shall see, although none of these texts specifically have come to light in codices associated with ʿAbdallāh, others in his possession do suggest an interest in similarly occult themes, especially lettrism. A *majmūʿa* in ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Qahhār's hand allows us to add another text by al-Ṭanṭāwī to these, *Kitāb fī Risālat al-Asānīd waʾl-Ijāza*.[112] Reminiscent of al-Ṭabarī's *Fayḍ al-Aḥad*, although much shorter, this lists the texts and subjects for which al-Ṭantāwī held an *ijāza*: the readings of the Qurʾan, *fiqh*, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, the *Muwaṭṭaʾ* of Mālik, the *Arbaʿīn* of al-Nawawī, the *Minhāj al-ʿĀbidin* of al-Ghazālī, "a good part of" (*qiṭʿa kabīra min*) *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, and something of all of *al-kutub al-sitta*, the six canonical hadith collections.[113] Listing his own teachers, he transmitted the authority for teaching these works to Muḥammad Saʿīd (on whom see p. 235 above), at whose request the treatise was written. A note on the title page records how:

> I sought an *ijāza* after this treatise was written about a year before travelling to the land of Java. I said to Shaykh Saʿīd al-Bantanī, "Sir, give me an *ijāza* for the compositions mentioned in the treatise, for which Shaykh ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Ṭantāwī gave you an *ijāza*."[114]

The student seems to be seeking an *ijāza* for the text as a way of being authorised to teach all the texts therein – a convenient shortcut, for it would have

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[110] Samer Trablousi, "An Early Refutation of Muhammad ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhab's Reformist Views," *Die Welt des Islam* 42 (2002): 373–415.

[111] Trablousi, "An Early Refutation," 380.

[112] Jakarta, A 656, fol. 141–143.

[113] *Al-Kutub al-sitta* consist of: the *Ṣaḥīḥ*s of Muslim and al-Bukhārī; the *Sunan* of Abū Dāʾūd and al-Nasāʾī; the *Jāmiʿ* of al-Tirmidhī; opinion is divided on whether the sixth book is the *Muwaṭṭaʾ* of Mālik or the *Sunan* of Abū Māja.

[114] Jakarta, A 655, fol. 141a

فقد طلبت الاجازة بعد كتبنا هذه الرسالة قبل المسافر بسنة الي بلاد الجاوي و قلت لشيخ سعيد البنتني
يا مولانا يا.... اجزني بما في الرسالة من تصنيف الذي ازجكم الشيخ عبد الوهاب الطنطاوي

presumably taken much longer than a year to complete even the relatively limited curriculum of books which the *Risāla* authorised. In any event, it is clear that the standards for granting *ijāza*s could be fairly low, consisting merely of attendance at a reading session. ʿAbdallāh tells us of Shaykh Ṭanṭāwī that, "After he had finished reading and teaching it [*baʿd firāghihi min al-qirāʾa waʾl-dars*], the shaykh used to say to grant an *ijāza* to the people who were listening by saying 'I have granted you an *ijāza* for what I have related.'"[115] ʿAbdallāh himself held *ijāza*s from al-Ṭanṭāwī for a section of al-Bayḍāwī's *tafsīr* and hadith on the special qualities of the Prophet (*khaṣāʾiṣ al-nabawī*, sic).[116]

ʿAbdallāh also mentions among his teachers the renowned Egyptian hadith scholar Shaykh ʿAṭāʾ Allāh al-Miṣrī, a resident of Mecca who also taught ʿAbd al-Ṣamad al-Palimbānī.[117] The nisbas of other teachers suggest their international character, ranging from the Maghreb to Hadramaut to Mecca, such as the *muḥaddith* Saʿīd al-Maghribī al-Mālikī, shaykh Sālim al-Gharnūq al-Ḥaḍramī, and ʿAbdallāh b. al-Qaṭṭān al-Makkī. Saʿīd al-Maghribī was apparently a student of ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Ṭanṭāwī. Another teacher who gave Abdallāh an *ijāza* for Qurʾanic reading (*qirāʾa*), Yūsuf b. Aḥmad al-Ghazzī, states that he had received his authorisation from a certain Hāshim Muḥammad al-Maghribī, and so back through a shaykh al-Sijilmāsī (from the Moroccan city of Sijilmasa).[118] The Maghrebi connections of the intellectual elite of Mecca are thus underlined.

Qirāʾāt, the variant readings of the Qurʾan, were a particular focus of ʿAbdallāh's. He tells us that he studied "some of the seven [canonical] readings".[119] He lists his teachers for *qirāʾāt* as Yūsuf b. Aḥmad al-Ghazzī al-Qudsī,[120] ʿUmar al-Ḥāfiẓ al-Ḍarīr and Sayyid Muḥammad al-Maghāzī. Yūsuf al-Ghazzī also gave him an *ijāza* for all seven canonical readings. ʿAbdallāh also appears to have travelled to Yemen to study the *qirāʾāt* with Ismāʿīl al-Bazzī al-Zabīdī.[121] Otherwise, his studies included *tafsīr*, hadith, and al-Qushāshī's *al-Simṭ al-Majīd*, for which he held an *ijāza* from al-Kūrānī's grandson, Ibrāhīm al-Madanī b. Muḥammad Ṭāhir.[122]

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[115] Jakarta, A 111.

[116] Jakarta, A 111.

[117] Jakarta, A 111; on ʿAṭāʾ Allāh al-Miṣri, see Feener, "ʿAbd al-Samad in Arabia," 265; Azra, *Origins,* 115; Ahmad, *Islam in the Malay World,* 89–91.

[118] Jakarta, A 656, p. 149.

[119] Jakarta, A 111.

[120] This individual also appears as a copyist of al-Shaʿrānī's *al-Jawāhir waʾl-Durar* made in 1139/1727, Leiden University Library, MS. Or 17294, see Jan Just Witkam, *Inventory,* vol. 18, sv.

[121] Jakarta, A 656, fol. 148b–149a.

[122] Jakarta, A 111.

The record of ʿAbdallāh's time in Arabia thus shows that he studied with some of the leading scholars of the age, in particular the famed Muḥammad al-Ṭabarī and ʿAṭā' Allāh al-Miṣrī. In the Hijaz he must have encountered a wide range of Muslims from across the *dār al-Islām*, and as we shall, works he copied or purchased there reveal a particularly strong influence on the part of North Africans, perhaps reflecting their centrality to al-Ṭabarī's own scholarly career. This Maghrebi influence, as we shall see, is also reflected in the books ʿAbdallāh took back to Java.

5 ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Qahhār's Personal Library

A rather different impression of ʿAbdallāh's intellectual formation is given by the books from his personal library, some of which are now housed in the National Library of Indonesia. A number of these – although not all – evidently come from the Banten *kraton* library. The diversity of ʿAbdallāh's interests, as well as the Maghrebi connection given by his teachers, is suggested by Jakarta MS A 159, a collection of some 15 different texts in various hands which bears the ownership statement of ʿAbdallāh. The texts, which apart from some marginal notes at the end in Javanese, are entirely in Arabic, seem to represent ones encountered by ʿAbdallāh during his studies in the Hijaz. ʿAbdallāh identifies himself as the copyist of Ibn Ḥājib's *Kāfiyya*, an elementary treatise on Arabic grammar (Fig. 6.10).[123] Only one other copyist identifies himself, Abū'l-Fatḥ b. Saʿīd al-Ḥajarī al-Makkī, working in 1149/1736.[124] Very likely then, these disparate texts were acquired by ʿAbdallāh in Mecca from his acquaintances and social circle, including fellow Jāwa, and were subsequently bound together on his instructions to form a single volume.

There is thus little coherence in subject matter, but the texts are still revealing of ʿAbdallāh's intellectual life. Much of the volume is taken is taken up with elementary student texts: apart from Ibn Ḥājib's *Kāfiyya*, there is a popular work on logic, versified for easy memorisation, *al-Sullam al-Murawnaq fī ʿIlm al-Manṭiq* by the Maghrebi scholar al-Akhḍarī (d. 953/1546) (itself an abridgement of al-Abharī's famous *al-Īsāghūjī*, of which the Banten library held a copy, Jakarta MS A 149), along with a commentary by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Khayḍarī; these were among the works the seventeenth century Maghrebis had popularised in the Hijaz. The codex also contains a commentary on the Andalusian Ibn Yasmīn's verse treatise on algebra, *al-Urjūza al-Yasmīniyya*,

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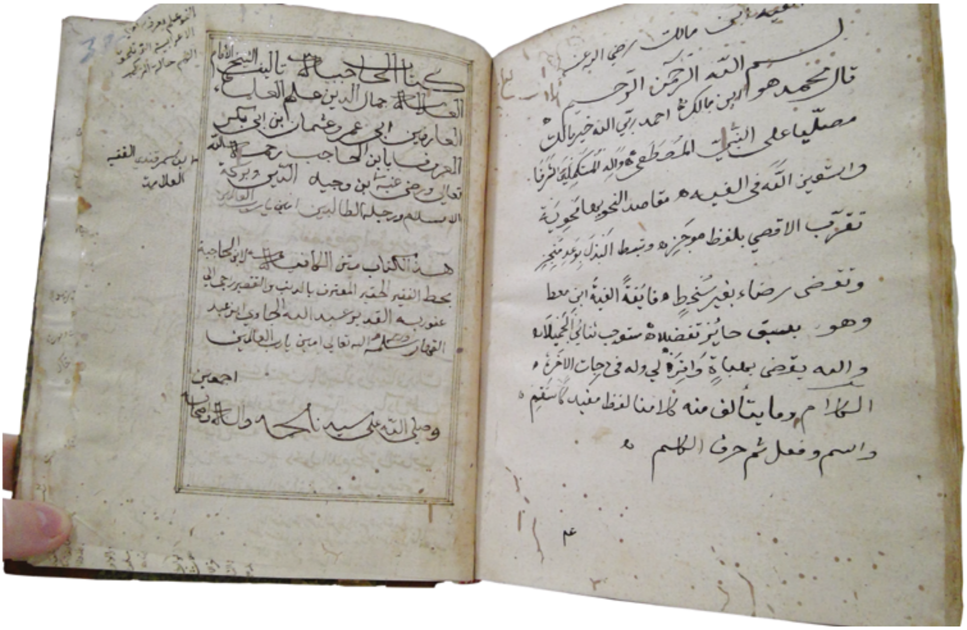
[123] Jakarta, A 159, p. 317.

[124] Jakarta, A 159, p. 46.



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بخط الفقير الحقير المعترف بالذنب والتقصير راجي
عفو ربه القدير عبد الله [illegible]
القهار [illegible] امين يا رب العالمين
اجمعين
وصلى الله على سيدنا محمد وآله وصحبه

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
قال محمد هو ابن مالك احمد ربي الله خير مالك
مصليا على النبي المصطفى وآله المستكملين الشرفا
واستعين الله في الفيه مقاصد النحو بها محويه
تقرب الاقصى بلفظ موجز وتبسط البذل بوعد منجز
وتقتضي رضا بغير سخط فائقة الفية ابن معط
وهو بسبق حائز تفضيلا مستوجب ثنائي الجميلا
والله يقضي بهبات وافره لي وله في درجات الاخره
الكلام وما يتالف منه كلامنا لفظ مفيد كاستقم
واسم وفعل ثم حرف الكلم

FIGURE 6.10 Frontispiece of Ibn Ḥājib, *al-Kāfiyya*, copied by ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Qahhār, part of a *majmūʿa* in various hands he owned. Jakarta Perpustakaan Nasional, MS A 159, p. 317

another well-known popular introductory work. More surprising is the presence of a treatise on geomancy by a shaykh from Tlemcen, and another work on *ʿilm al-wafq*, the art of making magic squares, by a westerner resident in Cairo, Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. al-Shaykh Muḥammad al-Maqqarī al-Tilimsānī al-Fāsī (d. 1041/1632).[125] Indeed, perhaps the most striking aspect of the manuscript is the distinct interest in esoteric subjects that ʿAbdallāh shows (Fig. 6.11). The first two treatises in the work (the first anonymous and in prose) concern *ʿilm al-wafq*, while later, an Arabic translation of Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī's treatise on geomancy (*ʿilm al-raml*) features, alongside the work compiled by the Tlemceni shaykh ʿAmī.[126] There are also various practical notes, probably by ʿAbdallāh himself, on the length of days in various seasons at Mecca – useful for calculating prayer times – and Arabic calendrical systems. These calendrical topics appear quite frequently in codices associated with ʿAbdallāh.

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[125] On him see El-Rouayheb, *Islamic Intellectual History*, 154–5.

[126] Jakarta, A 159,p. 199.

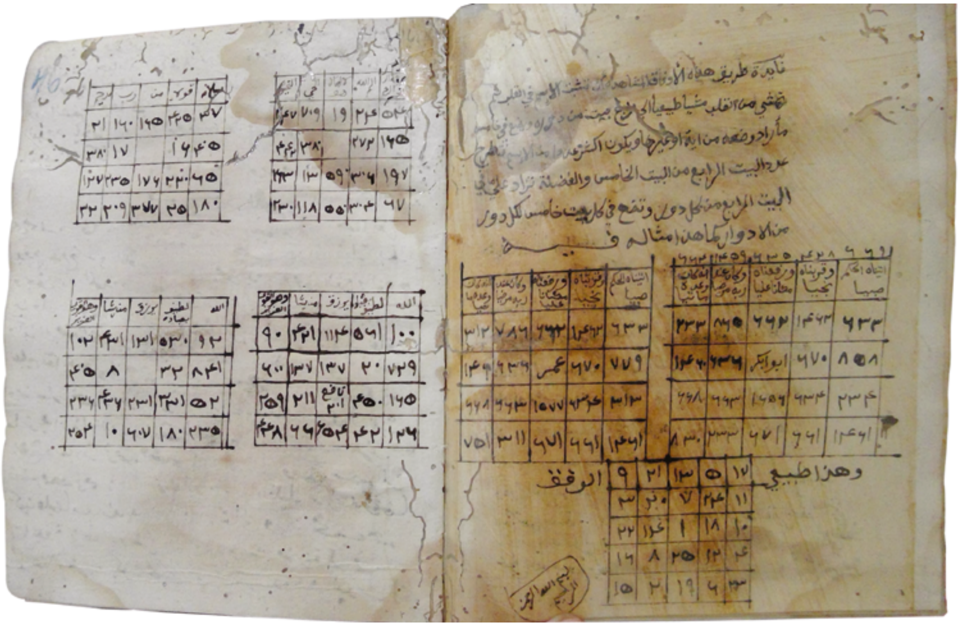

FIGURE 6.11 Magic squares (*awfāq*) in ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Qahhār's *majmūʿa*. Jakarta Perpustakaan Nasional, MS A 159, pp. 45–6

Similar themes are treated in Jakarta MS A 146; it contains a collection of fairly standard texts, both in ʿAbdallāh's hand and that of another copyist, comprising commentary and super-commentary on Sibṭ al-Mardīnī's work on inheritance law (*farāʾiḍ*), and two texts on prosody, by al-Khaṭīb al-Tabrīzī and Abū'l-Ḥasan al-Anṣārī al-Andalusī. Yet notes at the end reveal very different concerns. A quotation from al-Būnī's *al-Lumʿa al-Nūraniyya* discusses what a man fearing he is going to be killed or tortured should do:

> He should slaughter a fat ram which is free of any faults, just as it slaughtered for sacrifice. He should slaughter it swiftly in an empty place facing towards the *qibla*, saying while he does so, "God, this is for you and from you, this is my sacrifice." He should kill it and dig a hole for its blood, and then fill it with earth so that no one steps on its blood. He should divide it up into sixty parts. He should not eat anything of it, nor should those he is obliged to support, and he should distribute it to the poor.[127]

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[127] Jakarta, MS A 146
فليذبح كبشاً سميناً سليماً من العيوب كما في الاضحية يذبحه في موضع خال ذابحاً سريعاً موجهاً الي
القبلة و يقول عند الذبح هذا لك و منك اللّٰهم انه فداي فيقتله و يحفر لدمه حفيره و يرد بها بالتراب حين

A note at the end of the recipe adds this is "tried and tested." This is thus an emulation of the Eid al-Adha sacrifice. Despite these magical recipes there are suggestions of disapproval of aspects of the occult sciences. The final part of A 146 contains an extract entitled "the twentieth chapter on the science of the stars." However, this seems to have had a purely astronomical/calendrical purpose, for the passage explicitly states that using the stars to prognosticate earthly affairs is not in accordance with sharia (*al-istidlāl bi'l-ḥawādith al-sufliyya … mardūda sharʿan*).

The science of magic squares (*ʿilm al-wafq*) features prominently in another compilation of texts belonging to ʿAbdallāh, Jakarta MS A 655, most probably made in Medina. The copyist of many of the texts in this manuscript of some 277 folios was Abū'l-Fatḥ b. Saʿīd al-Ḥajarī, and most are dated to between 1147/1734 and 1149/1736. Again, they seem to have been compiled into a single volume by ʿAbdallāh, who inscribed a *waqf* notice on the front page in Javanese and Arabic, bequeathing it to "my children, *walī*s, the poor and seekers of knowledge." ʿAbdallāh's ownership is further confirmed by a note on the title page of the *Risālat al-Iksīr*, which states "*fī milk* ʿAbdallāh al-Jāwī." This particular treatise, by the obscure author ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ṣāliḥī b. Muḥammad al-Jawharī, concerns the philosopher's stone and the *ʿilm al-wafq*. Indeed, of the twenty five different texts in A 655, eleven either focus on *ʿilm al-wafq* or lettrism, or else have notes on these subjects appended to them.[128]

Another compilation of texts (Jakarta, MS A 115), this time in ʿAbdallāh's hand throughout, reveals the conjunction of religious, occult and practical interests. This manuscript seems to have been compiled as a sort of commonplace book, a collection of prayers, quotations of texts and sundry information that ʿAbdallāh thought useful. The codex opens with brief quotations from al-Shāfiʿī and Abū Ḥanīfa discussing the conditions under which marriage is allowed; the next page contains notes on various activities prohibited by the Prophet, among them backgammon, games of chance, and drinking. A full page drawing of the Prophet's shoe explains its protective properties (Fig. 6.12), and most of the first half of the codex is taken up with various prayers and an explanation of the efficacy of reciting certain Qur'anic suras. The interest

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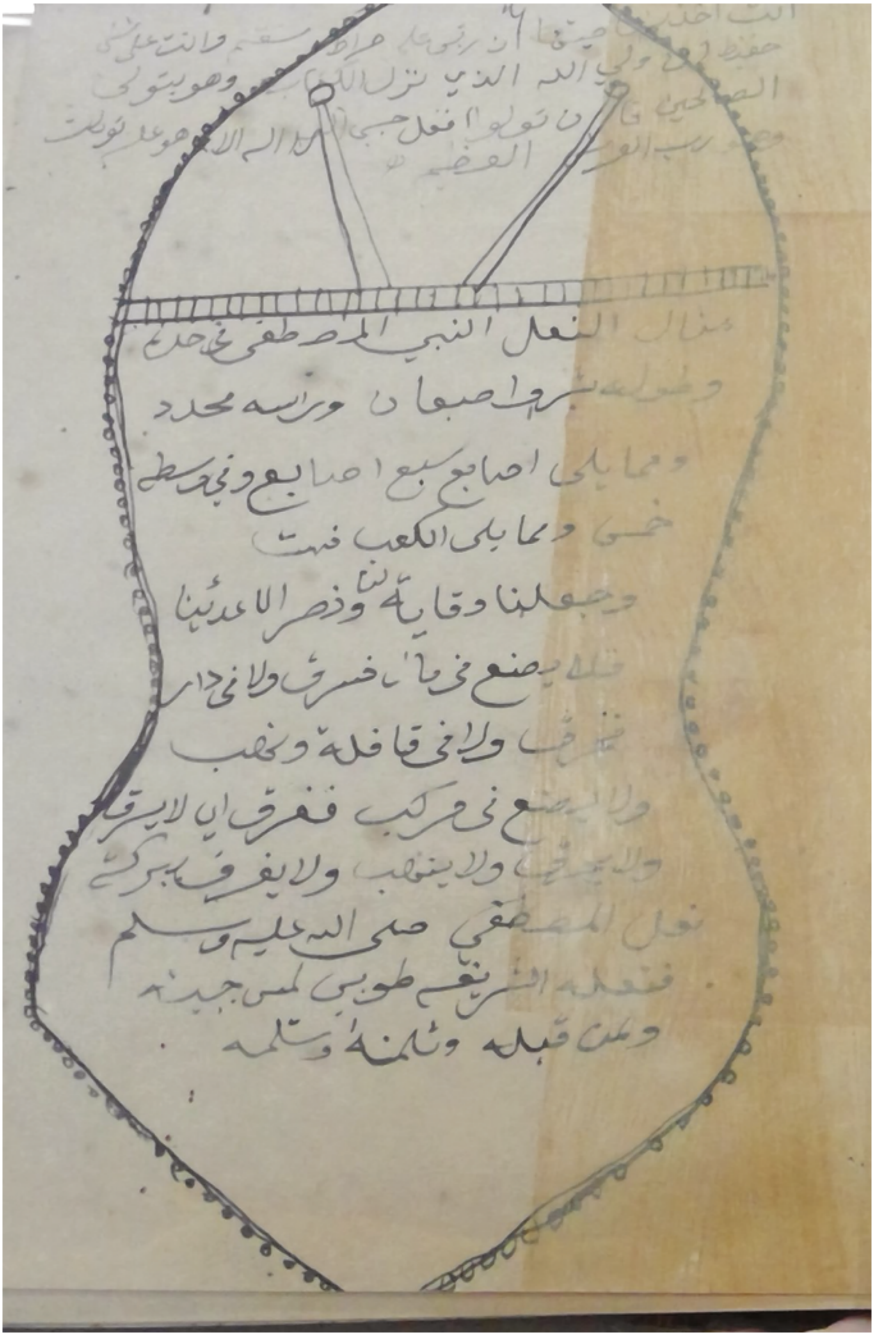
لا يطأ احد على دمه و ليبعضه على الستين جزاء و لا ياكل فيه شيئا و لا من يجب عليه نفقته و يفرقه على الفقراء والمساكين

[128] The individual treatises are designated by letters in van Ronkel's system (see his descriptions of these mss in *Supplement to the Catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts preserved in the Museum of the Batavia Society of Arts and Sciences* (Jakarta and the Hague, 1913)). The relevant treatises in A 656 are: A, B, C, D, E, G, H, M, P, V, X.



ان ربي على صراط مستقيم وانت على كل شي حفيظ

ان وليي الله الذي نزل الكتاب وهو يتولى الصالحين

فان تولوا فقل حسبي الله لا اله الا هو عليه توكلت وهو رب العرش العظيم

مثال النعل النبي المصطفى في حده
وطوله شبر واصبعان ورأسه محدد
ومما يلي اصابع سبع اصابع وفي وسط
خمس ومما يلي الكعب فست
وجعلنا وقاية لنا وذخر الاعدائنا
فلا يصنع في ماء فغرق ولا في دار
فحرق ولا في قافلة وتنهب
ولا يصنع في مركب فغرق اي لا يغرق
ولا يحترق ولا ينهب ولا يفرق في بركة
نعل المصطفى صلى الله عليه وسلم
فنعله الشريف طوبى لمن جدده
ولمن قبله وثلمه وسلمه

FIGURE 6.12 The Prophet's shoe and its properties in a *majmūʿa* in the hand of ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Qahhār. Jakarta, Perpustakaan Nasional, MS A 66

in lettristic questions we see elsewhere is reflected in a brief quotation from al-Ghazālī's work on the secret properties of the letters of the Qurʾan, *Khawāṣṣ al-Qurʾān*, but the purpose of many of these prayers and readings is often explicitly practical. For example, reading Sūrat al-Kawthar three times with the right intention is said to ensure victory over enemies, while reciting the *fātiḥa* a hundred and eleven times could ensure that a man bound in fetters is released.[129] On occasion these prayers are talismanic. For instance, ingesting a prayer with name of God written on it will protect against pain, while another formula will prevent children from crying. The codex also contains extracts from an unidentified Arabic medical text, which contains recipes against pain, citing various classical authorities such as Avicenna and Galen. However, the bulk of the second half of the manuscript is taken up with the Alexandrian Sufi Ibn ʿAṭāʾ Allāh al-Iskandarī's famous *al-Ḥikam*, a work of Sufi aphorisms. The codex ends with the invocation of the Rifaʿi saints, Aḥmad al-Badawī, Aḥmad al-Kabīr, Ibn ʿAlwān, and ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī.

ʿAbdallāh's interest in *ʿilm al-wafq* and associated esoteric subjects was not merely some private pastime. A court manuscript in his hand suggests their broader relevance. This is MS A 66, which measures an impressive 39 × 26 cm, with generous spacing and wide margins must certainly have been destined for the sultanic library (Fig. 6.13).[130] A prayer asking for victory for "our sultan in our land of Banten, Cianjur and Cirebon" confirms the associations of the manuscript; the mention of Cianjur may be significant as that is where ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Qahhār is said to have lived on his return to Java from the Hijaz.[131] Alongside numerous prayers and invocations, both esoteric texts and more practical magic charms take their place. The book seems to have been designed as a sort of collection of extracts from texts that ʿAbdallāh though would be useful to his patron; very likely it was based in part on a *majmūʿa* in his own possession, as well as, as we shall see, other manuscripts. The manuscript opens with three pages of magic circles, followed by the invocation of ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī, Aḥmad al-Rifāʿī, Abū Bakr ʿAydarūs, Aḥmad b. ʿAlwan and ʿAbdallāh al-Ḥaddād Bā ʿAlawī.[132] Notes on the sacred nature of the Kaʿba are followed by a talismanic prayer (*ʿazīma*) which is to be written and placed in food to preserve it from worms and other pests.[133] There follows another spell:

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[129] Jakarta A 115, p. 111.

[130] Although Jakarta A 66 contains no mention of the copyist, its distinctive *taʿlīq* is clearly that of ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Qahhār.

[131] Jakarta A 66, p. 196, اللهم انصرنا و انصر سلطاننا في بلادنا البنتن و جينجور و جيربون. However, on pp. 132–3, there is a family tree of the Sunuhun of Cirebon. See Kurniawan, "Konsept Awalim," 424 for ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Qahhār in Cianjur.

[132] Jakarta, A 66, pp. ii–v.

[133] Jakarta, A 66, p. 2.

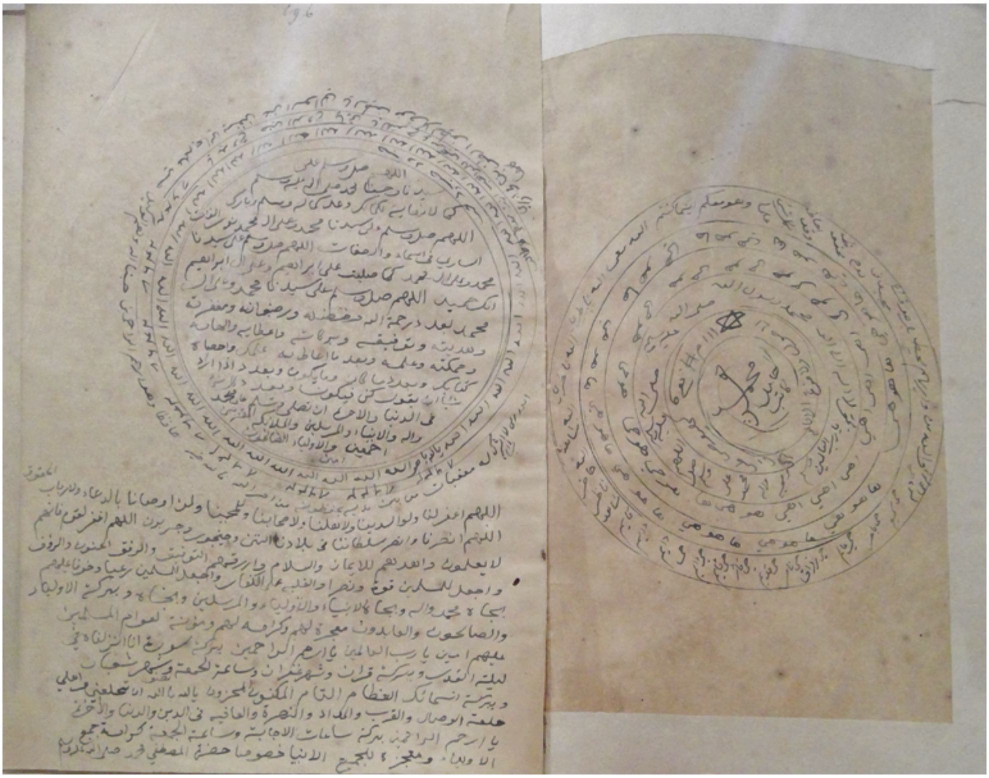

FIGURE 6.13 Magic circles and prayers for the “Sultan of Banten, Cianjur and Cirebon” in a *majmūʿa* in the hand of ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Qahhār. Jakarta, Perpustakaan Nasional, MS A 114

If you fear that the oppressors will commit an outrage against you in your land, take five stones and read the *fātiḥa* upon them seven times and Sūrat al-Ikhlāṣ three times and *al-muʿawidhdhatān* once each [i.e. the last two suras of the Qur'an], Yā Sīn etc once, and Sūrat Tabāraka etc once and the *āyat al-kursī* once, and *ṣallā ʿalā al-nabī* (peace and blessings be upon the Prophet) ten times, and bury each stone in a corner of the land and the fifth one in its middle, then God will suffice you against their evil, for God is capable of anything.[134]

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[134] Jakarta, A 66, p. 3.
فائدة: واذا خفت من الظلمة ان يجوروا عليك في ارضك فخذ احجار و اقرا عليهن الفاتحة ٧ مرات والاخلاص ٣ مرات والمعوذتين مرة مرة و يس الخ مرة و تبارك الخ مرة و اية الكرسي مرة و صلى على النبي صلى اللّٰه عليه و سلم ٠١ مرات و ادفن كل حجر في ركن من اركان الارض والخامسة في وسطها فان اللّٰه تعالى يكفيك شرهم و هو على كل شئ قدير

There follow instructions for what to do if you want to water or sow seeds on this land.

The first major text of Jakarta MS A 66 consists of a hundred prayers for the Prophet, entitled *Iʿānat al-Rāghibīn fīʾl-Ṣalāt waʾl-Salām ʿalā Sayyidinā Muḥammad*; the original text was by a Moroccan scholar, ʿAbd al-Salām b. Mashīsh (d. 626/1228),[135] although the version here seems to be a later redaction, made by Ibn ʿAṭāʾallāh al-Iskandarī.[136] There follow recipes for how to make someone fall in love (cited from a *Kitāb Alwāḥ al-Jawāhir*); an explanation of a prayer called *duʿāʾ al-sayfī* which is efficacious in every situation, and an extract from a book called *Kitāb Fatḥ al-Fāl lil-Marīḍ* which explains how to prognosticate cures for illnesses from the stars; the illness and its cure are connected with the day of the week.[137] This is said to be in use among the Maghrebis (*ʿalayhi al-ʿamal ʿinda al-maghāriba*). The book then moves to sundry recipes for aphrodisiacs,[138] which is followed immediately by an extract from the Tunisian scholar Abu ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb al-Kuwaytī's book on lettrism, the *Taysīr al-Ṭālib fī Asrār al-Ḥurūf*,[139] followed by more prayers and magic squares. Al-Ghazālī's *Khawāṣṣ al-Qurʾān* is also cited.[140] The codex then focuses on magic squares, which are copiously illustrated,[141] although their exact functioning is never exactly explained. This, however, is typical of occult literature.

Abdallāh also occasionally acted as copyist of works for the sultanic library. Although it does not bear his name, a copy of al-Shaʿrānī's *al-Mīzān* is written in ʿAbdallāh's unmistakable *taʿlīq* (Jakarta MS A 138). The *Mīzān* sought to reconcile the teachings of the four established law schools with those of Ibn ʿArabī.[142] The work thus reflects ʿAbdallāh's broader Sufi interests, and is far from being a dry manual of legal debate. Moreover, ʿAbdallāh used diagrams and drawings to convey the relationship between the schools, a practice doubtless derived from Middle Eastern exemplars, although it is not present in the other copies deriving from the Banten *kraton* library, confirming A 138's independence from them. The text asserts the status of the ʿulamaʾ as the upholders and interpreters of sharia, whilst avoiding challenging the prerogatives of secular authority.

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[135] On him see GAL, S I 787–8.

[136] Jakarta, A 66, pp. 8–51.

[137] Jakarta, A 66, pp.60–65.

[138] Jakarta, A 66, pp. 70–71.

[139] Jakarta, A 66, p. 62.

[140] Jakarta, A 66, p. 80.

[141] Jakarta, A 66, on pp. 93–97, pp. 155–170, 186–199.

[142] See the discussion in Samuela Pagina, "The Meaning of the *Ikhtilāf al-Madhāhib* in ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Shaʿrānī's *al-Mīzān al-Kubrā*," *Islamic Law and Society* 11/2 (2004): 177–212.

Significantly, ʿAbdallāh extracts the hadith in support of this and places it on the margins of the first page to underline its importance: *al-ʿulamāʾ umanāʾ al-rusul mā lam yukhliṭū al-sulṭān*, "the ʿulama' are the trustees of the prophets as long as they do not interfere with secular power".

Beyond his studies of the classical curriculum of texts on hadith, the *qirāʾāt* of the Qur'an and the newly popular discipline of logic, ʿAbdallāh's works thus reveal a distinct interest in the esoteric, especially the *ʿilm al-wafq*. It is clear that Maghrebi scholars played a significant role in transmitting these texts. The presence of these texts alongside Sufi aphorisms, grammatical primers and instruction manuals on topics like inheritance law (*ʿilm al-farāʾiḍ*) suggest that these esoteric sciences were very much part of the mainstream intellectual culture of the eighteenth century Hijaz, and indeed the Banten sultanate. For example, Aḥmad al-Maqqarī, who composed the treatise on *ʿilm al-wafq* in MS A 159, was best known for his lectures on al-Sanūsī's creed, a highly respected statement of Ashʿari theological beliefs.[143] Mainstream though these occult texts were, it is noteworthy that despite the comprehensive collection of *sanad*s for a wide variety of topics that we find in the *Fayḍ al-Aḥad*, not a single one seems to be for such a text. Their transmission, then, was treated differently. This was not a type of knowledge that was publicly taught and authorised, and indeed, the very nature of the *ʿilm al-wafq*, which depends on the visual representation of magic squares, suggests that written transmission was the norm for these, accompanied by the oral exposition of an expert without which their use and meaning would remain obscure. This suggests such texts were regarded as having a lower status: even if the texts mentioned in *sanad*s and *ijāza*s were evidently transmitted in writing too, a premium was put on the personal connection to a teacher through an *ijāza*.

6 ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Qahhār and the Rifaʿiyya at the Court of Banten

It is perhaps surprising that ʿAbdallāh's personal manuscripts do not contain more Sufi texts, for this was the main field in which he composed original works, and in which his expertise seems to have been especially valued by the sultans of Banten. ʿAbdallāh was spiritual guide to Zayn al-ʿĀshiqīn and the latter's son and heir ʿAlī al-Dīn, initiating them in the Rifaʿi order of Sufism. In a book in his hand composed in 1782[144] for crown prince, Pangeran Ratu ʿAlī al-Dīn, ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Qahhār provides a *silsila* of the Rifaʿis and instructions for conducting Rifaʿi *dhikr*. This manuscript (Jakarta A 96) is virtually entirely in Arabic, without any interlinear translation. This suggests that ʿAlī al-Dīn had reached a good level of command of the language; indeed, his ownership is affirmed by the note at the start of the book where he is described as the Rifaʿi *khalīfa*, in succession to ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Qahhār.[145] Another manuscript on the duties of the *murīd*, entitled *Marghūb al-Qulūb*, contains a Rifaʿi *ijāza* for ʿAbdallāh himself, from his own *murshid*, a certain Jalāl al-Ḥaqq wa'l-Dīn, who himself was initiated by a certain Muḥammad Suʿūdī al-ʿUmarī al-Fārūqī. Assuming, as seems likely, this manuscript throughout was in ʿAbdallāh's hand, it contains one of the few Arabic Sufi treatises that he copied, an anonymous exposition of the Five Grades of Being system entitled *Tuḥfat al-Ṭālib*, which possibly shows Naqshbandi influence.[146]

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[143] El-Rouayheb, *Islamic Intellectual History*, 154–5.

[144] Jakarta A 96, p. 73: "Sanatunā hādhihi 1782". It is curious that the date is evidently given according to the Miladi rather than the hijri calendar, but there is no other obvious way

Thus there was a tradition of adherence to the Rifaʿiyya at the Banten court, with the sultans themselves being counted as *khalīfa*s of the order. ʿAbdallāh mentions Pangeran Ratu ʿAlī al-Dīn's great grandfather as "the great sultan, the *khalīfa* of al-Rifāʿī" (*al-sulṭān al-muʿaẓẓam khalīfat al-Rifāʿī*).[147] Although he does not mention him by name, this must refer to Sultan Abū'l-Maḥāsin Zayn al-ʿĀbidin (r. 1690–1733), suggesting the antiquity of the Rifaʿi connections of the Banten court. Indeed, a nineteenth century Rifaʿi manuscript even associates the founder of the Banten dynasty, Maulana Hasanuddin, with the order.[148] The Rifaʿiyya was especially strong in Egypt, said to have been the homeland of the dynasty's ancestors, and our eighteenth century Banten texts praise Egyptian saints associated with the order such as Aḥmad al-Badawī (d. 675/1276).[149] Nonetheless, there is little other textual evidence for the popularity of the Rifaʿiyya in earlier periods, for, as we have seen, in the seventeenth century Yūsuf al-Maqaṣīrī was evidently propagating the Naqshbandiyya. It is entirely possible then that these stories of an earlier connection are designed to legitimise the Rifaʿiyya's popularity in Banten, which may in fact date only

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of making sense of it. For a discussion of five digit dates and the use of non-hijri dates see Annabel Teh Gallop, "Dates on Malay Seals: A Study on Arabic Numerals from Southeast Asia," *Jurnal Filologi Melayu* 22 (2015): 89–114.

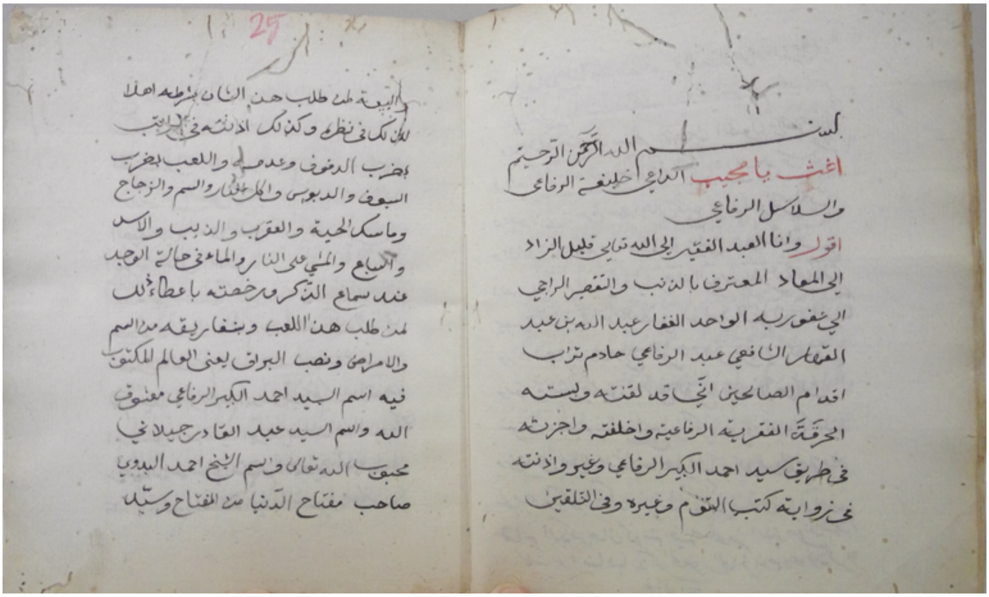
[145] Jakarta, A 96, pp. 19–20.

[146] Jakarta, A 106; ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Qahhār is mentioned on pp. 68–9 of the *Marghūb al-Qulūb*, while the *Tuḥfat al-Ṭālib* was copied in 1187, making it likely ʿAbdallāh was the copyist of this too.

[147] Jakarta, A 96 p. 58.

[148] Jakarta, A 218, pp. 66–7.

[149] K. Vollers and E. Littmann, "Aḥmad al-Badawī," *EI*^{2}.



بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
اغث يا مجيب الداعي اخليفة الرفاعي
والسلاسل الرفاعي
اقول وانا العبد الفقير الى الله تعالى قليل الزاد
الى المعاد المعترف بالذنب والتقصير الراجي
الى عفو ربه الواحد الغفار عبد الله بن عبد
القهار الشافعي عبد الرفاعي خادم تراب
اقدام الصالحين اني قد لقنته ولبسته
الخرقة الفقرية الرفاعية واخلفته واجزته
في طريق سيد احمد الكبير الرفاعي وغيره واذنته
في رواية كتب القوم وغيره وفي التلقين

25
والبيعة لمن طلب هذه الشان بشرطه اهلا
لان لك في نظري وكذلك اذنته في الراتب
بضرب الدفوف وعدمه واللعب بضرب
السيوف والدبوس واكل النار والسم والزجاج
ومامسك الحية والعقرب والذيب والاسد
والسباع والمشي على النار والماء في حالة الوجد
عند سماع الذكر ورخصته باعطاء ذلك
لمن طلب هذه اللعب وبنفاريقه من السم
والامراض ونصب البراق يعني العلم المكتوب
فيه اسم السيد احمد الكبير الرفاعي معشوق
الله واسم السيد عبد القادر جيلاني
محبوب الله تعالى واسم الشيخ احمد البدوي
صاحب مفتاح الدنيا من المفتاح وسيلة

FIGURE 6.14 ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Qahhār's *ijāza* to perform Rifaʿi rituals to the royal owner of a book of *silsilas*, Jakarta Perpustakaan Nasional, MS A 96, pp. 24–5

to the eighteenth century, and was possibly transmitted via Egyptians in the Hijaz rather than directly from Egypt. These questions, however, need further research.

The appeal of the Rifaʿiyya order to the sultans may have lain in its promise to provide them with supernatural powers, for the order was notorious for its rites that advertised its adepts' mastery of the forces of nature, including mortifying their flesh with an iron awl (*dabbūs*) and riding wild beasts.[150] ʿAbdallāh's *ijāza* strongly suggests this (Fig. 6.14), describing how he gave his royal pupil, Pangeran Ratu ʿAlī al-Dīn, access to the secret knowledge of the Sufis and instructed him in their rites:

> I, God's poor servant, poorly provisioned for the hereafter, who admits his sins and faults and seeks the sole, all-forgiving Lord's forgiveness, ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Qahhār al-Shāfiʿī al-Rifāʿī, the servant of the dust of the feet of the righteous; I have initiated him in the secrets of *dhikr* [*laqqantuhu*] and clothed him in the cloak of the Rifaʿiyya and granted him permission to enter the way of sayyid Aḥmad al-Kabīr al-Rifāʿī and others;

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[150] C.E. Bosworth, "Rifāʿiyya," *EI*^{2}.

> I have permitted him [to enter] the lodge of the books of the Sufis,[151] and so on, and to transmit and take the oath of allegiance from whoever desires, on condition that the person is qualified for that in his view. I have granted him permission to perform the rites of playing the tambourine, or abstaining from it, and in playing at striking swords, the *dabbūs*, and eating fire, poison and glass; and holding snakes, scorpions, wolves, lions and other wild animals; and walking on fire and water, in a state of ecstasy, during the *dhikr* dance. And I have authorised him to grant this to whomsoever seeks this sort of performance; and to cure him from poison and illness, and to set up the *burāq*, that is the standard on which is written the names of sayyid Aḥmad al-Kabīr al-Rifāʿī, beloved of God (*maʿshūq allāh*), sayyid ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī, beloved of God (*maḥbūb allāh*), Shaykh Aḥmad al-Badawī, lord of the key of the world.[152]

Mastery of the forces of nature formed an essential part of Rifaʿi ritual, even if they were reserved for specific times: the *dabbūs* and fire rituals should be performed Friday and Monday nights, recitations of the *Mawlid* on the Prophet's Birthday (12 Rabīʿ I), and the Miʿrāj on 27 Rajab.[153] It is stipulated in A 96 that the rites should be performed at night for that is the "place where the heart is still" (*makān sukūn al-qalb*).[154] Indeed, according to the instructions for the *dhikr* ritual that ʿAbdallāh provides, the darkness itself had an essential symbolic role. At the start of the *dhikr*, after the reading of the *fātiḥa* and the recitation of *astaghfiru allāh al-ʿaẓīm* three times, the lead performer was to say,

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[151] For this meaning of *kutub al-qawm* see Le Gall, *A Culture of Sufism*, 125.

[152] Jakarta, A 96, pp. 24–5. The text is repeated in similar terms on pp. 57–9.
انا العبد الفقير الي اللّٰه تعالي قليل الزاد الي المعاد المعترف بالذنب والتقصير الراجي الي عفو ربه الواحد الغفار عبداللّٰه بن عبد القهار الشافعي عبد الرفاعي خادم تراب اقدام الصالحين اني قد لقنته ولبسته الخرقة الفقرية الرفاعية واخلفته واجزته في طريق سيد احمد الكبير الرفاعي و غير واذنته في زاوية كتب القوم وغيره وفي التلقين والبيعة لمن طلب هذا الشان بشرطه اهلا لذلك في نظره وكذلك اذنته في راتب بضرب الدفوف وعدمه واللعب بضرب السيوف والدبوس واكل النار والسم والزجاج وماسك الحية والعقرب والذيب والاسد والسباع والمشي على النار والماء في حالة الوجد عند سماع الذكر ورخصته باعطاء ذلك لمن طلب هذا اللعب وبشفا ريقه من السم والامراض ونصب البراق يعني العالم المكتوب فيه اسم السيد احمد الكبير الرفاعي معشوق اللّٰه واسم السيد عبد القادر جيلاني محبوب اللّٰه واسم الشيخ احمد بدوي صاحب مفتاح الدنيا من المفتاح

[153] Jakarta, A 96, p. 63.

[154] Jakarta, A 96, p. 63.

> You who believe wholeheartedly in in God's *dhikr*, and give praise first thing in the morning and at its origins, He is the one who blesses you, and His angels will bring you out of darkness to His light.[155]

Similarly, the litany invokes the Prophet as the bringer of light, paralleling the eleven *maqām*s of light on the believer's body that it describes. The rituals thus functioned to connect the believer with the Muḥammadan or divine light. Just as the Sultan's place in the Rifaʿi *silsila* ultimately linked him to the Prophet, so too did his performance of Rifaʿi rituals allow him to emulate the Prophet, of whose invocatory powers he was the earthly possessor. As shown by a Rifaʿi devotional manual (*rātib*) surviving in a later copy, but containing a text dating from the time of Pangeran Ratu's rule as Sultan ʿAlī al-Dīn (1773–1799), after the prayers for the *khalīfas* of the Rifaʿiyya, including sultans ʿAlī al-Dīn and Zayn al-ʿĀshiqīn, and the *fātiḥa*, prayers (*munājāt*) called on the Prophet Muḥammad as among other things, through God's aid, a humbler of lions, a cooler of steel, a softener of iron and a curer of snake bites.[156]

However, the untitled text of MS A 96 is not purely concerned with ritual. Much of the text represents a reworking of a treatise ʿAbdallāh composed for Zayn al-ʿĀshiqīn, the *Mashāhid al-Nāsik*, which will be discussed below. Given the *murshid*'s duty to instruct his *murīd* in the *dhikr* ritual,[157] much of the latter part of A96 is concerned with the conditions for the *dhikr*. As ʿAbdallāh explains, "The initiate [*al-mubtadi'*] must be annihilated in his shaykh, then be annihilated in the Messengers [*al-rusul*], then in God, then he will obtain permanence in God." He explains Rifaʿi methods of *dhikr*, stressing that it is obligatory for "people who adhere to sharia, *ṭarīqa*, truth (*ḥaqīqa*) and knowledge",[158] emphasising its practical as well as spiritual benefits. ʿAbdallāh recounts how to ward off the effects of weapons of war such as swords, spears, and maces by writing the invocation of God's name (*yā Allāh, yā Jamīl*) on a piece of paper that was hung (in the air).[159] ʿAbdallāh put much emphasis on the relationship the *murīd* and the shaykh. "The shaykh is in the position of a prophet to his people (*umma*) and so [the *murīd*] must obey everything that he is ordered to

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155 Jakarta, A 96, p. 87; see also the prayer on p. 92 asking for God's light upon the *dhākir*.

156 يا محمداً لينيران المداد شين للّه يا مذاليل الاصود المداد شين للّه يا مبرّد الفولاد المداد شين للّه اللّه اللّه يا مليّن الحديد ملمداد شين للّه يا مصطفى سقّم الافاعين المداد شين للّه
Jakarta, A 218, p. 9.

157 Jakarta, A 96, p. 124.

158 Jakarta, A 96, p. 61.

159 Jakarta, A 96, p. 66–7.

[by the shaykh].” Indeed, the temptation for the *murīd* to seek a new shaykh is compared to no less than the “whispering of satan” (*wiswās al-shayṭān*).[160]

Whatever the dire imprecations about leaving one’s *murshid* for another, there was no difficulty in simultaneously having allegiance to a number of different orders. Indeed, the text of A96 lists the seven major Sufi saints (*aṣḥāb al-khirqa al-mashhūrīn*)– ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī, Aḥmad al-Rifāʿī, Abū Madyan al-Anṣārī, Bāyazīd al-Bisṭāmī, Shihāb al-Dīn al-Suhrawardī, Abū Isḥāq al-Kāzarūnī, Abū’l-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī, and contains *silsila*s of the ʿAlwani sub-order of the Rifaʿiyya,[161] the Qadiriyya (the *silsila* of which largely follows that of the Rifaʿiyya in its later stages),[162] and the ʿAydarusiyya.[163] It is clear that Pangeran Ratu was inducted into these orders by ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Qahhār. While his *silsila* to the Qadiriyya and the Rifaʿiyya was in both cases via ʿAbdallāh’s teacher Jalāl al-Ḥaqq wa’l-Dīn, in the case of the ʿAydarusiyya he was inducted by a different individual, al-Sharīf ʿAlawī b. ʿAbdallāh al-Ḥaddād Bā ʿAlawī, a member of distinguished saintly Hadrami lineage.[164] As noted above, ʿAbdallāh also played a role in disseminating the Shattari order in Cirebon, but these manuscripts do not indicate he spread it in Banten.

However, ʿAbdallāh was evidently not the only Rifaʿi shaykh at the *kraton*. Another such interlinear collection of *rātib* and related texts is Jakarta MS A 117, which includes an ownership statement from Zayn al-ʿĀshiqīn. Here, Zayn al-ʿĀshiqīn proclaims himself to be the pupil of a different Rifaʿi shaykh, al-Sharīf Mūsā b. Sīdī al-Sharīf ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Rifāʿī al-Ḥamāwī (Fig. 6.15). The *nisba* indicates an origin in the Syrian city of Hama, while his title *sharīf* points to his prestigious descent from the Prophet.[165] The impression of distancing between ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Qahhār and the Banten court is confirmed by Sultan ʿAlī al-Dīn’s personal *dhikr* collection, preserved in MS Jakarta A 73 (Fig. 6.16). Here we find prayers for numerous shaykhs, for Sultan Zayn al-ʿĀshiqīn and for ʿAlī al-Dīn; however, surprisingly there is no mention of ʿAbdallāh, while in contrast, ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Rifāʿī al-Ḥamāwī is included

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[160] Jakarta, A 96, pp. 29–32.

[161] Jakarta, A 96, pp. 103–6.

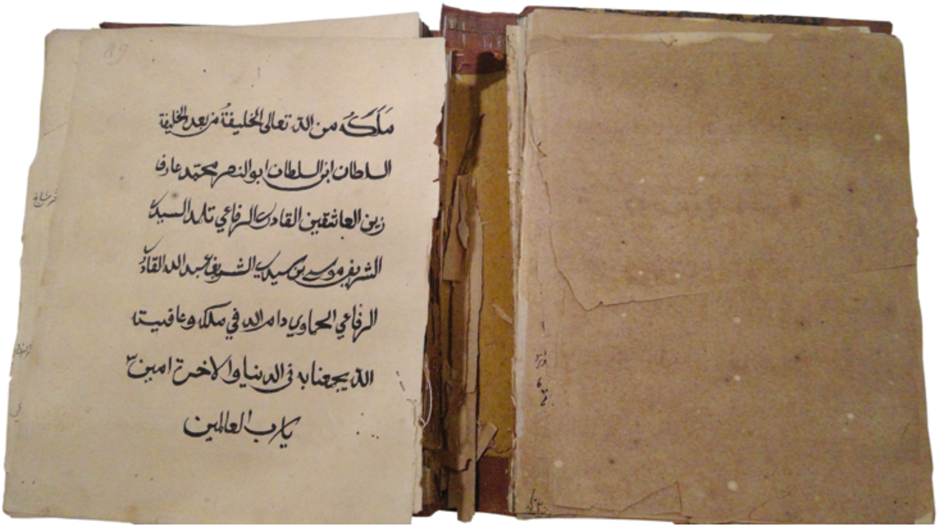
[162] Jakarta, A 96, pp. 107–112.

[163] Jakarta, A 96, pp. 147–9.

[164] Jakarta, A 96, p. 148.

[165] Jakarta, A 117, p. 89. The inscription reads:

ملكه من اللّٰه تعالى الخليفة من بعد الخليفة السلطان ابن السلطان ابو النصر محمد عارف زين العاشقين
القادرى الرفاعى ملتد السيدى الشريف موسى بن سيدى الشريف عبداللّٰه القادري الرفاعي الحماوي دام
اللّٰه في ملكه و عافيته اللّٰه يجمعنا به في الدنيا والاخرة امين يا رب العالمين



ملكه من الله تعالى الخليفة من بعد الخليفة
السلطان ابن السلطان ابو النصر محمد عارف
زين العاشقين القادري الرفاعي تلميذ السيد
الشريف موسى بن سيدي الشريف عبد القادر
الرفاعي الحماوي دام الله في ملكه وعافيته
الله ينفعنا به في الدنيا والاخرة امين
يا رب العالمين

FIGURE 6.15 Sultan Zayn al-ʿĀshiqīn's ownership statement on a *rātib* proclaiming himself to be a disciple of al-Sharīf Mūsā b. Sīdī al-Sharīf ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Rifāʿī al-Ḥamāwī. Jakarta, Perpustakaan Nasional, MS A 117, p. 1

in the prayers.[166] It seems that at some stage, ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Qahhār had fallen from favour.

The Rifaʿiyya remained popular in Banten into the nineteenth century, as can be demonstrated though the existence of nineteenth century *rātib*s, consisting mainly of the prayers to be performed at *dhikr* sessions. These manuals of Rifaʿi ritual are small format, suggesting their use not in public ritual but private devotion and instruction. A good example is Jakarta MS A 218, a *rātib* which includes prayers for the various holy men, such as Aḥmad al-Kabīr al-Rifāʿī, Aḥmad al-Badawī, al-Dasūqī, and Abū Bakr b. ʿAbdallāh al-ʿAydarūs alongside the Banten sultans.[167] ʿAlī al-Dīn is mentioned with epithets that indicate he was the reigning sultan at the time (*dāma allāh taʿālā fī mulkihi wa* [*z*]*āda fīhi amīn al- ʿālimīn*),[168] and both Zayn al-ʿĀshiqīn and ʿAlī al-Dīn are indicated to be *khalīfa*s of the order (*al-khalīfa min baʿd al-khalīfa*). As the manuscript is doubtless rather later, probably dating to the end of the

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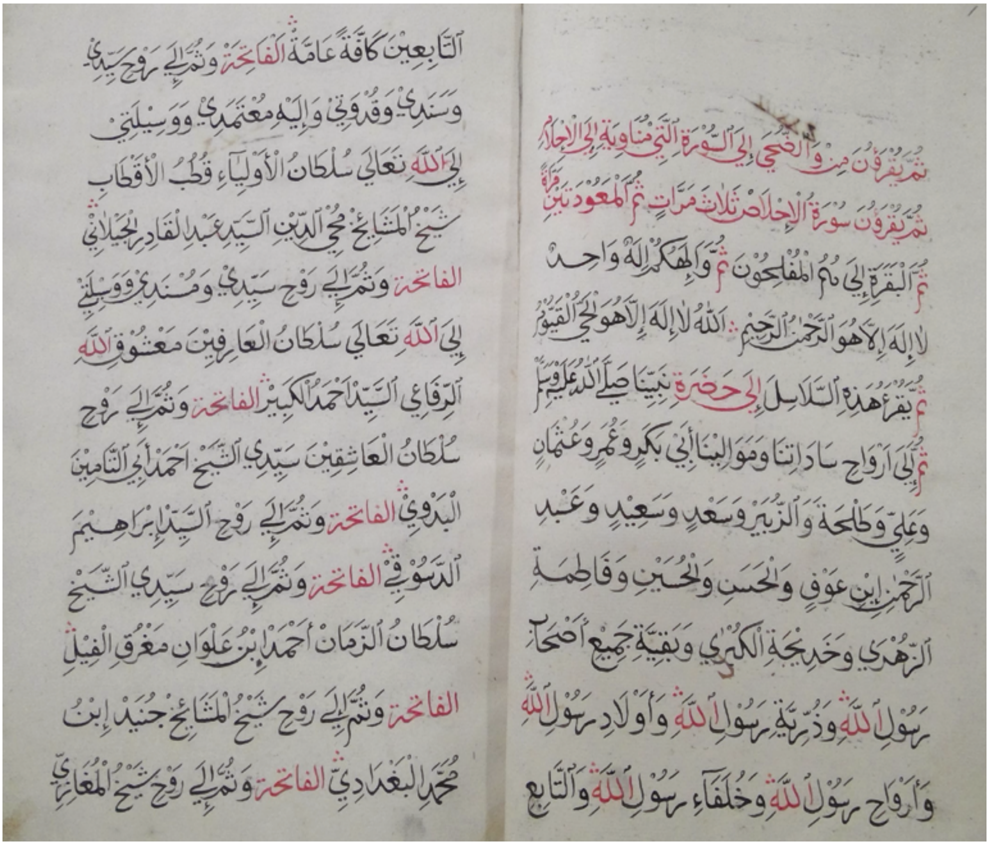
[166] Jakarta, A 73, p. 4.

[167] A second manuscript of the Rifāʿī *rātib* is A 673, which according to the catalogue dates to 1869; however, I was unable to inspect this owing to its state of preservation. Van Ronkel, *Supplement*, no 360.

[168] Jakarta, A 218, pp. 66–7.



ثم يقرؤن من والضحى إلى السورة التي متناوبة إلى الإخلاص
ثم يقرؤن سورة الإخلاص ثلاث مرات ثم المعوذتين قرأة
ثم البقرة إلى هم المفلحون ثم وإلهكم إله واحد
لا إله إلا هو الرحمن الرحيم ۝ الله لا إله إلا هو الحي القيوم
ثم يقرأ هذه السلاسل إلى حضرة نبينا صلى الله عليه وسلم
ثم إلى أرواح ساداتنا وموالينا أبي بكر وعمر وعثمان
وعلي وطلحة والزبير وسعد وسعيد وعبد
الرحمن ابن عوف والحسن والحسين وفاطمة
الزهري وخديجة الكبرى وبقية جميع أصحاب
رسول الله وذرية رسول الله وأولاد رسول الله
وأرواح رسول الله وخلفاء رسول الله والتابع

التابعين كافة عامة الفاتحة وثم إلى روح سيدي
وسندي وقدوتي وإليه معتمدي ووسيلتي
إلى الله تعالى سلطان الأولياء قطب الأقطاب
شيخ المشائخ محي الدين السيد عبد القادر الجيلاني
الفاتحة وثم إلى روح سيدي ومسندي ووسيلتي
إلى الله تعالى سلطان العارفين معشوق الله
الرفاعي السيد أحمد الكبير الفاتحة وثم إلى روح
سلطان العاشقين سيدي الشيخ أحمد أبي التامين
البدوي الفاتحة وثم إلى روح السيد إبراهيم
الدسوقي الفاتحة وثم إلى روح سيدي الشيخ
سلطان الزمان أحمد ابن علوان مغرق الفيل
الفاتحة وثم إلى روح شيخ المشائخ جنيد إبن
محمد البغدادي الفاتحة وثم إلى روح شيخ المغاربي

FIGURE 6.16 Sufi *rātib* owned by Sultan ʿAlī al-Dīn of Banten. Jakarta, Perpustakaan Nasional, MS A 73, pp. 2–3

nineteenth century, and there are no names of later sultans, it seems such *rātib*s derive from a prototype made under ʿAlī al-Dīn when he was sultan, and it was in his time and thereafter that the Rifaʿiyya spread from court circles to a wider populace.[169] However, the text of Jakarta A 218 also underlines the importance of ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Qahhār, who is mentioned with the epithet *khuṣūṣan* (especially) after his name; after him, one other shaykh is mentioned, Ḥājj Zayd b. Kamāl al-Dīn. Even if ʿAbdallāh fell from grace at court for a period, in popular esteem he remained the major figure in the history of the Rifaʿiyya in Banten.

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[169] van Bruinessen, “Sharia court,” 185.

7 ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Qahhār's Literary Works

Apart from a short treatise on the hajj which was written in the Hijaz in 1161/1748,[170] ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Qahhār's major Arabic works were composed in Java at the command of the sultan of Banten. These have attracted little attention to date, beyond an article by Kurniawan which argues that ʿAbdallāh's prime contribution was his discussion of divine manifestation (*tajallī*). However, he also suggests that ʿAbdallāh's position basically aligned with that of al-Singkilī, describing it as a 'neo-Sufism' influenced by al-Kūrānī and al-Qushāshī that sought to avoid the pantheistic thought espoused by Hamzah Fansuri.[171] Such an explanation is hard to sustain, given that ʿAbdallāh is known to have translated Hamzah Fansuri's prose *Syarab al-ʿAsyiqin* into Javanese.[172] Indeed, while ʿAbdallāh stresses the need to adhere to sharia, this is a common feature of almost all Arabic texts from Southeast Asia, and one which we can also find in Hamzah Fansuri's works.

The complexity of Abdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Qahhār's intellectual position is reflected in his treatise *Mashāhid al-Nāsik fī Maqāmāt al-Sālik* which was, he tells us, written at the behest of Zayn al-ʿĀshiqīn; he refers himself as "Banteni by birth, Shafii by madhhab, Shattari by *ṭarīqa*, Maturidi in faith, a student at Mecca and a resident of Cianjur."[173] It thus seems the text was composed in Java. It is intriguing to see that despite his propagation of the Rifaʿiyya in Banten, here he portrays his primary *ṭarīqa* as being the Shattariyya, although, as we shall see, the text itself repeatedly emphasises his Rifaʿi allegiance. Even more curious is his description of himself as both Maturidi and Ashʿari in doctrine in the preface to the *Fatḥ al-Mulūk*, a treatise on religious sciences written for Zayn al-ʿĀshiqīn.[174] Another mention of his adherence to the Maturidi creed is found in a badly damaged note on adultery law in his hand which has been inserted into a codex of various works he collected, Jakarta MS A 656.[175] Conventionally, Maturidism is considered to be opposed to the Ashʿari theological school. ʿAbdallāh's self-definition of himself as Maturidi and Ashʿari may reflect the influence of Maturidis in Ottoman Hijaz, where it would have been the theological school of the Ottoman rulers. Indeed, in the *Mashāhid al-Nāsik* ʿAbdallāh emphasises his deracination, describing himself as "a stranger who has no homeland" (*gharīb lā waṭan lahu*); God alone will provide him with his true home, which is paradise. ʿAbdallāh explains that

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[170] ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Qahhār, *Fī Shurūṭ al-Ḥajj*, Jakarta, A 131, pp. 68–74 (autograph).

[171] Kurniawan, "Konsep ʿAwalim," 441.

[172] Drewes and Brakel, *Poems of Hamzah Fansuri*, 226 state that ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Qahhār's Javanese translation of the *Syarab al-ʿAsyiqin* is held in Leiden University Library, Or 7392, which comprises "a collection of notes on theology, jurisprudence and mysticism and Arabic treatises with Javanese interlinear glosses".

[173] Jakarta, A 31, p. 237.

[174] Jakarta, A 111, p. 3 (al-ashʿarī wa'l-māturīdī ʿaqīdatan).

[175] Jakarta, A 656, fol. 48b.

> The sultan ordered the composition of this small treatise in a few pages so that the wayfarer to the Lord might profit from it in explaining the stages and five presences [*ʿawālim*]. To borrow a phrase of Sayyid Yūsuf b. Sayyid ʿAbd al-Raḥīm al-Ḥusaynī al-Rifāʿī and others, "the wayfarer must look and think about these manifestations." I called it the *Mashāhid al-Nāsik fī Maqāmāt al-Sālik*.[176]

The *Mashāhid al-Nāsik* seems to reflect influences from both al-Qūnawī and Shams al-Dīn al-Sumāṭrāʾī. It was al-Qūnawī who first systematised Ibn ʿArabī's thought by defining five Divine Presences (or worlds) which were loci of manifestations of God.[177] However, as we have seen, this idea was largely displaced by al-Burhānpūrī's Seven Grades system, even if it is still reflected in Shams al-Dīn Sumāṭrāʾī's *Jawhar al-Ḥaqāʾiq*. It is evidently not coincidental that this work by Shams al-Dīn appears in the same manuscript which contains the *Mashāhid al-Nāsik*.[178]

However, ʿAbdallāh's treatment differs significantly from Shams al-Dīn's. The five *ʿawālim* are described as follows

> That which is entirely unmixed (*ʿālam yuʿabbiru bihi biʾl-baḥt waʾl-ṣarf*)
> The absolute essence and absolute holiness (*dhāt muṭlaq wa-bayāḍ al-muṭlaq*)

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[176] Jakarta, A 31, p. 239
امرنا سلطان المذكور بجمع هذه الرسالة القليلة في ورقة يسيرة لينتفع بها السالك الى المالك في بيان المقامات والعوالم الخمسة نقتبس من عبارة دائرة السيد يوسف بن سيد عبد الرحيم الحسيني الرفاعي كان اللّٰه معه انه ينبغي للسالك ان ينظر ويفتكر هذه التجليات وسميته مشاهد الناسك في مقامات السالك

[177] On this concept see William Chittick, "The Five Divine Presences: from al-Qūnawī to al-Qayṣarī," *The Muslim World* 72 (1982): 107–128; another work probably copied by ʿAbdallāh that emphasises a system based on five grades (*khamsa marātib*) rather than seven is the *Tuḥfat al-Ṭālib*, see MS Jakarta A 106.

[178] See Mohamad Nasrin Mohamad Nasir, "The Presence of God according to the *Ḥaqq al-Yaqīn*, a Seventeenth Century Treatise by Shaykh Shams al-Dīn al-Sumatraʾī." *Journal of Islamic Studies* 21 (2010): 221–222; in more detail van Nieuwenhuijze, *Šamsu ʾl-Dīn van Pasai*, 99ff.

> The supreme reality and the ultimate essence (*ḥaqīqat al-ḥaqāʾiq wa-kunh al-dhāt*)
>
> The supreme quiddity and the ipseity of [God's] essence (*māhiyyat al-māhiyya wa huwiyyat al-dhāt*)
>
> That which cannot be described (*majhūl al-naʿt wa-ghayb al-ghuyūb*)

Despite their complexity, ʿAbdallāh offers no detailed explanation of these terms, which are evidently based on earlier interpretations of *waḥdat al-wujūd*.[179] Alongside outlining the five presences, the first chapter of the *Mashāhid al-Nāsik* discusses the *aʿyān thābita*, the immutable essences. Although *aʿyān thābita* are generally considered to be a concept invented by Ibn ʿArabī, ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Qahhār examines the views he attributes to the founders of the Sunni madhhabs, Mālik, al-Shāfiʿī, Abū Ḥanīfa, and Ibn Ḥanbal on whether *aʿyān thābita* should be considered pre-eternal (*qadīm*) or created in time (*muḥdath*).[180] While al-Ghazālī is invoked in support of their pre-eternity, perhaps more importantly the discussion legitimises the concept of *aʿyān thābita*; none of the authorities cited deny its validity, even if in reality they all wrote before the idea emerged. One can only imagine that some, like Ibn Ḥanbal, arch enemy of neo-platonic thought, would have been horrified by the concept that here they implicitly endorse. There follows an extremely laconic account of Sufi cosmology, mentioning the *ʿālam al-malakūt* (the world of the Kingdom of God, i.e. the angels), *ʿālam al-arwāḥ* (the world of spirits), *ʿālam al-ghayb* (the world of the unseen), *ʿālam al-amr* (the world of divine command), *ʿālam al-nāsūt* (the physical world which is the world of the Perfect Man) which seems to be distinguished from the *ʿālam al-sufliyya* (the material world of humans). However, little explanation is given of these concepts.

A second chapter discusses the spirits (*al-arwāḥ*), explaining that souls are separate from bodies, to which, however, they are connected "like a lover to the beloved".[181] Although some of the Qunawian vocabulary of Chapter One is also used here, this is much more straightforward discussion of the fate of souls in the afterlife, describing the various parts of heaven where the souls of prophets, martyrs and believers will be placed after death, and relates the tradition that unbelievers' souls will be tormented in Biʾr Barhūt in Hadramaut until the resurrection.[182] The source for this tradition, which was widely known,[183] is given as the *Sharḥ Jawhar*, perhaps referring to a commentary on al-Sumāṭrāʾī's *Jawhar al-Ḥaqāʾiq*.

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[179] Further research is needed to identify the origins of these terms, but it is worth noting they have parallels in several sections of ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Jīlī's *al-Insān al-Kāmil* (chapters 9, 15, 33). I am grateful to Richard Todd for his comments on this.

[180] Jakarta, A 31, pp. 255–9.

[181] Jakarta, A 31, p. 266.

The third chapter is described as "Explanation of the litanies read by Sayyid Aḥmad al-Rifāʿī, may God be pleased with him, when he performed *dhikr*." Despite the reputation of the Rifaʿiyya for anti-nomian and extreme behaviour, ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Qahhār emphasises sharia compliance. We can see this in, for instance, Aḥmad al-Rifāʿī's 'will' to his children, which consists largely of ethical advice such as, "Fear God secretly and openly, and be obedient to him, my child. Adhere to the outer requirements of the law, and observe its boundaries."[184] The Qurʾan and sunna are thus regarded as the prime source of law, and the chapter ends with enjoining fasting in Ramadan, constant recitation of the Qurʾan during the month and "allowing what is permissible and forbidding what is forbidden" (*taḥlīl al-ḥalāl wa-taḥrīm al-ḥarām*).[185] The conclusion (*khātima*) discusses knowledge of the heart (*maʿrifat al-qalb*) – those of unbelievers, hypocrites and believers, concluding that "the heart of the believer who is strict in bearing witness and is annihilated in God's essence is that of the people of [divine] knowledge [*ahl al-maʿrifa*]."[186]

The work as whole, while infused with vocabulary derived from Ibn ʿArabī and al-Qūnawī, represents ultimately a simplified instruction manual. The first chapter, introducing the crucial Akbari concept of *aʿyān thābita*, brings these away from the realm of metaphysical speculation to the mainstream by claiming they are an object of discussion by the founders of the four classical madhhabs, plus al-Ghazālī. In this sense, this rather difficult concept becomes simplified into being a topic of legal debate. The section on the souls is largely deprived of any abstruse metaphysics, as is the third section; together, they present piety and sharia-compliance as the means to attain heaven. It is perhaps again telling that these conventional thoughts are attributed to the rather controversial figure of Aḥmad al-Rifāʿī. Throughout, the text is generously spaced, and accompanied by an interlinear Javanese translation (Fig. 6.17). It seems, then, essentially to serve as a primer for Sultan Zayn al-ʿĀshiqīn,

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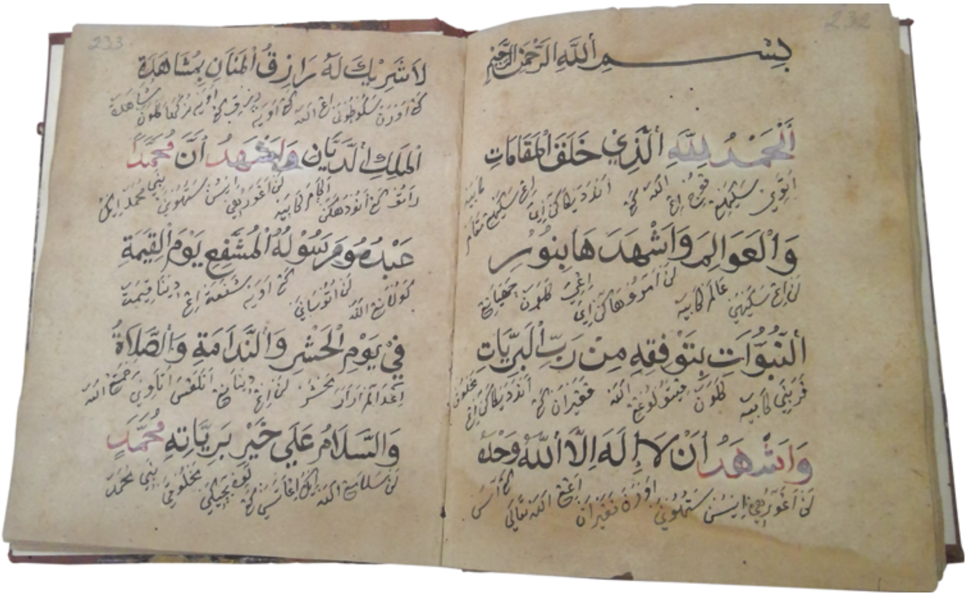
[182] Jakarta, A 31, p. 273.

[183] Cf. G. Rentz, "Barhūt," *EI*^{2}.

[184] Jakarta, A 31, p. 279.
اتق اللّٰه في السر والعلانية و في طاعته يا ولدي فلزم ظاهر الشرع واحفظ حدوده وفقنا اللّٰه واياكم والمسلمين اجمعين

[185] Jakarta, A 31, pp. 283–4.

[186] Jakarta, A 31, pp. 285.



بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
الحمد لله الذي خلق المقامات
والعوالم واشهدها بنور
النبوات بتوفيقه من رب البريات
واشهد ان لا اله الا الله وحده

لا شريك له رازق المنان بمشاهدة
الملك الديان واشهد ان محمدا
عبده ورسوله المشفع يوم القيمة
في يوم الحشر والندامة والصلاة
والسلام على خير برياته محمد

FIGURE 6.17 ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Qahhār, *Mashāhid al-Nāsik* with interlinear Javanese translation. Jakarta, Perpustakaan Nasional, MS A 31/2, pp. 322–3

summarising the basics of the Ibn ʿArabī's metaphysical system, while also emphasising in simple vocabulary the benefits of following this path. Yet it is short on precise advice about practice, while an understanding of complex terms such as *al-aʿyān al-thābita* is taken for granted. It is, then, neither an elementary introduction nor an advanced manual of Sufism, and was probably intended to be used alongside the oral explanation of the *murshid*, ʿAbdallāh himself.

Another of ʿAbdallāh's works written at the request of Zayn al-ʿĀshiqīn was the *Fatḥ al-Mulūk li-Yaṣila ilā Malik al-Mulūk ʿalā Qāʿidat Ahl al-Sulūk* (Fig. 6.18).[187] The work was intended to deal with the Sufi-related sciences of *taṣawwuf*, *ṭarīqa* and *ḥaqīqa*, but also the sciences of sharia, *fiqh*, and *uṣūl al-dīn*, although everything was to be expounded according to the method of "God's people and people of the path" (*ahl allāh taʿālā wa-ahl al-sulūk*, p. 2), in other words Sufis. Despite this comprehensive agenda, this is also a relatively short treatise consisting of only 48 pages for the body of the text. The introduction starts with praise of knowledge which may seem conventional, but in the light of the sharifal ascendancy in mid-eighteenth century Banten, and the

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[187] Jakarta, A 111.

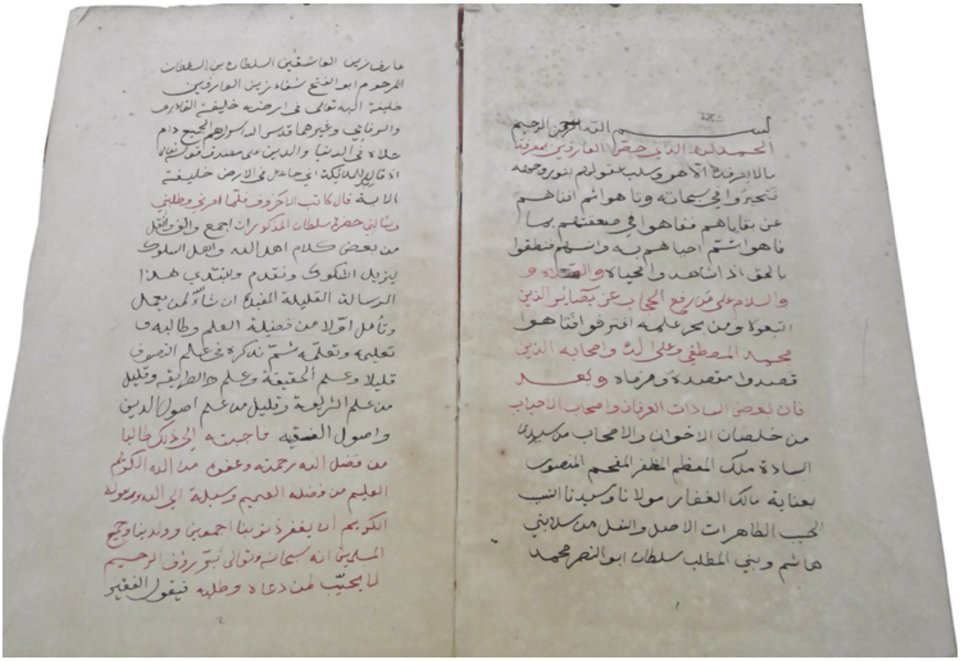

FIGURE 6.18 ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Qahhār, *Fatḥ al-Mulūk*, Jakarta, Perpustakaan Nasional, MS A 111, pp. 2–3

apparent rivalry of one of these sharifs for the position of Rifaʿi *murshid* to the sultan, the sentiments expressed may also be read as ʿAbdallāh's claim to assert his own credentials against these rivals:

> The prophet said, "Wisdom [*ḥikma*] increases the noble [*al-sharīf*] in nobility, and raises up the slave so that he takes his place in the company of kings".... The Prophet said, "The closest of those to degree of Prophethood are the people of knowledge and jihad."[188]

Numerous such hadith follow, stressing the same point: proximity to God and the Prophet is acquired through knowledge (and thus, implicitly, not through descent). However, the introduction also serves to urge on the book's reader (i.e. Sultan Zayn al-ʿĀshiqīn) the necessity of acquiring knowledge (*ṭalab al-ʿilm*). Al-Nawawī's *al-Minhāj* is quoted to this effect:

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[188] Jakarta, A 111, p. 4.
قال النبي صلى الله عليه و سلم ان الحكمة تزيد الشريف شرفا و ترفع المملوك حتي مجلسه مجالسة الملوك ... وقال النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم اقرب الناس من درجة النبوة اهل العلم والجهاد

> Preoccupation with knowledge is one of the best forms of obedience and is the most suitable thing on which valuables can be expended in every respect. According to another report, “Preoccupation with learning is better than a thousand prostrations at prayers.”[189]

The section ends with verses exhorting the reader to seek knowledge with whoever is learned, “even an Ethiopian slave”.

The first chapter proper comprises a discussion of Sufism (*ʿilm al-taṣawwuf*). This starts by quoting the early Persian Sufi Sahl b. ʿAbdallāh al-Tustarī (d. 283/896) that the basis of Sufism is eating halal food, emulating the Prophet and having sincere intent in all deeds. The chapter expounds on these themes, adding others such as faith; consistently all the sources it cites are from the early medieval period; in addition to Sahl al-Tustarī, there are references to Junayd, al-Tirmidhī and ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī. Strikingly absent is any explicit mention of more recent Sufis, such as Shams al-Dīn al-Sumāṭrāʾī, al-Qushāshī or al-Kūrānī.

The second chapter, in contrast, is replete with Akbari vocabulary and concepts. Its theme is *ʿilm al-ḥaqāʾiq* or ‘realities’; God is the self-sufficient existence (*al-wujūd al-muṭlaq al-ḥaqīqī*). God’s manifestation (*tajallī*) is identified through seven grades (*martaba*). Although not mentioned by name, the discussion of the Seven Grades draws directly on al-Burhānpūrī’s *al-Tuḥfa al-Mursala*, which ʿAbdallāh reprises in abridged form. For example, the first stage is described as *martabat al-aḥadiyya* or *lā-taʿayyun*, exactly the same phrases al-Burhānpūrī uses for it.[190] As with al-Burhānpūrī, the Seventh Grade of God’s manifestation is identified with ‘the perfect human’. Yet ʿAbdallāh does not give it any particular emphasis. In contrast to the *Mashāhid al-Nāsik*, there is no discussion of the Divine Presences, but there is a detailed exposition of *tawḥīd*, which is also divided into seven grades, each one increasingly exclusive. There is also a brief allusion to a commentary on Shaykh Raslān[191] the twelfth-century Damascus saint whose work on *tawḥīd* was popular in Southeast Asia, especially circulating in the commentary entitled *Fatḥ al-Raḥmān*. As noted above, this text was read at the Palembang court too.

The third chapter discusses the science of sharia (*fī bayān ḥukm ʿilm al-sharīʿa*). In part, this is an exposition of how Sufism and sharia are mutually complementary, but at a more basic level it also contains a discussion of what constitutes rebellion against God, that is, major sins. Here the influence of the multiple madhhabs of the Hijaz can be detected. With regard to chess playing, for example, ʿAbdallāh notes that it is disapproved of but not banned (*makrūh ghayr muḥarram*) by the Shafiis, but banned by the Hanafis.[192] The fourth and fifth chapters deal with the practice of *dhikr*, and the necessity of the *murīd* being instructed by the *murshid*.

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[189] Jakarta, A 111, p. 6.

فان الاشتغال بالعلم من افضل الطاعات واولي ما انفقت فيه النفائس المستجادات الي اخر عباراته و في رواية اخري طلب العلم و اشتغال بالعلم افضل من صلاة الف ركعة انتهى

[190] Johns, *Gift*, 130; Jakarta, A 111, p. 24.

[191] Jakarta, A 111 p. 29.

The *Fatḥ al-Mulūk* thus provided the sultan an overview of Sufi metaphysics and practice; nonetheless, in places it is so terse that it would have barely been comprehensible without further oral exegesis. For example, there is no attempt whatsoever to explain the concepts of *taʿayyun* (determination) and *lā-taʿayyun* (non-determination) in the Seven Grades which are crucial to understanding its doctrine of the manifestation of Being. Rather than seeing it is a practical tool for teaching the sultan (or anyone else), it might be better understood as an assertion by ʿAbdallāh of his own mastery of a comprehensive range of religious sciences, comprising both sharia and Sufism, a mastery proved by his frequent references to the authorities of the Abbasid period. Such an interpretation is bolstered by the fact that the conclusion recounts at length ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Qahhār's own teachers (as discussed above, pp. 236–7), thus proving his own religious and intellectual authority

Through his Arabic works, in some case furnished with interlinear Javanese translations, ʿAbdallāh also provided the sultan of Banten with the intellectual armoury, and the vocabulary, to present himself as a Sufi *khalīfa*, and an advanced Sufi (*muntahī*). ʿAbdallāh's authority was reinforced by his long studies in the Hijaz, to which he repeatedly refers. At the same time, through his Javanese translation of Hamzah Fansuri he made Malay *wujūdī* classics accessible to the court. He may also have written works in Malay. Two manuscripts from Marawi City which contain Shattari *silsilas* through ʿAbdallāh contain texts dealing with the Seven Grades, the *ḥaqīqat al-rūḥ*, prayer and the categories of *murīd* bear in place of a title the statement that they are the composition (*taʾlīf*) of ʿAbdallāh. However, there is no other information about their contents, and it is possible that they represent local adaptations of one of ʿAbdallāh's works, or perhaps are loosely based on his teachings, inspired by his fame as the teacher of eminent Mindanao scholars. The latter interpretation is perhaps suggested by the inclusion of passages in the local Irano language, but research on these texts by specialists in Malay and Irano is required.[193]

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[192] Jakarta, A 111, p. 39.

[193] Christomy, "Ta'lif Syekhuna," 90–93; Fatuhrahman, *Shaṭṭāriyah Silsilah*, 98, 102.

ʿAbdallāh's literary activities suggest how Arabic, Malay and Javanese texts could coexist in the same intellectual sphere, but at the same time inhabit somewhat separate realms. For all his interest in Hamzah, there are no references to the latter's writings whatsoever in ʿAbdallāh's Arabic works, nor to his famous metaphors. Yet the metaphysical debates of seventeenth century Aceh continued to inspire interest at the court of Banten in this period, as is attested by the copy of Shams al-Dīn al-Sumāṭrāʾī's *Jawhar al-Ḥaqāʾiq* that was copied together with ʿAbdallāh's *Mashāhid al-Nāsik*. Nonetheless, these debates seem to have been shorn of some of their controversial character, as is seen in both Palembang and Banten. Shaykh Raslān's treatise implicitly attacking monist thought could be cited by ʿAbdallāh alongside *wujūdī* concepts evidently derived from al-Burhānpūrī, or could be housed in the Palembang *kraton* library alongside not just an adaptation of Birgevi but also hagiographies of Muḥammad al-Sammān that ranked the latter alongside Ibn ʿArabī. Indeed, the distinction between sharia-compliant and *wujūdī* thought is evidently invalid in this period. Advocating sharia was congruent not just with ideas derived from Ibn ʿArabī and al-Burhānpūrī, but even granting *ijāza*s for demonstrating astonishing feats of mastery of nature, as ʿAbdallāh did in his Rifaʿi *ijāza* to the sultan. The texts discussed in this chapter perhaps do not reflect the cutting edge of Hijazi intellectual culture in the eighteenth century, with its innovations in hadith and law, but they do suggest how the spread of new *ṭarīqa*s, the Sammaniyya and the Rifaʿiyya, which complemented rather than displaced the Shattariyya, offered a framework to resolve the metaphysical controversies of the seventeenth century. At the same time, the eighteenth century witnessed increased intellectual exchange with the broader *dār al-Islām*, with distinctively Maghrebi influences evident in many of the books collected by ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Qahhār owing to his teachers in the Hijaz, a testimony to the impact of the cosmopolitan intellectual culture of the Haramayn.

CHAPTER 7

The Library of the Sultans of Banten

As the preceding chapters have described, the Sultanate of Banten played the leading role in the promotion of Arabic literature in seventeenth- to eighteenth-century Southeast Asia, through patronage of writers such as Ibn ʿAllān, Yūsuf al-Maqāṣīrī and ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Qahhār. The partial preservation of the Banten sultans' library in the collections of the National Library of Indonesia and to a lesser degree Leiden University provides an unparalleled source for the circulation of Arabic texts in Southeast Asia. It offers a remarkable insight into intellectual life in the Banten sultanate, and constitutes the single most comprehensive archive of Arabic material from Southeast Asia. Indeed, of the manuscripts that can clearly be connected to the Banten court, the overwhelming majority are in Arabic. While the origins of the library must date back to the seventeenth century, most likely to the efforts by Abū'l-Mafākhir to arrogate to himself the privilege of being the supreme *mujtahid* in his land, only a handful of manuscripts from this period survive. In the analysis below, it should be emphasised that the discussion relates to the library in the essentially late eighteenth century form that it has come down to us, and few of the comments could be extended to earlier periods with any certainty.

It is probably not coincidental that the eighteenth century witnessed increasing Arab influence at the Banten court. From the late seventeenth century, sayyids of Arab descent who intermarried with the royal family became ever more powerful,[1] and by the early eighteenth century, they were playing the central role at the ceremony of accession of the new ruler. Under their influence the Javanese prayer 'Inggih, inggih' was replaced by the Arabic Amin, Amin.[2] The wife of Sultan Zayn al-ʿĀrifīn, Ratu Sharifa Fatima, herself of Arab, sayyid descent, in 1748 succeeded in persuading the VOC to depose her husband, allowing her to seize absolute power for herself and the Arab constituency that supported her, despite the VOC's misgivings about the Arab influence.[3] After the resulting revolt in 1750–1752, the Dutch sway over the internal affairs of the sultanate was consolidated. However, the real rise in Arab literacy in Banten coincides not with the period of sayyid ascendancy in the early eighteenth

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[1] Talens, *Een feodale samenleving*, 159–161.

[2] Talens, *Een feodale samenleving*, 161.

[3] Talens, *Een feodale samenleving*, 169.

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century, but with the rule of Zayn al-ʿĀshiqīn (1753–1777) – himself married to the daughter of a sharif – when Dutch political influence over the sultanate was strong but at the same time Banten's commercial networks were expanding considerably. Overseas trade now constituted the sultan's main source of income, and this period witnessed an increase in the town's prosperity, as well as a considerable expansion of population.[4] Yet from the 1770s the sultan saw his revenue diminish notably as income from exports declined, probably as a result of the silting of the port of Kota Banten.[5] The surviving manuscripts seem to be largely a legacy of the prosperity of this brief mercantile heyday in the late eighteenth century.

1 The Survival of the Library in Colonial Times

In order to make sense of the manuscripts that we have, we must first examine the circumstances of their preservation. Ironically, the survival of the library owes much to the fact that it was seized by the Dutch after the sultanate was abolished. In 1809 the Dutch governor-general Daendals annexed the territory of Banten, banishing the reigning sultan to Ambon in Eastern Indonesia, and installing a new sultan in his place. However, it was not until 1832 that decision was made to remove the last vestiges of royal authority, exiling the remaining members of the royal family and seizing their property. While the sultan was sent to Surabaya, his heirlooms (*pusaka*) and royal treasures, including the crown and a magnificent gamelan set that required 47 coolies to carry it to its new home, were handed to the Dutch authorities. The latter divided up the treasures, and the manuscripts were initially put in the government storehouse, 's Lands Civiele Pakhuizen, and then were taken to the Algemene Secretarie, the Dutch colonial government headquarters in Batavia, in 1833. In order to preserve them in more suitable conditions, shortly afterwards, in 1835, the Banten manuscripts, along with those of the Sultan of Tidore, were passed on to the Bataviaasch Genootschap der Kunsten en Wetenschappen (The Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences, founded 1778, the prime European institution of learning in the East Indies in the period, and predecessor of the modern National Museum and National Library of Indonesia). The ex-sultan was to be compensated with f. 719.50, although it seems he never received this.[6]

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[4] Ito, *Changes of Regime*, 77–82.

[5] Ito, *Changes of Regime*, 97–101.

[6] The above account draws on Hans Groot, *Van Batavia Naar Weltevreden: Het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, 1778–1867* (Leiden, 2009), 272–3.

In 1833, when the manuscripts entered 's Lands Pakhuizen, a list of 116 manuscripts from Banten was compiled, which is preserved today in the Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia with catalogue number KBG Dir 0094–95, and constitutes the earliest evidence for the contents of the sultanic library (transcribed and annotated in Appendix 2).[7] It allows us to identify numerous manuscripts as part of the royal library for which there is otherwise no clear evidence for their ownership, and is thus an extremely useful source. It is nonetheless a highly problematic one. Firstly, the manuscripts are identified only by short titles which can make confirming their identity difficult. Secondly, the transcription of the titles is often highly erratic. It appears that the compiler of the list was a Dutch official named J.D.G. Schaap, who was senior clerk at the Department of Native Affairs of the Algemene Secretarie.[8] He was a sworn translator, but there is no reason to think his expertise was in Arabic; most probably he was a specialist in Malay or Javanese. Indeed, it seems that Schaap transcribed the titles from an oral dictation and did not actually consult the manuscripts themselves.[9] In addition the titles given are often misleading, especially given that authors are rarely mentioned. Thus one manuscript is listed as *Faakar Zoehoed*, which is a transcription of *Faqr Zuhd*; this itself is a part of al-Ghazālī's *Iḥyāʾ ʿUlūm al-Dīn*; and in fact there are two manuscripts of individual parts of the *Iḥyāʾ* in the Jakarta collection which start with the words *Faqr Zuhd*. The working method thus seems to have been for a native informant to check the opening folios of a manuscript for an obvious title, which was then dictated to Schaap. In cases of doubt, generic titles or comments such as 'Tasawwuf' or 'about religion' (over de godsdienst) were recorded. In addition, the list only records the first work in a codex, but frequently a codex may comprise multiple works. Furthermore, many of the works listed consist of multiple codices. These factors gave rise to major discrepancies in Dutch accounts of the numbers of Banten manuscripts. In 1845, when Rudolph Friederich was appointed to catalogue the Banten collection, it was recorded as comprising

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[7] Groot, *Van Batavia Naar Weltevreden*, 273–4. Groot was the first to locate and identify the importance of this document, which he planned to publish, but was prevented from doing so by his untimely death. I am extremely grateful to Annabel Teh Gallop for passing on her correspondence with Groot relating to this, and a copy of the crucial document KBG Dir 0094–0095 made by Groot.

[8] Pers. comm. Groot to Gallop 11 June 2006 based on Bataviaasch Genootschap sources.

[9] Thus *Musāmara* is transcribed as if it were two separate words, *Moesah Marah*; Arabic *fāʾ* is often transcribed as *p*, in accordance with Javanese pronunciation (thus *Tapsir* for *Tafsīr*); numerous minor spelling errors suggest oral dictation to an uncomprehending informant, thus *Ṭālibin* (in *Tuḥfat al-Ṭālibīn*) is rendered as *Talibie* with no final nun, and *Tanbīh* appears repeatedly as *Tambeih* with *m* instead of *n*.

346 manuscripts,[10] while in 1839, 370 manuscripts in Arabic and Javanese had been counted;[11] it is not entirely clear whether this latter number contained manuscripts additional to the Banten collection, and whether individual works were counted separately, or codices. In 1870, however, the Bataviaasch Genootschap's collections were said to comprise 130 Arabic manuscripts, 87 Javanese, 53 Malay, and 508 palm leaf manuscripts; evidently the Banten collection had been supplemented by numerous other acquisitions.[12]

The collection had a chequered history after its acquisition by the Bataviaasch Genootschap (BG). In September 1839, the Society decided to ask a 'capable Arab' (een kundige Arabier) to put the Arabic and Javanese manuscripts into order; this seems to have consisted of translating them into Malay; the manuscripts were transferred to a building in the yard of the English church in Batavia, where work was supervised by W.H. Medhurst.[13] Nonetheless, problems were already apparent. In December 1839, Medhurst reported to the Board of the BG that a number of items were incomplete, and he quotes as examples of this:

> Twee Arabische Korans elk in tien deelen / Two Arabic Korans each of them in ten volumes
> Eene Arabische en Javaansche Koran / One Arabic and Javanese Koran
> Eene Arabische en Maleidsche Koran / One Arabic and Malay Koran
> Vijf Tafsiers of uitleggingen van den Koran, uit welke het welligt mogelijk zijn zal eene volledige te zamen te stellen./ Five Tafsirs or commentaries of the Koran, out of which eventually a complete one could be reconstructed

It is not entirely clear that these losses occurred after the collection's acquisition by Bataviaasch Genootschap; on the 1833 list a number of items are already noted as incomplete (e.g. nos 19 and 20, *Sharḥ Dalāʾil* and *Sharḥ Bahja* respectively, and nos 26 and 26, a Qur'an with Javanese translation, in 14 parts, and a Qur'an in 20 parts respectively). However, the manuscripts' subsequent travails certainly did not help. In 1840, the BG appointed C.J. van der Vlis to draw up a catalogue of the Arabic, Malay and Javanese manuscripts in its possession. Although he started this work in Batavia, he moved to Surakarta, taking a number of the manuscripts with him to continue his work.[14] Unfortunately van der Vlis died in 1842 with the project still incomplete, and his widow returned the manuscripts to Batavia. Then in 1843 a minister, W.C.H. Toewater, was appointed to continue van der Vlis's work, and was entrusted with the manuscripts, but in 1844 he too died. Finally, in 1845, Rudolph Friederich (1817–1875) was appointed to do the work. Friederich was a sergeant in the army, but had studied Arabic and Sanskrit in Bonn, and subsequently learned Malay and Javanese.[15] Friederich's work, however, was almost immediately interrupted by his appointment as an expert member to the Dutch expedition to Bali in 1846, and he remained on the island for two years. Recruited for his knowledge of Sanskrit, which the Dutch wrongly assumed would be the key to unlocking Hindu Bali's past, Friederich wrote the first scholarly account of Balinese Hinduism, which in places evinces distinctly anti-Islamic sentiments. Friederich also seems to have distinguished himself on Bali both for his violence towards the locals and his alcoholism.[16] Nonetheless, in 1853, the first part of Friederich's catalogue of the Arabic manuscripts appeared in the Bataavisch Genootschap's journal *Verhandelingen*.[17] It only treated 45 manuscripts, primarily those pertaining to grammar and theology, and was later continued by L.W.C. van den Berg, with whose contribution it was reprinted in 1873. Friederich's introduction to his 1853 catalogue states that almost all the manuscripts it discusses come from the collection of the sultans of Banten.[18] Friederich lamented the state of preservation of the manuscripts owing to neglect and corrosion caused by ink.

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[10] Groot, *Van Batavia Naar Weltevreden*, 331. In Groot's text these are described simply as eastern manuscripts; his correspondence with Gallop makes it clear they are from Banten according to the archival sources.

[11] Groot, *Van Batavia Naar Weltevreden*, 297.

[12] Groot, *Van Batavia Naar Weltevreden*, 492.

[13] Groot, *Van Batavia Naar Weltevreden*, 297.

While the Jakarta collection catalogued by Friederich and van den Berg, totalling some 157 manuscripts, accounts for the majority of the surviving Banten manuscripts deriving from the court library,[19] a number made their way by other means to Leiden. In 1906 the Dutch Arabist and advisor to the colonial government on Islam, Snouck Hurgronje, donated to Leiden University Library a collection of 149 manuscripts in Javanese, Malay and Arabic that he had acquired around 1890 in Serang, which are now held as MSS Or 5591–5739. These, he claimed, had been confiscated sometime earlier from an old shaykh from Banten who was suspected of heresy and anti-government activities.[20] Doubt has been cast on the story by Yakin, who notes that Snouck certainly met some of the highest 'indigenous' officials of Banten during his 1890 visit, and suggests he actually acquired the manuscripts from them.[21] The shaykh's identity is unknown, but possibly he was a descendant of Kyahi Pekih Najmuddin, the chief judge of Banten in the 1830s, for some of the manuscripts clearly represent the latter's personal archive.[22] However, among the manuscripts Snouck acquired from Banten, from whatever source, were some which had certainly previously belonged to the sultans. Leiden Or 5658 bears the ownership mark of prince Muḥammad Qāhir b. Sultan ʿAbd al-Fatḥ (Fig 7.1)[23] while Leiden Or 5675 belonged to Sultan Muḥammad Shifā (r. 1733–1750). This suggests some of the royal library was dispersed among the Banten elite before or at the dissolution of the sultanate.

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[14] Groot, *Van Batavia Naar Weltevreden*, 305.

[15] Groot, *Van Batavia Naar Weltevreden*, 331; on Friederich see ibid., 417–8.

[16] For Friederich on Bali see Adrian Vickers, *Bali: A Paradise Created* (Singapore, 2012), 117–9.

[17] Groot, *Van Batavia Naar Weltevreden*, 493; Rudolphus Friederich, "Codicum Manuscriptorum Arabicorum in Bibliotheca Societatis Artium et Literarum, quae Bataviae Floret, Asservatorum, Catalogi. Pars Prima," *Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen* 25 (1853); this was later republished in the 1873 catalogue by Friederich and van den Berg, *Codicum arabicorum … catalogum*.

[18] Friederich, "Codicum Manuscriptorum Arabicorum," 1: "Moneam tantum eos omnes a bibliotheca regum, qui olim erant, Bantenensium nobis allatos fuisse."

[19] However, a handful of this 157 evidently have nothing to do with Banten, for example, Jakarta A 108, which comes from the court of Bone in Sulawesi. Nonetheless, it is evident that the overwhelming majority of those catalogued by Friederich and van den Berg are those of the Banten court.

There are other Banten manuscripts in Leiden, however, which were acquired much earlier. Or 1840, the *Ḥall al-Rumūz* of Ibn Ghanā'im al-Maqdisī, and Or 1842, both bearing the ownership statement of Zayn al-ʿĀshiqin (Fig. 7.2), somehow entered the possession of the Royal Academy of Delft, which closed in 1864, when its collections were transferred to Leiden,[24] and their export must therefore predate Snouck's activities in Banten. An important collection of Hamza Fansuri's poems (Or 2016) belonged to Sultan Abū'l-Maḥāsin Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn, before being acquired by the Rijks-Instelling in Leiden, which was transferred to the University Library in 1871. In this instance we know that one of its previous owners was A.D. Cornets de Groot (1804–1829),[25] who had served as Javanese translator in Surakarta, where he was posted at age fifteen in 1819.[26] He must therefore have acquired the manuscript between *c.*1819 and

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[20] Witkam, *Inventory*, vol 6, 159–60.

[21] Yakin, "The Register of the Qadi Court," 446.

[22] Leiden University Library, Or 5625–5628, Or 7740.

[23] The father of this prince must have been Sultan Ageng Tirtiyasa who bore the *kunya*s Abū'l-Fatḥ ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ (r. 1682–7)

[24] Witkam, *Inventory*, vol. 2, 218.

[25] Witkam, *Inventory*, vol. 3, 5.

[26] On him see Andreas Weber, "Sprache im 'Zwischenraum': Adriaan David Cornets de Groot jun. (1804–1829) als multilingualer Grenzgänger im zentraljavanischen Surakarta," in Mark Häberlein and Alexander Keese (eds.): *Sprachgrenzen – Sprachkontakte – kulturelle Vermittler. Kommunikation zwischen Europäern und Außereuropäern* (*16.–20. Jahrhundert*) (Stuttgart, 2010), 223–243.

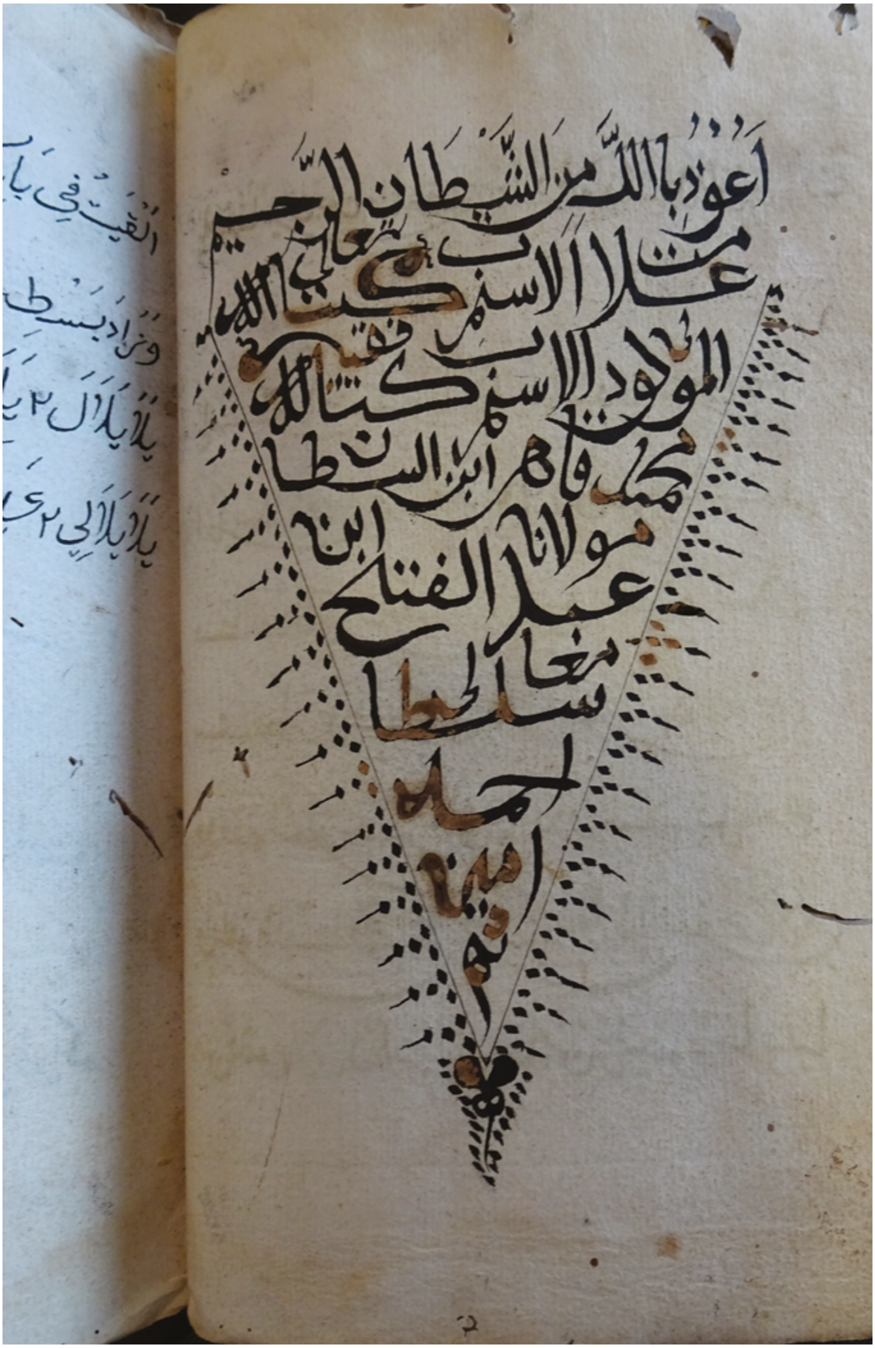
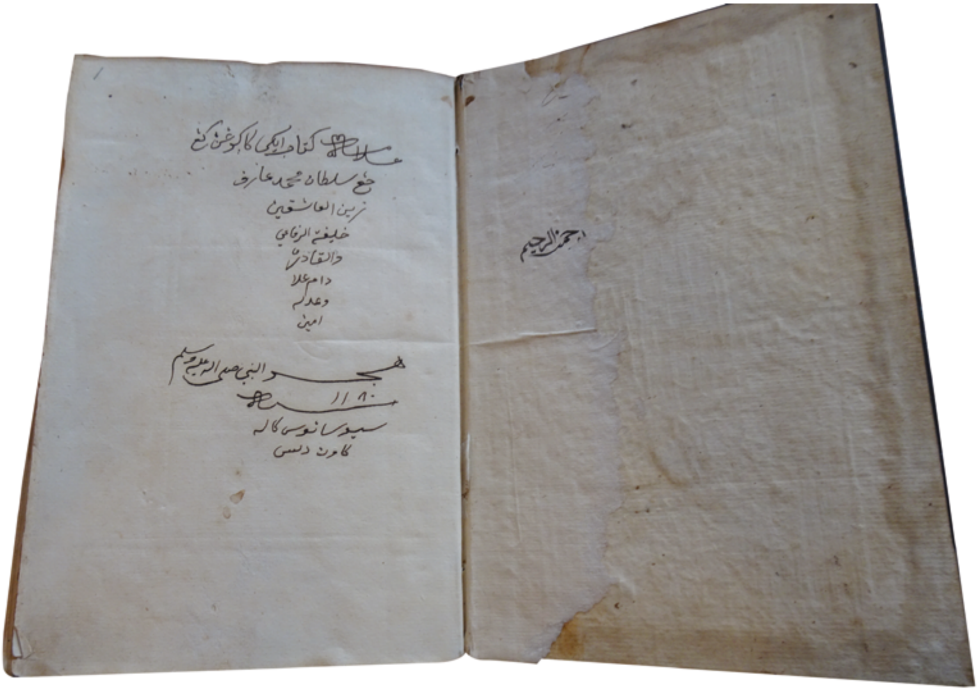


FIGURE 7.1 Ownership statement of Muḥammad Qāhir son of sultan ʿAbd al-Fatḥ. Leiden University Library, MS Or 5658



علامت كتاب ايكي كاكوغن كغ
جغ سلطان محمد عارف
زين العاشقين
خليفة الرفاعي
والقادري
دام علا
وعدله
امين

هجرة النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم
سنة ١١٨٠
سبوسانوس كاله
كاورن دلسى

الرحمن الرحيم

FIGURE 7.2 Ibn Ghanā'im al-Maqdisī, *Ḥall al-Rumūz*, ownership statement of Sultan Zayn al-ʿĀshiqīn. Leiden University Library, MS Or 1840

1829,[27] i.e. before the Dutch confiscation of the Banten *kraton*'s library in 1832, so we can assume that some books had already begun to find their way onto the market prior to this. Possibly some were sold to European collectors after Daendels' abolition of the sultanate in 1809, and may remain unidentified. Thus what survives in Jakarta and Leiden is clearly just a portion – how substantial is unclear – of a library that was already being broken up before the Dutch got their hands on it.

Only a relatively small number of manuscripts bear ownership marks, and we are reliant on the 1833 list to prove a manuscript was part of the sultanic library. However, explicit ownership statements indicate that a number belonged to Sultan Zayn al-ʿĀshiqīn[28] and his son Sultan Muḥammad ʿAlī al-Dīn

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[27] Weber, "Sprache im 'Zwischenraum'," 241–2.

[28] Leiden University Library, Or 5675; Leiden University Library, Or 1840; Jakarta A 19–20, Jakarta A 82, Jakarta A 117, Jakarta A 142, Jakarta A 143.

(r. 1777–1802).[29] Zayn al-ʿĀshiqīn evidently inherited manuscripts from earlier sultans. One was in the possession of Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn (r. 1690–1733),[30] while an otherwise unidentified royal bearing the title Kanjeng Pangeran Ratu is mentioned on another manuscript (Fig. 7.3).[31] Another royal owner was Muḥammad ʿAlī al-Dīn's son Muḥammad Mūsā who put his name on a manuscript he inherited from Zayn al-ʿĀshiqīn.[32] Most of the manuscripts date to the second half of the eighteenth century. Although a small number of seventeenth century manuscripts do survive in the collection, most of these are of Middle Eastern origin (albeit sometimes with Jāwī copyists).[33] Despite the several works commissioned by or dedicated to the sultans Abū'l-Mafākhir and Abū'l-Fatḥ, these survive only in eighteenth century copies.

It is not clear whether these books bearing sultanic ownership marks were all at one point gathered in a single collection. On the one hand, evidently heirs did indeed inherit, and treasure, books handed down from their ancestors. On the other hand, as noted above, the collection had clearly begun to be dispersed even before its seizure by the Dutch, and it is entirely possible individual items were gifted to nobility, or the new *pesantrens* that sprang up from the mid-eighteenth century, as a mark of sultanic favour, or even sold. With this caveat in mind, it seems that most of the manuscripts did form a single collection that was seized by the Dutch, and which offers a snapshot of the intellectual interests of the court in the late eighteenth century. The discussion below will analyse the contents of the library thematically, treating firstly practical texts on language, law and the religious sciences, then devotional works, and finally Sufism, the most important single element of the library, alongside the cognate occult sciences. A comprehensive listing of manuscripts identified as belonging to members of the Banten royal family is found in Appendix 2.

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[29] Jakarta A 50, A 67, A 73; also Jakarta A 60 where he is named as Ratu Abū'l-Mafākhir Muḥammad ʿAlī.

[30] Jakarta A 98, discussed further below; it is not possible to tell at what point Leiden University Library, Or 2016 left the royal library, but this also belonged to Zayn al-ʿĀbidin.

[31] Jakarta A 96; the manuscript was copied in 1182 by ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Qahhār; most likely here it refers simply to the future sultan ʿAlī al-Dīn.

[32] Leiden University Library, Or 1842, fol. 1a, 311a.

[33] E.g. Jakarta A 9, A 112, A 125 (both copied by Jāwīs), A 151. A rare example of an extant late seventeenth century Banten manuscript is Jakarta A 97.

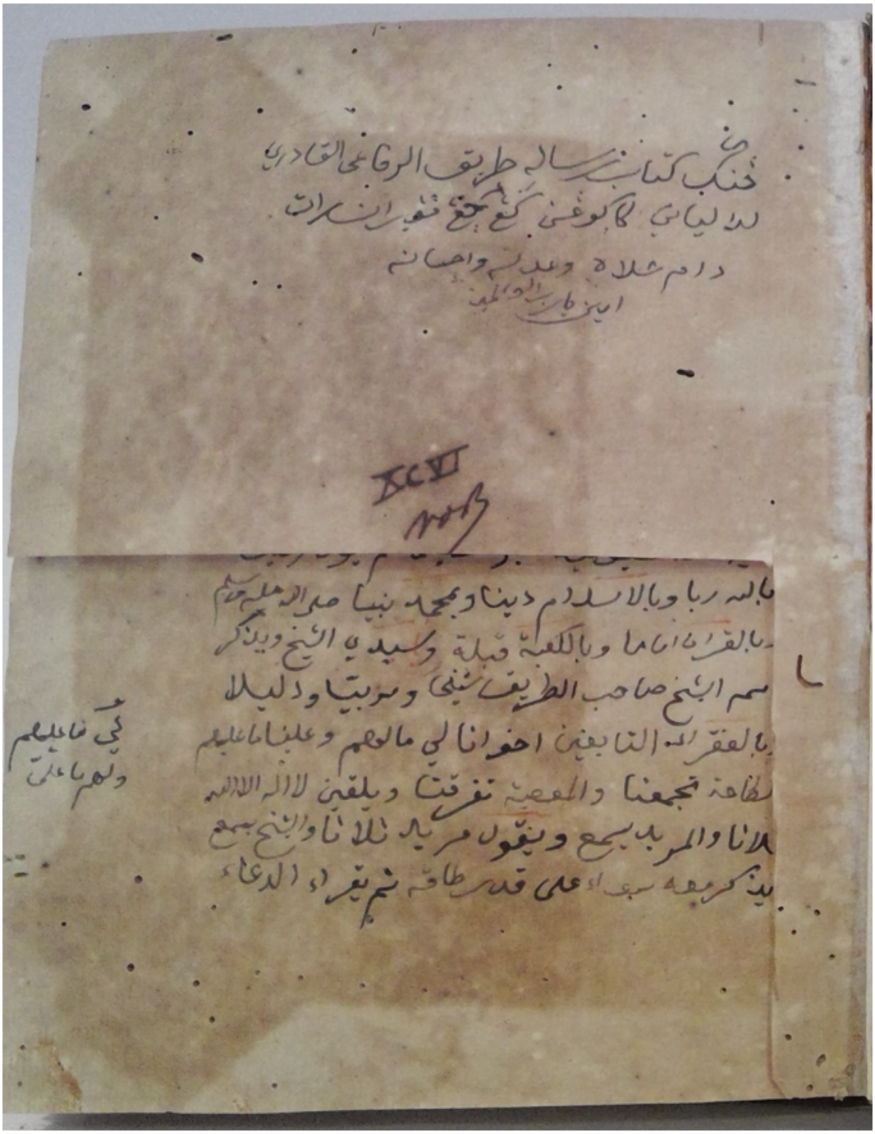

FIGURE 7.3 Rifaʿi-Qadiri *rātib* bearing the ownership statement of the unnamed Banten prince bearing titles Kanjeng Pangeran Ratu. Jakarta, Perpustakaan Nasional, MS A 96, p. 1

2 Practical Texts: Language, Law, *uṣūl al-dīn*, Credal and Devotional Texts

The sultanic library included texts that inculcated a basic knowledge of practical fields such as Arabic language and Shafii law. Indeed, the earliest extant manuscript that may be attributed to Banten is a work of Arabic grammar, a Persian translation of ʿAlī b. Abī Masʿūd's *Marāḥ al-Arwāḥ*, bearing the title of *Khulāṣa ʿIlm al-Ṣarf* and dated to Ramadan 990/September-October 1581.[34] Bausani has argued that the dedication indicates it was written for the sultans of Banten, although this remains unproven. However, another manuscript of the *Marāḥ al-Arwāḥ*, entirely in Arabic and bearing the ownership statement of Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn, was catalogued by Friederich but has been lost (Jakarta A 15). The *Marah al-Arwāḥ*, originally composed in fourteenth-century Baghdad, was a treatise on morphology (*ʿilm al-ṣarf*), focussing on the verb. Other treatises deal with syntax, such as al-Jāmī's popular *al-Fawāʾid al-Ḍiyāʾiyya*, a work which despite being written in Timurid Herat by an author better known for his Persian poetry, was widely disseminated in the Arab world, and was represented by two manuscripts in the sultanic collection (Jakarta, A 8, A 9).[35] There were also commentaries on famous works such as the thirteenth-century *al-Ājurrūmiyya* and the *Alfiyya* of Ibn Mālik (d. Damascus 672/1274); both are verse treatises on grammar that were memorised by students at the beginning of their studies, alongside the Qur'an (Jakarta A 2, 14, A 18). However, there are no advanced treatises on grammar, such as the works of al-Sībawayh or al-Zamakhsharī, nor are there any dictionaries, even monolingual ones. This doubtless reflects the fact that language was taught simply by the memorisation of texts in Arabic, with an oral commentary in Malay or Javanese by the teacher; the student of Arabic would not, however, sit with a text trying to work out its meaning with a dictionary as would be the case today.

Fiqh is less well represented than grammar, but the library did contain a couple of abridgements of *al-Muḥarrar* by al-Rāfiʿī (d. 624/ 1226), a well known work of Shafii law based on al-Ghazālī's legal thought.[36] One of these copies (Jakarta A 134) was probably made in Banten (Fig. 7.4), on the basis of its large format and typically Bantenese Arabic calligraphy, but lacks the

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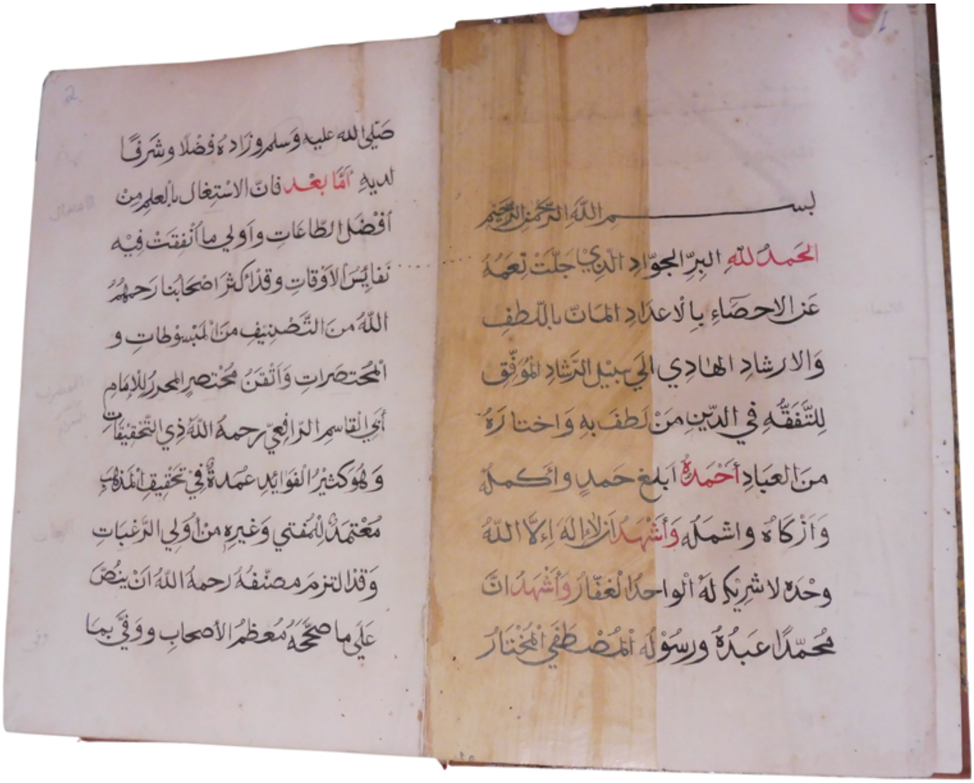
[34] Leiden University Library, Or 1666; see Alessandro Bausani, "Un manoscritto persiano-malese di grammatica araba del xvi secolo," *Annali dell' Instituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli* 19 (1969): 69–98, and for the identification of the text see Daneshgar, "Persianate Aspects of the Malay-Indonesian World," 63–7.

[35] Schwarz, "The Arab reception of Jāmī in the 16th and 17th centuries," 177–195.

[36] Jakarta A 134; Jakarta 144e; on this work see Spevack, *The Archetypical Sunni Scholar*, 74; Kooria, *Islamic Law in Circulation*, 91–93, 109–111.



بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
الحمد لله البر الجواد الذي جلت نعمه
عن الاحصاء بالاعداد المان باللطف
والارشاد الهادي الى سبيل الرشاد الموفق
للتفقه في الدين من لطف به واختاره
من العباد أحمده ابلغ حمد واكمله
وازكاه واشمله وأشهد ان لا اله الا الله
وحده لا شريك له الواحد الغفار وأشهد ان
محمدا عبده ورسوله المصطفى المختار

صلى الله عليه وسلم وزاده فضلا وشرفا
لديه أما بعد فان الاشتغال بالعلم من
افضل الطاعات واولى ما انفقت فيه
نفايس الاوقات وقد اكثر اصحابنا رحمهم
الله من التصنيف من المبسوطات و
المختصرات واتقن مختصر المحرر للامام
ابي القاسم الرافعي رحمه الله ذي التحقيقات
وهو كثير الفوايد عمدة في تحقيق المذهب
معتمد للمفتي وغيره من اولي الرغبات
وقد التزم مصنفه رحمه الله ان ينص
على ما صححه معظم الاصحاب ووفى بما

FIGURE 7.4 Abridgement of al-Rāfiʿī's *al-Muḥarrar* from the library of the Banten sultans. Jakarta Perpustakaan Nasional MS A 134, pp. 2–3

interlinear translation found in so many works. One must wonder if this was a book intended for display, when the sultan needed to pose publicly as judge, rather than as a practical tool. The famous introductory works to Shafii *fiqh* by al-Nawawī (d. 676/1278), the *Minhāj al-Ṭālibīn* and *Rawḍat al-Ṭālibīn* (a commentary on *al-Muḥarrar* and *al-ʿAzīz* of al-Rāfiʿī respectively), also feature.[37] Rather more unusual is *al-Ghurar al-Bahiyya*, a super-commentary by Abū Yaḥyā Zakariyyā al-Anṣārī (d. 926/1520) on a work by Ibn al-Wardī, a versification of *al-Ḥawī* of al-Qazwīnī (d.665/1266), which itself was a commentary on a work by al-Rāfiʿī, *al-ʿAzīz*.[38] It does thus belong to the same Shafii tradition. Surprisingly there is no copy of Abū Shujāʿs *al-Taqrīb* or its commentary by al-Ghazzī, *al-Fatḥ al-Qarīb*, as some of the most popular works of Shafii law to circulate in Southeast Asia, but given the evidence for the incomplete state of the remnants of the library, perhaps not too much should be read into this. Nonetheless, it is notable that several texts deal with differences of opinion between the different madhhabs, suggesting that the influence of Shafiism was tempered somewhat, possibly owing to sultanic pretensions to exercising *ijtihād*.[39]

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[37] Al-Nawawī, *Minhāj al-Ṭālibīn*, Jakarta A 134 Al-Nawawī, *Rawḍat al-Ṭālibīn*, Jakarta A 141; On these works see Kooria, *Islamic Law in Circulation*, 129–172.

[38] Jakarta A143; see Kooria, *Islamic Law in Circulation*, 187; GAL, S II 679.

Among doctrinal works, the famous *ʿaqīda* by al-Sanūsī of Tlemcen (d. 895/1490), a statement of the Ashʿarite creed, was evidently especially popular, being represented by several manuscripts.[40] Hadith texts include the popular compilations of al-Suyūṭī, *al-Jāmiʿ al-Ṣaghīr*, al-Nawawī's *Sharḥ al-Ḥadīth al-Arbaʿīn*, and al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ*. In *tafsīr*, the widely circulated *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn* was represented by several manuscript copies, as well as a commentary, the *Jamāl al-Jalālayn*. With the exception of a possibly locally produced *tafsīr*, the *Tafsīr al-Asrār*,[41] there is little remarkable about any of the choices of texts in language, law, hadith and *tafsīr*, representing extremely widely read, well known works, aimed at an elementary audience. Similarly conventional was the enthusiasm for al-Jazūlī's *Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt*, a highly popular work in praise of the Prophet existing in probably thousands of manuscript copies worldwide, in virtually every Muslim community. Nonetheless, the use of gold for illustrations of the Prophet's grave, the calligraphic sophistication and above all the size of the Banten manuscripts of this text – the copies of the *Dalāʾil* dwarf

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[39] For example, A 137, al-Shaʿrānī (d. 973/1565), *al-Mīzān*, A 140 *Ikhtilāf al-Madhāhib*, A 142, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥusayn al-Qurashī al-ʿUthmānī (composed in 780/1378), *Raḥmat al-Umma fī Ikhtilāf al- Āʾimma*. For *al-Mīzān*, which was variously interpreted as supporting or condemning *ijtihād*, see Samuela Pagani, "The Meaning of the *Ikhtilāf al-Madhāhib* in ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Shaʿrānī's *al-Mīzān al-Kubrā*," *Islamic Law and Society* 11 (2004): 177–212.

[40] Jakarta A 21, 43, 44.

[41] MSS Jakarta A 62, 63. Unfortunately access to A 63 was not possible owing to its state of preservation. A 62 contains the commentary on al-Baqara 179 to the end of the Qurʾan; however, it does not attempt to be comprehensive; the exegesis of al-Baqara 179, which is distinctly Sufi, is immediately followed by an exegesis of al-Baqara 183, with verses 180–182 omitted entirely. For this reason, it is not possibly to judge with certainty whether the present text is complete or not. In fact, it gives every appearance of being complete, for the first section concludes on p. 62 specifically stating it comprises the first section (*al-juzʾ al-awwal*). It is divided into a further six *juzʾ*. However, there is no introduction or doxology beyond the *bismillāh*, and no exegesis of the Fātiḥa or al-Baqara 1–178. A series of different copyists are mentioned. On p. 297 an unnamed copyist states it was finished in his teacher's house (*fī makān mudarrisihi*) on 24 Muharram AH 1131. However, on p. 353 the copyist gives his name as Muḥammad Yūsuf b. al-Rajul, and the date according to Javanese and hijri system (Shawwāl 1196). A further colophon on p. 386 names the copyist as Ḥajj Ḥabīb b. ʿĀrif al-Dīn and gives the date of Shaʿbān 1196. The work needs further investigation.

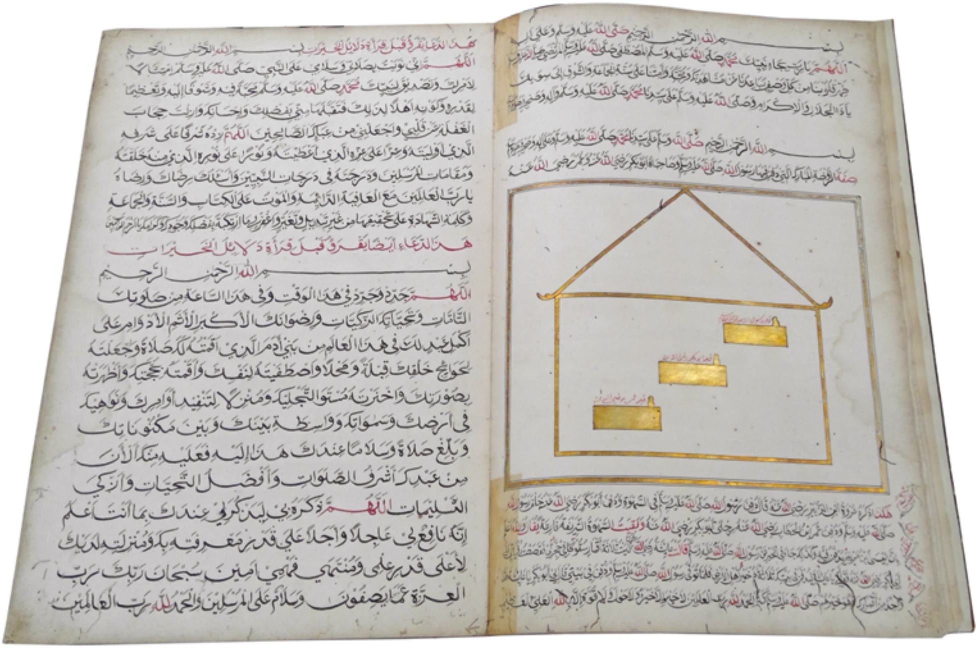

FIGURE 7.5 al-Jazūlī, *Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt*. Illustration of the tombs of the Prophet, Abū Bakr and ʿUmar. Jakarta, Perpustakaan Nasional, MS A 78

almost every other manuscript apart from Qurʾans, the largest measuring some 52 × 38 cm[42] – suggest the esteem in which the text was held there (Fig 7.5).

Several manuscripts are devoted to poems and texts to be performed on the prophet's birthday (*mawlid*), or to poetry to be performed as part of *dhikr*. Sections of the famous *Mawlid* of al-Barzanjī are contained in Jakarta A67, a large format manuscript once belonging to Sultan Muḥammad ʿAlī al-Dīn alongside other poetic mawlid texts (Fig. 7.6). The *mawlid Sharaf al-Anām* is contained in another manuscript (Leiden Or 5658) alongside Arabic poems by al-Sūdī (d. 932/1525–6) and others that appear to have been part of Rifaʿi and Qadiri *samāʿ* rituals, perhaps specifically ones performed on the Prophet's birthday. Their use in performance is strongly suggested by the musical modes (*maqāms*) that are mentioned throughout the manuscript.[43] Such *dhikr* and

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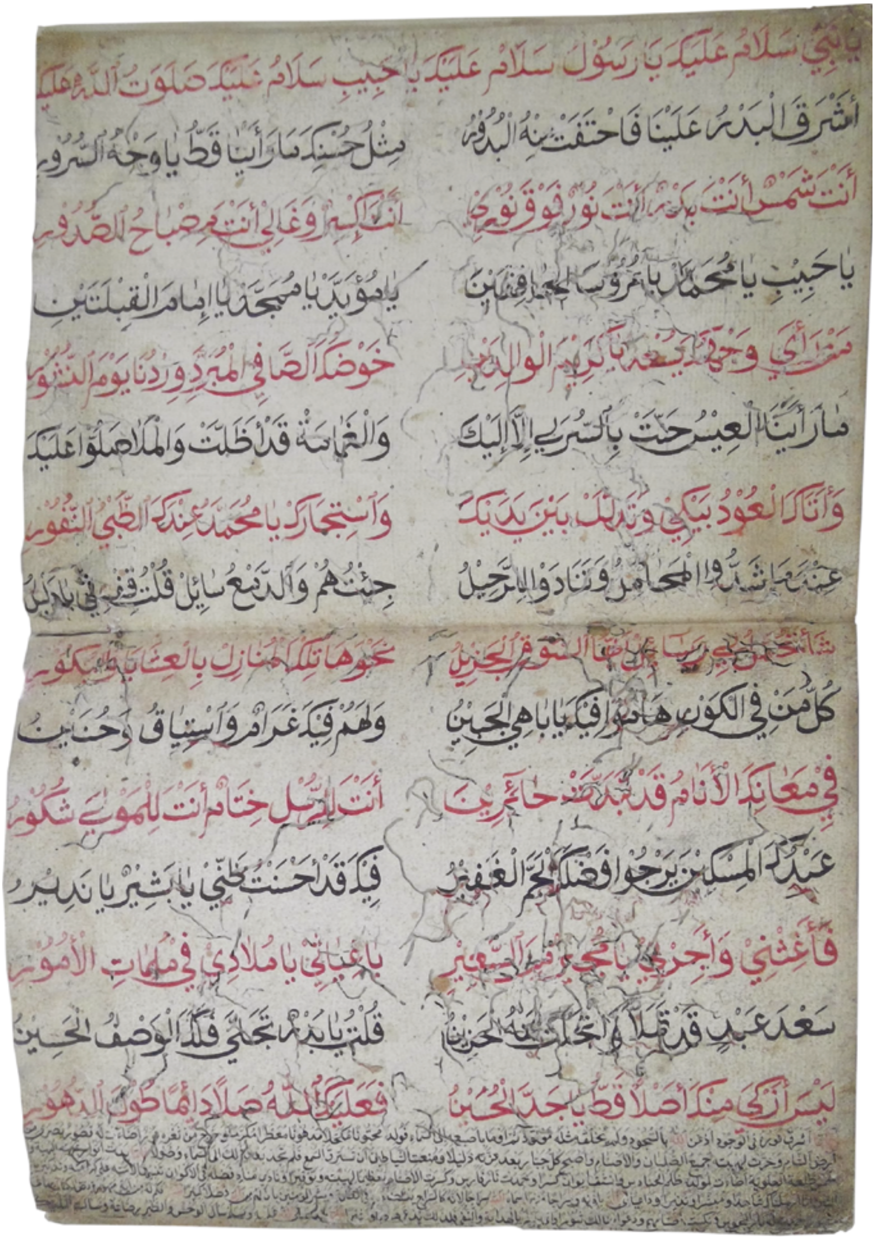
[42] Jakarta A 78, 46 × 31 cm; Jakarta A 79, 52 × 38 cm; A 80, 47 × 31 cm; A 81, 52 × 37 cm; cf. Annabel Teh Gallop and Ali Akbar, "Art of the Qurʾan in Banten: Calligraphy and Illumination," *Archipel* 72 (2006): 99. *Jalālayn* manuscripts also have similar dimensions.

[43] For a detailed description of Leiden University Library, Or 5658 see Daneshgar, "Persianate Aspects of the Malay-Indonesian World," 53–58; however, Daneshgar does not discuss the Persian poem that occurs on fol. 110a–111b.



يا نبي سلام عليك يا رسول سلام عليك يا حبيب سلام عليك صلوات الله علي

أشرق البدر علينا فاختفت منه البدور مثل حسنك ما رأينا قط يا وجه السرو

أنت شمس أنت بدر أنت نور فوق نور أنت إكسير وغالي أنت مصباح الصدو

يا حبيب يا محمد يا عروس الخافقين يا مؤيد يا ممجد يا إمام القبلتين

من رأى وجهك يسعد يا كريم الوالدين حوضك الصافي المبرد وردنا يوم النشو

ما رأينا العيس حنت بالسرى إلا إليك والغمامة قد أظلت والملا صلوا عليك

وأتاك العود يبكي وتذلل بين يديك واستجارك يا محمد عندك الظبي النفو

عندما شدوا المحامل وتنادوا للرحيل جئتهم والدمع سائل قلت قف لي يا دليل

وتحمل لي رسالة أيها الشوق الجزيل نحو هاتيك المنازل بالعشايا والبكو

كل من في الكون هاموا فيك يا باهي الجبين ولهم فيك غرام واشتياق وحنين

في معانيك الأنام قد تبدت حائرين أنت للرسل ختام أنت للمولى شكو

عبدك المسكين يرجو فضلك الجم الغفير فيك قد أحسنت ظني يا بشير يا نذي

فأغثني وأجرني يا مجير من السعير يا غياثي يا ملاذي في ملمات الأمو

سعد عبد قد تملى وانجلى عنه الحزين قلت يا بدر تجلى فلك الوصف الحسين

ليس أزكى منك أصلا قط يا جد الحسين فعليك الله صلى دائما طول الدهو

FIGURE 7.6 Manuscript of *Mawlid* and devotional texts belonging to Sultan Muḥammad ʿAlī al-Dīn, Jakarta, Perpustakaan Nasional MS A 67

mawlid texts constitute the only substantial representatives of Arabic poetry in the sultanic library. This points to the highly specific local tastes: the great classics of Arabic poetry are entirely missing from the library, whereas al-Sūdī is an obscure sixteenth century Yemeni saint and poet, of whose *dīwān* Brockelmann lists a single manuscript, suggesting he did not enjoy wide circulation in the Middle East.[44] However, Javanese interest in al-Sūdī is confirmed by the survival of his *dīwān* in an eighteenth century copy now held in Paris which was evidently copied in Banten,[45] as well as in selections from his poems that appear alongside those of Hamzah Fansuri in the Leiden manuscript of the latter's works owned by Sultan Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn (Fig. 7.7).[46]

The library also contained a number of pre-modern 'bestsellers' in other fields. Geography is represented by *Kharīdat al-ʿAjāʾib* attributed to Ibn al-Wardī (d. 749/1349). This work, which enjoyed an extraordinary popularity in the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries, is attested in virtually every collection of manuscripts worldwide.[47] Our two Middle Eastern copies from the sultanic library[48] are suggestive of the ways in which the sultans of Banten bought into this international vogue. It is also perhaps appropriate to Banten's status as a cosmopolitan port that a major theme of the *Kharīdat al-ʿAjāʾib* is the wonders of the encircling ocean, which is depicted as a realm populated by jinn and fortresses and palaces that float on the surface of the water then disappear.[49] This is not, then, a practical treatise. Another sort of elementary text was al-Damīrī's (d. 808/1404) zoological lexicon, *Ḥayāt al-Ḥayawān*, a work that was massively popular in the Indian Ocean and the Middle East as a whole, which is represented in the Banten collection in its well-known abridgement

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[44] GAL S II 565, 897; to the one Alexandria manuscript mentioned by Brockelmann, we can add one further copy of al-Sūdī's *Dīwān*, Cairo, Dār al-Kutub, MS Shiʿr Taymūr 542; of course it is likely that many more copies are preserved in Yemen, not covered by Brockelmann, but nonetheless the picture of a distinct regional tradition connected to the Indian Ocean world but not widely circulating in the central Islamic lands remains valid. For al-Sūdī's biography see al-ʿAydarūs, *al-Nūr al-Sāfir*, 216–256; the length of the biography alone gives some indication of al-Sūdī's importance.

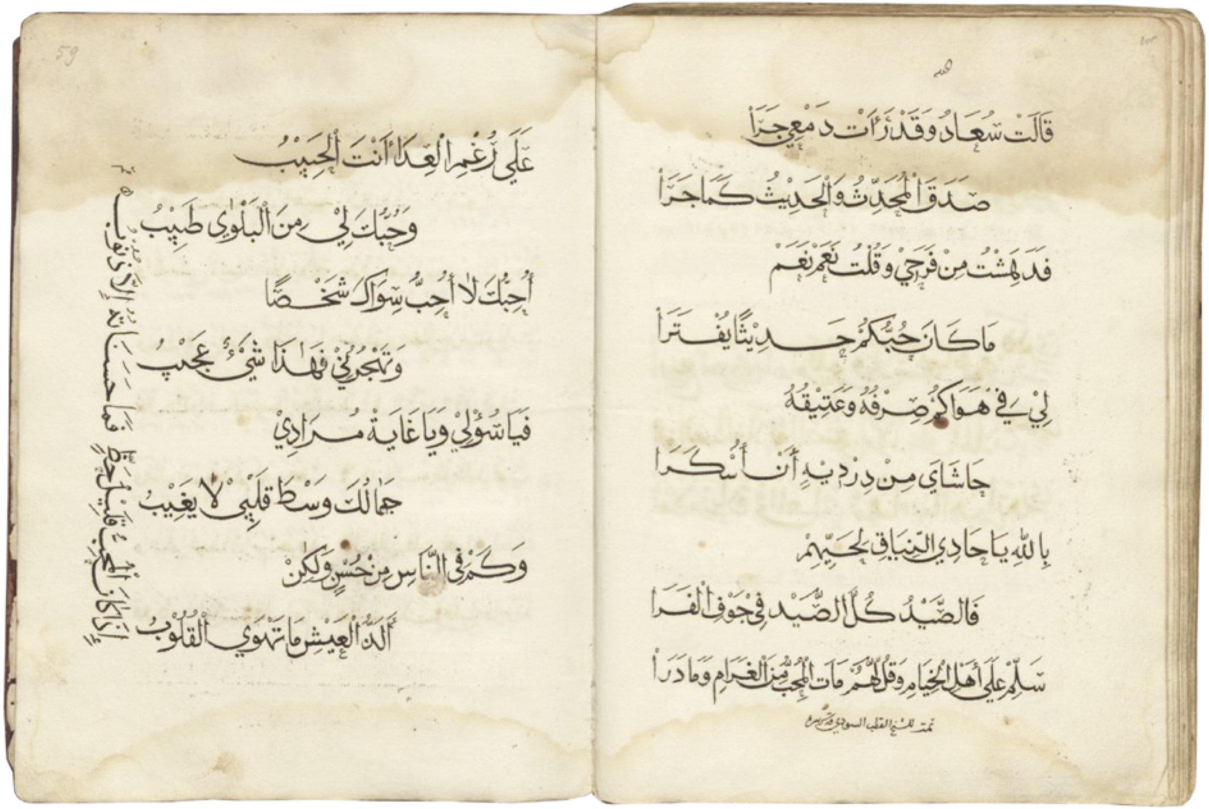
[45] Paris, Bibliothèque nationale MS arabe 7407; notes on fol. 1b and 2a confirm the manuscript's association with Banten, and mention dates in the second half of the eighteenth century.

[46] Leiden University Library, Or 2016, fol. 58b.

[47] Karen Pinto, *Medieval Islamic Maps: An Exploration* (Chicago, 2016), 32–3.

[48] Jakarta A 150, 151; no 37 on 1833 list.

[49] Pinto, *Medieval Islamic Maps*, 159–60.



قالت سعاد وقد رأت دمعي جرا
صدق المحدث والحديث كما جرا
فدهشت من فرحي وقلت نعم نعم
ما كان حبكم حديثا يفترا
لي في هواكم صرفه وعتيقه
حاشاي من درديه أن أسكرا
بالله يا حادي النياق لحيهم
فالصيد كل الصيد في جوف الفرا
سلم على أهل الخيام وقل لهم مات المحب من الغرام وما درا
تمت للشيخ القطب السودي قدس سره

59

على رغم العدا أنت الحبيب
وحبك لي من البلوى طبيب
أحبك لا أحب سواك شخصا
وتهجرني فهذا شيء عجيب
فيا سؤلي ويا غاية مرادي
جمالك وسط قلبي لا يغيب
وكم في الناس من حسن ولكن
ألذ العيش ما تهوى القلوب
إذا كان المحب قليل حظ
فما حسناته إلا ذنوب

FIGURE 7.7 Arabic verses attributed to the Yemeni poet al-Sūdī in a *majmūʿa* of works of Hamzah Fansuri and his circle belonging to Sultan Zayn al-ʿAbidīn of Banten, Leiden University Library, MS Or 2016, fol. 58b

by al-Damāmīnī.[50] Yet the *Ḥayāt al-Ḥayawān* is far more than a zoological lexicon, whatever its title may suggest. As De Somogyi puts it,

> There is comparatively little zoological matter in AL-DAMĪRĪ's work which is rather a voluminous compilation of all sorts of information of scientific, literary and folkloristic purport, in most cases rather loosely connected with animal life.[51]

Indeed, de Somogyi goes so far as to describe the *Ḥayāt al-Ḥayawān* as "an unsurpassable and unique treasury of Arabic folklore, social psychology, oral tradition and popular medicine".[52] For readers in the Middle East, al-Damīrī's text may also have had a practical religious value, for as well as listing all the various hadith about a given animal, al-Damīrī discusses the legal position as to whether it was permissible to use the beast for food or other purposes, drawing not merely on the opinions of the major madhhabs, but also of Sufi authors like al-Ghazālī, reflecting al-Damīrī's own Sufi inclinations. The text also discusses the medicinal uses of animal products, and the interpretation of dreams in which certain animals appear.[53] Numerous subchapters also discuss the uses of parts of the body of animals and their secretions in magic, and the writing of talismans,[54] while elsewhere long digressions discuss topics such as early Islamic history.[55]

Of what practical use this compendium would have been in Southeast Asia is distinctly dubious, given the very different fauna of the region. Admittedly, occasionally some parts may have been of practical relevance; the section on talismans, for instance, contains advice on how to design ones to avert toothache as well as how to ward off bugs and snakes. However, the *Ḥayāt al-Ḥayawān*'s popularity most likely derived from the fact that it contained a useful compendium of knowledge – the basics of what an educated Muslim should know, drawing on classic sources ranging from Avicenna to al-Ghazālī, presented in a digestible form. The elementary knowledge imparted by texts such as the *Ḥayāt al-Ḥayawān* and the *Kharīdat al-ʿAjāʾib* is thus not practical, but rather serves to promote acculturation to Arabic and Islamic culture more broadly. It also seems likely that al-Damīrī's Sufism played a part in promoting the *Ḥayāt al-Ḥayawān*'s popularity. By regularly invoking the authority of Sufis, it integrated their thought with that of scholars and *fuqahā'*. The appeal of the work in such circles is suggested by a manuscript of the *Ḥayāt al-Ḥayawān* in Hyderabad, Salar Jung Library, which was owned by ʿAbd al-Qādir al-ʿAydarūs, a member of al-ʿAydarūs family, the great Sufi family of scholars whose members spread out across the Indian Ocean world.[56] Similarly, one of our Jakarta manuscripts of the *Ḥayāt al-Ḥayawān* was in the possession of a member of the Hadrami Bā ʿAlawī family, Ṭāhā b. ʿUmar b. al-Ṣāliḥ,[57] pointing to their role as intermediaries in transmitting these texts across the region.

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[50] Jakarta A 157, A 158.

[51] Joseph de Somogyi, "Ad-Damīrī's *Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān*: An Arabic Zoological Lexicon," *Osiris* 9 (1950): 33.

[52] De Somogyi, "Ad-Damīrī's *Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān*," 37.

[53] De Somogyi, "Ad-Damīrī's *Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān*," 40.

[54] Joseph de Somogyi, "Magic in ad-Damiri's *Hayat al-Hayawan*," *Journal of Semitic Studies* 3/3 (1958): 265–287.

[55] De Somogyi, "Ad-Damīrī's *Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān*," 42.

3 Sufism and the Court

It is in the field of Sufism that we observe both the widest range of texts and the clearest evidence for sultanic engagement with them, reflecting the crucial role of Sufism in court life. We know Sultan Zayn al-ʿĀshiqīn was inducted into Sufism by his *murshid*, the Banteni shaykh ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Qahhār, several of whose manuscripts eventually found their way into the royal library (see Chapter 6). On some manuscripts, Zayn al-ʿĀshiqīn's ownership notes even explicitly describe him as *al-qādiri al-rifāʿī*,[58] indicating his affiliation with both Qadiri and Rifaʿi orders. ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī (d. 561/1166) was extremely popular both in court and wider circles in Southeast Asia, as he remains today, and indeed his cult is believed to have been introduced to Java via Banten.[59] An eighteenth century manuscript of selections from the popular biography of the saint by al-Yāfiʿī (d. 768/1367), the *Khulāṣat al-Mafākhir*,[60] probably constituted part of the court library. Although not specifically mentioned in the 1833 list (probably because the title of the manuscript is not immediately evident), nor possessing any ownership stamps, the characteristic use of large format, generously spaced Arabic text, with interlinear *pegon* translation, supports this interpretation.[61] Sultanic interest in al-Yāfiʿī's text is confirmed by a *dhikr* manual copied for Sultan Muḥammad ʿAlī al-Dīn devoted to Qadiri rituals,[62] in which, alongside prayers and *qaṣīdas* in praise of ʿAbd al-Qādir, there are extracts from the *Khulāṣat al-Mafākhir*. Another hagiographic work about ʿAbd al-Qādir, the *Bahjat al-Asrār wa-Maʿdan al-Anwār* by al-Shattanawfī (d. 713/1314), was certainly part of the sultanic library.[63] Praise of ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī can also be found in sultanic manuscripts not otherwise directly connected with him.[64]

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[56] Salar Jung Jung Museum, Hyderabad, MS Arabi Tibb 114.

[57] Jakarta, A 157.

[58] Jakarta, A 117, p. 89.

[59] Julian Millie, *Splashed by the Saint: Ritual Reading and Islamic Sanctity in West Java* (Leiden, 2009), esp. 22–26, 170–171.

[60] For a study of Jakarta A 93, see P. Voorhoeve, "Het origineel van de Hikajat Abdulkadir Djaelani," *Tijdschrift voor indische taal-, land- en volkenkunde* 83 (1949): 110–124. According to Voorhoeve, who compared the Arabic text with a copy of the *Khulāṣa* in London (India Office, Loth 704), the Jakarta ms shows only small variations from the former, although some episodes are evidently omitted. Voorhoeve also compares the text with its interlinear Javanese translation, and another verse Javanese version of the *Hikayat*.

As might be expected, the library also housed copies of some of the great classics of Sufism. There was a particular interest in al-Ghazālī, with multiple copies of volumes of his *Iḥyāʾ ʿUlūm al-Dīn* (A 99, A 100, A109), as well as commentaries on both his eschatological and political works by the seventeenth century Medinan author, Ibn ʿAllān, which were especially commissioned by the sultans, as is discussed in detail in Chapter 4. Another text largely consisting of extracts from the *Iḥyāʾ* is the *Ḥikāyat al-Barāʾa* (Jakarta A 118), which is probably a Southeast Asian compilation as it does not appear to be known from other manuscript collections.[65]

Sultanic interest in the Shattariyya is attested by the Mughal author Muḥammad Ghawth's (d. 970/1563) *al-Jawāhir al-Khamsa*, which drew on Indian practices such as yoga on the basis of Sanskrit texts.[66] *Al-Jawāhir al-Khamsa* was originally composed in Persian and was translated into Arabic by the Mecca-based Ṣibghatallāh, who, like Muḥammad Ghawth, was affiliated to the Shattariyya *ṭarīqa*. By the eighteenth century this order had become popular with courtly circles across Southeast Asia.[67] However, *al-Jawāhir al-Khamsa* was not simply a meditation handbook. Its author, Muḥammad Ghawth, had been intimately involved in political life as spiritual guide to the Mughal emperor Humāyūn. The influence of Muḥammad Ghawth and his brother, Shaykh Phul, seems to have derived from his claim to be able to muster the spirit powers of the planets through invoking the divine names. This ability constituted a major part of Shattari beliefs, and is discussed at length in *al-Jawāhir al-Khamsa*, which explained how these cosmic powers could only

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[61] This was also the opinion of Voorhoeve, "Het origineel," 111, 114.

[62] Jakarta, A 73.

[63] Jakarta, A 95; sultanic ownership is confirmed by its mention in the 1833 list (no. 88).

[64] Jakarta, MS A 42, p. ii, a manuscript otherwise comprising the *Jawāhir al-Khamsa* by Muḥammad Ghawth belonging to ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Qahhār.

[65] Anita Juni Yanti, "Nilai-nilai tauhid dalam naskah Hikayat Al-Baraʿah." Diploma thesis, UIN Sunan Gunung Djati Bandung, 2017.

[66] Carl Ernst, "Sufism and Yoga according to Muhammad Ghawth," *Sufi* 29 (1996): 10.

[67] Fathurahman, *Shaṭṭāriyah silsilah*, passim.

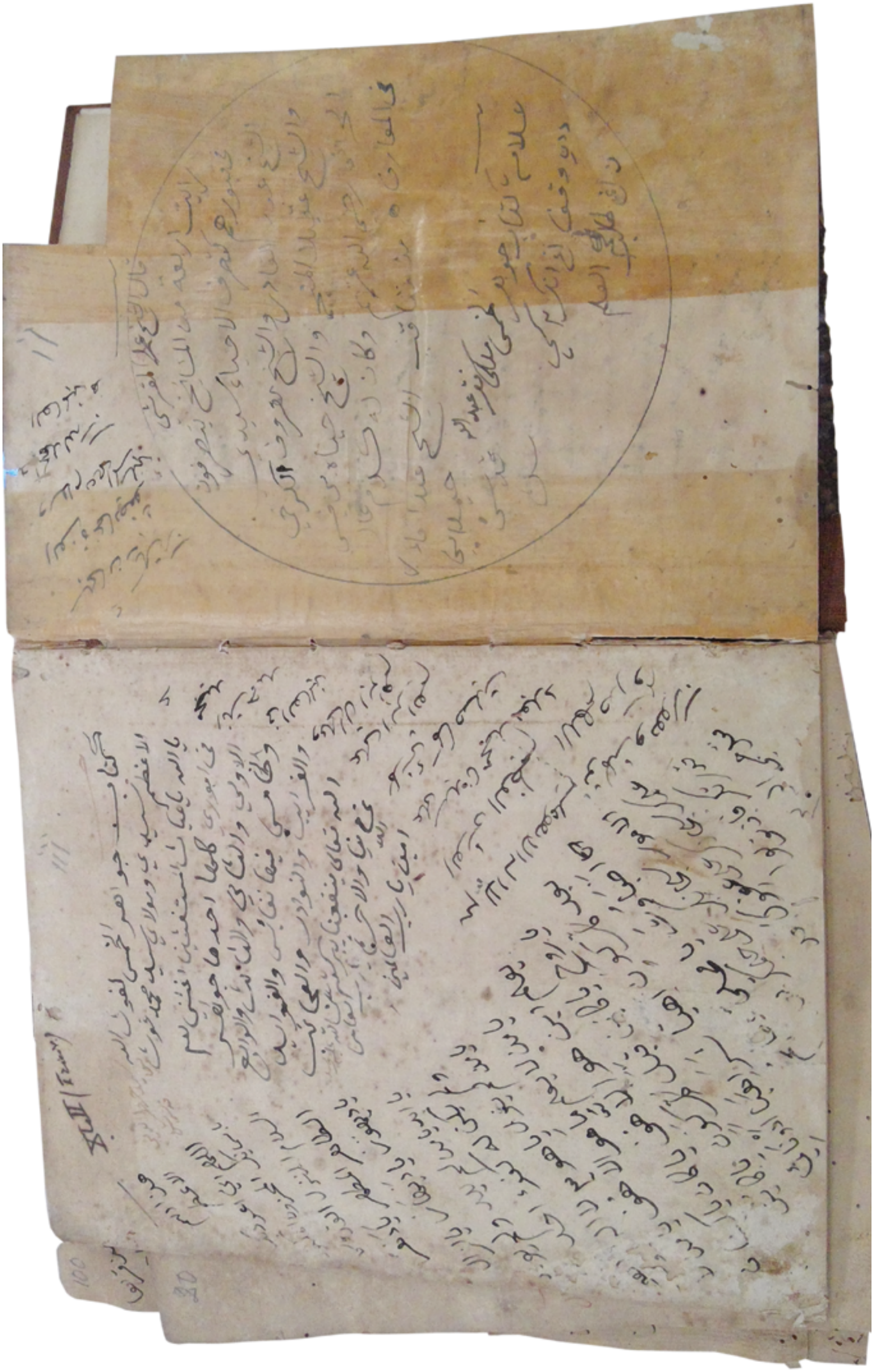

FIGURE 7.8 ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Qahhār's copy of Muḥammad Ghawth's *al-Jawāhir al-Khamsa*. Jakarta, Perpustakaan Nasional, MS A 42

be successfully invoked if the soul of the individual praying was in the purest state. However, the long feats of abnegation required by the other *ṭarīqa*s were dispensed with by the Shattariyya, for whom the soul's purity was the only requirement. Muḥammad Ghawth himself had demonstrated his fulfilment of this by being taken by the angel Gabriel on a journey through the seven heavens to witness the glory of God, in a tale distinctly reminiscent of the Prophet's *miʿrāj*.[68] The Shattariyya's appeal may therefore have rested in two principal factors: it promised its adherents the ability to call on planetary powers, and it allowed them to do so rapidly. The National Library of Indonesia holds three copies of *al-Jawāhir al-Khamsa*, two of which are independent codices, both associated with the Banten sultanate.[69] Notes in Javanese *pegon* at the beginning and end of one of the surviving manuscripts of this work, which must have been copied towards end of the twelfth century hijri, refer to members of the Banten royal family, as well as the deeds of various local ʿulamaʾ.[70] Another copy of this text was in the possession of ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Qahhār, from whom it passed into the royal library.[71]

The more theoretical aspects of Sufism are also represented by a number of manuscripts. A surprising absence, perhaps, are many works by Ibn ʿArabī, given his popularity in the region; only a few short treatises contained within a manuscript copied by ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Qahhār suggests any circulation of his works in Banten.[72] However, we have several manuscripts of texts by his commentators or continuators. Al-Shaʿrānī's defence of Ibn ʿArabī, *al-Yawāqīt wa'l-Jawāhir*, is represented by two complete manuscripts written in a fine Banten *naskh*[73] and was anthologised in abridged form in two *majmūʿas*.[74] Al-Shaʿrānī's attempt to reconcile Ibn ʿArabī with the four law schools of Sunni Islam, the *Mīzān*, was also represented by two manuscripts in the palace library according to the 1833 inventory; one of these bears the ownership statement of Sultan Zayn al-ʿĀrifīn, although the manuscript itself is evidently imported from the Middle East.[75] A collection of works by the great medieval interpreter of Ibn ʿArabī, Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī, was also likely in the sultanic library, as is suggested by the fine calligraphy of a Jakarta manuscript,[76] and sultanic interest in al-Qūnawī's works is indicated by the copy of the commentary on his *Nuṣūṣ* by al-Mahā'imī, the *Mashraʿ al-Khuṣūṣ*, which was owned by Zayn al-ʿĀrifīn, and will be discussed further below.[77] The presence of these works by al-Qūnawī and his commentator is interesting to note, as they were written in a technical, philosophical language aimed at an advanced audience.

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[68] For this discussion of the Shattariyya, Muḥammad Ghawth and the Mughals, I draw on Moin, *The Millennial Sovereign*, 97–104.

[69] These are probably mss 59 and 70 of the 1833 list, described simply as *Djawahir*.

[70] Jakarta A 37.

[71] Jakarta A 42.

[72] Jakarta A 112.

[73] Jakarta A 120, A 121. See further p. 316 below for a discussion of this script.

[74] Jakarta A 23/3, A 119/3.

[75] Jakarta A 137.

We can only speculate as to whether such books were ever actually read and if so by whom, but we have clearer evidence of sultanic engagement with al-Burhānpūrī. The latter's famous *al-Tuḥfa al-Mursala ila Rūḥ al-Nabī* was especially popular in Southeast Asia. Two manuscripts in the National Library of Indonesia (Jakarta A 97 and A 98) preserve a commentary on al-Burhānpūrī's work entitled *al-Mawāhib al-Mustarsala ʿalā al-Tuḥfa al-Mursala* by the Syrian immigrant Ibrahīm b. Abī Bakr al-Azharī, who wrote the text in Aceh in the early seventeenth century. While the provenance of A 97 is uncertain, although it is likely from Banten given its interlinear Javanese translations, A 98 shows the full importance of the text to the court, for it evidently served as a place to note the birth of royal progeny.

The opening folio of A 98 notes the birth of Muḥammad b. Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn in 1084/1673 and his death in 1124/1712 (fol. 1a) and the ownership of the book by his majesty Abū'l-Mahāsin Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn with the date of 1084/1673 (*ʿalamat kitab kanjeng Abu'l-Mahasin Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn 1084*, fol. 1b). This inscription is written twice; the first attempt is littered with spelling mistakes, but the second time is written correctly. A further set of inscriptions occurs on the following two pages. Whereas the initial ones are barely coherent these are written in an elegant and correct Arabic. The first records the birth of Sultan Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn, mentioning the full Arabic titles of his ancestors in his genealogy (Fig. 7.9):

> ولد الولد السعود المبارك الموفق الرشيد محمد زين العابدين بن السلطان ابو النصر
> عبد القهار بن السلطان عبد الفتاح انشاه اللّٰه نشأة طيبة مباركة و رزقه سعادة الدارين
> بحق المصطفى جد الحسين في ليلة الاحد في النصف الاخير منها من الليالي
> السابعة والعشرون من شهر المحرم الحرام في سنة الرابعة والثمانين بعد الالف من
> الهجرة النوية على صاهبها افضل الصلوات وازكى التسليم
> سنة ١٠٤٨

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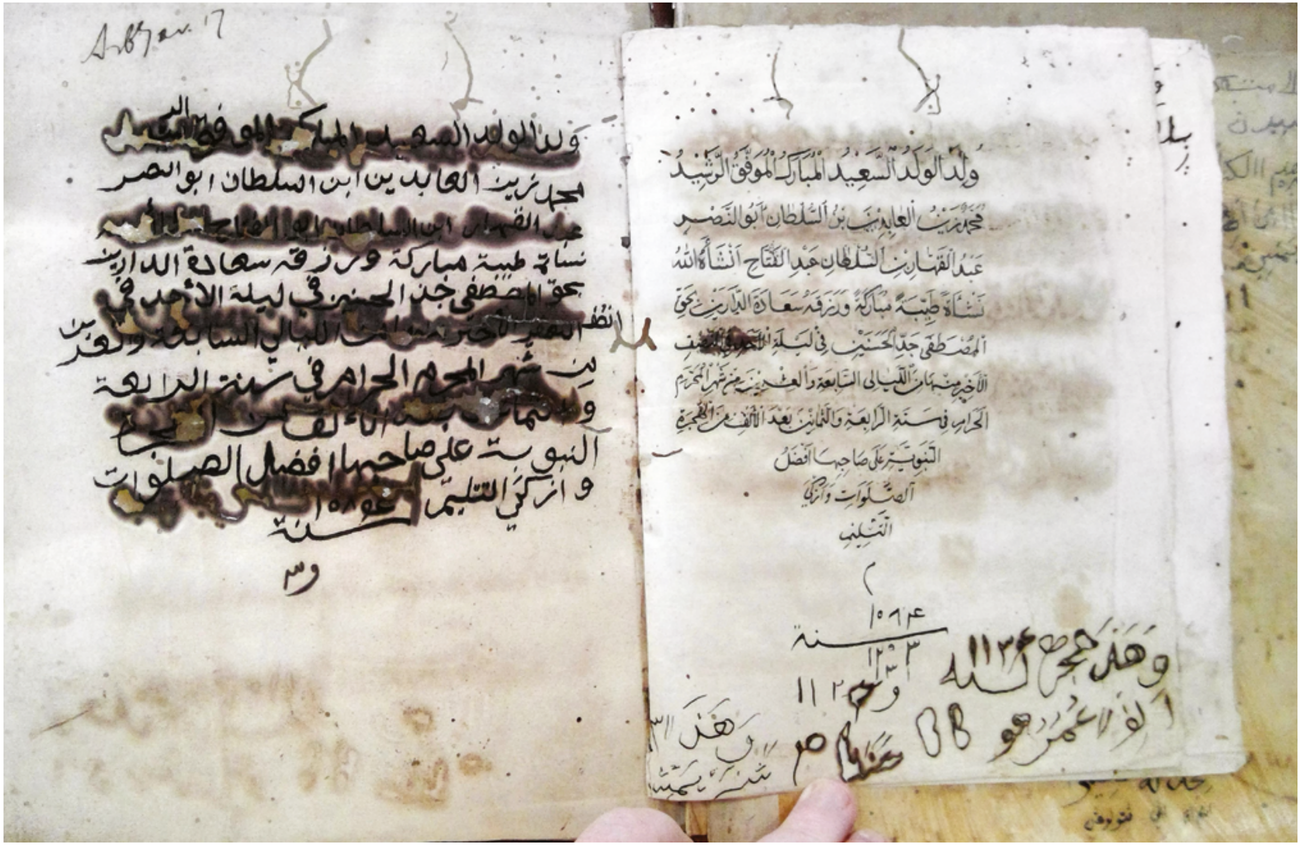
76 Jakarta A 110, containing three works: al-Qūnawī's *al-Nuṣūṣ fī Taḥqīq Ṭawr al-Makhṣūṣ*, *al-Nafahāt al-Ilāhiyya al-Qudsiyya* and *Kitāb Miftāḥ al-Ghayb*. The manuscript is large format (28 × 20 cm) and finely calligraphed, but bears no ownership marks to indicate its provenance, so the suggestion it comes from the sultanic library is purely contextual.

77 Leiden University Library, Or 5675.



ولد الولد السعيد المبارك [illegible]
محمد زين العابدين ابن السلطان ابو النصر
عبد القهار ابن السلطان [illegible]
نشاة طيبة مباركة ورزقه سعادة الدارين
بحق المصطفى جد الحسين في ليلة الأحد في
النصف الأخير [illegible] الليالي السابعة والعشرين
من شهر المحرم الحرام في سنة الرابعة
والثمانين بعد الألف من الهجرة
النبوية على صاحبها افضل الصلوات
وازكى التسليم ١٠٨٤
سنة

ولد الولد السعيد المبارك الموفق الرشيد
محمد زين العابدين بن السلطان ابو النصر
عبد القهار بن السلطان عبد الفتاح انشاه الله
نشاة طيبة مباركة ورزقه سعادة الدارين بحق
المصطفى جد الحسين في ليلة الاحد في النصف
الأخير منها من الليالي السابعة والعشرين من شهر المحرم
الحرام في سنة الرابعة والثمانين بعد الألف من الهجرة
النبوية على صاحبها افضل
الصلوات وازكى
التسليم

١٠٨٤
سنة

FIGURE 7.9 Record of the birth of Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn in 1084 in Ibrāhīm b. Abī Bakr al-Azharī's *al-Mawāhib al-Mustarsala ʿalā al-Tuḥfa al-Mursala*. Jakarta Perpustakaan Nasional, MS A 98, pp. 2–3

> The happy, blessed, successful, rightly guided birth of Muḥammad Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn b. al-Sulṭān Abū'l-Naṣr ʿAbd al-Qahhār b. al-Sulṭān ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ, may God bring him up well and blessed, and may he bestow on him the bounty of this life and the next, in holy Muḥarram of the year 1084 of the prophetic hijra.

Exactly the same inscription is repeated on the following page, but in a much less elegant and practiced hand. The author of most of these notes is almost certainly Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn himself, whose book this was. The discrepancies in writing style may be explained if we understand them as a sort of practice exercise; therefore the neatly written inscription recording his birth in 1084/1673 is most probably composed and written by Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn's tutor. The crude writing on the facing page represents Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn's attempt to copy his tutor.

At the end of the book, after the conclusion of the commentary on al-Burhānpūrī's work, we find almost exactly the same inscription again.[78] It is followed on the next pages by several others recording the births of other children of Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn (see also the Appendix to this chapter for the full Arabic text):

> Muḥammad ʿĀrif Jaʿfar al-Dīn, in Shaʿban 1104
> Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Badr al-Dīn in Jumādā II 1107
> Muḥammad Wasīʿ Jamāl al-Dīn in Jumādā 1107
> Muḥammad al-Laṭīf [?] Khayr [?] al-Dīn in Ṣafar 1111[79]
> Another son, name unclear
> A daughter, Ratu Siti Khayrallāh in Ṣafar 1111
> A daughter, Badriyya in Ramaḍān 1108
> A son, Muḥyi al-Dīn in 1113
> A daughter, name illegible, Ramaḍān 1108[80]
> Rafi Shams al-Dīn in Shawwāl 1104
> Muḥammad Nāṣir al-Dīn in Ṣafar 1111
> Another daughter, Ratu Siti ʿĀfiyya in Ṣafar 11[…] (year not legible)
> Ratu Siti ʿĀbida in Dhū'l-Qiʿda 1100
> Ratu … on 26 Muḥarram
> Muḥammad Ḥasan al-Raḥmān in Ṣafar 1113.

The suggestion that the writer was far from fully confident in the tongue he was employing is confirmed by the notes on the birth of Muḥammad ʿĀrif

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[78] Jakarta A 97, p. 249.
[79] This is repeated on Jakarta A 97, p. 257.
[80] Jakarta, A 97, p. 255.

Jaʿfar al-Dīn, which are furnished with a *pegon* translation,[81] as is the body of the commentary itself.

The manuscript of *al-Mawāhib al-Mustarsala* thus seems to have served a dual function. It was a place for recording important events in the life of its owner, the birth and death of his children; but it also doubled-up as a sort of practice book where as a young prince Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn took his first halting steps at writing in Arabic. Although in 1709 the sultan was proclaiming to Dutch envoys with pride that he had 'almost completely' mastered Arabic,[82] the crudeness of the writing, and the mistakes in spelling even his own name, give us reason to doubt how much of the complex contents of *al-Tuhfa al-Mursala* Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn could actually understand, even if furnished with a *pegon* translation. Thus it seems that al-Burhānpūrī's work was employed from an early age to inculcate Sufi ideas into the future sultan, but also perhaps enjoyed a symbolic function as a prestigious text that was fitting for recording the royal family's personal details, much as traditionally family bibles in the west might be used.

However, some members of the royal family certainly did have an advanced understanding of the texts they encountered, and were even involved in copying them. Evidence for this is provided by a manuscript of al-Mahāʾimī's commentary on al-Qūnawi's *Nuṣūṣ*, the *Mashraʿ al-Khuṣūṣ ilā Maʿnā al-Nuṣūṣ*.[83] Here the copyist gives his name as Muḥyi al-Dīn ibn Shaykh ʿAbd al-Shakūr ibn ʿAbd al-Karīm ibn al-Sulṭān Abū'l-Mafākhir; in other words the copyist, writing in 1142/1729, was the great-grandson of Sultan Abū'l-Mafākhir ʿAbd al-Qādir (1596–1640) (Fig. 7.10). The volume also bears the ex libris of *kanjeng* Sultan Abū'l-Fatḥ Muḥammad Shifā Zayn al-ʿĀrifīn (r. 1733–1748). It is suggestive both of sultanic interest in Ibn ʿArabi's work and their interpretation, and of the role that members of the royal family played in the commissioning and copying of Arabic texts.

The copyist Muḥyi al-Dīn's father was also a collector of manuscripts who had resided for some time in Medina as a student of the great Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī. A copy of al-Kūrānī's hadith treatise *al-Arbaʿūn al-ʿAwālī* finishes with an *ijāza* from al-Kūrānī to his pupil, apparently in al-Kūrānī's own hand, stating that ʿAbd al-Shakūr b. ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Jāwī al-Bantanī had read the text before him in al-Kūrānī's house in Medina in Shawwāl 1084/January 1674, the

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[81] Jakarta A 97, p. 258.

[82] Talens, *Een feodale samenleving*, 162: "hij het Arabisch voor het meeste gedeelte nu kundig geworden was."

[83] Leiden University Library, Or 5675.

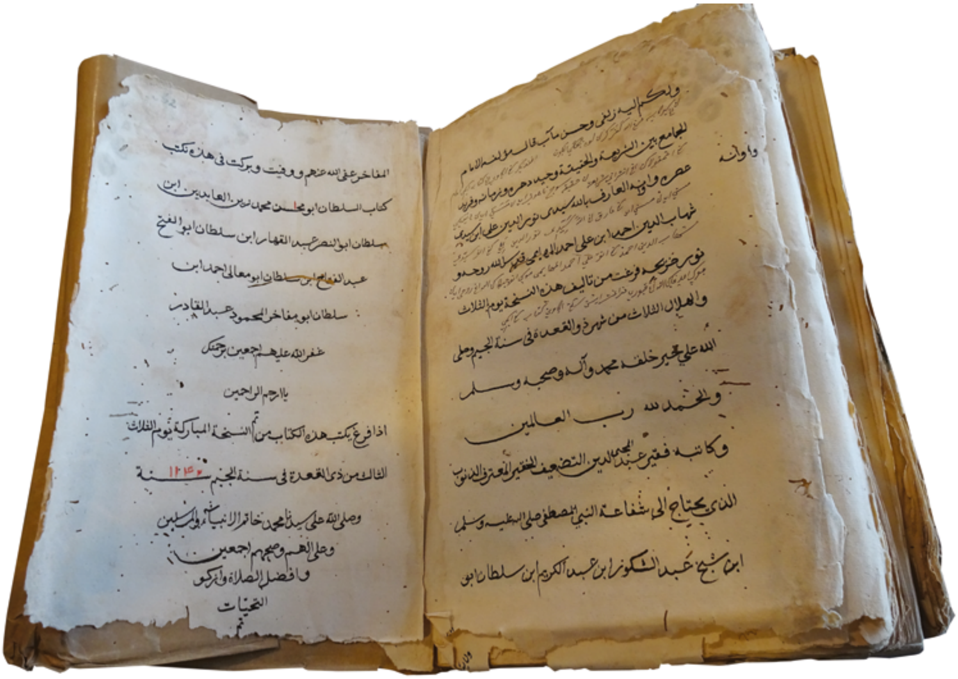

FIGURE 7.10 al-Mahāʾimī, *Mashraʿ al-Khuṣūṣ ilā Maʿnā al-Nuṣūṣ*, copied by Muḥyi al-Dīn ibn Shaykh ʿAbd al-Shakūr ibn ʿAbd al-Karīm ibn al-Sulṭān Abū'l-Mafākhir in 1142/1749. Leiden University Library, MS Or 5675

year after the original work was composed according to the colophon.[84] A further *ijāza* of almost identical contents, dated the following year, authorises ʿAbd al-Shakūr to transmit a hadith work by ʿAbd al-Raʾūf b. Tāj al-ʿĀrifīn al-Munāwī (d. 1031/1621), *Masālik al-Abrār ilā aḥādīth al-Nabī al-Mukhtār* (Fig. 7.11).[85] Another Medinan manuscript brought back to Banten by ʿAbd al-Shakūr with a distinguished pedigree was a commentary on al-Sanūsī's catechism, *Sharḥ al-ʿAqīda al-Ṣughrā*.[86] The *ijāza*, again apparently in al-Kūrānī's own handwriting and dated 1084/1674, authorises ʿAbd al-Shakūr to transmit the text, giving a list of al-Kūrānī's teachers stretching back to the author.[87]

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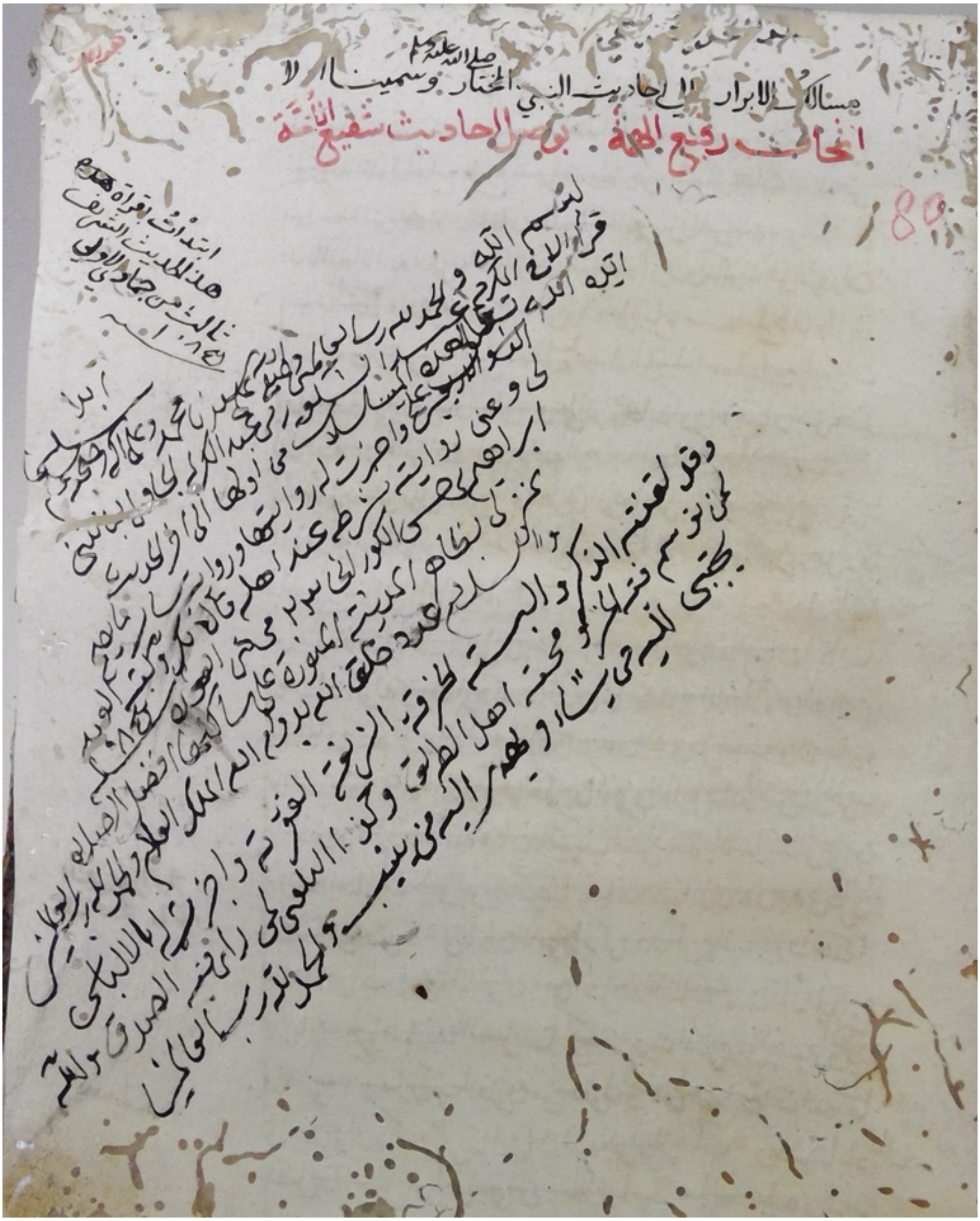
[84] Jakarta A 29, p. 79.

[85] Jakarta A 29, p. 80.

[86] Jakarta A 44.

[87] Jakarta A 44, pp. 255–6.



مسالك الابرار الى احاديث النبي المختار صلى الله عليه وسلم وسميتها ايضا

اتحاف رفيع الهمة بوصل احاديث شفيع الامة

FIGURE 7.11 *Ijāza* from Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī to ʿAbd al-Shakūr b. ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Jāwī al-Bantānī, Medina, Shawwal 1084/January 1674. ʿAbd al-Raʾūf b. Tāj al-ʿĀrifīn al-Munāwī, *Masālik al-Abrār ilā Aḥādīth al-Nabī al-Mukhtār*. Jakarta, Perpustakaan Nasional MS A 29, p. 80

ʿAbd al-Shakūr was also himself the copyist of two works by al-Kūrānī, *al-Ghāya al-Quṣwā* and *al-Maslak al-Mukhtār fī Maʿrifat al-Ṣādir al-Awwal wa-Iḥdāth al-ʿālam bi-Ikhtiyār*. These are contained in a manuscript copied by ʿAbd al-Shakūr in Mecca in 1083/1673, in the *Masjid al-Ḥarām*, which was inherited by his son Muḥyi al-Dīn, whose ownership mark appears next to a reading note stating the manuscript was read before al-Kūrānī in al-Zāwiya al-Qushāshiyya in Medina the following year (Fig. 7.12).[88] In this manuscript, which contains an *ijāza* in al-Kūrānī's hand,[89] ʿAbd al-Shakūr describes himself as born and bred in Banten (*Bantan baladan wa mawlidan*), as well as Shafii in madhhab and Ashʿarite in theology.[90] Both works were connected with the *wahdat al-wujūd* controversy. *Al-Ghāya al-Quṣwā* (also known as the *Qaṣd al-Sabīl*), al-Kūrānī's longest and most comprehensive work, consists of a discussion of God's attributes, written at the request of ʿAlī b. Aḥmad al-Baʿlī al-Dimashqī, as a commentary on a verse creed by al-Qushāshī, *al-Minhāj al-Qawīm*; its writing was approved by al-Qushāshī. *Al-Maslak al-Mukhtār* deals with a question about two apparently contradictory statements by Ibn ʿArabī and al-Qūnawī about existence. Al-Kūrānī also wrote a short treatise dedicated to ʿAbd al-Shakūr, the *Kashf al-Mastūr fī Jawāb ʿAbd al-Shakūr*, which deals with the *aʿyān thābita* (Fig. 7.13).[91] This treatise, which draws on Avicenna, Plato, Ibn ʿArabī and al-Qūnawī, is dated 20 Muharram 1089/14 March 1678, and refers to a letter sent by ʿAbd al-Shakūr asking about this question. This suggests that ʿAbd al-Shakūr had left al-Kūrānī's study circle by this point and returned to Java from where he evidently maintained some sort of correspondence with his teacher, just as ʿAbd al-Raʾūf al-Singkilī had. Nonetheless, it is noteworthy that *al-Kashf al-Mastūr* only survives in two Istanbul manuscripts, and not in any Southeast Asian ones – further testimony to the wider international interest in the Southeast Asian controversies, but also to the extent to which much material in Southeast Asia has been lost.

The case of ʿAbd al-Shakūr thus demonstrates the interest of Banten's royal family in Islamic learning. Sultan Abū'l-Mafākhir's grandson, presumably being of a line of the family not likely to accede to the sultanate himself, devoted himself to studying in Arabia with the greatest exponent of *waḥdat al-wujūd* of the age, Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī. ʿAbd al-Shakūr was thus evidently

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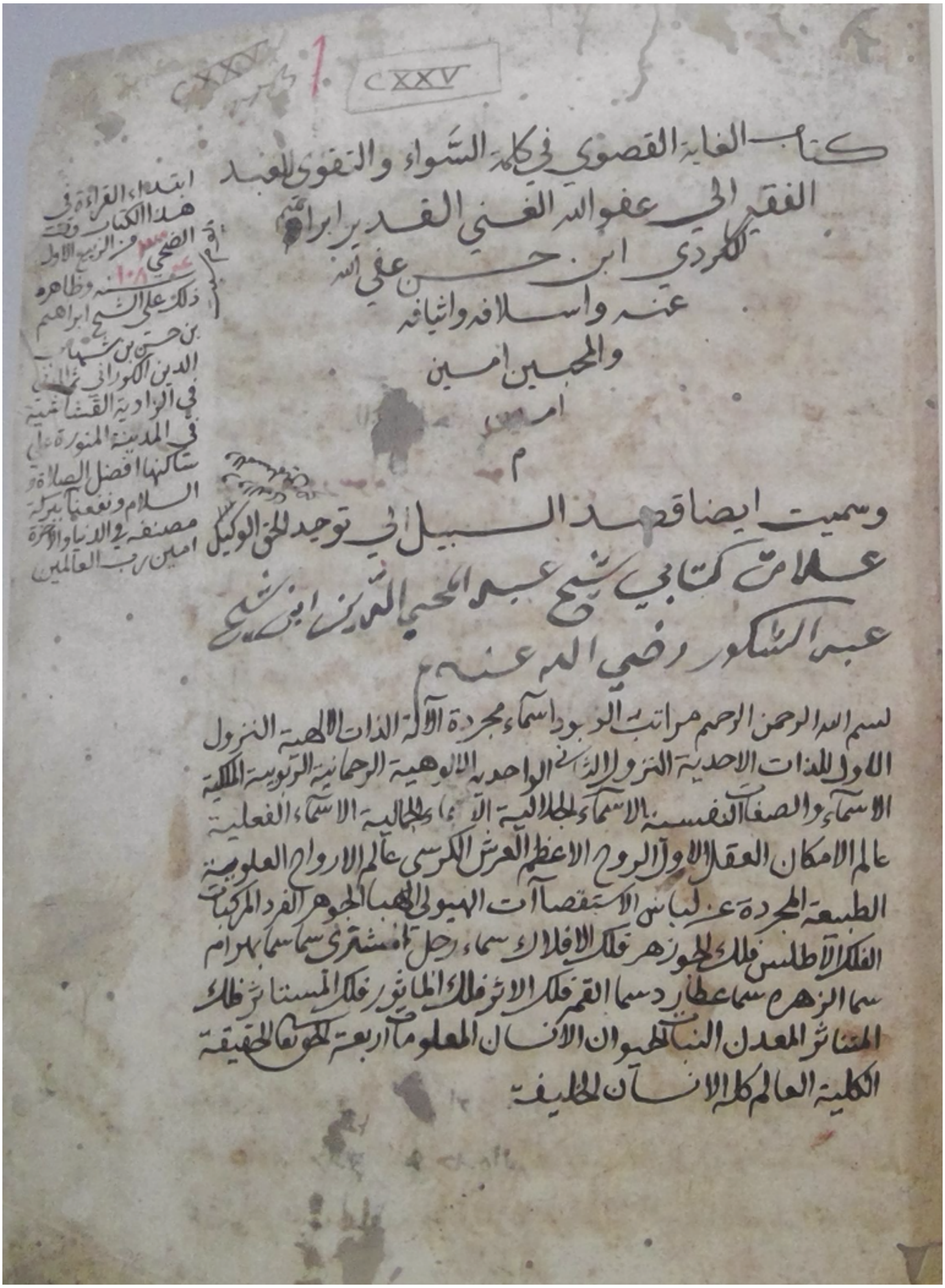
[88] Jakarta A 125, fol. 1a.

[89] Jakarta A 125, p. 417; Dumairieh (*Intellectual Life in the Ḥijāz before Wahhabism*, 319) notes another manuscript of a work by al-Kūrānī with a note by ʿAbd al-Shakūr, Ms. Aḥqāf, Yemen, Tarīm, majāmīʿ 132, n. 11.

[90] Jakarta A 125, p. 415.

[91] Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Hamidiye, MS 1440, fol. 30b–31a; Another copy is Istanbul, Beyazit Devlet Kütüphanesi, MS Veliyüddin 1815, fol. 119b–120b.



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كتاب الغاية القصوى في كلمة التسواء والتقوى للعبد
الفقير الى عفو الله الغني القدير ابراهيم
الكردي ابن حسن عفى الله
عنه واسلافه واشياخه
والمحبين امين
امين

وسميت ايضا قصد السبيل الى توحيد الحق الوكيل
علامة كتابي شيخ عبد المحيي الدين ابن شيخ
عبد الشكور رضي الله عنه

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم مراتب الوجود اسماء مجردة الالهية الذات الالهية النزول
الاول للذات الاحدية النزول الثاني الواحدية الالوهية الرحمانية الربوبية الملكية
الاسماء والصفات النفسية الاسماء الجلالية الاسماء الجمالية الاسماء الفعلية
عالم الامكان العقل الاول الروح الاعظم العرش الكرسي عالم الارواح العلوية
الطبيعة المجردة عن لباس الاستقصاءات الهيولى الهباء الجوهر الفرد المركبات
الفلك الاطلس فلك الجوزهر فلك الافلاك سماء زحل سماء المشتري سما بهرام
سما الزهرة سما عطارد سما القمر فلك الاثير فلك المائي فلك المستنار فلك
المتنائر المعدن النبات الحيوان الانسان المعلوم اربعة الكون الحقيقة
الكلية العالم كله الانسان الخليفة

ابتداء القراءة في
هذا الكتاب وقت
الضحى من الربيع الاول
١٠٨ سنة وظاهره
ذلك على الشيخ ابراهيم
بن حسن بن شهاب
الدين الكوراني ثم المدني
في الزاوية القشاشية
في المدينة المنورة على
ساكنها افضل الصلاة و
السلام ونفعنا ببركة
مصنفه في الدنيا والآخرة
امين رب العالمين

FIGURE 7.12 Muḥyi al-Dīn b. ʿAbd al-Shakūr's copy of al-Kūrānī's *al-Ghāya al-Quṣwā*, Jakarta, Perpustakaan Nasional MS A 125, fol. 1a

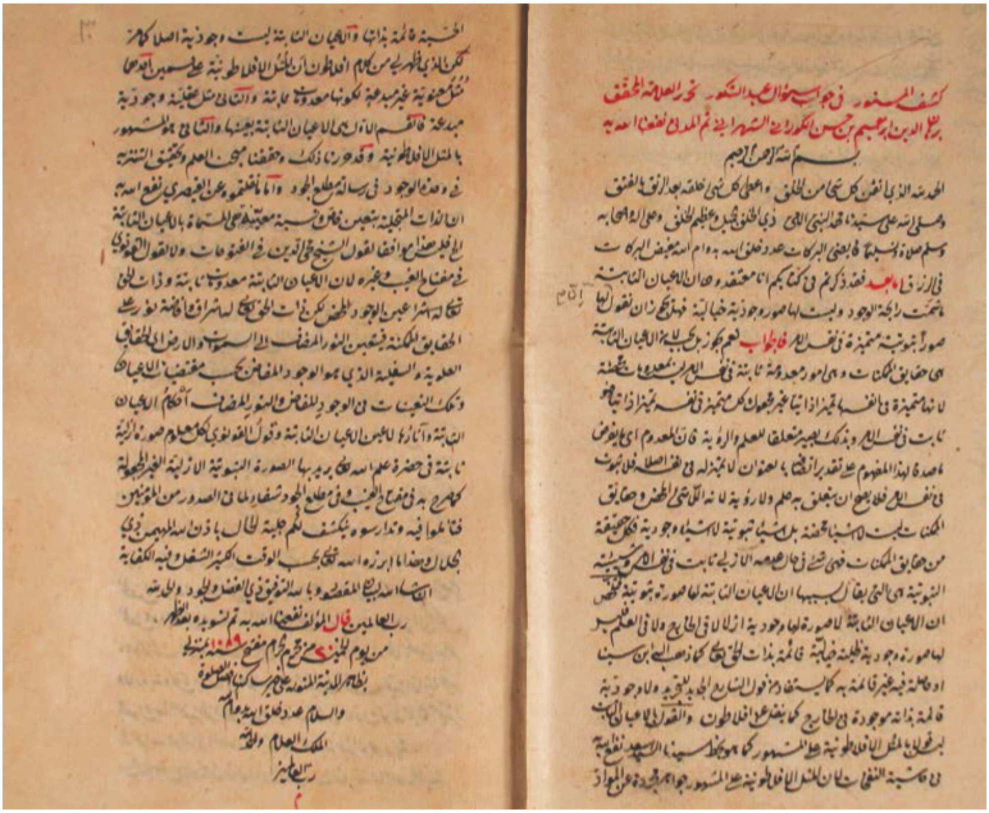

FIGURE 7.13 al-Kūrānī, *Kashf al-Mastūr fī Jawāb ʿAbd al-Shakūr*. Istanbul, Süleymaniye Library, MS Hamidiye, 1440, fol. 30b–31a

an advanced student of Sufism, who read and copied advanced treatises on *waḥdat al-wujūd*. Acquiring *ijāza*s and books from his teacher and his circle, he returned to Java and his manuscripts were incorporated into the sultanic library, possibly by inheritance on his death or that of his son Muḥyi al-Dīn, although the exact path remains unclear. It is interesting to note that ʿAbd al-Shakūr does not himself allude to his royal ancestry, of which we learn only from his son Muḥyi al-Dīn; perhaps in Arabia boasting of connections with an obscure and distant sultanate would have impressed few. At any rate, the presence of ʿAbd al-Shakūr's manuscripts in the library indicate that he retained his royal connections despite apparently devoting himself to a life of scholarship. Occasionally the sultans themselves were recipients of *ijāzas*. Several manuscripts contain *ijāzas* from ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Qahhār to Zayn al-ʿĀshiqīn, in one instance specifying that the *ijāza* for a Qadiri tract was being transmitted from Muḥammad al-Ṭabarī (Fig. 7.14).[92]

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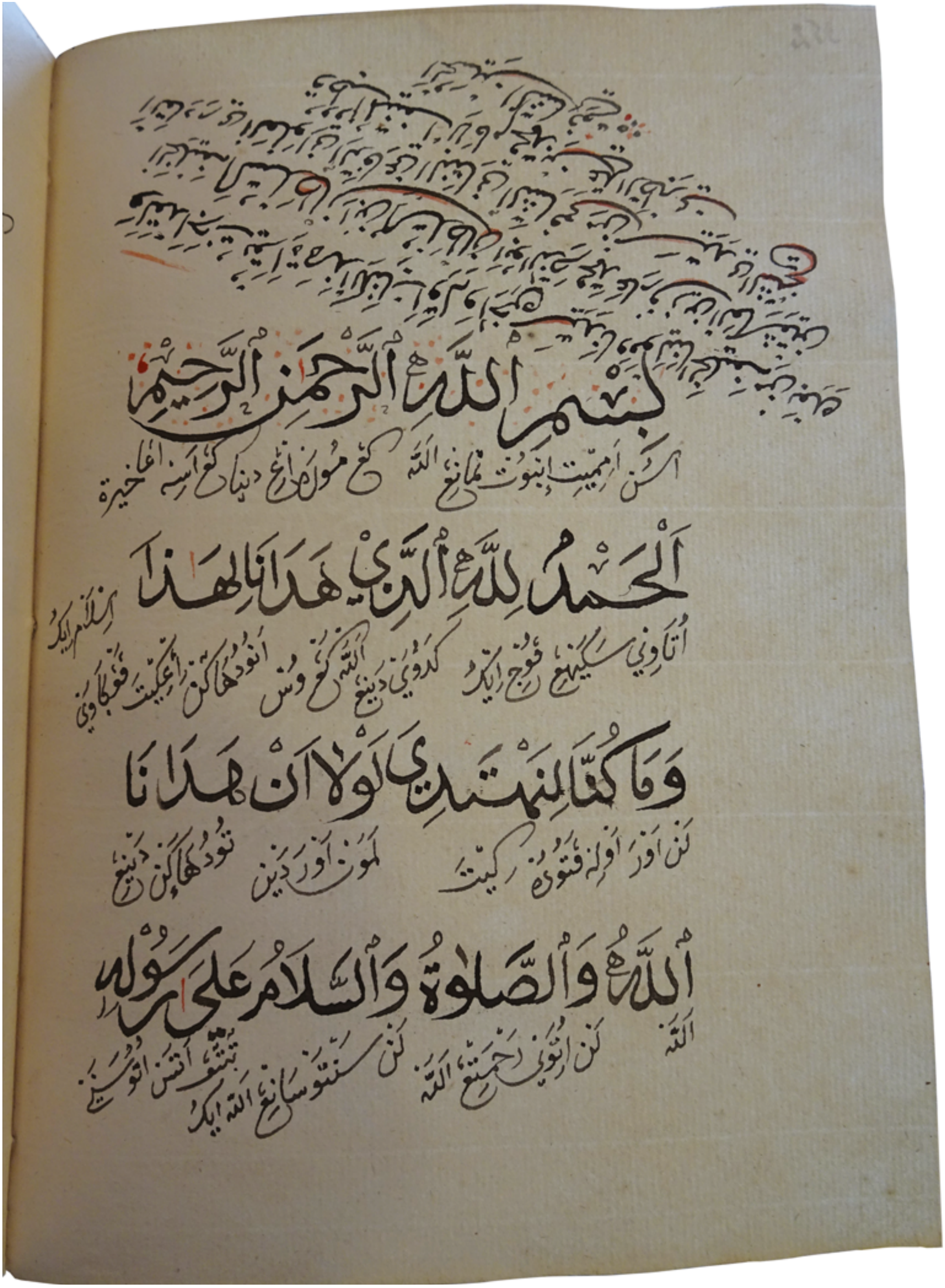
[92] Leiden University Library, Or 1842, fol. 325b.



بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

اسن اميّت انبوت تمانغ الله كڠ موره انغ دنيا كڠ اسيه اڠ اخيرة

الحمد لله الذي هدانا لهذا

اتاوي سكيهيڠ فوج ايكو كدوي دينيڠ الله كڠ وس انودهاكن اعكيت فوڠكاوي اسلام ايكو

وما كنا لنهتدي لولا أن هدانا

لن اورا اوله فتوه ركيت لمون اورا دين تودهاكن دينيڠ

الله والصلوة والسلام على رسوله

الله لن اتوي رحمتيڠ الله لن سنتوسانيڠ الله ايكو تتكاڠ اتس اتوين

FIGURE 7.14 *Ijāza* to Sultan Zayn al-ʿĀshiqīn from ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Qahhār on the authority of his own *ijāza* from Muḥammad al-Ṭabarī. Leiden University Library, Or 1842, fol. 325b

4 Occult Manuscripts

Magic constituted the subject of several manuscripts from the sultanic library. It would be mistaken to draw too rigid a line between the occult and Sufism. The most famous magic tract in the Islamic world, the *Shams al-Maʿārif* (represented by three manuscripts in the Banten royal collection, discussed below) was in fact authored by a pious Sufi, al-Būnī, who lived an ascetic life in thirteenth-century Cairo.[93] The conjunction between the two can best be seen in a manuscript which contains not merely parts of the *Shams al-Maʿārif*, but also excerpts from Muḥammad Ghawth's *al-Jawāhir al-Khamsa*.[94] In between the two treatises in the codex, a few pages are devoted to praise of Sufi practices such as *murāqaba*, while Ibn ʿArabī is cited in a discussion of the *quṭb*, or spiritual guide.[95] Magical practices could thus be seen as part of Sufism.

Our three Banten manuscripts of the *Shams al-Maʿārif* consist of A 127, mentioned above, plus two independent codices A 19 and A 20, which represent two parts of the work; all three are listed in the 1833 list.[96] A 19 and A 20 also underline the Sufi connections of magic, for its ownership note describes Sultan Zayn al-ʿĀshiqīn as *al-Rifāʿī wa'l-Qādirī* (Fig. 7.15). However, the most striking demonstration of Sufism's magic associations are to be observed in a *majmūʿa* of magical texts.[97] MS Jakarta A 156 is large codex of 479 pages comprising what initially appears to be an eclectic mixture of texts, dealing with the stars, spells, and Sufism. The material is entirely of Middle Eastern provenance, although the large format and generous spacing of the manuscript indicates this is a Southeast Asian copy.

The codex opens in mid-sentence with a recipe for an aphrodisiac, followed by a discussion of the stars to be observed in winter, summer, spring and autumn, a distinction in seasons that would not have been meaningful in Southeast Asia. There then follows a discussion drawn from Abū'l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī of the activities in Tabaristan of the Zaydi Muḥammad al-Dāʿī ilā'l-Ḥaqq (d. 278/900) and his secretary Muḥammad b. Baḥr,[98] and another anecdote from the same source of Alexander the Great's journey to China. Next comes an invocatory

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[93] On this text and its author see Noel Gardiner, "Forbidden Knowledge? Notes on the Production, Transmission, and Reception of the Major Works of Aḥmad al-Būnī," *Journal of Arabic and Islamic Studies* 12 (2012): 81–143.

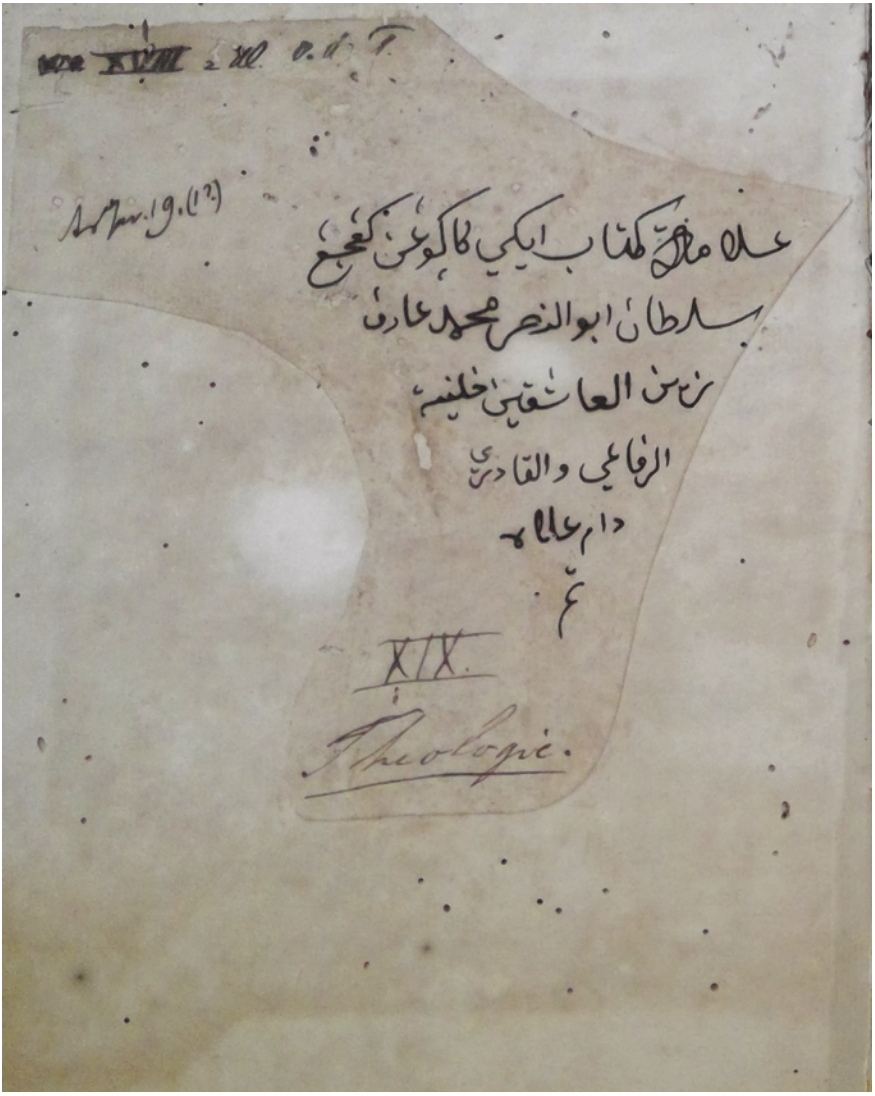
[94] Jakarta MS A 127.

[95] Jakarta MS A 127, pp. 178–184.

[96] nos 51, 69, 72.

[97] Jakarta A 156, which must be no. 27 on the 1833 list, identified as 'een arabische spelboek', an Arabic book of spells.

[98] On him see Wilferd Madelung, "Dāʿi ela'l-ḥaqq," *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, vol. 6, 595–597.



علامة كتاب ايكي كاكوعن كغجغ
سلطان ابو النصر محمد عارف
زين العاشقين خليفة
الرفاعي والقادري
دام علاه
ع

XIX.

Theologie.

FIGURE 7.15 Ownership statement of Sultan Zayn al-ʿĀshiqīn al-Rifāʿī al-Qādirī on a copy of Aḥmad al-Būnī, *Shams al-Maʿārif*. Jakarta, Perpustakaan Nasional MS A 19, p. 1

spell against bugs (*al-baqq*) which the author claims have been told by "one of the ʿulamaʾ of Zabid",[99] which is later followed by spells aimed at thwarting thieves.[100] Although Muḥammad al-Dāʿī's activities are recorded as taking place in Tabaristan in Iran, the only other area with a significant Zaydi population is Yemen. Together with the mention of Zabīd, this strongly suggests that the original from which Jakarta A 156 was copied must have been compiled in Yemen, possibly in the later medieval period.

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[99] Jakarta A 156, p. 20.
[100] Jakarta A 156, pp. 25–6.

As well as invocatory magic (*ʿazīma*), the text recommends employing a magic circle of the type first popularised by the thirteenth century Syrian occultist Ibn Ṭalḥa:

> With God's permission, you should take a piece of paper and draw a circle in the middle of it. In the middle of the circle you should write the name of the thing that has been stolen in this way, and write in the circle: "You have withheld so and so son of so and so's property. In the name of God the compassionate, the merciful, may God seal a veil over their hearts, hearing and sight, may they have a great torment from the heavens which comprises darkness, lightning and thunder upon the unbelievers, while God encompasses everything behind them."[101] Then stick a needle in the paper and hang it in the air.[102]

Much of the text consists of a pot-pourri of various magic spells and talismanic devices. Spells also include ones for a master to recover a runaway slave,[103] for anyone who wants to marry a woman, or who seeks a government position from a sultan or *amīr*,[104] as well as for how to make a love potion,[105] and gain victory over one's enemies.[106] The magical properties of the letters of the Arabic script are also discussed at length in a section which is evidently in part derived from the treatise *Khawāṣṣ al-Qurʾān* attributed to al-Ghazālī, which advises how writing verses from the Qurʾan on specific objects can ward off evil.[107] Another authority mentioned is al-Būnī,[108] who is probably also the source for the Hebrew-derived angelic names that are listed.[109] The text also discusses medicine at length, including recipes for aphrodisiacs and antidotes for poisons. At this point the Yemeni codex seems to have terminated, and two additional texts are found, an Arabic version of an originally Persian treatise on the Shattariyya (*Risāla-yi Shaṭṭāriyya*) and an unidentified text on Arabic grammar. While this combination of texts may seem highly eclectic, it is again evidently written with a view to providing its owner with useful knowledge spanning the realms of Sufism, magic, and their key, the Arabic language itself.

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[101] In the margin is added, "so that they put their fingers in their ears because of the thunderbolts, fearing death, for God encompasses the unbelievers."

يجعلون اصابعهم في اذانهم من الصواعق حذر الموت والله محيط بالكافرين

[102] Jakarta A 156, p. 26.

باذن الله تعالى تاءخذ قرطاساً وتدور في وسطه دائرة وتكتب في وسطها اسم المسروق على هذه الصورة
ثم تكتب الدايرة حبست مال فلان بن فلانه ببس الله الرحمن الرحيم ختم الله على قلوبهم وعلى سعيهم
وعلى ابصارهم غشاوة ولهم عذاب عظيم او كصيب من السماء فيه ظلمات ورعد وبرق الى الكافرين والله
من ورائهم محيط الخ ثم يغرز في القرطاس ابرة ويعلقه بخيط في الهوى

[103] Jakarta A 156, p. 28.

[104] Jakarta A 156, p. 78.

[105] Jakarta A 156, p. 152.

[106] Jakarta A 156, p. 94.

Another occult text in the royal library was the Syrian author al-Shiblī's compilation of law and lore relating to jinn and demons, the *Ākām al-Marjān fī Aḥkām al-Jānn*,[110] finished in 750/1351, which survives in a finely written Southeast Asian copy in Banten *naskh* (Fig. 7.16). The work circulated widely in the Middle East, with 36 manuscripts listed in its recent critical edition.[111] The existence of jinn is Qur'anically attested, and the *Ākām al-Marjān* is a good demonstration of the way in which occultism and religion could be conjoined. As the text's editor, Badeen, observes with regard to the plethora of twentieth centuries popular editions of this work, "drawing a sharp line between the norm and superstition becomes very difficult when it comes to jinn. Since *Ākām al-Marjān fī Aḥkām al-Jānn* was the best-known monograph on jinn, written by a Muslim jurist, some Muslim intellectuals found it religiously safe and economically opportune to reprint this book with a minimum of effort and remain on the legitimate side of religion."[112] The same may be said of its earlier circulation in manuscript form. Al-Shiblī based his work on extensive use of earlier authorities, including the *tafsīrs* of Sufyān al-Thawrī, al-Zamakhsharī, al-Rāzī and others, the canonical hadith compilations of al-Bukhārī, Muslim, Ibn Māja and Abū Dawūd, and other authoritative sources from the first three Islamic centuries.[113] Nonetheless, the topics treated are certainly at times exotic. Al-Shiblī tells us the writing of the book was occasioned by the question of whether intermarriage between a human and jinn was possible (which, in a Javanese context, may be significant as recalling the traditions of certain royal courts such as Yogyakarta that the sultan enjoyed a marriage to the

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[107] A 156, p. 59.

[108] A 156, p. 24.

[109] A 156, p. 110.

[110] Jakarta A124; no 50 on 1833 list.

[111] Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn-ʿAbdallāh al-Shiblī, *Akam al-Marjan fi Ahkam al-Jann*, ed. Edward Badeen (Beirut, 2017), 46–8 (English introduction).

[112] al-Shiblī, *Akam al-Marjan*, 55

[113] al-Shiblī, *Akam al-Marjan*, 25–45.

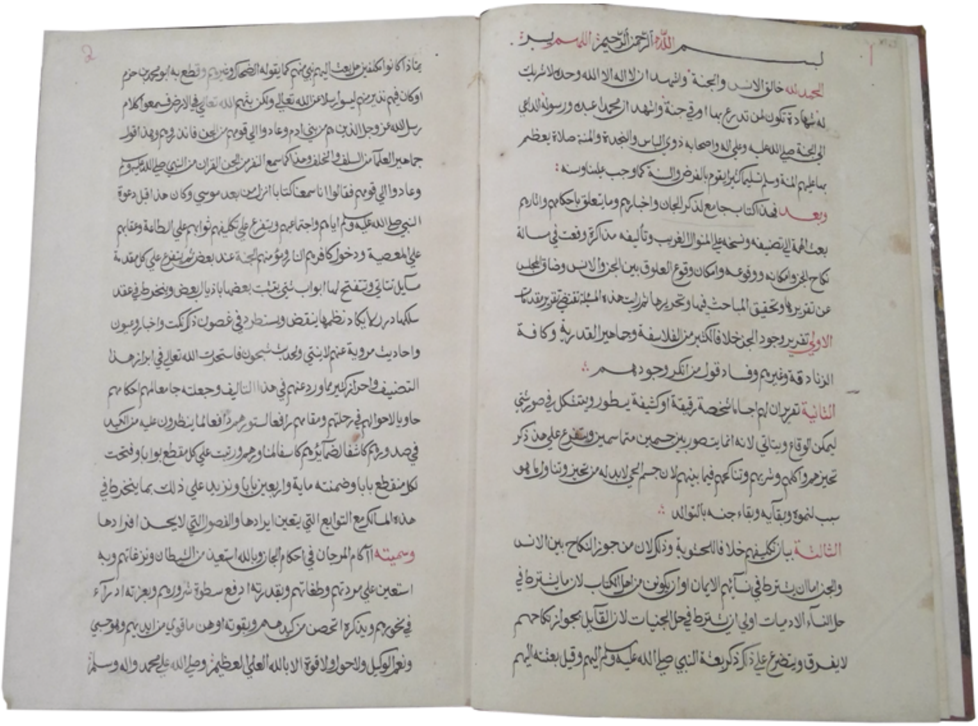

FIGURE 7.16 al-Shiblī, *Ākām al-Marjān*, copied in eighteenth century Banten. Jakarta Perpustakaan Nasional, MS A 124

supernatural Goddess of the Southern Ocean – a legend that was in fact originally linked to Banten's pre-Islamic predecessor, Pajajaran).[114] Al-Shiblī also discusses magic to ward off harmful jinn, and how jinn are obliged to obey talismans. Much of the book is devoted to examining the presence of Satan in human affairs. Unlike the *Shams al-Maʿārif* and MS Jakarta A 156, al-Shiblī's text is not intended as a practical guide to magic (or grimoire, to use European terminology), but rather as proof of the existence of supernatural beings. Nonetheless, this inevitably brought it into conversation with jinn magic, and certain passages do give practical advice on remedies to be used against jinn afflictions, such as writing out specified Qur'anic verses.[115] Another copy of excerpts from al-Shiblī's works occurs in a *majmūʿa* owned by ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Qahhār, confirming its importance in Sufi circles.[116]

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[114] Merle Ricklefs, *The Seen and Unseen Worlds in Java, 1726–1749: History, Literature and Islam in the Court of Pakubuwana II* (Honolulu, 1998), 8–13, 36.

[115] al-Shiblī, *Akam al-Marjan*, 246–8.

5 The Origins of the Texts and Manuscripts

Arabic texts composed in Southeast Asia account only for a relatively small proportion of the texts in the library, which is primarily made up of works from the Middle East. Local Banten Arabic literary production is represented primarily by the works of ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Qahhār, while al-Maqaṣīrī's works are attested by three manuscripts that might be attributed to eighteenth century Banten, but lack definitive statements of ownership or place of production.[117] As noted above, *al-Mawāhib al-Mustarsala*, composed in seventeenth century Aceh by a Syrian immigrant, Ibrāhīm b. Abī Bakr al-Azharī, is represented in Jakarta by two copies that date to the late seventeenth century, both evidently made in Banten.[118] Another Acehnese Arabic text held in the royal library was Shams al-Dīn Sumāṭrā'ī's *Jawhar al-Ḥaqā'iq*.[119] Both *al-Mawāhib al-Mustarsala* and the *Jawāhir al-Haqa'iq* are furnished with interlinear *pegon* translations. Evidently, Acehnese Arabic texts were read and esteemed in Banten, but there is no evidence that Arabic works from Sulawesi, for instance, ever circulated there.

Numerous manuscripts seem to have been brought directly from the Middle East, especially the Hijaz, to Banten. A crucial intermediary in this respect was ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Qahhār, whose activities are discussed at greater length in chapter 6, as well as ʿAbd al-Shakūr, the descendant of Sultan Abū'l-Mafākhir who was a pupil of al-Kūrānī's. The notes in ʿAbd al-Shakūr's manuscripts in the royal library give some impression of the complexities of their circulation. For example, a copy of Khaṭīb al-Tabrīzī's *Mishkāt al-Maṣābīḥ* was purchased in Medina by ʿAbd al-Shakūr from Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Kūrānī in 1081/1670–1;[120] the latter had acquired it from his father, who had in turn acquired it from Yaʿqūb b. Aḥmad al-Kūrānī in 1061/1651. The latter had bought it from the estate of another Kurdish scholar, Shaykh Rajab al-Kurdī in 1045/1635–6 (Fig. 7.17). Thus the codex circulated among these two Kurdish families of ʿulama', until ending up in the hands of the Banteni *mujāwir*, who

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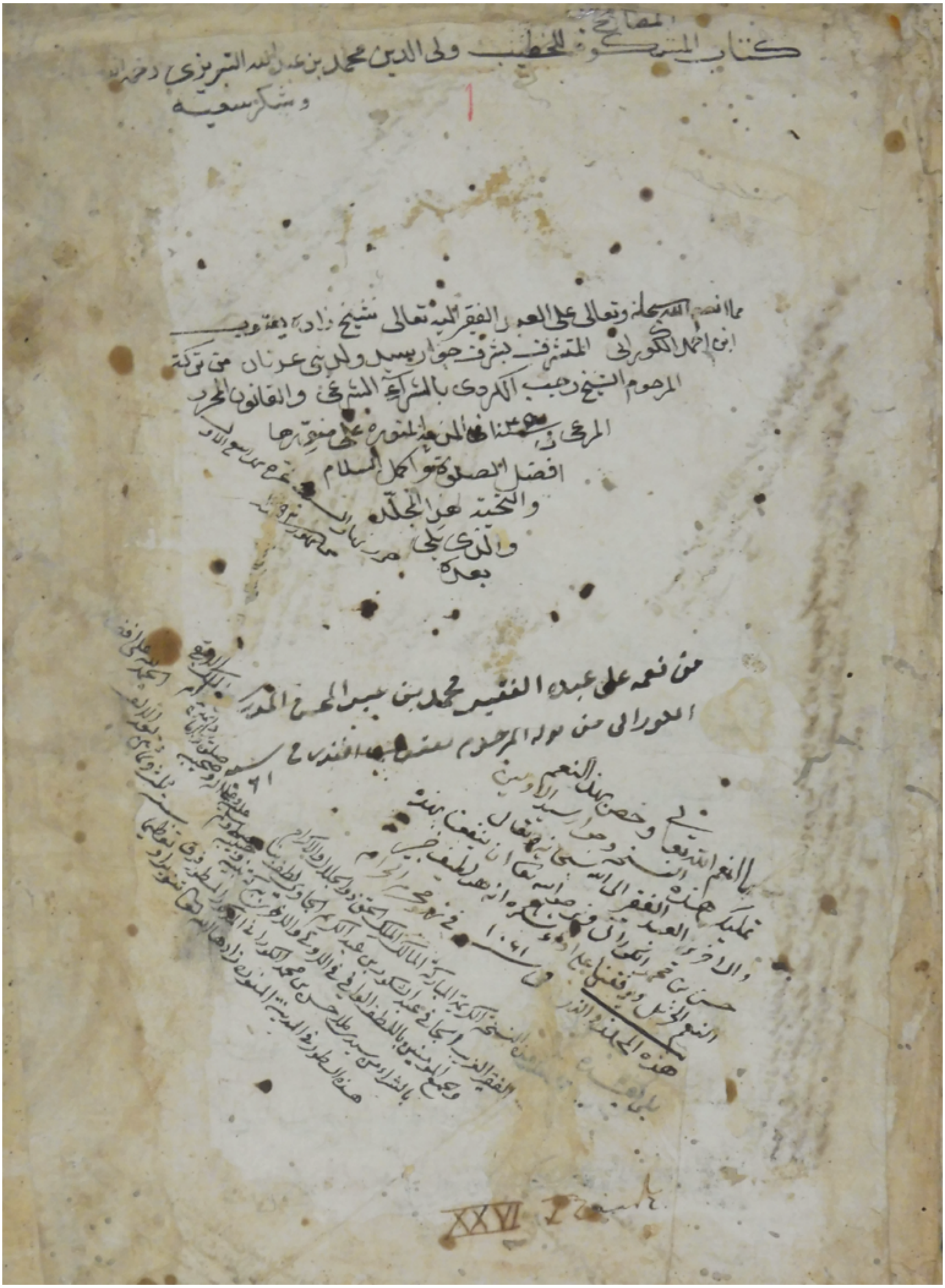
[116] A 655, p. 50ff.

[117] Jakarta A 45/2 al-Maqaṣīrī's *Zubdat al-Asrār*; A 101, a collection of al-Maqaṣīrī's works, copied between 1186–7 AH in Southeast Asia, almost certainly Banten; A 113/2.

[118] Jakarta, A 97 and A 98.

[119] Jakarta A 31/1.

[120] Jakarta A 26,

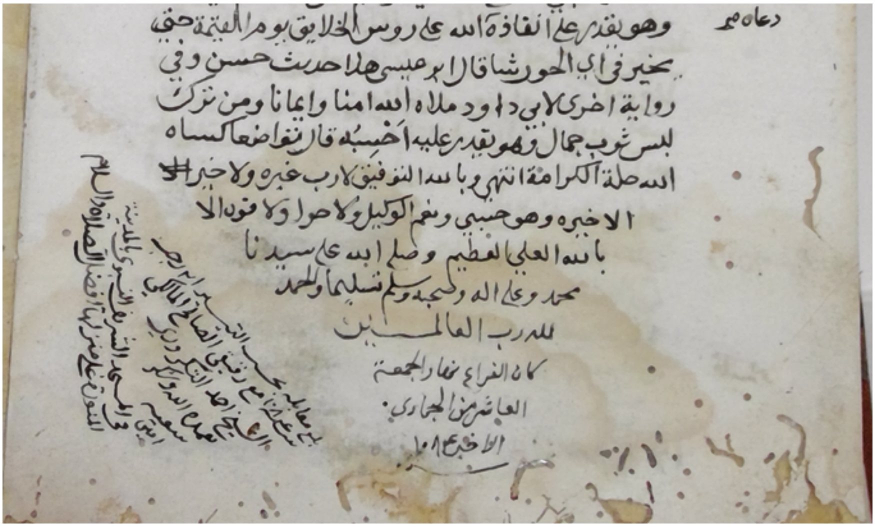


كتاب المشكوة المصابيح للخطيب ولي الدين محمد بن عبد الله التبريزي رحمه الله وشكر سعيه

FIGURE 7.17 Khaṭīb al-Tabrīzī's *Mishkāt al-Maṣābīḥ* purchased in Medina by ʿAbd al-Shakūr from Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Kūrānī in 1081/1670–1 before being brought to Java and entering the Banten palace library. Jakarta, Perpustakaan Nasional, MS A 26

must have brought it back to Java. Its accession to the palace library becomes more readily comprehensible in view of ʿAbd al-Shakūr's royal connections. Other manuscripts give some impression of the cosmopolitan environment in which ʿAbd al-Shakūr studied. Collation notes in his manuscript of works by al-Munāwī and others indicate the manuscript was collated in Medina in the presence of "my comrade Shaykh Aḥmad al-Takrūrī," from his *nisba* a native of Takrūr in the far west of Africa (Fig. 7.18).[121] In another Medinan manuscript comprising works by al-Kūrānī and others, the copyist gives his name as al-Ḥājj ʿAbd al-Maḥmūd b. Ṣāliḥ al-Jāwī.[122] He copied these works in 1084/1673–4, the same period that ʿAbd al-Shakūr was active, and was doubtless part of the same study circle around al-Kūrānī. Thus in Medina, scholars and students from the easternmost and westernmost parts of the Islamic world could meet at the classes of Kurdish ʿulama', copying and collating texts that they then took back to the furthest reaches of the *dār al-Islām*.

As argued above, the magic book Jakarta A 156 is derived from a Yemeni original, while a fine manuscript of al-Shattanawfī's *Bahjat al-Asrār* copied in



وهو يقدر على انفاذه الله على روس الخلايق يوم القيمة حتى
يخيره في اي الحور شا قال ابو عيسى هذا حديث حسن وفي
رواية اخرى لابي داود ملاه الله امنا وايمانا ومن ترك
لبس ثوب جمال وهو يقدر عليه احسبه قال تواضعا كساه
الله حلة الكرامة انتهى وبالله التوفيق لا رب غيره ولا خير الا
الا خيره وهو حسبي ونعم الوكيل ولا حول ولا قوة الا
بالله العلي العظيم وصلى الله على سيدنا
محمد وعلى اله وصحبه وسلم تسليما والحمد
لله رب العالمين
كان الفراغ نهار الجمعة
العاشر من الجمادى
الاخر ١٠٨٤

FIGURE 7.18 Collation note in hand of ʿAbd al-Shakūr mentioning "my comrade Aḥmad al-Takrūrī", Medina, Rajab 1084/October 1673. Jakarta, Perpustakaan Nasional MS A 29, p. 273

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[121] Jakarta A 29, p. 273.

[122] Jakarta A 112.

1104/1692–3 is almost certainly from Yemen, on the basis of its stylistic and orthographic features, such as the use of dot under *dāl* (Fig. 7.19).[123] More generally, we have certain manuscripts of an Arabian provenance, although it is not possible to locate them exactly. It seems likely they are from western Arabia or the Hijaz, but elsewhere in the Middle East, including Egypt, would also be possible. Characteristic of these manuscripts is the use of red and black inks, and the presence of a V-shaped title. The two manuscripts of Ibn al-Wardī's *Kharīdat al-ʿAjāʾib* both fall into this group.[124]

Not all the colophons are trustworthy. A manuscript of the grammatical work *Tuḥfat al-Ṭālib* (Jakarta A8) states that it was copied in Jerusalem in 705/1305; however, the manuscript itself is plainly seventeenth or eighteenth century, again most likely Arabian. Yet some manuscripts did originate outside Arabia. Jakarta A 143 is a copy of the second part of *al-Ghurar al-Bahiyya fī Sharḥ al-Bahja al-Wardiyya*, a super-commentary on Ibn al-Wardī's verse commentary on a *fiqh* text by al-Qazwīnī, *al-Ḥāwī al-Ṣaghīr*. Its title page contains the ownership note of Zayn al-ʿĀshiqīn, but also the evidence of another owner, who states he was given the manuscript in 1065/1655 when he was at al-Majdal ʿAsqalān (Ashkelon in Palestine) where it had been sent to him by the Shaykh ʿAbd al-Qādir Ghassānī in Jerusalem (Fig 17.20). The complex travels of some manuscripts are suggested by Ibn Ḥajar's commentary on al-Nawawī's *Forty Hadiths*, entitled *al-Fatḥ al-Mubīn*.[125] The manuscript bears the names of three previous owners and one reader, all evidently of Middle Eastern origin, like the manuscript itself (Fig. 17.21). All four previous owners identify themselves as Shafiis, as was Ibn Ḥajar himself, but the ownership notes also mention the *ṭarīqa*s to which they belonged – Muḥammad ʿUmar al-D.b.r.ky, a Rifaʿi; Muḥammad al-Sayyid, from Sind (*al-sindī mansha'an*), a member of the Shadhili and Burhani orders; and one other individual whose name cannot be read but who was a Maliki, perhaps suggesting North African origin, and a

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[123] Jakarta A 95; for the Yememi subscript point on *dāl*, see Atanna D'Ottone, "The Pearl and the Ruby: Scribal Dicta and Other Metatextual Notes in Yemeni Medieval Manuscripts," in David Hollenber, Chrisyoph Rauch and Sabine Schmidtke (eds), *The Yemeni Manuscript Tradition* (Leiden, 2015), 83; also Anne Regourd, "Les manuscrits des bibliothèques privées de Zabīd (Yémen): Enjeu d'un catalogue," *Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies* 32 (2002), 250, 251. As Regourd notes (p. 254, n. 28), this feature occurs in *pegon*, but not – as far as I am aware – in Arabic manuscripts produced in Java, and therefore should be considered a distinctively Yemeni feature.

[124] Jakarta A150 and 151.

[125] Jakarta A40.

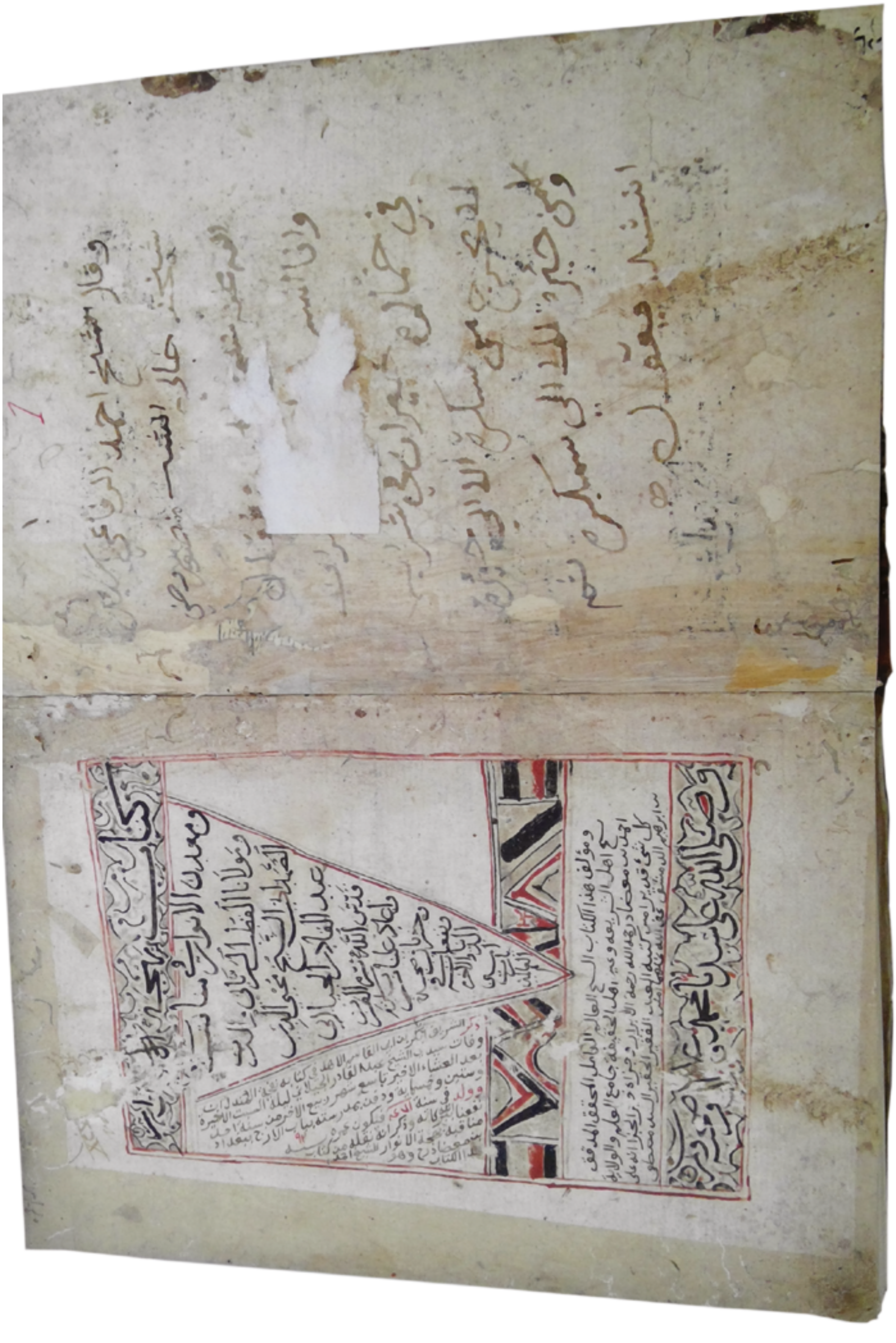

FIGURE 7.19 Al-Shattanawfī, *Bahjat al-Asrār*, probably copied in Yemen, dated Jumādā I 1104/January 1693. Jakarta, Perpustakaan Nasional A 95

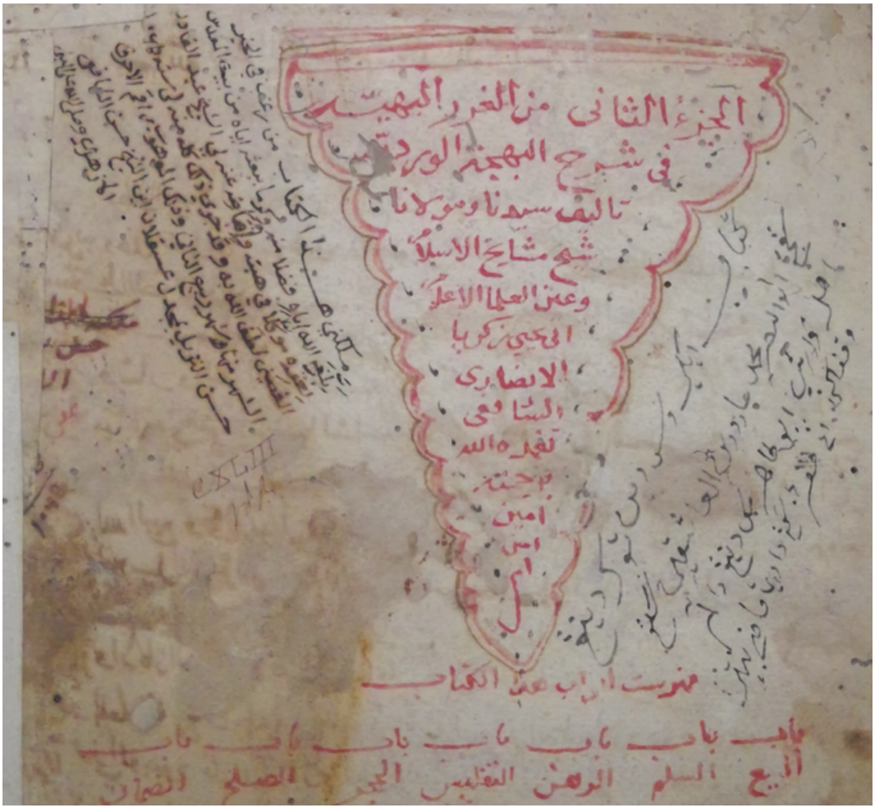

FIGURE 7.20 Abū Yaḥyā Zakariyyā al-Anṣārī, *al-Ghurar al-Bahiyya fi Sharḥ al-Bahja al-Wardiyya*. To the left of the title is a note explaining the transfer of the MS from Jerusalem to Ḥasan b. Ḥasan al-Azharī in Majdal ʿAsqalān, Ghazza. On the right the ownership statement of Zayn al-ʿĀshiqīn. Jakarta, Perpustakaan Nasional MS A 43

member of the Burhani order.[126] The fact that two of the owners were not just Shafiis but also Burhanis suggests that it was through *ṭarīqa* membership that books were exchanged, even when the subject ostensibly has little to do with the *ṭarīqa* itself.[127]

The sultanic library also testifies to the important role of India as a channel for transmission of knowledge, as well as a source for original texts. The

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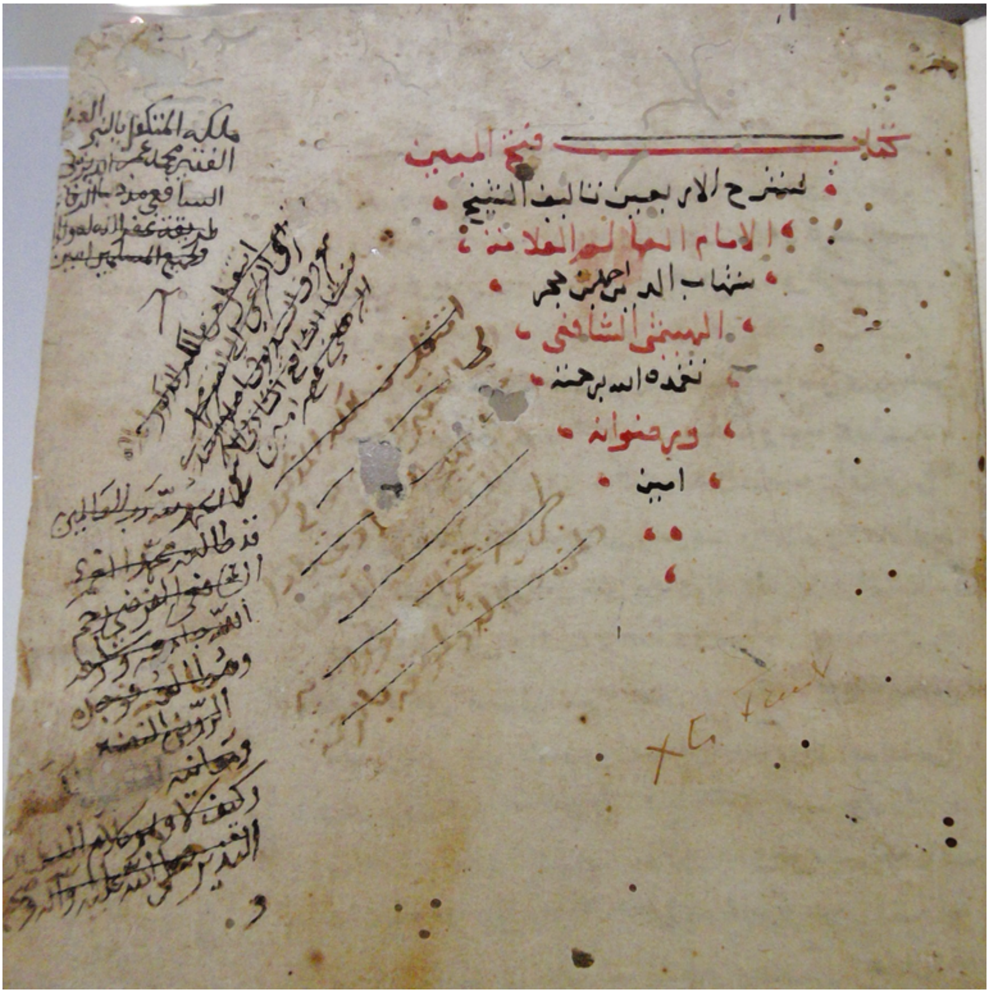
[126] The other ownership marks are relatively clear. This one reads, as far as I can make out: انتقل من مالكه المذكور الى الفقير الى [اللّٰه] تعالي الشيخ ا...ادي بلدا المالكي مذهبا البرهاني طريقة غفر اللّٰه له ولوالديه

[127] Admittedly, Ibn Ḥajar mentions that the third volume of the work dealt with *ḥukm al-iḥsān*, which he identifies with *ʿilm al-taṣawwuf*; see A 40, p. 2. However, it seems to have little obviously connected to the Burhani as opposed to any other *ṭarīqa*.



كتاب فتح المبين
لشرح الاربعين تاليف الشيخ
الامام العالم العلامة
شهاب الدين احمد بن حجر
الهيتمي الشافعي
تغمده الله برحمته
ورضوانه
امين

FIGURE 7.21 Ownership marks on the title page of Ibn Ḥajar's *al-Fatḥ al-Mubīn*. Jakarta, Perpustakaan Nasional MS A40

presence of texts by the Indian Sufis Muḥammad Ghawth and al-Mahāʾimī indicates that their works, marked by their promotion of Shattari and Akbari ideas, exercised a distinct appeal to the sultans of Banten, even if, as discussed in Chapter 2, these may have been transmitted via the Hijaz. Yet the *Risāla-yi Shaṭṭāriyya* (A 156/2) is a distinctly Indian text, exiting in numerous manuscripts in its Persian version in the subcontinent, while only one other copy of the Arabic version is known.[128]

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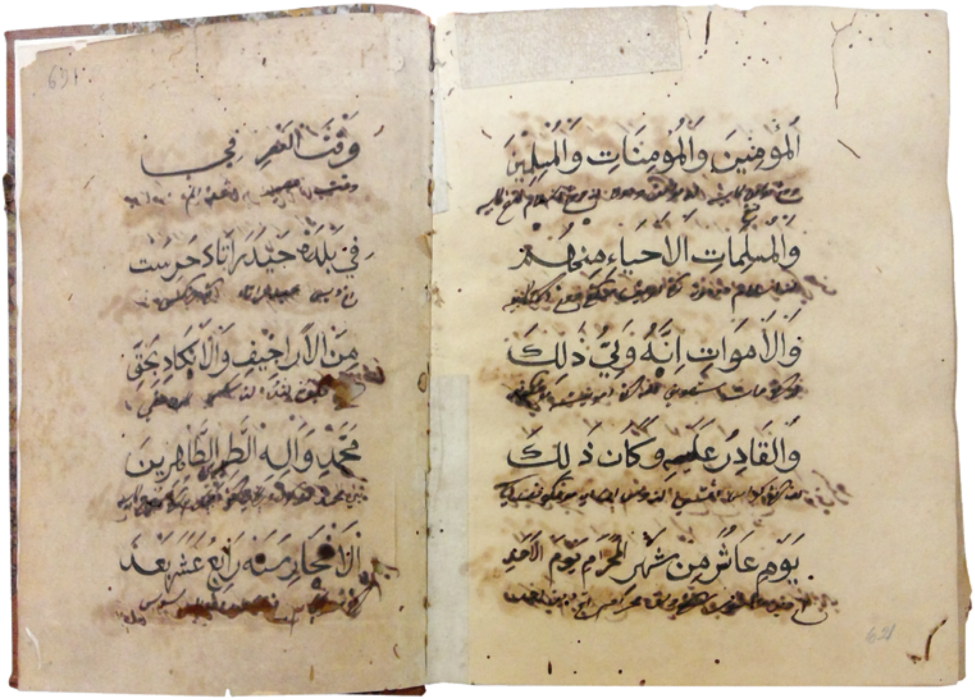
[128] Ernst, Carl W. – Khodamoradi, Soraya, 2018, "Risāla-yi šaṭṭāriyya", *Perso-Indica. An Analytical Survey of Persian Works on Indian Learned Traditions*, F. Speziale – C.W. Ernst, eds.,



المؤمنين والمؤمنات والمسلمين
والمسلمات الأحياء منهم
والأموات إنه ولي ذلك
والقادر عليه وكان ذلك
يوم عاشر من شهر المحرم يوم الأحد

وقت الفجر في
في بلدة حيدراتاد حرست
من الأراجيف والأنكاد بحق
محمد وآله الطهر الطاهرين
الأمجاد سنة رابع عشر بعد

FIGURE 7.22 The misleading colophon of al-Būnī's *Shams al-Maʿārif*, claiming to have been copied in Hyderabad (misspelt) in 1014/1605, but evidently actually copied in Banten in the eighteenth century, complete with interlinear Javanese translation. Jakarta, Perpustakaan Nasional MS A 20

The Indian connection is demonstrated by other manuscripts. The *Shams al-Maʿārif* manuscripts end with statement that they were copied in Hyderabad in 1014/1605 (MS A 20 and A 127, p. 177). This is clearly not the case, as the script, format and interlinear Javanese translation of A19–20 indicate the manuscripts were almost certainly made in Java specifically for the Banten court (Fig. 7.22); while A 127 lacks the interlinear translation, the colophon relating to Hyderabad is supplemented by the statement it was copied by a certain Hajj Kemas Muḥyi b. ʿAbdallāh al-Bantanī, confirming its Bantenese provenance. However, these colophons do indicate these Banten manuscripts were clearly copied from an original made in Hyderabad.[129]

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available at http://www.perso-indica.net/work/risala-yi_sattariyya. The other copy of the Arabic version of the text is held in the Zahiriyya Library in Damascus.

[129] In the case of A 127 it is possible that it was made from A19–A20 rather than directly from the Indian original.

The transmission of texts, and indeed the physical manuscripts themselves, via India, is also suggested by the Persian ownership statements that are to be found on some manuscripts. While Persian was of course used over a much broader area, including Central Asia and Iran, it was the main literary language of Muslims in India up to the nineteenth century. Further, given the geographical realities and India's longstanding ties with Southeast Asia, it is much more logical to assume the transmission of these manuscripts via India than other parts of the Persianate cosmopolis. Such Persian ownership notes appear on two Arabic grammar treatises, Zayn al-Dīn al-Naḥawī al-Khālidī's *al-Taṣrīḥ bi-Maḍmūn al-Tawḍīḥ*,[130] and *al-Miṣbāḥ fī'l-Nahw*.[131]

There are two notes on the manuscript of *al-Taṣrīḥ bi-Maḍmūn al-Tawḍīḥ*, one in Persian, the other in Arabic (Fig. 7.23). The Persian one reads:

> مالكه بالشراء الصحيح سيف الحق بتاريخ بيست و ششم از ماه مبارک رمضان
> کذشته بود مبيع كرده شد
>
> Its owner by rightful purchase, Sayf al-Ḥaqq, bought [it] on 26 Ramadan.[132]

Sayf al-Ḥaqq's seal also appears on both manuscripts.

That in Arabic reads:[133]

> ثم انتقل الى العبد الواثق باللّٰه الاحد امين الدين بن الشيخ الحافظ جان محمد
> رحمهما اللطيف الصمد سنه ١١٧٧
>
> Then it was transferred to God's trustworthy servant, Amīn al-Dīn b. al-shaykh al-ḥāfiz Jān Muḥammad – may the Kindly Eternal One have mercy on them both – in 1177 [1763–4]

The colophon indicates that the Jakarta copy of *al-Taṣrīḥ bi-Maḍmūn al-Tawḍīḥ* (MSS A4–A5) was originally copied in 1071/1661; although no place is given, the use of red and black inks, the V-shaped colophon and the style of *naskh* handwriting suggests this is a Middle Eastern manuscript, most likely from the Hijaz (in an Iranian or Indian manuscript of this date, one would expect *nastaʿliq*

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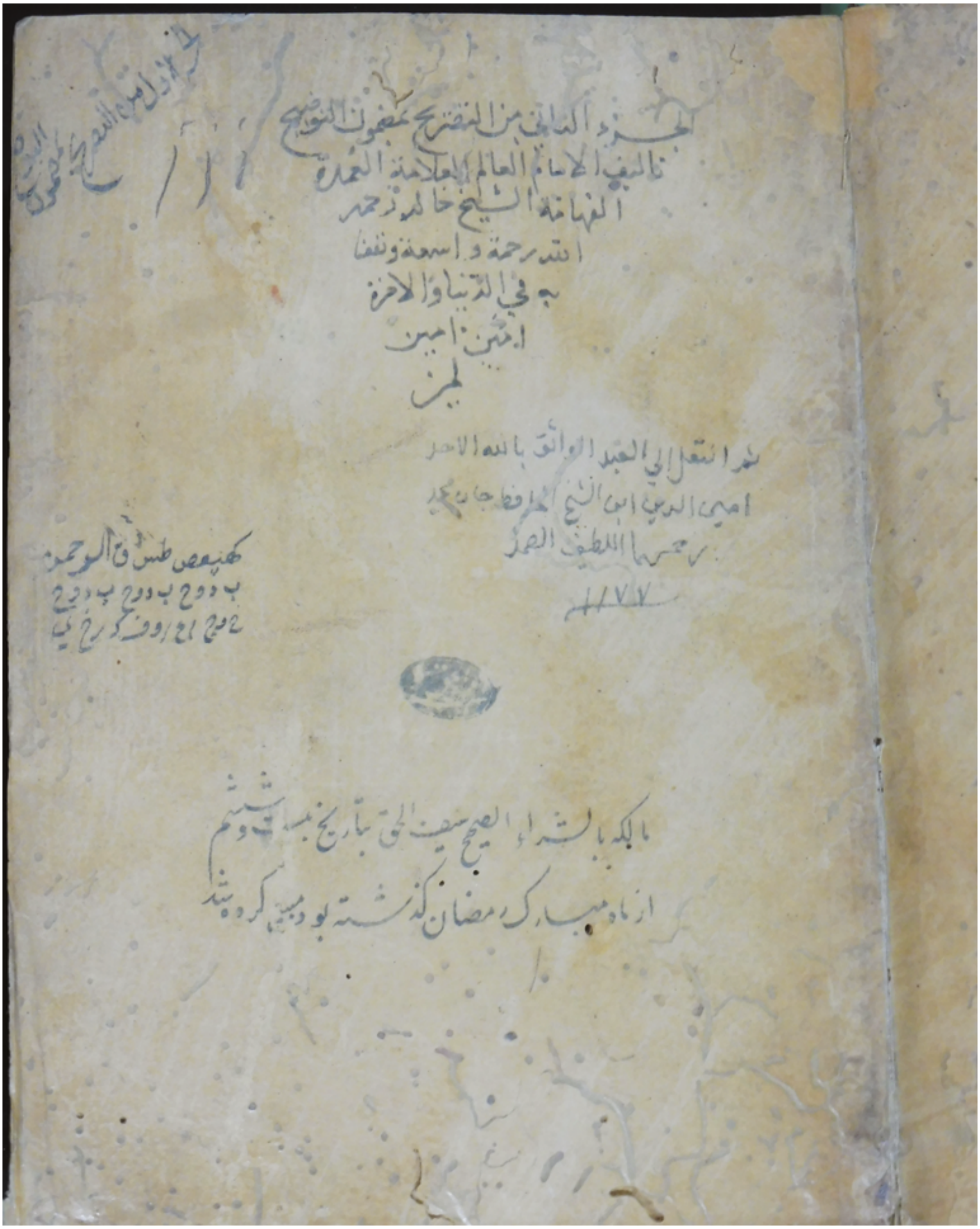
[130] Jakarta MSS A4–A5, a two volume work.

[131] Jakarta MS A 16.

[132] Jakarta MS A5 An almost identical inscription, merely replacing the word *karda* with *sākhta*, is found on A4.

[133] Present only on Jakarta A 5.



الأول من التصريح بمضمون

الجزء الثاني من التصريح بمضمون التوضيح
تأليف الامام العالم العلامة العمدة
الفهامة الشيخ خالد تغمده
الله رحمة واسعة ونفعنا
به في الدنيا والاخرة
آمين آمين
لمن

قد انتقل الي العبد الواثق بالله الاحد
امين الدين ابن الشيخ الحافظ جاد محمد
رحمهما اللطيف الصمد
١١٧٧

كهيعص طس ق الوحمو
ب دوح ب دوح ب دوح
ح وح اح روف كرخ يا

مالكه بالشراء الصحيح سيف الحق بتاريخ بيست وششم
از ماه مبارک رمضان گذشته بود مبيع کرده شد

FIGURE 7.23 Ownership notes on Zayn al-Dīn al-Naḥawī al-Khālidī’s *al-Taṣrīḥ bi-Maḍmūn al-Tawḍīḥ* Jakarta, Perpustakaan Nasional MS A 5, p.1

script to be used, as indeed it is in the Persian ownership inscription). The manuscript thus seems to have been carried from the Hijaz to India, before being taken to Java and entering the sultan's collection no earlier than the late eighteenth century.

Al-Miṣbāḥ fī'l-Nahw also has the appearance of being copied in the Middle East, probably the Hijaz, given the use of *naskh*. However, the copyist's name suggests his affiliations to the Persianate world, Abū Muḥammad Shāh Khaṭīb b. Madanī Shāh.[134] Possibly he was an Iranian or Indian resident of the Hijaz. The manuscript is dated Shaʿbān 1019/October 1610, and after the colophon a line of Persian verse in *nastaʿliq* script states:

هرکه خواند دعا طمع دارم ـ ز انکه من بنده کنه کارم

> I desire that everyone who reads it prays [for me], for I am a sinful servant [of God].

The precise trajectory of *al-Miṣbāḥ* is thus hard to reconstruct, but again, it seems to have entered the sultanate library only considerably after its original copying at the beginning of the seventeenth century.

We are on firmer ground with the fourteen-volume manuscript of *Iḥyāʾ ʿUlūm al-Dīn* that the sultanic library possessed.[135] Several volumes (e.g. A99A, A99B) contain the name of Sharīf Jaʿfar b. Abī Bakr b. ʿAbdallāh Muṭahhar Bā ʿAlawī al-Ḥusayn and the date of Ramaḍān 1185/December 1771 on the title page, indicating the book was in the possession of a member of the well-known Hadrami Bā ʿAlawī family of sayyids before entering the sultanic library (Fig. 7.24). Again, this is most likely a Middle Eastern manuscript, probably of South Arabian provenance. However, *nastaʿliq* verses of a love poem in a variant of Hindustani also occur on A 99i, suggesting the work travelled through India before reaching Java.[136] A Hadrami connection is also suggested by the ownership marks on A 157, *Ḥayāt al-Ḥayawān* by al-Damīrī. This was

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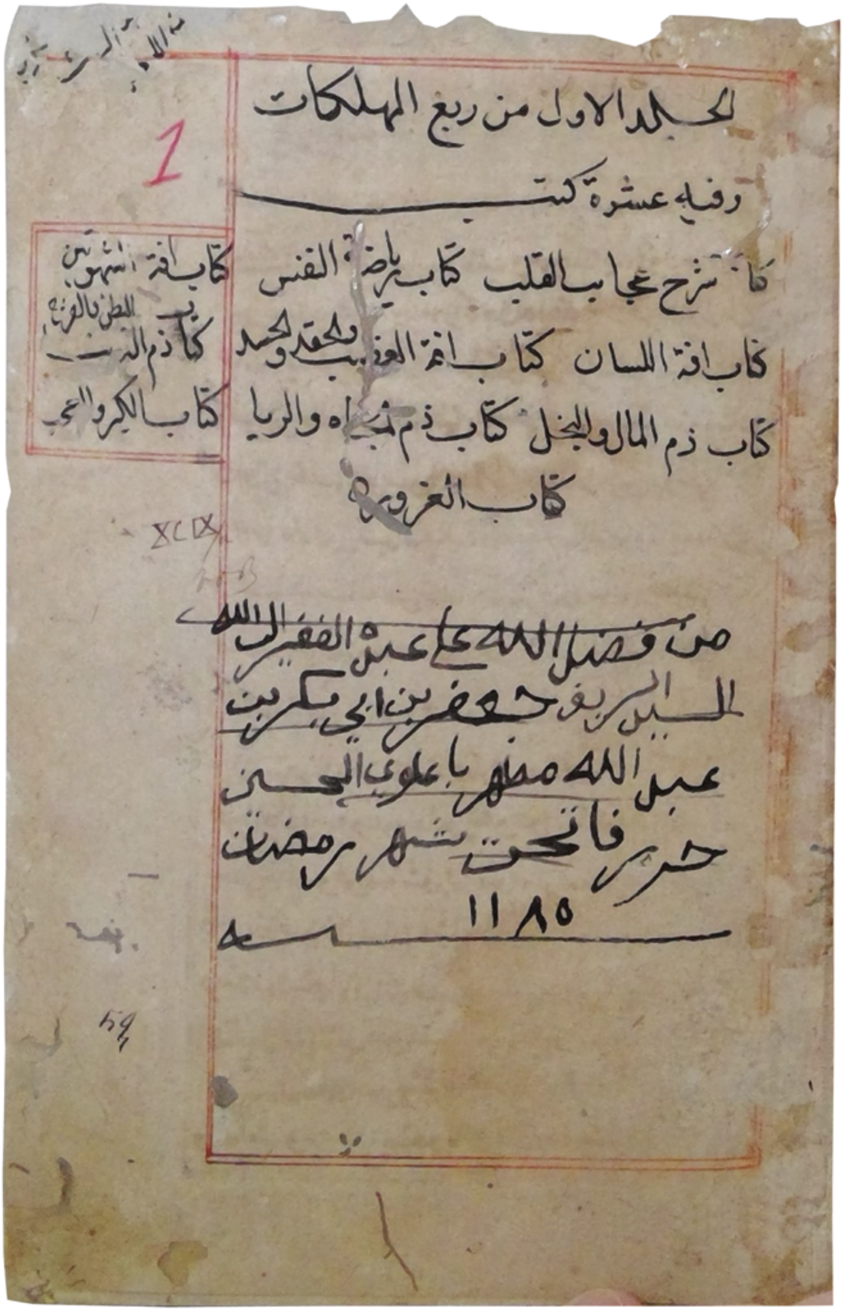
[134] Jakarta A 16.

[135] Jakarta A 99 (identical with no. 76 on 1833 list).

[136] I am indebted to Dr Imre Banggha of Oxford University for the following comments (4 October 2019): "The refrain indicates that it is a transcript of a performance. The scribe did not know standard Urdu orthography but indicated long *zabar*s when necessary for the Indic pronunciation. It is a love poem convincing a neighbouring woman (*män-le parosin* "believe me, my neighbour"). The first two lines in a tentative translation read:
"Believe me, my boorish neighbour (or: Believe my lord, o my neighbour)
The lord without limits held my hand"."



1

المجلد الاول من ربع المهلكات

وفيه عشرة كتب

كتاب شرح عجايب القلب كتاب رياضة النفس

كتاب آفة اللسان كتاب آفة الغضب والحقد والحسد

كتاب ذم المال والبخل كتاب ذم الجاه والريا

كتاب الغرور

كتاب آفة الشهوتين البطن والفرج

كتاب ذم الدنيا

كتاب الكبر والعجب

XCIX

من فضل الله على عبده الفقير الى الله

السيد الشريف جعفر بن ابي بكر بن

عبد الله مطهر باعلوي الحسني

حرر فاتحة شهر رمضان

١١٨٥

59

FIGURE 7.24 al-Ghazālī. *Iḥyāʾ ʿUlūm al-Dīn*. Titlepage and ownership statement of Jaʿfar b. Abī Bakr b. ʿAbdallāh Muṭahhar Bā ʿAlawī. Jakarta, Perpustakaan Nasional MS A 99 B transferred from the possession of the Sayyid Ḥusayn Mashyakh to a member of the famous Hadrami al-Saqqāf family, Ṭāhā b. ʿUmar b. al-Ṣāliḥ al-Saqqāf Bā ʿAlawī.

The presence of so many imported and previously owned manuscripts is perhaps a reflection of the acute shortage of manuscripts in the Malay world, a phenomenon noted by Proudfoot.[137] Evidently, this did not apply just to Malay language manuscripts, but also to Arabic ones, and again seems to contrast with the relatively extensive textual production of other Javanese courts, including comparable sultanates such as Cirebon.[138] In an environment in which books of any kind were probably a rarity, such imported texts, even if often physically unimpressive to modern eyes, would have been a sign of prestige and exclusivity. Moreover, the very evidence of their previous ownership served to link them, and thus their current owners, the sultans of Banten, to the great centres of learning in the central Islamic lands, above all the Hijaz.

The Banten sultanate also had close links to Cirebon, and these are reflected in a number of the manuscripts. Jakarta A 140, the *Ikhtilāf al-Madhāhib*, was according to its Javanese ownership inscription originally from the court of Kaprabonan in Cirebon.[139] The manuscript is evidently of Javanese production, having the classic large, interlinear *pegon* translation format. Evidently this had made it into the Banten sultanate library sometime in the later eighteenth century, for it is mentioned in the 1833 inventory. A collection of prayers, spells and magic squares in the hand of ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Qahhār, MS Jakarta A 66, may also have been composed in Cirebon, for the text includes a long genealogy of Cirebon's sultan, although it also specifically mentions "this land of Banten," probably a reflection of Cirebon's acknowledgement of Bantenese overlordship.

6 Locally Produced Manuscripts

The Banten library also comprised a large number of locally produced manuscripts, which seem to have been copied specifically for the court. Unlike elsewhere in Java there are rarely specific colophons linking the manuscript to the court, or indeed even to Banten, providing exact dates and even times of copying. However, certain characteristics typically suggest that a manuscript was copied for what we must assume was a sort of scriptorium attached to the court, owing to the uniformity of style. Arabic texts tend to be copied in large, clear *naskh*, with generous spacing. Indeed a study of the Qur'an manuscripts has identified two styles of what has been described as "Banten *naskhi*",[140] betraying the influence of *taʿlīq* and *muḥaqqaq*, the former most likely under Indo-Persian influence. It has been argued that, in contrast to other parts of Southeast Asia where the quality of calligraphy was less impressive, "the writing of *naskhi* seems to have been the subject of serious study in Banten."[141] Yet the same study has also found that "there are no known examples of Banten naskhi which achieve a level of technical excellence that could be regarded as setting standards for that script, and which could focus as calligraphic exemplars."[142] While these comments are based on Qur'an manuscripts, they also apply more broadly to texts copied for the royal library. The local version of *naskh* is generally used for Arabic, characterised by thick lines and with minor variations of both style and quality. It is this feature which makes the manuscripts attributable to Banten and is well illustrated in one of the rather few manuscripts to specify its place of copying. In the *Mujīb al-Nidāʾ ilā Sharḥ Qaṭr al-Nadāʾ* by ʿAbdallāh b. Aḥmad al-Fākihī (d. 972/1564–5), a commentary on a grammatical work by ʿAbdallāh b. Yūsuf b. Hishām (Jakarta, A 7), the title page announces it was copied in the town of Banten by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad (Fig. 7.25).

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[137] Ian Proudfoot, "From Recital to Sight-Reading: The Silencing of Texts in Malaysia," *Indonesia and the Malay World* 30/87 (2002): 117–144.

[138] See, e.g. Tim Behrend, "Manuscript Production in Nineteenth-Century Java: Codicology and the Writing of Javanese Literary History," *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 149 (1993): 415.

[139] Friederich and van den Berg, *Catalogus*, 122.

This characteristic *naskh* is perhaps in keeping with a tendency in Java for individual courts to develop specific styles of calligraphy,[143] and suggests that, as elsewhere in Java, there must have been a scriptorium, or multiple scriptoria, that produced manuscripts for the court in the local style. In other respects, Banten manuscripts diverge markedly in appearance from those copied elsewhere. Most of the locally produced manuscripts are plain and unadorned, contrasting with the traditions of luxury book production for royal patrons that characterise the Middle East and India, but also with other courts in Java, where lavishly illustrated and expensively bound manuscripts were produced by court scriptoria at least from the eighteenth century.[144] Instead, it

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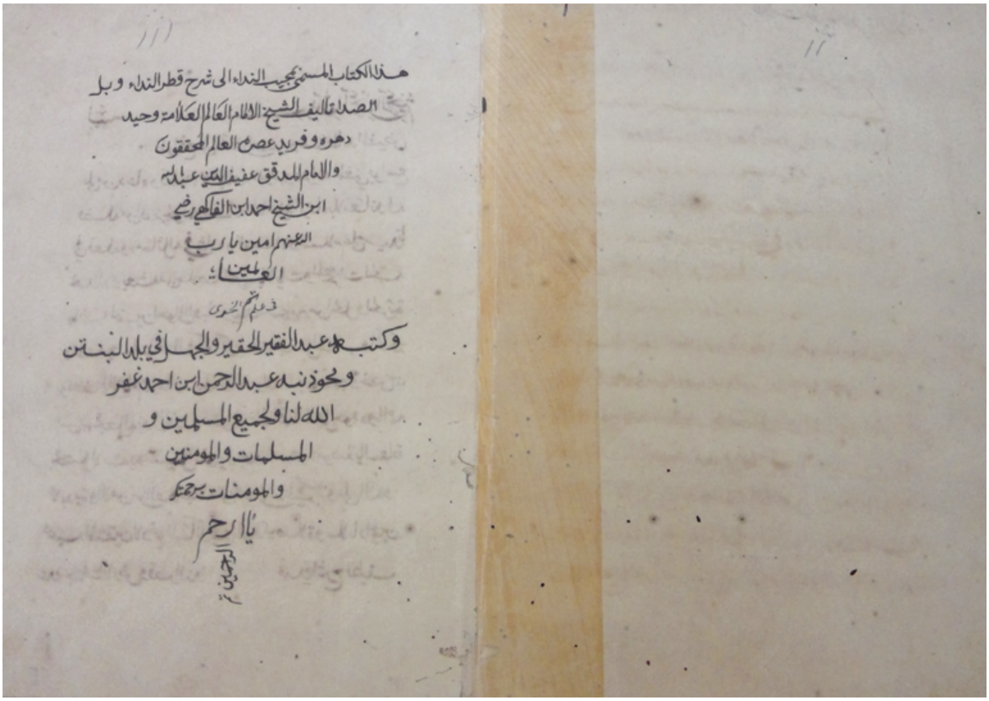
[140] Gallop and Akbar, "Art of the Qur'an," 110.

[141] Gallop and Akbar, "Art of the Qur'an," 110.

[142] Gallop and Akbar, "Art of the Qur'an," 112.

[143] Behrend, "Manuscript Production," 414–5.

[144] Proudfoot, "From Recital to Sight-Reading," 123; cf. Behrend, "Manuscript Production," 413–5. For a fine study of one such court scriptorium in Yogyakarta, albeit in a slightly later period, see Sri Ratna Saktiumlya, *Naskah-Naskah Skriptorium Pakualaman: Periode Paku Alam II (1830–1858)* (Jakarta, 2016).



هذا الكتاب المسمى مجيب النداء الى شرح قطر النداء وبل
الصدا تاليف الشيخ الامام العالم العلامة وحيد
دهره وفريد عصره العالم المحققون
والامام المدقق عفيف الدين عبد الله
ابن الشيخ احمد ابن الفاكهي رضي
الله عنهم امين يا رب
العالمين
في علم النحوي
وكتبه عبد الفقير الحقير والجهل في بلاد البنتن
ومحوذ نيه عبد الرحمن ابن احمد غفر
الله لنا ولجميع المسلمين و
المسلمات والمومنين
والمومنات برحمتك
يا ارحم
الراحمين

FIGURE 7.25 Titlepage of *Mujīb al-Nidāʾ ilā Sharḥ Qaṭr al-Nadāʾ* by ʿAbdallāh b. Aḥmad al-Fākihī, copied in Banten by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad. Jakarta, Perpustakaan Nasional MS A 7

was through the use of the bold *naskh* script and generous spacing that Banten manuscripts are visually impressive. Yet even if illustrations are almost entirely absent, some Banten manuscripts had luxury bindings. Regrettably, almost all the manuscripts in Jakarta were rebound in the early twentieth century, but a handful of eighteenth-century examples of Banten bindings survive in Leiden. These are described as "lavishly decorated," and closely resemble the floral decoration on Turkish and Persian designs, comprising, "tapering serrated leaves, swirling tendrils, fantastic flowers and Chinese lotus buds."[145] These are argued by Plomp to be associated with the court, and comprise both Arabic and Malay texts. Unfortunately, there seems to be only one surviving example in Jakarta, A 88 (*Riyāḍ al-Ṣāliḥīn* of al-Nawawī, Fig. 7.26) which has not suffered such rebinding (although the text inside has suffered severe damage from iron gall, and there is no direct evidence to confirm it is a Banten court manuscript, even if this is likely). The binding appears to be almost identical to that illustrated

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[145] M. Plomp, "Traditional Bookbindings from Indonesia: Materials and Decorations," *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 149 (1993), 571–592, esp. 579–583.

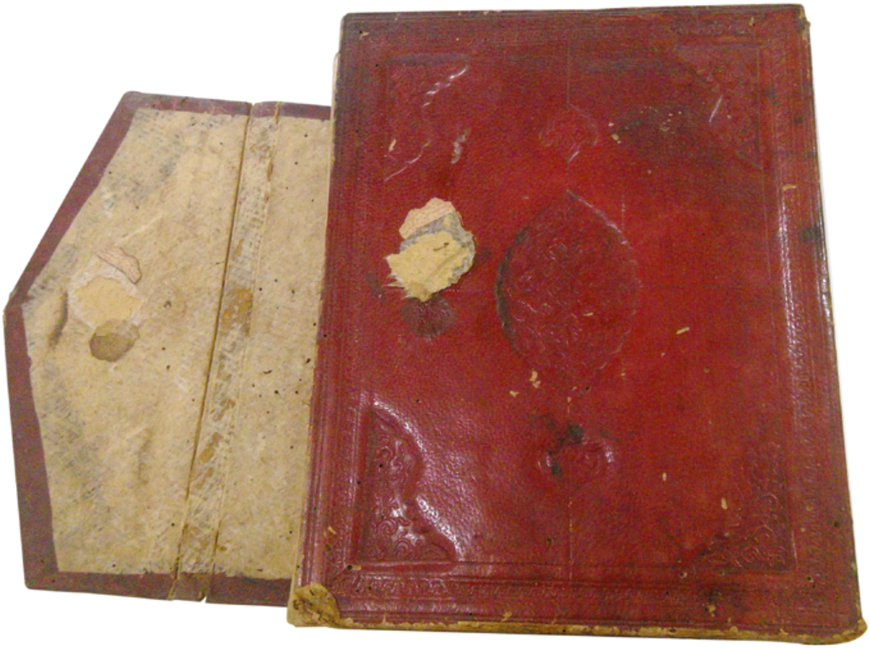

FIGURE 7.26 Binding of al-Nawawī, *Rawḍ al-Ṣāliḥīn*. Jakarta, Perpustakaan Nasional MS A 88

by Plomp (figure 5), comprising a central pane with elaborate floral and leaf motifs, and four corner pieces.

Exceptions to the plainness of Banten manuscripts are Qur'ans, the prayer manual *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*, and the books of *Mawlid*. The Banten Qur'ans have been analysed at length by Gallop and Akbar, who note that they are stylistically quite distinct from Qur'ans produced elsewhere in Java or indeed Southeast Asia more generally, especially the large format group. One of these Qur'ans, A 50, which according to its ownership inscription was in the possession of Sultan Muḥammad ʿAlī al-Dīn (r. 1777–1802) who bequeathed it to his children, is written on paper decorated with gilded floral motifs which was imported from India and known as Surat paper after its traditional place of production (Fig. 7.27).[146] Gallop and Akbar note that the use of such decorated paper, while common for correspondence, is extremely unusual in Southeast Asian manuscripts, and bears closer affinities to the styles for decorating Qur'ans in the Middle East. In particular, it is reminiscent of the use of 'Chinese' paper in Timurid manuscripts.[147] The multivolume Qur'ans Jakarta A 51 and Leiden

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[146] Gallop and Akbar, "Art of the Qur'an," 121–123.

[147] Gallop and Akbar, "Art of the Qur'an," 124.

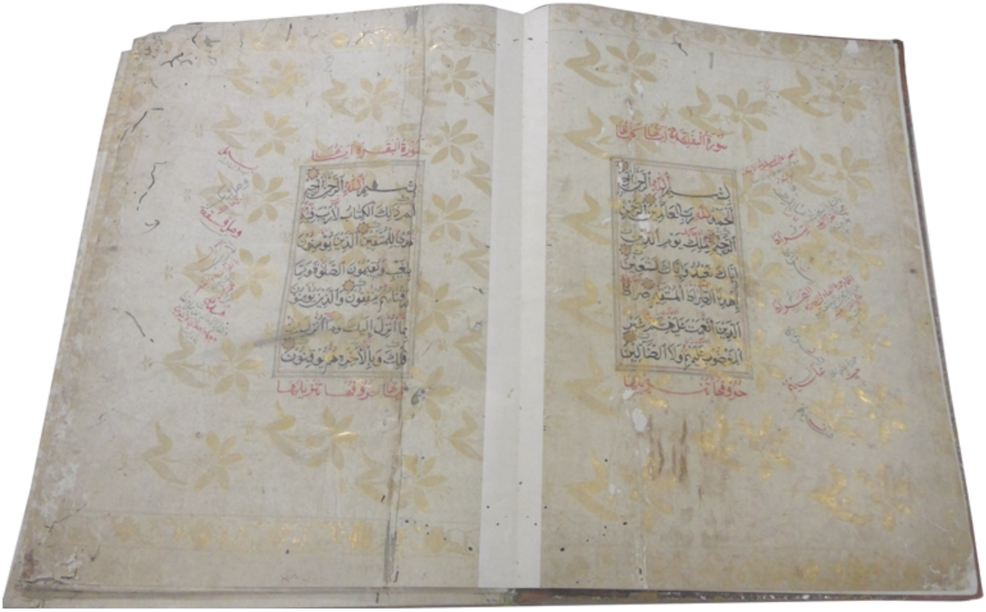

FIGURE 7.27 Qur'an on gold-embossed paper belong to Sultan ʿAlī al-Dīn of Banten. Jakarta, Perpustakaan Nasional MS A 50

Or 5678 (the later a sole surviving fragment of *juz'* 25 from a 30 volume set) do have illumination, but according to Gallop and Akbar the choice of colours and format is quite distinct from the styles generally recognised in Southeast Asia, and is again reminiscent of Persian and Indian Qur'an-decorating traditions.[148] Furthermore, in a break with standard Southeast Asian practice, Qur'ans A 52 and A 53 open with al-Fātiḥa occupying both opening folios, whereas generally in Southeast Asia al-Fātiḥa would occupy the opening righthand page and the start of al-Baqara the lefthand one (as is indeed the case in A 50 and A 54).[149]

Stylistically similar to the Qur'an manuscripts are the manuscripts of *Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt*, of which the library held four in identical format (Jakarta A78, A79, A 80, A 81). Like the Qur'an A 50, but unlike the majority of Arabic manuscripts, these *Dalāʾil* manuscripts are characterised by their somewhat cramped appearance, despite their impressive size, owing to the very limited margin space and lack of text frames.[150] At the same time, the appearance of the manuscripts is enhanced by the use of red ink, and gold for an illustration of the graves of the Prophet, ʿUmar and Abū Bakr (Jakarta A 78, p. 5, A 79,

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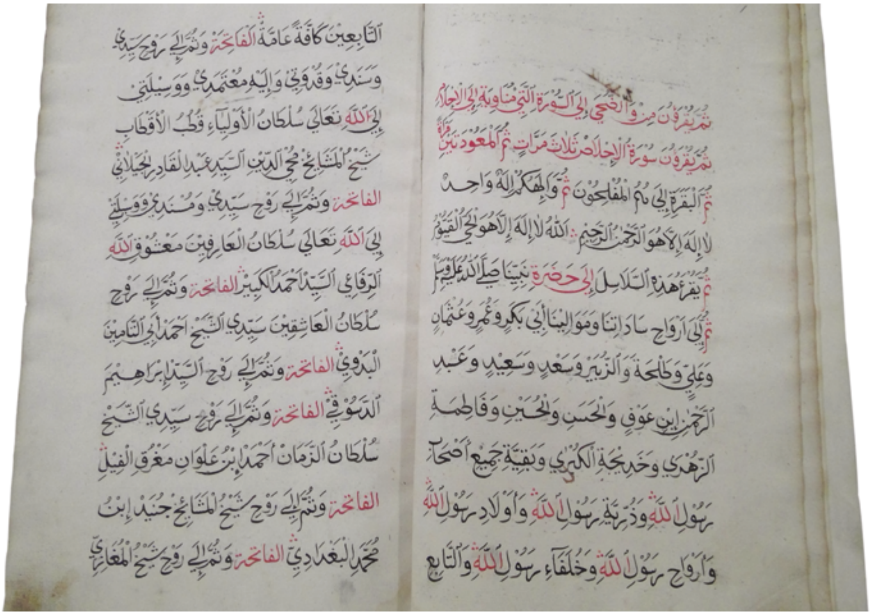
[148] Gallop and Akbar, "Art of the Qur'an," 124.

[149] Gallop and Akbar, "Art of the Qur'an," 104.

[150] Gallop and Akbar, "Art of the Qur'an," 99.

p. 3, A 80, p. 5, A 81, p. 3.). The lack of margins or frames and sometimes rather cramped spacing can also be observed in two collections of prayers and *Mawlid* texts that we know from their ownership inscriptions to have belonged to the sultans, A 67 and A 68.[151] Again, alternating red and black ink and Banteni *naskh* are employed to create a visually impressive manuscript that was probably meant for public display. Rather more generously spaced are the *dhikr* texts such as Jakarta A 73, the collection of Qadiri prayers and *dhikr* texts made for Sultan ʿAlī al-Dīn (Fig. 7.28), which also uses a combination of red for headings and invocations and black for the main text, both in the same bold Banten *naskh* that characterises these works. These commonalities in presentation strongly suggest the existence of a court scriptorium in which texts were copied into set formats according to genre, and the use of the local forms of *naskh* constituted a visual language that bridged these different formats and served to underline the manuscripts' Banteni identity.



ثم يقرؤن من والضحى الى السورة التي متاوبة الى الاخلاص
ثم يقرؤن سورة الاخلاص ثلاث مرات ثم المعوذتين وفاتحة
ثم البقرة الى هم المفلحون ثم والهكم اله واحد
لا اله الا هو الرحمن الرحيم الله لا اله الا هو الحي القيوم
ثم يقرأ هذه السلاسل الى حضرة نبينا صلى الله عليه وسلم
ثم الى ارواح ساداتنا وموالينا ابي بكر وعمر وعثمان
وعلي وطلحة والزبير وسعد وسعيد وعبد
الرحمن ابن عوف والحسن والحسين وفاطمة
الزهرى وخديجة الكبرى وبقية جميع اصحاب
رسول الله وذرية رسول الله واولاد رسول الله
وازواج رسول الله وخلفاء رسول الله والتابع

التابعين كافة عامة الفاتحة وثم الى روح سيدي
وسندي وقدوتي واليه معتمدي ووسيلتي
الى الله تعالى سلطان الاولياء قطب الاقطاب
شيخ المشائخ محي الدين السيد عبد القادر الجيلاني
الفاتحة وثم الى روح سيدي ومسندي ووسيلتي
الى الله تعالى سلطان العارفين معشوق الله
الرفاعي السيد احمد الكبير الفاتحة وثم الى روح
سلطان العاشقين سيدي الشيخ احمد ابي التامين
البدوي الفاتحة وثم الى روح السيد ابراهيم
الدسوقي الفاتحة وثم الى روح سيدي الشيخ
سلطان الزمان احمد بن علوان مغرق الفيل
الفاتحة وثم الى روح شيخ المشائخ جنيد ابن
محمد البغدادي الفاتحة وثم الى روح شيخ المغاربي

FIGURE 7.28 Collection of *mawlid* and liturgical texts made for Sultan ʿAlī al-Dīn. Jakarta, Perpustakaan Nasional MS A 73

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[151] Jakarta A 67 was in the possession of sultan Abū'l-Mafākhir Muḥammad ʿAlī al-Dīn.

Banten copyists frequently sought to correct errors in their base manuscript; however, the corrected text was marked in red and the original was provided in the margin with a comment in *taʿlīq* beneath reading "*naskha*" (in the [original] manuscript) (Fig 7.29 a and b).[152] Such variants were sometimes restricted to the vocalisation, but at other times comprised alterations to the *rasm*. All this suggests that great effort was expended in preparing a manuscript that was not only visually impressive but also textually authoritative,[153] and also indicates that scriptorium scribes had a good knowledge of Arabic, or at least were supervised by someone who did. This kind of treatment was not restricted to liturgical texts such the Qur'an, *dhikr*, and the *Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt*. Although lacking the textual notes, high quality copies of other works were made in Banten, such as al-Shaʿrānī's *al-Yawāqīt wa'l-Jawāhir* (Jakarta A 120), composed in a Banteni *naskh* in red and black ink. While A 120 lacks any decorative features, it shows the same careful calligraphy as the *Dalāʾil* and *dhikr* manuscripts, albeit in a more generous format of wide margins.

Manuscripts produced in Banten thus underline the sultanate's links to the central Islamic lands through their calligraphy and bindings, and its distinctive book culture that set it apart from other Javanese sultanates. The cosmopolitanism of the local manuscript culture is suggested by another manuscript (Jakarta A 70), which in addition to *Mawlid* texts contains numerous ones in praise of the popular saint ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī (Fig. 7.30). Although this manuscript bears no place of copying or ownership marks, it is highly likely to have been produced in Banten as its contents, *mawlid* and *dhikr* texts in Arabic, Persian and Tamil, closely resemble those in a manuscript we know to have been owned by the Banten prince Muḥammad Qāhir (Leiden Or 5658).[154] In addition, it can probably be identified with the final entry on the 1833 list, which is described as "Godsdienstige gezangen/zikir zikir" (religious songs/*dhikr*), which accurately characterises A 70.[155] In contrast to Or 5658,

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[152] Jakarta A 79, A 80, A 81.

[153] Nonetheless, it should be noted that despite the uniformity of appearance of the *Dalāʾil* manuscripts, there are differences in the way the text is treated. For example, in Jakarta A 80, the *Dalāʾil* is both introduced and concluded with specific prayers to be read before and after reading the text. Such prayers are missing in A 81. Similarly A 80 retains an abridged form of the author's colophon, which is omitted entirely in A 81. The textual corrections are present in both manuscripts, but the readings corrected are not always identical.

[154] I am grateful to Annabel Gallop for alerting me to this.

[155] According to the 1833 list the ms was in six parts, which seems to reflect the divisions of A 70. This is subdivided by elaborately illuminated frontispieces on fol. 1a–2b, 33b, 45b–46a, 75b–76a, 143b–144a, with a final section starting on fol. 208b, giving a total of six sections. Fol. 40b–43b has been bound out of order and is upside down.

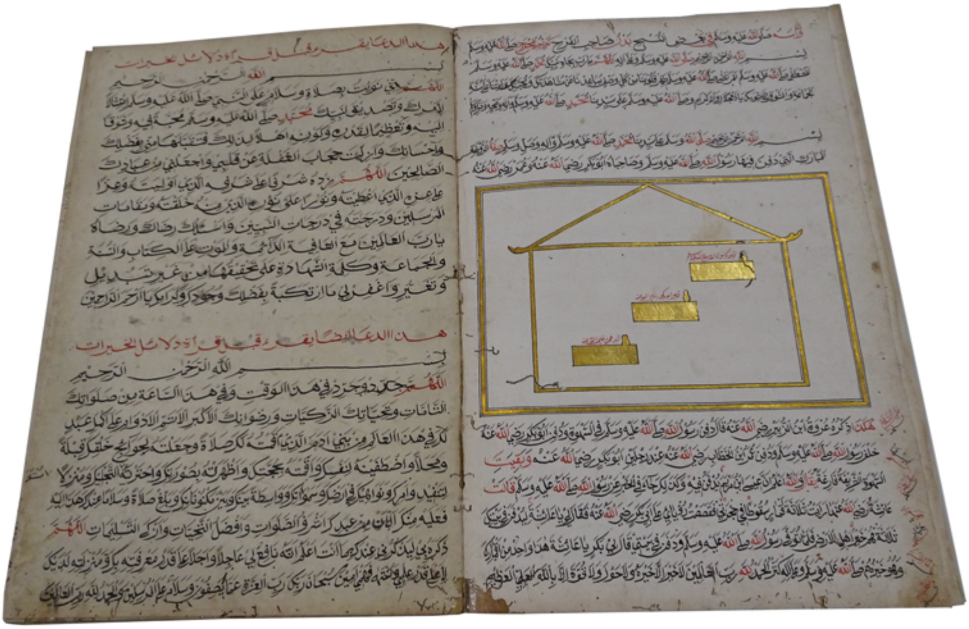
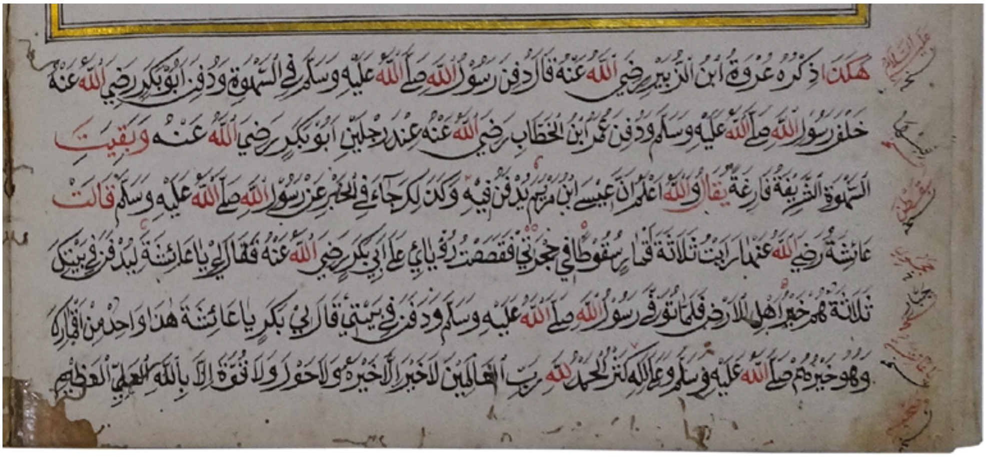


FIGURE 7.29A *Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt*. Jakarta, Perpustakaan Nasional, MS A 80



هكذا ذكره عروة ابن الزبير رضي الله عنه قال دفن رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم في السهوة ودفن ابو بكر رضي الله عنه
خلف رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم ودفن عمر ابن الخطاب رضي الله عنه عند رجلين ابو بكر رضي الله عنه وبقيت
السهوة الشريفة فارغة يقال والله اعلم ان عيسى ابن مريم يدفن فيه وكن لكن جاء في الخبر عن رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم قالت
عائشة رضي الله عنها رايت ثلاثة اقمار سقوطا في حجرتي فقصصت رؤياي على ابي بكر رضي الله عنه فقال لي يا عائشة ليدفن في بيتك
ثلاثة هم خير اهل الارض فلما توفي رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم ودفن في بيتي قال لي ابو بكر يا عائشة هذا واحد من اقمارك
وهو خيرهم صلى الله عليه وسلم وعلى آله اكثر الحمد لله رب العالمين لا خبر الا خيره ولا حول ولا قوة الا بالله العلي العظيم

FIGURE 7.29B *Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt*, showing textual annotations. Jakarta, Perpustakaan Nasional, MS A 80

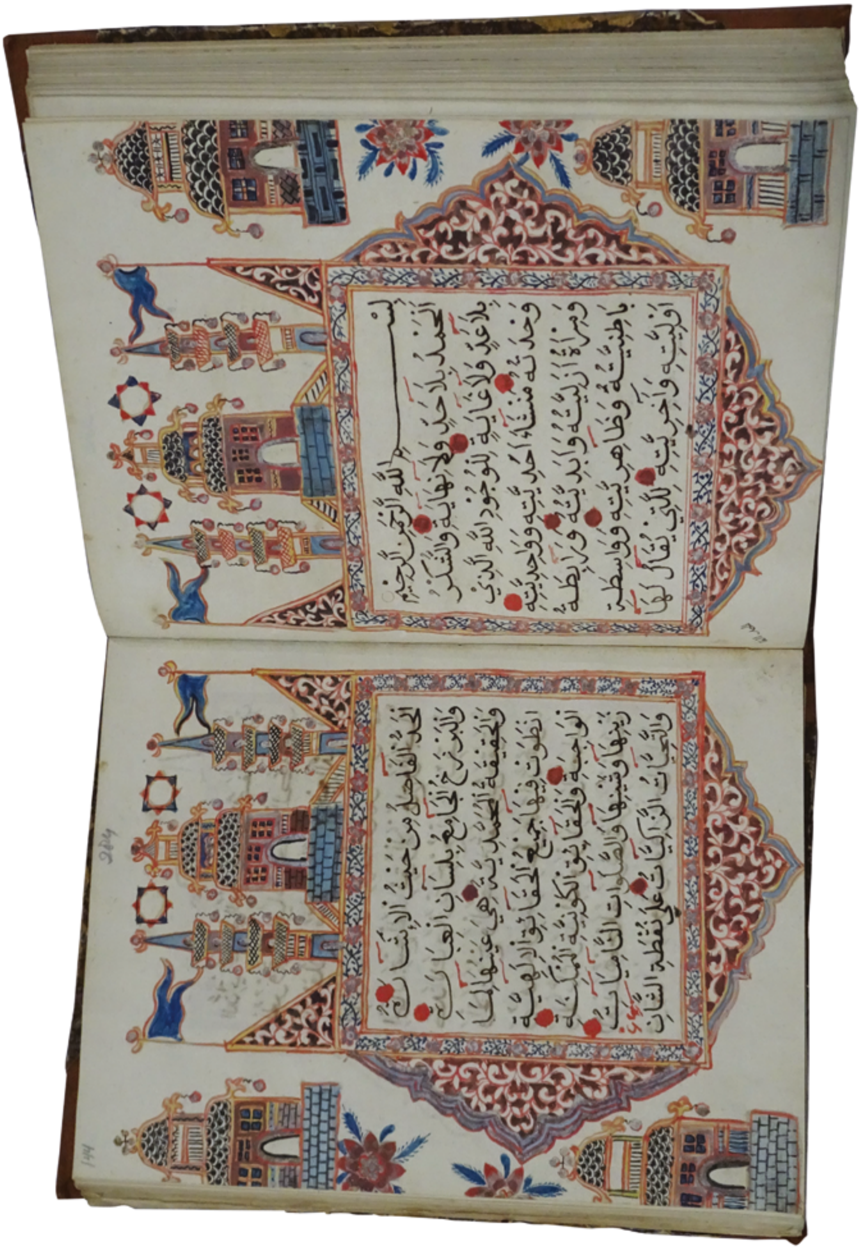


FIGURE 7.30 Frontispiece of collection of Qadiri and Rifaʿi texts, probably made in Banten. Jakarta, Perpustakaan Nasional MS A 70

Jakarta A 70 is richly illuminated, and illustrations on the frontispiece depict the *dabbūs* used in Rifaʿi and Qadiri ritual (Fig. 7.31).[156] It is clear, however, that the copyists of these multilingual manuscripts did not understand the texts they were copying well, as the Persian is littered with mistakes. Their contents were evidently sung or performed, as the musical modes in Or 5658 indicate, and reflect in this respect the cosmopolitan culture of an Indian Ocean port (Fig. 7.32). However, the illustrations in A70 could only have been accessible to a small audience, as the book is physically small, probably the innermost circle of the sultan and his *murshid*.

Even if other texts are left unadorned, they were frequently recopied into a much larger format, presumably to conform to local ideas of what a court manuscript should look like. For this reason, the library contains a considerable number of duplicates, representing the original Middle Eastern manuscript and its Bantenese recopying into the large format. Thus for example, the fourteen volume *Iḥyāʾ ʿUlūm al-Dīn* (Jakarta A 99) associated with the Bā ʿAlawī family was recopied in Banten into a much larger format, and condensed into four volumes, of which only two survive (Jakarta A 100A and A100B) (Fig 7.33).[157] A further example is al-Qayrawānī's *Tanbīh al-Anām*, which exits in Middle Eastern (Jakarta A 77) and Banten copies (Jakarta A 78). The former measures 20cm × 15cm and consists of 535 folios, but the Southeast Asian copy, despite considerably larger dimensions of 42cm × 27cm, consists of 714 folios, as much wider spacing is given. Similarly, a commentary on al-Ghazālī's work on *ʿaqīda*, the *Kitāb al-Musāmara fī Sharḥ al-Musāyara* exists in two copies of very different dimension, a large Southeast Asian and a smaller Middle Eastern one (Jakarta A 35 and 26 respectively). It was not simply religious texts that were recopied in larger format. Thus *al-Fawāʾid al-Ḍiyāʾiyya*, al-Jāmī's commentary on the well known grammar by Ibn Ḥājib, *al-Kāfiyya*, survives in two copies, Jakarta A 9 and 13, which, despite being written in two distinct hands, bear the same colophon stating that they were copied in 1050/1640 by a certain Sawākrin. In some instances we merely have a Southeast Asian copy that is clearly derived from a Middle Eastern original. For example, volume three of the *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* (Jakarta A 38C, no other surviving volumes from this set) bears the date in the colophon of 886/1479–80, which is completely

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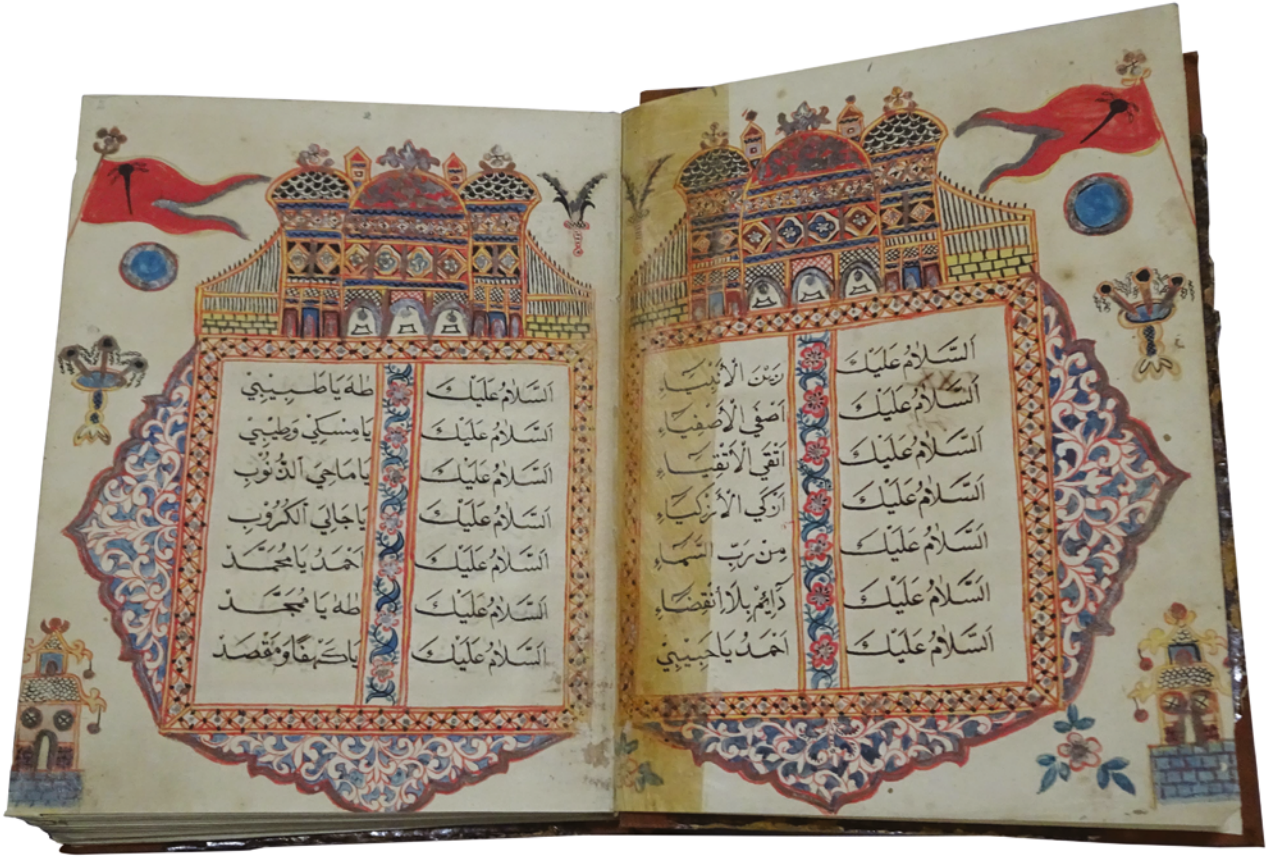
[156] Previously noted by James Bennet, *Crescent Moon: Islamic Art and Civilisation in Southeast Asia*, (Canberra, 2005), 133, 159, 168.

[157] These may be identified as they use the same sub-titles those on the first pages of A 99. For example, A 99B (which is volume four of the four volume set) bears the title *Kitāb al-Faqr wa'l-Zuhd*, which is identical to that found on A99N.



السلام عليك زين الأنبيا
السلام عليك أصفى الأصفيا
السلام عليك أتقى الأتقيا
السلام عليك أزكى الأزكيا
السلام عليك من رب السما
السلام عليك دائم بلا انقضا
السلام عليك أحمد يا حبيبي

السلام عليك طه يا طبيبي
السلام عليك يا مسكي وطيبي
السلام عليك يا ماحي الذنوب
السلام عليك يا جالي الكروب
السلام عليك أحمد يا محمد
السلام عليك طه يا محمد
السلام عليك يا كهفا ومقصد

FIGURE 7.31 Frontispiece of collection of Qadiri and Rifaʿi texts, showing *dabbūs*. Jakarta, Perpustakaan Nasional MS A 70

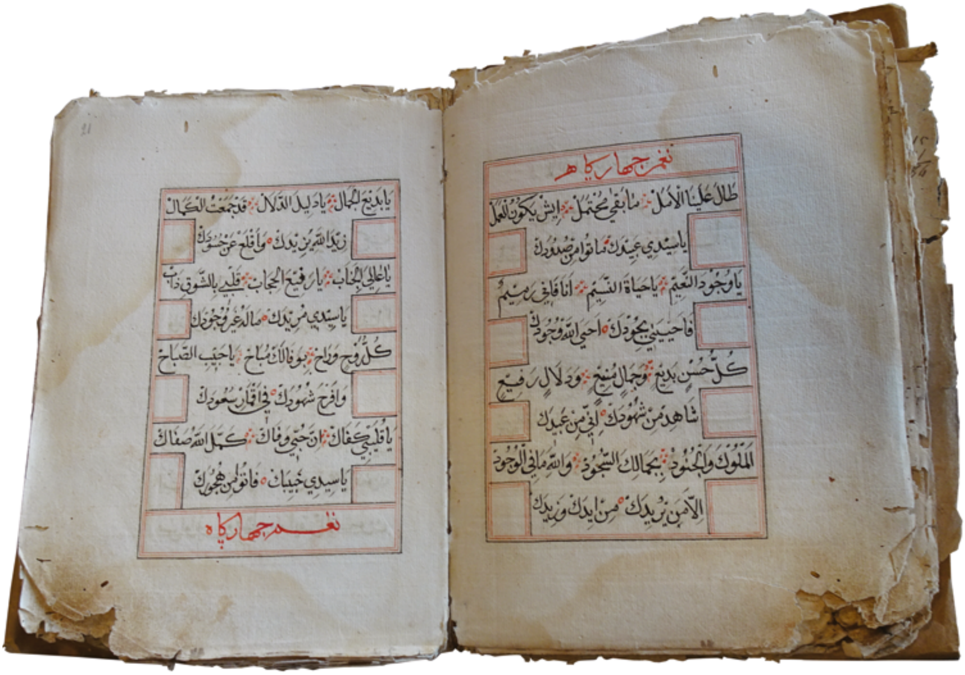


FIGURE 7.32 Persian musical modes in Arabic poems in a Sufi liturgical collection made for the prince Muḥammad Qāhir. Leiden University Library Or 5658, fol. 20b–21a

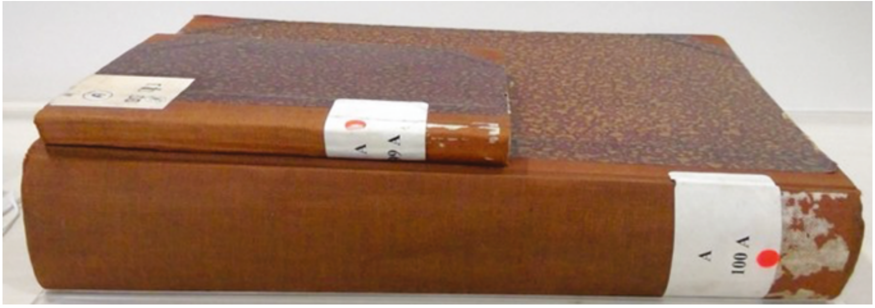


FIGURE 7.33 Al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyāʾ ʿUlūm al-Dīn*. Comparison of the sizes of a Middle Eastern (probably Hadrami) ms (Jakarta, Perpustakaan Nasional, A 99A, top) and a Banteni one (A100, bottom)

untenable on palaeographic grounds. It must reflect the date in the manuscript from which the copy was made, just as the ‘Hyderabadi’ copies of the *Shams al-Maʿārif* do.

No written source contains an explicit statement of why these large-format Southeast Asian copies were made when the library already contained a

Middle Eastern copy, often in perfectly good condition. However, it seems to suggest the books were valued not just for their contents, but also for their physical appearance. In his study of performances of the *Manāqib* of ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī in contemporary Sundanese society, Millie notes that it was the possession of the physical manuscript of this text that enhanced the reputation of one of the ritual specialists who performed it, Rusana. "When speaking with his clients, Rusana located his manuscript in a complex of spiritual and dogmatic concepts that gave distinction to his performance."[158] Proudfoot also notes how the possession of manuscripts could enhance royal authority: "Malay chiefs who owned manuscript texts could use them to enhance their standing, for example by permitting public readings of texts that both provided popular entertainment and reinforced the feudal ethic."[159] In the Javanese context, Behrend remarks that patronage of the arts is one of the acts that "defines and proves" the kingship of the ruler. "In a properly functioning *kraton*, books are produced as naturally as *wayang* performances, court dances or royal progeny, and by their production the ruler is known to be king".[160]

This implies that the manuscripts – or at least some of them – must have on occasion been accessible to, or displayed to, a wider public than the royal family itself. The comments of Gallop and Akbar with regard to Banten Qur'ans are instructive in this respect. They divide the Qur'ans into two groups, one consisting of large format, multi-volume Qur'ans which they describe as "monumental" that "may have been specifically commissioned for public institutional use, whether at the palace or in mosques or other religious establishments."[161] These Qur'ans, like Jakarta A 53, were probably produced under royal patronage. A second group, including Jakarta A 50, are smaller format and single volume, and were probably intended for the private use of members of the royal family. This argument can be extended to the other Banten manuscripts. The huge size of the multivolume *Jalālayn* manuscripts (e.g. Jakarta A 55) suggests they were intended to impress a wider public, as too was probably the case with the *Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt*, but it might also apply to the numerous other Middle Eastern manuscripts recopied into the favoured largescale format. On the other hand, Arabic manuscripts copied by ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Qahhār in his *taʿlīq* style represent a second style of writing probably employed in manuscripts destined for the private use of members of the royal family.

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[158] Millie, *Splashed by the Saint*, 71.

[159] Proudfoot, "From Recital to Sight Reading," 121.

[160] Behrend, "Manuscript Production," 414.

[161] Gallop and Akbar, "Art of the Qu'ran," 132.

In sum, a distinctive style of manuscript production existed in Banten, characterised by the use of Banten *naskh*, and frequently accompanied by interlinear Javanese translations. The recopying of Middle Eastern manuscripts into the local large format reflects the role of these manuscripts on ceremonial occasions, and their function of enhancing royal authority. Other manuscripts were intended for private use.

7 The Languages of the Library and its Contents in Comparative Perspective

The contents of the sultanic library immediately raise the question of how representative they are of sultanic interests. The 1833 list mentions only two Javanese manuscripts, which are yet to be identified, if they survive.[162] One would certainly expect considerably more. Even if Banten was never one of the great centres of the Javanese literary tradition in the way that Yogyakarta was in the eighteenth century and Surakarta in the nineteenth, Javanese literature was certainly patronised, for our main historical source on the sultanate, the *Sejarah Banten*, was in Javanese. Moreover, various administrative documents, legal texts, and letters have come down to us which show that Javanese was certainly the prime administrative language of the Banten sultanate, while Javanese romances on Islamic themes were also composed there.[163]

While there are no surviving independent Javanese texts in the Banten library, numerous manuscripts are furnished with interlinear Javanese translations (and on rare occasions Malay ones, such as in A 51, a Qur'an manuscript). As Proudfoot notes, “The practice of copying manuscripts in which the major text alternates with interlinear translations and glosses replicates the experience of studying the text under a teacher who proclaims and explicates the text.”[164] Yet this does not necessarily mean the texts themselves were subject to detailed study. Millie mentions one such Arabic text popular in contemporary East Java, al-Barzanjī's *al-Nūr al-Burhānī*, which is circulated in the same format of Arabic text and subordinated Javanese translation. However, Millie notes that in the *pesantren* in which he observed it being read,

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[162] No 32 in KBG Dir 0094–0095 list is a *majmūʿa* of 2 Javanese texts, the first one apparently an almanac, and the second a “naamboekje” associated with the sultan (perhaps a genealogy or a *silisla*); no 33 is described as four Javanese books, i.e. a *majmūʿa* of 4 texts, no further information is given.

[163] See Pigeaud, *The Literature of Java*, vol. 1, 147–8, 225–6, and for the surviving administrative documents from Banten, ibid, vol. 2, nos 2052, 2055, 7709.

[164] Proudfoot, “From Recital to Sight Reading,” 120.

> The reader hurries through the Arabic text [outloud], while the assembled students simultaneously perform *wirid* (repetition of formulas). It is not intended that the text should be comprehended, so it is read at breakneck speed. This continues for an hour, after which the recital stops, even if the book has not been completed.[165]

While Millie refers to a modern style of recitation particular to the *pesantren* in question, his comments suggest a variety of different reading practices could apply, and one cannot jump to conclusions as to the actual practice purely on the basis of an interlinear translation. In almost all instances, the interlinear Javanese translations are written in a thin *taʿlīq* style, and thus stand in contrast to the impressive thick *naskh* of the Arabic text. One exception is the five-volume Qur'an, Jakarta A 54 (Fig. 7.34). Here the Arabic text is distinguished by being written in red ink, while the Javanese is identical in dimensions, and is also *naskh*, but a black ink is used. Although some interlinear *taʿlīq* comments are to be found, these are actually Arabic explanations of the Qur'anic text, such as in al-Fātiḥa, *al-maghḍūb ʿalayhim* is glossed (*wa-hum al-yahūd*), while *al-ḍāllīn* is explained as (*wa-hum al-naṣārā*). At least part of the reason for the different treatment of the Javanese text in this manuscript seems to relate to the fact that it was not simply a word for word translation, as many of our interlinear translations are, but was rather envisaged as a commentary that at times explained and expanded on the original.[166] Different translations may have treated the originals in different ways, but this is a topic that needs further research.

Apart from Javanese, Malay was widely used both as a literary and spoken language in Banten, as one would expect of a cosmopolitan port in the region. In addition to the locally composed *Hikayat Hasanuddin*, the Malay version of the *Sejarah Banten*,[167] texts popular in the rest of the Malay world circulated, such as the *Hikayat Iskandar Zulkarnayn*.[168] The latter apparently belonged to a private owner, for the Banten manuscript bears an ownership statement associating it with a certain ʿUmar b. Ṣakhr Bāʿabūy, of whom nothing is known, although he does not seem to have been a member of the royal family. If anything, the name suggests a Hadrami.[169] Yet such literary texts are

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[165] Millie, *Splashed by the Saint*, 79.

[166] See Ervan Nurtawab, "The Tradition of Writing Qur'anic Commentaries in Java and Sunda," SUHUF *Jurnal Pengkajian Al-Qur'an dan Budaya* 2 (2009): 163–195.

[167] *Hikajat Hasanoeddin*, ed. J. Edel (Utrecht, 1938).

[168] Leiden University Library, Or 1970, *Hikayat Zulkarnayn*, copied 1125/1713, see Akbar and Gallop, "Art of the Qur'an," 127–8.

[169] Leiden University Library, MS Or 1970; the ms apparently has the type of binding which Plomp believes to be 'royal' Banten, but this merely suggests that such bindings were not

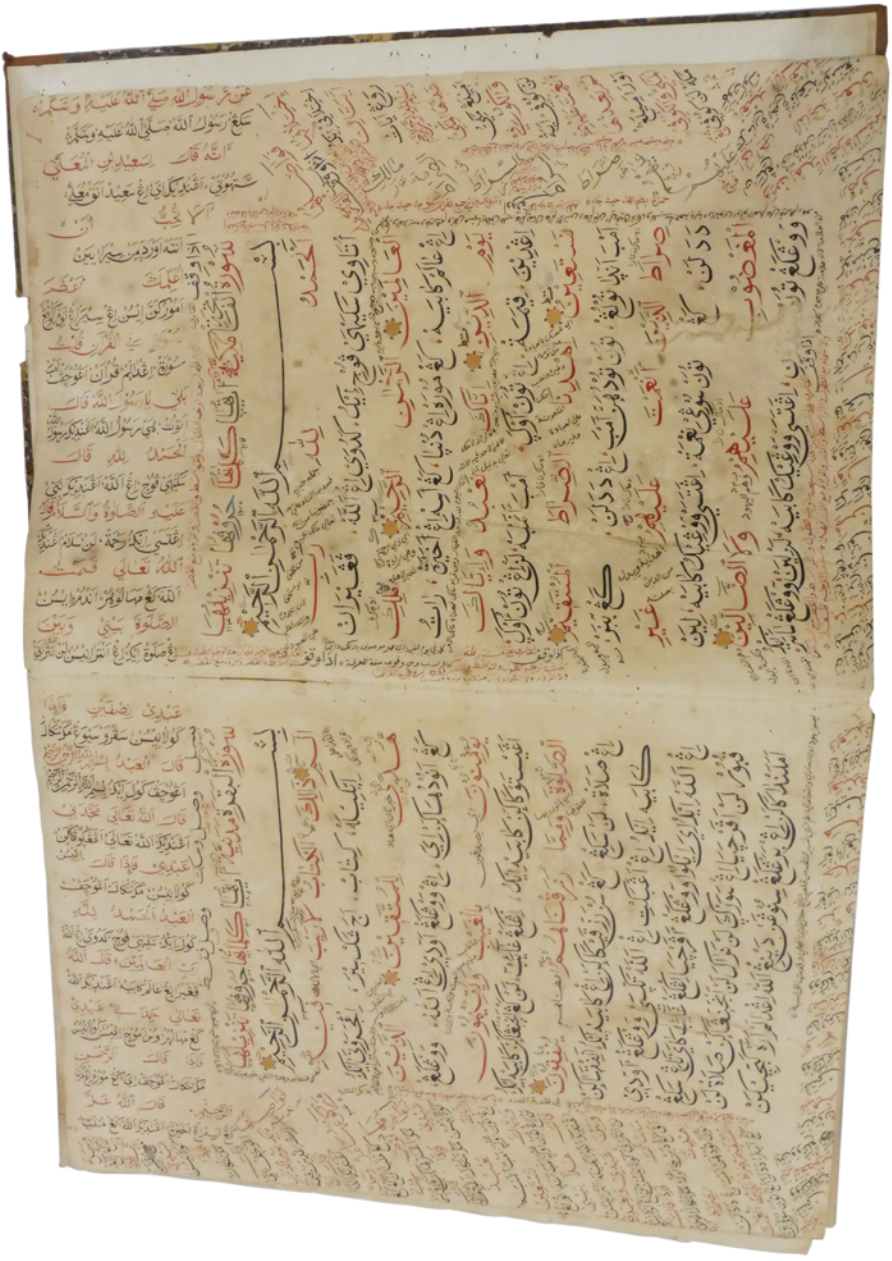

FIGURE 7.34 Qur'an with Javanese translation. Jakarta, Perpustakaan Nasional MS A 54

largely absent from the sultanic collection. The main exception, and indeed, from the perspective of modern scholars the most important Malay manuscript in the library, was the poems of Hamzah Fansuri and his circle belonging to Sultan Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn (Leiden Or 2016). A collection of devotional verse belonging to *kanjeng sultan* Abū'l-Fatḥ Muḥammad (sadly so badly damaged that full inspection is impossible) comprises poems in both Arabic and Malay.[170] Malay evidently played a role in Islamic instruction, as is suggested by its occasional use on interlinear translations of the Qur'an from Banten, including one five-volume one from the sultanic library (Jakarta A 51) (Fig 7.35). Although it has been suggested that such Malay translations were aimed at religious students from elsewhere in Southeast Asia, such as the Philippines, who might stop at Banten to study en route to the Hijaz,[171] this does not seem an entirely satisfactory explanation for a bi-lingual Qur'anic manuscript constituting part of the royal library. Rather, it reflects the use of Malay alongside Javanese as a language of religious instruction, as the presence of other Malay devotional manuscripts in the library confirms. The choice of Malay may have been connected with the identity of the teacher as much as the audience, with migrants from elsewhere in the archipelago or indeed the Middle East more likely to have mastered Malay, the lingua franca of the region.

As noted at the beginning of the chapter, it is clear that the library confiscated by the Dutch thus only represented a portion of the original sultanic library. Nonetheless, there is no reason to think that a vast mass of Javanese material has been lost. Doubtless more Javanese and indeed Malay texts were indeed housed in the royal library than have survived, but the literary and cultural situation of Banten was evidently very different from that of other Javanese sultanates. Best known are the courts of Surakarta and Yogyakarta in Central Java, which even today retain their prestige as centres of Javanese culture and tradition. From the eighteenth century, the courts of Central Java patronised a renaissance of Javanese literature, drawing on traditional verse forms such as the *kakawin* and the shadow theatre (*wayang*).[172] This literary

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in fact the exclusive preserve of the court. See Gallop and Akbar, "Art of the Qur'an," 127–8, n. 32.

[170] Jakarta A 83.

[171] Ervan Nurtawab, "Qur'anic Readings and Malay translations in 18th-century Banten Qur'ans A.51 and W.277," *Indonesia and the Malay World*, 48:141 (2020): 169–189.

[172] Pigeaud, *The Literature of Java*, vol. 1, 235–241. Some impression of the wealth of literary production can be obtained from Nancy Florida, *Javanese Literature in Surakarta Manuscripts* (Columbia, 1993–2012, 4 vols.).

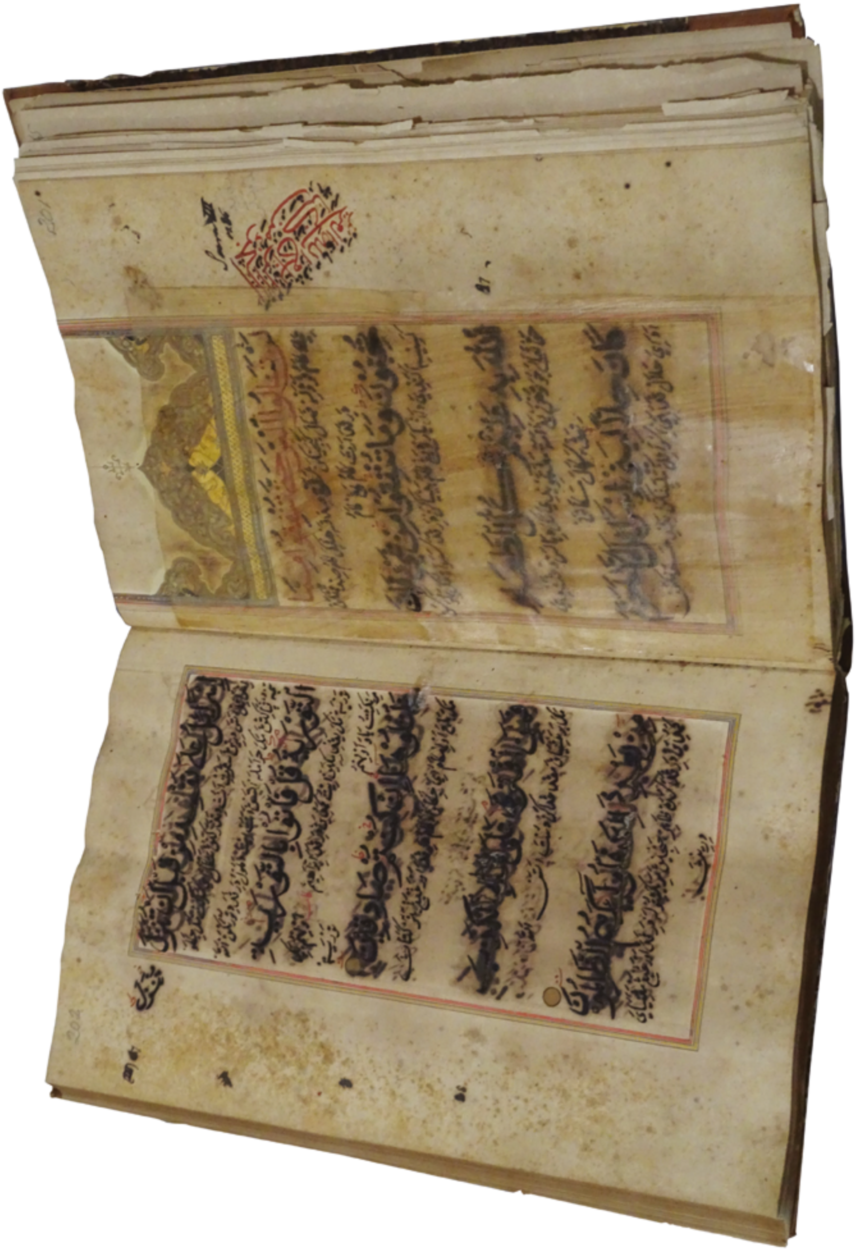

FIGURE 7.35 Qur'an with interlinear Malay translation. Jakarta, Perpustakaan Nasional MS A 51A

renaissance finds no parallel in Banten. In further contrast, although Arabic texts – perhaps often via Malay intermediaries – inspired Javanese verse compositions in Central Java on themes such as the story of Alexander or the Prophet Joseph, poems which sometimes also addressed contemporary political concerns,[173] the catalogues of the Yogyakarta courts reveal almost no texts in Arabic, with the exception of some highly decorated Qur'ans. Yet despite a vibrant tradition in Central Java of illuminating Javanese literary works, these illuminated Qur'ans are few and far between, suggesting there was less interest in decorating this text in this way.[174] As far as our current state of knowledge goes, not a single original Arabic text was composed for the sultans of Yogyakarta or Surakarta, and there seems to have been very little interest in acquiring even manuscripts of Arabic classics.[175] The catalogue of Yogyakarta merely reveals some Javanese translations of widely circulated works such as al-Rāfiʿī's Shafii *fiqh* summary, *al-Muḥarrar*.[176] A similar pattern is suggested by the library of the Mangkunagaran *kraton* in Surakarta, where not only Arabic but even Arabic script is almost entirely absent, with the library's almost exclusively Javanese manuscripts being overwhelmingly written in varieties of the Indic-derived aksara Jawa.[177] While religious institutions in Central Java such as mosques and, from the eighteenth century, *pesantrens*, did possess Arabic manuscripts, the range was limited to basic teaching texts with a handful of exceptions.[178]

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[173] On these adaptations and their political relevance in eighteenth century Yogyakarta see Ricklefs, *The Seen and Unseen Worlds*, 28–105.

[174] Annabel Teh Gallop, "The Art of the Qur'an in Java," *Ṣuḥuf* 5 (2012): 224; further for the discussion of illumination in Javanese manuscripts, see van der Meij, *Indonesian Manuscripts*, 81–99.

[175] Van der Meij, *Indonesian Manuscripts*, 7, notes that "especially in colonial but also in post-colonial times, those responsible for Indonesian manuscript collections prioritized those in local languages to be used as materials for language instruction and cultural studies. As a result, manuscripts on Islam from the area seem to me to be underrepresented but research is needed to substantiate this." That much further research is needed is unarguable; however, it seems clear that the situation in Yogyakarta was very different from Banten, and while catalogues and collections from Central Java may underrepresent Arabic, it seems unlikely it enjoyed the same prestige there as it did in Banten.

[176] J. Lindsay, R.M. Soetanta and Alan Feinstein, *Katalog Induk Naskah-Naskah Nusantara*, vol. 2: *Kraton Yogyakarta* (Jakarta, 1990); for an early nineteenth century court library from Yogya see Sri Ranta Saktimulya, *Katalog Naskah-Naskah Perpustakaan Pura Pakualaman* (Jakarta 2005); again the only Arabic texts out of the 251 manuscripts described here are copies of the Qur'an.

[177] On a visit in December 2022, I was informed that the Perpustakaan Reksa of the Mangkunagaran palace held only six Arabic script manuscripts apart from some unbound folios of prayers. Of these manuscripts, doubtless the most significant must be MN 222A which was copied by none other than the *kraton*'s founder Samber Nyawa in 1769–1777, and contains excerpts from hadith and the Qur'an in Arabic, along with historical and Sufi (*suluk*) texts in Javanese. Regrettably owing its status as *pusaka* I was unable to inspect

More closely comparable to Banten, perhaps, were the courts of its vassal Cirebon, which was in many ways the main Javanese cultural centre of the western pasisir.[179] The various Cirebon *kraton*s remained in competition not just with each other but also with their Bantenese overlords, with whom they shared a claim to descent from Seh Gunung Jati,[180] or holy man of the mountain, whose shrine on a hill outside the city remains to this day a major centre of veneration. One palace garden, Sari Gua Sunyaragi, was even built in the form of series of caves and mountains, where, presumably, members of the dynasty could emulate their holy ancestor in retreating for meditation. Like Banten, Cirebon was home to a strong tradition of local Javanese language historiography. The local history, the Javanese *Babad Cirebon*, was elaborated in numerous different versions as each court sought to establish its own legitimacy. The manuscripts of Cirebon are, however, mainly in the hands of private individuals, including the current sultans. Recently, the British Library's endangered Archives Project has digitised a number of Cirebon manuscripts in private collections in the city, including that of Sultan Abdul Gani Natadiningrat, the sultan of the Kacirebonan *kraton* since 1997.[181] Sultan Abdul Gani Natadiningrat's collection comprises forty three manuscripts, largely of the eighteenth to late nineteenth centuries. Of these, almost all are in Javanese. These cover a wide range of genres, from Sufism, including treatises on the *Martabah Tujuh* and Shattari *silsila*s, to the history of Cirebon to literary texts such as a Javanese version of the *Hikayat Iskandar*, and *primbon*s (almanacs). Only two manuscripts

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the inside of this manuscript, but for a description see Florida, *Javanese Literature*, vol. 2, 140–141.

[178] An impression of a local collection of Arabic manuscripts can be gained from the catalogue of the great mosque in Surakarta. Of its 107 manuscripts, of which 104 are in Arabic, although often with *pegon* translations, 28 are Qurʾan manuscripts, 28 are classified as Sufism, predominantly al-Ghazālī's *Iḥyā*ʾ or extracts of it as well as al-Jīlī's *al-Insān al-Kāmil*, 21 are *fiqh*, and 12 are *tafsīr*. The remaining manuscripts deal with Arabic grammar, the *Miʿrāj*, and the occult, the latter in the form of a lithograph of al-Būnī's *Shams al-Maʿārif*; it is interesting to note the existence of a manuscript of al-Ṭurṭushī's *Sirāj al-Mulūk*, the dissemination of which in Southeast Asia was discussed in Chapter 4. These manuscripts date to the late nineteenth or early twentieth centuries. See Ismail Yahya, *Katalog Naskah Masjid Agung Surakarta* (Jakarta, 2018; Seri Katalog Naskah Nusantara Jilid 1).

[179] Pigeaud, *The Literature of Java,* vol. I, 143–5.

[180] On the Banten sultans' claim see Drewes and Brakel, *Poems of Hamzah Fansuri*, 251–2; Djajadiningrat, *Critische beschouwing*, 97–119.

[181] The collection is digitised as EAP211/1/3, see https://eap.bl.uk/collection/EAP211-1-3 (last consulted 26 November 2021).

are in Malay, a work of theological questions and answers said to be a translation from an Arabic original by Abū Layth al-Samarqandī, and an epistolographic manual. Apart from a single fragment of a Qurʾan, only one text is entirely in Arabic (with an interlinear translation into the local dialect of Javanese), but strikingly this is none other than Abūʾl-Ghanāʾim al-Maqdisī's *Ḥall al-Rumūz*, of which a copy was also in the possession of the Banten sultans (Leiden Or 1840). The Cirebon copy, made in 1185/1772, remains (as of my visit in 2019) on display to visitors to the Kacirebonan *kraton* among the sultanic *pusaka* or heirlooms, suggesting that even today it remains highly esteemed – indeed, so much so that the *kraton* has also recently published a facsimile of the manuscript with Indonesian translation, where it is erroneously attributed to Ibn ʿArabī.[182]

Despite the shared taste for the *Ḥall al-Rumūz* which was most likely preserved more owing to its pseudepigraphic attribution and possibly almost as a talisman, the difference in the linguistic composition of what survives of the Kacirebonan and Banten sultanate libraries is striking. This suggests that the Banten sultans' interest in Arabic did not simply stem from a cultural difference between Central Java and the cosmopolitan court cities of the pasisir, but rather it was very much the exception even locally. This impression is strengthened if we look across the Sunda strait to the Malay sultanate of Palembang in south Sumatra. This is one of the few Malay sultanates the library of which can be reconstructed to some extent, being scattered between various locations in Europe and Jakarta after it was dispersed following the British sack of the city in 1812.[183] Surviving manuscripts from the *kraton* are in Malay, Arabic and Javanese. While there are a number of literary works in Javanese, the Malay works are predominantly translations of Arabic religious, legal, Sufi and occult texts: no works by local Arabic language authors have yet been identified in Palembang, nor, apparently, was there interest, even in Malay translation, in the *waḥdat al-wujūd* texts we find in Banten. Only handful of manuscripts in the original Arabic come from the Palembang *kraton*, all of which are imports from the Middle East (on which see further Chapter 6).

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[182] Muhyiddin Ibnu Arabi, *Pusaka Keraton Cirebon: Pembuka Rumus dan Kunci Penendaharaan* (Cirebon and Yogyakarta, 2013).

[183] A first attempt was made by Drewes in his appendix to *Directions for Travellers on the Mystic Path*, 198–216; further manuscripts were identified by Teuku Iskandar, "Palembang Kraton Manuscripts," in C.M.S. Hellwig and S.O. Robson (eds), *A Man of Indonesian Letters: essays in honour of Professor A. Teeuw* (Leiden, 1986), 67–72; see also Titik Pudjiastuti, "Looking at Palembang through its Manuscripts," *Indonesia and the Malay World* 34 (2006): 383–393. Palembang historical literature in Malay is discussed in M.O. Woelders, *Het Sultanaat Palembang 1811–1825* ('s-Gravenhage, 1975). See also Chapter 6 above.

The only real parallels to the Banten sultanate library in Southeast Asian courts come from South Sulawesi. The patronage, and composition, of Arabic texts is well attested at the nineteenth century court of Buton in Sulawesi, where the Sultan Muḥammad ʿAydarūs was a prolific Arabic-language author, but it is hard to tell whether this drew on earlier antecedents as almost no manuscripts predating the early nineteenth century have come to light on Buton.[184] In Chapter 5 we have noted the evidence for royal interest in Arabic in the sultanates of Makassar and Bone during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. However, only fragments of the Bone sultanate library have survived, and nothing of the Makassar one, making a comparison with the situation in Banten difficult. However, it seems clear that in both Buton and Bone, vernacular texts in Wolio and Bugis respectively played a major role in court literature in a way that is largely absent in Banten.

In some ways, the closest comparable library from the region in terms of date and focus on Arabic is from Selangor in the Malay peninsula. This was seized by the Dutch in 1784, and is today held in the Athenaeumbibliotheek in Deventer.[185] It belonged Tengku Sayyid Jafar, who was both an *ʿālim* and local political figure, being a close associate of the local Bugis sultan and holding the office of Panglima Besar of Selangor. His library comprised (at least as it has come down to us) 28 volumes and a total of 72 items, including letters, talismans and other short texts. The library is predominantly in Arabic, with a handful of Malay, Javanese, Bugis and Makassarese texts. As in Banten, a number of the manuscripts in the Selangor collection were imported from the Hijaz, although others were evidently originally copied in Aceh and elsewhere. Unlike the Banten collection, *fiqh* is of central importance, with commentaries on or abridgements of several well-known Shafii texts such as *al-Fatḥ al-Qarīb* of Abū Shujāʿ and al-Nawawī's *Minhāj al-Ṭālibīn*. Most of the remaining Arabic texts constitute treatises on grammar (such as al-Jurjānī's *al-ʿAwāmil* and the *Ājurūmiyya*) or credal works. Sufism is entirely absent from the Arabic manuscripts of this collection, but is dealt with in Malay manuscripts, including texts relating to the *Martabah Tujuh*, although few authors have yet been identified.[186] The only literary manuscript is a fragment of the Bugis epic *La Galigo*. The collection has been described as follows:

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[184] Peacock, "Arabic Manuscripts from Buton."

[185] Athenaeumbibliotheek, Deventer, MSS 1834.I–XXX.

[186] Athenaeumbibliotheek, Deventer, MS. 1834. XXIII 10 O 3. An inventory of the collection is provided in the appendix to Annabel Teh Gallop, "The Library of an 18th-Century Malay Bibliophile: Tengku Sayid Jafar, Panglima Besar of Selangor," in Olly Akkerman (ed.), *Social Codicology: The Multiple Lives of Texts in Muslim Societies* (forthcoming).

> The great majority of manuscripts in this Malay collection thus comprise works in Arabic familiar from libraries throughout the Islamic world, followed by smaller numbers of texts in Malay and Bugis, with minor elements in Makasar and Javanese. The Malay texts are generally on mystical aspects of Islam, as well as catechisms on the faith and treatises on the daily obligations of Islamic law, and Malay is notably also the epistolary language. Bugis is used to a smaller extent for a wide range of religious matters ranging from information on ritual ablutions to different prayers to be performed for specific purposes, and for divination. … Overall, the profile of the Selangor collection accords well with the picture of other libraries from Islamic Southeast Asia that is emerging from a study of digitised collections, where attention has been drawn to the parallels with 'medieval' literary systems constructed around a core of canonical texts in a 'supraethnic, or sacral, language', in this case Arabic, while 'non-functional' texts, positioned closer to the periphery of the model, tend to be written in the language of particular ethnic groups.[187]

This distinction between canonical texts in Arabic and 'non-functional' literary ones in local vernaculars is a feature of another well preserved library, that of the *pesantren* Langitan at Widang, Tuban in East Java. This was recently digitised by the British Library's Endangered Archives Programme, and contains 133 manuscripts dating from the eighteenth to twentieth centuries. All are in Arabic bar two, which are Javanese. The Arabic texts focus on theology, grammar, *fiqh*, creed and to a lesser extent Sufism.[188] The only literary manuscript is the Javanese *Cerita Ambiyo*, a work of the *qiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ* genre. Yet it must be noted that despite the concentration of the Banten library on 'religious' texts it is clearly very far from resembling the library of a *madrasa/pesantren* or of a professional religious scholar like Sayyid Jafar. It is singularly weak in *fiqh*, the key science which would be the focus of such a library – and indeed the teaching of which was the point of a *madrasa/pesantren*. This absence, however, is a characteristic attested in other pre-modern royal libraries from the Islamic world, both in Southeast Asia and the Middle East.[189]

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[187] Gallop, "The Library of an 18th-Century Malay Bibliophile."

[188] British Library, Endangered Archives Project "Islamic Manuscripts held at the Pondok Pesantren Langitan, Widang, Tuban, Indonesia" (EAP061-1), online at https://eap.bl.uk/collection/EAP061-1/search?page=1. Space prevents giving a full listing of its manuscripts here, but the collection mainly comprises the texts typical of Southeast Asian *pesantrens*: in law, Abū Shujāʿ's *al-Fatḥ al-Qarīb*; in grammar, al-Jurjānī's *al-ʿAwāmil* and *al-Ājurūmiyya*; the *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn*; and al-Ghazālī's *Bidāyat al-Hidāya*, to give a few examples.

In Banten, while Arabic was indeed the language of 'canonical' texts, such as the classics of grammar, hadith and Sufism discussed above, it was also the tongue of a local literary tradition represented by al-Maqāṣīrī and ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Qahhār that focused on Sufism and specifically *wujūdī* debates which is barely represented at all in the Sayyid Jafar or Langitan collections. Indeed, the extant manuscripts of the Banten library reveal very little interest in what one might characterise as 'literary' or 'non-functional' texts at all, in any language. Even the manuscript of the collected poems of Hamzah Fansuri is better seen as reflecting this interest in *waḥdat al-wujūd* and Sufism rather than as a specifically literary text. Unquestionably, the library reflects the crucial political and religious role of Sufism, but its lack of literary texts was perhaps not so exceptional when measured against the standards beyond Southeast Asia. A reconstruction of the library of the Mamluk Sultan Qāniṣawḥ al-Ghawrī (r. 905/1501–922/1516) also suggests a surprising lack of Arabic poetry or other *adab* works, despite the fact that the sultan was keenly interested in literature, to which he devoted regular *majālis*. Yet his library contained, as far as we know, very little poetry beyond the sultan's own bilingual Arabic-Turkish verse and numerous copies of al-Būṣīrī's famous *al-Burda*, while history is also surprisingly underrepresented.[190] Qāniṣawḥ's Ottoman contemporary, Beyazid II (r. 886/1481–912/1512), owned possibly the largest library in the Islamic world, comprising more than 7000 titles in 5700 volumes, predominantly in Arabic, and we are on firmer grounds with regards to its contents, as we have a contemporary inventory made by its librarian, ʿAṭūfī. While there are numerous copies of Arabic poetry classics such as al-Mutanabbī or Abū Tammām, it has been suggested that this reflects the role of these texts in teaching Arabic language and style rather than literary tastes; famous poets from the Umayyad period such as al-Akhṭal or al-Farazdaq are notably absent. Beyazid's library was a teaching collection that aimed to inculcate a mastery of Arabic style for the purposes of the chancery as well as religion. Thus, literary prose was represented primarily by works in the rhymed *inshāʾ* style favoured by the chancery while literary authors considered canonical today like al-Jāḥiẓ were entirely absent.[191]

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[189] Cf Kristof D'hulster, *Browsing Through the Sultan's Bookshelves: Towards a Reconstruction of the Library of the Mamluk Sultan Qāniṣawh al-Ghawrī (r. 906–922/1501–1516)* (Bonn, 2021), 281; Drewes, *Directions*, 217.

[190] D'hulster, *Browsing Through the Sultan's Bookshelves*, Chapter 2 and index.

[191] Tahera Qutbuddin, "Books on Arabic Philology and Literature: A Teaching Collection Focused on Religious Learning and the State Chancery" in Gülru Necipoğlu, Cemal

The surviving manuscripts of the library of the sultanate of Bijapur in the Deccan present a similar picture. The library – albeit imperfectly preserved – was accumulated between 992/1584 and 1055/1645 during the reigns of the ʿAdilshahi sultans ʿAlī, Ibrāhīm II and Muḥammad, and, on discovery by British officials in 1853, comprised some 430 volumes, all in Arabic bar 17 in Persian, with none in Dakhni, despite Ibrāhīm II's renown as a patron of vernacular Dakhni poetry. The focus of the collection is on Sufism, ethics, law, and logic, with a total absence of historical texts and only a single literary classic, Niẓāmī's Persian *Makhzan al-Asrār*.[192] Moreover, most of these manuscripts were unexceptional in form: "few, if any, can be classified as 'luxury' codices in holistic art-historical terms, that is, utilizing the finest materials (paper, pigments, gold, leather) and including exceptional calligraphy, illumination, painting, and/or binding."[193] Moreover, in Bijapur the sultanic book collection was divided between two distinct locations, at least during Ibrāhīm's reign, with the main 'royal library' (*kitābkhāna-i ʿāmira*) and a smaller personal 'wardrobe library' (*jāmadarkhāna*) which seems to have contained mainly aesthetically undistinguished books and may have constituted "a mundane functional collection, a source of canonical books of the 'textbook' sort that Ibrāhīm would have consulted regularly as part of his intellectual syllabus."[194] A similar distinction may have existed at Banten between the books intended for public display, such as large format devotional works and Qurʾans, and smaller format works for private consumption. Moreover, many of the books owned by the Bijapur sultans were gifts or bequests from other members of the court, including an itinerant Qadiri holy man, Shāh Abū'l-Ḥasan Qādiri (d. 1635),[195] and indeed, Sufism is a particular focus of the collection. Whether this reflects a specific sultanic interest in Sufism or simply its wider popularity at the time is harder to say, but it certainly parallels the way in which manuscripts belonging to scholars associated with the Banten court, such as ʿAbd al-Shakūr and ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Qahhār, entered the royal collection.

The point of the foregoing is not to try to measure the Banten library against a 'typical' Islamic court library for it is clear no such thing existed. Very

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Kafadar, and Cornell H. Fleischer (eds), *Treasures of Knowledge: An Inventory of the Ottoman Palace Library (1502/3–1503/4)* (Leiden, 2019), vol. 1, 607–8, 614.

[192] Keelan Overton, "Book Culture, Royal Libraries, and Persianate Painting in Bijapur, circa 1580–1630," *Muqarnas* 33 (2016), 98; for a description see also Bahl, "Histories of Circulation," 116–8.

[193] Overton, "Book Culture," 98.

[194] Overton, "Book Culture," 109

[195] Overton, "Book Culture," 116–7.

different, for example, from the above was the library of the South India ruler Tipu Sultan of Mysore, captured by the British in 1799, comprising 1317 volumes, of which 36% were in Arabic and 60% in Persian, with the remainder in South Indian vernaculars. Here poetry and historical works comprised the most important single categories, although Sufism and law were also well represented.[196] However, it is also clear that even if compared to counterparts in Java the library of the Banten sultanate was something of an oddity, set apart by its focus on Arabic and apparent lack of interest in original Javanese compositions beyond the interlinear, literal translations that accompany some texts, it reflected both broader intellectual currents across the Indian Ocean and Middle East as well as the rulers' specific interests. The library of the Banten sultanate resembles in several respects that of Bijapur: the role of itinerant courtiers in donating or bequeathing manuscripts, the focus on Arabic rather than vernaculars, the lack of literary or historical texts and the interest in Sufism and canonical grammatical and religious texts, alongside the relative lack of 'luxury' manuscripts are all features shared to some degree by both collections. Indeed, the lack of Arabic poetry can be observed to an extent even in what we know of Qāniṣawḥ's library, while in that of Beyazid its purpose seems to be largely functional. The apparent absences from the Banten library of, for example, Arabic literary texts cannot simply be explained by Java's remoteness from the mainstream of Islamic culture, but in fact reflects the fact that the concept of an Arabic literary canon was perhaps more fluid in pre-modern times than we credit. Indeed, if there was a canon, it was comprised of texts little esteemed in modern western academia or indeed by Arab literary critics such Ibn Ḥājib's grammatical work the *Kāfiyya*, the *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn* and even the *Ḥayāt al-Ḥayawān*. Above all, the overwhelming majority of the Arabic texts circulating dated to the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries, and were primarily by authors from the Mamluk sultanate such as al-Nawawī, Ibn Ḥājib, and al-Damīrī. While often denigrated in modern scholarship as 'post-classical' and derivative, it seems that in many respects Mamluk scholarly production constituted an authoritative canon for later generations.

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[196] Ursula Sims Williams, "Collections within Collections: An Analysis of Tipu Sultan's Library," *Iran: Journal of the British Institute of Persian Studies* 51 (2021): 289.

Appendix

Arabic text of the birth notes of Sultan Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn's children in Jakarta MS A 98
p. 1

وَهَذَ المَوْلُدُ ٱلمُبَارَك سُلْطَان أَبُو ٱلمَحَاسِنْ مُحَمَّدْ زَيْنُ ٱلعَابِدِينْ مِنَ ٱلهِجْرَة النَبَوِيَّة
صَلىَ اللّٰهُ عَليَهِ وَالسَلاَمْ سَنَة ١٠٨٤
وَ إيجِي د الْحَينْ هجرة النّبَوِيَّة سَنَة.١١٢٤
[ار]بَعْيَن وَ مِئَة لأَرْبَعَ عِشْرُونَ بَعْدَ الأَلفْ
قَدْ جَأَ أَرباعن سَنَه عُمُورُهُ فِى هِجْرَهَ نَبَوِيَه ١١٢٤
سَنَه عق(؟) بَرَأكَ اللّٰه تعالي و ررسق(؟ ورزق) لُهُ و حَسِبُ اللّٰه إِلَا سُلْطَانْ مُحَمَّدْ زَيْن
الْعَابِدِين في طَوِالعُمُرُوْرُهُ و عَافِيَة تُهُ سَرْمَدَنْ بَدِيَنْ فِى مُدَةْ تُهُ خيرِ بِ الدَّوَامِ أَمين ٣
يَا رَبَّ العَالَمِين فِي قُالِّ خَللِين (كل حالين)
دَ الحين هجرة نباوية سنه ١١٣٢

pp. 2–3 same text on both pages; this is also repeated on p. 249

ولد الولد السعود المبارك الموفق الرشيد محمد زين العابدين بن السلطان ابو النصر
عبد القهار بن السلطان عبد الفتاح انشأه اللّٰه نشأة طيبة مباركة و رزقه سعادة الدارين
بحق المصطفى جد الحسين في ليلة الاحد في النصف الاخير منها من الليالي
السابعة والعشرون من شهر المحرم الحرام في سنة الرابعة والثمانين بعد الالف من
الهجرة النوية على صاحبها افضل الصلوات وازكى التسليم
سنة ١٠٨٤

However, at the bottom of p. 2, the date of 1084 is followed by numbers 1203 and 1123 and an illiterate note indicating perhaps that sultan was fifty-five years old in 1134:

و هذ هجرة لسنة ١١٣٤
الف لا عمرهو ٥٥سنا

p. 250 Muḥammad ʿĀrif Jaʿfar al-Dīn with Javanese interlinear translation:

ولد الولد المبارك محمد عارف جعفر الدين ابن السلطان ابو المحاسن محمد زين العابدين ابن عبد القهار ليلة الثلثون وثمان خلت من شهر شعبان سنة اربع و مئة بعد الالف مين هجرة النبي صلى اللّٰه عليه و سلم

p. 251 Badr al-Dīn:

ولد الولد المبارك محمد صالح بدر الدين ابن السلطان ابو المحاسن محمد زين العابدين ابن السلطان ابو النصر عبد القهار يوم الاحد و تسع مضت من جماد الاخر سنة الف و مئة و سبع سنين هجرة النبي صلى عليه و سلم

p 252 Muḥammad Wāsiʿ:

ولد الولد المبارك محمد واسع جمال الدين ابن السلطان ابو المحاسن محمد زين العارفين ابن السلطان ابو النصر عبد القهار يوم الثلثون و خمس و عشرون مضت من جمادي سنة الف و مئة و سبع سنين هجرة انبي صلى اللّٰه عليه و سلم

p. 253 Muḥammad Laṭīf Khayr al-Dīn

ولد المولد المبارك محمد الطيف [كذا] حر الدين ابن السلطان ابو [المحاسن محمد] زين ا لعابدين ابن السلطان ابو النصر بد القهار يوم ثمان وعشر من شهر صفر سنة احدى[؟] و مئة و عشر الاف من هجرة النبي صلى اللّٰه عليه وسلم

ولد المولد المبارك [؟؟]سيه فطيمة ابن السلطان ابو المحاسن محمد زين العابدين ابن السلطان ابوالنصر عبدالقهار

[cont. p. 254] his daughter Badriyya and Muḥammad Muḥyi al-Dīn

يوم احد و ثمان عشر و اثنين من شهر رجب سنة الف و مئة و ست هجرة انبي صلى اللّٰه عليه و سلم

ولدت البنت المباركة بنت مولانا السلطان ابو المحسن محمد زين العابدين بدريه يوم الثلثون و تسع خلت من شهر رمضان سنة الف و مئة و ثان سنين من هجرة النبي صلى اللّٰه عليه و سلم

ولد المولود المبارك محمد محيي الدين ابن مولانا السلطان ابو المحاسن محمد زين العابديب يوم الخميس و تسع مضت من شهر جماد الخر سنة الف و ميه و ثلاتعشر هجرة النبي عليه و سلم

p. 255 a daughter and Rafīʿ Shams al-Dīn

ولدت البنت المباركة ش...يه بنت مولانا السلطان ابو المحاسن محمد زين العابدين يوم الربوع اربع و عشرين خلت من شهر رمضان سنة الف و مئة و ثمان سنة بعد هجرة النبي صلى اللّٰه عليه و سلم

ولد المولود المبراك ؟ دور رفيع شمس الدين ابن مولانا السلطان ابو المحاسن محمد زين العابدين

p. 256 Rafīʿ (cont.) and Raden Muḥammad Nāṣir

يوم الاثنين بوقت الضحي ثلاث ؟؟؟ خلت من شهر شوال سنة الف و مئة و اربع سنين من هجرة النبي صلى اللّٰه عليه و سلم

ظهر الولد المبراك رادين محمد ناصر الدين ابن مولانا السلطان ابو المحاسن محمد زين العابدين يوم السبت و اثني عشر خلت ن شهر صفر سنة ١١١١

p. 257 Muḥammad Nāṣir (cont.) and Khayr al-Dīn

الف و مئة و احدا عشر سنة من هجرة النبي صلى اللّٰه عليه و سلم

ولد المولود المبارك محمد خير ا دين ابن السلطان ابوالمحاسن محمد زين العابدين ابن السلطان ابو النصر عندالقهار ليلة سڤة و ثمنين و عشرن خلت من سهر صفر سنة ١١١١

الف و مئة اعشر سنة من هجرة النبي صلى اللّٰه عليه و سلم

p. 258 Rayan Siti Khayr al-Dīn and Ratu Siti ʿĀfiyya

وللدت البنت الماركة راين ست خير لله بنت مولانا السلطان ابن المحاسن محمد زين العابدين ليلة الربوع ربع شهر صفر هجرة النبي صلى اللّٰه عليه و سلم الف و مئة ا اثنين عشر سنه

ولدت البنت المباركة رت ستي عافيه بنت مولانا السلطان ابو المحاسن

p. 259 ‘Afiyya (cont.) and Ratu Siti ‘Ābida

محمد زين الابدين ؟ هجرة النبي اول يوم من شهر صفر هجرة النبي صلى اللّٰه عليه
و سلم
ولدت البنت المباركة رات ستي عابده بنت مولانا السلطان ابو المحاسن زين
العابدين يوم السبت ؟؟ و عشرين مدت من شهر ذوالقعدة سنة الف و مئه

p. 260 Ratu Siti (?) and Muḥammad Ḥasan

ولدت البنت المباركة رات ستي ؟؟ بنت مولانا السلطان ابو المحاسن محمد زين
العابدين ؟؟؟ يومالاثنين و ست و عشرين مضت من شهر رمضان سنة الف و مئه و
اثنا عشر هجرة النبي صلى اللّٰه عليه و سلم
ولد المولود المبارك محمد حسن الرحمن ابن مولانا السلطان ابو المحاسن M
همد زين العادين ليلة ؟؟ تسع و عشر مضت من شهر صفر سنة الف و مئه و ثلاث
شر هجرة النبي صلى الله عليه و سل م

CHAPTER 8

Arabic Epistolography in Southeast Asia

Arabic had long served as an international language of commerce and diplomacy in the Indian Ocean world that crossed confessional boundaries. In the eleventh to thirteenth centuries, Jewish merchants who traded between Egypt, India, and on occasion, Southeast Asia, used Arabic for their correspondence.[1] When Europeans entered the Indian Ocean at the end of the fifteenth century, they too adopted the international lingua franca of Arabic. Portuguese entanglement in North Africa, where they had seized Ceuta in 1415 and Tangiers in 1471, gave them access to Arabic speakers through captives, renegades and converts. When Vasco da Gama reached Calicut in 1498, he bore with him letters in Portuguese and Arabic which he presented to its Hindu ruler, the Zamorin. A Portuguese nobleman, Antonio de Camola, who had been imprisoned in Morocco, was able to use his skills at Arabic to translate letters in Arabic from other Indian states addressed to the ruler of Cannanore, underlining how Arabic was also used internally within India.[2] The first Portuguese to reach Malacca in 1509, Diogo Lopes de Segueira, brought an Arabic letter from the king of Portugal to the sultan, while the sultan of Samudera-Pasai presented the same expedition with an Arabic letter to the Portuguese king.[3] European merchants who ventured into Southeast Asian waters in the later sixteenth and seventeenth centuries often resorted to Arabic, of which there was at least some knowledge in Europe, in contrast to Malay. Thus, when English ships under Sir James Lancaster reached Aceh in 1602 with a mission to establish a trading post, negotiations with the Acehnese authorities were conducted

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[1] S.D. Goitein, *Letters of Medieval Jewish Traders* (New Jersey, 1973), and S.D. Goitein and Mordechai Friedman, *India Traders of the Middle Ages. Documents from the Cairo Geniza 'India Book'* (Leiden, 2007).

[2] Lisbon, Torre do Tombe, PT/TT/CART/876/68 published in Raimundo António de Bulhão (ed.) *Cartas de Afonso de Albuquerque, seguidas de documentos que as elucidam* (Lisbon, 1903). Tomo III, 198–200; on interpreters in Portuguese Asia see Dejanirah Couto, "The Role of Interpreters, or *Linguas*, in the Portuguese Empire During the 16th Century," *e-Journal of Portuguese History* 1, no. 2 (2003); Diogo Ramada Curto, *Imperial Culture and Colonial Projects: The Portuguese-Speaking World from the Fifteenth to the Eighteenth Centuries* (New York, 2020), 20–30.

[3] Annabel Teh Gallop, "*Bunga Setangkai*: 'Merely a Single, Withered Flower' or a Clue to the Antiquity of the Malay Letter-Writing Tradition?" *Indonesia and the Malay World* 31:91 (2003): 401.

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in Arabic, which Lancaster had apparently learned from a Jew in England.[4] Merchants usually bore letters of recommendation or 'patents' issued by their monarchs, and on occasion these were in Arabic. The earliest Dutch mission to the East Indies in 1595 carried a letter patent in Arabic, as did that of 1600, both of which have survived.[5] The composition of these documents was undertaken by European scholars, such as the famous Scaliger, although their grasp of the language was far from perfect. Arabic could also serve to facilitate communication between trading partners in disparate parts of the Indian Ocean. In the seventeenth century, when the Christian ruler of Ethiopia wanted to communicate with the Christian representatives of the VOC in Batavia to negotiate commercial links, Arabic was the medium of correspondence.[6]

As with literary texts, Arabic existed in a crowded linguistic marketplace, and was never the sole means of communication. Both Portuguese and Malay were more widely used for diplomatic and commercial affairs in Southeast Asia.[7] As the principal diplomatic language of India, with which Southeast Asia had strong commercial links, we also find evidence of Persian being employed, for example, by the eighteenth century sultans of Aceh to communicate with the Danish East India Company based at Tranquebar in Tamil Nadu. Persian was occasionally used even within Southeast Asia, as is demonstrated by a letter from Aceh to Penang concerning sales of betel, one of Aceh's principal exports during the eighteenth century.[8] The presence of Persian in manuscripts from the Banten sultanate, plus the fact that the Dutch East India Company evidently employed personnel in Batavia who could translate incoming Persian letters from India and Iran, suggests that the use of Persian may have been more widespread than the current evidence allows us to confirm, and there was certainly some knowledge of it in Northwest Java too.[9]

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[4] W. Foster (ed.), *The Voyages of Sir James Lancaster to Brazil and the East Indies, 1591–1603* (London, 1940), 81.

[5] H. de Leeuw, "The First Dutch-Indonesian Treaty. A Rediscovered Arabic Translation by Franciscus Raphelengius," *Manuscripts of the Middle East* 4 (1989): 115–22; Arnoud Vrolijk, "Scaliger and the Dutch Expansion in Asia: An Arabic Translation for an Early Voyage to the East Indies (1600)," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 78 (2015): 277–309.

[6] E. van Donzel, *Foreign Relations of Ethiopia, 1642–1700. Documents Relating to the Journeys of Khodja Murād* (Istanbul, 1979), 46.

[7] For an overview of Malay epistolography see Annabel Teh Gallop and E. Ulrich Kratz, *The Legacy of the Malay Letter/Warisan Warkah Melayu* (London, 1994); on Portuguese as a diplomatic language in the region see Gallop, "*Bunga Setangkai*," 401–3.

[8] See further A.C.S. Peacock, "Notes on Some Persian Documents from Early Modern Southeast Asia," *Sejarah: Journal of the Department of History, University of Malaya* 27 (2018): 81–97.

[9] Peacock, "Notes on Some Persian Documents," 92–3.

While only a handful of extant letters from Southeast Asia attest the use of Arabic as a means of transacting day-to-day commercial business, this may reflect the fact that such documents never entered the state archives where the bulk of surviving correspondence is preserved rather than the extent of usage. With few exceptions, the Southeast Asian Arabic letters that have come to light to date are those held in European archives. Our picture of the use of Arabic is thus uneven and unquestionably incomplete. Indeed, even in the much better documented Middle East, accidents of survival shape our picture of epistolographic practice, with some areas, such as Egypt and al-Andalus, vastly better represented than others of no less importance, such as Iraq.[10] The nineteenth-century corpus of documents addressed by Southeast Asian rulers to the Ottoman sultans, now preserved in Istanbul, attest the widespread use of Arabic as an international diplomatic language in this period, with examples from places as varied as Aceh, Jambi, Riau, Kedah and even Zamboanga in the Philippines.[11] While it seems likely that this practice drew on precedent, concrete evidence is scant: despite the close relationship between Aceh and the Ottoman empire in the sixteenth century, only one original document, in Turkish, survives attesting to it.[12] The documents presented in this chapter suggest that at least by the eighteenth century, Arabic was employed in diplomacy and trade across Southeast Asia, alongside Malay, sometimes even for internal correspondence between Southeast Asians who shared another common tongue.

Letters were not simply a means of conveying a message, but could symbolise a ruler's power and sovereignty, and their receipt was often accompanied by elaborate ceremonies. The *Sejarah Melayu* attributes these traditions to the reign of the first Muslim sultan of Malacca, Sultan Muzaffar Syah (d. c. 1456). Letters were received with ceremonials that were graded according to the prestige of the state that had sent it, including drums, trumpets and elephants.[13] Whether or not such practices were really current in the fifteenth century is open to question; it is possible that they are projected back from the seventeenth century, when the *Sejarah Melayu* reached its modern written forms, although fragmentary evidence does point to their antiquity.[14] By the seventeenth century, however, the accounts of contemporary observers confirm such practices. When the English mission under Sir James Lancaster reached Aceh in 1602 bearing a letter from Queen Elizabeth I, they were bemused that the greatest honours were reserved not for their commander but rather for the letter itself. The sultan sent six elephants accompanied by "many trumpets, drums and streamers" to bring the embassy to court:

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[10] Werner Diem, "Arabic Letters in Pre-Modern Times: A Survey with Commented Selected Bibliographies," *Asiatische Studies/Etudes asiatiques* 42/3 (2008), 843–883, esp.846–8.

[11] See İsmail Hakkı Kadı and A.C.S. Peacock, *Ottoman-Southeast Asian Relations: Sources from the Ottoman Archives* (Leiden, 2020).

[12] Kadı and Peacock, *Ottoman-Southeast Asian Relations*, vol. 1, 27–30 (discussion of letter with references to earlier scholarship), 33–51 (facsimile, text and translation by Giancarlo Casale). While there are other documents dealing with the relationship from the sixteenth century, these are comprised entirely of copies of internal Ottoman bureaucratic correspondence.

[13] Gallop, *Legacy of the Malay Letter*, 113; *Sejarah Melayu*, ed. Shellabear, 74–5; trans. Brown, 45–6.

> The biggest of these elephants was about thirteene or fourteene foote high, which had a small castle, like a coach upon his back, couered with crimson velvet. In the middle thereof was a great bason of gold, and a peece of silk exceeding richly wrought to couer it, vnder which her Majestie's letter was put. The generall [Lancaster] was mounted vpon another of those elephants.[15]

A similarly elaborate performance was put on by Acehnese ambassadors to the Netherlands in the same period. In 1602–3 two Acehnese ambassadors reached the United Provinces, and handed over "with great ceremony" to prince Maurice two missives written in Portuguese from Sultan ʿAla' al-Din Riayat Syah al-Mukammil which were "wrapped in a silver cloth" and had the sultanic seal attached, although sadly the originals have not survived.[16] The letters were accompanied by rich gifts including a keris, camphor, gold plate and goblets.

The fact that the surviving letters are largely addressed to or written by Europeans means they may not be wholly representative of 'typical' practice, if indeed there was such a thing. However, as Europeans established a permanent presence in Southeast Asia, so too did they become embedded into existing commercial and diplomatic networks and acculturated to local norms, including local traditions of epistolography. Indeed, Van Donzel describes how by the later seventeenth century, VOC officials in Batavia developed a formal ceremonial for the reception of ambassadors in which the letter rather than the ambassador was the attention, emulating Southeast Asian practice. The ambassador's letter was

> put on a large silver dish, which was covered with a piece of yellow flowered damask. A halberdier carried the dish before the master of

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[14] Gallop, "*Bunga Setangkai*."

[15] *The Voyages of Sir James Lancaster*, 76.

[16] Bertrand, *L'Histoire*, 244.

> ceremonies and the envoy, who were both accompanied by their suites. The garrison was drawn up in two rows, fully armed, from the gate of the Castle to the place of the Governor-General. With a slow and stately gait the master of ceremonies walked between the rows of soldiers while drums were beaten, colours were waved and marching music was played. When the envoy had arrived in the presence of the Governor-General, the halberdier offered him the dish. The envoy took the letter and handed it to the Governor-General. At that moment a sign was given, upon which the cannon were fired and three volleys "with the small gun" discharged.[17]

The physical appearance and the opening compliments of the letter themselves encoded messages about the status of sender and recipient and the nature of the correspondence. An understanding of such documents thus cannot be restricted to studying them simply as sources of data, but must also take account of their formal characteristics and the ways in which they relate to those of Malay and other epistolographic traditions, which differed significantly between the Malay world and the central Islamic lands.[18] There is also some evidence to suggest that in Southeast Asia the letter's appearance was dictated by the language in which it was written,[19] and the discussion in this chapter aims in part to establish to what extent the Arabic epistolography of Southeast Asia was governed by a coherent set of conventions.

The following description of the differences between the diplomatics of Malay and the central Islamic lands is admittedly to some degree a simplification. Diplomatics in the central Islamic lands were neither monolithic nor immutable, but changed, sometimes considerably, over time,[20] and the paucity of Malay documents predating the eighteenth century makes generalisations on that side fraught with peril. Having said that, in mitigation it might be added that the essentials of chancery practice in the central Islamic lands seem relatively stable from the fifteenth century onwards,[21] with only relatively minor fluctuations. In the Malay world, the surviving examples of correspondence from the seventeenth century attest at least some of the conventions that are documented and prescribed in the later *tarassul* manuals, suggesting these do represent a fairly stable tradition of some antiquity.[22]

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[17] van Donzel, *Foreign Relations of Ethiopia*, 46.

[18] For a survey of the different diplomatic conventions, see Annabel Teh Gallop, A.C.S. Peacock and İsmail Hakkı Kadı, "The Language of Letters: Southeast Asian Understandings of Ottoman Diplomatics," in İsmail Hakkı Kadı and A.C.S. Peacock, *Ottoman-Southeast Asian Relations: Sources from the Ottoman Archives* (Leiden, 2020), vol.1, 1–32; also İsmail Hakkı Kadı, A.C.S. Peacock and Annabel Teh Gallop, "Writing History: the Acehnese Embassy to Istanbul, 1849–1852" in R. Michael Feener, Patrick Daly and Anthony Reid (eds), *Mapping the Acehnese Past* (Leiden, 2011), 165.

[19] Annabel Teh Gallop, "*Elevatio* in Malay Diplomatics," *Annales Islamologiques* 41 (2007): 48.

[20] See for example Colin Mitchell, "Safavid Imperial *tarassul* and the Persian *insha'* Tradition," *Studia Iranica* 26 (1997): 178–9, 189, 197, 205; Heribert Busse, "Persische Diplomatik im Überblick. Ergebnisse und Probleme," *Der Islam* 37 (1961): 203, 214 also Björkman, W., Colin, G.S., Busse, H., Reychmann, J. and Zajaczkowski, A., "Diplomatic", *EI*^{2}; cf. Diem, "Arabic Letters," 854–5 for regional variations of style within Arabic epistolography, especially from al-Andalus.

The conventions of the two regions differed both with regard to the contents – particularly style – and physical appearance. There was a striking difference of convention in the opening compliments. In the Malay world, conventionally both sender and recipient were named, but in Arabic, Persian and Turkish documents from the Middle East, Central Asia and India, usually only the recipient is named.[23] Stylistically, Arabic, Persian and Turkish epistolography was often composed using rhyming prose (*sajʿ*), drawn up by bureaucrats known as *munshī*s who were experts in this often recondite and allusive style, and who formed the staff of chanceries (*dīwān al-inshāʾ*).[24] The origins of both the *inshāʾ* style and the existence of chanceries responsible for drawing up documents can be traced back to Umayyad times, and dedicated manuals gave instruction on the appropriate forms of language to be used by the *munshī*s.[25] This *inshāʾ* style has no equivalent in Malay (with the exception of some opening compliments which are themselves in Arabic), and much less is known about the bureaucratic organisation of states in Southeast Asia, although the existence of manuals of correspondence in Malay indicates the existence of a class of professional scribes in royal chanceries.[26]

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[21] Mitchell, "Safavid Imperial *tarassul*," 205; cf. Busse, "Persische Diplomatik," 213.

[22] Gallop, "*Bunga Setangkai*".

[23] V. Ménage, "On the Constituent Elements of Certain Sixteenth-Century Ottoman Documents," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 48 (1985): 289; Mitchell, "Safavid Imperial *tarassul*," 185; Gallop, "Gold, Silver, and Lapis Lazuli," 132–3; Busse, "Persische Diplomatik," 211–213. It should be noted this does not hold for documents from west Africa and the Sahel in Arabic, in which both sender and recipient were typically named, underlining how these conventions are tied up with region rather than language. See A.C.S. Peacock, "An Embassy from the Sultan of Darfur to the Sublime Porte in 1791," *Islamic Africa* 11 (2021): 55–91.

[24] Colin P. Mitchell, *The Practice of Politics in Safavid Iran: Power, Religion and Rhetoric* (London, 2009), 6–16; Momin Mohiuddin, *The Chancellery and Persian Epistolography under the Mughals* (Calcutta, 1971), 31–7.

[25] Björkman et al "Diplomatic"; Rudolf Veselý, "Chancery manuals," *EI*^{3}; Maaike van Berkel, "Archives and chanceries: pre-1500, in Arabic," *EI*^{3}.

[26] Gallop, *Legacy of the Malay Letter*, 13.

The importance of the seal was also a substantial difference. In much of the medieval Middle East, in place of a seal the ruler's signature was given in the form of a *ṭughrā*, a stylised bow and arrow. This custom dated back to Seljuk times, the bow and arrow being a symbol of sovereignty in the steppe world, but continued to be used on documents produced by the Ottoman chancery into the modern era. In Iran, India and Central Asia, by the sixteenth century the *ṭughrā* began to be complemented, and even replaced, by the use of a seal. In India, Iran and the Malay world, the royal seal was a marker of sovereignty, and its size and position often sent a distinct message about the relative status of sender and recipient.[27] Seals in the Malay world were typically impressed with lampblack rather than ink,[28] which was standard in the Middle East.

In the Malay world certain courts employed illuminated paper, often imported from India, where it was used in the Mughal chancery.[29] Coloured or illuminated paper was also sometimes used on documents from Safavid Iran, although these appear to be rather less common, and may have been introduced under Indian influence.[30] However, elsewhere in the Middle East, Arabic (and Turkish) epistolography does not seem to have employed illuminated paper. In the Mamluk and Ottoman lands, royal letters tended to be written on expensive paper but were rarely if ever illuminated; rather generous spacing was employed to give an impression of luxury,[31] whereas Malay letters generally have a rather more cramped appearance. A further practice that developed among the Ottomans but can also be observed occasionally on Safavid and Mughal documents (ultimately deriving from Mongol and Chinese precedents) was *elevatio*,[32] raising the recipient's name out of the text as a sign of respect.

Despite these differences, there were areas in which the two traditions converged. Certain similarities between Persian and Malay epistolographic conventions existed, possibly owing to influence from India.[33] There is also some evidence of Ottoman influence in Malay letters from seventeenth-century Aceh, while in the eighteenth century the distinctive practice of *elevatio* occurs in an Acehnese letter, albeit one in Arabic.[34] This underlines the fact diplomatics could be fluid, vary from region to region within the Malay world, and subject to outside influences. Yet it seems *elevatio* was never applied to Malay letters, even when a chancery was evidently familiar with the practice, underlining the role of language in determining a letter's physical appearance.[35]

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[27] Busse, "Persische Diplomatik," 218–9; Mitchell, "Safavid Imperial *tarassul*," 192.

[28] Gallop, *Malay Seals*, 25–6.

[29] Gallop and Kratz, *Legacy of the Malay Letter*, 21; Gallop, "Gold, Silver and Lapis Lazuli," 130.

[30] For an example of such a document, albeit with distinctly crude floral illumination, see http://asnad.org/media/facsimiles/sanad_000024-01.jpg; on the common characteristics of the Safavid and Mughal chanceries see Mohiuddin, *The Chancellery*, 236; see further Iraj Afshar, "The Form, Appearance, and Decoration in the Letters of the Safavid Kings," in Colin Mitchell (ed.) *New Perspectives on Safavid Iran: Empire and Society* (London, 2011), 30–32.

[31] Cf. Anne Broadbridge, *Kingship and Ideology in the Islamic and Mongol Worlds* (Cambridge, 2008), 16–22.

[32] Menage, "On the Constituent Elements," 291–299; Mitchell, "Safavid Imperial *tarassul*," 194–6.

Yet Arabic documents from Southeast Asia evade easy classification, and often seem to represent hybrids of Middle Eastern, Indian and Malay conventions to varying degrees, requiring careful analysis to understand their import. Moreover, nineteenth century examples of correspondence from Aceh which exist in both Malay and Arabic versions suggest that the choice of language might have an impact not merely on the formal aspects of the letter, but also its contents. Two letters sent in 1849–50 from Sultan Mansur Syah of Aceh to the Ottoman Sultan Abdülhamid I underline this point. The first, Malay, letter emphasised Mansur Syah's status as an Ottoman vassal through the positioning of the seal, and the humility of his forms of address to the Ottoman sultan, whereas the Arabic letter underlined the historical precedents for Aceh's subject status within the Ottoman empire, dating back to the sixteenth century.[36] Thus choice of language may be linked to the nuance of the message being conveyed, and in this chapter I shall explore the hypothesis that this applies to earlier centuries too and can explain at least on some occasions the decision to choose Arabic rather than Malay or another language.

I distinguish in this chapter between letters issued in the names of sultans, where the above-mentioned stylistic considerations are crucial, and those penned by individuals, for commercial or pious motives. Yet there are clearly some grey areas. Senior members of court were often involved in trade, and as we shall see from a letter penned by Yūsuf al-Maqāṣīrī, commercial, pious and diplomatic functions could overlap or merge. Indeed, it has been argued that senior religious officials such as Shams al-Dīn al-Sumāṭrā'ī and Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī were involved in trade negotiations, and possibly in the preparation of outgoing correspondence.[37] I will discuss in the course of this chapter the question of authorship of these letters, and the existence of chanceries in

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[33] Cf. Gallop, *Legacy*, 21–3.

[34] Gallop, "Gold, Silver, and Lapis Lazuli," 133–4; for *elevatio* see Gallop, "*Elevatio*".

[35] Gallop, "*Elevatio*," 48.

[36] Kadı, Peacock and Gallop, "Writing History," 165–171.

[37] See for example, Gallop, "Gold, Silver and Lapis Lazuli," 112–3, 122–4, and p. 71 above.

Southeast Asia, with the caveat that these were certainly much less complex and sophisticated than those in the Mughal empire and the central Islamic lands. Despite the existence of such grey areas, a distinction between the products of such chanceries and those of individuals acting in a private capacity remains valid. I start by discussing the seventeenth century evidence, which comes entirely from north Sumatra and Banten, before examining the royal correspondence of the eighteenth century. I then survey the examples of non-royal correspondence that have come down to us.

1 Royal Arabic Epistolography from North Sumatra, Sixteenth-Seventeenth Centuries

As noted above, contemporary European accounts suggest the use of Arabic as a lingua franca between Europeans and Southeast Asians in North Sumatra and Malacca from the early sixteenth century. However, only a handful of original documents survive to give us an impression of the physical and literary form of such letters. The earliest surviving such document comprises a letter from the sultan of Samudera-Pasai, Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn, to the Portuguese Afonso de Albuquerque, governor of the Portuguese Estado da Índia, in *c.*1516–17. After this, there is a gap of nearly a century until our next Arabic documents appear in the form of two letters from Sultan ʿAlaʾ al-Din Riayat Syah dated 1602 and 1603, addressed to the English and Dutch rulers respectively.[38] This is a slender corpus, but enough to postulate the existence of a longstanding tradition of Arabic epistolography in north Sumatra. It should be noted that no Malay documents survive from the sixteenth century either, with the earliest examples also dating to the late reign of ʿAlaʾ al-Din Riayat Syah al-Mukammil (1589–1604). The only other known document from sixteenth century Aceh is the Turkish letter of ʿAlaʾ al-Din al-Qahhar to the Ottoman sultan, dated 1565, which the Ottoman envoy to Aceh, Lufti, doubtless had a hand in crafting. While the body of the letter is in Turkish, the 1565 letter opens with a thirteen line exordium in excellent Arabic, suggesting the role of Arabic in such epistolographic exchanges.

The Pasai Arabic letter of *c.*1516–17 is preserved in the Torre do Tombo archive in Lisbon (Fig. 8.1),[39] and constitutes the earliest Arabic-script document to survive from Southeast Asia, slightly predating our earliest Arabic-script Malay

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[38] These documents are presented in detail in Peacock, "Three Arabic Letters," to which refer for the full diplomatic edition and translation with commentary.

[39] Arquivo Nacional Torre de Tombo, Lisbon, Colecção de cartas, Núcleo Antigo 891, mç. 1, Doc. No. 59.

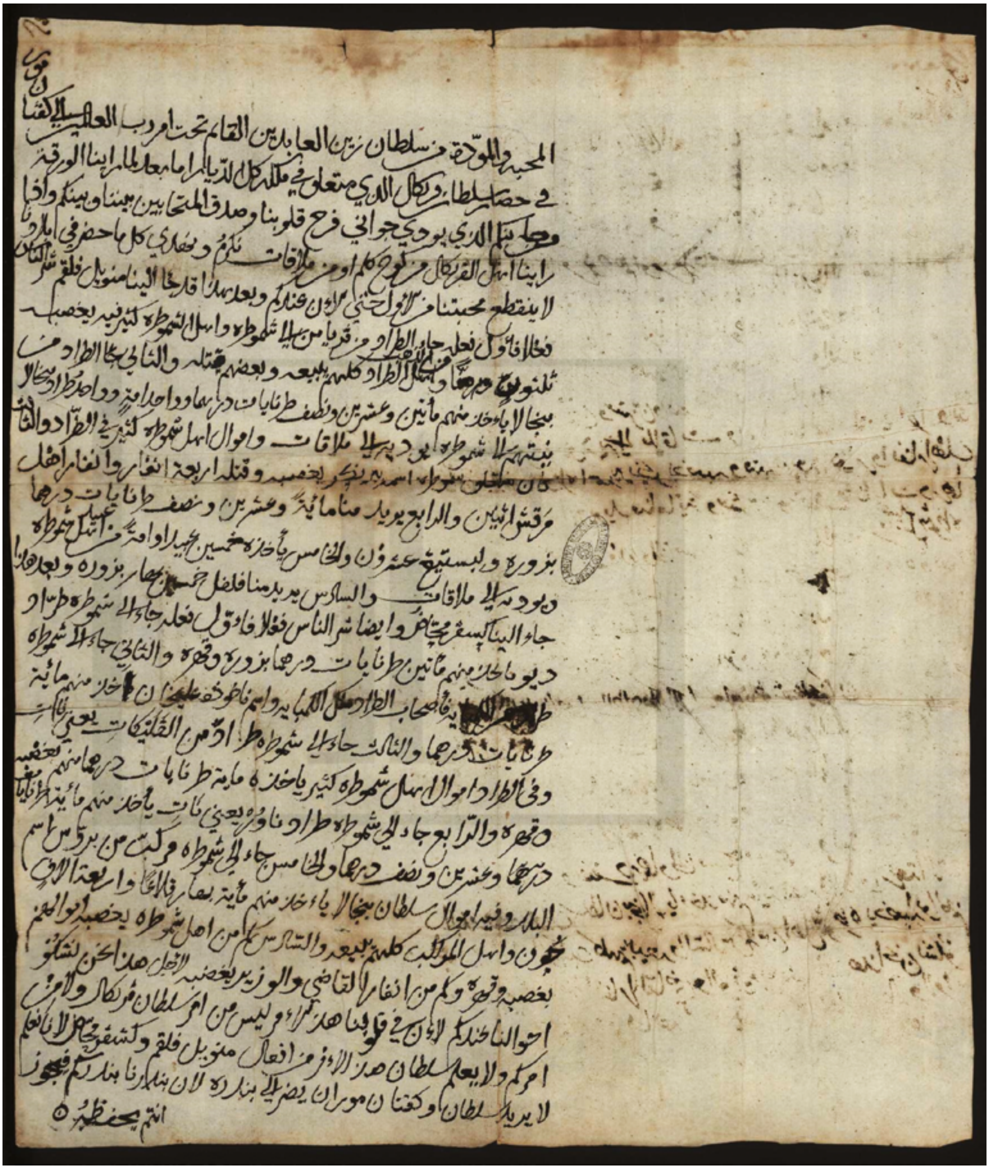

FIGURE 8.1 Letter from Sultan Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn of Pasai to Afonso de Albuquerque. Arquivo Nacional Torre de Tombo, Lisbon, Colecção de cartas, Núcleo Antigo 891, mç. 1, Doc. No. 59

letters dating to 1521 and 1522 from Ternate.[40] It was addressed to Afonso de Albuquerque, governor of the Portuguese Estado da Índia, and comprises a complaint about the activities of two Portuguese privateers, Manuel Falcão and Gaspar Magalhães.[41] The language of the letter is simple and terse, but nonetheless frequently obscure. In several instances the Arabic text contains borrowings from Malay or Portuguese, which would not be readily comprehended without some knowledge of those languages, while grammatically, the text strays from the rules of classical Arabic. Gender agreement is not observed, and indeed, the letter sometimes becomes virtually incoherent. Overall, the letter has a colloquial feel, and is singularly lacking in elaborate rhetorical formulae. Compared to later Malay letters from Aceh – or Arabic ones for that matter – its incipit is terse: "From Zayn al-Din who upholds the affairs of the Lord of both worlds to the Captain-General who [resides] in the fortress of the sultan of Portugal, to whom governance of the land is attached." What was to become the Malay convention of naming both the sender and recipient is observed, in contrast to royal letters in the central Islamic lands which were addressed to an inferior, where normally only the recipient was named.

For a royal letter, the Pasai manuscript is surprisingly lacking in any formal attributes such as an opening invocation or a seal as are found in the earliest Malay letters from north Sumatra, although these are a good century later in date.[42] While these are also absent from the two Ternate letters that are contemporary with the Pasai missive, the former reveal in their mise-en-page at least an elementary acquaintance with the conventions of Islamic chancery practice.[43] It seems most likely that the absence of formal elements in the Pasai letter reflects two facts: firstly, that the recipient is not himself a king, and therefore it is not an example of 'royal-to-royal' correspondence; and in addition, in all likelihood, Pasai's remoteness from the central Islamic lands and the conventions of their chanceries. Taken together with the provincial style of the Arabic, the letter is more reminiscent of a note exchanged between merchants at a busy port rather than the product of a chancery with any degree of sophistication.

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[40] C.O. Blagden, "Two Malay Letters from Ternate in the Moluccas, Written in 1521 and 1522," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies* 6 (1930): 87–101. By documents I mean those written on paper, as opposed to lithic epigraphy which has a much longer tradition, as discussed in Chapter 1.

[41] For a discussion of the date, see Peacock, "Three Arabic Letters," 191.

[42] Cf. Gallop, "Gold, Silver, Lapis Lazuli," 131.

[43] Gallop, "*Elevatio*," 45.

In contrast to this rather rough and ready missive from Pasai of *c.*1516–17, by the early seventeenth century the exchange of letters was an elaborate affair, as the account of the Lancaster mission cited above suggests. The letters mentioned there do not survive, but some documents associated with the English mission to Aceh do. As a result of Lancaster's efforts to establish trade relations, two Malay trading permits were issued by Sultan ʿAlaʾ al-Din Riayat Syah, as well as a letter addressed to the English monarch. This letter was written in Arabic, and is the second oldest extant example of an Arabic diplomatic missive from Southeast Asia. Only the second half of the Arabic text has been preserved in a copy that seems to be in the hand of William Bedwell (1561–1632), the English Arabist. Bedwell's English translation serves as the sole evidence for the full text of the letter, although it is clear that it is far from fully reliable as Bedwell's Arabic was scarcely equal to the task.[44]

The letter starts with elaborate praise of God. Although the recipient is named in the English translation as, "the sultan which dothe reign rule in England, France, Holland and Fransuzze," the sender is mentioned only obliquely. Indeed, that the letter was sent on behalf of the Acehnese sultan can only be inferred from the text. The Acehnese side preferred to emphasise its status not through directly competing with titles but through invoking divine support. In the omission of a direct mention of the sender, the 1602 letter reflects Middle Eastern diplomatic practice. The language of this letter differs considerably from that of Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn's missive. In place of the simple language of the latter, the author of the Acehnese letter strives for stylistic elegance, in particular the use of rhyming prose and parallelism. This *inshāʾ* style had long been considered a characteristic of elegant Arabic epistolography, so we find phrases like *muʾakkidan bi-dhālika al-masṭūr fī hadhā al-ṣudūr* ("affirming with this letter its promulgation") and *tazāyada surūrunā wa-takāthara ḥubūrunā* ("our happiness was increased and our delight multiplied"). The effect is marred, however, by the numerous grammatical errors, in particular a failure to observe masculine/feminine agreement. As this sometimes is key to the rhymes, it evidently derives from the original text and not from Bedwell's deficiencies as an Arabist: thus *bi-ʾl-riʿāya al-tāmm … al-uns waʾl-ikrām* (correctly should read *tāmma*). There are a number of other grammatical errors, but the lack of gender agreement in particular suggests the letter was produced by a native Malay speaker (or least that of another genderless Austronesian language).

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[44] *The Voyages of Sir James Lancaster*, 111, n. 5; W.G. Shellabear. "An Account of Some of the Oldest Malay MSS Now Extant," *Journal of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 31 (1898): 108; Peacock, "Three Arabic Letters," 193.

The letter was thus written by someone who knew what an elegant Arabic letter conforming to the conventions of the chanceries of the central Islamic lands should look like, as is suggested by the courtesy of naming the recipient but not the sender, and the rhymed prose of elegant Arabic style. Given the writer was in all likelihood a local of Aceh or at least the Malay world, it is all the more interesting that the letter differs so greatly from the conventions of Malay epistolography. Yet the author was not sufficiently well acquainted with Arabic to be able to replicate convincingly the *inshāʾ* letters of which he must have had experience, perhaps ones sent to the rulers of Aceh from the Middle East.

Some of these impressions are confirmed by the Arabic letter dated Shawwāl 1011/March 1603 sent by Sultan ʿAlaʾ al-Din Riayat Syah of Aceh to the Dutch Stadtholder Prince Maurice (Fig. 8.2). We are fortunate that, unlike the 1602 letter, the original manuscript of the letter to Prince Maurice has survived, and is one of the earliest extant documents from the Aceh sultanate. The letter mentions the arrival of the expedition of Admiral Joris van Spilbergen with presents and letters for the sultan, and was written on the occasion of their departure, to accompany the gifts of pepper Sultan ʿAlaʾ al-Din sent to Prince Maurice.[45] The letter is written in a simple style, mentioning neither sender nor recipient, approximating Middle Eastern rather than Malay conventions.[46] In contrast to Malay royal letters of the later seventeenth century to European rulers where the seal is generally placed towards the top of the right hand margin, in the 1603 letter the seal is placed towards the bottom. Although perhaps not too much should be made of this position, as seals appear only irregularly in the few contemporary Malay documents of the period,[47] this resembles both the practice in parts of the Middle East and Arabophone Africa.[48] The positioning of the seal may also have been a courtesy intended to emulate Prince Maurice's own practice,[49] but its design shows distinct Ottoman

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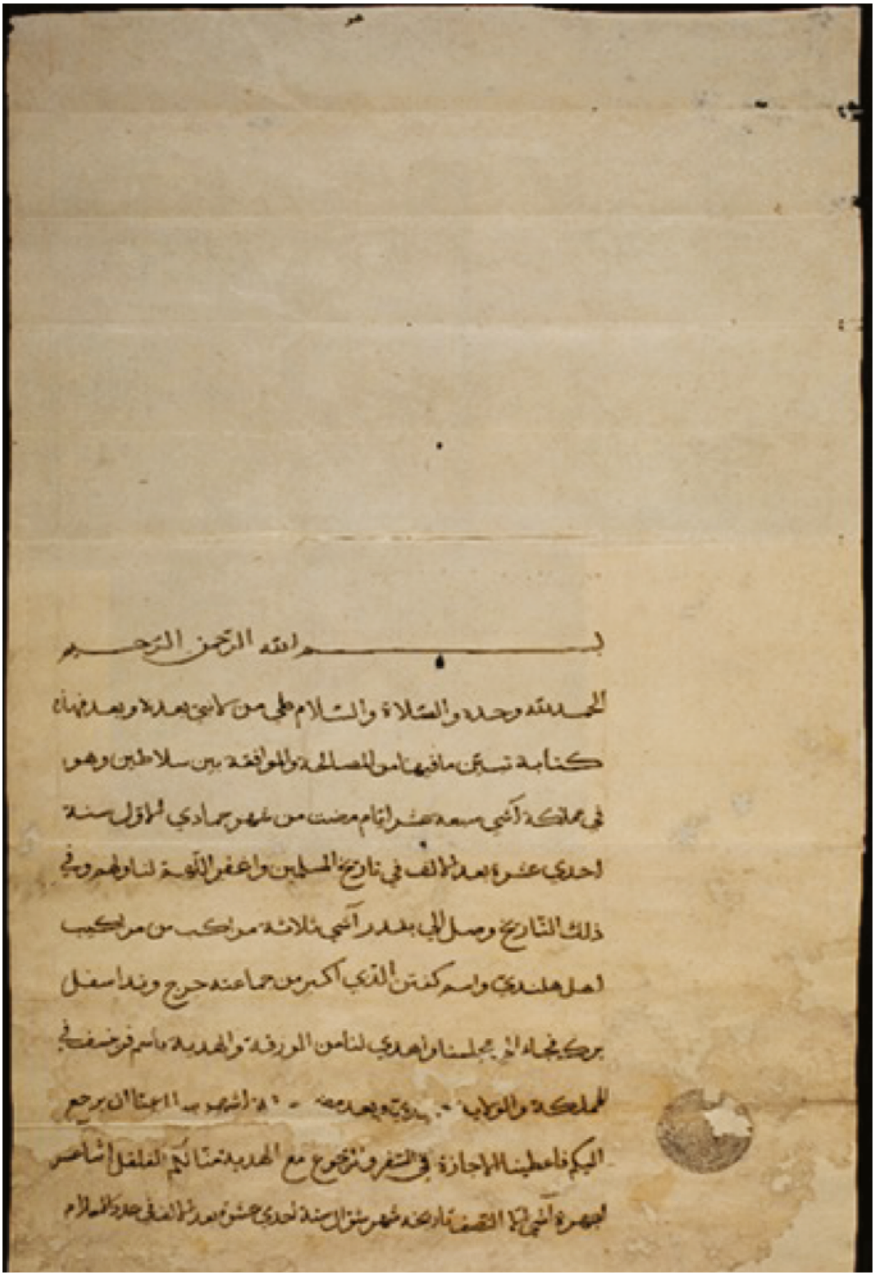
[45] For details of Acehnese-Dutch connections during this period, see Rita Wassing-Visser, *Royal Gifts from Indonesia: Historical bonds with the House of Orange-Nassau (1600–1938)* (The Hague, 1995), 28–37, and for a translation and edition of the letter see Peacock, "Three Arabic Letters," on which some of the present discussion draws.

[46] While in the Middle East the addressee is normally named, this is not always the case; cf. Menage, "On the Constituent Elements," 289.

[47] Annabel Teh Gallop, "The Early Use of Seals in the Malay World," *Bulletin de l'Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient* 102 (2016): 125–173, esp. pp. 146–9.

[48] On the placement of the seal at the bottom, a practice changed by the Safavids in the sixteenth century, see Busse, "Persische Diplomatik," 218; Peacock, "An Embassy from the Sultan of Darfur," 81–2.

[49] For Prince Maurice's seal, see Wassing-Visser, *Royal Gifts from Indonesia*, 29; I am grateful to Annabel Teh Gallop for this point. Cf. Annabel Teh Gallop and Venetia Porter, *Lasting*



بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله وحده والصلاة والسلام على من لا نبي بعده وبعد فهذا

كتابة تبين ما فيها من المصالحة والموافقة بين سلاطين وهو

في مملكة آشي سبعة عشر ايام مضت من شهر جمادي الاول سنة

احدى عشرة بعد الالف في تاريخ المسلمين واغفر اللوم لنا ولهم وفي

ذلك التاريخ وصل الى بندر آشي ثلاثة مراكب من مراكيب

اهل هلندي واسم كبتن الذي اكبر من جماعته حريج وندا سفل

بركة جاء الى مجلسنا واهدى لنا من الورقة والهدية باسم فرنس في

المملكة والولاية ٠ [illegible] ان يرجع

اليكم فاعطينا الاجازة في السفر ونرجوع مع الهدية منا اليكم الفلفل [illegible]

لنصرة التي لا النقص تاريخه شهر شوال سنة احدى عشر بعد الالف في دار السلام

FIGURE 8.2 Letter from ʿAla' al-Din Riayat Syah of Aceh to Prince Maurice of the Netherlands, 1603. Royal Archives (Koninklijk Huisarchief), The Hague, inventory number A13-XIB

influence.[50] In contrast to the 1602 letter to Elizabeth, the language is unadorned. Linguistically, the Arabic reads rather more fluently than in the previous two examples, although there are still a number of solecisms and Malayisms.

The letter is generously spaced, occupying only the bottom half of a sheet of paper. At very top comes a letter heading, the divine invocation *huwa*. This was a common feature of Middle Eastern correspondence and seventeenth century Malay letters from Aceh, but not the rest of the Malay world.[51] Other aspects present a striking contrast to the three surviving Malay letters from seventeenth century Aceh, issued by Iskandar Muda in 1615, Iskandar Thani in 1639 and Safiyyat al-Din in 1661. Although these also employ the invocation *huwa* at the top, the Malay letters open with extended descriptions of the might and power of the sender, completely absent in our Arabic document. While the Arabic letter of 1603 is generously spaced but on plain paper, the surviving Malay royal letters tend to be lavishly illuminated and much larger.[52] It is also worth considering whether the message may have influenced the choice of language. Out of our admittedly very small corpus, the Malay letters of seventeenth-century Aceh all impart a negative message, rejecting proposals from various Europeans for trade arrangements.[53] In contrast, the two Arabic letters impart a positive message of friendship and alliance. It is possible that the elaborate characteristics of the Malay letters were intended to underline the might of the Acehnese sovereign when turning down another ruler's request, something that was unnecessary for a positive message that could be couched in the international language of diplomacy, Arabic.

Despite the affinities of the Arabic letters from Aceh with aspects of Middle Eastern epistolographic practice, both would have seemed very rough and ready compared to the elaborate products of chanceries in the central Islamic lands. There, mastery of recondite language and rhetorical allusions provided a means of bureaucrats demonstrating their skills, but also imparting distinctive

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Impressions: Seals from the Islamic World (Kuala Lumpur, 2012), 46–51; for reproductions of the Malay letters see Gallop, "Gold, Silver, and Lapis Lazuli," 108, 114, 125.

[50] Annabel Teh Gallop, "Ottoman Influences in the Seal of Sultan Alauddin Riayat Syah of Aceh (r.1589–1604)," *Indonesia and the Malay World* 32 (93) (2004): 176–190.

[51] Gallop, "Gold, Silver, and Lapis Lazuli," 131.

[52] Gallop, "Gold, Silver, and Lapis Lazuli," passim.

[53] The letters of Iskandar Muda and Iskandar Thani are negative, that of Safiyyat al-Din does reconfirm existing arrangements. However, the Directors of the East India Company noted the miserliness of the presents with which it was accompanied, writing that, "The present sent (as said) by the Queen unto our soverigne lord the Kinge is soe dispicable that it deserves not the name nor title of one" (Gallop, "Gold, Silver, and Lapis Lazuli," 125). It is thus clear that Safiyyat al-Din did not aim to convey an entirely positive message,

ideological and political messages.[54] The provincial characteristics and use of Malayisms and infelicitous Arabic in the missives from Aceh complicate the question of authorship. James Lancaster noted on his 1602 journey the role in the trade negotiations with the English of a 'bishop' of Aceh, meaning a senior member of the ʿulamaʾ. Lancaster wrote, "A day and a meeting was appointed, where many questions passed betwixt them. And all the conferences passed into the Arabicke tongue, which both the bishop and the other nobleman well understood."[55] It has been suggested that this individual may have been none other than Shams al-Dīn al-Sumāṭrāʾī, given his major role in court and religious life at this time, and that he played a role in drawing up the documents issued by the Acehnese court. While Shams al-Dīn may have had a hand in drafting some of our extant Malay missives,[56] it seems unlikely given the flaws of the extant Arabic documents that these letters could have been drawn up by the author of the *Jawhar al-Ḥaqāʾiq*, which is written in a fluent and grammatical Arabic.

Moreover, as noted above, the degree to which these documents addressed to European rulers are representative is problematic. We know that one Islamic chancery, Darfur, seems to have issued on occasion much inferior documents to Europeans, riddled with bad grammar and colloquialisms, while the same ruler sent an elegant missive in good Arabic to the Ottoman sultan. The formal characteristics of each letter also differed according to recipient, with that sent to the Muslim ruler of much greater sophistication than that to the European.[57] Similarly, the chancery of Ottoman sultan, Süleyman the Magnificent, issued deliberately offensive documents to Christian rulers.[58] It is not impossible, then, that the contrast between the extant Arabic documents from Aceh and the Turkish letter of 1565 with its 13 lines of elegant Arabic protocol may not solely be down to the Ottoman official Lutfi's apparent role in the latter's composition, but also differing attitudes towards Muslim and non-Muslim rulers on the part of the Aceh chancery. This is speculation that only the discovery of further documents to Muslim rulers can resolve; but the two Arabic documents discussed here do nonetheless give some sense of the emergence of a chancery that was accustomed with Middle Eastern epistolographic conventions by the beginning of the seventeenth century, in contrast to the earlier situation in Pasai. This impression of a chronological development in style and sophistication is also reflected in the Arabic letters surviving from the Banten sultanate, albeit in a somewhat later period.

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[54] See for example, Mitchell, *The Practice of Politics in Safavid Iran.*

[55] *The Voyages of Sir James Lancaster*, 96.

[56] Gallop, "Gold, Silver, and Lapis Lazuli," 112–3; see also p. 71 above, esp. n. 64.

[57] Peacock, "An Embassy from the Sultan of Darfur."

[58] Menage, "On the Constituent Elements," 285–290.

2 The Arabic Epistolography of the Banten Sultanate

The most substantial surviving corpus of seventeenth century Arabic letters from Southeast Asia are those sent from Banten to the English kings James I (r. 1603–1625) and Charles II (r. 1660–1685), now preserved in the UK National Archive in London.[59] This constitutes the largest corpus of Southeast Asian Arabic letters originating from a single court located to date, comprising seven royal letters dating from between 1605 and 1682.[60] The Banten corpus is significant not just from a historical point of view, showing how the sultans sought allies as the Dutch tried to undermine and ultimately annex their polity, but also for understanding the ways in which local traditions of epistolography interacted with the different traditions of the broader Islamic world. The Arabic letters under discussion are, in chronological order, as follows (the numbers allocated are my own to facilitate reference):

> Letter 1) A letter from the 'Raja Banten' addressed to the 'Raja of England, Scotland, France and Ireland', by which King James I of England is meant. This is undated, but was evidently composed in 1605. The National Archive, London, SP 102/4/8.
>
> Letter 2) A letter from Sultan Abū'l-Fatḥ, also known as Sultan Ageng Tirtiyasa, addressed to King Charles II, dated 17 Jumādā II 1075/29 December 1664. The National Archive, London, Ext 8/2, f. 126r.
>
> Letter 3) A letter from Sultan Abū'l-Fatḥ Sultan Ageng Tirtiyasa addressed to King Charles II, undated, but evidently composed around the same date, 1664. The National Archive, London, Ext 8/2, f. 45.

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[59] Some parts of this section have appeared in earlier form in A.C.S. Peacock, "The Arabic Letters of Seventeenth-Century Banten: A Source for History and Diplomatics in a Javanese Sultanate" in Aditia Gunawan and Ali Akbar (eds), *Naskah Nusantara: antara Kekunoan dan Kekinian* (Jakarta, 2018), 29–40. My comments here supersede this publication.

[60] The letters have been published in facsimile, transcription and Indonesian translation in Titik Pudjiastuti, *Perang, Dagang, Persahabatan: Surat-Surat Sultan Banten* (Jakarta, 2007), which also deals more generally with the other extant correspondence from the Banten sultanate.

> Letter 4) A letter from Sultan Abū'l-Fatḥ Sultan Ageng Tirtiyasa to King Charles II, dated beginning of Dhū'l-Ḥijja 1091/end of December 1680.[61] The National Archive, London, CO77/14, f. 38.
>
> Letter 5) An illuminated letter from Sultan Abū'l-Naṣr ʿAbd al-Qahhār to King Charles II, undated, but probably composed in 1682. The National Archive, London, CO77/14, f. 111.
>
> Banten 6) A letter from Sultan Abū'l-Fatḥ Sultan Ageng Tirtiyasa to King Charles II, dated 13 Rabīʿ I 1093/21 April 1682. The National Archive, London, CO 77/14, f. 112.
>
> Banten 7) A letter from Sultan Abū'l-Fatḥ Sultan Ageng Tirtiyasa to King Charles II, dated 6 Ramadan 1093/6 September 1682. The National Archive, London, CO 77/14, f. 114.

The royal Arabic letters are not of a single type, but rather show a remarkable development in language and style. The earliest letter (Fig. 8.3, letter 1 in our numbering above) to James I, composed around 1605 (which is not only the earliest Arabic letter, but the earliest surviving letter from Banten in any language) is written in a very broken, at times almost incomprehensible Arabic, and in structure is close to the norms of Malay letter writing, which will be discussed further below. Pudjiastuti has described this as "bahasa arab 'pasaran'" ('bazaar Arabic') and states that it is a form of *ʿāmmiyya*, or colloquial Arabic.[62] However, although *ʿāmmiyya* would certainly simplify classical grammar it would not completely abandon the conjugation system of the Arabic verb as is the case here (*rasūl*, for instance, is used for < *arsaltum*). Moreover, some of the terminology is Malay not Arabic: *ṣūrat* is used in place of the normal classical term *kitāb* for letter. As Pudjiastuti indicates, the language may represent some form of spoken Arabic 'pigeon' current among merchants at Banten. It is interesting to contrast this letter with the near-contemporary Arabic letters from Aceh dated 1602 and 1603, which, although not free from mistakes, are considerably more sophisticated in form and language than the Banten example of the same period. It also suggests that the court of Banten lacked any competent secretaries who could make a passable attempt at an Arabic letter, in contrast to Aceh, perhaps reflecting Banten's much more recent embrace of

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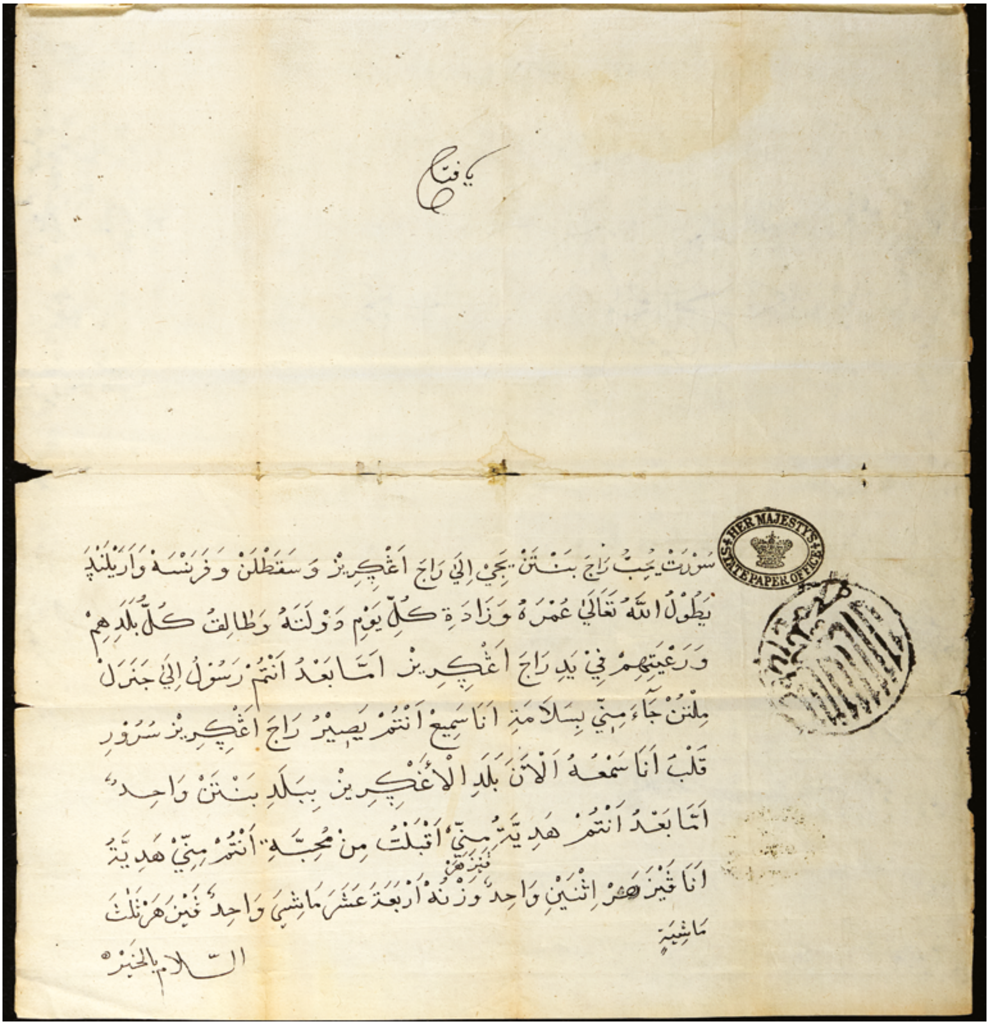
[61] Pudjiastuti gives the date as 19 April 1681, which is written in the margin in Latin script; this however must reflect the date of receipt, as the hijri date given in the text equates to 27 December 1680.

[62] Pudjiastuti, *Perang, Dagang, Persahabatan*, 215.



يا فتاح

سورت يجب راج بنتن يجي الي راج اغكريز وسقطلن وفرنسة واريلند
يطول الله تعالي عمره وزادة كل يوم دولته وطالت كل بلدهم
ورعيتهم في يد راج اغكريز اما بعد انتم رسول الي جنرل
ملنن جاء مني بسلامة انا سميع انتم يصير راج اغكريز سرور
قلب انا سمعه الان بلد الاغكريز ببلد بنتن واحد
اما بعد انتم هدية مني اقبلت من محبة انتم مني هدية
فنيز هر
انا فيز هر اثنين واحد وزنه اربعة عشر ماشي واحد فنيز هر تلك
ماشية
السلام بالخير

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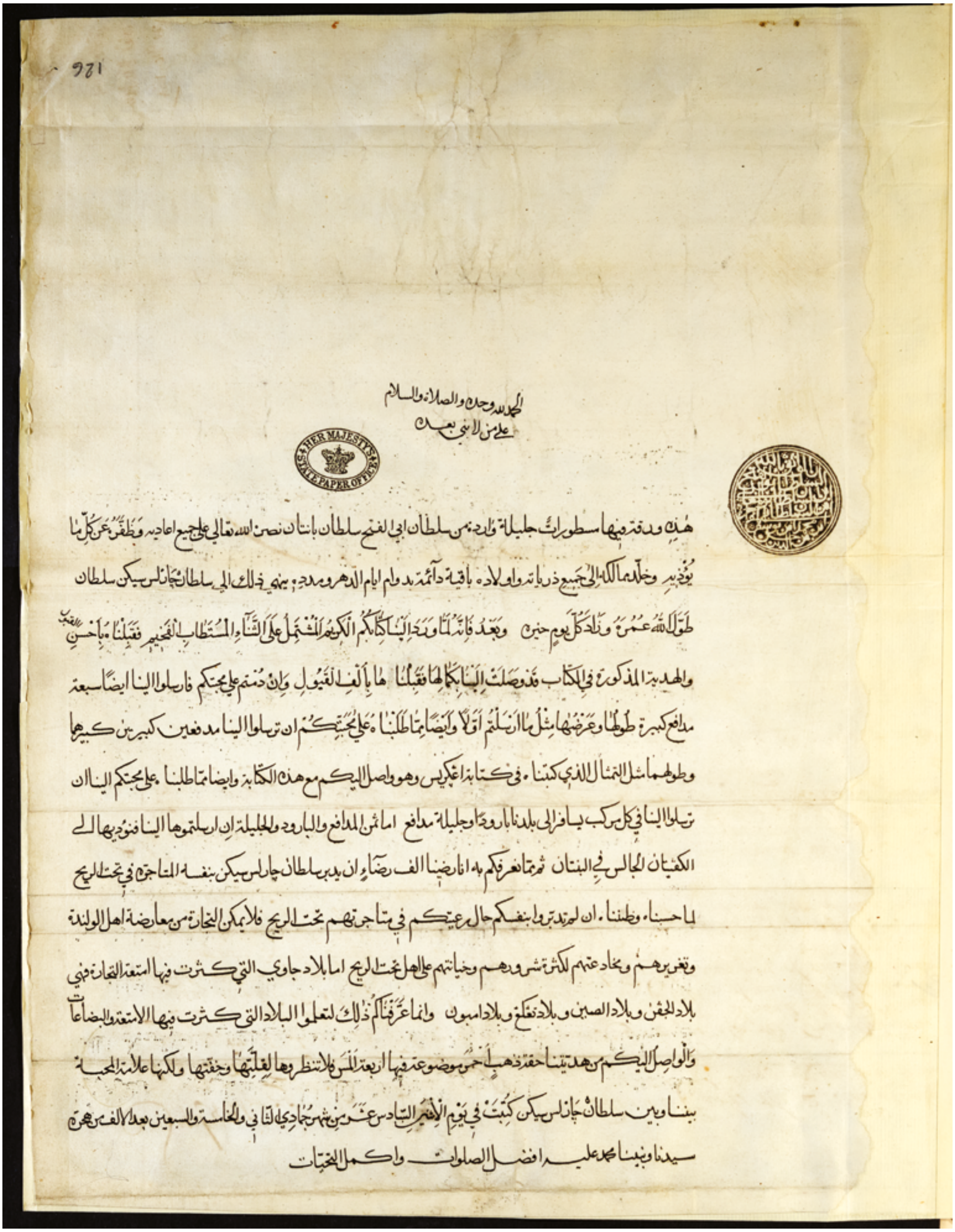
FIGURE 8.3 The National Archive, London. SP 102/4/8. Letter from the 'Raja Banten' addressed to the 'Raja of England, Scotland, France and Ireland', *c.*1605

Islam. This letter of course also predates our earliest evidence for the reading of Arabic texts in Banten, of which al-Rānīrī's lost *Lamaʿān* must be the earliest example.

The Banten Arabic letters of 1664 and the 1680s are very different from the 1605 letter both in formality and style. The Arabic here is generally free of grammatical solecisms, and while the style can hardly be described as elegant it is generally clearer. Similarly, the titulature the sultans of Banten used also shows a development. In 1605, the sender of the letter is described simply as the Raja Banten without further elaboration. In letter 2 (Fig. 8.4), dated 1664,



الحمد لله وحده والصلاة والسلام
على من لا نبي بعده

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هذه ورقة فيها سطورات جليلة واردة من سلطان ابي الفتح سلطان بانتان نصره الله تعالى على جميع اعاديه وظفره عن كل ما
يؤذيه وخلد مملكته الى جميع ذرياته واولاده باقية دائمة بدوام ايام الدهر ومدده، ينهي ذلك الى سلطان جارلس سيكن سلطان
طول الله عمره وزاده كل يوم حسنه وبعد فانه لما ورد الينا كتابكم الكريم المشتمل على الثناء المستطاب الفخيم فقبلناه باحسن القبول
والهدية المذكورة في الكتاب قد وصلت الينا بكمالها فقبلناها بالف القبول وان دمتم على محبتكم فارسلوا الينا ايضا سبعة
مدافع كبيرة طولها وعرضها مثل ما ارسلتم اولا وايضا مما طلبناه على محبتكم ان ترسلوا الينا مدفعين كبيرين كبيرها
وطولهما مثل التمثال الذي كتبناه في كتابة انكريس وهو واصل اليكم مع هذه الكتابة وايضا مما طلبناه على محبتكم الينا ان
ترسلوا الينا في كل مركب يسافر الى بلدنا باروتا وجليلة مدافع اما ثمن المدافع والباروت والجليلة ان ارسلتموها الينا فنؤديها الى
الكفيتان الجالس في البنتان ثم مما نعرفكم به انا رضينا الف رضاء ان يدبر سلطان جارلس سيكن بنفسه المتاجرة في تحت الريح
لما حسبناه وظنناه ان لم تدبروا بنفسكم حال رعيتكم في متاجرتهم تحت الريح فلا يمكن التجارة من معارضة اهل الولندة
وتغريرهم ومخادعتهم لكثرة شرورهم وخياناتهم على اهل تحت الريح اما بلاد جاوي التي كثرت فيها امتعة التجارة فهي
بلاد الجفن وبلاد الصين وبلاد تنكن وبلاد امبون وانما عرفناكم ذلك لتعلموا البلاد التي كثرت فيها الامتعة والبضاعات
والواصل اليكم من هديتنا حقة ذهب حمر موضوعة فيها اربعة الماس فلا تنظروها لقلتها وخفتها ولكنها علامة المحبة
بيننا وبين سلطان جارلس سيكن كتبت في يوم الاثنين السادس عشر من شهر جمادي الثاني والخامسة والسبعين بعد الالف من هجرة
سيدنا ونبينا محمد عليه افضل الصلوات واكمل التحيات

FIGURE 8.4 The National Archive, London, Ext 8/2, f. 126r. Letter from Sultan Abū'l-Fatḥ, also known as Sultan Ageng Tirtiyasa, addressed to King Charles II, dated 17 Jumādā II 1075/29 December 1664

the sultan's regnal name is given (Sultan Abū'l-Fatḥ Sulṭān Banten), and the Indic title raja does not occur. Moreover, while the sultan's titles are not elaborated, the letter starts with extensive prayers for his victory – "may God give him victory over all his enemies and anything that harms him, and preserve his kingdom, his descendants and his offspring for evermore." In letter 3, written around the same date, Sultan Abū'l-Fatḥ is described as "he whom God has established to rule Banten and has singled out by entrusting him with that land, his excellency Sultan Abū'l-Fatḥ of Banten".[63] By 1680 (letter 4), the sultan is called "the most glorious of the Jawi kings and the greatest of the sultans of the Islamic islands, whose name is known, who is famous throughout all the Indian and Arab lands, Sultan Abū'l-Fatḥ ruler of the land of Banten who possesses glory and charity …", and the full list of his titles occupies the first four lines of the letter.[64]

However, while the letters employ the Arabic language, at first glance they diverge from epistolographic traditions of the central Islamic lands. They lack typical features of Middle Eastern diplomatic correspondence – avoidance of mentioning the sender, *inshā'* style and generous spacing. Instead, Malay elements seem to predominate, as far can be judged on the basis of the limited corpus of comparative Malay material from this date. In the Malay world, a letter's credentials were demonstrated by the use of illuminated paper, which we can find employed in Arabic letter 5. Moreover on occasion the phraseology used suggests the Malay background. In letter 3 (Fig. 8.5), the letter itself is described in elaborate terms, as "a valuable letter, a noble writing" conveying "ample praise and mentioning sincere friendship and complete sincerity" (*lafīfa*^{tun} *nafīsa*^{tun} *wa-kitāba*^{tun} *karīma*^{tun}. … *mushtamila*^{tun} *'alā madāḥa*^{tin} *jazīla*^{tin} *mudhakkira*^{tun} *bi-khulūṣ al-widād wa-atamm al-ikhlāṣ*).[65] This recalls the conventional phraseology of Malay letters, where the letter itself is often referred to a *surat al-ikhlas*, "a letter of sincerity", or elaborations thereon. Nonetheless, Malay conventions were not adopted wholesale into the Banten Arabic letters. In Banten, Malay letters generally give the recipient longer and more impressive attributes than the sender, as convention and politeness require.[66] In contrast, in the Arabic letters, the space allotted to the titles of the sultan and king

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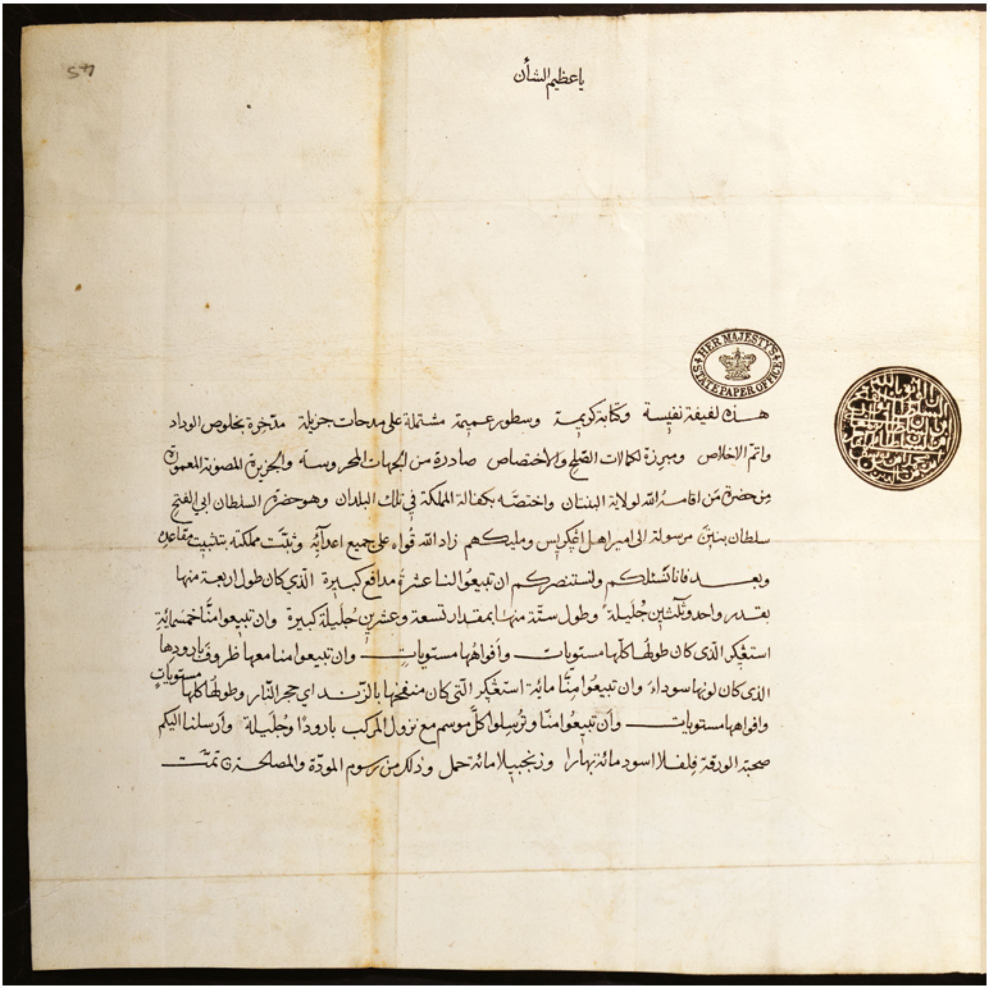
[63] Pudjiastuti, *Perang, Dagang, Persahabatan*, 31.

[64] Pudjiastuti, *Perang, Dagang, Persahabatan*, 60–61.

[65] Pudjiastuti, *Perang, Dagang, Persahabatan*, 31.

[66] Cf. Gallop, "Seventeenth Century Indonesian Letters," 425, 427; Pudjiastuti, *Perang, Dagang, Persahabatan,* 38, 43, 47 (some of the earliest Malay ones diverge from this pattern by allotting only very limited courtesies to either side, just like Arabic letter 1, again reflecting the lack of sophistication of the sultanate in the first half of the seventeenth century).



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باعظم الشأن

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هذه لفيفة نفيسة وكتابة كريمة وسطور عميمة مشتملة على مدحات جزيلة مدخرة بخلوص الوداد
واتم الاخلاص ومبرزة لكمالات الصلح والاختصاص صادرة من الجهات المحروسة والجزيرة المصونة المعمورة
من حضرة من اقامه الله لولاية البلدان واختصه بكفالة المملكة في تلك البلدان وهو حضرة السلطان ابي الفتح
سلطان بنتن مرسولة الى امير اهل انكريس ومليكهم زاد الله قواه على جميع اعدائه وثبت مملكته بتثبيت مقاعده
وبعد فانا نسئلكم ولنستنصركم ان تبيعوا لنا عشرة مدافع كبيرة الذي كان طول اربعة منها
بقدر واحد وثلثين جليلة وطول ستة منها بمقدار تسعة وعشرين جليلة كبيرة وان تبيعوا منا خمسمائة
استغكر الذى كان طولها كلها مستويات وافواهها مستويات وان تبيعوا منا معها ظروف بارودها
الذى كان لونها سوداء وان تبيعوا منا مائة استغكر التى كان منفخها بالزند اي حجر النار وطولها كلها مستويات
وافواهها مستويات وان تبيعوا منا وترسلوا كل موسم مع نزول المركب بارودا وجليلة وارسلنا اليكم
صحبة الورقة فلفلا اسود مائة بهارا وزنجبيلا مائة حمل وذلك من رسوم المودة والمصلحة تمت

FIGURE 8.5 The National Archive, London Ext 8/2, f. 45. Letter from Sultan Abū'l-Fatḥ Sultan Ageng Tirtiyasa addressed to King Charles II, undated, but evidently composed around the same date, 1664

is either equal (as in letters 4, 5) or weighted rather towards the Bantenese side, as occurs in both the 1664 letters. In letter 2, Charles is named simply Sultan Charles Sekon (i.e. the Second), while in letter 3 he is called "commander of the English people and their possessor" (*amīr ahl inggris wa mālikihim*) after the divinely-appointed nature of the sultan's rule has been underlined. Letters 6 and 7, as will be discussed below, follow rather different conventions. In short, while influenced by Malay diplomatic conventions, the Banten Arabic letters also diverge from them.

Arabic was not the only language used for diplomatic purposes in the Banten sultanate. Malay was also a frequent vehicle for royal correspondence, while Javanese was also occasionally employed, although not generally in correspondence from the sultan to outsiders. To communicate with the Dutch in neighbouring Batavia, which had been seized and renamed from Jayakarta, the Banten rulers used Malay written in Javanese script, as is shown from a series of documents written in 1619, the date of the definitive Dutch capture of the town. These documents constitute brief, even rude notes to an enemy and are unlikely to have been delivered with much ceremony.[67] The accidents of survival probably underestimate the degree to which Javanese was used for internal correspondence, or communication with other Javanese rulers. The surviving letters in Arabic and Malay are largely addressed either to European monarchs or their subjects; no doubt different conventions, and linguistic choices, obtained for internal or local purposes. Nonetheless, it is at first glance difficult to uncover a logic as to the choice of language. For instance, in 1675, Sultan Abū'l-Fatḥ (aka Sultan Ageng Tirtiyasa) sent letters in Malay to both Charles II of England and to the King of Denmark,[68] while Malay letters were also sent to Charles I of England in 1635 and Charles II in 1680, albeit in the latter case in Latin script and therefore evidently copied by an Englishman.[69] The latter fact is further testimony to the role of merchants and ambassadors in the composition of letters at the courts which they visited; the knowledge of Charles II's titles which are reproduced in English transliterated into Arabic in some of the letters is another reflection of the same phenomenon. As a whole, these examples suggest that the choice of language is not ostensibly determined by sender or recipient, with Arabic coexisting alongside Malay. Nor indeed is there any evident chronological development, beyond the fact that Arabic letters seem to cease being produced by the Banten sultans after the seventeenth century, by which point the sultanate had been reduced to the status of a Dutch protectorate.

Some clues as to why Arabic may have been preferred are revealed if we look at the five letters – one in Malay, the rest in Arabic – written between 1680 and 1682 in their historical context. This was a period of turmoil in the Banten sultanate. A few years early, perhaps in 1677 or thereabouts, the aging sultan Abū'l-Fatḥ Sultan Ageng had handed over much of the administration of Banten to his son Abū'l-Naṣr ʿAbd al-Qahhār, Sultan Haji, and had retired to his palace of Tirtiyasa. He did not, however, completely relinquish power, and indeed, the notables of Banten moved their residences to the new court.[70] Three of the five letters written from Banten between 1680 and 1682 come from Abū'l-Fatḥ. In May 1680, Abū'l-Naṣr, who was backed by the Dutch, mounted a coup to ensure his father did not appoint a younger brother as sultan in his stead. However, Abū'l-Fatḥ seems to have retained a degree of power in Tirtiyasa, and fighting between the two sides erupted again in February 1682, when the elder sultan's forces attacked Abū'l-Naṣr in his palace (presumably the Surosowan in the centre of the town of Banten). It was only with Dutch aid that Abū'l-Naṣr emerged victorious, and his father was not captured until March 1683. These events are generally considered to be the end of Banten's effective independence, although the sultanate survived into the nineteenth century.

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[67] See M.C. Ricklefs, "Bantěn and the Dutch in 1619: Six Early 'pasar Malay' Letters," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 39 (1976): 126–138.

[68] Pudjiastuti, *Perang, Dagang, Persahabatan*, 36–48; Gallop, "Seventeenth century Indonesian Letters."

[69] Gallop, "Seventeenth Century Indonesian Letters," 428.

The letters both reflect and shed light on these developments. The first letter surviving written in the name of Abū'l-Naṣr is dated 23 January 1680, a few months before hostilities broke out. It survives in both contemporary Romanised Malay and an English translation,[71] and is apparently a response to a letter from Charles II demand to investigate the murder of an English subject. Reflecting the apparently amicable nature of the division of powers, Abū'l-Naṣr replies that both he and Sultan Ageng have looked for the murderers but to no avail; and the English king is requested to send weapons and aid against the Dutch. While the Malay text contains no seal, that on the accompanying English translation, written no doubt in Banten by the same individual who copied the Romanised Malay text, contains the following statement:

> *Alamat surat Sultan Abdul Kahar Abu al-Nasar 1062.*
>
> The sign that this is a letter of ʿAbd al-Qahhār Abū'l-Naṣr, 1062

The date of 1062 is repeated no fewer than 7 times on the seal; its significance was that it was the date of Abū'l-Fatḥ's accession (1651–2).[72] At this point, then, Abū'l-Naṣr sought to legitimise his kingship through his father.

After Abū'l-Naṣr Sultan Haji's only partially successful coup of May 1680, the next four letters are in Arabic. The first is that of late December 1680 from Abū'l-Fatḥ, letter 4 (Fig. 8.6) in which, we will recall, Abū'l-Fatḥ boasts of being

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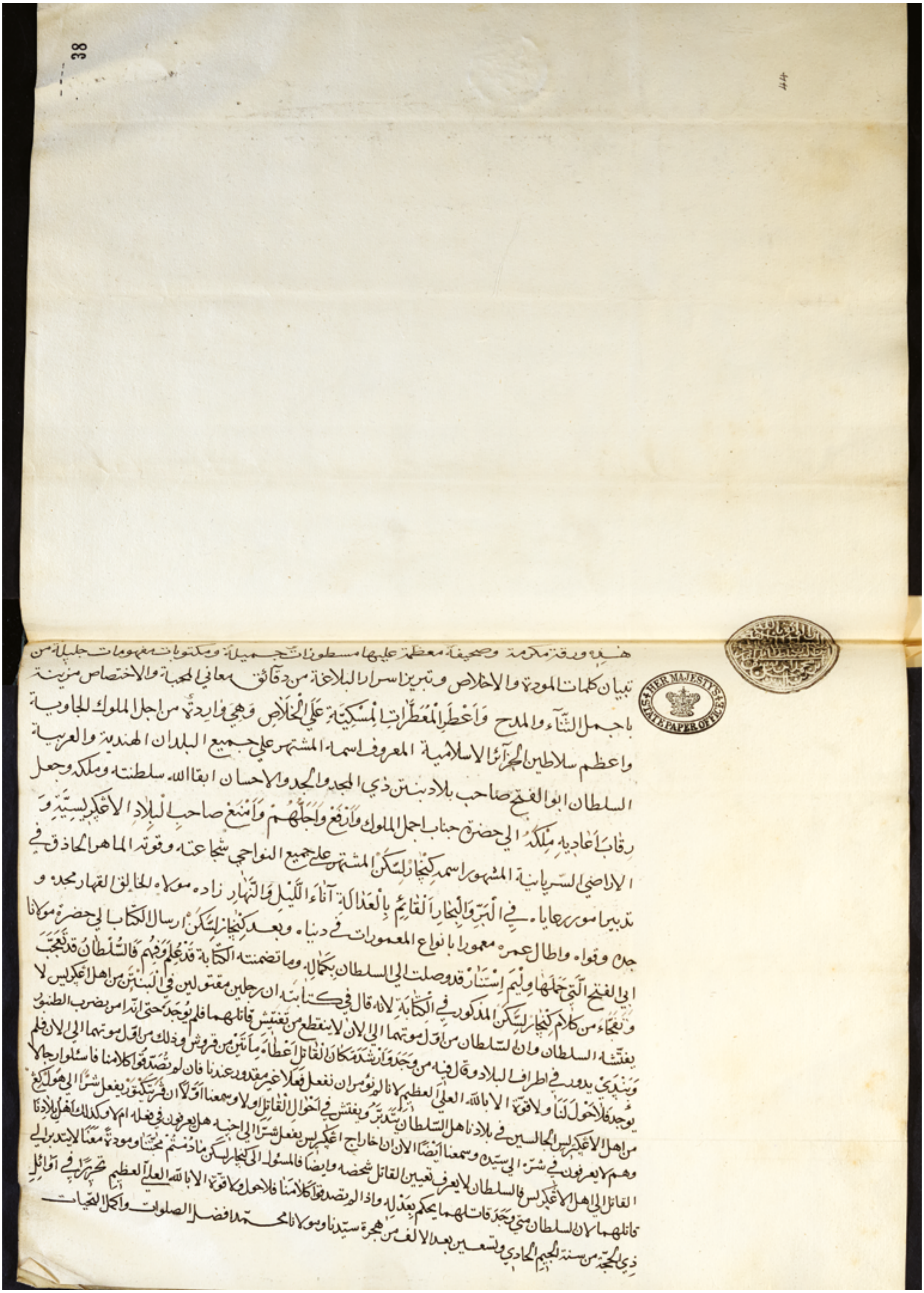
[70] Claude Guillot, "Banten in 1678," *Indonesia* 57 (1993): 89–114, p. 99.

[71] Gallop, "Seventeenth Century Indonesian Letters"; Pudjiastuti, *Perang, Dagang, Persahabatan*, 51–52.

[72] Gallop, "Seventeenth Century Indonesian Letters," 431.



هذه ورقة مكرمة وصحيفة معظمة عليها مسطورات جميلة ومكتوبات مفهومات جليلة من
تبيان كلمات المودة والاخلاص وتبريز اسرار البلاغة من دقائق معاني المحبة والاختصاص مزينة
باجمل الثناء والمدح واعطر المعطرات المسكية على الخلاص وهي واردة من اجل الملوك الجاوية
واعظم سلاطين الجزائر الاسلامية المعروف اسمه المشتهر على جميع البلدان الهندية والعربية
السلطان ابو الفتح صاحب بلاد بنتن ذي المجد والجد والاحسان ابقاه الله سلطنته وملكه وجعل
رقاب اعاديه ملكه الى حضرة جناب اجمل الملوك وارفع واجلهم وامنع صاحب البلاد الاغكريسية و
الاراضي السريانية المشهور اسمه كنجار لسكن المشتهر على جميع النواحي شجاعته وقوته الماهر الحاذق في
تدبير امور رعاياه في البر والبحار القائم بالعدالة آناء الليل والنهار زاده مولاه الخالق القهار مجده و
جاهه وقواه واطال عمره معمورا بانواع المعمورات في دنياه. وبعد كنجار لسكن ارسال الكتاب الى حضرة مولانا
ابي الفتح التي حملها وليم اسنار قد وصلت الى السلطان بكماله وما تضمنته الكتابة قد علم وفهم فالسلطان قد تعجب
وتعجاء من كلام كنجار لسكن المذكور في الكتابة لانه قال في كتابته ان رجلين مقتولين في بنتن من اهل اغكريس لا
يفتشه السلطان وان السلطان من اول موتهما الى الان لا يستطع من تفتيش قاتلهما فلم يوجد حتى ابدا امر بضرب الطنبور
وينادي يدور في اطراف البلاد وقال فيه من وجد وارشد مكان القاتل اعطاه مائتين من قروش وذلك من اول موتهما الى الان فلم
يوجد فلا حول لنا ولا قوة الا بالله العلي العظيم لانا لم نؤمر ان نفعل فعلا غير مقدور عندنا فان لم تصدقوا كلامنا فاسئلوا رجالا
من اهل الاغكريس الجالسين في بلادنا هل السلطان يتدبر ويفتش في احوال القاتل او لا وسمعنا اولا ان فرنكتو يفعل شرا الى هولنغ
وهم لا يعرفون في شره الى سيده وسمعنا ايضا الان ان خارج اغكريس يفعل شرا الى اجنبه هل يعرفون في فعله ام لا وكذلك اهل بلادنا
القاتل الى اهل الاغكريس فالسلطان لا يعرف تعيين القاتل شخصه وايضا فالمسئول الى كنجار لسكن ما دمتم محبنا ومودة معنا لا يتدبر الى
قاتلهما لان السلطان متى وجد قاتلهما يحكم بعدله واذا لم تصدقوا كلامنا فلا حول ولا قوة الا بالله العلي العظيم تحريرا في اوائل
ذي الحجة من سنة الجيم الحادي وتسعين بعد الالف من هجرة سيدنا ومولانا محمد افضل الصلوات واكمل التحيات

FIGURE 8.6 The National Archive, London, CO77/14. Letter from Sultan Abū'l-Fath Sultan Ageng Tirtiyasa to King Charles II, dated beginning of Dhū'l-Ḥijja 1091/end of December 1680

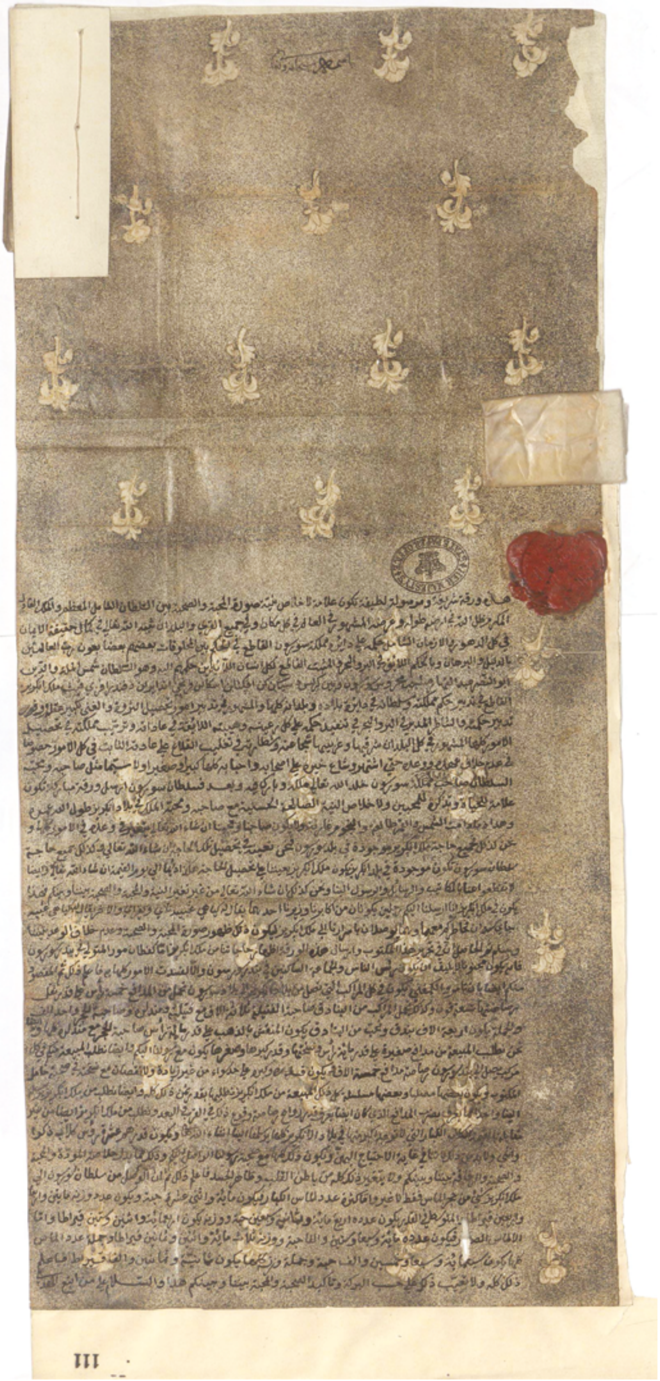
"the most glorious of the Jawi kings and mightiest of the sultans of the Islamic islands." It too replies to King Charles' requests about the murder, claims to have investigated thoroughly, and promises justice for the killer when found. There is no suggestion that the sultan has ceded his responsibilities to his son – indeed the attempted coup is not mentioned at all, nor is there any allusion to Abū'l-Naṣr's role in investigating the murder – in contrast to his son's own pre-coup letter.

Our next letter (no. 5, Fig. 8.7) comes from Abū'l-Naṣr, was written no later than November 1681, and is the most elaborate of all the seventeenth century Banten letters whether in Arabic or Malay, being the sole illuminated letter from Banten that survives from before the end of the eighteenth century, and to date the only known illuminated letter written in Arabic that originates from Southeast Asia. The accompanying gifts are also of unprecedented generosity: usually pepper was sent, sometimes other spices, but this letter was accompanied by a large number of diamonds. The near equality of the length of the titles and attributes given to the sultan and Charles II has been remarked above. The letter expresses a desire for lasting friendship with England, and hopes that correspondence "will not be interrupted" between the two sides. The letter then mentions the two ambassadors who had been sent to accompany the letter from Banten to London, and demands the dismissal of the English factor in Banten, stating simply "he is mad and not fit to be a leader of men and the company in the port of Surosowan." The main aim of the letter, however, is to obtain a regular supply of arms and ammunition, which the sultan hopes the East India Company will be instructed to send with every boat heading for Banten. A man experienced in casting guns is also requested. However, this letter represents far more than a request for aid. Its illumination, the exceptional gifts and the portentous titulature adopted by the sultan, as well as the fact that the embassy was sent in person, are surely meant to underline Abū'l-Naṣr's claim to be the ruler and to ensure that the English realise that it is with him rather than his father that they must do business. Unlike his earlier Malay letter, his seal makes no mention of his father's accession date.

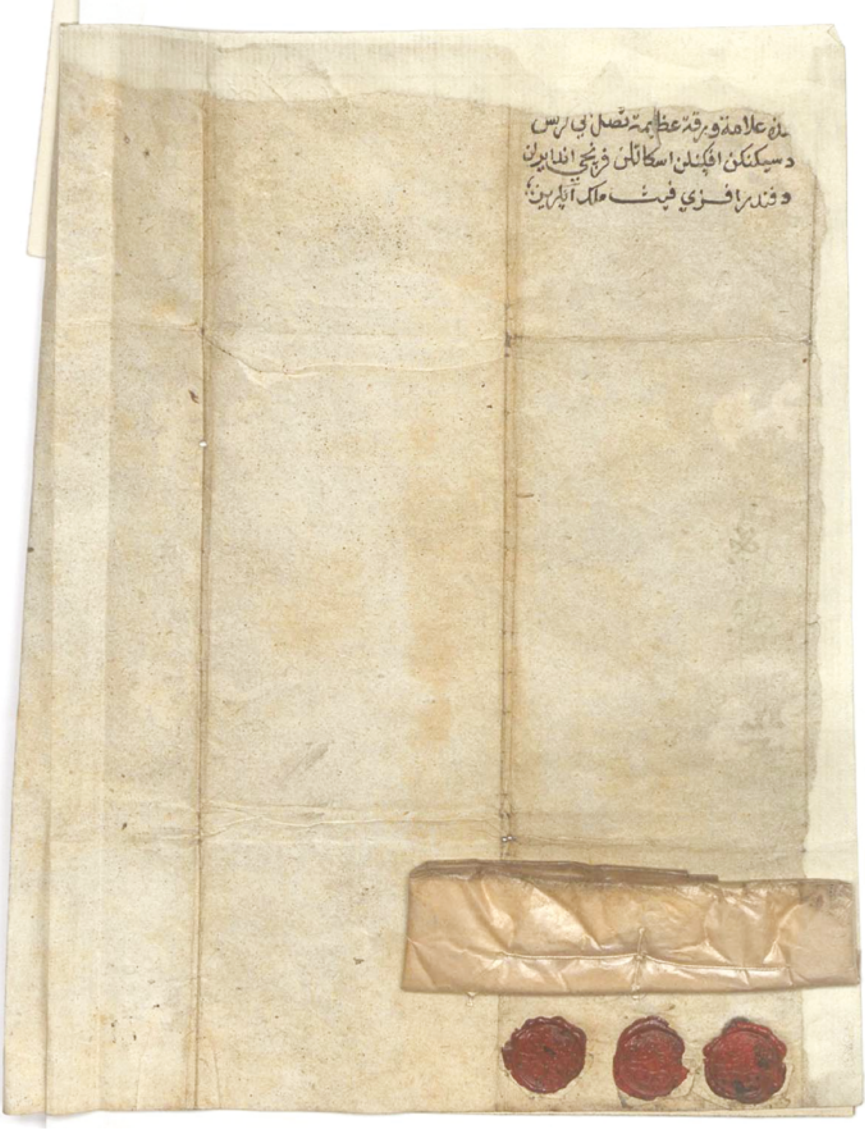
Our final two letters (nos. 6 and 7, Fig 8.8 and Fig 8.9) come from Abū'l-Fatḥ again, dated 3 Rabīʿ I 1093/21 April 1682 and 6 Ramaḍān/6 September of the same year, after the Dutch had started operations in conjunction with Abū'l-Naṣr, and they centre on the sultan's struggle with his son. Letter 6 recounts Abū'l-Naṣr's rebellion. Although Abū'l-Fatḥ claims to have repulsed his son, the latter had then sought Dutch assistance. Citing a previous agreement from the English to protect him from the Dutch, Abū'l-Fatḥ now calls on their aid, and accuses Abū'l-Naṣr of shooting at English subjects, and aiming to evict them and replace them with Dutch. Abū'l-Fatḥ seeks English ammunition and guns, and promises to aid England against the Dutch whenever necessary. Letter 7 recounts how the Dutch had entered the fortified town of Banten, and the English, Danes and French had been banished to Jakarta. However, Abū'l-Fatḥ says he is now besieging the fort by land and sea, and again requests military aid. He claims that his son is aiming to hand over the whole "land of pepper" to the Dutch, and promising that "we will not surrender it to the Dutch".

The titulature in these two letters differs radically from the other Arabic ones. Whereas in earlier letters the titles used by the sultan of Banten equal or exceed those accorded to the English king, in letters 6 and 7, the reverse is the case. In letter 6 the sultan refers to himself simply as "Abū'l-Fatḥ ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ Sultan Tirtiyasa *al-manṣūra*", the victorious, without any further titles, while Charles is described as "King Charles the Second of the land of England, may God deliver him to righteousness, arrange his affairs, lengthen his life, confer his grace upon him, inspire him with justice over his people and increase his favour." Similarly, in letter 7, the prayers for Charles occupy two lines of the text, compared to only one for the sultan. This might be considered merely conventional politeness, although clearly more in accordance with Malay epistolographic traditions than earlier Arabic letters. However, we must also consider why the established conventions employed in the earlier Arabic letters from both Abū'l-Fatḥ and Abū'l-Naṣr are suddenly abandoned at this point. It is tempting to relate this change to Abū'l-Fatḥ's altered circumstances: now in dire need of aid, he makes no attempt to assert equality with the English king. By the time letter 7 was written, Abū'l-Fatḥ was increasingly desperate as the Dutch closed in, having completely lost control of Kota Banten and asked for supplies to be sent to the ports nearest Tirtayasa, Ponthang and Tanahara. However, it is clear that Abū'l-Fatḥ still claimed to be the sole legitimate sultan, referring to his son dismissively as *ṣāḥib al-qalʿa*, "the person who controls the fort".

The flurry of Arabic epistolography from Banten in the period 1680–1682, when it was riven by this civil war, seems unlikely to be coincidental. The use of Arabic may even have itself constituted a means for contenders to the sultanate to assert their suzerainty by choosing a prestigious language which, at least in seventeenth century Southeast Asia, may have been associated with messages of particular significance, as we have suggested with regard to the two letters from Aceh. The fluctuations in titulature reflects the changing ways in which the rival contenders wished to be perceived by the English – as a mighty sultan, or as an ally in distress needing aid. It certainly does not seem that the choice of language was purely a question of comprehensibility, for despite the



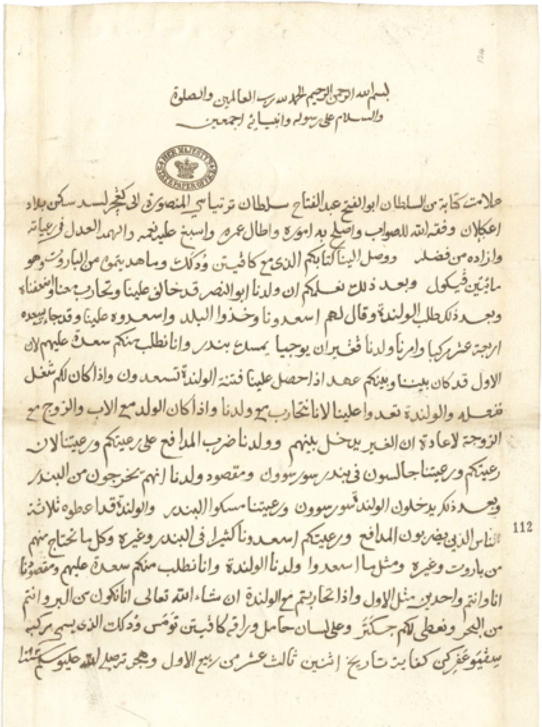
A)



من علامة ورقة عظيمة تصل بي لرس
دسيكنكن افكندن اسكاللس فرنجي انڬليرن
د فندر افـزي فيتـ ملك انكريزن

B)

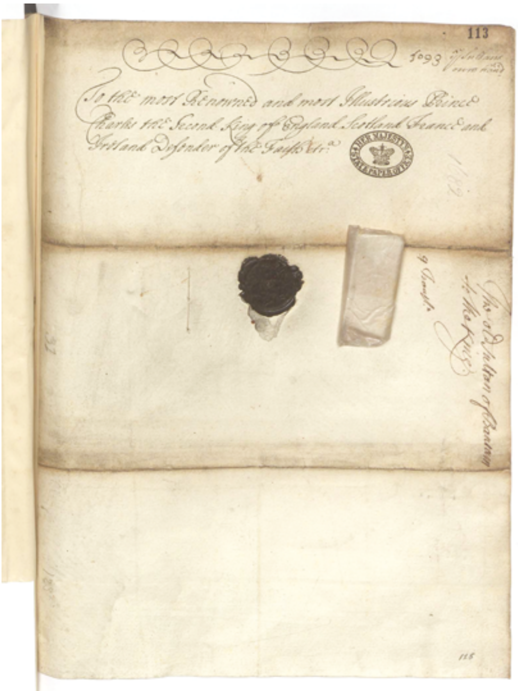
FIGURE 8.7 The National Archive, London, CO77/14, f. 111. An illuminated letter from Sultan Abū'l-Naṣr ʿAbd al-Qahhār to King Charles II, undated, but probably composed in 1682



بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم الحمد لله رب العالمين والصلوة
والسلام على رسوله وانبيائه اجمعين

علامت كتابة من السلطان ابو الفتح عبد الفتاح سلطان ترتياسي المنصور الى كنج لسد سكن بلاد
اعكلان وفقه الله للصواب واصلح به اموره واطال عمره واسبغ عليه نعمه وابهد العدل في رعيته
وازاده من فضله ووصل الينا كتابكم الذى مع كاڤيتن وُدكلث وما هديتم من البارود وهو
مائتين ڤيكول وبعد ذلك نعلمكم ان ولدنا ابو النصر قد خالف علينا وتحارب معنا واضعفناه
وبعد ذلك طلب الولندة وقال لهم اسعدونا وخذوا البلد واسعدوه علينا وقد جاء بعده
اربعة عشر مركبا وامرنا ولدنا ڤغيران يوجيا يمسك بندر وانا نطلب منكم سعدة عليهم لان
الاول قد كان بيننا وبينكم عهد اذا احصل علينا فتنة الولندة تسعدون واذا كان لكم شغل
فنعله والولندة تعدوا علينا الا انا نحارب مع ولدنا واذا كان الولد مع الاب والزوج مع
الزوجة لاعادة ان الغير يدخل بينهم وولدنا ضرب المدافع على رعيتكم ورعيتنا الان
رعيتكم ورعيتنا جالسون في بندر سورسوون ومقصود ولدنا انهم يخرجون من البندر
وبعد ذلك يدخلون الولندة سورسوون ورعيتنا مسكوا البندر والولندة قد اعطوه ثلاثة
الناس الذي يضربون المدافع ورعيتكم اسعدونا كثيرا في البندر وغيره وكل ما نحتاج منهم
من بارود وغيره ومثل ما اسعدوا ولدنا الولندة وانا نطلب منكم سعدة عليهم ومقصودنا
انا وانتم واحدين مثل الاول واذا تحاربتم مع الولندة ان شاء الله تعالى انا نكون من البر وانتم
من البحر ونعطي لكم جكتر وعلى لسان حامل ورقة كاڤيتن توَمَس وُدكلث الذى يسمى مركبه
سِغَيُوعُفِركِن كغابة تاريخ اثنين ثالث عشر من ربيع الاول وهجرة صلى الله عليه وسلم سنة ١٠٩٣

112



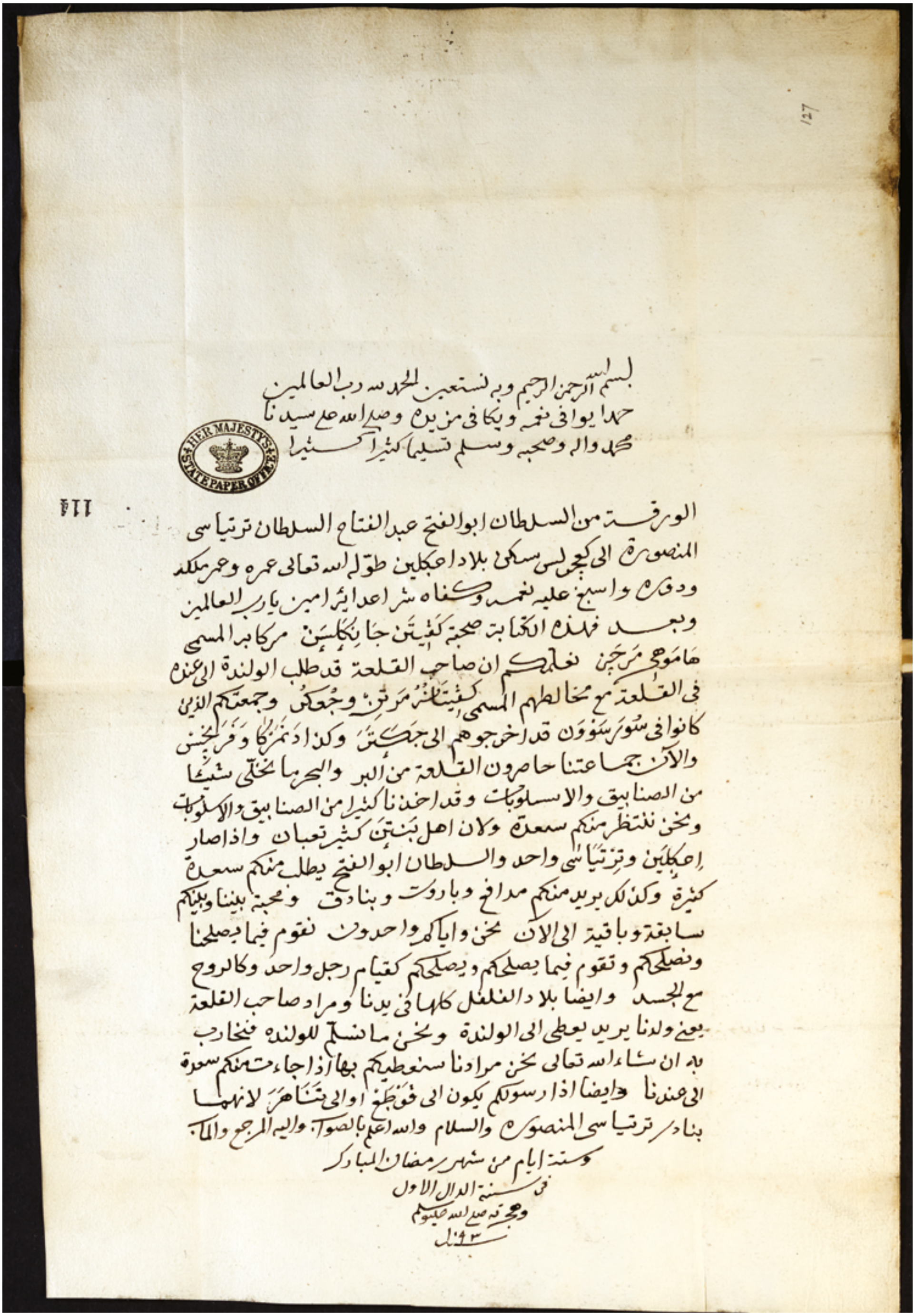
113

1093

To the most Renowned and most Illustrious Prince
Charles the Second King of England Scotland France and
Ireland Defender of the Faith etc.

The Sultan of Bantam
to the King

FIGURE 8.8
The National Archive, London, CO 77/14, f. 112. A letter from Sultan Abū'l-Fatḥ Sultan Ageng Tirtiyasa to King Charles II, dated 13 Rabīʿ I 1093/21 April 1682



HER MAJESTY'S STATE PAPER OFFICE

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم وبه نستعين الحمد لله رب العالمين
حمدا يوافي نعمه ويكافي مزيده وصلى الله على سيدنا
محمد واله وصحبه وسلم تسليما كثيرا كثيرا

الورقة من السلطان ابو الفتح عبد الفتاح السلطان ترتياسى
المنصور الى كنجلس سكن بلاد انكليز طول الله تعالى عمره وعمر ملكه
ودولته واسبغ عليه نعمه وكفاه شر اعدائه امين يا رب العالمين
وبعد فهذه الكتابة صحبة كفيتن جا ينكلسن مركابر المسمى
هاموجى مرجن نعلمكم ان صاحب القلعة قد طلب الولندة الى عنده
في القلعة مع مخالطهم المسمى كفيتان مرتن وجعكس وجمعتكم الذين
كانوا في سور سوون قد اخرجوهم الى جكترا وكذا دنمركا وفرنجس
والآن جماعتنا حاصرون القلعة من البر والبحر ما تخلى شيئا
من الصنابيق والاسلوبات وقد اخذنا كثيرا من الصنابيق والاسلوبات
ونحن ننتظر منكم سعدة ولان اهل بنتن كثير تعبان واذا صار
انكليز وترتياسى واحد والسلطان ابو الفتح يطلب منكم سعدة
كثيرة وكذلك بريد منكم مدافع وبارود وبنادق ومحبة بيننا وبينكم
سابقة وباقية الى الآن نحن واياكم واحدون نقوم فيما يصلحنا
ونصلحكم وتقوم فيما يصلحكم ويصلحكم كقيام رجل واحد وكالروح
مع الجسد وايضا بلاد الفلفل كلها في يدنا ومراد صاحب القلعة
يعني ولدنا يريد يعطي الى الولندة ونحن ما نسلم للولندة فنحارب
به ان شاء الله تعالى نحن مرادنا سنعطيكم بها اذا جاءت منكم سعدة
الى عندنا وايضا اذا رسولكم يكون الى فوطغ او الى تناهر لانهما
بنادر ترتياسى المنصور والسلام والله اعلم بالصواب واليه المرجع والمآب
وستة ايام من شهر رمضان المبارك
في سنة الدال الاول
وهجرة صلى الله عليه وسلم
١٠٩٣

FIGURE 8.9 The National Archive, London, CO 77/14, f. 114. A letter from Sultan Abū'l-Fatḥ Sultan Ageng Tirtiyasa to King Charles II, dated 6 Ramaḍān 1093/6 September 1682

Banten court's interest in Arabic, the ambassadors Abū'l-Naṣr sent to London apparently spoke nothing but Malay and only four people could be found in the city to converse with them.[73]

Not every instance of the use of Arabic can be readily explained. There is no obvious reason for the choice of the language in the 1664 missives instead of Malay. However, the extant examples of the Arabic correspondence of the Banten sultanate are highly significant, both as examples of Arabic epistolography from Southeast Asia, and for the unique first hand view they provide of a period of dramatic change, as contenders within a Javanese sultanate fought among themselves for superiority, ultimately ushering in colonial rule. There are few comparable first hand accounts emanating from the royal court itself. Moreover, not just the contents of the letters, but also their language and diplomatic conventions seem to reflect the shifting historical circumstances under which they were composed.

3 Eighteenth Century Correspondence

The widely dispersed locations from which our eighteenth-century letters originate, even if relatively few in number, suggest the diffusion of Arabic across Southeast Asia, although it is of course hard to be sure what has been lost from earlier periods. In addition to further letters from Aceh, we have two examples from the Malay peninsula, a letter written in or after 1793 from Terengganu and one of 1824 from Kedah, and a letter dated 1196/1782 from Warren Hastings to Sultan Nuku of Maluku. Finally, several letters from the late seventeenth and late eighteenth centuries survive addressed to the Dutch VOC in Batavia, usually in the person of its governor general, from the rulers of Ethiopia and Oman respectively.

The most important Acehnese letter of the period is the undated missive of 'Ala' al-Din Johan Syah (r. 1735–1760) to the governor of the Danish East India Company settlement at Tranquebar in India (Fig 8.10).[74] In format this letter shows strong influences from the epistolographic traditions of the central

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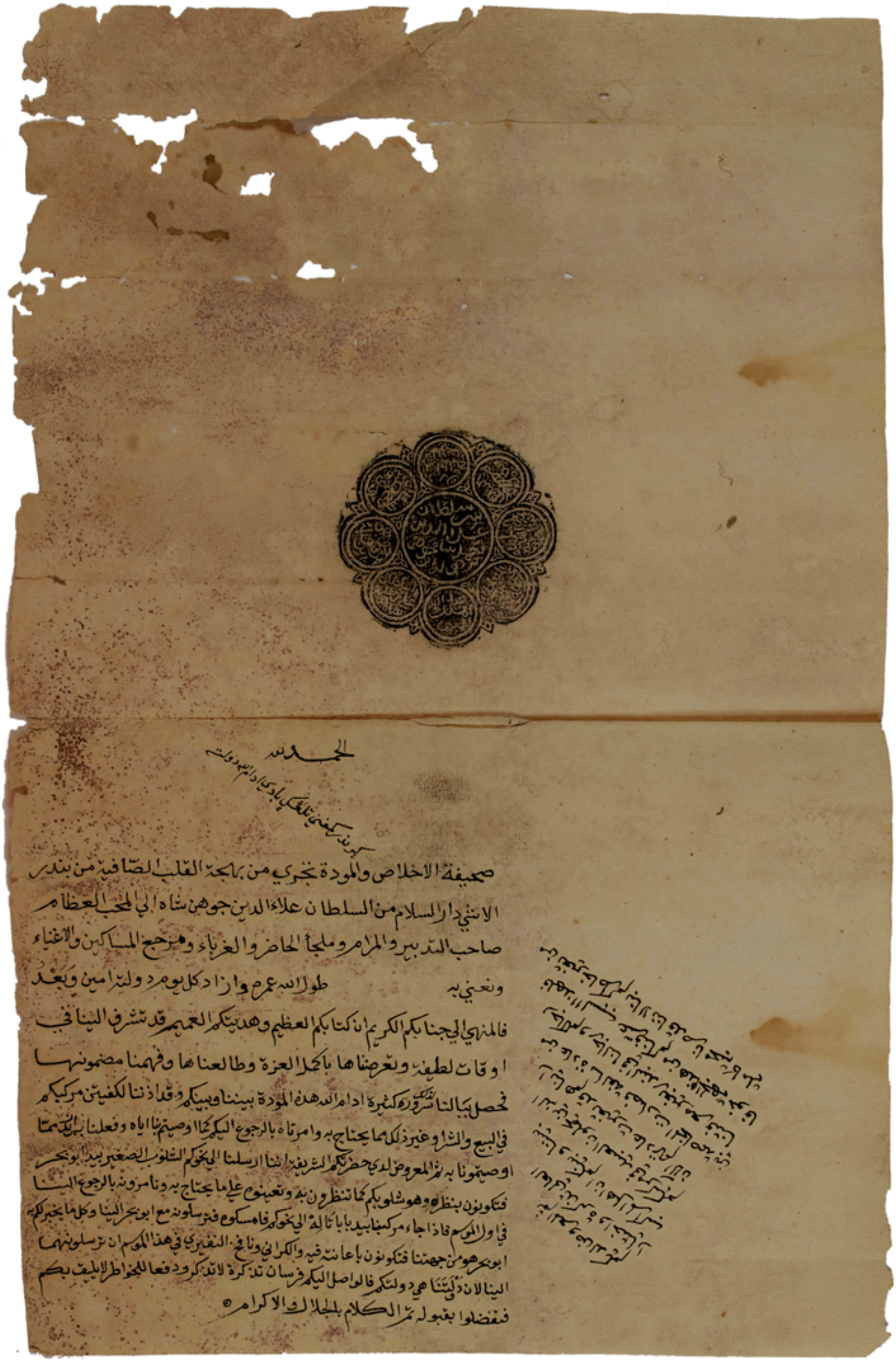
[73] Russell Jones, "The First Indonesian Mission to London," *Indonesia Circle* 28 (1982): 9–19, Nonetheless, the civil war in Banten did generate some interest in England, not least because the Dutch takeover brought the final end to the English factory there. In 1683 the London publisher Tho. Malthus brought out a slim volume of letters from an East India Company agent in Banten relating events: *The Civil Wars of Bantam, or, An Impartial Relation of all the Battels, Sieges, and other Remarkable Transactions, Revolutions and Acidents that happened in the late Civil Wars between that King and his Eldest Son* (London, 1683).

[74] Copenhagen, Rigsarkivet, MS As. Komp. 2188a, QQ (1), published with a facsimile and discussion in Gallop, "*Elevatio*".



الحمد لله

[illegible] دام الله دولته

صحيفة الاخلاص والمودة تجري من باحة القلب الصافية من بندر
الاشي دار السلام من السلطان علاء الدين جوهن شاه الى المحب العظام
صاحب التدبير والمرام وملجأ الحاضر والغرباء ومرجع المساكين والاغنياء
ونعني به طول الله عمره وازاد كل يوم قدره ولنا امين وبعد
فالمنهي الى جنابكم الكريم ان كتابكم العظيم وهديتكم العظيم قد تشرف الينا في
اوقات لطيفة وتعرضناها باكمل العزة وطالعناها وفهمنا مضمونها
فحصل بها لنا سرور كثيرة ادام الله هذه المودة بيننا وبينكم وقد اذننا لكفيتن مركبكم
في البيع والشراء وغير ذلك مما يحتاج به وامرناه بالرجوع اليكم كما وصيتمونا اياه وفعلنا به كما
اوصيتمونا به ثم المعروض لدى حضرتكم الشريفة اننا ارسلنا الى خوكم الشلوب الصغير بيد ابو بكر
فتكونون بنظره وهو شلوبكم كما تنظرون به وتعينوه على ما يحتاج به وتامرونه بالرجوع الينا
في اول الموسم فاذا جاء مركبنا بيد بابا تاله الى خوكم فامسكوه فترسلونه مع ابو بكر الينا وكل ما يخبر لكم به
ابو بكر هو من جهتنا فتكونون باعانته فيه والكراني ونائب النقيري في هذا الموسم ان ترسلونهما
الينا الان ذلك بيننا هي دولتكم فالواصل اليكم فرسان تذكرة لا تذكرو دفعا للخواطر لا يليق بكم
فتفضلوا بقبوله تم الكلام بالجلال والاكرام ۞

FIGURE 8.10 Copenhagen, Rigsarkivet, MS As. Komp. 2188a, QQ (1). Undated letter of Sultan ʿAlaʾ al-Din Johan Syah (r. 1735–1760) of Aceh to the governor of the Danish East India Company settlement at Tranquebar in India

Islamic lands, employing generous spacing, *elevatio* and *inshāʾ*. However, even this very Middle Eastern looking letter conforms to Malay convention in one respect – the mention of both the sender and recipient. In addition, the opening compliments of Johan Syah's letter in fact represent an Arabic translation of standard Malay letter openings. It is described as "a paper of sincerity and love that flows from the pure joy of the heart" (*ṣaḥīfat al-ikhlāṣ wa'l-mawadda tajrī min bahjat al-qalb al-ṣafiyya*) which represents more or less a direct translation of Malay formulae such as *surat tulus dan ikhlas serta suci putih hati*, *surat kasih sayang tulus yang tiada berkesudahan* or *warkat al-ikhlas ... yang terbit daripada hati yang suci*.[75]

The use of *elevatio* may also have been popularised in the region through contacts with India. The letter to Sultan Muḥammad Saʿd al-Dīn of Maluku (almost certainly to be identified with Sultan Nuku, d. 1806) from Warren Hastings written in 1782 asking permission to build a British base in his territories and seeking an alliance against the Dutch has a sort of half-realised *elevatio*, in which a gap is left in the second line after the recipient's titles but before the standard prayer after the royal titles *khallada allāh dawlatahu* "may God make his state eternal" (Fig. 8.11).[76] Indeed, the recipient is nowhere directly named in the text of the letter, but only on the envelope. The letter was evidently drawn up in Bengal, where the East India Company had its base at Calcutta, by a scribe who was well versed in the practices of the Mughal chancery. Like Mughal letters, and many Malay ones, the letter is written on Surat paper embossed with gilded fleurs de lil. Although Persian was clearly the main language of administration and correspondence throughout India, and few Arabic documents from the Mughal chancery have been published, it certainly was used on occasion for communicating with foreign rulers. A long, elaborate Arabic letter from the Mughal ruler Aurengzeb (r. 1658–1707) to William III of England (r. 1689–1702) survives,[77] and there is a collection of letters from Aurengzeb to the imam al-Mutawakkil Ismāʿīl b. al-Manṣūr of Yemen, although this is preserved in a manuscript compilation, not the original form.[78] Comparison with these missives suggest that while the secretary who drew

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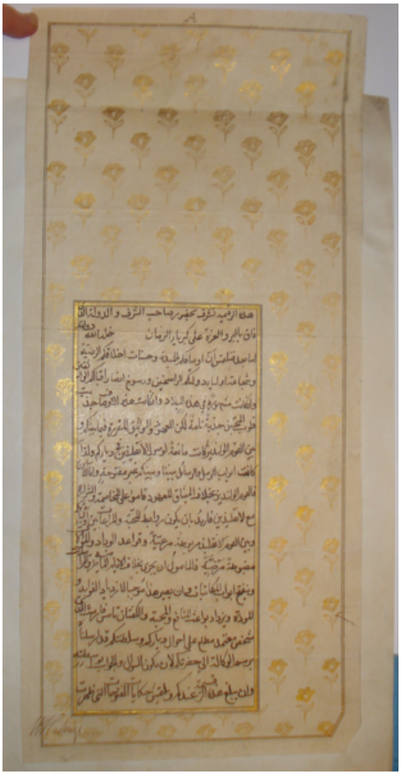
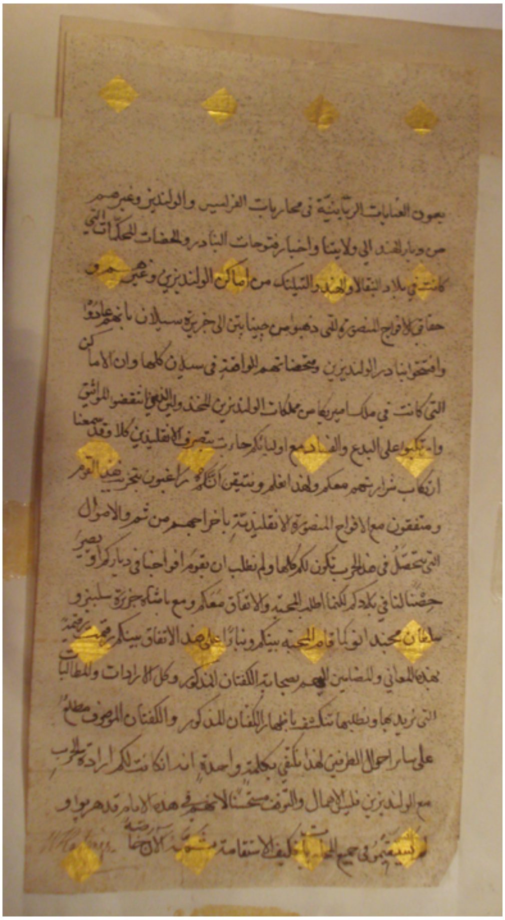
[75] For these phrases in letters addressed to Raffles in the early nineteenth century, see Ahmat Adam, *Letters of Sincerity: The Raffles Collection of Malay Letters (1780–1824). A Descriptive Account with Notes and Translation* (Kuala Lumpur, 2009), 71, 92, 247.

[76] British Library, Or. 16900.

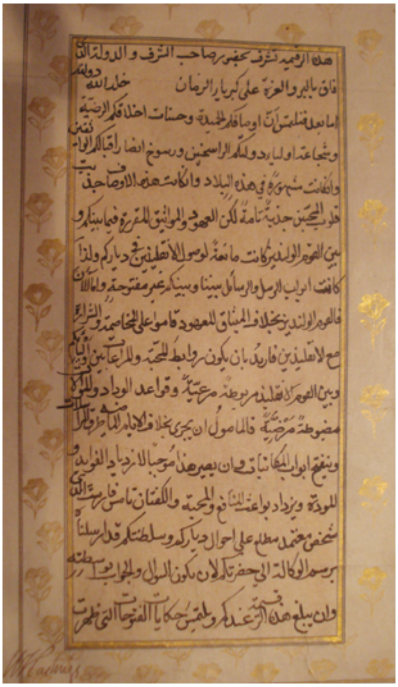
[77] British Library, Or. 6286.

[78] *Majmūʿat Rasāʾil mutabādala bayna Sulṭān al-Hind Awrangzīb wa-'l-Imām al-Mutawakkil ʿalā allāh*; the manuscript is in the al-Mutawakkiliyya collection, Sanaa. I have consulted a microfilm held in the Dār al-Kutub, Cairo, H ʿarabi 33496, microfilm no. 54128.

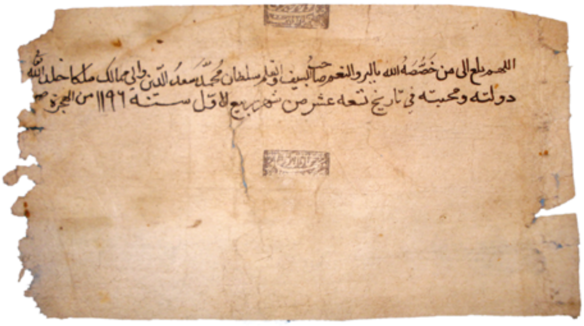




بعون العنايات الربانية في محاربات الفرانسيس والولنديز وغيرهم
من ديار الهند الى ولايتنا واخبار فتوحات البنادر والحصنات للحكام التي
كانت في بلاد البنقالا والهند والتلنك من اماكن الولنديز وغيرهم و
حقايق الافواج المنصورة التي ذهبوا من جينابتن الى جزيرة سيلان بانهم عادوا
وافتحوا بنادر الولنديز وحصناتهم الواقعة في سيلان كلها وان الاماكن
التي كانت في ملك امريكا من مملكات الولنديز الهند والتي الذين نقضوا المواثيق
وانكبوا على البدع والفساد مع اوليائكم حارت بتصرف الانقليزين كلا وقد سمعنا
ارتكاب شرارتهم معكم ولهذا نعلم ونتيقن انكم راغبون بتخريب هذا القوم
ومتفقون مع الافواج المنصورة الانقليزية باخراجهم من ثم والاموال
التي تحصل في هذه الحرب تكون لكم كلها ولم نطلب ان نقوم افواجنا في دياركم او يصير
حصنا لنا في بلادكم لكننا اطلب المحبة والاتفاق معكم ومع باشاه جزيرة سلببز و
سلطان محمد انو كما قام المحبة بينكم وبنا ان اعلى هذا الاتفاق بينكم رحمة
بهذه المعاني وللمضامين الهمم بصحابة الكفتان المذكور وكل الارادات والمطالبات
التي نريد بها ونطلبها ستكشف باظهار الكفتان المذكور والكفتان الموصوف مطلع
على ساير احوال الطرفين لهذا نكتفي بكلمة واحدة انه انكانت لكم ارادة الحرب
مع الولنديز فليل الاهمال والتوقف حتى لا يحصل في هذه الايام قد هربوا و
ليستقيموا في جميع الحال بكيفية الاستقامة [illegible]



هذه الرقيمة تشرف بحضور صاحب الشرف و الدولة الذي
فاق بالبر والعزة على كبريا الزمان خلد الله دولته
اما بعد فنلتمس ان اوصافكم الحميدة وحسنات اخلاقكم الرضية
وشجاعة اولياء دولتكم الراسخين ورسوخ انصار اقبالكم الوافية
وانكانت مشهورة في هذه البلاد وانكانت هذه الاوصاف جذبت
قلوب المحبين جذبة تامة لكن العهود والمواثيق المقررة فيما بينكم و
بين القوم الولنديز كانت مانعة لوصول الانقليزين في دياركم ولذا
كانت ابواب الرسل والرسائل بيننا وبينكم غير مفتوحة والان
فالقوم الولنديز بخلاف الميثاق المعهود قاموا على المخاصمة والشرارة
مع الانقليزين فاريد بان يكون روابط المحبة والمراعاة بين دولتكم و
بين القوم الانقليز مربوطة مرعية وقواعد الوداد والموالاة
مضبوطة مرضية فالمامول ان يجري بخلاف الايام الماضية المراسلات
وينفتح ابواب المكاتبات وان يصير هذا موجبا لازدياد الفوايد و
للمودة ويزداد بواعث المنافع والمحبة والكفتان تامس فاريست الذي
شخص معتمد مطلع على احوال دياركم وسلطنتكم قد ارسلنا
برسم الوكالة الى حضرتكم لان يكون السوال والجواب بواسطته
وان يبلغ هذا الرقيم في عندكم ويلتمس حكايات الفتوحات التي ظهرت



اللهم بلغ الى من خصصه الله بالبر والبحر صاحب السيف والقلم سلطان محمد سعد الدين والي ممالك ملكا خلد الله
دولته ومحبته في تاريخ تسعة عشر من شهر ربيع الاول سنة ١١٩٦ من الهجرة

FIGURE 8.11 British Library, Or. 16900. Letter from Warren Hastings to Sultan Muḥammad Saʿd al-Dīn of Maluku (Sultan Nuku, d. 1806), dated 1782

up Hastings' letter was well acquainted with standard protocols, he deliberately omitted the religiously charged opening compliments with their explicit references to Islam and the Prophet Muḥammad; in Aurengzeb's letters to al-Mutawakkil these typically extend over at least a page before the mention of the recipient. For a letter coming from an infidel ruler, such a passage would be inappropriate. Hastings' letter is considerably less flowery than the examples from Aurengzeb, although it does contain a nod towards *inshāʾ* style by including rhymes and parallelism in the body of the letter (e.g. *bi-an yakūna rawābiṭ al-maḥabba waʾl-murāʿāt bayna awliyāʾikum wa-bayna al-qawm al-Inqilīdh mar**būṭatan** marʿ**iyyatan** wa-qawāʿid al-wadād waʾl-muwālāt maḍ**būtatan** marḍ**iyyatan***).

A cognate form of half realised *elevatio* is also found in an Arabic letter from Sultan Aḥmad Taj al-Din Halim Syah of Kedah addressed to the Ottoman sultan in 1824, and preserved in the Presidential Ottoman archive in Istanbul.[79] While standing somewhat outside the chronological framework of this volume, it is worth considering owing to its parallels with earlier documents. In the letter, the sultan of Kedah appeals to the Ottomans for assistance against the Siamese. He describes how the Siamese have invaded (this occurred in 1821–2) and forced him from his kingdom into exile in Penang, and explains he is writing to the Ottomans because of their role in incorporating Kedah into the land of Islam. This allusion seems to be based on sixteenth century Ottoman activity in Southeast Asia: the Acehnese similarly claimed to be Ottoman subjects on the basis of a sixteenth century vassalage which was, if not totally fictitious, certainly more real in their minds than the Ottomans'. The Kedah letter is also significant as the first surviving letter from Southeast Asia to the Ottomans since the rupture of their political relationship with the region in the 1580s.

In format, the Kedah letter resembles a Middle Eastern document. There is generous spacing, absence of mention of the sender, and although *elevatio* is absent, there is a gap in text at exactly the point where the addressee's name should be, but the latter is not lifted out of the text. The practice of *elevatio* was thus evidently understood to some degree, if not fully. The opening compliments employ both *inshāʾ* style and parallelism, a device beloved of the Arabic literary tradition. The main Southeast Asian feature is the positioning of the seal, at the bottom left, in a sign of humility, appropriate for someone seeking to assert his own vassal status. This suggests the scribe had a good understanding, albeit incomplete, of the conventions of Middle Eastern epistolography, which he combined with local conventions regarding the seal.

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[79] Full publication in Peacock and Kadı, *Ottoman-Southeast Asian Relations*, 75–81; see also the comments on this letter in İsmail Hakkı Kadı, "The Ottomans and Southeast Asia Prior to the Hamidian Era: A Critique of Colonial Perceptions of Ottoman-Southeast Asian Interaction" in A.C.S. Peacock and Annabel Teh Gallop (eds), *From Anatolia to Aceh: Ottomans, Turks and Southeast Asia* (London, 2015), 149–174, at pp. 155–159.

Closer to Malay conventions in format but not content is the letter written after 1208/1793[80] sent from Sultan Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn of Terengganu on the east coast of the Malay peninsula to Dom João (d. 1826), the heir to the Portuguese throne (Fig. 8.12). He had taken power in 1792 with the mental illness of his mother, Queen Maria I, although he did not assume the title of Regent until 1799, becoming King João IV in 1816. The letter was written in the context of efforts of Portuguese-controlled Macau to seek new trading partners in response to serious economic decline in the second half of the eighteenth century. Forging closer links with Siam was an important component of Macau's strategy, and Terengganu was not just a Siamese vassal, but also a major pepper producer and exporter to China.[81] Terengganu, on the other hand, was anxious for military assistance, above all to preserve a degree of independence from its Siamese overlords, and encouraged the Portuguese to establish a factory in Terengganu. The present letter contains mainly a request for armaments and munitions of various kinds, the urgency of which is stressed.[82]

Superficially, the Terengganu letter closely resembles a typical Malay royal letter in format, bearing at the top right the great lampblack seal of Sultan Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn. However, its text diverges quite significantly from standard Malay protocols. The letter starts with an elaborate passage in *inshāʾ* in which the striving for rhyming effect is so exaggerated that at times the sense is subordinated to it:

> *Al-ḥamd lillāh alladhī manna ʿalaynā biʾl-isl**ām** wa-jaʿala al-mukātaba biʾl-aql**ām** ʿinda tabāʿud al-ajs**ām** niṣf al-liqā li-dhawī al-aḥl**ām** wa tarjamat al-kal**ām** wa taṣḥīḥan lil-akhbār waʾl-aʿ**lām** wa-ṣallā allāh ʿalā nabīnā wa-jamīʿ al-kir**ām***

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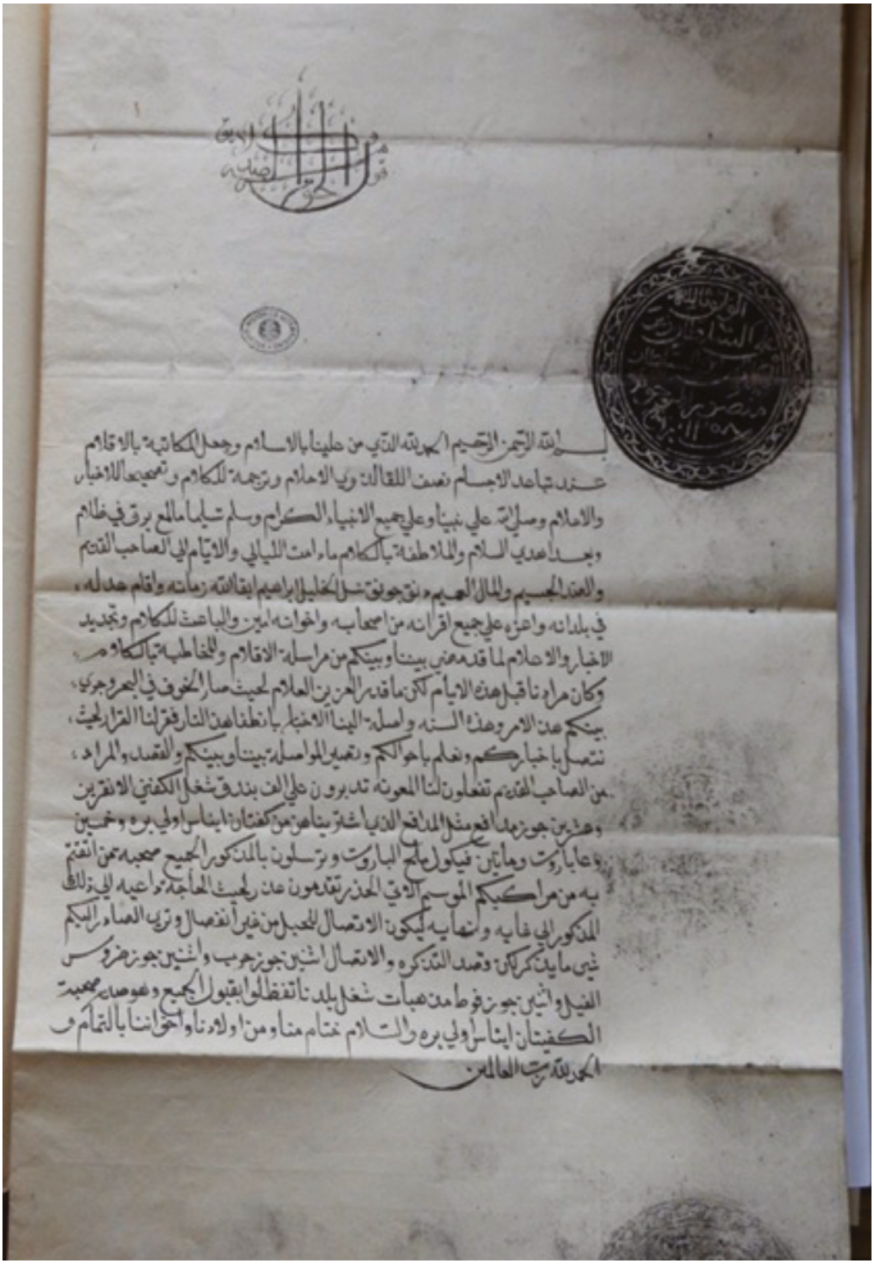
[80] The date is found on Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn's seal, representing a date of manufacture of the seal. However, as is evident from the case of the Kedah letter discussed below, which bears a seal dated 1219/1804 but was probably written in 1824, this is not a sure guide to the letter's date. See Peacock and Kadı, *Ottoman-Southeast Asian Relations*, 75–81.

[81] Jorge Santos Alves, "A Global Strategy: Macao, Siam and Mainland Southeast Asian Markets 1780–1790," in Michael Smithies (ed.), *Five Hundred Years of Thai-Portuguese Relations: A Festschrift* (Bangkok, 2011), 225–242.

[82] Lisbon, Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, Conselho Ultramarino, Índia, Caixa 402. I am indebted to Pedro Pinto for drawing my attention to this letter.



بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم الحمد لله الذي من علينا بالاسلام وجعل المكاتبة بالاقلام
عند تباعد الاجسام نصف للقالة ورب الاعلام وترجمة للكلام وتصحيحا للاخبار
والاعلام وصلى الله على نبينا وعلى جميع الانبياء الكرام وسلم تسليما مالمع برق في ظلام
وبعد اهدي السلام والملاطفة بالكلام ما دامت الليالي والايام الى الصاحب القديم
والعقل الجسيم والمال العظيم دنوجون نسل الخليل ابراهيم ابقى الله زمانه واقام عدله
في بلدانه واعزه على جميع اقرانه من اصحابه واخوانه امين والباعث للكلام وتجديد
الاخبار والاعلام لما قد مضى بيننا وبينكم من مراسلة الاقلام والمخاطبة بالكلام
وكان مرادنا قبل هذه الايام لكن ما قدر العزيز العلام لحيث صار الخوف في البحر وجرى
بينكم هذا الامر وهذه السنه وصلت الينا الاخبار بانطفاء هذه النار فقرلنا القرار لحيث
نتصل باخباركم ونعلم باحوالكم وتصير المواصلة بيننا وبينكم والقصد والمراد
من الصاحب القديم تفعلون لنا المعونه تدبرون على الف بندق شغل الكفني الانقريز
وعشرين جوز مدافع مثل المدافع الذي اشتريناهن من كفتان اينايس اولي برو وخمسين
عاباروت ومائتين فيكول ملح البارود وترسلون بالمذكور الجميع صحبة من انفقتم
به من مراكبكم الموسم الاتي الحذر تقدمون عن رحيث الحاجة داعية الى ذلك
المذكور الى غايه ونهايه ليكون الاتصال بالحبل من غير انفصال وترى العساكر اليكم
شيء ما يذكر لكن وصل التذكرة والاتصال اثنين جوز جوب واثنين جوز هزوس
الفيل واثنين جوز قوطا من هبات شغل بلدنا تتفضلوا بقبول الجميع وهو صاير صحبة
الكفتان اينايس اولي برو والسلام ختام منا ومن اولادنا واخواننا بالتمام و
الحمد لله رب العالمين

FIGURE 8.12 Lisbon, Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, Conselho Ultramarino, Índia, Caixa 402. Sultan Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn of Terengganu to Dom João of Portugal, *c.*1793

> In the name of God the Merciful the Compassionate; praise be upon him that bestowed on us Islam and made correspondence with pens when bodies are distant from one another halfway [to having] a meeting for those who dream [of one another], and [made them] the translation of speech and the redaction of news and information. Blessings upon our Prophet, and all the noble prophets."

The use of *inshāʾ* style continues in the letter's *narratio* which is written in a much more fluent and sophisticated Arabic than the examples from eighteenth century Aceh. It is interesting that such an effort to include *inshāʾ* should have been made in a letter destined to a non-Muslim, an audience that would be unlikely to appreciate it. Indeed, the letter's use of resolutely Muslim imagery through the praise of God and his Prophets is also noteworthy, and probably represents a standard element of Terengganu epistolography. The letter also diverges from Malay norms in the absence of any mention of the sender, and yet with the positioning of lampblack seal seems to represent a hybrid of Middle Eastern and Southeast Asian epistolographic practices. Indeed, the letter suggests the potential for chancery officials to innovate. The somewhat peculiar position of Dom João at this date, who was de facto ruler but not yet officially Regent, seems to be reflected in the curious title he is given of *al-ṣāḥib al-qadīm*, 'the ancient lord'; nowhere is his royal status explicitly acknowledged in the Arabic, although he is branded the 'descendant of Abraham' (*nasl al-Khalīl Ibrāhīm*), a compliment that was evidently considered sufficiently odd to be omitted in the contemporary Portuguese translation, in which *al-ṣāḥib al-qadīm* is rendered simply as *Grande Principe*. The anomalous nature of these compliments, which have no parallel in any other currently known document, perhaps reflect the efforts of the Terengganu official responsible for drafting the document to grasp a complicated political situation in Portugal that the Portuguese themselves may have presented in somewhat opaque fashion. Although it may seem surprising that such a sophisticated letter was written in a region where there is little other evidence of Arabic literary activity, that may reflect the vagaries of modern evidence. From the nineteenth century, Terengganu was famed for the quality of the Qur'ans that were copied there. Abdullah Munsyi, who visited in 1839, remarked that although there were few Arabs resident there, the people of Terengganu "had expertise in writing Arabic, such as the Qur'an and Arabic books, but they seldom [write] in Malay."[83]

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[83] Abdullah Munsyi, "Kisah Pelayaran Abdullah Munsyi dari Singapura sampai ke Kelantan" in Amin Sweeney (ed.), *Karya Lengkap Abdullah bin Abdul Kadir Munsyi, Jilid 1* (Jakarta,

Most of the letters discussed thus represent in varying degrees hybrids of the epistolographic practices of the central Islamic lands and the Malay world. Perhaps unsurprisingly, it is the letters from Aceh that adhere most closely in format to Middle Eastern conventions, through the use of devices such as *elevatio* and *inshāʾ* even if somewhat imperfectly realised. Yet some knowledge of such devices is apparent elsewhere, even in instances such as Terengganu where superficially the form of a letter is entirely in accordance with Malay tradition. The hybridity of these letters, however, varies greatly according to region: there is no overarching Southeast Asian Arabic convention. Rather, the letters suggest the largely ad hoc imitation of incoming correspondence, with different elements recognised and adopted by different secretaries in different places.

Owing to the lack of preservation of indigenous archives, there are few such incoming letters to illustrate this hypothesis. However, one indication of the sort of letters that did reach Southeast Asia survives in the archives of the VOC. Correspondence from the western parts of the Indian Ocean seems regularly to have been addressed to the VOC in Arabic, and sometimes in Persian. Six letters to Batavia in Arabic, and two in Persian, from the imam of Muscat, Sulṭān b. al-Imām Aḥmad b. Saʿīd (r. 1792–1804), dating to 1213/1798 to 1216/1801 survive, and one dated 1221/1806 from his successor al-Sayyid Badr b. al-Sayyid Sayf.[84] Witkam comments that “they were evidently written by professional secretaries, but it is at once clear these were people without a classical education. The language of the letters is full of formulaic niceties, but the overall grammar is weak, especially in syntax.” Indeed, Witkam argues that the secretaries may have been Indian, although in contrast he notes that the letter from al-Sayyid Badr is written in “a remarkable chancery hand and in an impeccable and straightforward Arabic.”[85] All the Arabic letters but this last exhibit forms of *elevatio*; *elevatio* of a sort is also present in the Persian letters, although here no gap is left in the text for the space from which the named is ‘elevated’, rather the addressee’s name is placed at the left hand end of the line and elevated from there. A similar device is found in two Arabic letters from the imam dated 17 Rabīʿ 1216/1801.

Thus by the end of the eighteenth century, there seems to have come into existence a coterie of secretaries employed by sultans across Southeast Asia

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2005), 118: “Lagipun bagus bekas angannya menulis ʿArab, seperti Qur’an dan kitab2 bahasa ʿArab; maka jarang yang dalam bahasa Melayu.”

[84] Jan Just Witkam, “Wood, Horses and Friendship. The Arabic Letters from Muscat to the Dutch in Kochi (1779) and Batavia (1798–1806)” in Michael Hoffmann-Ruf and Abdulrahman Al Salimi (eds), *Oman and Overseas* (Hildesheim, 2013), 265–297.

[85] Witkam, “Wood, Horses and Friendship,” 267–8.

who were able to emulate the conventions of the Arabic letters they encountered, which themselves may often have had flaws of grammar. The letters thus often represent a hybrid of Malay, Middle Eastern and sometimes Mughal conventions. Conventions such as *elevatio* came to represent a common visual language understood across the Indian Ocean. Judging by the examples from Kedah and Terengganu, competence at Arabic was much more widely spread than in earlier periods, certainly the early seventeenth century, when in both Aceh and Banten the writers of the letters evidently struggle to express themselves.

4 Non-royal Correspondence

As noted above, it is somewhat invidious to make a strict distinction between royal, official, personal and business correspondence, and nowhere is this better illustrated than by a letter penned by Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maqāṣīrī in Rajab 1084/October 1673 to the chancellor (*tumabicarabutta*) of the kingdom of Gowa-Talloq.[86] Gowa-Talloq was the leading enemy of the Dutch in South Sulawesi, and one of the preeminent Muslim states of Southeast Asia. It enjoyed close relations with Banten. Many of Gowa-Talloq's leading figures fled to Banten after their defeat by the Dutch and the seizure of their base, Ujung Padang (Makassar) in 1669, although relations subsequently broke down over the sultan of Banten's habit of helping himself to highborn Sulawesi refugee women.[87] Yet Gowa-Talloq itself survived both the defeat and the death of Sultan Ḥasan al-Dīn in 1670, with the long-serving Karaeng Karunrung, an inveterate enemy of the Dutch, continuing as chancellor, dying in 1685.

The letter survives only in the now lost collection of al-Maqāṣīrī's works that once belonged to Hamka and originated from South Sulawesi (see p. 176 above). Thus we have no information about the physical attributes of the letter. Its analysis is also hindered by the numerous copying errors, resulting in the distortion of some words, the reduplication of passages, and the damage that the later manuscript from which the modern copy was made had suffered. However, as this rare document is of considerable historical importance both text and translation are given in full in Appendix 3. This is by far the longest and most elaborate Arabic letter from Southeast Asia to survive.

In contrast to the royal correspondence from Banten, al-Maqāṣīrī's letter adheres the Middle Eastern convention of mentioning the recipient but not the sender at the beginning. In addition, while the Banten royal letters are composed in a relatively simple language, al-Maqāṣīrī’s missive opens with an elaborate section of praise for Karaeng Karunrung which draws extensively on Sufi concepts and employs elements of rhyming prose. For example, Karaeng Karunrung is described as *al-muʾayyad bi-bāṭin al-haq*___īqa___ *al-māshī ʿalā sawāʾ al-ṭar*___īqa___ *al-mutamassik bi-matīn ḥabl allāh malik al-dawla al-mulūk*___iyya___ *wa-badr budūr al-mamlaka al-saylān*___iyya___ *ṣāḥib al-tadbīr al-t*___āmm___ *ʿalā ʾl-khāṣṣ wa-ʾl-ʿ*___āmm___, or “who is supported by the hidden Truth (*ḥaqīqa*), who walks upon the Way (*ṭarīqa*) holding fast to God’s strong rope, the king of the kingly/Maluku state, the full moon of the moons of the kingdom of Ceylon, the master of complete control over nobles and commoners.” Even these few lines are rich in allusions. Apart from the play on the Sufi concepts of *ḥaqīqa* and *ṭarīqa*, the text alludes to Ibn Abī Dāʾūd’s (d. 314/926–7) well-known *qaṣīda* enjoining piety, the *ḥāʾiyya* which starts *tamassak bi-ḥabl allāh*. The following phrase plays on the Arabic root m-l-k, alluding both to royalty and to the Maluku islands, doubtless an intentional play on words. Maluku perhaps is intended to represent one extreme of the Indian Ocean world, with Ceylon at the other, hyperbolically suggesting Gowan dominance of the entire region. At the same time, the reference to Ceylon may also contain religious allusions, for its fame as the place of Adam’s descent to earth from paradise.[88] The text continues at length in similar vein, praising Karaeng Karunrung both as a secular ruler “the centre of virtuous sultans, and axis of the kingly soldiers in ideals” (*markaz al-salāṭīn al-afāḍil wa-madār ʿasākir al-mulūk fīʾl-amāthil*) and as a Sufi.

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[86] Indonesian translation in Tudjimah, *Syekh Yusuf*, 187–193; see Appendix 3.

[87] For these events see Andaya, *The Heritage of Arung Palakka*, esp. Chapters 7 and 8.

The *narratio* is of considerable interest for the light it sheds on the ways in which Sufism and diplomacy were intertwined. Al-Maqāṣīrī starts by thanking the Karaeng Karunrung for the gifts that he sent him, which had been conveyed via Gowa’s Mandar allies, although he notes that some money to be brought to him by a Haji Abdul Rashid Tawulisa has not reached him. He apologies for not being able to meet with the vizier in person. Turning from the practical to the theoretical, al-Maqāṣīrī then offers a concise outline of Sufism to Karaeng Karunrung. He insists on the importance of both *ḥaqīqa* and sharia, a theme of his other works, and emphasises the need for the believer who wishes to reach God to follow the Prophet, through repenting and practicing *dhikr*. It is by joining together both sharia and *ḥaqīqa* that someone can become the ‘perfect man’, as we will recall from the discussion of the *Zubdat al-Asrār*.

After this discussion of the main elements of al-Maqāṣīrī’s religious system, he turns again to practical matters. Al-Maqāṣīrī explains he has been impelled to write the letter by two individuals named Haji Kara Pasaa and Haji Raja who had accompanied Sultan Abū'l-Fatḥ of Banten on his journey to the Hijaz; the ship had departed just over a month previously, in late Jumādā II 1084/September 1673. Haji Kari Pasaa, who was to accompany the sultan to Mecca, had requested al-Maqāṣīrī write to inform Karaeng Karunrung of his departure to the holy land, suggesting he must have been a member of the ʿulama' from Gowa-Talloq. Al-Maqāṣīrī then mentions the presents he is sending along with the letter – two baskets of white sugar and a bag of black pepper. Finally, al-Maqāṣīrī comes to the most delicate part of his missive. He explains that Sultan Abū'l-Fatḥ of Banten had spoken to him 'secretly' in his *majlis*, and asked him to write to Karaeng Karunrung to ask for the return of a *keris*, a *pauh janggi* (coco de mer) and copper-and-gold alloyed bowl. It seems these gifts had been sent as a sign of respect to the chancellor, but al-Maqāṣīrī explains that Pangeran Arya Sangtikar, who was presumably a Makassar prince, when departing for the hajj, had told al-Maqāṣīrī to ask for the *keris*. Finally, al-Maqāṣīrī adds a request of his own: a gold ring set with emeralds or rubies.

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[88] Ricci, *Banishment and Belonging*, 125–133.

It is hard to cut through to the reality of the historical facts here; possibly the keris had been given to Karaeng Karunrung in happier times when the Makassar forces were enjoying more success against the Dutch, the common enemy they shared with Banten. Like the keris, the bowl was presumably part of the court regalia. Why their return is requested is unclear, but perhaps in the light of the recent defeat of the Makassarese by the Dutch, the Banten court decided to downgrade their erstwhile allies; or possibly the request was occasioned by the breakdown in relations between the sultan and the Gowa-Talloq aristocratic exiles in Banten. Intriguingly, although the letter is almost entirely in Arabic, when relaying the Sultan's order to seek the return of the goods, al-Maqāṣīrī switches to Malay:

> Wa-qāla bi'l-khafiyya, yā shaykh Yūsuf, mā mumkin an tursila bi-'l-kitāb ilā akhīnā Kareng Karunrung ḥafiẓahu allāh an yarudda ilaynā *keris anak Kyai Tambak dan pauh janggi kita dan bokor suasa kita* li-anna al-kull mā aʿṭaynāhā iyyāhu
>
> He said secretly, Shaykh Yusuf, can you not send a letter to our brother Karaeng Karunrung, may God protect him, [asking him to] return *the keris belonging to the son of Kyai Tambak, our pauh janggi, and our copper-and-gold alloyed bowl*, for these are all what we have given him?

The letter shows how al-Maqāṣīrī could act as an intermediary between Muslim rulers, using his religious status and his mastery of the Sufi mysteries, in particular the path to becoming an *insān kāmil*, to fulfil a delicate diplomatic role. The prior gifts sent to him from Sulawesi alluded to at the beginning of the letter suggest he already enjoyed a high standing with Karaeng Karunrung. Indeed, al-Maqāṣīrī is sufficiently confident of his own position that after posing this presumably distinctly embarrassing request, he then asks for a valuable jewel for himself. Most intriguingly of all, perhaps, despite being written to a compatriot of his, al-Maqāṣīrī composed the letter in Arabic rather than Makassarese.

Another famous *ʿālim* to use Arabic for epistolography was ʿAbd al-Ṣamad Palimbānī, whose letters from Mecca to Java in 1772, surviving only in Dutch translation, have been discussed in Chapter 6. Similarly, the unidentified *ʿālim* Shaykh Muḥammad used Arabic to write to the Mataram ruler Mangkunagara in the same year. The option to use Malay would have been open to ʿAbd al-Ṣamad, for that language, in which he commonly composed his works, was widely understood in Java. The choice of Arabic by al-Maqāṣīrī and ʿAbd al-Ṣamad is most readily explained by analogy with the situation in the nineteenth century Aceh. According to Snouck Hurgronje, Arabic was commonly used by Acehnese ʿulamaʾ for letters:

> Several ʿulamaʾ used to correspond among themselves in Arabic. Even in these times, so most unfavorable for the practice of science in Aceh, all this has not yet changed, although the number of the ʿulamaʾ has been greatly diminished by the war, and although the desired knowledge must be collected by the young people as in passing. The correspondence of the younger teungkoes who are still hostile to us, from whom new documents fall into our hands again and again, can teach us this. It is presented in Malay, laced with Arabic expressions, or in Arabic.[89]

The chance survivals of the missives of al-Maqāṣīrī and ʿAbd al-Ṣamad may be evidence that this tendency had a much deeper roots in different parts of the archipelago. Nor, however, was it restricted to the ʿulamaʾ, for Arabic was also on occasion used within Southeast Asia for business purposes. This is suggested by two Arabic letters in the Light archive, today preserved in MS 40320 in the School of Oriental and African Studies London. The collection in total comprises around 1200 letters sent to Francis Light (1740–1794), founder of Penang, and his business associate James Scott, and awaits fuller scholarly investigation.[90] Light was not simply a representative of the East India Company, but also a country trader, deeply involved in commercial activities on both sides of the Straits of Malacca long before the acquisition of Penang.[91] The letters document Light's dealings with local rulers, especially the Sultan of Kedah, within whose territory Penang fell and whose vassal he nominally was, and numerous other merchants, who were often senior members of local courts. Light and Scott sold firearms, ammunition and opium and purchased local produce such as tin, pepper and rattan. They also acted as middle men in the trade in local commodities such as textiles and rice. Indeed, both men were deeply embroiled in local trade networks, and it would be wrong to see them simply as agents of the East India Company.

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[89] Snouck Hurgronje, "Eene verzameling boeken, door den Kapitein der marechaussee K. van dek Maaten in Keumala (Pidië) aangetroffen," *Notulen van de Algemeene en Directievergaderingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen* 39 (1901): 118.

The overwhelming majority of the documents in the Light collection are in Malay, alongside a number in Thai, although there is also a solitary example in Persian apart from the two in Arabic. It is possible that there are further documents in languages other than Malay that have not yet been identified owing to the size of the collection, but the overall picture is probably correct. The Malay letters between Light and local rulers exhibit the elaborate language and formulae typical of Malay epistolography, but there are also plenty of simple, to the point business letters. It is among these that the Arabic and Persian examples appear. Both Arabic letters are from the same individual, Sayyid ʿAbdallāh b. Shaykh al-Ḥabashī, who seems to have been a merchant in or near Lhokseumawe in north Aceh, and are addressed to James Scott. One is dated 28 Muḥarram 1208/ 5 September 1793 (Fig. 8.13),[92] the second 25 Ṣafar 1208/2 October 1793 (Fig. 8.14).[93] The letters are hard to understand owing to their highly ungrammatical language, but recount to Scott the movements of a ship off the north coast of Aceh in which he had a share of the cargo of pepper. This ship had come to Keureute (in Pidie Jaya, outside Lhokseumawe) and was evidently trying to avoid the French warships who were based at Pedir, and were disrupting British trade routes – indeed in 1796 the French would attempt to seize Penang itself.

Both letters are marked by numerous non-standard forms in orthography, grammar and spelling. Even basic words like *huwa* 'he', *naḥnu* 'we' and

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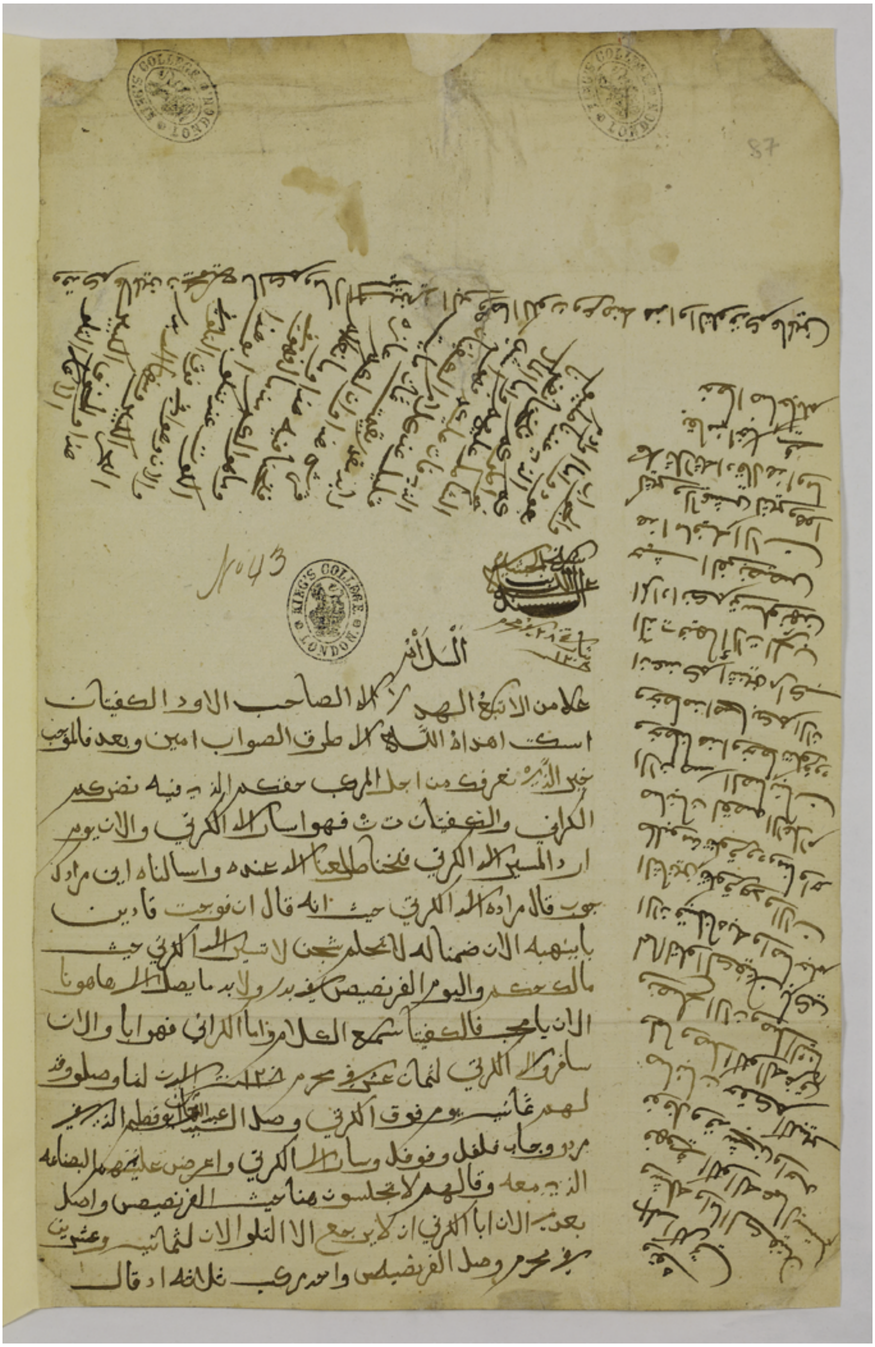
[90] For an introduction to the Light collection, see E.U Kratz, "Some Malay Letters on Trade," *Indonesia Circle* 44 (1987): 3–16; Gallop, *Legacy of the Malay Letter*, 131–141.

[91] E. Ulrich Kratz, "Francis Light's Place in the Trading System of Both Coasts of the Malay Peninsula," *Asian Journal of Social Science* 40 (2012): 83–99.

[92] School of Oriental and African Studies, MS 40320, vol. 6, fol. 89r.

[93] School of Oriental and African Studies, MS 40320, vol. 7, fol. 238r–v.



KING'S COLLEGE LONDON

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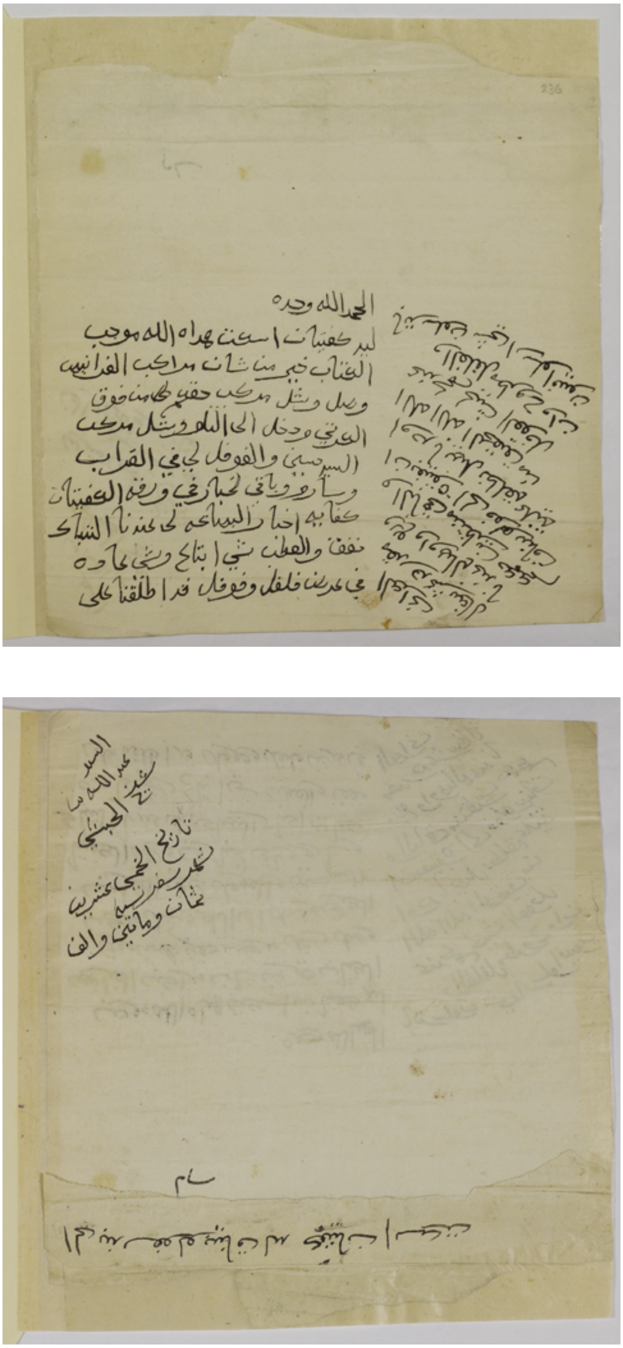
No 43

بتاريخ ٢٨ شهر محرم ١٢٠٨

السلام

علا من الاتبع الهدى الا الصاحب الاود الكفيتان
اسكت اهداه الله الا طرق الصواب امين وبعد فالموجب
خير الذين نعرفك من اجل المركب حقكم الذي فيه نضركم
الكراني والنعفيات ت ث فهوا سار الا الكري والان يوم
ارد المسير الا الكري فخاطبنا الا عنده واسالناه ايش مراده
جوب قال مراده الا الكري حيث انه قال ان فوجت فادين
بابيهه الان ضمنا له لا نخليه يحن لا تسير الا الكري حيث
مالك حكم واليوم الفرنصيص يغدر ولا بد ما يصل الا هاهونا
الان يا محب فالكفيتا سمع الكلام واما الكراني فهوا ابا والان
سافر الا الكري لثمان عشر في محرم ١٢٠٨ الذي لنا وصلوا قد
لهم ثمانيه يوم فوق الكري وصل السيد عبد القادر بو قطيم الذي
مردو وجاب فلفل وفوفل وسار الا الكري واعرض عليهم البضاعه
الذي معه وقال لهم لا تجلسون هنا حيث الفرنصيص واصل
بعدين الان ابا الكراني ان لا يرجع الا التلوا الان لثمانية وعشرين
في محرم وصل الفرنصيص واحد مركب غلنجه اد قال

FIGURE 8.13 London, School of Oriental and African Studies. MS 40320, vol. 6, fol. 89r. Letter from Sayyid ʿAbdallāh b. Shaykh al-Ḥabashī to James Scott dated 28 Muḥarram 1208/ 5 September 1793



الحمد الله وحده
لبير كفتيان اسكت هداه الله موجب
الكتاب خبر منا شان مراكب الفرانسيس
وصل وشل مركب حقهم لها منا فوق
العربي ودخل الى البلد وشل مركب
السرسبي والفوفل لجي في القراب
وسار وباقي لخبار في ورقة الكفتيان
كفايه اخبار البياعه لي عندنا التنباك
نفق والقطن شي ابتاح وشي كاسد
في عندنا فلفل وفوفل فدا طلقنا على

السيد عبد الله بن شيخ الحبشي

تاريخ الخمس عشرين شهر صفر سنه ثمان ومايتين والف

سام

FIGURE 8.14 London, School of Oriental and African Studies. MS 40320, vol. 7, fol. 238r–v. Letter from Sayyid ʿAbdallāh b. Shaykh al-Ḥabashī to James Scott dated 25 Ṣafar 1208/2 October 1793

hahunna ‘here’ are misspelled نحنا, هوا and هاهونا . The colloquial form *shal*[94] is used repeatedly for ‘to carry.’ These letters then, reflect the spoken language, and suggest that, despite his prestigious sayyid ancestry, the author had little acquaintance with classical Arabic. It is far from clear why Sayyid ʿAbdallāh composed these letters in Arabic, because we have another letter from him in perfectly adequate Malay, also addressed to Scott, dealing with the same issues.[95] It is possible that the Malay letter, which is conventional in its greetings and language, was composed by a professional scribe, while the Arabic letters represent Sayyid ʿAbdallāh’s own dictations to scribes who transcribed them without, however, any familiarity with the standard written form of the language. Persian correspondence from Aceh can exhibit similar features, with the use of non-standard (and often highly eccentric) orthography, doubtless similarly as a result of dictation to scribes unfamiliar with the language, and by analogy with the Jawi script used for Malay, in which traditionally spelling is very fluid. Yet it is clear from differences in the handwriting that the two Arabic letters are the work of two different scribes. Despite their numerous infelicities, which make these letters barely comprehensible, they are intriguing evidence that Arabic remained in use among merchants in the Straits of Malacca at the end of the eighteenth century, both as a written and a spoken language.

Another set of three Arabic letters dated 1215/1800 are addressed to the Dutch Governor General in Batavia, by a Ḥajjī Maḥmūd Mashkūr, who appears to have been an Omani merchant. Ḥajjī Maḥmūd Mashkūr, who refers to himself repeatedly as a subject of the Imam (meaning here the Albusaʿidi imam, given he also mentions his departure from Muscat), had reached Banten with a cargo of horses, but was in urgent need of assistance as his ship had been badly damaged in a storm, and the three letters relay his pleas for help to the Governor General.[96] Formally, the letters closely resemble those sent by the Albusaʿidi imams themselves to Batavia. The recipient only is named at the opening with extensive compliments, his titles being raised above the text in *elevatio*, although here they are placed horizontally above the content rather than diagonally as is conventional.[97] The sender's name appears alongside his seal by the date at the end. The portentous titles allotted to the Governor General nonetheless suggest a degree of improvisation, as the repetition of ʿalī and janāb is hardly good style: ilā janāb ʿalīʾl-janāb al-ajall al-amjad waʾl-bahī al-asʿad al-arshad dhīʾl-janāb al-ʿalī aʿlā yad janāb ʿalī-ʾl-janāb [*in elevatio*] ḥaḍrat janāb al-ʿalī Shahbandar Batāwī. The language of the *narratio* is however simple with colloquial influences, such as the use of *fulūs* to mean money, with some grammatical infelicities. Ḥajjī Maḥmūd Mashkūr was evidently a man of limited education, but had a reasonable idea what an official letter should look like, even to the extent of attempting to emulate *elevatio*. His choice of Arabic was partly dictated by the fact that it was probably his native language, but it is intriguing that he evidently expected the VOC to be able to deal with correspondence in the language, and to appreciate the formal requirements of an Arabic letter.

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[94] Spelt here شل rather than شال

[95] MS 40320, vol. 6, fol 76, romanised version available at https://suratlight.blogspot.com/2019/05/surat-sayid-abdullah-kepada-james-scott.html (Koleksi Surat-surat Francis Light: Surat Sayid Abdullah kepada James Scott (MS 40320/6, f. 76) berkaitan Po Cat Gadang (suratlight.blogspot.com)).

[96] The letters are held in Leiden University Library, MS Or 2241 III b. 4–6. They have been published by Pudjiastuti in *Perang, Dagang, Persahabatan*, 172–183, but the transcriptions and translations provided there should not be relied on.

Thus by the end of the eighteenth century, across Southeast Asia, from Aceh to Maluku, Arabic was understood and used for diplomacy. Conventions from the epistolography of the central Islamic lands that were alien to Malay such as *elevatio* were understood and emulated, suggesting the emergence of a more professional class of secretaries than had been the case in earlier times. Moreover, Arabic was used by ʿulamaʾ and merchants within the region, not simply as a vehicle for international communication. If the written Arabic of these letters is often faulty, that evidently reflects its spoken role. It is likely the presence of Hadrami migrants, with their extensive commercial networks, in Southeast Asia was one factor in promoting the use of Arabic, but it was clearly not the only one. The growth of a class of ʿulamaʾ that was confident in expressing itself in Arabic was a further factor: Arabic was a symbol of both education and piety, as well as a language of power.

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[97] This fact leads Pudjiastuti to misunderstand what is actually the *elevatio* as the first line of the letter and the name of its sender.

Conclusion

Far from being simply an alien language of Muslim religious ritual, Arabic was employed across a broad geographical expanse of Southeast Asia for a variety of purposes: for practical communication, as a language of an elite and exclusive religiosity, and as a means of articulating sultanic power. It is clear, too, that the extent of Arabic literary production in and for the region has been greatly underestimated by earlier scholarship. Appendix I lists some sixty-six works produced in Arabic for Southeast Asian audiences during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, most of them extant, compared to a mere nine listed by Brockelmann for the entire region (including nineteenth century works and at least one spurious entry).[1] Admittedly, this textual production is a mere drop in the ocean of Arabic literature, and it is dwarfed by the vastly more substantial literary tradition of the Middle East. Moreover, the use of Arabic in Southeast Asia was always limited, circumscribed both by the existence of the regional lingua franca, Malay, by the cultural prestige of Javanese, and by the emergence of local literary vernaculars such as Acehnese and Makassarese. Even in the Banten sultanate, in which Arabic seems to have had a far more prominent role than elsewhere, Javanese remained the primary administrative language, and was also the principal means of explaining Arabic religious texts, as the proliferation of interlinear translations suggests. It was, however, perhaps precisely the limited currency of Arabic that enhanced its prestige as the language of an elite. The modest size of the Southeast Asian literary output in Arabic belies its significance both for the cultural and religious history of the region, and as evidence for its intellectual connections with the central Islamic lands.

The main centres of Arabic literary production and consumption identified in this book, Aceh, Banten and to a lesser extent South Sulawesi and Palembang, underline the regional peculiarities as well as commonalities of the Arabic literary heritage of Southeast Asia. In Aceh, the fierce and politically contentious *wujūdī* debates provided the main impetus to composition in Arabic by authors who predominantly wrote in Malay. The Arabic works of Shams al-Dīn al-Sumāṭrā'ī, Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī and ʿAbd al-Ra'ūf al-Singkilī comprise only a small part of their output, which is dominated by Malay, in which these debates were also conducted. No text gives a specific reason for the use of Arabic, but it seems likely that it was employed both to advertise the intellectual credentials of the participants in these debates, bolstering their authority by showing their

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[1] See Chapter 1 note 2 above.

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knowledge of the language of Islam, and to render them accessible to a broader international audience. Yet rather than representing derivative imitations of Middle Eastern works, the Arabic textual production of seventeenth-century Aceh was ultimately trying to respond to the challenge laid down by Hamzah Fansuri's interpretation and presentation of ideas attributed to Ibn ʿArabī, and the Arabic and Malay literary production of Aceh are closely connected to one another. The engagement of some of the most famous scholars of the seventeenth century such as al-Kūrānī with the Acehnese debates attests that they touched on matters that were in various ways of relevance across the *dār al-Islām*. Their international resonance is shown not just by the evident circulation of some of al-Rānīrī's works to the Hijaz, but also in the wide dissemination of al-Kūrānī's response to al-Rānīrī, *al-Maslak al-Jalī*, attested in libraries from Delhi to the Balkans. At the same time, it is noteworthy that despite the intense political interest in these debates in Aceh, and the well attested dedication of Malay texts by our authors to sultans and sultanahs, none of the Arabic literary production can be connected directly to royal patronage.

In contrast to Aceh, Arabic was the subject of extensive royal patronage in Banten, both through works commissioned from abroad such as Ibn ʿAllān's *al-Mawāhib al-Rabbāniyya*, and those produced by authors directly connected to the Banten court such as Yūsuf al-Maqāṣīrī and ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Qahhār. Although the latter certainly composed translations into Javanese, and it is possible that Shaykh Yūsuf wrote in Makassarese on occasion, Arabic was the principal tongue of their literary compositions. If in Aceh the use of Arabic seems to have been more closely associated with religious authority, in Banten by the second half of the seventeenth century it was intimately bound up with royal power in a way that no other sultanate in Java emulated. A variety of factors doubtless contributed to the promotion of Arabic there. Firstly, Banten's position as the successor to the Sundanese kingdom of Pajajaran may have diminished the prestige of Javanese compared to the central Javanese sultanates. Secondly, while the ruling dynasty's claims of Arab descent were not unique, they played an important role in legitimising the dynasty. Although the presence of an Arab ʿulama' class closely associated with the court has parallels elsewhere, at any rate by the eighteenth century (not least in Palembang), the diligence with which both sultans and members of the broader ruling family pursued the acquisition of a knowledge of Arabic and Islamic learning, and in particular Arabic books, is unusual for the region. It is likely this interest was piqued not simply by piety, but also by Sultan Abū'l-Mafākhir's ambitions for the sultan himself to act as the supreme *mujtahid*, dispensing justice and mastering sharia. If the sultan was to perform this function, he must be able to equal the ʿulama' in learning. While these pretensions of sultanic authority did not survive the Dutch take-over of 1683, they seem to have endowed Arabic with an especial prestige that encouraged the sultans to take a particular interest in the language, as is suggested by Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn's engagement with the manuscript of *al-Mawāhib al-Mustarsala,* used for recording in Arabic details of the birth of his children.

The association between Arabic and royal authority is also evident in the evidence from South Sulawesi, where we find not just ʿAbd al-Baṣīr al-Ḍarīr's treatises penned for the rulers of Makassar and Bone, but also the Arabic composition of Sultan Aḥmad al-Ṣāliḥ of Bone, *al-Nūr al-Hādī.* The demonstration of a mastery of Arabic (however unsatisfactorily realised in practice) was probably also closely associated with the increasingly politicised role of Sufism, which reached its apogee in nineteenth century Buton, where the Seven Grades system was in fact transposed into the political organisation of the sultanate. The writings of al-Maqāṣīrī indicate that, at least by some, the sultan was evidently regarded as the potential or actual 'perfect man' (*al-insān al-kāmil*). The role of Sultans Zayn al-ʿĀshiqīn and Muḥammad ʿAlī al-Dīn of Banten as *khalīfa*s of the Rifaʿi order confirms the intimate association of power and Sufism which underlay much of the Arabic textual culture of the region.

The association of Arabic with the courts explains some of the characteristics of the extant manuscript tradition. Almost all Arabic works composed in Southeast Asia in this period are – as far as is presently known – represented by a very limited manuscript tradition, rarely exceeding four extant manuscripts, and more commonly just one or two. This is doubtless due a number of factors, including the difficulties of preservation in Southeast Asia's humid climate, the lack of identification of manuscripts held in private hands, and the fact that manuscripts in general in Southeast Asia – or at least those in Malay – seem to have enjoyed more limited circulation than those in the Middle East. We have no equivalents of the individuals who are known to have amassed substantial private libraries in medieval Syria, for example.[2] Although ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Qahhār did evidently acquire a substantial collection of texts during his time in the Hijaz, he was an individual closely associated with the *kraton,* and it was to the court library that many of his manuscripts went upon his death. The relative lack of pre-nineteenth-century manuscripts in Southeast Asia makes it hard to judge to what extent this lack of wider circulation is to be attributed to the use of Arabic and the texts' frequently abstruse subject matter, or rather reflects limited literacy and thus a small market for manuscripts more generally. Evidence from the early nineteenth century

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[2] Cf. Hirschler, *A Monument to Medieval Syrian Book Culture.*

Malay peninsula suggests that Malay texts were poorly circulated and libraries outside of the court did not exist,[3] but it is not clear to what extent this can be extrapolated to the different circumstances of the archipelago more broadly in earlier periods, and especially to Java. Such a thesis seems to stand in opposition to the considerable evidence for growth in vernacular literature in the period, as discussed in Chapter 2, which implies the circulation of vernacular texts. Further research is needed on this question.

At any rate, the present evidence suggests that, with occasional exceptions such as al-Maqāṣīrī's *Zubda*, most Arabic texts from Southeast Asia did not circulate widely beyond the courts in which they were composed. The poor preservation of al-Rānīrī's Arabic works is one symptom of this phenomenon, but it is perhaps most strikingly demonstrated by the case of Sulawesi. Our entire knowledge of Arabic in South Sulawesi before the nineteenth century hinges on two manuscripts from the court of Bone, Jakarta A 108 and London, British Library Add 12367. Even more extreme, perhaps, is the case of Buton in Southeast Sulawesi in the early nineteenth century, where a significant Arabic literary tradition existed, but all manuscripts remain in private hands on the island. This local Arabic textual tradition is completely unrepresented even in other collections in Indonesia. It is thus possible that as yet unidentified collections may add significantly to our knowledge of the Arabic literature of Southeast Asia. The conclusion that this was a limited textual tradition largely restricted to individual courts where certain specific religious, cultural or political imperatives encouraged patronage of Arabic is thus offered only tentatively.

For the circulation of Arabic texts from the central Islamic lands before the nineteenth century, we are largely reliant on the library of the Banten sultanate and the much more fragmentary remains of the Palembang sultanate library. It is again hard to be certain to what extent the resulting picture should be attributed to the vagaries of survival, given that most other known collections from the region do not predate the nineteenth century. The contents of the Palembang and Banten libraries, however unrepresentative of the broader Arabic literary tradition, do suggest the commonality of interests between audiences – especially rulers – in Southeast Asia and those in the central Islamic lands. The Bantenese interest in al-Ghazālī's *Naṣīḥat al-Mulūk*, for instance was paralleled in the Ottoman empire where the same text was recopied, translated and adapted in the period, but so too was the interest in Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya's *siyāsa sharʿiyya*. Other Arabic 'bestsellers' that were read widely in both the Middle East and India such as al-Ghazālī's *Iḥyāʾ ʿUlūm*

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[3] Proudfoot, "From Recital to Sight-Reading".

al-Dīn, the encyclopaedic *Ḥayāt al-Ḥayawān*, the occult manual by al-Būnī entitled *Shams al-Maʿārif*, the Qur'an commentary *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn* and grammatical works such as *al-Ājurrūmiyya* circulated in Banten too. Most of these texts thus had a certain practical or religious purpose, whether inculcating a basic knowledge of Arabic or introducing a specific type of knowledge. There was almost no interest in Banten (or, from what we can tell, Aceh, Palembang, Buton or Bone) in what might today be considered classics of Arabic literature, such as poetry, belles-lettres or history. Such genres remained the province of Javanese, Malay or other vernaculars, with only a handful of exceptions. This characteristic reflects the particular religious and political role of Arabic in these courts. The consumption of such well-known practical and religious classics was a necessary preliminary to allow access to the complex Sufi ideas that preoccupied the court, in particular the various interpretations of the Grades of Being and the ideas of Ibn ʿArabī, seen for example, in sultanic patronage of copies of al-Mahāʾimī's commentaries on al-Qūnawī. If we regard courtly historical and poetic production as having a public, legitimatory function,[4] the absence of Arabic from these spheres becomes more readily comprehensible. It was precisely Arabic's restricted and elite status that made it inappropriate as a vehicle for such public texts in Java. At the same time, mastery of the Sufi techniques and practices such as *dhikr* propagated by these Arabic texts promised to elevate the sultan to the status of the perfect man.

Both the texts produced in Southeast Asia and those composed elsewhere but circulating there bear witness to the enormous and enduring influence of the Arabic textual production of the Mamluk period. This is reflected in Malay works such as ʿAbd al-Raʾūf al-Singkilī's *Tarjuman al-Mustafid*, which adapted the famous *Jalālayn* commentary and al-Rānīrī's own use of Mamluk sources such as Ibn al-Shiḥna and al-Suyūṭī for his *Bustan al-Salatin*, and al-Nawawī and Zakariyyā al-Anṣārī in his *Sirat al-Mustaqim*. The contents of the Banten sultanate library reveal a similar interest in the Arabic originals, with numerous Mamluk authors represented. They are especially prevalent in the field of hadith, through figures such as Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, al-Suyūṭī and al-Nawawī, but are also present in other areas, such as al-Būnī's influential occult works. Works of the Mamluk period seem to have assumed a sort of canonical status. However, this was not a peculiarity of Southeast Asia. A comparative study by Francis Robinson of Ottoman, Mughal and Safavid *madrasa* curricula has suggested their particular reliance on works of the thirteenth to fourteenth centuries.[5] Even for late nineteenth-century Bukhara and Samarqand, it has been argued that the average date of works on madrasa reading lists was fifteenth century.[6] Clearly, our Southeast Asian Arabic manuscripts do not represent a madrasa curriculum with their emphasis on Sufism (although many of the grammar works do overlap with those one might typically find in madrasas elsewhere in the Muslim world), but they show the broad veneration for the textual production of the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries, albeit with an emphasis on works from Syria and Egypt, in contrast to the imperial curricula studied by Robinson which prioritised works by Iranian and Central Asian scholars of the period.[7] It is possible that this difference ultimately derives from the Shafii madhhab that predominated in both Southeast Asia and the Mamluk lands, suggesting that even though relatively few of our texts deal with *fiqh*, differences in madhhab may have had wider ramifications for literary culture. This is, however, a topic that deserves further investigation.

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[4] See for example, J.J. Ras, "Geschiedschrijving en de Legitimiteit van het Koningschap op Java," *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 150 (1994): 518–538.

This obliges us to address the question raised in this book's introduction, of the extent to which the Arabic works circulating in Southeast Asia reflect the specific tastes of an Indian Ocean cultural 'cosmopolis' that was distinct in its needs and interests from the central Islamic lands. There is little trace of the dissemination in this period of works like those of Zayn al-Dīn al-Maʿbarī, the west Indian scholar who has been argued to have influenced the formation of this putative Indian Ocean cosmopolis. The Banten sultanate library only held one commentary on a Sufi work by him,[8] and none of his *fiqh* works. We do have, however, a handful of texts that do indicate the existence of a certain Indian Ocean textual culture, such as the *rātibs* of the Qadiri order copied in Banten under court patronage containing texts in Arabic, Persian, and Tamil, suggestive of the multilingual environment of a cosmopolitan port.[9] Yet it must be said that presently we do not understand how such texts were used or what indeed the function of this multilingualism was; the numerous linguistic errors in these manuscripts may indicate that their texts performed a largely decorative function. Another text which does seem to represent a distinctive Indian Ocean interest are the poems and prayers of al-Sūdī. As noted in Chapter 7, the works of this Yemeni poet and Sufi seem almost unknown in the central Islamic lands, but evidently were widely popular in the region between Aden and China. Further research is needed to trace the dissemination of al-Sūdī's works and the reasons for their popularity, which may well be linked to the diffusion of the ʿAydarusi order with which he was associated.

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[5] Robinson, "Ottomans-Safavids-Mughals," 154.

[6] James Pickett, *Polymaths of Islam: Power and Knowledge in Central Asia* (Ithaca, 2020), 113.

[7] Robinson, "Ottomans-Safavids-Mughals," 154–155.

[8] Jakarta A 107, *Maslak al-Atqiyāʾ manhaj al-aṣfiyāʾ* a commentary on Zayn al-Dīn al-Maʿbarī's *Sharḥ Hidāyat al-Azkiyāʾ ilā Ṭarīq al-Awliyāʾ*.

[9] Jakarta A 70; Leiden University Library, Or 5658.

Beyond the handful of such specific texts, Arabic manuscripts certainly also reached Southeast Asia via India as the copies of the *Shams al-Maʿārif* copied from a Hyderabadi original indicate, and as other manuscript notes, including ones in Indian languages, suggest. The ease with which the texts al-Maqāṣīrī composed in his Ceylon exile reached Java and were incorporated into collections of his works made there is also suggestive of these connections. Authors from India are certainly represented in the Arabic literary tradition of Southeast Asia, in particular Muḥammad Ghawth and al-Mahāʾimī. Yet neither figure was particularly connected to this maritime world, and both authors were also widely read in the Middle East. Interest in them derived from their status as leading interpreters of Sufism in its Shattari and Qunawian forms respectively. Moreover, such texts may equally well have been transmitted to Southeast Asia via the Hijaz, given the significant Indian community in Medina, exemplified by the figure of Ṣibghatallāh. The widespread popularity of Muḥammad Ghawth's work in locations as far flung as North Africa makes it very hard to define it as characteristically Indian Ocean, for all the *Jawāhir al-Khamsa*'s emphasis on yoga and other typically Indian techniques.

In fact, the presence in distant Rabat of a manuscript of *al-Mawāhib al-Mustarsala*, a work composed in seventeenth century Aceh by an Azhar-educated Syrian emigree, commenting on a text composed by an Indian author, is an important indication that the intellectual world under discussion was far broader than has often been credited. Indeed, a North African influence is if anything even more evident than an Indian one in the manuscripts read in Banten. Apart from al-Sanūsī's Ashʿari creed and al-Jazūlī's *Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt*, both works by North African authors that were very widely circulated across the entire *dār al-Islām*, we also have much more specific influences in the form of the Moroccan scholar Muḥammad al-Ṭabarī, the source of ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Qahhār's and thus also Sultan Zayn al-ʿĀshiqīn's *ijāza*s. The evident veneration of Muḥammad al-Ṭabarī in Banten as reflected in the fine court copy of his *Fayḍ al-Aḥad* (Jakarta A 34) again reinforces the point that the intellectual world of seventeenth and eighteenth century Islam was of far broader reach than the Indian Ocean.

Striking too is the distinct current of the Central Asian theological school of Maturidism reflected in Southeast Asian textual culture. This can be traced back to the late sixteenth century, with the Malay translation of al-Nasafī's *ʿAqīda*, and may also be manifested in al-Rānīrī's interest in al-Taftāzānī. It might be possible to associate this with Indian influence, Maturidism being the theological school favoured by the Mughals. Yet we also find ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Qahhār proclaiming himself a Maturidi and he is not known to have any associations with India. Indeed, even in the Hijaz Maturidism was not an especially influential force, given the predominantly Shafii and Ashʿari affiliation of the region. Maturidism was, however, the official theology of the Ottoman empire, and Southeast Asian interest in this theological school may reflect the longstanding relations between these two regions as much as with India.

The assumption of a common Indian Ocean literary culture in Arabic seems to be based in part on the fallacy that the entire region was united in its commitment to the Shafii madhhab and Ashʿari theology. While it is evidently the case that Shafiism remained the predominant law school, the research presented in this book suggests that it was far from unquestioningly accepted throughout the region. Political expediency seems to have encouraged Sultan Abū'l-Mafākhir to toy with the Maliki madhhab (now especially associated with North Africa), which would have allotted the sultan much greater discretion in implementing the law, and which is referred to explicitly in *al-Mawāhib al-Rabbāniyya*. Furthermore, as argued in Chapters 3 and 4, a distinct Hanbali influence can be detected as early as the seventeenth century, through interest in the works of Ibn al-Qayyim al-Jawziyya, and, as I suggest in Chapter 3, the notorious Ibn Taymiyya himself, a factor which underlay the heated debates on *waḥdat al-wujūd* in Aceh as well as Banteni interest in *siyāsa sharʿiyya*. Indeed, given al-Kūrānī's attempts to reconcile Hanbalism with Ibn ʿArabī's thought, it can be suggested that this shows that intellectual life in seventeenth century Southeast Asia was very much tuned into the cutting edge of developments in Islamic thought, and was not, as often assumed, some remote and neglected periphery.

Thus the evidence presented in this book does not, in general, support the idea of the existence of common intellectual culture across the Indian Ocean that was distinctive from that of the broader Islamic world. While there were a small number of texts that do seem to reflect distinctive local tastes, these were the exception rather than the rule. Rather the evidence of Southeast Asian Arabic literary culture in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries points to a *dār al-Islām* that was in fact rather more connected than was to become the case in the nineteenth century, contrary to the common perception. While steamships may have increased the number of Southeast Asians visiting the holy cities, the intellectual horizons of the region seem to become increasingly focused on Cairo and the Hijaz, regions in which Shafiism and Ashʿarism were dominant, and Indian and North African influence correspondingly diminished. Moreover, in the nineteenth century, Hadrami emigres became increasingly active in literary production in Southeast Asia, while the circulation of printed texts produced in Mecca, Bombay and later Singapore doubtless had a significant effect on the textual culture, including that in manuscript. The nature of Arabic literary production in nineteenth-century Southeast Asia needs separate investigation, but one result of this rupture around c. 1800 is that many of the Southeast Asian texts discussed here seem to have fallen out of circulation entirely. As a result, the contours of the literary tradition, and the contents of manuscript libraries, change profoundly in the nineteenth century.[10] This is doubtless, in part, a consequence of the fact that later libraries that have been studied are associated with *pesantrens* rather than court, but is also related to these broader cultural changes.

The significance of the Arabic literary culture of Southeast Asia lies not in the volume of original textual production, which was unquestionably relatively slight, but rather in the way that it obliges us to reconceptualise our understanding of the relationship between the region and the broader Islamic world. It is easy to assume that as Southeast Asia was remote, its intellectual culture was entirely derivative. True, as at Palembang, or with the works of al-Rānīrī, adaptations, translations, and localisations of Middle Eastern Arabic texts undoubtedly played a significant role in acculturation to Islam. At the same time, Arabic textual production in Southeast Asia had distinctive features of its own derived from its engagement with Hamzah Fansuri, and the intellectual horizons of the region were considerably wider than the Indian Ocean world. The discovery of new texts and manuscripts as well as the more detailed examination of known ones, few of which have been adequately published let alone studied, will doubtless permit this preliminary picture to be refined. As the evidence of epistolography suggests, Arabic was evidently much more widely used than our current knowledge of manuscript circulation suggests, and it is to be hoped that further manuscripts will come to light that will enable future scholars to paint a broader picture of the Arabic textual and literary culture of the region.

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[10] This can be seen from some of the studies that have examined such *pesantren* collections, e.g. van Bruinessen, *Islam di Nusantara*; van Bruinessen, "Kitab kuning"; van den Berg, "Het Mohammedaansche Godsdienstonderwijs".

Appendix 1: Arabic Texts Written in Southeast Asia or Composed for Southeast Asian Audiences, Seventeenth to Eighteenth Centuries

Anon, *Bayān al-Alif.* As noted by Witkam (*Inventory*, sv), both mss of this come from Indonesia.

> MSS: Leiden University Library Or 8540/2, Or 8541/2

Anon, *ʿUmdat al-Ansāb*, an abridged translation of Jamāl al-Ḥusaynī's Persian *Rawḍat al-Aḥbāb*, probably made in Aceh in 1079/1668–9.

> MSS: Kuala Lumpur, Perpustakaan Negara MS 1517/3;[1] Leiden University Library, Or 8399; fol. 46b–90b; Jakarta A 123/4; Jakarta A 371, fol. 145b–165a.

Anon. *Waṣiyya* containing advice on the Sufi path made for Sultan Zayn al-ʿĀshiqīn of Banten based on the *waṣiyya*s of earlier Sufi shaykhs.

> MS: Leiden University Library, Or 1842/2, fol. 130b–172a

Anon. *Tafsīr al-Asrār*. Probably 18th century, Banten

MSS: Jakarta A 62 (containing the commentary from al-Baqara 179 to the end), A 63 (not available for inspection owing to its state of preservation).

ʿAbdallāh ʿĀrif (dates unknown)

Baḥr al-Lāhūt. Said to exist in Arabic and Malay versions.

> MSS: Arabic version: Jakarta, A 108/20, pp. 422–427; Private Collection of Haji Wan Mohd Saghir Abdullah MS-AF 131, said to have belonged to Yūsuf al-Maqāṣirī;[2]

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[1] Haj W. Shaghir Abdullah, *Khazanah Karya Pusaka Asia Tenggara*, vol. 1, pp. 194–202.

[2] Haj W. Shaghir Abdullah, *Khazanah Karya Pusaka Asia Tenggara*, vol. 1, pp. 2–5. Although on his death some of Wan Saghir's manuscripts were acquired by the Perpustakaan Negara in Kuala Lumpur, the whereabouts of this ms are not currently known.

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Leiden University Library, Or 7022/3; Or 7059/3; Or 7051/1; Or 8540/1; Or 8451/1; Or 7531/2; Calcutta, Asiatic Society, Arabic 1200/8; Malay version: Kuala Lumpur: Perpustakaan Negara MS 1314 (non vidi)

ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Qahhār al-Bantanī (d. after 1196/1782)

Kitāb Fatḥ al-Mulūk li-Yaṣila ilā Mālik al-Mulūk ʿalā Qāʿidat Ahl al-Sulūk.

MSS: Jakarta A 111, pp. 1–55 (autograph)

Futūḥ al-Asrār fī Faḍāʾil al-Tahlīl waʾl-Adhkār.

MSS: Jakarta A 131/9, pp. 128–192, Partial edition and Indonesian translation: Muhammad Shoheh, “Futuh Al-asrar Fi Fadhail At-tahlil Wa Al-adzkar Karya Syaikh ʿAbd ullah bin ʿAbd al-Qahhar al-Jawi al-Bantani,” *Alqalam* 28/2 (2011): 279–318.

Mashāhid al-Nāsik fī Maqāmāt al-Sālik.

MSS: Jakarta A 31/2, pp. 232–289 (probably autograph).

Risāla fī Aṣḥāb al-Khirqa.

MSS: Jakarta A 96/3, pp. 25–171.

Risāla fī Shurūṭ al-Ḥajj.

MSS: Jakarta A 131/4, pp. 68–74 (autograph).

ʿAbd al-Raʾūf al-Singkilī c. 1024/1615–c.1105/1693

Risalah Adab Murid akan Syeikh. This is a bilingual Arabic-Malay text

MSS: Leiden University Library, Or 7643/1, pp. 1–48. (see Witkam, *Inventory*, sv. for further references)

Shurūṭ al-Shaykh waʾl-Murīd. Discusses relationship between *murshid* and *murīd* on basis of teachings communicated to ʿAbd al-Rāʾūf by his teachers Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī and Aḥmad al-Qushāshī.

MSS: Aceh, Tanoh Abee MS 187/337/Ts-27/TA/2006 (non vidi).[3] It is not clear whether this work is different from the *Risala Mukhtaṣara fī Bayān Shurūṭ al-Shaykh wa'l-Murīd*, which in fact only has a bilingual preface, the main text being in Malay (Leiden University Library, Or 7643/2, pp. 49–83).

Lubb al-Kashf wa'l-Bayān li-mā Yarāhu al-Muḥtadar bi'l-ʿIyān.

MSS: Leiden University Library, Or 5660/2, fol. 1b–5a.

Tanbīh al-Māshī al-Mansūb ilā Ṭarīq al-Qushāshī.

MSS: Jakarta A 655/19, fol. 172b–185a; Jakarta A 101/12, pp. 113–140; Leiden University Library, Or 7031/1, pp. 1–68; Leiden University Library, Or 7030/4, pp. 115–153; London British Library Or 16773/2, fol. 1b–21b. Edition: *Tanbīh al-Māsyī Menyoal Wahdatul Wujud: Kasus Abdurrauf Singkel Di Aceh Abad 17*, ed. with Indonesian translation by Oman Fathurahman (Jakarta, 1999).

ʿAbd al-Ṣamad al-Palimbānī (1117/1704–c.1203/1789)

Anīs al-Muttaqīn (attribution doubtful)[4]

MSS: Buton, Bau-Bau, Abdul Mulku Zahari Collection, MS IS/13/SYAM; Aceh, Tanoh Abee 14b/153B/Ts-26/TA/2006 (attributed to ʿAbd al-Ṣamad b. Faqīh Ḥasan b. Faqīh Muḥammad).

Naṣīḥat al-Muslimīn wa-Tadhkirat al-Muʾminīn fī Faḍāʾil al-Jihād fī Sabīl Allāh. Mecca 1187/1773.[5]

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[3] See the description in Oman Fathurahman, *Katalog Naskah Dyah Tanoh Abee Aceh Besar* (Jakarta, 2010), 220–222.

[4] For the questionable attribution of this work, see Ahmad, *Islam and the Malay World*, 260–1.

[5] For the date see Ahmad, *Islam and the Malay World*, 245.

MSS Jakarta A 209 (autograph); Jakarta V.d.W51.[6] Edition: *Naṣīḥat al-Muslimīn wa-Tadhkirat al-Muʾminīn fī Faḍāʾil al-Jihād fī Sabīl Allāh*, ed. Aḥmad Luṭfī (Jakarta, 2009).

Zād al-Muttaqīn fī Tawḥīd Rabb al-ʿĀlamīn.

MSS: Kuala Lumpur, Perpustakaan Negara, MS FB 1004 (Arabic with interlinear Malay translation); Buton, Bau-Bau, Abdul Mulku Zahari Collection, MS IS/123/SYAM.

Abū'l-Fatḥ ʿAbd al-Baṣīr al-Ḍarīrī (South Sulawesi, d. 1723)

Daqāʾiq al-Asrār, written at request of Sultan Idrīs of Bone.

MSS: Jakarta A 108/11, pp. 142–167; British Library Add. 12,367, fol. 4b.–28a

Bahjat al-Tanwīr fī Qawāʿid al-Lughāt, written at request of Sultan Fakhr al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Jalīl of Gowa.

MSS: Jakarta A 108/12, pp. 168–199; London, British Library Add. 12,367, fol. 29a.–64a

Ibn ʿAllān (Muḥammad ʿAlī b. Muḥammad ʿAllān b. Ibrāhīm al-Bakrī al-Ṣiddīqī) (Hijaz, 996/1588–1057/1648)

Only works addressed to Southeast Asian audiences are listed here; for a full bibliography see Sâmî es-Sakkâr, "İbn Allan," *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul, 1999), vol. 19, 307–8; Muḥammad Ḥabīb al-Hīla, *al-Taʾrīkh wa'l-Muʾarrikhūn bi-Makka* (London, 1994), 314–330.

Ghawṣ al-Biḥār. Medina, Shawwāl 1046/February-March 1637. Dedicated to the Sultan of Banten, Abū'l-Mafākhir.

MSS: Jakarta A 32; Cairo, al-Azhar, adab wa-faḍāʾil 2135; Cairo, Dār al-Kutub MS 172 taṣawwuf Ḥalīm ʿArabī; Cairo, Wizārat al-Awqāf

Naṣḥ al-Nāṣih Naṣīḥa fī Sharḥ al-Nasīḥa. Medina, Dhū'l-Ḥijja 1046/April 1037

MSS: Jakarta A 104

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[6] W 51 was under restoration at the time of research and thus inaccessible.

Al-Mawāhib al-Rabbāniyya. Composed. 1046/1637, Dedicated to Sultan Abū'l-Mafākhir of Banten.

MSS: Jakarta A 105

Rafʿ al-Ḥijāb ʿan ʿArāʾis al-Khamsa al-Abwāb written for Abū'l-Maʿālī, son of the Sultan of Banten Abū'l Mafākhir

MSS: Leiden University Library, Or 5660/9 (another version is *Ijābat al-Akh al-Fāḍil al-Kāmil* British Library, India Office, Loth 667, which contains the same text but lacks the dedication to Abū'l-Maʿālī).

Ibrāhīm b. Abī Bakr al-Shāmī al-Azharī al-Āshī (fl. Aceh, early seventeenth century)

Al-Mawāhib al-Mustarsala ʿalā al-Tuḥfa al-Mursala.

MSS: Banda Aceh, Ali Hasjmy collection, MS 66/TS/YPAH/2005 or 40/NKT/YPAH/1992; Jakarta A 97/1, pp. 5–177; Jakarta A 98; Jakarta A 409/2; Rabat, Bibliothèque Nationale MS 1026 (D 1206); Banda Aceh, Muzium Negeri, MS 1785/6. Edition and Indonesian translation: *Suntingan da Terjemahan Manuskrip al-Mawāhib al-Mustarsalah ʿalā at-Tuḥfah al-Mursalah*, ed. Ismail Yahya (Jakarta, 2018).

Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī (Medina, 1025/1616–1101/1690)

Only works specifically composed at the behest of Southeast Asian audiences are listed; for a full bibliography of al-Kūrānī's works see Dumairieh, *Intellectual Life in the Ḥijāz before Wahhabism*, 140–171.

al-Maslak al-Jalī fi Ḥukm Shatḥ al-Walī. Composed Medina 1084/1673

MSS: Istanbul, Beyazit State Library, MS Veliyüddin 1815, fol. 127b–146b; Istanbul, Süleymaniye Serez 3939/6, fol. 42a–50; British Library Delhi Arabic 710 (g), fol. 40b–51b; Leiden University Library, Or 5660/2.

Itḥāf al-Dhakī bi-Sharḥ al-Tuḥfa al-Mursala ilā Rūḥ al-Nabī. Composed Medina, before 1071/1661.

MSS: Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Fazıl Ahmet Paşa 820, fol. 46a–80a (autograph); Atıf Efendi 2789, 47b–97a; Laleli 3765; Esad Efendi 1491; Ayasofya 2169; Hacı

Mahmud Efendi 2385; Carullah 2102; Hamidiye 1440, Reşid Efendi 996; Beyazit Devlet Kütüphanesi, Veliyüddin Efendi 3215, fol. 39b–72b; for further mss see GAL II 418; S II 521, 617. Editions: al-Kūrānī, *Itḥāf al-Dhakī: Tafsir Wahdatul Wujud bagi Muslim Nusantara*, ed. with Indonesian translation by Oman Fathurahman (Jakarta, 2012); İbrahim el-Kûrânî, *et-Tuhfetü'l-Mürsele Şerhi*, ed. with Turkish translation by Muhammet Kara (Istanbul, 2021).

al-Jawābat al-Gharawiyya ʿan al-Masāʾil al-Jāwiyya al-Jahriyya. Composed Medina, Ṣafar 1070/October 1659, expanding on answers given by al-Qushāshī to Jāwa pilgrims.

MSS: Medina: al-Jāmiʿa al-Islāmiyya biʾl-Madīna al-Munawwara, 5345, fols. 20–71.[7]

Kashf al-Mastūr fī Jawāb Suʾāl ʿAbd al-Shakūr. Composed Medina, 20 Muharram 1089/14 March 1678.

MSS: Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Hamidiye, MS 1440, fol. 30b–31a; Istanbul, Beyazit Devlet Kütüphanesi, MS Veliyüddin 1815, fol. 119b–120b

al-Kashf al-Muntaẓar li-mā Yarāhu al-Muḥtaḍar

MSS: Medina: al-Jāmiʿa al-Islāmiyya biʾl-Madīna al-Munawwara, 5293, fols. 38a–41b.[8]

Mirqāt al-Suʿūd ilā Ṣiḥḥat al-Qawl bi-Waḥdat al-Wujūd. Composed Medina, 1078/1667–8.

MSS: London, British Library, MS Delhi Arabic 710c.

Muḥammad Makkiyya

Waḥdat al-Wujūd fī Bayān Maʿrifat Kull Bayān.

MSS: Jakarta A 108/21, pp. 428–431

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[7] Non vidi. Source: Dumaireh, *Intellectual Life in the Ḥijāz before Wahhabism*, 143.

[8] Non vidi: source: Dumairieh, *Intellectual Life in the Ḥijāz before Wahhabism*, 153.

Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī (d. 1068/1658)[9]

ʿAlāqat Allāh bi'l-ʿālam

Not extant

ʿAqāʾid al-Ṣūfiyya al-Muwaḥḥidīn[10]

Not extant

Raḥīq al-Muḥammadiyya fī Ṭarīq al-Sufiyya

Not extant

Al-Lamaʿān fī Takfīr man Qāla bi-Khalq al-Qurʾān. Dedicated to Sultan Abū'l-Mafākhir of Banten. Not extant

Al-Ṣawārim al-Ṣiddīq li-Qaṭʿ al-Zindīq

Not extant

Daʿwā al-Ẓill maʿa Ṣāḥibihi

MSS: Leiden University Library, Or 8540 and Or 8541 (both early twentieth-century manuscripts); text also partially preserved in its quotation by Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī, *al-Maslak al-Jalī* (see s.v.)

Shams al-Dīn al-Sumāṭrāʾī (Aceh, d. 1039/1630)

Tanbīh al-Ṭullāb, of which the only surviving part is the conclusion (*khātima fī'l-dhikr wa'l-murāqaba*).

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[9] For al-Rānīrī's lost works see Daudy, *Syekh Nuruddin ar-Raniry*, 46–56; ʿAbd al-Ḥayy b. Fakhr al-Dīn al-Ḥasani, *Nuzhat al-Khawāṭir wa-Bahjat al-Masāmiʿ wa'l-Nawāẓir* (Hyderabad, 1976, 2nd ed.), ed. Sharaf al-Dīn Aḥmad, vol. 5, p. 360, no. 578.

[10] Although Daudy specifically states this work was in Arabic (*Syekh Nuruddin ar-Raniry*, 55), he gives a substantial quotation in classical Malay which is evidently not his own translation (ibid; p. 204–5); sadly the manuscript appears to be lost, but possibly it was a bilingual work.

MSS Leiden University Library, Or 7022, fol. 100a–108b; Leiden University Library, Or 7446; Or. 5665/6, fol. 96v–103a. with Javanese translation; Private library of Wan Shaghir MS AF-135.[11]

Jawhar al-Ḥaqā'iq

MSS: Jakarta A 31/1, pp. 1–188; Leiden University Library, Or 7022/5, fol. 41v–66a. Edition in C.A.O. van Nieuwenhuijze, *Šamsu'l-Dīn van Pasai: Bijdrage tot de Kennis der Sumatraansche Mystiek* (Leiden, 1943), pp. 245–266

Kitāb al-Khirqa (sometimes given as *Kitāb al-Ḥaraka*), lost, with quotations preserved in *Nūr al-Daqā'iq*

(attrib), *Risāla tubayyinu mulāḥaẓat al-muwaḥḥidīn wa'l-mulḥidīn*,

MSS: Leiden University Library, Or 7022/6, fol. 66a–69b; MS Leiden University Library, Or 7022/13, fol. 176a–179a (a second copy). Edition in C.A.O. van Nieuwenhuijze, *Šamsu'l-Dīn van Pasai: Bijdrage tot de Kennis der Sumatraansche Mystiek* (Leiden, 1943), pp. 267–270

(attrib) *Nur al-Daqā'iq*. Exists in both Malay and Arabic versions.

MSS: Leiden University Library, Or 7060/6, fol. 139b–141a; Leiden University Library, Or 7061/6, fol. 107b–108b Leiden University Library, Or 8540/9, fol. 46b–63b (with interlinear Javanese trans); Or 8541/9, Or. 76b–107b (with interlinear Javanese trans); Edited by A. Johns, “Nūr al-Daḳā'iḳ by the Sumatran mystic Shamsu'l-Dīn ibn ʿAbd ullāh,” *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* No. 3/4 (Oct., 1953), pp. 137–151 (see for discussion of the Malay text and manuscripts also).

Sultan Aḥmad al-Ṣāliḥ of Bone (1775–1812)

al-Nūr al-Hādī ilā Ṭarīq al-Rashād (Maros, Southwest Sulawesi, Shaʿbān 1202/May 1788)

MSS: Jakarta, A 108/24, pp. 450–461. Bugis and Malay translation: Jakarta ML 69.

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[11] Hj. W. Mohd Shaghir Abdullah, *Khazanah Karya Pusaka Asia Tenggara* (Kuala Lumpur, 1991), vol. 1, pp. 30–32 (MS copied in Pontianak in 1254/1828). Wan Shaghir claimed his manuscript was complete, but as he says it was only 7 folios long, it likely to be only a portion of the text, probably the *khātima fī'l-dhikr wa'l-murāqaba*.

Yūsuf b. Muḥammad Makiyya

Kitāb Bayān Allāh fī maʿrifat bayān kull bayān.

> MSS: Calcutta, Asiatic Society, Arabic 1200/17; Jakarta, A 108/23, pp. 442–447; Leiden University Library, Or 5738/1; Or 7030/13; Or 7417/6; Or 7166/1; Or 5726/6; Or 7054/4; Or 7059/10; Or 7022/10, fol. 121a–126a; Or 7022/11, fol. 126a–130b (a second copy of the same text); London, British Library, Loth 1046/8. As noted by Voorhoeve, *Handlist*, sv, and Witkam in his *Inventory*, sv. the poor Arabic and provenance of the mss strongly suggest this is an Indonesian work

Shaykh Yūsuf al-Tāj al-Maqāṣīrī (Banten and Ceylon, 1037/1627–1110/1699)[12]

al-Aʿyān al-Thābita

> MSS: Jakarta A 108/14, pp. 240–244.

al-Baraka al-Saylāniyya.

> MSS: Jakarta A 108/5, pp. 68–79.

Bidāyat al-Mubtadiʾ.

> MSS: Jakarta A 108/25, pp. 464–5.

Dafʿ al-Balāʾ, an abridgement of his *Zubdat al-Asrār*.

> MSS: Jakarta A 108/27, pp. 470–80.

al-Fawāʾid al-Yūsufiyya.

> MSS: Jakarta A 108/6, pp. 89–91.

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[12] One further manuscript is reported by van Bruinessen, *Tarekat Naqsybandiyya*, 37–8, formerly in the possession of Wan Mohd. Saghir Abdullah, and described in his *Perkembangan Ilmu Tasawuf dan Tokoh-Tokohnya di Nusantara* (Surabaya, 1983), pp. 75–80 (*non vidi*). This ms allegedly belonged to the royal family of Bone originally and contained four treatises attributed to al-Maqāṣīrī. However, some of Abdullah's information is evidently confused, with Shaykh Raslān's *al-Fatḥ al-Raḥmān* here attributed to al-Maqāṣīrī. The other treatises named are *Asrār al-Ṣalāt*, *al-Risāla al-Naqshbandiyya*, and the *Zubdat al-Asrār.* As it has not been possible to verify this information it has been excluded from the list given here. See also Chapter 5, n. 70 for a description of the contents of a Palembang ms to which I have not had access.

al-Futūḥāt al-Rabbāniyya.

MSS: Dinas Purbakala MS,[13] Indonesian translation in Tudjimah, *Syek Yusuf Makasar*, pp. 148–161

Ḥāshiya in *Kitāb al-Anbāʾ fī Iʿrāb lā ilāh illā allāh.*

MSS: Leiden University Library, Or 7446

Ḥabl al-Wārid li-Saʿādat al-Murīd. Composed Ceylon 1099/1688, dedicated to Sultan Abū'l-Fatḥ of Banten

MSS: Dinas Purbakala MS, Indonesian translation in Tudjimah, *Syek Yusuf Makasar*, pp. 113–147

Kayfiyyat al-Manfī.

MSS: Jakarta A 108/7, pp. 92–101.

al-Minḥa al-Saylāniyya fī Minḥat al-Raḥmāniyya.

MSS: Dinas Purbakala Ms, Indonesian translation in Tudjimah, *Syekh Yusuf Makasar*, pp. 205–213.

Maṭālib al-Sālikīn.

MSS: Jakarta A 101/7, pp. 85–89; Jakarta A 108/3, pp. 52–61; London, British Library Or 16773, fol. 24b–27a.

(attrib.) *Muqaddimat al-Fawāʾid.* Composed for ʿAbd al-Qādir b. Sultan Abī'l-Maʿālī b. Abū'l-Mafākhir of Banten.

MSS Jakarta A 108/18, pp. 406–10; Leiden University Library, Or 5472/1, with interlinear Makasserese translation.

al-Nafḥa al-Saylāniyya.

MSS: Jakarta A 101/1, pp. 1–29

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[13] For this ms see Chapter 4 p. 176 above.

Qurrat al-ʿAyn.

MSS: Jakarta A 101/3, pp. 50–63; Leiden University Library,Or 7025/4, fol. 53b–74b

Risāla fī Ghāyat al-Ikhtiṣār wa-Nihāyat al-Anẓār al-Mutaḍammir mā fīhā Dhikr Aḥkām al-Aʿyān al-Thābita wa-Tawujjuhātihā wa-Iʿtibārātihā wa-Asmāʾihā .

MSS: Jakarta A 108/9, pp. 108–124.

Safīnat al-Najāh. Composed in Ceylon.

MSS: Dinas Purbakala Ms, Indonesian trans in Tudjimah, *Syek Yusuf Makasar*, pp. 194–204; a very different text with this title, although clearly also by Shaykh Yūsuf is Buton, La Ode Zaenu MLZ 7

Risāla bi-Ghāyat al-Ikhtiṣār al-Musammāh bi-Sirr al-Asrār.

MSS: Jakarta A 108/10, pp. 126–141; Leiden University Library, Or 7025/3, fol. 34b–52b.

Tāj al-Asrār fī Taḥqīq Mashrab al-ʿĀrifīn min Ahl al-Istibṣār.

MSS: Jakarta A 101/5, pp. 68–77; Leiden University Library, Or 7535; Leiden University Library, Or 7025/1, fol. 1b–9b.

Tuḥfat al-Amr fī Faḍīlat al-Dhikr.

MSS: Jakarta A 101/6, pp. 78–9; Leiden University Library, Or 5706/1, fol. 1a–3b

Tuḥfat al-Abrār li-Ahl al-Asrār.

MSS: Jakarta A 101/9, pp. 102–104; Jakarta A 113/3, pp. 66–81.

Tuḥfat al-Labīb bi-Liqāʾ al-Ḥabīb

Dinas Purbakala MS, Indonesian translation in Tudjimah, *Syek Yusuf Makasar*, pp. 179–186

Zubdat al-Asrār fī Taḥqīq Baʿḍ Mashārib al-Akhyār. Composed for Sultan Abūʾl-Fatḥ of Banten in 1087/1676

MSS: Jakarta A 45/2, pp. 153–377 with interlinear Javanese translation; Jakarta A 101/2, pp. 30–49; Jakarta A 108/35, pp. 570–606; Leiden University Library, Or 7025/2, fol. 10b–33a; Buton, Bau-Bau, Abdul Mulku Zahari Collection, MS 15/66/SYAM. Edited with an Indonesian translation and a Romanised Javanese translation as Syekh Yusuf al-Taj al-Makasari, *Menyingkap Intisari Segala Rahasia*, ed. Nabilah Lubis (Jakarta, 1996).

al-Waṣiyya al-Munjiyya ʿan al-Maḍarrat al-Ḥijāba

MSS: Jakarta A 101/11, pp. 108–112; Jakarta A 113, pp. 38–65.

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Appendix 2: Manuscripts Owned by the Royal Family of Banten

A. Annotated transcription of the 1833 Dutch Inventory of the Sultan of Banten's Manuscripts[1]

§	Dutch transcription or description	Modernised transcription	Author[a]	Comments[b]	Suggested identification of manuscript in Perpustakaan Nasional, Jakarta
1	Kitap Tapsier-oel-asrar	*Kitāb Tafsīr al-Asrār*		7 parts, with part 5 missing [also § 45]	A 63[c]
2	" " Djamalijn	*Tafsīr al-Jamālayn* [*Jamālān al-Jalālayn*]	Nūr al-Dīn ʿAlī al-Qāriʾ al-Harawī		A 60
3	" " Madariek atanziel	*Tafsīr Madārik al-Tanzīl*	al-Nasafī		Not identified
4	" " Baghawie	*Tafsīr al-Baghawī*	al-Baghawī	3 parts	A 61

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[a] No authors are given in the original list, except where specified in the title

[b] Those in square brackets added by the author; those without brackets translated from the Dutch original

[c] The manuscript could not be inspected owing to its state of preservation

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[1] Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia KBG Dir 0094–0095.

(*cont.*)

§	Dutch transcription or description	Modernised transcription	Author	Comments	Suggested identification of manuscript in Perpustakaan Nasional, Jakarta
5	“ “ Djalalijn	*Tafsīr al-Jalālayn*	Jalāl al-Dīn al-Maḥallī and Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī	8 parts, incomplete [entry repeated at § 15]	A 58
5a	“ “ Djalalijn	*Tafsīr al-Jalālayn*	Jalāl al-Dīn al-Maḥallī and Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī	5 parts, incomplete [also § 5, 13a, 15]	A 55
6	Verschillende verhalen door Imam Grazalie	Different works by al-Ghazālī			Not identified
7	Kitap Haijatoel Heiwan	*Ḥayāt al-Ḥayawān*	al-Damīrī/al-Damāmīnī		A 157
8	“ Idem idem	*Ḥayāt al-Ḥayawān*	al-Damīrī/al-Damāmīnī		A 158
9	“ Djawakitoel Djawahier	*Yawāqīt al-Jawāhir*	al-Shaʿrānī	[also § 38, 62, 64]	A 120, 121
10	Verschillende verhalen	Various treatises			Not identified
11	Kitap Miskatoel Mashabieh	*Mishkāt al-Maṣābīḥ*	Khaṭīb al-Tabrīzī		A 26
12	“ Nasiehatoel Moeloek	*Naṣīḥat al-Mulūk*	Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī		A 102, 103
13	“ Tartieb Moesmadiel Fardoes	*Tartīb Musnad al-Firdaws*	Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī		A 33

(*cont.*)

§	Dutch transcription or description	Modernised transcription	Author	Comments	Suggested identification of manuscript in Perpustakaan Nasional, Jakarta
13a	“ Taspier Djalalijn	*Tafsīr al-Jalālayn*	Jalāl al-Dīn al-Maḥallī and Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī	29 parts of 30	A 57
14	“ Tasahrie Nahoe	*Taṣrīḥ al-Naḥw* [*Al-Taṣrīḥ bi-maḍmūn al-tawḍīḥ*]	Khālid b. ʿAbdallāh al-Azharī	[also § 75]	A4–A5
15	Kitap Tapsier Djalalijn	*Tafsīr al-Jalālayn*	Jalāl al-Dīn al-Maḥallī and Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī	8 parts, incomplete	A 58
16	De Khoran	Qurʾān		With exegesis in 9 parts (should be 10)	A 52 or A 53
17	Kitap Hadies	*Kitāb Ḥadīth* [probably *Kitāb Nihāyat Gharīb al-Ḥadīth wa'l-Āthār*]	Majd al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr		A 85?[d]

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[d] Another hadith text is A 86, however, this lacks the initial folio, whereas A 85 has the title page intact, meaning it is more likely to have been identified accurately in the list

(*cont.*)

§	Dutch transcription or description	Modernised transcription	Author	Comments	Suggested identification of manuscript in Perpustakaan Nasional, Jakarta
18	" Adjaiboel Khalbie Tesoef	*ʿAjāʾib al-Qalb* (*taṣawwuf*) [part of the *Iḥyāʾ ʿUlūm al-Dīn*]	Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī		A 109
19	" Sjarah Dalail	[*Tafrīj al-Kurab waʾl-Muhimmāt bi-*] *Sharḥ Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt*]	Abd al-Muʿṭī b. Sālim b. ʿUmar al-Shiblī al-Miṣrī	Incomplete [also § 41][e]	A 82
20	" Sjarhiel Bahidja	*Sharḥ Bahjat* [*al-ʿUmūm*]		Incomplete	A 128
21	" Taspier Baghawie	*Tafsīr al-Baghawī*	Al-Baghawī	2 parts, sent to the sultan of Tidore	Probably not extant
22	" Toehfatoel Talibie	*Tuḥfat al-Ṭālibīn* [*Tuḥfa lil-Ṭullāb*][f]	Aḥmad b. al-Hāʾim		A 8

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[e] Apparently the same text is listed twice under different titles; this probably reflects the fact A 82 is a two-volume manuscript

[f] The title is correctly Tuḥfat al-Ṭullāb, but the discrepancy in the list can be explained with reference to A 8, where the title added in Latin script is given as Toehat al-Talibin, which is then crossed out and replaced with Tullab

(*cont.*)

§	Dutch transcription or description	Modernised transcription	Author	Comments	Suggested identification of manuscript in Perpustakaan Nasional, Jakarta
23	De Khoran	Qurʾān		Gilded paper	A 50
24	Idem idem	Qurʾān		Ordinary paper	
25	Idem idem	Qurʾān		With Javanese exegesis, in 14 parts, incomplete	A 54
26	Idem idem	Qurʾān		Without exegesis/ translation, 20 parts, incomplete	Not identified
27	Een Arabisch Spelboek	Arabic book of spells			A 156
28	Kitap Dalail	*Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt*	Al-Jazūlī		A 78, 79, 80, 81
29	Idem Idem	*Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt*	Al-Jazūlī		A 78, 79, 80, 81
30	“ Idem	*Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt*	Al-Jazūlī		A 78, 79, 80, 81
31	“ Idem	*Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt*	Al-Jazūlī		A 78, 79, 80, 81

(*cont.*)

§	Dutch transcription or description	Modernised transcription	Author	Comments	Suggested identification of manuscript in Perpustakaan Nasional, Jakarta
32	Twee Javaansche boeken waarvan een een soort van almanac is en het andere een aanteekening of naamboekje is, van personen welke voorname titles en betrekkkingen onder den Sultan van Banten bekleed hebben	Two Javanese books of which one is a sort of almanac and the other is a book of names of the people who held titles and offices under the sultan of Banten			Not identified
33	Vier javaansche boeken	Four Javanese books			Not identified
34	Kitap Minhadj	*Minhāj al-Ṭālibīn*	al-Nawawī		A 134
35	Kitap Tambieheil anām of	*Tanbīh al-Anām*	al-Qayrawānī	[also §90]	A 76, A 77
36	Over verschillende onderwerpen de Godsdienst bettreffende	On various religious subjects			
37	Kitap Charidatoel adjaib	*Kharīdat al-ʿAjāʾib*	Ibn al-Wardī	[also § 86]	A 150, 151
38	“ Djawkitoel Djawahir	*Yawāqīt al-Jawāhir*	al-Shaʿrānī	[also § 9, 62, 64]	A 120, A 121

(*cont.*)

§	Dutch transcription or description	Modernised transcription	Author	Comments	Suggested identification of manuscript in Perpustakaan Nasional, Jakarta
39	“ *Tasawoef*	*Kitāb al-Taṣawwuf*			Not identified
40	Over verschillende onderwerpen de godsdienst bettreffende	On various religious subjects			Not identified
41	Kitap Tafridjiel Koerab	*Tafrīj al-Kurab* [*wa'l-Muhimmāt bi-Sharḥ Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*]	Abd al-Muʿṭī b. Sālim b. ʿUmar al-Shiblī al-Miṣrī	[also §19]	A 82
42	“ Aloed	*Kitāb Mawlid ?*			A 67?
43	Over verschillende onderwerpen de godsdienst bettreffende	On various religious subjects			Not identified
44	Kitap Miezan Sjahranie	*Kitāb al-Mīzān lil-Shaʿrānī*	al-Shaʿrānī	[also § 65, 68]	A 65
45	“ Tapsier asrar	*Tafsīr al-Asrār*			A 62
46	“ Logrhat	*Kitāb Lughāt*			Not identified
47	“ Nahoe (Spraakkunst)	*Kitāb Naḥw* [possibly A 16, *al-Miṣbāḥ fī'l-Naḥw*]	[ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Jurjānī]		A 16?

(*cont.*)

§	Dutch transcription or description	Modernised transcription	Author	Comments	Suggested identification of manuscript in Perpustakaan Nasional, Jakarta
48	“ Mangdjoel Foelah			On religion	Not identified
49	“ Raula	*Rawḍa*[*t al-Ṭālibīn*]	al-Nawawī	2 parts	A 141
50	“ Akamoel Merdjan	*Ākām al-Marjān*	al-Shiblī		A 124
51	Kitap Samsoel Maarief	*Shams al-Maʿārif*	al-Būnī	[also § 69, 72]	A 19, 20, 127
52	“ Kalar Nahoe (Spraakkunst)	… *Naḥw*			Not identified
53	“ Ichtilafoel Madhab	*Ikhtilāf al-Madhāhib*			A 140
54	“ Mawahieb	Either al-Qasṭallānī, *al-Mawāhib al-Ladunniyya* or Ibrāhīm b. Abī Bakr al-Shāmī, *al-Mawāhib al-Mustarsala sharḥ al-Tuḥfa al-Mursala* [both attested by internal evidence, to be owned by Banten royal family]		[also §79]	A 117 or A A 98

(*cont.*)

§	Dutch transcription or description	Modernised transcription	Author	Comments	Suggested identification of manuscript in Perpustakaan Nasional, Jakarta
55	“ Tahfatoel Talieb	*Tuḥfat al-Ṭālib*	Yūsuf al-Maqāṣīrī	On religion	A 46, 106
56	“ Akhidatoel Imam Sanoesie	*ʿAqīdat al-Imām al-Sanūsī*	al-Sanūsī	[also §106]	A 43, 44
57	“ Failal Ahad	*Fayḍ al-Aḥad*	Muḥammad al-Ṭabarī		A 34
58	“ Djamoes-Saghir	*Jāmiʿ al-Ṣaghīr*	al-Suyūṭī	[also § 61]	A 24, 39
59	“ Djawakir	*Al-Jawāhir* [*al-Khamsa*]	Muḥammad al-Ghawth	[also § 70]	A 37, 42
60	“ Thaubeh	*Kitāb al-Tawba* (section of the *Iḥyāʾ ʿUlūm al-Dīn*)	Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī		A 99 (l)
61	“ Djamoes Saghir	*Jāmiʿ al-Ṣaghīr*	al-Suyūṭī	[also § 59]	A 24, 39
62	“ Djawakitoel Djawakir	*Yawāqīt al-Jawāhir*	al-Shaʿrānī	[also §9, 38, 64]	A 120, 121
63	“ Fawaied (Spraakkunst)	*Al-Fawāʾid al-Ḍiyāʾiyya*	ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Jāmī		A 9, 13
64	“ Djawakitoel Djawahier	*Yawāqīt al-Jawāhir*	al-Shaʿrānī	[also § 9, 38, 62]	A 120, A 121
65	“ Mizan Sjahranie	*al-Mīzān lil-Shaʿrānī*	al-Shaʿrānī	[also § 44, 68]	

(*cont.*)

§	Dutch transcription or description	Modernised transcription	Author	Comments	Suggested identification of manuscript in Perpustakaan Nasional, Jakarta
66	" Fakar Zoehoed	*Kitāb al-Faqr* [*wa*] *al-Zuhd* (section of the *Iḥyāʾ ʿUlūm al-Dīn*)	Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī		A 100B
67	" Rahmatoel Aemmah	*Raḥmat al-Āʾimma*	Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥusayn al-Qurashī al-ʿUthmānī		A 142
68	" Mizan Sjahranie	*al-Mīzān lil-Shaʿrānī*	al-Shaʿrānī	[also § 44, 65]	
69	" Samsoel Maaref	*Shams al-Maʿārif*	al-Būnī	[also § 51, 72]	A 19, 20, 127
70	" Djawahir	*al-Jawāhir al-Khamsa*	Muḥammad al-Ghawth	[also § 59]	A 37, 42
71	" Sjarchie Choelasah (Spraakkunst)	*Sharḥ al-Khulāṣa li-Alfiyyat Ibn Mālik*	Ibn ʿAqīl		A 3 (lost)
72	" Samsoel Maaref	*Shams al-Maʿārif*	al-Būnī	[also § 51, 69]	A 19, 20, 127
73	Kitap Graijatoel Koeshoea	*Ghāyat al-Quṣwā*	Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī		A 125
74	" Fatoel Moebien	*al-Fatḥ al-Mubīn* [*fī Sharḥ al-Arbaʿīn*]	Ibn Ḥajar al-Haytamī		A 40

(*cont.*)

§	Dutch transcription or description	Modernised transcription	Author	Comments	Suggested identification of manuscript in Perpustakaan Nasional, Jakarta
75	“ Tasrieh	*al-Taṣrīḥ* [*bi-Maḍmūn al-Tawḍīḥ*]	Khālid b. ʿAbdallāh al-Azharī	On religion, incomplete	A 4–5
76	“ Ichaija Oeloemoedien	*Iḥyāʾ ʿUlūm al-Dīn*	Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī	14 parts	A 99
77	“ Manazieloes Zaliekien	*Manāzil al-Sālikīn* [*i.e. al-Sāʾirīn*]	ʿAbd al-Razzāq al-Qāshānī		A 116[g]
78	“ Manhadjoes Zaliek (Spraakkunst)	*Manhaj al-Sālik* [*ilā Alfiyyat Ibn Mālik*]	Nūr al-Dīn al-Ashmūnī		A 2
79	“ Mawahieb	Either al-Qasṭallānī, *al-Mawāhib al-Ladunniyya* or Ibrāhīm b. Abī Bakr al-Shāmī, *al-Mawāhib al-Mustarsala Sharḥ al-Tuḥfa al-Mursala* [both attested by internal evidence to be owned by Banten royal family]		[also §54]	A 117 or A 98

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[g] In MS A 116, the codex lacks a clear opening starting with a variety of notes. There is also a work entitled Manazil al-Sai’rin which is the first work proper in the codex. The title of the Madarij al-Salikin is given clearly towards end on p. 369

(*cont.*)

§	Dutch transcription or description	Modernised transcription	Author	Comments	Suggested identification of manuscript in Perpustakaan Nasional, Jakarta
80	“ Sjarah Soedoer	*Sharḥ al-Ṣudūr*	al-Suyūṭī		A 22
81	“ Sjarah Hadies arabaien	*Sharḥ Arbaʿīn Ḥadith*	Aḥmad b. Ḥijāzī al-Fashnī		A 27
82	“ Sjarah Djam-oedzaghir	[*al-Taysīr bi-*] *Sharḥ Jāmiʿ al-Ṣaghīr*	ʿAbd al-Raʾūf al-Munāwī		A 25
83	“ Raus Buharie	[*Ṣaḥīḥ?*] *al-Bukhārī*	al-Bukhārī		A 38 [?]
84	“ Mankoel Moehararat	*Manqūl* [*min*] *al-Muḥarrarāt*	al-Rāfiʿī		A 133
85	“ Djauharoel Hakaiek	*Jawhar al-Ḥaqāʾiq*	Shams al-Dīn al-Sumāṭrāʾī		A 31
86	“ Charidatoel adjaeib	*Kharīdat al-ʿAjāʾib*	Ibn al-Wardī	[also § 37]	A 150, 151
87	“ Minhadjus Saliek	*Manhaj al-Sālik ilā Ashraf al-Masālik*	ʿAlī b. Khalīl al-Marṣafī		A 114
88	“ Badjatoel asrar	*Bahjat al-Asrār*	al-Shattanawfi		A 95
89	“ Sjarah Hidjiaija	*Sharḥ Hidāyat* [*al-Azkiyāʾ ilā Ṭarīq al-Awliyāʾ*] entitled *Maslak al-Atqiyāʾ Manhaj al-Aṣfiyāʾ*	Anon commentary on a work by Zayn al-Dīn al-Maʿbarī		A 107

(*cont.*)

§	Dutch transcription or description	Modernised transcription	Author	Comments	Suggested identification of manuscript in Perpustakaan Nasional, Jakarta
90	“ Tambiehoel anam	*Tanbīh al-Anām*	al-Qayrawānī	[also § 35]	A 76, 77
91	“ Moesa Marah	*Musāmara* [*Sharḥ al-Musāyara*]	Kamāl al-Dīn al-Muqaddasī		A 35, 36
92	Hikaijat Salihin	*Ḥikāyāt al-Ṣāliḥīn*		[see also § 102, although this is a different work]	A 90
93	Kitap Oemdatul Tahlies	*Sharḥ ʿUmdat al-Takhlīṣ* [recte *al-Takhlīṣ Sharḥ ʿUmdat al-Tawḥid*]	al-Sanūsī		A 21
94	“ asfar	*al-Isfār* [*ʿan Aṣl Istikhārat Aʿmāl al-Layl wa'l-Nahār*]	Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī		A 112
95	“ Nadlam Kafia	*Kitāb Naẓm al-Kāfiyya* [recte *Manhaj al-Masālik ilā Alfiyyat Ibn Mālik*]	Al-Ashmūnī		A 14
96	Kitap Idatoe Sahabar				Not identified

(*cont.*)

§	Dutch transcription or description	Modernised transcription	Author	Comments	Suggested identification of manuscript in Perpustakaan Nasional, Jakarta
97	Over verschillende zaken de godsdienst betreffende	On various religious subjects			Not identified
98	Idem idem	On various religious subjects			Not identified
99	Kitap Nasjied Watua	*Kitāb Nashīd wa-Duʿā*			A83
100	“ Mawahiboer Rabania	*Al-Mawāhib al-Rabbāniyya*	Ibn ʿAllān		A 105
101	“ Moeghnie Nahoe (Spraakkunst)	[*Sharḥ*] *al-Mughnī* [*fi ʿIlm*] *al-Naḥw*	al-Maylānī		A 6
102	Hikaijat Salihin	[*Rawḍ al-Rayāḥīn fī*] *Ḥikāyāt al-Ṣāliḥīn*[h]	al-Yāfiʿī		A 89

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[h] Both § 92 and 102 are described as *Hikaijat Salihin*, but as there is only one ms bearing this title alone (A 90), one of these must refer to al-Yāfiʿī's work, the *Rawḍ al-Riyāḥīn fī Ḥikāyāt al-Ṣāliḥīn*

(*cont.*)

§	Dutch transcription or description	Modernised transcription	Author	Comments	Suggested identification of manuscript in Perpustakaan Nasional, Jakarta
103	Kitap Falak	*Raqāʾiq al-Ḥaqāʾiq fī Ḥisāb al-Darj waʾl-Daqāʾiq*	Sibṭ al-Mārdīnī	In two parts, on geography (over de aardrijkskunde)	A 154 (?)[i]
104	" Resalat Tarekat	*Kitāb Risālat al-Ṭarīqa*			A 96
105	" Izagoedjie	[*Sharḥ*] *Isāghūjī*	Ḥusām al-Dīn al-Kātī		A 149
106	" Sanoesie	*ʿAqīdat al-Imām al-Sanūsī*	al-Sanūsī		A 21, 119
107	" Sjarah Daroeruag (Spraakunst)	*Sharḥ Ājurrūmiyya*	al-Shirbīnī		A 1 (lost)

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[i] *ʿIlm al-falak* deals with astronomy not geography; al-Mārdīnī's work seems the most likely candidate, although it is not in two parts, as the introduction states that it is treats *ḥisāb al-aʿmāl al-falakiyya*. Possibly the confusion regarding two parts derives from the fact that al-Mārdīnī states he had abridged it from Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad's *Kashf al-Ḥaqāʾiq fīʾl-Darj waʾl-Daqāʾiq*, i.e. there are two books. The manuscript was owned by as certain Muḥammad Saʿīd al-Jāwī al-Bantan[ī], confirming its presence in Banten, although it is evidently of Middle Eastern origin

(*cont.*)

§	Dutch transcription or description	Modernised transcription	Author	Comments	Suggested identification of manuscript in Perpustakaan Nasional, Jakarta
108	" Toefatoel Ichwan	*Tuḥfat al-Ikhwān* [*fī Qirāʾat al-Mīʿād fī Rajab, wa-Shaʿbān wa-Ramaḍān*]	Aḥmad b. Ḥijāzī al-Fashnī		A 126
109	" Oekdatoel Moerid	*ʿUqdat al-Murīd*[*īn*]			A 113/5[j]
110	" Sjamaiel	*Shamāʾil al-Nabawiyya*	al-Tirmidhī		A 41
111	" Matlab	*Al-Maṭlab*	al-Imthālī		A 64
112	" Nahoe	*Kitāb al- Naḥw*		6 parts	A 112
113	Verschillende godsdienstige boeken	Various religious books		7 parts	Not identified

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[j] Unusually this *majmūʿa* is named after the last text in it, the title appearing on p. 116. Most probably this is because the first text does not have a title. A nineteenth-century Latin script inscription on p. 120 also describes the ms as 'Oekdatoel Moerid" confirming this identification

(*cont.*)

§	Dutch transcription or description	Modernised transcription	Author	Comments	Suggested identification of manuscript in Perpustakaan Nasional, Jakarta
113a	Eenige boeken	Some books		9 parts	Not identified
114	Idem idem	Some books		18 parts	A101?[k]
115	Eenige boeken	Some books		10 parts	A 131?
116	Godsdienstige gezangen/ zikir zikir	Religious songs/dhikr		6 parts	A 70

[k] Given the clear inaccuracies in counting the numbers of texts in manuscripts elsewhere, it is hard to be certain that this number is correct, but A 101, containing 21 treatises seems the most likely candidate for this

B

Books Owned by the Royal Family of Banten

§ indicates number on 1833 list.

In this list subject divisions are only rough and tentative; *majmūʿas* are listed by the subject of the first work. Where one work in a *majmūʿa* is clearly identified as belonging the sultans of Banten, either through ownership statement or mention in the 1833 list, the other component parts of the *majmūʿa* are listed. The basic organisation follows that of Friederich and van den Berg's catalogue, which, however unsatisfactory, is no more arbitrary than any other is.

Grammar

1. Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Shirbīnī (d. 977/1570), *Sharḥ Ājurrūmiyya* (GAL S II 441). Jakarta A 1 (lost), § 107.
2. Nūr al-Dūn al-Ashmūnī (d. 929/1522). *Manḥaj al-Sālik ilā Alfiyyat Ibn Mālik*. Jakarta A 2, 14, § 78, 95.
3. Ibn ʿAqīl (d. 769/1367). *Sharḥ al-Khulāṣa li-Alfiyyat Ibn Mālik* (GAL S II 299). Jakarta A 3 (Lost), § 71.
4. Khālid b. ʿAbdallāh al-Azharī (d. 905/1499). *Al-Taṣrīḥ bi-Maḍmūn al-Tawḍīḥ*, commentary on Ibn Hishām's *Tawḍīḥ*, itself a commentary on the *Alfiyya* of Ibn Mālik (GAL S II 298–9). Jakarta A 4–A5, § 14 and 75.
5. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Maylānī (d. 811/1401), *Sharḥ al-Mughnī fi ʿIlm al-Naḥw*, a commentary on the treatise on syntax by Fakhr al-Dīn al-Jarābirdī (d. 746/1346) (GAL II, 193, S II 257). Jakarta A 6, § 101.
6. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Jāmī (d. 898/1492), *al-Fawāʾid al-Ḍiyāʾiyya* (GAL I 304; S I 533). Jakarta A 9, A 13, § 63.
7. Aḥmad b. al-Hāʾim, *Tuḥfa lil-Ṭullāb*, a commentary on Ibn Hishām's *Qawāʿid al-Iʿrāb*. Jakarta A 8, § 22.
8. Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Masʿūdī (early 8th/14th century), *Marāḥ al-Arwāḥ* (GAL II 21; S II, 14). Jakarta A 15 (Lost). According to Friederich had inscription of Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn.
9. Collection of treatises on grammar. Jakarta A 18 must be identified with § 112. While § 112, entitled 'Nahoe/Sprachkunst' is described as contained '6 parts' (6 deelen) and A 18 contains 8, this is the only *majmūʿa* on grammar in the Friederich and van den Berg catalogue. Its contents are as follows:
    9. Untitled treatise on Arabic verbs with Javanese explanations A 18/1
    10. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. Ibrāhīm al-Zanjānī (d. 655/1257), *al-Taṣrīf al-ʿIzzī*. A 18/2
    11. ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Jurjānī, *Kitāb al-ʿAwāmil al-Miʾa*. Interlinear Javanese trans. A 18/3
    12. Ibn Ājarrūm. *Al-Ājurrūmiyya*. Interlinear Javanese translation A 18/4

    13. al-Taftāzānī, *Sharḥ al-Saʿd ʿalā al-ʿAwāmil al-Miʾa*, a commentary on al-Jurjānī's *al-ʿAwāmil al-Miʾa.* Interlinear Javanese translation. A 18/5
    14. Untitled grammatical treatise A 8/6
    15. Treatise on pronouns (*asmāʾ al-ḍamīr*) A 18/7
    16. ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Jurjānī, *al-Miṣbāḥ fīʾl-Naḥw*. A 18/8. A second copy of this work is Jakarta A 16, which is likely to be identified with § 47, described simply as 'Nahoe' or possibly § 52 'Kalar (?) Nahoe'.

Credal works and hadith

17. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Sanūsī (d. 895/1490), *ʿUmdat Ahl al-Tawḥīd waʾl-Tasdīd fī Sharḥ ʿAqīdat Ahl al-Tawḥīd.* Commentary on al-Sanūsī's own work on the Ashʿari creed, popularly known as *al-ʿaqīda al-kubrā*, listed by Brockelmann (GAL S II 353) as *ʿUmdat Ahl al-Tawfīq waʾl-Tasdīd.* Jakarta A 21.Ownership of Zayn al-ʿĀshiqīn, probably § 93; A 21/2 is an abridgement of the commentary (see also + 26 below).
18. Jalal al-Din al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505). *Sharḥ al-Ṣudūr waʾl-Mawt waʾl-Qubūr* (GAL II 184; S II 181). Jakarta A 22/1. § 80; note mentioning unnamed sultan on fol. 1a.
    19. Shaykh Ṣāliḥ b. Muḥammad, *urjūza* on *taʿlīm* (A 22/2), including brief notes on benefits of the Torah, and the number of companions of prophet.
    20. Muḥammad b. ʿUmar al-Ḥaḍramī (Shaykh Baḥraq) (d. 930/1524). *al-Ḥusām al-Maslūl ʿalā Muntaqaṣī Aṣḥāb al-Rasūl.* An affirmation of Sunnism, written in response to Ismaili claims. Jakarta A 22/3, pp. 458–527.[2]
21. Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505). *al-Jāmiʿ al-Ṣaghīr min Ḥadīth al-Bashīr al-Nadhīr.* An influential hadith collection (title given by Brockelmann as *al-Jāmiʿ al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, GAL S I 261). Jakarta A 24 (dated Jumādā II 1079), A39. § 59 and 61.
22. ʿAbd al-Raʾūf al-Munāwī (d. 1032/1623), *al-Taysīr bi-Sharḥ al-Jāmiʿ al-Ṣaghīr.* A commentary on al-Suyūṭī's *al-Jāmiʿ al-Ṣaghīr* (GAL S II 184). Jakarta A 25 (part 2 only, copied Rabīʿ I 1061; copyist Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Daqdūsī al-Azharī). § 82.
23. Khaṭīb Walī al-Din Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh al-Tabrīzī (composed 737/1336). *Mishkāt al-Maṣābīḥ*, an expansion of al-Baghawī's (d. 516/1122) *al-Miṣbāḥ* (GAL I 364, S I 621), a well known hadith collection. Jakarta A 26, § 11.
24. *Sharḥ Ḥadīth Arbaʿīn*, a commentary on the famous collection of hadith by al-Nawawī (d. 676/1278). § 81. Most likely §81 refers to A 27 by Aḥmad b.

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[2] Although not listed by Brockelmann in GAL, the author was a prominent Hadrami scholar and a disciple of Abū Bakr b. ʿAbdallāh al-ʿAydarūs. *al-Ḥusām al-Maslūl* has been edited by Muḥammad Makhlūf in Cairo in 1967. For Shaykh Baḥraq's biography see al-ʿAydarūs, *al-Nūr al-Sāfir*, 202–212.

Ḥijāzī al-Fashnī (also entitled *al-Majālis al-Saniyya fīʾl-kalām ʿalā al-Arbaʿīn al-Nawawiyya* composed in 978/1570; GAL S I 683).

25. Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī (d. 852/1449), *Tartīb Musnad al-Firdaws*. Commentary on the hadith collection by Abū Manṣūr al-Daylamī (d. 558/1162) (GAL S II 75, where it is given the title *Tashdīd al-Qaws fī Tartīb Musnad al-Firdaws*). Jakarta A 33 (copied 1124/1712; ownership of Muḥammad Shifā al-Jāwī b. al-Khaṭīb 1182/1768–9). § 13.
26. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Ṭabarī (d. 1173/1760), *Fayḍ al-Aḥad fī ʿIlm bi-ʿUluww al-Silsila*.[3] Jakarta A 34. § 57.
27. Kamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr b. ʿAlī b. Abī Sharīf al-Shāfiʿī al-Muqaddasī (d. 906/1500), *Kitab al-Musāmara Sharḥ al-Musāyara* (GAL II 226; S II 96). A commentary on *al-Musāyara fīʾl-ʿAqāʾid al-Munjiyya min al-Ākhira* by Kamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Sīwāsī al-Iskandarī (d. 861/1457). Jakarta A35, A 36. § 91.
28. Muḥammad al-Bukhārī (d. 256/870), *al-Ṣaḥīḥ* (GAL I 158 S II 261). One of the canonical hadith compilations. Jakarta A 38 (part 3 only), probably § 83 "Raus Bukhari"
29. Ibn Ḥajar al-Haytamī (d. 973/1565), *al-Fatḥ al-Mubīn fī Sharḥ al-Arbaʿīn*, a commentary on al-Nawawī's collection of forty hadith (GAL II 388; S I 68). Jakarta A 40. § 74.
30. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Sanūsī (d. 895/1490), *Sharḥ Umm al-Barāhīn*; al-Sanūsī's commentary on his shorter creed (*al-ʿAqīda al-Ṣughrā*). Jakarta A 44. § 56 or 106. Manuscript owned by ʿAbd al-Shakūr with *ijāza* from Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī (pp. 255–6).
31. [?] Muḥammad b. Abī Qāsim b. Naṣr al-Fajījī (composed 1048/1638), *al-Taqlīd ʿalā ʿAqīdat al-Imām al-Sharīf al-Ḥasan al-Sanūsī* (GAL S II 353–4). Jakarta A 43. § 56 or 106. Although not identified by ownership, it is likely this commentary on al-Sanūsī's creed is one of the two mss in the 1833 list mentioned as associated with al-Sanūsī
32. [?] Majd al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr (d. 606/1210), *Kitāb Nihāyat Gharīb al-Ḥadīth waʾl-Āthār* (GAL I 357, S I 609). Jakarta A 85 §17.

Qurʾans

33. Qurʾan, Jakarta A 50 ownership of Muḥammad Shifā son of Sultan Muḥammad ʿĀrif.
34. Qurʾan, Jakarta A 51
35. Qurʾan, Jakarta A 52

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[3] Although mentioned in GAL S II 516, evidently Brockelmann's notes were muddled and the *Fayḍ al-Aḥad* is misattributed to al-ʿIṣāmī rather than Muḥammad al-Ṭabarī, who is listed subsequently.

36. Qur'an, Jakarta, A 53
37. Qur'an, Jakarta, A 54

Qur'anic *tafsīr*

38. Jalāl al-Din al-Maḥallī (d. 864/1459) and Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505). *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn* (GAL II 145, S II 179) Jakarta A 55–A59. § 1, 5, 6, 13
39. Nūr al-Dīn ʿAlī al-Qāri' al-Harawī (d. 1014/1605), *Jamālayn lil-Jalālayn* (GAL II 145; S II 180). Jakarta A 60. § 2. Owner Ratu Abū'l-Mafākhir Muḥammad ʿAlī
40. ʿAbdallāh b. Aḥmad al-Nasafī (d. 710/1310), *Madārik al-Tanzīl* (GAL II 197, S II 267). § 3. MS not identified.
41. Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥusayn al-Baghawī (d. 516/1122), *Maʿālim al-Tanzīl* (GAL I 364, S I 592), Jakarta A 61. § 4; another copy of the *tafsīr* by al-Baghawī is mentioned at §21; it was sent to the sultan of Tidore and can no longer be traced.
42. *Tafsīr al-Asrār*. Jakarta A 62, A 63. § 1, 45. Completed 1196/1782 (not in GAL, probably local Banteni work)
43. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Imthālī (or Amthālī), *al-Maṭlab*. Jakarta A 64. § 111. Apparently otherwise unattested, this work comprises an alphabetical dictionary of the words in the Qur'ān, with an explanation of their meaning.

Prayers and devotional works

44. *Dhikr Mawlid*. Jakarta A 67. Ownership of Sultan Muḥammad ʿAlī al-Dīn.
45. *Kitāb dhikr*. A 68. § 116.
46. Qadiri *rātib/dhikr*. A 73. Ownership of Sultan ʿAlī al-Dīn
47. al-Qayrawānī (d. 971/1563), *Tanbīh al-Anām* (GAL S II 691). A 76, A 77. § 90.
48. al-Jazūlī (d. 870/1465), *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* (GAL II 252–3 S II 359). Jakarta A 78, A 79, A 80, A 81. § 28–31.
49. ʿAbd al-Muʿṭī b. Sālim b. ʿUmar al-Shiblī al-Miṣrī (*c.*1110/1698), *Tafrīj al-Kurab wa'l-Muhimmāt bi-Sharḥ Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* (GAL S II 360). Jakarta A 82, § 41, ownership of Zayn al-ʿĀshiqīn.
50. Poems in praise of Prophet in Arabic and Malay. Jakarta A 83, ownership of Sultan Zayn al-ʿĀrifīn.
51. Poems largely in Arabic by al-Sūdī and others, and *Mawlid*. Leiden University Library, Or 5658 owned by Muḥammad Qāhir b. al-Sulṭān Mawlānā ʿAbd al-Fatḥ b. Sulṭān Aḥmad. Binding missing

Hagiography

52. al-Yāfiʿī (d. 768/1367), *Rawḍ al-Rayāḥīn fī Ḥikāyāt al-Ṣāliḥīn* (GAL II 176–7; S II, 227–8), Jakarta A 89. § 92 or 102
53. *Ḥikāyat al-Ṣāliḥīn*. A book of Sufi advice in twenty chapters, based on stories of famous early Sufis such as Ibrāhīm b. Adham. Jakarta A90. § 92 or 102.

54. al-Shattanawfi (d. 713/1314), *Bahjat al-Asrār wa-Maʿdan al-Anwār* (GAL I 561, II 118–9, S S II 147). Jakarta A 95, § 88.

Sufism

55. Shams al-Dīn al-Sumāṭrā'ī (d. 1039/1630), *Jawhar al-Ḥaqā'iq*. Jakarta A 31, mention of Sultan Muḥammad (fol. 1a).
    56. Brief note to the effect that the *ʿārif* must busy himself with God and turn away from this world. Jakarta A 31/2, p. 189.
    57. untitled treatise described by Friederich and van den Berg as 'traditio'. The treatise actually deals with creation in distinctly Sufi terms, especially the creation of the *nūr muḥammadiyya*, the angels, the *lawh maḥfūẓ* and qalam. A 31/3, pp. 190–231.
    58. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Qahhār al-Bantanī, *Mashāhid al-Nāsik fi maqāmāt al-sālik*. Jakarta A 31/4, pp.232–289.
59. Muḥammad Ghawth (d. 970/1562), *al-Jawāhir al-Khamsa* (GAL I 418, S II 616). Jakarta A 37, A 42. § 59, 70.
60. Abū ʿĪsā Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā al-Tirmidhī (d. 279/892), *Kitāb al-Shamā'il al-Nabawiyya* (GAL I, 152, S I 267). Jakarta A 41/1. § 101.
    61. ʿAlā' al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Mahā'imī (d. 835/1432). *Kitāb Irā'at al-Daqā'iq fī Sharḥ Mir'at al-Ḥaqā'iq* (GAL S II 310–311). Jakarta A 42/2.
62. Anonymous. *Tuḥfat al-Ṭālib al-Mubtadī wa Minḥat al-Sālik al-Muhtadī*. Jakarta A 45/1, 106/1. § 55.[4]
63. *Risāla al-Ṭarīqa*, Jakarta A 96. § 104. Contains:
    63. Untitled work on general precepts of Sufism. A 96/1
    64. *Risālat al-Majmūʿ fī Bayān Asnādihi al-Rifāʿī al-Qādirī al-Ibn ʿAlwān wa'l-ʿAydarūs wa-Ghayrihim*. On pp. 19–20 shows membership in Rifaʿi *silsila* of ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Qahhār who evidently inducted Zayn al-ʿĀshiqīn, whose name is also mentioned. A 96/2
    65. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Qahhār, *Risāla fī Aṣḥāb al-Khirqa*. A 96/3
    66. A Javanese treatise discussing the *martaba*s in the *Tuhfa al-Mursala*

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[4] Neither manuscript identifies the author of this treatise, which is not mentioned by Brockelmann; it presents a five grades system (*khams marātib*), and the author is likely to have been a Naqshbandi, as the system is attributed to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Jāmī, who is quoted in Persian (A 45, pp. 55–6, A 106, p. 29). The contents are as follows:
Al-muqadimma fī dhikr al-lā taʿayyun wa'l-taʿayyun.
Al-faṣl al-awwal fī dhikr al-ghayb wa'l-shahāda
Al-faṣl al-thānī fī dhikr al-iṭlāq wa'l-taqayyud
Al-faṣl al-thālith fī dhikr al-ʿishq wa'l-ʿāshiq wa'l-maʿshūqa
al-khātima fī dhikr mithāl al-shawāhid al-wājib min al-mumkin
Another manuscript of this, also anonymous, is Jakarta A 409/1.

    67. Rifaʿi *rātib* and *silsilas* A 96/4
    68. Excerpts from various treatises on *dhikr*, authorship uncertain. A 96/5
69. Ibrāhīm b. Abī Bakr al-Shāmī al-Azharī. *al-Mawāhib al-Mustarsala ʿalā al-Tuḥfa al-Mursala*. Jakarta A 98. Ownership of Sultan Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn
70. Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111), *Iḥyāʾ ʿUlūm al-Dīn* (GAL I 422, S I 748). Jakarta A 99. § 76; also selections, Jakarta A 100 (*Kitāb faqr zuhd, kitāb al-tawba*), A 109 (= § 19, *Sharḥ ʿAjāʾib al-Qalb*)
71. Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad al-Ghazālī, *Naṣīḥat al-Mulūk* (also known as *al-Tibr al-Masbūk fī Naṣīḥat al-Mulūk*) (GAL I 423 S I 750). Jakarta A 102, 103. § 12.
72. Ibn ʿAllān. *Naṣḥ al-Nāṣiḥ fī Sharḥ al-Nāṣiḥ*. A 104. Owned by Pangeran ?? al-Din.
73. Ibn ʿAllān, *al-Mawāhib al-Rabbāniyya*. A 105. § 100.
74. *Maslak al-Atqiyāʾ Manhaj al-Aṣfiyāʾ* a commentary on Zayn al-Dīn al-Maʿbarī's *Sharḥ Hidāyat al-Azkiyāʾ ilā Ṭarīq al-Awliyāʾ*. A 107, § 89.
75. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Qahhār, *Fatḥ al-Mulūk*. A 111; composed for Zayn al-ʿĀshiqīn
76. A collection of seven treatises predominantly on Sufism, Jakarta A 112 to be identified with §94 'Kitap asfar' on basis of the title of the first treatise. In addition a note on p. 3 of A 112/6 mentions the titles of a member of the royal family (*ʿalamat kang … ratu*) and ʿAbd al-Shakūr. The manuscript was copied Medina by al-ḥājj ʿAbd al-Maḥmūd b. Ṣāliḥ al-Jāwī in 1084–5.
    76. Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī (d.1101/1690), *al-Isfār ʿan Aṣl Istikhārat Aʿmāl al-Layl wa'l-Nahār*.[5] A 112/1.
    77. Ibn ʿArabī (d. 638/1240), *ʿUqlat al-Mustawfiz* (GAL I 443–4 S I 795). A 112/2
    78. Ibn ʿArabī (d. 638/1240), *Kitab Shaqq al-Jayb fi Maʿrifat Ahl al-Shahāda wa'l-Ghayb* (GAL I 444 S I 795) A 112/3
    79. Anon. treatise on *shughl*; a Sufi treatise. A 112/4
    80. Ibn ʿArabī (d. 638/1240). *Risālat al-Anwār* (GAL I 444 S I 795). A 112/5
    81. Ibn ʿArabī (d. 538/1240), *Kimiyā al-Saʿāda* (GAL I 444 S I 795). A 112/6
    82. Anon. *Sharḥ basmala*. A 112/3
83. Jakarta A 113, a collection of five Sufi treatises, identifiable with § 109 on the basis of the title in the last work (p. 116, also given in Latin script on p. 120)
    83. Anon, *Maṭlaʿ al-Sarāʾir wa'l-Ẓawāhir*. A 113/1. The title is not provided in this ms, but the same text with title is present in Jakarta A 108/2, pp. 36–50; a treatise on purifying the heart.
    84. Yūsuf al-Maqāṣīrī, *al-Waṣiyya al-Munjiyya ʿan al-Maḍarra al-Ḥijāba*. A 113/2
    85. Yūsuf al-Maqāṣīrī, *Tuḥfat al-Abrār li-Ahl al-Asrār*. A 113/3
    86. Anon, untitled treatise on *dhikr*, starting, after the doxology, *iʿlam innahu yanbaghī lil-dhākir qawl lā ilāh illā allāh sirran wa-jahran*. A 113/4. The same text is found in Jakarta A 101, pp. 105–7.

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[5] No author mentioned in Jakarta A 112, for its attribution see Dumairieh, *Intellectual Life*, 148.

87. Anon. *ʿUqdat al-Murīd.* Treatise on shaykh-*murīd* relations showing Naqshbandi influence; on p. 105 Tāj al-Dīn al-Naqshbandī al-Hindī and al-Sīdī ʿĀlī Jawnpūrī are cited. Jakarta A 113/5

88. Jakarta A 114. A collection of four treatises in the hand of ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Qahhār, copied in Banten in 1187, identifiable with § 87 on the basis of the title of the first item.
    88. ʿAlī b. Khalīl al-Marṣafī (d. 930/1524), *Manhaj al-Sālik ilā Ashrāf al-Masālik*, an abridgement of the *Risāla* of al-Qushayrī (d. 465/1065) (GAL I 556, II 332, S II 460), Jakarta A 114/1
    89. Anon, untitled treatise on *tawḥīd.* A 114/2
    90. *Kitāb Sharḥ fīhi Daqāʾiq al-Minhāj wa-Maʿrifat Alfāẓihi wa-Alfāẓ al-Muḥarrar al-Nawawī* (sic). Excerpts from the famous Shafii *fiqh* texts of *al-Minhāj* and *al-Muḥarrar*. A 114/3.
    91. Notes in Javanese discussing *manāqib* of ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī. A 114/4
92. ʿAbd al-Razzāq al-Qāshānī (d.735/1335). *Sharḥ Manāzil al-Sāʾirīn,* a commentary on the treatise by al-Anṣārī (d. 481/1088) (GAL I 433), S I 774). A 116. § 77 (where it is described as *Manāzil al-sālikīn*, but no other codex of this description)
93. Jakarta A 117. Collection of Sufi treatises, owned by sultan Zayn al-ʿĀshiqīn.
    93. al-Qasṭallāni (d. 923/1517), *al-Mawāhib al-Laduniyya bi'l-minaḥ al-Muḥammadiyya* (excerpt) (GAL II 73, S II 78). Jakarta A 117/1
    94. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Rifāʿī, *Tanbīh al-Qulūb.* Jakarta A 117/2
    95. Anon. Biography of Shaykh Aḥmad al-Rifāʿī, written for Zayn al-ʿĀshiqīn. Jakarta A 117/3
    96. Aḥmad b. Abī Bakr al-Qurashī al-Yamanī (named in GAL II 189 as Aḥmad b. Abī Bakr b. al-Waddād al-Zabīdī, d. 821/1418), excerpt from the *ʿUddat al-Murshidīn wa-ʿUmdat al-Mustarshidīn.* Jakarta A 117/4
    97. A *rajaz* poem on *uṣūl al-dīn* by a disciple of Aḥmad al-Qushāshī. Jakarta A 117/5
98. *Ḥikāyat al-Barāʾa*, anonymous abridgement of al-Ghazālī's *Iḥyāʾ ʿUlūm al-Dīn.* A 118. Ownership of an unnamed sultan of Banten (*kanjeng ratu sultan sunuhan*) possibly identical with § 11.
99. al-Mahāʾimī, *Mashraʿ al-Khuṣūṣ ilā Maʿānī al-Nuṣūṣ*, a commentary on Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī's *Nuṣūṣ* (GAL S I 793). Leiden University Library, Or 5675. ownership of Kanjeng Sultan Abū'l-Fatḥ Muḥammad Shifāʾ Zayn al-ʿĀrifīn.
100. Abū'l-Ghanāʾim al-Maqdisī (d. 678/1279, but here ascribed to Ibn ʿArabī), *Ḥall al-Rumūz* (GAL I 450). Leiden University Library, Or 1840. Ownership of Zayn al-ʿĀshiqīn
101. Collection of Sufi tracts in Arabic and Javanese, owned by Raden Muḥammad Mūsā, son of Sultan Muḥammad ʿAlī al-Dīn. Leiden University Library, Or 1842
    101. Anon, untitled Arabic work of advice to the *sālik* on the Sufi path. Leiden University Library, Or 1842/1

    102. *Waṣiyya*, made for Zayn al-ʿĀshiqīn based on the *waṣiyya*s of earlier Sufi shaykhs. Leiden University Library, Or 1842/2
    103. Abridgement of al-Sulamī (d. 421/1021), *Jawāmiʿ Adab al-Ṣūfiyya* (GAL I 201). Leiden University Library, Or 1842/3
    104. Yūsuf b. ʿAbd al-Raḥīm al-Ḥusaynī al-Rifāʿī, *Marghūb al-Qulūb*. Leiden University Library, Or 1842/4 (see also Jakarta A 106/2).
    105. Incomplete copy of a Rifaʿi tract. Leiden University Library, Or 1842/5
    106. ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī, untitled tract with *ijāza*s from Muḥammad al-Ṭabarī to Zayn al-ʿĀshiqīn. Leiden University Library, Or 1842/6.
    107. *ijāza*. Leiden University Library, Or 1842/7
    108. Formula of admission into *ṭarīqa*. Leiden University Library, Or 1842/8.
109. Works of Hamzah Fansuri and his circle, owned by Sultan Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn. Leiden University Library, Or 2016.[6]

Theology and the occult sciences

110. al-Shaʿrānī (d. 973/1565), *al-Yawāqīt wa’l-Jawāhir fī Bayān ʿAqā’id al-Akābir* (GAL II 336, S I 792, II 464). Jakarta A 120, A 121. § 9, 38, 62, 64.
111. al-Shiblī, *Ākām al-Marjān*. Jakarta A 124. § 50.
112. Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī (d.1101/1690), *Ghāyat al-Quṣwā* also known as the *Qaṣd al-Sabīl* (GAL II 386). Jakarta A 125/1. § 73
    113. Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī (d.1101/1690), *al-Maslak al-Mukhtār fi Maʿrifat al-Ṣādir al-Awwal wa Iḥdāth al-ʿĀlam bi-Ikhtiyār*, (GAL II 386, S II 520). Jakarta A 125/2
114. Aḥmad b. Ḥijāzī al-Fashnī (second half of 10th/16th c). *Tuḥfat al-Ikhwān fi Qirā’at al-Mīʿād fī Rajab, wa-Shaʿbān wa-Ramaḍān* (GAL II 305, S II 416). A 126. § 108.
115. Aḥmad al-Būnī (d. 622/1225), *Shams al-Maʿārif wa-Laṭā’if al-ʿAwārif* (GAL I 497, S I 910). Jakarta A 19, A 20, A 127. § 51, 69, 72.
116. Arabic book of spells. Jakarta A 156, probably §27

Jurisprudence

117. Anon. Abridgement of *al-Muḥarrar* by al-Rafiʿī (d. 623/1226). Jakarta A 133. § 84
118. al-Nawawī (d. 676/1278), *Minhāj al-Ṭālibīn* (GAL I 395). A 134. § 34.
119. al-Shaʿrānī (d. 973/1565), *al-Mīzān* (GAL II 336, S I 792, II 464). Jakarta A 137. § 65. Ownership of Sultan Abū’l-Fatḥ Muḥammad Shifā Zayn al-ʿĀrifin year 111[?]
120. *Ikhtilāf al-Madhāhib*. A 140. § 59. Formerly owned by Pangeran raja Keprabon, a member of the royal family of Cirebon.
121. Al-Nawawī (d. 676/1278), *Rawḍat al-Ṭālibīn* (GAL I 396 S I 753). Jakarta A 141. § 49.

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[6] For a description of the contents see Witkam, *Inventory*, s.v.

122. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥusayn al-Qurashī al-ʿUthmānī (composed in 780/1378) *Raḥmat al-Umma fī Ikhtilāf al-Āʾimma* (GAL II 91, S II 107). Jakarta A 142. §67. Ownership of Zayn al-ʿĀshiqīn.
123. Abū Yaḥyā Zakariyyā al-Anṣārī (d. 926/1520). *al-Ghurar al-Bahiyya fī Sharḥ al-Bahja al-Wardiyya* (GAL S I 679). Jakarta A 143. Ownership of Zayn al-ʿĀshiqīn.

Science and learning

124. Ḥusām al-Dīn Ḥasan al-Kātī (d. 760/1359), *Sharḥ al-Īsāghūjī* (GAL S I 841), a commentary on the famous work on logic, *Īsāghūjī* by al-Abharī. Jakarta A 149 § 105.
125. Ibn al-Wardī (c. 850/1446), *Kharīdat al-ʿAjāʾib* (GAL II 131–2, S II 163). Jakarta A 150, A 151. § 37.
126. Sibṭ al-Mārdīnī (d. 912/1506), *Raqāʾiq al-Ḥaqāʾiq fī Ḥisāb al-Darj waʾl-Daqāʾiq*. Jakarta A 154. § 105.[7]
127. Al-Damāmīnī (d. 828/1425), abridgement of the *Ḥayāt al-Ḥayawān* of al-Damīrī (d. 745/1344) (GAL I 138 S II 171) Jakarta A 157, A 158. § 7, 8.

Miscellaneous

128. Two Javanese books, including an almanac. MS Unidentified § 32.
129. Four Javanese books (in one volume). Contents unknown, ms unidentified. § 33.

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[7] See p. 429 n. i above for a discussion.

Appendix 3: Arabic Letters from the Banten Sultanate of the Seventeenth century

Letter 1. The National Archive, London. **SP 102/4/8, c. 1605.**

A letter which the King of Banten would like to reach the King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland. May God lengthen his life, increase with every day his fortune, and grant his bounty every day to the lands and subjects under the King of England.[1]

Wherefore: your messenger General Middleton came bringing greetings. I heard that you have become King of England with happy heart; now the land of England and Banten are one.

Wherefore; you gave me a gift which I accepted graciously. My gift to you is two bezoars,[2] one weighing fourteen *mas* the other weighing three *mas*.[3] Farewell

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[1] The history of commercial relations between Banten and England, which was the occasion for the composition of most of these letters, is outside of the scope of this book; however for a thorough account see David Kenneth Bassett, *The Factory of the English East India Company at Bantam, 1602–1682*, ed. Dianne Lewis (Pulau Pinang, 2010). As noted in the discussion above, frequently the language of these letters is hard to understand, both owing to the influence of Austronesian grammar and vocabulary, and the presence of many technical terms that are not attested in dictionaries. The translations offered here are thus necessarily in places somewhat tentative.

[2] *Payzahar*, most probably derived from Persian *pād-zahr*. This was a common elite gift, as bezoars were believed to act as universal antidotes. This interpretation is confirmed by the contemporary English summary of the letter published in W. Noel Sainsbury (ed.), *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, East Indies, China and Japan, 1513–1616* (London, 1862), no. 346 "[The King of Bantam] to [King James]. 'Desires' God to preserve his health and to exalt him and his council more and more. General Henry Middleton has arrived in health. Is greatly rejoiced to hear of His Majesty coming to the Crown of England, 'now England and Bantam are both one.' Thanks for the King's present; send His Majesty to 'beasar stones.'"

[3] *Mas* (here spelt in Arabic *māshī*) is a common Southeast Asian small unit of weight.

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Letter 2. The National Archive, London, Ext 8/2, f. 126r. Letter from Sultan Abū'l-Fatḥ, also known as Sultan Ageng Tirtiyasa, addressed to King Charles II, dated 17 Jumada II 1075/29 December 1664.

Praise to God alone, and peace and blessings upon him who is the last Prophet. This is a paper containing a noble missive from Sultan Abū'l-Fatḥ of Banten, may God give him victory over all his enemies, and let him conquer anyone who opposes him, and perpetuate his kingdom for ever and ever, for all his progeny and children, to Sultan Charles the Second, may God lengthen his life and increase his prosperity.

Wherefore, your noble letter reached us which contained bountiful pleasing praise, and we received it most favourably. The gifts mentioned in the letter have reached us in their entirety, and we have received them with a thousand welcomes. If your friendship towards us continues, please send us in addition seven large cannon, of length and breadth like the ones that you sent previously. We also ask you kindly send us two large cannon, in size and length as we have written in the English letter which will reach you with this letter. We also ask you kindly send us with every ship that travels to our country gunpowder and good quality cannon. We will pay the price of the gunpowder and cannon, if you send them, to your factor[4] who resides in Banten. We also inform you that we are extremely pleased that Sultan Charles the Second himself manages trade with the Lands Below the Winds. According to our assumption, if you did not yourself manage your subjects' trade in the Lands Below the Winds, trade would be impossible owing to the blockade by the Dutch and the latter's provocation and treachery of the people of the Lands Below the Winds. The land of Jawa has much goods for trade, from Japan, China, Tongking and Ambon. We have informed you of this so that you know the land in which are goods for trade.

Our gift to you from our side is a box of red gold in which are placed four diamonds. Disregard its smallness and unworthiness, but it is a sign of the friendship between us and Sultan Charles the Second. Written on Monday, 16 Jumādā II 1075 hijri [29 December 1664].

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[4] The Arabic has *kafitān*, i.e. Captain, but there is doubt that the factor, head of the English factory in Banten, is intended.

Letter 3. The National Archive, London Ext 8/2, f. 45. Letter from Sultan Abū'l-Fatḥ Sultan Ageng Tirtiyasa addressed to King Charles II, undated, but evidently composed around the same date, 1664.

This is a valuable missive, noble letter, and profound epistle, containing ample praise which comprises sincere friendship and the utmost sincerity, expressing perfect peace and intimacy, sent from the God-protected region, the prosperous, God-defended island by his Majesty whom God established to rule Banten and designated him to be entrusted with governance in this land, that is His Majesty Sultan Abū'l-Fatḥ sultan of Banten, which is sent to the commander and possessor of the English people, may God increase his power against all his enemies and strengthen the foundations of his kingdom.

Wherefore, we ask you to assist us by selling us ten large cannon, four of them of a length of 34 *julayla*,[5] and six of them 29 *julayla* long, and to sell us 500 muskets[6] of equal length and equal dimensions of their muzzles, and to sell them to us along with black gunpowder. Please also sell us a hundred muskets which are flintlocks, with the same dimensions of the barrel and muzzle. Please sell us and send us every monsoon gunpowder and *julayla* with your ships, We have sent you along with this letter 100 *bahars* of black pepper and 1000 measures[7] of ginger. This is by way of friendship and alliance. The end.

Letter 4. The National Archive, London, CO77/14. Letter from Sultan Abū'l-Fath Sultan Ageng Tirtiyasa to King Charles II, dated beginning of Dhū'l-Ḥijja 1091/end of December 1680[8]

This is a noble missive and great page inscribed with fair lines and glorious writing and expressions which reveal to true friends words of sincerity and pronounce with secret rhetoric the subtle significations of love and friendship, decorated with the fairest praise and encomium, and the most fragrant musk perfume.

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[5] I am unable to explain the term *julayla*.

[6] *Istinggar*: technically this is a matchlock, but as becomes clear from the context, a more general term must be meant.

[7] *ḥaml* which must be used as an equivalent to *pikul*.

[8] This seem to be a response to the letter from Charles II to Abū'l-Fatḥ preserved in East India Company Letter Book, vol. 6, India Office MS E.3/39, fol 126v–127a. On the same date, 23 February 1679, a letter on the same issue of the murder of agent White was sent by Charles II to Abū 'l-Naṣr ʿAbd al-Qahhār.

It comes from the most glorious of the kings of Java,[9] the greatest of the sultans of the Islamic isles, whose renowned name is known in all the Indian and Arabian lands, Sultan Abū'l-Fatḥ, ruler of the land of Banten, the glorious, sincere and virtuous, may God preserve his sultanate and his kingdom and render unto him the necks of his enemies;

To his majesty the fairest, loftiest and most glorious of kings, ruler of the land of England and the Syriac lands,[10] whose name is famous, *King Charles the Second* whose courage and power is renowned in all lands, who is skilled and clever at administering the affairs of his subjects on land and sea, who upholds days and night through his justice, may the almighty lord Creator increase his glory, honour and power, and lengthen his life so that it is flourishes in this world.

Wherefore: *King Charles the Second* sent a letter to his majesty Abū'l-Fatḥ which William Stannard[11] brought; it reached the sultan intact, and the contents of the letter were read and understood. The Sultan was amazed at King Charles the Second's statement in the letter that the sultan was not investigating [the case of] the two Englishmen who had been killed in Banten.[12] However, since the time of their death till now, the sultan has not stopped investigating who killed them; but he has not been found. He even ordered drums to be beaten and for a public proclamation to be made that, "Whoever finds and guides to the killer will be given 200 piastres." This has been done from the moment they died till now, but he has not been found, and we have no power or strength except in God almighty, and we were not ordered or compelled to do this. If you do not believe what we say, ask the Englishmen resident in our country whether the sultan is in charge and investigating the identity of the murderer or not. We heard firstly that Paratakeqor was doing evil to Horking [Hawking?}, but no one knows anything about it except his master. We also heard now that Akharaj [?] the Englishman was doing ill to his brother. Do they know what he did or not? Likewise our subject who has killed the Englishmen, the sultan is unable to identify him. It is also requested of King Charles the Second, as long as our love and friendship last, not to concern himself with their killer, for the sultan, when he finds him, will judge him with justice. If you do not believe what we say, we have no strength or power except almighty God.

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[9] Jawa, possibly here in its sense of all of Southeast Asia.

[10] *Suryānī* in Arabic refers normally to the Syriac language.

[11] Ar. Istinnār. For Capt William Stannard's instructions for Banten, see East India Company Letter Book, vol. 6, India Office MS E.3/89, fol. 129r–v.

[12] On this incident, in April 1677, see Bassett, *The Factory of the English East India Company at Bantam, 1602–1682*, 199–204. It seems that in fact the identity of the murderer was widely known, both by Europeans and the sultan. The dead men, Agents Willoughby and White, were the chief English factors.

Composed in the beginning of 1 Dhū'l-Ḥijja year jīm,[13] 1091 [end of December 1680] after the hijra of our lord and master Muḥammad, upon him be the best of prayers and the most perfect greetings.

Letter 5. The National Archive, London, CO77/14, f. 111. An illuminated letter from Sultan Abū'l-Naṣr ʿAbd al-Qahhār to King Charles II, undated, but probably composed in 1682.

This is a noble letter and pleasant missive that should be sign of sincere intent, an image of the love and friendship between the all encompassing, great sultan, the just and honoured king, God's shadow on earth, famed throughout the length and breadth of world, in every place, village and land, may God strengthen him in the perfect truth of faith in every age and time, he whose writ extends across the kingdom of Surosowan, whose judgement on created beings, with regard to one another, is decisive, through the help of the Lord of Both Worlds, and through proofs and evidence, and appropriate judgement on land and sea, indeed, is decisive for all men over whom God granted him authority, the Sultan Shams al-Milla wa'l-Din Abū'l-Naṣr ʿAbd al-Qahhār, [of …] God protected Surosowan, and between Charles the Second of England, Scotland, France and the Netherlands, Defender of the Faith, king of England, decisive in administration of his kingdom, the sultan in his entire lands, famous for administration of the acquisition of wealth and riches, owing to his great intellect and ample wisdom, who cleverly directs the execution of his decisions on land and sea to all his people, who is awesome as he should be in his customs and the disposition of his kingdom with regard to the administration of all affairs; he who is famous in all lands, both east and west for his courage and shrewdness, who is firmly established in all affairs, especially that he does not break his word or promise, such that it became well known and his favours were bestowed on all his friends and companions, both great and small, especially his friend and devotee, the sultan, ruler of the kingdom of Surosowan, may God perpetuate his reign and bless him.

Wherefore, the Sultan of Surosowan has sent a blessed letter as a sign of life and a reminder to our friends, and as an expression of sincere good intentions towards his friend, the king in the land of England, may God lengthen his life, as long as the sun, the moon and the stars rise and set, God willing, our friend will not change his promise regarding all affairs, and we likewise. All the needs of the king of England can be met in the land of Surosowan. We will assist him in acquiring what he needs, God willing, Likewise, all the needs of the Sultan of Surosowan can be met in the land of England, and may the king of England assist us to acquire them. May it continue thus until the day of Resurrection. Likewise, may correspondence and the exchange of letters and emissaries between us remain unbroken, without any change of intention or friendship or affection between us. We have sent to you, in the kingdom of England, two of our great ministers, one called Kyai Ngabehi Nala Wipraya and the other Ngabehi Jaya Sadana. Consult with them when they reach you, with our secrets [which they bear] to the king of England, so that there may become apparent the affection and friendship and lack of promise-breaking between us. In addition, in composing this letter and sending it, we are expressing a need from the king of England. The factor[14] who administers Surosowan is mad; he is unfit to be the leader of the people and community resident in the port of Surosowan, otherwise all affairs will go amiss. Know this. What is also requested of you is that you order the Company that every ship coming from England to Surosowan should carry five cannon and nine pounds of ammunition of an appropriate size. They should also carry three thousand matchlock muskets (*al-banādiq ṣaḥibat al-fatīla*) along with their cords (*fatīla*) and ammunition (?*māndila*), and one thousand flintlocks (*ṣāḥibat al-ḥajr*), in total four thousand muskets. We would like 1000 of the flintlocks to be engraved with gold. We also desire to ask you to sell a hundred small gems, the design and size of which is in the possession of our ambassador to you. We also desire you to send with every ship that reaches the port of Surosowan 5000 units of ammunition, of the design and size and extent neither more nor less than that which the bearer of the letter will communicate. Some of these should be freestanding and some chained. We ask all these goods from the king of England in accordance with their price and we also ask the king of England to send us someone who knows how to cast cannon and who knows how to make the ammunition accurate, whether [aiming at targets] near or far. We also ask the king of England [to supply] without recompense … the very largest [dogs] in the entire kingdom of England and to hand them over to us, God willing. They should total ten dogs, male and female, which we need very greatly. This will all be explained by our ambassador who is coming to you, and this shows sincere friendship and affection, and companionship between us and you, and may this remain unchanged, for it all springs from the depths of the heart and the surfaces of the body, and know this. The ambassador from the Sultan of Surosowan to the king of England is bearing a few diamonds nothing else. Most of them are large diamonds 112, weighing 144 qirat; there are also 587 medium sized diamonds, weighing 126 qirat. The small diamonds number 1,167, weighing 382 qirat. In total the diamonds number 1757, and their total weight in 1088 qirat, know this. Do not criticise this, in accordance with the blessings and confirmation of friendship and affection between us. Peace be upon whomsoever follows the true path.

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[13] This is the Javanese calendrical system.

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[14] Kapitan mur.

Letter 6. The National Archive, London, CO 77/14, f. 112. A letter from Sultan Abūʾl-Fath Sultan Ageng Tirtiyasa to King Charles II, dated 13 Rabīʿ I 1093/21 April 1682.[15]

In the name of God the merciful, the compassionate, Lord of both Worlds, and peace and blessings upon his Messenger and all the prophets

A letter from Sultan Abūʾl-Faṭh ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ, Sultan of victorious Tirtiyasa, to king Charles the Second of the land of England, may God endow him with righteousness, set right his affairs, lengthen his life, bestow his favours upon him, inspire him with justice towards his subjects, and increase his grace towards him.

Your letter reached us with the captain, along with the gunpowder you gave him, totalling 200 barrels.[16] Then, we inform you that our son, Abūʾl-Naṣr, has opposed us and fought with us, and we have weakened him. He sought out the Dutch, saying to them, "Help us by capturing that land," so they help him against us. They helping him by sending four ships. We ordered our son Pangeran Wijaya [?] to take control of the harbour, and we seek your help, for we had a mutual treaty [to the effect that] if the Dutch troubled us, you would help us against them, and if you had business to do, you would do it. The Dutch are making preparations against us because we are fighting with our son, and if the son was with the father and the wife with the husband, no outsider would come between them. Our son has fired cannon[17] on both your subjects and ours, because both are established in the port of Surosowan. Our son's aim is that both should leave it and thereafter the Dutch will enter the port of Surosowan. Our subjects have control of the port [for now]. The Dutch also gave him three men to fire the cannon. Your subjects have helped us greatly in the port and elsewhere with all the gunpowder we need and so on, just as the Dutch helped our son. We request from you assistance, and our aim is to be united with you like previously. If you fight the Dutch, God willing, we will do our part from the land, and you yours from the sea, and we will give you Jakarta. The bearer brings an oral message from Captain Thomas, whose ship is called. … Dated Monday 13 Rabīʿ II 1093 [21 April 1682].

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15 Evidently a response to Charles II's letter dated 19 March 1681, East India Company Letter Book, vol. 6, India Office MS E/3/89, fol. 196a.

16 *Pikul*, normally a weight, but the English makes it clear a barrel is meant.

17 *Ḍaraba* usually means 'cast,' but the sense seems to be 'fire' here.

Letter 7. The National Archive, London, CO 77/14, f. 114. A letter from Sultan Abū'l-Fatḥ Sultan Ageng of Tirtiyasa to King Charles II, dated 6 Ramadan 1093/6 September 1682.

In the name of God he merciful, the compassionate; we take refuge in him, praise be to God, the lord of both worlds, praise which his bountifulness is due and the increase of which suffices; God's ample peace and blessings upon our lord Muḥammad, his family and Companions.

The letter from Sultan Abū'l-Fatḥ ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ Sultan of Tirtiyasa the victorious to King Charles the Second of the Land of England, may God exalted lengthen his life, make his kingdom and epoch prosperous, bestow upon him his bounty and protect him against his enemies, amen oh Lord of both worlds.

Wherefore: this missive is sent via Captain Joh[n] Nicholson whose ship is called Amoy.[18] We inform you that the possessor of the fort has called on the Dutch to [come to aid him] in the castle, along with their allies Captain Martin[19] and Jongker [?]. Your men who were in Surosowan have been brought to Jakarta. The same has happened with the French and the Danes. Now our men are besieging the fort by land and sea. We are not leaving any *ṣanābīq* and *uslūbāt.* We are waiting for assistance from you because the people of Banten are very weary. As England and Tirtiyasa are one, Sultan Abū'l-Fatḥ asks you for much assistance and likewise desires from you cannon, gunpowder and rifles. Love between us is precedented and enduring, we and you are one, we support our interests and your interests, and you support your interest and our interests, as if we were a single man, like body and soul. The whole land of pepper is in our hands. The aim of the possessor of the fort – I mean our son – is to give [it] to the Dutch. We will not surrender to the Dutch and we will fight there, God willing. Our aim is to give it to you if aid comes from you to us, and if your ambassador reaches Pothang and Tanahara, which are the ports of victorious Tirtiyasa. Farewell, and God knows best the right course, and to him we return.

Sixth day of Ramadan in year *dāl al-awwal*, year 1093 of the hijra.

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[18] Arabic Hāmūhī. The Amoy Merchant is meant, see Basset, *The Factory of the English East India Company at Bantam,* 179, and its captain, John Nicholson. See East India Company Letter Book, vol. 6, India Office MS E/3/89, fol. 216v–217r.

[19] Martin was the local Dutch commander see Basset *The Factory of the English East India Company at Bantam*, 417.

Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maqāṣīrī's Letter to Karaeng Karunrung (Fig. A.3)

This is a copy of the letter from Shaykh al-Ḥājj Yūsuf al-Tāj, may God be pleased with him, to the sultan-vizier Karaeng Karunrung, may God forgive him.[20]

In the name of God the merciful the compassionate, and peace and blessings upon our lord Muḥammad, his family and companions.

[To] his excellency, our lord, the high, virtuous, gnostic, perfect [*al-ʿārif al-kāmil*], the possessor of praiseworthy and exemplary virtues, who in the temporal realm has no like, the transcendent in knowledge and faith, the anthropomorphic image,[21] the absolute transcendent image, [supporter of] sharia, he who is supported by the Truth (*ḥaqīqa*), who walks upon the Way (*ṭarīqa*) holding fast to God's strong rope,[22] the king of the kingly/Maluku state, the full moon of the moons of the kingdom of Ceylon, the master of complete control over nobles and commoners, the centre of kings and the virtuous, the axis of kingly soldiers in ideals, the offspring of notables, the elect of glorious progeny, the *qibla* of the glorious, elect kings, the Kaʿba of the kings'[23] great notables, the refuge of the pious[24] and the virtuous, the axis of the poor and wretched of God's creation, who is endowed in his morals with the moral of complete charity towards the elect and the common people, who faces God day and night [in prayer], the blessed gift of the Lord of Men and the follower of God's Messenger, peace and blessings be upon him, both internal and outwardly, when he travels and when he rests, he who has the status of Moses in the heart of the sharia, and the position of Khidr in the sea of Truth, the pole of virtuous spirits, the shaykh of the Law and the Truth, the mine of Knowledge and Ṭarīqa, of ample intellect and noble perfection, God's lamp upon his

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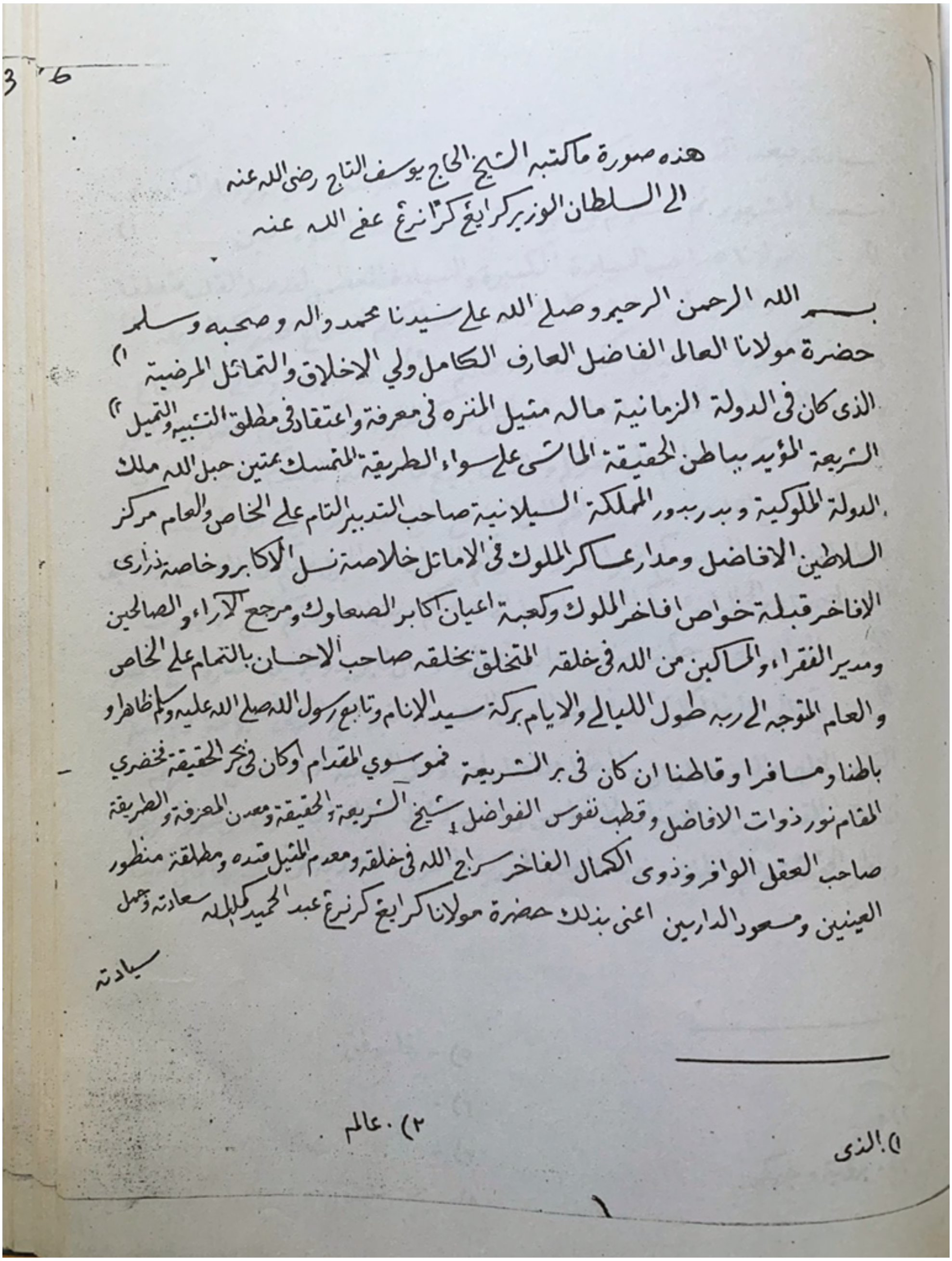
[20] Both copyist error and missing words in parts of the manuscript mean this letter is often hard to interpret in detail, although its general tenor is clear. The translation that follows is necessarily tentative in places. According to the dates given at the end of the letter, it was composed over six months, between October 1673 and March 1674.

[21] Although the text is evidently quite corrupt here it is reminiscent of Ibn ʿArabī's *ʿAnqāʾ Mughrib*, which has the following passage: "The Merciful has deposited also in your essence and placed among the sum of your attributes. For *you* are the "Anthromorphic Image" of God [*al-mithl al-mushabbah*] and *That* is the "Divine Transcendant Image" [*al-mithl al-munazzah*]. If you ask, "But what do *I* have to do with transcendentism (*al-tanzīh*), and what does *He* have to do with anthropomorphism (*al-tashbīh*)?" [- I tell you that] with the "Bringing Face to Face" and the "Raising to Preeminence" (*al-muwājaha wa'l-tawjīh*), both of You [viz. both God and you] oscillate between Transcendence and Anthropomorphism." Translation from Gerald. T. Elmore, *Islamic Sainthood in the Fullness of Time: Ibn Al-ʿArabī's Book of the Fabulous Gryphon* (Leiden, 1999), 325.

[22] *Al-mutammasik bi-matīn ḥabl allāh.*

[23] Reading *al-mulūk* in place of the text's *al-ṣuʿlūk*, which is inexplicable.

[24] Reading *al-abriyāʾ* for the text's *al-arāʾ*.



3 'b

هذه صورة ماكتبه الشيخ الحاج يوسف التاج رضى الله عنه
الى السلطان الوزير كرايغ كرانرغ عفى الله عنه

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم وصلى الله على سيدنا محمد واله وصحبه وسلم
حضرة مولانا العالم الفاضل العارف الكامل ولي الاخلاق والتمائل المرضية ١)
الذى كان فى الدولة الزمانية ماله مثيل المنزه فى معرفة واعتقاد فى مطلق التشبيه والتميل ٢)
الشريعة المؤيد بباطن الحقيقة الماشى على سواء الطريقة المتمسك بمتين حبل الله ملك
الدولة الملوكية وبدر بدور المملكة السيلانية صاحب التدبير التام على الخاص والعام مركز
السلاطين الافاضل ومدار عساكر الملوك فى الاماثل خلاصة نسل الاكابر وخاصة ذرارى
الافاخر قبلة خواص افاخر الملوك وكعبة اعيان اكابر الصعاوك ومرجع الاراء والصالحين
ومدير الفقراء والمساكين من الله فى خلقه المتخلق بخلقه صاحب الاحسان بالتمام على الخاص
والعام المتوجه الى ربه طول الليالى والايام بركة سيد الانام وتابع رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم ظاهرا و
باطنا ومسافرا وقاطنا ان كان فى بر الشريعة فموسوي المقدام وكان فى بحر الحقيقة فخضري
المقام نور ذوات الافاضل وقطب نفوس الفواضل شيخ الشريعة والحقيقة ومعدن المعرفة والطريقة
صاحب العقل الوافر وذوى الكمال الفاخر سراج الله فى خلقه ومعدم المثيل قدره ومطلقة منظور
العينين ومسعود الدارين اعنى بذلك حضرة مولانا كرايغ كرنرغ عبد الحميد كمل الله سعادته وجمل
سيادته

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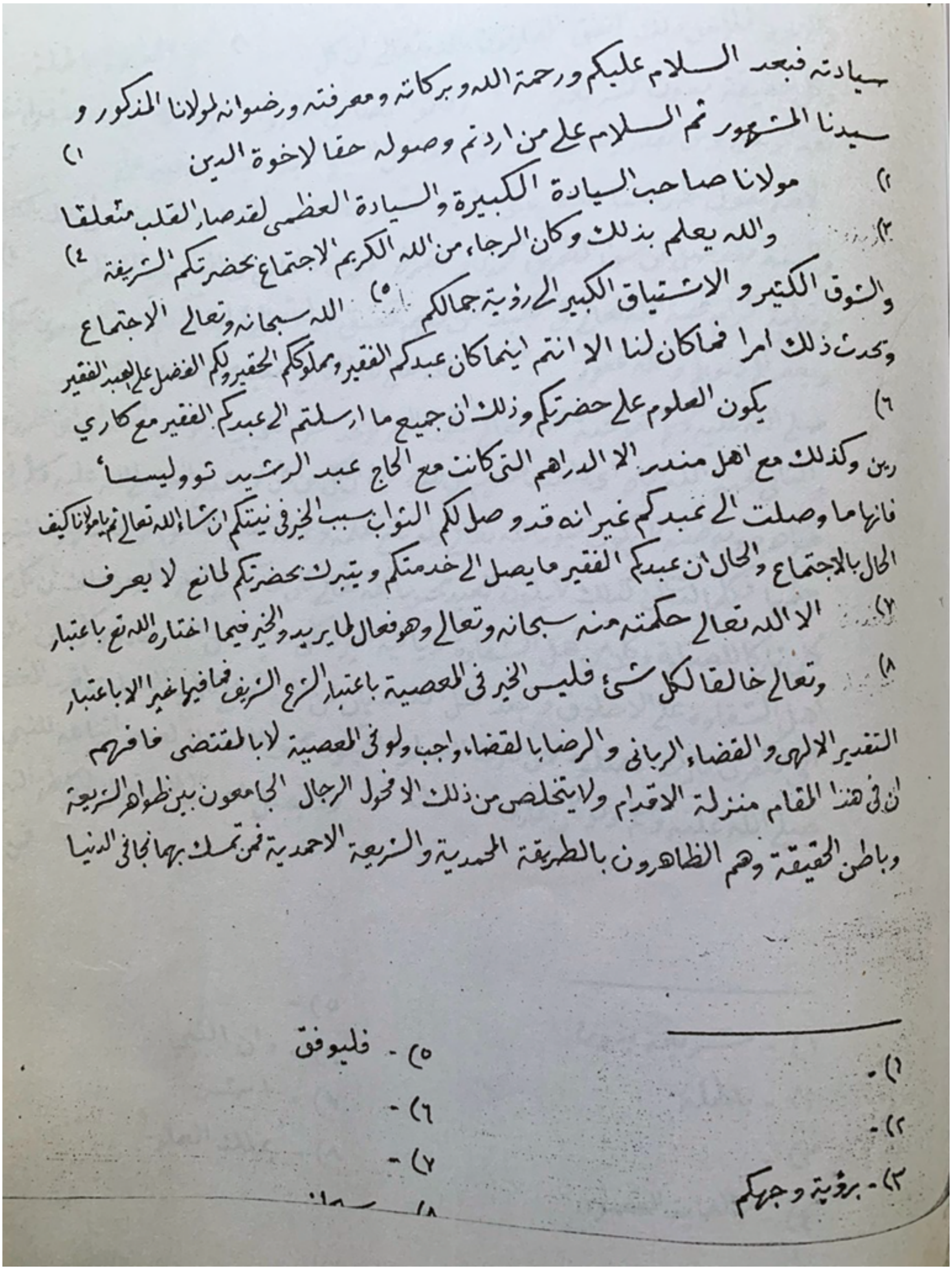
١) الذى

٢) . عالم

FIGURE A.3 Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maqāṣīrī's Letter to Karaeng Karunrung. Mid-twentieth-century transcription of MS formerly held in Dinas Purbakala, Jakarta (by kind permission of Martin van Bruinessen)



سيادته فبعد السلام عليكم ورحمة الله وبركاته ومعرفته ورضوانه لمولانا المذكور و
سيدنا المشهور ثم السلام على من ارذتم وصوله حقا لاخوة الدين ١)
٢) مولانا صاحب السيادة الكبيرة والسيادة العظمى لقد صار القلب متعلقا
٣) والله يعلم بذلك وكان الرجاء من الله الكريم الاجتماع بحضرتكم الشريفة ٤)
والشوق الكثير والاشتياق الكبير الى رؤية جمالكم ٥) الله سبحانه وتعالى الاجتماع
ويحدث ذلك امرا فما كان لنا الا انتم اينما كان عبدكم الفقير ومملوككم الحقير ولكم الفضل على العبد الفقير
٦) يكون العلوم على حضرتكم وذلك ان جميع ما ارسلتم الى عبدكم الفقير مع كاري
رين وكذلك مع اهل مندر الا الدراهم التى كانت مع الحاج عبد الرشيد تووليسا
فانها ما وصلت الى عبدكم غير انه قد وصل لكم الثواب بسبب الخير فى نيتكم ان شاء الله تعالى ثم يا مولانا كيف
الحال بالاجتماع والحال ان عبدكم الفقير ما يصل الى خدمتكم ويتبرك بحضرتكم لمانع لا يعرف
٧) الا الله تعالى حكمته منه سبحانه وتعالى وهو فعال لما يريد والخير فيما اختاره الله تع باعتبار
٨) وتعالى خالقا لكل شئ فليس الخير فى المعصية باعتبار الشرع الشريف فما فيها خير الا باعتبار
التقدير الالهى والقضاء الربانى والرضا بالقضاء واجب ولو فى المعصية لا بالمقتضى فافهم
ان فى هذا المقام منزلة الاقدام ولا يتخلص من ذلك الا فحول الرجال الجامعون بين ظواهر الشريعة
وباطن الحقيقة وهم الظاهرون بالطريقة المحمدية والشريعة الاحمدية فمن تمسك بهما نجا فى الدنيا

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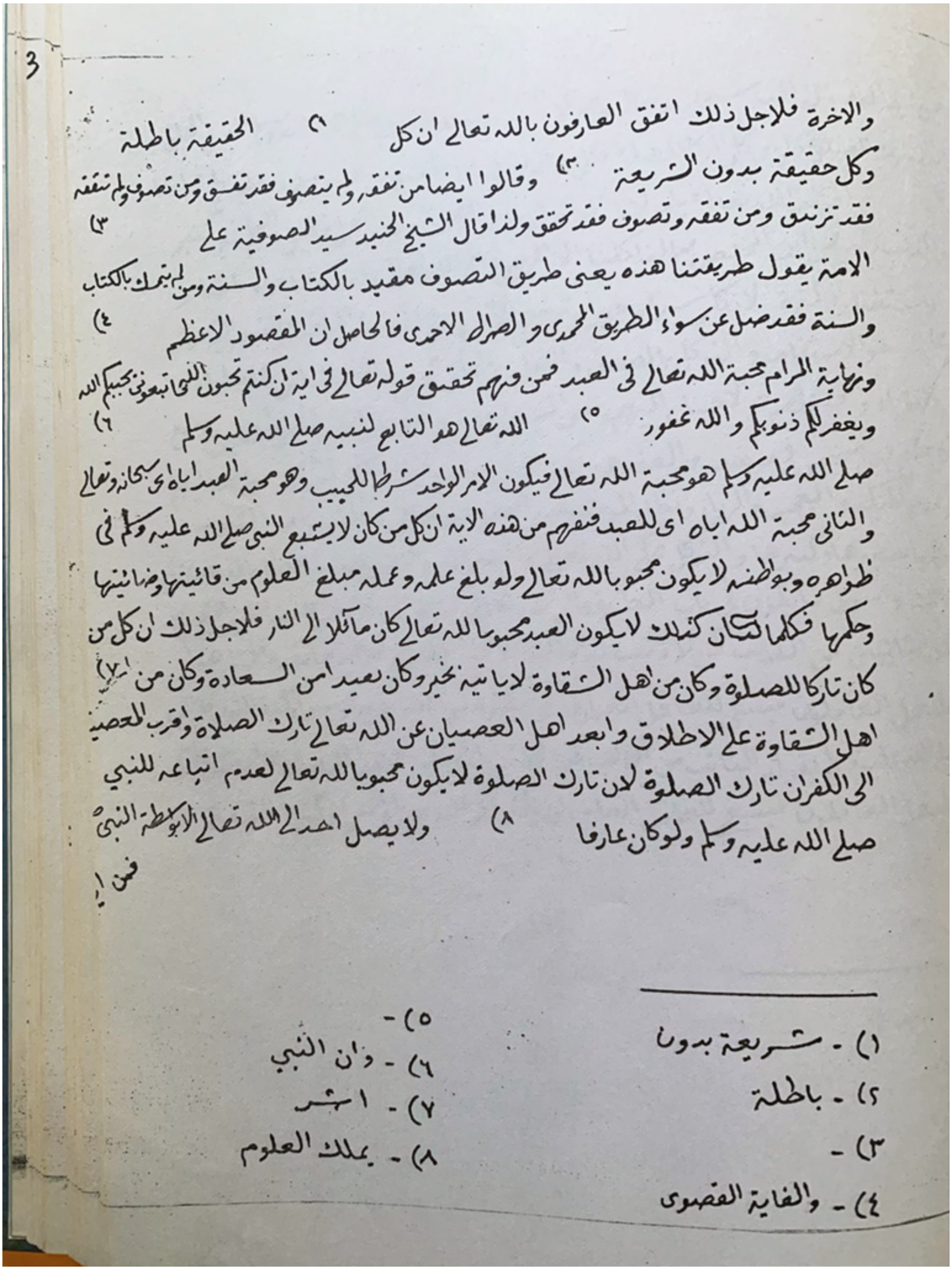
١) -
٢) -
٣) - برؤية وجهكم

٥) - فليوفق
٦) -
٧) -
٨)



3

والاخرة فلاجل ذلك اتفق العارفون بالله تعالى ان كل ٢) الحقيقة باطلة
وكل حقيقة بدون الشريعة ٣) وقالوا ايضا من تفقه ولم يتصوف فقد تفسق ومن تصوف ولم تفقه
فقد تزندق ومن تفقه وتصوف فقد تحقق ولذا قال الشيخ الجنيد سيد الصوفية على ٣)
الامة يقول طريقتنا هذه يعنى طريق التصوف مقيد بالكتاب والسنة ومن لم يتمسك بالكتاب
والسنة فقد ضل عن سواء الطريق المحمدى والصراط الاحمدى فالحاصل ان المقصود الاعظم ٤)
ونهاية المرام محبة الله تعالى فى العبد فمن فهم تحقق قوله تعالى فى اية ان كنتم تحبون الله فاتبعونى يحببكم الله
ويغفر لكم ذنوبكم والله غفور ٥) الله تعالى هو التابع لنبيه صلى الله عليه وسلم ٦)
صلى الله عليه وسلم هو محبة الله تعالى فيكون الامر الواحد شرطا للحبيب وهو محبة العبد اياه اى سبحانه وتعالى
والثانى محبة الله اياه اى للعبد فنفهم من هذه الاية ان كل من كان لا يتبع النبى صلى الله عليه وسلم فى
ظواهره وبواطنه لا يكون محبوبا لله تعالى ولو بلغ علمه وعمله مبلغ العلوم من قائيتها وضانيتها
وحكمها فكلما كتان كذلك لا يكون العبد محبوبا لله تعالى كان مائلا الى النار فلاجل ذلك ان كل من
كان تاركا للصلوة وكان من اهل الشقاوة لا ياتيه بخير وكان بعيدا من السعادة وكان من ٧)
اهل الشقاوة على الاطلاق وابعد اهل العصيان عن الله تعالى تارك الصلاة واقرب المعصية
الى الكفران تارك الصلوة لان تارك الصلوة لا يكون محبوبا لله تعالى لعدم اتباعه للنبي
صلى الله عليه وسلم ولو كان عارفا ٨) ولا يصل احد الى الله تعالى الا بواسطة النبى
فمن ا

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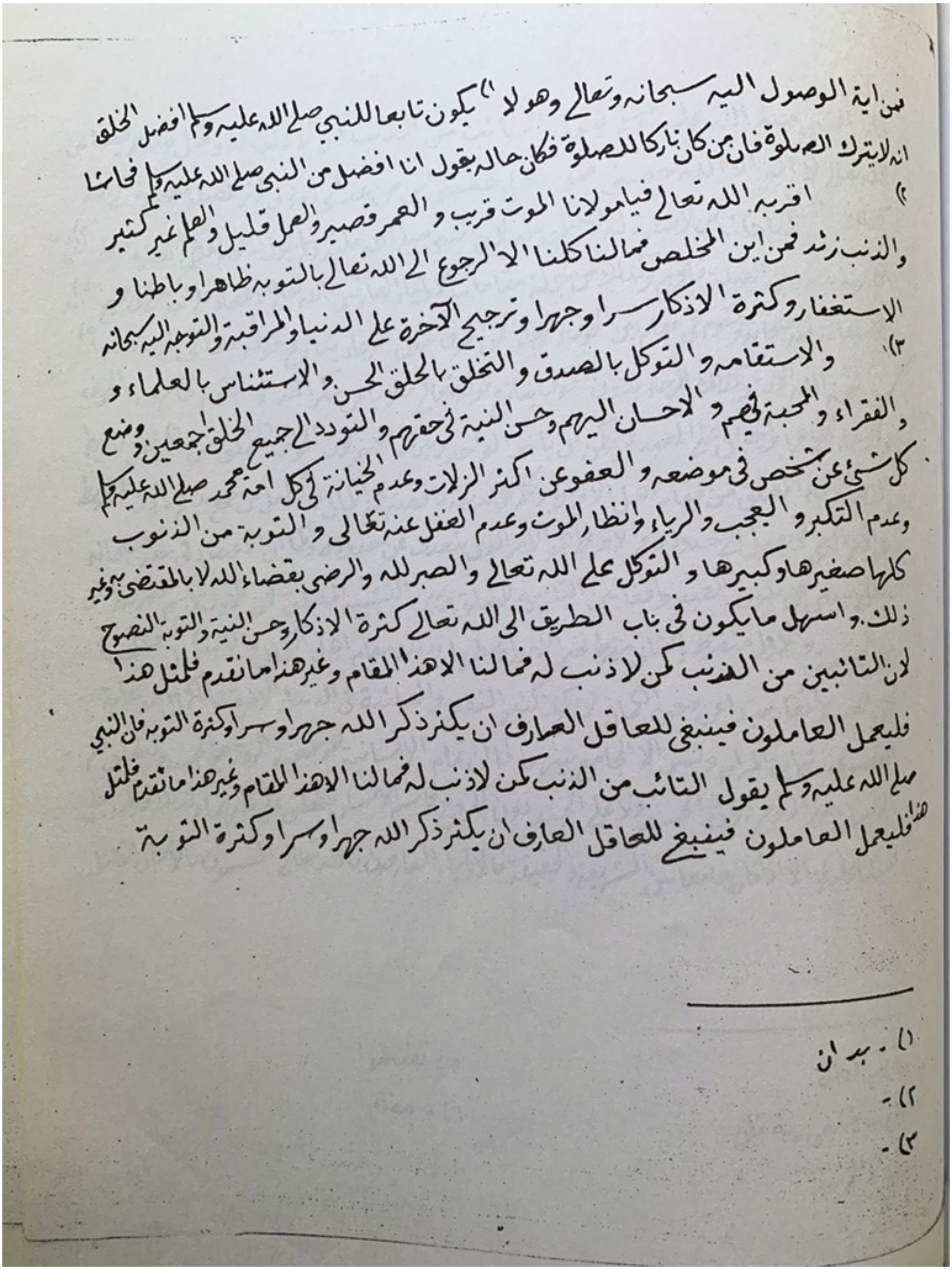
١) - شريعة بدون
٢) - باطلة
٣) -
٤) - والغاية القصوى
٥) -
٦) - وان النبي
٧) - اشر
٨) - يملك العلوم



نهاية الوصول اليه سبحانه وتعالى وهولا ١) يكون تابعا للنبي صلى الله عليه وسلم افضل الخلق
انه لايترك الصلوة فان من كان تاركا للصلوة فكان حاله يقول انا افضل من النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم فحاشا
٢) اقربه الله تعالى فيامولانا الموت قريب والعمر قصير والعمل قليل والعلم غير كثير
والذنب زائد فمن اين المخلص مما لنا كلنا الا الرجوع الى الله تعالى بالتوبة ظاهرا وباطنا و
الاستغفار وكثرة الاذكار سرا وجهرا وترجيح الآخرة على الدنيا والمراقبة والتوجه اليه سبحانه
٣) والاستقامه والتوكل بالصدق والتخلق بالخلق الحسن والاستئناس بالعلماء و
الفقراء والمحبة لهم والاحسان اليهم وحسن النية في حقهم والتودد الى جميع الخلق اجمعين ومنع
كل شيء عن شخص في موضعه والعفو عن اكثر الزلات وعدم الخيانة في كل امة محمد صلى الله عليه وسلم
وعدم التكبر والعجب والرياء وانتظار الموت وعدم الغفل عنه تعالى والتوبة من الذنوب
كلها صغيرها وكبيرها والتوكل على الله تعالى والصبر لله والرضى بقضاء الله لا بالمقتضى به وغير
ذلك. واسهل مايكون في باب الطريق الى الله تعالى كثرة الاذكار وحسن النية والتوبة النصوح
لان التائبين من الذنب كمن لاذنب له فما لنا الا هذا المقام وغير هذا ما تقدم فلمثل هذا
فليعمل العاملون فينبغي للعاقل العارف ان يكثر ذكر الله جهرا وسرا وكثرة التوبة فان النبي
صلى الله عليه وسلم يقول التائب من الذنب كمن لاذنب له فما لنا الا هذا المقام وغير هذا ما تقدم فلمثل
هذا فليعمل العاملون فينبغي للعاقل العارف ان يكثر ذكر الله جهرا وسرا وكثرة التوبة.

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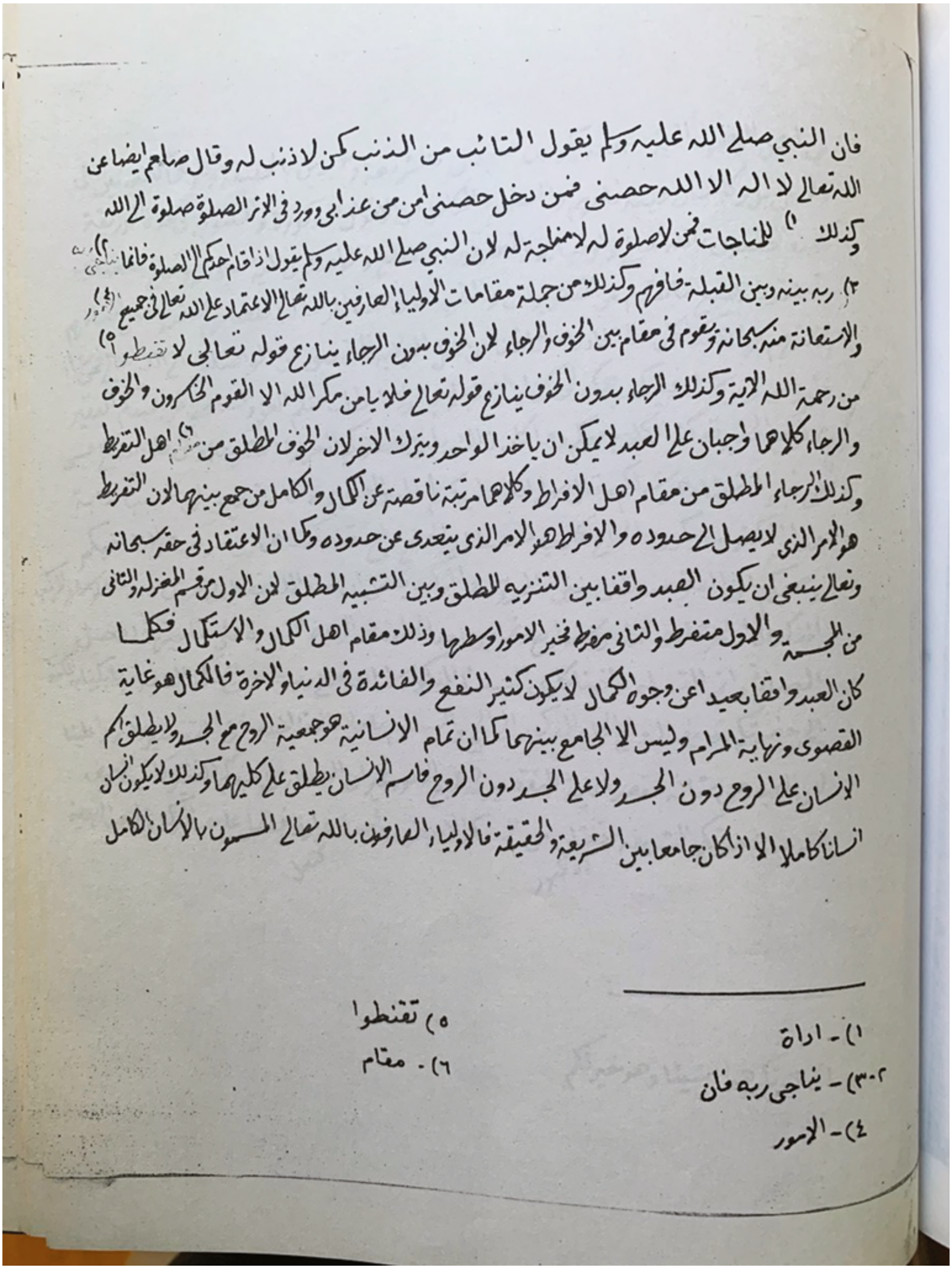
١) . بد ان
٢) .
٣) .



فان النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم يقول التائب من الذنب كمن لا ذنب له وقال صلعم ايضا عن
الله تعالى لا اله الا الله حصني فمن دخل حصني امن من عذابي وورد في الاثر الصلوة صلوة الى الله
كذلك ١) للمناجات فمن لا صلوة له لا مناجة له لان النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم يقول اذا قام احدكم الى الصلوة فانما ٢)
٣) ربه بينه وبين القبلة فافهم وكذلك من جملة مقامات الاولياء العارفين بالله تعالى الاعتماد على الله تعالى في جميع ٤)
والاستعانة منه سبحانه وتقوم في مقام بين الخوف والرجاء لان الخوف بدون الرجاء ينازع قوله تعالى لا تقنطو ٥)
من رحمة الله الاية وكذلك الرجاء بدون الخوف ينازع قوله تعالى فلا يامن مكر الله الا القوم الخاسرون والخوف
والرجاء كلاهما واجبان على العبد لا يمكن ان ياخذ الواحد ويترك الاخر لان الخوف المطلق من ٦) اهل التفريط
وكذلك الرجاء المطلق من مقام اهل الافراط وكلاهما مرتبة ناقصة عن الكمال والكامل من جمع بينهما لان التفريط
هو الامر الذي لا يصل الى حدوده والافراط هو الامر الذي يتعدى عن حدوده وكما ان الاعتقاد في حقه سبحانه
وتعالى ينبغي ان يكون العبد واقفا بين التنزيه المطلق وبين التشبيه المطلق لان الاول مزعم المعتزلة والثاني
من المجسمة والاول متفرط والثاني مفرط وخير الامور اوسطها وذلك مقام اهل الكمال والاستكمال فكلما
كان العبد واقفا بعيدا عن وجوه الكمال لا يكون كثير النفع والفائدة في الدنيا والاخرة فالكمال هو غاية
القصوى ونهاية المرام وليس الا الجامع بينهما كما ان تمام الانسانية هو جمعية الروح مع الجسد ولا يطلق اسم
الانسان على الروح دون الجسد ولا على الجسد دون الروح فاسم الانسان يطلق على كليهما وكذلك لا يكون انسان
انسانا كاملا الا اذا كان جامعا بين الشريعة والحقيقة فالاولياء العارفون بالله تعالى المسمون بالانسان الكامل

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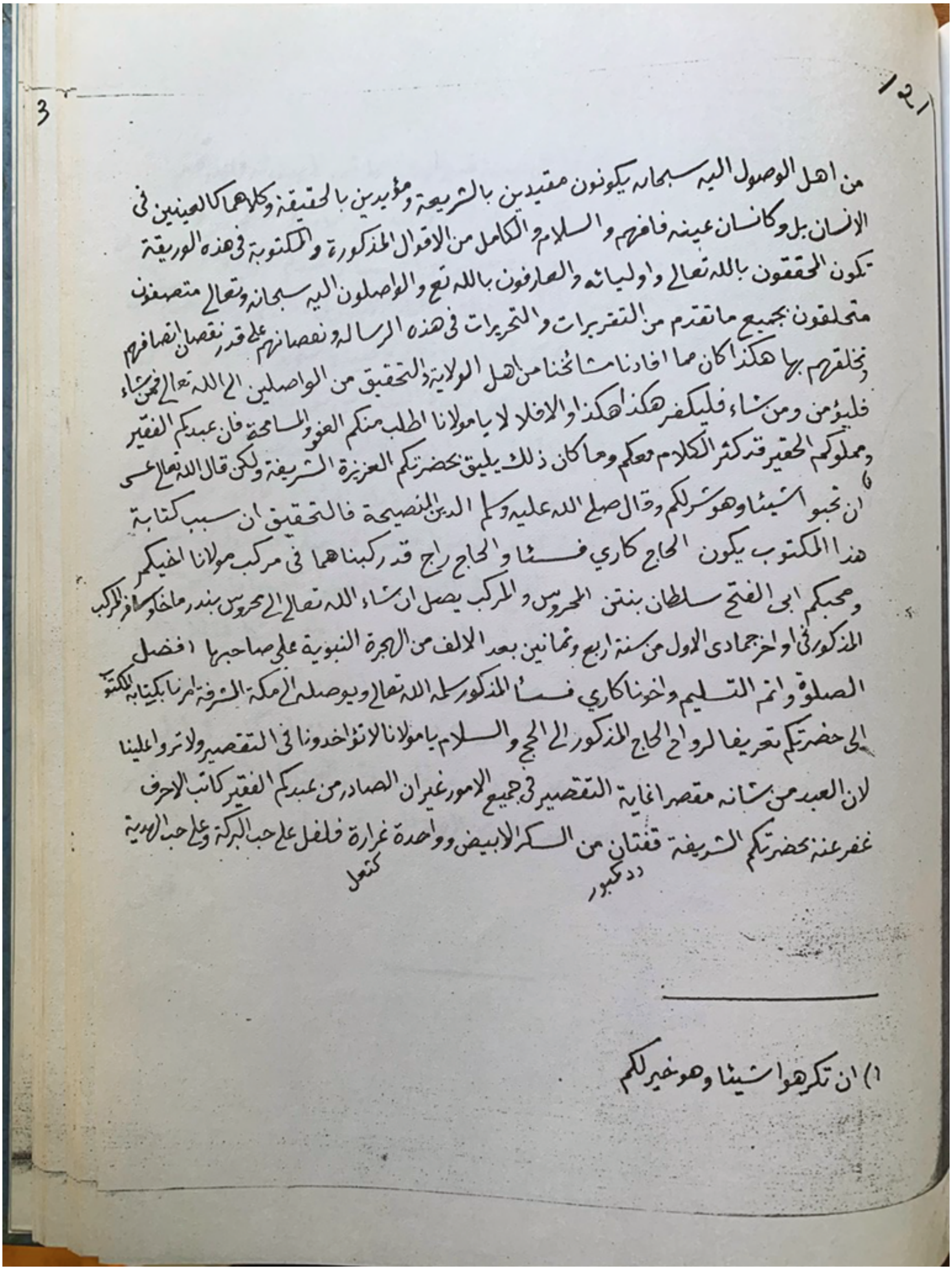
١) - اداة
٢،٣) - يناجي ربه فان
٤) - الامور
٥) تقنطوا
٦) - معام



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من اهل الوصول اليه سبحانه يكونون مقيدين بالشريعة ومؤيدين بالحقيقة وكلاهما كالعينين في
الانسان بل وكانسان عينيه فافهم والسلام الكامل من الاقوال المذكورة والمكتوبة في هذه الوريقة
تكون المحققون بالله تعالى واوليائه والعارفون بالله تع والواصلون اليه سبحانه وتعالى متصفون
متخلقون بجميع ما تقدم من التقريرات والتحريرات في هذه الرسالة ونقصانهم على قدر نقصان اتصافهم
تخلقهم بها هكذا كان مما افادنا مشائخنا من اهل الولاية والتحقيق من الواصلين الى الله تعالى فمن شاء
فليؤمن ومن شاء فليكفر هكذا هكذا والا فلا لا يامولانا اطلب منكم العفو والمسامحة فان عبدكم الفقير
ومملوككم الحقير قد كثر الكلام معكم وما كان ذلك يليق بحضرتكم العزيزة الشريفة ولكن قال الله تعالى عسى
ان تحبوا شيئا وهو شر لكم ١) وقال صلى الله عليه وسلم الدين النصيحة فالتحقيق ان سبب كتابة
هذا المكتوب يكون الحاج كاري فسنا والحاج راج قد ركبناهما في مركب مولانا اخيكم
ومحبكم ابي الفتح سلطان بنتن المحروس والمركب يصل ان شاء الله تعالى الى محروس بندر ماخا وسافر المركب
المذكور في اواخر جمادى الاول من سنة اربع وثمانين بعد الالف من الهجرة النبوية على صاحبها افضل
الصلوة واتم التسليم واخونا كاري فسنا المذكور سلمه الله تعالى ويوصله الى مكة المشرفة امرنا بكتابة المكتوب
الى حضرتكم تعريفا لرواح الحاج المذكور الى الحج والسلام يامولانا لا تؤاخذونا في التقصير ولا تزروا علينا
لان العبد من شانه مقصر غاية التقصير في جميع الامور غير ان الصادر من عبدكم الفقير كاتب الاحرف
غفر عنه لحضرتكم الشريفة قفتان من السكر الابيض وواحدة غرارة فلفل على حب البركة وعلى حب الهدية
دد كبور
كتعل

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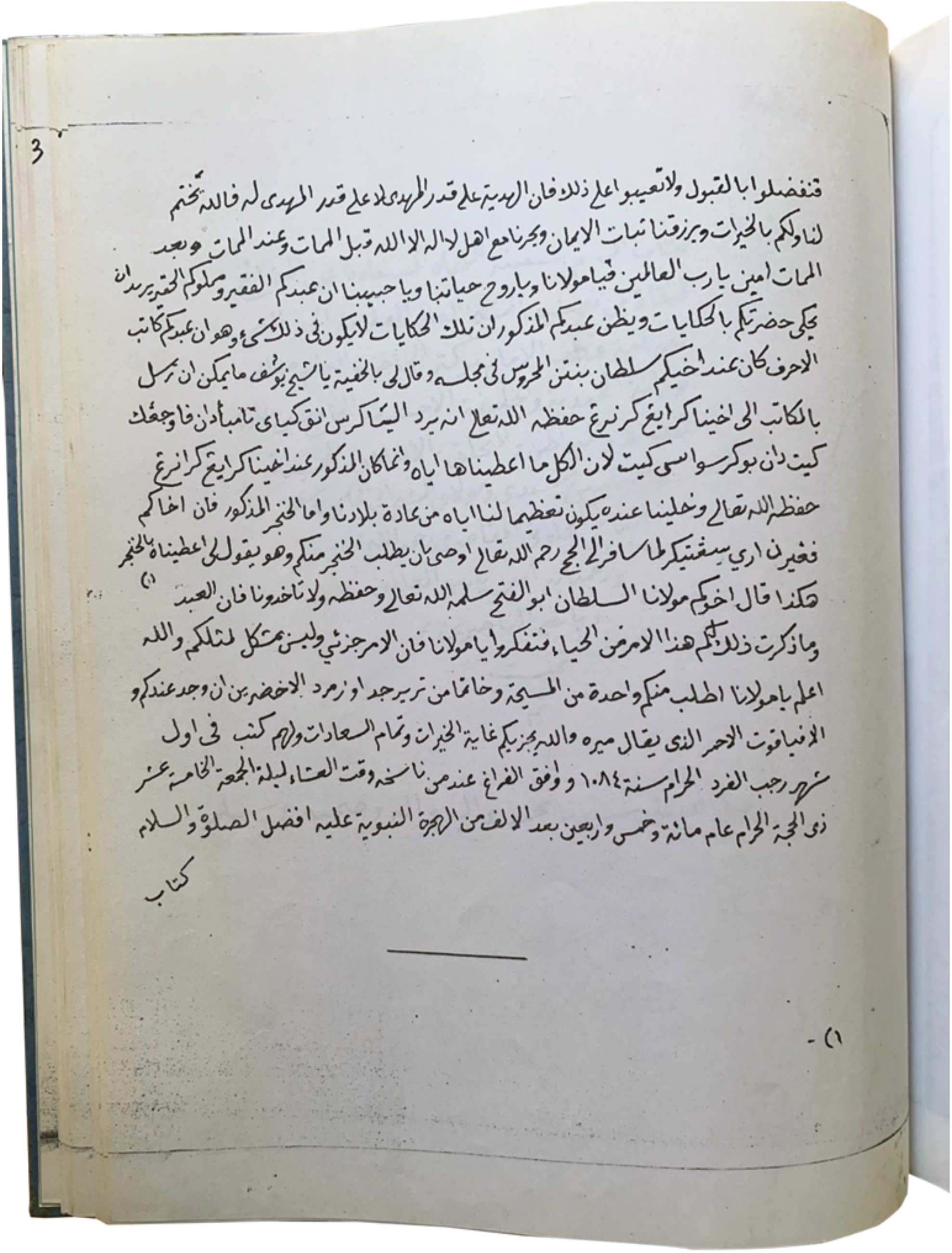
١) ان تكرهوا شيئا وهو خير لكم



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فتفضلوا بالقبول ولا تعيبوا على ذلك فان الهدية على قدر المهدى لا على قدر المهدى له فالله يختم
لنا ولكم بالخيرات ويرزقنا ثبات الايمان ويحشرنا مع اهل لا اله الا الله قبل الممات وعند الممات وبعد
الممات امين يا رب العالمين فيا مولانا ويا روح حياتنا ويا حبيبنا ان عبدكم الفقير ومملوكم الحقير يريد ان
يحكي حضرتكم بالحكايات ويظن عبدكم المذكور ان تلك الحكايات لا يكون في ذلك شيء وهو ان عبدكم كاتب
الاحرف كان عند اخيكم سلطان بنتن المحروس في مجلسه وقال لي بالخفية يا شيخ يوسف ما يمكن ان يرسل
بالكاتب الى اخينا كرايغ كرنرغ حفظه الله تعالى انه يرد اليسا كرس انق كيباي تامبادان فاوجعك
كيت دان بوكر سواسي كيت لان الكل ما اعطيناها اياه وانما كان المذكور عند اخينا كرايغ كرانرغ
حفظه الله تعالى وخلينا عنده يكون تعظيما لنا اياه من عادة بلادنا واما الخنجر المذكور فان اخاكم
فغيرن اري سيغنتيكر لما سافر الى الحج رحم الله تعالى اوصى بان يطلب الخنجر منكم وهو يقول لي اعطيناه بالخنجر
هكذا قال اخوكم مولانا السلطان ابو الفتح سلمه الله تعالى وحفظه ولا تاخذونا فان العبد (١)
وما ذكرت ذلك لكم هذا الامر من الحياء فتفكروا يا مولانا فان الامر جزئي وليس بمشكل لمثلكم والله
اعلم يا مولانا اطلب منكم واحدة من المسبحة وخاتما من زبرجد او زمرد الاخضرين ان وجد عندكم و
الا فياقوت الاحمر الذى يقال ميره والله يجزيكم غاية الخيرات وتمام السعادات والهم كتب في اول
شهر رجب الفرد الحرام سنة ١٠٨٤ ووافق الفراغ عند من ناسخه وقت العشاء ليلة الجمعة الخامسة عشر
ذى الحجة الحرام عام مائة وخمس واربعين بعد الالف من الهجرة النبوية عليه افضل الصلوة والسلام

كتاب

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people, the peerless, the absolutely perspicacious, he who is granted the felicity of this world and the next, by whom I mean his excellency our lord Karaeng Karunrung, ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, may God perfect his happiness and beautify // his sovereignty.

Whereupon: greetings to you, God's mercy, blessings, knowledge and favour upon our aforementioned master and famous lord; thereafter greetings to him who you desired reach in truth the brothers in faith. ….[25]our lord the almighty sovereign. Our heart has become attached. … And God knows thereof. Our request of beneficent God was to meet with your noble excellency, and we had great desire and longing to see your beauty. May God […. facilitate?] that and make it occur, for we have no one but you, wherever your humble servant and poor slave is, and your grace is upon your humble servant …

May it be known[26] to your excellency: nothing that you sent to your humble servant, nor those things sent via Kari-rin from the people of Mandar, has reached your servant, except for the cash that was sent via ʿAbd al-Rashīd and Tuwalisa. However, you have been rewarded for your good intentions, God willing. Then, oh lord, what is the situation with meeting? The situation is that your humble servant cannot reach you and be blessed by your excellency's presence owing to an obstacle that no one. …but God knows, great and glorious is He, He does as He wishes, and whatever God elects is good … for He is the Creator of all and there is no good in rebelling against him, either in view of the noble, sacred law, or in view of divine predestination and God-given fate. It is an obligation to be content with fate, [not rebelling by placing demands [upon God]].[27] Understand that this place[28] is the halting station from which are saved only the most excellent of men who combine both the external attributes of sharia and the esoteric secrets of the Truth, who openly profess the Muhammadan way [*al-ṭarīqa al-muḥammadiyya*] and the Prophet's sharia. He who holds fast to both is saved in this world // and the next. Therefore, all who truly know God exalted concur that [the sharia without] the Truth is void, and vice versa the Truth without the sharia [is void]. For it has been said, "He who practices jurisprudence without being a Sufi, diverges from God's commands, and he who practices Sufism without knowing jurisprudence is a heretic [*tazandaqa*]; but he who practices both Sufism and jurisprudence does right."

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[25] There are several lacunae in this passage.

[26] Reading *al-maʿlūm* in place of the text's *al-ʿulūm*.

[27] The text of the sentence may have been transposed from the line above, or maybe missing a negation as suggested here. As it stands *wa-law fī'l-maʿṣiyya* [*lā*] *bi'l-muqtaḍā* does not make much sense.

[28] Seemingly the material world is meant.

Accordingly, Shaykh Junayd,[29] lord of the Sufis, says, "This way of ours – meaning the way of Sufism – is bound by the Book and the Sunna. He who holds not to the Book and Sunna, has gone astray from the straight Muhammadan path and the Prophet's path." In short, the ultimate aim and desire is God's love. "If you love God follow me; God loves you and will forgive your sins, for God is all-forgiving and compassionate."[30] He is the follower of the Prophet, peace and blessings be upon him. …One thing is conditional for the beloved, which is love for God, the second is God's love for him, that is, for his servant. From this Qur'anic verse we understand that whoever does not follow the Prophet externally and inwardly is not beloved of God, even if his knowledge and practice reached the greatest heights. And should someone not be beloved of God, he is destined to hellfire. Therefore if some wretched mortal abandons praying, nothing good will become him, and he will be far from the safety of felicity, and he will be truly wretched. Of those who rebel against God, the furthest from Him are those who abandon prayer; this is the closest form of rebellion to outright unbelief [*kufrān*], and he who abandons prayer cannot be beloved of God, because he does not follow the Prophet, even if he knows many things. No one can reach God except through the Prophet.// How could someone attain God who does not follow his Prophet, peace and blessings upon him, the best of creation? He should not abandon prayer, for if he does it is as if he says, "I am better than the Prophet, peace and blessings be upon him, and nearer to God." God forbid such a thing.

My lord, death is near, life is short, there is little to be done, learning is scanty, and sins are increasing. How can we be saved? The only way is to turn to God in penitence both outwardly and inwardly, asking for forgiveness and repeatedly incanting his name, both silently and aloud, and preferring the next world to this one, contemplating [*murāqaba*], facing God [*tawajjuh*], holding to the Qur'an and sunna [*istiqāma*], trusting in the trust, adopting praiseworthy morals, keeping company with ʿulamaʾ and mendicant Sufis [*fuqarāʾ*], loving them, being charitable towards them, and having good intentions towards [giving them] their due; and acting with love towards all creation. [Furthermore] each individual should be unburdened as is appropriate and forgiven for his sins, nor should the community of Muḥammad – peace be upon him – be betrayed. Refrain from arrogance, pride and haughtiness, contemplate death and do not disregard God Exalted, and repent all your sins both great and small, trusting in God, for patience belongs to God; be satisfied with what God decrees and not with what you require of God. The easiest way to reach God is through frequent *dhikr*, having good intentions, and repentance. This is our sole teaching, we have no other.

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[29] Junayd al-Baghdādī (d. c. 298/910), a key figure in the formation of Sufism, who has a place in many Sufi *silsila*s.

[30] Q 3.31.

Let those who toil, toil towards this; he who truly knows and understands should frequently perform *dhikr b*oth silently and aloud. The Prophet said, "The penitent are as those who have no sins."[31] // He also said, on the authority of God, "'There is no God but God is my fortress; whoever enters my fortress is safe from my torment [of hell]." It is related in the hadith of the Prophet's companions [*al-āthār*], "Prayer, prayer to God, for there is no intimacy with the divine [*munājāt*] except for he who prays, for the Prophet said, "If one of you prays, then God will come between him and the *qibla*." Understand that the practices of all the saints who truly know God are as follows: asking Him for help, while standing in station between fear and hope, for fear without hope would contradict his divine word, "Do not despair of God's mercy."[32] Likewise hope without fear would contradict the verse, "No-one can be sure of God's plan except a people who are losers."[33] Fear and hope are both necessary for the believer, one cannot be taken without the other. Absolute fear is remiss, and absolute hope is excess; both of them fall short of perfection. One who is perfect combines both, for remissness is something that does not attain His decrees, while excess is something that goes beyond them, just as in belief the believer should take a position between absolute transcendence and absolute anthropomorphism, for the first is one of the beliefs of the Muʿtazila, while the second is one of the beliefs of the Mujassima.[34] The first is remiss, the second is excess, and the best is a position in between the two; this is the position of those who are perfect and seek perfection. When the believer is far from attaining perfection, it is of little use, for its benefit is in this world and the next. Perfection is the ultimate aim and highest desire, which is nothing other than combining both of them, just as being human is the combination of the spirit and the body, the appellation of 'human' cannot be applied to the spirit without the body, or vice versa, but rather to both of them together. A human can only be a perfect man [*al-insān al-kāmil*] if he combines Truth with sharia. The saints who truly know God who are called the 'perfect man' // and are those who have attained God are circumscribed by sharia and supported by Truth, like two eyes in a human, nay like the human being himself. Understand that of the phrases mentioned and written in this little letter, the perfect [is that which comes from] God's verifiers, His saints, those who have attained him and who are characterised by the attributes described above; they fall short in this letter only in so far as they fall short of these attributes. This is what was said by our shaykhs, who possessed saintliness and spiritual verification and who attained God. He who desires can believe, and he who does not is an infidel.

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[31] The last two lines of this folio have been repeated through copyist error.

[32] Q. 39.53.

[33] Q 7.99.

[34] The anthropomorphists; both they and the Muʿtazila are singled out for criticism by al-Rānīrī in the *Tibyan*.

My lord, I ask of you forgiveness and tolerance, for your humble servant and poor slave has gone on at length; this is not befitting for your dear, noble excellency, for as God said, "You may love something even though it is evil for you,"[35] and the Prophet said, "Faith is admonition." The outcome is that the reason for writing this letter is that hajj Kari Pasaa and hajj Raja sailed in the boat of our lord, your brother and beloved, Abū'l-Fatḥ sultan of God-protected Banten. God willing, the boat will reach the harbour of God protected Mukha'.[36] The aforementioned boat sailed at the end of Jumādā I of the year 1084 of the hijra of the Prophet[37] – upon whom be the best of blessings. Our brother, hajj Kari, may God save him, will reach honoured Mecca, and we have ordered him to write to you to inform you about the departure of the aforementioned hajji on the pilgrimage.

My lord, do not upbraid us for our shortcomings, for your servant's shortcomings are exceedingly great. What is requested by this humble servant, the writer of these letters, is two baskets of white sugar and one sack of pepper as a favour and gift to show your love for us. Please accept [this request] and do not criticise us, for the present befits the means of the giver, not the recipient. May God seal our and your affairs with blessings, and grant us stable faith, and join us to the people who proclaim the shahada at death and before and after it, amen. Oh lord of both worlds, oh lord, oh spirit of our life, oh beloved.

Your humble servant and poor slave desires to tell you a story, even though your humble servant thinks it worthless. Your humble servant, the writer of these letters, was with your brother, the sultan of God protected Banten, in his salon [*majlis*], when he said secretly, "Shaykh Yūsuf, can you not send a letter to our brother Karaeng Karunrung, may God protect him, [asking him to] return *the keris belonging to the son of Kyai Tambak, our pauh janggi* [*coco-de-mer*]*, and our copper-and-gold alloyed bowl,*[38] for these are all what we have given him? The forementioned are in the possession of our brother Karaeng Karunrung, may God protect him, which we have left with him as a token of our esteem for him, as is the custom of our land. However, regarding the aforementioned dagger:[39] when the late Pangeran,… travelled off to the hajj, he bequeathed us to ask you for the dagger, for he said, "We gave him the dagger.""

This is what your brother, Abū'l-Fatḥ sultan of God-protected Banten said, may God keep him safe. Do not upbraid us, for your humble servant mentioned it only with embarrassment, and think, it is only a small matter and is no difficulty to one like you, but God knows best.

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[35] Q 2. 216.

[36] Mocha in Yemen.

[37] Approximately the first half of September 1673.

[38] Symbols of royalty; the passage in italics is in Malay.

[39] The keris is meant but the Arabic *khanjar* is used here.

My lord, I also ask you for a diamond,[40] and a ring of topaz and emerald if it available, if not red ruby which is called *merah*.[41] May God reward you with the utmost blessings and felicity.

Written in the beginning of Rajab in the year 1084,[42] and finished on the night of Friday, 15 Dhū'l-Ḥijja, year 1085 of the hijra of the Prophet,[43] upon whom be the best peace and blessings.

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[40] The phrase *wāḥida min al-masīḥa* in the text is hard to interpret for sure, and undoubtedly corrupt. Tudjimah understands it as the Malay 'mas', 'gold', which, given the other Malayisms in this passage, is credible. Yet 'one gold' does not make much sense; I therefore propose that the word should be read as the Arabic *almās* 'diamond.'

[41] *Merah* is Malay for 'red.'

[42] Mid-October 1673.

[43] 12 March 1674.

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