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The Role of *Kitab Jawi* in the Development of Islamic Thought in the Malay Archipelago with special Reference to *Umm al-Barāhīn* and the Writings on the Twenty Attributes.

by

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For the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy
Faculty of Arts
The University of Edinburgh
1993
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ABSTRACT

This thesis has three major objectives which are inter-related. Firstly, it investigates some important aspects of the traditional history of the Malay Archipelago, the early development of Islamic thought, culture and the religious traditions which is represented by the Kitab Jawi. The history and development of the Kitab Jawi and its contribution to the traditional Islamic heritage are explored. This development was accompanied by the emergence of traditional scholars ('ulamā') such as Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī (d. 1666, Acheh), Shams al-Dīn al-Sumatrānī (d. 1630, Sumatra), 'Abd al-Ṣamad al-Falembānī (d. 1764, Palembang), Raja 'Alī al-Ḥājī (d. 1784, Johor-Riau), Muḥammad Arshad al-Banjārī (b. 1812, Banjarmasin), Dā'ūd b. 'Abd Allah b Idrīs al-Faṭānī (d. 1840, Patani), 'Abd al-Ṣamad b Muḥammad Śaliḥ (Iuan Tabal) (d. 1840, Kelantan), Sayyid 'Uṭmān b Yaḥyā al-Betāwī (d. 1886, Batavia or Jakarta), and their contribution to the Kitab Jawi tradition is examined in detail.

Secondly, the theological discussion among the traditional scholars became a dominant factor in intellectual circles as a result of the popularity of and high demand for theological disciplines among the masses, the high position accorded to these scholars and their close relationship with the sultans or rajas.

Among the disciplines of theology is the 'ilm al-Tauḥīd (the Unity of Allah) in which Sanūsī's Umm al-Barāḥin played a very vital role. The most notable feature of this creed is the teaching of Sifat Dua Puluh (the Twenty Attributes of Allah) as the result of which this teaching became the basic religious teaching among the people of the Malay Archipelago. The present study attempts to show how strong the effects of this teaching have been and how it has survived through the centuries. Finally, an annotated translation of a Jawi text of Umm al-Barāḥin is followed by a detailed analysis of the text in relation to the Twenty Attributes. A brief conclusion attempts to draw these strands together and to assess their importance for Islam in the Malay Archipelago.
Note on Transliteration

In a work of this nature complete uniformity of transliteration cannot be possible, since it has been necessary to deal with works in Arabic, Malay in Jawi script, modern Malay in Roman script and occasionally other languages also. In general, the following rules have been applied:

(i) Works in Arabic and names of Arab writers are translated according to the system of the Encyclopaedia of Islam with the following exceptions:

(Q, q) instead of (K, k)
(ai) and (au) instead of (ay) and (aw)
tā' marbūṭah when not in ḍāʾa = h.

(ii) The names of writers of Kitab Jawi are transliterated in the Arabic fashion except when this would clash strongly with the Malay pronunciation, e.g. Ḥusin not Hussain. Malay names are transliterated into modern Bahasa Malaysia orthography. On occasions where Malay names do not entirely follow the rules of Arabic grammar, we have transliterated the original spelling. In modern works the official Bahasa Malaysia orthography has been used.

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The translation of the Qur’anic verses are according to the Holy Qur’ān translation and Commentary of ‘Allāmah ‘Abd Allāh Yūsuf ‘Alī.
**Abbreviations**

Abbreviated titles of the sources most often cited in the thesis:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AM</td>
<td><em>al-Mawrid</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AN</td>
<td>'Aqīdat al-Nājin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BH</td>
<td><em>Bidayat al-Hidayah</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BKI</td>
<td><em>Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land-en Volkenkunde</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BKS</td>
<td><em>Bad' Khalq al-Samāwāt wa al-Ard</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DA</td>
<td><em>Daqā'iq al-Akbar</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DT</td>
<td><em>Durr al-Thamīn fī 'Aqīd al-Mu'minīn</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FM</td>
<td><em>Furū' al-Masā'īl</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GAL</td>
<td><em>Geschichte Der Arabischen Litteratur</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HB</td>
<td><em>Hāshiyat al-Shaikh Ibrāhīm al-Baijūrī 'alā Matn al-Sanūsiyyah</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HD</td>
<td><em>Hāshiyat al-Shaikh Muḥammad al-Dasūqī 'alā Sharḥ Umm al-Barāhīn</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HS</td>
<td><em>Hāshiyat al-Shaikh 'Abd Allāh al-Sharqāwī 'alā Sharḥ al-'Imām al-'Allāmah al-Hudhūdī 'alā al-Sanūsiyyah</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
HSY = Hidāyat al-Ṣibyān.

JMBRAS = Journal of Malayan Branch Royal Asiatic Society.

JRAS = Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.

JS = Jawāhir al-Saniyyah.

JT = Jawharat al-Tauhid.

KG = Kashf al-Ghaybiyyah.

KILTV = Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal, Land-en Volkenkunde.

KSA = Kitab Simpulan Agama.

KSDP = Kitab Sifat Dua Puluh.

MA = al-Mughni al-Akbar.

MIS = Malayan And Indonesian Studies.

MJT = Matn Jawhārat al-Tauhid.

MS 12225 SOAS, Umm al-Barāḥin = MS 12225 School of Oriental and African Studies.

MS 12193 SOAS, Umm al-Barāḥin = MS 12193 School of Oriental and African Studies.

MS M. I. 635 BPIPIM = MS M. I. 635 Balai Pameran Islam, Pusat Islam Malaysia, Kifāyat al-Mukallafin fi Sharḥ Umm al-Barāḥin.

SH = Sirāj al-Hudā.
SUT  =  Sharḥ Uṣūl al-Taḥqīq.
TOI  =  The Tenets of Islam.
TP   =  T'oung Pao.
TR   =  Tuḥfat al-Rāghibin.
UD   =  Uṣūl al-Dīn.
First and foremost I thank the almighty Allah for enabling me to complete this work with ease and peace of mind. Then I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my respected supervisor Dr. M. V. McDonald, who has greatly helped me in the preparation of this work. I will always remember his patience at the various stages of this work and his friendly criticism of it. Indeed his friendly nature and and valuable advice has left a great sense of admiration and affection in my heart. My thanks is also to the rest of the teaching staff of the Department of Islamic and Middle Eastern Studies. To Miss Crawford, the Secretary of the Department, I would like to convey my appreciation for her kindness and assistance during my stay in Edinburgh.

I must thank profoundly the Universiti Sains Malaysia, Pulau Pinang for facilitating my study and stay in the United Kingdom together with my family.

I am also indebted to my family, especially to my dear wife Sharifah Mariam al-Saggof, who has greatly assisted me both materially and spiritually in the accomplishment of this great task. As for my children: Khaizuren Farhi, Hanna Firdaws, Ahmad 'Isa, 'Abdullah ‘Hilmi and 'Umar Ayman, they were indeed a great source of inspiration for me to complete this thesis, and their presence has kept me in high spirit. I hope that their stay in Edinburgh will benefit them in the future.

My thanks are also due to all my colleagues and relatives who have assisted me in my work in many different ways, particularly my friends from Balai Pameran Islam, Pusat Islam Malaysia, for sending me copies of the Manuscripts of *Kitab Jawi*. But, before I forget, I must thank those individuals who have kindly and willingly assisted me in the final preparation of this work.

Last but not least, I wish to register my profound thanks to my stepfather Haji Alias Bujal for his moral support. Nonetheless, I dedicate this
humble work to my beloved mother Ḥajjah Ḥawwāʿ 'Abdul Manāf who has inculcated in me the qualities of thankfulness and sincerity, and to the loving memory of my Late father Syed 'Abdul 'Umar Ṭā'ī 'Abdul Rahmān al-Edrūs. May Allāh shower His Blessings on all of them. Amen!
Introduction

Preamble

So far little has been written about the *Kitab Jawi* or *Kitab Kuning* (the term used by Martin Van Bruinessen) and its history, role and contribution have not been fully explored. This is at least partly because most of the *Kitab Jawi* still exist in manuscript only, consisting, apart from the Islamic writings, discussed in this thesis, of legal agreements, short biographies and genealogies, *Hikâyats*, poems or versified traditional *manera* or *serapah* and *azimat* which are dispersed throughout the Malay Archipelago. Many of these manuscripts are in private collections, and although most owners are prepared to allow access to scholars, it always takes a great deal of time and effort to consult them. Many even of the *Kitab Jawi* which have been printed are long since out of print, and although some have been reproduced recently, the majority can only be consulted in a handful of libraries in various countries. Nevertheless, credit is due to the work of such writers as Mohd. Noh b.Ngah, Virginia Matheson and M. B. Hooker, Martin Van Bruinessen and R. Roolvink for their efforts in this sphere.

The objectives of research

The objectives of this research are three-fold though inter-related. The first objective is to explore some important aspects of the traditional history of the Malay Archipelago, in particular, those related to the early
development of the religious tradition which is represented by the *Kitab Jawi*. The history and development of the *Kitab Jawi* and its contribution to the traditional Islamic heritage are explored.

The second objective is a comprehensive discussion of the teaching of *Sifat Dua Puluh* (The Twenty Attributes) among the people of the Malay Archipelago followed by an attempt to show the profound implications of this teaching which has been reflected in Malay society in the past and continues to be so to the present day.

The third objective is the translation of a *Jawi* text of *Umm al-Barāḥīn* and a subsequent detailed analysis related to the teaching of *Sifat Dua Puluh* (The Twenty Attributes) followed by an attempt in the brief conclusion to draw these strands together and assess their importance to the development of Islamic thought in the Malay Archipelago.

**Field and Scope of Research**

This research places an emphasis upon the development of Islamic Thought in the Malay Archipelago during the traditional period. The term "Traditional Islamic Thought" means a study of the development of history, culture, intellectual and religious tradition which contributed to the root of the establishment of the Islamic traditional heritage. The Islamic traditional heritage comprises three major components: Theology (*Uṣūl al-Dīn*) elsewhere rendered by 'Āqidah, *Sharī'ah* (law) and mysticism (*Ṣūfīsm*). The word 'Archipelago', an Italian coinage, first met with in 1268
A.D. signifies 'the chief sea' which applied originally to that part of the Mediterranean which separates Greece from Asia but is now extended to any sea, like it, thickly interspersed with islands or rather to the group of islands themselves.

The Malay Archipelago is the largest group of islands in the world, lying between South-east Asia and Australia, variably called also the East Indies, Indonesia and Malaysia. It includes the Sunda islands, Celebes, the Moluccas, Borneo, New Guinea and the Philippines.

However, for the purpose of this study, the term 'Malay Archipelago' is limited to the western areas of Indonesia (the islands of Sumatra, Java, and Borneo) and in particular to the Malay peninsular. This limitation is made because these areas are the earliest to be influenced by Islam and played important roles in the spread of Islam to other areas of the Malay Archipelago. Furthermore they emerged as intellectual centres for almost five centuries; particularly the states of Samudra-Pasai (1280-1400 A.D.), Malacca (1400-1511 A.D.), Acheh (1511-1650 A.D.), Patani (1564-1782 A.D.) and Johor-Riau (1650-1800 A.D.).

These intellectual centres in turn produced prominent and prolific scholars such as Shams al-Dīn al-Sumatrānī (d.1630 A.D., Sumatra), Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī (d.1666 A.D., Acheh), Shaikh ‘Abd al-Malik b. ‘Abd Allāh (Tuk Pula Manis) (d.1736 A.D., Terengganu), ‘Abd al-Ṣamad al-Falembānī (d.1764 A.D., Palembang), Raja ‘Alī al-Ḥāji (d.1784 A.D., Johor-Riau), Muḥammad Arshad al-Banjārī (b.1812 A.D., Banjarmasin), Daʿūd al-Faṭānī (d.1840 A.D., Patani), 'Abd al-Ṣamad b.
Muḥammad Šāliḥ (Tuan Tabal) (d.1840 A.D., Kelantan) and Sayyid Ḥusayn b. Yaḥyā al-Betāwi (d.1886 A.D., Batavia or Jakarta) whose writings are a source of reference and popular to this day.

The term 'traditional period' refers to the period from the beginning of Kitab Jawi tradition to its end, i.e. from the early period of Islam in the Malay Archipelago as early as the 13th century (the establishment of the Samudera-Pasai Kingdom) until the early 20th. century (the decline of the Johor-Riau kingdom).

**Definition of Kitab Jawi**

It is very difficult to give a precise definition to the term Kitab Jawi, for it is closely associated with Arabic. However, for our purposes Kitab Jawi can be defined as "those works written in the Jawi script by the scholars of the Malay Archipelago". The subject matter of Kitab Jawi has been mentioned above, but for the greater part of the Kitab Jawi consists of religious writings and it is to the latter that the expression Kitab Jawi more often refers in this thesis, particularly in those chapters dealing with religious matters.

**Sources**

Basically this research is based on primary sources which are either in the form of unprinted material such as manuscripts, legal agreements, short biographies and genealogies, Hikayats and poems or in printed form such as the Kitab Jawi produced in Mecca, Cairo, Istanbul, and Bombay in the 19th. and early 20th. centuries.

In accordance with the major objective of this thesis which is to
explore aspects of Islamic traditional thought in the Malay Archipelago, the primary sources are the writings of Islamic traditional scholars ('ulamā'), specifically those written during the 16th., 17th., 18th. and the 19th. centuries. Most of the writings of the 16th., 17th. and the 18th. centuries are in the form of manuscripts whereas in the case of the 19th. and early 20th. centuries, most of them are already in printed form.

The following are the materials which are primary sources of reference in this thesis:

A. Manuscripts

i) MS 12225 (SOAS) *Umm al-Barāhīn*, by al-Sanūsī in Arabic with interlinear translation in Malay, dated 1188 A.H./1774 A.D..

ii) MS 12193 (SOAS). Malay translation of the commentary and glosses on the *Umm al-Barāhīn* of al-Sanūsī. No date is given.


B. Kitab Jaw (Malay)

i) *Bidāyat al-Hidāyāh* (commentary and translation into Malay of *Umm al-Barāhīn*) by Muḥammad Zayn b. al-Faqīh Jalāl al-Dīn al-Āshī, (Pulau Pinang, 1170 A.H./1757 A.D.)

ii) *Sirāj al-Hudā* (commentary and translation into Malay of *Umm al-Barāhīn*) by Muḥammad Zayn al-Dīn b. Muḥammad Badawī al-Sambāwī, (Pulau Pinang, 1259 A.H./1885 A.D.)
iii) ‘Aqidat al-Nājīn (commentary and translation into Malay of Umm al-Barāhīn) by Zayn al-‘Abbīdīn b. Muḥammad al-Faṭānī, (Pulau Pinang, 1308 A.H./1890 A.D.)


C. Kitāb Sharḥ or Ḥāshiyah (Arabic)


iii) Ḥāshiyat al-Shaikh Muḥammad al-Dasūqī ‘alā Sharḥ Umm al-Barāhīn, by al-Shaikh Muḥammad al-Dasūqī, (Miṣr, 1358 A.H.).

The secondary sources consulted are in the form of books, microfilms, microfiches, journals, magazines, theses and working papers. Some of these materials cited in the thesis were collected by the researcher over the past few years, while others were acquired recently.
from London, Malaysia, Indonesia, the United States, Leiden, Paris, Manchester, Birmingham and Edinburgh.

**Synopsis**

The first chapter is a historical survey of the socio-religious background of the Malay Archipelago. This includes the background of traditional beliefs in the society such as animism and dynamism and the spiritual worship of ancestors which is a dominant practice. The discussion continues into the Indian influence in its physical and spiritual aspects. As regards the physical aspect, it is found that the Indian influence is substantial in the sphere of social and political activities. In the spiritual sphere which covers language and literature, arts and religion, there exists a phenomenon which can be described as continuity and change.

Lastly, this chapter discusses the influence of Islam including the early Chinese and Arabic sources for the coming of Islam in the Malay Archipelago. The relationship between the Middle-East and the Malay Archipelago is touched on. This resulted in the establishment of the Islamic centres which were important for the dissemination of Islamic culture. The coming of Islam brought about the development of the traditional Islamic education and all these are mentioned in the chapter.

The second chapter is concerned with the position and role of the Malay traditional scholars in the process of the Islamization of the Malay Archipelago. The main vehicle of this involvement is the *Kitab Jawi*. The chapter begins with a discussion of the origin of the term *Jawi* and
its writing. This chapter is then divided into various sub-sections: social and legal attitudes, theological disputes, 'ilm al-kalām and Twenty Attributes writings, and foreign influence, ending with Şūfi influence.

The discussion in the third chapter is more specifically on the teaching of *Sifat Dua Puluh* (the Twenty Attributes), derived from al-Ash'arī (260-324 A.H/873-935 A.D.) and further developed by al-Sanūsī (d.895 A.H./1490 A.D.).

The fourth chapter is the annotated translation of the text *Umm al-Barāhin* by al-Sanūsī from the MS 12225 (SOAS), dated 1188 A.H./1774 A.D., followed by an analysis of it in the fifth chapter based partly on the writings on the Twenty Attributes found in the *Kitab Jawi*. 
4. Among the libraries that have substantial collection of Malay manuscripts are:
   b) The University of Malaya Library, Kuala Lumpur.
   c) Islamic Centre of Malaysia Library, Kuala Lumpur.
   g) Cambridge University Library, Cambridge.
   h) Oxford University Library, Oxford.
   i) The Royal Institute of Linguistics and Anthropology Library, Leiden.
   j) University of Leiden Library, Leiden.
   l) Gedung Arca, National Library of Indonesia, Jakarta.
   m) The Indonesian Cultural Board Library, Jakarta.


6. See appendix (A).


Chapter One

THE SOCIO-RELIGIOUS BACKGROUND OF
THE MALAY ARCHIPELAGO: A HISTORICAL
SURVEY.

i. Traditional Belief.

The theory of animism as a primitive belief was originally formulated by Edward B. Taylor, one of the founders of modern anthropology. Animism is defined as a belief that all things have a soul or spirit which has an independent existence. Briefly, animism can be said to be all soul. Along with the theory of animism, there was also that of dynamism, put forward by Alfred Berthole, as a means of analysing traditional religious belief. As with animism, this theory accepted the omnipresence of souls, but the difference was that in dynamism the soul possesses the energy and strength to bring about good or ill things.

Briefly, dynamism may be said to be all strength. Nonetheless, because of their similarity, animism and dynamism are practically synonymous as far as scholars of traditional belief are concerned;

In actual observation, however, dynamism and animism so often appear side by side, and indeed are so often inextricably interwoven, that it is perhaps safer not to attempt to attribute priority either to the one or
to the other. Without hesitation, however, we may state that are both extremely early and extremely widespread aspects of religion.  

In the Malay Archipelago, animism exists in the form of belief in the spiritual presence which dominates a certain place or thing, as stated by Samuel M. Zwemer;

It is clear from the beliefs of the non-Mohamedans of Malaysia that all things, organic and inorganic, were credited with the possession of souls.  

As compared to dynamism, it can be compared with the spirit of physical life in contradistinction to the immortal essence (semangat) among the Malays. This concept possesses the power to determine the good or ill tidings in their lives. The belief in the existence of soul (jiwa), the breath of life (rūḥ) and the spirit of physical life (bādi) which can influence the life of people can be traced through myths, legends and memorates which are based on the experience of local society.

Myths consist of stories about gods and goddesses with supernatural powers which become the source of the system of beliefs and religion. Legend on the other hand, consists of stories about graves, sacred places, tree and earth demons or is related to the breath of a well-known person connected with a certain place. It is described as legend when the stories have a particular significance in the life of the people in the society. Memorates are stories based on the people's experience of the supernatural, such as stories about ghosts, free spirits, vampires and
As a consequence of animism, traditional societies firmly believed in the presence of their dead ancestors' spirits in society in order to make sure that their living descendants were preserving the customs and beliefs which they had left to them. The frightening feeling which was generated by this firm belief in the great magical powers of the ancestors gave rise to the worship of ancestors (ancestor cult). The ancestors were believed to be the images of the gods and were held so highly that almost all people's activities were centred around the worship of their ancestors.

Activities in the communities centred round the worship of ancestors. The ancestors were believed to preserve the social equilibrium within the community, which was dependant on the intensity of worship of its members. Health or disease, good or bad harvest, prosperity or calamity, all depended on the ancestors' decision. Contact with the ancestors was maintained through rites and other religious media.

As cultural universals, the belief in the existence of soul (jiwa), free spirits (penunggu), the spirit of physical life and the breath of life of the ancestors which could influence the life of people gave rise to another belief, that in the powers of the shamans, kahin or bomoh, who act as intermediators between the unseen power and the people in the society. Some scholars have tried to derive the origin of this institution from Middle Asia or from China and Tibet, but whether or not this is so, shamanism is an integral aspect of the worldview of the cultures of the
In some places, especially in the society of Java, a way to communicate with the unseen powers or *hyang* is through mediation (*pewayangan*), the person who plays the important role of intermediary being known as *dalang*. The role of the *dalang* is the same as that of the *pawang* or *dukun* (shaman), that is to communicate with the souls of the dead. Although the traditional theatre (*karaton*) is best known as a cultural activity for the early society of the Malay Archipelago, it is also a ritual or a religious event, and certain aspects of the performance involve communication with unseen powers.

Lastly we should discuss the possibility of the existence of monotheism in the Malay Archipelago. Most researchers have felt that the Malays have believed in God since the stone age. From the etymological perspective, the term *tuhan* (god) came originally from the word *tuha-an*, which means 'The Eldest' or 'The Eternal'. This opinion is based on the culture and traditions of the Malays, well known as sailors from time immemorial, and supposes that belief in the existence of God became dominant in the course of their long voyages. This opinion is probably correct in so far as it refers to belief in *hyang*, which was related to the worship of the ancestors. However the term *hyang* is synonymous with the term *moyang* or *poyang* (ancestors), and thus it implies that *Tuhan* (God) or the *Dewa* (legendary god) has to be approached through the ancestors.

From this concept other terms such as *sembahyang* (prayer), *kayangan* (world of fantasy), *kemenyan* (incense) and others were
brought into existence. Out of the numerous *hyang*, it was their belief that one was more supreme than the others, and this was best known to them as *Sang Hyang Tunggal* (The Sole god). In other words, the Malays during the pre-Hindu period believed in the existence of the *Dewa Agung* or The Supreme Being, beside believing in the *Dewa Bintang* (The God of the Stars), *Dewa Langit* (The God of the sky) and *Dewa Bumi* (The God of the Earth).

This opinion is in line with the theories of Andrew Lang and Wilhelm Schmidt on the belief in the Supreme Being or High God which they found to be inherent in the Malay Archipelago in the pre-Hindu period. A few students of Schmidt did investigate the remains of a belief in the 'High God' in east Indonesia, and his student P. Arnadt successfully confirmed its existence in the mythology of the population of middle and east Flores. In middle Flores, the 'High God' was called *Dewa* whereas in east Flores he was known as *Lera Wulan*. J.A.J. Verheijen, another follower of Schmidt who investigated the mythology of the people of Manggarai in west Flores had successfully reported the existence of a creator who was known as *Mori Karaeng* which represents the 'High God' among these tribes.

However the theory of the existence of the 'High God' or the 'Supreme Being' in the Malay Archipelago was disputed by some scholars. According to H.M. Rasjidi, the idea of God is totally beyond such ideas. What in fact existed at that time was the idea of 'mana' or 'kesaktian' (magic), that is the idea of uncertain vague strength. Even if there was a belief in God in the stone age, it was only in the form of deism, that is the belief that God surveys from afar but is not involved in
worldly activities. The concept of a god who is not involved in the creation and preservation of the world can probably be compared to the belief of Aristotle that God was only the unmoved mover or the prime mover, and not the powerful creator and preserver of this world.

ii. The Indian Influence

The dominance of Indian influence can be most obviously seen in the political realm, with the existence of the Hindu-Buddhist states in the Malay Archipelago. From the 1st. century to the 15th. century, the Malay Archipelago went through its Hindu period. The Langkasuka kingdom, a vassal state of the Funan empire based in Indochina, was already established by the 2nd. century in the north of the Malay peninsula, the Kutei kingdom in East Kalimantan and the Tarumangara kingdom in west Java were established in the 5th. century, the Srivijaya kingdom in Sumatra in the 7th. century, the Kalingga and Mataram kingdom in Middle Java in the 8th. century and later the kingdoms of Kediri, Singosari and Majapahit in East Java from the 10th. century to the 15th. century.

The places where the Hindu influence was most significant were Java and Bali. Among the books of law which demonstrated Hindu influence were the Agama, Adhigama, Devagama, Sarasamuccaya, Sivasasana and Swarajambu. The most famous of all these books of law was the Agama, which was sometimes called Kutara-Manavasastra. In it, two major aspects of law were explained: public law and criminal law. In general most of the laws were based on Hindu principles, especially on the Manu Law, although in some places there were
traces of local elements.  

According to Hindu doctrine, human beings are divided into four different castes: the Brahmin, the Ksyatriya, the Vaisya and the Sudra. In the Malay Archipelago, ideas of caste were not as rigidly applied as in India in practice, but the spirit of these teachings had great influence.

The fundamental basis of the Hindu society and one which distinguishes it from all other known societies, is the system of caste. That this was introduced in Java is clear from the occurrence of the word 'caturvarna' and frequent reference to the Brahmanas, Kshatriyas and Sundras.

With the coming of Hinduism, two major castes existed, the royal family with the ministers and the masses who became slaves to them.

Before this time, the society of the Malay Archipelago had been based on a system which gave importance to negotiation and 'esprit de corps' (sense of belonging) in all situations, but with the coming of the Hindu tradition, they were challenged by the system of caste which sanctified society. In this feudal system, the whole citizenry became slaves to the king and to the royal family, in comparison to the former situation where Malay society was a unit with an equal say.

In general the Indian influence in social, political and legal aspects was significant. Here there was change and continuity, in the sense that the traditional heritage unconsciously adapted itself to become a part of the new elements. Thus there came about a cultural assimilation in which
the old and new culture complemented each other.33

In literature, Indian influence brought a major contribution to the cultural life of the Malay Archipelago. In this context, the most important were the Ramayana and Mahabharata epics. Based on the Ramayana epics, such works of prose and poetry as the Hikayat Seri Rama, Hikayat Rama Kling, Hikayat Serat Kanda and Hikayat Kekasih Ramayana were created. Based on the Mahabharata epic, the Kekawin Bharata Yuddha was edited by Mpu Sedah and completed by Mpu Panuluh, while the Kekawin Arjuna Wiwaha was written by Mpu Kanwa, as were Hikayat Pandawa Lima and other works.34

However great the influence, if we analyse these works, we can see that the indigenous heritage is still embedded in them, and though Sanskrit was chosen as the literary language, it was still an elite language which society as a whole found most foreign.35 Therefore its influence was limited to the rich in the elite 'Great Tradition' group.36

The influence of the Indian epics actually should be differentiated in its original nature from the stories which circulated in the Malay Archipelago. In actual fact the story of Seri Rama in the Malay Archipelago was freely adapted to the extent that some felt that it was not a Hindu story but actually an original local story.37

There is another possibility explanation of how the Rama story could change in Indonesia. The indigenous Indonesian culture forced the foreign Indian element to adopt to the patterns of Indonesian culture. In the field of cultural history, this is known as the process of reworking.
That the *Ramayana* story in Indonesia underwent this process of reworking has been made plausible by the studies of Dr. W. H. Rassers. In this case the story of *Rama* was intermingled with the theme of the lunar myths, which according to Rassers were the base of the indigenous Indonesian stories concerning *Panji*, the mythical hero of Indonesia.\(^{38}\)

The story of *Panji*, with several versions to its credit, was undoubtedly an original Javanese epic without any Indian influence. Its influence was not limited to Java and the Malay Archipelago but extended to Thailand and Cambodia.\(^{39}\) Therefore here the society of the Malay Archipelago not only had its own identity but successfully extended its influence to outer regions, similar to the Indian epics.

In arts, the Indian influence can been seen in the architecture of religious monuments. In this aspect the influence is seen in the use of stone and concrete as the major element, since this was regarded as a lasting element and suitable to build the house of gods and goddesses. Thus the religious monuments which were built in these centuries can still be traced even now.\(^{40}\)

The Indian influence on the religious monuments can be clearly seen in the architecture, the craftsmanship on the walls, the images of the gods and the metal used for them. The temples of the gods of the Hindu religion, such as Siva, Vishnu and Brahma in various forms and styles, were found here, as were images of *Kuwerna* and *Hariti* which were the centre of worship for the Buddhist religion. Other Buddhist images found here were *Dhuani-Buddha*, *Manusi-Buddha*, *Dhyani-Bodhissattwa*, *Wairocana*, *Aksobhya*, *Amoahasidhi*, *Amitaba* and
In general it appears that the influence of Indian culture was extensive but that in the spiritual sense the indigenous belief was still firm. If the function of the buildings is investigated, the religious monuments were not centres of worship of the gods as in India but more the meeting places of society with their ancestors, especially the dead rulers.

The term for such buildings, *candi*, can in fact be related to the word *candika*, one of the names for a grave which is closely related to the deified dead. The *candi* was in fact an inscribed stone or grave which was built as a burial ground for the dead, especially the kings.

The greatest influence of this religion was that it introduced a new world-view based on its cosmological doctrine. According to the cosmology, the cosmos was divided into two parts: macrocosm and microcosm, or the world of fantasy and the world of reality. The highest goal of this world-view was to achieve harmony between the macrocosm and the microcosm. Making direct contact between the two parts of the cosmos would enable one to achieve the highest goal, which would simultaneously bring prosperity in this life. Thus the believer's only goal was to achieve 'mystic union' or in the Javanese term 'Manunggal Kawula Gusti', that is, union between man and god.

In line with the spirit of tolerance of the indigenous people, these foreign influences were not rejected but were adapted to their own beliefs, but only through the adaptation and understanding of foreign
elements in terms of local beliefs, resulting in changes of the world view as well as continuity in it. 47

From the observations made so far on indigenous belief and Indian influence from an anthropological and archaeological perspective, we can say that Indian culture undoubtedly exercised a great influence, but did not set aside the ancestral heritage. It was not a cultural revolution which demolished the indigenous culture but a process of diffusion or acculturation, whereby identity was not lost or destroyed, even though it was challenged by foreign cultural elements.

iii. The Islamic Influence.

The Malay Archipelago was not only important as a trade area which produced raw material but also as a transition area on the international trade route between East and West.

Lying as they did between the Indian ocean and the China sea and thus forming the division between two regions which were geographically, anthropologically and economically distinct, the Malay Peninsula and the Indonesian Archipelago had been destined from the time immemorial to play an important role as a transition area. Not only were they transit countries for the products of East and West, they were also a meeting ground for merchants coming from either direction. Even the opposing wind systems met here, the monsoons of the Indian ocean on the one hand and the trade winds of the China sea on the other, so that ships were obliged to rest for a period before the next favourable wind enabled them to proceed on their voyages. Moreover, these regions
produced many goods for which there was a ready market, and of these gold, tin, spices, and certain valuable kinds of wood were in the greatest demand. Finally there were plenty of good harbours and roadsteads where incoming and outgoing ships could find safe anchorage.48

Literary evidence of the existence of Muslims in the Malay Archipelago since the Umayyad period (660-750 A.D.) and the ‘Abbāsid period (750-909 A.D.) is found in the fact that foreign Muslim merchants (po-sse) were recorded as being actively involved in the trade of this region.49 According to G.F. Hourani the earliest mention of Persian voyages comes from Chinese sources, which refer to the ships of the ‘po-sse’. The first mention is in 671 A.D., when the Chinese pilgrim I-Ching embarked on a ‘po-sse’ ship at Canton and sailed south to Bhoga (Palembang), the capital of Srivijaya in Southeast Sumatra.50 B. C. Colless states on this subject:

In the early Muslim period in the seventh and eighth centuries there are cases of Persian ships coming and going beyond Ceylon. Thus Vajrabodhi travelled in 717 A.D. from Ceylon to Srivijaya in south-east Sumatra with a fleet of thirty-five Persian vessels, while I-Tsing voyaged in 671 A.D. from Canton to Srivijaya with a Persian shipmaster.51

A Chinese pilgrim, Hui Ch'ao, who travelled to India in 727 A.D. clearly depicts the situation;

The Persians are accustomed to set sail into the western sea, and they enter the southern sea making for Ceylon to obtain all kinds of precious objects. Moreover they head for the K'un-lun country (Malaya and Indonesia) to get gold. 52
According to Arab sources, after the rise of the Ming dynasty in China (1368 A.D.) and the subsequent enforcement of the closed door policy to foreigners, many merchants moved to the Malay Archipelago for their trade. They found that this region was more favourable as a result of the progress which Islam had brought with it. Eventually, many small Muslim principalities arose along the northern coast of Java (at Chirebon, Demak and Japara), and on the western coast of the Strait of Madura, at Gresik and at Surabaya.

Tome Pires, writing between 1512 A.D. and 1515 A.D., says in connection with the rise of these principalities:

At the time in which pagans were living on the coasts of Java, many Persians, Arab and Gujerati traders used to come to these places. They began to grow rich and to increase in number; their sons by that time had become Javanese and were wealthy, having lived in those parts for more than seventy years. In some places the pagan Javanese rulers became Muslim, and there the merchants and their mohalla (mullahs) took over the authority from them and reigned in their stead. In other places, the merchants instead killed the local Javanese lords and seized power. They thus succeeded in monopolizing Javanese trade.

At the beginning of the 15th century, there were other localities in Sumatra where Islam penetrated. Ma Huan, the Chinese Muslim interpreter and traveller who accompanied the Admiral Cheng Ho (1405-1433 A.D.) on his fourth voyage in 1413 A.D. made a note in his Ying-yai Cheng-lang or Ying-yai Sheng-lan ("The overall survey of the ocean's shores") of the existence of Islam in the States of A-lu (Haru, north-east of Sumatra) and Nan-po-li (Lambri in the extreme
In 1291 A.D. the first prominent Muslim kingdom known as Perlak in Northern Sumatra was established. This was followed by the establishment of the kingdom of Pasai (Pase) in 1297 A.D. with its first ruler Merah Silu taking the title Sultan Malik al-Ṣāliḥ.

The discovery of a gold coin in Kelantan (the north-east coast of the Malay peninsula) bearing the words, *al-Julūs Kelantan* 577 A.H. (1181 A.D.) and the name of the ruler, *al-Mutawakkil bi-Allāh*, indicate the presence of an Islamic state in Kelantan from a relatively early period. This Islamic kingdom continued to exist until it was conquered by Sultan Mahmūd Shāh (893-934 A.H./1488-1528 A.D.) of Malacca in 1490 A.D.. Another proof of the early introduction of Islam to this part of the Malay peninsula are the Arabic inscription found in Pekan Pahang dated 479 A.H./1086 A.D. and another inscription dating back to 702 A.H./1302 A.D. found at Kuala Brang, twenty miles up the Terengganu river on the north-east coast. There are several different opinions regarding the correct date of the latter inscription. According to Prof. Syed Muhammad Naquib al-Attas, the correct date for the inscription is 22 February 1303 A.D., but B. Harisson gives 1386 A.D. as the correct date and there are other opinions. Earlier than this was a tombstone found in Langgar, Kedah with the name Shaikh ʿAbd al-Qādir b Ḫusain Shāh ʿĀlam inscribed on it dated 291 A.H./903 A.D.

As a result of the activities of the Pasai missionaries the Islamic kingdom of Patani was founded in what is now South Thailand between 1564 A.D. and 1782 A.D.. Consequently in 1400 A.D. the Malacca...
kingdom was established with Parameswara as its first ruler, but only became an Islamic kingdom when Parameswara converted to Islam in approximately in 1399 A.D. with the name Raja Iskandar Shâh.\(^{68}\) The Acheh kingdom reached its period of glory (1586-1641 A.D.) after the downfall of Malacca in 1511 A.D., although it was first founded in 1205 A.D. by Meurah Johan.\(^{69}\) In Java, the kingdoms of Giri and Demak were established after the downfall of the Majapahit kingdom 1520 A.D., whereas the establishment of the Johor-Riau kingdom in 1772 A.D. led by rulers of Bugis origin came about after the downfall of the Acheh kingdom in 1641 A.D..

Malacca reached the height of its glory in the 15th century. Its strategic geographical position enabled it to control the sea-routes through the Straits of Malacca. It is a good port with good harbour and anchorage facilities to cater to ships and merchants. The toll and custom charges were low. These favourable assets encouraged not only traders from the Malay Archipelago but also traders and foreigners from various different countries.\(^{70}\)

Its prosperity, stability and the diplomatic policies adopted by its rulers towards the Javanese commercial centres and China made Malacca a great commercial power and soon it became the crossroads of the commerce of Asia. Under the capable hand of its bendahara (Prime Minister), Bendahara Paduka Raja Tun Perak, Malacca became a great military power and many important trading communities such as Siak, Kampar and Indragiri were brought under its control.

Malacca became a cosmopolitan city. Its population increased from
its indigenous Malay population to include Javanese traders and labourers, and Bugis, Achenese, Indian and Arab traders who settled here and became permanent residents. Merchants from Gujerat, Persia, Arabia, India, Kling, Bengal and China, besides those from the Malay Archipelago gathered to trade since in Malacca, all types of marketable sea-borne products of the vast Asian countries and East Indies islands were available for exchange. These diverse groups and traders led to the adoption of a Malay lingua franca and the existence of this medium of communication contributed much to the effectiveness of Malacca as a disseminator of Islamic indoctrination.

Since Malacca’s population converted themselves to Islam following the example of their Sultan, Malacca became the centre for the propagation of Islamic culture. This culture soon spread throughout the subordinate territories on the Malay Peninsula and along the east coast of Sumatra due to Malacca’s policy of expansion. Malacca’s culture was also influenced by the foreign elements brought by the foreign traders who took up permanent residence here.

Godinho de Eredia, a Portuguese writer, reports that to the north of the Malacca river was situated the trade zone of Upeh, two districts of which were inhabited by merchants from North-West Asia. There were four Xabandars or Shahbandars (Harbour Masters) of different nationalities who used to look after the transactions of the traders of their own country of origin. One shahbandar took care of the trade with the Chinese, Liuchiuan, Champa, the Ryukyu islands (Japan), eastern Borneo and Siamese ships. A second handled ships coming from the Moluccas, Banda Aceh, the Philippines, Borneo, Palembang, Java, and other
Indonesian islands. A third took care of traders from the Bay of Bengal area, including north Sumatran ports, Pasai, Pegu and the Malabar Coast of India. A final one was allocated to the Gujeratis alone since they were the most numerous (estimated at 1000 traders by Tome Pires). This multiracial character of the port is supposed to have given Malacca its name, derived from the Arabic mulāqā, meaning a meeting place, or a place where merchants gather.

Scholars have generally recognised two periods: traditional and modern. There has been general acceptance that the dividing line between the two periods is the coming of the West, while the Islamic influence has been neglected.

Professor N. J. Krom, for example, classified the 1st. to the 15th. centuries A.D. as the Hindu period in the Malay Archipelago. This approach, while it may have some overall validity, nevertheless seems to deny the fact that Islam had been present since the 7th. century A.D., the existence of the Perlak kingdom in the 13th. century, the Samudra-Pasai kingdom in the 14th. century and the establishment of the kingdoms of Malacca, Demak, Acheh, Bantam and Johor-Riau from the 13th. to the 15th. centuries A.D..

When the western colonial powers arrived in the 16th. century they found themselves facing not Hindu power but the power of Islam. Islam was the first to confront western imperialism and Islam was the dominant local power before the arrival of the West. As political powers, these Islamic kingdoms were forced to take measures to strengthen their defence and political stability. Because of this need and for other
reasons, these kingdoms established diplomatic relations with the Islamic super-powers of the period, such as Turkey and Persia.

Another evidence of this development was the involvement of Turks in the Malay Archipelago.

During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries Turkish traders along with merchants of other west Asian countries had established themselves in the Malayan ports. Malacca had emerged as a very strong and thriving commercial centre.79

It is interesting to note that there are references to the exchange of embassies between Acheh and the Ottoman empire during the reigns of Selim I, and this relationship strengthened its defences against the Portuguese. The Turkish Sultan Suleyman (1523-1566 A.D.) had fulfilled the request for help from Acheh by sending a large amount of arms and 500 Turkish soldiers.80 This diplomatic relationship was preserved by succeeding sultans such as Sultan Mansur Shāh (1577-1588 A.D.), Sultan ‘Alā al-Dīn Ri‘āyat Shāh entitled Saiyyid al-Mukammil (1588-1604 A.D.) and Sultan Iskandar Muda (1607-1636 A.D.).81

The climax of this international relationship came in the 16th century when, as mentioned earlier, Acheh became the most powerful Islamic kingdom after the downfall of Malacca. Muslim traders from India, Arabia and Persia preferred to trade with Acheh rather than Malacca which was under the control of the Portuguese who were Christians, while non-Muslim traders turned their attention from Malacca to Acheh to avoid the imposts of the Portuguese. Due to the increasing number of traders, there was a ministerial post called Wazīr

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Badlul Mulük, which dealt with foreign affairs including traders. Aceh soon rose as a commercial centre which resulted in both wealth and power. This power made it one of the five most successful Islamic kingdoms in the world at that time:

In Aceh which was another very strong and significant Muslim state in Sumatra there were thousands of west Asian traders, especially Arabs, Persians and Turks, who were living in separate kampongs (localities) with their own mosques, schools and markets.82

The monopoly of the pepper trade through conquest of rival pepper-producing neighbours such as Johore (1615 A.D.), Pahang (1618 A.D.), Kedah (1619 A.D.) and Perak (1620 A.D.) transformed Aceh into the greatest pepper producing region. As a result of the demand for pepper, its cultivation spread to the west coast of Sumatra during the 16th and 17th centuries and it was due to the influence of Aceh that these regions converted to Islam.

The arrival of Islam signified for the first time in history that the Malay world was drawn into a historical movement which stretched right across the continents of Africa and Asia and which in turn linked it with the history of western Europe, long before the arrival of the Portuguese around the beginning of the 16th century (1511 A.D.). The Pan-Islamic movement83 which was regarded as the most formidable foe of western imperialism in the 19th century, had its inception between the 13th and the 16th centuries as far as the Malay Archipelago was concerned.84

There was a close relationship between the Islamic Malay kingdoms
and the Islamic world in general from the 13th. century to the 16th. century, and as a result the Malay Archipelago was recognised as a part of the Islamic world. In this context Professor Ahmad Ibrahim has said:

Islam indeed we welcomed because not only did it free the Malay and foreign merchant class from the oppressive stratification of Hinduism and the absolute power of the Hindu ruler, but it also brought the Malays into an ideological community that was international, which made them citizens of the world instead of subjects of a god king in a narrowly circumscribed river-valley.

The Pan-Islamic relationship was closely linked to the quality of the Islamic universalism itself. As stressed by Professor M. T. Osman, one aspect of culture in the Malay Archipelago after the acceptance of Islam was the fact that it became a part of the Islamic world. Developments in other places in the Islamic world affected the Islamic inhabitants of the Malay Archipelago.

In any case, the fact is that in the 16th. century the Muslim world was once again powerful, wealthy, and touched with splendour. Whatever view he might take of it, the Muslim of this period in Morocco, Istanbul, Isfahan, Agra and Aceh was a participant in a history expansive and successful.

The coming of Islam brought about a great influence in the development of education in the Malay Archipelago. Before Islam, educational activities were limited to the rich in the elite Great Tradition Group, but with the influence of Islam, they extended to the public or
In Malacca, the educational process normally took place at the palace. The palace was also the meeting place for intellectual activities and occasionally had the function of a library, and it was reported that Ḥikāyat Amīr Ḥamzah, Ḥikāyat Muḥammad Hanafiyyah and al-Durr al-Manẓum were kept there. Besides the palace, there were other centres of learning in Malacca such as the houses of the maulānā or scholars, mosques, madrasah and surau. According to M. A. Rauf, the mosque was the first Islamic institution which taught different branches of Islamic knowledge. It was an important agent in the transmission of knowledge to the Malay societies in the latter part of the traditional period (1600-1800 A.D.).

Beside the palace, the mosque (masjid) or surau became functional as the centre of learning for children in the day-time to learn the Qur‘ān and to deepen their fard ‘ayn (individual duty as prescribed by Islamic Law) such as prayer, fasting and hajj, whereas it was a centre of learning for adults at night. The method of learning at the mosque used a kitab as the text book. Even though the learning at the mosque was more formal, it was nonetheless less systematic because of its unlimited number of students and the fact that its teachers were volunteers. Study was based on the kitabs which were determined by the teachers and the subjects taught were fiqh, usul al-din, taṣawwuf, ḥadīth, tafsīr and others.

The majority of the teachers were foreign scholars, who came in particular from the Middle East and India. Among them were Makhdūm
Sayyid 'Abd al-'Azīz, Maulānā Abū Bakr, Qāḍī Yūsuf and Maulānā Jalāl al-Dīn. Their status at this time was given such great emphasis in the social hierarchy in Malacca that it was next to that of ministers or administrators. For example a scholar like a qāḍī (chief judicial official) or faqīh (learned man) was put in the fourth placing after the Prime Minister or Chief Minister (Bendahara or Bemdara), the Treasurer and the head of all Shahbandars (Penghulu Bendahari), and the chief Defence Minister, the chief of Police and the chief Magistrate (Temenggung or Tumunguo or Tumungam or Tumenggung) and the chief of Military Administration, Commander of the ruler's bodyguard and Admiral of the Fleet (Laksamana or Lassamane or Lassemane).

The students came from different levels of society, from the ordinary man to the elite and the royal families. Among them were Bendahara Seri Maharaja, Tun Mat Ulat Bulu and Sultan Maḥmūd, who were taught by Maulānā Ṣadar Johan. However for a certain group of members of elite and royal families, their place of learning was the palace. Among them were Sultan Iskandar Shāh, Raja Tengah or Muḥammad Shāh, Sultan Maṣūr Shāh, Sultan Maḥmūd Shāh, and Sultan 'Alāʾ al-Dīn Riʿāyat Shāh.

Besides the local students, there were also non-local students in Malacca. Among them were the Wāli Songo leaders who were well-known for their Islamic missionary activities in Java such as Maulānā Ishāq of Sunan Giri and Maulānā Iḥrāḥīm of Sunan Bonang. As a consequence of the intellectual activity stimulated by Islam, not only was there a rise in literacy but there came about the birth of religious
scholars. It is said that Sultan ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Ri‘ayat Shāh himself was a scholar.

Evidence that there was a high degree of literacy can be seen from the fact that the Malaccan warriors recited the Ḥikāyat Amīr Ḥamzah and Ḥikāyat Muḥammad Ḥanafiyyah to instil a spirit of resistance when facing the attack of the Portuguese (1511 A.D.). This was reported by Sejarah Melayu or The Malay Annals;

"It was night and all the captains and young men were on guard in the palace hall. And the young men said, 'Of what use is it for us to sit in silence? It would be better for us to read some story of battle so that we might benefit from it'. 'You are right', said Tun Muḥammad the Camel. 'Tun Indra Sagara had better go and ask for the story of Muḥammad Ḥanafiyyah, saying that perhaps we may derive advantage from it, as the Franks will attack tomorrow'. Then Tun Indra Sagara went into the presence of Sultan Ahmad and submitted their remarks to his highness. And Sultan Ahmad gave him the romance of Amīr Ḥamzah, saying 'Tell them, I'd give them the story of Muḥammad Ḥanafiyyah but I fear they'll not be as brave as he: if they are like Amīr Ḥamzah it will do, so I give them the story of Ḥamzah'. Tun Indra Sagara came out carrying the story of Ḥamzah and told them all Sultan Ahmad had said, and they were silent not answering a word. Then Tun Isak said to Tun Indra Sagara. 'Tell his highness that he is mistaken. His highness must be like Muḥammad Ḥanafiyyah and we like the captains of Banjar'. Tun Indra Sagara submitted Tun Isak's remark to Sultan Ahmad, who smiled and answered, He is right'. And he gave him the story of Muḥammad Ḥanafiyyah too".

Raja ‘Alī al-Ḥāji (d.1784 A.D.), is outstanding in showing us that
the Malays were not illiterate but had a well established literary literature of their own. He is famous for his book, *Tuḥfat al-Nafis*, a linguistic study of Malay theological prose and poetry and a remarkable indigenous Islamic work in the *adab* tradition. In it, he shows how the course of history and well-being of a state and internal harmony are determined by the proper conduct of subjects and rulers who do not follow their desire (*hawa*) but logic and reason, 'aql and 'ilm. According to Barbara Watson Andaya and Virginia Matheson, this book has a strong moral and ethical undertone and Raja 'Alī al-Ḥāji appears to have been influenced in particular by al-Ghazālī and his *Naṣīḥat al-Mulūk*. Besides him, his father and sister were also known to have been active in literary works.

Islam encourages knowledge and the pursuit of knowledge, which is obligatory, and brought about the emergence of scholars even among the aristocrats and therefore a distinct drop in the proportion of the illiterate population. Education was given great emphasis; and knowledge became a basic criterion for the choice of a minister there; for example, to become a minister, one had to know the Malaccan Law (*Hukum Kanun Melaka* or *Undang-Undang Melaka* or *Risālat Hukum Kanun*). This is in line with the Islamic teaching that the minister who possesses a fluent knowledge of the law when elected will be able to prosecute his task efficiently.

The institutions and structure of education in Acheh were far more systematic than in Malacca. Basic education started in the *meunasah* (*madrasah*), similar to the *kuttāb* in west Asia. In keeping with its status as primary school, the pupils were taught to read and write the
Arabic alphabet, read the Qur'ān, perform prayer, and learn moral values, stories from Islamic history, Rukun Īmān and songs for every Friday night. As a guide, books in the Malay language were used, in particular Kitab Perukunan and Risālah Masā'il al-Muhtadin.116

After that, they would continue the first part of their secondary education in the rangkang, which consisted of huts (pondok or pesantren) or a hostel around the mosque which was the centre of their studies. At the rangkang, the Arabic language, tauhid studies, tasawwuf, Islamic history and other general studies such as geography, mathematics and general history were taught.117 The education at the rangkang was followed by higher secondary education (‘Āliyah) in the educational centres known as the Dayah or Zawiyah.118

After this, other dayah were established such as Dayah Seureulu, Dayah Blang Peria, Dayah Simpang Kanan among whose students were Ḥamzah Fanṣūri and ‘Abd al-Ra’ūf Singkeli, Dayah Batu Karang and Dayah Tanah Abee which was referred to as the most famous in Acheh.119 There was also Dayah Teungku Chik which was of higher status. Due to its high status, this dayah had fewer branches than the others. The students were taught special subjects such as tafsīr, hadīth and fiqh120 but occasionally other subjects taught in the normal dayah were also taught here.

In Acheh, the mosque also played an important role as a higher centre of learning. Among these mosques were Masjid Bait al-Raḥīm founded by Sultan Iskandar Muda, also known as Marḥūm Mahkota ‘Ālam (1607-1636 A.D.), Masjid Bait al-Mushāhadasah, founded by Sultan
Iskandar Thānī 'Alā’ al-Dīn Mughayāt Shāh (1636-1641 A.D.) and Masjid Jāmi’ Bait al-Rahmān which was equal in status to a university and was established in the reign of Sultan ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Maṃṣūr Shāh (1579-1586 A.D.) and extended by later sultans, in particular Sultan Iskandar Muda. At this mosque, the subjects taught included the fields of medicine, agriculture, administration, mathematics, law, tactics of war and metal works. 121

In the reign of Sultan Iskandar Muda or Maṛūm Mahkota 'Ālam (1607-1636 A.D.), the development of Islamic education reached its peak, particularly with the emergence of both Jāmi’ah Bait al-Rahmān and Jāmi’ah Bait al-Rahīm. There were many scholars, local and foreign, in this period. As in Malacca, these scholars held a high position in the Acheh administration. In the event of a ruler’s death, the position of Qāḍī Malik al-‘Ādil (Kali Malikōn Adē) became that of representative of the sultan before a new sultan was elected.

The position of knowledge was very important in Acheh, and was a requirement for the election to an administrative post. As a result of this requirement, important posts came to be filled in by scholars, for instance, the sixth Sultan of Perlak, Makhdūm ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Malik Muḥammad Amīn Shāh Johan was a scholar responsible for the establishment of the famous Dayah Cot Kala which was considered the first Islamic university in the Malay Archipelago.122 Equally Sultan ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Johan Shāh who founded the Acheh Dar al-Salām kingdom was one of the scholars of the Dayah Cot Kala, previously named Meurah Johan.123
After the golden period of Acheh (1641 A.D.) Islamic education spread to other centres of learning in Java, Banjar, Riau, Minangkabau, Patani, Terengganu and Kelantan. Some of these centres were established in the period of the Acheh kingdom but only played an important role after the decline of Acheh in the 18th century. One example of the madrasah system of education which was found in Java was the Santi Asrami pesantren in Madlengka which was founded by Kiyai ‘Abd al-Ḥalīm. In Ponogoro, there were two famous pesantren; the Tegalsari pesantren founded in 1548 A.D. and regarded as the oldest in Java and the Josari pesantren built in 1648 A.D..

In Minangkabau, the institution of surau is more or less the same as the pesantren in Java and the pondok in the Malay Peninsular. Thus the definition of surau as religious training centre for advanced Islamic students by Echols and Shadily described well the institution of surau in Minangkabau. The surau in the early days of Islam in Minangkabau functioned mainly for basic Islamic learning but was only transformed into an Islamic educational institution after Shaikh Burhān al-Dīn, a student of the Acheh saint, ‘Abd Ra‘ūf al-Singkelī, established his surau in Ulakan. His surau soon became the centre of learning for many students from all parts of Minangkabau. He was known as Tuanku Ulakan and there are four Tuankus in Minangkabau known as the Urang Ampek Angkek (the four Exalted People) well-known for religious sciences and disciplines and in establishing new suraus as the centre of Islamic learning. Advanced students of the surau continued their studies in Ulakan, Acheh, India, Mecca, Medina or Cairo and on their return became Tuk Guru (teachers) or preachers of Islam in the society.
In the Malay peninsula, traditional Islamic education was carried out in the *pondok* institution\textsuperscript{130} found for example in Terengganu, Kelantan, and Kedah. Similar to the tradition of the *pesentren* in Java or *dayah* in Aceh, the *pondok* education depended entirely on the charismatic abilities of its scholars (\textit{‘ulamā’} or Tuk Guru).\textsuperscript{131} The method of teaching was based on a particular *kitab* (including *Kitab Jawi*) as the main source of reference. Among the oldest was the *Pondok Tuk Pulau Manis* in Terengganu founded in the end of 1700 A.D.,\textsuperscript{132} the *Pondok Pulau Chondong* in Kelantan founded in 1820 A.D.\textsuperscript{133} and *Pondok Pulau Pisang* in Kedah founded in 1840 A.D.\textsuperscript{134}

The educational process in Malacca can be considered as the very basic foundation to an Islamic education which was more systematic and structured as practised later by Aceh and followed subsequently by other places in the Malay Archipelago. In the following chapter we shall see the function and role of *Kitab Jawi* in the traditional Islamic society.
Endnotes to Chapter One

1. For further details on this topic see his books, in particular, *Primitive Culture*, 2 vols., (London, 1871), and *Anthropology: an Introduction to the Study of Man and Civilization*, (London, 1881).


15. Ibid., p. 41.

16. For further discussion of his theory, see his books, such as, Making of Religion (1898), Myth, Ritual and Religion, (1899); Magic and Religion (1901).

17. For further details of this theory, see for example his The Origin and Growth of Religion, Facts and Theories, (1931), The Religion of Earliest Man (1934); The Religion of Later Primitive Peoples (1934).

18. Mulyono, S., op. cit., p. 43.


36. This term was introduced by R. Redfield in order to differentiate between 'Great Tradition' and 'Little Tradition'. In other words 'Little Tradition' was connected with the majority of the people outside the royal circle, for further details see his *Peasant Society and Culture*, (Chicago, 1956.)


64. Di Meglio, Rita Rose, op cit., p.120; Wheatley, Paul, 'Desultory Remarks on the Ancient History of the Malay Peninsula', in MIS. op. cit., p.61.


82. Ibid., p. 304.


86. Ibrahim, Ahmad, Towards the History of Law in Malaysia and Singapore, (Singapore, 1970), p. 5.

87. Osman, M.T., Bunga Rampai Kebudayaan., op. cit., p.75.


89. Cf., note no.36.


95. Iskandar, Y., and Kaeh, A.R., Sejarah Melayu: Satu Perbincangan Kritis,


104. Winstedt, R.O., and Brown, C.C., *op. cit.*, p.84.


118. 'Dayah' or 'Zayah' originally from the Arabic word 'Zawiyah' meaning 'corner'.


131. Omar, Azmi b., *op cit.*, p.94.


Chapter Two

THE ROLE OF THE KITAB JAWI AND ISLAMIC SCHOLARS ('ULAMĀ') IN THE ISLAMIZATION PROCESS IN THE MALAY ARCHIPELAGO.

At the coming of Islam, the Malay Archipelago had behind it a long history of cultural and religious development in which animism, Hinduism and to a lesser degree, Buddhism had all played a major part. With the coming of Islam, these other beliefs were abandoned, except in certain isolated and peripheral areas, although animist and Hindu influence remained strong at the cultural level.

All the Malays were now Muslims, and indeed Islam was an integral part of the Malay identity. However most of them did not understand the Arabic language, and for them the only medium through which they could acquire a greater knowledge of Islam, and in which works of reference could be written, was that of the Kitāb Jawi literature. The origins and development of the Kitab Jawi as a medium of theological discourse will be discussed in Chapter Three; however a significant proportion of this literature, composed by Malay ‘Ulamā’ who were deeply versed in the Islamic sciences and who had often studied for many years in the Islamic heartlands, was to have a profound
importance for the development of Islamic thought in the Malay archipelago, and forms the subject of the present chapter.

But before proceeding further it is proposed here to dwell briefly on the language of the Kitab Jawi. The term Jawi is the adjective form of the word Jawa, denoting thereby the people or things coming from the island of Jawa or Java, which to the Arabs denoted either Sumatra or Java, although more frequently referring to Sumatra. The Arabs, particularly the people of Mecca called all people who came from that region Jawi people.

There is no clear evidence as to the date at which this usage started. Earlier sources refer to a powerful Malay kingdom of Zābag, but many Arab writers of the later classical period make reference to the name Jawah in their writings when referring to the Malay Archipelago and its people. For instance, Ibn Baṭṭīṭah in his book al-Rihlah notes that on his voyage to China in 746 A.H./1345 A.D., he stopped at Pasai-Samudera, and refers to the people of the island of Sumatra as al-Jawah. In an even more general sense, the word Jawi refers to all the inhabitants of the Malay Archipelago, this usage being particularly common in the Hijaz. Accordingly the writings of the people of the Malay Archipelago as a whole are referred to as Jawi writings.

According to Muhammad Zain b. al-Faqih Jalāl al-Dīn in his Bidāyat al-Hidayah:

"Qad ra’aitu fi hādhā al-zāmān ahl al-Jawī min al-quṣūr fi al-talab bi al-‘Arabiyya fa aradtu an utarjima Kalām........ al-Sanūsī........ al-musammā bi Umm al-Barāhīn

52
At this period I notice that only a few of the Jawi people are able to study in the Arabic language. I undertook the job of translating the works... of al-Sanūsī... which is named Umm al-Barāhīn into the Jawi language...]

Undoubtedly the Arabic alphabet in the Jawi writing is a vital and dominant factor; of the 29 letters in the Jawi script, only 5 are unique to the Malays, the others being the same as in Arabic. Frequently, borrowed Arabic words have been naturalised or assimilated by the Malays according to their own grammatical rules and usages. In his comprehensive and excellent work, Prof. Syed Muhammad Naquib al-Attas distinguishes the 5 letters which originated from the Malays as:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Malay letter</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
<th>Originated from</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( )</td>
<td>cā</td>
<td>ġim ( )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( )</td>
<td>ngā</td>
<td>'ayn ( )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( )</td>
<td>pā</td>
<td>fā ( )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( )</td>
<td>gā</td>
<td>kāf ( ) and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( )</td>
<td>nyā</td>
<td>thā ( )</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

According to him, these new letters were created and modified by the Malays to suit the sound system and the usual pronunciation and intonation of the Malay. However, according to Omar Awang the letter cā ( ) and letter gā ( ) are influenced not by the Arabic alphabet but by the Persian alphabet which was introduced by the Malay writers who were proficient in the language and translated books from Persian into Malay.
In appreciating the importance of this particular tradition, we should first of all draw attention to the durability and vitality which produced so many outstanding and influential scholars. These writings span four centuries from the beginning of the 16th. century to the end of the 19th. century, and continue to be important in the shaping of Islamic thought in the Malay region to the present day.

**Social and legal attitudes.**

All believers in Islam are supposed to possess equal rights and duties in the community to which they may be admitted regardless of sex, class, office or position. In Islam, all men are equal; there is no racial discrimination, and no distinction save that of piety, as explained by the Qur'ān:

"O mankind! We created you from a single (pair) of a male and a female, and made you into nations and tribes, that ye may know each other. Verily, the most honoured of you in the sight of Allāh is the most righteous of you. Allāh has full knowledge and is well acquainted (with all things)."

In Malay society, there are few discussions or questions about colour or race. This belief is reflected in their everyday life where inter-marriage (*kahwin campur*) with non-Malay Muslims, especially with Arabs and Indian Muslims, is common, and in some cases with the Turks. Descendants from such inter-marriages live mostly in cosmopolitan cities like Malacca, Penang and Singapore. Arab-Malay descendants usually
bear the titles *Shaikh* or *Syed* (Malay spelling) before their names signifying, in the latter instance, that they are descended from the family of the Holy Prophet.  

Generally, the Malays are broad-minded Muslims. Towards the other Muslim sects or school of law (*madhhab*), they are amenable and would accept certain interpretations under special circumstances. The majority of the Indian Muslims are followers of the Ḥanafi *madhhab* (with the exception of the Muslims of the Coromandel and Malabar coasts who are mainly the followers of the Shāfiʿī *madhhab*) while the Malays are followers of the Shāfiʿī *madhhab*, but they agree on many aspects, as according to the *Kitāb Jawi*, all four *madhāhib* (Mālikī, Ḥanafī, Shāfiʿī and Ḥanbalī) are recognized as belonging to orthodox Islam.

The Malays readily accept the tenets of the Ḥanafi *madhhab* instead of the Shāfiʿī *madhhab* in some cases. For instance, in the paying of *Zakāt al-Fitr* which according to the Shāfiʿī *madhhab* must be paid in kind (in this case a measure of the best rice or wheat), the Malays tend to follow the Ḥanafi *madhhab*, according to which it is better to pay in cash or money, or in kind. Thus the Malays pay their *Zakāt al-Fitr* in cash because it is easier and more practical.

The influence of the Shāfiʿī *madhhab* clearly dominated other legal schools of thought in the Malay Archipelago. The city which is regarded as having been the first to implement this *madhhab* is Samudera-Pasai, especially since the period of Sultan Malik al-Ṣāliḥ in the late 13th century. In the report of Ibn Baṭṭūṭah who visited Pasai in 1345 A.D. in the period of Sultan Malik al-Zāhir, we learn that the sultan is pious and
interested in religious knowledge. He states that both rulers and the people are followers of the Shafi‘i madhhab. He notes that there were two Shafi‘i scholars, Amir ibn Sa‘id al-Shirazi and Tāj al-Dīn al-Iṣṭahānī in Pasai at the time, who originally came from Persia. The presence of both these scholars of the Shafi‘i madhhab is not surprising because among the great Shafi‘i scholars are many Persians such as al-Juwaynī (Imām al-Ḥaramayn), al-Ghazālī and ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Jaylānī.

An important aspect of this school of thought in the Malay Archipelago is Minhāj al-Ṭalibīn by Imām Muḥyī al-Dīn Abū Zakariyyā al-Nawawī (1232-1277 A.D.). The kitāb was already introduced into Pasai in the 13th century. From the date of its introduction, the kitāb circulated throughout the later period of the Kingdom of Pasai (1400-1511 A.D.). As a centre of religious studies in that period, the role of Pasai is very vital in the spread of Islam in the Malay Archipelago. It not only became the centre for learning for that region but the Pasai scholars themselves went to many other places to educate the people including the rulers. The role of Shaikh Sa‘id Sari from Pasai is an important example since he was responsible for converting the ruler of Patani, Phaya Tu Nakpa and changing his name to Sultan Ismā‘īl Zill Allāh fī al-‘Ālam.

Contemporary with the Pasai kingdom is the Kingdom of Terengganu, a Suwarnabhumi (Malay) state ruled by a minister with the title of Raja Mandulika. Even though little is known about this kingdom, its position is very important in history due to its unrelenting implementation of Islamic law. From the Prasasti (legal inscription) of Terengganu dated Friday, the 22nd. February 1303 A.D., we know that there were ‘10 Dhrama’ or laws which tried to implement the
Islamic principles of this kingdom. Among these are the enforcement of *hudud* for adultery, breach of the repayment of debt, and other offences. However, this law was regarded as too uncompromising by the people who still loved their *adat* (custom), and they were unsympathetic to its implementation.

Pasai as mentioned earlier was a centre of religious studies. Among the kingdoms which depended on Pasai for religious advice was Malacca. As in Pasai, there are reports from Malacca of the use of *Kitāb Talkhiṣ al-Minhāj* by al-Nawawī and *Kitāb al-Muhadhdhab* by Abū Ishāq al-Shirāzī. Actually the title of the former work of al-Nawawī needs some clarification because he is not known to have composed a *kitāb* with this title. An assumption that can be made is that this title is probably an abridged combination of two of his well-known works, *Minhāj al-Tālibīn* and *Hilyat al-Abrār wā Shi‘ār al-Akhīr fī Talkhiṣ al-Da‘awāt al-Nawawīyya*. Whatever title is given, what is clear is that the work of al-Nawawī became a basic reference book in Malacca.

The *Kitāb al-Muhadhdhab* by al-Shirāzī is interesting when it is studied in detail, and indeed from the aspect of scholarship, al-Shirāzī is included among the important contemporary Shāfi‘ī *Fuqahā‘* along with al-Nawawī, and there existed between them a closely related way of thinking whereby one influenced the other.

In the writing of Shāfi‘ī *fiqh*, there are two schools of thought; the Baghdād school of thought and the Khurāsān school of thought. Abū Ishāq al-Shirāzī is one of the scholars of the Baghdād school of thought. Besides these, there is also the combined school of thought which selected
all the positive elements of both, one of whose most representative scholars is al-Ghazālī. As a result of the complementary nature of their scholarship, al-Nawawī wrote the *Kitāb al-Majmū‘*, which is a commentary (*sharḥ*) on the works of al-Shīrāzī. Here al-Nawawī enlists the opinions which he feels suitable and important, derived from both the Baghdad school of thought and the Khurāsān school of thought.25

As a result of these intellectual activities of scholars and the impact of the writings of al-Nawawī and al-Shīrāzī, Islamic law in accordance with the Shāfi‘ī madhhab spread all over the Malay Archipelago, and became especially important in Malacca. Moreover, it is said to have influenced two well-known *kitābs* of law, the *Malaccan Law*26 (*Undang-Undang Melaka* or *Risālat Hukum Kanun*) and the *Marine Law* (*Undang-Undang Laut*). Shāfi‘ī law is said to be dominant in the fields of *munākahāt*, *mu‘āmalāt*, *jināyāt* and *‘ibādāt*.27

Subsequently the transformation of the Malay legal tradition took place in a general and subtle way as reflected in the Malay legal digests known as *Hukum Kanun*, such as Pahang Laws (*Hukum Kanun Pahang*) -(1596 A.D.), Kedah Laws (*Hukum Kanun Kedah*) - (1650 A.D.), Perak Laws or the Ninety-Nine Laws of Perak (*Hukum Kanun Perak*) - (1668 A.D.) and Johor Laws (*Hukum Kanun Johor*) - (1789 A.D.). These digests show the gradual transformation process which culminated in 17th. century Aceh with the introduction of *Kanun Meukuta Alam*. It was stipulated in the *Kanun* that the state law was based on al-Qur‘ān, Ḥadīth, Ijīmā‘ and Qiyās.

During the reign of Sultan Iskandar Muda or Marhum Mahkota
'Ālam (1607-1636 A.D.) the implementation of Shafi‘i law reached a very considerable extent where the implementation of ḥudūd was concerned. It is said that his own crown prince (Meurah Pupok) was stoned to death after being found guilty of committing adultery. The significance of Kanun Meukota Alam lies not only within the context of Achenese history, for as a matter of fact, the Kanun also had some considerable influence outside Aceh, especially in Brunei. 28

In the golden period of Aceh (1586-1641 A.D.), a legal and political crisis occurred which affected even the jurisprudents (fuqahā'). This main problem concerned female rule. With the death of Sultan Iskandar Thānī 'Alā al-Dīn Mughāyat Shāh (1636-1641 A.D.), the Aceh kingdom was without a successor to the throne. As the son of a foreign mother, the son of Iskandar Thānī was not regarded as a rightful heir while Panglima Polim, a son of Iskandar Muda (1606-1636 A.D.) was also regarded not a suitable successor because he was only the son of a concubine of Sundanese descent. Moreover Iskandar Muda himself had stated in his will that was better for his son to be the elector of the Raja than to be the Raja himself.

Because of these constraints, Panglima Polim manipulated the situation by appointing his sister Ratu Tāj al-'Ālam Ṣafiyyat al-Dīn Shāh (1641-1675 A.D.) (the widow of Sultan Iskandar Thānī) as Sultanah (queen) to be the successor to the throne. Thus even though he was not the Sultan, by appointing his sister he made himself the power behind the scenes. When he referred this matter for the consideration of the fuqahā' (jurists), it became apparent that they were divided, and some of them drew attention to the fact that there is a Hadīth which prohibits women
from possessing power. Nevertheless Ratu Šafiyyat al-Dīn Shāh successfully succeeded to the throne despite the crisis, due to the smooth manipulation of Panglima Polim. According to him, even though the Sutan was a woman, she could not act impulsively since the Acheh kingdom was controlled by the Kanun Meukuta Alam. He affirmed that in Islam it is not the command of an individual which is important but the kanun or law based upon the Shari‘ah.29

For more than 31 years, Ratu Šafiyyat al-Dīn Shāh ruled the Acheh kingdom. But the antagonism of some scholars towards her did not fade. There were about 300 scholars who did not agree with the politics of the Ratu including Shaikh ‘Abd al-Wahhāb, the man responsible for setting up the Dayah of Tiro, one of the well-known Islamic traditional educational centres in Acheh. Since the activities of the Dayah did not threaten the security of the country they were permitted to teach and preach freely.30

However Ratu Šafiyyat al-Dīn Shāh could not compromise with the group espousing the Tariqat of Wujūdiyyah because their campaign in favour of the view that women could not become Raja or Sultan according to Islamic law could in fact threaten her own position which rested on the promise that it was a unique necessity (darūrah). In retaliation, the Shaikh al-Islām of the Acheh group, specifically Shaikh Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī and then Shaikh ‘Abd al-Rā‘ūf al-Singkelī, issued a fatwā on the equality of status of man and women in Islam which gave women the right to be Raja or Sultan.

This conflict confronts us with one basic question. How far can a
Shaikh al-Islām's fatwā be regarded as a authentic result of *ijtihād* rather than a *fatwā* for the political convenience of a particular group of people?. From the first point of view, there has been the opinion that the permissibility of women as Raja or Sultan is a sign of a progressive attitude in the development of Islamic thought in Acheh. Even though there is a Ḥadīth which prohibits women from becoming Raja or Sultan, this is said not to conflict with the actual situation (*waqi‘*) in Acheh, because all its *Ratu* were not absolute rulers but were assisted by members of the Supreme Council who were are all men. Thus the members of the National Fatwā Commitee of Acheh reached a consensus which permits a woman to become Raja or Sultan when the situation demands it provided that she is assisted by members of the Supreme Council who are willing to give her invaluable ideas. 31

Actually it was not only Shaikh Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī and Shaikh ‘Abd al-Rā’ūf al-Singkeli who upheld this fatwā, but also Shaikh Jalāl al-Dīn Tursānī who become the Qādī Malik al-‘Ādil in the periods of Sultan ‘Alā al-Dīn Maharaja Lela Aḥmad (1727-1735 A.D.) and Sultan ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Johan Shah Poten (1735-1760 A.D.). In his *kitāb* on *fiqh*, *Safīnat al-Ḥukkām* he makes the following points;

"Dan sah raja itu perempuan dan fasiq kerana da‘ūrat, supaya jangan lupa pekerjaan Islam daripada hukum shara‘ Allah. Bermula raja itu tiada suatu jua pun menurunkan dia daripada kerajaan melainkan dengan dua sebab: iaitu ada kalanya dengan dinaikkan orang yang keras atasnya dan duduklah ia pada tempatnya seperti kelakuan segala raja-raja dalam negeri Makkah yang mulia, dan ada kalanya dengan membunuh khalifahnya dalam negerinya itu dan turunlah ia daripada
kerajaannya seperti hal Sayyidunā Ḥasan bin ‘Alī r.a. dan Mu‘awiyah r.a. dan turunlah ia daripada kerajaannya maka sebab itulah Sayyidinā Mu‘awiyah r.a. masuk kepada jumlah Khalifah al-Rāshidūn’.32

(And valid (ṣah) is the Raja to be a woman and bad (fāsiq) because of ʿda‘ūrah so that the Islamic deed is not forgotten from the Islamic law. The appointment of a Raja to become head of government depends on two conditions: through successorship, succeeding after the previous Raja such as happens to all Raja in holy Mecca, and sometimes through civil war such as between Sayyidunā Ḥasan ibn ‘Alī and Mu‘awiyah which ended with Mu‘awiyah becoming the Khalifah. This position includes him under the group of Khulafā’ al-Rāshidūn.)

Commenting on this fatwā of Jalāl al-Dīn Tursānī, Prof. A. Hasjmy says that this fatwā is his own ijtihād based on the naṣṣ of al-Qur‘ān which says that man and women are equal in Islam.33

And so the Acheh kingdom was ruled by women rulers for 58 years starting with Ratu Tāj al-ʿĀlam Ṣafiyyat al-Dīn Shāh (1641-1675 A.D.) and succeeded by Ratu Nūr al-ʿĀlam Naqiyyat al-Dīn Shāh (1675-1678 A.D.), Ratu ‘Ināyat Shāh Zakiyyat al-Dīn Shāh (1678-1688 A.D.) and lastly Ratu Kamālat Shāh (1688-1699 A.D.). Apart from Jalāl al-Dīn Tursānī and Shaikh Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī, Shaikh ‘Abd al-Ra‘ūf al-Singkeli lived and worked under these women rulers. In fact a great part of ‘Abd al-Ra‘ūf’s life was dedicated to teaching and assisting the four women rulers.

From another point of view, however it is difficult to regard this
fatwā as an *ijtihād* or the development of the thought of the Acheh scholars, because it has been an established principle of *Sunni* scholars that a woman does not possess the right to become *raja* or *sultan* or the head of state. As for the Shafi‘i madhhab we may note especially that Imām al-Ghazālī himself when discussing the question of the *imām* in *salāt* (prayer) mentions that Allah made man leader of woman and that Allah forbade woman to become *wali.*

It is clear then that according to the *Sunni* madhhab and in particular to the Shafi‘i madhhab, an essential requirement to be an *imām* or *sultan* or head is to be a man. Surprisingly, nevertheless, the Acheh Kingdom which acknowledged and upheld the Shafi‘i madhhab suddenly rejected this in the leadership question. When studying the political turmoil in Acheh, this can be related to the political importance of a certain group. One group with Panglima Polim as its mediator sought personal interest, and another group representing the scholars were afraid to tell the truth and willing to accept a woman as ruler.

It is true that in the history of the Muslims it was very rare for a woman to be accorded such a high position. However, it was not necessarily an absolute deviation. The issue should not be treated in isolation from its contemporary socio-cultural political background. In this particular case, it was a way out from a complicated political situation. It was not without highly reasonable justification that the Grand Mufti of Acheh, Shaikh Jalāl al-Dīn Tursānī issued a ruling on the legitimacy of a women ruler in a state of *darūrah*. The ruling might be wrong, but being *ijtihādī* in nature, Tursānī’s fatwā (legal opinion)
deserved favourable appreciation. It signified an intellectual creativity of local ‘ulamā’ which should be considered as a contribution to the field of Siyāsah shar‘iyyah for the first time in the history of traditional scholars (‘ulamā’) in the Malay Archipelago.

It is undeniable however that there were some local phenomena which might appear at first glance to be a kind of deviation from the conventional practice in the Islamic political tradition. Thus, the case of the appointment of several Sultanahs (woman rulers) as happened in the history of Acheh and the Sulu Sultanate might be viewed as un-Islamic and were subsequently interpreted as a failure of Islamization.

During our discussion of traditional beliefs and the Indian influence (Chapter One), we have noted the existence of the concept of Dewaraja, whereby the kings (raja) were regarded as the incarnation of Dewa (god), and the concept of daulat (raja) became accepted without question, which resulted in the overwhelming esteem and honour of the raja by the public. The fact that this gave the raja a status so high that the public could not criticise or challenge him is described by the Malay proverb 'Pantang Melayu Menderhaka' (Never will the Malay ever be disobedient), and this also explains the impact of social stratification in the feudal system of Malay society.

After the coming of Islam, these beliefs still existed but were enriched by elements of Islamic values. The clear evidence of the high degree of consciousness of the value of justice was further reflected in some other titles used by Malay sultans such as Sultān Imām Malik al-
'Ādil, as used by the sultans of Acheh, and also the title of Qādī Malik al-‘Ādil used by the Chief Judge.36 Thus the families (raja-raja) not only became ever more dominant, but due to their holy and mighty background they were now even more respected, and the concept of daulat which was already present became more firmly established with the new Islamic perspective. The old Malay proverb on obedience towards the raja (king) ‘pantang Melayu menderhaka’ was replaced with ‘raja adil raja disembah, raja zalim raja disanggah’ (a just raja, a raja to obey, an unjust raja, a raja to oppose).

The forging of consciousness of justice was apparently given a special emphasis in the process of Islamization, as clearly illustrated in the Malay works on statecraft and kingship. The emphasis laid on this value means that the message of Islam was correctly understood, as Islam has accorded to justice such as eminent position in its legislation encompassing all human affairs.

In the Malay-Islamic political tradition, justice has become the basic requirement for the legitimacy of a Malay sultanate. The emphasis on justice is also demonstrated in the traditional swearing-in ceremony at the installation of Malay sultans, where they have to swear to do their utmost to rule justly by saying: "wa-Allāhī, wā-ta-Allāhī, wā-bi-Allāhī" with the Qur'ān over their head.37

As the result of Islamization which had sparked public consciousness of justice, the Malay sultans were sometimes exposed to public criticism. With the authority of some Shāfī‘ī ‘ulamā’, Raja ‘Alī al-Ḥāji in his book, al-Thamarāt al-Muhimmah had advocated that weak
and ineffective rulers who failed to serve the interests of the Muslims (maṣāliḥ al-Muslimin) had to relinquish their throne. He also severely criticised the sultan who abused his power and behaved in an anarchistic manner. ³⁸

There are good reasons to believe, as Barbara Watson Andaya and Virginia Matheson have suggested, that this criticism was directed against Sultan Mahmūd Muẓaffar Shāh (1842-57 A.D.) of Riau-Lingga, who was known for his notorious and luxurious lifestyle. ³⁹ It is unfortunate that the Malay sultanate was portrayed in a distorted image in the case of this individual.

**Theological disputes**

The Pasai kingdom (1326 A.D.) which took over the position which had previously been occupied by Perlak (1291 A.D.) was still important as a religious centre even when politically it was on the verge of downfall with the emergence of the Malaccan kingdom in (1400 A.D.). Even after this period Pasai was a centre of reference whenever any religious question arose, which included any aspects of 'aqīdah. Thus one issue which became a problem during the reign of Sultan Mahmūd Shāh of Malacca (1488-1528 A.D.), concerned the question of al-Qaḍā' wa al-Qadar ⁴⁰ (The Decree of Allah). In a letter written by certain scholars to the Sultan of Pasai, the question was posed as follows;

_Salam do'a Paduka Kekanda datang keoada Paduka Adinda Seri Sultan A'ẓam al-Mukarram Zill Allāh fī al-'Ālam. Adapun kemudian daripada itu kerana Paduka Kekanda menitahkan patik ini, Orang Kaya Tun_

(Best wishes to Seri Sultan A'żam al-Mukarram Zill Allāh fi al-‘Ālam. Both of us: Orang Kaya Tun Muḥammad and Menteri Sura Dipa have been summoned by the Sultan (Sultan Mahmūd Shāh) to discuss two questions: "Man qāla: Inna Allāh khāliqun wa rāziqun fī al-azali faqad kafara". Which means that anyone who says that Allah creates and bestows fortune since azal, then truly he is an unbeliever. "Wa man qāla: Inna Allāh lam yakun khāliqan wa rāziqan fī al-azali faqad kafara". Which means that anyone who says that Allah did not create and bestow fortune since azal, then truly he is an unbeliever. Thus please give your answer and explanation of this matter)

From this dispute concerning the question of ‘aqīda it can be deduced that there was a polemic on the issue of qadar between the followers of the Jabriyya doctrine and that of the Qadariyya or Mu'tazila doctrine in Malacca. According the Jabriyya, the luck and fortune of a person has been predestined and predetermined by Allah and mankind does not possess free will or freedom of choice to change Allah's Will. However the Qadariyya or Mu'tazila advocated the freedom of choice or free will on the ground that man is responsible for his own acts.

67
Even though the answer from the kingdom of Pasai is not mentioned by the author of *Sejarah Melayu (The Malay Annals)* at least this account emphasizes the importance of Pasai as the centre of religious studies which was referred to by Malacca. As a kingdom of Sunni inclination, the answer from Pasai would not have been in favour of the Jabriyya or Qadariyya. In fact, the main line taken by the Sunnis is to find a middle solution between two extreme beliefs. However in practical terms the Sunnis may be said to be more inclined towards the Jabriyya views, because even though mankind has freedom of choice and free will, in actual fact he cannot escape from Allah's Will (*taqdir*).

From the historical evidence above, it can be seen that the Malays believe in Allah's decree and predestination, both of good and evil or, in other words, believe in *al-Qāḍā' wā al-Qadar* because it is the sixth of the articles of faith (*Arkān al-Imān*). This means that Allah has, from eternity, predetermined and decreed everything, good as well as bad, for believers and unbelievers, and everything that has been or will be depends entirely on His foreknowledge and sovereign will. Hence, some Malays are inclined to relay on fate rather than on their own efforts. They are easily contented and if anything happens, good or bad, they always say it is a *taqdir* or measure of Allah. The belief in *al-Qāḍā' wā al-Qadar*, however, should motivate man to work hard without fear because everything is in the power of Allah, but many Malays misinterpret it by not working hard.

The Malays are Sunni Muslims who follow the school of al-Ash'ari, a school which is very influential in Southeast Asia. According to the Ash'arite doctrine, man has no influence on his voluntary actions; these
are the result of Allah's power alone. But though each individual action is foreordained, the individual "acquires" (Iktisāb)\(^{45}\) it by identifying himself with it in action, and so becomes responsible for it as explained by the Qur'ān.

However, the Malays tend to forget about effort and initiative, which are stressed in the Ash'arite doctrine. They are more inclined towards the school of Jabriyya which says that man is necessarily and inevitably compelled to act by the force of Allah's immutable decree. Man, like a feather in the air moving about at will, has neither power nor will nor choice. He is not more than an inanimate agent, with no control of his actions and consequently, he has no initiative.

The inclination of the Malays towards the Jabriyya school of thought is caused by the complicated theory of al-Ash'ārī which says that man's action is ineffective, although he has the initiative and Ikhtiyār (free choice).\(^{46}\) It means that man has no effective power, and thus this theory is almost identical with that of the Jabriyya. It is little wonder that even Sunni critics of Ash'arism have described this theory as "compulsion" (jabr).

The Mu'tazili school, on the other hand, is more easily understood by the layman. According to this school, man has power which is given by God, and with this he is free to act whether in a good or bad way, that is to say, man is a free agent. But the Kitāb Jawī consider the Mu'tazilites heretics, and state that Allah's curse will be on them.\(^{47}\)

This trend of thought, that is, leaving things to fate, as held by the
Malays is manifested in their proverb, "Rezeki secupak takkan jadi segantang", (what Allah has given cannot be increased by man). Of course, there is truth in this proverb, but man should not stop working because he does not know how much Allah will give him. Some Malays use this as a reason not to work, but it is not correct to think along in such lines, as no man has the right to question the work of Allah.

In fact, several verses of the Qur'an explain that man's action is important. For example, the Qur'an says, "Verily, Allah will change not the condition of a folk until they (first) change that which is in their heart....". There are also other verses which explain that man's fate has been predetermined by Allah. For example, the Qur'an says, "Say nothing will overfall us save what Allah has written for us. He is our patron, so let the believers rely on Allah". Therefore, man should rely on Allāh for his rewards only after working hard and not before that, because he does not know what Allah has decreed for him.

'Ilm al-Kalām and Twenty Attributes writings

In the reign of al-Ma'mūn (813-833 A.H.) the Mu'tazila madhhab was formally declared the official madhhab of the state, and the kingdom in the golden period of Acheh (1636-1641 A.D.) took a similar stand by declaring the Kalām madhhab as its official madhhab. Simultaneously another madhhab known as the '72 madhhab' was banned as being misleading, and anyone caught practicing it was fined, imprisoned or expelled. The 72 madhhab took its stand upon the well-known tradition of the Prophet (hadīth), "My Ummah will be divided into 73 sects" and maintained that all groups in Islam other than the Ahl
al-Sunna wa al-Jamā‘ah were unlawful. Thus they were inevitably opposed to the Kalām madhhab.

In the context of Aceh as the centre of higher learning in the Malay Archipelago, the studies of usūl al-Dīn (theology) and kalām knowledge (‘ilm al-kalām) developed in both the Ash‘ariyya and the Māturidīyya schools of thought. Among the first scholars to impose the Ash‘ariyya thought was al-Bukhārī al-Jawhari in his book, Tāj al-Salātīn, written in 1603 A.D. Even though this is not a book of usūl al-Dīn, he started in it a discussion of the topic of knowing oneself and Allah who created mankind which made the book similar to the teachings of the Ḥujjat al-Islām Imām al-Ghazālī. Thus the Tāj al-Salātīn is not only the first book of Ash‘ariyya thought according to the interpretation of al-Ghazālī, but is also the first Malay book with a known compiler.

Besides him, there are two great scholars, Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānirī (d. 1658 A.D.) and ‘Abd al-Ra‘ūf al-Singkelī (d. 1693) who discussed the ‘ilm al-kalām. Al-Rānirī is interested in discussing the school of al-Māturidī of the Ḥanafī madhhab. This is based on his attempt to interpret the Sharḥ ‘Aqā‘īd al-Nasafī, written by Sa‘d al-Dīn Mas‘ūd al-Taftazānī (d. 791 A.H./1387 A.D) and completed in Khwārizm in 768 A.H/1364 A.D. Actually the Kitāb of al-Taftazānī is based on the composition of Abū Hafṣ ‘Umar Najm al-Dīn al-Nasafī (d.537 A.H./1142 A.D.). Both al-Nasafī and al-Taftazānī are Ḥanafī scholars of fiqh.

The influence of Māturidīya teachings can be seen in Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānirī’s Hidāyat al-Imān fi Faḍl al-Mannān. In this book on ‘ilm al-Kalām, he discusses the problems of the dhāt (essence), sifāt (attributes)
and \(af'āl\) (acts) of Allah and the true nature of the Prophet. Besides this, the five principles of Islam are mentioned briefly.

In his discussion of the question of the \(dhāt\) and \(ṣifāt\) of Allah, he is more inclined towards explaining the \(ṣifāt\) of \(Ma‘ānī\) (Conceptual Attributes) and \(Ma’nawiyya\) (Quantitative Attributes) together with the \(ṣifāt\) \(Nafsiyya\) (of Personal Property) and \(Salbiyya\) (Negative attributes). In actual fact the use of the \(ṣifāt\) \(Ma’nawiyya\) is said to be an influence of the Māturidīyya because these \(ṣifāt\) are not found in the teachings of the Ashʿarīyya. Furthermore the majority of the followers of the Ashʿarīyya rejected these \(ṣifāt\).

With regard to ‘Abd al-Ra‘uf al-Singkeli, his ideas on \(‘ilm\) \(al-kalam\) are to be found in his '\(Umdat al-Muḥtājīn ilā Sulūk al-Mufarridīn\). What is most important about this \(kitāb\) is that it contains the well known teaching of \(Sifat Dua Puluh\) (The twenty Attributes) in which he is a pioneer. In this \(kitāb\) he reviews the \(ṣifāt\) of Allah; \(Wājib\) (necessary), \(mustahil\) (inadmissible) and \(jā’iz\) (admissible). He divides the twenty necessary attributes (\(al-ṣifāt\) \(al-wājib\)) into four categories; \(nafsiyya\), \(salbiyya\), \(ma‘ānī\) and \(ma’nawiyya\). He also mentions the necessary (\(wājib\)) and inadmissible (\(mustahil\)) attributes for the Prophet Muḥammad (s.a.w.).

In the development of \(kalām\) knowledge (‘\(ilm\) \(al-kalām\)) and theology (\(usūl\) \(al-Dīn\)), in particular ‘\(ilm\) \(al-tauhīd\), among the pioneer scholars is Muḥammad Zain b. al-Faqīh Jalāl al-Dīn al-Āshi. His most important contribution is the translation, interpretation and adaptation to the Malay language of \(Umm al-Barāhīn\) by al-Sanūsī (d. 895 A.H/1490
which discusses the teaching of *Sifat Dua Puluh*.. This was completed in 1170 A.H./1757 A.D. and given the new title, *Bidyat al-Hidayah*.64

Consequently, other *kitābs* of ‘ilm al-Kalām and ‘ilm al-tauḥīd were written, also inspired by *Umm al-Barahīn*. Among these *kitābs* are: *Sharḥ Usūl al-Tahqīq*, anonymous (a translation by one of the Malay scholars in Patani in 1356 A.H.), *Zuhrat al-Murid fi Bayān Kalimāt al-Tauḥīd* by ‘Abd al-Ṣamad al-Falembānī in 1764 A.D. in Mecca, and *Usūl al-Tauḥīd fi Ma‘rifat Ṭuruq al-Īmān li al-Rabb al-Mājid* by Shaikh Ḥusn Naṣr b. Muḥammad Ţayyib al-Mas‘ūdī al-Banjari, more familiarly known by the nickname Tuan Ḥusin Kedah.65

In the same period, there was a Malay traditional scholar in Mecca by the name of Muḥammad b. ‘Umar Nawawī al-Jāwī al-Bentānī known as Nawawī Bentan whose writings were almost all written in Arabic.66 His *kitābs* include *Dhari‘at al-Yaqīn* (*Sharḥ Umm al-Barahīn*). Simultaneously the teaching of *Sifat Dua Puluh* was developed by Tuk Shihāb al-Dīn Palembang in the 18th century through his *‘Aqidat al-Bayān*.67

Subsequently in the 19th century, other *kitābs* of ‘ilm al-kalām discussing the teaching of *Sifat Dua Puluh* were written. The most important is the *Kitāb Sifat Dua Puluh* by Sayyid ‘Uthmān b. Yahyā al-Betāwī in 1304 A.H./1886 A.D. He arranged the content of this *kitāb* in columns and sections for easy reading and understanding.68 Other *kitābs* are *Sirāj al-Hudā* by Muḥammad Zain al-Dīn b. Muḥammad Badawī al-Sambāwī (1885-1886 A.D.), *‘Aqidat al-Nājin* by Zain al-
'Abidin Muḥammad al-Faṭānī (1890 A.D.) and Matn Jawharat al-Tawḥīd li al-Shaikh Ibrāhīm al-Laqqānī, anonymous (a translation by one of the Malay scholars in 1292 A.H.).

Sheikh Da‘ūd b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Faṭānī was a well known and prolific scholar in the 19th century. There are about 50 kitābs to his credit. Among his kitābs which discuss the teaching of Sifat Dua Puluh are al-Durr al-Thāmin fi ‘Aqā‘īd al-Mu‘minīn (1232 A.H./1816 A.D.) and Kitāb Sifat Dua Puluh. In the state of Kedah (Northern part of Malay Peninsula), Muḥammad Tayyib b Mas‘ūd al-‘Awwām, a scholar descended from Shaikh Muḥammad Arshad al-Banjārī (b.1227 A.H./1812 A.D.) also discussed the teaching of Sifat Dua Puluh in his Miftāh al-Jannah. In the State of Kelantan (east coast of Malay Peninsula), Ḥājī ‘Abd al-Ṣamad b. Muḥammad Ṣālih (1840-1891 A.D.), familiarly known by the nickname Tuan Tabal, debated the problem of Sifat Dua Puluh in his Bi Kifāyat al-‘Awwām. In Riau, Umm al-Barāhīn was taught by Raja ‘Alī al-Ḥājī b Raja Aḥmad besides other kitābs such as Minhāj al-‘Abidīn by al-Ghazālī and Jawharat al-Tauḥīd by Shaikh Ibrāhīm al-Laqqānī.

If the content of the kalām madhhab itself is investigated, it can be seen that its teachings were not well adapted to existing Malay society and were bound to meet with considerable opposition. Historically speaking the kalām madhhab is itself a reaction to the Mu‘tazila madhhab which relied heavily on rationalistic argument. In other words, the atmosphere was very different to that which existed in the transitional period of Islamisation in the Malay Archipelago.
The *kalām* madhhab which spread over the Malay Archipelago, however, had as its basis the teaching of the *Sifat Dua Puluh* according to the elaboration of al-Sanūsī in his *Umm al-Barāhīn*, as opposed to the more generally recognised *Kalām* teaching based on the elaboration of al-Ashʿārī.

However, Snouck Hurgronje makes a very dismissive observation when discussing this issue, especially the method of teaching of *ʿilm al-kalām* in Mecca in the 19th century. According to him:

> The students impress on their minds the twenty qualities of Allah according to the scheme which owes its popularity to Sanūsī, but often hearing and reading the commentaries thereon, are convinced that they have only touched the surface of a sea of mysteries. Who would think of penetrating deeper?³⁷⁸

The teaching of *Sifat Dua Puluh* became popular during the period of the decline of Islam,⁷⁹ when the element of *taqlīd* (blind acceptance) became dominant. Because of that, some scholars have held the opinion that the writings in the *taqlīd* period produced no significant improvement, even though they increased qualitatively, as emphasized in a more general context by Prof. W. Montgomery Watt:

> Instead of fresh works like those of al-Juwaynī and Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, the chief effort of the theologians seems to have gone into the production of commentaries and supercommentaries and glosses on earlier works.⁸⁰

These writings are in the forms of *sharḥ* (commentaries), *ḥāshiya*
Such methods of writing are not limited to the Ash'arī scholars of the Shāfī’ī **madhhab** but include the Māturidī scholars of the Ḥanafī **madhhab** such as al-Nasafī, al-Taftāzānī and al-Faḍḍālī. However any disputes on the originality of the theological scholars of either Ash'ariyya or Māturidiyya schools are unjustified and indeed irrelevant. Their role and the contribution of their thoughts and teachings had a vital and substantial impact on Malay society.

To show the important role and contribution of theological writings to Malay society, we can point for instance to their discussion of one of the inadmissible attributes of Allāh; **Mumāthalah li al-ḥawādith** (resemblance to the creation). Their discussion and commentary are not merely superficial but are in fact highly intellectual. This can be shown by the fact that certain scientific terms are used in their discussion, such as the terms **jirm** (bodily mass), **ʻaraq** (accident) and **jawhar** (atom).

This is emphasised by al-Sanūsī in his **Umm al-Barāhīn**:

There are three reasons why Allah is not a **jirm** (bodily mass). The first is that if he were one he would be subject to motion and rest, and therefore would have to have come into being. The second reason is that if Allah was a **jirm**, He should be either big or small, and thus stands in need of a particularizing agent to come into being. The third argument states that bodies are divisible into parts, and asks which parts shall possess the attributes of divinity.

A comprehensive account of the terms of this science can be found
too in other Kitāb Jawi such as Bidāyat al-Hidāyah by Muḥammad Zain b al-Faqīh Jalāl al-Dīn and Sirāj al-Hudā by Muḥammad Zain al-Dīn b Muḥammad Badawī al-Sambāwī. In addition to the above writings, we may note here that according to Prof. Syed Muḥammad Naqib al-Attas, a copy exists of ‘Aqā'id al-Nasafī by Abū Ḥafṣ ‘Umar Najm al-Dīn al-Nasafī (d. 537 A.H./1142 A.D.) which was completed in the Malay Archipelago by an indigenous hand on 10 February 1590 A.D.

There are clear indications showing that the Arabic text of the manuscript, apart from the significant fact that it was written with full diacritical symbols, was written in the Malay world by an indigenous hand. The Arabic and the diacritical symbols of iʿrāb are sometimes faulty. The spelling of certain words is peculiar to Malay style; for instance, the word Bakr in the name Abū Bakr written by the same hand that wrote the Arabic text, and with vocalization (page following colophon p. 44) has fathāh over bā and kāf with sukūn over rā reading Bakar, which is a typically Malay form of spelling the name based on pronunciation.

This important finding of Prof. al-Attas identifies ‘Aqā'id al-Nasafī as the oldest known Malay manuscript. The ‘Aqā'id is an important work, because since it is the first statement in concise form and well-knit phrasing of the creed to appear among the Muslims, it became popular and was commented upon. Numerous commentaries on it were written.

However there are no other surviving Malay manuscripts which follow in the footsteps of ‘Aqā'id al-Nasafī, and thus we can say that this
Kitāb with its interlinear Malay translation does not seem to be in the mainstream Kitāb Jawi tradition as represented by the Twenty Attributes (Sifat Dua Puluh) writings. Even so we may observe that it too lies in that area of metaphysical 'aqā'id, in which Malay scholars have shown such particular interest. Thus we consider this important discovery for the first time in the literature tradition of Kitāb Jawi as evidence of the excellent achievement of the Malay intellectual tradition long before the coming of western civilisation in the Malay Archipelago.

The existence of this manuscript nevertheless demonstrates that Hurgronje's account gives only part of the picture and that Malay scholars studied much more than the twenty attributes. A greater part of the Kitāb Jawi was, however, reworked and translated from Arabic, in several cases in Mecca and Medina, but evidence of the originality of these works can be clearly seen in their fatāwā and their author's personal views and ideas. The authors of Kitāb Jawi were writing not for themselves but for the enlightenment and training of their students. The aims were to simplify and explain with the hope of teaching and guiding them to be good Muslims and future leaders of society. Even though some of these writings carried the names of their authors, many of them remained anonymous because these writers wrote not for material gains of this world but for the sake of Allah and the hereafter (Yaum al-Ākhirah).

We can learn much about the Islamic principles which were emphasized in these writings and studies for which commentaries and glosses were used as supports but it is difficult to make assessments of the intellectual achievements of the Kitāb Jawi authors from their works as
seen in a modern context. Their knowledge and understanding of Islam would be reflected clearly in their classes, in their exploitation of this knowledge and ability to transmit it to their students and the public as well as offering them their advice. Their scholastic achievement is largely to be recognised by their ability to attract significant number of students and the fact that their *kitabs* and expositions carried their names.

**Foreign Influence.**

From the Persians, the Malays also received some influences. In the *Pedigree of Melayu* which is better known to the English reader as the *Malay Annals* or *Sejarah Melayu*, the main indigenous information on this subject is a famous episode in which it is told that in 1511 A.D., before the decisive attack on Malacca by the Portuguese, the warriors spent the night reciting the *hikāyats* and the Malay Annals to inspire and restrengthen their spirit of *Jihād* and warriorship. The two *hikāyats* mentioned are; *Hikāyat Amīr Ḥamzah* and *Hikāyat Muḥammad Ḥanafiyyah*, both of which have been shown to be partly faithful translations from the Persian.95

Ḥamzah Fanṣūri's poems are another evidence of the Persian influence. In his poems, he followed the customary tradition of the Persian poets of writing their names in the last verse of their poems. This tradition is alien to the traditionally anonymous Malay poetry (*Pantun*).96 We also observe that the content of Ḥamzah's poetry has been greatly influenced by the Persian mystical poets as in the following example;
Hamzah Syahrnawi sungguh bina,
tiada ia radi akan Tur Sina,
diamnya da'im dilaut Cina,
bemain-main dengan gajahmina.

(Hamzah from Shahr-e Naw is really wretched,
He finds no pleasure in Mount Sinai,
Always he stays in the China Sea,
Playing around with whales).  

There is yet another difference between the Pantun and the longer poem or Syair. The first, like the Persian rubā'i, is self-contained within its four lines, while in the Syair the four-line stanzas can form part of a much longer poetical entity. This feature has made possible a development through which the Syair liberated itself from its original strait-jacket, becoming suitable for all purposes.

This is seen in the case of Syair Dua Puluh (about the attributes of Allah) and Syair Bustān al-Salāṭīn (The Garden of Kings), while even a well-known ḥikāyat like the Inderaputra has been turned into a Syair as well. Although it is certainly a long way from the impassioned religious poetry of the Persians to the recreational verse-making which provided some of the most popular entertainment in the Singapore-Riau area in the middle of the 19th century, nevertheless the origin of the Syair must definitely be sought in the Persian rubā'i.

The phenomenon of Persian baits and quotations profusely found in older Malay literature is very significant as far as the origin of the
Malay *Syair* is concerned. In some of the older manuscripts of the *Hikayat Muḥammad Ḥanafiyyah*, numerous Persian verses (*abyāt*) have been found, one of which is taken from the satire on Maḥmūd of Ghazna ascribed to Firdousi:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Za nāpākzāde madār ommid,} \\
\text{ke zangi beshostan nagardad safid.}
\end{align*}
\]

(Don't expect anything from the offspring of an impure union. For a negro doesn't turn white through washing).

In his study on the *Hikayat Amīr Ḥamzah*, Brakel draws attention to several verses which have been traced back to a Persian original:

\[
\begin{align*}
to \text{ gofti harānkas ke, dar ranj o tāb,} \\
do'āī konad man konam mostajābh, \\
cun 'ājez rahānande dānam to-rā, \\
dar \text{ in 'ājezi cun naxāham to-rā}. \quad 100
\end{align*}
\]

(You used to say: I will always answer him who while in sorrow and distress invokes me, as I know that you deliver the weak, how then should I not desire you in this state of weakness?).

The role, importance and function of these quotations would not be understandable without considering them in the broader context of the Malay Classical Literature.\(^{101}\) The Malays, through the gradual process of Islamization, first through the introduction of the *Shariʻah* (the Divine Law) and later of *Tasawwuf* (Ṣūfī metaphysics), realized the distinction between popular entertainment and formal literature. The term *hikayat*
generally constituted the aesthetic reading meant for entertainment, whereas Kitab is the term given to serious formal literature.

For instance, Ḥikāyat Nūr Muḥammad emphasizes the perfection of the Prophet in a semi-historical way. This ḥikāyat, no doubt, uses allegorical presentations to show that the Prophet is the source of creation and the Perfect Man. The theory of creation (khalq) in Islamic literature is as old as the teaching of Islam itself. A large number of Qur'ānic verses and Ahādīth of the Prophet concern this theory. In Islamic literature we can trace the theory of creation in the poems of Ibn al-Fāriḍ, Sanā‘ī, Rūmī and ‘Aṭṭār.

In the circle of Malay ḥikāyat or stories, the Ḥikāyat Nūr Muḥammad is a work in which this theory is more fully developed compared with other ḥikāyats. The imagery used in Ḥikāyat Nūr Muḥammad shows the influence of Persian literature on Malay literature. However, this imagery no doubt exists in the Qur'ān itself, where the images of light and the tree are used in certain verses that deal with more esoteric events and with higher realities. In the famous Light Verse (Sūrat al-Nūr), Allāh declares Himself to be the light of the heavens and the earth.

Another evidence of the Persian influence in Malay literature is clearly found in Ḥikāyat Iskandar Dhū al-Qarnain. The first Malay mention of this Ḥikāyat occurs in the Malay Annals, whose author refers to the famous romance as the source of his introductory chapter, an admission corroborated by comparing it with the same passage of the Ḥikāyat. Dr. P.J. Van Leeuwen, after comparing the Malay recension
with Arabic versions of the tale of Alexander at Berlin deduces that the Malay *Hikayat Iskandar Dhū al-Qarnain* comes from an Arabic version. However R.O. Winstedt held the opinion that it derives from a Perso-Arabic source in India. Even though stories about Iskandar Dhū al-Qarnain are found in the Qur’ān, the stories circulating in the Malay Archipelago are mostly based on the Persian interpretation.

Iskandar is described as a pious warrior who defended right and opposed wrong in East and West, but in the Malay Archipelago he is often known as Prince Darab, the king of Babil (Persia) even though he himself is the King of Rome since his mother originated from there. According to R.O. Winstedt, he is a missionary of the religion of Abraham (Ibrāhīm), forerunner of the founder of Islam and with the help of the miraculous power of the Prophet Khiḍr, he is enabled to conquer the world for Islam.

Two other Muslim romances which are translations from the Persian are the *Hikayat Amir Ḥamzah* (in Persian known as *Dāstān-e Amir Ḥamzah*) and the *Hikayat Muḥammad Ḥanafiyyah* (*Qīṣṣe-ye Muḥammad-e Ḥanafiyyah*). In *Hikayat Amir Ḥamzah*, there is an Arabic as well as a Persian version but the first version is unknown to the Malays. The Malay recension follows the Persian account of Ḥamzah's ancestry, and it follows the Persian division of the huge romance into chapters and contains many Persian words and verses that occur in the same passages in the Persian original. In *Hikayat Muḥammad Ḥanafiyyah*, the praises bestowed on Ḥasan and Ḥusain, the presence of a Persian verse and the title given to Muḥammad are noted by Prof. van Ronkel as suggesting that it is a translation from the Persian.
We can also find elements of animism in some Malay hikayat, which are closely bound up with Shi'ah influence. In the Hikayat Nabi Bercukur, for instance, it is said that anyone who keeps this hikayat will be safe from calamities in this world and the hereafter. Some traces of this traditional animistic belief can be found in inilah Hikayat Peri Menyatakan Mukjizat Nabi whereby it stated that the prophet’s hair should be kept as 'azimat (luck-bringing).

There is also a clear Shi'ah influence, which is vivid in Hikayat Raja Khandaq and Hikayat Muhammed Hanafiyyah, which propagate the greatness of 'Ali, his wife, Fatimah, his sons Hasan and Husain and other warriors from among the followers of the Shi'ah and has influenced the culture and belief of the Malays. In the Hikayat Muhammed Hanafiyyah for example, the respect towards 'Ali is so extraordinary that he is described as a superhuman man. It is said that after his death, his sons, Hasan and Husain placed their father's body on a horse, Duldul Jabarut. After the horse trotted away, 'Ali came alive again and when his sons came to him, he told them that he was not human from this world.

In the Kitab Jawi and especially in the hikayat, there are numerous references to Rûm or Turkey. The author of Sejarah Melayu refers to Raja Arastun Shah son of Iskandar Dhû al-Qarnain marrying a princess from Turkistan. The author also refers to a great grandson of Iskandar, Raja Pandan who ruled in Turkistan.¹¹¹

These references may have been made to establish a relationship
between the Royal families of Turkistan and the Malay rulers. *Sejarah Melayu* very emphatically claims that the Malay *Rajas* are descended from the line of Iskandar, which means that the other sons of Iskandar who ruled in Turkistan were in fact the cousins of the Malay rulers. This point is strongly supported by a Johor legend.¹¹²

Equally in *Hikâyat Merong Mahawangsa*, *Hikâyat Raja-Raja Pasai*, *Hikâyat Acheh*, *Hikâyat Meukota Alam* and *Bustân al-Salāṭîn*, there are many references which are part of the romantic literature and more serious and historic reports about Rūm and Torki (Turkistan). These references to Rūm and Torki very clearly indicate that the Malays considered Turkey a very strong empire and a significant cultural centre of Islam. The material found in *Kitab Jawi* is connected with both periods of Turkish history, i.e. before the Islamic era and the post-Islamic period.

**Sūfi Influences**

The presence of Sūfism or mysticism came simultaneously with the coming of Islam to the Malay Archipelago and has continued its influential presence to this day. Sūfism's moderate religious demands, its incorporation of local pre-Islamic beliefs, and its similarity to certain existing beliefs are encouraging factors in its general appeal to the Malays. Before Islam, there was already a tendency among the people towards abstinence (zuḥd) and the trance-inducing Sūfī sessions of the *dhikr* were similar to the seances of the local shaman (*pawang*). The general appeal of Sūfism among the Malays has something to do, according to Winstedt, with their psychological and spiritual
temperaments, which are manifested distinctly throughout their religious history in the various forms of what is called "deep-seated popular mysticism."\textsuperscript{113}

The role of the Şūfis and Şūfism in the spread of Islam in the Malay Archipelago has to a great extent facilitated the readiness of Malay society to accept Islam. There was a gradual acceptance of Islam by peoples to whom Muslims represented a superior culture but among whom they did not set up politically significant centres of trade, for example, the coastal people of Borneo who slowly imitated the social practices and habits of the Muslim traders by picking up the Arabic phrases of the confession of faith, learning the ritual prayers, abstaining from pork and dressing according to Muslim ideas of modesty.\textsuperscript{114}

Besides the role of propagating Islam to the Malay Archipelago, Şūfism paved the way for an intellectual Malay civilisation and the permanent conversion of the Malays to the Islamic world-view.

The earliest record of Şūfism in the Malay Archipelago was noted in 1165 A.D. when an Arabic Şūfī missionary, Shaikh 'Abd Allāh 'Ārif came to preach Islam in Samudera-Pasai during the reign of Maharaja Nūr al-Dīn (1155A.D.-1210A.D.). His writing, \textit{Bahr al-Lahūt} was similar to the teachings of al-Ḥallāj (858 A.D.-921 A.D.) and those of Ibn al-'Arabī (1165 A.D.-1240 A.D.) which emerged later.\textsuperscript{115} In his mission, he was assisted by his disciple, Shaikh Burhān al-Dīn of the \textit{Shattāriyyah} order who was responsible for the propagation of Islam in Minangkabau.\textsuperscript{116}
As emphasized by Prof. A. H. Johns, the famous teaching of *al-Insān al-Kāmil* (the Perfect Man) by the great Šūfī master, ‘Abd al-Karīm al-Jīlī,\(^{117}\) was already known in Pasai in the 15th century. This means that, if this opinion is true, the mystical teaching of *Wahdat al-Wūjūd* (transcendent unity of being) by Ibn al-'Arabi was also known here since the teaching of al-Jīlī is in fact a continuation of Ibn al-'Arabi's teaching except in the teaching of *al-Insān al-Kāmil* in which he expands the concept of the Perfect Man described by al-'Arabī.

The influence of al-Jīlī's teaching can be detected when a religious problem erupted in Malacca on the question of whether those in heaven and hell remain there for all eternity. This problem was presented to Pasai through Tun Bija Wangsa to be solved. The answer given was based on al-Qur'ān which affirms that the occupants of heaven and hell are forever in their places.\(^{118}\) This esoteric answer reflected the teaching of *al-Insān al-Kāmil* by al-Jīlī and suggests that this work was known in Pasai at least within a few decades of its author’s death. (832 A.H./1428 A.D.).\(^{119}\)

With the esoteric answer given to Tun Bija Wangsa to bring back to Malacca, undoubtedly the Šūfīsm of al-Jīlī soon spread to Malacca. This fact is confirmed by Prof. Paul Wheatly who mentions that al-Jīlī’s Šūfīsm started to gain influence in Malacca during the reign of Sultan Mansūr Shāh (1459-1477 A.D.).\(^{120}\) In fact Prof. Syed Muhammad Naquib al-Attas believes that Šūfīsm must have played a significant role in the Islamization of Malacca and the rest of the peninsula. He supports his view by the fact that the Malays were already formulating religious problems as to the eternal or non-eternal nature of hell during the reign
of Sultan Mańṣūr Shāh by which time the Malaccan empire had embraced almost the whole peninsula. Their grasp of metaphysical matters indicates a prior exposure to the doctrinal teaching of Šūfism.\textsuperscript{121}

Šūfism was to play a dominating role in the Islamisation process for the next two centuries, (15th and 16th centuries). Scholars and missionaries from all parts of the Malay Archipelago as well as from Arabia, Persia and India gathered in Pasai and Malacca to disseminate religious knowledge.

In Java, the two famous Šūfi saints (\textit{Wali Songo});\textsuperscript{122} Sunan Bonang of Tuban and Sunan Giri who are known to have studied in Malacca played important roles in the propagation of Islam and developing the mystical teaching here. Both Sunan Bonang and Sunan Giri were influenced by the mystical writing of \textit{Iḥyā’ \textit{Ulūm al-Dīn}}\textsuperscript{123} by al-Ghazālī and the concept of \textit{al-Insān al-Kāmil} by al-Jīlī. According to Prof. Hosein Djajadiningrat, there exists in Jawa a work by Sunan Bonang in which he explains the Šūfism of al-Ghazālī and rejects the mystical teaching of Ibn ‘Arabī. In the propagation of Islam, Sunan Bonang is particularly famous for having successfully converted Shiva-Buddhist ascetics and transformed the Javanese countryside to Islam.\textsuperscript{124}

The development of Šūfism in Acheh started with the arrival of Šūfī scholars from India, Persia and Arabia during the reign of Sultan ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Mańṣūr Shāh (1579-1586 A.D.). It was at this time that the writer of \textit{al-Sayf al-Qāṭī’} (The Sharp Sword) from Arabia came to Acheh bringing with him the mystical teachings of \textit{Waḥdat al-Wujūd} of Ibn ‘Arabī. When Malacca fell to the Portuguese, Acheh succeeded Malacca
as the most important Muslim commercial centre in the Malay Archipelago as well as a great centre of Muslim learning. The mystical teaching reached its peak when it became the official teaching among the royal families and the public. This teaching was so influential at the time that Prof. Syed Muhammad Naquib al-Attas concludes that the factor of the development of Sufism in Aceh should be made the criterion between the traditional and modern period.

During the flourishing period of Aceh, the two greatest Malay Sufis; Ḥamzah al-Fanṣūrī and Shams al-Dīn al-Sumatrānī emerged to play very significant roles in the Islamisation of the Malay Archipelago and the development of Sufism. The relationship between Ḥamzah al-Fanṣūrī and Shams al-Dīn al-Sumatrānī was that of a teacher and student but there is a difference in their mystical world view.

Ḥamzah al-Fanṣūrī, who lived and flourished in the period preceding and during the reign of Sultan ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Ri‘ayat Shāh (the tenth Sultan of Aceh) (996-1013 A.H./1588-1604 A.D.), is according to Winstedt the earliest and the greatest of Aceh’s group of writers on heretical mysticism. From his Syair, it is clear that Ḥamzah was the follower of Shaikh ‘Abd al-Qādir Jaylānī (1078-1166 A.D.). However, from his other writings, it is clear too that he had been influenced by the teaching of such Sufi masters as al-Ḥallāj (858-921 A.D.), ‘Abd al-Karīm Jīlī (d.832 A.H./1428 A.D.), al-Bustāmī (d.873 A.H.), al-Ghazālī (1057-1111 A.D.), Ibn ‘Arabi (1102-1142 A.D.), al-Junaid (1271-1339 A.D.) and Shāh Ni‘mat Allāh (d.1431 A.D.).

In other words, Ḥamzah was a member of the Qādiriyah Order in
which he obtained his *ijāzah*, that is, the authority to teach and initiate others into the order, and at the same time belonged to the school of Ibn ‘Arabi which adhered to the doctrine of *Waḥdat al-Wujūd*, a doctrine of *taṣawwuf* which holds that God is the Absolute Reality, and the Universe is simply a manifestation of Him, and thus it is not completely separated from Him. Some of his writings included his prose works *Asrār al-‘Ārifīn*, *Sharb al-‘Āshiqīn*, *al-Muntahi* and his poems *Syair Perahu*, *Syair Jawi* and *Rubā‘ī ‘Hamzah Fanṣūrī*. Ḥamzah is notable for probably being the first Malay poet to expound the Islamic mystical teaching in the most systematic and scholarly structure.

The famous Malay Ṣūfī and also *Shaikh al-Islām* of Aceh under the reign of Sultan Iskandar Muda (1607-1636 A.D.), Shams al-Dīn al-Sumatrānī (d.1040 A.H./1630 A.D.) is a great propagator of the *waṭudiyyah* school but he is more influenced by the well-known Ṣūfī master from Burhānpūr, Muḥammad ibn Faḍl Allāh who stayed in Aceh for a time. To simplify the understanding of the *Five Martabāt of Ibn ‘Arabi*, Ibn Faḍl Allāh has categorised it into the *Seven Martabāt* and this teaching is contained in his *Tuḥfat al-Mursalāh Ilā al-Nabī*. The influence of the *Seven Martabāt* teaching was significant to al-Sumatrānī and this influence can be seen in his *Nūr al-Haqā‘iq*. It is one of the earliest works inspired by the great mystical poet, Ibn al-Fārid (d.1235 A.D.) known in the Malay Archipelago.

Two other prominent Malay Ṣūfī intellectuals are Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī (d.1077 A.H/1666 A.D.) and Jalāl al-Dīn al-Tursānī. They uphold the doctrine of the teachings of the *Seven Martabāt* of Ibn Faḍl Allāh. In His *Ma’rifat al- Saniyyah li ahl al-Shu‘m*, al-Rānīrī explains
this teaching in great detail. In his *kitāb* on the relationship of Allah and the Universe, al-Rānīrī translated the whole work of al-Burhānpuṇī written in Persian.134 Jalāl al-Dīn al-Tursānī is also influenced by this teaching as seen in his *Mudhār al-Ajl ilā Rutbat al-‘Alā’* in which he writes on the teaching of the *Seven Martabāt*.135 The last great Malay intellectual figure, ‘Abd al-Ra’ūf al-Singkelī (d. 1104 A.H./1693 A.D.), was a Ṣūfī saint who translated the Qur’ān into Malay.

There is a significant polemic between two different schools of thought in Aceh, one represented by Hamzah al-Fanṣūrī and Shams al-Dīn al-Sumatrānī and the other represented by Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī. Nūr al-Dīn accused the writings of both Hamzah al-Fanṣūrī and Shams al-Dīn al-Sumatrānī as belonging to the heretical form of *Wujūdiyyah* and as a result of this accusation, Sultan Iskandar Thānī (1636-1641 A.D.) influenced by Nūr al-Dīn gave a national order to have their writings burnt in front of the Bait al-Rahmān mosque.136

The development of Ṣūfī orders may have developed simultaneously with Ṣūfī mystical thought but due to the lack of historical evidence on its origin, we can only conclude that it is clearly mentioned for the first time during the time of Ḥamzah al-Fanṣūrī.

The three important Ṣūfī orders which emerged in the Malay Archipelago at the early stage were the *Qādiriyah*, *Rifā‘iyyah*, and *Shattāriyyah*. The oldest and most widespread was the *Qādiriyah* order137 whose follower was the famous Ḥamzah Fanṣūrī as mentioned earlier. Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī was a follower as well as a Shaikh of the *Rifā‘iyyah* order. He received his *ijāzah* from Shaikh Sa‘īd Abu Ḥafs
Umar b Shaiban, an Indian Muslim from Ḥaḍramaut who in turn received his ijāzah from his famous Shaikh Muḥammad al-ʿAidārūs. Regarding the Shattariyyah order, its well-known propagator is ʿAbd al-Raʿūf of Singkel who received his ijāzah from a famous Shaikh in Mecca named Shaikh Aḥmad al-Qushāshī, a disciple of Shaikh Aḥmad al-Sanawī. From Acheh, the influence of these orders spread to other parts of the Malay Archipelago.

There are two other Sufi orders which spread in the Malay Archipelago in the 17th century but are of less importance; the ʿAlawiyyah order and the Khalwatiyyah order. The ʿAlawiyyah order was propagated in Acheh by a BāʿAlawi scholar, Abu Bakr al-Shili, and was restricted to the families of the Sayyids as emphasized by Prof. Syed Muhammad Naquib al-Attas, but its rātibs (recitation of the names and the attributes of Allah in a spiritual congregation) are the most well-known and popular to this day.

The ʿAlawiyyah order therefore restricts itself to the families of the Sayyids to the exclusion of all others. It is very rare to find non-Sayyids mentioned in the Silsilah of the ʿAlawiyyah order.

The Khalwatiyyah order was brought by Shaikh Yūsuf Taj al-Khalwati (1626-1699 A.D.), a well-known scholar whose writings include Tuḥfat al-Rabbāniyyah. Other orders which have had influence in the Malay Archipelago are the Shādhiliyyah, Naqshbandiyyah and Aḥmadiyyah but they were only popular in later centuries.
Thus Ṣūfīsm played a significant role in the propagation of Islam in the Malay Archipelago and acted as a stimulus to the development of intellectual thought, and its influence brought about the emergence of local scholars of high stature.
Endnotes to Chapter Two


6. See his deeply profound and far-reaching inaugural lecture to commemorate his appointment as the Professor of the Malay Language and Literature at the National University of Malaysia in 1972 with the title, "Islam in the Malay History and Culture". This lecture was published by the National University of Malaysia Press in 1972. In his opinion, the impact of the process of Islamization on the Malay Archipelago has led the Malay language to become more scientific, and its intellectual substance is proven as the medium for theological and philosophical discussions especially with reference to the role of Kitab Jawi.


45. Qur'ānic references on *iktisāb*:
Sūrah 3 (Āl'Imrān): 25 and 161.
Sūrah 4 (al-Nisā'): 32.
Sūrah 6 (al-An'ām): 3, 70, 120, 161 and 164.
Sūrah 7 (al-A'rāf): 96.
Sūrah 9 (al-Taubah): 82 and 95.
Sūrah 10 (Yūnus): 8 and 27.
Sūrah 13 (al-Ra'd): 33 and 42.
Sūrah 14 (Ibrāhīm): 18 and 51.
Sūrah 18 (al-Kahf): 58.
Sūrah 30 (al-Rūm): 41.
Sūrah 31 (Luqmān): 34.
Sūrah 41 (Fussilat): 17.
Sūrah 42 (al-Shūrā): 30.

46. MJT., p. 27.
47. Ibid.

51. Part of the text of the tradition, "Taftariq ummati 'alā thalāth wa-sab'īn


55. al-Jawhari, Bukhārī, op. cit., pp. 28-34.


57. GAL, II, p. 215; SII., p.301.


61. SH.,pp.11-3; Hasan,A., Kitab al-Tawhid, (Penang,1959), p.25; Musa, Nik


70. Abdullah, Haji Wan Muhammad Saghir, *Shaikh Dâwûd b. Abdallah al-


74. Isa, Haji Mustafa Mohd., op. cit., p.96, p.98, p.112.

75. Abu Bakar, Shafie, op. cit., p.579.


78. Hurgronje, Snouck, op.cit., p.194.


82. His full name is Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Faḍḍālī (d. 1236 A.H./1821 A.D.). Among his writings which are still being read and referred to in Malaysia and Indonesia is the *Bi Kitāyat al-‘Awwām*, translated into English by Duncan B. MacDonald in *Development of Muslim Theology, Jurisprudence and Constitutional Theory*, (London, 1903), pp. 315-51.


87. MS. 12225, [ff. 10-17]; AN., p.38.

88. BH., pp.12-3; SH., pp.20-1; SUT., p.14.


99. Ibid., p.11.


103. Allah is the Light (Nūr) of the heavens and the earth. The parable of His Light is as if there were a Niche (Miṣhkāt) and within it a Lamp (Miṣbāḥ): the Lamp enclosed in Glass (Zujājah): the Glass as it were a brilliant star (Kawkabun Durriyyun) lit from a blessed Olive Tree (Shajarah Mubārakah Zaitūnah), neither of the East nor of the West, whose oil is well-nigh luminous, Though fire scarce touched it: Light upon Light! God doth guide whom He will to His Light: Allah doth set forth Parables for men: and Allah doth know all things.


111. Seljuq, Affan, op. cit., p.302.


116. Junus, H. Mahmud, Sejarah Pendidikan Islam di Indonesia, (Jakarta, 1979), p.21. According to Sirajuddin Abbas, Shaikh Burhān al-Dīn did not like staying in Pasai (North Sumatra) when at that time was very much under the influence of the Shi'ah. Because of this situation, he moved to Minangkabau (West Sumatra) to propagate Islam there and taught the


Java, who were Arabs (Sayyids). They are; (1) Sayyid Maulānā Malik Ibrāhīm b. Jamāl al-Dīn al-Ḥusain b. Ahmad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Abd al-Malik, with the title Maulānā Marghibi of Gresik, (2) Raden Ahmad Raḥmat Allāh (Sunan Ampel of Surabaya), (3) Muḥammad ‘Ayn al-Yaqīn - Raden Paku (Sunan Giri), (4) Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq (Sunan Kudus), (5) Makhdūm Ibrāhīm (Sunan Bonang), (6) Zāin al-ʿĀbidīn (Sunan Demak), (7) Ḥāshim (Sunan Daradjat of Sidayu), (8) ‘Abd al-Jalīl (Sunan Kaliṣa) and (9) Ḥāshim al-Dīn (Sunan Gunung Djati).


133. Both these scholars emerged soon after Hamzah Fanṣūrī and Shams al-Dīn al-Sumatrānī at the time when Acheh was under the rule of Sultan Iskandar Thānī 'Alā' al-Dīn Mughāyat Shāh (1636-1641 A.D.).

134. Daudy, Ahmad, op. cit., p.57.


140. See his Some Aspects of Sufism as Understood and Practised Among the Malays, (Singapore, 1963), p.32.

141. For his life and works, see Hamka, 'Dari Perbendaharaan.', op. cit., pp.40-58; Abdullah, Haji Wan Muhammad Saghir, 'Perkembangan Ilmu Taṣawwuf', op. cit., pp.60-82.
Chapter Three

THE ROLE OF KITAB JAWI AS A MEDIUM OF THEOLOGICAL DISCOURSE

The Kitab Jawi have been the learning medium of Islam since they were first introduced into the society of the Malay Archipelago, and are of great benefit to those with no knowledge of Arabic. They are most popular in the traditional Islamic institutions such as at the Pondok in the Malay Peninsular, the Dayah or Zawiyah in Acheh, the Pesantren in Java and the Surau in Minangkabau, which served as a bastion for the development of the Malay Kitab Jawi or Kitab Kuning, to the extent that these books have become the most important medium of transporting Islamic teachings into the heart of society. ¹

The role of that significant part of the Kitab Jawi literature which was composed by traditional Malay 'Ulamā' is important for a number of reasons. Firstly, from the historical point of view, it is important to know the contemporary standing of the Islamic literary tradition in an area which produced outstanding scholarship ² such as that of Nūr al-
Din al-Raruri (d. 1068 A.H./1666 A.D.), and Da‘ūd b. ‘Abd Allah b. Idrīs al-Faṭānī (1265 A.H./1847 A.D.). Through the prolific works of these scholars, the Malay language developed and became one of the major Islamic languages.

Secondly, Islam has cultivated the mind of the Malays with a vital new intellectual tradition. The Malay-Islamic era was characterised by prolific works on a variety of subjects ranging from ‘aqīdah, fiqh and taṣawwuf to tafsīr and hadīth, statecraft, Arabic, astronomy and logic; although most of the local works were either translations, adaptations, commentaries or summaries of the works of certain great ‘Ulama’ from outside the Malay Archipelago. It was through this Jawi literature that Islam became deeply rooted in Malay society. The Kitab Jawi became the text of the Pondok, Dayah or Zawiyah, Pesantren and Surau, as well as the reading material for the public.

Malay-Islamic literary activity also led to the borrowing of the Arabic alphabet. With a few additions to accommodate the Malay sound system, it formed what is currently known as the Jawi script. It was the first practical and effective Malay script, and it successfully maintained the unity and uniformity of the Malay language. The introduction of the Jawi scripts in these writings has facilitated the students' comprehension of the Kitab Jawi alongside the original Arabic literature.

The writers of Kitab Jawi first wrote their works by hand. They used the classical Jawi writing, whose spelling system is somewhat different to the Jawi writing of the present day. There are some Kitab
Jawi manuscripts of famous scholars of Aceh such as Hamzah Fanṣūrī, Shams al-Dīn al-Sumātraṇī, Shaikh Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī, ‘Abd al-Ra‘ūf al-Singkeli and others available at the University Shaikh Kuala Library, the Aceh Museum, the Aceh Documentary Centre, and the Kuno Library, Zawiyah Tanah Abe, Aceh. Most of these Kitab Jawi writings are written in black and red ink. Black ink is used to write in plain writing the verses of al-Qur'ān and Ḥadīth while the red ink is used to explain the meaning of these verses which is written vertically from top to bottom. Usually the writers of the Kitab Jawi are excellent khaṭṭāṭs (calligraphers) and use the naskh style of writing (naskh is one of the six major cursive Arabic scripts). The first Kitab Jawi writing to appear in print was the Kitāb Bad' Khulq al-Samāwāt wa al-'Ard by Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī, originally written in 1047 A.H./1639 A.D.

Usually the writers of Kitab Jawi begin their writings with a solemn praise of Allah to whom all praise is due, the sole God of all Muslims. This is followed by the Ṣalawāt and prayer for the Prophet and his Companions who helped in the spread of Islam. At the end they in all humbleness, using such words such as al-faqîr ilā Allāh, and acknowledging their weaknesses and limitations ask the readers to correct any mistake found in their writings and lastly ask Allah's forgiveness for any weakness on their part by using such Arabic expressions as Wa Allāh A‘lam bi al-Sawāb wa ilaihi al-Marji‘ wa al-Ma‘āb (Only God knows the truth and it is to Him we return).

The Malay traditional writers of Kitab Jawi came from all parts of the Malay Archipelago. The name of country or town of birth is written
at the end of their names such as al-Faţānī (Patani), al-Falembānī (Palembang), al-Āshī, (Acheh), al-Fanṣūrī (Fansur), al-Rānīrī (Ranir or Rander, the old port in Gujerat), al-Singkelī (Singkel) al-Kelantānī (Kelantan), al-Banjārī (Banjarmasin), al-Betāwī (Betawi or Batavia or Jakarta), al-Kedaḥī (Kedah), al-Sambāwī (Sumbawa), al-Funtiānī (Pontianak), al-Minangkabāwī (Minangkabau). 9

As mentioned earlier, the greater part of the Kitāb Jawī are translations and adaptations from the work of scholars outside the Malay Archipelago. However the originality of the Kitāb Jawī writers can be seen in their respective views and ideas as well as the local values found in their writings. This can be seen in the case of several Kitāb Jawī such as Umm al-Barāḥīn by Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Sanūsī (d. 895 A.H/1490 A.D.) commented on and translated into Malay by three local traditional scholars with three different titles; i) Bidāyat al-Hidāyah by Muḥammad Zayn b. al-Faqīh Jalāl al-Dīn al-Āshī in 1170 A.H/1757 A.D. ii) Sirāj al-Hudā by Muḥammad Zayn al-Dīn b. Muḥammad Badawi al-Sambāwī in 1259 A.H/1885 A.D. and iii) 'Aqidat al-Nājin. by Zayn al-‘Ābidīn b. Muḥammad al-Faţānī in 1308 A.H/1890 A.D.

The Umm al-Barāḥīn by al-Sanūsī is one of the Islamic creeds which has determined the structure of Islamic theological thought in the Malay Archipelago. 10 The attributes of Allah are usually called Sifat Dua Puluh (The Twenty Attributes) and therefore, it is obligatory on all Muslims, in fact on the Malays who have adopted the Islamic religion, to know the Sifat Dua Puluh before anything else. The significance of this teaching is reflected in almost every Malay village in Malaysia whereby
the *Sifat Dua Puluh* became the first basic religious teaching of the society before they were taught other religious knowledge, this teaching being carried out in *suras* and mosques. Furthermore, the *Sifat Dua Puluh* has been one of the compulsory subjects in the theological syllabus of the Religious School in Johore (Southern Malay Peninsular) from the early 19th century to the present day.  

The teaching of *Sifat Dua Puluh* is an essential part of the content of *Umm al-Barāhin* which greatly influenced the weltanschauung of the Malay theological perspective. The text commonly referred to as *al-Sanūsiyah* is a somewhat more substantial commentary on it written by al-Sanūsī himself. In the most frequently encountered edition it is printed in the margin of the highly popular *ḥāshiya* by Ibrāhim al-Baijūrī,¹² which is, by extension, also known as al-Sanūsī.

Most of the contents of the *Kitab Jawi* revolve around the various aspects of theology with reference to the Sunnī doctrine. The writers of the *Kitab Jawi* devote in detail the core of their discussion to explaining the attributes of Allah followed by the other articles of faith such as the belief in the Prophets, Angels, Revealed Books, Day of Judgement and Predestination of Allah. Other theological themes covered by the *Kitab Jawi* are the creation of man and *jinn* and their relationship to the Creator.

The discussion of *ʻIlm al-Tauhid* (the Doctrine of the Divine Unity) in *Kitab Jawi* predominantly begins with the introduction of the intellectual predication (*al-ḥukm al-ʻaqli*). The intellectual predication is the predication which can be intellectually conceived without
depending on prior reasoning or external authority. Irrespective of whatever is predicated in a statement about any subject whether affirmatively or negatively, there is between the subject term and the predicate term an intellectual relation of three categories; that is of Necessity (wājib), Inadmissibility (mustahīl) and Admissible (jā‘iz). Therefore, that which, if affirmatively predicated of any term or thing, would be seen by our intellect as a necessity (wājib), and if negatively predicated, would be seen as an inadmissibility, is known as a necessary attribute of that thing. What, if affirmatively predicated of any term or thing, would be seen by our intellect as an Inadmissibility (mustahīl) and if negatively predicated, would be seen as necessity, is known as an Inadmissible attribute of that thing. What is neither affirmatively nor negatively predicated of any term or thing and would be seen by our intellect as a possibility or admissible (jā‘iz), is known as an admissible attribute of that thing. ¹³

Before proceeding with the discussion on the attributes of Allah, the Kitab Jawī first explained that it is an obligation on everyone who is subject to the Shari‘ah, i.e., mukallaf, to know the intellectual predication (al-ḥukm al-‘aqli) which comprises the three categories in relation to the attributes of Allah and the attributes in respect of the Messengers of Allah. A Mukallaf is defined by the Kitab Jawī as a sane adult, whether male or female, whom the message has reached and who is in possession of their mental faculties. ¹⁴

According to al-Sanūsī, who is quoted by most of the Kitab Jawī, there are twenty necessary (wājib) attributes of Allah (Sifat Dua Puluh).¹⁵ They are: (1) wujūd (existence),¹⁶ (2) qidam (state of non-
There are also twenty inadmissible (mustahil) attributes of Allah considered as opposites of the necessary attributes above. They are:

1. 'adam (non-existence),
2. ḥudūth (createdness),
3. Ṭurq al-'adam (becoming non-existent),
4. mumāthalah lil-ḥawādith (resemblance to the created),
5. an lā yakun qā'imān binafsīhi (non-self subsistence),
6. an lā yakun waḥidan (not being one),
7. 'ajz (powerlessness),
8. 'adam al-irādah (purposelessness),
9. jahl (ignorance),
10. mawt (death),
11. ṣamm (deafness),
12. 'amā (blindness),
13. bakam (dumbness),
14. an lā yakun qādirān (not being powerful),
15. an lā yakun murīdān (not being willing),
16. an lā yakun 'ālimān (not being knowing),
17. an lā yakun ḥayyān (not being living),
18. an lā yakun sāmi'ān (not being hearing),
19. an lā yakun baṣīrān (not being seeing),
20. an lā yakun mutakallimān (not being speaking).

The only admissible (jā'iz) attribute of Allah is the doing or abstaining from doing all possible things.
Messenger, the writers of Kitab Jawi basically adopt the method of showing proof and evidence to support their explanations which are of two kinds; *dalil naqli* (traditional proof) and *dalil 'aqli* (intellectual proof). *Dalil naqli* is supported by Qur'anic verses and the ḥadīth whereas *dalil 'aqli* is through reasoning of the intellect. An example of *dalil naqli* is as follows: "He is God, the One and the Only ..." 112(al-Ikhlāṣ):1. There is no multiplicity in Allah, hence oneness is an attribute of Allah. An example of *dalil 'aqli*: There is no multiplicity of Allah, i.e. Oneness is a necessary attribute of Allah. For if Allah were more than one, then nothing in the universe could be existent. But to say there is nothing in existence in the universe is false, because it is contrary to what we conceive and find. Therefore, the multiplicity of Allah is false and the oneness of Allah is established.32

The Kitab Jawi also mention the Ninety-nine Beautiful Names (*al-Asmā' al-Ḥusnā*) of Allah33 besides His attributes. The Malays recite the Ninety-nine Beautiful Names of Allah in their *wird* (individual or collective devotions) by running their fingers through a *tasbih* (tasseled thread with 33 or 100 beads) to make themselves aware of Allah's Sovereignty over all affairs.

The Messengers of Allah are sent to mankind to guide them to the way of the truth. They also possess attributes which are necessary, inadmissible, and admissible to them. Their necessary attributes are truthfulness (*ṣidq*), faithfulness (*amāna*), conveyance (*tablīgh*) of what they were commanded to do and sound intellectual capability (*fatāna*).34 The inadmissible attributes are the opposite of these four attributes. The admissible attributes of the Messengers of Allah are those of human
qualities such as eating, drinking, sleeping, and marrying, which do not lead to a defect to their high rank.

The *Kitab Jawi* mention the difference between a Messenger and a Prophet. A Messenger is one who is sent by Allah to a special community with a book (scripture) containing rules and laws for human conduct whereas a Prophet merely preaches a message. All Prophets are not Messengers but all Messengers are also Prophets.

To believe in the Prophets and Messengers of Allah is to believe and know twenty five of them by name. They are: Ādam, Idrís (Enoch), Nūḥ (Noah), Hūd, Ṣāliḥ, Ibrāhīm (Abraham), Iṣmā‘īl (Ishmael), Išhāq (Isaac), Lūṭ (Lot), Ya‘qūb (Jacob), Yūsuf (Joseph), Shu‘aib, Ayyūb (Job), Mūsā (Moses), Hārūn (Aaron), Dhū al-Qifl (Ezekiel), Dā‘ūd (David), Sulaymān (Solomon), Ilyās (Elias), Al-Yasa‘ (Elisha), Yūnus (Jonah), Zakariyyā (Zechariah), Yahyā (John), ‘Īsā (Jesus) and Muḥammad (‘Alaihim al-Šalāt wa al-Salām). Some of the Messengers are gifted with miracles such as Mūsā, Ibrāhīm, ‘Īsā and Muḥammad, and the Prophets are protected from committing sins (*ma‘ṣūm*). Ādam is regarded as the first Prophet and the Prophet Muḥammad is the last of the Prophets as mentioned in the Qur‘ān, 33(al-Āhzāb): 40;

"Muḥammad is not the father of any of your men, but (he is) the Apostle of God, and the Seal of the Prophets: and God has full knowledge of all things".

Belief in the attributes of Allah and His Messengers is summed up in the statement "There is no god but Allah, Muḥammad (Ṣalla Allāh ‘alaihi wa Sallam: may the blessings and peace of Allah be upon him) is
the Messenger of Allah". This brief but incisive creed called the
Shahādatayn (the two statements of confession of faith)37 includes all
the six fundamentals of the Islamic belief; the belief in Allah, the
Prophets, the Angels, the Revealed Books, the Day of Judgement and
Predestination of good and bad by Allah as explained by the Holy Qur'ān,
2(al-Baqarah):177;

"It is not righteousness that ye turn your faces towards East
or West; but it is righteousness to believe in God, and the
Last Day and the Angels and the Book and the
Messengers....."

There are a great number of angels; there is an Angel for every
drop of rain38 but it is only obligatory to know ten of them. They are
Jibrīl (Gabriel), the Angel of revelation, Mīkā'īl, the Angel of
providence, Isrāfīl, the Angel entrusted with the blowing of the last
trump and 'Īrā'īl, the Angel of death: these four Angels are ranked as
Archangels (leaders of the Angels). Then there are Riḍwān, the
Guardian Angel of Paradise, Mālik, the Guardian Angel of Hell, Munkar
and Nakir, entrusted with the questioning of the dead: these Angels are
among the guiding Angels. The other Angels are Raqīb, the recorder of
good deeds and 'Āfid, the recorder of bad deeds.39 They are known as
the recording Angels who observe and record man's actions.

Angels are created by Allah from nūr (light), are immortal, sexless
and are able to take various forms. They are Allah's servants who are
never disobedient as stated in the Qur'ān, "They receive from God, but
do (precisely) what they are commanded." 66(al-Taḥrīm):6. According
to Islamic Theology as prescribed by the Kitab Jawi, angels rank above
man but below the prophets. This is clearly seen in the Qur’an, 15(al-Ḥijr): 28-43 in the story of the Prophet Ādam and the angels whom Allah commanded to prostrate themselves before Ādam.

Jinn are mortal beings created by Allah from fire and they are mentioned in the Qur’an, 15(al-Ḥijr): 26-27;

"We created man from sounding clay, from mud moulded into shape; and the jinn race, We had created before, from the fire of a scorching wind".

Some of the jinn are believers, others are unbelievers. Jinn are normally invisible, but many appear in human or in various other forms. Tuhfat al-Rāghibīn describes them as hot-tempered and unapproachable and it not beneficial for man to befriend them. Iblīs was one of the jinn. When Allah commanded him to prostrate himself to Ādam, Iblīs refused to obey as mentioned in the Qur’an, 18(al-Kahf): 50;

"Behold! We said to the angels, "Bow down to Adam": they bowed down except Iblīs. He was one of the Jinns, and he broke the Command of his Lord. Will ye then take him and his progeny as protectors rather than Me? and they are enemies to you! Evil would be the exchange for the wrong-doers!".

From then on he is called Iblīs and his role is reduced to leading humans astray to commit errors and offences.

The Kitab Jawi state that it is obligatory for every Muslim to believe in the Books and messages of Allah sent down to his Messengers.
through the angel Gabriel as mentioned in 2(al-Baqarah):285;

"The Apostle believeth in what hath been revealed to him from his Lord, as do the men of faith. Each one (of them) believeth in God, His angels, His books, and His apostles ......."

The Message of Allah was granted to every Prophet as explained in 2(al-Baqarah): 213;

"Mankind was one single nation, and God sent Messengers with glad tidings and warnings; and with them He sent the Book in truth, to judge between people in matters wherein they differed; but the People of the Book, after the clear Signs came to them, did not differ among themselves, except through selfish contumacy. God by His Grace guided the Believers to the Truth, concerning that wherein they differed. For God guides whom He will to a path that is straight".

However there are four *kutub al-samāwāt* (revealed books) mentioned by the Qur'ān. They are the Taurāh to Mūsā, the Zabūr to Dā'ūd, the Injīl to 'Isā and the Qur'ān to Muḥammad. According to *Matn Jauhar al-Tauḥīd*, the Taurāh was revealed on the 6th. of Ramaḍān, the Injīl was revealed on the 13th. of Ramaḍān, the Zabūr on the 28th. of Ramaḍān and the Qur'ān on the 14th. of Ramaḍān. The scriptures (*ṣuḥuf*) of the Prophets Shīth, Ibrāhīm and Mūsā are also mentioned in the *Kitab Jawi*. A Muslim is required to believe in all the books of the Prophets of God, because every nation had a Prophet and every Prophet had a book, as mentioned in the Qur'ān, 10(Yūnus):47;
"To every people (was sent) an Apostle: when their Apostle comes (before them), the matter will be judged between them with justice, and they will not be wronged".

The Qur'ān is the last revealed book and is a guardian over the earlier scriptures and will remain current until the Day of Judgement (Yaum al-Qiyāmah).

It is obligatory for Muslims to believe in the Day of Judgement as mentioned in many verses in the Qur'ān, one of them being, 81(al-Takwīr): 1-14;

"When the sun (with its spacious light) is folded up; when the stars fall, losing their lustre; when the mountains vanish (like a mirage); when the she-camels, ten months with young, are left untended; when the wild beasts are herded together; when the oceans boil over with a swell; when the souls are sorted out, (being joined, like with like); when the female (infant), buried alive, is questioned-for what crime she was killed; when the Scrolls are laid open; when the World on High is unveiled; when the Blazing Fire is kindled to fierce heat; and when the Garden is brought near; (then) shall each soul know what it has put forward".

Death begins at the time of the first blowing of the trump by Isrāfīl. According to the Kitab Jawi, on this day, all the dead are awakened from their graves to give account of their deeds and their deeds are weighed. Those who are heavy in the weight of their good deeds will enter Paradise (jannah) in full bliss while those weight is light will enter Hell full of fire (nār).
The Kitab Jawi describe the beauty of Paradise while Hell is described in a horrible way. This is supported by verses in the Qur’an. Paradise consists of eight gardens, and these are Firdaus, ‘Adn, Khald, Na’im, Salām, Ma’wā, Jalāl and al-Maqām wa al-Qarār.48 There are beautiful clothes, delicious fruits, lovely maidens and anything that the believers desire as confirmed in the Qur’an, 36(Yā Sin):57;

"(Every) fruit (enjoyment) will be there for them; they shall have whatever they call for".

According to the Kitab Jawi, the believers in Paradise are adorned with the finest green clothes of silk and brocade.49

Hell is described by seven different names in the Holy Qur’an created for the non-believers and sinners. They are; Jahannam (Gehenna), Sa’īr, Saqar, Ḥamīm, Huṭāma, Lazza and Hāwiya.50

In Daqā‘īq al-Akhbār,51 Hell is described as blazing fire and so hot that it is black in colour and in it are giant snakes and scorpions. Its shape resembles that of a four legged creature, with a head and a mouth and a bracelet which is pulled by the angels. This fantastic description may be motivated by the desire of the writer to instil a feeling of fear of committing sins which would bring man to Hell. In al-Yawāqīt wa al-Jawāhir,52 the punishments for the unbelievers in Hell are the major topic, which covers ten out of the twelve chapters. Many Kitab Jawi place more stress on the punishment for unbelievers on the Day of Judgement in Hell rather than the rewards of believers in Paradise, which is not consistent with Allah's message to the Prophet in the Holy
Qur'ān, 33(al-Ĥţāb): 45;

O Prophet! Truly We have sent thee as a witness, a bearer of glad tidings and a warner.

The sixth of the articles of faith (Arkān al-Īmān), belief in the predestination of Allah for good and for evil (al-Qaḍā' wa al-Qadar) is explained in Kitab Jawi. According to Kitab Jawi, Allah created man and his existence, function and destination, positive and negative and this has been predestined and predetermined by Allah from eternity until death. Whatever may befall or happen to any of His creatures is perfectly and invariably in accordance with Allah's foreknowledge and sovereign will. Leaving things to fate since al-Qaḍā' wa al-Qadar are predestined by Allah is reflected in the attitude of the Malay society, "Rezeki Secupak takkan jadi Segantang" (What Allah has given cannot be increased by man). This trend of thought is not right because man has no knowledge of what Allah has decreed for him and so he is responsible for his deeds. This attitude is influenced by their misconception of the Ash'arī view on al-Qaḍā' wa al-Qadar that whatever is determined by Allah will not be altered, but al-Ash'arī also said that man must work hard because he is responsible for his actions as confirmed in this Qur'ānic verse, 4(al-Nisā'): 79;

"Whatever good, (O man!) happens to thee, is from God; but whatever evil happens to thee, is from thy (own) soul. And We have sent thee as an Apostle to (instruct) mankind. And enough is God for a witness".

There are two extreme views in respect of the Divine Role and
man's role in human action. The Jabriyyah believe that man is under compulsion, and has no choice and no role even in his intentional actions\(^5\) whereas the Qadariyyah believe that man does everything by his choice and is the sole doer in all his intentional actions.\(^6\) The orthodox position has been the middle one. Man has a free will, but that will is exercised under certain limitations; some of his actions are voluntary and some have been predestined by Allah.\(^7\) This view is supported by the Qur'ānic verses; "Allah does not change the condition of a people until the people change themselves" (13(al-Ra'd):11) and "Verily, when He intends a thing, His Command is, "Be", and it is!". 36(Yā Sin):82.

According to *al-Shams al-Lāmi'ah*, the first thing Allah created was the *Qalam* (Pen). The Creation began when it started to write.\(^8\) This is in line with a ḥadīth narrated by al-Tirmidhī as below;

"Verily the first thing that Allah created was the Pen (*al-Qalam*). Then He said to it 'write' and it said: 'what I shall write?' and He said 'write the Estimation (*Qadr*)'. Then it wrote what was and what would be until eternity"

However another opinion of the *Kitab Jawi* writers concerning the first creation is that the *Qalam* wrote the *Lauh Mahfūz* (Preserved Tablet).\(^9\) There is also the opinion that the creation of man and the universe begins with *Nūr Muḥammad* (the light of Muḥammad). This belief is clearly shown in several classical Malay literary works such as *Ḥikāyat Nūr Muḥammad* and *Ḥikāyat Muḥammad Ḥanafiyyah*.\(^10\) This opinion is however not supported by any Qur'ānic verses.

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The generation of man begins with the creation of Adam whom Allah created from a handful of clay from several parts of the earth as supported by the Qur'anic verses, 32(al-Sajda): 7;

"He Who has made everything which He has created most Good: He began the creation of man with (nothing more than) clay".

In Kashf al-Ghaibiyyah, it is stated that the clay with which Allah created Adam was of various colours and this is the reason the skins of the generation of Adam are different in colour. Allah then created Adam's partner, Hawwā' (Eve) from one of the ribs of Adam, the ribs on his left side. The creation of Eve is stated in the Qur'an, 6(al-An'am): 2;

"He it is Who created you from clay, and then decreed a stated term (for you). And there is in His Presence another determined term; yet ye doubt within yourselves?".

When Adam was created, Allah breathed into him a spirit which entered from the top of the head, into the body until it reached his legs, whereupon he stood up and this made Allah say; "Man is created of Haste". Then Allah taught Adam the names of all things. The fall of Adam from grace began when Adam disobeyed Allah's command not to go near a forbidden tree (khuldi) in Paradise. This incident is dramatically described in the Holy Qur'an, 20(Ta Hā): 120;

"But Satan whispered evil to him: he said, "O, Adam! shall I lead thee to the Tree of Eternity and to a kingdom that never decays?". In the result, they both ate of the tree, and so their nakedness appeared to them: they began to sew together, for
their covering, leaves from the Garden: thus did Adam disobey His Lord, and allow himself to be seduced."

The creation which has a beginning must have an end and so Adam died after living for 930 years.⁶⁶

It is obligatory on every Muslim to believe in the definite occurrence of death. Death takes place when man has reached the age which Allah has determined for him, not sooner nor later as affirmed by this verse; 7(al-Burūj): 34

"when their term is reached, not an hour can they cause delay, nor (an hour) can they advance (it in anticipation)".

The angels of death (malāʾikat al-maut) commissioned with taking lives will take the rūḥ of men and jinn from its body. Their chief is the angel known as 'Īzrāʾīl. He is a great angel, hideous in appearance and very frightening. His head is in the highest of the heavens and his feet are in the lowest boundary of the lowest earth. His face is focused towards the Lauḥ Mahfūz (Guarded Tablet) and the creatures are before his two eyes, and he has as many helpers as the number of those who die. He is gentle to the believers and appears to them in good form but not to the others.⁶⁷

After death, the questioning by the two angels, Munkar and Nakir, starts soon after the completion of the burial and when people have departed. According to Kitab Jawi, this questioning begins at the onset of the departure by seven steps of the people from the grave.⁶⁸ Allah will then return the soul to the whole of the body.⁶⁹
The *Kitab Jawi* believe that once a person is buried, he or she will immediately be asked questions by two large frightful angels so as to determine whether he is an infidel, a hypocrite or a believer. If the person is a faithful believer, he will be able to answer the questions correctly. His grave is expanded, the darkness dispelled and he is assured of the mercy and the delights of paradise. If he fails to provide the appropriate answers, the two angels will give him a severe beating so that he screams loudly in such intense pain that his cries will be heard by all creatures except humans and jinn. His grave will press on him and he will be warned of the severe punishments that await him in Hell.

Among the questions believed to be asked by the angels are: who is your Lord?, what is your religion?, who is your Prophet?, and who is your Imam?. In that order, the answer will be: Allah is my Lord, Islam is my religion, Muhammad is my prophet, the Qur'an is my Imam.

In *al-Yawāqīt wa al-Jawāhir*, the pain felt during the throes of death is explained in detail whereby the dying man feels pain in all parts of his body from head to foot. To ease the pain and help the spirit to separate quickly from the body, his family should read surat Yā Sīn and surat al-Ra'd when he is in his death throes (*Sakrat al-Maut*) and teach him to utter the *Shahādah* before death. When a Muslim dies, the body is washed with water, beginning with the right side, and is clothed in its shroud (*kafan*). After washing and shrouding the body is quickly prayed over (*salāt al-janāzah*) and then buried. Lastly the *Talqīn* is read over the grave of the deceased as a reminder for the deceased to answer the aforementioned questions correctly.
All man and jinn have been created with the purpose of knowing Allah, to obey Him, to worship Him and to return to Him as affirmed in these Qur'anic verses;

"I have not created jinn and mankind except to serve me"
51(al-Dhāriyāt):56

and

"Thee do we worship, and to thee do we turn for help"
1(al-Fātiḥah):4 and 5.

In a Ḥadīth Qudsi, the purpose of this creation is mentioned;

"Allah said: I am a hidden treasure, wanting to be known, therefore I created the creatures, so they may know Me" 78

The obeying and worshipping of Allah ends with the end of creation;

"It is God Who begins (the process of) creation; then repeats it; then shall ye be brought back to him". 30(al-Rūm): 11

and

"He created you for the first time, and unto Him were ye to return". 41(Fuṣṣilat): 21.

The most important aspect of Kitab Jawi writing is the topic which is related to the question of Ma’rifat Allah, to know all the attributes of
Allah; the necessary, the inadmissible and the admissible and after knowing His attributes, to staunchly believe in the Greatness of Allah which is reflected in all His Ninety Nine Beautiful Names (al-Asma’ al-Husnā) and with this knowledge to obey Him and worship Him in full humbleness. This knowledge of the Ma’rifat Allah made the relationship between man and Allah very close as explained in the Holy Qur’ān; 50(Qāf):16;

"We indeed created man; and We know what his soul whispers within him and We are nearer to him than the jugular vein".

This primordial relationship is eloquently described in the Ḥadīth Qudsi;

On the authority of Abū Hurairah (may Allah be pleased with him) who said that the Prophet (may the blessings and peace of Allah be upon him) said: Allah the Almighty says:-

"I am as my servant thinks I am. I am with him when he makes mention of Me. If he makes mention of Me to himself, I make mention of him to Myself; and if he makes mention of Me in an assembly, I make mention of him in an assembly. I make mention of him in an assembly better than it. And if he draws near to Me a hand’s span, I draw near to him an arm’s length; and if he draws near to Me arm’s length, I draw near to him a fathom’s length. And if he comes to Me walking, I go to him at speed".

This Ḥadīth also was related by al-Bukhārī, Muslim, al-Tirmidhi and Ibn Majah. 80

However, by the term Ma’rifat Allah, is meant the knowledge of
the attributes of Allah and all the principles connected with Ulūhiyyah (monotheism), not the knowledge of the essence of Allah (dhāt) because none other than Allah Knows His essence. Most Kitab Jawi explain the essence of Allah as neither a jirm (substance), nor a jawhar (atom) nor an ‘arad (accident) and this includes all the things which are associated with a substance, atom and accidence such as motion, form, colour, direction, space, shape, length, width, depth, feelings and other things. Allah is beyond all description and discussing the Essence of Allah is forbidden because it will lead to Shirk (Polytheism). The Holy Prophet said:

"Think of the Creation and do not think of the Creator for thinking will not encompass Him".  

None knows Allah except Allah and hence, to abstain from trying to understand is itself understanding.
Footnotes chapter 3

1. See: Endnotes of Chapter One, nos. 115-120; nos. 124-126; nos. 130-134.


4. I travelled to Acheh in July, 1986 as part of my research programme on Kitab Jawi. At the Kuno Library, Zawiyah Tanah Abe, I found volumes of manuscripts on Kitab Jawi, some of them dated more than 200 years ago. The present owner of the library, Tengku Muhammad Dahlan al-Fairûsi al-Baghdâdi claimed himself to be descended in the ninth generation from the great scholar, 'Abu al-Qâsim al-Junayd al-Baghdâdi (298 A.H./910 A.D.). The Zawiyah (Dayah) Tanah Abe is located at Tanah Abee, Kecamatan Seulimeun, Kabupaten Acheh Besar, about 50 km. from the University Shaikh Kuala of Acheh.


9. See Appendix (B) map of the Malay Archipelago.


25. HB., op. cit., p. 21; HD., op. cit., pp. 108-9; HS., op. cit., p.70.


28. HB., op. cit., p. 22; HD., op. cit., pp.112-8; HS., op. cit., pp. 72-5.


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Divine Attribute</th>
<th>Qur'ānic reference</th>
</tr>
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2. Qidam
   *Wa mā nāḥnu bimashbūqīn.  - 56*
   (al-Wāqī‘ah): 60.

3. Baqā‘

4. Mukhālafah li al-ḥawādith

5. Qiyām bi al-nafs

6. Waḥdāniyyah

7. Qudrah

8. Irādah
   *Innamā ’amruhū idhā ‘arāda shai‘an an yaqūla lahū Kun fa yakūn.  - 36* (Yāsīn): 82.

9. ‘Ilm

10. Ḥayāt

11. Sam‘

12. Başar
    *Baṣartu bimā lam yabṣarū bihi.  - 20* (Ṭāhā): 96.

13. Kalām
    *Wa kallam Allāhu Mūsā taklīmā.  - 4* (al-Nīsā‘): 164.
14. Qādir

Inna Allāha 'alā kulli shai'in qadīr.' - 2

15. Murid


16. ‘Ālim

‘Ālim al-ghaibi wa al-shahādah. - 9
(al-Ra’d): 13.

17. Ḥayy

Wa tawakkal 'alā al-ḥāyiyyi alladhi lā yamūt. - 25 (al-Furqān): 58.

18. Samī'


19. Baṣīr

Wa Allāhu bi mā ta’malūna baṣīr. - 2
(al-Baqarah): 265.

20. Mutakallim

Inni ışṭafaituka ‘alā al-nās bi risālāti wa bi kalāmi. - 7 (al-’A’raf): 144.


35. MS 12193 SOAS., ff. 93-94; MS M.I. 40 BPIPIM., ff. 32-36; KSDP., pp. 18-9; UD., pp. 6-8; DT., pp. 56-60.


38. This is explained by the Qur’ān, “Or do they think We hear not their secret and what they conspire together? Yes, Indeed, and Our Messengers are present with them writing it down”. al-Qur’ān, Sūrah 18 (al-Kahf): 80;

40. BH., op. cit., p. 38; AN., op. cit., p.57; SH., op. cit., p. 50.

41. TR., p. 23.


43. MJT., p. 24.


45. AN., ibid., 98-9; BH., op. cit., pp. 38-9; SH., op. cit., 45-6.


49. Md. Isa, Mustafa Haji, op. cit., p. 34.


52. JT., ibid., p.27; KSDP., op. cit., p. 17.

54. MJT., ibid., p. 29; UT., op. cit., p. 26.

55. DT., p. 48; HSY., op. cit., p. 15.


63. DA., op. cit., p. 5.


65. DA., op. cit., p. 5.


68. DA., p. 19.

69. KG., p. 250; JT., op. cit., p. 45.

70. KG., op. cit., p. 178.


74. al-Qur'ān, 33 (Yā Sīn).

75. al-Faṭānī, Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl Dā'ūd, Maṭla' al-Badrain wa Majma' al-Bahrain, (Pulau Pinang, n.d.), p. 51.

76. DA., p. 19.

77. BKS., p. 10; HSY., op. cit., p. 17.

78. FM., p. 178; DT., pp. 70-1.

79. al-Qur'ān, 50 (Qāf): 16.

80. Bukhārī (Kitāb al-Tauḥīd); Muslim (Kitāb al-Zuhd); Tirmidhī (Kitāb al-Taubah).


82. al-Qur'ān, 42 (al-Shūrā): 11

84. SUT, op. cit., p. 2.
Chapter Four

The discussion of the question of the divine attributes (ṣifāt) may be said to have begun in Islam with the Mu'tazilites. According to W.M. Watt, there is a logical connection between the doctrine of the createdness of the Qur'an and the Mu'tazilite doctrine of the attributes of God. According to al-Shahrastānī, the denial of the uncreatedness of the Qur'an goes back to the time of Wāṣil b. 'Atā' (131/748), since in his view if the Qur'an is uncreated, this presupposes the existence of two uncreated things, i.e.: Allah and the Qur'an. He is quoted as having asserted that, "whatever affirms an eternal 'form' (ma'na) or attribute has affirmed two gods". As Prof. Watt points out, Wāṣil cannot have used the word ma'na, which only developed after his death. This concept, according to Watt, quoting al-Shahrastānī, only developed after study of the books of the philosophers.
Although according to al-Shahrastānī, the Mu'tazilites reduced the attributes of Allah to knowledge (‘ilm) and power (qudrah), Watt points out that they seem to have talked about all possible attributes or names of Allah. Certainly, although the history of this discussion is not well documented, it seems that the attribute of knowledge was vigorously debated in this period, and according to al-Ash'arī most of the Mu’tazilites (among others) held that God is Knowing, Powerful and Living by Himself (bi-nafsihi) not by Knowledge, Power and Life, and they allow the phrase, 'God has Knowledge' only in the sense that 'He is Knowing'.

We can see here the beginning of the discussions of the sīfāt and the distinction between sīfāt al-ma'na and sīfāt al-ma‘ānī which receive their fullest elaboration in the works of al-Sanūsī.

**Al-Jubbā'ī and al-Ash'arī.**

The key figure in the development of the theory of the sīfāt is al-Jubbā'ī (d. 915). None of his works have survived, but he was the teacher of al-Ash'arī before the latter turned against the Mu'tazilah, and since al-Ash'arī was chiefly responsible for introducing scholastic theology or kalām, previously the domain of the Mu'tazilah, into mainstream Sunni thought (although kalām had been strenuously opposed by Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal) the ideas of al-Jubbā'ī deserve serious consideration. According to al-Ash'arī, al-Jubbā'ī objected to the term 'Knowledge' and merely said that:

God is knowing by his essence. He is dealt with the other
essential attributes similarly. He accepted the distinction between essential attributes (ṣifāt al-dhāt, sifāt al-fi'il or al-af'al), the latter being the attributes or names connected with God's temporal activity; and he tried to make the distinction more precise and give exact definitions of the two classes. When he considered the applicability or non-applicability to God of various names, he did not make occurrence in the Qur'an a criterion but judged the question on rational and philological grounds.

We may note here in particular the distinction between ṣifāt al-dhāt and sifāt al-fi'il or af'al which now foreshadow much more clearly the ideas which we find in later writers, including al-Sanūsī.

For the views of al-Ash'ārī on the question of sifāt, together with a comparison with those of al-Māturīdī, we cannot do better than quote the words of W.M. Watt;

both al-Ash'ārī and al-Māturīdī hold that God has attributes (ṣifāt), such as knowledge, and that it is by this attribute of knowledge that he knows, in this they differ from the Mu'tazilites who say that it is by his essence that God knows. They further accept the Mu'tazilite distinction between active and essential attributes (ṣifāt al-fi'il, al-dhāt or fi'liyya, dhātiyya), but while al-Māturīdī said that all attributes are eternal, al-Ash'ārī held, at least by implication, that the active attributes are not eternal. Since God cannot be 'creating' (khāliq) or 'providing' (rāziq) until creatures exist, 'most ahl al-kalām' he reports, do not allow one to say "God has not ceased (or 'is eternally') creating"; and with this view he presumably concurs.

We note here that the terminology used is very similar to that of al-Jubbā'ī. The origin of this discussion seems clear enough, but at this point we may abandon further consideration of the Mu'tazilah and go on to deal with the development of the discussion of the ṣifāt within Sunni
Abū al-Ḥasan al-Ash'ari (b. 260 A.H.).

Al-Ash'ari was formerly of the Mu'tazilite doctrine and a student of Abū 'Alī al-Jubbā'ī (b. 235 A.H.), but later abandoned the Mu'tazilah camp to form what became known as the Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jamā'ah also known as Ash'arism.

Despite the influence of the Mu'tazilites, the main question which arises in the discussion of ṣifāt is the denial of God's attributes by the Mu'tazilites. Al-Ash'ari disagreed with these opinions and he supports his own views with Qur'ānic verses. According to him, the attributes of Allah which can be adduced from the Qur'ān are:

a) al-ʿilm (Knowledge);

If then they (your false gods) answer not your (call), know ye that this Revelation is sent down (replete) with the knowledge of Allah, and that there is no god but He! will ye even then submit (to Islam)? Sūrah 11 (Hūd): 14.

b) al-qudrah (Power):

Now the Ad behaved arrogantly through the land, against (all) truth and reason, and said, "who is superior to us in strength?", what! did they not see that Allah, who created them, was superior to them in strength?. But thy continued to reject Our signs! Sūrah 41 (Fussilat): 15.

From the above verses, the divine attributes of ʿilm and qudrah are firmly associated (ithbāt), and al-Ash'ari supported the attributes of
sam', bașar, kalām, ḥayāh and irādah with analogical proof (dalīl qiyāsī), the comparison between what is not seen (al-ğhā'ib) with what can be seen (al-shāhid). Thus he says;

It must be established that the Creator possesses the Power (qudrāh), Knowledge ('ilm) and Will (irādah), which show that Allah is Knowledgeable ('ālim), Powerful (qādir) and Willing (mûrîd) because the analogical proof makes no difference between that which is unseen and that which can be seen and knowledge can only be recognised through the person who possesses knowledge.

He held the opinion that the names of Allah (al-âsmâ' al-ḥusnâ) derive from His attributes and they imply meanings and contents. When it is said that Allah is wise, it means that He possesses the quality of wisdom and so on.

The Ash'arites, as against the Mu'tazilites, held that "God has attributes which inhere eternally in Him and are in addition to His essence". These attributes are eternal, but they are neither identical with His essence, nor are they quite different from or other than His essence. To say that God is Knowing, for instance, means that God possesses knowledge as an attribute, which is inherent in God, and although it is not exactly same as His essence, yet it is not something quite different from and other than His essence. The Ash'arites, here, maintained a very difficult position. They were between the two horns of a dilemma. They could neither assert the eternal attributes of God to be identical with nor wholly different from the essence of God.

Basically the writings of al-Ash'arī are related to the discussion of
'ilm al-kalām, which is related to the twenty attributes of Allah, especially in his major works, al-Ibānāh, Maqālāt and al-Luma\textsuperscript{10}.

**Abū Manṣūr al-Māturīdī (b. 333 A.H.)**

Al-Māturīdī is a contemporary of al-Ashʿarī, and both endeavoured to reconcile conflicting ideas and settle the theological problems of the time and came from the same school of thought. They both strongly opposed the ideas of those who think that the individual mind is the basis of knowledge and criterion of truth, in particular the Muʿtazilites.

There are no major difference between these two schools in their basic principles, only in their branches. The important point of difference between the two leaders of orthodox kalām have been listed by some writers as fifty in number. Those differences may be due to their different social background; al-Ashʿarī came from Iraq while al-Māturīdī was from Samarqand.

**Question of Sifāt**

The opinion of al-Māturīdī on the question of Sifāt is the same as that of al-Ashʿarī, but differs as to whether the attributes of Allah can be classified as Dhātiyyah or Fiʿliyyah\textsuperscript{11}. According to al-Ashʿarī, the Sifāt Fiʿliyyah such as Rahmān, Rizq and Takwīn are considered to be Nisbī (relative) and Ḥādith (created). But for al-Māturīdī, they are Qadīm, essence of the attributes of Allah\textsuperscript{12}.

Al-Māturīdī divided the attributes of Allah into two sections; the attributes of essence (Sifāt al-Dhāt) and the attributes of action (Sifāt al-Fiʿl). The attribute of action (Fiʿl) means the attribute which is subjected to the Sifāt Qudrah, such as Rahmah and Kalām, whereas the attribute of
essence (Ｄｈａｔ) is not subjected to the Ｓｉｆａｔ Ｑुḍ्रａḥ.

Al-Māturīdī also maintains that all the attributes of Allah, whether belonging to His essence or His action, are eternal. The word Takwīn has been used to denote all attributes pertaining to action such as creating and sustaining. Takwīn, according to al-Māturīdī, is an eternal attribute distinct from power (Ｑुḍrah). Thus Allah is the creator before and after the creation. This does not indicate in any way the eternity of the world, because as knowledge (Ｉｌｍ) and power (Ｑुḍrah) are eternal attributes, though the objects of knowledge and power are created, Takwīn is an eternal attribute, though the object of Takwīn (Ｍुकाव(preg) is created. The non-existence of the world at the beginning does not imply Allah's inability, as He created it at the appropriate time in accordance with His eternal knowledge (Ｉｌｍ) and will (Ｉｒāḍah).

Abū Bakr Muḥammad al-Bāqillānī (b. 403 A.H.)

He is the first among the Ash'arites to introduce Dalīl 'Ａｑ़ल (intellectual proof) to refute the opinions which opposed those of the Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jamā'ah.

Question of Sīfāt

Al-Bāqillānī is similar to al-Māturīdī in his classification of Sīfāt al-Dhāt and Sīfāt al-Fi'i. According to him, Sīfāt al-Fi'i are the attributes which are related to the action of Allah such as al-Rāziq, al-Khāliq and al-'Ādil. All those attributes exist after the existence of Allah. For the Sīfāt al-Dhāt, he refutes the opinion of Abū Hāshim who was of the opinion that these Sīfāt are firmly associated with al-Ｈāl.
He explained that Allah is Ḥayy (Living), ‘Alīm (Knowing), Qādir (Powerful), Murīd (Willing), Samī’ (Hearing), Baṣīr (Seeing) and Mutakallim (Speaking), because He possesses the attributes of Ḥayāh, ‘Ilm, Qudrah, Irādah, Baṣar, Sam‘ and Kalām based on Qiyās from the Shāhīd (visible) to the Ghā‘ib (invisible).17

Abū Maṣūr al-Baghdādī (b. 429 A.H.)

He is the Ash‘arite scholar who systematically formulated Ash‘arism as the official doctrine of the Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jamā‘ah and he is among the Ash‘arite scholars who made a strong effort to demolish Mu‘tazilism.18

Question of Șifāt

In his work, Kitāb Uṣūl al-Dīn, the question of Șifāt is divided into two sections;

a) The discussion of the Creator (Khāliq) and His attributes in relation to the Essence (Dhāt). In this section he identifies 15 problems. They are:-

1) the problem that the Accidents must be created.

2) the problem that the created must begin from non-existence to existence.

3) the problem that the Creator must possess the attribute of Qadīm (non-created).

4) the problem that the Creator is self subsistent.

5) the problem that the Creator is in a state of Qidam (non-origination).

6) the problem of the inadmissibility for Allah to be multiple.
7) the problem of the inadmissibility for the Creator to have direction.

8) the problem of the inadmissibility for the Creator to have the attributes of colour and taste.

9) the problem of the inadmissibility for the Creator to suffer limitation.

10) the problem of the inadmissibility of the attribute of non-existence to the Creator.

11) the problem of the inadmissibility for Allah to possess the attribute of blindness to His creations.

12) the problem of the superiority of His creations.

13) the problem that Allah created all accidents.

14) the problem that Allah destroys all creations (Makhlūq).

15) the problem that Allah possesses the attribute of self-subsistence.

b) The attributes which are eternal essence of Allah. In this section, he identifies 15 problems:

1) the problem of how many of Allah's attributes are Azalī.

2) the problem of the attribute of Qudrah and His Maqḍūr.

3) the problem of 'Ilm and His Ma'lūm.

4) the problem of Samʿ and His Masmūʿ.

5) the problem of Ruʿyah and His Marʿiyyah.

6) the problem of Irādah and His Murād.

7) the problem of the explanation of the Murādāt of Allah.

8) the problem of the Ḥayāh of Allah.

9) the problem of the Kalām of Allah.

10) the problem of the forms of His Kalām.

11) the problem of the Baqā' of Allah.
12) the problem of the *Baqā* of His attributes.

13) the problem of His face (*Wajh*) and His eye (*‘Ayn*).

14) the problem of His hand (*Yad*).

15) the problem of His being seated on His throne (*Istiwa*).

For a discussion of these technical terms, see Chapter Five of this thesis.

**Imām al-Ḥaramayn (b. 478 A.H.).**

He is one of the well-known Ash‘arite pioneers and a former teacher of Imām al-Ghazālī. In his *Kitāb al-Irshād*, the great part of his discussion of *Ṣifāt* is related to the Twenty Attributes, whereas in his *al-‘Aqidah al-Nizāmiyyah*, his discussion is limited to the following issues:

1) the Creator has the attribute of power of choice and not obligatory attributes.

2) it is inadmissible that Allah should possess all the attributes of the created.

3) the obligatory attributes of Allah are *Qādir*, *Murid*, *‘Alīm* and *Ḥayy*, *Qudrah*, *Irādah*, *‘Ilm* and *Ḥayah*, *Ṣifat al-Kalām* and *Mutakallim*, *Sāmi*’ and *Baṣīr*.

In his discussion of *Ṣifāt*, he divides them into two categories: *Ṣifāt Nafsiyyah* and *Ṣifāt Ma‘nawīyyah*. *Ṣifāt Nafsiyyah* are defined as the condition which is necessary to the essence as long as the essence does not result from any cause. Included in this category are *Qidam*, *Qiyāmuhū bi-Nafsīhī*, *Mukhālaftah li al-Ḥawādith* and *Waḥdānīyyah*. *Ṣifāt Ma‘nawīyyah* are defined as the attributes of the essence which are determinations caused by conceptual attributes inhering in the essence.
$Ṣifāt$ $Ṣalbiyyah$ are explained under the discussion of $Ṣifāt$ $al-Nafs$ while the attributes of $Wujūd$ (existence) are not categorised under the discussion of $Ṣifāt$ $Nafsiyyah$ because $Wujūd$ is a $Ṣifāh$. $Ṣifāt$ $Maʿānī$ are categorised under $Ṣifāt$ $Maʿnawiyyah$ because he holds the view that $Ṣifāt$ $Maʿānī$ are determinations ($Aḥkām$) which make $Ṣifāt$ $Maʿnawiyyah$ obligatory.

**Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (b. 606 A.H.).**

Imām al-Rāzī is a great scholar of many branches of knowledge but is best known first in the study of $Tafsīr$ and secondly in ‘$Ilm$ al-$Kalam$’. He holds the view that the attributes of Allah are divided into three categories:

1) the attribute of $dhātiyyah$ which means that these attributes indicate the essence ($dhāt$), for example $al-Mawjūd$ and $al-Qidam$.

2) the attributes of $Maʿnawiyyah$ which means the terms which indicate the Conceptual Attributes ($Maʿānī$) inhering in the essence, such as $ʿAlīm$, $Qādir$ and $Ḥayy$.

3) the attribute of $Fiʿliyyah$ which means that this attribute is the term which indicates the existence of implication as a result of the power of Allah ($Qudrah$).

In his analysis of the Twenty Attributes of Allāh, he includes all the attributes except the attribute of $Qiyāmuhū bi Nafsihi$ because of several problems:

1) Allah has no need of a subject of inherence ($Maḥāl$).

2) Allah has no space and direction ($Jihah$).
3) Allah does not need an individuator (Mukhassiṣ)\textsuperscript{35}.

The attributes of *Qidam* and *Baqā'*, are included in his discussion of the attributre of *dhātiyyah*, while in the discussion of the attribute of *Baqā'*, he disagrees with the opinion which says that *Baqā'*, is the attribute which inheres in the essence\textsuperscript{36}, but rather regards *Baqā'*, as Allāh's essence. This means that the attribute of *Baqā'*, is included in the attribute of *dhātiyyah*. Al-Rāzi is the first scholar to introduce the concept of the Twenty Attributes, and although his twenty attributes are not the same as those of al-Sanūsī, it is possible to see that by this stage the discussion is recognisably similar to that of the latter scholar.

**Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī (b. 505 A.H.)**

Imām al-Ghazālī is famous for his knowledge and ingenious ability in various branches of knowledge including *'ilm al-Kalām*. His writings are extensive in all areas that he has undertaken. Al-Ghazālī made the Ash'arite theology so popular that it became the general theology of the Muslim community as a whole and has continued to remain so up to the present day.

**The question of *ṣifāt*.**

He discusses theological problems in great detail, in particular the problem of *ṣifāt* which is related to the Twenty Attributes. His discussion of *ṣifāt* can be seen in his *al-Iqtiṣād fi al-Iʿtiqād*. In the second section he elaborates on the seven attributes of *Qudrah*, *'Ilm*, *Ḥayāh*, *Irādah*, *Sam*, *Baṣar* and *Kalām*. 
The second chapter of this section discusses four *ahkām* of *ṣifāt*:

1) the attributes of Allāh are not essence but an addition to His essence.
2) all these attributes inhere in the essence.
3) all these attributes are *Qadīm*.
4) Allāh’s names from these attributes are eternal and absolute.

In the first chapter he elaborates on the questions of the essence of Allāh. These are:

1) the existence (*wujūd*) of Allāh and its proofs (*dalā’il*).
2) *Qidam*.
3) *Baqā’*.
4) the Creator is not *jauhar*.
5) the Creator is not *jism*.
6) the Creator is not ‘*araḑ*.
7) the Creator is without *jiḥah*.
8) Allāh does not stay in the *‘arsh*.
9) Allāh is seen (in the Hereafter).
10) Allāh is one.

In his *Iḥyā’ Ulūm al-Dīn* and *al-Iqtiṣād fi al-I’tiqād* he explains in great detail the question of the Twenty Attributes except for the attribute of *Mukhālafathū li al-Ḥawādith* and *Qiyāmuhu bi-Nafsihū*.

`Aḍud al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ijjī (b. 756 A.H.)

Al-Ijjī is famous for his *al-Mawāqīf fi ‘ilm al-Kalām* which is the most important writing on *‘Ilm al-Kalām* because it contains all the
earlier opinions and debates as a guide and reference to the later scholars\textsuperscript{40}. There are more than 40 sharh and hāshiyah in the Kitāb al-Mawāqif\textsuperscript{41}. Among its wide-ranging topics is the question of the attributes of Allāh.

Question of \textit{sifāt}.

Apart from the seven attributes (Qudrah, ‘Ilm, Ḥayy, Murīd, Samī’, Baṣīr and Mutakallim) this work analyses the dispute concerning the other attributes which inhere eternally in Allāh and are in addition to His essence\textsuperscript{42}. These are: al-Baqā’, al-Qidam, al-Istīwā’, al-Wajh, al-Yad, al-‘Aynayn, al-Janb, al-Qadam, al-Iṣba’, al-Yamin and al-Takwin.

The dispute these attributes can be seen in the opinion offered concerning the attribute of al-Baqā’ and al-Qidam.

1) al-Baqā’ : All held the opinion that Allāh is Bāqī but the dispute is to whether it is an attribute of Thubūtiyyah, which is an addition to the essence.

Among the scholars who identify it as an addition to the essence are al-Ash’arī and his followers are the majority of the Baghdād Mu’tazilites\textsuperscript{43}. Those who disagree with this view are al-Qādī Abū Bakr al-Bāqillānī, Imām al-Ḥaramayn, Imām al-Rāzī and the Baṣrah Mu’tazilites. They hold the view that al-Baqā’ is Nafs al-Wujūd and not an addition to Allāh\textsuperscript{44}.

2) al-Qidam : The majority of ‘Ilm al-Kalām scholars formed the consensus that Allāh is Qadīm because of his essence,
not in his attributes whereas Ibn Sa‘id from among the Ash‘arites firmly identified it as the attribute of al-Baqā‘.\textsuperscript{45}

**Muḥammad Yūsuf al-Sanūṣī (b. 896 A.H.)**

The development of the question of attributes continues until the 9th century. After this century the discussion of the Twenty Attributes is limited. The earliest writing which discusses the Twenty Attributes as such is the *Umm al-Barāhīn* by Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad Yūsuf al-Sanūṣī. In this work, he produced clear evidence for the Twenty Attributes. Nonetheless, he did not view the attributes of Allāh as limited to only the twenty attributes, because the twenty attributes are among the attributes of Allāh which must be understood by Muslims.

After his discussion of the obligatory attributes of Allāh, he continues with the Twenty Inadmissible Attributes which are the opposites of the former.\textsuperscript{46} Compared to his earlier work *Aqidat ahl al-Tawḥīd al-Kubrā* in which the discussion of the attributes is almost similar to that of the earlier writers, in his *Umm al-Barāhīn*, al-Sanūṣī's method of analysing the attributes differs from previous writings even though it is similar in its content. The attributes of *Mukhālafatu li al-Ḥawādith* and *Qiyāmuḥu bi Nafsihi* are directly found in his earlier writings but in *Umm al-Barāhīn* these attributes are given more emphasis and are included among the *Salbiyyah* attributes.

In the 9th century the writings on theological and philosophical matters were mixed together which confused their readers. They were
not able to differentiate between philosophical knowledge and religious knowledge, in particular on the question of the Hereafter and the attributes of Allah. This is one of the reasons which encouraged al-Sanūsī to limit his discussion on attributes to the Twenty Attributes. Al-Sanūsī tried to give a guidance to the Muslims in such a way that would not be influenced by the knowledge and methods of the philosophers.

The word *Min* in *Mimmā (fa-mimmā yajibu limaulānā jalla wa 'azza 'ishrūna sifatan)* is defined by al-Sanūsī as having the meaning of "a part" (*tab'īd*) which means that among the obligatory attributes of Allah are the Twenty Attributes. This denotes that obligatory attributes of Allah are not only twenty because the obligatory attributes of Allah are unlimited because His perfections are uncountable.

This analysis is emphasised in *Ḥāšiyah Umm al-Barāhin* by al-Dasūqī and in *Ḥāšiyah Taḥqīq al-Maqām* by al-Bayjūrī, and in these writings it is stated that it is obligatory for the Muslim to know in detail (*tafṣīl*) the Twenty Attributes of Allah whereas it is obligatory on the Muslims to know in brief (*Ijmāl*) other attributes of Allah.

This *Jawi* text of *Umm al-Barāhin* by al-Sanūsī in Arabic with interlinear translation in Malay that has been chosen for translation in this chapter is MS 12225 in the collection of the Library of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London. This manuscript is dated 1188 A.H./1774 A.D. The content of the manuscript is divided into two parts. The first part from ff. iv to 27v is the Arabic text itself with an anonymous translation in Malay. The second part from ff. 28v to 117r is the anonymous commentary on the preceding work. On the last page of
this manuscript is written the name Tāhā b Khaṭīb 'Abd al-Mu'min who is the copyist of the entire text of the manuscript and who finished copying the work after the Žuhr prayer on Wednesday the 29th. of Muḥarram 1189 A.H./1775 A.D.. This manuscript is the earliest dated manuscript of al-Sanūsī's Umm al-Barāhīn with interlinear translation in Malay in any British collection.

i. The Life and Works of al-Sanūsī

Al-Sanūsī was among the most renowned Islamic scholars of his time, and his work the Umm al-Barāhīn became a major work of reference which shaped Islamic theological thought in the Muslim world in general and in the Malay Archipelago in particular. Al-Sanūsī's full name was Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Yusuf b. 'Umar b. Shu'aib al-Sanūsī al-Ḥasanī., and he was born approximately in 838 or 839 A.H./1435-1436 A.D. in Tilimsān in the west of modern Algeria, and died at the hour of al-'aṣr on Sunday, 18 Jum. II 895 A.H./10 May 1490 A.D.. He was greatly admired by the learned men of Tilimsān for his perfection, holiness and mystical knowledge (Ulūm al-Baṭiniyyah al-Ḥaqiqiyah) and was regarded as the reviver of Islam by scholars of the Maghrib.

He studied Islamic sciences as well as mathematics and astronomy in his native town with such teachers as his father Abū Ya'qūb Yusuf, his brother Alf al-Tallutī, Qāsim al-'Uqbātī, Naṣr al-Zāwī and others. Among his disciples were Ibn al-Ḥajjāj al-Yabdāri, Ibn al-'Abbās al-Ṣaghīr, Ibn Sa'd, Abū al-Qāsim al-Zawāwī and others. Among his contemporaries were Abū al-'Abbās 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Zakrī al-Mirāwī, Abū Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Karīm b. Muḥammad al-Maghīlī,
and Abū al-'Abbās Āḥmad b. al-Jazā'irī al-Zawāwī.

His works are numerous and among them are included his first theological commentary, *al-'Aqīda al-Kubrā*, and subsequent theological works such as *al-'Aqīda al-Wuṣṭā*, the 'Aqīda of Ibn Ḥājib, 'Umdat Ahl al-Tawfiq and in particular *al-'Aqīda al-Ṣughrā* or *Umm al-Barāhīn*.

**ii. The Creed of Umm al-Barāhīn.**

Of all al-Sanūsī's works, the creed of *al-'Aqīda al-Ṣughrā* (The Shortest Doctrine of the People of the Unity) more popularly known as *Umm al-Barāhīn* (The Mother of Proofs) or *al-Sanūsiyyah*, after the name of its author, is regarded as his most important work due to its widespread popular use. Among the popular *Shūrūḥ* or commentaries on this work in Arabic there are three which are most notable. The first is the edition and commentary by al-Sharqāwī under the title *Ḥāshiyyat Shaikh 'Abd Allah al-Sharqāwī 'ala Sharḥ al-Imām al-Hudhūdī 'alā al-Sanūsiyyah*, printed in Cairo in 1194 A.H. by Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalābī. The second is the edition and commentary by Shaikh Ibrāhīm al-Bayjūrī under the title *Ḥāshiyyat al-Bayjūrī 'alā Matn al-Sanūsiyyah*, printed in 1277 A.H. by Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalābī, another edition of this same commentary being printed by al-Tawfiq Press in 1343 A.H. The third is the edition and commentary by Muḥammad b. Ṣā'īd al-Dasūqī under the title *Ḥāshiyyah 'alā Sharḥ Umm al-Barāhīn*, printed by Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalābī in 1358 A.H.

There are numerous European translations of and studies on this work. The best-known Arabic text used for these translations is the one
printed in Algeria in 1896 A.D. and used by J. D. Luciani for his French translation. The *Umm al-Barāhīn* was also translated into German by Ph. Wolff in 1848 A.D. at Leipzig. An English translation of this creed has also been attempted by Frederick J. Barny which appeared in two parts in *the Muslim World*, the first part in vol. xxiii, no 1, Jan 1933 pp 46-55 and the second part in Vol xxiv, no 1, Jan 1934, pp 44-8.

In the Malay Archipelago, al-Sanūsī's *Umm al-Barāhīn* is one of the Islamic creeds which have determined the structure of Islamic theological thought in Malaysia and has been a major source of reference since the middle of the 18th century. There are three Malay translations and commentaries on this creed. The first Malay translation and commentary was done by Muḥammad Zain b. Faqīh Jalāl al-Dīn in 1170 A.H./1757 A.D., printed by Dār al-Maʿārif, Pulau Pinang, Malaysia under the title *Bidāyat al-Hīdāyah*. The second translation and commentary was undertaken by Muḥammad Zain al-Dīn b. Muḥammad Badawi al-Sambāwī in 1259 A.H./1885 A.D., printed by Dār al-Maʿārif, Pulau Pinang, Malaysia under the name *Sirāj al-Hudā*, and the third translation and commentary was accomplished by Zain al-ʿĀbidīn b. Muḥammad al- Faṭānī in 1308 A.H./1890 A.D., printed by Dār al-Maʿārif, Pulau Pinang, Malaysia with the title *ʿAqidat al-Nājin*.

Some *Kitab Jawi* (or at least the scribes) have errors in the text of *Umm al-Barāhīn*, for example, *mufarriqan* (*Bidāyat al-Hīdāyah* - p.34) instead of *muftakiran* (*Umm al-Barāhīn* - p.37) or at least have variations, for example *lahu* (*ʿAqidat al-Nājin* - p.43) instead of *lahu taʿālā* (*Umm al-Barāhīn* - p.13). In most cases these either do not matter, or it is clear enough that an error has occurred. More rarely this is
rather more serious, as when *Sirāj al-Hudā* (p.19) mentions seven attributes but only lists six of them. Since however it is not our intention to prepare critical texts of these works, we will remark only that *Bidāyat al-Hidāyah* contains 52 such errors (of all kinds), *Sirāj al-Hudā* 56 errors and *ʻAquīdat al-Nājin* 41 errors. Errors of this kind will be mentioned below when they are relevant to the discussion, but in general it can be stated that in no case has real harm been done to the study of *Umm al-Barāhin* in the *Kitab Jawī* literature.

### iii The Annotated Translation of *Umm al-Barāhin*.

In the name of Allah the Merciful, the Compassionate. Praise be to Allah (Rabb al-ʻĀlamin) and blessing and peace be upon the Messenger of Allah (s.a.w.). Know that the intellectual predication (*al-ḥukm al-ʻaqli*) is confined to three categories: necessity (*al-wujūb*)\(^1\), inadmissibility (*al-istihālah*)\(^2\) and admissibility (*al-jawāz*)\(^3\). The necessary (*al-wājib*) is that the non-existence of which is not intellectually conceivable. The inadmissible (*al-mustahil*) is that the existence of which is not intellectually inconceivable. The admissible (*al-jaʿiz*) is that the existence or non-existence of which are [both] valid intellectually.

It is obligatory on every *mukallaf* (a person who has reached the age of puberty), in the eyes of the divine ordinance (*shar*') to know what is necessary, inadmissible and admissible in respect of our Allah, the Magnificent, the Mighty. And likewise, it is an obligation on him to know the same in respect of the Messengers, may blessing and peace be upon them.
Of what is necessary for our Allah, the Magnificent, the Mighty are twenty attributes (sifāt). They are: existence (wujūd), a state of non-origination (qidam), permanence (baqā'), difference from the created (mukhālafah li al-ḥawādith), self-substience (qiyyām bi al-nafs) that is, being without a subject of inherence (mahāl) or individuator (mukhasṣis), and oneness (wahdāniyyah) that is, there is no second to Him in His Essence (dhāt) or His attributes (sifāt) or His acts (af'āl). These are six attributes: the first, that is existence, being nafsīyyah (a personal attribute) and the five after it being salbiyyah (negative attributes).

Then there are necessary for Allah, the exalted, seven attributes named sifāt al-ma'āni (Conceptual Attributes). They are power (qudrāh) and will (irādah), which are related to all possible beings (mumkinat), knowledge ('ilm), which is related to all the necessary beings (wājibāt), the inadmissible (mustahilat) and the admissible (jai'zat) beings, life (hayāh), which is not related to anything, audition (sam'ı) and sight (baṣar), which are related to all that is existent (maujūdāt), and speech (kalām) which is neither letter nor sound and is related to all those things to which knowledge is related.

Then there are seven attributes named sifāt ma'nawiyyah (Qualitative Attributes) which are consequent upon the previous seven (Conceptual Attributes). They are: that He is powerful (qādir), willing (murīd), knowing ('ālim), living (hayy), hearing (sāmi), seeing (baṣir), and speaking (mutakallim).

And of the attributes which are inadmissible in respect of Allah are
twenty attributes which are the opposites of the previous twenty. They are: non-existence ('ādam), createdness (ḥudūth), becoming non-existent (turq al-‘ādam), resemblance to the created (mumāthalah lil al-ḥawādith) in being a substance (jirm), i.e. His exalted Essence occupying a measure of space (fārāgh), or His being an accident ('ara'f) subsisting in a substance, or His being similar to (a substance), or His image being fixed in its imagination, or His being in any direction to a substance or its having any direction to Himself or His being confined to any place or time, or in that His exalted essence partakes of [the properties of] the originated [things] or in that He is characterised by [dimensional characteristics of] smallness or largeness or in that He is characterised [as being conditioned] by motives in His acts and judgements. Likewise, it is inadmissible of Allah that He is not self-subsistent, that He is an attribute which subsists in a subject of inherence or that He needs an individuator [or an initiating agent]. Likewise too, it is inadmissible for Allah not to be one, in His being compound in His Essence, or that there is any one comparable to Him in His Essence or His attributes, or that there exists a mover (mu' aththir) together with Him (fi al-wujūd) in any of [His] actions. Likewise, it is inadmissible [to attribute] powerlessness to Allah in respect of any possible being, or that He brings anything into existence in the universe despite His dislike that it should exist, that is without willing it, or in absentmindedness or heedlessness, or by reason of a cause (ta'llīl), or of nature (tab'). Likewise, it is inadmissible to attribute ignorance - and the like - of any known thing, or death, deafness, blindness, and dumbness to Allah. And the opposites of the sīfāt ma'nawaiyyah (Qualitative Attributes) are clear from these.

As for the attributes which are admissible of Allah, they are to do or
to abstain from doing any of the possible beings [things].

Proof (burhān) of the existence of Allah is the createdness of the universe for if it had no creator but had come into existence on its own, it would necessitate that one of the two elements of equal value, [i.e. Allah and the universe] would while being equal to the other supersede the other without cause; and this is impossible.

The Proof of the createdness of the universe is its adherence to the created accidents of motion, rest, and others, whereas it is a known fact that the element adhering to created things is itself created. And proof of the createdness of accidents is our witnessing of their change from non-existence to existence and from existence to non-existence.

Proof of the necessity of Allah being non-originated is the fact that were He not non-originated then He would certainly be created and thereby require a creator, which will result in a vicious circle (dawr) or the succession of causes (tasalsul) will set in.

Proof of the necessity of Allah being permanent is the fact that if it were possible for the occurrence of non-existence to be part of Him then certainly the state of non-origination will not be applicable to Him because His existence then would become an admissible [attribute] and not a necessary [attribute], whereas the admissible attribute cannot exist except as a created one. How [could this be possible] since the necessity of His state of non-origination has already been established?

Proof of the necessity of Allah being different from the created
[things] is the fact that if He were similar to any of them, He would certainly have been [a thing] created like them. That would be impossible for the reasons stated previously concerning the necessity of His attributes of non-origination and permanence.

Proof of the necessity of the self-subsistence of Allah is the fact that if He were to need a subject of inherence then He would be an attribute and the attribute cannot have the attributes of either sifāt al-ma'āni (Conceptual Attributes) or al-sīfāt al-ma'ānawīyyah (Qualitative Attributes), whereas Allah, the Magnificent, the Mighty, necessarily has the attributes of these two [classes of attributes]. [Therefore], He is not an attribute. And if He were to need an individuator then He would certainly be created. [How could this be possible], since we have already established that His non-origination is a necessary [attribute].?

Proof of the necessity of Him being one is the fact that were He not one it must necessarily follow that nothing in the world would be brought into existence since in this case He would necessarily be incapable [of doing so].

Proof of the necessity of Allah possessing the attributes of power, will, knowledge and life is that if any of these were to be lacking nothing from the created things would exist.

Proof of the necessity of Allah possessing the attributes of audition, sight and speech is the evidences of the Kitāb (i.e. the Qur'ān), the sunnah of the Prophet and the ijmā' (consensus of opinion); and the fact that if He did not possess these attributes, He would invariably have
possessed the attributes of their opposites which are attributes of imperfection and the attribution of imperfections to Allah is impossible.

Proof of His doing (creating) or abstaining from doing (creating) any of the possibilities (mumkināt) being an admissible attribute of Allah is that if any of these were to be intellectually necessary for Him or intellectually inadmissible for Him, then the possible [thing] would become either necessary or inadmissible whereas that is incomprehensible to the intellect.

As for the Messengers, may Blessings and peace be upon them, their necessary attributes are truthfulness (ṣidq), trustworthiness (amānah), and conveyance (tablīgh) of what they were commanded to convey to the people. And the attributes which are inadmissible to them are the opposites of these attributes. They are Falsehood (kadhib), and faithlessness (khiyānah), in doing anything which they were forbidden to do by Allah, either ḥarām (forbidden) or makrūh (disliked), or concealing something which they were commanded to convey to the people. What is admissible to them are human 'accidents' (aʿraif), which do not lead to a defect in their high rank such as sickness and the like. Proof of the necessity of truthfulness as an attribute of them is that if they were not truthful, then this would necessitate the falsehood of the Divine Statement declaring them to be truthful through the Muʿjizāt or miracles which stands in place of His saying:

"My servant is truthful in everything that he conveys from Me".
Proof of the necessity of trustworthiness in them is that if they were faithless by committing the unlawful (harām) or the disapproved (makrūh) act, then that very unlawful or disapproved act would turn into an act of submission in respect of them, because Allah has commanded us to follow them in their words and their deeds, whereas Allah does not command us to commit acts which are unlawful or disapproved. This argument is itself the proof of the necessity of the third (attribute in His Messengers i.e. the conveying of what they were commanded to convey).

The proof of the human 'accidents' being their admissible attributes is our witnessing of their occurrence in them, (meant) either for the increase of their rewards (such as illnesses and trials) or for making laws (concerning such matters as marriages, eating, drinking and other transactions) or for diverting them from worldly cares or to draw their attention to its (i.e. the world's) base value in the sight of Allah, or of His displeasure with it (as) the place of requital for [His prophets and] His saints, may blessing and peace be upon them, in view of their [high] state in it.

The statement that 'There is no god except Allah, Muḥammad is the Messenger of Allah', gathers together the meaning of these (articles) of creed in their entirety, for the concept of ulūhiyyah (Godship) is Allah's needlessness (istighnā') of all things other than Himself and the needfulness (iftiqār) of all (beings) other than Himself for Him.

Therefore, the meaning (of the statement), 'There is no god except Allah', is that there is none who is without need of all other than Himself and Who is needed by all those other than Himself, except Allah. As for
His needlessness of everything other than Himself, this necessitates in Him (the attributes of) existence, the state of non-origination, permanence, difference from the created, self-subsistence, and purity from defects. Included in this (meaning) is the necessity of (the attributes of) hearing, sight, and speech in Him; for if these attributes were not necessary to Him, He would certainly be in need of a creator or a subject of inherence or someone to ward off those defects from Him.

Deducible from it (i.e. His needlessness) is Allah's purity from having any purpose in His actions and His judgements; otherwise it would necessitate his needfulness for something which could cause the attainment of His purpose. How (could this be possible) whereas Allah, the Mighty, the Magnificent, is needless of all things other than Himself?

Also deducible from it (i.e. His needlessness) is that the doing of or abstaining from anything in (the range of) the possibilities is not necessary to Him, for if it were necessary for Him to do (create) any of these, such as reward, for instance, then He would be in need of that thing in order to be perfect, since nothing is necessary for Him except perfection. How (could this be possible) when He is needless of all things other than Himself?

The fact that all (beings) other than Himself stand in need of Him necessitates in Allah (the attribute of) life (hayāh), and the whole of the (attributes of) power (qudrah), will (irādah), and knowledge ('ilm), for if any of these attributes were to be lacking it would not be possible for anything among the created things to exist (and in consequence nothing would need Him.) How (could this be possible) whereas He is the
One for whom all (beings) other than Him (of necessity) stand in need?

It is also necessary for Allah to possess (the attribute of) oneness for if there were with Him another in 'Godship', nothing would stand in need of Him because it would necessitate both of them being powerless then. How (could this be possible) whereas He is the One for whom all (beings) other than Himself (of necessity) stand in need?

The createdness of the entire universe will also be deduced from it (i.e. the need of all beings for Him), because if any portion of it were to be non-originated, that portion would be needless of Allah. How (could this be possible) whereas He is the One for Whom all (beings) other than Himself of necessity stand in need?

It will also be deducible from it that nothing of the existing things can produce any effect, for if not it would necessitate that that effect would be needless of our Allah, the Mighty, the Magnificent. How (could this be possible) while He is the One for whom all (beings) other than Himself wholly stand in need? At any rate this (holds true only) if you were to consider that anything of the existing things produces effect by (causes intrinsic in) its nature; and if you were to consider that the thing produces effect through a power created in it by Allah - as do many of the ignorant - then that would be impossible because then our Allah, the Mighty, the Magnificent, would stand in need of an intermediary (wāsītah) in bringing some of His acts into being. And that is not a valid (proposition) in view of what you have known of the necessity of the needlessness of Allah of all all things other than Himself.
It has become clear to you that the implications of the statement 'There is no god except Allah' consist of the three (modal) categories which are obligatory on the mukallaf to know, in respect of our Lord, the Mighty, the Magnificent. They are the necessary attributes, the inadmissible attributes and the admissible attributes.

As for our statement, 'Muḥammad is the Messenger of Allah', may Allah bless him and bestow peace upon him, it consists of belief in all the Prophets, the Angels, the Divine Revealed Books, and the Last Day, because the Messenger (i.e. Muḥammad), may blessing and peace be upon him, brought the verification of all these things.

Deducible from it are: the necessity of the truthfulness of the Messengers, may blessing and peace be upon them, and the inadmissibility of falsehood by them - for otherwise they would not have been the trusted Messengers of our Allah, Who knows the hidden (and the manifest). Also from this, the inadmissibility of their doing any of the forbidden things - for they have been sent to teach mankind through their words, their deeds and their reticence. Therefore it is necessary for them that there be no contradiction in all these things to the command of our Allah who chose them over all His creation and entrusted them with the secret of His Waḥy (revelation) and His message.

Deducible from it [also] is the admissibility of human 'accidents' in them for that will not impair their status of Messengership or the loftiness of their position in the presence of Allah - rather it will even increase (such status or loftiness of position).
It has become clear to you that the two statements of the confession (\textit{shahāda}), despite the fewness of their letters, include all that the \textit{mukallaf} is obligated to know of the articles of belief in respect of Allah and in respect of His Messengers, may blessing and peace be upon them.

Perhaps because of their brevity [at the same time] including all that we have mentioned, the divine ordinance (\textit{shar\'}) has made them a manifest interpretation of the Islam in one's heart, and no person's faith will be accepted except through them.

It is obligatory on the person of sound mind to frequently utter it, calling to mind what it includes of the articles of faith so that its meaning blends together with his flesh and blood. [For if one does that], one will be able to see boundless secrets and wonders - if Allah wills - which cannot be enumerated.

And with Allah is our succour. There is no God other than Him. We beseech Him, glory be to Him, to make us and those dear to us utter the two statements of the confession (\textit{shahāda}) knowing the full knowledge thereof, when we breathe our last. May Allah bless our leader Muḥammad as often as those who remember Him remember Him and those who neglect Him neglect to remember Him. May Allah be pleased with all the Companions of the Messenger of Allah and those who followed them and those who followed them in beneficence until the Day of Judgement, and peace be upon all the Prophets and the Messengers and all praise belongs to Allah, Lord of the worlds.
Footnotes chapter 4


2. Ibid., p. 245.

3. Ibid., p. 245.

4. Ibid., p. 246.

5. Ibid., p. 299.

6. Ibid., p. 316.


12. Ibid., p. 37.


17. Ibid., p. 197.


20. Ibid., p. 89.


23. Ibid., p. 17.

24. Ibid., p. 17.

25. Ibid., p. 18.

26. Ibid., p. 22.


31. Ibid., p. 43.

32. Ibid., p. 44.


35. Ibid., p. 113.

36. Ibid., p. 189.


38. Ibid., pp. 15-40.

39. Ibid., pp. 16-38.


41. Ibid., p. 7.

42. al-Jurjānī, *Sharḥ al-Mawāqif Fī ʿIlm al-Kalām*, 3 vols., *Kitāb al-
43. Ibid., p. 106.

44. Ibid., p. 107.

45. Ibid., p. 109.

46. al-Sanusi, *Sharḥ Umm al-Barāhin* in *Ḥāshiyyat al-Dasuqi 'alā Umm al-Barāhin* by Muhammad al-Dasuqi, (Cairo, n.d.), pp. 72-3.

47. Ibid., p. 72.

48. Ibid., p. 71.

49. Ibid., pp. 70-74.


51. Cf. text p. 208

52. Cf. p. 209


54. Cf. p. 211

55. Cf. p. 214

56. Cf. p. 215

57. Ibid.
77. Cf. p. 225

78. Ibid.


On f. 117v. owner's mark of Susuhunan Ahmad. 117ff.: Engl. paper: 'GR', 20X15.5cm. Marsden collection. See Marsden, 1827, p. 305.
بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

لا بد من العمل والصلاة والعبادة، وفالواجب ملائكة اللعبادة، فإن الله تعالى كله وحده لا شريك له، والسلام على رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم، وصلى الله عليه وسلم على أهله وصحبه، والله عليه وسلم أعلم، وعليه وسلم أعلم...
لا يوجد نص يمكن قراءته بشكل طبيعي من الصورة المقدمة.
النص العربي غير قابل للقراءة بشكل طبيعي من الصورة المقدمة.
لا يمكنني قراءة المحتوى المكتوب باللغة العربية بشكل طبيعي.
لا يمكنني قراءة النص العربي في الصورة.
الآية 9

اذلَلَّهُمَّ أَلَّيْكَ التَّعاوُنُ وَالنَّهَايَةُ وَغَفَارُ اللَّهُ عَزِّ الْأَوَّلِينَ وَالآوْلِينَ
لا يمكنني قراءة النص العربي المكتوب بالخط العربي في الصورة المقدمة.
لا يمكنني قراءة النص العربي من الصورة.

يرجى تقديم النص المكتوب على شكل نص طبيعي يمكنني قراءته.
والإجابة أيضاً: إن ينصف ينص نصف

فإن نصف فان ينص نصف نصف

والفعل ينفّذ على نفاذ كمال وكلا

ناقلون فعل مكتملاً بين أفراد

بكران توجه التعليم له تعالى

فإن واجب توجه التعليم له تعالى

والأبحاث والعلم بالكفاءة والصحة

قلت: إن بالإسناد إلى القرآن فإن النجوم
لا يمكنني قراءة النص العربي من الصورة.
لا يوجد نص قابل للقراءة لهذه الصفحة.
لا يوجد نص يمكن قراءته بشكل طبيعي من الصورة المقدمة.
فمثلاً، إذا كانت النقطة A تقع في مساحة A، فإن النقطة B تقع في مساحة B. 

وإذا كانت النقطة C تقع في مساحة C، فإن النقطة D تقع في مساحة D. 

وإذا كانت النقطة E تقع في مساحة E، فإن النقطة F تقع في مساحة F. 

وإذا كانت النقطة G تقع في مساحة G، فإن النقطة H تقع في مساحة H. 

وإذا كانت النقطة I تقع في مساحة I، فإن النقطة J تقع في مساحة J. 

وإذا كانت النقطة K تقع في مساحة K، فإن النقطة L تقع في مساحة L. 

وإذا كانت النقطة M تقع في مساحة M، فإن النقطة N تقع في مساحة N. 

وإذا كانت النقطة O تقع في مساحة O، فإن النقطة P تقع في مساحة P. 

وإذا كانت النقطة Q تقع في مساحة Q، فإن النقطة R تقع في مساحة R. 

وإذا كانت النقطة S تقع في مساحة S، فإن النقطة T تقع في مساحة T. 

وإذا كانت النقطة U تقع في مساحة U، فإن النقطة V تقع في مساحة V. 

وإذا كانت النقطة W تقع في مساحة W، فإن النقطة X تقع في مساحة X. 

وإذا كانت النقطة Y تقع في مساحة Y، فإن النقطة Z تقع في مساحة Z.
لا يوجد نص يمكن قراءته بشكل طبيعي من الصورة المقدمة.
لا يمكنني قراءة النص العربي في الصورة.
لا يمكنني قراءة النص العربي في الصورة المقدمة.
لا يوجد نص قراءة طبيعي من الصورة المقدمة.
لا يوجد نص يمكن قراءته بشكل طبيعي من الصورة المقدمة.
علي الصلاة والسلام جعله رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم في خليفة ائمه

الصلاة والسلام واللبن المثلث

والسلام علينا واللبن المثلث

\[
\text{ص: 26}
\]
جل وعَرِّف واشتقَّ التيَّانة فَعَلَت النَّورُ، فَنَصَرَ بِهِ لَغَدًا وَلَيْلًا.

أَخْرَجَ مِلَامٍ فِي جَبَلِ قَلْفٍ فَأَهَامَهَا، فَذَلِكَ دُلْبُ دَلْبٍ، دَلْبُ دَلْبٍ منَ الْجِبَالِ، بِالسَّلَامِ. 

يَوْحَى عَلَى سُرْجِيهِ وَبَشَرَتْهُ وَيَوْحَىل، 

أَنْ تَرْهَبَ وَيْخُذَلَ، دَلْبُ دَلْبٍ، دَلْبُ دَلْبٍ منَ الْجِبَالِ، بِالسَّلَامِ.

مِنْهُ أَيْضًا رَأَى الأَخْرَاجَينَ المنْطِبَينَ، 

وَلَقَدْ نَزَّلَ عَلَى مُرْضَى أَوْرَاطٌ عَرَضِ حَيْرَاتٍ.

فَعَلَمَ أَذْلِكَ لَا يَقْلَحُ فِي بَسَالَتِهِ، 

أَنْ يَكُونَ دُلْبُ دَلْبٍ، دَلْبُ دَلْبٍ منَ الْجِبَالِ، بِالسَّلَامِ.

وَعَلَومُ الرَّحْمَةِ عَلَيْنَا نَعَلًا يَعُولُ، 

وَلَا نَحْلُوْنَ فِي جَبَلٍ فَأَهَامَهَا، دَلْبُ دَلْبٍ، دَلْبُ دَلْبٍ منَ الْجِبَالِ، بِالسَّلَامِ.
علَّمَ الْصَّلَاةَ وَالنَّاسِلَةَ وَلَعَلَّهَا
لِإِخْتِصَارِهَا مَعَ اسْتِعْنَالِهَا عَلَى مَا
ذِكرَتْهَا الْسَّنَنَ السَّبَعُ تَحْتَهَا
مَا يَأْتِي مِنَ الْإِسْلَامِ كَلَا يَقْبَلَ
حَرَّمُهَا يَجِبُ عَلَى المَلِكِ
مَعِيَّنَةً مِنْ عَقَائِدِ الإِلَهَيْنِ رَبُّ
حَقِّهَا تَعَالَى وَفِي حقِّ سَلَةَ
ذكر الله عز و:j5 II خدى اللعالم 
بت أمره للإرادة تقر
عن أصحاب رسول الله جماعة.
التابعيين وتابع التابعيين لهم باخوان
التي تب من الدين وسلام على جميع الابنين
والفيلين ونعم الله عليهم العالمين
Chapter Five

ANALYSIS OF THE ARABIC/JAWI TEXT OF
UMM AL-BARĀHĪN IN RELATION TO THE
TWENTY ATTRIBUTES OF ALLAH.

The Arabic/Jawi text of *Umm al-Barāhīn* begins with a discussion of the intellectual predication (*al-hukm al-‘aqli*). The intellectual predication is divided into three categories. They are:

i) **Necessity** *(al-Wujūb)* - This means that whose non-existence cannot be conceived intellectually.

ii) **Inadmissible** *(al-mustaḥil)* - This means that whose existence cannot be conceived intellectually.

iii) **Admissible** *(al-jā‘iz)* - This means that whose existence or non-existence are both valid intellectually.
It is obligatory for every Muslim (Mukallaf) to know and believe what is necessary, inadmissible and admissible regarding Allah and His Messengers. The conditions of a mukallaf are al-Bulūgh (having reached Puberty), al-'Aql (sanity or sound intellectual capability), Bulūgh al-Da‘wah (having received the Message) and Salāmat al-Hawāss (soundness of the senses). Therefore a mukallaf is a sane adult whom the message has reached and who is of sound senses. On the obligation of a mukallaf, al-Ash'ari said that the first obligation was the Ma‘rifat Allah (Knowledge of God), while al-Baqillānī said that it was the reasoning leading to Ma‘rifat Allah, whereas Imām al-Haramayn was of the opinion that it was the resolve to pursue the reasoning. All three opinions are valid, because intention-wise the first obligation is the Ma‘rifat Allah. Reasoning is therefore the criterion by which man determines the validity of any knowledge irrespective of whether that knowledge is subjective or objective.

According to al-Sanusi, the majority (jumhūr) of theologians agree that knowledge and correct reasoning are necessary for the validity of faith. These theologians include al-Ash’ari, al-Baqillānī, Imām al-Haramayn and Ibn al-Qaṭṭār. However there was a minority opinion that knowledge and correct reasoning are neither conditions for the validity of faith nor obligatory but only desirable as conditions for the perfection of faith. This is the opinion of Ibn al-Jamra, al-Qushayrī, Ibn Rushd and al-Ghazālī.

According to al-Sanusi, among the theologians who agree that knowledge and the correct reasoning are obligatory, there is
disagreement over who is a *muqallid*,\(^{11}\) defined as a person who believes what others say or do or establish without knowing its proofs. There is a difference of opinion on whether he is a believer who is ignorantly disobedient or a believer who is knowingly disobedient, or whether he is a believer at all.\(^{12}\) On the status of the *muqallid* who understands the meaning of the *shahāda* in a general way but does not know a proof for this prerequisite of faith, al-Sanūsī was of the opinion that he cannot be considered a believer if his belief in the *shahāda* is not firm, even by *taqlīd*.\(^{13}\)

As mentioned earlier in Chapter 3, 'Knowledge of Allah' (*Ma'rifat Allāh*) is the Knowledge of the Attributes of Allah and all those principles connected with Divinity (*Uluhiyyah*) and not the Knowledge of His Essence (*Dhāt*) because none other than Allah knows His Essence or Reality. However, it is an obligation for Muslims to know the *Ma'rifat Allāh* and to use the intellect which will lead towards it. The method of making use of the reasoning capability is by first looking at oneself, because that is the closest thing. The next step is to look at what is beyond, because that is the greatest creation and the most strange. Then it is suggested to look at what is below the heavens. This is in line with the Qur'ānic verse:

> "And among His Signs, He shows you the lightning, by way both of fear and of hope, and He sends down rain from the sky and with it gives life to the earth after it is dead: Verily in that are Signs for those who are wise". 40 (al-Rūm): 24.

What is intended by the term 'Self' is the essence and not the soul,
because we are not able to conceive the soul, and what is intended by looking at oneself is to apply the intellect to conceive the conditions of the self such as audition, sight, speech, height, width, depth, ignorance, belief, disbelief and other things.

All these qualities incur change from non-existence to existence and from existence to non-existence. Therefore, they are accidents and they subsist in the essence and as such necessarily cling to the essence; and all things which necessarily cling to the essence are accidents. That is the proof of their neediness for a Wise Creator Who is a Necessary Being. Thus, our intellect admits to the necessity of the existence of the Creator and His Attributes, because the self which clings to the attributes of accidents is itself an accident and should have a Wise Creator as has been affirmed in these Qur'anic verses:

"On the earth are signs for those of assured Faith, as also in your own selves: will ye not then see? ". 51 (al-Dhariyat): 20-21.

"Man We did create from a quintessence (of clay); then We placed him as a (drop of) sperm in a place of rest, firmly fixed; then We made the sperm into a clot of congealed blood; then of that clot We made a lump; then We made out of that lump bones and clothed the bones with flesh; then We developed out of it another creature; so blessed be God, the Best of Creators". 23 (al-Mu'minun):12-14.

After using our reasoning capability on our 'self', then we turn it to what is beyond, to the stars, planets, sun and then to what is below, the
part of the universe that are nearer to us such as air, earth, plants and oceans. All these things have particular directions and particular loci and some of them are found to be those of motion or quiescence, of light and of darkness, and these are proofs of their being accidents and the proof of their being needful of a Creator Who is attributed with attributes. The Qurān says:

"Verily, in the creation of the heavens and the earth; in the alternation of the Night and the Day; in the sailing of the ships through ocean for the profit of mankind........(here) indeed are Signs for a people that are wise" . 2(al-Baqarah): 164

The term "Universe" (Alam) is the name for all things other than Allah and His attributes. If we apply our intellectual capability to the above given conditions, we will realise that the splendid workmanship such as orderly forms and figures and beautiful colours and other qualities are fully known to none other than the Creator of the earth and the heavens. All these signify the knowledge, power, intention and life of the Creator, because these could not have emanated except from One Who possesses the abovementioned attributes, whereas such creations are accidents because they cling to the non-eternal accidents and thus they have the possibility of being non-existent. This reasoning will eventually lead us to know the Creator of these creations. And the Creator can be known only through His attributes. For, it is only through the manifestation of these attributes the creations comprehend the existence of Allah.

The diagram below shows the Twenty Attributes of Allah;\textsuperscript{14}
The Classification of the Twenty Attributes of Allah

[Diagram showing a network of attributes related to Allah, labeled A, B, C, Sifat, Jawazat, Mustahilat, with numbers indicating connections.]
### Necessity (al-Wujūd)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Personal Attribute</th>
<th>1- Wujūd (existence)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2- Qidam (state of non-origination).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3- Baqā' (permanence)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>4- Mukhālaṭah li al-ḥawādith</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative Attributes</td>
<td>(different from the created)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5- Qiyām bi al-Nafs (self-subsistence)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6- Wahdāniyyah (oneness)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7- Qudrah (power)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8- Irādah (will)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>9- 'Ilm (knowledge)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conceptual Attributes</td>
<td>10- Hayāh (life)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>11- Sam’ (hearing)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>12- Baṣar (sight)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>13- Kalām (speech)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>14- An yakūn Qādiran (powerful)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>15- An yakūn Muridān (willing)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>16- An yakūn ‘Āliman (knowing)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qualitative Attributes</td>
<td>17- An yakūn Hayyān (living)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>18- An yakūn Samī‘an (hearing)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
19- An yakūn Ḵaṣīrūn (seeing)

20- An yakūn Mutakallīman (speaking)

Inadmissibility (al-istiḥālah)\textsuperscript{16}

**Personal Attribute**

1- 'Adam (non-existence)

2- Ḥudūh (createdness)

3- Turq al-‘adam (becoming non-existent)

**Negative Attributes**

4- Mumāthalah li al-ḥawādith (resemblance to the created)

5- An lā yakūn qā’īman bi nafsihi (dependence)

6- An lā yakūn wāḥidan (multiplicity)

7- ‘Ajz (weakness)

8- ‘Adam al-irādah (lack of willing)

**Conceptual Attributes**

9- Jahāl (ignorance)

10- Mawt (death)

11- Șamm (deafness)

12- ‘Amā (blindness)

13- Bakam (muteness)
And according to al-Sanūṣi the last 7 attributes are the opposites of the 7 șifāt ma'naviyyah.

**Admissibility (al-jawāz)**

1- Fi'l kull mumkin au tarkuh

(performing or not performing every possible act)

According to Ibrāhīm al-Laqqānī in *Matn Jawharat al-Tauḥīd*, Abū Manṣūr al-Māturīdī divided the 20 attributes of God into 4 sections. Muḥammad Zayn al-Dīn ibn Muḥammad Badawī al-Sambawī in *Bidāyah al-Hidāyah* also confirms this division as follows:
I- Personal Attribute (*Nafsiyyah*)

This is an attribute which is not existent in itself and is necessary to the essence as long as the essence lasts and is not the result of any cause.

But there is a difference as to the definition of Personal Attribute (*Nafsiyyah*). For example, 'Aqidat al-Nājin gives the definition as "al-ḥāl ath-thābit li adh-dhāt mā dāmat adh-dhāt ghayr mu'allalah bi-'illah" (the fixed condition of the essence as long as the essence does not result from any cause), whereas Sharh Usūl al-Tahqiq gives another definition as "al-ḥāl al-wājibah li adh-dhāt mā damāt adh-dhāt ghayr mu'allalah bi-'illah" (the condition which is necessary to the essence as long as the essence does not result from any cause). 21

The Personal Attribute is only one. That is:

**Wujūd** 22

Al-Wujūd is like the root of all the attributes of Allah while the other attributes are like its branches. This is because all the other attributes of Allah cannot stand on their own until they have been related to the attribute of existence of Allah. What is meant by Allah being necessarily existent is that it is not intellectually possible to attribute non-existence ('adam al-Wujūd) to Him. Therefore, the intellect does not accept His non-existence as an attribute either in the Azal (Eternity in the direction of the past) nor in the Abad (Eternity in the direction of the future).

Proof of the necessity of existence for Allah is the createdness of the
universe for if it had no creator but had come into existence on its own, it would necessitate that one of two equal elements, i.e. Allah and the universe, would while being equal to the other supersede the other without cause and this is impossible. The necessity of existence for Allah is better understood by looking at the universe. When considering the self and the universe through the intellect, it is admitted that they cling to their essence and are therefore accidents. All accidents require someone or something to bring them from non-existence to existence and vice-versa, and therefore need an initiator. The universe incurs change from existence to non-existence and vice-versa and therefore clings to non-eternal accidents.

However one may argue that the universe is so vast and unfathomable that there is no way of proving that all the remotest parts of the universe incur change. But then, when change occurs in the essence of a thing itself then that change itself causes change in its environment. Thus however remote a part may be from another part, it is related to the other parts in some way. Therefore, if the other part incurs change, this invariably results in the change of the remote part. Hence, there can be no part which does not incur change.23

The universe is a whole made up of unequal parts which share the attributes of having a cause for their existence. All those which are such should themselves possess that attribute (of having a cause for their existence). Thus, the universe should itself possess that attribute. Here the existence of Allah means the necessary existence (i.e. the existence of His essence, itself) and not through the causation of any cause. And it does not mean that the essence effected existence in itself, for this is absurd. As for
the non-essential existence, it is like our existence, because it is the effect of Allah's action.²⁴

There is a difference of opinion among the theologians in respect of existence as to whether it is the existent thing itself or other than it. In the opinion of al-Ash'ari, the listing of existence (wujūd) among the twenty attributes of God is only by way of tolerance (tasāmuḥ) since according to him existence is the essence (dhāt) itself which applies to things which came into being as well as to God and is not an adjunct. To al-Rāzī however, counting existence among the attributes is proper (ṣaḥīḥ), not a toleration, since existence is an adjunct of essence and it is a Personal Attribute (ṣifah nafsiyyah). This is in accordance with another definition of existence as 'the necessary state of an essence as long as the essence endures the condition of being unaffected by any cause'.²⁵

Between these two views there are others which identify existence with essence but use the same justification for listing it among the attributes in calling it a Personal Attribute.²⁶ Some theologians say that this difference of opinion is only a verbal difference, and the opinion of al-Ash'ari is that existence is not an additional thing outside and does not preclude it being a state, which is the second opinion. Al-Sanūsī in the Umm al-Barāḥin classifies existence as a personal attribute (nafsiyyah) of Allah.²⁷ Here the relation of 'Attribute' to the 'Person' or 'Self' i.e. the essence is because it will not be an intelligible thing without it. Therefore no self can be intelligible except through its existence. The Personal Attribute is an affirmative attribute, the attribution of which indicates the essence itself without any additional meaning. The word 'affirmative' excludes it as a negative attribute. It cannot be a Conceptual
Attribute for this indicates an additional meaning over and above the essence. It cannot be a Qualitative Attribute for this clings to the Conceptual Attribute and thus indicates an additional meaning over and above the essence.

II- The five Negative (Salbiyyah) Attributes

These are attributes which are negations of imperfection, by which it is impossible for God to be qualified. They are:

1. Qidam

A state of non-origination in respect of Allah means the non-origination of the essence or the absence of a beginning of existence from the eternal past (Azal) and not preceded by non-existence. When we say that Allah is in a state of non-origination as defined above, this meaning applies to Allah alone. As for the word qidam when used in respect of man, it means temporal non-origination in comparative time (i.e. oldness or time immemorial). This meaning cannot be applied to Allah because he is free from place, direction and change and it is impossible for anything of the world to be part of Him. Al-Sanusi gives non-origination as a negative attribute because it is a denial of a beginning to existence. In other words it expresses a negation of a previous non-existence for existence and this excludes Qidam as Qualitative Attribute (i.e.: an attribute which describes an "action") since it would then entail the requirement of another Qidam to make it be from eternity and this will end up in the succession of causes. Therefore, His having the attribute of createdness (Hudūth) becomes invalid.
2. \textit{Baqā'\textsuperscript{29}}

Permanence is another negative attribute of Allah because it is a denial of an end to existence or a negation of non-existence as coming subsequent to existence. It has two meanings:

1- a correlation of existence to two times and so on upwards (\textit{muqāranat al-wujūd li-zamānayn fa-ṣā'idan}). This is not the meaning when the word is applied to God, since He is not measured by time.

2- the negation of an end to existence (\textit{salb al-ākhiryya li-l-wujūd}). That is, non-existence cannot reach it. It applies to God and to Him alone.

\textit{Al-Sanūsî} says that some Imams define \textit{Baqā'} as the continuation of existence in the future without end and \textit{Qidam} as the continuation of existence in the past without end. \textsuperscript{30} Allah has neither a beginning nor an end. But creations have beginning and end. The pleasures of Heaven and the pains of Hell have beginning but no end while our non-existence in the \textit{Azal} has no beginning but has an end. \textit{Al-Sanūsî} regarded this as a \textit{Salbiyyah} (negative) attribute because it is a denial of an end to existence. \textit{Baqā'} cannot be a Qualitative Attribute (\textit{Ma'īniyyah}) because as in the case of non-origination, it will end up in a succession of causes. As such His becoming non-existent is invalid.

3. \textit{Mukhlafah li al-hawādith}\textsuperscript{31}

Difference from the created is also a Negative Attribute which it is
intellectually essential for Allah to be attributed with. The term 'difference from the created' means that there is absolutely none among the created beings who resembles Allah, either in the essence or the attributes or the acts. It is the denial of Allah being a *jirm* (substance) or having their necessary qualities such as occupying time and space. It is a denial of Allah being a *Jawhar* (atom) or having their necessary physical qualities of shape, form, colour and being made up of parts. It is also a denial of Allah being an *'araq* (accident) or having dependance on others for His existence. For if He is not different from the created, then He must be similar to them. And if He is similar to them, then He must be an accident. This contradicts what has been established earlier about His being in a state of non-origination. This denies the corporeity of Allah, and thus His resemblance to the created (*mumāthalah li al-ḥawādith*) is proved inadmissible.

4. *Qiyām bi al-nafs* 32

Among the Negative Attributes which are intellectually necessary to Allah is His self-subsistence, the negation of His need for any being from among the created beings. His self-subsistence means that He does not require a subject of inherence (*mahāll*) which is defined as an essence which is equal to His essence and in which he dwells like the indwelling of an attribute in something which it is attributed to. He does not need a subject of inherence, and not in the sense of space because that is understood already from His difference from the created. Nor does He need an individuator (*mukhassīs*) which is defined as an agent (*fāʾil*) who individuates Him with existence when His existence, His non-origination and His permanence in His essence and attributes have already been established. Therefore the meaning of his self-subsistence is two-fold; his
non-requirement of a subject of inherence and his non-requirement of an individuator.

The proof of His non-requirement of a subject of inherence is the fact that if He required a subject of inherence, then He must be an attribute. In such a case He would not be attributed with the Conceptual Attributes (Ma‘āni) and Qualitative Attributes (Ma‘nawiyyah), which are intellectually necessary for Him because of the proofs indicating this. Therefore the statement that He is not attributed with Conceptual and Qualitative Attributes is false, and false too is the statement that He is an attribute and that He needs a subject of inherence. Thus His needlessness for a subject of inherence is established.

The proof of His non-requirement of an individuator is that Allah is existent, in a state of non-origination and permanence. All those who are such are not accidents. Thus Allah is not an accident. If He were in need of an individuator, He must be an accident. How can this be when His non-origination and His permanence in His essence and attributes have already been established? Therefore, His being dependent (an lā yakūn Qā‘īman binafsihi) is refuted.

5. Waḥdāniyyah

It is intellectually necessary for Allah to be One, that is, His being attributed with Oneness. By Oneness is meant Oneness of Allah's Essence and Oneness of His attributes in the sense that there is no match or equal to him in these two respects. There are three divisions with regard to the Oneness of Allah:
1) denial of composition or multiplicity in His essence,
2) denial of an equal or a match to Him in His essence, and
3) denial of any act to another than Allah and denial of anyone sharing in His acts.

As for the oneness of His Essence, by this is meant that it is not made up of parts, as has been mentioned in His difference to the created. As for the oneness of His attributes, by this is meant that there is no multiplicity for any one of His attributes, for instance two or more powers, two or more knowledges and so on. His Oneness also includes Oneness of His actions, in the sense that others have no causation of effects in regard to any of His actions. Oneness of Allah in His Essence, Attributes and Actions denies the following five quantities:

1) Integrated or Continuous Quantity (al-Kamm al-Muttaṣil) in His Essence. This means His being composed of parts. This is denied by the Oneness of His Essence.

2) Disintegrated or Discrete Quantity (al-Kamm al-Munfaṣil) in His Essence. This means His being plural in number. This is denied by the Oneness of His Essence.

3) Integrated or Continuous Quantity (al-Kamm al-Muttaṣil) in His Attributes. This means the plurality of His Attributes. This is denied by the uniqueness of His Attributes. This is in the same category as classed under Integrated Quantity.

4) Disintegrated or Discrete Quantity (al-Kamm al-Munfaṣil) in
His Attributes. This means things other than Allah having attributes like those of Allah. This is denied by the uniqueness of His Attributes, and

5) Disintegrated or Discrete Quantity (al-Kamm al-Munfaṣil) in His Actions. This means things other than Allah having actions in the creative aspect. This is denied by His matchlessness in Actions. Only the "acquisition" (kasb) and "choice" (ikhtiyār) aspects of actions can be attributed to things other than Allah. These stand as proofs against He being attributed with multiplicity (An lā yakun Wāḥidan).

III- The seven Conceptual (Maʿānī) Attributes

The conceptual attributes are attributes which exist. There have been differences of opinion among earlier scholars (e.g. Imām al-Ḥaramayn and al-Bāqillānī) as to whether some attributes are originated (ḥādith) like the whiteness or blackness of a substance, or they are all non-originated (qadīmah) like power, will, intention or knowledge of Allah. Al-Sanūsī’s view is that all are qadīmah; he solves the problem of such attributes as the Speech of Allah (kalām Allāh) by setting up the category of Qualitative Attributes (ṣifāt maʾnawiyyah) which will be discussed below. The Conceptual Attributes serve as the origin of the Qualitative Attributes such as 'powerful' by virtue of the possession of the Conceptual Attribute of 'power' and 'knowing' resulting from the Conceptual Attributes of 'knowledge'. Conceptual Attributes inhere in the essence and cause a determination (ḥukm) or disposition (ḥāl). They are:
1. **Qudrah**

Literally means "strength and ability", but according to the technical usage it is "an Eternal Attribute standing in the essence of Allah and through which all the possible beings are brought from non-existence to existence and vice-versa according to His discretion. Therefore, if we say someone is powerful (Qādir), then it refers to him who can either do or omit to do according to his will. The proof of the necessity of power to Allah is that Allah is an Eternal Creator Whose Creations are accidents, and all those who are such should necessarily possess Power. Therefore, Allah should necessarily possess Power and His being weak (‘Ajz) is, hereby, refuted.

2. **Irādah**

Literally its root meaning is "to aim at, to purpose or to intend", but technically it refers to "an attribute by which there comes about the particularization of something possible by some of what is admissible to it" (ṣifā yata‘attā bi-hā takhṣīṣ al-mumkin bi-ba‘d mā yajūz ‘alayhi). It is synonymous to al-Mashi‘ah. The Intention is necessary to particularize the effect of God’s power. There are six kinds of possible alternatives (al-mumkināt al-mutaqabilat), that is, Mutually Exclusive Possibilities (al-mutanāfiyāt). They are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types of Opposition</th>
<th>Mutually Exclusive Possibilities</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Existential</td>
<td>Existence vs. Non-Existence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mensural</td>
<td>Tall vs. Short etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qualitative</td>
<td>Blackness vs. Whiteness etc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The proof of the necessity of intention to Allah is that Allah is the Creator of the Universe by His choice and for all those who are such it is necessary for them to possess intention. Therefore, it is necessary for Allah to possess intention. Therefore, He cannot be attributed with lack of willing or intending (‘Adam al-irādah).

3. ‘Ilm 37

It is intellectually necessary for Allah to possess Knowledge as an attribute. His Knowledge is "an eternal attribute which is connected with all the three types of beings: the Necessary, the Inadmissible and the Admissible". The proof of the necessity of knowledge to Allah is that Allah is the Doer of actions with accuracy and perfection based on His Intention and Choice. And whoever is like that should necessarily have knowledge. Therefore, Allah should necessarily have knowledge and He should not be attributed with ignorance (Jahl).

4. Ḥayāh 38

Another intellectually essential attribute of Allah is al-Ḥayāh (Life). Al-Sanūsī makes a distinction between the Eternal Life (al-Ḥayāh al-Qadīmah) and the Accidental Life (al-Ḥayāh al-Ḥādīthah). He defines Life as "a self-validating attribute of one in whom there is perception", and the Eternal Life is defined as "a primordial attribute required for the validity of being attributed with an attribute", while the

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Accidental Life has been defined as "a quality (accident) which sense-perception and voluntary movement necessarily clings to". Thus there is a clear difference between Allah's Life and that of ours. For the Life of Allah is by means of His Essence and not by means of a spirit or soul, whereas our life is not by means of our essence but by means of a spirit or soul. Thus He lives by His Self and not by His Life. The proof of the essentiality of Life to Allah is that Allah is attributed with Power, Intention and Knowledge. All those who are such should necessarily have Life. Therefore, Allah should necessarily have Life and death (mawt) is an inadmissible attribute to Him.

5. Sam' 39

Audition is an essential attribute of Allah. Al-Sanūsī defines it as "a primordial attribute which stands in the Essence of Allah and is connected to existent things which are sounds and non-sounds", whereas Sa'd al-Taftāzānī says that "it is connected to the audible things (almasmū'āt). This clearly shows that Allah hears sound and essences, in the sense that the sounds and essences become perceptible to Him through His audition.

6. Başar 40

This too is an essential attribute of Allah. Sight has been defined as "a primordial attribute which stands in the Essence of Allah and is connected with existent things which are essences and non-essences". This is the definition of al-Sanūsī, whereas, Sa'd al-Taftāzānī says that "it is connected to the visible things (almubṣarāt). He does not possess the ability to see a thing through the sensual instruments. His is a general perception, which is capable of hearing what is seeable and seeing what is
7. **Kalām**

The attribution of Speech to Allah is also a necessary Attribute. It is defined as "a primordial attribute of Allah which stands in the Essence of Allah and which does not have any letter nor any sound and which is pure from being precedent or subsequent (i.e.: no part of it is precedent or subsequent to the other parts, as our speech is), from being declinable (*muʿrab*) or indeclinable (*mabni*), from inherent quiescence (by not contemplating the Speech in His mind in spite of His ability to do so) and from the inherent dangers (of not being able to speak as in the case of dumbness or infancy). The Speech of Allah is a singular attribute and there is no plurality in it.

The last three attributes differ from the remaining four attributes in the sense that the proofs of the four attributes are either intellectual alone or with authentically reported evidences by way of corroboration, whereas the proofs of the latter three attributes are either authentically reported evidences alone or with intellectual evidences by way of corroboration. However, the dependable evidences in the case of these three attributes are the authentically reported evidences. However, al-Sanūsī has tried to establish their intellectual evidences by stating that, in respect of the necessity of Speech to Allah, if He were not attributed with this attribute, it would become necessary for Him to possess the attribute which is its opposite, which is a defect; and the attribution of a defect to Allah is absurd. Therefore, He should not be attributed with deafness (*Samm*), blindness (*ʿAmā*) and muteness (*Bakam*).
IV- Qualitative (*Ma'naviyyah*) Attributes

These are attributes of the essence which are dispositions or determinations caused by Conceptual attributes inhering in the essence. According to al-Sanūsī in relation to *Ma'naviyyah*, if the attribute is not existent in itself, but is the result of a cause and is necessary for the essence only as long as the cause continues to inhere in the essence, it is called a Qualitative Attribute. An example of it is the essence of being knowing or being powerful. In other words, they are the attributes of the essence which are dispositions or determinations caused by a Conceptual Attribute inhering in the essence. They are seven: 42

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Attribute</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td><em>An yakūn Qādiran</em></td>
<td>His being the Powerful. For He cannot be the Powerful without His possessing the Power.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td><em>An yakūn Murīdan</em></td>
<td>His being the Willing. For He cannot be the Willing without His possessing the Will.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td><em>An yakūn 'Āliman</em></td>
<td>His being the Knowing. For He cannot be the Knowing without His possessing the Knowledge.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td><em>An yakūn Ḥayyān</em></td>
<td>His being the Living. For He cannot be the Living without His possessing the Life.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td><em>An yakūn Samī'ān</em></td>
<td>His being the Hearing. For He cannot be the Hearing without</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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His having the Audition.

6. *An yakūn Baṣīran*  His being the Seeing. For He
    cannot be the Seeing without
    His possessing the Sight.

7. *An yakūn Mutakalliman*  His being the Speaking. For He
    cannot be the Speaking without
    His possessing the Speech.

Therefore, He cannot be attributed with the opposites of all these
attributes, for that would mean that He is imperfect; and to attribute
imperfection to Him is inadmissible.

Thus the seven Conceptual attributes are for God alone, while the
seven Qualitative attributes are those in which God's attributes are
manifested in creation.  

It may be argued that each attribute of God that we know can be
understood as belonging to one or many subjects, and a further proof is
necessary to show that they belong only to God. Therefore, by knowing
the attribute, we do not know the most particular characteristic of the
essence of God, which can be understood only as belonging to Him.
However, the attributes we know of God do distinguish Him from other
beings; the question is only whether they distinguish Him according to
His reality (*ḥaqīqah*) or something consequent (*lāzīm*) to His reality.
V- Admissible (al-Jā'iz) Attributes

In principle, the admissibility of God, i.e. the performing and not performing of every possible act, touches only the implementative relationship of God's power and will; this relationship is not from eternity - it goes back (wa marji'uhu) only to the emanation (ṣudūr) of beings from His power and will.44

The sending of the Messengers (Ba' th al-rasūl)45 is an Admissible Attribute of Allah and so are creation, annihilation, sustenance, rewarding those who submit to Him and punishing those who disobey Him. Allah is not obligated to create or to annihilate anything nor is He obliged to abstain from creating or annihilating anything. However, belief in the sending of Messengers, even though it is an Admissible Attribute of Allah, is obligatory for us to believe in and this includes the Belief in the Messengers as well. This is well-stated by the two statements of Confession (Shahādah), "there is no God except Allah and Muhammad is a Messenger of Allah". This brief but incisive creed, for which no one's faith will be accepted except through it, includes belief in Allah and in all His attributes in its first statement and belief in His Messengers which includes also the other doctrines of the Islamic faith in its second statement. The Shahādah is most significant in a Muslim's life, because it is the first sentence whispered in the ear of a new-born infant, one of the first sentences a child is taught to utter, it is repeated several times daily by pious Muslims and it is the last utterance of the dying person. It also clearly and adequately sums up this analysis of all the attributes of Allāh like the Necessary, the Inadmissible and the Admissible Attributes.
The idea of the Kitab Jawi's teaching is to shape an individual whose faith is infused into his whole personality such that his life is governed by the Islamic system of values. This idea is firmly grounded in the Qur'ān and other authentic sources of Islam, as well as the views of the Classical 'Ulamā'. This process could be actualised only when the various branches of Knowledge are considered as an organic unity and governed by the Principles of Unity (tauḥīd), which reinforces the fact that all Knowledge originates from God, irrespective of the method of its procurement.

Endnotes to Chapter Five

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1. MS 12225 SOAS, *Umm al-Barāhīn*, op. cit., ff.1-2; MS 12193 SOAS, *Umm al-Barāhīn*, op. cit., f.9; BH., op. cit., p.3; SH., op. cit., p.4; AN., op cit., p.5; HB., op. cit., pp.8-9; HS., op. cit., p.17; HD., op cit., pp.30-2.

2. MS 12225 SOAS, *Umm al-Barāhīn*, op. cit., f.2; MS 12193 SOAS, *Umm al-Barāhīn*, op. cit., f.14; BH., op. cit., p.5; SH., op. cit., p.5; AN., op. cit., p.10; HB., op. cit., pp.10-1; HS., op. cit., pp.17-8; HD., op. cit., p.31.

3. MS 12225 SOAS, *Umm al-Barāhīn*, op. cit., f.2; MS 12193 SOAS, *Umm al-Barāhīn*, op. cit., f.15; BH., op. cit., p.5; SH., op. cit., p.6; AN., op. cit., p.10; HB., op. cit., pp.11-2; HS., op. cit., p.18.

4. MS 12225 SOAS, *Umm al-Barāhīn*, op. cit., ff.2-3; MS 12193 SOAS, *Umm al-Barāhīn*, op. cit., f.16; BH., op. cit., p.5; SH., op. cit., p.6; AN., op. cit., p.10; HB., op. cit., p.12; HS., op. cit., p.18.


7. SUT., op. cit., pp.3-5; AN., op. cit., pp.5-7; BH., op. cit., pp.3-4.


11. SUT., op. cit., p.11; MS 12193 SOAS, *Umm al-Barāhīn*, op. cit., f.18.

13. Ibid., ff.21-2.


17. MS 12225 SOAS, *Umm al-Barāhīn*, op. cit., f.8; MS 12193 SOAS, *Umm al-Barāhīn*, op. cit., f.47; BH., op. cit., p.11; SH., op. cit., p.19; HS., op. cit., p.76 and p.93.


20. BH., op. cit., p.8. Most of the Malay *kitabs* divided the twenty attributes of Allah into four sections. Such as, MS 12193 SOAS, *Umm al-Barāhīn* op. cit., f.32; SH., op. cit., pp.10-1 and AN., op. cit., p.23. Whereas according to J. P. Kenny there are three or six kinds of attributes: another two divisions are; i) of acts (*Sifat al-afāl*) the implementive relationship
between qudrah (power) and irādah (will) with regard to possible things, ii) mixed (al-ṣifat al-jāmi' li jamī' al-aqsām) such as Allah's majesty, greatness and divinity ('Ulūhiyyah) For further discussion, see, J. P. Kenny, Muslim Theology as presented by M. B. Yusuf al-Sanūsī especially in the al-Aqidah al-Wustā, Ph.D. Thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1970, pp.119-22.

21. For further views, see, AN., op. cit., p.23; SUT., op. cit., p.5; Kenny, op. cit., p.120.


23. MS 12193 SOAS, Umm al-Barāḥin, op. cit., f.26; AN., op. cit., pp.17-8; SH. op. cit., p.9.

24. TOI., pp. 41-3; MJT., op. cit., pp. 10-1.


26. MS 12193 SOAS, Umm al-Barāḥin, op. cit., f.32; TOI., op. cit., p.43; AN., op. cit., p.23.

27. MS 12225 SOAS, Umm al-Barāḥin, op. cit., f.5; MS 12193 SOAS, Umm al-Barāḥin, op. cit., f. 32; BH., op. cit., p. 8.

28. MS 12225 SOAS, Umm al-Barāḥin, op. cit., ff.17-18; BH., op. cit., pp.18-9; HB., op. cit., p.32; KSA., op. cit., p.4.

29. MS 12225 SOAS, Umm al-Barāḥin, op. cit., ff.18-19; HB., op. cit., pp.32-3; BH., op. cit., p.19; KSA., op. cit., pp.4-5.

30. MS M.I. 635 BPIIPIM, op. cit., ff. 19-21; MS 12193 SOAS, Umm al-Barāḥin, ff. 37-38.

31. MS 12225 SOAS, Umm al-Barāḥin, op. cit., ff.19-20; BH., op. cit.,


34. MS 12193, ff.35-46; SH., op. cit., p.69; BH., op. cit., pp.61-7; HB., op. cit., pp.50-6; SUT., op. cit., p.20.

35. MS 12225 SOAS, *Umm al-Barahîn*, op. cit., ff.22-23; BH., op. cit., p.21; HB., op. cit., p.34.


37. MS 12225 SOAS, *Umm al-Barahîn*, op. cit., f.23; SH., op. cit., p.22.


39. MS 12225 SOAS, *Umm al-Barahîn*, op. cit., ff.23-24; BH., op. cit., pp.21-2; SH., op. cit., p.31; HB., op. cit., p.34.


41. MS 12225 SOAS, *Umm al-Barahîn*, op. cit., ff.27-29; AN., op. cit., pp.30-2; BH., op. cit., p.28.

42. MS 12225 SOAS, *Umm al-Barahîn*, op. cit., ff.24-25; BH., op. cit., p.24; SH., op. cit., p.33; HB., op. cit., p.36.

43. KSA., op. cit., p.5.

44. SH., op. cit., pp.47-53 and p.82; AN., op. cit., pp.80-7 and p.113; HB., op. cit., pp.32-6.
Conclusion

In summing up the ways in which Islam led to the transformation of the Malay Archipelago and the implanting of a new socio-religious culture, it can be seen that the influence of Islamic teaching took root in the various aspects of their daily activities and became the guiding idea and the basic principle in the implementation of this new culture. This radical transformation in the world-view of the Malays has led to a complete conversion of the Malays to the Islamic Weltanschauung during the later phase of the Islamization process from the 15th century to the 18th century.

As a result of indigenous and Indian influence, Malay society had been divided into various sects or castes and a stratified and almost feudal society had emerged. With the coming of Islam, these basic elements were gradually transformed as Islamic teaching took a firmer hold.

This process of transformation can be seen at an extrinsic level in the changing of their local or Hindu names to Islamic names. The changing of the name of the first ruler of Pasai, Merah Silu, to the Islamic name of Sultan Malik al-Šāliḥ (1297 A.D.) and the adoption of the Islamic name of Raja Iskandar Shāh by the first ruler of Malacca,
Parameswara (1399 A.D.) (see Chapter One) after their subsequent conversions were followed simultaneously by their subjects.

From the intrinsic perspective, the above changes had a much deeper implication, since the whole institution of society had acquired a new dimension and concept. For instance, the institution of Raja or Sultan underwent a change to that of the Khalifah Allah fi al-Ard (the Vicegerent of Allah on this earth) while the Raja or Sultan himself acquired a new definition and perspective with the title Khalifah al-Mu'minin. As a result the criteria for future Raja or Sultan were influenced by this concept. Among the characteristics required, the Raja or Sultan had to be of respectable conduct, knowledgeable ('ālim) and suitable for his position, as is seen in the election of the Sultans of Acheh (see Chapter Two). In the words of the Sejarah Melayu (the Malay Annals), "when you do your duty to the Prophet and Allah, with whom a good king is joined, then it is as though you are doing your duty to Allah himself".

The role and high position accorded to the Malay traditional scholars ('ulamā') is significant. They acted as advisors to the Rajas or Sultans and their writings became guidelines for rulers and society alike, for instance, the writings of Shaikh Nur al-Din al-Raniri in Bustan al-Salātin (1047 A.H./1638 A.D.) and those of Raja 'Ali al-Haji in Tuḥfat al-Nafis (1865 A.D.). Manifestations of this development can be clearly seen in many parts of the social culture; for instance, the Malay proverb changes from 'Pantang Melayu Menderhaka' (Never will the Malay ever be disobedient) to that of 'Raja Adil Raja disembah, Raja Zalim Raja disanggah' (a just raja, a raja to obey, an unjust raja, a raja
to oppose). This led to the introduction of the new titles such as Qādī Malik al-'Ādil for the judge of the Raja or Sultan and Zill Allāh fī al-'Ālam (Allah's Shadow Upon the Earth) and Nāṣir al-Dunyā wa al-Dīn (Helper of the World and of the Religion) for the Raja or Sultan himself.

The participation of the 'ulamā' and the Sultans in the propagation of Islam in the Malay society is commendable. Thus, they took it upon themselves to reform society on the basis of a sound and viable social structure based on the teachings of the Holy Qur'ān and the Sunnah of the Holy Prophet, by means of the adjustment and purification of the prevalent socio-cultural norms through the steady process of Islamization.

The unceasing efforts of the Malay traditional scholars in the preaching of Islam bore fruits in establishing Islamic intellectual centres in various parts of the Malay Archipelago throughout the ages. The establishments of intellectual centres; Samudera-Pasai (1280-1400 A.D.), Malacca (1400-1511 A.D.), Acheh (1511-1650 A.D.), Patani (1564-1782 A.D.) and Johor-Riau (1650-1800 A.D.) greatly helped in the dissemination of Islam to other parts of the Malay Archipelago.

The Sultans contributed towards the Islamic cause by allowing their palaces to be used as centres of learning. According to Sejarah Melayu, the Malaccan palace became a centre of religious sciences during the reign of Sultan Manṣūr Shāh (1455-1477 A.D.) for those who were interested in Sufism and made it a major subject studied at his palace. The palace became more important as a centre of learning in the
reign of Iskandar Muda Mahkota 'Ālam (1607-1636 A.D.) and the reign of Sultan Iskandar Thānī 'Alā' al-Dīn Mughāyat Shāh (1636-1641 A.D.) during the golden period of Acheh.

With the coming of Islam, the mosque and surau played their part in the process of Islamization. The name of the old pagan sanctuary was replaced by the sanctuary of the new faith which adopted the indigenous religious and social institutions and transformed them into Islamic institutions. Islam transformed earlier ritual sites into mosques and suraus as centres for Islamic teaching, motivated by the teaching of Islam which makes the acquisition of knowledge or education obligatory, as emphasised in the first revelation from Allah to the prophet Muḥammad. In Minangkabau, the suraus were not only firmly established as an Islamic educational institution, but also as the major departure points for the full Islamization of Minangkabau. The most important mosque as an Islamic centre was the Masjid Jāmi' Bait al-Raḥmān in Acheh.

Knowledge was no longer limited to the elite "Great Tradition Group" but extended to all the members of the public or "Little Tradition Group" (refer to Chapter One). The Malay gave the importance of acquiring knowledge a paramount place in society and this extensive move to the acquisition of knowledge led to the establishment of educational institutions such as the Dayah in Acheh, Pasantren in Indonesia and Pondok in the Malay Peninsular. The mosques also became a centre for the spreading of knowledge to the people in addition to the surau in the case of Minangkabau as mentioned earlier.
The continued inflow in of eminent ‘ulama’ from the heartlands of Islam such as Mecca, Medina, Egypt, Persia and India added colour to the universality of Islam. The introduction of the Arabic alphabet in Jawi writing gave an impetus to the easy absorption and assimilation of Islamic culture into the Malay society. Accordingly, the thoughts and works of these eminent scholars were subsequently translated into Malay through the Kitab Jawi. Most of the Kitab Jawi are translations or adaptations from the kitabs of these foreign scholars, though others are individual works of local scholars. The translated works include:


2. Ḥikam by Ibn ‘Aṭā’ Allāh al-Iskandarī was commented on and translated into Malay by Shaikh ‘Abd al-Malik b. ‘Abd Allāh (Tuk Pulau Manis) in his Ḥikam Melayu and by ‘Uthmān b. Shihāb al-Dīn al-Funtiyānī in his Tāj al-‘Arūs.


7. Tafsīr al-Jalālayn by al-Suyūṭī translated into Malay by Shaikh


9. Umm al-Barâhîn by al-Sanûsî commented and translated into Malay with three different titles;

These works are not only important as major references but they functioned as a stimulus for local scholars to contribute to the development of Islamic thought in the Malay Archipelago.

The emergence of many prolific local traditional scholars at this time was parallel to the needs and environment of the time, which had acquired a thirst for knowledge. These local writers and their works have been discussed in Chapter Three. Surprisingly, not all these writers were given the same attention and respect for their works by the generations who followed them. Probably these traditional scholars were regarded as religious scholars per se and nothing more, but we cannot make the same assumptions today as were made in the traditional period. These scholars' writings reflect their period and more importantly, it is through their work that we are able to learn and know the language, culture and literature of the traditional period. To neglect them today will only make us the loser in the long run.
The contents of Kitab Jawi do not only concern specific ritual (‘ibādah khusūsiyyah) such as prayer, fasting and ḥajj; their perspectives are wide-ranging and include law, politics, social matters, economy, culture and education.

The main aim of the Kitab Jawi was to transform society by encouraging the acquisition of knowledge. The significant contribution of the Kitab Jawi was to eradicate illiteracy in the society. The steady flow of these translated kitabs led to the interest of the society in the attainment and acquirement of knowledge, which is greatly encouraged in Islam. Gradually illiteracy became less common, with many local scholars contributing much towards this goal with their writings.

In addition, Šufism, which played an important role in facilitating the readiness of Malay society to accept Islam was equally important in paving the way for an intellectual Malay civilisation and influencing local scholars in their Kitab Jawi writings. Undoubtedly these kitabs were the principal tools for many who were unable to read Arabic. Malay language soon became a lingua franca of Islam and an essential vehicle for the spread of religious ideas throughout the Malay Archipelago.

The indigenous and Hindu past had left traces of the plurality of Godship (see Chapter One). Thus the attributes of God were manifested in the form of separate Gods. However, the translation of the Umm al-Barāhīn and especially the Sifat Dua Puluh (The Twenty Attributes), placed the issue in the right perspective. It gave a clear understanding of
the concept of monotheism (the oneness of Allah) in theology and the concept of Allah as *Ulūhiyyah* (Godhead) and *Rubūbiyyah* (Godship) and it effectively categorized and explained the various aspects of Allah's attributes and their relations with the Godhead.

Though the work of *Umm al-Barāhīn* is small in size, the arguments it presents before the reader are far-reaching and highly philosophical. For instance, in discussing one of the inadmissible attributes of Allah, *Mumāthalah li al-Ḥawādith* (resemblance to the creation), the use of scientific terms in the discussion, such as the term jirm (bodily mass), ʿaraḍ (accident) and jawhar (atom) show us that this work is highly intellectual and philosophical in its discussion and commentary. The lucidity and comprehensiveness of this work has contributed to making it as the official doctrine on the subject in the Malay Peninsular. (refer to Chapter Two)

The significance of the *Umm al-Barāhīn* lies in the fact that it sums up the knowledge and details of the attributes of Allah and His Essence in lucid and simple terms so that even the layman can understand the difficult science of theological discussion. Moreover, it was until very recently enacted as a rule in the Shari'ah Court of Malaysia that intending marital couples should pronounce these divine attributes prior to the signing of the marriage certificate. This was done to emphasize the concept of Divinity in Islam and to urge the couples to fear Allah in their married life through knowing the existence and presence of Allah by their understanding of these Twenty Attributes of Allah.

The Twenty Attributes were also until recently taught in schools as
an essential part of religious instruction and are still taught today in many schools in Malaysia. Thus it can be seen that the Twenty Attributes teachings based on the works of al-Sanūsī have been an integral and vital part of the Malay Islamic tradition since the Malaccan period, i.e., for nearly 500 years. It is therefore impossible to fully understand this religious tradition without a thorough study of al-Sanūsī’s *Umm al-Barāḥīn*, and of the later *Kitab Jawi* commentaries on this work mentioned above.

However, the importance and the significance of the *Kitab Jawi* have not been fully explored although great credit is due to those scholars who have ventured this field such as Mohd. Noh b. Ngah, Virginia Matheson and M.B. Hooker, Martin Van Bruinessen and R.Roolvink. As mentioned earlier in the introduction, this is partly because most of the *Kitab Jawi* still exist in the form of manuscripts which are well-dispersed throughout the Malay Archipelago. Many of these manuscripts are in private collections and many of the *Kitab Jawi* which have been reprinted can only be consulted in only a few libraries in various countries. Thus the non-availability of the unpublished original handwritten manuscripts or at least the difficulty of obtaining them have made the task of discovering the intellectual heritage of the Malay society extremely difficult, and many scholars have abandoned the idea of pursuing any further research on this matter. In addition, there is also the difficulty in understanding the *Kitab Jawi* text itself due to its long-winded and old-fashioned method of sentence construction and spelling system, especially for the younger generation who are more familiar with modern sentence construction.
However, there is a growing aspiration among the younger generation of Malay intellectuals to adapt and apply this issue of the *Sifat Dua Puluh* (The Twenty attributes) to the needs of the time. And it is in this spirit that I have set out to make my humble contribution towards a scientific analysis and understanding of *Kitab Jawi* so that it will be palatable to the modern mind, and will at the same time encourage others to boldly venture into the intellectual heritage of the Malay society which has hitherto not been sufficiently explored and has not been fully appreciated.
Endnotes to Conclusion

1. This is based on the Hukum Kanun Melaka or Undang-Undang Melaka or Risālat Hukum Kanun (the Malaccan Law) (compiled during the period of the fourth Sultan of Malacca, Sultan Muḥaffar Shāh (1446-1456 A.D. or 1459 A.D.) which was enforced since the early 15th century and defined the Sultans of Malacca as the Khalifah al-Muʿminin. For further details see, Fang, L.Y., op. cit., p.64; Hamid, Dr. Ismail, Peradaban Melayu dan Islam, (Kuala Lumpur, 1985), pp.54-5.


8. MA., op. cit., p.520.

The Spread of Islam in the Indonesian Archipelago

The Paths of Islam, at the Same Time the Most Important Trade Routes

Appendix (A)
THE ATJEH DYNASTY

+1497-1504: 'Ali Mughavat Shah
1504-1507: Salah al-Din
1507-1509: 'Ali al-Din Ri'ayat Shah al-Kahhar
1509-1537: 'Ali Ri'ayat Shah or Husayn
Sultan Muda (a child; reigned only some months in 1579)
1537-1579: Sultan Sri 'Alam
Zayn al-'Abidin
1579-1589: 'Ali al-Din of Perak or Mansur Shah
1589-1591: 'Ali Ri'ayat Shah or Radja Buvung
1591-1595: 'Ali al-Din Ri'ayat Shah Sayyid al-Mukammil
1595-1597: 'Ali Ri'ayat Shah or Sultan Muda
Iskandar Muda (posthumous name: marhum Makota 'Alam)
1597-1604: Iskandar Thani 'Ali al-Din Mughavat Shah
1604-1636: Tadi al- 'Alam Sahibat al-Din Shah
1636-1647: Nur al-'Alam Nafisat al-Din Shah
1647-1675.8: 'Inayat Shah Zakiafat al-Din Shah
1675.8-1688.99: Kamalat Shah

Key:

Legend:

- Influenced by Hamzah Fansuri and Shams al-Din al-Sumatrani (Wahdat al-Wajud of Ibn al-'Arabi: THE GOLDEN AGE)
- Influenced by Nur al-Din al-Raniri and 'Abd al-Ra'uf al-Singkeli
- Female Rulers

Appendix (D) for Chapters 2 and 3

The Malacca Dynasty

1. Paramesvara (1394 - 1414)
   (changed to Islamic name, Raja Iskandar +- 1400)

2. (Sultan) Megat Iskandar Shah (817/1414 - 826/1423-4)
   (real name Raja Ahmad)

3. Sri Maharaja Sultan Muhammad Shah (827/1424 - 847/1444)
   (Raja Tengah)

4. Raja Ibrahim, Sri Paramesvara Dewa Shah
   (848-9/1445 - 850/1446)
   (Sultan Abu Shahid)

5. Raja Qasim, Sultan Muzafar Shah
   (850/1446 - 863-4/1459)

6. Raja Abdullah, Sultan Mansur Shah
   (882-4/1459 - 882/1477)

7. Sultan 'Ala' al-Din Ri'ayat Shah
   (882/1477 - 893/1488)

8. Sultan Mahmud Shah
   (893/1488 - 934-5/1528)

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