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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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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, Aceh), 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 Ṣāliḥ (Tuan Tabal) (d. 1840, Kelantan), Sayyid 'Uthmān 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-Barāhīn* 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-Barāhīn* 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 *idāfa* = 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. **Husin** not **Husain**. 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.

The translation of the Qur'ānic 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;

- AM = *al-Mawrid*.
- AN = *'Aqīdat al-Nājīn*.
- BH = *Bidāyat al-Hidāyah*.
- BKI = *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land-en Volkenkunde*.
- BKS = *Bad' Khalq al-Samāwāt wa al-Arḍ*.
- DA = *Daqā'iq al-Akbar*.
- DT = *Durr al-Thamīn fī 'Aqā'id al-Mu'minīn*.
- EI = *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 1st. edition and 2nd. edition.
- FM = *Furū' al-Masā'il*.
- GAL = *Geschichte Der Arabischen Litteratur*.
- HB = *Hāshiyat al-Shaikh Ibrāhīm al-Baijūrī 'alā Matn al-Sanūsiyyah*.
- HD = *Hāshiyat al-Shaikh Muḥammad al-Dasūqī 'alā Sharḥ Umm al-Barāhīn*.
- HS = *Hāshiyat al-Shaikh 'Abd Allāh al-Sharqāwī 'alā Sharḥ al-'Imām al-'Allāmah al-Hudhudī 'alā al-Sanūsiyyah*.

- 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-Tauḥīd*.
- KG = *Kashf al-Ghaybiyyah*.
- KILTV = *Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal, Land-en Volkenkunde*.
- KSA = *Kitab Simpulan Agama*.
- KSDP = *Kitab Sifat Dua Puluh*.
- MA = *al-Mughnī al-Akbar*.
- MIS = *Malayan And Indonesian Studies*.
- MJT = *Matn Jawhārat al-Tauḥīd*.
- MS 12225 SOAS, *Umm al-Barāhīn* = MS 12225 School of Oriental and African Studies.
- MS 12193 SOAS, *Umm al-Barāhīn* = 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-Mukallafīn fī Sharḥ Umm al-Barāhīn*.
- SH = *Sirāj al-Hudā*.

- SUT = *Sharḥ Uṣūl al-Taḥqīq.*
- TOI = *The Tenets of Islam.*
- TP = *T'oung Pao.*
- TR = *Tuḥfat al-Rāghibīn.*
- UD = *Uṣūl al-Dīn.*
- UT = *Uṣūl al-Tauḥīd fī Ma'rifat Ṭurq al-Īmān li al-Rabb al-Majīd.*

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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 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.

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Introduction

Preamble

So far little has been written about the *Kitab Jawi* or *Kitab Kuning* (the term used by Martin Van Bruinessen)¹ 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,² consisting, apart from the Islamic writings, discussed in this thesis, of legal agreements, short biographies and genealogies, *Hikāyats*, poems or versified traditional *mantera* or *serapah* and *azimat*³ 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.⁴ 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.⁵

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-Barāhīn* 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 'Aqīdah, *Sharī'ah* (law) and mysticism (*Ṣūfism*).

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.), Aceh (1511-1650 A.D.), Patani (1564-1782 A.D.) and Johor-Riau (1650-1800 A.D.).⁶

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., Aceh), Shaikh 'Abd al-Malik b. 'Abd Allāh (Tuk Pulau 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), Dā'ūd al-Faṭānī (d.1840 A.D., Patani), 'Abd al-Ṣamad b.

Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ (Tuan Tabal) (d.1840 A.D., Kelantan) and Sayyid 'Uthmān b. Yahyā al-Betāwī (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,⁷ 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.⁸

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.

iii) MS 12188 (SOAS). *Al-Takyīd 'alā 'Aqīdat al-Imām al-Sharīf al-Ḥasan al-Sanūsī Raḥimahu Allāh*, by Al-Sayyid Muḥammad ibn Abi Qāsim ibn Naṣr, dated 1048 A.H..

iv) MS M.I. 635 (BPIPIM). *Kifāyat al-Mukallafīn fī Sharḥ Umm al-Barāhīn*, by Muḥammad b. Mas'ūd, dated 1270 A.H..

B. Kitab Jawi (Malay)

i) *Bidāyat al-Hidāyah* (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) *'Aqīdat al-Nājīn* (commentary and translation into Malay of *Umm al-Barāhīn*) by Zayn al-'Ābidīn b. Muḥammad al-Faṭānī, (Pulau Pinang, 1308 A.H./1890 A.D.)

iv) Anonymous, *Inilah 'aqīdat bagi Sanūsīyyah Matn Umm al-Barāhīn diterjemahkan dengan bangsa [bahasa] Melayu*, (Singapura, n.d.).

v) Anonymous, *Inilah kitab sharḥ bagi Matn Jawharāt al-Tauḥīd*, (Singapura, 1292 A.H.).

vi) *'Uṣūl al-Tauḥīd fī Ma'rifat Ṭurq al-Īmān li al-Rabb al-Majīd*, by al-'Ālim al-'Allāmah al-Shaikh Ḥusīn Nāṣir b. Muḥammad Ṭayyib al-Mas'ūdī al-Banjārī (Tuan Ḥusīn Kedah), (Pulau Pinang, 1393 A.H.).

vii) Anonymous, *Inilah kitab Sharḥ Uṣūl al-Ṭaḥqīq*, (Pulau Pinang, 1356 A.H.).

C. Kitāb Sharḥ or Ḥāshiyah (Arabic)

i) *Ḥāshiyat al-Shaikh 'Abd Allāh al-Sharqāwī 'alā Sharḥ al-'Imām al-'Allāmah al-Hudhudī 'alā al-Sanūsīyyah*, by al-Shaikh 'Abd Allāh b. Ḥijāzī al-Sharqāwī, (Miṣr, 1194 A.H.).

ii) *Ḥāshiyat al-Shaikh Ibrāhīm al-Bajūrī 'alā Matn al-Sanūsīyyah*, by al-Shaikh Ibrāhīm al-Bajūrī, (Miṣr, 1227 A.H.).

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 *Ṣūfī* 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-Barāhīn* 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;
 - a) The Malay Manuscripts Centre, National Library of Malaysia, Kuala Lumpur.
 - b) The University of Malaya Library, Kuala Lumpur.
 - c) Islamic Centre of Malaysia Library, Kuala Lumpur.
 - d) The School of Oriental and African Studies Library, London.
 - e) Oriental and India Office Collections, The British Library, London.
 - f) The Royal Asiatic Society Library, London.
 - 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.
 - k) The General State Archives, The Hague.
 - l) Gedung Arca, National Library of Indonesia, Jakarta.
 - m) The Indonesian Cultural Board Library, Jakarta.

For further details see, Ricklefs, M.C. and Voorhoeve, P., *Indonesian Manuscripts in Great Britain*, (Oxford, 1977), pp. 103-71; Cf. *Catalogue of Malay Manuscripts in The Netherlands*, (Kuala Lumpur, 1985); Mamat, Hj. Wan Ali Hj. Wan (ed.), *Katalog Naskhah Melayu Lama*, (Kuala Lumpur, 1985), pp. 91-111; Cf. Howard, Joseph H. (Compiled by), *Malay Manuscripts: A Bibliographical Guide*, (Kuala Lumpur, 1966).

5. See, Ngah, Mohd. Noh b., *Kitab Jawi : Islamic Thought of the Malay Muslim Scholars*, Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, (Singapore, 1983); Matheson, Virginia and Hooker, M.B., 'Jawi Literature in Patani: the Maintenance of an Islamic Tradition', *JMBRAS*, vol. LXI, Part 1, 1988, pp.1-86; Bruinessen, Martin Van, *op. cit.*, pp.226-69.
6. See appendix (A).
7. al-Attas, Syed Muhammad Naquib, *Islam dalam Sejarah dan Kebudayaan Melayu*, (Kuala Lumpur, 1982), pp. 44-51; *EI .*, vol. VI, New Edition, 1991, "Malay Peninsular", p.240.
8. Hurgronje, C. Snouck, *Mekka in the Latter Part of the 19th Century*, (Leyden and London, 1931), pp. 286-7.

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.¹ 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. ²

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. ³

As compared to dynamism, it can be compared with the spirit of physical life in contradistinction to the immortal essence (*semangat*) among the Malays.⁴ This concept possesses the power to determine the good or ill tidings in their lives.⁵ The belief in the existence of soul (*jiwa*), the breath of life (*rūh*) and the spirit of physical life (*badi*) 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

other such things.⁶

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.⁷

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,⁸ but whether or not this is so, shamanism is an integral aspect of the worldview of the cultures of the

Malays.⁹

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*.¹⁰ 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,¹¹ 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.¹² 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. ¹³ 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).¹⁴ In other words, the Malays during the pre-Hindu period believed in the existence of the *Dewa Agung* or The Supreme Being,¹⁵ 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 Lang¹⁶ and Wilhelm Schmidt ¹⁷ 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.¹⁸ In middle Flores, the 'High God' was called *Dewa* whereas in east Flores he was known as *Lera Wulan*. J.A.J. Verheijen,¹⁹ 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.²⁰

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.²¹ 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.²² 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.²³

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.²⁴ 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-Manavastra*.²⁵ 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*,²⁶ although in some places there were

traces of local elements.²⁷

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,²⁸ 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*.²⁹

With the coming of Hinduism, two major castes existed, the royal family with the ministers and the masses who became slaves to them.³⁰

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,³¹ 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.³²

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 be 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.⁴² 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.⁴³

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.⁴⁴

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.⁴⁵ 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.⁴⁶

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.⁵³ 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.⁵⁴

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.⁵⁵

At the beginning of the 15th century, there were other localities in Sumatra where Islam penetrated. Ma Huan,⁵⁶ the Chinese Muslim interpreter and traveller who accompanied the Admiral Cheng Ho (1405-1433 A.D.)⁵⁷ on his fourth voyage in 1413 A.D. made a note in his *Ying-yai Cheng-lang*⁵⁸ or *Ying-yai Sheng-lan* ("The overall survey of the ocean's shores")⁵⁹ of the existence of Islam in the States of A-lu (Haru, north-east of Sumatra) and Nan-po-li (Lambri in the extreme

north-west of the island).⁶⁰

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.)⁶¹ 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 Maḥmūd Shāh (893-934 A.H./1488-1528 A.D.)⁶² 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.⁶³ 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.⁶⁴ 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.⁶⁵ Earlier than this was a tombstone found in Langgar, Kedah with the name Shaikh ‘Abd al-Qādir b Ḥusain Shāh ‘Ālam inscribed on it dated 291 A.H./903 A.D..⁶⁶

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..⁶⁷ 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 Shāh.⁶⁸ The Aceh 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 Aceh 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.⁷¹ 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.⁷²

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.⁷³ There were four *Xabandars* or *Shahbandars* (Harbour Masters)⁷⁴ 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).⁷⁵ This multiracial character of the port is supposed to have given Malacca its name, derived from the Arabic *mulāqā*, meaning a meeting place,⁷⁶ or a place where merchants gather.⁷⁷

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.⁷⁸

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, Aceh, 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 Aceh 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 Aceh by sending a large amount of arms and 500 Turkish soldiers.⁸⁰ This diplomatic relationship was preserved by succeeding sultans such as Sultan Manşūr 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, Aceh became the most powerful Islamic kingdom after the downfall of Malacca. Muslim traders from India, Arabia and Persia preferred to trade with Aceh rather than Malacca which was under the control of the Portuguese who were Christians, while non-Muslim traders turned their attention from Malacca to Aceh to avoid the imposts of the Portuguese. Due to the increasing number of traders, there was a ministerial post called *Wazīr*

Badlul Mulūk, 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 Portugese 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.⁸⁵ 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.⁸⁶

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.⁸⁷ 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.⁸⁸

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 Ḥanafiyyah* and *al-Durr al-Manẓum* were kept there.⁹⁰ Besides the palace, there were other centres of learning in Malacca such as the houses of the *maulānā* or scholars, mosques, *madrasah* and *surau*.⁹¹ 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.).⁹²

Beside the palace, the mosque (*masjid*) or *surau*⁹³ became functional as the centre of learning for children in the day-time to learn the Qur'ān and to deepen their *farḍ 'ayn*⁹⁴ (individual duty as prescribed by Islamic Law) such as prayer, fasting and *ḥajj*, 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*, *uṣul al-dīn*, *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, Qādī 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.⁹⁵ For example a scholar like a *qādī* (chief judicial official)⁹⁶ or *faqīh* (learned man)⁹⁷ was put in the fourth placing after the Prime Minister or Chief Minister (*Bendahara* or *Bemdara*),⁹⁸ the Treasurer and the head of all *Shahbandars* (*Penghulu Bendahari*),⁹⁹ and the chief Defence Minister, the chief of Police and the chief Magistrate (*Temenggung* or *Tumunguo* or *Tumungam* or *Tumenggung*)¹⁰⁰ and the chief of Military Administration, Commander of the ruler's bodyguard and Admiral of the Fleet (*Laksamana* or *Lassamane* or *Lassemane*).¹⁰¹

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.¹⁰² 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,¹⁰³ Raja Tengah or Muḥammad Shāh,¹⁰⁴ Sultan Manṣūr Shāh,¹⁰⁵ Sultan Maḥmūd Shāh,¹⁰⁶ and Sultan 'Alā' al-Dīn Ri'āyat Shāh.¹⁰⁷

Besides the local students, there were also non-local students in Malacca. Among them were the *Wālī Songo* leaders who were well-known for their Islamic missionary activities in Java such as Maulānā Iṣḥāq of Sunan Giri and Maulānā Ibrāhīm of Sunan Bonang.¹⁰⁸ 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.¹⁰⁹ It is said that Sultan 'Alā' al-Dīn Ri'āyat Shāh himself was a scholar.¹¹⁰

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 Aḥmad and submitted their remarks to his highness. And Sultan Aḥmad 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 Aḥmad 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 Aḥmad, who smiled and answered, 'He is right'. And he gave him the story of *Muḥammad Ḥanafiyyah* too".¹¹¹

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-Nafīs*, 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 (*hawā*) 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*.¹¹² Besides him, his father and sister were also known to have been active in literary works.¹¹³

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*).¹¹⁴ 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 Aceh were far more systematic than in Malacca. Basic education started in the *meunasah* (*madrasah*), similar to the *kuttāb* in west Asia.¹¹⁵ 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-Muhtadīn*.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, *tauḥīd* studies, *taṣawwuf*, 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 Singkelī, *Dayah Batu Karang* and *Dayah Tanah Abee* which was referred to as the most famous in Aceh. 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*, *ḥadīth* and *fiqh*¹²⁰ but occasionally other subjects taught in the normal *dayah* were also taught here.

In Aceh, 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-Mushāhadah, founded by Sultan

Iskandar Thānī 'Alā' al-Dīn Mughayāt Shāh (1636-1641 A.D.) and Masjid Jāmi' Bait al-Raḥmān which was equal in status to a university and was established in the reign of Sultan 'Alā' al-Dīn Maṣṣūr 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 Marḥūm Mahkota 'Ālam (1607-1636 A.D.), the development of Islamic education reached its peak, particularly with the emergence of both Jāmi'ah Bait al-Raḥmān and Jāmi'ah Bait al-Raḥīm. There were many scholars, local and foreign, in this period. As in Malacca, these scholars held a high position in the Aceh administration. In the event of a ruler's death, the position of *Qādī 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 Aceh, 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 Aceh *Dar al-Salām* kingdom was one of the scholars of the *Dayah Cot Kala*, previously named Meurah Johan.¹²³

After the golden period of Aceh (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 Aceh kingdom but only played an important role after the decline of Aceh 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..¹²⁴

In Minangkabau, the institution of *sarau* is more or less the same as the *pesantren* in Java and the *pondok* in the Malay Peninsular.¹²⁵ Thus the definition of *sarau* as religious training centre for advanced Islamic students by Echols and Shadily described well the institution of *sarau* in Minangkabau.¹²⁶ The *sarau* 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 Aceh saint, 'Abd Ra'ūf al-Singkelī, established his *sarau* in Ulakan. His *sarau* soon became the centre of learning for many students from all parts of Minangkabau. He was known as Tuanku Ulakan and there are four Tuankus¹²⁷ in Minangkabau known as the *Urang Ampek Angkek* (the four Exalted People)¹²⁸ well-known for religious sciences and disciplines and in establishing new *saraus* as the centre of Islamic learning. Advanced students of the *sarau* continued their studies in Ulakan, Aceh, India, Mecca, Medina or Cairo and on their return became *Tuk Guru* (teachers) or preachers of Islam in the society.¹²⁹

In the Malay peninsula, traditional Islamic education was carried out in the *pondok* institution¹³⁰ 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 (*'ulamā'* or *Tuk Guru*).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.,¹³² the *Pondok Pulau Chondong* in Kelantan founded in 1820 A.D.¹³³ and *Pondok Pulau Pisang* in Kedah founded in 1840 A.D..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

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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 *Kitāb 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,¹ 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 Baṭūṭṭah in his book *al-Riḥlah* 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-Jāwah*. 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.² Accordingly the writings of the people of the Malay Archipelago as a whole are referred to as *Jāwī* writings.³

According to Muḥammad Zain b. al-Faqīh Jalāl al-Dīn in his *Bidāyat al-Hidāyah*;

" *Qad ra'aitu fī hādhā al-zamān ahl al-Jāwī min al-quṣūr fī al-ṭalab bi al-'Arabiyya fa aradtu an utarjima Kalām..... al-Sanūsī..... al-musammā bi Umm al-Barāhīn*

*bī- lisān al-Jāwī.....*⁴

[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.⁵ In his comprehensive and excellent work, Prof. Syed Muhammad Naquib al-Attas distinguishes the 5 letters which originated from the Malays as:

Malay letter	Pronunciation	Originated from
()	<i>cā</i>	<i>jīm</i> ()
()	<i>ngā</i>	' <i>ayn</i> ()
()	<i>pā</i>	<i>fā</i> ()
()	<i>gā</i>	<i>kāf</i> () and
()	<i>nyā</i>	<i>thā</i> ().

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.⁶ 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.⁷

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)".⁸

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.⁹ 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. ¹⁰

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 Ḥanafī *madhhab* (with the exception of the Muslims of the Coromandel and Malabar coasts who are mainly the followers of the Shāfi'ī *madhhab*)¹¹ while the Malays are followers of the Shāfi'ī *madhhab*, but they agree on many aspects, as according to the *Kitāb Jawi*, all four *madhāhib* (Mālikī, Ḥanafī, Shāfi'ī and Ḥanbalī) are recognized as belonging to orthodox Islam.¹²

The Malays readily accept the tenets of the Ḥanafī *madhhab* instead of the Shāfi'ī *madhhab* in some cases. For instance, in the paying of *Zakāt al-Fiṭr* which according to the Shāfi'ī *madhhab* must be paid in kind (in this case a measure of the best rice or wheat), the Malays tend to follow the Ḥanafī *madhhab*, according to which it is better to pay in cash or money, or in kind.¹³ Thus the Malays pay their *Zakāt al-Fiṭr* in cash because it is easier and more practical.

The influence of the Shāfi'ī *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 Battūṭah who visited Pasai in 1345 A.D. in the period of Sultan Malik al-Zāhir, we learn that the *ṣultan* is pious and

interested in religious knowledge. He states that both rulers and the people are followers of the Shāfi'ī *madhhab*. He notes that there were two Shāfi'ī scholars, Amīr ibn Sa'īd al-Shīrāzī and Tāj al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī in Pasai at the time, who originally came from Persia.¹⁴ The presence of both these scholars of the Shāfi'ī *madhhab* is not surprising because among the great Shāfi'ī scholars are many Persians such as al-Juwaynī (Imām al-Haramayn), al-Ghazālī and 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jaylānī.

An important aspect of this school of thought in the Malay Archipelago is *Minhāj al-Ṭālibīn* by Imām Muḥyī al-Dīn Abū Zakariyyā al-Nawawī (1232-1277 A.D.).¹⁵ The *kitāb* was already introduced into Pasai in the 13th century.¹⁶ From the date of its introduction, the *kitāb* circulated throughout the later period of the Kingdom of Pasai (1400-1511 A.D.).¹⁷ 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'īd 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.¹⁸

Contemporary with the Pasai kingdom is the Kingdom of Terengganu, a Suwarnabhumi (Malay) state ruled by a minister with the title of Raja *Mandulika*.¹⁹ 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.,²⁰ 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 *ḥudūd* for adultery, breach of the repayment of debt, and other offences.²¹ 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 Talkhīṣ al-Minhāj* by al-Nawawī and *Kitāb al-Muhadhdhab* by Abū Ishāq al-Shīrāzī.²² 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-Ṭālibīn* and *Ḥilyat al-Abrār wā Shi‘ār al-Akhyār fī Talkhīṣ al-Da‘awāt al-Nawawiyya*.²³ 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-Shīrāzī is interesting when it is studied in detail, and indeed from the aspect of scholarship, al-Shīrāzī is included among the important contemporary Shāfi‘ī *Fuqahā’* along with al-Nawawī,²⁴ 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-Shīrāzī 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 Baghdād 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*). Shafi'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, *Hadīth*, *Ijmā'* and *Qiyās*.

During the reign of Sultan Iskandar Muda or Marḥūm Mahkota

'Ālam (1607-1636 A.D.) the implementation of Shafi'ī 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 jurists (*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 *Ḥadīth* which prohibits women

from possessing power. Nevertheless Ratu Ṣafīyyat 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 Sutlan was a woman, she could not act impulsively since the Aceh 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 *Sharī'ah*.²⁹

For more than 31 years, Ratu Ṣafīyyat al-Dīn Shāh ruled the Aceh 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 Aceh. 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 Ṣafīyyat al-Dīn Shāh could not compromise with the group espousing the *Tarīqat* 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 Aceh 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 Aceh. Even though there is a *Ḥadīth* which prohibits women from becoming Raja or Sultan, this is said not to conflict with the actual situation (*wāqi'*) in Aceh, because all its *Ratu* were not absolute rulers but were assisted by members of the Supreme Council who were all men. Thus the members of the National *Fatwā* Committee of Aceh 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-Singkelī 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 fāsiq kerana ḍarūrat, 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 khalifahnyanya 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 Khalīfah al-Rāshidūn" 32

(And valid (*sah*) is the *Raja* to be a woman and bad (*fāsiq*) because of *ḍarūrah* 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‘āwiyah which ended with Mu‘āwiyah becoming the *Khalīfah*. 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 Aceh kingdom was ruled by women rulers for 58 years starting with Ratu Tāj al-‘Ālam Ṣafiyyat al-Dīn Shāh (1641-1675 A.D.) and succeeded by Ratu Nūr al-‘Ālam 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-Singkelī 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 Aceh scholars, because it has been an established principle of *Sunnī* scholars that a woman does not possess the right to become *raja* or *sultan* or the head of state. As for the Shāfi'ī *madhhab* we may note especially that Imām al-Ghazālī himself when discussing the question of the *imām* in *ṣalāt* (prayer) mentions that Allah made man leader of woman and that Allah forbade woman to become *walī*.³⁴

It is clear then that according to the *Sunnī madhhab* and in particular to the Shāfi'ī *madhhab*, an essential requirement to be an *imām* or *sultan* or head is to be a man.³⁵ Surprisingly, nevertheless, the Aceh Kingdom which acknowledged and upheld the Shāfi'ī *madhhab* suddenly rejected this in the leadership question. When studying the political turmoil in Aceh, 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 *Muftī* of Aceh, Shaikh Jalāl al-Dīn Tursānī issued a ruling on the legitimacy of a women ruler in a state of *ḍarūrah*. 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 *Siyāṣah shar'īyyah* 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 Aceh and the Sulu Sultanate might be viewed as unIslamic 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 *Sulṭān Imām Malik al-*

'*Ādil*, as used by the sultans of Aceh, 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 an 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 Shāfi'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-Muslimīn*) 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 Maḥmūd 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 Maḥmūd Shāh of Malacca (1488-1528 A.D.), concerned the question of *al-Qaḍā' wā 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

Muhammad dan Menteri Sura Dipa mengadap Paduka Adinda bertanyakan kehendak masalah ini. "Man qāla: Inna Allāh khāliqun wa rāzikun fī al-azali faqad kafara". Yakni barangsiapa mengatakan bahawa Allah menjadikan dan memberi rezeki sejak azali sesungguhnya dia kafir. "Wa man qāla: Inna Allāh lam yakun khāliqan wa rāziqan fī al-azali faqad kafara". Yakni barangsiapa mengatakan Allah tiada menjadikan dan tiada memberi rezeki pada azali maka sesungguhnya dia kafir. Maka hendaklah Paduka Adinda suruh beri kehendaknya. ⁴¹

(Best wishes to Seri Sultan A'zam al-Mukarram Zill Allāh fī al-'Ālam. Both of us: Orang Kaya Tun Muhammad and Menteri Sura Dipa have been summoned by the Sultan (Sultan Maḥmūd 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.

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 (*taqdīr*).

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-Qaḍā' wā al-Qadar* because it is the sixth of the articles of faith (*Arkān al-Īmān*).⁴² 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.⁴³ Hence, some Malays are inclined to rely 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 *taqdīr* or measure of Allah. The belief in *al-Qaḍā' 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.⁴⁴

The Malays are Sunnī Muslims who follow the school of al-Ash'arī, 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'arī 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 Sunnī critics of Ash'arism have described this theory as "compulsion" (*jabr*).

The Mu'tazilī 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 *Kitab Jawi* 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'ān explain that man's action is important. For example, the Qur'ān says, "Verily, Allah will change not the condition of a folk until they (first) change that which is in their heart....".⁴⁸ There are also other verses which explain that man's fate has been predetermined by Allah. For example, the Qur'ān says, "Say nothing will overfall us save what Allah has written for us. He is our patron, so let the believers rely on Allah".⁴⁹ 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 Aceh (1636-1641 A.D.)⁵⁰ 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 (*ḥadīth*), "My *Ummah* will be divided into 73 sects"⁵¹ 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 *uṣūl al-Dīn* (theology) and *kalām* knowledge (*'ilm al-kalām*) developed in both the Ash'ariyya⁵² and the Māturīdiyya⁵³ schools of thought. Among the first scholars to impose the Ash'ariyya thought was al-Bukhārī al-Jawharī in his book, *Tāj al-Salāṭīn*, written in 1603 A.D. Even though this is not a book of *uṣūl 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.⁵⁴ Thus the *Tāj al-Salāṭīn* 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.⁵⁵

Besides him, there are two great scholars, Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī (d. 1658 A.D.) and 'Abd al-Ra'ūf al-Singkelī (d. 1693) who discussed the *'ilm al-kalām*. Al-Rānīrī is interested in discussing the school of al-Māturīdī of the Ḥanafī *madhhab*. This is based on his attempt to interpret the *Sharḥ 'Aqā'id al-Nasafī*,⁵⁶ written by Sa'd al-Dīn Mas'ūd al-Taftāzānī (d. 791 A.H./1387 A.D) and completed in Khwārizm in 768 A.H/1364 A.D.⁵⁷ Actually the *Kitāb* of al-Taftāzānī 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-Taftāzānī are Ḥanafī scholars of *fiqh*.⁵⁸

The influence of Māturīdiyya teachings can be seen in Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī's *Hidāyat al-Īmān fī Faḍl al-Mannān*.⁵⁹ In this book on *'ilm al-Kalām*, he discusses the problems of the *dhāt* (essence), *ṣifāt* (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).⁶⁰ In actual fact the use of the *ṣifāt Ma'nawiyya* is said to be an influence of the *Māturīdiyya* because these *ṣifāt* are not found in the teachings of the *Ash'ariyya*. Furthermore the majority of the followers of the *Ash'ariyya* rejected these *ṣifāt*.⁶¹

With regard to 'Abd al-Ra'ūf al-Singkelī, his ideas on *'ilm al-kalām* are to be found in his *'Umdat al-Muḥtājīn ilā Sulūk al-Mufarridīn*.⁶² 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), *mustaḥīl* (inadmissible) and *jā'iz* (admissible). He divides the twenty necessary attributes (*al-ṣifāt al-wājiba*) into four categories; *nafsiyya*, *salbiyya*, *ma'ānī* and *ma'nawiyya*. He also mentions the necessary (*wājib*) and inadmissible (*mustaḥīl*) attributes for the Prophet Muḥammad (s. a. w.).⁶³

In the development of *kalām* knowledge (*'ilm al-kalām*) and theology (*uṣūl al-Dīn*), in particular *'ilm al-tauḥīd*, among the pioneer scholars is Muḥammad Zain b. al-Faqīh Jalāl al-Dīn al-Āshī. 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

A.D.) which discusses the teaching of *Sifat Dua Puluh*. This was completed in 1170 A.H./1757 A.D. and given the new title, *Bidāyat al-Hidāyah*.⁶⁴

Consequently, other *kitābs* of *‘ilm al-Kalām* and *‘ilm al-tauḥīd* were written, also inspired by *Umm al-Barāhīn*. Among these *kitābs* are: *Sharḥ Uṣūl al-Taḥqīq*, anonymous (a translation by one of the Malay scholars in Patani in 1356 A.H.), *Zuhrat al-Murīd fī Bayān Kalimāt al-Tauḥīd* by ‘Abd al-Ṣamad al-Falembānī in 1764 A.D. in Mecca, and *Uṣūl al-Tauḥīd fī Ma‘rifat Ṭuruq al-Īmān li al-Rabb al-Majīd* by Shaikh Ḥusīn Naṣr b. Muḥammad Ṭayyib al-Mas‘ūdī al-Banjari, more familiarly known by the nickname Tuan Husin 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 *Dharī‘at al-Yaqīn (Sharḥ Umm al-Barāhīn)*. Simultaneously the teaching of *Sifat Dua Puluh* was developed by Tuk Shihāb al-Dīn Palembang in the 18th century through his *‘Aqīdat 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. Yaḥyā 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.), *‘Aqīdat al-Nājīn* by Zain al-

'Ābidīn 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 Dā'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.⁶⁹ Among his *kitābs* which discuss the teaching of *Sifat Dua Puluh* are *al-Durr al-Thamīn fī 'Aqā'id al-Mu'minīn* (1232 A.H./1816 A.D.)⁷⁰ and *Kitāb Sifat Dua Puluh*.⁷¹ In the state of Kedah (Northern part of Malay Peninsula), Muḥammad Ṭayyīb b Mas'ūd al-'Awwām,⁷² a scholar descended from Shaikh Muḥammad Arshad al-Banjārī (b.1227 A.H./1812 A.D.)⁷³ also discussed the teaching of *Sifat Dua Puluh* in his *Miftāḥ al-Jannah*.⁷⁴ In the State of Kelantan (east coast of Malay Peninsula), Hāji '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*.⁷⁵ In Riau, *Umm al-Barāhīn* was taught by Raja 'Alī al-Hāji b Raja Aḥmad besides other *kitābs* such as *Minhāj al-'Ābidīn* by al-Ghazālī and *Jawharat al-Tawḥīd* by Shaikh Ibrāhīm al-Laqqānī.⁷⁶

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.⁷⁷ 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-Ash‘arī.

However, Snouck Hurgronje makes a very dismissive observation when discussing this issue, especially the method of teaching of ‘*ilm 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?⁷⁸

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*

(glossaries) or *sharḥ* on *sharḥ* (commentaries on commentaries).⁸¹ Such methods of writing are not limited to the Ash‘arī scholars of the Shāfi‘ī *madhhab* but include the Māturīdī scholars of the Ḥanafī *madhhab* such as al-Nasafī, al-Taftāzānī and al-Faḍḍālī.⁸² However any disputes on the originality of the theological scholars of either Ash‘ariyya or Māturīdiyya 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.⁸³

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*⁸⁴ (bodily mass), ‘*araḍ*⁸⁵ (accident) and *jawhar* (atom).⁸⁶

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.⁸⁷

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.⁸⁸ In addition to the above writings, we may note here that according to Prof. Syed Muḥammad Naquib al-Attas, a copy exists of '*Aqā'id al-Nasafī*' by Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar Najm al-Din 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.⁸⁹

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 *i'rāb* 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 *fathah* over *bā* and *kāf* with *sukūn* over *rā* reading *Bakar*, which is a typically Malay form of spelling the name based on pronunciation.⁹⁰

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.⁹¹

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,⁹² but evidence of the originality of these works can be clearly seen in their *fatāwā*⁹³ and their author's personal views and ideas. The authors of *Kitāb Jāwī* 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.⁹⁴ 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 *kitab*s 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 *ḥikāyats* and the Malay Annals to inspire and restrengthen their spirit of *Jihād* and warriorship. The two *ḥikāyats* mentioned are; *Ḥikāyat Amīr Ḥamzah* and *Ḥikāyat Muḥammad Ḥanafiyyah*, both of which have been shown to be partly faithful translations from the Persian.⁹⁵

Ḥamzah Fansūrī'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;

*Ḥamzah Syahrnawi sungguh bina,
tiada ia radi akan Tur Sina,
diamnya da'im dilaut Cina,
bemain-main dengan gajahmina.*

(Ḥamzah 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).⁹⁷

There is yet another difference between the *Pantun* and the longer poem or *Syair*.⁹⁸ The first, like the Persian *rubā'ī*, is self-contained within its four lines, while in the *Syair* the four-line stanzas can form part of a much longer poetical entity.⁹⁹ 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-Salātīn* (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'ī*.

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 *Hikāyat Muḥammad Ḥanafiyyah*, numerous Persian verses (*abyāt*) have been found, one of which is taken from the satire on Maḥmūd of Ghazna ascribed to Firdousi;

Za nāpākzāde madār ommīd,

ke zangī beshostan nagardad safīd.

(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 *Hikāyat Amīr Ḥamzah*, Brakel draws attention to several verses which have been traced back to a Persian original;

to gofti harānkas ke, dar ranj o tāb,

do 'āī konad man konam mostajāb,

cun 'ājez rahānande dānam to-rā,

*dar in 'ājezi cun naxāham to-rā?.*¹⁰⁰

(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 *Sharī'ah* (the Divine Law) and later of *Taşawwuf* (Şūfī metaphysics), realized the distinction between popular entertainment and formal literature. The term *hikāyat*

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 *Aḥādīth* of the Prophet concern this theory.¹⁰² In Islamic literature we can trace the theory of creation in the poems of Ibn al-Fāriḍ, Sanā'ī, Rūmī and 'Attār.

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.¹⁰³

Another evidence of the Persian influence in Malay literature is clearly found in *Ḥikāyat Iskandar Dhū al-Qarnāin*. 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*.¹⁰⁴ Dr. P.J. Van Leeuwen, after comparing the Malay recension

with Arabic versions of the tale of Alexander at Berlin deduces that the Malay *Ḥikāyat Iskandar Dhū al-Qarnān* comes from an Arabic version.¹⁰⁵ However R.O. Winstedt held the opinion that it derives from a Perso-Arabic source in India.¹⁰⁶ Even though stories about Iskandar Dhū al-Qarnān are found in the Qur'ān,¹⁰⁷ 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 Khidr, he is enabled to conquer the world for Islam¹⁰⁸.

Two other Muslim romances which are translations from the Persian are the *Ḥikāyat Amīr Ḥamzah* (in Persian known as *Dāstān-e Amīr Ḥamzah*) and the *Ḥikāyat Muḥammad Ḥanafiyyah* (*Qiṣṣe-ye Muḥammad-e Ḥanafiyyah*).¹⁰⁹ In *Ḥikāyat Amīr 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 *Ḥikāyat 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.¹¹⁰

We can also find elements of animism in some Malay *hikāyat*, which are closely bound up with Shi'ah influence. In the *Hikāyat Nabi Bercukur*, for instance, it is said that anyone who keeps this *hikāyat* will be safe from calamities in this world and the hereafter. Some traces of this traditional animistic belief can be found in *inilah Hikāyat Peri Menyatakan Mukjizat Nabi* whereby it stated that the prophet's hair should be kept as *'azīmat* (luck-bringing).

There is also a clear Shi'ah influence, which is vivid in *Hikāyat Raja Khandaq* and *Hikāyat Muḥammad Ḥanafiyyah*, which propagate the greatness of 'Alī, his wife, Faṭimah, his sons Ḥasan and Ḥusain and other warriors from among the followers of the Shi'ah and has influenced the culture and belief of the Malays. In the *Hikāyat Muḥammad Ḥanafiyyah* for example, the respect towards 'Alī is so extraordinary that he is described as a superhuman man. It is said that after his death, his sons, Ḥasan and Ḥusain placed their father's body on a horse, *Duldul Jabarut*. After the horse trotted away, 'Alī 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 *hikāyat*, there are numerous references to Rūm or Turkey. The author of *Sejarah Melayu* refers to Raja Arastun Shah son of Iskandar Dhū 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 *Hikāyat Merong Mahawangsa*, *Hikāyat Raja-Raja Pasai*, *Hikāyat Aceh*, *Hikāyat Meukota Alam* and *Bustān al-Salāṭīn*, 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.

Şūfi Influences

The presence of Şūfism or mysticism came simultaneously with the coming of Islam to the Malay Archipelago and has continued its influential presence to this day. Şūfism'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 (*zuhd*) and the trance-inducing Şūfi sessions of the *dhikr* were similar to the seances of the local shaman (*pawang*). The general appeal of Şūfism 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."¹¹³

The role of the Ṣūfīs and Ṣūfism 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.¹¹⁴

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

The earliest record of Ṣūfism in the Malay Archipelago was noted in 1165 A.D. when an Arabic Ṣūfī 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, *Baḥr 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.¹¹⁵ In his mission, he was assisted by his disciple, Shaikh Burhān al-Dīn of the *Shattāriyyah* order who was responsible for the propagation of Islam in Minangkabau.¹¹⁶

As emphasized by Prof. A. H. Johns, the famous teaching of *al-Insān al-Kāmil* (the Perfect Man) by the great Ṣūfī 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 *Waḥdat al-Wūjud* (transcendent unity of being) by Ibn al-‘Arabī was also known here since the teaching of al-Jīlī is in fact a continuation of Ibn al-‘Arabī'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 Ṣūfism of al-Jīlī soon spread to Malacca. This fact is confirmed by Prof. Paul Wheatly who mentions that al-Jīlī's Ṣūfism started to gain influence in Malacca during the reign of Sultan Maṅṣūr Shāh (1459-1477 A.D.).¹²⁰ In fact Prof. Syed Muhammad Naquib al-Attas believes that Ṣūfism 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 Maṣṣūr 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 Ṣūfism.¹²¹

Ṣūfism 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 Ṣūfī saints (*Wali Songo*);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 *Iḥyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn*¹²³ by al-Ghazālī and the concept of *al-Insān al-Kāmil* by al-Jilī. According to Prof. Hosein Djajadiningrat, there exists in Jawa a work by Sunan Bonang in which he explains the Ṣūfism 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.¹²⁴

The development of Ṣūfism in Aceh started with the arrival of Ṣūfī scholars from India, Persia and Arabia during the reign of Sultan 'Alā' al-Dīn Maṣṣūr Shāh (1579-1586 A.D.). It was at this time that the writer of *al-Sayf al-Qāṭi*' (The Sharp Sword) from Arabia came to Aceh bringing with him the mystical teachings of *Waḥdat al-Wujūd* of Ibn 'Arabī. When Malacca fell to the Portuguese, Aceh succeeded Malacca

as the most important Muslim commercial centre in the Malay Archipelago as well as a great centre of Muslim learning.¹²⁵ 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 Ṣūfism in Aceh should be made the criterion between the traditional and modern period.¹²⁶

During the flourishing period of Aceh, the two greatest Malay Ṣūfīs; 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 Ṣūfism. The relationship between Ḥamzah al-Fanṣūrī and Shams al-Dīn al-Sumatrānī was that of a teacher and student¹²⁷ 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'āyat Shāh (the tenth Sultan of Aceh) (996- 1013A.H./1588-1604 A.D.), is according to Winstedt the earliest and the greatest of Aceh's group of writers on heretical mysticism (sic).¹²⁸ 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 Ṣūfī masters as al-Ḥallāj (858-921 A.D.), 'Abd al-Karīm Jīlī (d.832 A.H./1428 A.D.), al-Buṣṭāmī (d.873 A.H.), al-Ghazālī (1057-1111A.D.), Ibn 'Arabī (1102-1142 A.D.), al-Junaid (1271-1339A.D.) and Shāh Ni'mat Allāh (d.1431A.D.).

In other words, Ḥamzah was a member of the *Qādiriyyah* 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 ‘Arabī 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-Muntahī* and his poems *Syair Perahu*, *Syair Jawi* and *Rubā‘ī Ḥamzah Fanṣūrī*.¹²⁹ Ḥamzah is notable for probably being the first Malay poet to expound the Islamic mystical teaching in the most systematic and scholarly structure.¹³⁰

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 *wujūdiyyah* 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-Mursalah Ilā al-Nabī*.¹³¹ The influence of the *Seven Martabāt* teaching was significant to al-Sumatrānī and this influence can be seen in his *Nūr al-Ḥaqā’iq*.¹³² It is one of the earliest works inspired by the great mystical poet, Ibn al-Fāriḍ (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.¹³³ 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-Rānirī translated the whole work of al-Burhānpūrī 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-Rānirī. 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-Raḥmān 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 Hamzah al-Fanṣūrī.

The three important Ṣūfī orders which emerged in the Malay Archipelago at the early stage were the *Qādiriyyah*, *Rifā'iyyah*, and *Shattāriyyah*. The oldest and most widespread was the *Qādiriyyah* order¹³⁷ whose follower was the famous Hamzah Fanṣūrī as mentioned earlier. Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānirī 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 Shaibān, an Indian Muslim from Ḥaḍramaut who in turn received his *ijāzah* from his famous Shaikh Muḥammad al-'Aidarūs.¹³⁸ Regarding the *Shaṭṭāriyyah* order, its well-known propagator is 'Abd al-Ra'ūf of Singkel who received his *ijāzah* from a famous Shaikh in Mecca named Shaikh Aḥmad al-Qushāshī, a disciple of Shaikh Aḥmad al-Sanawī.¹³⁹ From Aceh, the influence of these orders spread to other parts of the Malay Archipelago.

There are two other Ṣūfī orders which spread in the Malay Archipelago in the 17th century but are of less importance; the '*Alawiyyah* order and the *Khalwatiyyah* order. The '*Alawiyyah* order was propagated in Aceh by a Bā 'Alawī scholar, Abu Bakr al-Shilī, 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 '*Alawiyyah* 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 '*Alawiyyah* order.¹⁴⁰

The *Khalwatiyyah* order was brought by Shaikh Yūsuf Tāj al-Khalwatī (1626-1699 A.D.), a well-known scholar whose writings include *Tuḥfat al-Rabbāniyyah*.¹⁴¹ 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 Ṣūfism 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.

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Sūrah 13 (al-Ra'd): 33 and 42.

Sūrah 14 (Ibrāhīm): 18 and 51.

Sūrah 18 (al-Kahf): 58.

Sūrah 24 (al-Nūr): 11.

Sūrah 30 (al-Rūm): 41.

Sūrah 31 (Luqmān): 34.

Sūrah 33 (al-Aḥzāb): 58.

Sūrah 41 (Fuṣṣilat): 17.

Sūrah 42 (al-Shūrā): 30.

Sūrah 45 (al-Jāthiyah): 14.

Sūrah 52 (al-Tūr): 21.

Sūrah 83 (al-Muṭaffifin): 14.

Sūrah 111 (al-Masad): 2. see also Lane, E. W., *An Arabic-English Lexicon (Madd al-Qāmūs)*, (London, 1885), pp. 2608-9; Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-'Arab*, vol. 3, (Beirut, n.d.), p. 254.

46. *MJT.*, p.27.

47. *Ibid.*.

48. al-Qur'ān, Sūrah 33 (al-Aḥzāb): 11.

49. al-Qur'ān, Sūrah 9 (al-Taubah): 51.

50. Abdullah, Taufik, *Islam and the Formation of Tradition in Indonesia - A Comparative Perspective*, in *India and Indonesia, General Perspectives*, essays by J.C. Hessterma and Taufik Abdullah, et., al., (Leiden, 1989), pp. 25-6; *EI*, vol.I, New Edition, 1969, s.v., "Atjeh" , pp.739-47.

51. Part of the text of the tradition, "*Taftariq ummatī 'alā thalāth wa-sab'in*

- millah, kulluhum fī al-nār illā millah wāḥidah*", see, e.g., Abū 'Isā Muḥammad b. 'Isā b. Sūrah, *Al-Jāmi' al-Sahīḥ wahuwa Sunan al-Tirmidhī*, vol.V, (Miṣr, 1395 A.H./1970 A.D.), *Kitāb al-Imān*, p.26; al-Ḥāfiẓ Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b Yūsuf al-Qazwīnī, *Sunan Ibn Mājah*, vol.II, (n.p., 1976) *Kitāb al-Fitan*, p.1322; A.J.Wensinck and J.P.Mensing, *Concordance et Indices de la Tradition Musulmane*, vol.5, (Leiden, 1965), p.136.
52. *EI*, vol. I, New Edition, 1960, s.v., "Al-Ash'arī" pp.694-5; Dr. Sanusi Daing Mariok, *'Ilm al-Kalām: Sejarah Pertumbuhan dan Perkembangan*, (Selangor, 1981), pp. 114-6.
53. *EI*, vol. VI, New Edition, 1960, s.v., "Al-Māturīdī", pp.846-8; Dr. Sanusi, *op. cit.*, 113-4.
54. al-Jawharī, Bukhārī, *Tāj al-Salātīn*, Khalid Husin (ed.), (Kuala Lumpur, 1966), pp.28-34; Zayd, 'Abd al-Raḥmān Abu, *Al-Ghazālī on Divine Predicates*, (Lahore, 1970), pp.48-52; al-Ghazzālī, Abū Ḥāmid, *'Iḥyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn*, vol. I, (Singapore, n.d.), see Chapter: Qawā'id al-'Aqā'id.
55. al-Jawharī, Bukhārī, *op. cit.*, pp. 28-34.
56. Translated into English by Edgar E. Elder, *Taftāzanī: A Commentary on the Creed of Islam*, (New York, 1950).
57. *GAL*, II, p. 215; *SII.*, p.301.
58. Watt, W. Montgomery, *Islamic Philosophy and Theology*, (Edinburgh, 1979), pp.153-7.
59. Abdullah, Haji Wan Muhammad Saghir, *Khazanah Karya Pusaka Asia Tenggara*, vol.II, (Kuala Lumpur), 1991), pp.134-5.
60. MS. *Hidāyat al-Imān fī Faḍl al-Mannān* by Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī. Personal Collection of Prof. A. Hasjmy, (Acheh, n.d.), ff.10-11.
61. *SH.*, pp.11-3; Hasan, A., *Kitab al-Tawhid*, (Penang, 1959), p.25; Musa, Nik

- Muhyiddin, *Pelajaran Ilmu Tawhid*, (Kuala Lumpur, 1979), pp. 102-4.
62. MS. *'Umdat al-Muḥtājīn ilā Sulūk al-Mufarridīn* by 'Abd al-Ra'ūf al-Singkil. Collection of Pusat Manuskrip Melayu, Perpustakaan Negara Malaysia, (Kuala Lumpur, 1989), pp. 3-9; Abdullah, Haji Wan Muhammad Saghir, *Khazanah Karya Pustaka Asia Tenggara*. vol. I, (Kuala Lumpur, 1991), p. 123.
63. *'Umdat al-Muḥtājīn*, *op. cit.*, pp. 3-9.
64. Jalāl al-Dīn, Muḥammad Zain, *Bidāyat al-Hidāyah*, (Pulau Pinang, n.d.), Written in 1170 A.H./1757 A.D.
65. Abdullah, Haji Wan Muhammad Saghir, *Sheikh 'Abd al-Ṣamad al-Falembani Sufi Yang Shahīd fī Sabil Allah*, (Kalimantan, 1982); al-Banjari, Ḥusīn Naṣīr b Muḥammad Ṭayyib al-Mas'ūdī, *Uṣūl al-Tauḥīd fī Ma'rifat Ṭuruq al-Imān li al-Rabb al-Majīd*, (Pulau Pinang, n.d.), written in 1393 A.H.
66. Hurgronje, C. Snouck, *Mekka in the latter part of the 19th. Century*, (Leiden, 1931), pp. 268-72.
67. Bruinessen, Martin Van, *Kitab Kuning: Books in Arabic Script used in the Pesantren Milieu*, *KITLV*, Deel 146, 1990, p. 25 and p. 236.
68. Abbās, Sirāj al-Dīn, *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfi'iyyah*, (Jakarta, 1975), pp. 453-8.
69. Among the comprehensive and excellent accounts of the works of Shaikh Dā'ūd b. 'Abd Allāh b. Idrīs al-Faṭānī are those found in: Abd Allah, Haji Wan Muhammad Saghir, *Shaikh Da'ud b. Abd Allah al-Fatani Ulama dan Pengarang Terulung Asia Tenggara*, (Kuala Lumpur, 1990); Matheson, Virginia and Hooker, M.B., *op. cit.*, pp. 1-86; Bruinessen, Martin Van, *op. cit.*, p. 236; *EI*, vol. I, New Edition, 1960, "Dāwūd b. 'Abd Allah b. Idrīs al-Fatānī or Fattānī", p. 183; Johns, A.H., *Islam in the Malay World: An Exploratory Survey with some reference to Qur'ānic Exegesis*, in *Islam in Asia*, Israeli, Raphael and Johns, Anthony, H., (Jerusalem, 1984), pp. 130-1; Ngah, Mohd. Noh b., *Kitab Jawi*, *op. cit.*, p. 6.
70. Abdullah, Haji Wan Muhammad Saghir, *Sheikh Dāwūd b. Abdullah al-*

Fatani 'Ulamā' Terulung di Asia Tenggara, (Kuala Lumpur, 1980), pp.71-2; Matheson, Virginia and Hooker, M.B., *Jawi Literature*, *op. cit.*, pp.21-2; Ngah, Mohd Nor b., *Kitab Jawi*, *op. cit.*, p.6.

71. Abdullah, Haji Wan Muhammad Saghir, *Sheikh Dawud b. Abdullah al-Fatani Ulama'*, *op. cit.*, pp.60-1.
72. Abdullah, Haji Wan Muhammad Saghir, *Sheikh Muhammad Arshad Al-Banjari Pengarang Sabilal Muhtadin.*, (Kuala Lumpur, 1990), p.37; Isa, Haji Mustafa Mohd., *Alim Ulama di Negeri Kedah: Peranan Dua Orang Tokoh Dalam Perkembangan Persuratan Jawi*, unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, 1990, Universiti Sains Malaysia, p.114.
73. A detailed bibliography on Shaikh Muḥammad Arshad al-Banjārī can be found in, Abdullah, Haji Wan Muhammad Saghir, *Sheikh Muhammad Arshad Al-Banjari Pengarang Sabilal Muhtadin.*, *op. cit.*, ; Bruinessen, Martin Van, *op. cit.*, p.236 and p.249; Ngah, Mohd, Nor b, *Kitab Jawi.*, *op. cit.*, p.5; Abu Bakar, Shafie, *op. cit.*, p. 577.
74. Isa, Haji Mustafa Mohd., *op. cit.*, p.96, p.98, p.112.
75. Abu Bakar, Shafie, *op. cit.*, p. 579.
76. al-Laqqānī, Shaikh Ibrāhīm, *Matn Jawharat al-Tauḥīd*, (Singapore, n.d.), written in 1292 A.H.
77. 'AN., pp. 21-2; SUT., pp. 3-5; EI, III, New Edition, 1971, s.v., 'Ilm al-Kalām, pp. 1141-50; EI, vol.VI, New Edition, 1991, s.v., "Malay Peninsula", p. 235; Mariok, Daing, *op. cit.*, pp.122-43.
78. Hurgronje, Snouck, *op. cit.*, p.194.
79. Farmer, Edward L. and others, *Comparative History of Civilization in Asia*, vol.II, pp.481-90; Inalcik, Halil, "The Heyday and the Decline of the Ottoman Empire", in *Cambridge History of Islam*, vol.I, (Cambridge, 1970), pp. 324-53; Lewis, Bernard, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey*, (Oxford, 1968),

pp. 1-39.

80. Cf. Watt, W. Montgomery, *Islamic Philosophy and Theology: An Extended Survey*, (Edinburgh, 1987), pp. 134-40.
81. Bruinessen, Martin Van, *op. cit.*, p. 234.
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 Kifāyat al-'Awwām*, translated into English by Duncan B. MacDonald in *Development of Muslim Theology, Jurisprudence and Constitutional Theory*, (London, 1903), pp. 315-51.
83. Matheson, Virginia and Hooker, M.B., *op. cit.*, pp. 36-41.
84. MA, p. 143; QM, p. 116; *EI*, vol. II, New Edition, 1965, s.v. "Djism", pp. 553-55.
85. MA, p. 8; QM, p. 22; *EI*, vol. I, New Edition, 1960, s.v. "'Arad", p. 603.
86. al-Attas, Syed Muḥammad Naquib, *The Oldest Known Malay Manuscript: A 16th. Century Malay Translation of the 'Aqā'id of al-Nasafī*, (Kuala Lumpur, 1988), p. 37; MA, pp. 86-7; QM, p. 71; *EI*, vol. II, New Edition, 1965, s.v. "'Djawhar", pp. 493-4.
87. MS. 12225, [ff. 10-17]; AN., p. 38.
88. BH., pp. 12-3; SH., pp. 20-1; SUT., p. 14.
89. al-Attas, *op. cit.*, p. 9.
90. *Ibid.*, p. 17.
91. *Ibid.*, p. 7.
92. *EI*, vol. III, New Edition, 1971, "Indonesia", pp. 1232-3.

93. Hurgronje, C. Snouck, 'Mekka', p.258.
94. Johns, A.H., *op. cit.*, p.138.
95. Winstedt, R.O., *The Malay Annals or Sejarah Melayu*. The Earliest Recension from MS. No.18 of the Raffles Collections in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society, London, *JMBRAS*, XVI, Part III, 1938, pp.191-2; Brown, C.C., 'The Malay Annals or Sejarah Melayu', *JMBRAS*, XXV, Part II and III, 1952, p.168.
96. For further detailed see, Winstedt, R.O., 'A History of Classical.', *op. cit.*, pp.193-207.
97. Brakel, *op. cit.*, p.5.
98. For further detailed see, Winstedt, R.O., 'A History of Classical ', *op. cit.*, pp.184-193.
99. *Ibid.*, p.11.
100. *Ibid.*, p.12; Brakel, 'On the Origin ', *op. cit.*, p.7.
101. Ahmad, Baharuddin, "Malay Literature", in *Islamic Spirituality: Manifestation*, S.H.Nasr (ed.), (London,1991), pp.370-8; Osman Bakar, "Sufism in the Malay-Indonesia World", in *Ibid.*, pp.259-89.
102. *EI*, vol.IV, New Edition, 1978, s.v. "Khalk", pp.980-8. There are approximately 203 places where *Khalq* is mention in the Qur'ān.
103. Allah is the Light (*Nūr*) of the heavens and the earth. The parable of His Light is as if there were a Niche (*Mishkāt*) and within it a Lamp (*Miṣbāh*): 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.

104. See, Winstedt, R.O., '*A History of Classical.*', *op. cit.*, p.93.
105. See, Winstedt, R.O., 'The Date, Contents and Some New MSS. of the Malay Romance of Alexander the Great', *JMBRAS*, vol.XVI, Part 2, p.1.
106. Winstedt, R.O., '*A History of Classical.*', *op. cit.*, p.94.
107. Qur'ānic references on Iskandar Zulkarnain (*Dhū al-Qarnain*): 18(al-Kahf): 83; 86 and 94.
108. Winstedt, R.O., '*A History of Classical.*', *op. cit.*, pp. 92-3.
109. Brakel, L.F., 'Persian Influence'. *op. cit.*, p.5.
110. Ronkel, S. von, 'Account of Six Malay Manuscripts of the Cambridge University Library', *BKI*, vol.XLVI, 1896, pp.1-52.
111. Seljuq, Affan, *op. cit.*, p.302.
112. Marsden, M., *The History of Sumatra*, (Kuala Lumpur,1966), p.95.
113. Winstedt, R.O., '*The Malays: A Cultural* ', *op. cit.*, p.38; for further reference see, Noor, Mohd. Yusuf, 'Pengaruh Sufisme dalam Perkembangan Islam', in *Dakwah*, April, 1978.
114. Johns, A.H., 'From Coastal Settlement to Islamic School and City: Islamization in Sumatra, The Malay Peninsula and Java', *Hamdard Islamicus*, vol. IV, no. 4, 1981, p.6.
115. Abdullah, Hawash, *Perkembangan Ilmu Tasawwuf dan Tokoh-Tokohnya di Nusantara*, (Surabaya, 1980), pp.10-3.
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 *Shī'ah* . Because of this situation, he moved to Minangkabau (West Sumatra) to propagate Islam there and taught the

Shattāriyyah order. See his *Sejarah Islam di Minangkabau*, (Jakarta, 1971), p.10; A brief account on the *Shattāriyyah* order of Shaikh Burhān al-Dīn can be found in *Hikāyat Jalāl al-Dīn* written in Malay with Arabic script by Faqīh Saghīr Tuanku Samī' Shaikh Jalāl al-Dīn Aḥmad Koto Tuo was first published by Dr. W.R. van Hoevell in 1849 and later edited and published by J.J. Hollander under the title *Sjech Djilal Eddin: Verhaal van de Aanvang der Padriënlusten op Sumatra*, Leiden, 1857 ; Azra, Azyumardi, 'The *Surau* and the Early Reform Movements in Minangkabau', in *Mizan*, vol. III, No. 2, 1990, p.67.

117. Johns, A.H., 'Muslim Mystics and Historical Writings' in *Historians of Southeast Asia*, Hall, D.G.E., (ed.), (London, 1968), p.41.
118. Winstedt, R.O., and Brown, C.C., *op. cit.*, pp.115-6; al-Qur'ān: 98(al-Bayyinah): 6 and 8.
119. Winstedt, R.O., ' *The Malays: A Cultural* ', *op. cit.*, p.38; Bakar, Osman, *op. cit.*, pp.265-6.
120. See his *Impressions of the Malay Peninsula in Ancients Times* , (Singapore, 1964), pp.136-7.
121. Bakar, Osman, *op. cit.*, p.265; For detailed reference on the theory of Islamization in the Malay Archipelago in particular Malacca with regards to the role of Sūfism, see al-Attas, Syed Muhammad Naquib, *Preliminary Statement on a General theory of the Islamization of the Malay-Indonesian Archipelago*, (Kuala Lumpur, 1969).
122. For the role and contribution of the *Walī Songo* towards the process of Islamization in Indonesia, see Shihāb, Muḥammad Diyā' and Nūḥ, 'Abd Allāh b. , *al-Imām al-Muhājir Aḥmad b. 'Isā b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-'Arīdī b. Ja'far al- Ṣādiq*, (Saudi Arabia, 1980), pp.174-5; Salam, Solichin, *Sejarah Islam di Jawa*, (Jakarta, 1964); Solichin, Salam, *Sekitar Walī Songo*, (Yogyakarta, 1974); al-Attas, Syed Muhammad Naquib, ' *The Oldest Known* ', *op. cit.*, p. 23-7; *EI*, vol. III, New Edition, 1971, "Indonesia", pp.1218-9; Raja Mohd. Affandi, *Tokoh-Tokoh Melayu Yang Agung Dalam Sejarah*, (Kuala Lumpur, 1982), pp. 68-9. "*Walī Songo*", there were nine saints of

- Java, who were Arabs (Sayyids). They are; (1) Sayyid Maulānā Malik Ibrāhīm b. Jamāl al-Dīn al-Husāin b. Aḥmad b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-Malik, with the title *Maulānā Marghibī of Gresik*, (2) Raden Aḥmad Raḥmat Allāh (*Sunan Ampel* of Surabaya), (3) Muḥammad 'Ayn al-Yaqīn - Raden Paku (*Sunan Giri*), (4) Ja'far al-Ṣādīq (*Sunan Kudus*), (5) Makhdūm Ibrāhīm (*Sunan Bonang*), (6) Zaīn al-'Ābidīn (*Sunan Demak*), (7) Hāshim (*Sunan Daradjat* of Sidayu), (8) 'Abd al-Jalīl (*Sunan Kalijaga*) and (9) Hāshim al-Dīn (*Sunan Gunung Djati*).
123. Bakar, Osman, *op. cit.*, p.283; Winstedt, R.O., '*A History of Classical.*', *op. cit.*, p.135.
124. Drewes, G.W.J., (ed.) *The Admonitions of Seh Bari*, (The Hague, 1969), p.17; Bakar, Osman, *op. cit.*, p.267.
125. Daudy, Ahmad, *Allah dan Manusia dalam Konsepsi Shaikh Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī*, (Jakarta, 1983), p.33.
126. al-Attas, Syed Muhammad Naquib, *Islam dalam Sejarah dan Kebudayaan Melayu*, (Kuala Lumpur, 1972), pp.44-5.
127. Ahmad, Zakaria, *Sekitar Kerajaan Aceh 1520-1675 A.D.*, (Medan, 1972), pp.223-36; and see Abdullah, Wan Muhammad Saghir, 'Hamzah Faṣṣūrī dan muridnya Shams al-Dīn al-Sumatrānī', in *Dian*, Julai 1976.
128. Winstedt, R.O., '*A History of Classical.*', *op. cit.*, p.116.
129. al-Attas, Syed Muhammad Naquib, *The Mysticism of Hamzah Faṣṣūrī*, (Kuala Lumpur, 1970), pp. 13-4. For the English translation of Hamzah's poetry, see al-Attas's book p.492 and also Teeuw, A., *Modern Indonesian Literature*, (The Hague, 1967).
130. Ahmad, Baharuddin, "Malay Literature", in *Islamic Spirituality, Manifestations*, Vol II, Nasr, S.H., (ed.) (London, 1991), p.373.
131. See its translation by Johns, A.H., (ed.) *The Gift addressed to the Spirit of the Prophet* (Canberra, 1965).

132. Johns, A.H., 'Malay Sufism' in *JMBRAS*, vol. XXX, Part 2, August, 1957, p.101.
133. Both these scholars emerged soon after Hamzah Faṣṣūrī and Shams al-Dīn al-Sumatrānī at the time when Aceh was under the rule of Sultan Iskandar Thānī 'Alā' al-Dīn Muḡhāyat Shāh (1636-1641 A.D.).
134. Daudy, Ahmad, *op. cit.*, p.57.
135. al-Tursānī, Jalāl al-Dīn, *Mudhār al-Ajl ilā Rutbat al-'Alā'*, (n.p, n.d.), pp.3-8.
136. al-Attas, Syed Muhammad Naquib, *Rānīrī and the Wujūdiyyah of 17th. Century Aceh*, Monographs of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, No.III, 1966, pp.115-42; *EI*, vol, I, New Edition, 1960, "Atjeh", p.742; Ali, Fatimah Binti, and Yaafar, Md. Salleh Bin, 'Hamzah Faṣṣūrī and His Critics' in *MASAKINI/The Contemporary*, No.6, 1989, pp.34-9; Johns, A.H., *op. cit.*, p. 11.
137. Rahman, Fazlur, *Islam*, (Chicago, 1978), p.158.
138. Daudy, Ahmad, *Shaikh Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī*, (Jakarta, 1978), p.10. According to Prof. Hamka, the *Rifā'iyyah* order existed since the period of Pasai (1297A.D.). See his *Taṣawwuf: Perkembangan dan Permurniannya*, (Jakarta, 1980), p.220.
139. Ali, Wan Muhammad b Wan Muhammad, *al-Futūḡhāt al-Rabbāniyyah*, (Kelantan,1981), p.11; Iskandar, T., "'Abd al-Ra'ūf al-Singkelī Tokoh Shattāriyyah', in *Dewan Bahasa*, Mei 1965, pp.195-200.
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 Saghīr, '*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 Aceh, 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 scholarship² such as that of Nūr al-

Dīn al-Rānīrī (d. 1068 A.H. /1666 A.D.), and Dā'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 *ḥadīth*, statecraft, Arabic, astronomy and logic; although most of the local works were either translations, adaptations, commentaries or summaries of the works of certain great '*Ulamā*' 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.³ 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 Ḥamzah Faṣṣūrī, Shams al-Dīn al-Sumatrānī, Shaikh Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī, ‘Abd al-Ra’ūf al-Singkelī and others available at the University Shaikh Kuala Library, the Aceh Museum, the Aceh Documentary Centre, and the Kuno Library, Zawiyah Tanah Abe, Aceh.⁴ 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.⁵ Usually the writers of the *Kitab Jawi* are excellent *khattāts* (calligraphers) and use the *naskh* style of writing (*naskh* is one of the six major cursive Arabic scripts).⁶ The first *Kitab Jawi* writing to appear in print was the *Kitāb Bad’ Khalq al-Samāwāt wa al-’Arḍ* by Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī, originally written in 1047 A.H./1639 A.D..⁷

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-faqīr 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-Ṣawāb wa ilaihi al-Marji’ wa al-Ma’āb* (Only God knows the truth and it is to Him we return).⁸

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-Faṭānī (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-Funtianī (Pontianak), al-Minangkabāwī (Minangkabau).⁹

As mentioned earlier, the greater part of the *Kitab Jawi* are translations and adaptations from the work of scholars outside the Malay Archipelago. However the originality of the *Kitab Jawi* 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 *Kitab Jawi* such as *Umm al-Barāhīn* 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 Badawī al-Sambāwī in 1259 A.H/1885 A.D. and iii) *Aqīdat al-Nājīn*. by Zayn al-‘Ābidīn b. Muḥammad al-Faṭānī in 1308 A.H/1890 A.D.

The *Umm al-Barāhīn* 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 *suraus* 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.¹¹

The teaching of *Sifat Dua Puluh* is an essential part of the content of *Umm al-Barāhīn* which greatly influenced the *weltanschauung* of the Malay theological perspective. The text commonly referred to as *al-Sanūsīyah* 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 *ḥāshiyā* by Ibrāhīm 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 *‘Ilm al-Tauḥīd* (the Doctrine of the Divine Unity) in *Kitab Jawi* predominantly begins with the introduction of the intellectual predication (*al-ḥukm al-‘aqlī*). 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 Jawi* 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-'aqlī*) 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 Jawi* 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 Jawi*, there are twenty necessary (*wājib*) attributes of Allah (*Sifat Dua Puluh*).¹⁵ They are: (1) *wujūd* (existence),¹⁶ (2) *qidam* (state of non-

origination),¹⁷ (3) *baqā'* (performance),¹⁸ (4) *mukhālafah li al-ḥawādith* (difference from the created),¹⁹ (5) *qiyām bi al-nafs* (self-subsistence),²⁰ (6) *waḥdāniyya* (oneness),²¹ (7) *qudra* (power),²² (8) *irāda* (will),²³ (9) *'ilm* (knowledge),²⁴ (10) *ḥayāh* (life),²⁵ (11) *samā'* (hearing),²⁶ (12) *baṣar* (sight)²⁷ (13) *kalām* (speech)²⁸ and being (14) *qādir* (powerful), (15) *murīd* (willing), (16) *'ālim* (knowing), (17) *ḥayy* (living), (18) *samī'* (hearing), (19) *baṣīr* (seeing), and (20) *mutakallim* (speaking).²⁹

There are also twenty inadmissible (*mustahīl*) attributes of Allah considered as opposites of the necessary attributes above.³⁰ They are; (1) *'adam* (non-existence), (2) *ḥudūth* (createdness), (3) *Ṭurq al-'adam* (becoming non-existent), (4) *mumāthalah lil al-ḥawādith* (resemblance to the created), (5) *an lā yakun qā'iman binafsihi* (non-self subsistence), (6) *an lā yakun wāḥidan* (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 qādiran* (not being powerful), (15) *an lā yakun murīdan* (not being willing), (16) *an lā yakun 'āliman* (not being knowing), (17) *an lā yakun ḥayyān* (not being living), (18) *an lā yakun sāmī'an* (not being hearing), (19) *an lā yakun baṣīran* (not being seeing), (20) *an lā yakun mutakalliman* (not being speaking).

The only admissible (*jā'iz*) attribute of Allah is the doing or abstaining from doing all possible things.³¹

In explaining the attributes of Allah and the attributes of the

Messenger, the writers of *Kitab Jawi* basically adopt the method of showing proof and evidence to support their explanations which are of two kinds; *dalīl naqlī* (traditional proof) and *dalīl ‘aqlī* (intellectual proof). *Dalīl naqlī* is supported by Qur’ānic verses and the ḥadīth whereas *dalīl ‘aqlī* is through reasoning of the intellect. An example of *dalīl naqlī* 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 *dalīl ‘aqlī*: 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 *tasbīḥ* (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 (*faṭāna*).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.³⁵ 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, Idrīs (Enoch), Nūḥ (Noah), Hūd, Ṣālīḥ, Ibrāhīm (Abraham), Ismā'īl (Ishmael), Ishāq (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), Yaḥyā (John), 'Īsā (Jesus) and Muḥammad ('Alaihim al- Ṣalāt 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'sūm*).³⁶ 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-Aḥzāb): 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, Mikā'il, the Angel of providence, Isrāfīl, the Angel entrusted with the blowing of the last trump and 'Izrā'il, the Angel of death: these four Angels are ranked as Archangels (leaders of the Angels). Then there are Ridwān, the Guardian Angel of Paradise, Mālik, the Guardian Angel of Hell, Munkar and Nakīr, 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 'Atīd, 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'ān, 15(al-Hijr): 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'ān, 15(al-Hijr): 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.⁴⁰ Tuḥfat al-Rāghibīn describes them as hot-tempered and unapproachable and it not beneficial for man to befriend them.⁴¹ Iblīs was one of the jinn. When Allah commanded him to prostrate himself to Ādam, Iblīs refused to obey as mentioned in the Qur'ān, 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 wrongdoers!".

From then on he is called Iblīs⁴² 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 'Īsā 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.⁴³ 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 scriptures⁴⁴ and will remain current until the Day of Judgement (*Yaum al-Qiyāmah*).⁴⁵

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 *Isrāfil*.⁴⁶ 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*).⁴⁷

The *Kitab Jawi* describe the beauty of Paradise while Hell is described in a horrible way. This is supported by verses in the Qur'ān. 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'ān, 36(Yā Sīn):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'ān created for the non-believers and sinners. They are; Jahannam (Gehenna), Sa'ir, Saqar, Hamīm, Huṭāma, Lazza and Hāwiya.⁵⁰

In *Daqā'iq al-Akḥbār*,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-Aḥzāb): 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.⁵³ 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.⁵⁴ 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 actions⁵⁵ whereas the Qadariyyah believe that man does everything by his choice and is the sole doer in all his intentional actions.⁵⁶ 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.⁵⁷ 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 Sīn):82.

According to *al-Shams al-Lāmī'ah*, the first thing Allah created was the *Qalam* (Pen). The Creation began when it started to write.⁵⁸ 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 *Lauḥ Maḥfūz* (Preserved Tablet).⁵⁹ 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 Ḥanafīyyah*.⁶⁰ This opinion is however not supported by any Qur'ānic verses.

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'ānic 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*,⁶¹ it is stated that the clay with which Allah created Ādam was of various colours and this is the reason the skins of the generation of Ādam are different in colour. Allah then created Ādam's partner, Ḥawwā' (Eve) from one of the ribs of Ādam, the ribs on his left side.⁶² The creation of Eve is stated in the Qur'ān, 6(al-An'ām): 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 Ādam 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".⁶³ Then Allah taught Ādam the names of all things.⁶⁴ The fall of Ādam from grace began when Ādam disobeyed Allah's command not to go near a forbidden tree (*khuldī*) in Paradise.⁶⁵ This incident is dramatically described in the Holy Qur'ān, 20(Tā 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 (*malā'ikat al-maut*) commissioned with taking lives will take the *rūḥ* of men and jinn from its body. Their chief is the angel known as 'Izrā'īl. 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 *Lauh Maḥfūz* (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.⁷⁰ 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.⁷¹ 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 Imām?. In that order, the answer will be: Allah is my Lord, Islam is my religion, Muḥammad is my prophet, the Qur'ān is my Imām.⁷²

In *al-Yawāqit wa al-Jawāhir*,⁷³ 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 *sūrat Yā Sīn*⁷⁴ and *sūrat al-Ra'd*⁷⁵ when he is in his death throes (*Sakrat al-Maut*) and teach him to utter the *Shahādah* before death.⁷⁶ 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 (*ṣalāt al-janāzah*) and then buried. Lastly the *Talqīn*⁷⁷ 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'ānic 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 Qudsī, 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;⁷⁹ 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-Asmā' 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 Qudsī;

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-Tirmīdhī and Ibn Mājah.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.⁸¹ Most *Kitab Jawi* explain the essence of Allah as neither a *jirm* (substance), nor a *jawhar* (atom) nor an *'araḍ* (accident) and this includes all the things which are associated with a substance, atom and accident such as motion, form, colour, direction, space, shape, length, width, depth, feelings and other things. Allah is beyond all description⁸² and discussing the Essence of Allah is forbidden because it will lead to *Shirk* (Polytheism).⁸³ The Holy Prophet said:

"Think of the Creation and do not think of the Creator for thinking will not encompass Him".⁸⁴

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.
2. See: Fadil, Siddiq, 'Islamization of the Malay Archipelago: A Human Transformation and a Cultural Revolution', paper presented at *the International Conference on Islamic Civilization*, 24-29 June, 1990 (Kuala Lumpur), pp. 8-9.
3. Roolvink, R., *Bahasa Jawi*, (Leiden, 1975), p. 2; Ngah, Mohd. Noh b., *op. cit.*, p. vii; Bruinessen, Martin Van, *op. cit.*, p. 227; Matheson, Virginia and Hooker, M.B., *op. cit.*, pp. 1-6; BH., *op. cit.*, p. 2; Faṭānī, 'Abd al-Kadīr b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān, *Inilah 'Aqīdat bagi Sanusiyyah Matr Umm al-Barāhīn diterjemahkan dengan Bangsa [Bahasa] Melayu*, (Singapura, n.d.), p.1; MJT., *op. cit.*, pp. 1-2; SH., *op. cit.*, pp. 2-3.
4. I travelled to Aceh 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-Fairūsī al-Baghdādī claimed himself to be descended in the ninth generation from the great scholar, 'Abu al-Qāsīm al-Junayd al-Baghdādī (298 A.H./910 A.D.). The Zawiyah (Dayah) Tanah Abe is located at Tanah Abee, Kecamatan Seulimeun, Kabupaten Aceh Besar, about 50 km. from the University Shaikh Kuala of Aceh.
5. Jones, Russel, 'On Malay Manuscripts with Reference to Aceh', *Tenggara*, vol. 21, no. 22, 1988, pp. 104-5.
6. Gallop, Annabel Teh and Arps, Bernard, *Golden Letters*, (London, 1991), p.55; al-Attas, Syed Muhammad Naquib, 'The Oldest Known'. *op. cit.*, p.6.
7. Ngah, Mohd. Noh b., *op. cit.*, p.2.

8. Haji Salleh, Muhammad, *The Mind of the Malay Author*, (Kuala Lumpur, 1991), p. 19.
9. See Appendix (B) map of the Malay Archipelago.
10. Awang, Omar, *op. cit.*, p.157.
11. Interview with the Johor State Director of Islamic Religious Education, Syed Ahmad Abdullah Al-Edrus on 23 January 1993; for further reference see Basri M. A. ,Fawzi, 'Perkembangan dan Peranan Jabatan Agama Johor 1895-1940 A.D.' in *Malaysia in History* , vol.XVIII, no.1, June, 1975, pp. 16-25.
12. al-Baijūrī, *Hāshiyat al-Shaikh Ibrahīm al-Baijūrī 'alā Matn al-Sanūsiyyah*, (Miṣr, 1227 A.H.).
13. MS 12193 SOAS, ff. 13-20; MS M.I. 635 BPIPIM, f.11; BH., *op. cit.*, pp.3-5; SH., *op. cit.*, pp.4-5; AN., *op. cit.*, pp.9-10.
14. MS 12193 SOAS, ff. 18-20; MS M.I. 635 BPIPIM, ff. 14-15; AN., *op. cit.*, pp.11-5; BH., *op. cit.*, pp. 6-7; SH., *op. cit.*, pp. 5-7.
15. MS 12193 SOAS, ff.25-32; MS M.I. 635 BPIPIM, ff.18-27; AN., *op. cit.*, pp. 15-35; BH., *op. cit.*, pp. 7-11; SH., *op. cit.*, pp. 8-18.
16. HD., *op. cit.* p. 74; HB., *op. cit.*, p. 15; HS., *op. cit.*, pp. 46-50.
17. HD., *op. cit.*, p. 76; HB., *op. cit.*, p. 15; HS., *op. cit.*, pp.50-1.
18. HD., *op. cit.*, p. 79; HB., *op. cit.*, p.15; H, *op. cit.*, pp. 50-1.
19. HD., *op. cit.*, p. 82; HB., *op. cit.*, p. 16; HS., *op. cit.*, pp. 51-4.
20. HB., *op. cit.*, p.16; HS., *op. cit.*, pp. 54-5.
21. HB., *op. cit.*, p. 17; HS., *op. cit.*, pp.55-9; HD., *op. cit.*, pp. 89-97.

22. HB., *op. cit.* p.19; HD., *op. cit.*, pp.98-105; HS., *op. cit.*, pp. 62-7.
23. HB., *op. cit.*, pp. 19-20; HD., *op. cit.*, pp. 98-105; HS. *op. cit.*, pp. 62-7.
24. HB., *op. cit.*, pp. 20-1; HD., *op. cit.*, 106-8; HS., *op. cit.*, pp. 67-9.
25. HB., *op. cit.*, p. 21; HD., *op. cit.*, pp. 108-9; HS., *op. cit.*, p.70.
26. HB., *op. cit.*, pp. 21-2; HD., *op. cit.*, pp.110-2; HS., *op. cit.*, pp. 70-2.
27. SH., *op. cit.*, pp. 17-8; AN., *op. cit.*, pp. 31-31 and p. 53; SUT., *op. cit.*, p. 10.
28. HB., *op. cit.*, p. 22; HD., *op. cit.*, pp.112-8; HS., *op. cit.*, pp. 72-5.
29. HS., *op. cit.* pp. 75-7; HB., *op. cit.*, pp. 22-3; HD., *op. cit.*, pp. 118-119; BH., *op. cit.*, pp. 11-3; SH., *op. cit.*, pp.18-9; AN., *op. cit.*, pp. 35-6.
30. HB., *op. cit.*, pp. 23-8; HD., *op. cit.*, pp. 120-45; HS., *op. cit.*, pp. 75-7; AN., *op. cit.*, pp. 36-52; BH., *op. cit.*, pp.13-16; SH., *op. cit.*, pp. 19-26.
31. HD., *op. cit.*, pp. 146-7; HS., *op. cit.*, pp. 94-5; HB., *op. cit.*, pp. 29-30; SH., *op. cit.*, p. 26; BH., *op. cit.*, p. 16; AN., *op. cit.*, pp. 26-8.
32. MJT., *op. cit.*, pp. 15-6; SUT., *op. cit.*, pp. 1-2; Yahyā, 'Uthmān b. 'Abd Allāh b., *Kitab Sifat Dua Puluh*, (Batavia, 1886; reprinted ed., Penang, n.d.), p.8; Tayyib, Husain Nāsir b. Muḥammad, *Hidāyat al-Şibyān*, (Penang, n.d.), p.3; Banjar, 'Abd al-Rashid, *Kitab Perukunan*, (Singapura, n.d.), p. 26. The followings are the *dalīl naqlī* from the Qur'ānic verses which relate to the Twenty Attributes of Allah (*Sifat Dua Puluh*);

Divine Attribute

Qur'ānic reference

1. Wujūd

Wa huwa al-Awwal. - 57 (al-Isrā'): 10.

2. Qidam *Wa mā naḥnu bimasbūqīn.* - 56
(al-Wāqī'ah): 60.
3. Baqā' *Wa yabqā wajhu rabbika dhū al-Jalāli
wa al-Ikrām.* - 55 (al-Raḥmān): 27.
4. Mukhālafah li
al-ḥawādith *Laysa kamithlihi shai'un.* - 42 (al-
Shūrah): 11.
5. Qiyām bi al-nafs *Inna Allāha la ghaniyyun 'alā al-'ālamīn.*
- 29 (al-'Ankabūt): 6.
6. Waḥdāniyyah *Qul huwa Allāhu Aḥad, Allāhu al-Ṣamad.*
- 112 (al-Ikhlās): 1 & 2.
7. Qudrah *Naḥnu qaddarnā baynakum al-mawt.*
- 56 (al-Wāqī'a): 60.
8. Irādah *Innamā 'amruhū idhā 'arāda shai'an an
yaqūla laḥū Kun fa yakūn.* - 36 (Yāsīn): 82.
9. 'Ilm *Fa 'ilmū annamā unzila bi 'ilm Allāh.*
- 11 (Hūd): 14.
10. Ḥayāt *Allāhu lā ilāha illā huwa al-Ḥayy
al-Qaiyyūm* - 2 (al-Baqarah): 255.
11. Sam' *Innanī ma'akumā 'asma'u wa 'arā.* -
20 (Ṭāhā): 46.
12. Baṣar *Baṣartu bimā lam yabṣarū bihī.* - 20
(Ṭāhā): 96.
13. Kalām *Wa kallam Allāhu Mūsā taklīmā.* - 4
(al-Nisā'): 164.

14. Qādir *Inna Allāha 'alā kulli shai'in qadīr.* - 2
(al-Baqarah): 20.
15. Murīd *Fa 'ālun limā yurīd.* - 11 (Hūd): 107.
16. 'Ālim *'Ālim al-ghaibi wa al-shahādah.* - 9
(al-Ra'd): 13.
17. Ḥayy *Wa tawakkal 'alā al-ḥayyi alladhī lā
yamūt.* - 25 (al-Furqān): 58.
18. Samī' *Inna Allāha samī'un 'alīm.* - 8 (al-Anfāl): 17.
19. Baṣīr *Wa Allāhu bi mā ta'malūna baṣīr.* - 2
(al-Baqarah): 265.
20. Mutakallim *Innī iṣṭafaituka 'alā al-nās bi risālātī wa bi
kalāmī.* - 7 (al-'A'rāf): 144.
33. MJT., *op. cit.*, pp.22-3; al-Qur'ān, 7(al-'A'rāf): 180.
34. SH., *op. cit.*, pp. 33-8; BH., *op. cit.*, pp. 22-8; SUT., *op. cit.*, pp.24-8;
AN., *op. cit.*, 68-74.
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.
36. MS 121943 SOAS., ff. 91-92; BH., *op. cit.*, p. 39; AN., *op. cit.*, pp. 74-
6.
37. MS 12193 SOAS., ff. 111-112; M.I. 635 BPIPIM., ff. 111-158; MS
12225 SOAS., ff. 32-52; BH., *op. cit.*, pp. 28-32; AN., *op. cit.*, pp. 81-
8; SH., *op. cit.*, pp. 40-50; SUT., *op. cit.*, pp. 16-30.
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;

MS 12225 SOAS., ff. 45-51; AN., *op. cit.*, pp. 96-8.

39. JT., p. 42 ; DA., p. 20 ; Muḥammad Azharī b 'Abdullah al-Falembānī, *'Atiyyat al-Raḥmān* (in the margin of *kitāb Sirāj al-Hudā*), (Pulau Pinang, 1259 A.H./1880 A.D.), p. 26; AN., *op. cit.*, p. 98.
40. BH., *op. cit.*, p. 38; AN., *op. cit.*, p.57; SH., *op. cit.*, p. 50.
41. TR., p. 23.
42. al-Qur'ān, Sūrah 59:(*al-Mujādala*):50; BKS., p. 48.
43. MJT., p. 24.
44. AN., *op. cit.*, pp. 98-9.
45. AN., *ibid.*, 98-9; BH., *op. cit.*, pp. 38-9; SH., *op. cit.*, 45-6.
46. al-Qur'ān: 6(al-An'ām): 73; 23(al-Mu'minūn): 101; 39(al-Zumar): 68; 69(al-Hāqqah): 13.
47. al-Qur'ān, 7(al-A'rāf): 8-9.
48. al-Faṭānī, Zayn al-'Ābidīn b. Muḥammad, *Kashf al-Lithām*, (Cairo, 1308 A.H./1890 A.D.), p. 6 ; Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl al-Faṭānī, *Wishāḥ al-Afrāḥ*, (Cairo, n.d., reprinted., Penang, n.d.), p. 12; AN., *op. cit.*, pp. 99-103.
49. Md. Isa, Mustafa Haji, *op. cit.*, p. 34.
50. Muḥammad, Ḥusayn b., *Umm al-Muttaqīn* (combined with *kitāb, Tanbīh al-Ghāfilīn*), (Cairo, 1938), p. 26; DK., pp.20-2.
51. JT., p. 29; UT., p. 26; TR., *op. cit.*, pp. 12-3.
52. JT., *ibid.*, p.27; KSDP., *op. cit.*, p. 17.

53. MJT., *op. cit.*, p. 29; UT., *op. cit.*, p. 26.
54. MJT., *ibid.*, p. 29; UT., *op. cit.*, p. 26.
55. DT., p. 48; HSY., *op. cit.*, p. 15.
56. al-Banjārī, Muḥammad Nafīs, *Durr al-Nafīs*, (Cairo, n.d., reprint ed., Singapore, 1928), p. 28.
57. Abdullah, Hj. W. Mohd. Saghir, 'Khazanah Karya Asia.' Jld. 2, *op. cit.*, pp. 110-1.
58. al-Minangkabāwī, Ahmad Khatib b. 'Abd al-Laṭīf, *al-Shams al-Lāmi'ah*, (Mecca, 1331 A.H./1912 A.D.), p. 35.
59. al-Rānīrī, Nūr al-Dīn, *Bad' Khalq al-Samāwāt wa al-Arḍ*, (Acheh, 1047 A.H./1638 A.D.)
60. Winstedt, Sir Richard, 'A History of Classical.' *op. cit.*, pp. 100-7.
61. al-Qur'ān; Sūrah 17 (*al-Isrā'*):11 and Zayn al-'Ābidīn b. Muḥammad al-Faṭānī, *Kashf al-Ghaybiyyah*, (Singapore, n.d.), p. 3.
62. Ngah, Mohd. Noh b., *op. cit.*, p. 11.
63. DA., *op. cit.*, p. 5.
64. al-Qur'ān, 2(*al-Baqarah*): 31.
65. DA., *op. cit.*, p. 5.
66. al-Qur'ān, 29(*al-'Ankabūt*): 57; KG., p. 10; *Perukunan*, p. 30.
67. JT., p. 42; BKS., pp. 24-30; UT., *op. cit.*, p. 24; SH., *op. cit.*, p. 26; al-Faṭānī, Dā'ūd b. 'Abd Allah, *al-Jawāhir al-Saniyyah*, (Singapura, n.d.), pp. 18-9.

68. DA., p. 19.
69. KG., p. 250; JT., *op. cit.*, p. 45.
70. KG., *op. cit.*, p. 178.
71. JS., *op. cit.*, p. 24.
72. DA., *op. cit.*, pp.
73. Sambāwī, Muḥammad 'Ali b. 'Abd al-Rashīd, *al-Yawāqīt wa al-Jawāhir*, (Singapura, n.d.), pp.20-2; al-Mubīn, 'Abd Allah b. *Tanbīh al-Ghāfilīn*, (Cairo, n.d.), p. 9.
74. al-Qur'ān, 33 (Yā Sīn).
75. al-Fatānī, 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).
81. SUT., *op. cit.*, pp. 4-10; Bernand, Marie, *La Profession De Foi D'Abu Ishaq Al-Sirazi*, (Le Caire, 1987), p. 20; al-Edrus, Syed Muhammad Dawilah, *Islamic Epistemology, An Introduction to the Theory of Knowledge in al-Qur'ān*, (Cambridge-Pulau Pinang, 1990), pp. 46-7.
82. al-Qur'ān, 42(al-Shūrā): 11

83. SUT., *op. cit.*, pp. 3-6; AN., *op. cit.*, pp. 19-20.

84. SUT, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

Chapter Four

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE DISCUSSION OF THE TWENTY *ŞIFĀT* UP TO THE TIME OF AL-SANŪSĪ AND AN ANNOTATED TRANSLATION OF THE ARABIC AND *JAWI* TEXTS OF *UMM AL-BARĀHĪN*

The discussion of the question of the divine attributes (*şifāt*) 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'ān and the Mu'tazilite doctrine of the attributes of God. According to al-Shahrastānī, the denial of the uncreatedness of the Qur'ān goes back to the time of Wāṣil b. 'Aṭā' (131/748), since in his view if the Qur'ān is uncreated, this presupposes the existence of two uncreated things, i.e.: Allah and the Qur'ān. He is quoted as having asserted that, "whatever affirms an eternal 'form' (*ma'nā*) or attribute has affirmed two gods"¹. As Prof. Watt points out, Wāṣil cannot have used the word *ma'nā*, which only developed after his death². 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 Allah³. 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-nafsihī*) not by Knowledge, Power and Life, and they allow the phrase, 'God has Knowledge' only in the sense that 'He is Knowing'⁴.

We can see here the beginning of the discussions of the *ṣifāt* and the distinction between *ṣifāt al-ma'nā* and *ṣifāt 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 *ṣifāt* 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*, *ṣifāt al-fi'l* or *al-af'āl*), 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'ān a criterion but judged the question on rational and philological grounds⁵.

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

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

both al-Ash'arī 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'l*, *al-dhāt* or *fi'liyya*, *dhātiyya*), but while al-Māturīdī said that all attributes are eternal, al-Ash'arī 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 concurs⁶.

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

Islam.

Abū al-Ḥasan al-Ash‘arī (b. 260 A.H.).

Al-Ash‘arī 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*⁷ 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‘arī 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-‘ilm* (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 (Fuṣṣilat): 15.

From the above verses, the divine attributes of *‘ilm* and *qudrah* are firmly associated (*ithbāt*), and al-Ash‘arī supported the attributes of

sam', *baṣar*, *kalām*, *ḥayāh* and *irādah* with analogical proof (*dalīl qiyāsī*), the comparison between what is not seen (*al-ghā'ib*) with what can be seen (*al-shāhid*). Thus he says;

It must be established that the Creator possesses the Power (*qudrah*), Knowledge (*'ilm*) and Will (*irādah*), which show that Allah is Knowledgeable (*'ālim*), Powerful (*qādir*) and Willing (*murīd*) 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 knowledge⁸.

He held the opinion that the names of Allah (*al-asmā' al-ḥusnā*) 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 God⁹.

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-Ibānah*, *Maqālāt* and *al-Luma*¹⁰.

Abū Manṣūr al-Māturīdī (b. 333 A.H.)

Al-Māturīdī is a contemporary of al-Ash'arī, 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 Mu'tazilites.

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-Ash'arī came from Iraq while al-Māturīdī was from Samarqand.

Question of *Ṣifāt*

The opinion of al-Māturīdī on the question of *Ṣifāt* is the same as that of al-Ash'arī, but differs as to whether the attributes of Allah can be classified as *Dhātiyyah* or *Fi'liyyah*¹¹. According to al-Ash'arī, the *Ṣifāt Fi'liyyah* such as *Raḥmān*, *Rizq* and *Takwīn* are considered to be *Nisbī* (relative) and *Ḥādith* (created). But for al-Māturīdī, they are *Qadīm*, essence of the attributes of Allah¹².

Al-Māturīdī divided the attributes of Allah into two sections; the attributes of essence (*Ṣifāt al-Dhāt*) and the attributes of action (*Ṣifāt al-Fi'l*). The attribute of action (*Fi'l*) means the attribute which is subjected to the *Ṣifat Qudrah*, such as *Raḥmah* and *Kalām*, whereas the attribute of

essence (*Dhāt*) is not subjected to the *Ṣifat Qudrah*¹³ .

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 (*Qudrah*). 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 (*Qudrah*) are eternal attributes, though the objects of knowledge and power are created, *Takwīn* is an eternal attribute, though the object of *Takwīn* (*Mukawwan*) 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 (*Irādah*)¹⁴ .

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

He is the first among the Ash‘arites to introduce *Dalīl ‘Aqlī* (intellectual proof) to refute the opinions which opposed those of the *Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jamā‘ah*¹⁵ .

Question of *Ṣifāt*

Al-Bāqillānī is similar to al-Māturīdī in his classification of *Ṣifāt al-Dhāt* and *Ṣifāt al-Fi‘l*. According to him, *Ṣifāt al-Fi‘l* 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 *Ṣifāt al-Dhāt*, he refutes the opinion of Abū Hāshim who was of the opinion that these *Ṣifāt* are firmly associated with *al-Hāl*¹⁶ .

He explained that Allah is *Ḥayy* (Living), *‘Alīm* (Knowing), *Qadīr* (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 *Shāhid* (visible) to the *Ghā‘ib* (invisible)¹⁷ .

Abū Mansūr 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‘tazilism¹⁸ .

Question of *Ṣifāt*

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

a) The discussion of the Creator (*Khāliq*) and His attributes in relation to the Essence (*Dhāt*)¹⁹ . 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 problems²⁰ :-

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

2) the problem of the attribute of *Qudrah* and His *Maqdūr*.

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

4) the problem of *Sam'* and His *Masmū'*.

5) the problem of *Ru'yah* and His *Mar'iyyah*.

6) the problem of *Irādah* and His *Murād*.

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

8) the problem of the *Hayāh* 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 (*Istiwā'*).

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-'Aqīdah al-Niẓāmīyyah*, his discussion is limited to the following issues:-

1) the Creator has the attribute of power of choice and not obligatory attributes²¹.

2) it is inadmissible that Allah should possess all the attributes of the created²².

3) the obligatory attributes of Allah are *Qādir*, *Murīd*, '*Alīm* and *Ḥayy*²³, *Qudrah*, *Irādah*, '*Ilm* and *Ḥayah*²⁴, *Ṣifat al-Kalām* and *Mutakallim*²⁵, *Samī'* and *Baṣīr*²⁶.

In his discussion of *Ṣifāt*, he divides them into two categories: *Ṣifāt Nafsīyyah* and *Ṣifāt Ma'nawīyyah*. *Ṣifāt Nafsīyyah*²⁷ 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-Nafsihī*, *Mukhālafah 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 essence²⁸.

Ṣifāt Salbīyyah 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 *Ṣifah*. *Ṣifāt Ma‘ānī* are categorised under *Ṣifāt Ma‘nawīyyah* because he holds the view that *Ṣifāt Ma‘ānī* are determinations (*Aḥkām*) which make *Ṣifāt Ma‘nawīyyah* 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-Kalām*²⁹. 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*³⁰.
- 2) the attributes of *Ma‘nawīyyah* which means the terms which indicate the Conceptual Attributes (*Ma‘ānī*) inhering in the essence, such as *‘Alīm*, *Qādir* and *Ḥayy*³¹.
- 3) the attribute of *Fi‘liyyah* which means that this attribute is the term which indicates the existence of implication as a result of the power of Allah (*Qudrah*)³².

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

- 1) Allah has no need of a subject of inherence (*Maḥall*)³³
- 2) Allah has no space and direction (*Jihah*)³⁴

3) Allah does not need an individuator (*Mukhaṣṣis*)³⁵.

The attributes of *Qidam* and *Baqā'* are included in his discussion of the attribute of *dhātīyyah*, 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 essence³⁶, but rather regards *Baqā'* as Allāh's essence. This means that the attribute of *Baqā'* is included in the attribute of *dhātīyyah*. Al-Rāzī 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 ingenuous 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-Iqtisād fi al-I'tiqād*. In the second section he elaborates on the seven attributes of *Qudrah*, *'Ilm*, *Hayāh*, *Irādah*, *Sam'*, *Baṣar* and *Kalām*.

The second chapter of this section discusses four *aḥkām* of *ṣifāt*:

1) the attributes of Allāh are not essence but an addition to His essence³⁷.

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 Allāh³⁸. 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 *'araḍ*.

7) the Creator is without *jihah*.

8) Allāh does not stay in the *'arsh*.

9) Allāh is seen (in the Hereafter).

10) Allāh is one.

In his *Ihyā 'Ulūm al-Dīn* and *al-Iqtisād fī 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-Nafsihī*³⁹.

'Aḍud al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ijī (b. 756 A.H.)

Al-Ijī is famous for his *al-Mawāqif fī '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 scholars⁴⁰. There are more than 40 *sharḥ* and *ḥāshiyah* in the *Kitāb al-Mawāqif*⁴¹. Among its wide-ranging topics is the question of the attributes of Allāh.

Question of *ṣifāt*.

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 Allah and are in addition to His essence⁴². These are: *al-Baqā'*, *al-Qidam*, *al-Istiwā'*, *al-Wajh*, *al-Yad*, *al-'Aynayn*, *al-Janb*, *al-Qadam*, *al-Iṣba'*, *al-Yamīn* and *al-Takwīn*.

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 *Thubūtīyyah*, 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'tazilites⁴³. Those who disagree with this view are al-Qāḍī 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 Allah⁴⁴.

- 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'īd from among the Ash'arites firmly identified it as the attribute of *al-Baqā'*⁴⁵.

Muḥammad Yūsuf al-Sanūsī (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-Barāḥīn* by Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Yūsuf al-Sanūsī. 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 former⁴⁶. Compared to his earlier work *Aqīdat 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-Barāḥīn*, al-Sanūsī's method of analysing the attributes differs from previous writings even though it is similar in its content. The attributes of *Mukhālafathu li al-Ḥawādith* and *Qiyāmuhu bi Nafsihi* are directly found in his earlier writings but in *Umm al-Barāḥīn* these attributes are given more emphasis and are included among the *Salbiyah* 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 Allah⁴⁷. 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 philosophers⁴⁸.

The word *Min* in *Mimmā* (*fa-mimmā yajibu limaulānā jalla wa ‘azza ‘ishrūna šifatan*) is defined by al-Sanūsī as having the meaning of "a part" (*tab ‘īḍ*) which means that among the obligatory attributes of Allah are the Twenty Attributes⁴⁹. 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 *Hāshīyah Umm al-Barāhīn* by al-Dasūqī and in *Hāshīyah 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 Allah⁵⁰.

This *Jawi* text of *Umm al-Barāhīn* 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 Ṭāhā b Khatīb ‘Abd al-Mu’min who is the copyist of the entire text of the manuscript and who finished copying the work after the *Zuhr* 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. Yūsuf 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-Bāṭiniyyah al-Ḥaḳīqiyyah*) 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 Yūsuf, his brother Alf al-Tallutī, Qāsīm al-‘Uqbātī, Naṣr al-Zāwī and others. Among his disciples were Ibn al-Ḥajjāj al-Yabdarī, Ibn al-‘Abbās al-Ṣaghīr, Ibn Sa‘d, Abū al-Qāsīm al-Zawāwī and others. Among his contemporaries were Abū al-‘Abbās ‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Zakrī al-Mirawī, Abū Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Karīm b. Muḥammad al-Maghilī,

and Abū al-‘Abbās Aḥmad 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 Ḥājjib*, *‘Umdat Ahl al-Tawfīq* 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 *Shurūḥ* 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 *Ḥāshiyat Shaikh ‘Abd Allāh al-Sharqāwī ‘alā Sharḥ al-Imām al-Hudhudī ‘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-Baijūrī under the title *Ḥāshiyat al-Baijūrī ‘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-Tawfīq Press in 1343 A.H.. The third is the edition and commentary by Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Arafa al-Dasūqī under the title *Ḥāshiyah ‘alā Sharḥ Umm al-Barāhīn*, printed by Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī 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./1757A.D., printed by Dār al-Ma'ārif, Pulau Pinang, Malaysia under the title *Bidāyat al-Hidāyah*. The second translation and commentary was undertaken by Muḥammad Zain al-Dīn b. Muḥammad Badawī al-Sambāwī in 1259A.H./1885A.D., printed by Dār al-Ma'ārif, Pulau Pinang, Malaysia under the name *Sirāj al-Hudā*, and the third translation and commentary was accomplished by Zain al-'Ābidīn b. Muḥammad al-Faṭānī in 1308A.H./1890 A.D., printed by Dār al-Ma'ārif, Pulau Pinang, Malaysia with the title *'Aqīdat al-Nājīn*.

Some *Kitab Jawi* (or at least the scribes) have errors in the text of *Umm al-Barāhīn*, for example, *mufarriqan* (*Bidāyat al-Hidāyah* - p.34) instead of *muftakiran* (*Umm al-Barāhīn* - p.37) or at least have variations, for example *lahu* (*'Aqīdat al-Nājīn* - p.43) instead of *lahu ta'ālā* (*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 *'Aqīdat al-Nājīn* 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-Barāhīn* in the *Kitab Jawi* literature.

iii The Annotated Translation of *Umm al-Barāhīn*.

In the name of Allah the Merciful, the Compassionate. Praise be to Allah (*Rabb al-‘Ālamīn*) and blessing and peace be upon the Messenger of Allah (s.a.w.). Know that the intellectual predication (*al-ḥukm al-‘aqlī*) is confined to three categories: necessity (*al-wujūb*)⁵¹, inadmissibility (*al-istiḥālah*)⁵² and admissibility (*al-jawāz*)⁵³. The necessary (*al-wājib*) is that the non-existence of which is not intellectually conceivable. The inadmissible (*al-mustaḥīl*) is that the existence of which is not intellectually inconceivable. The admissible (*al-jā’iz*) 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 (*ṣifāt*). They are: existence (*wujūd*)⁵⁴, a state of non-origination (*qidam*)⁵⁵, permanence (*baqā'*)⁵⁶, difference from the created (*mukhālafah li al-ḥawādith*)⁵⁷, self-subsistence (*qiyām bi al-nafs*)⁵⁸ that is, being without a subject of inherence (*maḥall*) or individuator (*mukhaṣṣis*), and oneness (*waḥdāniyyah*)⁵⁹ that is, there is no second to Him in His Essence (*dhāt*) or His attributes (*ṣifāt*) or His acts (*af'āl*). These are six attributes: the first, that is existence, being *nafsiyyah*⁶⁰ (a personal attribute) and the five after it being *salbiyyah*⁶¹ (negative attributes).

Then there are necessary for Allah, the exalted, seven attributes named *ṣifāt al-ma'ānī*⁶² (Conceptual Attributes). They are power (*qudrah*)⁶³ and will (*irādah*)⁶⁴, which are related to all possible beings (*mumkināt*)⁶⁵, knowledge (*'ilm*)⁶⁶, which is related to all the necessary beings (*wājibāt*), the inadmissible (*mustaḥīlāt*) and the admissible (*jāi'zāt*) beings, life (*ḥayāh*)⁶⁷, which is not related to anything, audition (*sam'*)⁶⁸ and sight (*baṣar*)⁶⁹, which are related to all that is existent (*maujūdāt*), and speech (*kalām*)⁷⁰ which is neither letter nor sound and is related to all those things to which knowledge is related .

Then there are seven attributes named *ṣifāt ma'nawiyyah*⁷¹ (Qualitative Attributes) which are consequent upon the previous seven (Conceptual Attributes). They are: that He is powerful (*qādir*)⁷², willing (*murīd*)⁷³, knowing (*'ālim*)⁷⁴, living (*ḥayy*)⁷⁵, hearing (*samī'*)⁷⁶, seeing (*baṣīr*)⁷⁷, and speaking (*mutakallim*)⁷⁸.

And of the attributes which are inadmissible in respect of Allah are

[also] twenty attributes which are the opposites of the previous twenty. They are: non-existence (*'adam*), createdness (*ḥudūth*), becoming non-existent (*turq al-'adam*), resemblance to the created (*mumāthalah lil al-ḥawādith*) in being a substance (*jirm*), i.e. His exalted Essence occupying a measure of space (*farāgh*), or His being an accident (*'araḍ*) 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 (*fī 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'līl*), or of nature (*ṭab'*). 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 *ṣifāt ma'nawiyah* (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 *ṣifāt al-ma'ānī* (Conceptual Attributes) or *al-ṣifāt al-ma'nawiyah* (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' (*a'rāḍ*), 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 *Mu'jizāt* 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 (*ḥarām*) 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 (*ḥayāh*), 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 *Wahy* (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 (*shahāda*), despite the fewness of their letters, include all that the *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 (*sharʿ*) 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 (*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

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4. Ibid., p. 246.
5. Ibid., p. 299.
6. Ibid., p. 316.
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8. al-Shahrastānī, *al-Milal Wa al-Nihal* (ed.), 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-'Azīz al-Wakil, vol. 1, (Cairo, n.d.), p. 94.
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16. al-Bāqillānī, *Kitāb al-Tamhid* 9ed.) Richard J. Mc Carthy, (Beirut, 1957 A.D.), p. 260. For the concept of *al-hāl*, see Watt, op.cit., p. 300.
17. Ibid., p. 197.
18. Ahmad Mahmud Subhi, Op. cit., p. 529.
19. al-Baghdādī, *Kitāb Uṣūl al-Dīn*, (istanbul, 1928 A.D.), pp. 68-70.
20. Ibid., p. 89.
21. al-Haramayn, *al-'Aqīdah al-Nizamiyyah*, (ed.) Muhammad Zahid al-Kawthari, (Cairo, 1948 A.D.), p. 13.
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23. Ibid., p. 17.
24. Ibid., p. 17.
25. Ibid., p. 18.
26. Ibid., p. 22.
27. al-Sanusi, *'Umdat Ahl al-Tawfīq Wa al-Taṣḍīq, Sharḥ 'Aqīdah Ahl al-Tawhīd al-Kubrā*, (Cairo, 1354 A.H.), p. 212.

28. al-Haramayn, *Kitāb al-Irshād Ilā Qawati al-Adillah Fī Uṣūl al-I'tiqād*, (ed., comm. and intro.), Muhammad Yusuf Musa and Ali 'Abd al-Mun'im 'Abd al-Hamid, (Cairo, 1950 A.D.) p. 30.
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32. Ibid., p. 44.
33. Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *Kitāb al-Arba'in Fī Uṣūl al-Dīn*, (Dhaka, 1353 A.H.), p. 104.
34. , *Muhassal Afkār al-Mutaqaddimīn Wa al-Muta'akhirīn Min al-'Ulamā' Wa al-Ḥukamā' Wa al-Mutakallimīn*, (Cairo, 1323 A.H.), p. 113.
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37. Imām al-Ghazālī, *al-Iqtisād Fī al-I'tiqād*, (Cairo, 1962 A.D.), pp. 69-72.
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50. *Ibid.*, pp. 71-72 and Muhammad ibn al-Shafi'ī al-Faddali, *Kifāyāt al-Awwām Fī Mā Yajib 'Alayhim Min 'Ilm al-Kalām* in *Hāshiyat Taḥqiq al-Maqām* by Ibrahim al-Bayjuri, (Cairo, 1949 A.D.), p. 25.

51. Cf. text p. 208

52. Cf. p. 209

53. Cf. p. 210

54. Cf. p. 211

55. Cf. p. 214

56. Cf. p. 215

57. *Ibid.*

58. Cf. p. 216

59. Cf. p. 217

60. Cf. p. 211

61. Cf. p. 214

62. Cf. p. 219

63. Cf. p. 220

64. Ibid.

65. Cf. p.

66. Cf. p. 221

67. Ibid.

68. Cf. p. 222

69. Ibid.

70. Cf. p. 223

71. Cf. p. 224

72. Ibid.

73. Ibid.

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77. Cf. p. 225

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أقسام الوجوب ^{نظمه} _{وإن سئالة} ^{سواء واجب} _{وإن سئالة}

والجواز ^{أن ليس بجائز} _{فالأوجب} ^{مما لا يتصور} _{فالأوجب}

في العقل ^{فدعته} _{عدمه} ^{فدعته} _{والتسجيل}

مما يتصور ^{بأرضه} _{في العقل} ^{فدعته} _{وجوده}

والجواز ^{فإن ليس بجائز} _{مما يصح} ^{فدعته} _{في العقل} ^{فدعته} _{وجوده}

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله رب العالمين ^{الحمد لله رب العالمين} _{والصلوة}

والسلام ^{فدعته} _{على رسول الله} ^{فدعته} _{صلى}

الله عليه وسلم ^{فدعته} _{إخراجه} ^{فدعته} _{أن}

الحكم العقلي ^{فدعته} _{يخص} ^{فدعته} _{على ثلاثة}

وَالسَّلَامُ فِيمَا يَجِبُ لَوْلَا نَأْجِلُ
ان سلامي مگر کتبه بارخدا بک تو همی کت

وَعَزَّ عَشْرُونَ صِفَةً وَهِيَ الْوُجُودُ
وعزیزه دوقول صفته ان زیاده وجود

وَالْقَدَمُ وَالْبَقَاءُ وَخَالِفَتُهُ
ان قدم ان بقا ان خالفه

لِخَوَادِثٍ وَقِيَامُهُ تَعَالَى بِنَفْسِهِ
لكل الجلال ان بجزه دیری ان کسند بوز

أَكَلًا يَفْتَقِرُ إِلَى كَيْلٍ وَلَا إِلَيْكَ
ارقی قیام بر کفایت کفایتی ان قیام بر کفایت

وَعِلْمُهُ وَيَجِبُ عَلَى كُلِّ مَلِكٍ تَشْرِعًا
ان میوان شعول داجر اش یترت علقی طومشغ

أَنْ يَعْرِفَ مَا يَجِبُ فِي حَقِّ مَوْلَانَا
بلو مشهوری لی ارفع داجر طومشغ توفی کت

جَلِيلٍ وَعَزَّ وَمَا يَسْتَجِيلُ وَمَا يَجُوزُ
تس جلیل و عز و ما یستجیل و ما یجوز ان ارفع داجر طومشغ توفی کت

وَكَلَّا يَجِبُ عَلَيْهِ أَنْ يَعْرِفَ مِثْلَ
ان دمیلاک داجر اش طومشغ هو مشغ کت

ذَلِكَ فِي حَقِّ الرَّسْلِ عَلَيْهِمُ الصَّلَاةُ
تس دمیلاک ان طومشغ لافسوا همی اش بوز کت

وَالْبَازِيَاتُ وَالْحَيَوِيُّهُ وَالْمُتَعَلِّقَاتُ
الان فزلا مع جواز ان صحوة فخر الان في ان فخرت

مَعْنَوِيَّةٌ وَهِيَ مَلَاذِيْنُ مَلَةٌ لِلشَّبَّاحِ
معنوية معنوية معنوية

الْاَوَّلِي وَهُوَ كَوْنُهُ تَعَالَى قَادِرًا
معنوية معنوية معنوية

وَمُرِيدًا وَعَالِمًا وَحَيًّا وَسَمِيعًا
معنوية معنوية معنوية

وَبَصِيْرًا وَمُتَكَلِّمًا وَحَيًّا بِنَجْوَى
معنوية معنوية معنوية

وَالْبَازِيَاتُ وَالْحَيَوِيُّهُ وَالْمُتَعَلِّقَاتُ
الان فزلا مع جواز ان صحوة فخر الان في ان فخرت

بَشِيْرًا وَالسَّمْعُ وَالْبَصْرُ الْمُتَعَلِّقَانِ
معنوية معنوية معنوية

بِجَمِيعِ الْمَوْجُوْدَاتِ وَالْكَلَامُ الَّذِي
معنوية معنوية معنوية

لَيْسَ بِمُخْرَفٍ وَلَا صَوْتٍ وَيَتَعَلَّقُ
معنوية معنوية معنوية

لَهَا يَتَعَلَّقُ بِهِ الْعِلْمُ مِنَ الْمُتَعَلِّقَاتِ
معنوية معنوية معنوية

ذَاتَهُ الْعَلِيَّةُ قَدْ رَأَى مِنَ الْفَلَاحِ
ذات من له تعلق به كمنه كبحوم

أَوْ يَكُونُ عَرْضًا يَعْمُرُ بِالْجُرْمِ
أقواته عرض يعمر بالبحوم

أَوْ خَالِيًا لَهُ أَوْ مُرْسِمًا فِي خِيَالِهِ
أقواته خالي له أو مرسم في خياله

أَوْ يَكُونُ فِي جَهَةِ الْجُرْمِ أَوْ لَهُ
أقواته يكون في جهة الجرم أو له

هُوَ جَهَةٌ أَوْ يَتَقَيَّدُ بِمَكَانٍ
هو جهة أو يتقيد بمكان

فِي حَقِّهِ تَعَالَى عَشْرُونَ صِفَةً
في حقه تعالى عشرون صفة

وَهُوَ أَضْلَلُ الْعَشْرِينَ الْأُولَى
هو أضلل العشرين الأولى

وَهُوَ الْعَدَمُ وَاللَّدْوَةُ وَطَرَفُ
هو العدم واللدوة وطرف

الْعَدَمِ وَالْمِثَالَةُ لِلْحَوَادِثِ
العدم والمثالة للحوادث

بِأَنَّهُ يَكُونُ جُرْمًا أَيْ تَأْخُذُ
بأنه يكون جرمًا أي تأخذ

ص: ١٢

ص: ١٢

ص: ١٢

أَوْ زَمَانٍ أَوْ يَتَّصِفُ ذَاتَهُ الْعَلِيَّةُ
أَوْ كَمَا هِيَ أَوْ كَمَا هِيَ
أَوْ كَمَا هِيَ أَوْ كَمَا هِيَ

بِالصَّغَرِ وَالْكَبَرِ أَوْ يَتَّصِفُ ذَاتَهُ
بِالصَّغَرِ وَالْكَبَرِ أَوْ يَتَّصِفُ ذَاتَهُ

بِالْأَفْعَالِ فِي الْأَفْعَالِ وَالْأَحْكَامِ
بِالْأَفْعَالِ فِي الْأَفْعَالِ وَالْأَحْكَامِ

وَكَيْفَ يَسْتَحِيلُ أَنْ لَا يَكُونَ تَعَالَى
وَكَيْفَ يَسْتَحِيلُ أَنْ لَا يَكُونَ تَعَالَى

فَأَيُّ مَا يَنْفَعُهُ بَأَن يَكُونَ صِفَةً
فَأَيُّ مَا يَنْفَعُهُ بَأَن يَكُونَ صِفَةً

ص ١٣ :

تَقْوَمُ بِمَحَلٍّ أَوْ بِمَجْتَمَعٍ أَوْ بِمُخَصَّصٍ
تَقْوَمُ بِمَحَلٍّ أَوْ بِمَجْتَمَعٍ أَوْ بِمُخَصَّصٍ

وَكَيْفَ يَسْتَحِيلُ عَلَيْهِ تَعَالَى أَنْ لَا
وَكَيْفَ يَسْتَحِيلُ عَلَيْهِ تَعَالَى أَنْ لَا

يَكُونَ وَاحِدًا بَأَن يَكُونَ مُرَكَّبًا
يَكُونَ وَاحِدًا بَأَن يَكُونَ مُرَكَّبًا

فِي ذَاتِهِ أَوْ يَكُونَ لَهُ مِثْلُ فِي
فِي ذَاتِهِ أَوْ يَكُونَ لَهُ مِثْلُ فِي

ذَاتِهِ أَوْ صِفَاتِهِ أَوْ يَكُونَ مَعَهُ
ذَاتِهِ أَوْ صِفَاتِهِ أَوْ يَكُونَ مَعَهُ

ص ١٤ :

أَحَدَ الْأَمْرَيْنِ الْمَسْأُولَيْنِ
سألهما سوادت در فقه و فقه کربان
یعنی یکی از دو مسأله که در او

مَسْأُولًا بِإِصْحَابِهِ رَاجِعًا عَلَيْهِ بِلَادِهِ
فرد مهمایی که از تو لفظ
که میله اشع و غیره

سَبَبٌ وَهُوَ حَالٌ وَدَيْبٌ حَادِثٌ
سبب و آن حالتی است که
بمعمولاً میخورد بخار

الْعَالِمُ مُلَاذِمٌ مَتَّهٌ لِلدَّعَايِضِ الْخَالِدَةِ
عالم آینه ملازم مدینه ای
که در عالم عرض معجمها در بود

مِنْ حَرَكَةٍ وَسُكُونٍ وَخَيْرٌ هُمَا
در فقه کبرک
آن دو معنی

صحة : ۱۲

مِنْ هَذِهِ وَأَمَّا الْجَائِزُ فِي حَقِّهِ تَعَالَى
از این است که در حق او مجاز
یعنی در حق او مجاز است

فَفَعَلَ كُلُّ مُمْكِنٍ أَوْ تَزَكُّهُ وَأَمَّا
همگی بر هر چه که ممکن است
یعنی هر چه که ممکن است

بِرَّهَانٍ وَجُودِهِ تَعَالَى فَحَدِّثْ
بشهادت وجود او تعالی
یعنی بشهادت وجود او تعالی

الْعَالِمِ لِأَنَّهُ لَوْ لَمْ يَكُنْ لَهُ مُخَدِّثٌ
عالم عالم را در آن میگویند
یعنی عالم را در آن میگویند

بَلْ حَدَّثَ لِنَفْسِهِ لِيُزِمَ أَنْ يَكُونَ
بشهادت او را در حق خود میگویند
یعنی بشهادت او را در حق خود میگویند

لَوْ لَمْ يَكُنْ قَدْ نَبَأَ الْكَانَ حَادِثًا فَيَفْتَعِرُ
جمله قیاداد
قدیم
سبحانی دال ای
لھارو علی برکھنڈا

إِلَى خَبْرٍ فَيَلْزَمُ الدَّوْرَ وَالتَّسْلُلُ
کندہ غمبھا دوری دی
مکان از علی
دور التوسلسل

وَأَمَّا بَرَهَانَ وَجُوبِ الْبَقَاءِ لَهُ
دانا ادنون
شند
واجب
بقاء بکون

تَعَالَى فَلَا نَهَ لَوْ أَمَكَّنَ أَنْ يَلْحَقَهُ
تغھائی
مکان دن
مھوکن جلا بول
مھو مھوین کھدی

الْعَدَمُ لَا نَتَقَى عَنْهُ الْقَدِيمُ لَكُونَ
اولی قیاد
سبحانی لہنڈا
ادنون
قدیم
لان لادان

(۱۶)

وَمَلَا نَزِمَ الْحَادِثِ حَادِثٌ وَدَيْسِلُ
برمودا دیسلا
لھارو
برمودا مٹھلا
سکھلا بھارایہ

حَدِوثُ الْأَعْرَاضِ مُشَاهِقَةٌ
لھارو
سکھلا عرضی ایہ
بارت د فذغ

تَغْيِيرُهَا مِنْ عَدِيمٍ إِلَى وَجُودٍ وَمِنْ
برودہ ہون
ادونیا کھواد
دانا ادنون

وَجُودٍ إِلَى عَدِيمٍ وَأَمَّا بَرَهَانَ
اد
کھواد قیاد
دانا ادنون
شند

وَجُوبِ الْقَدِيمِ لَهُ تَعَالَى فَلَا نَهَ
واجب
قدیم بکون
مٹھلا
مکان دن

ص ۱۸

وَجُودُهُ حَيْثُ يَصِيرُ جَائِزًا لَا
يُجُودُ فِي فَرْطِهَا

وَأَجْبَابًا وَالْجَائِزُ لَا يَكُونُ وَجُودُهُ
بِجُودِهَا

الْأَحَادِثُ كَيْفَ وَقَدْ سَبَقَ تَرْبِيًّا
مِنْهَا

وَجُوبٌ قَدْ مَبِّهَ وَأَمَّا تَرْبِيًّا
فَقَدِيمٌ

وَجُوبٌ مَخَالَفَتُهُ تَعَالَى الْحَوَادِثُ
وَأَجْرٌ

ص ١٨ :

فَلَا نَهَ لَوْ مَا تَلَّ شَيْئًا مِنْهَا لَكَا
مَعَهُ

حَادِثًا مِثْلَهَا وَهُوَ حَالٌ لَمَّا سَبَقَ
لَهَا

فِي وَجُوبٍ قَدْ مَبِّهَ وَيَقَائِيهِ وَأَمَّا
فَقَدِيمٌ

بِرَّهَا نَ وَجُوبٌ قِيَامُهُ تَعَالَى
مِنْهَا

بِنَفْسِهِ فَلَا نَهَ لَوْ أَرَادَ إِلَى الْحَلِّ
دَعَى لِنَفْسِهِ يَرِي بِهَا مَعَهُ

ص ١٨ :

ص ٢٠ :

عَلَىٰ وَجُوبِ قَدَمِهِ تَعَالَىٰ وَأَمَّا بَقَاؤُهَا
أقرب فالجبر قد موحى مع تعاقبها فيكون
١٦ ان ادعوا فنون

وَجُوبِ الْوَحْدَانِيَّةِ لَهُ تَعَالَىٰ فَلَا إِلَهَ
علا ولا غيره
أقرب بل يكون مع تعاقبها فيكون
١٦ ان ادعوا فنون

لَوْ لَمْ يَكُنْ وَاحِدًا لَمَا وَجَدَ شَيْئًا مِنْ
جمله قبا اداي اسن بجبري فيقول
١٦ ان ادعوا فنون

الْعَالَمِ لِلزُّرْمِ حِجْرَةٌ حِينَ عَيْنِ
عالم اين لادن لادن ملى
١٦ ان ادعوا فنون

وَأَمَّا بَرُحَانُ وَجُوبِ إِتْصَافِهِ
بوصفها
١٦ ان ادعوا فنون

(٢٠)

لَا كُنْ صِفَةً وَالصِّفَةُ لَا تَتَّصِفُ
بجبري جبري لا يري
١٦ ان ادعوا فنون
١٦ ان ادعوا فنون

بِصِفَاتِ الْمَعَانِي وَلَا الْمَعْنَوِيَّةِ
بوصف المعاني
١٦ ان ادعوا فنون
١٦ ان ادعوا فنون

وَمَوْلَا نَاجِلٍ وَعَزِيْزٌ بِإِتْصَافِهِ
بوصف ناجل
١٦ ان ادعوا فنون
١٦ ان ادعوا فنون

بِحَمَّا فَلَيْسَ بِصِفَةٍ وَلَا وَخِشَاجٍ إِلَىٰ
بوصف فلان
١٦ ان ادعوا فنون
١٦ ان ادعوا فنون

مُخَصِّصٍ لِّكَانَ حَادِثًا وَقَدْ بَدَأَ الْبَرُّهَا
بوصف فاعل
١٦ ان ادعوا فنون
١٦ ان ادعوا فنون

ص ٢١ :

وَالْإِجْمَاعُ وَإِيضًا لَوْلَمْ يَتَّصِفْ بِهَا لَلِزْمِ
دان موافقة جماعا انان لكال قول جملو قيا برصنوه
دخذي بنجلا زلم

أَنْ يَتَّصِفَ بِأَضْدَادِهَا وَهِيَ تَقَابُصُ
بجو برصنوه دغزل لعل لاوون انان يارك للال لكو راغن

وَالنَّقصُ عَلَيْهِ تَعَالَى خَالٌ وَكَأَمَّا
دان كوون اسقل غ مخطا نك اية مستحل انان فون

تَرَكَّهَا كَأَن كَوْنِ فِعْلٍ لَمْ يَكُنَّا بِتِ أَوْ
تقد لادان برنوه للال عملن اتو

تَرَكَّهَا كَأَن كَوْنِ فِعْلٍ لَمْ يَكُنَّا بِتِ أَوْ
منقول كندى ايم علام قد حقق غ مخطا نك لمارن هون

(۱۰۰)

تَعَالَى بِالقَدَرِ وَالْإِرَادَةِ وَالْعِلْمِ
دغز مخطا نك دغز انان ارادة دان علم

وَالْيَقِينُ فَلَانَهُ لِيُؤْتِيَ شَيْئًا مِنْهَا
دان حجاته لمارن بكون جملو بنفرا نام دغز انان

لَمَّا وَجَدَ شَيْئًا مِنَ الْوَادِثِ وَآمَنًا
منجما رى قول الام اووهن اسسوات دغز للال غ لهار انان فون

بِرَهَانٍ وَجُوبِ السَّمْعِ لَهُ تَعَالَى
شند واچر مفر بكون غ مخطا نك

وَالْبَصْرِ وَالْكَلَامُ فَالْكِتَابُ وَالشَّيْءُ
دان ميلعت دان بركات م قرآن دان حدیث

لَوْ وَجِبَ عَلَيْهِ نَعَايُ شَيْءٍ مِنْهَا عَقْلًا
جلا واجر القوم مع مخالفتهم بربوبية كرسوات

أَوْ اسْتَحَالَ عَقْلًا لَا نَقَبَ الْمُنْكَرُ
القوم يستحل فذموا بربوبية جلا واجر

وَأَجْبًا أَوْ مُتَّحِيًا وَذَلِكَ لَا يُعْقَلُ
القوم يستحل أذا كانا في كرسوات

وَأَمَّا الرَّسُلُ عَلَيْكُمْ الصَّلَاةُ وَالسَّلَامُ
أذا نادى فون لكلوا القوم بربوبية

فَيُحِبُّ فِي حَقِّهِمُ الصِّدْقُ وَالْأَمَانَةُ
جلا واجر فذموا بربوبية

ص ٦٢

وَنَتَّبِعُ مَا أُمِرَ وَإِن بَلَغَ الْخَلْقُ
أذا صدموا بالربوبية

وَيُسْتَحِيلُ فِي حَقِّهِمْ أَضْلًا ذَهَبِيَّةً
أذا منستحل فذموا بربوبية

الصِّقَاتِ هِيَ الْكُنُوبُ وَالْخِيَانَةُ
أذا نادى بربوبية

يُفْعَلُ شَيْءٌ هَذَا عَلَى اللَّهِ عَنهُ
فذموا بربوبية

يُحَرِّمُ أَوْ كَرَاهِيَةً وَكَيْتَمَا نَشَيْءُ
أذا نادى بربوبية

ص ٦٣

(٢٧)

فَمَا أَمْرٌ وَإِن تَلْتَفِتْ لَهُ الْخَلْفُ وَيَجُودُ فِيهِ
أَلْتَفُتُ بِالرَّجْعِ وَالرَّجْعُ مَوْرُؤٌ كَمَا فِي مَوْرُؤِ الْوَجْهِ
مَنْعَهُ فِي الْوَجْهِ

حَقِّمِ عَلَيْهِمُ الصَّلَاةَ وَالتَّلَامُ مَا هُوَ
تَوْبِيخٌ كَمَا فِي مَوْرُؤِ الْوَجْهِ

مِنَ الْأَعْرَاضِ الْبَشَرِيَّةِ الَّتِي لَا
تُرْفَعُ إِلَّا بِفِرَاقِ حَرْفِي مَانِي تَعْتَابِ

تَوَدِّي إِلَى تَقْصِي فِي مَرَاتِبِهِمُ الْعَلِيَّةِ
عَبَّاسِي كَمَا فِي الْكَلَامِ الْوَالِدِي

لَا يَرْضَى وَخَوْهَ وَأَمَّا بَرَهَانَ وَجُودِ
سُطُورِ الْكَلَامِ الْوَالِدِي

(٢٨)

صَدَقَ الرَّسُولُ عَلَيْهِمُ الصَّلَاةُ وَالتَّلَامُ
بِنُزُولِ الْوَسَائِلِ إِلَيْهِ

فَلَا يَفْعَلُ لَوْ لَمْ يَصْدَقِ الذَّمُّ الْكَنُوبِ
وَالْجَلْمُ وَالْجَلْمُ تَعْبِيرٌ بِمَوْرُؤِ الْوَجْهِ

فِي خَبْرِهِ تَعَالَى لِتَصْدِيقِهِ تَعَالَى
تَوْبِيخٌ كَمَا فِي مَوْرُؤِ الْوَجْهِ

لَهُمْ بِالْمَعْرَاةِ النَّازِلَةِ مِنْزَلَةَ تَوْبِهِ
كَمَا فِي مَوْرُؤِ الْوَجْهِ

جَلَّ وَعَزَّ صَدَقَ عَبْدِي فِي كُلِّ مَا
جَلَّ وَعَزَّ تَعَالَى

(٢٩)

لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ تَعَالَى خَلَقَنَا يَا قَتِيلَهُ الْعِصْمِ
كلمة بغير كسر اللام وقال كسر اللام ميون

فِي الْأَوَّلِينَ وَأَنْفَعَالِهِمْ وَلَا يَأْمُرُ اللَّهُ
فكسر اللام في أوله كسر اللام في أوله

تَعَالَى مُحَمَّدٍ وَلَا يُكْفَرُ بِهِ وَهَذَا
تعالى كسر اللام محمد كسر اللام ان الزيادة

بِعَيْنِهِ هُوَ بَرِّحَانٌ وَجُوبِ الثَّالِثِ
بمعنى كسر اللام برحان كسر اللام جوب كسر اللام الثالث

وَأَمَّا دَيْلٌ جَوَانِ الْأَعْرَاضِ الْبَشَرِيَّةِ
وأمما كسر اللام ديل كسر اللام جوان كسر اللام الأعراض كسر اللام البشرية

يَبْلُغُ عَنِّي وَأَمَّا بَرِّحَانٌ وَجُوبِ
كسر اللام يبلغ كسر اللام عن كسر اللام أما كسر اللام برحان كسر اللام جوب

لَهُمَا نَزَّ لِحُصْنٍ عَلَيْهِمُ الصَّلَاةُ وَالسَّلَامُ
لهم كسر اللام نزل كسر اللام لحصن كسر اللام عليهم كسر اللام الصلاة كسر اللام والسلام

فَلَا تُضْمُّ لَوْ خَا نَوْا يَفْعَلُ مُحَمَّدٍ أَوْ
فلا تضم كسر اللام لو كسر اللام خا كسر اللام نوا كسر اللام يفعل كسر اللام محمد كسر اللام أو

مَكْرُوهٍ لَا تَنْقَبُ الْحَجْرُ مَرَاوِ الْمَكْرُوهِ
مكروه كسر اللام لا كسر اللام تنقب كسر اللام الحجر كسر اللام مراد كسر اللام المكروه

طَاعَةٌ فِي حَقِّهِمْ عَلَيْهِمُ الصَّلَاةُ وَالسَّلَامُ
طاعة كسر اللام في كسر اللام حقيهم كسر اللام عليهم كسر اللام الصلاة كسر اللام والسلام

اسْتِغْنَاءُ الْإِلَهِ عَنْ كُلِّ مَا سِوَاهُ وَاقْتِدَارُ
كل ما
توصف به
الشيء
الذي
لا
يحتاج
إليه
الشيء
الآخر

كُلُّ مَا سِوَاهُ إِلَهٍ مَعْنَى لِإِلَهٍ آخَرَ
كل ما سواه
إله
معنى
لإله
آخر

اللَّهُ لَا مُسْتَقْفِي عَنْ كُلِّ مَا سِوَاهُ
الله لا مستقفي
عنه
عن
كل
ما
سواه

وَمُنْتَقِرًا إِلَيْهِ كُلُّ مَا عَدَا إِلَهَ اللَّهِ
والمنتقرون
إليه
كل
ما
عدا
إله
الله

ص ٣٢ : ص ٣٣
أَمَّا اسْتِغْنَاءُ تَعَالَى عَنْ كُلِّ مَا سِوَاهُ
أما استغناء
تعالى
عنه
عن
كل
ما
سواه

يُحْيِي وَيُؤْتِي الْحَيَاةَ وَالْقِيَامَةَ
يحيي ويؤتي
الحياة
والقيامة

وَالْبَقَاءُ وَالْمُخَالَفَةُ لِلْحَيَاةِ وَالْقِيَامَةِ
والبقاء والمخالفة
للحياة
والقيامة

بِالنَّفْسِ وَالشَّيْءِ عَنِ النَّفْسِ
بالنفس والشيء
عنه
بالنفس

وَيُدْخِلُ فِي ذَلِكَ وَجُوبَ السَّمْعِ
ويدخل في ذلك
وجوب
السمع

لَهُ تَعَالَى وَالْبَصِيرُ وَالْكَلَامُ إِذْ تَوَلَّى
له تعالى والبصير
والكلام
إذ تولى

يَجِبُ لَهُ تَعَالَى هَدِيهِ الصِّفَاتِ لِكَانِ
وَأَجْرُهُ تَعَالَى تَعَالَى
بِحُجْرَةِ إِدَارَةِ الْإِسْلَامِ

فَحْتَابًا إِلَى الْحَدِيثِ أَوْ الْحَلِّ أَوْ مِنَ
بِرَهْمَدِ قَوْلِهِ كَمَا فِي عَمَلِهِ وَكَانَ
أَتَمَّ مِنْ أَمْرِ الْوَجْهِ

يُرْفَعُ عَنْهُ النَّقَائِصُ وَيُؤْخَذُ
مِنْهُ لِكَيْلِ الْوَقْفِ كَمَا فِي
أَمْرِهِ وَبِجَمَلِهِ

مِنْهُ تَنْزِيهُهُ عَنِ الْأَخْرَافِ فِي
الْوَقْفِ مَحَلِّهِ
الْوَقْفِ فِي عَمَلِهِ

أَفْعَالَهُ وَأَحْكَامَهُ وَالْأَمْرَ لِمَنْ
سُئِلَ فِي الْوَقْفِ وَأَنَّ كَمَا فِي
أَمْرِهِ وَبِجَمَلِهِ

ص: ٤٣

اِخْتِقَارَهُ تَعَالَى إِلَى مَا يَحْصُلُ مِنْهُ
بِرَهْمَدِ قَوْلِهِ كَمَا فِي
عَمَلِهِ وَبِجَمَلِهِ

كَيْفَ وَهُوَ جَلٌّ وَعَالَهُ الْغَنِيِّ عَنْ كُلِّ
بِنَاءٍ وَأَنَّ يَأْتِي جَمَلٌ وَعَالَهُ
طَلِيٌّ أَوْ تَقْوَى

مَا سِوَاهُ وَكَذَا يُؤْخَذُ مِنْهُ أَيْضًا
بِأَعْرَافِهِ وَأَنَّ يَأْتِي
عَمَلُهُ وَبِجَمَلِهِ

أَنَّهُ لَا يَجِبُ عَلَيْهِ فِعْلُ شَيْءٍ مِنْ
أَمْرِهِ قِيَامًا وَأَجْرُهُ تَعَالَى تَعَالَى
بِحُجْرَةِ إِدَارَةِ الْإِسْلَامِ

الْمَكْنَاتِ وَلَا تَرْكُهُ إِذْ لَوْ وَجِبَ
سُئِلَ فِي الْوَقْفِ وَأَنَّ كَمَا فِي
أَمْرِهِ وَبِجَمَلِهِ

ص: ٤٣

يَقْتَضِي إِلَيْهِ كُلُّ مَا سِوَاهُ وَيُؤْخَذُ مِنْهُ
كقوله تعالى: وَمَنْ يَشْرِكْ بِاللَّهِ فَهُوَ كَمَا يَتَّخِذُ الْوُجُوهَ الْمَذْمُومَةَ مَثَلًا لِمَنْ كَفَرَ بِهِ وَأَنْ يَخْشَى اللَّهَ يَأْتَخِذُ الْوُجُوهَ الْحَسَنَةَ مَثَلًا لِمَنْ آمَنَ بِهِ وَمَنْ يَخْشَ اللَّهَ يَجْعَلْ لَكَ مَخْرَجًا مِنْ حَيْثُ أَرَادَ أَنْ يَخْرُجَ إِنَّ اللَّهَ وَاسِعٌ عَلِيمٌ

أَيْضًا حَدُّوَتْ الْعَالَمِ بِاسْمِهِ إِذْ لَوْ
عول غلط عالم وعول ليعلمنا

لَأَنَّ شَيْئًا مِنْهُ قَدْ تِمَّ الْكُلُّ ذَلِكَ
ادسواء انذال تقديم تجلي ادال انذال

الشَّيْءُ مُسْتَغْنِيًا عَنْهُ تَعَالَى كَيْفَ
سواء لاني انذال تم قولا فتا

وَهُوَ الَّذِي يَجِبُ أَنْ يَقْتَضِيَ إِلَيْهِ
انذال مع واجب هو بكونه كقوله

(٤٠)

يَقْتَضِي إِلَيْهِ كُلُّ مَا سِوَاهُ وَيُؤْخَذُ مِنْهُ
كقوله تعالى: وَمَنْ يَشْرِكْ بِاللَّهِ فَهُوَ كَمَا يَتَّخِذُ الْوُجُوهَ الْمَذْمُومَةَ مَثَلًا لِمَنْ كَفَرَ بِهِ وَأَنْ يَخْشَى اللَّهَ يَأْتَخِذُ الْوُجُوهَ الْحَسَنَةَ مَثَلًا لِمَنْ آمَنَ بِهِ وَمَنْ يَخْشَ اللَّهَ يَجْعَلْ لَكَ مَخْرَجًا مِنْ حَيْثُ أَرَادَ أَنْ يَخْرُجَ إِنَّ اللَّهَ وَاسِعٌ عَلِيمٌ

أَيْضًا لَهُ تَعَالَى الْوَحْدَانِيَّةُ إِذْ لَوْ
عول كقوله تعالى: وَمَنْ يَشْرِكْ بِاللَّهِ فَهُوَ كَمَا يَتَّخِذُ الْوُجُوهَ الْمَذْمُومَةَ مَثَلًا لِمَنْ كَفَرَ بِهِ وَأَنْ يَخْشَى اللَّهَ يَأْتَخِذُ الْوُجُوهَ الْحَسَنَةَ مَثَلًا لِمَنْ آمَنَ بِهِ وَمَنْ يَخْشَ اللَّهَ يَجْعَلْ لَكَ مَخْرَجًا مِنْ حَيْثُ أَرَادَ أَنْ يَخْرُجَ إِنَّ اللَّهَ وَاسِعٌ عَلِيمٌ

لَأَنَّ مَعَهُ ثَانٍ فِي الْأَوْهِيَّةِ طَا
ادسواء او كقوله تعالى: وَمَنْ يَشْرِكْ بِاللَّهِ فَهُوَ كَمَا يَتَّخِذُ الْوُجُوهَ الْمَذْمُومَةَ مَثَلًا لِمَنْ كَفَرَ بِهِ وَأَنْ يَخْشَى اللَّهَ يَأْتَخِذُ الْوُجُوهَ الْحَسَنَةَ مَثَلًا لِمَنْ آمَنَ بِهِ وَمَنْ يَخْشَ اللَّهَ يَجْعَلْ لَكَ مَخْرَجًا مِنْ حَيْثُ أَرَادَ أَنْ يَخْرُجَ إِنَّ اللَّهَ وَاسِعٌ عَلِيمٌ

اِخْتَضَرَ إِلَيْهِ شَيْئٌ لِلزُّنُومِ عَجْزُهُمَا
كقوله تعالى: وَمَنْ يَشْرِكْ بِاللَّهِ فَهُوَ كَمَا يَتَّخِذُ الْوُجُوهَ الْمَذْمُومَةَ مَثَلًا لِمَنْ كَفَرَ بِهِ وَأَنْ يَخْشَى اللَّهَ يَأْتَخِذُ الْوُجُوهَ الْحَسَنَةَ مَثَلًا لِمَنْ آمَنَ بِهِ وَمَنْ يَخْشَ اللَّهَ يَجْعَلْ لَكَ مَخْرَجًا مِنْ حَيْثُ أَرَادَ أَنْ يَخْرُجَ إِنَّ اللَّهَ وَاسِعٌ عَلِيمٌ

حَيْثُ كَيْفَ وَهُوَ الَّذِي يَقْتَضِي
كقوله تعالى: وَمَنْ يَشْرِكْ بِاللَّهِ فَهُوَ كَمَا يَتَّخِذُ الْوُجُوهَ الْمَذْمُومَةَ مَثَلًا لِمَنْ كَفَرَ بِهِ وَأَنْ يَخْشَى اللَّهَ يَأْتَخِذُ الْوُجُوهَ الْحَسَنَةَ مَثَلًا لِمَنْ آمَنَ بِهِ وَمَنْ يَخْشَ اللَّهَ يَجْعَلْ لَكَ مَخْرَجًا مِنْ حَيْثُ أَرَادَ أَنْ يَخْرُجَ إِنَّ اللَّهَ وَاسِعٌ عَلِيمٌ

(٤٢)

كُلُّ مَا سِوَاهُ وَيُؤْخَذُ مِنْهُ أَيضًا أَنْ
يُقَوِّمَ بِأَيْحِ الْبَيْتِ "أَنْ دَامَسَ" "أَفْوَاهُ" "قَوْلٌ" "هُوَ"

لَا تَأْتِي شَيْءٌ مِنَ الْكَائِنَاتِ فِي تَرْمَا
تِيَا عَجْرِي بِكِي "كُلُّ لَسْوَاتٍ" "أَفْوَاهُ" "قَوْلٌ" "هُوَ"

وَالْأَلِزَمُ أَنْ يَسْتَعْنِي ذَلِكَ لِأَنَّ
"أَنْ دَامَسَ" "أَفْوَاهُ" "قَوْلٌ" "هُوَ"

عَنْ مَوْلَا نَاجِلٍ وَعَزِيكَفٌ وَهُوَ الَّذِي
"أَفْوَاهُ" "قَوْلٌ" "هُوَ"

يَقْتَضِي إِلَيْهِ كُلُّ مَا سِوَاهُ عُمُومًا
"أَفْوَاهُ" "قَوْلٌ" "هُوَ"

(٤٣)

وَعَلَى كُلِّ حَالٍ هَذَا أَنْ قَدْ رُتِ
"أَنْ دَامَسَ" "أَفْوَاهُ" "قَوْلٌ" "هُوَ"

أَنْ شَيْئًا مِنَ الْكَائِنَاتِ يُؤْتِ شَرْ
"أَفْوَاهُ" "قَوْلٌ" "هُوَ"

بَطْبَعِهِ وَأَمَّا أَنْ قَدْ رُتِهُ مُؤْتِرًا
"أَفْوَاهُ" "قَوْلٌ" "هُوَ"

بِقُوَّةِ جَعْلِهَا لِلَّهِ تَعَالَى كَمَا يَزْعَمُهُ
"أَفْوَاهُ" "قَوْلٌ" "هُوَ"

كثِيرٌ مِنَ الْجَهْلَةِ خَذَلِكِ حُكَاكِ
"أَفْوَاهُ" "قَوْلٌ" "هُوَ"

ص ل

بَانَ لَكَ تَضَرُّ حَوْلِ لِإِلَهٍ أَلَا اللَّهُ
بِشَاءِ نَسَمِ بِرَهْمَتُونَ لَارَتْ

لِلْأَقْسَامِ الثَّلَاثَةِ الَّتِي تَحْتَجُّ عَلَيْكَ
بِكُلِّ لَوْلَا يَهْلِكِينَ نَحْ قَبِيكَ نَحْ وَابِرِ أُنْقَسِ

الْمَلْطِفِ مَعْرِفَتَهَا فِي حَقِّ مَوْلَانَا
مَلْفُونِ مَعْنِي دَبِي فَرْحَتُو تَوْفِي لَكِزِ

جَلَّ وَعَزَّ وَهِيَ مَا يَجِبُ فِي حَقِّهِ
أَنَازَارَتْ لَارَعِي وَابِرِ تَوْحُوتِ لَكِزِ

تَعَالَى وَمَا يَسْتَحِيلُ وَمَا يَجُوزُ
أَنَازَارَتْ لَارَعِي مَحْتَجُّ لَارَعِي هَلْكَرِ

(٤٢)

أَيْضًا لِأَنَّهُ يُصَيِّرُ جِنِينَ مَوْلَانَا جَلَّ
تَوْحُوتِ لَارَعِي لَكِزِ تَوْحُوتِ لَكِزِ

وَعَزَّ مَقْتَدِرًا إِلَى إِنْجَاءِ بَعْضِ الْأَفْعَالِ
أَوْحُوذِ لَكِزِ هَلْكَرِ مَحْتَجُّ لَارَعِي تَوْحُوتِ لَكِزِ

إِلَى وَالسُّطَّةِ وَذَلِكَ بِأَطْلُ كَمَا
كَمَنْ لَارَعِي لَارَعِي لَارَعِي لَارَعِي

عَرَفَتْ مِنْ وَجُوبِ اسْتِغْنَائِهِ
كَمَنْ لَارَعِي لَارَعِي لَارَعِي لَارَعِي

جَلَّ وَعَزَّ عَنْ كُلِّ مَا سِوَاهِ رُفْقَدُ
أَنَازَارَتْ لَارَعِي لَارَعِي لَارَعِي لَارَعِي

وَأَمَّا هَوْنًا فَحَمْدُ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ صَلَّى
^{١٦٥} أَنَا أَدْفُون لَأَنْتَ كَبْر

اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ خَيْرٌ خَلْفِيهِ الْإِيمَانُ
^{١٦٦} كَلَّا كَلَّا ١٦٧ أَلَمْ يَأْمُرْ بِالْعَمَلِ

لِسَائِرِ الْأَنْبِيَاءِ وَالْمَلَائِكَةِ عَلَيْهِمُ
^{١٦٨} كَلَّا كَلَّا ١٦٩ أَنزَلَ مِنْكَ الْكِتَابَ

الصَّلَاةَ وَالسَّلَامَ وَاللَّيْلُ الْمُنْتَزِلَةَ
^{١٧٠} كَلَّا كَلَّا ١٧١ أَنزَلَ مِنَ السَّمَاءِ نُورًا

السَّمَاوِيَّةِ وَالْيَوْمِ الْآخِرِ لَأَنَّهُ
^{١٧٢} أَنزَلَ مِنَ السَّمَاءِ نُورًا كَلَّا كَلَّا ١٧٣

عَلَيْهِ الصَّلَاةَ وَالسَّلَامَ جَاءَ بِصِدْقٍ
^{١٧٤} أَنزَلَ مِنَ السَّمَاءِ نُورًا كَلَّا كَلَّا ١٧٥

جَمِيعِ ذَلِكَ وَيُوْخَذُ مِنْهُ وَجُوبُ
^{١٧٦} كَلَّا كَلَّا ١٧٧ أَنزَلَ مِنَ السَّمَاءِ نُورًا

صِدْقِ الرَّسُولِ عَلَيْهِمُ الصَّلَاةَ وَالسَّلَامَ
^{١٧٨} كَلَّا كَلَّا ١٧٩ أَنزَلَ مِنَ السَّمَاءِ نُورًا

وَأَسْتَجَالَةَ الْكَذِبِ عَلَيْهِمُ وَاللَّيْلُ الْمُنْتَزِلَةَ
^{١٨٠} كَلَّا كَلَّا ١٨١ أَنزَلَ مِنَ السَّمَاءِ نُورًا

رَسُولًا مِّنَّا لِيُؤْمِنَ أَنَّا الْغَالِمُ بِالْخَفِيَّاتِ
^{١٨٢} كَلَّا كَلَّا ١٨٣ أَنزَلَ مِنَ السَّمَاءِ نُورًا

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٤٦

اخْتَارَهُمْ عَلَىٰ جَمِيعِ الْخَلْقِ وَامَنَّهُمْ
معلم ای که در مویکون
معلم ای که در مویکون
معلم ای که در مویکون

عَلَىٰ سِرِّ رُحْمِهِ وَرِسَالَتِهِ وَيُؤْخَذُ
احصی لهرسی و مویکون
احصی لهرسی و مویکون

مِنْهُ اَيْضًا جَوَازُ اَعْرَاضِ الْبَشَرِيَّةِ
از مویکون قول هلاکی لعل
از مویکون قول هلاکی لعل

عَلَيْهِمْ اِذْ ذَٰلِكَ لَا يَقْدَحُ فِي رِسَالَتِهِمْ
مویکون لاریان
مویکون لاریان

وَعَلَوْ مَنَزَلَتِهِمْ عِنْدَ اللَّهِ تَحَاكِي
آن تکی مویکون مویکون
آن تکی مویکون مویکون

جَلَّ وَعَزَّ وَاسْتَحَالَ فِعْلُ النَّبِيَّاتِ
آن مستحکم
آن مستحکم

لَهَا لِأَنَّهُمْ أَرْسَلُوا لِيَعْمُوا الْخَلْقَ
لاریان مویکون
لاریان مویکون

بِأَقْوَامِهِمْ وَأَعْمَالِهِمْ وَسُكُونِهِمْ فَيَلْتَمِ
مویکون لاریان
مویکون لاریان

أَن لَّا تَكُونُ فِي جَمِيعِهَا خَالَفَةٌ
مویکون لاریان
مویکون لاریان

لَا هِرْمُولًا فَجَلَّ وَعَزَّ الَّذِي
مویکون لاریان
مویکون لاریان

در اینجا
در اینجا
در اینجا

ان يكتر من ذكرها منحصر لما احتوت
عوم بما يمكن التفسير دي
حالي معاني
كل ما يرجع ميلاد

عليه من عقايد الامان حتى يتبع
اخرى "وقولها عتده امان
صغلا بجزء

معناها بالجملة ودمه فانه يري
معنا "عني دالكوم
ان انا اراهي يكون لغت

لها من الاسترار والعجايب ان نشاء
يكون "وقولها لهي
ان لسلع بعجايب مخلوق مخلوق

الله تعالى ما لا يدخل تحت حصر
الله تعالى "باربع بقا
وقوله اي "باربع يكون

وبالله التوفيق لا رب غيره نشاء
ان فخر الله جو
مع مبري توفيق
تيا توحي لادن
موسم الكندي

سبحانه ان جعلنا واجتائنا عندك
هو بغيره كل اي الكون
ان لا لعل لا علم
تشللا

الموت ناطقين بكلمتي الشاه وعاين
ماز "وقولها
موتك "عني
شاهه حالي تا موتك
عصم

ها وصلي الله على سيدنا محمد
فان الله اكبر
الله اتم نعمه
بنت بنو
عقيل

ما ذكره الذكرون وخف عن
باربع بمرت الكندي
كل او بربنت
تاكير بربنت
توفيق

ص : ٥

ص : ٥

ذِكْرُهُ الْفَاخِرُونَ وَرَضِيَ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى
بِحَسْبِ الْكَفَى كُلُّهُ يَرْغَبُ لَوْ فَوْقَ

عَنْ أَصْحَابِ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ أَجْمَعِينَ وَعَنْ

التَّابِعِينَ وَتَابِعِ التَّابِعِينَ لَهُمْ بِأَخْسَانِ

إِلَى يَوْمِ الدِّينِ وَسَلَامٌ عَلَىٰ جَمِيعِ الْأَنْبِيَاءِ

وَالْمُرْسَلِينَ وَالْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ رَبِّ الْعَالَمِينَ تَبَّتْ

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-ḥukm al-‘aqli*).¹ The intellectual predication is divided into three categories. They are :-

- i) **Necessity** - This means that whose non-existence
(*al-Wujūb*) cannot be conceived intellectually.²
- ii) **Inadmissible** - This means that whose existence
(*al-mustahīl*) cannot be conceived intellectually.³
- iii) **Admissible** - This means that whose existence or non-
(*al-jā’iz*) existence are both valid intellectually.⁴

It is obligatory for every Muslim (*Mukallaf*) to know and believe what is necessary, inadmissible and admissible regarding Allah and His Messengers.⁵ 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'arī said that the first obligation was the *Ma'rifat Allah* (Knowledge of God), while al-Bāqillānī said that it was the reasoning leading to *Ma'rifat Allah*, whereas Imām al-Ḥaramayn was of the opinion that it was the resolve to pursue the reasoning. All three opinions are valid,⁶ 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-Sanūsī, the majority (*jumhūr*) of theologians agree that knowledge and correct reasoning are necessary for the validity of faith.⁷ These theologians include al-Ash'arī, al-Bāqillānī, Imām al-Ḥaramayn and Ibn al-Qaṭṭār.⁸ 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.⁹ This is the opinion of Ibn al-Jamra, al-Qushayrī, Ibn Rushd and al-Ghazālī.¹⁰

According to al-Sanūsī, 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 (*Ulūhiyyah*) 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'ānic verses:

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

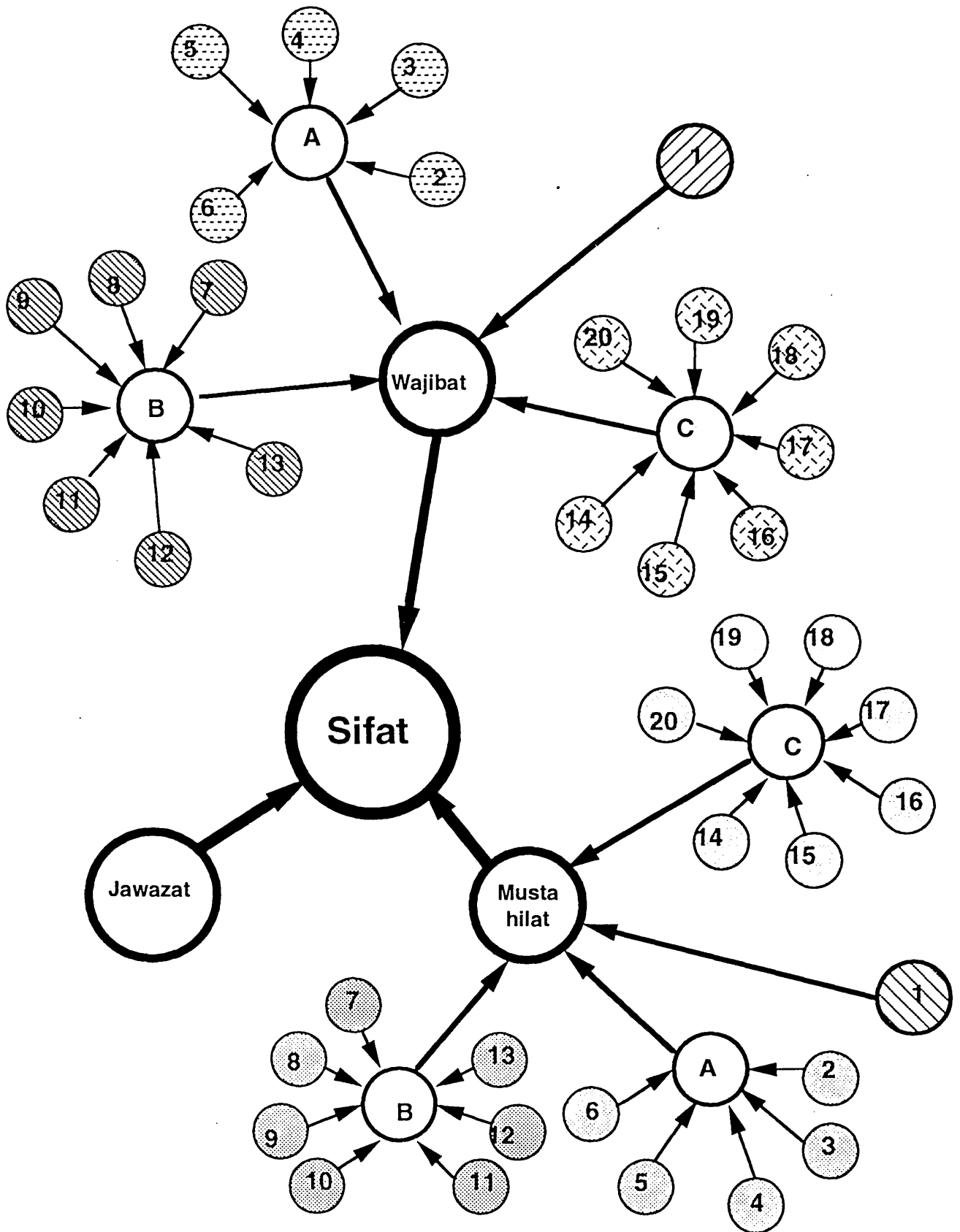
part of the universe that are nearer to us such as air, earth, plants and oceans. All these things have particular directions and particular loci and some of them are found to be those of motion or quiescence, of light and of darkness, and these are proofs of their being accidents and the proof of their being needful of a Creator Who is attributed with attributes. The Qur'ān 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" (*‘Ālam*) 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;¹⁴

The Classification of the Twenty Attributes of Allah



Necessity (al-Wujūb)

Personal Attribute

1- *Wujūd* (existence)

2- *Qidam* (state of non-origination.

3- *Baqā'* (permanence)

4- *Mukhālafah li al-ḥawādith*

(different from the created)

5- *Qiyām bi al-Nafs* (self-subsistence)

6- *Wahdāniyyah* (oneness)

A

Negative Attributes

7- *Qudrah* (power)

8- *Irādah* (will)

9- *ʿIlm* (knowledge)

B

Conceptual Attributes

10- *Ḥayāh* (life)

11- *Sam'* (hearing)

12- *Basar* (sight)

13- *Kalām* (speech)

14- *An yakūn Qādiran* (powerful)¹⁵

15- *An yakūn Murīdan* (willing)

16- *An yakūn ʿĀliman* (knowing)

C

Qualitative Attributes

17- *An yakūn Ḥayyan* (living)

18- *An yakūn Samī'an* (hearing)

19-*An yakūn Baṣīran* (seeing)

20-*An yakūn Mutakalliman* (speaking)

Inadmissibility (*al-istihālah*)¹⁶

Personal Attribute

1- *'Adam* (non-existence)

2- *Hudūth* (createdness)

3- *Ṭurq al-'adam* (becoming non-existent)

A

Negative Attributes

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

5- *An lā yakūn qā' iman bi nafsihī*
(dependence)

6- *An lā yakūn wāḥidan*
(multiplicity)

7- *'Ajz* (weakness)

8- *'Adam al-irādah* (lack of willing)

B

9- *Jahl* (ignorance)

Conceptual Attributes

10- *Mawt* (death)

11- *Ṣamm* (deafness)

12- *'Amā* (blindness)

13- *Bakam* (muteness)

- 14- *An lā yakūn qādiran* (not powerful)¹⁷
 15- *An lā yakūn murīdan* (not willing)
 C 16- *An lā yakūn ‘āliman* (not knowing)
Qualitative Attributes 17- *An lā yakūn ḥayyan* (not living)
 18- *An lā yakūn samī’an* (not hearing)
 19- *An lā yakūn baṣīran* (not seeing)
 20- *An lā yakūn mutakalliman* (not speaking)

And according to al-Sanūsī the last 7 attributes are the opposites of the 7 *ṣifāt ma‘nawīyyah* .

Admissibility (*al-jawāz*)¹⁸

- 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 Maṣṣūr al-Māturīdī divided the 20 attributes of God into 4 sections.¹⁹ Muḥammad Zayn al-Dīn ibn Muḥammad Badawī al-Sambāwī in *Bidāyah al-Hidāyah* also confirms this division as follows:-²⁰

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, *'Aqīdat al-Nājīn* 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 *Sharḥ Uṣūl al-Taḥqīq* gives another definition as "*al-ḥāl al-wājibāh 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'arī, 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'arī 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-Barāhīn* 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*²⁸

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-Sanūsī 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. *Baqā'* 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 (*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 (*salb al-ākhiriyya li-l-wujūd*). That is, non-existence cannot reach it. It applies to God and to Him alone.

Al-Sanūsī says that some Imams define *Baqā'* as the continuation of existence in the future without end and *Qidam* as the continuation of existence in the past without end. 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 *Azal* has no beginning but has an end. Al-Sanūsī regarded this as a *Salbiyyah* (negative) attribute because it is a denial of an end to existence. *Baqā'* cannot be a Qualitative Attribute (*Ma'nawiyyah*) 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. *Mukhālafah li al-hawādith*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 *'araḍ* (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 (*maḥall*) 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 (*mukhaṣṣiṣ*) which is defined as an agent (*fā'il*) 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'iman binafsihi*) is refuted.

5. *Waḥdāniyyah*³³

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 (*Ma'ānī*) Attributes³⁴

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 ma'nawīyyah*) 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* ³⁵

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* ³⁶

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" (*ṣifa yata'attā bi-hā takhṣīṣ al-mumkin bi-ba'ḍ mā yajūz 'alayhi*). It is synonymous to *al-Mashī'ah*. The Intention is necessary to particularize the effect of God's power. There are six kinds of possible alternatives (*al-mumkināt al-mutaqābilat*), that is, Mutually Exclusive Possibilities (*al-mutanāfiyāt*). They are:

Types of Opposition

Existential

Mensural

Qualitative

Mutually Exclusive Possibilities

Existence vs. Non-Existence

Tall vs. Short etc.

Blackness vs. Whiteness etc.

Temporal	Today	vs. Yesterday etc.
Spatial	Here	vs. There etc.
Directional	East	vs. West etc.

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-Ḥādithah*). 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

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 (*al-masmū'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 (*al-mubşarāt*). 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

hearable.

7. *Kalām* ⁴¹

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 (*mu'rab*) or indeclinable (*mabnī*), 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 (*Ṣamm*), blindness (*'Amā*) and muteness (*Bakam*).

IV- Qualitative (*Ma'nawiyyah*) 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'nawiyyah*, 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

1. *An yakūn Qādiran* His being the Powerful. For He cannot be the Powerful without His possessing the Power.
2. *An yakūn Murīdan* His being the Willing. For He cannot be the Willing without His possessing the Will.
3. *An yakūn 'Āliman* His being the Knowing. For He cannot be the Knowing without His possessing the Knowledge.
4. *An yakūn Ḥayyan* His being the Living. For He cannot be the Living without His possessing the Life.
5. *An yakūn Samī'an* His being the Hearing. For He cannot be the Hearing without

- 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.⁴³

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 (*lāzim*) 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

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.
5. MS 12225 SOAS, *Umm al-Barāhīn*, *op. cit.*, f.3; MS 12193 SOAS, *Umm al-Barāhīn*, *op. cit.*, f.18; BH., *op. cit.*, p.6; SH., *op. cit.*, p.7; AN., *op. cit.*, p.11; HB., *op. cit.*, p.13; HS., *op. cit.*, pp.36-7.
6. MS 12193 SOAS, *Umm al-Barāhīn*, *op. cit.*, ff.18-20; TOI., *op. cit.*, pp. 11-2; AN., *op. cit.*, pp. 11-2.
7. SUT., *op. cit.*, pp. 3-5; AN., *op. cit.*, pp. 5-7; BH., *op. cit.*, pp.3-4.
8. MS 12193 SOAS, *Umm al-Barāhīn*, *op. cit.*, ff.17-8; TOI., *op. cit.*, pp. 12-3.
9. MS 12193 SOAS, *Umm al-Barāhīn*, *op. cit.*, f.20; SUT., *op. cit.*, pp.5-9; AN., *op. cit.*, pp.13-7.
10. BH., *op. cit.*, pp.8-12; TOI., *op. cit.*, pp.12-5; AN., *op. cit.*, p.10.
11. SUT., *op. cit.*, p.11; MS 12193 SOAS, *Umm al-Barāhīn*, *op. cit.*, f.18.

12. MS 12193 SOAS, *Umm al-Barāhīn*, *op. cit.*, ff.20-21.
13. *Ibid.*, ff.21-2.
14. MS 12225 SOAS, *Umm al-Barāhīn*, *op. cit.*, ff.4-8; MS 12193 SOAS, *Umm al-Barāhīn*, *op. cit.*, ff.25-47; BH., *op. cit.*, pp.7-11; SH., *op. cit.*, pp.8-9; AN., *op. cit.*, pp.15-36; HS., *op. cit.*, pp.45-76; HB., *op. cit.*, pp.14-23; HD., *op. cit.*, pp.72-116.
15. 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; AN., *op. cit.*, p.36; HS., *op. cit.*, p.76; HB., *op. cit.*, p.23; HD., *op. cit.*, pp.118-9.
16. MS 12225 SOAS, *Umm al-Barāhīn*, *op. cit.*, ff.8-14; MS 12193 SOAS, *Umm al-Barāhīn*, *op. cit.*, ff.48-60; BH., *op. cit.*, pp.12-6; SH. *op. cit.*, pp.19-26; AN. *op. cit.*, pp.36-52; HS., *op. cit.*, pp.77-109; HB. *op. cit.*, pp.23-34; HD., *op. cit.*, pp.120-45.
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.
18. MS 12225 SOAS, *Umm al-Barāhīn*, *op. cit.*, f.15; MS 12193 SOAS, *Umm al-Barāhīn*, *op. cit.*, ff.60-61; BH., *op. cit.*, p.16; SH., *op. cit.*, p.26; HS., *op. cit.*, pp.109-10; HB., *op. cit.*, p.35; HD., *op. cit.*, pp.171-2.
19. MS 12193 SOAS, *Umm al-Barāhīn*, *op. cit.*, f.32; MJT., *op. cit.*, pp. 13-4.
20. BH., *op. cit.*, p.8. Most of the Malay *kitab*s 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 (*Ṣifat al-af'āl*) 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. Yūsuf al-Sanūsī* especially in the *al-Aqīdah al-Wuṣṭā*, 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.
22. MS 12225 SOAS, *Umm al-Barāhīn*, *op. cit.*, ff.15-16; HB., *op. cit.*, pp.29-30; BH., *op. cit.*, pp.16-7; KSA., *op. cit.*, p.4.
23. MS 12193 SOAS, *Umm al-Barāhīn*, *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.
25. MS 12193 SOAS, *Umm al-Barāhīn*, *op. cit.*, ff.26-27; Kenny, *op. cit.*, pp. 122-3.
26. MS 12193 SOAS, *Umm al-Barāhīn*, *op. cit.*, f.32; TOI., *op. cit.*, p.43; AN., *op. cit.*, p.23.
27. MS 12225 SOAS, *Umm al-Barāhīn*, *op. cit.*, f.5; MS 12193 SOAS, *Umm al-Barāhīn*, *op. cit.*, f. 32; BH., *op. cit.*, p. 8.
28. MS 12225 SOAS, *Umm al-Barāhīn*, *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-Barāhīn*, *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 BPIPIM, *op. cit.*, ff. 19-21; MS 12193 SOAS, *Umm al-Barāhīn*, ff. 37-38.
31. MS 12225 SOAS, *Umm al-Barāhīn*, *op. cit.*, ff.19-20; BH., *op. cit.*,

- p.19; HB., *op. cit.*, p.33; KSA., *op. cit.*, p.5.
32. MS 12225 SOAS, *Umm al-Barāhīn*, *op. cit.*, ff.20-21; BH., *op. cit.*, pp.19-20; HB., *op. cit.*, p.33.
33. MS 12225 SOAS, *Umm al-Barāhīn*, *op. cit.*, f.22; BH., *op. cit.*, pp.20-1; HB., *op. cit.*, pp.33-4.
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-Barāhīn*, *op. cit.*, ff.22-23; BH., *op. cit.*, p.21; HB., *op. cit.*, p.34.
36. MS 12225 SOAS, *Umm al-Barāhīn*, *op. cit.*, ff.23-4; SH., *op. cit.*, pp. 20-1; BH., *op. cit.*, p. 25.
37. MS 12225 SOAS, *Umm al-Barāhīn*, *op. cit.*, f.23; SH., *op. cit.*, p.22.
38. MS 12225 SOAS, *Umm al-Barāhīn*, *op. cit.*, f.24; BH., *op. cit.*, pp.21-2.
39. MS 12225 SOAS, *Umm al-Barāhīn*, *op. cit.*, ff.23-24; BH., *op. cit.*, pp.21-2; SH., *op. cit.*, p.31; HB., *op. cit.*, p.34.
40. MS 12225 SOAS, *Umm al-Barāhīn*, *op. cit.*, ff.25-26; HB., *op. cit.*, p.35; SUT., *op. cit.*, p.14.
41. MS 12225 SOAS, *Umm al-Barāhīn*, *op. cit.*, ff.27-29; AN., *op. cit.*, pp.30-2; BH., *op. cit.*, p.28.
42. MS 12225 SOAS, *Umm al-Barāhīn*, *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.

45. MS 12225 SOAS, *Umm al-Barāhīn*, *op. cit.*, f.40; MS 12193 SOAS, *Umm al-Barāhīn*, *op. cit.*, f.38; UT., *op. cit.*, p.50; BH., *op. cit.*, p.63; SH., *op. cit.*, p.67; AN., *op. cit.*, p.66; KSA., *op. cit.*, p. 51.

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-Ṣāliḥ (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 *Khalīfah Allāh fī al-Ard* (the Vicegerent of Allah on this earth) while the Raja or Sultan himself acquired a new definition and perspective with the title *Khalīfah al-Mu'minīn*.¹ 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 Aceh (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".²

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 Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī in *Bustān al-Salātīn* (1047 A.H./1638 A.D.) and those of Raja 'Alī al-Ḥajī in *Tuḥfat al-Nafīs* (1865 A.D.).³ 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 *Qāḍī Mālik al-‘Ādil* for the judge of the Raja or Sultan⁴ 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.⁵

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'an 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.), Aceh (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 Mansur Shāh (1455-1477A.D.) for those who were interested in Ṣufism 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 (1607-1636A.D.) and the reign of Sultan Iskandar Thānī 'Alā' al-Dīn Mughāyat Shāh (1636-1641 A.D.) during the golden period of Aceh.

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 .⁶ 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.⁷ The most important mosque as an Islamic centre was the Masjid Jāmi' Bait al-Raḥmān in Aceh.

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 Aceh, *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 '*ulamā*' 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 *kitab*s of these foreign scholars, though others are individual works of local scholars. The translated works include;

1. *Bulūgh al-Marām* by Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, commented on and translated into Malay (partially) by Muḥammad b. Ismā'il al-Kaḥlānī in his *Subul al-Salām*.

2. *Ḥikam* by Ibn 'Atā' 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*.

3. *al-Nabāhāt 'alā al-isti'dād li-yaum al-Ma'ād* by Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, commented on and translated into Malay by Nawāwī Banten in his *Naṣā'ih al-'Ibād*.

4. *Furu' al-Masā'il* by Dā'ud b. 'Abd Allāh al-Faṭānī is a combination of translation and adaptation into a Malay edition of al-Ramlī's *Fatāwā* and al-Maḥallī's *Kashf al-Lithām*.

5. *'Ihyā 'Ulum al-Dīn* by al-Ghazālī translated into Malay by 'Abd al-Ṣamad al-Falembānī in his *Sayr al-Sālikīn*.

6. *Bidāyat al-Hidāyah* by al-Ghazālī translated into Malay by 'Abd al-Ṣamad al-Falembānī in his *Hidāyat al-Sālikīn*.

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

'Amīn al-Dīn 'Abd al-Ra'uf b. 'Alī al-Jawī al-Singkelī in his *Tarjumān al-Mustafīd*.

8. *Minhāj al-Ṭullāb* by Zakariyyā al-Anṣārī translated into Malay by 'Abd al-Ra'ūf al-Singkelī in his *Mir'āt al-Ṭullāb*.

9. *Umm al-Barāhīn* by al-Sanūsī commented and translated into Malay with three different titles;

a) *Bidāyat al-Hidāyah* by Muḥamad Zain b. al-Faqīh Jālal al-Dīn.

b) *Sirāj al-Hudā* by Muḥammad Zain al-Dīn b. Muḥammad Badawī al-Sambāwī.

c) *'Aqīdat al-Nājīn* by Zain al-'Ābidīn b. Muḥammad al-Faṭānī.

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 khuṣūṣiyyah*) 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 *kitab*s 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, *Ṣufīsm*, 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 *kitab*s 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) ⁸ 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-Hawādith* (resemblance to the creation), the use of scientific terms in the discussion, such as the term *jirm* (bodily mass), *'arad* (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.⁹ 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.¹⁰

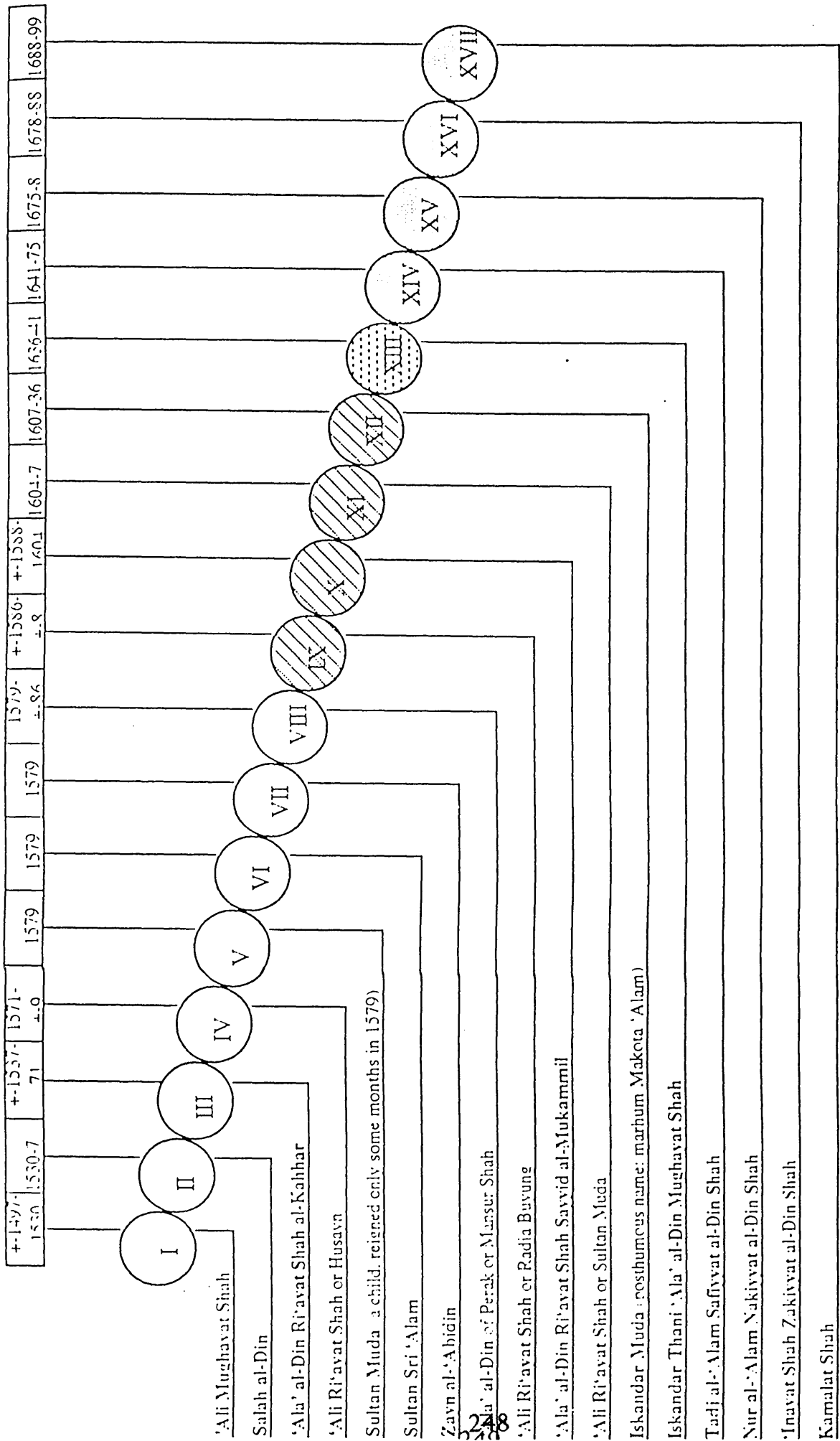
However, there is a growing aspiration among the younger generation of Malay intellectuals to adapt and apply this issue of the *Sifat Dua Puluh* (The Twenty attributes) to the needs of the time. And it is in this spirit that I have set out to make my humble contribution towards a scientific analysis 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 Muẓaffar 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 *Khalīfah al-Mu'minīn* . For further details see, Fang, L.Y., *op. cit.*, p.64; Hamid, Dr. Ismail, *Peradaban Melayu dan Islam*, (Kuala Lumpur, 1985), pp.54-5.
2. *EI.*, vol. VI, New Edition, 1991, "Malacca", p.211.
3. Winstedt, R.O., *A History of Classical.*, *op. cit.*, p.162 and p.165.
4. *EI.*, vol.I, New Edition, 1960, "Atjeh", p.741.
5. Abdullah, Taufik, 'Some Notes on the Kaba Tjindua Mato: An Example of Minangkabau Traditional Literature', *Indonesia* , Part 9, 1970, p.19; Majul, C.A., *Muslims in the Philippines* , (Quezon City, 1973), p.320.
6. Kern, R.A., 'The Origin of the Malay Surau ', *JMBRAS* , vol. XXIX, Part 1, 1956, p.179.
7. Graves, Elizabeth E., *The Minangkabau Response to Dutch Colonial Rule in the Nineteenth Century*, (New York, 1981), p.22.
8. *MA.*, *op. cit.*, p.520.
9. See, Ngah, Mohd. Noh b., *Kitab Jawi: Islamic Thought of the Malay Muslim Scholars* , (Singapore, 1983); Matheson, Virginia and Hooker, M.B., 'Jawi Literature in Patani: The Maintenance of an Islamic Tradition', *JMBRAS* , vol.LXI, Part 1, pp.1-86; Bruinessen, Martin Van, 'Kitab Kuning: Books in Arabic Script Used in the Pesantren Milieu'. *BKI* , Deel 146, 1990, pp. 226-69; R.Roolvink, *Bahasa Jawi* , (Leiden, 1975).

10. For further details see, Salih, Abdullah al-Qari Haji, *Petua-Petua Baru Ejaan Jawi*, (Kelantan, 1988); Rencana Pengarang, 'Tulisan Jawi Dengan Sistem Fonatik', in *Dian* (Edisi Jawi), Bil.30, Tahun IX, 1970, pp. 1-4; Dain, Raja Mukhtaruddin, 'Sistem Baharu Tulisan Jawi: Satu Usul', in *Dewan Bahasa*, Jil.XVI, Bil.7, Julai, 1972, pp. 309-12; Abu Bakar, Shafie, 'Sistem Baru Tulisan Jawi Oleh Raja Mukhtaruddin: Satu Pandangan', in *Dewan Bahasa*, Jil. XVI, Bil.11, November, 1972, pp. 491-5.

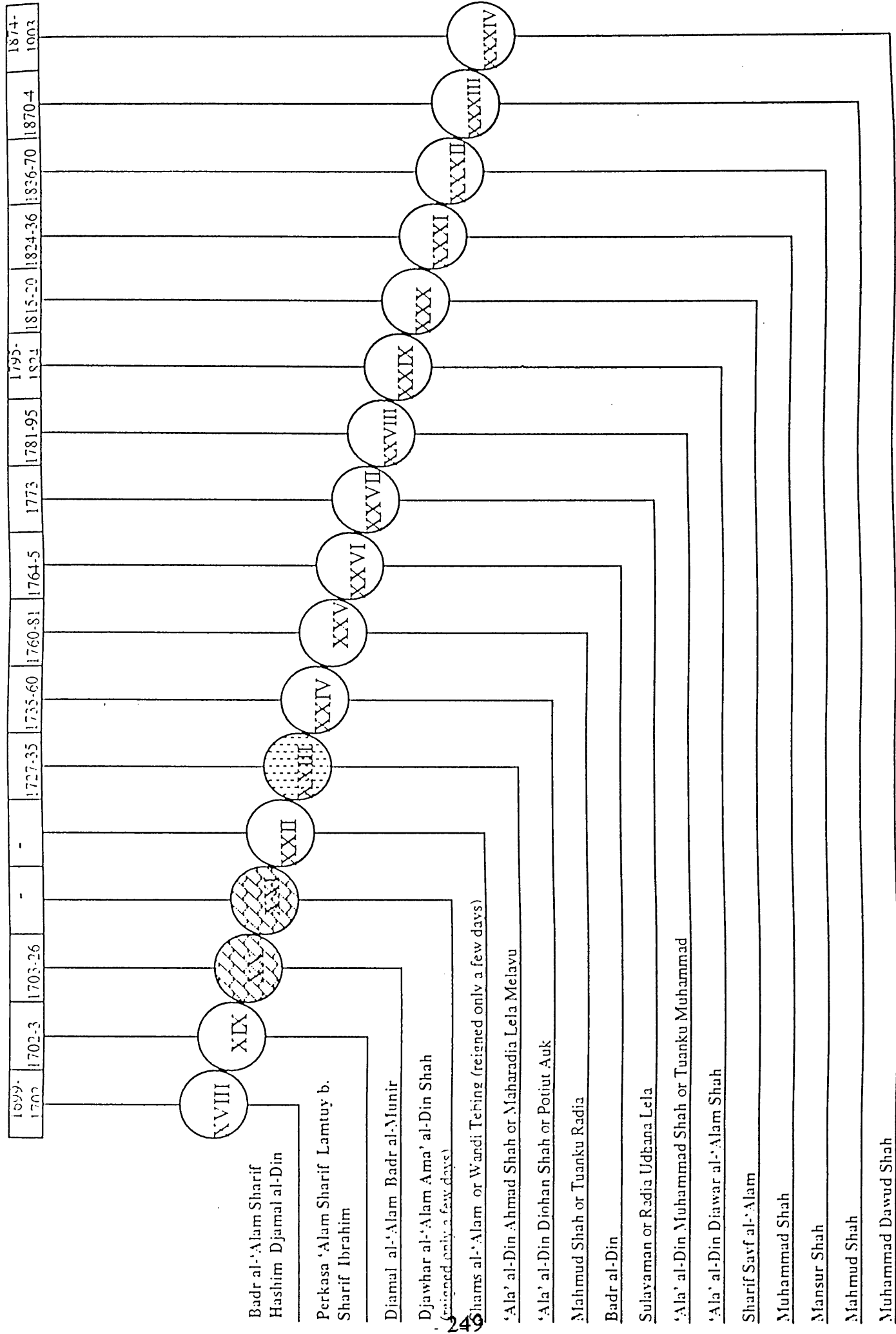
THE ATJEH DYNASTY



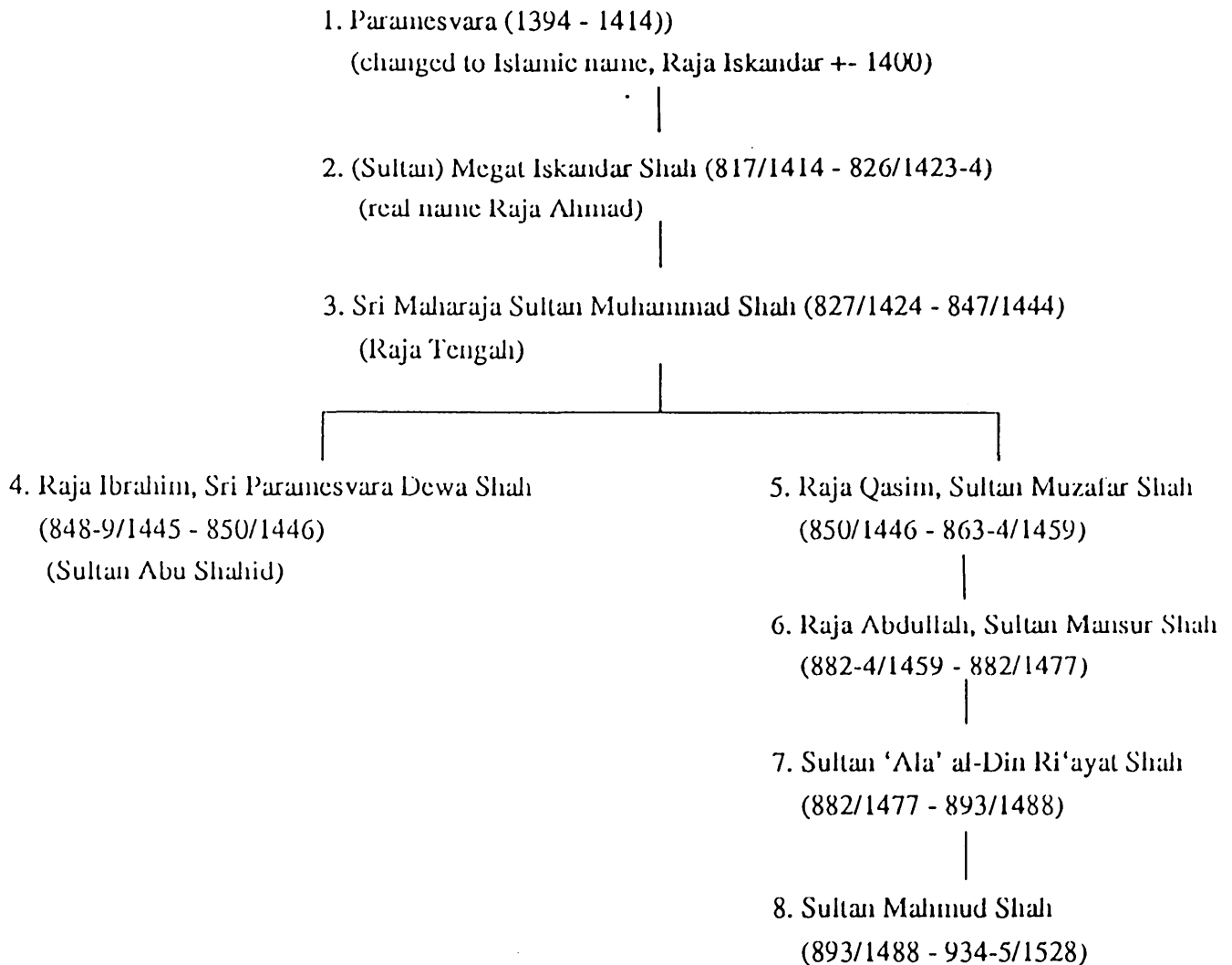
Key:

- Influenced by Hamzah Fansuri and Shams al-Din al-Sumatrani (*Wahdat al-Wujud of ibn al-'Arabi* THE SOUL AGE)
- Influenced by Nur al-Din al-Raniri and 'Abd al-Ra'uf al-Singkeli
- Female Rulers

THE ATJEH DYNASTY



The Malacca Dynasty



Sources: EI. vol. VI, New Edition, 1991, "Malacca", pp. 207-214; Adil, Haji Buyong, Sejarah Melaka Dalam Zaman Kerajaan Melayu, (kuala Lumpur, 1973) pp. 1-12.

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