DIRECTIONS FOR TRAVELLERS ON THE MYSTIC PATH

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G. W. J. DREWES

DIRECTIONS FOR TRAVELLERS ON THE MYSTIC PATH

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

with an Appendix on Palembang manuscripts and authors



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PREFACE

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

INTRODUCTION

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

CHAPTER I

THE AUTHOR OF THE RISĀLA FĪ 'L-TAWḤĪD,

Shaikh Walī Raslān of Damascus

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

One of these Syrian emirates was the territory of the Shiᶜite ᶜUqailī emīrs round the citadel Qalᶜat Jaᶜbar, Raslān's birthplace. In 479/1086 the Seljuk sultan Malik Shāh (1072-1092), who had acquired it shortly

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

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

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

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

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

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

2. *Raslān's life in Damascus*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

3. *His miracles*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

4. *A modern view of the saint*

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

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

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

saint as a champion of Islam. In this respect a third sobriquet, viz., *al-wārith al-Muḥammadī fī ᶜaṣrihi,* would seem to be more to the purpose. This honorific, meaning 'Muḥammad's heir of his century', has been claimed by, and sometimes conferred upon, others, for by common consent no century would be left without such an eminent figure. This belief has found its expression in a tradition allegedly going back to the caliph ᶜUmar, saying, "In my community there will always be a number of people who know the Truth and will come to no harm at the hands of their adversaries till the affair of Allah has come" (*Lā tazālu ṭā'ifa min ummatī ẓāhirīna ᶜalā 'l-Ḥaqq, lā yaḍurruhum man khālafahum ḥattā ya'tī amr Allāh*).[48] Here at least the aspect of unassailability, and therefore the protective function of this 'heir of the Prophet', is brought out.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

5. *His personality after his teachings*

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

Yā man ᶜalā fa-ra'ā mā fī 'l-ghuyūbi wa-mā
taḥta 'l-tharā wa-ẓalāmi 'l-laili munsadila
anta 'l-ghiyāthu li-man ḍāqat madhāhibuhu
anta 'l-dalīlu li-man ḥārat bi-hi 'l-ḥiyalu
innā qaṣadnāka wa 'l-āmālu wāthiqatu
wa 'l-kullu yadᶜūka malhūfun wa-mubtahilu
fa-in ᶜafawta fa-dhū faḍlin wa-dhū karami
wa-in saṭawta fa-anta 'l-ḥākimu 'l-ᶜadlu.[56]

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

Furthermore, Raslān has a number of *shadharāt,* 'stray utterances', to his name, some of them of a mystical, others of an ethical character. To quote a few by way of illustration [57]:

Law iḥtajaba ᶜannī ṭarfata ᶜain, la-taqaṭṭaᶜtu min alam al-bain.
'Should He conceal Himself from me for a single moment, my heart would be rent by the anguish of separation.'

Idhā qadirta ᶜalā ᶜaduwwika fa-'jᶜal al-ᶜafw shukran li-qudratika ᶜalaihi.
'When you have got the upper hand of your enemy, forgive him in gratitude for your having triumphed over him.'

Al-karīm man iḥtamala al-adhā fa-lam yashku ᶜinda al-balwā.
'Patience in distress and refraining from complaints in misfortune characterize the honourable man.'

Sabab al-ghaḍab hujūm mā takrahuhu al-nafs mimmā huwa dūnahā, wa-sabab al-ḥuzn hujūm mā takrahuhu al-nafs mimmā huwa fawqahā. Fa 'l-ghaḍab yataḥarraku min bāṭin al-insān ilā ẓāhirihi, wa 'l-ḥuzn yataḥarraku min ẓāhir al-insān ilā bāṭinihi. Fa 'l-ḥādith ᶜani 'l-ghaḍab al-saṭwa wa 'l-intiqām, wa 'l-ḥādith ᶜani 'l-ḥuzn al-maraḍ wa 'l-asqām.
'Anger is caused by a fit of displeasure at something beneath oneself; grief is caused by a fit of displeasure at something above oneself. Anger proceeds from the inner self to the outward; grief proceeds from the outward self to the inward. From anger spring agression and lust of revenge; from grief spring malady and ill-health.'

Al-ḥidda miftāḥ kull sharr wa 'l-ghaḍab yuqīmuka fī maqām dhull al-iᶜtidhār.

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

Makārim al-akhlāq al-ᶜafw ᶜinda 'l-qudra wa 'l-tawāḍuᶜ fī 'l-dhilla wa 'l-ᶜaṭā' bi-ghair minna.

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

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

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

So there is a close relationship between *tawḥīd* and *tawakkul,* 'absolute trust in God'. The latter is, in the words of Reinert, "a sort of active monotheism, monotheism ranking as the chief commandment of practical *tawakkul* and actually involving all of its characteristic features". [58]

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

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

1. The words 'There is no God but God' can be pronounced without having anything to do with the speaker's heart or intellect, and may even be uttered hypocritically.
2. One puts the same faith in these words whether, as an ordinary believer, one merely accepts their purport and holds oneself committed to it, or whether one is able to substantiate them through reasoning, as people well-grounded in dogmatics can do.
4. By the light of truth cast into the heart one understands these words in such a way that at any moment one sees God as the fountainhead of all things created. This vision is peculiar to the *muqarrabūn,* 'those brought near (to God)'.
4. One beholds the unity of all being (*lā yarā fī 'l-wujūd illā wāḥid*). In this sense *tawḥīd* is understood by the *ṣiddīqūn,* 'the upright', who in Qor'ān 4: 69 are ranged between the Prophets and the martyrs. In this case, al-Ghazālī goes on to say, the mystics speak of *al-fanā' fī 'l-tawḥīd,* that is to say, the passing away of the individual self into the Universal Being through complete abnegation of self, since 'uniqueness' and 'self-assertation' are mutually exclusive.

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

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

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

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

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

of my community is more obscure than the scrabble of an ant on a black rock in a pitch-dark night",[66] but this is clearly an attempt at divesting the idea of its novelty.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

CHAPTER II

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

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

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

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

Zakariyyā' al-Anṣārī's fame as an outstanding Shāfiᶜī jurisprudent is buttressed by a further book on *fiqh,* the revised text (*taḥrīr*) of Abū Zurᶜa al-ᶜIrāqī's (d. 826/1423) abridgement (*tanqīd*) of the *Lubāb fī 'l-fiqh* ('The Quintessence of Jurisprudence') by al-Maḥāmilī (d. 415/1024), one of the less prominent jurisprudents of Baghdād.[1] This adaptation, called *Taḥrīr al-tanqīd* ('Revised abridgement'), was the

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

He goes on to say:

"I always took my meals together with him; he never ate bread other than that provided by the convent *Dār saᶜīd al-suᶜadā'*, for he said, "The founder of this *waqf* was a pious ruler,[16] who gave effect to an admonition of the Prophet"." [17]

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

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

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

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

In connection with this al-Shaᶜrānī relates some further particulars about his master's life as communicated to him by Zakariyyā' himself; it is Zakariyyā' who is speaking in this passage.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

CHAPTER III

KITĀB FATḤ AL-RAḤMĀN *

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

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

Qāla sayyidunā wa-mawlānā shaikh mashā'ikh al-Islām wa-'l-muslimīn zain al-milla wa-'l-dīn Abū Yaḥya Zakariyyā' al-Anṣārī al-Shāfiᶜī raḥimahu Allāh wa-aᶜāda ᶜalainā min madadihi fī 'l-dunyā wa-'l-ākhira bi-Muḥammad wa-ālihi, innahu ᶜalā mā yashā'u qadīr wa-bi-'l-ijāba jadīr:

Bismi-'llāh al-raḥmān al-raḥīm. Al-ḥamdu li-man tafarrada bi-'l-waḥdāniyya wa-taᶜazzaza bi-'l-nuᶜūt al-rabbāniyya, wa-'l-ṣalāt wa-'l salām ᶜalā al-nabī wa-ṣaḥbihi wa-ᶜalā ālihi wa-ḥizbihi.

Wa-baᶜdu. Fa-inna ᶜilm al-tawḥīd min ashraf al-ᶜulūm bal ashrafuhā, wa-mimmā ullifa fīhi al-Risāla al-Raslāniyya lil-imām al-ᶜārif bi-'llāh taᶜālā Raslān al-Dimashqī, ṭayyaba Allāh tharāhu wa-jaᶜala al-janna ma'wāhu. Wa-lammā kānat min abdaᶜ kitāb fī ᶜilm al-tawḥīd ṣunnifa wa-ajmaᶜ mawḍūᶜ ᶜalā miqdār ṣughr ḥajmihā ullifa, istakhartu Allāh taᶜālā (an u'allifa) sharḥan yaḥullu alfāẓahā wa-yubayyinu murādahā, wa-sammaituhu bi-Fatḥ al-Raḥmān bi-sharḥ Risālat al-Walī Raslān.

Wa-ᶜlam anna ᶜilm al-tawḥīd maṭlūb. Qāla Allāh taᶜālā: Fa-ᶜlam annahu lā ilāha illā 'llāh,[1] wa-huwa mustalzim li-intifā' al-shirk. Wa-'l-shirk nawᶜān: ẓāhir jalī, wa-qad dhakarahu maᶜa aqsāmihi al-Ghazālī wa-ghairuhu, wa-bāṭin khafī, wa-huwa mā istawlat ᶜalaihi al-nufūs min al-akwān, fa-ḥujibat bi-hā ᶜan talaqqī al-madad min ᶜālam al-ghaib; fa-ṣāra dhālika shirk khafī li-buᶜdihi ᶜan ḥaḍrat al-quds bi-shawāhid al-ḥiss. Wa-qad dhakarahu al-mu'allif bi-qawlihi: *kullaka,* ayyuhā al-ᶜabd, dhātan wa-ṣifātan wa-fiᶜlan, *shirk* [*khafī*], mansha' al-wahm wa-'l-khayāl, fa-inna-humā yuthbitāni al-ghair ka-'l-marātib wa-'l-maqāmat al-zā'ila. Fa-idhā afnaita ᶜan-ka al-ghair, bāna bi-'l-ᶜilm al-ilāhī tawḥī-

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* The text commented upon is printed in italics.

duka al-nāfī lil-shirk bi-nawᶜaihi, al-mustalzim li-nafy al-wahm wa-'l-khayāl. *Wa-mā yabīnu la-ka,* ay yaẓharu la-ka, *tawḥīduka illā idhā kharajta,* ay fanaita anta, *ᶜan-ka,* wa-ᶜan sā'ir al-aghyār bi-an tarāhā kullahā min Allāh taᶜālā — wa-'llāhu khalaqakum wa-mā taᶜmalūna[2] —, wa-nisbat aᶜmālika ilaika nisba kasbiyya, wa-ilā Allāh taᶜālā khalqiyya, fa-'llāhu taᶜālā khāliq wa-anta kāsib li-tuthāba aw tuᶜāqaba.

Fa-kulla-mā akhlaṣta, bi-'l-khurūj ᶜan dhālika, *yukshafu la-ka annahu* taᶜālā *Huwa,* al-fāᶜil al-mawjūd, *lā anta.* Fa-idhā lam tashhad ghairahu taᶜālā, kunta muwaḥḥidan la-hu ḥaqīqatan. Wa-hādhā al-shuhūd qad yadūmu, wa-huwa nādir, wa-qad yakūnu ka-'l-barq al-khāṭif. Wa-idhā inkashafa la-ka dhālika, *fa-tastaghfir min-ka,* ay min shuhūdika, fa-bi-khulūṣika min dhālika yankashifu la-ka ᶜilm al-tawḥīd dhātī wa-ṣifātī wa-fiᶜlī; *wa-kulla-mā wajadta nawᶜan min-hu, bāna la-ka al-shirk,* fī ḍiddihi mimmā tansubuhu ilā al-khalq, *fa-tujaddid fī kull sāᶜa wa-waqt,* bal fī kull nafas, *tawḥīdan* bi-anna-hu al-fāᶜil al-mawjūd, *wa-īmānan,* ay taṣdīqan bi-dhālika, ilā an yakmala yaqīnuka. Fa-kulla-mā irtaqaita min maqām farq ilā maqām jamᶜ, zāda tawḥīduka wa-īmānuka, kamā qāla: *wa-kulla-mā kharajta* anta *min-hu,* ay min naẓarika, ilā tawḥīdika, wa-fī nuskha: min-hum, ay min al-khalq, *zāda īmānuka,* ay taṣdīquka, ay fī maqām al-kashf wa-'l-muᶜāyana, idh al-khurūj min aḥad al-ḍiddain dukhūl fī 'l-ākhar.

Wa-kulla-mā kharajta, anta min-ka, *zāda yaqīnuka,* wa-fī nuskha: qawiya, bi-'l-waḥdāniyya, idh al-amr fī-ka atamm min-hu fī ghairika. Wa-hādhihi martabat al-ṣiddīqīn, wa-'l-ūlā martabat khawāṣṣ al-mu'minīn. Wa-'l-yaqīn ᶜilm baᶜda shakk, wa-li-hādhā lā yūṣafu bi-hi al-ᶜilm al-qadīm wa-lā al-ᶜulūm al-ḍarūriyya, lākinna al-murād bi-hi hāhunā mā dhakarahu baᶜdu, wa-qad yurādu bi-hi al-ᶜilm muṭlaqan, wa-huwa lā yaḥtamilu mutaᶜalliqahu al-naqīḍ. Wa-ᶜlam anna khurūjaka min-ka jamᶜ, wa-ziyādat yaqīnika ghāyat al-jamᶜ bi-hā yastawlī al-Ḥaqq ᶜalaika, wa-huwa al-murād bi-khabar: "Kuntu samᶜahu alladhī yasmaᶜu bi-hi",[3] wa-man lam yanalhā lam yakmal yaqīnuhu wa-kāna maghrūran, wāqifan maᶜa ᶜibādatihi wa-naẓarihi ilā al-maqāmāt wa-'l-mukāshafāt, asīr la-hā li-ḥubbihi la-hā, kamā ashāra ilā dhālika bi-qawlihi:

Yā asīr al-shahawāt wa-'l-ᶜibādāt, yā asīr al-maqāmāt wa-'l-mukāshafāt! anta maghrūr, bi-mā awqaᶜaka fī-hi al-wahm wa-'l-khayāl; *anta mushtaghil,* wa-fī nuskha: wa-anta, *bi-ka,* ᶜan-hu taᶜālā. *Aina al-ishtighāl bi-hi* taᶜālā ᶜ*an-ka,* maᶜa kawnika asīran li-ghairihi? Wa-kull man aḥabba shai'an fa-huwa asīr la-hu; fa-rubba wāqifin maᶜa al-shahwa, wa-hādhā ḥāl ahl al-ghafalāt; wa-rubba wāqifin maᶜa al-ᶜibāda, wa-hādhā ḥāl baᶜḍ ahl al-muᶜāmalāt; wa-rubba wāqifin maᶜa al-

maqām, wa-hādhā ḥāl baᶜḍ ahl al-irādāt; wa-rubba wāqifin maᶜa al-kashf, wa-hādhā ḥāl baᶜḍ ahl al-taraqqiyāt; wa-rubba wāqifin maᶜa Allāh mustaghriq bi-hi ᶜan ghairihi, wa-hādhā ḥāl ahl al-ᶜināyāt, *wa-Huwa,* ᶜazza wa-jalla, *ḥāḍir* maᶜa-nā bi-ᶜilmihi, *nāẓir* ilai-nā bi-ḥukmihi, *wa-Huwa maᶜakum,*[4] bi-ᶜilmihi wa-qudratihi wa-ᶜināyatihi, *aina-mā kuntum fī 'l-dunyā wa-'l-ākhira.* Idhā ᶜalimta dhālika, ᶜalimta anna-hu maᶜa-ka fī sirrika wa-ᶜalāniyatika, fa-kun anta maᶜahu bi-istighrāqika fī 'l-tawḥīd, li-anna-ka *idhā kunta maᶜa-hu,* ka-dhālika, *ḥajabaka* ᶜan-ka, ay abᶜadaka ᶜan ru'yat nafsika, fa-taslamu min al-shirk al-khafī; wa-hādhihi ḥāla tusammā bi-'l-fanā' fī 'l-tawḥīd wa-bi-ḥālat al-jamᶜ. *Wa-idhā kunta maᶜa-ka,* li-ᶜadam istighrāqika, *istaᶜ-badaka la-hu,* ay jaᶜalaka mutaᶜabbidan la-hu, fa-yaṭlubu min-ka ᶜibādatahu; wa-hādhihi ḥālat al-farq, kamā marra, wa-fī-hā yarjiᶜu al-mar' ilā ᶜibādatihi, wa-hādhihi ẓāhiruhā.

Al-īmān al-kāmil *khurūjuka ᶜan-hu* taᶜālā bi-an lā tushārikahu fī shai' min ṣifātika al-mukhtaṣṣa; *wa-'l-yaqīn khurūjuka ᶜan-ka,* ay ᶜan ḥawlika wa-quwwatika wa-wujūdika li-tashhada kamāl ḥawlihi wa-quwwatihi wa-wujūdihi fī maḥall ᶜajzika wa-ḍaᶜfika. *Idhā zāda īmānuka* bi-'l-khurūj ᶜan il-aghyār, *nuqilta min ḥāl ilā ḥāl,* ay min ḍaᶜf ilā quwwa, ilā an yakmala īmānuka, wa-huwa al-yaqīn; wa-idhā kamila yaqīnuka, ṣārat al-ghuyūb la-ka ᶜainan fa-yaḥṣulu al-īmān al-kāmil.

Wa-idhā zāda, wa-fī nuskha: qawiya, *yaqīnuka* bi-khurūjika ᶜan-ka waᶜan sā'ir al-aghyār, *nuqilta min maqām ilā maqām,* ay min maᶜrifa ilā kashf, wa-min kashf ilā mushāhada, wa-min mushāhada ilā muᶜāyana, wa-min muᶜāyana ilā ittiṣāl, wa-min ittiṣāl ilā fanā', wa-min fanā' ilā baqā', ilā ghair dhālika min al-maqāmāt al-maᶜrūfa li-ahlihā. Wa-ᶜlam anna la-hum sharīᶜa, wa-hiya an taᶜbudahu taᶜālā; wa-ṭarīqa, wa-hiya an taqṣidahu bi-'l-ᶜilm wa-'l-ᶜamal; wa-ḥaqīqa, wa-hiya an tashhadahu bi-nūr istawdaᶜahu fī suwaidā' al-qalb; wa-anna kull bāṭin la-hu ẓāhir wa-ᶜaksuhu. Wa-'l-sharīᶜa ẓāhir al-ḥaqīqa, wa-'l-ḥaqīqa bāṭinuhā, wa-humā mutalāzimān maᶜnan. Fa-sharīᶜa bi-lā ḥaqīqa ᶜāṭila, wa-ḥaqīqa bi-lā sharīᶜa bāṭila. Wa-maththalū al-thalāth bi-'l-jawza; fa-'l-sharīᶜa ka-'l-qishra al-ẓāhira, wa-'l-ṭarīqa ka-'l-lubb al-khafī, wa-'l-ḥaqīqa ka-'l-duhn bi-bāṭin al-lubb. Wa-lā yutawassalu ilā al-lubb illā bi-kharq al-qishr, wa-lā ilā al-duhn illā bi-daqq al-lubb.

Wa-'l-khalq aqsām: ḍuᶜafā', wa-hum al-ᶜawāmm; wa-khawāṣṣ, wa-hum al-awliyā'; wa-khawāṣṣ al-khawāṣṣ, wa-hum al-anbiyā'; wa-yatarattabu ᶜalā dhālika qawluhu:

Al-sharīᶜa la-ka, ayyuhā al-ḍaᶜīf, *ḥattā taṭlubahu* taᶜālā *min-hu la-ka,* bi-an taṭlubahu bi-ikhlāṣ wa-ṣidq, wa-illā fa-hiya ᶜalaika, lā la-ka.

Wa-'l-ḥaqīqa la-hu taᶜālā *ḥattā taṭlubahu* taᶜālā *bi-hi la-hu* ᶜazza wa-jalla, lā bi-ka la-hu wa-lā bi-hi la-ka, *ḥaithu lā ḥīn,* wa-fī nuskha: lā ḥadd, *wa-lā ain,* bi-khilāf al-sharīᶜa, *fa-'l-sharīᶜa,* li-kawnihā amran bi-aᶜmāl sharᶜiyya, *la-hā ḥudūd,* ka-kawn al-ṣalāt rakᶜatain aw thalāthan, *wa-jihāt,* li-kawnihā farḍan aw nafalan, muwaqqatan aw ghair muwaqqat, *wa-'l-ḥaqīqa lā ḥadd wa-lā jiha* la-hā, li-anna-hā sirr maᶜnawī wa-li-anna al-qā'im bi-hā ᶜārif bi-'llāh taᶜālā qad aᶜraḍa ᶜan ḥuẓūẓ al-bashariyya, li-anna-hu fī maqām al-jamᶜ; fa-huwa abadan yaṭlubu Allāh bi-'llāh lillāh, fa-maṭlūbuhu ghair maḥdūd, li-anna-hu al-Ḥaqq al-maᶜbūd, wa-maṭlūb al-qā'im bi-'l-sharīᶜa maḥdūd.

Al-qā'im bi-'l-sharīᶜa, wa-fī nuskha: maᶜa al-sharīᶜa, *fa-qaṭ,* ay dūna al-ḥaqīqa, *tafaḍḍala ᶜalaihi bi-'l-mujāhada,* wa-hiya al-qiyām bi-'l-ᶜibāda al-ẓāhira wa-bi-'l-ᶜubūdiyya al-bāṭina; wa-'l-ᶜibāda lil-nafs li-kawnihā ẓāhira, wa-'l-ᶜubūdiyya lil-qalb li-kawnihā bāṭina.

Wa-'l-qā'im bi-'l-ḥaqīqa, wa-fī nuskha: maᶜa al-ḥaqīqa, *tafaḍḍala ᶜalaihi bi-'l-minna,* ay al-niᶜma, wa-qīla al-thaqīla; wa-'l-murād al-ᶜilm al-ladunnī al-nūrānī alladhī ᶜallamahu Allāh lil-arwāḥ ḥīna khāṭabahum bi-qawlihi: "A-lastu bi-rabbikum?",[5] wa-'l-mushār bi-qawlihi: "Wa-ᶜallama Ādama al-asmā' kullahā",[6] illā anna-hu maghmūr fī 'l-arwāḥ, mastūr bi-ẓalām al-wujūd wa-shawāghil al-ṭabīᶜa; fa-idhā zālā bi-tawfīq Allāh ẓahara, wa-huwa al-murād bi-khabar: "Man ᶜamala bi-mā ᶜalima, awrathahu Allāh ᶜilm mā lam yaᶜlam". Fa-kushifa ᶜan qalbihi ghiṭā' dhālika fa-aᶜraḍa ᶜan kull makhlūq ḥattā ᶜan il-janna; fa-hādhā qā'im bi-ḥuqūq al-rubūbiyya wa-dhālika bi-ḥuqūq al-ᶜibāda wa-'l-ᶜubūdiyya. *Wa-shattāna,* ay baᶜuda, *mā,* zā'ida, wa-hiya sāqiṭa min nuskha, *baina al-mujāhada wa-'l-minna,* fa-shattāna baina man uqīma lil-mujāhada bighair kashf wa-shuhūd fī maḥall al-farq wa-man kushifa la-hu ᶜan sirr al-ilāhiyya fa-shahida maᶜnā al-jamᶜ bi-'l-jamᶜ. Fa-kull min maqāmai al-farq wa-'l-jamᶜ maṭlūb, lākinna fī 'l-iqtiṣār ᶜalā al-awwal taᶜṭīl, wa-ᶜalā al-thānī ghurūr wa-ibṭāl, ka-mā marrat al-ishāra ilaihimā. Wa-idkhāl shattāna ᶜalā mā baina shā'iᶜ ᶜarabī, fa-fī 'l-qāmūs jā'a shattāna baina-humā, wa-mā humā, wa-mā baina-humā, wa-mā Amr wa-akhūhu, ay baᶜuda mā baina-humā; wa-inna qawl al-shāᶜir[7]:

La-shattāna mā baina 'l-Yazīdaini fī 'l-nadā
Yazīdi Sulaimin wa-'l-Agharri 'bni Ḥātimi

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

Shattāna mā yawmī ᶜalā kūrihā
wa-yawmu Ḥayyāna akhī Jābiri.

Al-qā'im maᶜa al-mujāhada, li-kawnihi nāẓiran bi-'l-sharīᶜa ilā aᶜmālihi, *mawjūd* bi-'llāh, *wa-'l-qā'im maᶜa al-minna,* li-kawnihi qā-'iman bi-ḥuqūq al-rubūbiyya, ghair nāẓir ilā aᶜmālihi, *mafqūd* ᶜammā siwāhu taᶜālā, li-fanā'ihi bi-istighrāqihi bi-hi taᶜālā.

Al-aᶜmāl al-mutaᶜalliqa bi-kamāl dhāt al-ᶜabd al-ẓāhira ka-'l-shahādatain wa-iqāmat al-ṣalāt wa-ītā' al-zakāt wa-'l-ṣawm wa-'l-ḥajj wa-'l-jihād, *mutaᶜalliqa bi-'l-sharᶜ al-sharīf,* li-anna-hu jā'a bi-'l-taklīf bi-hā; *wa-'l-tawakkul* wa-naḥwuhu mimmā yataᶜallaqu bi-kamāl dhāt al-bāṭina ka-'l-zuhd wa-'l-waraᶜ wa-'l-ṣabr wa-'l-khawf wa-'l-rajā', *mutaᶜalliq bi-'l-īmān* bi-anna Allāh taᶜālā faᶜᶜāl li-mā yurīdu.[8] Wa-'l-tawakkul huwa al-iᶜtimād ᶜalā Allāh taᶜālā wa-qaṭᶜ al-naẓar ᶜan il-asbāb maᶜa tahyi'atihā; wa-yuqālu huwa tark al-saᶜy fī-mā lā tasaᶜuhu qudrat al-bashar, wa-yuqālu ghair dhālika, kā-mā bayyantuhu maᶜa fawā'id fī sharḥ Risālat al-Qushairī. *Wa-'l-tawḥīd,* wa-huwa ḥukmuka wa-ᶜilmuka bi-waḥdāniyyat Allāh taᶜālā, *mutaᶜalliq bi-kashf,* ay bi-kashf Allāh ᶜan baṣīrat al-ᶜabd, *al-ghiṭā,* aᶜnī ḥujub al-kā'ināt bi-an yafnā ᶜan-hā wa-yarāhā mundarija fī anwār al-ᶜaẓama al-rabbāniyya. Wa-'l-kashf thalātha: kashf nafs, wa-kashf qalb, wa-kashf sirr, wa-huwa al-murād hunā. Wa-yuᶜabbaru ᶜan il-awwal bi-ᶜilm al-yaqīn, wa-ᶜan il-thānī bi-ᶜain al-yaqīn, wa-ᶜan il-thālith bi-ḥaqq al-yaqīn. Wa-'l-thalātha ᶜulūm, li-anna-hā aqsām al-ᶜilm, li-anna al-ᶜilm bi-iᶜtibār maᶜlūmihi: in taᶜallaqa bi-'l-dhāt al-ẓāhira, fa-ᶜilm al-yaqīn; aw bi-'l-dhāt al-bāṭina, fa-ᶜain al-yaqīn; aw bi-'l-Ḥaqq taᶜālā, fa-ḥaqq al-yaqīn. Wa-ᶜlam anna la-hum maᶜa al-kashf muḥāḍara wa-mukāshafa wa-muᶜāyana wa-mushāhada, wa-kulluhā tataᶜallaqu bi-'l-tawḥīd, wa-qad bayyantuhā fī 'l-sharḥ al-madhkūr.

Wa-'l-nās tā'ihūn, ḥā'idūn, *ᶜan il-Ḥaqq* taᶜālā bi-ṭalabihim la-hu *bi-'l-ᶜaql* al-ṭabīᶜī al-juthmānī, li-anna-hu bi-infirādihi maḥjūb ᶜan il-tajalliyāt al-ilāhiyya wa-'l-maᶜārif al-rabbāniyya li-quṣūrihi ᶜalā mā fī 'l-ṣuwar al-ẓāhira min ḥusn wa-qubḥ wa-khaṭa' wa-ṣawāb; bi-khilāf al-ᶜaql al-rūḥānī al-nūrānī, fa-inna-hu malakī, lā tīh maᶜa-hu, *wa-tā'ihūn ᶜan il-ākhira,* al-marḍiyya bi-ṭalabihim la-hā, *bi-'l-hawā,* ay hawā al-nafs wa-ḥaẓẓihā, li-anna-hā inna-mā tunālu bi-'l-mujāhada al-sharᶜiyya. *Fa-matā ṭalabta al-Ḥaqq bi-'l-ᶜaql* al-madhkūr, *ḍalalta* ᶜan il-wuṣūl ilai-hi, (*wa-matā ṭalabta al-ākhira bi-'l-hawā,* fa-qad *zalalta*).

Al-mu'min al-kāmil, wa-huwa man taṭahhara min al-shirkain al-ẓāhir wa-'l-khafī, *yanẓuru bi-nūr Allāh,* ay mā munna bi-hi ᶜalai-hi min al-jūd, idh bi-hi yankashifu al-ashyā' la-hu wilāya; "awa man kāna mayyitan fa-aḥyaināhu" [9]; "ittaqū firāsat al-mu'min, fa-inna-hu yanẓuru

bi-nūr Allāh".[10] *Wa-'l-ᶜārif,* (wa-)huwa al-mustaghriq bi-llāh ᶜammā siwāhu, *yanẓuru bi-hi,* ay bi-nūr Allāh, *ilai-hi,* li-inkishāf ḥijāb al-ghafla ᶜan qalbihi. *Mā dumta anta maᶜa-ka,* ay maᶜa nafsika, ghair mustaghriq bi-nā, *amarnāka,* ay kallafnāka bi-'l-mujāhada, li-anna-ka fī maḥall al-farq; *fa-idhā fanaita,* anta bi-istighrāqika bi-nā, *ᶜan-ka,* ay ᶜan nafsika, *tawallaināka* bi-'l-riᶜāya wa-'l-ᶜināya wa-'l-faḍl wa-ghairihā mimmā lam taṣil ilai-hi bi-kasb, li-anna-ka fī 'l-jamᶜ; *fa-mā tawallāhum,* ay al-sālikīn, *illā baᶜda fanā'ihim fī-hi.*

Mā dumta anta, ay tarā la-ka wujūdan wa-ᶜamalan wa-irādatan, *fa-anta murīd*; *fa-idhā afnāka ᶜan-ka* mawlāka, *fa-anta murād,* fa-'l-irāda hiya ifrād al-Ḥaqq bi-'l-ṭalab wa-'l-iᶜrāḍ ᶜan kull mā siwāhu. Wa-'l-murīd huwa al-sālik al-mubtadī alladhī yarā la-hu wujūdan wa-ᶜamalan, wa-'l-murād huwa al-malḥūẓ bi-ᶜain al-ᶜināya al-rabbāniyya al-mustaghriq bi-'llāh taᶜālā. Fa-'l-murīd ḥāmil li-'l-kadd, wa-'l-murād maḥmūl ᶜan-hu al-kadd; wa-shattāna baina al-ḥāmil al-makdūd wa-'l-maḥmūl al-muᶜān.

Al-yaqīn al-adwam, wa-fī nuskha: al-lāzim, wa-huwa ᶜalai-hā ṣifa kāshifa, *ghaibatuka ᶜan-ka (wa-)wujūduka bi-hi* taᶜālā, wa-fī nuskha: ghaiba ᶜan-ka wujūd bi-hi, wa-dhālika bi-an taghība ᶜammā siwāhu taᶜālā. Wa-lil-yaqīn thalāth ḥālāt: bidāya wa-tawassuṭ wa-nihāya, ᶜalā minwāl ᶜilm al-yaqīn wa-ᶜainihi wa-ḥaqqihi. Wa-awwaluhā qad lā yadūmu li-baqā' al-rusūm, wa-'l-akhīrān dā'imān, lākinna al-akhīr adwam, fa-inna-hu mushāhada bi-kashf al-sirr, wa-hiya aᶜlā marātib al-yaqīn; fa-kun bi-yaqīnika maᶜa Allāh fa-qaṭ, wa-ta'ammal.

Kam baina mā yakūnu bi-amrihi taᶜālā, min anwāᶜ al-ᶜibādāt wa-'l-mujāhadāt al-taklīfiyya *wa-baina ma yakūnu bi-hi* taᶜālā min anwāᶜ al-minan wa-'l-nafaḥāt al-rabbāniyya; *in kunta bi-amrihi* taᶜālā, bi-'l-ᶜibāda, qā'iman bi-hā, *khaḍaᶜat la-ka al-asbāb,* ay yassarahā Allāh taᶜālā la-ka. Qāla Allāh taᶜālā: "Wa-man yattaqi 'llāha yajᶜal la-hu makhrajan wa-yarzuqhu min ḥaithu lā yaḥtasibu".[11] Wa-qāla taᶜālā: "Wa-man yattaqi 'llāha yajᶜal la-hu min amrihi yusran".[12] *Wa-in kunta bi-hi* taᶜālā bi-an lam tashhad ghairahu, *taḍaᶜḍaᶜat,* ay khaḍaᶜat wa-dhallat, *la-ka al-akwān,* fa-lā yaḥjubuka shai' min-hā ᶜan mushāhadat mukawwinihā.

Fa-ahl al-ṭarīq immā ᶜālim bi-'llāh, fa-yashhadu al-ashyā' bi-'llāh, wa-immā ᶜālim bi-'l-aḥkām, wa-huwa al-sālik bi-'l-naẓar wa-'l-istidlāl, fa-yashhadu Allāh bi-'l-ashyā'. Wa-'l-awwal min al-ṣiddīqīn wa-'l-shuhadā' wa-lisānuhu al-jamᶜ, wa-'l-thānī min al-ṣāliḥīn, wa-lisānuhu al-farq.

Wa-lammā kānat maqāmāt al-sālik baᶜda al-tawba mutafāwita, bayyanahā fa-qāla: *Awwal al-maqāmāt al-ṣabr,* wa-huwa ḥabs al-nafs,

ᶜalā murādihi taᶜālā, wa-yuqālu: ḥaml al-nafs ᶜalā mashāqq al-taklīf li-ṭalab al-jazā' ᶜalaihi; *wa-awsaṭuhā al-riḍā,* wa-huwa al-ṭuma'nīna *bi-murādihi* taᶜālā, ay min ḥaithu irādatuhu aw an ṭuliba al-riḍā bi-hi; fa-lā yunāfīhi ḥurmat al-riḍā bi-'l-kufr wa-naḥwihi; *wa-ākhiruhā an takūna* anta *bi-murādihi* taᶜālā, fa-takūna ᶜārifan. Fa-'l-ᶜabd idhā ṣabara raḍiya, wa-idhā raḍiya kāna bi-murād Allāh taᶜālā, fa-yafnā ᶜan fiᶜlihi wa-qawlihi wa-quwwatihi bi-mushāhada min al-ḥaḍra al-rabbāniyya, li-anna man faniya ᶜan dhālika baqiya bi-'llāh, fa-kāna samᶜuhu wa-baṣaruhu wa-ghairuhā mimmā fī khabar: "Kuntu samᶜahu alladhī yasmaᶜu bi-hi". Wa-maqām al-fanā' maqām al-khawāṣṣ, wa-huwa maqām al-ᶜubūdiyya; fa-'l-ṣābir fī maqām al-ᶜibāda wa-'l-rāḍī fī maqām al-ᶜubūdiyya, wa-kull min-humā yarā la-hu wujūdan waᶜamalan. Fa-'l-ᶜārif fī maqām al-ᶜubūdiyya, wa-lā yarā la-hu dhālika, li-anna-hu qā'im bi-'llāh lillāh, lā bi-nafsihi li-nafsihi, wa-lā bi-nafsihi lillāh.

Al-ᶜilm al-ᶜamalī ṭarīq al-ᶜamal, idh lā yaṣiḥḥu ᶜamal illā bi-'l-ᶜilm bi-kaifiyyatihi, *wa-'l-ᶜamal ṭarīq al-ᶜilm* al-ladunnī; qāla Allāh taᶜālā: "Wa-'ttaqū 'llāha wa-yuᶜallimukum Allāhu".[13] Wa-qāla ṣallā Allāhu ᶜalai-hi wa-sallama: "Man ᶜamala bi-mā ᶜalima, awrathahu Allāh ᶜilm mā lam yaᶜlam". *Wa-'l-ᶜilm* al-ladunnī *ṭarīq al-maᶜrifa* bi-'llāh, li-anna-hā inna-mā taḥṣulu bi-mā amaddaka Allāh bi-hi min al-taᶜarruf, wa-huwa taᶜālā yataᶜarrafu ilā ᶜibādihi bi-qadr mā wahabahum min al-ᶜilm al-ladunnī. Wa-man taᶜarrafa ilai-hi ᶜarafa nafsahu wa-ᶜarafa rabbahu; man ᶜarafa rabbahu jahila nafsahu. Fa-'l-taᶜarruf yataᶜallaqu bi-maᶜrifat al-nafs, wa-maᶜrifat al-nafs tataᶜallaqu bi-maᶜrifat al-rabb, wa-maᶜrifat al-rabb tataᶜallaqu bi-jahl al-nafs, fa-fī 'l-khabar: "AᶜrafukumbiNafsihi aᶜrafukum bi-rabbihi". *Wa-'l-maᶜrifa bi-'llāh ṭarīq al-kashf* ᶜan ḥaqā'iq al-ashyā', *wa-'l-kashf ṭarīq al-fanā'* ᶜan mā siwā Allāh taᶜālā bi-an lā tarā ghairahu, li-anna al-ᶜabd idhā ᶜalima anna-hu makhlūq wa-an kāna kull makhlūq fāniyan, shahida bi-baṣīratihi anna-hu fānin. Wa-fanā' al-fanā' an lā tarā fanā'aka, wa-hādhā yusammā bi-'l-baqā' al-mufassar bi-ru'yatika anna Allāh muḥīṭ bi-kull shai'.[14] *Wa-'l-fanā' yakūnu ᶜamalan, thumma ᶜainan, thumma ḥaqqan,* li-anna al-fanā' thalātha aqsām: fanā' fī 'l-afᶜāl, li-qawlihim: "Lā fāᶜil illā Allāh", ... (lacuna). Wa-'l-thalātha murāda bi-qawl baᶜḍ al-ᶜārifīn: "Man shahida al-khalq lā fiᶜl la-hum, fa-qad fāza; wa-man shahidahum lā ḥayāt la-hum, fa-qad ḥāza; wa-man shahidahum ᶜain al-ᶜadam, fa-qad waṣala".

Mā ṣalaḥta, bi-fatḥ al-lām ashhar min ḍammiha, ay lā taṣluḥu, *la-nā mā dāmat fī-ka baqiyya li-siwā-nā,* dunyawiyya aw ukhrawiyya, li-anna-

ka ḥīna'idhin lā taṣluḥu li-maqām al-ᶜubūdiyya alladhī huwa al-maqām bi-'llāh li-'llāh, li-anna-ka adhnabta dhanban ᶜaẓīman, idh min al-dhunūb al-ᶜazīma ᶜinda-hum an tarā la-ka wujūdan maᶜa Allāh taᶜālā; wa-ilaihi ashāra al-Junaid bi-qawlihi: "Wujūduka dhanb lā yuqāsu bi-hi dhanb". *Fa-idhā,* wa-fī nuskha: idhā, *ḥawwalta al-siwā* ᶜan-ka bi-an kharajta ᶜan-hu, ḥattā ᶜan il-fanā', wa-fī nuskha: ḥuwwilta ᶜan il-siwā, *afnainā-ka* bi-ᶜilminā wa-nūrinā ᶜ*an-ka,* ḥattā ṣirta lā tarā la-ka wujūdan, bal tarā bi-'llāh al-wujūd wa-huwa lillāh, fa-ṣāra qalbuka maḥallan li-sirrinā al-rabbānī, wa-huwa maᶜnā yaᶜjizu al-fikr ᶜan taṣawwurihi wa-'l-lisān ᶜan il-taᶜbīr ᶜan-hu; *fa-ṣalaḥta la-nā fa-awdaᶜnāka sirranā,* fa-mā ṣalaḥa al-sirr illā baᶜda an afnāhu ᶜan-hu mawlāhu wa-abqāhu la-hu, fa-ṣāra ḥurran ᶜan riqq al-ghair wa-maḥallan lil-asrār, fa-'l-maṭlūb al-tajarrud ᶜammā siwāhu taᶜālā. *Wa-idhā lam yabqa (*ᶜ*alaika ḥaraka li-nafsika, kamila yaqīnuka; wa-idhā lam yabqa) la-ka wujūd* ᶜinda-ka, bi-an fanaita ᶜammā siwāhu taᶜālā, *kamila tawḥīduka,* bi-ᶜajzika ᶜan idrāk mā ḥaṣala la-ka min al-maᶜrifa; fa-hiya al-ghāya allatī lā tudraku, wa-ilaihi al-ishāra bi-khabar: "Subḥānaka! Mā ᶜarafnāka ḥaqq maᶜrifatika", wa-khabar: "Man ᶜarafa Allāh kalla lisānuhu".

Ahl al-bāṭin, ay al-ḥaqīqa, *maᶜa al-yaqīn,* li-khulūṣihim min wahm al-rusūm wa-inkishāf al-ᶜilm al-ladunnī la-hum; fa-ᶜāyanūhu wa-shāhadūhu, fa-ṣārū ᶜalā yaqīn thābit jāzim. Wa-ibtidā' al-yaqīn al-mukāshafa, thumma al-muᶜāyana, thumma al-mushāhada; wa-li-dhālika qāla ᶜĀmir b. ᶜAbd Qais: "Law kushifa al-ghiṭā', mā izdadtu yaqīnan". *Wa-ahl al-ẓāhir,* ay al-sharīᶜa, *maᶜa al-īmān* bi-'l-ghaib, bi-'l-mushāhada, li-baqā' al-rusūm bi-wuqūfihim maᶜa ẓāhir mutaᶜalliqāt al-īmān. *Fa-matā taḥarraka qalb ṣāḥib al-yaqīn li-ghair Allāh* bi-an iltafata laḥẓatan min ḥāl aw maqām (aw) ghairihi, *naqaṣa yaqīnuhu* ᶜinda ahl al-bāṭin; *wa-matā lam yakhṭir la-hu khāṭir* li-ghair Allāh, *kamila yaqīnuhu,* fa-ᶜalā ṣāḥib al-yaqīn al-murāqaba ᶜalā al-dawām, wa-hiya muraᶜāt al-sirr bi-mulāḥaẓat al-Ḥaqq maᶜa kull khaṭra. Wa-shubbiha ḥāluhu bi-ḥāl al-hirra fī ḥāl murāqabatihā lil-ṣaid; fa-matā ikhtallat al-murāqaba, ikhtalla al-gharaḍ. *Wa-matā taḥarraka qalb ṣāḥib al-īmān* bi-'l-ghaib *bi-ghair,* wa-fī nuskha: li-ghair, *al-amr al-ilāhī, naqaṣa īmānuhu,* li-anna al-īmān yanquṣu bi-'l-maᶜṣiya, ka-mā yazīdu bi-'l-ṭāᶜa, akhdhan min khabar: "Lā yaznī al-zānī ḥīna yaznī wahuwa mu'min". *Wa-matā taḥarraka bi-'l-amr al-ilāhī,* wa-qāma bi-hi, *kamila īmānuhu* bi-'llāh taᶜālā.

Maᶜṣiyat ahl al-yaqīn kufr ᶜinda-hum, lil-ikhlāṣ bi-hi wa-li-anna ḥasanāt al-abrār sayyi'āt al-muqarrabīn, fa-ᶜalā qadr al-ṣuᶜūd ya-

kūnu al-hubūṭ; wa-min dhālika qawl sayyidī ᶜUmar b. al-Fāriḍ:

Wa-law khaṭarat lī fī siwāka irāda
ᶜalā khāṭirī sahwan qaḍaitu bi-riddatī,

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

Wa-ᶜlam anna al-khāṭir (mā) yaridu ᶜalā al-qalb bi-irādat al-Rabb, wa-huwa khams aqsām: khāṭir rabbānī, wa-huwa hājis, wa-'l-ᶜilm al-ladunnī lā yukhṭi'u abadan; wa-khāṭir malakī; wa-ᶜaqlī; wa-nafsānī; wa-shaiṭānī. Wa-'l-rabbānī yaridu min ḥaḍrat al-rubūbiyya wa-min ḥaḍrat al-raḥmāniyya wa-min ḥaḍrat al-ilāhiyya; wa-'l-farq baina-hā anna al-rabbānī yaridu bi-'l-jalāl, wa-'l-raḥmānī bi-'l-jamāl, wa-'l-ilāhī bi-'l-kamāl. Wa-'l-awwal yamḥaqu wa-yufnī; wa-'l-thānī yuthbitu wa-yubqī; wa-'l-thālith yuṣliḥu wa-yahdī. Wa-'l-ᶜabd yastaᶜiddu fī 'l-jalāl bi-'l-ṣabr, wa-fī 'l-jamāl bi-'l-shukr, wa-fī 'l-kamāl bi-'l-sakīna; wa-'l-thalātha lil-ᶜārifīn. Wa-'l-khāṭir al-malakī wa-'l-ᶜaqlī li-ahl al-mujāhada, wa-'l-nafsānī wa-'l-shaiṭānī li-ahl al-ghafla. Wa-'l-khāṭir idhā makutha ṣāra hamman, wa-idhā tamakkana thāniyan ṣāra ᶜazman, wa-yaṣīru qubaila al-shurūᶜ qaṣdan, wa-maᶜa awwal al-fiᶜl niyyatan.

Al-muttaqī, wa-fī nuskha: al-taqī, fī bidāyatihi *mujtahid* fī ᶜibādatihi bi-ṣidq wa-ikhlāṣ, fa-yahtadī bi-hi ilā ṭarīq al-ḥaqq. Qāla Allāh taᶜālā: "Wa-'lladhīna jāhadū fī-na la-nahdiyannahum subulanā".[15] Wa-qāla baᶜḍuhum: "Man lam yakun fī bidāyatihi ṣāḥib mujāhada, lam yajid min hādhā al-ṭarīq shamma". *Wa-'l-muḥibb* al-ṣādiq *muttakil,* ay muᶜtamid ᶜalā maḥbūbihi, li-anna-hu, lammā dakhala ḥaḍrat al-maḥbūb baᶜda al-mujāhada wa-ra'ā minnat Allāh ᶜalai-hi, faniya ᶜan ᶜamalihi wa-wujūdihi wa-ittakala ᶜalā rabbihi taᶜālā. Fa-'l-mujtahid wāqif ᶜalā ᶜamalihi wa-wujūdihi, wa-'l-muḥibb mafnī ᶜan-humā bi-istighrāqihi bi-maḥbūbihi, fa-huwa fī rāḥa bi-shuhūdihi la-hu. *Wa-'l-ᶜārif* bi-'llāh *sākin* ilai-hi, lā yataḥarraku wa-lā yakhṭiru la-hu khāṭir illā bi-idhnihi; *wa-'l-mawjūd* bi-'llāh *mafqūd* ᶜammā siwāhu taᶜālā; fa-ᶜlam anna-hu *lā sukūn li-muttaqin,* wa-fī nuskha: li-taqī, li-taḥarrukihi fī ijtihādihi fī ᶜibādatihi, *wa-lā ḥaraka li-muḥibb,* li-anna-hu faniya ᶜan murādihi bi-murād maḥbūbihi; *wa-lā ᶜazm li-ᶜārif,* li-anna-hu lā yarā fī 'l-wujūd illā Allāh, li-anna-hu qad faniya ᶜan wujūdihi wa-irādatihi bi-wujūd Allāh wa-irādatihi, fa-lā ᶜazm la-hu yarāhu; *wa-lā wujūd li-mafqūd,* ay li-man ghāba ᶜan naẓarihi bi-mawjūdihi.

Wa-ᶜlam anna awwal al-maqāmāt al-tawba, wa-ākhirahā al-maᶜrifa al-mutarattiba ᶜalā al-maḥabba. Fa-'l-maḥabba baᶜda al-yaqīn, ka-mā qāla: *Mā taḥṣulu al-maḥabba illā baᶜda al-yaqīn* bi-wujūd al-maḥbūb,

idh kaifa yuḥabbu al-shai' qabla maᶜrifatihi; *wa-'l-muḥibb al-ṣādiq fī ḥubbihi qad khalā qalbuhu mimmā siwāhu* taᶜālā, li-anna ḥaqīqat al-maḥabba shahādat al-maḥbūb, wa-lā taḥṣulu illā baᶜda al-fanā' wa-ṭahārat al-qalb ᶜammā siwāhu taᶜālā. *Wa-mā dāmat ᶜalai-hi baqiyyat maḥabba li-siwāhu,* wa-law lil-maḥabba, *fa-huwa nāqiṣ al-maḥabba* bi-'llāh.

Man taladhdhadha bi-'l-balā' wa-ṣabara ᶜalai-hi li-mā ra'āhu min al-ujūr, *fa-huwa maᶜa-hu mawjūd; wa-man taladhdhadha wa-fariḥa bi-'l-naᶜmā', fa-huwa maᶜa-hu mawjūd; fa-idhā afnāhu Allāh* taᶜālā, ay afnā al-mutaladhdhidh bi-himā ᶜan il-taladhdhudh bi-himā; yajᶜalu al-ḍamīr rājiᶜan ilā lafẓ man, wa-fī nuskha: fa-idhā afnāhum ᶜan-hum; jamaᶜa fī-hā al-ḍamīrain bi-iᶜtibār ma'nā man, ay fa-idhā afnā al-mutaladhdhidhīn ᶜan anfusihim *dhahaba al-taladhdhudh bi-'l-balā' wa-'l-naᶜmā',* wa-fī nuskha: bi-'l-naᶜmā, li-anna fī mushāhadat al-maḥbūb dahsha, wa-'l-mad-hūsh min al-balā' wa-'l-inᶜām.

Al-muḥibb anfāsuhu, kināya ᶜan kalāmihi, *ḥikma,* li-anna-hu lā yashhadu illā maḥbūbahu wa-lā yasmaᶜu illā min-hu, fa-lā yanṭiqu illā bi-'l-ḥikma, li-anna-hā al-fahm ᶜan Allāh; *wa-'l-maḥbūb,* li-kawnihi qad tazāyada qurbuhu li-rabbihi bi-ziyādat ḥubbihi la-hu, *anfāsuhu qudra,* sā'ira fī 'l-akwān bi-maᶜūnat al-malik al-mannān. Fa-'l-muḥibb sālik majdhūb, ay ᶜan irādatihi, wa-'l-maḥbūb majdhūb sālik, wa-huwa aᶜlā wa-akhaṣṣ min al-muḥibb, li-anna-hu murād wa-'l-muḥibb murīd. Wa-la-hum majdhūb abtar wa-sālik abtar, wa-humā madhkurān fī 'l-muṭawwalāt, wa-ᶜābid nāsik, wa-huwa al-nāẓir li-wujūdihi al-ṭālib li-ᶜiwaḍ ᶜamalihi, ka-mā ashāra ilai-hi bi-qawlihi: *Al-ᶜibādāt lil-muᶜāwaḍāt.* Qāla taᶜālā: "Man jā'a bi-'l-ḥasana fa-la-hu ᶜashr amthālihā" [16]; *wa-'l-maḥabba lil-qurubāt,* ay lil-taqarrub ilai-hi taᶜālā bi-ṣidq wa-ikhlāṣ. Wa-ᶜlam anna al-mu'minīna khamsa aqsām mā la-hu irāda; fa-'l-awwalān ᶜawāmm al-mu'minīn wa-in tafāwatā, wa-'l-thālith khawāṣṣuhum, wa-'l-rābiᶜ khawāṣṣ khawāṣṣihim wa-hum al-muḥibbūn, wa-'l-khāmis akhaṣṣ khawāṣṣihim wa-huwa al-ᶜārif bi-'llāh taᶜālā bi-'llāh fī 'llāh lillāh. Wa-min thamma qāla Allāh taᶜālā fī ḥadīth qudsī: "*Aᶜdadtu li-ᶜibādī al-ṣāliḥīn*", wa-hum al-ᶜārifūn bi-'llāh taᶜālā, "*mā lā ᶜain ra'at wa-lā udhn samiᶜat wa-lā khaṭara ᶜalā qalb bashar*", wa-ha'ulā'u ᶜabīd al-munᶜim, lā ᶜabīd al-niᶜma, wa-hum qalīlūn. Qāla Allāh taᶜālā: "Illā alladhīna āmanū wa-ᶜamilū al-ṣāliḥāt",[17] wa-qalīl mā hum, wa-hum maᶜa al-khalq bi-abdānihim wa-maᶜa al-Ḥaqq bi-qulūbihim, lā yaftirūna ᶜan mushāhadatihi ṭarfat ᶜain. Wa-qāla fī ḥadīth qudsī aidan, ᶜalā mā qāla al-mu'allif: "*Lammā arādūnī*", ay al-ᶜārifūn bī, "*lī, aᶜṭaituhum mā lā ᶜain ra'at wa-lā udhn samiᶜat*", wa-

hādhā maᶜa mā qablahu natīja mā amaddahum bi-hi min al-maḥabba.

Idhā afnāka ᶜan hawāka bi-'l-ḥukm, bi-'l-kāf, ay bi-'l-amr al-munazzal min ḥaḍrat al-rubūbiyya ilā ᶜālam ḥissī al-ᶜubūdiyya, wa-fī nuskha: bi-'l-ḥilm, bi-'l-lām, wa-huwa iḥtimāl al-adhā wa-tarkihi bi-ḥaithu tarā mā yajrī min al-kā'ināt fiᶜl Allāh taᶜālā, *wa-ᶜan irādatika bi-'l-ᶜilm* al-ladunnī, *taṣīru,* wa-fī nuskha: ṣirta, *ᶜabdan ṣirfan,* ay khāliṣan la-hu ḥurran mimmā siwāhu, *lā hawā la-ka wa-lā irāda,* li-anna-ka fanaita ᶜan nafsika mimmā dhukira, fa-ᶜalimta anna al-irāda inna-mā hiya lillāh taᶜālā, wa-mā tashā'ūna illā an yashā'a Allāhu,[18] *fa-ḥīna'idhin yukshafu la-ka,* ᶜan asrār al-ilāhiyya, *fa-taḍmaḥillu* ᶜan-ka *al-ᶜubūdiyya,* ay tadhhabu, *fī 'l-waḥdāniyya fa-yafnā al-ᶜabd* fī-hā, *wa-yabqā al-Rabb ᶜazza wa-jalla,* fa-yashhaduhu al-ᶜabd bi-hi.

Al-sharīᶜa kulluhā qabḍ, li-anna-hā ḥāmila li-athqāl al-taklīf bi-'l-ᶜibāda, wa-'l-ḥāmil maqbūd makdūd, *wa-'l-ᶜilm* al-ladunnī *kulluhu basṭ,* li-anna-hu ᶜan kashf wa-mushāhada, wa-ṣāra al-ᶜamal ᶜinda ṣāḥibihi ᶜāda lā thiqal fī-hā wa-lā takalluf, li-anna-hu lam yara la-hu wujūdan fī ᶜamalihi, bal yarāhu faḍlan min Allāh wa-raḥmatan, fa-inbasaṭa li-dhālika; *wa'l-maᶜrifa* bi-'llāh *kulluhā dalāl,* yatadallalu bi-hā al-ᶜabd ᶜalā Rabbihi ka-tadallul al-mar'a ᶜalā zawjihā bi-an turīhi jur'a tushakkilu ḥusnan ka-anna-hā tukhālifuhu, wa-mā bi-hā khilāf. Wa-hādhā maḥḍ jūd wa-ifḍāl min-hu taᶜālā, lā taḥrīḍ la-hu fī-hi yabᶜathuhu ᶜalai-hi; wa-maqām al-dalāl yaqaᶜu fī-hi al-inbisāṭ fī 'l-aqwāl wa-'l-afᶜāl.

Ṭarīqatunā, ay al-muwaḥḥidūn, *maḥabba, lā ᶜamal* makdūd manẓūr ilai-hi, *wa-fanā', lā baqā',* ḥāṣiluhu anna ṭarīqahum maḥabba wa-fanā', lā ᶜamal wa-baqā'; li-anna-ka, *idhā dakhalta fī 'l-ᶜamal,* wa-huwa al-ᶜibāda *kunta la-ka, wa-idhā dakhalta fī 'l-maḥabba* lillāh wa-akhlaṣtahu, *kunta la-hu taᶜālā, idh al-ᶜābid ra'ā li-ᶜibādatihi,* li-anna-hu mujāhid fī-hā wa-fī nafsihi, *wa-'l-muḥibb ra'ā li-maḥabbatihi,* li-anna-hu khāḍiᶜ li-ᶜaẓamat maḥbūbihi mutajarrid ᶜammā siwāhu. Wa-'l-ᶜārif fawqa-humā li-anna-hu aḥraza mā aḥrazāhu wa-zāda ᶜalai-himā bi-ᶜulūm ladunniyya wa-maᶜārif ilāhiyya wa-wāridāt rūḥāniyya.

Idhā ᶜaraftahu taᶜālā bi-an ᶜarafta anna-hu yarāka wa-anna-hu al-fāᶜil, wa-lam tanẓur ilā ᶜamalika wa-lam taṭlub la-hu ᶜiwaḍan, *kānat anfāsuka bi-hi* taᶜālā, *wa-ḥarakātuka la-hu,* li-anna-ka mutakhalliq bi-akhlāqihi; *wa-idhā jahiltahu* taᶜālā, bi-an lam takun kadhālika, *kānat ḥarakātuka la-ka,* li-anna-ka shahidtahā ṣādira min-ka, bi-khilāf al-ᶜārif, fa-lā yashhadu fāᶜilan illā Allāh. Qāla Allāh taᶜālā: "Allāhu khāliqu kulli shai'in",[19] "wa-'llāhu khalaqakum wa-mā taᶜmalūna".[20]

Al-ᶜābid mā, ay laisa, *la-hu sukūn,* bal ḥaraka, li-anna-hu mujāhid, ka-mā marra, *wa-'l-zāhid mā,* ay laisa, *la-hu raghba* fī ghair Allāh, *wa-'l-ṣiddīq mā,* ay laisa, *la-hu irtikān,* ay rukūn, ilā ghair Allāh, idh al-ṣidq ᶜimād al-amr, wa-bi-hi tamāmuhu, *wa-'l-ᶜārif mā,* ay laisa, *la-hu ḥawl wa-lā quwwa wa-lā ikhtiyār wa-lā irāda wa-lā ḥaraka wa-lā sukūn,* fa-huwa bi-'llāh, *wa-'l-mawjūd* bi-'llāh *mā,* ay laisa, *la-hu wujūd* maᶜa nafsihi li-fanā'ihi bi-istighrāqihi bi-'llāh, ka-mā taqaddama.

Idhā ista'nasta bi-hi taᶜālā, bi-an shahidtahu muḥīṭan bi-kull shai' khalqan wa-ᶜilman, wa-taṭahharta min al-shirk al-khafī, *istawḥashta* min ghairihi ḥattā *min-ka,* li-anna-ka kunta tarā anna dhālika min-ka. *Man ishtaghala bi-nā* wa-bi-ᶜibādatinā, *la-hu aᶜmaināhu* ᶜan ru'yat al-maᶜārif li-wuqūfihi maᶜa ᶜamalihi, *wa-man ishtaghala bi-nā la-nā baṣṣarnāhu* li-ru'yatihā bi-an kashafnā ᶜan-hu ḥujub al-kā'ināt.

Idhā zāla hawāka al-dunyawī, *kushifa la-ka,* ayyuhā al-sālik, ᶜ*an bāb al-ḥaqīqa* al-rabbāniyya, bi-ḥaithu tughlabu ᶜalā al-qalb, *fa-tafnā irādatuka fa-yukshafu la-ka* ᶜ*an il-waḥdāniyya,* fa-tarā al-wujūd kulla-hu lillāh bi-nūr yaqdhifuhu Allāh fī qalbika, *fa-tuḥaqqiqu,* li-fanā'ika ᶜan ghairihi taᶜālā, *anna-hu* taᶜālā *huwa* al-fāᶜil al-mawjūd *bi-nā,* wa-fī nuskha: lā anta, fa-lā tarā illā huwa bi-ᶜināyatihi. *In sallamta ilai-hi* umūraka, wa-tarakta tadbīr nafsika iᶜtimādan ᶜalai-hi, *qarrabaka* bi-naẓarihi ilai-ka bi-ᶜain al-raḥma wa-'l-ᶜināya, ka-mā qāla al-Khalīl ᶜalai-hi al-salām lammā qāla la-hu Jibrīl ᶜalai-hi al-salām ḥīna alqūhu bi-'l-manjanīq wa-arādū wuqūᶜahu fī 'l-nār: "A-la-ka ḥāja?"; qāla: "Immā ilai-ka, fa-lā; wa-immā ilā Allāh, fa-ba-lā". Qāla: "Sal-hu". Qāla: "Ḥasbī min su'ālī ᶜilmuhu bi-ḥālī".[21] *Wa-in nāzaᶜtahu,* bi-an lam tarḍa bi-qadā'ihi bi-an taqūla: "Afᶜalu kadhā li-yakūna kadhā, wa-law lam afᶜal kadhā, la-mā kāna kadhā", *abᶜadaka,* ay ḥajabaka ᶜan ḥaḍrat unsihi. *In taqarrabta bi-hi* ilai-hi, bi-an lā tarā la-ka wujūdan wa-ᶜamalan maᶜa wujūdihi wa-ᶜamalihi, *qarrabaka* ilai-hi bi-'l-inᶜām wa-'l-faḍl, *wa-in taqarrabta bi-ka* ilai-hi bi-an ra'aita la-ka dhālika, *abᶜadaka,* ay ḥajabaka wa-istaqalla bi-ka. *In ṭalabtahu la-ka,* bi-an ṭalabta min-hu al-darajāt wa-'l-karamāt, *kallafaka* lil-ᶜamal wa-atᶜabaka, li-anna man ṭalaba al-ujra ṭūliba bi-'l-ᶜamal. *Wa-in ṭalabtahu la-hu* taᶜālā, *dallalaka,* ay jaᶜalaka min ahl al-dalāl bi-maḥḍ jūdihi wa-ifḍālihi, ka-mā marra bayānuhu. *Qurbuka ilai-hi* taᶜālā *khurūjuka,* bi-fanā'ika, *min-ka, wa-buᶜduka* ᶜan-hu *wuqūfuka maᶜa-ka,* li-anna-ka ḥijāb; wa-ᶜinda-hu ḥasanāt al-abrār sayyi'āt al-muqarrabīn, ka-mā marra. Wa-hādhā qarīb min qawlihi *In jī'ta bi-lā anta qabilaka,* wa-tawallāka bi-luṭfihi, *wa-in jī'ta bi-ka,* bi-an ra'aita la-ka wujūdan wa-ᶜamalan, *ḥajabaka* ᶜan ḥaḍrat unsihi.

Al-ᶜāmil, ay wa-'l-ᶜāmil fī ᶜibādatihi, *lā yakādu yakhluṣu min ru'yat ᶜamalihi,* li-ṭalab al-ujra ᶜalai-hi; *fa-kun min qabīl al-minna,* ay minnat Allāh wa-tafaḍḍulihi ᶜalai-ka, *lā min qabīl al-ᶜamal,* li-taslama min ru'yatihi wa-tashhada anna-hu lā fāᶜil wa-lā mawjūd illā Allāh, fa-takūna min al-ᶜārifīn, li-anna-ka, *in ᶜaraftahu,* wa-anna-hu al-fāᶜil al-mawjūd, *sakanta* ilai-hi fī ḥarakātika wa-sakanātika, fa-in naṭaqta, naṭaqta bi-hi, wa-in samiᶜta, samiᶜta min-hu, wa-ha-kadhā fa-lā lisān la-ka wa-lā udhn, wa-li-hādhā qīla "ᶜAlāmat al-ᶜārif an yakūnu fārighan min al-dunyā wa-'l-ākhira"; *wa-in jahiltahu, taḥarrakta,* bi-ru'yatika ᶜamalaka wa-bi-ṭalabika al-ujra ᶜalai-hi.

Fa-'l-murād min dhālika kullahu, *an yakūna Huwa* taᶜālā ᶜinda-ka, *wa-lā takūna anta,* bal tafnā ᶜan ghairihi taᶜālā.

Al-ᶜawāmm, wa-hum al-ᶜibād alladhīna hum dūna ᶜawāmm al-ᶜārifīn, *aᶜmāluhum muttahamāt,* li-ṭalabihim al-ujra ᶜalai-hā, fa-hiya mashūba bi-ḥuẓūẓihim, wa-hum ka-'l-ujarā': in uᶜṭū al-ujra ᶜamalū, wa-illā fa-lā.[22] *Wa-'l-khawāṣṣ,* wa-hum al-fānūn ᶜan ḥuẓūẓihim, *aᶜmāluhum qurubāt,* lā naẓar la-hum ilā ᶜamal wa-lā ilā thawāb, bal ilā qurb min-hu taᶜālā; *wa-khawāṣṣ al-khawāṣṣ,* wa-hum al-fānūn fī Allāh bi-'llāh lillāh, al-bāqūn min Allāh lillāh, *aᶜmāluhum darajāt,* yaṣ-ᶜadūna fī-hā, fa-lā yashhadūna la-hum ᶜamalan wa-lā qurban, bal afnāhum Allāh ᶜan-hum wa-abqāhum la-hu li-adā' ḥuqūqihi.

Kulla-mā ijtanabta, ayyuhā al-sālik, *hawāka* wa-ḥaẓẓaka, *qawiya īmānuka,* fa-yukshafu la-ka sirr al-ḥikma al-rabbāniyya wa-'l-qudra al-ilāhiyya, wa-anna-hu al-fāᶜil al-mawjūd; *wa-kulla-mā ijtanabta dhātaka,* ay fanaita ᶜan-hā wa-ᶜan sā'ir al-khalq wa-takhallaqta bi-maqām al-baqā' bi-an ra'aita Allāh muḥīṭan bi-kull shai', *qawiya tawḥīduka,* wa-qaddamtu anna al-tawḥīd tawḥīd fī 'l-afᶜāl wa-tawḥīd fī 'l-ṣifāt wa-tawḥīd fī 'l-dhāt; wa-'l-awwal tawḥīd al-ᶜawāmm, wa-'l-thānī tawḥīd al-khawāṣṣ, wa-'l-thālith tawḥīd khawāṣṣ al-khawāṣṣ.

Al-khalq, maᶜa wuqūfika maᶜa-hum, *ḥijāb* ᶜan ru'yatihi taᶜālā, *wa-anta* maᶜa dhālika *ḥijāb* ᶜan-hā aidan; *wa-'l-Ḥaqq* taᶜālā *laisa bi-maḥjūb* ᶜan-ka, idh lā qudra ᶜalā ḥajbihi, *wa-Huwa yaḥtajibu* ᶜan-ka, idh lā qudra ᶜalā ḥajbihi, *wa-Huwa yaḥtajibu ᶜan-ka bi-ka,* li-naẓarika ilā wujūdika wa-ᶜamalika; *wa-anta muḥtajib ᶜan-ka bi-ka,* li-dhālika, wa-hādha sāqiṭ min nusakh, *wa-anta maḥjūb ᶜan-ka bi-hi* taᶜālā, li-anna-ka idhā naẓarta ilā wujūdihi taᶜālā ḥujibta bi-hi ᶜan-ka, wa-fī nuskha: badal bi-him, ay al-khalq. *Fa-infaṣil* anta *ᶜan-ka,* ay ᶜan wujūdika wa-ḥawlika wa-quwwatika, *tashhad* mā manna bi-hi ᶜalai-ka min al-niᶜam wa-'l-jūd. Wa-'l-salām ᶜalai-ka wa-raḥmat Allāh wa-barakātuhu.

CHAPTER IV

KITAB PATAHULRAHMAN *

TEXT

Canto I

1. Purwaning wangsit akarya gĕnḍing
duk ingsun lagi aneng Pakudran
kumawi tan wruh basane
tan wruh ing tindak-tanduk
nĕmbangakĕn kitab Arabi
kitab PatahulRahman
rinakit ing tĕmbung
pinupuhan ḍanḍanggula
muga-mugantuka sihe ing Yang Widi
ing dunya ing akerat.

2. Mugantuka sapangating nabi
linĕbur sak(eh)ing dosa amba
dening Yang, dosa kabeh
mugantuka pitulung
kabukaa rasa kang jati
antuka amba barkat
ing guru katengsun
anulungi ingkang kajat
kang akarsa kinarsakakĕn ing gĕnḍing
kitab PatahulRahman

3. Nabi Muhammad mangke lingnyaris
singsapa iku nulungi hajat
ing dalĕm pawong-sanake

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

KITAB PATAHULRAHMAN

TRANSLATION

Canto I

1. The idea of writing verse occurred to me
when I was living in Pakudran,
but though playing the poet I have no command of the language.
I cannot find the right words
now that I am turning an Arabic book into verse,
namely, the book Fatḥ al-Raḥmān,
to be phrased in lines
in the *ḍanḍanggula* metre.
May God grant me His favour
in this world and the next.

2. May the Prophet intercede for me,
so that my sins be forgiven
by the Lord, my sins all and sundry.
May I be rendered assistance,
so that the essential meaning of the book be clear to me.
May I be accorded the beneficent influence
of my Master,
meeting my wish
to turn into verse
the book Fatḥ al-Raḥmān.

3. The Prophet Muḥammad said,
"Should anyone meet the wish
of a friend, then

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

4. Lawan malih pangandika nabi
kang sinung rahmat kalawan salam
ikilah pangandikane
utawi wong atudu(h)
kabĕcikan kadya kang kardi
ganjaraning Pangeran
ing wong kang atudu(h)
iyeku amal jariya [1]
kang lumaku atudu(h) kalawan ilmi
kang sĕpi saking riya.

5. Angandika seh kang luwih arip
ĕseh Juned kang abangsa Bakdad
ikilah pangandikane
wa-kullaka sirkiyyu [2]
tĕgĕsipun sireku sirik
dening angrasa sira
ndarbeni panĕbut
pamuji lawan panĕmbah
sipta rasa makripat kang angalingi
iku dereng sampurna.

6. Iya iku kang luwih ngalingi
sipta rasa angrasa makripat
kalawan Allah siptane
maksi(h) kalingan iku
maksi(h) sirik tan wĕrung jati
kalingan sipta rasa
angrasa andulu
iyeku sirik kang samar
dereng tohid tingale maksi(h) kalingling
dereng anunggal tingal.

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

4. Furthermore the Prophet,
whom God may grant mercy and peace,
said the following,
"To urge a reputable act
is tantamount to performing it".
The Lord rewards
anyone who urges reputable conduct;
doing this is (of the same import as) establishing a pious [foundation,
provided it is done with good knowledge
and free from ostentation.

5. A mystic of great renown,
Shaikh Junaid of Baghdād,
said the following,
"You are entirely polytheism".
You are a polytheist,
for you accredit yourself
with invocations,
praise and homage,
but your ideas, feelings and gnosis are screens;
you have not yet attained perfection.

6. The most serious impediments are
your ideas, feelings and enjoyment of gnosis,
when allied to the idea of duality.
Then you are still behind a screen,
still a polytheist lacking deeper understanding
and screened from the Lord by your idea and feeling
that you yourself think and see.
This is hidden polytheism and
not yet the profession of unity, since your vision is still obstructed,
and unification of vision is not yet attained.

7. Yen sira ayun tĕkeng rasadi
pancadriyanira den karaksa
dasadriya [3] den katalen
aja kĕmba[h] den kukuh
kirangana tĕḍa lan guling
sanggama den karaksa
tyasnya sĕdya ayu
aja pĕgat murakabah
iḍĕp aḍĕp iḍĕpe den ngati-ati
den wruh sirang pinangka.

8. Nora tumĕka maring Yang Widi
yen tan wruha ing pinangkanira
yen wus wĕrung pinangkane
dadya wĕrung Yang Agung
ḍirinira ya iku napi
kalingan ing Yang Sukma
nabi Allah muwus
sapa wĕrung ḍirineka
den kawruhi nora jumĕnĕng pribadi
mangkya wĕruh ing Pangeran.[4]

9. Angandika wong kang luwih arip
nora nyata tohidira ing Yang
saingga mĕtu awake [5]
den wruh ing tĕgĕsipun
wong kang amĕtu saking ḍiri
iku wong kang tumingal
ing dat sipat iku
atanapi ing apĕngal
den tingali ḍirine iku wus napi
anging Allah kewala.

10. Aja tungkul genira ngabakti
yen tungkula tĕmahan kajarah
kajarah sĕmbah pujine
tan wruh ing jatinipun
katungkul ing sĕmbah pamuji
katungkul ing makamat
myang ing kaspi iku

7. If you are desirous of thorough understanding,
then watch your five senses
and keep a tight rein on the complementary organs.
Do not be lax but be firm;
minimize food and sleep;
beware of sexual intercourse;
cherish good designs
and watch the Lord unremittingly;
be cautious with your thoughts and the objects of your attention;
be aware of your origin.

8. You will not attain to the Lord
unless you know your origin.
If you know your origin,
you know the Lord most high.
Your self is a non-entity,
screened from the Lord.
The Prophet said,
"Whosoever knows himself, and is aware of the fact
that he is not self-subsistent,
knows God".

9. A prominent mystic said,
"Your profession of unity will not be evident
unless you have given up self".
Know that this means:
Whosoever has given up self,
sees God's Essence, attributes
and works;
he sees self as a non-entity,
and God as the Only Being.

10. Do not be preoccupied with worship,
otherwise you will become a captive
of your homage and devotion.
Ignorant of the essential,
one is preoccupied with homage and devotion,
preoccupied with the attainment of mystic stations
and disclosure.

iyeku kang dadi hijab
sĕmbah puji makripat kang angalingi
tingalira ing Sukma.[6]

11. Bĕciking kang anĕmbah amuji
aywa tungkul ing puji paněmbah
den wĕruh ing kajatine
yen tan wrung jatinipun
lir bagĕna sĕmbah pamuji
yen tan wruh jatinira
sayogya wong iku
takona wong kang sampurna
aja tungkul anggunggung sĕmbah pamuji
yeku ngalingi tingal.

12. Angandika wong kang luwih arip
sampurnaning pamuji paněmbah
tan wruh ing sĕmbah pujine
muwah ing ḍirinipun
tan ana liyaning Yang Widi
kang muji kang anĕmbah
tunggal jatinipun
tan na liyan saking iya
kang nĕmbah amuji tan liyaning Jati
amuji ḍawakira.[7]

13. Angandika satĕngah wong supi
utawi yakin iku wong mĕdal
kang mĕtu saking ḍirine [8]
tan ningali liyanipun
tatkalane wuwuh kang yakin
mangka angalih sira
saking makam iku [9]
angalih makam panunggal
malah tĕka maring makam kang sĕjati
tan wruh ing kaspinira.

14. Angandika wong kang ahli tohid
kang aran tohid den sami wikan
ing tohid iku tĕgĕse

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

11. The right way of bringing homage and praise
is to be not preoccupied by these
but to know the essential;
otherwise
homage and praise are void, as it were.
When one is in the dark about the essential,
one should ask
an adept.
Do not overrate the importance of homage and devotion,
for they obstruct the vision.

12. An advanced mystic said,
"Supreme praise and homage is
not to know of homage and praise,
nor of self.
There is no one but the Lord,
who praises and pays homage;
one in His essence;
there is no one but He.
None other than His Essence pays homage and praises,
in praise of Himself".

13. A mystic said,
"To have a firm conviction means that one has given up self".
He who has given up self,
sees nothing else.
When his conviction has grown firm,
he moves on
from that mystic station
to the station of unity;
nay, he attains the supreme station,
namely, that of not knowing of disclosure.

14. Those who experience unity say,
"You should know
what unity means,

anunggalakĕn kayun
lan makripat tan liyan jati
jatine iku tunggal
tan liyan jatinipun
kadulu kang tiningalan
tan liyan kang dulu-dinulu pan sami
tan liyan ingkang tumingal.[10]

15. Angandika seh Juned Bakdadi
tatkalane sira sarta Allah
dadya kalingan ḍirine
dening Yang Mahaluhur
dadya napi ḍirine kadi
mulih kadya duk nora [11]
kalinḍi(h) Yang Agung
ḍirine nora katingal
sampun lĕbur lir malam katrapan api
ing upamane ika.

16. Yen sira ayun wruh ing Yang Widi
ayun wru(h) sira ing ḍirinira
den wĕruh ing pinangkane
mangkya wrung jatinipun
tan ana liyan kang ngawruhi
puniku dudu sira
ngandika Yang Agung
norana sira mĕmana(h)
ing nalika mĕmana(h) sira ing kapir
anging Allah kang mana(h).[12]

17. Iya iku sampurnaning tohid
tan ngawruhi iku ḍirinira
datan wru(h) iku liyane
iku panjĕnĕngipun
sampun sirna tingale wali
wali kang asung tingal
wong arip amuwus
aywa sira anyana [13]
kang tumingal anĕmbah muji Yang Widi
liyaning kang amurba.

namely, surrender to the Lord
and vision of nothing but the Reality,
which is one.
Essentially there is no difference
between the seer and the seen;
subject and object of the vision are the same;
the seer is none other (than the seen).

15. Shaikh Junaid of Baghdad said,
when he was with God
and screened from self
by the Lord most high,
so that his self was non-existent, as if
returned to the stage of non-existence,
overpowered by the Lord,
and his self had vanished,
molten away as wax put on a fire,
as it were,

16. "If you want to know the Lord,
you must know your self".
You must know its origin,
then you know the Reality;
there is no other way of knowing.
It is not you.
The Lord most high said,
"It was not you who threw,
when you threw (a pebble) against the infidels,
but Allah who threw".

17. Perfect unity is
not to know of self,
nor of anything else.
This is real unity.
The sight of the Friend has vanished,
of the Friend who granted vision.
The mystic says,
"Do not nurse the idea that
he who sees, pays homage and praises God,
is another than the Creator".

18. Kawruhana ananing Yang Widi
angliputi ing sakehe asya [14]
sadurunge ana kabeh
muwah ing sawusipun
tan kĕjaba saking Yang Widi
saingga ku saděrah
kaliputan iku
ing mangke kaya ing kuna
ora beda tingale kang sampun wasil
tan samar ing paningal.

19. Sampuning mangkana den asami
dipun wĕruh ing ajal kamulan [15]
den wruh maring wiwitane
yen wrung kamulanipun
dadya wĕruh sira ing jati
ḍingining takyun awal
wiwitaning takyun
ing dalĕm martabat wahdat
iya iku wiwitaning gen tajali
maksi(h) dadalan mujmal.[15a]

20. Kaping kalih ĕnggening tajali
atas dadalan kang pisah-pisah
ing takyun sani ĕnggone
wus nyateng dalem ilmu
sakaṭahing sawiji-wiji
kaping tri karijiya
nyataning Yang Agung
iyeku mulaning ana
ingkang kocap sĕdaya iku tajali
nyataning ahadiyat.

21. Yen sampun wĕruh ing kajatining [16]
sakaṭahing asya kang gumĕlar
dadya wruh ing Pangerane
lawan Pangeranipun
tan na liyan kang den kawruhi
anging Allah kang tunggal
tan wrung ḍirinipun

18. Know that the Being of God
encompasses everything.
Before and after anything
was called into being,
there was no one but God;
even the smallest particle
is encompassed by Him,
now as before.
He who has reached the goal does not hold a different view;
it is perfectly clear to him.

19. Furthermore everyone
should know his origin;
should know the beginning.
When you know this,
you have gone to the root of the matter.
The beginning of the first determination,
which is the starting-point of all determination,
is at the grade of 'wahdat';
this is the beginning of manifestation,
still without differentiation.

20. The second stage is the manifestation
in the way of individuation,
which takes place in the second determination.
Each several thing
is present in His knowledge.
The third is the stage of exteriorization,
namely, that of the outward manifestation of the Lord most high.
It is the starting-point of all being.
All these grades are called manifestations,
through which the Absolute Unity displays itself.

21. If you know the real situation
as regards the whole of things created,
you know the Lord;
and as regards the Lord,
none other is known
beside Allah the Only One.
You do not know of self,

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

22. Kalakuaning akyan kang karij
anut iya kang aneng maklumat
dat sipat lan apĕngal
ingkang iya iku
tan sĕlaya rupane kadi
nabi Allah ngandika
akarya Yang Agung
ing Adam apa (aneng?) rupanya
iku dalil tanḍaning akyan kang karij
anut akyan sabita.

23. Utawi wong kang suhud ing Widi
ayun wruh ing akyan karijiya
tan beda lan hakekate
kang aneng dalem ilmu
kang ingaran akyan kang sabit
yeku luwih utama
suhude puniku
iyeku marganing mĕdal
saking ḍiri ayun sami angawruhi
jumĕnĕng lawan Allah.

Canto II

1. Ing awal lawan ing akir
jumĕnĕng lawan Yang Sukma
tan kĕna pisah anane
ing dunya tĕkeng akerat
anging kalawan Sukma
ing barang ĕndi wong iku
tan pisah lan kang Wisesa.

2. Yen sampun sira wĕruhi
jumĕnĕng kalawan Sukma
maka ngalingi Yang Manon
saking ḍirinira ika

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

22. The exterior essences
are in conformity to the intelligible ones.
As regards their essence, attributes and works,
none of these
shows any difference,
as the Prophet said,
"The Almighty created
Adam in His own image".
This is evidence of the exterior essences
being in conformity to the latent ones.

23. Anyone devoting himself to the Lord
should know that the exterior essences
are not different from their intelligible prototypes
which exist in God's knowledge
and are named the latent essences.
This is the highest devotion
and the way to get rid
of self, in prospect of the knowledge
of subsisting in God.

Canto II

1. (Namely, the prospect of) subsisting in the Lord
in the beginning and in the end,
inseparable from Him
in this world and the next,
and of being with Him
wherever one is,
not separated from the Almighty.

2. If you know
that you subsist in the Lord,
He screens you
from self,

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

3. Tatkala wus sirna iku
saking dat sipat apĕngal
dadya ambuka Yang Manon
ambuka ing hijabira
dadya sira tumingal
tan ana liyan Yang Agung
kang dulu kang tiningalan

4. Kalinḍih ing wahdat jati
dadi lĕbur ngubudiyat
ing dalĕm wahdat anane
dadya punika kawula
mangkya langkung .....[17]
pangandikane Yang Agung
sakehe asya ku pana.[18]

5. Wong kang ahlulwahdat angling
ing mangko puniku adam
anging Yang Sukma anane
ing awal lan akir tunggal
tan ana ingkang liyan
Sultan Ali mangke muwus
ikilah kang pangandika

6. Nora aningali mami
ing sawiji-wiji asya
anging ananing Yang Manon
kang mojud kang tiningalan
tan ana kang katingal
liyane saking Yang Agung
kang murba kang amisesa.[19]

7. Satĕngah wong supi angling
singsapa amrih Yang Sukma
karana iku ḍeweke
nora tumĕka sinĕdya

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

3. When self is annihilated
through His Essence, attributes and works,
the Almighty lifts
the veil,
so that one sees
that there is none but the Lord most high,
who sees and is seen.

4. When one is overpowered by the real Unity,
the servitude is dissolved
into unity,
so that the servant
..... (defective line in the MS.)
The Lord most high said,
"Everything perishes".

5. Those who experience unity say,
"Presently nothing will exist
save the Lord,
the Only One, in both the beginning and the end,
with no one beside Him".
Sultan Ali said
the following,

6. "In nothing whatever
do I see anything
but the Being of the Lord".
In the existing things within my sight
I see nothing
but the Lord most high,
who creates and rules.

7. A mystic said,
"Anyone who, striving after the Lord,
is motivated by self,
will not attain his end,

maksih puniku wuta
singsapa amrih Yang Agung
tumĕka kalawan Sukma.

8. Satĕngah pandita angling
singsapa wuta ing dunya
dadi wuta maripate
ing benjing tĕkeng akerat [20]
datan wruh ing Pangeran
sabab wuta tingalipun
ing dunya nora maripat.

9. Imam Hajali angling
singsapa manjing suwarga
ing dunya iku punang wong
maka manjing suwarga
akerat yugya aweha
amal sadiyah [21] wong iku
ing dunya manjing suwarga.

10. Ahli batin sarta yakin [22]
ahli lahir sarta iman
namung saosek kalbune
kang liyan saking Pangeran
maka wong iku kurang
yakine maring Yang Agung
lir kadya wong ahli iman.

11. Tatkalane iku mosik
kang lyan saking amarullah
kurang imane punang wong
dereng sampurna kang iman
kadya wong yakin ikrah [23]
kang liyan saking Yang Agung
kang yakin dereng sampurna.

12. Nora tumĕkeng wong asih
anging sawuse tetela
yakin iku Pangerane
utawing wong kang sampurna

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

8. A scholar said,
"Anyone who is blind in this life,
will be blind also
in the hereafter;
he will not behold the Lord,
since he was blind
and devoid of sight in this life".

9. Imam Ghazali said,
"Anyone living in paradise
in this life, that man
in order to win heaven
should do
pious works
while living in paradise on earth".

10. Certainty is proper to the spiritual-minded,
faith is proper to the secular man.
But when the heart of a man of certainty
is roused on account of anything save God,
his certainty with regard to God
is deficient,
as is the case with a man of faith.

11. When the latter is roused
on account of anything save God
his faith is deficient,
not yet perfect,
in the same way as an incentive
not springing from the Lord
impairs the certainty of a man of certainty.

12. The latter will not be roused
unless it has become clear to him
and he is certain that it is the Lord.
The man of perfect certainty

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

13. Sampurnaning wong kang tohid
ing Allah tan darbe tingal
maripat saking ḍeweke
sĕmbah puji tan katingal
tan darbe tingkah polah
tan angrasa darbe kayun
wujud mung maring Sukma.

14. Nora tumĕka mring tohid
nanging dĕdalan maripat
angawruhi pinangkane
ngawruhi asya sĕdaya
sakehing kang gumĕlar
sadurunge ana mujud
ing takyun awal kamulyan.

15. Anulya ing takyun sani
lahire ing karijiyah
agĕlar sakeh asyane
asal ingkang luwih nyata
nanging warnine akyan
kang tĕtĕp ing dalĕm ilmu
kang karij nora sĕlaya.

16. Yen sampun sami ngawruhi
sakehing asya sĕdaya
yen saking iku angsale
nĕnggih margining maripat
ngawruhi saking angsal
angaspadakĕn yen wujud
jumĕnĕng lawan Yang Sukma.

17. Pangandikaning Yang Widi
ing dalu kalawan ing siyang
ing dalĕm ilmu lampahe
lir kadya ing asal

is not roused by any impulse
in his heart
save the Lord.

13. The perfect monotheist
does not view
his gnosis as springing from himself;
he does not look upon homage and prayer;
he has no activity of his own
nor has he any desires;
he exists solely for God.

14. One cannot attain *tawḥīd*
save in the way of knowledge,
namely, the knowledge of one's origin,
the knowledge that all things,
the entire universe,
before coming into existence
have their spring in the first determination;

15. then in the second determination,
while exteriorizing in the exterior essences,
in which all things are displayed.
A clear origin,
the shape of things being that of their essences,
which are latent in God's knowledge.
The exterior ones do not differ from these.

16. When you know
that all things
have their spring from there —
in truth it is the way of knowledge
to trace things to their origin —
then you behold clearly
that all existence is God's.

17. God said,
"Night and day
everything comes about with His knowledge,
as in origin also

lumampah lawan karsa
pangandikaning Yang Agung
kalawan Ingsun angucap [24]

18. Ningali kalawan mami
muwah lan Ingsun miarsa
kalawan Ingsun lampahe
kalawan Ingsun akarĕp
satingkah-polahira
kalawan Ingsun anambut
nĕnggih tĕgĕsing pasartan.

19. Ki Seh Juned sira angling
sajrone kulambingwang Yang
iku tan ana liyane
kang muji nĕmbah angucap
miwah saparipolah
tan liya saking Yang Agung
kang murba kang amisesa.

20. Ri sampunira ngawruhi
sakaṭahe ingkang kocap
yugya den sangĕt wĕdine
nĕnggih sarate lumapah
wĕdi maring Yang Sukma
yen tan wĕdi mring Yang Agung
..... dadya kiyanat.[25]

21. Awĕdi maring Yang Widi
lan sabar tawĕkal lila
ing dalĕm ilmu hukume
nĕnggih sarating lumampah
angarĕp-arĕp rahmat
kalawan puji iku
amuji kang asung rahmat.

22. Lan malih wajib lampahi
pikukuh Islam sĕdaya
lan anyĕgah ing cĕgahe
sarating hakekat

it comes about through His will".
The Lord most high said,
"They speak through Me,

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

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

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

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

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

yen tan kalawan sarat
sarengat tarekat iku
kapir jidik ingaranan.[26]

23. Lan malih ayun kirangi
ing sanḍang kalawan pangan
angrasa iku kalbune [27]
saking kang sumuwa ika [28]
lan saking ujubriya
miwah jahi lawan kasud [29]
iyeku bataling lampah.

24. Lan malih sarat sawiji
aja ngakehakĕn lampah
ingkang tan ana pedahe
barang ingkang nora pedah
pan sayugya tininggal
dadya nungkulakĕn laku
punika kang dadi hijab.

25. Ing tingal dadya ngalingi
katungkul ing pangal [30] dunya
dadya lali ing Pangeran
nulya tan angrasa sĕlam
tan wĕdi ing Pangeran
tan wontĕn patobatipun
katungkul dening kasukan.

26. Iya iku kang ngalingi
tingal kita maring Sukma
katungkul ing dunya kang wong
datan emut lamun pĕjah
katungkul ing hal dunya
tan wĕdi maring Yang Agung
yeku alamat cilaka.

27. Pangandikaning Yang Widi
singsapa arĕp tumĕka
tĕtĕmu lan Pangerane
nora gawea ing amal

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

23. Furthermore one should minimize
expenses for food and dress,
alive to the fact that spending money on either of these
could spring from ambition,
pride, ostentation,
vainglory or envy,
which invalidate all action.

24. Another prerequisite is
not to indulge in
purposeless activity;
anything pointless
should be avoided,
absorption in activity
being a screen.

25. Absorption in worldly activities
obstructs vision,
so that one does not attend to the Lord.
Subsequently one does not feel a Muslim
nor does one fear the Lord.
One does not regret it,
being wrapped up in pleasure,

26. And this obstructs
one's vision of the Lord.
Absorbed in the things of this world
one is unmindful of death,
since one is wrapped up in this world
and does not fear God,
which spells disaster.

27. The Lord said,
"No one desirous of coming
and meeting the Lord,
should bring with him pious works

saleh iya aywa katungkul
iku .....
ing Pangeran wong sanunggal.[31]

28. Dadya sira apapanggih
kalawan Yang Sukma ika
yen anut ing Pangerane
cĕgah pakoning Yang Sukma
anut sarak Muhammad
ing lahir lan batinipun
anut ing nabi utusan.

29. Margane tumĕkeng jati
arsa anut nabi kita
satingkah-paripolahe
lahir batin pan tunggal
lan den wruh ḍiri ḍawak
jumĕnĕng lawan Yang Agung
nora jumĕnĕng pribadya.

30. Ing siyang kalawan ratri
den eling maring Yang Suksma
maring saparipolahe
aywa nyana iku ḍawak
anging lawan Yang Suksma
ing saparipolahipun
tan sĕpi saking Yang Suksma

31. Wĕkas-wĕkasan aurip
tingale tan darbe tingal
Allah saking iku ḍeweke [32]
tan ngrasa darbe maripat
puji lawan panĕmbah
tan angrasa darbe wujud
wujud saking ḍewekira.

32. Ing mangke lawan inguni
datan jumĕnĕng pribadya
anging kalawan Sukmane
nora lawan ḍirinira

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

28. In fact you will meet
the Lord,
when you obey Him,
refrain from what is forbidden,
abide by the Law of Muhammad
outwardly and inwardly, and
follow the Messenger of God.

29. The way to attain the Reality
is to follow our Prophet
in all one's doings,
for exterior and interior are one,
and to know that self
has its being in Him (the Lord),
and is not an independent entity.

30. Day and night
one must remember the Lord
in all one's doings.
Do not fancy that they are yours:
they are God's alone.
None of one's doings
is without the Lord.

31. The ultimate goal of life is reached
when Allah is not the end in view,
and therefore
one does not think that gnosis,
praise and homage are one's own,
nor does one ascribe being to oneself,
self-subsistent being, that is.

32. Neither now nor of old
was man independent:
he subsists in God,
not in self;

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

33. Ngandika Bagenḍa Ali
kang kinarilan dening Yang
punika pangandikane
ingsun lamun binukaa
tan wuwuh ing Yang [33]
dening sampun yakin ingsun
dening wus nyateng Pangeran.

Canto III

1. Ri sampunira mangkana
den sami sira ngawruhi
prasanak ingsun kang mulya
satuhu wujud kakalih
kang satunggil hakiki
dat ingkang mutĕlak iku
..... [34]
ping kalih wujud majaji [35]
gih puniku ingaran wujud mukayad.[36]

2. Wujud mukayad tan ana
anging lan wujud hakiki
jĕnĕnge wujud mukayad
dat sipat apĕngal kadi
kang aneng dalem ilmi
kang lahir ing alam iku
ingaran karijiyat [37]
dening mijil saking ilmi
gih punika nyataning akyan sabitah.[38]

3. Tĕtĕp ingkang dat lan sipat
apĕngal hakekat sami
..... [39]
kang ingaran akyan sabit
ing akyan karij lahir [40]
akyan ingkang subut iku [38]

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

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

Canto III

1. Furthermore
all of you, my esteemed friends,
should know
that being is twofold:
first the Real One,
the Absolute Essence
.....
secondly the metaphorical one,
named limited being.

2. Limited being does not exist
save in relation to Real Being,
on account of its limited character.
Its essence, attributes and works are
in conformity to those existing in God's knowledge.
What becomes manifest in this world
is named 'exterior';
as it springs from God's knowledge;
it is, indeed, the manifestation of the latent essences.

3. Its essence, attributes and works
remain authentic
.....
What is named latent essences,
manifests itself in the exterior essences.
The latent essences

nyata ing karijiyah
lakune kang dalĕm ilmi
kalihipun lahire Yang Sukma Mulya.

4. Lahire akyan sabitah
atanapi akyan karij
yeku minongka takyunat [41]
karane tan anḍeweki
anging lawan Yang Widi
dat sipat apĕngalipun
upama pawayangan
wujude tan anḍeweki
anging lawan kang darbeni wawayangan.

5. Tan darbe wujud pribadya
tarsonḍa maring Yang Widi
ananing wujud mukayad
anut ing wujud hakiki
saparipolahneki
..... [42]
tan na jatining tingal
tan liyan saking sajati
gih punika jatining tohid sampurna.

6. Winastan salat da'imat [43]
sĕmbah pujine kang da'im
tan pĕgat pamujinira
ing siyang kalawan ratri
tansah nĕmbah amuji
tan pĕgat pamujinipun
tingale tan katingal
tan kanḍĕg sĕmbah pamuji
dening wus wruh jatine puji panĕmbah.

7. Pangandikaning Yang Suksma
ing hadis kudsi pinanggih
ingsan iku rasaning Yang
lan Ingsun rahsaning jalmi [44]
tansah Ingsun neng kapti
wong kang asih maring Ingsun

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

4. The appearance of both the latent
and the exterior essences
means differentiation.
As neither of these is self-subsistent
but they exist through the Lord,
their essence, attributes and works
are comparable to a wayang play:
they are not self-subsistent;
they exist only through that which is shadowed forth.

5. They have no being of their own
but are leaning on the Lord.
Being of limited existence
is in conformity with Real Being;
all its activities
.....
.....
.....
This is indeed the essential of real *tawḥīd*.

6. It is named 'permanent prayer',
'permanent homage and praise'.
One's prayer is uninterrupted
day and night.
Continuously one pays homage and praises;
one's prayer is uninterrupted.
Though there is no object in view
one's homage and prayer never halt,
since one knows what praise and homage amount to.

7. A word of God
found in the *ḥadīth qudsī*
says, "Man is God's secret,
and I am the secret of man".
The longing of those who love Me
continuously goes out to Me;

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

8. Pangandikaning Yang Sukma
yen sira ayun pinanggih
kalawan Ingsun ta sira
andadekĕn maring pamrih
pamrihe saking Kami
pamrihira maring Ingsun
aywa anyana sira
andadekĕn maring pamrih
iya iku murade sĕmbah wangsulan.

9. Kalawan Ingsun angucap
kalawan Ingsun ningali
kalawan Ingsun miarsa
kalawan Ingsun adikir
lawan lumaku Mami
nabiyullah mangke muwus
norana wujud kita
anging ananing Yang Widi
iyeku tan lyan wujud lawan Yang Sukma.

10. Tatkala sira wus wikan
jumĕnĕng lawan Yang Widi
mangke wruh maring Yang Sukma
yata ing sawiji-wiji
wruhe tan anḍeweki
anging kalawan Yang Agung
tan darbe tingal ḍawak
tingale punika napi
dening nora wong iku jumĕnĕng ḍawak.

11. Punika napining asya
anane tan anḍeweki
anging kalawan Yang Sukma
kang batin lawan kang lahir
lahir batine sami
tan jumĕnĕng ḍewekipun

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

8. God said,
"When desirous
of meeting Me,
you intend to do that,
this intention springs from Me,
namely, your intention of striving after Me.
Do not fancy
that it is your own.
This is what is meant by 'return homage'.

9. Through Me they speak,
through Me they see,
through Me they hear,
through Me they are mindful,
their walk is Mine.
The Prophet said,
"Ours is no being
save the Being of the Lord",
that is to say, no being other than subsisting in God.

10. When you know
that you subsist in God,
you know God;
then you know
that nothing whatsoever is self-subsistent;
everything subsists in Him.
You have no vision of your own;
there is no such vision,
since man is not self-subsistent.

11. Now, as regards the nullity of 'things' (creation),
they are not self-subsistent;
they subsist only in God,
inwardly and outwardly.
Neither outwardly nor inwardly
are they self-subsistent.

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

12. Lahiring wujud mukayad
lahire wujud hakiki
iya iku rupaning Hak
kang lahir anut ing batin
kang batin nyateng lahir
kang lahir mangke atuduh
ing kalakuwaning hak
kang wontĕn ing dalĕm batin
yata asya lampahe su'un datiyah.[45]

13. Lampahe su'un datiyah
kakalih batin lan lahir
kang lahir ananing asya
kang batin ing dalĕm ilmi
kaliye iku sami
kalawan hakikinipun
tan sĕpi saking ĕhak
kang batin lawan kang lahir
gih puniku minongka nyataning ĕhak.

14. Aywa samar ing paningal
sakaṭahe asya sami
dadya ta jatining ĕhak
lampahe sawiji-wiji
tan lyan saking Yang Widi
batin kalawan lahir pun
datan ana sĕlaya
kang batin kalawan lahir
gih punika minongka lahiring ĕhak.

15. Ri sampunira mĕngkana
dipun sami angawruhi
wirasane kang sinĕrat
dipun estokna ing galih
nĕnggih rasa kang adi
sakaṭahe kang sinĕbut

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

12. Outward limited being
is the exterior of real being,
the manifestation of the Reality.
The outward goes by the inward;
the inward manifests itself in the outward.
The outward points
to the development
inside the Reality:
'things' grow out of the predispositions in the Essence.

13. The predispositions of the Essence develop
into both the inward and the outward;
the outward is the being of 'things' (creation);
the inward are their intelligible forms.
They are the same
and in fact
not devoid of the Reality,
neither the inward nor the outward.
Both indeed serve for manifestations of the Reality.

14. Be clear about this:
All things
are in fact the Reality;
the moving of each distinct thing,
both inwardly and outwardly,
springs from God alone.
There is no difference
between the inward and the outward;
both indeed serve for manifestations of the Reality.

15. Furthermore
you should know
the purport of this writing, and
realize it in your heart,
for this is indeed the sound interpretation.
What has been remarked here

satĕngahe pan rahsa
rasa kang bongsa rabani [46]
gih punika satĕngah sih kanugrahan.

16. Sampun tamat kang sinurat
kitab kang abongsa Arbi
lawan sih nugrahaning Yang
pambuka bongsa rabani
kang tan sinungan ĕsih
tan ambuka rasanipun
anging sih kanugrahan
ambuka rasa sĕjati
mangke yogya den sami agugurua.

17. Yen sampun wikan sĕdaya
ing sawirasaning tulis
.... yogya angaṭahna [47]
dikir maring Yang Widi
ing siyang lawan latri
aja pĕgat den lumintu
ing manah miwah lisan
dipun eling aja lali
sengga sirna ḍirine tan katingalan.

18. Mantuning sĕrat tinĕḍak
Sĕnen Wage Surya nĕnggih
Dumadilakir wulannya
tanggal ping kalih Jimakir
taune duk tinulis
angkaning taun ingitung
sewu nĕm atus warsa
sawidak lan tigang warsi
duk tinulis rusake Walonda Jawa.

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

16. This is the end
of the Arabic book.
God's favour and blessing
made me understand it.
When one is not granted God's favour,
one does not understand the meaning.
Only by favour and blessing
is its deeper meaning disclosed.
Therefore one should apply to a teacher.

17. When you understand completely
the purport of this writing,
then be continuously
mindful of the Lord,
day and night,
unremittingly,
in all you think or say.
Be mindful of Him, with never flagging attention.
so that your self disappears without leaving trace.

18. The copying of the book was finished
on Monday Wage Surya (?)
of the month Dumadilakir,
the second of the year Jimakir;
that was the time it was written,
which is the year
sixteen hundred
and sixty three (of the Javanese calendar),
when there was a war going on with the Dutch.

CHAPTER V

A RISALAH
by
Shihabuddin of Palembang *

Bismillāhi 'r-raḥmāni 'r-raḥīm.

Al-ḥamdu lillāh Rabb al-ᶜālamīn, wa-ṣallā Allāh ᶜalā sayyidinā Muḥammad wa-ālihi wa-ṣaḥbihi ajmaᶜīn.

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

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

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

I'lam, ketahui oléhmu, hay talib, bahwasanya jikalau ada wujud

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* MS. SOAS 12247, Marsden.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Dan sebab demikian itu berkata Shaikh Muhammad Raslani: *Wa 'l-sharī^{c}a la-hum,* ya'ni shari'ah Muhammadiyyah yang mutahharah
7 itu, bagi orang yang 'awam lagi / mubtadi, tetapi orang yang mutawassit dan orang yang muntahi terlebih sangat ia memeliharakan shari'ah Muhammadiyyah itu menjadi tunggul agama Islam.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Shahadan: ketahui oléhmu, hay talib, bahwasanya tawhid yang tiga perkara itu asal kebajikan, dan yaitu menjadi roh sekalian ibadat. Dan wajib atas sekalian kamu, hay talib, dalam menyungguh-nyungguhi dia; mudah-mudahan disampaikan Allah s.w.t. akan kita atas hal yang demikian itu, dengan hormat penghulu kita nabi Muhammad s.A.'.w.
11 serta dengan berkat Qur'an / yang azim. Maka apabila lupa engkau akan salah suatu daripada yang tiga perkara itu maka jadilah engkau *shirk khafī,* seperti yang telah tersebut itu. Maka wajib pula atas kamu membaharui dengan mengucap kalimah *Lā ilāha illā 'llāh* serta memeliharakan ma'nanya pada tiap-tiap waktu yang engkau lupa akan dia.

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

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

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

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

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

darak al-idrāk idrāk, ya'ni: Bermula, lemah daripada mendapat pendapat itu yaitulah pada sebenarnya pendapat. Maka yaitulah yang terlebih akmal pengenal ma'rifat kepada Allah s.w.t., maka yaitu ibarat daripada kesempurnaan peri hal orang yang ahl al-salik, dan yaitu ketika sangat ghalabahnya dalam hal berkhidmat ia kepada Allah s. serta tawajjuh hatinya yang bangsa rohani kepada Tuhannya hingga lupa ia akan dirinya dan akan sekalian *aghyār* sebab sangat tawajjuhnya akan Tuhannya, hingga merasailah ia bahwasanya dirinya itu sangat lemah halnya, tiada mempunyai ia upaya. Serta kata setengah ahl al salik r.A.'.: hingga ia merasai akan tiadanya, seperti firman Allah ta'ala: *Wa-qad khalaqtuka min qablu wa-lam taku shai'an,* ya'ni:
15 Sanya telah Kujadikan akan dikau daripada dahulu / pada hal tiada ada sesuatu. Dan jangan engkau sangka bahwasanya akan orang yang ahl al-salik yang telah sampai ia akan mertabat mahabbat kepada Allah s.w.t. maka gugurlah pada hak orang itu sekalian amar Allah dan nahinya, karena bahwasanya manusia itu tiada gugur sekali-kali segala amar Allah dan nahinya pada hak orang itu selagi ada wujud akalnya dalam hatinya; melainkan jika hilang akal daripada hati orang itu, karena hadith nabi s.A.'.w. atas demikian itu. *Wallāhu aᶜlam.*

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

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

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

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

Lagi erti *ḥaqq al-yaqīn* itu yaitu barang yang hasil baginya dengan mubasharah, seperti upamanya masuk ia dalam api serta merasai ia akan barang ishraq daripada panasnya dan barang sebagainya; seperti demikianlah ia mengenal akan wujud Allah ta'ala serta kekal ingatnya pada lahirnya dan pada batinnya, dan sangatlah it tawajjuh hatinya
18 yang bangsa rohani kepada Allah s.w.t. pada hal / tiada berpaling sekali-kali ia akan barang sesuatu yang lain daripada Allah s.w.t. daripada *aghyār* hingga lupa ia akan dirinya daripada sangat tawajjuhnya kepada dhat Allah ta'ala. Mudah-mudahan disampaikan Allah ta'ala kiranya kita dengan rahmatnya seperti peri hal yang demikian itu dengan berkat shafa'at penghulu kita nabi Muhammad, s.A.'.w.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Wa-kunta ka 'l-ᶜabdi 'l-mukhṭi'i 'l-ābiqi, ya'ni: Adalah engkau, hay segala 'awam, seperti hamba yang durhaka bagi tuannya lagi lari ia daripada tuannya yang bersifat kahar dan sifat rahman dan rahim. Maka tobatlah kamu kepada Tuhanmu dengan tobat yang makbul lagi nasuhan serta kerjakan oléhmu dengan berkhidmat, ya'ni dengan mengerjakanlah engkau akan segala suruhnya dan jauhilah oléhmu akan segala larangannya, karena Ialah Tuhan kita yang sebenarnya yang menjadikan kita dan sekalian perbuatan kita. Dan adalah engkau dengan khawf dan raja', ya'ni takut ia kepada Tuhanmu dan mengharap kepada rahmat Tuhanmu yang bersifat rahman rahim, serta mengerjakan engkau akan segala asbabnya datang rahmat Tuhanmu kepadamu, dan yaitu mengerjakan segala suruh Allah ta'ala kepadamu dan menjauhi segala yang ditegahkan Allah s.w.t. kepadamu, dan lagi hendaklah membanyakkan engkau dengan mengucap kalimah yang musharrafah dan yaitu *Lā ilāha illā 'llāh,* serta memeliharakan ma'nanya yang telah kusebutkan dalam sharh Jawharat al-tawhid. Maka /
23 engkau lihatlah dalamnya dan membanyakkan pula engkau dengan membaca salat dan salam atas nabi Muhammad s.A.'.w. serta hormat ta'zim dan wakar akan mertabat nabi Muhammad s.A.'.w., supaya beroléh shafa'atnya dalam dunya dan akhirat, karena itulah menjadi pintu akan rahmat Allah ta'ala. [dan dunya dan akhirat s.A.'.w.]

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

Subḥān Rabb al-ᶜizza ᶜammā yaṣifūna, wa-salām ᶜalā al-mursalīn, wa'l-ḥamdu lillāh Rabb al-ᶜālamīn, wa-ṣallā Allāhu ᶜalā sayyidinā

Muḥammad wa-ālihi wa-ṣaḥbihi ajmaᶜīn. Wa 'l-ḥamdu lillāh Rabb al-ᶜālamīn. /

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Tammat al-risāla ta'līf tuan shaikh Shihabuddin Jawi, raḥmat Allāh ᶜalaihi. Intahā.

A RISALAH

by

Shihabuddin of Palembang

SUMMARY

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Law of Muhammad (*Sharīᶜah Muḥammadiyyah*), when pertaining to outward worship, is called *sharīᶜah, ᶜibādah, ᶜilm yaqīn,* and many other names. Pertaining to inward worship, such as mindfulness, purity in heart, thankfulness, satisfaction, patience and suchlike commendable qualities, it is called *ᶜubūdiyyah, ᶜain al-yaqīn,* and sometimes *ᶜilm ṭarīqah*. Pertaining to the spirit of worship, such as turning the heart solely to God; utter acquiescence; unconcern with things

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Knowledge is tripartite: *ᶜilm al-yaqīn*; *ᶜain al-yaqīn,* and *ḥaqq al-yaqīn*; or, with other words, *kashf al-nafs*; *kashf al-qalb,* and *kashf al-sirr,* 'cognition by means of the intellect, the heart and man's innermost self'.[5]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

CHAPTER VI

THE SO-CALLED KITAB MUKHTASAR

by

Kemas Fakhruddin of Palembang

TEXT

Bismi 'llāhi 'l-Raḥmāni 'l-Raḥīm.

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

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

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

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

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

THE SO-CALLED KITAB MUKHTASAR

by

Kemas Fakhruddin of Palembang

TRANSLATION

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Dan ketahui oléhmu, hai salik, bahwasanya erti [3] tawhid itu yaitu menapikan yang lain, karena menetapkan Yang Esa [4] sebenarnya.[5] Dan yaitu atas tiga martabat:

pertama: bagi segala orang yang 'awamm, yaitu yang iqrarkan [6] dengan lisan [7] dan mentasdiqkan dengan hati; dan

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

ketiga: bagi segala orang yang siddiqin, yaitu bagi orang yang tiada melihat ia dalam wujud melainkan wujud Haqq ta'ala jua,[8] dan menamai orang yang sufi akandia fana dalam tawhid. Wa 'llāhu aᶜlam.

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

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

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

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

1°. the grade of the common people who affirm with their tongues and believe in their hearts;

2°. that of those who are 'brought near', *i.e.*, those who see the multiplicity of things but look upon them as springing from the Truly One, with an eye that makes them look away from causes and means; and

3°. that of the truthful, *i.e.*, those who in all being see only the Being of the Supreme Reality, and of whom the mystics say that they have passed away in *tawḥīd*. God knows best.

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

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

Maka apabila tiada engkau pandang lain daripada Allah ta'ala, maka adalah engkau muwahhid baginya sebenarnya,[2] dan apabila telah terbuka bagimu dengan demikian itu, maka engkau ketahui bahwasanya pandangmu bagi dirimu itu dosa, maka engkau minta ampun daripada pandangmu bagimu itu. Maka dengan khalismu daripada demikian itu, maka tahqiqlah bagimu pada maqam al-tawhid, dan berpeganglah [3] engkau dalam segala harakat dan dalam segala diam atasnya, yaitu Allah subhanahu wa-ta'ala, karena bahwasanya Ia jua yang mutasarrif
6 dalam tiap-tiap sesuatu / dan yang mudabbir bagi tiap-tiap sesuatu dan yang menggerakkan dan yang [1] mendiamkan bagi tiap-tiap sesuatu.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

What is meant by *tawḥīd* is that the attribute of uniqueness becomes manifest to the servant, so that the servant is wiped out completely wihout leaving a trace, while the heart fully professes that this is the actual situation.

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

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

Dan manakala melazimkan orang yang salik itu akandia, niscaya bertambah-tambah imannya dan keluar ia daripada makhluq, dan manakala bersungguh-sungguh dalamnya dan berbanyak-banyak ia, niscaya bertambah-tambah yaqinnya,[4] dan keluar ia [5] daripada dirinya dan sampai ia kepada Yang sebenar-benarnya, seperti kata mu'allif, raḍiya Allāhu ᶜan-hu:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Because of this the author says:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

This discipline has a number of grades.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Dan adalah manusia itu beberapa bahagai:

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

Dan mentertibkan atas demikian itu kata mu'allif:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Maka menyebutkan mu'allif dalam[4] kelebihan haqiqa atas shari'a dengan katanya:

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

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

Maka orang yang ahl al-mujahada itu karena dalam farq, yaitu muamalatnya mahjub; dan orang yang ahl al-minna itu karena dalam fadl,[6] yaitu dalam segala harakatnya dan diamnya, mahbub. Dan jikalau

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

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

And what a difference between exertion and favour!

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

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

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

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

Al-aᶜmāl mutaᶜalliqa bi 'l-sharᶜ, wa 'l-tawakkul mutaᶜalliq bi 'l-īmān, wa'l-tawḥīd mutaᶜalliq bi ['l-]kashf (al-ghiṭā'), Bermula, segala amal yang takluk pada kesempurnaan dhat hamba yang lahir seperti mengucap dua kalima shahada dan mendirikan sembahyang dan memberi jakat dan puasa dan hajj, itu yang takluk pada shar' yang mulia, dan [2] tiada (di)kenal [3] sekalian itu melainkan daripadanya. Dan karena inilah adalah mengenal shar' itu awwal daripada segala maqam dalam berjalan kepada Allah ta'ala. Dan yang terhenti dalam maqam awwal itu putus daripada Allah ta'ala karena tiada naiknya kepada maqam yang kemudiannya, yaitu maqam yang kedua.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

menyalahi hawa-napsu dan istiqamat dalam maqam al-ihsan,[3] seperti kata mu'allif, r.A.'.:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Knowledge is the way to works and works are the way to knowledge; knowledge is the way to gnosis; gnosis is the way to unveiling and unveiling is the way to passing away; passing away consists in ᶜilm, then ᶜain, then ḥaqq (see MS. pp. 26, 27).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

What is required is a heart that is clear from anything save God most high. Shaikh ᶜAbd al-Qādir Jīlānī alluded to this when he said,

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Maka menyatakan mu'allif, r.A.^{c}. akan tiap-tiap daripada keduanya dalam kurangnya dan sempurnanya dalam martabatnya, maka katanya:

Fa-matā taḥarraka qalb ṣāḥib al-yaqīn li-ghair Allāh ta^{c}ālā, naqaṣa yaqīnuhu; wa-matā lam yakhṭir la-hu khāṭir, kamila yaqīnuhu, Maka manakala bergerak hati orang yang yaqin itu bagi lain daripada Allah ta'ala, niscaya kurang yaqinnya pada Allah ta'ala dengan sebab bergeraknya.[1] Maka murad daripada bergerak itu yaitu terbit[2] dibangsakannya[3] kepadanya dengan sekira-kira berkata ia dalam dirinya: Bergerak hatiku.[4] Daripada tiada ada gerak itu terbit[5] daripada Tuhannya dalam pandangannya,[6] maka dida'wanya bagi dirinya. Dan manakala tiada terlintas baginya khatir dalam sesuatu yang lain daripada memandang Haqq ta'ala dalam demikian sesuatu itu, niscaya sempurna yaqinnya pada Allah ta'ala pada ketika itu, karena hilang daripadanya memandang lainnya daripada mata hatinya. Maka lazimlah atas orang yang yaqin itu muraqaba atas senetiasa, yaitu /
45 memeliharakan sirr dengan menilik Haqq ta'ala serta tiap-tiap khatir. Dan diupamakan halnya dengan hal kucing dalam pengintainya bagi perburuannya: maka manakala cindera[1] pengintainya, niscaya cindera[1] kehendaknya.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Dan ketahui oléhmu bahwasanya khatir itu,[6] yaitu barang yang datang atas hati dengan iradat al-Rabb,[7] dan yaitu lima bahagai:
pertama [8]: khatir rabbani namanya, yaitu ilmu iladuni, dan tiada tersalah ia selama-lamanya; dan
49 kedua: khatir malaki; / dan
ketiga: khatir 'aqli; dan
keempat: khatir nafsani; dan
kelima: khatir shaitani.

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

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

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

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

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

1°. *khāṭir rabbānī,* viz. the knowledge from Our side (cf. Qor'ān 18:65), which is never amiss;

49 2°. *khāṭir malakī* / (thoughts arising from angelic inspiration);

3°. *khāṭir ᶜaqlī* (reasonable thoughts);

4°. *khāṭir nafsānī* (carnal thoughts);

5°. *khāṭir shaiṭānī* (diabolical thoughts).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Lā sukūn li-muttaqin, wa-lā ḥaraka li-muḥibb, wa-lā ᶜazm li-ᶜārif, wa-lā wujūd li-mafqūd, Tiada sukun pada lahir dan tiada pada batin bagi [1] yang takut daripada berharakat [2] karena takutnya, maka yaitulah orang yang mujtahid, pada hal senetiasa dalam [3] takutnya pada mengikut (segala) suruh dan menjauhi [4] segala tegah.

Dan tiada harakat bagi orang yang kasih, karena bahwasanya telah fana'lah ia daripada kehendaknya dengan kehendak [5] yang dikasihinya.

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

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

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

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

Mā taḥṣulu al-maḥabba illā baᶜda al-yaqīn, wa 'l-muḥibb al-ṣādiq (fī ḥubbihi) qad khalā qalbuhu ᶜammā siwāhu; wa-mā dāma ᶜalaihi baqiyyat [*al-*]*maḥabba li-siwāhu (fa-huwa) nāqiṣ al-maḥabba,* Tiada hasil itu melainkan kemudian daripada yaqin pada wujud dikasihi, karena betapa mengasihi akan sesuatu sebelum mengetahui dia? Dan

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Maka kata mu'allif, r.A.^{c}.:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The lover breathes wisdom and the beloved breathes power.

Maka kata mu'allif, r.A.^{c}.,:

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

Maka lazim atasmu, hai saudaraku, dengan hémat yang tinggi, dan sungguh-sungguhi oléhmu dalam segala ibadat, dan jangan engkau terhenti serta ibadat, maka engkau peroléh pada maqam al-mahabba, yaitu martabat yang tinggi. Maka kata mu' allif, r.A.^{c}.:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Maka mengatakan mu'allif, r.A.^{c}., kepada kaifiyya sampai orang yang 'abid kepada maqam orang mahabba [1] dengan katanya:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Law is altogether distress; knowledge is altogether cheerfulness; gnosis is altogether guidance.[2]

jalla pada hal [8] sendirinya, maka memandanglah hamba itu akandia dengan dia.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

68 Dan orang yang 'arif itu diatas kedua itu, karena bahwasanya ia memeliharakan akan barang yang dipeliharakan kedua itu dan bertambah-tambah [1] ia dengan segala ilmu laduni [niat] (dan segala ma'arif ilahiyya) dan segala waridat [2] ruhaniyya. Maka sungguh-sungguhi oléhmu, hai saudaraku, mudah-mudahan hasil bagimu maqam al-mahabba, maka diperlihatkan atasmu ma'rifa, maka engkau peroléh daripada wilaya yang amat besar martabat.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Dan tahqiqlah engkau dengan haqiqat L ā i l ā h a i l l ā 'l l ā h, maka adalah engkau taslim [2] kepadanya, seperti kata mu'allif, r.A.ᶜ.:

In sallamta ilai-hi, qarrabaka bi-naẓarihi; wa-in nāzaᶜtahu taᶜālā, abᶜadaka; in taqarrabta bi-hi, qarrabaka, wa-in taqarrabta bi-ka ilai-hi, abᶜadaka, Jikalau engkau serahkan kepadanya sekalian pekerjaanmu dan engkau tinggalkan tadbir dirimu pada hal i'timad kepadanya atas tiap-tiap hal, niscaya dihampirkan akandikau kepadanya dengan tiliknya [3] kepadamu dengan tilik rahmat (dan 'inayat). Dan jikalau membantah akandia, seperti bahwa tiada rila engkau pada segala qadanya dan taqdirnya, seperti bahwa engkau kata: Berbuat aku demikian supaya ada yang demikian, atau: Jikalau [4] aku berbuat demikian, niscaya tiada ada yang demikian, niscaya dijauhkan engkau daripadanya. Dan /
76 jikalau engkau hampirkan dengan dia kepadanya, seperti bahwa (tiada) engkau lihat bagimu wujud dan amal serta wujudnya dan amalnya, niscaya dihampirkan [1] akandikau kepadanya dengan ni'matnya dan fadlnya. Dan jikalau engkau hampirkan kepada Allah s.w.t. dengan sebab iradat dirimu bagi [2] demikian hampir itu seperti bahwa engkau lihat bagimu wujud dan [3] amal, niscaya dijauhkan akandikau, ya'ni didinding [4] engkau dan [5] dishughulkan [6] engkau dengan diri engkau.

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

Qurbuka (ilai-hi) khurūjuka ᶜan-ka, wa-buᶜduka (ᶜan-hu) wuqū-

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

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

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

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

When you strive after Him for your own sake, He imposes tasks upon you, but when you strive after Him for His sake, He will guide you.[2]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

When you know Him, you certainly will be inactive in all your activities. When you speak, you speak through Him; when you hear, you hear through Him. If this is the case you have neither tongue nor

80 ear, and this is why people / say, "The characteristic of a gnostic is that he has done with this world and the next". But when you do not know Him, you certainly will act with a view to your acts and out of hope of reward, which will seclude you from Him, so that you will fall into serious error.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Maka kata mu'allif, r.A.ᶜ.:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Al-khalq ḥijāb, wa-anta ḥijāb; wa 'l-Ḥaqq taᶜālā laisa bi-maḥjūb, wa-Huwa muḥtajib ᶜan-ka bi-ka, Bermula, segala makhluq itu hijab bagimu, hay [5] hamba, daripada memandang dirimu, (dan dirimu) itu
84 hijab bagimu [6] daripada / memandang [1] Haqq ta'ala. Maka engkau pada ketika itu mahjub daripada Haqq ta'ala dengan dua martabat daripada hijab: satu martabat dirimu, dan satu martabat [2] lainmu. Maka dirimu hijabmu daripada memandang Haqq ta'ala, dan lainmu hijab daripada memandang dirimu. Dan Haqq ta'ala itu tiada mahjub daripadamu, karena tiada yang kuasa meninding [3] dia, dan Haqq ta'ala terdinding daripadamu dengan dirimu, karena tilikmu kepada wujudmu dan amalmu.

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

Wa 'l-ḥamdu lillāh Rabb al-ᶜālamīn.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Intahā al-risāla al-mukhtaṣara bilughat al-Jāwī. Wa-arjū Allāh an tanfaᶜa ᶜalā sā'ir al-mubtadī.

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

Intaha

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

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

Finis

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

NOTES TO THE INTRODUCTION

1 *Mekka,* Vol. II, pp. 322-'23; *Adviezen,* Vol. II, pp. 1599-'60. A reference to the same practice by Vredenbregt in *Bijdr. Kon. Inst.* Vol. 118 (1962), p. 139. Snouck Hurgronje further observed that for a consideration one could even get a written document attesting the change of name — a source of income of the Shāfiᶜī *muftī* and some Meccan families.

2 Goldziher, *Muh. Studien,* Vol. II, p. 292, nt. 3.

3 Van Ronkel, *Suppl. Cat. Arab. MSS. Bat. Soc.,* p. 114.

4 Van Ronkel, *Cat. Mal. Hss. Bat. Gen.,* p. 432.

5 *Handlist Arabic MSS. Leiden,* p. 48: three MSS. registered as *Bayān al-sirr* with interlinear Javanese translation.

6 *Op. cit.,* p. 80 (*Fatḥ al-Raḥmān*); p. 319, cod. or. 7031 (2); Van den Berg, *Cat. Cod. Arab. Batavia,* p. 95, no. 108; Van Ronkel *Suppl. Cat. Arab. MSS. Bat. Soc.,* p. 101, no. 176; pp.114-'15, nos. 204-206.

7 Van Ronkel, *op. cit.,* no. 207, with interlinear Bugi translation; dated 1889. *Handlist Leiden,* p. 319, 5 copies, registered under *Risālat at-tawḥīd,* with interlinear Malay translation; Van Ronkel, *Cat. Mal. Hss Bat. Gen.,* p. 432: MS. V.d.W. 9, with interlinear Malay translation.

8 Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur,* Vol. II, p. 99; Suppl. II, p. 117. *Fatḥ al-Raḥmān* means *'The Help of the Compassionate'.* Book titles beginning with *Fatḥ* followed by a word indicating God are fairly common. They do not reveal anything about the content of the book. So, for instance, *Fatḥ al-Wahhāb* ('The Help of the Bountiful'), *Fatḥ al-Muᶜīn* ('The Help of the Helper') and *Fatḥ al-Qarīb* ('The Help of the Near One') are titles of well-known Shafiᶜīte books on Islamic Law.

9 Brockelmann, *op. cit.,* Vol. II, p. 333; S. II, p. 461.

10 Brockelmann, *op. cit.,* Vol. II, p. 345; S. II, p. 471, no. 112. On this author see *E.I.*[2], Vol. I, p. 60 (W.A.S. Khalidi), and Heribert Busse, ᶜAbd al-Ganī an-Nābulusīs Reisen im Libanon (1100/1689-1112/1700), in *Der Islam,* Vol. 44 (1968). Long quotations from his *dīwān* (e.g. his *Tā'iyya* and *Hamziyya*) preceded by a short note on his life and works in Aḥmad Khairī, *Izālat al-shubuhāt ᶜan qawl al-ustādh, "Kunnā ḥurūfan ᶜāliyāt",* Cairo 1370, pp. 205-220. See also D. et M.-Th. Urvoy, Les thèmes chrétiens chez Ibn Sabᶜīn, in *Studia Islamica,* XLIV (1976), pp. 102 sqq., where he is called "le plus célèbre mystique sunnite du XVIIe siècle".

11 Not mentioned in Pigeaud's description of the MS. *Lit. of Java,* Vol. II, 453.

12 In the metres: Ḍanḍanggula, 25 stanzas; Asmaradana, 33st.; Sinom, 18st.

13 Pp. 16-35 of the MS. listed under the title of 'Shattariya Tracts' and beginning with the *Kitab Daka.*

14 Cf. the notes to the text printed below.

15 *Bagi* is the regular translation of the Arabic preposition *li,* which in book-titles is equivalent to 'by'; *bagi ta'lif . . . .* = (lit.) 'by composition of'; 'composed by'.

16 Van Ronkel, *Cat. Mal. Hss. Bat. Gen.,* pp. 431-'32.

17 H. H. Juynboll, *Cat. Mal. en Sund. Hss. Leiden,* p. 266; Van Ronkel, *Suppl. Cat. Mal. Hss. Leiden,* p. 283, no. 728.

18 Transliterated from the printed edition, Cairo 1317/1899, the Arabic of the MSS. from Indonesia being too corrupt for reproduction.

NOTES TO CHAPTER I

1 ed. Cairo 1330/1911, pp. 183-185.
2 A characterization of Shaṭṭanawfī's 'biography' of ᶜAbd al -Qādir has been given by Walther Braune in *E.I.*², Vol. I, p. 70. See also Margoliouth in *J.R.A.S.*, 1907; Drewes and Poerbatjaraka, *De Mirakelen van AbdoelKadir Djaelani*, Bandung 1938, pp. 18 sqq.
3 *G.A.L.*, Vol. II, p. 133; S. II, p. 164.
4 See the recent edition of the *Tālī*, entitled: *Ibn aṣ-Ṣuqāᶜī, Tālī Kitāb Wafayāt al-aᶜyān (Un fonctionnaire chrétien dans l'administration mamelouke)*. Edition et traduction par Jacqueline Sublet. Institut français de Damas, 1974, text p. 74; tr. pp. 96-97.
5 *Nūr ad-Dīn, un grand prince musulman de Syrie au temps des croisades (511-569 H./1118-1174)*, 3 vols, Damas, 1967.
6 Of course neither the mausoleum nor the mosque named after Raslān are mentioned in the description of Damascus in the beginning of Ibn ᶜAsākir's (d. 571/1176) voluminous 'History of Damascus' (*Ta'rīkh Madīnat Dimashq*), composed in 529/1135. However, the mosque of ᶜUmair, mentioned by Ibn 'Asākir, is identified by Elisséeff (*La Description de Damas d'Ibn ᶜAsākir*, Damascus 1959, p. 115, note 6) with the mosque known nowadays by the name of Maqām Shaikh Raslān.
7 *G.A.L.*, Vol. II, p. 46; S. II, p. 45; *E.I.*², Vol. II, p. 215.
8 Dr. Yūsuf al-ᶜUshr, *Fihris makhṭūṭāt Dār al-kutub al-Ẓāhiriyya*, Vol. I, p. 285, no. 15.
9 ᶜIzzet Ḥaṣriyya, *Imām al-sālikīn wa-shaikh al-mujāhidīn al-Shaikh Arslān al-Dimashqī, 461-541*, pp. 136-139.
10 Gibb, *The Damascus Chronicle of the Crusades*, London, 1932, pp. 36-39.
11 *The Cambridge History of Islam*, Vol. I, p. 195, 200; *E.I.*², Vol. III, p. 86 (Sauvaget); *E.d. I., Vol.* IV, p. 563-'64 (Zettersteén); A. Müller, *Der Islam in Morgen- und Abendland*, Vol. II, pp. 91-92; 139.
12 M. A. Adler, *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela*, London, 1907, p. 32, the Jewish colony at Qalᶜat Jaᶜbar being said to number 2.000 souls.
13 Elisséeff, *Nūr ad-Dīn*, Vol. I, p. 151.
14 Elisséeff, *Nūr ad-Dīn*, Vol. II, pp. 295-'96; Gibb, *op. cit.*, p. 60.
15 ᶜIzzet Ḥaṣriyya, *op. cit.*, p. 101, makes mention of a tribe named al-Jaᶜābira at Ḥamā, whose ancestors were perhaps fugitives from Qalᶜat Jaᶜbar. He does not mention when these took up their residence at Ḥamā.
16 Gibb. *op. cit.*, p. 63.
17 *E.d. I.*, Vol. IV, p. 899.
18 Elisséeff, *Nūr ad-Dīn*, Vol. II, p. 416 sqq.
19 *The Cambridge History of Islam*, Vol. I, p. 200; F. Gabrieli, The Arabic Historiography of the Crusades, p. 102 in: *Historians of the Middle East*, Oxford Un. Press, 1962.
20 *ibidem.*
21 A. von Kremer, *Mittelsyrien und Damascus*, Vienna, 1853, p. 156; H. Sauvaire, La Description de Damas, in: *Journal Asiatique*, 1895, p. 404.
22 So, for instance, in Ibn al-Suqāᶜī, *Tālī*, ed. Jacqueline Sublet, p. 97.
23 As it does not behove pious people to accept gifts from grand folk and worldly potentates, who will inevitably have acquired their riches by unlawful means and oppression, they have to exercise the utmost scrupulousness when being offered presents by them, or even when profiting by facilities provided by the secular arm. This scrupulousness is called *waraᶜ*. Examples of *waraᶜ* are given, for instance, by al-Ghazālī in his *Iḥyā'* (Book 14, *K. al-ḥalāl wa*

'l-ḥarām) and by al-Qushairī; see R. Hartmann, *al-Ḳuschairîs Darstellung des Ṣûfîtums,* Berlin, 1914, pp. 40-1.

24 In another version of the story Raslān is offered a purse of gold for the building of a mosque by direction of another *ṣūfī,* Abū Bayān by name, who used to gather his pupils at a gate of the mosque other than that where Raslān used to sit with his followers. On behalf of Abū Bayān, who survived Raslān for about ten years, Nūr al-Dīn had a *ribāṭ* built in the vicinity of the Bāb Sharqī; see Elisséeff, *Description,* p. 106 note and p. 107 note 1; *Nūr ad-Dīn,* Vol. III, p. 769.

25 'Stone Street'; so called after the stone on which Abraham smashed the idols of his father (Qor'ān 21 : 58), which allegedly was on view here.

26 In fact Khālid's headquarters were elsewhere; see *E.I.*², Vol. II, p. 279.

27 Elisséeff, *Description,* p. 148; *Nūr ad-Dīn,* Vol. I, p. 260.

28 *Description,* p. 148, note 4:... "fait aujourd'hui partie de l'ensemble des oratoires du cimetière de Cheikh Raslan".

29 *Lammā uḥtuḍira sa'alūhu an yūsiya ilā waladihi al-mukannā bi-hi, fa-qāla, "ᶜĀmir kharāb wa-Raslān ᶜāmir", i.e.,* 'When he was on the point of dying people asked him to appoint as his successor the son named in his *kunya* (his teknonymous name Abū ᶜĀmir, 'father of ᶜĀmir'), but he answered, "ᶜĀmir is a desolate tract, whereas Raslān is a flourishing region" (on *ᶜāmir,* see Dozy, *Suppl. aux dictionnaires arabes,* Vol. II, p. 172).

30 Another well-known legendary biography of ᶜAbd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī, the main source of Carra de Vaux's article on him in Hastings' *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics.*

31 This story has been related previously by Von Kremer, *op. cit.,* p. 156 and is referred to by Goldziher, *Muh. Studien,* Vol. II, p. 292.

32 Cf. the biblical story of the loaves and fishes (John, ch. 6 : 5-14); Shaṭṭanawfī, *Bahja,* p. 103; Drewes and Poerbatjaraka, *op. cit.,* p. 105.

33 A similar story is told of ᶜAbd al-Qādir (Shaṭṭanawfī, *op. cit.,* pp. 44-45; Drewes and Poerbatjaraka, *op. cit.,* p. 101). Two blasted date palms that had been dead for a period of four years started budding again when ᶜAbd al-Qādir performed his ritual prayer at their feet.

34 Benedikt Reinert, *Die Lehre vom tawakkul in der klassischen Sufik,* Berlin, 1968, pp. 164-'65 gives a number of examples of the intrepidity of saints when encountering lions. See also Drewes and Poerbatjaraka, *op. cit.,* p. 180; Russell Jones, *Nuru 'd-din ar-Raniri, Bustanu's-Salatin Bab IV Fasal I,* ed. Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, Kuala Lumpur, 1974, p. 47; D. B. Macdonald, *The Religious Attitude and Life in Islam*², Chicago 1912, pp. 270-272; R. Hartmann, *al-Ḳuschairîs Darstellung des Ṣûfîtums,* Berlin 1914, p. 160.

35 ᶜAbd al-Qādir killed two robber-chiefs whose bands had waylaid a caravan by flinging his slippers into the air, with the same effect: see Drewes and Poerbatjaraka, *op. cit.,* p. 112-'13; Shaṭṭanawfī, p. 66.

36 *'Masjid al rammāhīn';* see Elisséeff, in *Arabica,* Vol. III, 1, p. 71, no. 31; *Description,* p. 89, note 2; p. 90, no. 30. Cf. Goitein, *Studies in Islamic History and Institutions,* p. 270: "When we find mosques frequently called after the names of professions, we learn from the sources reporting these facts that the reference is *topographical,* designating the mosque as situated in a street or bazaar having the name of that profession".

37 ᶜIzzet Ḥaṣriyya, *op. cit.,* p. 153.

38 Shaṭṭanawfī, *op. cit.,* p. 153.

39 'Friend of God' (*khalīl Allāh*) is a surname of the prophet Ibrāhīm; see Qor'ān 4 : 125.

40 Mount Qāsiyūn is a hill 500 m. high, a spur of the Anti Lebanon range to

the north of Damascus. Ibn ᶜAsākir devotes many pages of his Description of Damascus to its holiness. Several biblical persons are said to have sojourned here: Cain and Abel; Abraham; Lot; Moses; Job; Jesus. According to a tradition going back to Ibn ᶜAbbās Abraham was born in the village of Berzé at the foot of the mountain. Any one performing a ritual prayer of four *rakᶜa* here, obtains full remission of his sins, and a prayer said here is always heard.

41 ᶜIzzet Ḥaṣriyya, *op. cit.*, p. 153-'54.

42 *loc. cit.*, p. 147.

43 The same miracle is said to have occurred at the burial of Dhū 'l-Nūn al-Miṣrī (d. 246/861) and the Somali saint Abū Bakr Zaila' (d. 1659); see Goldziher, *Globus,* Vol. LXXXIII (1902), pp. 302-'4 (= *Gesammelte Schriften,* Vol. IV, pp. 403-'6).

44 A. von Kremer, *op. cit.*, p. 156.

45 ᶜIzzet Ḥaṣriyya, *op. cit.*, p. 153.

46 Drewes and Poerbatjaraka, *op. cit.*, p. 149 note; cf. also Jalāl al-dīn Rūmī, *Mathnawī,* Book II: 1131-1170, the story of the blind falcon landing among the owls.

47 ᶜIzzet Ḥaṣriyya, *op. cit.*, p. 138, according to the *Tarjama* by al-Dhahabī.

48 Cf. Qor'ān 16 : 1: *Atā amru 'llāhi fa-lā tastaᶜjilūhu,* 'the affair of Allah has come, seek not to hasten it'.

49 pp. 87-101.

50 On the development of the *ribāṭ* see *E.d. I.,* Vol. III, pp. 1242-'45 (G. Marçais).

51 *Nūr ad-Dīn,* Vol. III, pp. 767-'68.

52 A detailed note on this scholar on pp. 103-'5; see also George Antonius, *The Arab Awakening* (1939), p. 158.

53a *Islam in Modern History* (Princeton, 1957), pp. 117-'8.

53b Writing on 'The Sanctity of Jerusalem and Palestine', S. D. Goitein observes, "The Koran itself calls Palestine the *Holy Land,* when it lets Moses say to the Children of Israel: "My people, enter the Holy Land, which God has destined for you" (Qor'ān 5 : 21). "The term is quite common in ancient Muslim literature, although it was dropped later on and replaced by Sha'm (Shām), a term comprising Palestine, Lebanon, and Syria .... Palestine was holy, because it was the homeland of prophecy and God's revelation. "I heard," one of Muhammad's companions is credited as saying, "that nowhere a messenger was sent by God except in Sha'm, and when he was not from Sha'm, he was at least carried there in a nightly apparition (like Muhammad or Ezekiel)." (*Studies in Islamic history and institutions,* Leiden 1966, pp. 143-'44.) The author refers to traditions of this tenor.

54 Literally: 'quintuplication'; a poem in which 4 new hemistichs are added to each hemistich of an older poem in order to develop or modify its content.

55 *Verzeichnis Arab. Hss. Berlin,* nos. 8494, 36a; 7700, 4*.

56 *Op. cit.*, p. 80; no source mentioned. Metre: *basīṭ.*

57 *Op. cit.*, p. 115.

58 *Op. cit.*, p. 146: Eine Art tatgewordener Monotheismus, der als zentralstes Gebot des praktischen *tawakkuls* gelten darf und tatsächlich alle dessen charakteristischen Ausprägungen in sich einbegreift.

59 *Iḥyā',* Book 37, Ch. II, § 1, towards the end.

60 *Op. cit.*, Book 37, Ch. II, § 2: *Qalla mā yanfakku fiᶜl min afᶜālihi waᶜibāda min ᶜibādātihi ᶜan ḥuẓūẓ wa-aghrād ᶜājila; fa-qad kharaja ᶜamaluhu ᶜan ḥadd al-ikhlāṣ wa-taṭarraqa ilaihi al-shirk.*

61 Cf. Goldziher, *Vorlesungen über den Islam* [2], p. 42; *E.d. I.,* Vol. IV, p. 410.

62 A. J. Arberry, *The Mawáqif and Mukhátabát of Muh. ᶜAbdi 'l-Jabbár al-*

Niffarí (G.M.S., N.S. IX, 1935), Mawqif 4: .... *man ra'ānī wa-ra'āhu ... a-laisa fīhi shirk lā tuḥassu bihi ?* 'Whoever sees Me and himself ... is not there in him unobserved polytheism ?'

63 *Kitāb al-Lumaᶜ*, ed. R. A. Nicholson (G. M. S., Vol. 22, 1914), p. 83.

64 *Qūt al-qulūb*, Vol. III, p. 19.

65 *Kitāb al-riyāḍa wa-adab al-nafs*, ed. A. J. Arberry and ᶜAli H. ᶜAbd al-Qadir, Misr, 1366/1947, p. 138: *wa-lākinnahu raibat al-qalb wa-'ḍtirābuhu wa-taghayyuruhu ka-'l-shirk wa-laisa bi-'l-shirk ...*

66 *Qūt al-qulūb*, loc. cit.

67 Doorenbos, *De Geschriften van Hamzah Pansoeri*, thesis Leiden 1933, p. 158; Syed Muh. Naguib al-Attas, *The Mysticism of Hamzah Fansuri*, Kuala Lumpur, 1970, p. 277.

68 Abu Nuᶜaim, *Ḥilya* (Cairo, 1351-1357), Vol. 10 pp. 256-'57, quoted by Reinert, *op. cit.*, pp. 21; 55-56.

69 See Walther Braune, *Die Futūḥ al-ġaib des ᶜAbd al-Qādir* (Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des islamischen Orients herausgegeben von C. H. Becker und R. Strothmann, VIII, 1933), and, in particular, the instructive article by Jacqueline Chabbi, *ᶜAbd al-Ḳādir al-Djīlānī personnage historique*, in *Studia Islamica*, XXXVIII (1973), pp. 75-106.

NOTES TO CHAPTER II

1 Al-Maḥāmilī was a pupil of the famous Shāfiᶜī jurisprudent al-Isfarā'inī (d.A.H. 406/1016) of Baghdād. Brockelmann, *G.A.L.*, vol. I: 181, S.I.: 307; George Makdisi, *Ibn ᶜAqīl et la résurgence de l'Islam traditionaliste*, Damas 1963, pp. 194, 200-201.

2 Van Ronkel, *op. cit.* nos. 438-445; further, as regards *Manhaj, Fatḥ al-Wahhāb* and the commentaries on these works by others, nos. 403-406; 408-412.

3 *G.A.L.*, Vol. II: 90, S. II: 106.

4 First edition (1328/1910), pp. 86-174.

5 See Tudjimah, *Asrār al-insān*, thesis Jakarta 1961, p. 131; Van Ronkel, *Cat. Mal. Hss. Batavia*, pp. 373, 374, 378, 380, 432; *Suppl. Cat. Mal. Hss. Leiden*, pp. 117, 118.

6 Author of *Naẓm al-ᶜiqyān fī aᶜyān al-aᶜyān; G.A.L.*, Vol. II: 143, S. II: 197. His autobiography in E. M. Sartain, *Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī*, 2 vols., Cambridge, 1975.

7 Author of *Al-Ḍaw' al-lāmiᶜ li-ahl al-qarn al-tāsiᶜ; G.A.L.*, Vol. II: 34 no. 9; S. II: 31. A compendium of this is *al-Badr al-ṭāliᶜ min al-ḍaw' al-lāmiᶜ* by Ibn ᶜAbd al-Salām al-Manūfī; *G.A.L.*, Vol. II: 295; *Handlist Leiden*, p. 59.

8 *G.A.L.*, Vol. II: 144; Goldziher, *Muh. Studien*, Vol. II: 267, note 3. On al-Suyūṭī's opinion of the *Ḍaw'*, see *G.A.L.*, S. II: 31.

9 Author of *Badā'iᶜ al-zuhūr fī waqā'iᶜ al-duhūr*, a history of Egypt up to 928/1522; *G.A.L.*, Vol. II: 295, S. II: 405.

10 Author of *Lawāqih al-anwār fī ṭabaqāt al-akhyār*; *G.A.L.*, Vol. II: 338 no. 43, S. II: 466: Goldziher, *op. cit.*, Vol. II: 290; Schacht, *E.d.I.*, Vol. IV: 342-344.

11 *G.A.L.*, Vol. II: 191, S. II: 254 no. 10.

12 *Ibidem*, Vol. II: 141, IV Fiqh, 9, a versified version of al-Qazwīnī's (d. A.H. 665/1266) *al-Ḥāwī al-ṣaghīr*.

13 *Ibidem*, Vol. I: 359.

14 Cf. Goldziher, *op. cit.*, Vol. II: 187, note 5.

15 *Qiyām* (upright posture) is the second of the 18 pillars (*arkān*) of the *ṣalāt*

and is essential to the *farḍ-salāts*, barring physical inability. It is not essential to supererogatory *rakᶜas*; however, when performed with *qiyām* their heavenly reward will be higher, again barring physical inability. See al-Bājūrī, *Ḥāshiya,* Book II (*K. al-ṣalāt),* 3rd *Faṣl* (*fī arkān al-ṣalāt*).

16 Namely Saladin, who in 1173 made the building into a *waqf*. Originally intended for a dwelling-place for *ṣūfī*s from abroad, it soon became the centre of Cairene ṣūfism. See C. H. Becker, *Islamstudien,* Vol. I: 194 (= *E.d.I.*, Vol. II: 121).

17 The question whether the institution of *waqf* dates back to the time of the Prophet is discussed by W. Heffening, *E.d.I.*, Vol. IV: 1188.

18 *Rawḍ al-ṭālib fī 'l-fiqh* by al-Muqrī' (d.A.H. 837/1433); it is an extract from al-Ghazālī's *K. al-wasīṭ* and was commented upon by the author.

19 *Al-Kashshāf ᶜan ḥaqā'iq ghawāmiḍ al-tanzīl,* amply treated by Goldziher in his *Die Richtingen der islamischen Koranauslegung,* and characterized by him as typical of Muᶜtazilī exegesis of the Qor'ān. On the appreciation of this work by orthodox scholars, see *op. cit.*, pp. 118-'19.

20 See above, note 12.

21 On Shaikh ᶜAlī al-Nabatītī (d.A.H. 917/1508) see al-Shaᶜrānī, *Lawāqih* (ed. of A.H. 1299/1881), Vol. II: 171-'72. He lived in Nabatīt in the district of Khānqāt al-Suryāqussiyya, was blind, and had an odour of sanctity about him. His advice was much sought after. Al-Shaᶜrānī says that he used to meet him in the *madrasa* of Zakariyyā' al-Anṣārī when he was on a visit in Cairo. A Manāqib of Shaikh ᶜAlī al-N. was composed by his pupil ᶜAbd al-Rāziq al-Turābī (*Lawāqih,* Vol. II: 202).

22 *G.A.L.*, S. II: 150, no. 15a; *Lawāqih,* Vol. II: 120-121.

NOTES TO CHAPTER III

1 Qor'ān 47: 19.

2 Qor'ān 37: 96.

3 Part of a well-known tradition found in Bukhārī's *Saḥīḥ* (ed. Krehl-Juynboll, Vol. IV: 231).

4 Qor'ān 57: 4.

5 Qor'ān 7: 172.

6 Qor'ān 2: 31.

7 Rabīᶜa al-Raqqī; see *Lisān al-ᶜArab,* Būlāq 1300, Vol. II: 354; Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon,* Vol. IV: 1502, 2nd column.

8 Qor'ān 11: 107; 85: 16.

9 Qor'ān 6: 122. The words quoted here are followed by: *wa-jaᶜalnā la-hu nūran yamshī bi-hi fī 'l-nās ka-man mathaluhu fī 'l-ẓulumāti laisa bi-khārijin min-hā* ? ('Is one who was dead and whom We have brought to life) and appointed for him a light to walk by among the people, like one who is to be compared to (a man) in darknesses out of which he never emerges ?' (Bell's translation)

10 A well-known tradition; Cf. R. Hartmann, *Al-Ḳuschairîs Darstellung des Ṣûfîtums,* pp. 148-154; *E. I.*², Vol. II: 916 (where *ᶜilm al-ikhtilāj* is erroneously translated: divination by means of palm-trees (palmomancy); it means: the interpretation of the palpitations of the various limbs (Jav. *kědut*).

11 Qor'ān 65: 2.

12 Qor'ān 65: 4.

13 Qor'ān 2: 282.

14 Cf. Qor'ān 41: 54.

15 Qor'ān 29: 69.

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

NOTES TO CHAPTER IV

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

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

NOTES TO CHAPTER V

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

attributes (*ṣifāt*); all other attributes depend on it. Cf. J. Doorenbos, *De Geschriften van Hamzah Pansoeri,* Leiden 1933, p. 129: *Adapun maka ḥayy didahulukan daripada sekalian sifat ya'ni seperti seorang orang jika tiada ḥayy, mati hukumnya. Apabila mati hukumnya, ᶜalimpun tiada akan dia, muridpun tiada akan dia, qudratpun tiada akan dia,* etc., 'Life ranks first among the attributes; if a person is not alive, he is dead, and if he is dead, neither knowledge nor will nor might etc. can be predicated of him' etc.

4 *Cf. Kitāb al-Lumaᶜ,* ed. R. A. Nicholson (G.M.S., Vol. XXII), p. 134 (Arabic): *Ashraf kalima fī 'l-tawḥīd qawl Abī Bakr: "Subḥān man lam yajᶜal lil-khalq ṭarīqan ilā maᶜrifatihi illā 'l-ᶜajz ᶜan maᶜrifatihi",* 'The most notable utterance with regard to *tawḥīd* are the words of Abū Bakr, "Praise be unto Him who has made man's incapacity of knowing Him the only way to know Him" '. This dictum is also quoted by Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī in his *Ḥujjat al-ṣiddīq*; see Voorhoeve, *Twee Maleise Geschriften van Nūruddīn ar-Rānīrī,* Leiden 1955, second text, p. 17.

5 This division of man's mental structure into *nafs, qalb* and *sirr* is one of the divisions made by al-Qushairī; see R. Hartmann, *op. cit.,* p. 77 note.

NOTES TO CHAPTER VI, TEXT

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

MS.

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

MS.

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

MS.

p. 53 1. *om.*; 2. *om.*; 3. *om.*; 4. *om.* dan beberapa — hukumnya; 5. *mawjūd*; 6. *om.*; 7. *om.*;
p. 54 1. *om.*; 2. *ḥaraka*; 3. didalam; 4. mendjauhkan; 5. kehendaknya;
p. 55 1. satilikan; 2. *om.*; 3. *shughūl*; 4. ketahuinya; 5. *om.*; 6. sebenar-benarnya;
p. 56 1. *om.*; 2. atas; 3. meng*iᶜtiqādkan*; 4. *om.*; 5. pada;
p. 57 1. atas; 2. *add.* yaitu; 3. lazimkan oléhmu; 4. *om.*; 5. *om.* seperti—bala; 6. *om.*; 7. lain;
p. 58 1. sebenar-benar; 2. *om.* itu; 3. *add.* akan; 4. *om.*;
p. 59 1. dikasihnya; 2. kasih; 3. sebenar-benarnya;
p. 60 1. jalis; 2. *om.*; 3. akan;
p. 61 1. *om.* pada Allah; *add. fa-wa'llāhu ta'ālā*; 2. *om.* bagi ni'mat; 3. tiada; 4. *om.*;
p. 62 1. *muḥibb*; 2. dari;
p. 63 1. *add.* itu; 2. *add.* daripada; 3. MS. *add.* dengan hawamu; 4. iradatmu; 5. *om.*; 6. *om.*; 7. nyatalah; 8. *om.*;
p. 64 1. itu; 2. diberi; 3. *add.* dengan; 4. sekaliannya; 5. *add.* dalamnya; MS. buat (bot?); 6. *om.* yang — Tuhannya;
p. 65 1. *maḥabba*; 2. *om.*; 3. Tuhannya; 4. *om.*; 5. *om.* Allah — kepada; 6. *om.*; 7. *iᶜtiqādkan*;
p. 66 1. *om.*; 2. amal; 3. amal selama-lamanya; 4. *om.*; 5. jalan; 6. *add.* meréka itu;
p. 67 1. *om.*; 2. *om.*; 3. *add.* pula; 4. *om.* daripada sekalian sesuatu; 5. dirinya; 6. *om.* segala — dengan; 7. *om.*; 8. *om.*; 9. ibadatmu; 10. *om.*; 11. *add.* yang;
p. 68 1. bertambah; 2. MS. *wārādat*; 3. *add. bi-hi*; 4. kalimamu; 5. *add.* dalam;
p. 69 1. *add.* dengan; 2. *add.* Allah ta*ᶜala*; 3. bahwasanya; 4. *om.*; 5. *om.*; 6. diri; 7. *add.* bagi; 8. *ᶜābid*; 9. diri;
p. 70 1. ibadat; 2. *om.*;
p. 71 1. *om.*; 2. *om.*; 3. *om.*; 4. cerai;
p. 73 1. lihat; 2. *add. ᶜan*;
p. 74 1. lihat; 2. bahwa; 3. *ḥaqīr*; 4. *om.*; 5. *om.*; 6. *om.*;
p. 75 1. hal; 2. *salīm*; 3. tilikan; 4. *add.* tiada;
p. 76 1. hampirkan; 2. maka; 3. *om.*; 4. *add.* yang; 5. *om.*; 6. *shughūlkan*; 7. *dallaka*; 8. *om.*;
p. 77 1. *add. lillāh*; 2. *add.* atas sekira-kira; 3. dijadikannya; 4. daripadamu;
p. 78 1. berhadaplah; 2. MSS. maka;
p. 79 1. kepadanya; 2. *om.* maka berkata; 3. *om.* maka menengar; 4. MSS. *athar*;
p. 80 1. *om.*; 2. *om.*; 3. *add.* dari;
p. 81 1. *om.* -lah dengan diri meréka itu; 2. datangkan; 3. rasul; 4. amal; 5. *muttaham*; 6. balas atasnya, dan; 7. amal; 8. bahagian;
p. 82 1. *om.*; 2. dan; 3. *om.*; 4. pada;
p. 83 1. *om.*; 2. bahwasanya; 3. bahagi; 4. *om.*; 5. *om.*; 6. *om.*;
p. 84 1. *om.*; 2. *om.* dirimu — martabat;; 3. MS. membanding;
p. 85 1. *om.*; 2. *om.*; 3. kesalahan;
p. 86 1. perbaiki; 2. MS. dengan; 3. *add.* tuntutnya; 4. banjak; 5. *om.* dan jikalau — banyak; 6. MS. itulah; 7. MS. *om.*; 8. *om.*;

NOTES TO CHAPTER VI, TRANSLATION

1 What Zakariyyā' al-Anṣārī puts forward here in connection with the word *khāṭir* ('a thought coming suddenly to the mind') as it occurs in the quotation from the mystical poetry of ᶜUmar b. al-Fāriḍ (d. 632/1235), belongs to the *ᶜilm al-qulūb* ('the science of the hearts'), which arose in the ninth century and is associated especially with the name of the saintly Baghdād theologian, Ḥārith al-Muḥāsibī (d. 243/857). This psychotherapeutic doctrine, though rejected for centuries by the Hanbalites as a noxious innovation, has greatly influenced many religious thinkers, as, for instance, Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī and al-Ghazālī. See Marg. Smith, "The Forerunner of al-Ghazālī", in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 1936, pp. 65-78; Josef van Ess, *Die Gedankenwelt des Hārith al-Muḥāsibī,* Bonn 1961, pp. 29-30.

Al-Muḥāsibī's principal work is *Kitāb al-riᶜāya li-ḥuqūq Allāh* ('The Book of the observance of God's rights'). Discussing the works of the heart (*aᶜmāl al-qalb*), from which spring the 'works of the limbs' (*aᶜmāl al-jawāriḥ*), the author distinguishes the *khawāṭir* according to their origin into those which spring from the *nafs* ('self', the 'ego' in a pejorative sense), the *ᶜaql* ('intellect') and the devil, or 'the enemy', as Satan is often referred to after the Qor'ānic expression, *ᶜaduww mubīn,* 'a manifest enemy'. Both the *nafs* and the *ᶜaql,* understood as 'discernment' (*tamyīz*), loom large in al-Muḥāsibī's psychology; see Van Ess, *op. cit.,* Pts. B I, II, III.

Similar ideas and classifications are to be found, for instance, in the *Kitāb al-Ṣidq* by al-Kharrāz (d. 286/899), edited by A. J. Arberry, Oxford 1937, §§ 4-5, and in the writings of al-Junaid (d. 298/910); see the last *Risāla* printed in Ali Hassan Abdel-Kader, *The Life, Personality and Writings of al-Junaid,* Gibb Mem. Series, N.S., Vol. XXII, 1962, pp. 58-62 Arabic; translation pp. 178-183.

In his *Asrār al-insān* Nūr al-dīn al-Rānīrī (first half of the 17th century), an author who has drawn on many sources, has borrowed Zakariyyā' al-Anṣārī's classification of the *khawāṭir,* leaving out the *khāṭir ᶜaqlī,* however, and adding some explanation of his own; see Tudjimah, *Asrār al-insān,* thesis Jakarta 1961, p. 131, fol. 56a. But following a few lines in which he refers to al-Qushairī's (d. 465/1074) classification (without mentioning his name, but see R. Hartmann, *Al-Ḳuschairîs Darstellung des Ṣûfîtums,* Berlin 1914, pp. 80-81), he states that others distinguish two more categories, viz. *khāṭir ᶜaqlī* and *kh. yaqīnī.* This is a reference to the sixfold classification found in Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī's (d. 386/996) *Qūt al-qulūb* ('Food for the hearts'); see the Cairo edition of 1310/1893, Vol. I, pp. 114-115, where the *khawāṭir* are distinguished into *kh. al-nafs* and *kh. al-ᶜaduww,* both censurable; *kh. al-rūḥ* and *kh. al-malak,* both laudable; and *kh. al-ᶜaql* and *kh. al-yaqīn.* Just like al-Muḥāsibi, Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī says that the *ᶜaql* is an instrument (*maṭiyya*) for good or evil. That is to say, the *ᶜaql* functions as the determining agent between man's *khawāṭir* and his actions, for without a deliberate choice between good and evil there could be no question of reward and punishment.

Al-Rānīrī's explanation concurs with this, and so does the previously quoted statement (fol. 56a), which is ascribed to a certain ᶜAbdallah al-Samarqandi but in point of fact is a somewhat free rendering of a passage in the 11th *bayān* of the 21st Book of al-Ghazālī's *Iḥyā'* (Cairo 1334 (1915), Vol. III, p. 23). Says al-Ghazālī:

Mabda' al-afᶜāl al-khawāṭir; thumma al-khāṭir yuḥarriku 'l-raghba, wa 'l-raghba tuḥarriku 'l-ᶜazm, wa 'l-ᶜazm yuḥarriku 'l-niyya, wa 'l-niyya tuḥar-

riku 'l-aᶜdā'. Wa 'l-khawāṭir al-muḥarrika lil-raghba tanqasimu ilā mā yadᶜū ilā 'l-sharr, aᶜnī ilā mā yaḍurru fī 'l-ᶜāqiba, wa-ilā mā yadᶜū ilā 'l-khair, aᶜnī ilā mā yanfaᶜu fī dār al-ākhira.

'Actions originate from ideas bestirring themselves in the mind. The idea provokes desire; desire purpose; purpose intention; and the intention puts the limbs in action. The ideas provoking desire are divided into those which instigate to do evil, *i.e.*, are eventually harmful, and those which are conducive to good, *i.e.*, benefit one in the hereafter.'

The Malay rendering runs as follows:

Niat dan 'azm dan iradat sekaliannya kemudian daripada khatir. (Khatir) itulah menggerakkan kegemaran, dan kegemaran itu menggerakkan 'azm, dan 'azm itu menggerakkan segala anggota. Adakalanya ia menggerakkan kepada kebajikan dengan nugraha Haqq ta'ala, dan adakalanya ia menggerakkan kepada kejahatan dengan qahr Allah ta'ala.

Later on al-Ghazālī dealt with the same subject in his *Minhāj al-ᶜābidīn,* a devotional book characterized by M. Asin Palacios as the most systematic resumé of his ethico-mystical doctrine. A lengthy analysis of this work, by Asin Palacios, can be found in the *Revue d'Ascétique et de Mystique,* Vol. IV (1923) under the title "Une Introduction musulmane à la vie spirituelle". In the third chapter of the *Minhāj al-ᶜābidīn,* in the section devoted to the third obstacle on the road to perfection, namely the devil, the four kinds of *khawāṭir* enumerated by al-Rānīrī are mentioned. Here the *khawāṭir rabbāniyya* are distinguished into those conducive to good and those conducive to evil (the latter coming by way of trial), in accordance with the doctrine of *kasb,* 'acquisition', on account of which the acts created by God are imputed to man.

A circumstantial discussion of al-Ghazālī's analysis of the process of growth of *khawāṭir* into deliberate action has been given by J. Obermann, *Der philosophische und religiöse Subjektivismus Ghazālīs* (1921), pp. 157 sqq. Obermann points out that al-Ghazālī, though retaining the terms *malakī* and *shaiṭānī,* interprets them in an anthropological sense. The angel denotes man's disposition to do good, the acquisition of knowledge and the unveiling of the truth; the devil (*shaiṭān*) denotes man's disposition to do the opposite, a tendency which must be prevailed against in moral conduct. And that, al-Ghazālī adds, is an end to all speculation on the *shaiṭān,* whether he be an ethereal body (*jism laṭīf*) or no body at all, and if so, how he could enter into man. One should put up a stout resistance to 'the enemy' rather than busy oneself with such idle queries (*Iḥyā',* Cairo 1334/1915, Vol. III, p. 25).

Ibn ᶜArabī has also paid attention to the directions for spiritual life and even wrote a separate booklet on this subject, which is entitled *Kitāb al-amr al-muḥkam* but is also known under several other names (see Osman Yahia, *Histoire et Classification de l'oeuvre d'Ibn ᶜArabī,* Damascus 1964, Vol. I, pp. 154-156). As is the case in our text, he distinguishes between *khawāṭir rabbāniyya* and *khawāṭir malakiyya* on the one hand, and *khawāṭir nafsāniyya* and *khawāṭir shaiṭāniyya* on the other (*Der Islam,* Vol. 24 (1937), p. 19, note 1).

As becomes apparent from our text, the further classification of the *khawāṭir rabbāniyya* is linked to the aspects of *jalāl* and *jamāl,* in which the One Essence presents itself to human minds in the *opposita* of this phenomenal world. Under the head of *jalāl,* the terrible attributes of God, comes all that is bad; under that of *jamāl* comes beauty, all that is good. In the

writings of Hamzah Fansuri one comes across this idea frequently. For example on p. 197 of Doorenbos' edition (thesis Leiden 1933), it says:

Kenyataan semesta sekalian alam ini dibawah jalal dan jamal jua, ya'ni segala yang baik daripada jamal, segala yang jahat daripada jalal; segala islam daripada jamal, segala kafir daripada jalal; sorga daripada jamal, neraka daripada jalal; ampun daripada jamal, murka daripada jalal.

Under the head of *jalāl* come God's aspects of *qahhār, muḍill* and *mudhill*: 'the Almighty; He who sends astray; and He who abases' (see Qor'ān 12: 39; 2: 26; 3: 26). Under the head of *jamāl* come His aspects of *laṭīf, hādī* and *muᶜizz*: 'the Gentle or the Subtle One; He who guides; and He who exalts' (Qor'ān 16: 103; 2: 26; 3: 26). Thus it is said of a Muslim that *Islam hukumnya, tempat jamal dan latif dan mu'izz diperolehnya,* whereas *barang-siapa munkir daripada sekalian itu, tempat jalal dan qahhar dan mudhill, ya'ni kehinaan, diperoléhnya* (*op. cit.* p. 200).

These two aspects are thought to be alluded to in the well-known tradition, *Qalb al-mu'min baina uṣbuᶜain min aṣābiᶜ al-Raḥmān* ('The heart of the Muslim is between two fingers of the Merciful') and in Qor'ān 38: 75, where God says, *"Yā Iblīs! Mā manaᶜaka an tasjuda li-mā khalaqtuhu bi-yadayya?"* ('Oh Iblis! What prevented thee doing obeisance to what I created with My hands?'). The two fingers are said to allude to *jalāl* and *jamāl,* while the left hand would allude to *jalāl* (evil) and the right hand to *jamāl* (good). Hamzah Fansuri hints at these *opposita* in his verses, where he says,

Laut akbar tiada bersisi, jalal dan jamal disana-sini / menyelam dia jangan kekiri, tahu-tahu membawa diri / sungguhpun sekalian disana jadi, pada ombak qahhar jangan kau-radi.

Furthermore (*op. cit.* pp. 52-53, with corrections from MS. Bat. Gen. Mal. 83):

Engkaulah ombak yang mahabercaya, jalal dan jamal padamu ada / jika fi'ilmu jamal, adalah laba, serta Muhammad bersama-sama / jika ombak jalal padamu jadi, tempatnya, bapai, hanyalah api / didalam jahannam sanalah baqi, akan fi'ilmu laut tiada radi.

How man, and especially a mystic, should react to *khawāṭir,* is an issue on which opinions range from unqualified ignoring to paying full attention. Najm al-dīn al-Kubrā (d. 618/1221), the well-known author of the *al-Uṣūl al-ᶜashara* ('The ten principles'), a widely read guide for novices which was even studied in Java (see *Handlist Leiden,* p. 305), includes the ignoring of *khawāṭir* among the ten rules (*shurūṭ*) for novices; see Fritz Meier's note on the *Risāla ilā al-hā'im,* in *Der Islam,* Vol. 24 (1937), pp. 19-23.

On the contrary, the Persian poet Jalāl al-dīn Rūmī (d. 672/1273) holds the view that they must be paid close attention. In Book 5 of his *Mathnawī,* lines 3676-3708, he deals with this subject under the following head: "Comparing the daily thoughts that come into the heart with the new guests who from the beginning of the day alight in the house and behave with arrogance and ill-temper towards the master of the house; and concerning the merit of treating the guest with kindness and of suffering his haughty airs patiently" (R. A. Nicholson, *The Mathnawí,* Vol. VI, p. 220).

In the 4th Book of the *Mathnawī* there is still another comparison. Here (lines 1314-1318) the poet compares the *khawāṭir* to plants which reveal the quality of the soil from which they sprout. Likewise, thoughts reveal the secrets of the heart and therefore should be duly investigated. Commenting

on these lines Nicholson observes (*op. cit.*, Vol. VIII, p. 158): "In Rúmí's view every thought that occurs to the mystic is a Divine message (*al-khawáṭiru rusulu 'l-Ḥaqq, fa 'stajib lahá*), calling for profound meditation and dutiful response. Whether it be a sign of Mercy (*Jamál*) or Wrath (*Jalál*), it points the way to that self-knowledge which is knowledge of God (*man ᶜarafa nafsahu fa-qad ᶜarafa Rabbahu*)". However, anyone clinging to the oppositions of this phenomenal world will make no headway on the road to perfection through self-knowledge. As Rūmī says (*Mathnawí*, Book I: 498), "Until you pass beyond (the difference of) poison and sugar, how will you catch a scent of unity and oneness?"

2 Apart from minor discrepancies, the text of the *Risāla fī 'l-tawḥīd* used by Kemas Fakhruddin in composing his Malay adaptation of its commentary, is identical with that contained in the Arabic text printed in Chapter III, and it would seem that his copy of the *Fatḥ al-Raḥmān* cannot have been much different either. The only difference is that the Malay author has handled his material freely. He has, for instance, left out passages that are of no interest to his readers, such as the philological remarks on the word *shattāna*, 'what a difference'. In the main, however, it appears that his adaptation faithfully reflects the contents of Zakariyyā' al-Anṣārī's commentary.

All the same, there are a few passages which Kemas Fakhruddin chose to interpret in a different way, *viz.*, *wa 'l-maᶜrifa kulluhā dalāl*, and *in ṭalabtahu la-hu, dallalaka. Dalāl* and its synonym *tadallul* denote coquettish boldness accompanied by feigned opposition; *dallala* means 'to embolden (to this behaviour)', 'to permit *dalāl*'. So the behaviour of the mystic who has attained *maᶜrifa* is compared to the coquettish behaviour of a woman toward her husband (*ka-tadallul al-mar'a ᶜalā zawjihā*), and out of sheer benevolence and favour God tolerates the boldness of words and deeds (*al-inbisāṭ fī 'l-aqwāl wa 'l-afᶜāl*) a mystic occasionally permits himself to use at the station of *dalāl*. Misinterpreting *dalāl* as 'guidance' (Arabic *dalāla*) the Malay editor, however, says, "The 'knowledge' of God points away from all signs of the Lord to the Lord (Himself), so far as the veil between servant and Lord has been rent, so that there springs up between them a relationship such as never exists between servant and Lord, and the Lord tolerates from the servant things He would never tolerate from others" (fol. 64/65). It is clear that in this rendering the final consecutive clause is not accounted for in the preceding part of the sentence.

Likewise, misinterpreting *dallala* as equivalent to *dalla* (to guide), he translated *dallalaka* by "niscaya ditunjukinya engkau, ya'ni dijadikannya engkau dalam maqam al-dalal atasnya", 'He certainly will instruct you, that is to say, impart to you the station of guidance toward Him'. Zakariyyā' al-Anṣārī, however, confines himself to referring to his previous explanation of *dalāl* by saying, "*Jaᶜalaka min ahl al-dalāl bi-maḥḍ jūdihi wa-iḍālihi, ka-mā marra bayānuhu*", 'Out of sheer benevolence and grace He makes you one of the people of *dalāl*, as explained above'. It is clear that in this opinion these passages refer to those special cases in which speaking to God in a manner which surely surpasses the limit permitted to ordinary men, is not altogether prohibited but permitted to a certain degree. To quote H. Ritter's admirable paper on "Muslim mystics' strife with God": "It is permitted to the friends of God, who are on especially intimate terms with Him. Their intimacy with God is so well-founded and secure that it cannot be disturbed by occasional audacities, such as reproaches and lovers' disputes, which sometimes occur between lovers but do not disturb their friendly relations" (*Oriens*, Vol. 5 (1952), no. 1, p. 7).

LIST OF ARABIC WORDS AND EXPRESSIONS

A

abrār, pl. of *barr*, *bārr*, pious.
adab, breeding, good conduct, decency; rule of conduct.
— *al-ḥaqīqa*, the footing of Reality.
— *al-maᶜiyya*, the footing of being with Him.
— *al-sharīᶜa*, the footing of the Law.
— *al-ṭarīqa*, the footing of the Way.
afᶜāl, pl. of *fiᶜl*, deed, action.
aghyār, pl. of *ghair*, other, other things or persons.
ahl, people.
— *al-ᶜamal*, the people of the "works".
— *al-bāṭin*, the people of inwardness, esoteric people.
— *al-ḥaqīqa*, the people of the Reality.
— *al-ᶜilm*, the people of 'knowledge'.
— *al-īmān*, the people of faith.
— *al-janna*, people destined for paradise.
— *al-kamāl*, the people of perfection.
— *al-maqām*, the people of the stations.
— *al-mujāhada*, the people of exertion.
— *al-nār*, people destined for hell.
— *al-nihāya*, the people who have attained the ultimate goal.
— *al-ṣūf*, the mystics.
— *al-sunna wa'l-jamāᶜa*, people of the tradition (of the Prophet) and the community (the so-called 'orthodox' Muslims).
— *al-ṭarīq*, the people of the Path.
— *al-ṭarīqa*, the people of the second stage, between *sharīᶜa* and *ḥaqīqa*.
— *al-tafrīd*, the people of isolation.
— *al-yaqīn*, the people of certainty.
— *al-ẓāhir*, exoteric people.
aḥwāl, pl. of *ḥāl*, state.
akhaṣṣ al-khawāṣṣ, the most select of the select.
ākhir, last.
ākhira, the other world.
akmal al-ᶜubūda, perfect submission.
akmal al-yaqīn, perfect certainty.
akwān, pl. of *kawn*, being; entity.
Allāh subḥānahu wa-taᶜālā, Allah, Him be praise and He is exalted.
Allāh taᶜālā, Allah most high.
amr, order, command.
anwāᶜ, pl. of *nawᶜ*, kind (subst.).
anwār al-tawḥīd, the lights of *tawḥīd*.
arwāḥ, pl. of *rūḥ*, spirit.
asbāb, pl. of *sabab*, cause, means.
aṣl, origin.
aṣliyya, original; pure.
asrār, pl. of *sirr*, secret.
athar, trace.
awwal, first.
azaliyya, eternity.

ᶜA

ᶜābid, servant.
ᶜāda, custom.
ᶜadam, non-existence.
ᶜādil, just (adj.).
ᶜaib, blemish.
ᶜain, concrete entity.
ᶜain al-yaqīn, firm knowledge pertaining to the spiritual world.
ᶜalaihim al-ṣalāt wa 'l-salām, blessing and peace be unto them.
ᶜālam, world.
ᶜālam ḥissī al-ᶜubūdiyya, the tangible world of servantship.
ᶜalāma, mark.
ᶜālim, knowing, learned.
ᶜālim al-ghaib wa 'l-shahāda, knowing the invisible and the visible.
ᶜamal, (pious) work.
ᶜaql, intellect; reason.
ᶜārif, 'knower', gnostic; — *bi-'llāh*, he who 'knows' God; gnostic.
ᶜawāmm, pl. of *ᶜāmm*, common; the common people.
ᶜazm, resolution; determination.
ᶜāzza wa-jalla, He is powerful and exalted.

B

bāb al-ḥaqīqa, the gate of ḥaqīqa.
balā', affliction.
baqā', duration.
baraka, blessing; beneficent influence.
basharīyya, (fem.) human.
bāṭin, interior.
bidᶜa, innovation; heresy.
bidāya, beginning.
bi-jāh sayyid al-mursalīn wa-ālihi wa-ṣaḥbihi ajmaᶜīn, for the sake of the Lord of the Apostles, his family and his companions, all of them.
bismi 'llāh al-raḥmān al-raḥīm, in the name of Allah, the merciful, the compassionate.

D

dā'im, permanent.
dā'iman, permanently.
dalal, coquetry.
dār al-salām, the abode of peace.
daraja, grade.
daᶜwā, assertion, claim.
Dimishqī, originating from or living in Damascus.
dunyā, world.
dunyawī, pertaining to this world.
dunyawiyya, fem. of *dunyawī*.

Ḍ

ḍaᶜīf, feeble.

DH

dhāt, essence; person; entity.
dhawqī, pertaining to *dhawq*, mystical experience.
Dhū 'l-qaᶜda, name of the 11th month of the Muslim year.

F

faḍl, favour.
fahm, understanding.
fā'ida, profit, benefit.
fāᶜil, doing.
fanā', extinction.
fanā' bi 'llāh fī 'llāh lillāh, extinction in God, through God, for God.
faqīr, poor.
farᶜ, part.
farḍ, duty.
farq, separation.
fāsiq, sinner.
Fatḥ al-Raḥmān, the Help of the Merciful.
fī 'l-dārain, in both worlds.
fikr, thought.
fiᶜl, action, deed.
firmān, order.

GH

ghāfil, unheedful.
ghafla, unheedfulness.
ghaib, the invisible.
ghalaba, victory; here: the dominant feature.

H

hawā, desire; passion.
himma, resolution, determination.
Huwa, He.

Ḥ

ḥadd, limit; definition.
ḥāḍir, present.
ḥādith, new; created.
ḥadīth, tradition.
ḥadīth qudsī, a word of God not found in the Qor'ān.
ḥaḍra, presence.
al-ḥaḍra al-ilāhiyya, the divine presence.
— *al-rabbāniyya*, the lordly presence.
— *al-raḥmāniyya*, the presence of the Compassionate.
— *al-rubūbiyya*, the seigniorial presence.
ḥaḍrat tajallī wujūd Ḥaqq taᶜālā, the exalted manifestation of the Supreme Reality.
ḥajj, pilgrimage.
ḥāl, state.
— *al-jamᶜ*, state of union.
— *al-farq*, state of separation.
— *ḥukm*, state of being under the Law.
ḥaqīqa, reality.
ḥaqīqī, pertaining to reality; real.
ḥaqq; pada hak..., Arabic *fī ḥaqq*, with respect to...
ḥaqq al-ᶜibāda, title to worship.

— *al-rubūbiyya,* lordly right.
— *(taᶜālā),* the (Supreme) Reality.
— *al-ʿubūdiyya,* title to (man's) servitude.
— *al-yaqīn,* firm knowledge pertaining to the Supreme Reality.
ḥaraka, motion.
ḥaraka nafsāniyya, selfish impulse.
ḥarf, letter; sound.
ḥāṣil, result.
ḥawl, might.
ḥifẓ, preservation, protection; memorizing.
ḥijāb, veil, screen.
ḥikma, wisdom.
ḥubb al-dunyā, love of this world.
ḥujja, argument; proof.
ḥukm, judgment; sentence; definition.
ḥurma, respect.

I

idrāk, observation.
iḍṭirārī, involuntary.
ījād, creation.
ijtihād, exertion.
ikhlāṣ, pure devotion, purity.
ikhtiyār, choice; will.
ikhtiyārī, voluntary.
ilāhī, divine.
ilhām, inspiration.
īmān, faith.
imtithāl, obedience; observance.
inkishāf, revelation.
intahā, it is finished.
iqrār, assurance; acknowledgment.
iqtiṣār, abridgement.
irāda, will.
irādat Allāh taᶜālā, the will of God most high.
irādat al-Rabb, the will of the Lord.
ishāra, indication.
ishrāq, radiation; blaze.
ishtighāl, exertion.
islām, Islam.
istidlāl, argumentation.
istighrāq, immersion.
istiqāma, straightness; uprightness.
iᶜtibār, regard; consideration.
iᶜtimād, reliance.
iᶜtiqād, tenet.
ittiṣāl, junction, union.

ᶜI

ᶜibāda, worship.
ᶜibādāt, ritual obligations.
ᶜibāra, explanation; phrase, expression.
ᶜilm, knowledge, science; — *uṣūl al-dīn,* dogmatics; — *al-tawḥīd,* id.
ᶜilm al-yaqīn, firm knowledge, acquired by reasoning.
ᶜināya, care.

J

jāhil, ignorant; heathen.
jalāl, majesty.
jalī, clear, evident.
jamᶜ, union.
jamāl, beauty.
Jāwī, Malay; Indonesian.
jiha, direction, side.
jism, body.
jumᶜa, Friday.
jusmānī, bodily.

K

kāfir, unbeliever.
kaifiyya, way, manner.
kā'ināt, all things being.
kalām, speech.
kalima, word.
ka-mā qāla Allāh taᶜālā, "Fa-ᶜlam annahu lā ilāha illā 'llāh" (Qor'ān 47:19), As Allah has said, 'Know that there is no God but Allah'.
kamāl, perfection.
kāmil, perfect.
kasb, acquisition, appropriation (in particular man's — of acts, which makes him responsible for them).
kasbī, pertaining to *kasb.*
kashf al-nafs; — al-qalb; — al-sirr, cognition by means of the intellect, the heart and the innermost self.
kifāya, sufficiency.
kitāb, book.
kufr, unbelief.
kuntu samᶜahu alladhī yasmaᶜu bihi, I am his hearing by which he hears.

KH

khabar, information, news.
khafī, hidden.

khāliṣ, pure.
Khamrat al-Khān, Wine of the Tavern (booktitle).
khārijiyya, (pertaining to) the exterior.
khātima, final word; epilogue.
khāṭir, idea that crosses the mind.
— *ᶜaqlī*, reasonable thought.
— *malakī*, angel-inspired idea.
— *nafsānī*, selfish thought.
— *rabbānī*, God-inspired idea.
— *shaiṭānī*, devil-inspired idea.
khawāṣṣ, pl. of *khāṣṣ*, select.
— *al-khawāṣṣ*, the select among the select.
khawf, fear.
khidma, service.
khiṭāb, address.
khuḍūᶜ, submission, humility.

L

Lā fāᶜila illā 'llāh, there is no agent but God.
Lā ḥāḍira wa-lā mashhūda illā 'llāh, there is no one present nor seen but God.
Lā ḥayya illā 'llāh, there is no one living but God.
Lā maṭlūba wa-lā maqṣūda illā 'llāh, nothing is pursued nor striven after but God.
Lā mawjūda illā 'llāh, only God is.
Lā ilāha illā 'llāh, there is no God but God.
ladhdha, delight.
ladunnī, lit.: near Me; *ᶜilm ladunnī*, knowledge 'from my part'.
laᶜnat Allāh ᶜalaihim ajmaᶜīn, God's curse on them all.
lāzim, necessary, incumbent.
lisān, tongue.

M

mā siwā Allāh, what is not God.
maᶜārif, pl. of *maᶜrifa*, knowledge.
— *ilāhiyya*, sciences pertaining to God.
— *rabbāniyya*, sciences pertaining to the Lord.
maḍarra, damage, harm.
maᶜdūm, non-existent.
mafqūd, absent, missing.
maḥabba, love.
maḥbūb, beloved.
maḥḍ, purity.
māhiyyāt mumkināt, possible quiddities.
maḥjūb, veiled, screened.
maḥmūda, praiseworthy.
maḥsūs, sensible, perceptible by the senses.
makān, place.
makhlūq, created, creature.
malakī, angelic.
maᶜlūm, known.
maᶜnā, meaning.
— *al-jamᶜ*, the meaning of Unity.
maᶜnawī, ideal; figurative.
manfaᶜa, benefit.
manqūl, transmitted.
maqām, place; station; plur. *maqāmāt*.
— *ahl al-bidāya*, the station of the beginners.
— *ahl al-iḥsān*, the station of those who act as if they see God (*al-iḥsān an taᶜbuda 'llāh ka-annaka tarāhu*).
— *ahl al-ᶜināya*, the station of those who enjoy favour.
— *ahl al-nihāya*, the station of the adepts.
— *ahl al-tawakkul*, the station of those who trust in God.
— *al-ᶜārif*, the station of the 'knower' (gnostic).
— *al-dalāl*, the station of coquettish behaviour (see Ch. VI, note 2).
— *al-fanā'*, the station of extinction.
— *al-faqd*, the station of privation.
— *al-farq*, the station of separation.
— *al-ᶜibāda*, the station of ritual worship.
— *al-īmān*, the station of faith.
— *al-iḥsān*, the station of right conduct.
— *al-kashf*, the station of revelation.
— *al-khawāṣṣ*, the station of the elect.
— *al-maḥabba*, the station of love.
— *al-maᶜrifa*, the station of gnosis.
— *al-minna*, the station of favour.
— *al-muᶜāyana*, the station of seeing face to face.
— *al-mujāhada*, the station of exertion.
— *al-mushāhada*, the station of contemplation.
— *al-ṣiddīq*, the station of the righteous.
— *al-taqwā*, the station of the fear of God.

— *al-tawakkul,* the station of trust in God.
— *al-tawḥīd,* the station of unity.
— *al-ᶜubūdiyya,* the station of servitude.
— *al-yaqīn,* the station of certainty.
maqṣūd, aim, end.
maᶜqūl, intelligible.
maᶜrifa, knowledge, gnosis.
martaba, grade.
maᶜrūf, known; proper.
mashaqqa, hardship; distress.
mashghūl, fully occupied.
maᶜṣiya, disobedience.
mawjūd, existing, being.
maẓhar, theatre.
mu'allif, teacher.
muᶜāmalāt, transactions.
muᶜāyana, seeing face to face.
mubāḥ, permissible; indifferent.
mubāshara, direct (bodily) contact.
mubtadī, beginner.
mudabbir, disposer, disposing.
mudāwama, continuation.
muḥtāj, in want of.
mujāhada, exertion.
mujtahid, he who exerts himself.
mukallaf, accountable, responsible.
mukāshafa, revelation.
mukawwin, creator.
mukhtār, chosen.
mukhtaṣar, succinct.
mulāzim, attendant; inseparable.
mu'min, believer.
munāsaba, conformity.
muqarrabīn, those who are brought near.
murād, purpose, meaning.
murāqaba, observation; control.
murīd, willing, intending; pupil.
mushāhada, contemplation.
musharrafa, revered; noble.
mushtarik, polytheist.
mustawṭin, resident.
muṭahhara, pure.
mutaṣarrif, governing, ruling.
mutawassiṭ, middlemost.
muttaqī, fearful, godfearing.
muttaqīn, pl. of *muttaqī.*
muwaḥḥid, professing *tawḥīd.*

N

nabī, prophet.
nādir, rare.
nafs, self.
al-nafs al-bashariyya, the human self.
nafy, negation.
najis, unclean, impure.
naṣūḥ, sincere.
natīja, result.
naẓar, view; speculation.
nāẓir, beholding.
nihāya, end.
nikāh, marriage.
niᶜma, blessing, boon.
nisba, relationship.
niyya, intent (subst.).
nūr, light.
nūr al-ᶜaẓama al-rabbāniyya, the splendour of the Lordly majesty.
nūrānī, luminous, resplendent.

Q

qabūl, acceptance.
qaḍā', decree.
qaddasa Allāh sirrahu al-ᶜazīz, may God sanctify his lofty secret.
qadīm, eternal.
qadr, qadar, divine decree.
qā'im, standing.
qā'im bi 'llāh, lillāh, subsisting in God unto God.
qalb, heart.
qaṣd, intention, purpose.
qawl, word, saying.
qiyām, standing, standing posture.
qudra, power.
quwwa, strength.

R

rabb, lord; — *al-ᶜarsh al-ᶜaẓīm,* the lord of the sublime throne.
rabbānī, lordly.
rabbāniyya, id. (fem.).
raḍiya 'llāhu ᶜan-hu, may God be pleased with him.
rāghib, desirous.
raḥma, mercy; *raḥmat Allāh ᶜalaihimā,* May God bestow mercy on both of them.
raḥmānī, divine.
rajā', hope.
rakᶜa, bow; series of motions as part of the ritual prayer.

rasūl, messenger.
rasūlu 'llāh, messenger of God.
riḍā, pleasure.
risāla, missive, epistle.
rūḥānī, spiritual.
rujūᶜ, return.
rusūm al-nafs, traces of self.

S

sā'a, hour; time.
sabab, cause.
sakīna, the presence of God.
salāmat al-qalb, soundness of heart.
sālik, traveller (on the mystic path).
sālikīn, pl. of *sālik.*
sarmadan, eternally.
sirr, secret (subst.); the innermost heart.
— *al-ilāhiyya,* the secret of divinity.
sirrī, pertaining to the *sirr;* innermost.
Subḥān Rabb al-ᶜizza ᶜammā yaṣifūna, wa 'l-salām ᶜalā al-mursalīn, wa-'l-ḥamdu lillāh Rabb al-ᶜālamīn, wa-ṣallā Allāhu ᶜalā sayyidinā Muḥammad wa-ālihi wa-ṣaḥbihi ajmaᶜīn. Wa-'l-ḥamdu lillāh Rabb al-ᶜālamīn. The Exalted Lord is superior to anything one attributes to Him. Greetings to the Apostles, and praise be unto God the Lord of the Universe ! God bless our Lord Muhammad, his family and his Companions, one and all ! And praise be unto God, the Lord of the Universe !
sukūn, inactivity.
sunna, custom.

Ṣ

ṣabr, patience.
ṣaḥḥ, valid, correct, exact; real.
ṣāliḥ, honest; pious.
ṣallā 'llāhu ᶜalaihi wa-sallama, God bless him and grant him peace.
ṣiddīq, upright, trustworthy.
ṣiddīqīn, pl. of *ṣiddīq.*
ṣidq, veracity.
ṣifa, attribute.
ṣifāt bashariyya, human attributes.
— *al-waḥdāniyya,* the attributes of oneness.
ṣiḥḥa, soundness.
ṣūfī, mystic.

SH

shahāda, testimony; profession of faith; the visible world.
shahwa, lust.
shaikh, old man; elder, venerable man.
sharᶜ, sacred Law.
— *maᶜnawī,* figurative Law.
sharḥ, commentary.
sharīᶜa, sacred Law.
sharᶜī, pertaining to the Law.
sharṭ, condition.
shirk, polytheism.
shughl, work, engagement; occupation.
shuhadā', pl. of *shāhid,* martyr.
shuhūd, witnessing.
shukr, thanks.

T

taᶜalluq, dependence; reference.
tadārus, alternate recital (of the Qor'ān).
tafḍīl, preference; superiority.
taḥqīq, verification; investigation.
taḥqīr, contempt.
tajallī, manifestation; *(al-)tajallī al-ilāhī,* the divine manifestation.
ta'līf, composition, compilation.
tammat, it is finished.
taqarrub, approach; rapprochement.
taqdīr, decree.
tarjama, translation; interpretation.
tartīb, arrangement, regulation.
taṣarruf, government.
taṣawwur, imagination.
taṣdīq, confirmation; acknowledgement.
taslīm, surrender.
tawāduᶜ, humility.
tawakkul, trust in God.
tawḥīd, profession of unity and uniqueness; — *dhātī,* — *ṣifātī,* — *afᶜālī,* the profession of God as the creator of one's existence, life and deeds.
tuhma, suspicion.

Ṭ

ṭāᶜa, obedience.
ṭabīᶜa, nature.
ṭamaᶜ, cupidity.
ṭarīq, way.
ṭarīqa, id.; 2nd grade of spiritual development, between *sharīᶜa* and *ḥaqīqa.*

TH

thābit, standing firm; latent.

U

udhn, ear.
ukhrawiyya, pertaining to the hereafter.

ᶜU

ᶜubūda, submissiveness.
ᶜubūdiyya, servitude; absolute concentration on God.
ᶜulamā' al-ḥaqīqa, the divines initiated into Reality.
ᶜulamā' al-sharīᶜa, the divines who restrict themselves to the Law.

W

wahbī, acquired by divine grant.
waḥdāniyyat Allāh, God's oneness.
waḥdat al-wujūd, Unity of being.
wahm, fancy, illusion.
— *al-rusūm,* the delusion of appearances.
wahmī, illusory.
wajh, face.
walī, friend (of God); saint; *walī quṭb,* saint of the highest rank.
wa-'llāhu aᶜlam, God knows best.
wa-qad ᶜalima kullu unāsin mashrabahum (Qor'ān 7:160), 'All the people already knew their drinking places'.
waqār, reverence, respect.
waqt, time.
waraᶜ, scrupulousness.
wāridāt rūḥāniyya, spiritual acquisitions.
wārith, heir.
wāsiṭ, middlemost.
wilāya, sanctity.
wujūd, being.
wujūd al-ᶜālam, the being of the world.
wuṣūl, arrival.

Y

yā Rabb al-ᶜālamīn, Oh Lord of the worlds!
yaᶜnī, that is to say.
yaqīn, certain, firm.

Z

zāhid, austere; ascetic.
zakāt, alms tax.
zamān, time.
zuhd, austerity; asceticism.

Ẓ

ẓāhir, exterior.
ẓuhūr, appearance.

APPENDIX

PALEMBANG MANUSCRIPTS AND AUTHORS

Introduction

In the existing surveys of Malay literature little or no attention is paid to the provenance of the manuscripts from which, in the last resort, we derive our knowledge of Malay literature. With regard to manuscript collections that have passed *in toto* into the possession of libraries, such as, for instance, the V. d. Wall collection in Jakarta and the Klinkert and Van Ophuysen collections in Leiden, we have something to go by: we do know the period during which, and the area where, the manuscripts were collected; always excepting, of course, such manuscripts as the collector had copied from MSS. in other collections of different origin. In such cases one can form at least some idea about the literary and other works extant at a certain date in a certain area. The situation is different with other collections such as, for instance, the collections of Malay MSS. made by Brandes and Snouck Hurgronje, since these were acquired from various places. For these collections, and for manuscripts acquired by the libraries separately or in small lots from time to time, we are obliged to examine the manuscripts themselves to elicit such information as we can concerning their date and place of origin. This may be supplemented by data recorded by the libraries at the time of acquisition of the manuscripts — often very scanty.

It is many years since Professor Van Ronkel gave his opinion (as a cataloguer of manuscripts) that the provenance of manuscripts was not really very relevant (see *B.K.I.*, Vol. 60 (1908), p. 181). Whatever justification he may have had for his view, it is not one which could now be endorsed without reservation; an investigation into the origin of manuscripts can be surprisingly productive. It will be seen from the notes which follow that through such an inquiry I have been able to draw up a list of writers working in Palembang in the latter part of the 18th century and of their work insofar as these are available in manuscript form; also a list of Islamic works which once belonged to the Palembang kraton library, from which the manuscripts were dispersed, ending up in many hands, as a consequence of the looting of the library in 1812 and subsequently.

The term 'Palembang manuscripts' here refers to two categories:

a. manuscripts which are known or thought to contain works written by Palembang authors;

b. manuscripts containing works written by other than Palembang authors but known to have been the property of people of Palembang.

I

MANUSCRIPTS ORIGINATING FROM PALEMBANG

1. *Manuscripts in British libraries*

a. Malay manuscripts

Two works by Shihabuddin:

MS. R.A.S. Raffles Mal. 48, a Malay translation of an Arabic commentary on al-Laqānī's *Jawharat al-tawḥīd,* dated A.H. 1163/A.D. 1750.[1]
MS. S.O.A.S. 12247 (Marsden), a *Risalah* copied by Encik Zainuddin in A.H. 1198/A.D. 1783.[2]

Two works by Kĕmas Fakhruddin:

MS. S.O.A.S. 11505 (Marsden), a Malay translation of a part of the *Mukhtaṣar Futūḥ al-Sha'm,* dated A.H. 1183/A.D. 1769.[3]
MS. Bodleian no. 4, a Malay translation of the *Tuḥfat al-zaman,*[4] dated A.H. 1175/A.D. 1761, registered in *Bibl. Marsd.,* p. 305 under the title "Book of Geomancy". Dr. Voorhoeve informs me that both MSS. are written by the same hand and could well be autographs.

b. Javanese manuscripts

MS. R.A.S. Raffles Java 19, Dewa Mĕnḍo, dated A.H. 1191/A.D. 1777(?); apparently a translation of the Malay Hikayat Dewa Mandu, a popular story from Malay romantic literature (see Van Ronkel, *B.K.I.,* Vol. 60 (1908), pp. 517-'18 and *Cat. Mal. Hss. Bat. Gen.,* pp. 99-104).
MS. R.A.S. Raffles Java 28, wayang purwa stories (microfilm Leiden A 19/2).

According to a note in the MS. this was once the property of the crown-prince, a son of Sultan Muhammad Baha'uddin, who succeeded to the throne in 1804 as Sultan Mahmud Badruddin.

MS. R.A.S. Raffles Java 29, Wayang gĕḍog.

MS. R.A.S. Raffles Java 30, Rama kawi.

MS. R.A.S. Raffles Java 31, a collection containing about ten chiefly moralistic texts of varying length and copied by various persons.

MS. R.A.S. Raffles Java 41, Rĕpen bramara and *Misa Cangkrama,* and also a Malay text on astrology.

According to a note in MS. S.O.A.S. 11505 this MS. was taken away from Palembang on April 28 1812, most probably as war booty from the kraton on the occasion of the British expedition led by Colonel Gillespie. It is not unlikely that the other manuscripts were acquired in the same way or bought from looting soldiers.[5]

2. *The MSS. B.G.Mal. 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10 and 12 in the library of the Museum Pusat in Jakarta (the former Batavia Society)*

These MSS. were forwarded to the Batavia Society from Palembang in 1866 by an associate member, J. S. G. Gramberg, together with a number of other MSS., which, as the donor observed, "constitute the usual reading-matter of the Palembang townsman. I could not say for certain whether all these MSS. originate from Palembang, but I am certain that some of them do".[6]

The MSS. originating from Palembang are those mentioned above, namely:

B.G. Mal. 5, Hikayat Martalaya, described in Van Ronkel, Cat. Mal. hss. Bat. Gen., pp. 74-75.

In the historical novel *Palembang* (1878), in which Gramberg describes in romanticised form the events of the year 1811, the author attributes the authorship of the Hikayat Martalaya to Sultan Mahmud Badruddin. He makes the prince's secretary say the following, "This hikayat is already in great demand in the town, and I have even been requested to have copies made for some people in Malacca" (p. 142). In all likelihood Gramberg was reproducing here what he had been told in Palembang, where he lived for some years.

As far as I can ascertain this MS. is a unique specimen, but unfortunately it is incomplete. The generous admixture of Javanese words in the language of the text could be an indication of its Palembang origin. As in the case of the Sha'ir Sinyor Kosta (or Kista), also called Shair Silambari and Shair Sinyor Gilang, it remains uncertain whether the authorship is really to be ascribed to Sultan Mahmud Badruddin.

B.G. Mal. 6, Hikayat Raja Budak (Van Ronkel, *op. cit.,* p. 130).

The author of this hikayat is unknown. A text of this name was published in 1866 by Lange & Co. in Batavia, but according to Van Ronkel the recension of the MS. is much shorter and more prosaicly worded than that of the printed edition. The MS. of the same name in the V. d. Wall collection is more detailed; it contains, *inter alia,* the story of the theft of a precious jewel from a sealed bag which after the theft is sewn up again very skilfully by a tailor. This story, also found in the Hikayat Pekar Mèdi, is apparently very widespread; in his *A Pilgrim in Arabia* (London, 1946, p. 68) H. St. John Philby narrates that he heard it in Medina in 1931, so that possibly it stems from the Arabian Nights.

B.G. Mal. 7, Sha'ir Kumbang.

An incomplete text, dated A.H. 1282/A.D. 1865; the end is missing. The Leiden MS. of this poem (Oph. 91) is dated April 4, 1859. The author is unknown. The poem sings of the conversations between a bumble-bee and a *melati*-flower. Both MSS. of this work in the V. d. Wall collection are also incomplete (Van Ronkel, *op. cit.,* p. 351).

B.G. Mal. 8, Sha'ir Nuri.

A similar poem, singing of the love of a *nuri* for a *cempaka* flower. In the MS. Sultan Badruddin is mentioned as the author (Van Ronkel, *op. cit.*, p. 353). See also below, B.G. Mal. 10 B, and *Archipel* 11 (1976), pp. 57-70.

B.G. Mal. 9, Sha'ir Patut delapan.

An incomplete copy, according to Van Ronkel containing a religious poem of a didactic tenor. Pangeran Panembahan Bupati, a brother of the dethroned Sultan of Palembang (see below § IV sub VII) is mentioned as its author (Van Ronkel, *op. cit.*, p. 357).

B.G. Mal. 10.

A. *Sha'ir Kembang air mawar,* also by Pangeran Panembahan Bupati. Its deals with a bird's love for a rose.

B. Another version of the *Sha'ir Nuri,* dated A.H. 1275/A.D. 1858. Cod. or. Leiden 5641, corresponding with it in part, is dated A.H. 1255/A.D. 1839 (Van Ronkel, *Suppl. Cat. Mal. Hss. Leiden,* p. 92, no. 212).

B.G. Mal. 12, Shair Prang Ménténg (= Muntinghe); *ibidem,* p. 347.

This *sha'ir* derives its name from H. W. Muntinghe, who was sent to Palembang in 1818 with instructions to curtail the authority of Sultan Ahmad Najmuddin and to reduce his territory; to reinstate Sultan Mahmud Badruddin, at least partially, and to establish direct rule in the remaining parts of the realm of Palembang. The *sha'ir,* written in A.H. 1235/A.D. 1819 by an unknown author, deals with one episode in this struggle for power, namely the heroic defence of the Palembang kraton against the troops and ships of the Netherlands-Indies government under the command of Colonel Bakker, who was assisted by Raja Akil, a member of the royal family of Siak, and a certain Raja Mansur. The attack was repelled and Muntinghe had to retire to Bangka. This event, described here in glowing terms, apparently impressed the local people deeply at the time, as did the failure of the next expedition under the command of Wolterbeek which was launched in the same year 1819. It is said to have given rise to the expression *Pelabur habis, Palembang tak alah* (*Peribahasa,*[3] ed. Balai Pustaka no. 1504, p. 38, no. 219).

B.G. Mal. 22, Pantun Sultan Badruddin.

This MS., acquired by the Batavia Society in the same year as the preceding ones,[7] must be added to this list since its Palembang origin is beyond doubt (Van Ronkel, *Cat. Mal. Hss. Bat. Gen.,* p. 356).

3. *The former kraton MSS. presented to the Batavia Society by Ki Agus Hajji Abdalmalik, khatib imam of Palembang* [8]

These Arabic MSS., four in number, are described in Van Ronkel's *Suppl. Cat. Arabic MSS. Bat. Soc.* under the numbers 55, 106, 157 and 296.

B.G. CLX, an incomplete copy of Baiḍāwī's well-known Commentary on the Qor'ān (*Anwār al-tanzīl wa-asrār al-ta'wīl*), running from Ch. 39: 21 to the end.

B.G. CLXI, Idrāk al-ḥaqīqa fī takhrīj aḥādīth al-Ṭarīqa, by ᶜAlī b. Ḥasan b. Ṣadaqa al-Miṣrī. As will be apparent from the title, this work, written in 1640, contains a survey of the traditions mentioned in the widely read *al-Ṭarīqa al-Muḥammadiyya,* a collection of sermons and homilies by Muḥammad b. Pīr ᶜAlī al-Birgewī (or al-Birgilī), a strictly orthodox Turkish preacher and scholar of great renown, who died in 1572. (See Brockelmann, *Gesch. Arab. Litt.,* Vol. II, p. 441, 15; S. II, p. 656 c.)

B.G. CLXII, ᶜ*Umdat al-murīd li-Jawharat al-tawḥīd,* being an incomplete copy of al-Laqānī's own commentary on his *Jawharat al-tawḥīd.* The MS. is dated A.H. 1060/A.D. 1650, thus only a few years after the death of the author, who died in A.H. 1041/A.D. 1631. (Brockelmann, *op. cit.,* Vol. II, p. 316; S. II, p. 436.)

B.G. CLXIII, Kitāb al-adhkār lil-Nawawī wa-ḥilyat al-abrār, as the work is named in the MS.. It is the work registered in Brockelmann, *G.A.L.,* S. I, p. 685 sub XIX. Al-Nawawī (d. A.H. 676/A.D. 1278) is an author who is widely known in Indonesia and the Malay countries for his *Minhāj al-ṭālibīn* and his *Kitāb al-arbaᶜīn,* being a work on Islamic Law and a collection of 40 traditions intended for edification respectively. The *Kitāb al-adhkār* gives directions for devotional practice and conduct in conformity with the *sunna* of the Prophet.

4. *Four Javanese MSS. acquired by the Batavia Society in 1876 and 1886*

C.S. 104, Jayalĕngkara wulang.[9]

This MS., numbering 106 pp. in fine Palembang-Javanese writing, was once the property of Sultan Muhammad Baha'uddin (1774-1803), as is stated in the MS. It has been discussed by Dr. Poerbatjaraka in *Indonesische Handschriften* (Bandung, 1950), pp. 17-25,[10] where one will find a summary of its contents and also a review of the outdated metres used in this poem. According to Javanese belief it was composed by a Pangeran Pĕkik of Surabaya (C. F. Winter, *Jav. Zamenspraken,* Vol. I, p. 351). It must have been very popular, as there are numerous, sometimes fragmentary, copies in the MS. collections. (See Vreede, *Cat. Jav. Hss. Leiden,* pp. 277-280; Pigeaud, *Literature of Java,* Vol. I, p. 230; De Graaf and Pigeaud, *De eerste Moslimse Vorstendommen op Java,* Verh. Kon. Inst. 69 (1974), pp. 164-166.)

B.G. Jav. 185, a Panji story.

As appears from the *Notulen* ('Minutes') of the Batavia Society for

June 1886, this MS., also originating from the Palembang kraton, was acquired from a Dutch Commissioner in Palembang in exchange for a transliterated copy of same. It has been discussed at some length by Dr. Poerbatjaraka in his *Pandji-verhalen onderling vergeleken* (Bibl. Jav. 9, Bandung, 1940), pp. 156-215. From this publication we learn that the MS. once belonged to a Palembang princess; further, that in Saka 1723 (= A.D. 1801) it was copied from an earlier original by order of Pangeran Adi Menggala (brother of Mahmud Badruddin; later to become Sultan Ahmad Najmuddin). Dr. Poerbatjaraka is of the opinion that the language of this MS. is completely East Javanese, and that this text is the most perfect specimen of all the Panji stories known to him.

B.G. Jav. 182 and 187, parts of the story of *Amir Hamzah* (Jav. *Menak*).

These MSS. were received from the same Dutch Commissioner in Palembang in the same way as the preceding MS. Both the language and the script are Palembang Javanese, and according to Dr. Poerbatjaraka they are of great importance from a lexicological point of view (*Jaarboek Kon. Bat. Gen.,* I (1933), p. 328).

In his description of the Menak MSS. in the library of the (former) Batavia Society (*Menak,* Bandung 1940, pp. 36-38) Dr. Poerbatjaraka commented on MS. 182 as follows: "The Javanese language of this work is very attractive and also from a poetical point of view this work is of a rather high standard. The story begins with the siege of Selan (= *Menak Kartasura,* Canto 29, st. 4) and ends with Umarmaya sneaking into the bivouac of Jobin *(ibidem,* Canto 41, st. 61)".

Furthermore, on MS. 187: "It seems to me that both the script and the spelling of this MS. are older than those of MS. 182, but the MS. clearly represents a more recent version, which is apparent from the additions. Moreover, five cantos (34-38) are clearly recognizable as being intercalated between cantos 42 and 43 of the preceding MS. Apart from this the two MSS. are almost identical".

5. *The MSS. belonging to the collection of Palembang kraton MSS. shipped to Batavia in 1822*

In answer to a request for information, in 1880 the Secretary of the district of Palembang informed the Board of Directors of the Batavia Society that on June 13th, 1822 the Commissioner of Palembang, J. I. van Sevenhoven, had shipped to the Dutch Resident of Batavia "55 very finely written, neatly bound and well-conditioned Malay and Arabic MSS., among which some very rare ones, and certified as once in the possession of the former Sultan of Palembang Mahmud Badruddin", with the request that they be handed over to the Department of Native Affairs, where they were to constitute a handsome collection of native books and being objects of exceptional rarity would add lustre to the library.[11]

Reading this we shall have little difficulty in agreeing with A. L. V. L. van der Linden [12] that the Commissioner referred to in the Hikayat Palembang (cod. or. Leiden 2276 (c), p. 73) as having in vain hunted for the Sultan's treasures [13] and ransacked the houses of many notables, was the Commissioner J. I. van Sevenhoven. At all events, his treasure-hunt resulted in the confiscation of 55 kraton MSS. These were, however, only part of the Sultan's library, as is apparent from the fact that in 1875 four more MSS., only Arabic ones this time, turned up (see above, section 3).

Now the Department of Native Affairs, the destination of the MSS., was a special section of the General Secretariat of the Netherlands-Indies Government,[14] which at the time still had its seat in Batavia. Accordingly the Board of Directors of the Batavia Society applied to the General Secretariat (meanwhile removed to Buitenzorg, present-day Bogor), and indeed was given a parcel of MSS. The succinct report on this consignment made by L. W. C. van den Berg,[15] is disappointing in so far as only five unmistakably Palembang MSS. are mentioned in it. These are:

B.G. Mal. 117, Kitāb al-fawā'id, containing 100 *fā'idah*s (useful observations) dealing with the excellence of various chapters of the Qor'ān, formulas and eulogies spoken when performing the ritual prayer (Van Ronkel, *Cat. Mal. Hss. Bat. Gen.,* pp. 389-'90).

B.G. Mal. 118, al-Rānīrī's *Ṣirāṭ al-mustaqīm,* copied in A.H. 1167/ A.D. 1753 (Van Ronkel, *op. cit.,* pp. 375-'76).

B.G. Mal. 119, Jawāhir al-ᶜulūm fī kashf al-maᶜlūm by the same author (Van Ronkel, *op. cit.,* p. 404).

B.G. Mal. 120, Kitāb al-mukhtaṣar, by Kemas Fakhruddin (Van Ronkel, *op. cit.,* p. 436).

B.G. Mal. 121, Baḥr al-ᶜajā'ib by Muḥammad b. al-marḥūm Aḥmad al-Palimbānī (Van Ronkel, *op. cit.,* p. 447).

All these manuscripts stem from the library of Sultan Mahmud Badruddin, as does the following Arabic MS.:
B.G. CCVI, al-Durr al-manẓūm fī bayān al-sirr al-maktūm, a *qaṣīda* ascribed to al-Ghazālī. This MS. was once the property of Sultan Muhammad Baha'uddin, the father of Sultan Mahmud Badruddin. Therefore, the owner was not, as stated by Van Ronkel on the authority of Van den Berg,[16] a son of Sultan Ahmad Najmuddin who was dethroned in 1818, but of an earlier prince of the same name, who died in 1776 (Van Ronkel, *Suppl. Cat. Arabic MSS. Bat. Soc.,* p. 495, no. 856).[17]

Furthermore, *MS. B.G. Mal. 75, Khawāṣṣ al-Qor'ān al-ᶜaẓīm,* of which MS. V.d.W. 24 is a copy, will have belonged to the Palembang

MSS. of the General Secretariat, as in 1850-'51 it was registered by Van der Tuuk in his list of the MSS. of this office (see below). As it bears a lower number than the MSS. acquired in 1880, it must have been acquired at some time between 1866 and 1880.

This MS. will be dealt with later in the discussion of the writings of Kemas Fakhruddin.

From what has been seen it must be concluded that by 1880 next to nothing was left of the 55 MSS. which were forwarded to Batavia in 1822. It looks very much as if "the indifference and empty amateurism" which, as Van der Tuuk wrote in 1849, had united to reduce the well-stocked library of the Batavia Society to poverty,[18] had also played havoc with the MSS. of the General Secretariat and would continue doing so to some degree in the years between 1850 and 1880.

In 1850-'51, during his stay in Batavia before setting out for his sojourn in the Batak country, Van der Tuuk had occasion to pore over the MSS. in this city. At that time many of the Palembang MSS. had already disappeared, although those extant were considerably more in number than the minute quantity subsequently transferred to the Batavia Society in 1880.[19] It appears from his notes preserved in the Leiden University library, cod. or. 3300 and 3301 that, apart from MS. B.G. Mal. 75 mentioned above, no fewer than 12 MSS. can be added to the 5 registered in Van den Berg's report. Copies of 6 of 7 of these (nos. 4 (?); 5; 10; 24; 34; 39; 44 of the enumeration below) are perhaps extant in the V.d.W. collection in Jakarta.

These 12 MSS. are:

Gen. Secr. 4. This MS. contained two texts:

A. A Malay translation of Ibn ᶜAṭā' Allāh's *Kitāb al-ḥikam,* once the property of Sultan Ahmad Najmuddin (1757-1774, when he abdicated and became Susuhunan). It could well be that one of the four copies of the same text in the V.d.W. collection was copied from this MS. (Van Ronkel, *Cat. Mal. Hss. Bat. Gen.,* pp. 430-'31).[20]

B. Zakariyyā' al-Anṣārī's *Fatḥ al-Raḥmān,* being a commentary on the *Risāla fī 'l-tawḥīd* by Raslān al-Dimashqī.

Gen. Secr. 5. A Malay translation of *al-Durr al-naẓīm,* written by Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Suhail al-Jawzī b. al-Khashshāb (d. A.H. 650/ A.D. 1252); see Brockelmann, *G.A.L.,* Vol. I, p. 414, no. 19; S.I., p. 913). Van Ronkel's description of V.d.W. 35 in the Batavia catalogue (p. 370) should be read as follows: The works on which the author has drawn are: Abū Bakr Muḥ. b. Aḥmad al-Ghassānī, *al-Barq al-lāmiᶜ wa 'l-ghaith al-hāmiᶜ fī faḍā'il al-Qur'ān,* and Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī, *Khawāṣṣ al-āyāt wa-fawātiḥ al-Qur'ān,* adding a few magic quadrates borrowed from al-Būnī.

This MS. once belonged to Sultan Mahmud Badruddin.

Gen. Secr. 7. A Malay translation of the well-known creed by al-Sanūsī, also stemming from Sultan Mahmud Badruddin.

Gen. Secr. 9. A Malay translation of al-Jazarī's (d. A.H. 833/A.D. 1429) *ᶜUddat al-ḥiṣn al-ḥaṣīn,* being an abridgement of his *al-Ḥiṣn al-ḥaṣīn min kalām sayyid al-mursalīn* (Brockelmann, *G.A.L.,* Vol. II, p. 203, no. 19; S. II, p. 277); also stemming from Sultan Mahmud Badruddin.

Gen. Secr. 10. A Malay translation of al-Bisṭāmī's (d. A.H. 858/A.D. 1454) *Shams al-āfāq fī ᶜilm al-ḥurūf wa 'l-awfāq* (see Brockelmann, *G.A.L.,* Vol. II, p. 232; S. II, p. 324). A synopsis of its contents will be found in Van Ronkel, *Cat. Mal. Hss. Bat. Gen.,* pp. 428-'29; also stemming from Sultan Mahmud Badruddin.

Gen. Secr. 13 contained three short tracts by AbdurRauf, also stemming from Sultan Mahmud Badruddin:

A. *Daqā'iq al-ḥurūf.* This text was published by Dr. A. H. Johns in *J.R.A.S.,* April 1955, pp. 55-73, from cod. or. Leiden 7643 (Van Ronkel, *Suppl. Cat. Mal. Hss. Leiden* no. 332).

B. *Aghmaḍ al-masā'il* (also contained in the, also lost, MS. Gen. Secr. 18); a text not known from elsewhere.

C. *Kifāyat al-muḥtājīn (ilā sulūk maslak kamāl al-ṭālibīn).* A synopsis of the contents of this tract is to be found in D. A. Rinkes, *Abdoerraoef van Singkel,* thesis Leiden 1909, pp. 39-42.

For further information on the works of AbdurRauf see Dr. P. Voorhoeve, *Bajan Tadjalli, Gegevens voor een nadere studie over Abdurrauf van Singkel,* in *T.B.G.,* Vol. LXXXV (1952); the three tracts mentioned above are nos. 15, 12 and 11 of Voorhoeve's list.

Gen. Secr. 17, the second part of ᶜAbd al-Ṣamad al-Palimbānī's *Sair al-sālikīn,* which work was completed by the author in Ṭā'if in A.H. 1195, and copied in Mecca in A.H. 1197/A.D. 1782. It is uncertain whether this MS. is of Palembang provenance; no further information about it is available.

Gen. Secr. 23. Surat Bintang, once in the possession of Pangeran Ratu ibn Sultan Muhammad Baha'uddin, *i.e.,* the Sultan to be Mahmud Badruddin. At the end is a note dated A.H. 1224/A.D. 1809.

Gen. Secr. 24. Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī's *Asrār al-insān,* once in the possession of Pangeran Arya Muhammad Zainuddin, son of Sultan Mahmud Badruddin.

In a Malay MS. in the possession of the Kon. Instituut voor de Tropen in Amsterdam, described, edited and translated by Woelders (*thesis,* pp. 59; 116-155; 279-320), mention is made of a Pangeran Wirakrama, later on named Pangeran Purba(negara) and also called Muhammad Zainuddin. In the Index to the Malay texts edited in this thesis, s.v. Pangeran Wirakrama (p. 484), however, this noble is listed

as a nephew of Sultan Muhammad Baha'uddin, so that the identity of these two persons is not beyond doubt. See also below sub 9,2.

The *Asrār al-insān* was published in 1961 in Jakarta by Miss Tudjimah, working from MS. V.d.W. 40, which, according to Dr. Voorhoeve, is a "rather bad" MS.; possibly this is a copy of the Gen. Secr. MS. in question. On p. 16 of her edition one will find a list of the other MSS. of this text. See also Dr. Voorhoeve's review of Miss Tudjimah's book in *B.K.I.*, Vol. 117 (1961), pp. 483-485, and his *Supplement op de lijst der geschriften van Raniri, ibidem,* pp. 481-'82.

Gen. Secr. 34, a copy of AbdurRauf's *ᶜUmdat al-muḥtājīn* (MS. Q of the list given in *T.B.G.*, Vol. LXXXV (1952), p. 112, sub 10). There is little doubt that this is a copy of a Ms. in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. The fact is that MS. Bibl. Nat. Mal.-pol. 104 stems from the library of Sultan Mahmud Badruddin; see Dr. Voorhoeve's recent description of the Paris collection in *Archipel* 6 (1973). To all appearances it must have belonged to the collection forwarded to Batavia in 1822, and the MSS. V.d.W. 41 (*Cat. Mal. Hss. Bat. Gen.*, p. 426, no. DCCX) and cod. or. Leiden 1930 (Cat. H. H. Juynboll, p. 270) undoubtedly are also copies of it, be it directly or through the intermediary of our copy as described by Van der Tuuk.

Gen. Secr. 39. Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī's *Durrat al-farā'iḍ bi-sharḥ al-ᶜaqā'id,* a MS. once in the possession of Pangeran Jayakrama, a younger son of Pangeran Ratu (= crown-prince, i.e., the Sultan to be Ahmad Najmuddin, brother of Sultan Mahmud Badruddin; see Woelders, *op. cit.*, pp. 97, 481). The sources of this work by al-Rānīrī are mentioned in Van Ronkel's Cat. Mal. MSS. Bat. Gen., p. 401.

Gen. Secr. 44. A Malay translation of *Sabīl al-hidāya wa 'l-rashād,* composed by the Terim sayyid Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan b. ᶜAbdallāh al-Ḥaddād in explanation and in support of the *rātib* of the Terim saint ᶜAbdallāh b. ᶜAlawī al-Ḥaddād, born in A.H. 1071/A.D. 1660. Possibly MS. V.d.W. 42 (*Cat. Mal. Hss. Bat. Gen.* p. 428) is a copy of it; a copy of MS. V.d.W. 42 is the Leiden MS. S.H. 95 (Van Ronkel, *Suppl. Cat. Mal. Hss. Leiden,* p. 132, no. 313).

Another work in praise of Terim and its saints, written by the same author in 1789, is mentioned by Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspreide Geschriften,* Vol. 5, p. 418; see also Brockelmann, *G.A.L.*, S. II, p. 816.

This Hadrami Saint and his *rātib* were also well-known in Acheh, see C. Snouck Hurgronje, *De Atjèhers,* Vol. II, pp. 185; 190-'91; Hoesein Djajadiningrat, *Atj.-Ned. Wdbk.*, s.v. *hadat.*

6. *Shumūs al-anwār wa-kunūz al-asrār*

This is cod. or. Leiden 7283 (= S.H. 57), which in the Leiden *Suppl. Cat.* is mistakenly said to have been the property of a Sultan of Banjarmasin. Actually it is of Palembang origin, for in 1848 it was sold

in Batavia out of the estate of a son of Sultan Mahmud Badruddin, together with two other MSS. the names of which are given as *Fatḥ al-maᶜārif* and *Shams al-maᶜārif* respectively. I cannot identify the first MS.; the second was perhaps a copy of al-Būnī's *Shams al-maᶜārif*, a well-known work on the occult sciences. The *Shumūs al-anwār* is said to have been composed by the Moroccan scholar Ibn al-Ḥājj (d. A.H. 737/A.D. 1336). Brockelmann, *G.A.L.*, S. II, p. 95, mentions several editions and refers to H. Winkler, *Siegel und Charaktere*, p. 86, note 1, where the work is attributed to another author; rightly so, as Brockelmann remarks. Van Ronkel has stated that it deals with divination, incantations and charms.

7. *Paris MS. Bibliothèque Nationale, Mal. pol. 30*

This MS., mentioned in Voorhoeve's list in *Archipel* 6 (1973) as stemming from a certain Sulaiman b. Abdallah of Palembang, contains the *Sullam al-mustafīdīn*, a Malay adaptation of al-Qushāshī's *Manẓūma fī 'l-tawḥīd* with the commentary of his pupil Mawlā Ibrāhīm; see *Cat. Mal. Hss. Bat. Gen.*, p. 409, no. DCLVIII: MS. B.G. Mal. no. 109. The authorship is attributed by some to AbdurRauf, as Dr. Voorhoeve observes in *T.B.G.*, Vol. LXXXV (1952), p. 110, sub 5. In the Paris MS. no author is mentioned, nor is any mentioned in MS. B.G. Mal. 109. In Cabaton's catalogue of the Paris MSS. the authorship is ascribed to ᶜAbd al-Ṣamad al-Palimbānī.

8. *Hikayat Seribu Masa'il*

MS. V.d.W. 85, on which Dr. Pijper's edition is based,[21] contains a copy of this *hikayat* made in A.H. 1273/A.D. 1856-'57 at the pasar of Bandung by a certain Ki Agus Muhammad Mizan, son of Ki Agus Hajji Imam Qamat, most probably a Palembang trader. Referring to De Clercq's treatise on Palembang Malay (*T.B.G.*, Vol. XXIII (1876), pp. 517-554) Dr. Pijper has remarked on the Palembang element in the language of this MS. giving a number of examples.[22] Dr. Pijper seems to ascribe this Palembang influence on the language of the text to the copyist, but the possibility that he just followed the original should not be ruled out.

9. *Three classics of Malay literature*

1. *MS. B.G. Mal. 136, Hikayat Seri Rama.*

This MS., acquired by the Batavia Society in 1891, is a copy of a MS. from Palembang. In his catalogue Van Ronkel states that it is completely identical with the text that was published in 1843 by P. P. Roorda van Eysinga. R.V.E., however, is conspicuously silent about the origin of his text; neither does Gerth van Wijk, who contributed an article to the *T.B.G.* (Vol. XXXVI, 1891) on the various versions of

the Hikayat Seri Rama, mention its origin; nor for that matter does Zieseniss in his book on *Die Rama-Sage bei den Malaien* (Hamburg, 1928; English translation by P. W. Burch, Singapore 1963, published by Malaysian Sociological Research Institute Ltd under the title of *The Rama Saga in Malaysia*).

2. *Cod. or. Leiden 2283, Hikayat Cekelwanengpati.*

This MS. was treated at great length by Dr. W. H. Rassers in his *De Pandji-roman,* thesis Leiden 1922, pp. 55-98. It was once in the possession of Pangeran Purba, son of Sultan Mahmud Badruddin (H. H. Juynboll, *Cat. Mal. Hss. Leiden,* p. 67). See above sub Gen. Secr. 24.

3. *Sejarah Melayu.*

A "Palembang version of the Malay Annals", a copy of which is in the Koninklijk Instituut voor de Tropen in Amsterdam, is mentioned by Dr.R.Roolvink in *J.M.B.R.A.S.,* Vol. XXXVIII, Pt. 2 (1965), p. 130, and by Woelders, *thesis,* pp. 59-60.

10. *Palembang MSS. in the Overbeck collection in Jakarta*

No. 508, Two Palembang hikayats.

No. 514, Five volumes of Palembang wayang stories (*Hikayat Pendawa lima*).

In *Indonesische Handschriften* by Poerbatjaraka, Voorhoeve and Hooykaas, Bandung, 1950, p. 180, it is stated that detailed summaries of these MSS., made by Raihoel Anwar gelar Datoek Besar, are available in the Jakarta library.

11. *Two Palembang MSS. in the Leiden library, bought from Mr. Gramberg in 1880*

1. *Hikayat Palembang,* cod. or. Leiden 2276c; Cat. Juynboll, p. 251-'52; Woelders, *thesis,* pp. 49-50. Edited and translated by Woelders, *op. cit.,* pp. 73-115, 230-278.

From Woelders' discussion of this text (*op. cit.,* pp. 417-422) we quote the following conclusion: "A historically reliable description of a number of important episodes in Palembang history, in particular of the period 1818-1825. The description is only concerned with the more or less official events and ignores completely all particulars of a more personal character. Chronologically as well as logically the account is well-constructed; it has a formal introduction but it ends somewhat abruptly; at least, it does not conclude with a colophon. The style is coolly descriptive, sober and lacking in vividness, completely in keeping with the character of the story as a chronicle".

2. *Hikayat Mareskalek,* cod. or. Leiden 2276d, containing the story of Daendels and Janssens, followed (from p. 41 l. 13 onward) by an unfinished Palembang account of the years 1812-1819; Cat. Juynboll, p. 243. Recently the Palembang part of this MS. has been discussed, edited and translated by Woelders (*op. cit.,* pp. 52-54 and 426-430; 154-186; 347-384). Copyist (and possibly author of the Palembang part) was Kyai Rangga Satyanandita Ahmad, who began his work A.H. 1247/A.D. 1831-'32.

12. *Cod. or. Leiden 7653 a and c*

The first part of cod. or. 7653a contains local genealogy and various adat-regulations (29 *pasal*); *pasal* 30 (pp. 26-121) is an incomplete, episodical account of Palembang history from Raja Bungsu, son of Lebar Daun, to Sultan Mahmud Badruddin II.

Cod. or. 7653c is a copy of a chronicle of Palembang history from 1818-1825. It bears a strong resemblance to the description of the same period in MS. 2276c mentioned above under 11,1, and to a typescript preserved in the library of the Royal Institute for the Tropics in Amsterdam (sed. 902.556).

See Woelders, *op. cit.,* pp. 47-49.

13. *MSS. dealing with Palembang in the possession of the Royal Institute of Linguistics and Anthropology in Leiden*

This collection numbers 13 items, all of them except two described by Van Ronkel in *Bijdr. Kon. Inst.* Vol. 60 (1908) and *in toto* discussed circumstantially by Woelders in his *thesis,* pp. 30-44, to which the reader is referred for further information.

Three of them were composed in 1842 or a little later by Pangeran Temenggung Kartamenggala, at the behest of Lieut.-Col. A. H. W. Baron De Kock, acting Commissioner for the district of Palembang from 1842-1847, namely:

Mal. 196, *Carita Negeri Palembang.*

A translation of part of it is contained in Royal Inst. MS. 201*. Summary of contents in Woelders, *thesis,* p. 33.

Mal. 201, *Carita daripada aturan Raja-raja didalam negeri Palembang.*

A survey of Palembang history from the coming of Geding Sura to Palembang in 1561-'62 up to the arrival of Muntinghe in 1818. It enumerates 15 princes in all, the last of whom is Sultan Mahmud Badruddin, "now in Ternate".

Mal. 201a, *Hikayat Mahmud Badruddin.*

The final words are: Maka tetapla Sultan Achmat Nadjamoedin die kardjaan timpoe Gouvernement Olanda pegang India toean Menteng datang djadie kommissaris Palembang adanja.

MS. 414, *Sila-sila Raja-raja didalam negeri Palembang.*

This MS. is anonymous and undated, but Woelders (*op. cit.*, pp. 36-37) has adduced convincing arguments in support of his view that it must have been composed by a former magistrate, Demang Muhiddin, most probably in 1861 or 1862. It was acquired by Mr. J. F. R. S. van den Bossche, Commissioner for Banka and dependencies from 1860-1862, who presented it to Mr. W. L. de Sturler († 1879), the author of a number of articles on Palembang. The last date given is 2 Rajab 1277/ 14 Jan. 1861, the day of the death of the exiled Sultan Ahmad Najmuddin, son of Sultan Mahmud Badruddin who was banished to Ternate. The last pages deal with titles and court ceremonies. End: Habis segala pangkat itu sabab Koempeni suda memegang keradjaan Palembang. Summary of contents in Woelders, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

Mal. 527, *Two plano MSS. respectively containing 4 and 2 different genealogical trees,* partly with complementary notes and narrative texts. Copied Jan. 1869 by R. Mukhtar b. R.Rangga Astrawijaya Abdullah. For the contents see Woelders, *op. cit.*, pp. 39-41.

Mal. 531, *Carita Raja-raja didalam negeri Palembang.*

This anonymous MS. contains the beginning of a story of the intestine quarrels in Palembang after the death of Sultan Mansur (1714), that is to say the struggle between Seri Taruna, the Sultan designate, and two of Mansur's sons.

Summary of contents in Woelders, *thesis,* pp. 37-38. A very poor Dutch translation of this text is to be found in Ms. H 184 of the Western MSS. in the Library of the Royal Institute (De Graaf, *Cat. hss. in Westerse talen* etc., 's-Gravenhage, 1963, p. 97).

Mal. 537, *Malay text of the agreement of June 2nd 1722,* entered into by the Sultan of Palembang and the Dutch East India Company (V.O.C.).

Mal. 532, *id. of the agreement of Dec. 25th 1775.*

Though not of Palembang origin two other MSS. in the Royal Institute may be mentioned here as for the greater part dealing with Palembang history from the latter part of the 17th century onward, namely:

Mal. 586, a *History of Banka up till 1820,* composed by Tumunggung Kertanagara and transliterated into Latin character in Banka on July 2nd 1861.

MS. 541 contains the same text in Arabic character, copied in Banka on Sept. 14th 1878. It was presented in Banka to F. S. A. de Clercq and offered by him to the Royal Institute after the completion of his article on the history of Banka published in *B.K.I.* VI: 1 (= Vol. 45; 1895).

See note 46 below and Woelders, *thesis* pp. 42-44; p. 440 note 39. Still another copy of the same text is cod. or. Leiden 2285 (Juynboll, *Cat.*, p. 254).

The two items acquired by the Royal Institute after the publication of van Ronkel's Catalogue are:

Mal. 203a, a type-script copy in Latin character of an elaborate genealogy of the Palembang nobility, composed in the thirties of this century by R. Muhammad Akib, a great-grandson of Pangeran Tumunggung Kartamenggala mentioned above. A similar though not identical copy of this text is preserved in the Central Library of the Royal Tropical Institute in Amsterdam.

Mal. 203b is a photo-type copy of a genealogy of the royal house of Palembang in Arabic character, bearing the title of *Setambum dari Raja-raja di Palembang serta turun-temurunnya,* from Brawijaya VII of Majapait up to its descendants in the latter part of the 19th century. On both MSS. see Woelders, *op. cit.,* pp. 41-42.

14. *Palembang genealogies contained in manuscripts in the Leiden University Library*

1. Cod. or. 1914, dated Friday 4 Sawal 1265/Thursday 23 Aug. 1849. Copyist: Kiagus Zainuddin b. Demang Puspanandita Safiuddin b. Ngabehi Carik Sepusang (not registered in Juynboll's Catalogue nor in Van Ronkel's Suppl. Cat.).
2. Cod. or. 2304a, which is almost identical with 1914.
3. Cod. or. 7653 b and d. Very elaborate genealogies, containing about 1300-1400 names and continued up till the great-grandchildren of the last two Sultans.
4. Cod. or. 8245, containing 4 of the 6 genealogical trees of MS. K.I.T.L.V. Mal. no. 527 and a chronological survey of 15 Palembang Sultans and the periods of their reign, comparable to the lists given in MSS. 1914 and 2304a.
   See Woelders, *thesis* pp. 44-48.

15. *Undang-undang Palembang (Javanese)*

This Javanese manuscript, now in the Leiden University Library (Berg coll. no. 146), stems from a descendant of a grand-vizir of the Palembang court who lived about 1800. It has been described by Dr. Pigeaud in his *Literature of Java,* Vol. II, pp. 784-'85, and a facsimile reproduction of a page from this MS. is found in Vol. III of that work, Plate 38, and discussed, transliterated and translated on pp. 75-76 of the same volume. The designation 'undang-undang' is applicable to

only a few of the 68 pages of this MS.; it is a compilation of data on various subjects: regulations on marks of dignity, sunshades and flags; events during the years 1756-1803; notes on *gamĕlan* orchestras of the Court; the actual *Unḍang-unḍang,* dated 1773; a list of districts and kampungs, and their obligations to the Court as regards dues and man-power; *piagĕms* issued by the Sultans; a list of names of royal servants (*panakawan Dalĕm*), and another list of court officials and people in charge of special functions at the Court.

16. *Undang-undang Palembang (Malay)*

The Malay texts bearing this name, viz., MSS. B.G. Mal. 140 and 150, V.d.W. 58, KITLV Mal. 236(7) and 416, and Leningrad B 2509, are quite different from the Javanese text just mentioned. MSS. B.G. Mal. 150 and V.d.W. 58 are divided into 6 chapters, namely:

I. Adat bujang dan gadis dan kawin.
II. Aturan marga.
III. Aturan dusun dan berladang.
IV. Aturan kawm.
V. Aturan pajak.
VI. Aturan perhukuman.

In MS. B.G. Mal. 140 the chapters II and III are lacking; the same applies to the Leningrad MS. which was once the property of P. N. van Doorninck, district officer in Palembang from 1873-1875.

17. *Sha'ir Alamat al-kiyamat*

Unregistered MS. in the University Library of Utrecht, copied in 1866 from a MS. dated 1230/1814. The author, a Palembang theologian, mentions as his sources 'reliable traditionists' (*ḥuddāth mu^{c}tamad*) and the *Kanz al-khafi,* a well-known Malay work on eschatology, based on al-Rānīrī's *Akhbār al-ākhira* (see Van Ronkel, *Suppl. Cat. Mal. hss. Leiden,* p. 120, no. 289 and p. 151-'52, no. 359).

18. *Een op Palembangsch bodem geteeld verhaal, getrokken uit een hikaêjat* ('A Palembang story, taken from a *hikayat'*), contained in MS. KITLV H 270; see H. J. de Graaf, *Cat. West. hss. Kon. Inst.,* The Hague, 1963, p. 108

This MS. contains an abridged Dutch translation of the popular story of Johar Shah; see Pigeaud, *Lit. of Java,* Vol. I, p. 221; Vreede, *Cat. Jav. hss. Leiden,* pp. 202-205; Juynboll, *Suppl. Cat. Jav. hss. Leiden,* pp. 90-92. According to De Graaf, it comes from the estate of H. M. baron De Kock, who was the officer in command of the expeditionary force sent against Palembang in 1821.

19. *Malay letters from Palembang*

Eleven out of the thirteen letters from Palembang contained in cod. or. Leiden 2241 — a collection of letters sent from various places in the Archipelago — were written by the Sultans Muhammad Baha'uddin (7) and his successor Mahmud Badruddin (4). These letters, all of them addressed to the Central Government in Batavia, were despatched during the years 1791-1808. The remaining two letters are of minor importance.

They were catalogued by H. C. Klinkert in *Tijdschr. v. N.-Indië,* N.S. Vol. 11,2 (1882), pp. 86-89; see also Woelders, *op. cit.,* pp. 54-55.

Cod. or. Leiden 8402 is a letter by Sultan Ahmad Najmuddin (Prabu ngamuk) to Governor-general Van der Capellen, dated July 6, 1821, in order to notify the G.G. of the happy outcome of De Kock's expedition and to thank him for his enthronement. See Woelders, *op. cit.,* pp. 55-56.

Furthermore, in the National Archives there are preserved six letters written by Sultan Mahmud Badruddin, all of them in 1819, and addressed to Muntinghe and Wolterbeek (2) and to Wolterbeek (4) respectively. See Woelders, *op. cit.,* p. 60.

II

OTHER MANUSCRIPTS

Several works of alleged or actual Palembang origin are (also) represented by MSS. of non-Palembang, or not demonstrably Palembang provenance. Among these there is a number of MSS. that may be supposed to be copies of MSS. from Palembang, as, for instance, quite a few MSS. of the V.d.W. collection in Jakarta. A good proportion of this collection was assembled in Riau in the third quarter of the 19th century but another part of it consists of copies of government-owned MSS. stored away in the office of the General Secretariat, including the remnants of the consignment shipped from Palembang in 1822. Many of the MSS. are of a religious character and would naturally have found their way outside Palembang. The MSS. of the works of ᶜAbd al-Ṣamad al-Palimbānī, who for many years resided in Mecca and wrote his books in Arabia, are not necessarily of Palembang origin.

I have recorded the following titles:

1. *Kitab ᶜAqīdat al-bayān,* by Shihabuddin.
   Cat. Juynboll, p. 295, no. 12, cod. or. Leiden 1953(6).

Five works (2-6) by ᶜAbd al-Ṣamad:

2. *Zuhrat al-murīd fī bayān kalimat al-tawḥīd.*
   Van Ronkel, *Cat. Mal. Hss. Bat. Gen.,* p. 400: B.G. Mal. 109c and V.d.W. 49.

3. *Sair al-sālikīn.*
Van Ronkel, *op. cit.*, p. 383: B.G. Mal. 293 and V.d.W. 4; Cat. Juynboll, p. 287-288: cod. or. Leiden 3285, 3286; Van Ronkel, *Suppl. Cat. Leiden,* p. 109: cod. or. 5740.

4. *Hidāyat al-sālikīn.*
Van Ronkel, *Cat. Mal. Hss. Bat. Gen.,* p. 429: B.G. Mal. 292, V.d.W. 43; Cat. Juynboll, pp. 261-'63: cod. or. Leiden 1710, 3284; Van Ronkel, *Suppl. Cat. Leiden,* p. 113: cod. or. 4974; Bibl. Nat. Paris, Mal.-pol. 29 (*Archipel* 6 (1973), p. 46) and 232 (*ibidem,* p. 65).

5. *Naṣīḥat al-muslimīn wa-tadhkirat al-mu'minīn* (Arabic).
Van Ronkel, *Suppl. Cat. Arab. MSS. Bat. Soc.,* pp. 139-140: nos. CCIX and V.d.W. 51; cf. Bibl. Nat. Paris, Mal.-pol. 232 (*Archipel* 6 (1973), p. 65), which possibly contains, *inter alia,* a Malay adaptation of this Arabic text.

6. *Rātib* (Arabic).
Van Ronkel, *Suppl. Cat. Arab. MSS. Bat. Soc.,* pp. 216-'17: no. DXLVII.

7. *Nafaḥāt al-Raḥmān fī manāqib ustādhinā al-aᶜẓam al-Sammān,* by Kemas Muhammad b. Ahmad.
Van Ronkel, *Cat. Mal. Hss. Bat. Gen.,* pp. 422-'23: V.d.W. 126.

8. *Hikayat karamat Shaikh Muhammad Samman dengan ikhtisar,* by Muhammad Muhyiddin b. Shaikh Shihabuddin.
Ibidem, p. 423: V.d.W. 127.

9. *Shair Nuri,* by Sultan Mahmud Badruddin.
Cat. Juynboll, p. 28: cod. or. Leiden 3340; Van Ronkel, *Suppl. Cat. Leiden,* p. 92: cod. or. 5641; Kl. 175 and 186(?).

10. *Shair kumbang dan melati.*
Van Ronkel, *Cat. Mal. Hss. Bat. Gen.,* pp. 351-'52: V.d.W. 239 and 240; *Suppl. Cat. Leiden,* pp. 94-95: MS. Kon. Akad. 239; Oph. 91.

11. *Shair Sinyor Kosta,* attributed to Sultan Mahmud Badruddin.
Van Ronkel, *Cat. Mal. Hss. Bat. Gen.,* p. 350: V.d.W. 268; Cat. Juynboll, p. 20: cod. or. Leiden, 1895; Van Ronkel, *Suppl. Cat. Leiden,* p. 76: Kl. 133, 150, 170.
Leiden MS. 1895 was presented to the library in 1867 by the former Governor-general Baron Sloet van de Beele; it may be a copy of one of the Palembang MSS. of the General Secretariat originating from the Palembang kraton library.

12. *Hikayat Raja Budak.*
Van Ronkel, *Cat. Mal. Hss. Bat. Gen.,* pp. 131-'32: V.d.W. 153, 154; Cat. Juynboll, p. 179: cod. or. Leiden 3318; Van Ronkel, *Suppl. Cat. Leiden,* p. 26: cod. or. 6084.

13. *Shair Raja Mambang Jawhari.*
Van Ronkel, *Cat. Mal. Hss. Bat. Gen.,* pp. 336-'37: V.d.W. 264; Cat. Juynboll, pp. 20-23: cod. or. Leiden 1896, 1943, 1955; Van Ronkel, *Suppl. Cat. Leiden,* pp. 68-69: Kl. 137.
Van Ronkel has noted that the Leiden MS. 1896 is not identical with MS. 1943 (*Cat. Mal. Hss. Bat. Gen.,* p. 337). It was also presented to the library by Baron Sloet van de Beele, and likewise could be a copy of one of the Palembang MSS. in the office of the General Secretariat. It was copied by the same copyist who prepared MS. Leiden 1895 (Sinyor Kosta). Outside the text the copyist has added the following words: ... *karangan Pangeran Panembahan Palembang; diikat beberapa pantun dan tembang akan penglipur kalbu yang bimbang.*

14. *Shair Perang Ménténg.*
Van Ronkel, *Cat. Mal. Hss. Bat. Gen., p. 347:* V.d.W. 272. Microfilms in the Leiden University Library. Described, edited and translated by Woelders, *thesis,* pp. 57-59; 194-225; 385-413.

15. *Shair Résidèn De Brauw.*
Ibidem, p. 347: Brandes collection 157, VI.

16. *Shair Melayu Palembang.*
Snouck Hurgronje, *Cat. Mal. Hss. Berlin,* pp. 158-'59; H. Overbeck, *J.M.B.R.A.S.,* Vol. IV, Pt. 2, Oct. 1926, p. 249.

17. *Asal Raja-raja Palembang.*
Van Ronkel, *op. cit.,* pp. 281-'82; Brandes coll. 157 III, with a reference to cod. or. Leiden 2276 (cat. Juynboll, pp. 251-'52) and MSS. Kon. Inst. Leiden, XXVII-XXXI (*B.K.I.,* Vol. 60 (1908), pp. 214-217). Microfilm in the Leiden University Library. See also Woelders, *thesis,* pp. 56, 57.

18. *Bunga Rampai, one story.*
Cat. Juynboll, p. 173: cod. or. Leiden 1721, no. 3; Van Ronkel, *op. cit.,* pp. 89-90: B.G. Mal. 24 sub 6; *Suppl. Cat. Leiden,* p. 22: Kl. 67, pp. 79-88.

19. *Primbons from Palembang.*
Van Ronkel, *Suppl. Cat. Leiden,* p. 160: cod. or. 7310 (= S.H. 83); p. 153: cod. or. 5637(?).
According to a statement by Snouck Hurgronje, cod. or. 7310 is a copy of the notebook of Hajji Harun b. Muhammad Saleh of Palembang, a bookseller residing in the Lampong district, who had been initiated into the *ṭarīqa Qādiriyya* in Mecca by a Lombok pupil of the well-known Khatib Ahmad Sambas. See Snouck Hurgronje, *Adviezen,* Vol. III, pp. 1863 and 1973-1975, for a more detailed summary than that in the Catalogue.

Not included in this list are the MSS. on adat and law in Palembang such as those mentioned in the Batavia Catalogue, pp. 302, 309-310, 392, and *Suppl. Cat. Leiden,* pp. 53; 281.

III

OBSERVATIONS

Summarizing the preceding survey one may say that it gives some idea of the literature extant in the city of Palembang at the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century. In no way, however, is it a complete picture, for the field of Malay literature is not well represented. For that matter, in view of the close relations between Palembang and the Malay countries it is hard to believe that apart from those literary products which are proclaimed to be of local origin, so little was known of Malay literature.

Neither can Javanese literature be said to be copiously represented. Besides the Sĕrat Rama, Panji and wayang-stories we only found the Jayalĕngkara and a number of moralistic tracts. A noteworthy fact is that apart from the Menak (the story of Amir Hamzah) we do not come across Muslim narratives such as, for instance, those described by Dr. Poerbatjaraka in *Indonesische Handschriften* (Bandung, 1950), pp. 26-138 under the headings *Anbia* and *Pĕsantren-literature,* although stories of this kind were much in vogue in the seaport towns of Java.

In the field of the religious sciences too the number and variety of books translated from the Arabic or adapted from Arabic sources must have been considerably greater than might be inferred from the collected data. Beside the absence of books on the auxiliary sciences the complete absence of books on Islamic Law (*fiqh*) is most conspicuous. After all, books of this kind cannot have been lacking in Palembang; the less so because this town, a Muslim centre for centuries,[23] was the seat of a religious court coming under the authority of the Panghulu-in-chief (who in Palembang bore the title of Pangeran Panghulu Nataagama).[24]

As regards religious literature of Indonesian origin, it is curious that we do find writings of Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī and AbdurRauf,[25] but nothing by Hamzah Fansuri or Shamsuddin[26] nor any writings of the same tenor, which we know to have enjoyed wide circulation about the middle of the 18th century, as is evidenced by the *Risalah* of Shihabuddin.

The extant works of Arabic origin, the majority of which came from the kraton library, can be grouped under seven headings.

I. *Qor'ān.*

1. Baiḍāwī's Commentary (*Anwār al-tanzīl wa-asrār al-ta'wīl*).
2. A Malay translation of Ibn al-Khashshāb's *al-Durr al-naẓīm fī faḍā'il al-Qor'ān al-ᶜaẓīm* (Brockelmann, *G.A.L.,* Vol. I, pp. 414-'15).
3. A Malay adaptation of *Khawāṣṣ al-Qor'ān al-ᶜaẓīm,* said to have been composed by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Tamīmī (not mentioned in *G.A.L.*).

II. *Ḥadīth.*

1. al-Nawawī, *Kitāb al-Arbaᶜīn,* the well-known collection of 40 traditions.
2. ᶜAli b. Ḥasan al-Ṣadaqa al-Miṣrī, *Idrāk al-ḥaqīqa fī takhrīj aḥādīth al-Ṭarīqa* (*G.A.L.,* S. II, p. 656).

III. *Dogma.*

1. al-Sanūsiyya.
2. al-Laqānī, *Jawhara,* with commentaries.
3. al-Ghazālī, *al-Durr al-manẓūm fī bayān al-sirr al-maktūm.*

IV. *Taṣawwuf.*

1. Raslān al-Dimashqī, *Risāla fī 'l-tawḥīd.*
2. Zakariyyā' al-Anṣārī, *Fatḥ al-Raḥmān,* being a commentary on Raslān's *Risāla.*
3. Ibn ᶜAṭā' Allāh, *Kitāb al-ḥikam.*
4. Malay translations of works in praise of Muḥammad Sammān.

V. *Edifying books and prayers.*

1. al-Nawawī, *al-Adhkār.*
2. A Malay translation of al-Jazarī's ᶜ*Uddat al-ḥiṣn al-ḥaṣīn* (*G.A.L.,* Vol. II, p. 203; S. II, p. 277).
3. A Malay translation of Aḥmad al-Ḥaddād, *Sabīl al-hidāya wa 'l-rashād.*
4. A Malay adaptation of a (Persian?) redaction of the "Questions of ᶜAbdallāh b. Salām" (*Kitab Seribu Masa'il*).

VI. *History.*

Pseudo-Wāqidī, *Futūḥ al-Sha'm.*

VII. *Occult sciences and divination.*

1. Al-Bisṭāmī, *Shams al-āfāq.*
2. Al-Bisṭāmī, *Baḥr al-wuqūf* (*G.A.L.,* Vol. II, p. 232).
3. Ibn al-Ḥājj, *Shumūs al-anwār* (*G.A.L.,* Vol. II, p. 83; S. II, p. 95).
4. Ibn Shaddād al-Ḥimyarī, *Tuḥfat al-zaman* (*G.A.L.,* S. II, p. 1042, no. 46).

All these works are in Malay translation.

The Palembang authors and translators will be treated individually in the following chapter, as also their contributions to the religious and historical literature of their time.

IV

PALEMBANG AUTHORS

I. *Shihabuddin b. Abdallah Muhammad*

Shihabuddin appeared as an author about the middle of the 18th century, and even nowadays he does not seem to have sunk into complete oblivion, for some people at least remembered his name when I inquired about him at the beginning of 1972. Three of his works have been preserved.

1. A Malay translation of an Arabic commentary on the well-known *Jawharat al-tawḥīd* by Ibrāhīm al-Laqānī (d. 1631). The Jawhara is a versified creed numbering 144 lines in the metre *rajaz*. It was much commented upon by, among others, al-Laqānī's son ᶜAbd al-Salām. The considerable number of copies, both Arabic and Malay, preserved in the library of the Museum Pusat in Jakarta, constitutes evidence of the popularity of this text in former times. Among the Arabic texts there is an incomplete copy of al-Laqānī's own commentary dated A.H. 1060/A.D. 1650, once the property of Sultan Mahmud Badruddin.

Shihabuddin's translation, dated 1163/1750, is contained in R.A.S. MS. Raffles Malay 48 in London. A printed edition of a Malay commentary on the Jawhara, originating from Sambas but published in Mecca, is mentioned by Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka,* Vol. II, p. 387. Brockelmann (*G.A.L.,* Vol. II, p. 317) records a Malay translation printed in Cairo in A.H. 1309/A.D. 1891. Of neither of these translations is the translator known.

2. A *Risāla* dealing with the first clause (*kalima*) of the short creed (*shahāda*) in a mystical sense, intended to shield people from both manifest and hidden polytheism (*shirk*). The same subject was to be treated later on by Kemas Fakhruddin in his *Kitab Mukhtasar,* the source of both writings being Shaikh Raslān al-Dimashqī's *Risāla fī 'l-tawḥīd* and Zakariyyā' al-Anṣārī's commentary on this short tract named *Fatḥ al-Raḥmān.*

Shihabuddin condemns the reading of tracts on the "Seven grades of Being", a practice which, according to him, had spread widely through the Malay countries owing to the lack of competent teachers of religion; and he preaches a mysticism as taught by Junaid, Qushairī and Ghazālī.

3. *Kitab ᶜAqīdat al-bayān,* contained in cod. or. Leiden 1953(6), pp. 294-318 (Cat. Juynboll, p. 295). This is a short and simple survey of the twenty attributes of God (*sipat dua puluh*) and an exposition of the meaning of the short creed (*napi-isbat*). This is preceded by an exhortation to practise virtue and to fight against vices such as pride, hypocrisy and the like — the pitfalls from which even the ṣūfī is not

secure —, so that eventually one may attain the state of mind characterized by *tawakkul, sabar* and *rida.*

II. *Kemas Fakhruddin*

Kemas Fakhruddin, whose activity falls two decades after that of Shihabuddin, apparently belonged to the following generation. So he was a somewhat older contemporary of ᶜAbd al-Ṣamad al-Palimbānī, who spent a good deal of his life in Arabia and wrote his books here.

ᶜAbd al-Ṣamad was a disciple of Muḥammad Sammān, the founder of the *ṭarīqa Sammāniyya,* which arose in Medina about the middle of the 18th century and before long spread to Sumatra. Shihabuddin and Kemas Fakhruddin did not belong to this *ṭarīqa,* which apparently was still unknown in Palembang at the time.

So far as may be inferred from the extant MSS. of his works, Kemas Fakhruddin was primarily a translator of Arabic works. His patrons were Sultan Ahmad Najmuddin, who in 1774 retired and became Susuhunan, and his eldest son the crown-prince (Pangeran Ratu), who became Sultan Muhammad Baha'uddin (1774-1804).[27]

Next to nothing is known about his life, and on inquiry in Palembang even his name appeared to have sunk into oblivion. If we rely on the information about him furnished by Professor Van Ronkel in his Catalogue of the Malay MSS. in Jakarta (pp. 369-'70), the only thing we can ascertain is that he spent at least four years of his life in India. In an Indian town the name of which he does not mention (*satu negeri daripada tepi negeri itu yang hampir pada negeri mashriq*) a learned shaikh who was engaged in composing a work on the eminent qualities of the Qor'ān dictated this work to him; afterwards he made an abstract of it. So much he tells us in the introduction to his *Khawāṣṣ al-Qor'ān al-ᶜaẓīm,* about which more will be said below.

The extant works of Kĕmas Fakhruddin are four in number.

1. *Kitab Mukhtasar,* a Malay translation of Shaikh Raslān al-Dimashqī's *Risāla fī 'l-tawḥīd* enlarged with comments borrowed from the commentaries by Zakariyyā' al-Anṣārī, the prolific Cairo writer who died in 1520[28] and ᶜAbd al-Ghanī b. Ismāᶜīl al-Nābulusī (died 1143/1731).

2. A Malay translation of part of the *Futūḥ al-Sha'm* by pseudo-Wāqidī, that is to say, of the Mukhtaṣar Futūḥ al-Sha'm, composed by Abū Ismāᶜīl al-Baṣrī (died in the last quarter of the second century after the *hijra*) and published in 1854-1862 in Calcutta by W. Nassau Lees.[29]

As already remarked, this MS. (SOAS no. 11505) contains only part of this extensive text. According to a note by Dr. Voorhoeve the MS. begins with Abū ᶜUbaida's letter to ᶜUmar (p. 239 of the Calcutta edition) and could well be an autograph. Furthermore, Dr. Voorhoeve informs me that the lithographic book published in Riau in A.H. 1296/A.D. 1873 under the title *Futūḥ al-Sha'm* contains the translation of

another part of this Arabic work, running from the beginning up to Vol. II, p. 110 of the Calcutta edition. Further: that in the copy of this Riau publication in the Skeat collection in Oxford there is a note in pencil to the effect that the translation was made by Raja Ali Hajji, but that this seems open to serious doubt, as it is far more probable that we have here another part of Kemas Fakhruddin's translation.

3. A Malay translation of *Tuḥfat al-zaman fī ẓarf ahl al-Yaman,* also made by order of the Pangeran Ratu (crown-prince).

With reference to this MS. (Bodleian 4, Oxford) Dr. Voorhoeve informs me that the writing is similar to that of the translation of the Futūḥ al-Sha'm, and that the verses in which the translator offers his apologies for his scanty knowledge correspond almost word for word to the apology found in the latter MS. This seems to warrant the supposition that we have to do here with a work of Kemas Fakhruddin.

The *Tuḥfat al-zaman* was composed by Ibn Shaddād al-Ḥimyarī, an author whom Brockelmann places among those authors about whose time and place of residence nothing can be said with certainty (*G.A.L.*, S. II, p. 1042, no. 46). As stated by Brockelmann the book deals with mind-reading with the help of circles and charts.

4. *Khawāṣṣ al-Qor'ān al-ᶜaẓīm.*

There are two copies of this work in the library of the Museum Pusat in Jakarta, namely MS. B.G. Mal. 75, dated A.H. 1184/A.D. 1770, and MS. V.d.W. 24, which is a copy of that (Van Ronkel, *Cat. Mal. Hss. Bat. Gen.,* pp. 369-'70). It deals with the eminent qualities of the chapters and verses of the Qor'ān, and is considered by Van Ronkel to be a translation of a work by Tamīmī. The translator began his work in A.H. 1183/A.D. 1769.

Brockelmann (*G.A.L.,* S. I, p. 679, sub 29a) does mention this author, *viz.,* Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Tamīmī, who lived in Damascus in the first half of the 13th century of the Christian era, but not this work by him. However, Van Ronkel's statement seems open to doubt. From the introduction of the text Van Ronkel has quoted two short passages. In the first the translator tells that the translation was made by order of Sultan Ahmad Najmuddin. In the second he refers to his sojourn in India, telling us how in an Indian town where people did not know Arabic he made the acquaintance of a miracle-worker. Without quoting the original text Van Ronkel had added to this a comment that Kemas Fakhruddin stayed with that man for four years and enjoyed his extraordinary wisdom; furthermore, that he became acquainted with a learned shaikh who was engaged in composing a book on the eminent qualities of the text of the Qor'ān and dictated this book to him, whereupon he made an abstract of it. So there is no question of a direct translation from a work by al-Tamīmī. Going by the information supplied by Van Ronkel one can only say that Kemas Fakhruddin translated an abstract of an Arabic work by an unnamed shaikh, who may or may not have made use of a work by al-Tamīmī.

III. ᶜ*Abd al-Ṣamad al-Palimbānī*

This Palembang author took up his residence in Mecca, most probably in the early sixties of the 18th century. All of his books were written here or in Ṭā'if, the mountain-city with its cool climate south east of Mecca, which throughout the centuries has been the summer residence of well-to-do Meccans. Here he completed his Malay translation of an abridged version of Ghazālī's *Iḥyā' ᶜulūm al-dīn* in 1788. It is unknown whether he ever returned to his native country.

Already during his life-time he seems to have enjoyed considerable fame as a scholar, for in 1772 he wrote letters of introduction and recommendation to the princes of Central Java on behalf of two returning pilgrims.[30]

The principal works of ᶜAbd al-Ṣamad al-Palimbānī are enumerated by Winstedt in his History of Classical Malay Literature (*J.M.B.R.A.S.*, Vol. XXXI, Pt. 3, 1958), p. 125 as well as in Voorhoeve's article on him in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*², Vol. I, p. 92, where his Arabic writings are also mentioned. The Malay works are:

1. *Zuhrat al-murīd fī bayān kalimat al-tawḥīd,* written in Mecca in A.H. 1178/A.D. 1764.

The Jakarta copy of this text was prepared in Mecca in A.H. 1181/A.D. 1767; the Leiden copy originates from Acheh. ᶜAbd al-Ṣamad composed this text at the request of a man who together with him had attended the lectures of Aḥmad b. ᶜAbd al-Munᶜim al-Damanhūrī, for the benefit of those students who had no Arabic. Al-Damanhūrī was an Egyptian scholar who visited Mecca in 1763 on the occasion of the pilgrimage; afterwards he became a professor at al-Azhar (Brockelmann, *G.A.L.*, Vol. II, p. 371).[31]

2. *Hidāyat al-sālikīn fī sulūk maslak al-muttaqīn,* being an adaptation of Ghazālī's *Bidāyat al-hidāya,* a work characterized by Montgomery Watt (*E.I.*², Vol. II, p. 1041a) as "a brief statement of a rule of daily life for the devout Muslim, together with counsel on the avoidance of sins". It deals with a number of subjects pertaining to dogmatics, *sharīᶜa* and others, in a somewhat mystical way. The Malay adaptation was finished in Mecca in A.H. 1192/A.D. 1778. Besides the printed editions from Mecca and Bombay mentioned in the *E.I.* there is also an Egyptian edition, dated A.H. 1341/A.D. 1922, which may be considered evidence of its lasting renown in Indonesia.

3. *Sair al-sālikīn ilā ᶜibādat Rabb al-ᶜālamīn,* considered to be his principal work. The idea of preparing this translation occurred to him in A.H. 1193/A.D. 1779; according to Van der Tuuk's note concerning the second part of this work (the lost MS. Gen. Secr. 17), this part was completed in Ṭā'if in 1195 and copied in Mecca in 1197, while the entire work of translation was finished in Ṭā'if in A.H. 1203/A.D. 1788.

The Arabic original of this translation is the *Lubāb Iḥyā' ᶜulūm*

al-dīn, an abridged version of Ghazālī's *magnum opus* by his brother Aḥmad b. Muḥ. al-Ghazālī (d. A.H. 520/A.D. 1126), or, according to others, by the author himself.[32]

ᶜAbd al-Ṣamad's translation also exists in print. There are several editions: a lithographic one, Mecca, A.H. 1306/A.D. 1888-'89; a Būlāq edition, A.H. 1309/A.D. 1891, both in four volumes, and a Cairo edition of A.H. 1372/A.D. 1953, which proves that it has not fallen into disuse. In the first issue of the periodical *Akademika* (Kuala Lumpur, July 1972, pp. 62-63) Muhammad Uthman El-Muhammady noted that both this work by ᶜAbd al-Ṣamad as well the work mentioned above under para. 2 are still in use in the traditional madrasahs in Malaysia and among people interested in mysticism.

Another MS. may perhaps be added to this list:

4. *Tuḥfat al-rāghibīn fī bayān ḥaqīqat īmān al-mu'minīn,* MS. V.d.W. 37 in Jakarta, which has a note to the effect that the work was composed in A.H. 1188/A.D. 1774. Recently it has been brought to my notice that another copy of this work is to be found in the library of the Leningrad Branch of the Russian Institute of Oriental Studies, namely Van Doorninck collection B. 4024. This copy, like the Leningrad copy of the Malay *Undang-undang Palembang* mentioned above, is of Palembang origin.

With reference to the Jakarta MS. Dr. Voorhoeve writes me the following: "ᶜAbd al-Ṣamad al-Palimbānī is one of the few authors who always mention the year in which the work was completed. The Jakarta MS. is very much in disorder; it contains also a section on *perang sabil,* another subject on which ᶜAbd al-Ṣamad has written. Moreover, the year 1188 fell within his lifetime. The odds are that he is in fact the author".

For a synopsis of the contents of the Leningrad MS. see my paper in *B.K.I.,* Vol. 132 (1976) referred to in note 30.

Besides these, ᶜAbd al-Ṣamad is known to have composed three Arabic works.

1. *Naṣīḥat al-muslimīn wa-tadhkirat al-mu'minīn fī faḍa'il al-jihād fī sabīl Allāh wa-karāmat al-mujāhidīn fī sabīl Allāh.*

This is a treatise on holy war, divided into seven chapters. The Jakarta library has an unfortunately incompletely dated autograph copy of it, as well as a modern one (Van Ronkel, *Suppl. Cat. Arabic MSS. Bat. Soc.,* nos. 249 and 250). Teungku di Tiro, the author of the Achehnese *Hikayat Prang Sabi,* quotes ᶜAbd al-Ṣamad's treatise (see *Indische Gids,* May & June 1912, line 583 of the Hikayat Prang Sabi; Snouck Hurgronje, *The Achehnese,* Vol. II, p. 119 (no. XIII)).

2. *al-ᶜUrwat al-wuthqā wa-silsilat ūlī 'l-ittiqā.*

Muhammad Uthman El-Muhammady, *Akademika* 1, p. 62, nt. 2, states that this work, mentioned in Sulayman Mar'i's edition of the

Hidāyat (Singapore, n.d.), p. 28, deals with *awrād* to be recited at certain fixed times.

3. *Rātib ᶜAbd al-Ṣamad al-Palimbānī.*

Described by Van Ronkel as a "Sammani *ratib* of a poetical, liturgical and du'a-like character" (Van Ronkel, *op. cit.*, p. 216). On this kind of *rātib* see further Snouck Hurgronje, *De Atjèhers,* Vol. II(p. 220 sqq. (*The Achehnese,* Vol. II, p. 216 sqq.).

IV. *Muhammad Muhyiddin b. Shaikh Shihabuddin*

This is a son of Shihabuddin whose writings were discussed above, under I. In his father's time the *ṭarīqa Sammāniyya* was still unknown in Palembang, but apparently he joined the new *ṭarīqa* and after the master's death (A.H. 1189/A.D. 1775) prepared a Malay translation of an Arabic "Life of Muḥammad Sammān", which was completed in A.H. 1196/A.D. 1781. Of this legendary biography there is one copy in Jakarta and another in Leiden; the latter bears a note to the effect that it was copied in A.H. 1245/A.D. 1829.

In his summary of the latter MS. *(Suppl. Cat. Mal. Hss. Leiden,* p. 296) Van Ronkel informs us that in the introduction to this *Hikayat Shaikh Muhammad Samman* a *Kitāb Ṭawāliᶜ al-Fatḥ* is referred to as an authoritative source of information on the Prophet's conquest of Medina and for the announcement of future miracles by Muḥammad Sammān (already noticed at that time). This Kitāb Ṭawāliᶜ al-Fatḥ was composed by ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān al-Bakrī al-Ghamrī al-Sammānī in A.H. 1180/A.D. 1766. It is obvious that the author was a follower of the Ṣūfī master; hence the addition 'al-Sammānī', not 'al-Samnānī', as Brockelmann interrogatively suggests (*G.A.L.,* S. II, p. 1038, sub 10).

V. *Kemas Muhammad b. Ahmad*

Kemas Muhammad b. Ahmad has two books to his name:

1. *Nafaḥāt al-Raḥmān fī manāqib ustādhinā al-aᶜẓam al-Sammān.*

As indicated by the title this is a book in praise of "our great master" Muḥammad Sammān and its general purpose is to record the course of his blessed life. The data for this biography were taken from Arabic sources. At the end of the book we are told that the saint's name-day (*ḥawl*) is celebrated in the third night of the twelfth month of the year, that is the night before Dhū 'l-ḥijja 3d.

The Jakarta MS. of this work is the only copy extant (V.d.W. 126).

2. *Baḥr al-ᶜajā'ib.*

Of this work too only one MS. is known, the Jakarta MS. B.G. Mal. 121. Its source is *Baḥr al-wuqūf fī ᶜilm al-tawfīq wa 'l-ḥurūf* by ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥ. b. ᶜAlī b. Aḥmad al-Bisṭāmī, a scholar who was

born in Syria but who died in Bursa in A.H. 858/A.D. 1454.[33] It deals with calculations for the prediction of future events. The Malay adaptation was made at the behest of Sultan Mahmud Badruddin, whose name figures on the front page, and it is dated A.H. 1223/A.D. 1808, in the reign of that Sultan, who was banished to Ternate in 1821.

On account of this the dates given by Van Ronkel (*Cat. Mal. Hss. Bat. Gen.*, p. 423) as indicating "his year of birth" (A.H. 1132/A.D. 1719) and "his year of death" (A.H. 1177/A.D. 1763) cannot possibly indicate Kemas Muhammad b. Ahmad's term of life as Winstedt thinks. (*Hist. Class. Mal. Lit.*, p. 125). For that matter, it is highly questionable whether this is what Van Ronkel meant. I suspect that what Van Ronkel gave were the dates of the birth and the death not of Kemas Muhammad but of Muḥammad Sammān, both dates being mentioned in the MS. discussed in 1 above. A.H. 1132 is in fact the year of Muḥammad Sammān's birth; the date of his death is generally given as A.H. 1189. Moreover, it is hard to see that a Manāqib Muḥammad Sammān could have been written in Palembang before 1763, as the founder of the Sammāniyya was still alive and such works as a rule are not composed until the venerated person has passed away. Furthermore, it is highly improbable that the *ṭarīqa* was already known in Palembang by that time, since its spread in Sumatra is mainly attributable to ᶜAbd al-Ṣamad, who was an ardent disciple of the master and recruited many a compatriot into his *ṭarīqa*. ᶜAbd al-Ṣamad cannot have settled down in Arabia many years before 1764, when he wrote his first book. For these reasons Kemas Muhammad b. Ahmad has to be placed in the latter part of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century.

VI. *Sultan Mahmud Badruddin*

The name of this Sultan, who came to the throne in 1803 or 1804 and ruled, with intervals, till 1821, when he was banished to Ternate, is associated with a small number of literary works.

1. *Shair Sinyor Kosta.*

The copyist of Leiden MSS. 1895 has added a note to the effect that this shair was composed by Sultan Mahmud Badruddin when still on the throne of Palembang (*Sultan Badaruddin mengarang cerita masa di Palembang lagi bertakhta, akan menjadi panglipur cinta*). Van der Linden (*thesis*, p. 115) ventures to think that the shair dates back to the time before 1811, as after the massacre of the Dutch garrison on September 14th 1811 the Sultan would have been preoccupied by military and political affairs to such a degree that he would have no time to spare for the composition of a shair as long and skilfully contrived as this one. So he does not question the Sultan's authorship, nor is there any doubt about this in Palembang. Here the accepted opinion is still the same as stated by Gramberg in his novel *Palembang* (1878), p. 112, note 1: "In Palembang Mahmud Badaruddin is credited with the

authorship of several works, one of which is entitled "The adventures of Sinyor Kasto", a work that is still much in demand". Winstedt's opinion is couched in more guarded terms. He speaks appreciatively of the poem: " 'A trifle, but pretty', it has been termed,[34] and it is alive and vivid and novel in style and topic, being in fact one of the few genuinely Malay works as opposed to translations and adaptations". But referring to the attribution of the work to Sultan Badruddin in the Leiden catalogue he adds that this MS. "seems to differ from the version so often lithographed at Singapore and there appears insufficient reason to decide that he was the original author".[35]

2. *Hikayat Martalaya.*

Following Palembang tradition, Gramberg attributes the authorship of the Hikayat Martalaya also to Sultan Mahmud Badruddin. It has been observed above that the language of this shair too points to a Palembang origin; moreover, MS. B.G. Mal. 5, in which this hikayat is contained, and the only copy known, is of Palembang origin.

Evidence of the popularity of the story in Palembang in the first half of the 19th century can perhaps be drawn from another, unmistakably Palembang production, the Shair Perang Ménténg. In this shair the heroic behaviour of the Palembang warriors is compared with that of the gods and the heroes of the wayang stories such as Indera, Brama, Narada, Arjuna, Salya, Boma, Ratu Masapati, and also to that of Dewa Shahperi.[36] The last-named is a figure occurring in the Hikayat Martalaya; together with his father, the king of Muzjajar he joins battle with Shamsu Bahrum and his two *jinn,* who have penetrated into the garden of his fiancee Puspa Indera.[37] He also figures in the Shair Mambang Jawhari; here the princess's name is Kusuma (= Puspa) Indera.[38] So it is also possible that the mention of Shahperi in the Shair Perang Ménténg is due to the popularity of the Shair Mambang Jawhari. But all things considered, Gramberg's observation on the popularity of the Hikayat Martalaya is probably a fair description of the situation of the first decades of the 19th century.

3. *Shair Nuri*; 4. *Pantun.*

Possibly both were composed "akan penglipur manah" when the Sultan was in exile.

VII. *Pangeran Panembahan Bupati*

The copyist of cod. or. Leiden 1896, a copy of the *Shair Raja Mambang Jawhari,* attributes the authorship of this work to a Pangeran Panembahan Palembang; this may or may not be correct. But it is not clear whether this is the same Pangeran as the Pangeran Panembahan Bupati, a "brother of the expelled Sultan of Palembang" who is said to have composed a *Shair Kembang air mawar* (MS. B.G. Mal. 10, first part; see Cat. Mal. hss. Bat. Gen., p. 54).

This Pangeran, originally named Pangeran Adikesuma and later on Pangeran Dipati tua, was granted the title of Pangeran Bupati Panembahan by Sultan Ahmad Najmuddin after De Kock's capture of Palembang. He figures in several of the chronicles and in the Sha'ir Perang Ménténg. See Woelders, *op. cit.*, p. 480, *s.v.* Pangeran Adikesuma.

The third(?) shair to his name is the *Shair Patut delapan*. With regard to this shair it is stated in the *Notulen* ('Minutes') of the Batavia Society, 1866, p. 25, that the poem is more remarkable on account of its composition than on account of its contents. Its four-line stanzas can be divided into eight rhyming parts; hence the name.

VIII. *Muhammad Ma'ruf b. Abdallah, khatib Palembang*

Muhammad Ma'ruf is the author of a harmonistic work on the Qādiriyya and Naqshbandiyya *ṭarīqa*s, entitled *Ṭariqah yang dibangsakan kepada Qādiriyyah dan Naqshbandiyyah,* a short summary of which is given by Van Ronkel in his *Cat. Mal. Hss. Bat. Gen.*, p. 438.

In the beginning of the tract there is mention of Shaikh Ahmad Khatib Sambas, most probably the writer's teacher, who was head of the *ṭarīqa Qādiriyya* in Mecca about the middle of the 19th century, and who in that capacity initiated many pilgrims from Indonesia and the Malay countries into this fraternity.[39] The tract was composed in Mecca, presumably during the author's student days.

IX. *Ahmad b. Abdallah*

In *B.K.I.*, Vol. 126 (1970), pp. 259-'60 Dr. Voorhoeve has suggested that the story of *Raden Manteri,* versified by Ali Musthatier and edited in 1838 by P. P. Roorda van Eysinga, is possibly based on a prose text from Palembang written by Ahmad b. Abdullah, possibly the *Hikayat Andakén Penurat.*

The Leiden MS. of this hikayat was copied in Batavia in 1825 and, as supposed by the editor, Dr. Robson (*Bibliotheca Indonesica,* Vol. 2; 1969), could very well originate from the Scriptorium of the General Secretariat, where so many MSS. were copied at the time (see Dr. P. Voorhoeve, *A Malay Scriptorium,* in *Malayan and Indonesian Studies,* ed. Bastin and Roolvink, Oxford 1964, pp. 256-266). Could the original of this copy have been one of the MSS. shipped to Batavia in 1822 that were spirited away afterwards? A second point is whether this Ahmad b. Abdallah was the father of Kemas b. almarḥūm Ahmad al-Palimbani, mentioned under V above. Should this be the case, then he must have lived in about the middle or the latter part of the 18th century.

It is worth mentioning that the Leiden MS. of the *Hikayat Andakén Penurat* is not a unique specimen, as Dr. Robson thought. There is a second copy of it in the library of the School of Oriental and African Studies in London, as stated by Dr. Amin Sweeney in *B.S.O.A.S.*, Vol.

XXXIII, p. 431, while a third copy is to be found in Cambridge (Add. 3811). This copy is the second part of a MS. of which the first part is the MS. E used in Teeuw's edition of the *Shair Kèn Tambuhan* (Kuala Lumpur, 1966).

X. *Kyai Rangga Setyanandita Ahmad*

K. R. Setyanandita Ahmad, the son of Kyai Ngabehi M-s-t-w-ng, is the copyist of Shaikh Abdullah al-Misri's *Hikayat Mareskalek* contained in cod. or. Leiden 2276d, to which he added an account of events in Palembang from 1812-1819. This account opens with Raffles' commissioning three delegates to Palembang in order to investigate the rumour of the massacre of the Dutch garrison. It describes the return of the delegates (apparently with nothing achieved), and the concentration of British ships in the straits of Bangka. On p. 95, in the beginning of a new section opening with the arrival of the Dutch expeditionary force at the mouth of the Sungsang river in 1821, the text ends abruptly in the middle of a sentence. It is likely that Kyai Rangga Setyanandita was not the copyist but the author of this sequel. The question of the authorship will be examined below in § VI, *Hikayat Palembang.*

XI. *Pangeran Tumenggung Karta Menggala*

This Pangeran was a direct descendant of Sultan Muhammad Mansur (± 1706-1714), and through his grandmother on the paternal side he was a great-grandson of Sultan Mahmud Badruddin I (± 1724-1757). After the abolition of the Sultanate he held various posts in the local administration. At the request of A. H. W. baron De Kock, acting Commissioner for Palembang from 1842-1847, he composed the three texts contained in MSS. KITLV Mal. nos. 196, 201 and 201a, mentioned above sub I, 13, namely, *Carita Negeri Palembang, Carita daripada aturan Raja-raja didalam negeri Palembang,* and *Hikayat Mahmud Badruddin.* For a synopsis of their contents and the use they were put to by Baron De Kock for a series of articles published (anonymously) in *Tijdschrift voor Neêrland's Indië,* 1844 and 1846, the reader is referred to Dr. Woelders' *thesis,* pp. 31-35.

Dr. Woelders suggests that P. T. Karta Manggala is also the author of a chronicle of Jambi, contained in MS. KITLV Mal. 205 and 207. This chronicle, however, is not an original work but an adaptation of an older text written in 1837 in Muara Kompeh (Jambi) and contained in cod. or. Leiden 2013 (Juynboll, *Cat. Leiden,* pp. 244-'45).

XII. *Demang Muhiddin*

Demang Muhiddin, a Palembang magistrate, is the author of the *Sila-sila Raja-raja didalam negeri Palembang* contained in MS. KITLV

Mal. 414. The last date mentioned is 2 Rajab 1277/January 14, 1861, the date of the death of Sultan Ahmad Najmuddin, the son of Sultan Mahmud Badruddin. As this MS. was acquired by Mr. Van den Bossche, most probably when he was Commissioner for Bangka and its dependencies from 1860-1862, the text must have been composed in 1861 or 1862. A summary of its contents is given by Dr. Woelders, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

* * *

Not of Palembang origin is the *Hikayat Tuan Tilani* (Oph. 69), said by Van Ronkel to have been composed in A.H. 1278/A.D. 1861 by a certain Kemas Hasanuddin of Palembang. Hasanuddin was only the copyist; the story was written in Jambi in 1243/1827. It deals with the remnants of ancient habitation in the hinterland of Jambi and the relations with the royal dynasty of Siam. It is the same story as that contained in cod. or. Leiden 2013 (Cat. Juynboll, pp. 244-'45) that bears the name of *Hikayat Negeri Jambi,* and in MS. K.I.T.L.V. Mal. 205, described by Van Ronkel in *B.K.I.,* Vol. 60 (1908), pp. 211-213.

Tilani (sometimes Talani) should be read Tilawi, corrupted from Thai Butlawa = Putra Lawa, (Rama's) son Lawa. See H. H. Juynboll, in *B.K.I.,* Vol. 54 (1902), p. 545; A Zieseniss, *Rama-Sage,* Hamburg 1928, p. 106 (= *Rama in Malaysia,* published by M.S.R.I., Singapore, 1963, p. 175).

V

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THREE WORKS BY UNKNOWN AUTHORS

1. *Sha'ir Perang Ménténg*

This account in verse of the battle of Palembang (1819), already summarized above, is deserving of more attention. It has been treated in some detail by A. L. V. L. van der Linden in his Utrecht thesis on *De Europeaan in de Maleische Literatuur* ('The European in Malay literature'), Meppel 1937, pp. 147-171. More recently, in 1967, it was edited, together with a historical introduction, by drs. Atja of Jakarta, under the title of *Sjair Perang Palembang.* Unfortunately this is a mimeographed edition, which for the greater part is hardly readable. And lately it has been edited again by Dr. M. O. Woelders, who in his Leiden thesis on the Palembang Sultanate 1811-1825, has published the text together with a translation (*op. cit.*, pp. 189-225; 385-413).

Drs. Atja does not discuss the problem of the authorship of the sha'ir. Dr. Van der Linden ascribes it to Pangeran Muhammad, a half-caste Arab, basing himself on a note to that effect which he had found on the MS. and ascribed to Gramberg, the donor of the MS. But on exami-

nation of the Ms. Dr. Woelders found that the note contains nothing of the kind, and most probably is not Gramberg's.

Apparently it escaped Van der Linden that this Pangeran Muhammad was none other than Pangeran Sharif Muhammad, a son of the Pulau Pinang merchant Husain b. Shihab al-Din by a Palembang lady of title.[40]

Pangeran Muhammad maintained active commercial relations with Malacca and Palembang; on account of this he was taken in service by Raffles to act as an intermediary between the British and the Sultan of Palembang in the pourparlers with the latter which preceded the British occupation of Java.[41] From Dutch reports on Palembang affairs he is well-known as a *wakil* of Raffles; in this capacity he is given a place by Gramberg in his novel *Palembang* (1878), in which the author asserts that he has not done undue violence to historical authenticity.[42] In the correspondence of Raffles published by Bastin, Pangeran Muhammad figures under the name of Tunku Radin Mahomed, while in one of his letters to Lord Minto Raffles refers to him as "Mahomed, a relation of the Sultan".[43]

This Pangeran Muhammad was *not* the author of the sha'ir, as was rightly argued by Dr. Woelders (*thesis*, p. 58).[44] As is apparent from the sha'ir itself, in this battle he sided with the Dutch, which is not remarkable in view of the part he had played as Raffles's *wakil* and the ill-will the Sultan bore him as a consequence. Already in the first lines of the sha'ir he and Raja Akil, claimant to the throne of Siak, are bracketed together as allies of the infidels:

> Alkissah pertama mula, Pangeran Muhammad membuat cela,
> Raja Akil demikian pula, Beserta, dengan kafir segala,

so that V. d. Linden's statement is enigmatical, to say the least.

This Raja Akil, "a man of great renown in the entire Northern part of the Indian Archipelago" [45], was a grandson of the dethroned Sultan Muhammad of Siak (Raja Buang). In 1791 his uncle Sultan Yahya was ousted by Sayyid ᶜAlī b. ᶜUthmān b. Shibāb, whose mother was a daughter of Raja Alam, an erstwhile Sultan. Sayyid ᶜAlī ruled till 1811 under the name of Sultan ᶜAbd al-Jalīl Saif al-Dīn. His successor was Sultan Ibrāhīm ᶜAbd al-Jalīl Khalīl al-Dīn (1811-1827). Meanwhile Raja Akil had entered the service of the British and in that capacity headed a punitive expedition against Belitung, where a British ship had been plundered.[46] After the restoration of Dutch rule he entered into Dutch service and was promoted major in the Netherlands-Indies army. He ended up as Sultan of Sukadana, where he could provide his aged father with rest and comfort till the end of his days. So small wonder that Professor Veth, after having passed in review his virtues and his less commendable qualities, was reminded of Aeneas and wondered when this Malay Aeneas would find his Vergil.[47]

In the *Sha'ir Perang Ménténg* it is Raja Akil who is pre-eminently the scapegoat; he is stigmatized repeatedly; see stanzas 28; 31-34; 81,

209; 212-214. Pangeran Muhammad is only mentioned twice; on his advice the gunfire directed against Muntinghe's ship was returned by shelling the kraton (st. 95), while in st. 112 it is told that Pangeran Puspawijaya, his face scarlet with fury, wanted to pit himself against Pangeran Muhammad.

What the Sultan took very much amiss is to be found in captain Robison's defence of his rehabilitation of Sultan Mahmud Badruddin. "Tunku Radin Mahomet has not been an honest Agent and had fabricated many of his stories" [48], which should be understood as referring first and foremost to the statement he had made at the British headquarters at Muntok, to the effect that the Pangeran Ratu (crown-prince), naturally deputizing for his father the Sultan, had wanted to force him into signing a — false — declaration testifying that the Dutch garrison had been allowed to withdraw unmolested to Banka.[49] Furthermore: "the reason why ... Radeen Mahomet has been so much my enemy with the English, said the Sultan, I suppose are these. He wanted money of me to pay his expences, which I declined to give him. He also took away one of my Women from my palace, availing himself of his situation as English Agent. If any other Malay had done such an insult he could not have escaped punishment for so doing." [50]

Cod. or. Leiden 2276c, pp. 30-31, however, gives an entirely different version of this story. Pangeran Muhammad had married a Muntok lady of noble birth and brought her to Palembang in disregard of the fact that marriage with a lady of her extraction (*bangsa Yang*) was a prerogative of the Palembang Sultans. The Sultan took his wife away, whereupon Pangeran Muhammad fled to Kedah and afterwards entered into the service of the British.[51] Another of Pangeran Muhammad's wrong-doings was that by order of Muntinghe he removed a piece of ordnance, the famous Palembang heirloom Seri Padah, from the entrance of the kraton without the Sultan's knowledge and consent.[52]

Now the *sha'ir*.

The events in Palembang between 1812 and 1819, when the town was the scene of the battle described in the sha'ir, are well-known. Sultan Mahmud Badruddin was dethroned by the British and replaced by Ahmad Najmuddin. He was then rehabilitated by Captain Robison but dethroned again by the intervention of the Central Government. In 1818 he was reinstated once more by the Dutch, after Ahmad Najmuddin had been banished to Cianjur on account of his incompetence and intriguing with the English in Bencoolen. The situation, however, did not improve and was visibly deteriorating during Muntinghe's protracted stay in the hinterland where he was coping with the English penetration into the border-land of Bencoolen. The tension intensified when on his return from the interior Muntinghe received non-committal replies to the demands he had made to the Sultan. Perceiving from the walls of the kraton that the Dutch had reoccupied the old fortification on the opposite bank of the river opposite the kraton, the Sultan assembled his troops, bracing himself for any encounter.

In the Malay sources the immediate cause of the outbreak of hostilities is said to have been a scuffle that broke out between a group of hajjis who were engaged in *dikir* and a number of Dutch soldiers. In view of the date of this incident, namely Shaᶜbān 18th [53], this does not seem unlikely, for apart from the fact that the atmosphere was charged with tension the latter part of Shaᶜbān is a period of increased religious intensity, when people are preparing for the fasting of the next month, Ramaḍān. Prompted by the Sultan himself [54] the hajjis executed a *ratib*, possibly the ratib Sammān, which was much *en vogue* at that time in Palembang. A *ratib* is a religious performance consisting of the joint recital of certain formulas such as the *shahāda,* the *asmā' al-ḥusnā* (God's most beautiful names) and eulogies in praise of God and the Prophet, accompanied by various motions and postures. It was not uncommon for the participants in such a performance to work themselves up into a frenzy, so that a gathering that began as a religious event more often than not ended in tumult. No doubt such a tumultuous gathering was going on here on the 18th of Shaᶜbān.

At all events, a Dutch officer, accompanied by a Javanese soldier — as we read in cod. or. Leiden 2276c, p. 55 — came to see what was going on. For some reason or other the hajjis were infuriated and chased them away, pursuing them as far as the gate of the fortification. This resulted in a general attack on the garrison.

To quote the poem itself:

st. 11 To perform a *ratib* in the audience court
The hajjis gathered as for a banquet.
Shyness and modesty were put aside.
Standing face to face they set to the performance.

st. 12 At the words *Lā ilāha illā 'llāh* they beat their left side,
The seat of the pine-apple shaped (= physical) heart.
An officer came along and stopped to see what was going on.
The hajjis rushed at him and the officer fled.

st. 13 The infuriated hajjis chased him,
Hajji Zain now taking the lead.
In this way the hostilities broke out
In the course of which eventually the old kraton was attacked.

This is not an unlikely story, as "Paradise lies in the shadow of the swords" (*sorga bernaung di mata pedang*) [55], and if it is true the situation would appear to have got out of the Sultan's control, the more so after Pangeran Citra Saleh had come to the rescue of the hajjis by opening fire upon the Dutch garrison from an inland bastion. With respect to a fair assessment of the Sultan's role in the outbreak of the hostilities this detail does not seem to be devoid of interest. At any rate, a furious battle ensued, lasting for a couple of days, and though from time to time on the Palembang side a few combatants fell in action,

according to the poet the heaviest losses were inflicted upon the Dutch and their allies. These were harassed afloat and ashore, and seeing nothing else for it sailed down the river and sought safety in flight to Banka.

The Sha'ir Perang Ménténg, which describes this battle, was composed shortly after the abortive punitive expedition headed by Wolterbeek that was launched in December 1819.[56]

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Some additional observations can be made concerning the Shair Résidèn De Brauw and the Shair Melayu (Palembang), nos 15 and 16 of the list given above, under II.

No. 15, *Shair Résidèn De Brauw.*

This anonymous shair owes its name to Van Ronkel, but properly speaking the title is inappropriate, since Resident (rightly: Lieutenant-colonel) De Brauw hardly appears in it, and then only in a subordinate role. Van Ronkel's summary of its content is defective; the real subject is not even mentioned, namely, the dismissal and arrest of the Palembang regent (perdana menteri) and his banishment to Java for fraudulent practices and extortion. These events took place in 1851, so that the sha'ir must have been composed in the 1850's.

No. 16, *Shair Melayu (Palembang).*

A summary of this shair is given by Hans Overbeck in his paper on *Malay Manuscripts,* which contains an annotated catalogue of the Malay manuscripts in German libraries (*J.M.B.R.A.S.*, Vol. IV, Pt. 2, Oct. 1926).

On the MS. of this shair (Sch. V. 43(b)) Overbeck has made the following remarks: "Probably written by a Chinese. The spelling is very faulty, and compelled by the rhyme the writer has sometimes used words the meaning of which he was not quite sure of himself, so he put what he wanted to say in parentheses".

In Snouck Hurgronje's catalogue of the Berlin Malay MSS. (with which Overbeck was not acquainted as it is not available in print), pp. 158-'59, the content of the shair is summarized as follows: "In a rather dull fashion the poet relates how on August 27th 1842 a Palembang born Chinese skipper put his single-masted cutter into the port of Palembang and tried to mislead the harbour-master by means of a faked bill of lading. However, a Palembang port-constable resisted his attempt at bribery and reported the fraudulent intentions of the Chinese to his superior officer. Thereupon the cutter was closely surveyed by a commission of three inhabitants of Palembang; the cargo was seized and on Oct. 8th sold by public auction, to the amusement of the public at large. The shair was composed on June 10th 1845".

VI

HIKAYAT PALEMBANG

In the Leiden University Library there are two MSS. which claim to be and should be given the name Hikayat Palembang. They are A. cod. or. 2276c, and B. cod. or. 2276d, pp. 41-95 (Juynboll, Cat. Leiden, p. 251; p. 243). MS. A., numbering 79 pages, covers the period from 1720-1825. MS. B., numbering 54 pages, covers only the years from 1812-1819, beginning with the British expedition under the command of Colonel Gillespie and ending abruptly after a few lines on the arrival of the expeditionary force under the command of Baron De Kock in 1821. It is, in fact, a continuation of the story preceding on the first 40 pages of the MS., namely the *Hikayat Mareskalek* (i.e., the story of Daendels, 'the Iron Marshal' and his successor Janssens, who had to capitulate to the British) and offers an account of the events that occurred in Palembang after Raffles had appeared on the scene.

Both MSS. are discussed at some length by Van der Linden in his thesis (pp. 147-160). MS. B. had already been more fully discussed by Van Ronkel in a paper on "Daendels in de Maleische litteratuur" ('Daendels in Malay Literature'), published in *Koloniaal Tijdschrift,* Vol. VII (1918), pp. 858-875 and 1152-1167. MS. A. has recently been discussed, edited and translated by Dr. Woelders in his thesis, pp. 49-50, 72-115 and 230-278. It is a different work by another author, and thus there is no need to discuss it in this connection.

Van Ronkel did not fail to see that at the end of the *Hikayat Mareskalek* (page 41 of the MS.), the story moved on rather abruptly from the coming of Raffles to the events in Palembang. In spite of this, he considered it to be a continuous whole. He did add, however, that in spite of the mention of the author's name at the beginning of the MS., the version in this MS. could not be the original one because the author, Abdullah al-Misri, was a writer of considerable fame, who would scarcely have passed so abruptly from one part of the story to another.

The Leiden library has another copy of the *Hikayat Mareskalek* (cod. or. 1724), which was made in Riau in 1827 by a Siak man named Encik Ismail b. Datuk Kerkun. He was also the copyist of cod. or. 1736 (*Sejarah Melayu*) and 3376 (Court ceremonial), and perhaps of the "Mirror for Princes" (also called *Hikayat Mareskalek* by Van Ronkel, Suppl. Cat. Leiden, p. 44), of which cod. or. Leiden 6057 could well be a copy.

Cod. or. 1724 contains a more elaborate and embellished version of the *Hikayat Mareskalek,* which in Van Ronkel's opinion is related to the version found in MS. B. but is not the original version of this Hikayat. In this MS., which does not contain the Palembang sequel, the name of the author of the *Hikayat Mareskalek* is given in full: Shaikh Abdullah b. Muhammad Abu Bakr Raja Bandarkhan b. Shaikh Ibrahim al-Misri.

This Shaikh Abdullah is not a complete stranger. He and his writings

were very well known to an older generation of writers on Malay subjects. But it seems that subsequently his fame as a writer was eclipsed by that of his renowned contemporary and namesake, Abdullah b. Abdalkadir Munshi, to such an extent that in Winstedt's *History of Classical Malay Literature* his name is not even mentioned. Hooykaas (*Over Maleische Literatuur*, p. 114) mentions two of his books, but ascribes one of these to "a Malay", and the second to "a Pontianak Arab".

Who this "Pontianak Arab" was has been elucidated by Van Hoëvell in *Tijdschrift voor Ned.-Indië*, 1854 II. He was born in Palembang, and educated in Batavia by a cousin who was none other than the famous Shaikh ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad al-Miṣrī of Petamburan (died 1847).[57] But before long he gave his heart to Pontianak and dedicated his *Hikayat Mareskalek* to the Pontianak Sultan Sayyid Qāsim al-Qadrī, who ruled from 1808-1819. Van Ronkel has suggested that this work was completed some time between 1813 and 1816. Another treatise of his, composed in 1818-1819, is in fact a "Mirror for Princes", despite the fact that Daendels figures largely in it. It was summarized by Van Ronkel in his article on Daendels.

In the early 1820's Shaikh Abdullah became a secretary to Sayyid Ḥasan b. ᶜUmar al-Ḥabshī, who was on good terms with the colonial government. Several times Sayyid Ḥasan was sent by the Governor-General on diplomatic missions; he was given the title of Pangeran, and in 1830 he submitted to the Governor-General a report on piracy in the Archipelago.[58] Shaikh Abdullah accompanied this diplomatic agent on his voyages to Siam and Bali, and wrote down his findings in two treatises, *Hikayat Raja-raja Siam* (1823) and *Hikayat Tanah Bali*, of which only the first has been preserved. The latter is only known from an extract of it published by Van Hoëvell in his paper of 1854 referred to above. Copies of the *Hikayat Raja-raja Siam* are preserved in the Leiden University Library (Cat. Juynboll, pp. 240-'41, cod. or. 2011) and in the library of the Royal Institute of Linguistics and Anthropology in Leiden, no. 534 (see *B.K.I.*, Vol. 60 (1908), pp. 213-'14). De Hollander has published fragments of it in his *Handleiding*, and a Dutch summary of its contents in *B.K.I.*, Vol. III : 8 (= Vol. 20; 1873), pp. 229-248.

It is beyond doubt, though perhaps not unexpected, that the last-mentioned works breathe a spirit widely different from that of the *Hikayat Mareskalek*. Van Ronkel, who apparently was captivated by this work owing to its candid estimate of Daendels' forceful personality, asked himself for what purpose the work was written. Because his interesting paper was published more than half a century ago in a no longer extant periodical of limited circulation I venture to quote his views at some length. Says Van Ronkel: "What is offered here is a short anecdotal history of the man who kept a tight hand over his subjects, and this in connection with the perpetual question of the reasons for the white man's power . . . The author was a pious man who had a low opinion of traders and trade. He was a true resident of the 'Outer

Possessions', and did not take kindly to Java. He was an old-fashioned, almost reactionary man of letters and as a good Muslim he hated the infidels and abhorred the worldly, frivolous life in the port of Java... He asserts that he wrote his book for three reasons: first, to demonstrate God's omnipotence; secondly, to demonstrate the white man's ability to govern as well as his capability of making a profit...; and thirdly, to practise composition (p. 861). ... Broadly speaking, one may say that "the Terrible One" fares rather well at the author's hands, but we should not forget that he was not a Javanese nor had he a liking for the Javanese with their *hormat* (exaggerated formality) towards their princes and grandees. He gloated in silent satisfaction over all those menaks and pangerans who were put in their place and humiliated by the Marshall, and he could not stand the fact that in Java the Chinese, those unworthy infidels, were addressed in so dignified a manner. In his opinion Java was a sinful, frivolous and voluptuous land, the chastisement of which by Daendels did not displease him. In a dual sense he considered this despot an instrument in God's hand." (p. 1165).

However, we find a drastic change of tune in the *Hikayat Siam,* which was written in 1822 or shortly thereafter. In the beginning of this story we read that the author gave up an intended business trip to Timor in order to accompany Sayyid Ḥasan on his voyage to Siam because the latter had held out the prospect of presentation to the Governor-General. This audience did not come about, in spite of the fact that, as our author says, his only purpose in writing his hikayat had been to be of use to the Grand Seignior in Batavia. On the subject of being ruled by Westerners he thinks quite differently. He no longer considers it a punishment but a blessing, and he does not even object to the taxes imposed by them, because they create the possibility of a peaceful, secure and prosperous condition, which is too often lacking elsewhere.

This change of mind induced Van der Linden to make the following observation: "Should, in fact, this Abdullah be identical with the haughty author of the *Hikayat Mareskalek* who fulminated against the whites and in particular against their fiscal system, then this volte-face can be seen as nothing short of staggering" (*loc. cit.,* p. 176, nt. 1). A few pages earlier Van der Linden had observed (p. 172, nt. 2), "Within about ten years he must have been converted from a fierce anti-European and orthodox Islamic writer into a humble, out-and-out admirer of European government and everything connected with it, and in religion he became a very moderate man, even taking interest in other religions".

If there was a volte-face, it could not have occurred all at once. We should not lose sight of the fact that his cousin, who educated him, was always on good terms with the Netherlands-Indies government. Furthermore, it is quite possible that his ideas underwent a fundamental change owing to his intercourse with the Arab colony in Pontianak — a town constantly idealized by Abdullah, and where friendly terms with the Dutch were highly valued — as well as his employment with Sayyid

Hasan, who received the title of Pangeran for diplomatic services rendered. And who knows whether or not the prospects of enhanced social prestige, or the hope of the title of Pangeran for himself even, may not have contributed to his change of outlook? Finally, the picture of the white man as sketched in the *Hikayat Mareskalek* already shows a number of lighter touches beside the dark ones. Of certain qualities and activities of the white man Shaikh Abdullah al-Misri speaks with as much appreciation as his namesake does in his autobiography. So the symptoms of some reappraisal were already there.

So much for the personality of Shaikh Abdullah al-Misri. We now revert to the initial question: is this Shaikh Abdullah the author of the sequel to the *Hikayat Mareskalek* that is dedicated to the history of Palembang? Van Ronkel is not clear about this, but, as I understand him, in the end he takes the line that the hypothetical originals of both parts of the MS. go back to the same author. Van der Linden also assumes that both parts of the MS. flowed from the same pen, for he says, "MS. B (= cod. or. Leiden 2276d) pays more attention to Gillespie than, for instance, to Raffles. Gillespie shows the same temper as the Marshal, perhaps in part because of the fact that the author described the latter only a short while before" (*op.cit.*, p. 152).

But, one may ask, is it likely that an Arab who in the period under discussion lived in Pontianak and travelled a good deal elsewhere and even abroad, was at the same time so thoroughly informed about events in Palembang that he could write about them in such detail? I, for one, think this very unlikely: here speaks an insider.

Now, in addition to the name of Shaikh Abdullah, the name of the copyist is also mentioned at the beginning of the manuscript. He was Kyai Rangga Setyanandita Ahmad b. Kyai Ngabehi M-s-t-w-ng, and it is stated that he carried out his work in A.H. 1247/A.D. 1831-'32. I think one may presume, not only that it was this Kyai Rangga who combined the subject-matter of the *Hikayat Mareskalek* with an account of Palembang events into a continuous story, but also that he himself, being a Palembang man, could well be the author of this account.

After a thorough examination of the text Dr. Woelders made the same suggestion, for reasons supplied by the text itself. Furthermore, in the N.I. Government Yearbooks for 1830-1834 Dr. Woelders found the copyist's name registered as that of a Palembang magistrate (*op. cit.*, pp. 53-54). So it seems that there is much to be said for the possibility that the copyist of the first part of the MS. was the author of the Palembang sequel to it.

NOTES TO APPENDIX

1 *J.R.A.S.,* April 1963, p. 63.
2 *Bibl. Marsd.,* p. 304.
3 See *Bibl. Marsd.*
4 Cat. Greentree and Nicholson, p. 6; as stated by Dr. Voorhoeve, *Handlist Arabic MSS. Leiden,* p. 384, this Malay text is a translation of Ibn Shaddād al-Ḥimyarī's *Tuḥfat al-zaman fi ẓarf ahl al-Yaman.*
5 In cod. or. Leiden 2276(d), p. 46 it is stated that Gillespie's soldiers looted the town. (Woelders, *Het Sultanaat Palembang 1811-1825,* Thesis Leiden 1975, pp. 159; 350).
6 *Notulen Bat. Gen.* 1866.
7 *Loc. cit.,* Oct. 30th 1866, VI, *b.*
8 *Notulen Bat. Gen.* 1875, pp. 7-9; 56.
9 *Ibidem* 1876, p. XVIII, where the writing is erroneously said to be Balinese.
10 The last passage of p. 17 should be read: *Alamat hikayat Seri Paduka Pangeran Ratu ibn Paduka Seri Sultan Muhammad Baha'uddin ibn Paduka Seri Susuhunan Ahmad Najmuddin ibn Sultan Ratu Mahmud Badruddin fī Palembang dār al-maᶜmūr wa 'l-mashhūr.*
11 *Notulen Bat. Gen.* 1880, p. 75.
12 In his thesis *De Europeaan in de Maleische Literatuur* (Utrecht, 1937), p. 157 and note 7.
13 In Gramberg's novel *Palembang* (1878), pp. 286-295 the author has tried his hand at a description of the Sultan's treasure-chamber and its contents, an account probably based on oral tradition current in Palembang at the time. See also Raffles' letter to Lord Minto, quoted by Bastin in *B.K.I.,* Vol. 109 (1953), p. 307: "... the Sultan of Palembang is one of the richest of the Malay Chieftains and is literally said to have Godowns stored with Dollars and Gold hoarded by his Ancestors".
14 Its formation was due to the renewed awakening of interest in the indigenous culture that set in in the time of this Governor-general. It was this Governor-general who ordained (1819, *Indisch Staatsblad* 34) that within a certain period every civil servant had to know the language of his district (see: P. Mijer, *Jean Chrétien Baud geschetst,* Utrecht 1878, p. 112).
15 *Notulen Bat. Gen.* 1880, after p. 174 (Bijlage II, after Not. 7-XII-1880).
16 *Notulen Bat. Gen.,* loc. cit.
17 *al-Durr al-manẓūm* is a very common book-title. A book of this name is also mentioned in the Sejarah Melayu as written in Mecca by a certain Abū Isḥāq and brought to Malacca by his pupil Abū Bakr. Sultan Mansur Shah sent it to Pasai with a request that it be explained by Makhdum Patakan, who did this to the full satisfaction of Maulānā Abū Bakr. See: *Sejarah Melayu,* ed. Situmorang and Teeuw, pp. 168-'69; H. Overbeck, *The Answer of Pasai,* in *J.M.B.R.A.S.,* Vol. XI, Pt. 2 (1933); R. Roolvink, *The Answer of Pasai, ibidem* Vol. XXXVIII, Pt. 2 (1965).
18 In a letter to Professor Millies in Utrecht, dated Oct. 1849; see: *H. N. van der Tuuk, De Pen in Gal gedoopt,* Brieven en documenten verzameld en toegelicht door R. Nieuwenhuys, Amsterdam 1962, p. 35.

19 That he was cognizant of the MSS. of the General Secretariat was already apparent from his list of the MSS. in the possession of the Royal Asiatic Society (*B.K.I.*, Vol. III: 1 (1866)), where reference is made to MS. Gen. Secr. 3, a copy of al-Rānīrī's *Hadiyyat al-ḥabīb*. On this MS. (that probably got lost, but of which MS. Schoemann V 34 (Berlin) seems to be a copy), see Dr. Voorhoeve in *Bingkisan Budi* (Van Ronkel Anniversary Volume, Leiden 1950), pp. 307-309; *B.K.I.*, Vol. 107 (1951), p. 357, note 11.

20 On the *Ḥikam* of Ibn ᶜAṭā' Allāh see: Paul Nwyia, *Ibn ᶜAtā Allāh (m. 709/1309) et la naissance de la confrérie Shadhilite*; édition critique et traduction des *Ḥikam*. Dar el-Machreq, Beyrouth 1972, and for the Malay translation of the *Ḥikam*: R. L. Archer, *Muhammadan Mysticism in Sumatra,* in *J.M.B.R.A.S.,* Vol. XV, Pt. 2 (1937).

21 *Het Boek der Duizend Vragen,* thesis Leiden 1924.

22 *Op. cit.*, pp. 86-88.

23 According to Javanese tradition Raden Patah, said to have been the head of the Muslim alliance against Majapait, was born and brought up in Palembang. So when it is stated in the Sajarah Bantĕn that in 1596, when Pangeran Muhammad launched his ill-fated attack on Palembang, Palembang was still *kafir,* this can only mean that the interior was not yet Muslim (Hoesein Djajadiningrat, *Critische Beschouwing van de Sadjarah Bantĕn,* thesis Leiden 1913, p. 151; see also De Graaf and Pigeaud, *De eerste Moslimse Vorstendommen op Java,* Verh. Kon. Inst. Vol. 69 (1974), p. 203). That the interior was still heathen may also be concluded from the Sajarah Bantĕn story of the albino Amar, who, at a somewhat later date, preached Islam in the Lampung district of South Sumatra, penetrating as far as the Palembang hinterland (Hoesein Djajadiningrat, *op. cit.*, p. 45). According to Palembang tradition Islam did not become solidly rooted in the Palembang hinterland until the latter part of the 17th century, during the reign of Sultan Abdurrahman; see MS. Mal. 414 of the collection of the Royal Institute.

24 As already mentioned by Radermacher in his description of Sumatra (*Verh. Bat. Gen.,* Vol. III (1781). This court of justice was perpetuated by the Netherlands-Indies Government (see J. J. van de Velde, *De godsdienstige rechtspraak in Ned.-Indië, staatsrechtelijk beschouwd,* thesis Leiden 1928, p. 30).

25 See D. A. Rinkes, *Abdoerraoef van Singkel,* thesis Leiden 1909; Dr. P. Voorhoeve, Van en over Nuruddin arRaniri, *B.K.I.*, Vol. 107 (1951), pp. 353-368; Bayan Tadjalli, Gegevens voor een nadere studie over Abdurrauf van Singkel, *T.B.G.*, Vol. LXXXV (1952), pp. 87-117.

26 See C. A. O. van Nieuwenhuijze, *Shamsu 'l-Din van Pasai,* thesis Leiden 1945; Nur al-Din al-Raniri als bestrijder der Wujudiyya, *B.K.I.*, Vol. 104 (1948), pp. 337-414; Syed Muhammad Naguib al-Attas, *Raniri and the Wujudiyyah of 17th Century Acheh* (Monographs Mal. Branch Royal Asiatic Society III), 1966; G. W. J. Drewes, Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī's Ḥujjat al-Ṣiddīq li-dafᶜ al-Zīndīq re-examined, *J.M.B.R.A.S.,* Vol. XLVII pt. 2, 1974, pp. 83-104.

27 He was nominated Sultan in August 1774, his predecessor, Sultan Ahmad Najmuddin, becoming Susuhunan, the title granted to retired Sultans. The evidence furnished by the official diplomatic document printed by Stapel, *Corpus Diplomaticum Neerlando-Indicum,* Vol. VI (1753-1799), p. 404, escaped Woelders' notice (*op cit.*, p. 443, note 65). Stapel is mistaken in assuming that Sultan Ahmad Najmuddin came to the throne in 1774.

28 The short summary given by H. H. Juynboll in his catalogue, and borrowed by Winstedt (*Hist. Class. Mal. Lit.*, p. 126), is incorrect.

29 Brockelmann, *Gesch. Arab. Litt.*, Vol. I, p. 136; S. I, p. 208; Fuat Sezgin,

Gesch. des Arab. Schrifttums, Vol. I, p. 293. The book deals with the conquest of Syria by the Muslims after the Prophet's death.

30 I am indebted to Dr. M. C. Ricklefs for sending me copies of the Dutch translations made from the Javanese translations of these Arabic letters, which were found by him in the Dutch Colonial Archives and discussed at some length in his book *Jogjakarta under Sultan Mangkubumi* 1749-1792, London 1974. I cannot, however, concur with his opinion that the purport of these letters was to foment holy war in Java. It is true that in the beginning of the letters the addressees — notwithstanding their grim struggle for temporal power — are praised as true Muslim princes who have exerted themselves in "the way of the Lord". But one should not lose sight of the fact that in Javanese epistolary style it is considered bad form to come straight to the point at the very beginning of a letter. The real object is not brought forth until its path has been paved. So what the writer really wanted was to solicit princely favour for the two hajjis, who, in furtherance of this request, brought the princes a present of Zam-Zam water (water from the sacred well near the Kaᶜba) by way of *oleh-oleh.* For the content of these letters I refer to my paper. *Further data concerning ᶜAbd al-Samad al-Palimbānī,* in *B.K.I.,* Vol. 132 (1976), pp. 267-292.

31 In the Index of Brockelmann's *G.A.L.,* S. III, p. 586, he is mistakenly recorded under the name of ᶜAbd al-Mu'min.

32 H. Ritter (*Enc. of Islam*², Vol. II, p. 1041) says that Aḥmad al-Ghazālī's abridged version of the *Iḥyā'* of his brother has not survived, but Brockelmann, *G.A.L.,* S. I, p. 748, offers no opinion on the subject.

33 Brockelmann, *G.A.L.,* Vol. II, p. 231 sub 5 and S. II, p. 323, states that he was a favourite of the Turkish Sultan Murad II (d. 1451), whose court was a centre for scholars and writers. The title of the work in question is given as *Baḥr al-wuqūf fī ᶜilm al-ḥurūf* (*G.A.L.,* Vol. II, p. 232 sub 20), so that one may surmise that it deals with cabbalistic and mystical meanings of letters (*ḥurūf*), a subject al-Biṣṭāmī was very familiar with.

34 By Pijnappel, in *B.K.I.,* Vol. III: 5 (= Vol. 17; 1870).

35 Winstedt, *op. cit.,* pp. 155-'56.

36 Sha'ir Perang Ménténg, st. 85.

37 Van Ronkel, *Cat. Mal. Hss. Bat. Gen.,* p. 75.

38 *Ibidem,* p. 336.

39 Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspreide Geschriften,* Vol. IV, II, p. 389.

40 *B.K.I.,* Vol. 109 (1953), p. 315; according to cod. or. Leiden 2276c, p. 30 a *den ayu* (Woelders, thesis Leiden 1975, p. 90).

41 *B.K.I.,* Vol. 109 (1953), p. 306.

42 The events which led to the expedition under the command of Colonel Gillespie have been described several times, Baud's paper *Palembang in 1811 en 1812,* printed in the very first issue of the *Bijdragen Kon. Inst.* (1853) being a source many writers have drawn upon. Recently they were recapitulated again by Dr. M. O. Woelders in the introductory chapter of his thesis. But no one going into all the facts of the massacre of the Dutch garrison can ignore the penetrating study of Bastin that appeared under the same title as Baud's article in *B.K.I.,* Vols. 109 and 110 (1953, 1954). It is less well-known that the Palembang events of 1811 are the subject-matter of a novel entitled *Palembang, Historisch-romantische Schets uit de geschiedenis van Sumatra,* by J. S. G. Gramberg (1878), a writer who lived in Palembang from 1864-1866.

43 *B.K.I.,* Vol. 109 (1953), p. 307.

44 This Appendix was compiled in 1973 and in the same year submitted to but not accepted for publication by the Editorial Board of the *Bijdragen* on account of its too special character. Criticizing Van der Linden's untenable view of the authorship of the Sha'ir Perang Ménténg and rejecting the assumption of both Van Ronkel and Van der Linden that cod. or. Leiden 2276d, registered as Hikayat Mareskalek, in its entirety was to be considered as based on a (hypothetical) original composed by Shaikh Abdullah al-Misri, I came to the same conclusions as those reached by Dr. Woelders. Considering the materials adduced in my discussion of this point I think there is no reason to suppress this paragraph. As will be apparent from the text and the notes of this Appendix I am indebted to Dr. Woelders for valuable additional information on authors, manuscripts and former owners of manuscripts.

45 E. Netscher, *De Nederlanders in Djohor en Siak 1602-1865* (Verh. Bat. Gen., Vol. XXXV (1870)), p. 162 note, where Veth's statement that he was a grandson of Sultan Yahya (repeated by Woelders, *thesis* p. 442 note 57) is rectified.

46 F. S. A. de Clercq, Bijdrage tot de geschiedenis van het eiland Banka (naar een Maleisch handschrift), *B.K.I.*, Vol. VI: 1 (1895), p. 154. This Malay MS. is Mal. 541 in the possession of the Royal Institute in Leiden, described by Van Ronkel in *B.K.I.*, Vol. 60 (1908), sub no. XVII. See also Woelders, *op. cit.*, p. 43 and p. 440 note 39, and above sub 13: MSS. of the Royal Institute.

47 P. J. Veth, *Borneo's Westerafdeeling*, Vol. II, pp. 150 sqq.

48 *B.K.I.*, Vol. 110 (1954), p. 76.

49 *Ibidem*, pp. 67; 69.

50 *Ibidem*, pp. 77, 78.

51 Woelders, *op. cit.*, p. 90; p. 248; p. 458 *s.v.* bangsa Yang.

52 *Ibidem*, p. 184; p. 380.

53 Sha'ir Prang Ménténg, st. 10.

54 Woelders, *op. cit.*, p. 184; translation p. 381.

55 Sha'ir Prang Ménténg, st. 18. This is the translation of a well-known tradition found in all the classical collections (see the *Concordance et Indices de la Tradition musulmane*, Vol. IV, Leiden 1962, p. 79). The Arabic original runs as follows: (*Abwāb*) *al-janna taḥta ẓilāl al-suyūf*, '(The gates of) Paradise lie in the shadow of the swords', meaning that fighting the unbelievers is a way of attaining Paradise. Woelders' translation: 'De hemel gaat schuil in het lemmet van Uw zwaard' ('Heaven hides itself in the edge of your sword') is not correct.

56 Stanza 258: *Jendral laut lari bĕroleh wirang.*

57 L. W. C. van den Berg, *Le Hadramout et les Colonies arabes dans l'Archipel indien*, Batavia 1886, p. 163, states that after having engaged in trade in Palembang and Padang, he settled down in Petamburan as a teacher of religion. Furthermore, that he was on very friendly terms with the Netherlands-Indies Government and that, though having no books to his name, he had numerous pupils. He is said to have excelled in astronomy and astrology, and about 1803, when he was on a visit in Palembang, he observed on the deviation of the *miḥrāb* of the so-called Sultan's Mosque, built in 1748 by Sultan Mahmud Badruddin I. In consequence of this observation the direction of the *miḥrāb* was adjusted (Snouck Hurgronje, *Adviezen* Vol. I, p. 844). The well-known Sayyid ᶜUthmān of Batavia was a grandson of Shaikh ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān al-Miṣrī, his mother being a daughter of his.

58 *Ibidem*, p. 181.

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