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**TEXTS AND MANUSCRIPTS:
DESCRIPTION AND RESEARCH**

I. Katkova

**REVISING HISTORY OF ŠUFĪSM IN INDONESIA.
18TH CENTURY TREATISE
TUHFAT AL-RĀGHIBĪN FĪ BAYĀN-I HAQĪQAT AL-ĪMĀN
BY SHAYKH ‘ABD AL-ŠAMAD AL-PALIMBĀNĪ**

It is well worth beginning this article with the quotation from the old book published in Chicago in 1909, *The Religious Attitude and Life in Islam* by Prof. D. McDonald whose unique and truly scientific approach to the study of Islam is still highly estimated by his colleagues:

“The shell that separates the Oriental from the Unseen is still very thin, and the charm or amulet of the magician may easily break it” [1].

The translation of the abstract we are presenting now seems to me as having a particular value for studying Islam in Indonesia. In spite of the fact that the treatise was written as a demand in its time, the 18th century, for the purpose of purifying the Muslim faith from different “heresies”, it can be used nowadays for teaching true Islamic values, especially on Indonesian soil.

According to the opinion of all those who studied Indonesian Islam, it has always appeared to be different from Islam practised in, e. g., Arabia. The religious attitudes of the Indonesians were more influenced by the Indian religions (Hinduism, Buddhism) and even older indigenous beliefs of their ancestors. Two categories of residents can be singled out as representatives of the Middle Eastern Islam incursion into Indonesia: the Arab traders and ‘*ulamā*’ (especially those claiming to be descendants of the prophet Muḥammad, the *sayyids*) and those Indonesians who made the pilgrimage to Makka (*ḥājjīs*), many of whom had changed their lifestyle upon return. M. van Bruinessen distinguishes the *ḥājjīs* and *sayyids* as the representatives of the forces of globalisation:

“‘global’ Islam was, in the late 19th century, not only perceived to be a less pleasant form of this religion but inherently threatening because of its transnational character” [2].

In general, it is misleading to perceive the islamization as a one-time event as it is a process which started in the 13th century for Indonesia that is not completed, as well as the reform of Islam that has been also an ongoing process through the centuries, as the struggle against indigenous rituals and beliefs has normally been a chief concern of reformists. However, one can mention that Indonesian Islam produced its own cultural forms but these at best spread only within the region.

The oldest Indonesian manuscripts, mostly Javanese, brought to Europe by merchants' ships *ca.* 1600, dealt not only with the problems of mysticism but also with *fiqh* and *sharī‘a*. For example, the famous Indonesian Muslim authors of the 17th century, Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī and ‘Abd al-Ra‘ūf al-Sinḳilī wrote not only works on mysticism but also works dealing with *fiqh*. The central theme of the 18th century Islamic thought in the Malay-Indonesian region, which was to a great extent influenced by those of the Middle East, was renewalism (*tajdīd*) as the return to Sunnī “orthodoxy”, which finds its way in the harmony between *sharī‘a* and *taṣawwuf*. Malay-Indonesian ‘*ulamā*’ of the 18th century, contributed much to the strengthening of the Islamic identity of their societies. There are many arguments among scholars dealing with the beginning of the process of renewal in the Malay-Indonesian world as early as the 17th century, rather than at the beginning of the 19th or the early 20th century. However, all of them mention the influence of renewal ideas which had come from Makka since the 18th century, stimulated by Jawi students and pilgrims as well as scholarly networks, established by Muslim scholars. To a great extent this process was a response to the increasing colonial encroachment in the 18th century. A number of prominent Malay-Indonesian ‘*ulamā*’ of that time had a South Sumatra origin (Palembang region), among them one can name Shihāb al-Dīn b. ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad, Kemas Fakhr al-Dīn,

'Abd al-Şamad al-Palimbānī, Kemas Muḥammad b. Aḥmad and Muḥammad Mūhyī al-Dīn b. Shihāb al-Dīn as well as Arşhad al-Banjārī and Nafīs al-Banjārī from South Kalimantan, 'Abd al-Shihāb al-Bugīsī from Sulawesi and Dāwūd b. 'Abd Allāh al-Patani from the Patani region in South Thailand. The fact that there were many prominent scholars from the Palembang region is the evidence of close relations between Middle Eastern Muslims, mainly Arabs and Persians, and Palembang courts.

The political and economic situation in Palembang of the 18th century reflected the struggle between two Javanese states, Mataram and Banten as well as the endeavours of East Indian Company (VOC) to control the Palembang region. This situation had an impact on the religious life of Palembang which was concentrated mostly in *keraton* as the process of islamization took place mainly among the court elite. K. A. Steenbrink mentioned that this phenomenon of Palembang Islam was its characteristic feature which distinguished it from traditional Javanese Islam and world of Islam in general [3]. The *rājās* on Java usually established and supported *pesantrens* — special centres for studying Islam following the tradition of Near and Middle East. In the Sultanate of Palembang there were two Islamic centres: *keraton* and the mosque of Agung, which are supposed to have been connected in a special way and were responsible for separated functions. While *keraton* became a centre of studying Muslim literature and *taşawwuf*, in the mosque of Agung the problems of *fiqh* and rituals were mainly the focus of study. After the decline in the Aceh region, Palembang seemed to become the new centre of developing Islamic theology and sciences. The reign of *sultān* Muḥammad Bahā' al-Dīn (1776—1803) was marked by significant economic growth because of the increase of the export of pepper from the Palembang region and the extraction of tin on the island of Bangka. According to G. Drewes [4] the manuscripts' collection of the Palembang *keraton* consists of 100 examples containing 43 Malay and Javanese treatises on Islam. Three *sultāns* of Palembang paid special attention and contributed to the intellectual life of Muslim community. *Sultān* Maḥmūd Bahā' al-Dīn I (r. 1724—1757) continued the tradition of *keraton 'ulamā'* famous also in Aceh and Mataram. During his reign the prominent Palembang writer *shaykh* Shihāb al-Dīn 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad made a Malay translation and wrote commentaries to the famous treatise *Jawāhir al-tawḥīd* by Ibrāhīm al-Laqaṇī. *Sultān* Aḥmad Najm al-Dīn I (r. 1757—1774) was also patronizing the literary activity and was writing himself. He composed the translation of *Risāla fī al-tawḥīd* by *shaykh* Raslān al-Dimashqī, supplemented with the commentaries of Zakariyyā' al-Anşārī, and *Kitāb mukhtaşar* by Kemas Fakhr al-Dīn (1719—1763). This tradition was continued by *sultān* Muḥammad Bahā' al-Dīn (r. 1776—1803) who requested 'Abd al-Şamad al-Palimbānī to write *Tuḥfat al-rāghibīn* for strengthening the Muslim faith in the Palembang region. The data we have on the biographies of Palembang scholars is insufficient, although it is known that Kemas Fakhr al-Dīn travelled to India and

spent a good deal of his life in Arabia. Most of the works of these scholars touch on the problems of mysticism and theology and are based mainly on the teachings of al-Junayd, al-Qushayrī and al-Ghazālī. Besides these scholars, G. Drewes mentioned eight additional names of writers of court origin:

Muḥammad Mūhyī al-Dīn b. *shaykh* Shihāb al-Dīn, Kemas Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, *sultān* Maḥmūd Badar al-Dīn II, prince Panembahan Bupati, Muḥammad Ma'rūf b. 'Abd Allāh, Kyai Ranga Setyanandita Aḥmad, prince Tumenggung Karta Manggala, Demang Mūhyī al-Dīn [5].

The Muslim treatises of these scholars were kept very well in the library of Palembang *keraton*. This fact was described by Dutch official J. L. Sevenhoven in his report to Batavia [6] several years after the capturing of *keraton* by British Army in 1812. He mentioned in his report 55 very well preserved Malay and Arabic manuscripts which belonged to the former *sultān* Maḥmūd Badar al-Dīn. Most of the names of Palembang scholars are known from their works, preserved initially in the court of Palembang Sultanate before being taken by the Dutch and the British. The report of J. L. Sevenhoven is one of the rare sources of information dealing with religious life in the Palembang region of that time in which he indicated the existence of the great difference between the true Muslim teaching and its apprehension by the indigenous population. He called them "nominal Muslims", having distinguished only the community of Arab traders as true adherents of Islam. Even in the 20th century in the colonial report of J. W. Royen [7] it was mentioned that people in the Palembang region had been practicing magic and making sacrifices on the graves. Taking into account such religious situation in the Palembang region, the *sultāns* of the 17th—18th centuries made special attempts to attract Arab scholars to settle in their realm. As a result, since the 17th century Arab migrants, particularly from Ḥaḍramawt, began to come to Palembang. So al-Palimbānī's father also belonged to the Arab *sayyids* who came to this region in the early 17th century. By the middle of the century a number of Arab scholars had gained prominent positions in the Palembang court. Several unnamed *sayyids* became "senior priests", and one of them, *sayyid* al-'Aydārūs married *sultān* Maḥmūd's sister. These Arabs contributed to the rise of the Palembang court as a centre of Muslim learning. However, they did not take the initiative to establish religious educational institutions for the broad population as there is no evidence that such institutions as *madrassa* or *pesantren* existed during this period.

Historically, *shaykh* 'Abd al-Şamad al-Jāwī al-Palimbānī is one of the most famous Şūfī authorities in the Malay Archipelago. In Malay and Arabic sources one can find little data about his life. The most detailed modern survey dealing with his life and mystical doctrine can be found in a monograph by the Malaysian

scholar Ch. Quzwain [8] and also in a monograph by A. Azra [9]. According to the Malay sources the full name of al-Palimbānī was 'Abd al-Şamad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Jāwī al-Palimbānī, while the Arabic sources give his name as *sayyid* 'Abd al-Şamad b. 'Abd al-Raḥman al-Jāwī. Only one source, the *Tarikh salasila negeri Kedah*, supplies the date of al-Palimbānī's birth and death. According to it he was born in Palembang about 1704 in the family of a *sayyid* father and a Palembang woman. The Arabic sources indicated that al-Palimbānī's father came from Şana'a' in Yaman and travelled until he gained the position of *qādī* of the Sultanate of Kedah. Ca. 1700 he went to Palembang, married a local woman and returned to Kalāh with his newly born son, al-Palimbānī. It is supposed that he received his early education in Kalāh and Patani and later was sent by his father to Arabia. The sources supplied different dates of his death, but most probably he died after 1789, the date of completion of his final and the most prominent work, the *Sayr al-sālikīn*. Thus it is possible to conclude that al-Palimbānī was living in the Ḥaramayn and never returned to the archipelago. Nevertheless he maintained permanent contacts with the Malay-Indonesian world and was involved in the Jawi community. On the account of his scholarly connections al-Palimbānī is considered to be the most prominent Malay-Indonesian scholar in the 18th century networks.

Arabic sources mentioned the names of al-Palimbānī's teachers. Among them were Muḥammad al-Kurdī, Ibrāhīm al-Ra'īs, Muḥammad Murād, Muḥammad al-Jawharī and 'Aṭā' Allāh al-Maşrī. But the most famous were Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Karīm al-Sammān, Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Kurdī and 'Abd al-Mun'im al-Damanhūrī. Al-Palimbānī must have studied such sciences as *ḥadīth*, *fiqh*, *şarī'a*, *tafsīr*, *kalām* and *taşawwuf*, and it is evident that he studied *taşawwuf* mainly with the help of al-Sammān in Madina, from whom he also took both *ṭarīqas* of *Khalwatiyya* and *Sammāniyya*. Al-Palimbānī is considered to be the most prominent follower of *shaykh* al-Sammān, the founder of *Khalwatiyya*'s branch — *ṭarīqa* *Sammāniyya*, and it is through al-Palimbānī that the *Sammāniyya* found a home and expanded in Malay-Indonesian world. *Shaykh* Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Karīm al-Sammān (1719—1776) initially was a deputy to Muştafa Kamāl al-Dīn al-Bakrī, *shaykh* of the *Khalwatiyya ṭarīqa* at Cairo. However, he became more famous as the guardian of the prophet's grave and a founder of his own *ṭarīqa* *Sammāniyya*. The new *ṭarīqa* spread to Egypt and the Sudan, and later to Eritrea. It was also carried into Sumatra and other Jawi regions by returning pilgrims from Arabia. Snouck Hurgronje was the first to mention its presence in Indonesia and described a community recital of a litany bearing Muḥammad al-Sammān's name (*rātīb* *Sammān*) as performed in Aceh [10]. Shortly after al-Sammān's death his disciple and deputy Şiddīq al-Madanī b. *shaykh* 'Umar *Khān* compiled a work in Arabic *Al-manāqib al-kubrā* for recital at the yearly commemoration of his death. Later a Malay adaptation of it, *Hikāyāt shaykh Muḥammad Sammān*, was prepared by Mūhyī al-Dīn b. *shaykh* Shihāb al-Dīn al-Palimbānī.

The work by *shaykh* al-Şiddīq, supplied with his commentaries, *Kashf azḥār al-mawāhib al-Rabbāniyya* is considered to be the most important one among those dealing with the teaching of the *ṭarīqa* *Sammāniyya*. A copy of the manuscript of this work is preserved in the National Library of Jakarta. The second one belongs to the present *shaykh* of *ṭarīqa* *Sammāniyya* Kyai M. Zen Syukri in Palembang [11]. At present *Sammāniyya* is active on the South of Sumatra, South of Kalimantan and Sulawesi.

Historically, the writings of al-Palimbānī are of great importance for the Islamic development in the Malay-Indonesian world. All of his books were written in Malay and Arabic in Ṭā'if. Here he completed his most famous works, Malay translations of al-Ghazālī's *Iḥyā' 'ulūm al-dīn* and *Bidāyat al-hidāya*. These works are called in Malay *Sayr al-sālikīn* and *Hidāyat al-sālikīn* and deal mostly with the *taşawwuf*. In particular they constitute the practical guidance to *ṭarīqa* *Khalwatiyya* as well as mystical outlooks of al-Palimbānī combining the ideas of Ibn al-'Arabī, al-Ghazālī and the famous Şūfī of the 17—18th century from Sumatra, Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī. No doubt, al-Palimbānī is considered to be the most prominent interpreter and the great expert of al-Ghazālī's teaching. In addition, he demonstrated the spiritual and intellectual connections with mystical doctrines of Ibn al-'Arabī and made the attempts to reconcile the doctrines of Ibn al-'Arabī and al-Ghazālī, emphasizing the importance of purification of mind and of the fulfilment of the religious obligations in the mystical way. He took the concept of the fourth stage of *tawḥīd*, which was equated by him with Ibn al-'Arabī's *waḥdat al-wujūd*. Al-Palimbānī adopts the doctrine of seven stages of revelation (Mal. *martabat tujuh*), which was originally elaborated by Ibn al-'Arabī and reinterpreted later by Faḍī Allāh al-Burhānpūrī (d. 1620), an Indian Şūfī from Gujarāt, adherent of the *Şaḥṭāriyya* brotherhood. His work *Al-tuḥfa al-mursala ilā ruh al-nabī* was popular in the Malay Archipelago already in the 17th century and was translated into Javanese [12]. While al-Burhānpūrī believed that nobody would be able to grasp the essence of the Real Being, al-Palimbānī maintained that it could be known through *ma'rifa*, centred in *qalb*. Al-Palimbānī considered that *ma'rifa* can be attained through spiritual purification and concentration as it had been proposed by al-Ghazālī. Thus it was an attempt to reconcile the tradition of al-Ghazālī's *şarī'a*-orientated *taşawwuf* with Ibn al-'Arabī's philosophical Şūfism. He denounced the doctrines of the so-called *Wujūdiyya mulhid* as well as the practice of religious offerings to the ancestors' spirits. Such beliefs and practices appear to have had some followers in South Sumatra during that period of time. Al-Palimbānī divided the doctrines of *Wujūdiyya* into two kinds: the *Wujūdiyya mulhid* (atheistic unity of being) and the *Wujūdiyya muwahḥid* (unitarianism of unity of being). He considered the followers of *Wujūdiyya mulhid* to be "pseudo-Şūfīs". According to him, the true Şūfīs were followers of the doctrine of *Wujūdiyya muwahḥid*. They affirmed the absolute Unity of God in Himself.

Seven principal works of 'Abd al-Ṣamad al-Palimbānī are enumerated by R. Winstedt, in his "History of classical Malay literature" [13], by P. Voorhoeve in his article in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* [14] and by G. W. J. Drewes in the article "Further data concerning 'Abd al-Ṣamad al-Palimbānī" [15]. According to them al-Palimbānī never lost contact with his native country. This point of view was supported by the research of Prof. M. C. Ricklefs in the London Archives [16]. In 1772 al-Palimbānī wrote letters of introduction and recommendation to the princes of Central Java on behalf of two returning pilgrims.

Another indication that al-Palimbānī sustained contacts with the Malay Muslim community on the archipelago is confirmed in his treatise which is the central point of this article — *Tuhfat al-rāghibīn fī bayān-i haqīqat al-īmān al-mu'minīn wa mā yufsiduhu fī ridda al-murtaddīn*. It was written in Jawi (Arabic Malay) in 1188/1774 at the request of one of the noble men of his time, suggestively *sultān* Najm al-Dīn of Palembang. One manuscript copy of this text is preserved in the Museum Pusat in Jakarta (MS. VdW.37). It has been described by Van Ronkel in the Batavia Catalogue of Malay MSS [17], and contains the additional chapter dealing with *jihād*. The second copy of it is in the SPIOS collection. This copy, MS B 4024, bears the entry: "Van Doorninck, 1876". A photocopy of it is kept in the library of Leiden University. Both copies are written in professional *naskh*. The present survey is based on study of the SPIOS manuscript.

The main purpose of this work was to explain the essence of the true Muslim faith for those who did not speak Arabic. The treatise consists of three chapters and a conclusion dealing with the problems of Muslim theology and *sharī'a*, describing all the existing branches of Islam. This observation is focused on the abstract taken from the second chapter of the manuscript touching on the "innovations" (*bid'a*), existing in the Malay archipelago at that time. The author describes the beliefs of the 13 groups which wrongly called themselves Sūfī. According to the version of P. Voorhoeve this part of text

was based on al-Rānīrī's *Tibyān* (especially the attached abstract) and *Tamhīd*, the treatise of the Persian Sūfī of the 12th century Abū Syakur al-Sālimī. Al-Rānīrī, the famous historian and theologian of the 17th century, was born at Rānīr (Rander), the old port in Gujarāt, the resort of Persian, Malay, Burmese and Siamese merchants. Almost certainly of mixed blood, his paternal side was from a Ḥaḍramawt family. In 1636, on the death of *sultān* Iskandar Muda, patron of the "heretical" *Shams* al-Dīn from Pasai (d. 1630), he sailed to Aceh and stayed there till 1644 at the court of Iskandar II (d. 1641). Almost all his activities there dealt with the struggle against adherents of Wujūdiyya, Ḥamza Faṣṣūrī and *Shams* al-Dīn. Between 1638 and 1641 al-Rānīrī wrote his most important work *Būstān al-salāṭīn* but nearly all his works were devoted to the attacks on Wujūdiyya. Among them one can mention *Tibyān fī ma'rifa al-adyān*, which was written in 1637 in Aceh [18]. P. Voorhoeve supposed that nearly one quarter of *Tibyān* was based on the Abū Syakur al-Sālimī's *Tamhīd* [19]. This work was translated into Javanese in the Sultanate of Banten on Java in 17—18th century. One example of the manuscript of *Tibyān* was in the collection of Snouck Hurgronje and later (in 1906) [20] was brought to Leiden (Or. 5664). Besides that one, there are two more examples of *Tibyān* in Malay (India Office Library, London). Al-Palimbānī may have used this treatise for the compilation of the part dealing with different groups in Islam.

Although the work was composed merely for the purpose of expounding the provisions of *sharī'a*, sometimes you come across curious observations pertaining to Indonesian religious life which are beyond the scope of the work and are of particular interest.

The special importance of this work for Islamic education was explained by Hoesein Jajadiningrat:

"a work that was specially written with a view to Indonesian needs and acquaints us with questions of everyday life concerning Islamic law" [21].

Transliteration

Syahdan adalah kaum yg bersufi-sufi dirinya amat sesat. Merekaitu tiada patut dinamai akandia dgn nama sufi hanya terutama dinamai akandia dgn kafir atau fasik kata 'ulama. Adalah banyak merekaitu tigabelas kaum. Kaum pertama habitiya namanya kedua kaum awliya namanya ketiga kaum samrahitiya namanya keempat kaum ibahiya namanya kelima kaum haliya namanya keenam kaum huriya namanya ketujuh kaum wak'iyanya namanya kedelapan kaum mutajahiliya namanya kesembilan kaum mutakasilinya namanya kesepuluh kaum hamiya namanya kesebelas kaum hululiya namanya kedubelas kaum wujudiya namanya ketigabelas kaum mujassimiya namanya. Maka setengah iktikad kaum yg tigabelas ini jadi daripada iktikad kaum yg tujuh puluh dua.

Adapun kaum habitiya maka adalah iktikadnya bahwa seseorang hamba apabila sampai ia kepada martabat kasih akan Hak Ta'ala dan tiadalah dikasihinya yg lainnya daripada Hak Ta'ala, maka terangkatlah daripadanya tasaif syar' dan sekali ibadat. Maka jadilah sekali yg haram itu halal padanya dan lagi pula. Dan lagi pula kata merekaitu sekali fardu seperti sembahyang dan puasa dan barangsebagainya harus dikerjakan dan harus pula ditanggakan. Dan setengah tiada menutup auratnya, maka iktikad dan pekerjaan ygdemikian itu semata-mata kafir dan dalilat. Dan setengah merekaitu adalah iktikadnya bahwa seorang hamba apabila sampai kedua martabat sesudah-sudahan kasih akan Allah Ta'ala jika ia berbuat dosa besar seperti zinah dan minum arak dan mencuri sekalipun tiada dimasukkan Allah akandia kedalam naraka. Maka iktikad ygdemikianitu kafir.

Dan setengah merekaitu adalah iktikadnya bahwa seorang hamba apabila sampai kepada martabat kasihan akan Allah Ta'ala maka gugurlah daripadanya sekali ibadat yg zahir dan adalah ibadatnya itu tafakkur juga. Maka iktikad ygdemikian itu kafir.

Dan setengah merekaitu adalah iktikadnya bahwa seorang hamba sampai kepada martabat kasihan Allah Ta'ala maka harus baginya sekali perempuan yglain dan suhian orang. Maka iktikad ygdemikian itu kafir.

Dan setengah merekaitu adalah iktikadnya bahwa arti dunia sekaliannya mubah bagi anak Adam karena nabi Allah Adam itu bapak sekalian manusia, dan Siti Hawa itu ibu merekaitu. Maka adalah sekali arti itu milik oleh keduanya maka jadilah ia bersyerikat antara anak cucu Adam dan Hawa. Maka sekalian iktikaditu kafir lagi dalilat.

Dan adapun kaum awliya maka iktikad merekaitu bahwa seorang hamba apabila sampai kepada martabat derajat wilayah maka terangkatlah daripadanya amar dan nahi. Maka iktikad ygdemikian itu kafir lagi dalilat n'ud b' 'llh mnh'.

Adapun samrahitiya maka iktikadnya merekaitu apabila hamba amal ia mengasih Hak Ta'ala maka terangkatlah daripadanya amar dan nahi. Dan adalah merekaitu mengharuruskan percaya dan memuliakan rabbi dan bangsa muri dan rebab dan kicap dan barangsebagainya. Dan diharuskan merekaitu berbuat zinah dan menyabung. Maka dinamai merekaitu samrahitiya karena mengikut mazhab Abdallah Samrahit. Dan adalah merekaitu pada zahir bersalah-salah diri daripada pekerjaan merekaitu semata-mata fasik maka iktikad ygdemikian itu kafir dan dalilat yakni sesat n'ud b' 'llh mnh'.

Adapun kaum ibahiya maka iktikadnya dan pekerjaannya menangkalkan amar b' lm' rufu nahi dan 'n' lmnkr serta katanya bahwa kami tiada kuasa menahan diri pada amar dan nahi. Maka betapa kami menyuruh orang berbuat zinah merekaitulah sejahat-jahat mahluk maka iktikad ygdemikian itu kafir dan dalilat n'ud b' 'llh mn dlk.

Adapun kaum haliya maka iktikad merekaitu dan katanya bahwa diharuskannya menari dan bertupuktangan tatkala bernyanyi lalu ia pingsan. Maka kata sekali muridnya adalah sjah kami di dalam suatu hal maka adalah pekerjaan ygdemikian itu bersalahan dgn jalan rasul Allah sli 'llh 'lih u slm yaitu bid' lagi dalilat n'ud b' 'llh mnh'.

Adapun kaum huriya maka iktikad merekaitu seperti setengah iktikad kaum hululiya yglagi akandatang. Dan lagi pula kata merekaitu adalah datang kepada kami tatkala kami pingsan anak bidadari kami gm' akandia apabila sadar merekaitu daripada pingsan maka mandi janaballah merekaitu. Maka iktikad ygdemikian itu kafir lagi dalilat.

Adapun kaum wak'iyanya maka adalah merekaitu menangkalkan ma'rifat akan Allah Ta'ala, kata merekaitu bahwa Hak Ta'ala sekali-kali tiada dikenal akandia dan adalah hamba lemah daripada mengenal dia. Maka iktikad ygdemikian itu kafir karena menafikan ayat Qur'an dan hadis.

Adapun kaum mutajahiliya maka adalah merekaitu memasak dan mengerjakan pakaian perempuan dan pekerjaannya. Dan kata merekaitu terdapat kami menjauhkan zinah daripada diri kami. Maka pekerjaan itu dalilat juga n'ud b' 'llh mnh'.

Adapun kaum mutakasilinya maka adalah merekaitu menanggalkan berbuat usaha dan pergi merekaitu memanterap pada tiap-tiap rumah dan kediamnya orang oleh karena membawah perut merekaitu dan mengambil zakat dan sdqt sekali manusia. Maka adallah pekerjaan itu bid' karena bersalahan dgn jalan rasul Allah sli 'llh 'lih u slm.

Adapun kaum hamiya maka adalah iktikad merekaitu seperti iktikad dahriyah lagi enggan ia daripada membaca Qur'an dan belajar ilmu serta kata merekaitu bahwa Qur'an itu hg'b kepada Hak Ta'ala dan diikut oleh merekaitu pekerjaan hkm. Dan digemari merekaitu asal al-bid' dan sekali syair hkm maka dijadikannya ygdemikian itu akan tarikatnya dan selama-lama umurnya dgn berlayar bait syair. Maka kami itu pun bid' dalilat.

Adapun kaum hululiya setengah daripada merekaitu adalah iktikadnya bahwa wujud Hak Ta'ala masuk kepada merekaitu dan demikian lagi kepada sekali jisim. Maka iktikad ygdemikian itu kafir seperti iktikad nasrani. Dan setengah merekaitu adalah iktikadnya dan katanya bahwa harus memandang kepada perempuan yg ilahi parasnya dan kepada mdbli. Dan adalah merekaitu menari dan bersuluk serta katanya ilah paras itu suatu sifat daripada sekali sifat Allah turun ia kepada kami seharusnya kami cium dan berdakap dgn dia. Maka pekerjaan itu semata-mata kafir dan dalilat. Kata sjah Abu Najib al-Suhrawardi didalam kt'bin 'u'rf 'l-m' 'rf, qds 'llh srh 'Awarif al-ma'arif.

Adalah setengah daripada kaum hululiya bernama kalandariya. Dan adalah ia mengharuskan sekali pekerjaan serta katanya apabila adalah kami suci daripad hawa nafsu kami lagi tulus ikhlas kami kepada Allah Ta'ala yaitulah kasal-kasadkan sekali maksud. Adapun mengerjakan amal syari'a.

Itu maka yaitu martabat sekali awwam lagi turun-turunan. Maka adalah iktikad ygdemikian itu kafir yaitulah iktikad mulhid lagi zindik. Sepatutnyalah dibunuh akandia jika enggan ia daripada taubat. Kata imam telah menyangka setengah daripada sekali zindik batin bahwasanya amal syari'a yg zahir seperti sembahyang dan zakat dan puasa dan haji hanya dihukumkan dan diwajibkan atas orang yg awwam juga tiada atas orang yg hass. Adapun orang yg hass itu maka tiada berkehendak ia kepada ygdemikian itu hanya berkehendak ia kepada barangyg hadir didalam hatinya. Kata 'ulama bahwa inilah iktikad zindik dan kafir maka bunuh orangyg beriktikad ygdemikian itu karena inkar ia akan barangyg diketahui daripada syari'a. Bahwasanya sekali hukum Allah Ta'ala daripada suruhnya dan tegahnya tiada diketahui melainkan daripada pihak pasuruhnya darikarena telah hasil pengetahuan yg putus dan yakin yg tetap. Dan mufakat sekali 'ulama mutakaddin dan mutakhir bahwasanya tiada diperoleh jalan bagi mengenal sekali hukum Allah Ta'ala daripada suruhnya dan tegahnya melainkan daripada pihak sekali pasuruhnya. Juga maka barangsiapa menyangka bahwa diperoleh jalan mengenal ygdemikian itu lain daripada pihak sekali pasuruhnya. Maka orang ygdemikian itu kafir karena disangkanya dirinya kepada martabat nubuat. Kata imam al-Gazali rhmt 'llh t'li jikalau menyangka seorang wali akan bahwasanya ada antaranya dan antara Allah Ta'ala martabat dan hal yg menggugurkan wajib sembahyang dan menghalalkan minum arak seperti yg disangka-sangka oleh kaum bersufi-sufi dirinya maka tiadalah pada wajib membunuh dia karena murtadnya dan membunuh seumpama orang itu terlebih baik daripada membunuh kafir asli seratus.

Adapun kaum wujudiya maka adalah iktikadnya dan katanya la ilaha illa 'llah tiada wujud sehanya wujud Allah yakni bahwa aku wujud Allah demikianlah diiktikadkan oleh merekaitu makna kalimat yg mulia itu. Dan lagi pula kata merekaitu 'n' l'iq sgnt u t'li lis mugud ll' fi dmn ugud 'ik 'in't yakni bahwa sesungguhnya Hak Ta'ala tiada maujud melainkan didalam kandungan wujud sekali mahluk. Maka sekalian mahluk pada iktikad merekaitu yaitulah wujud Hak Ta'ala. Dan lagi pula kata merekaitu bahwa Allah Ta'ala ketahuan zatnya dan nyata sifatnya daripada pihak ada ia maujud pada harij dan pada zaman. Dan makin maka

sekalian iktikaditu kafir inilah iktikad wujudiya yg mulhid dan dinamai akan dia zindik. Syahdan adalah wujudiya itu dua kaum. Suatu kaum wujudiya yg muwahhid kedua wujudiya yg mulhid maka wujuiya yg muwahhid itu yaitu ahl al-sufi yg sebenarnya dinamai wujudiya.

Adapun kaum mujassimiya maka setengah merekaitu adalah iktikadnya bahwa Allah Ta'ala jawahir yg maujud dan setengah iktikad merekaitu bahwa Allah Ta'ala itu jisim tetapi tiada rupa seperti jisim yg lain. Dan setengah merekaitu iktikad bahwa Allah Ta'ala itu seperti manusia dan setengah merekaitu iktikadnya bahwa ada bagi Allah Ta'ala daging darah dan anggota muka dan tangan dan kaki dan jari. Dan setengah merekaitu iktikadnya bahwa Allah Ta'ala ada baginya rupa tetapi tiada kami tahu betapakah rupanya. Dan setengah merekaitu iktikadnya bahwa Allah Ta'ala datang dan turun dgn zatnya serta bergerak dan berpindah daripada suatu tempat kepada suatu tempat. Dan setengah merekaitu iktikadnya bahwa Allah Ta'ala duduk diatas 'rs setengah merekaitu iktikadnya bahwa Allah Ta'ala masuk pada 'rs dgn inilah tempat kediamannya. Syahdan adalah perpasangan setengah kaum mujassimiya pada iktikadnya yg tersebut itu zahir ayat dan hadis yg mutasabit dan dinamai pula kaum mujassimiya itu musyabihya. Kata imam Fahr al-Din al-Razi Yg mujassimiya itu musyabihya dan musyabihya itu kafir karena diatbaikannya bagi Hak Ta'ala berjisim dan akan jisim itulah yg disembahnya. Dan barangsiapa menyembah jisim makasanya jadi kafir karena ia menyembah bangga yg lain daripada Allah Ta'ala.

Translation

Hence I confirm that there are some groups of people who wrongly consider themselves Sūfī. "It is a delusion to call them just Sūfī, first of all they are those who do not believe, or disbelievers", — said 'ulamā'. They are numerous, 13 groups exist: first — Hābiṭiyya, second — Awlawiyya, third — Samrahitiyya, fourth — Ibāhiyya, fifth — Ḥāliyya, sixth — Ḥūriyya, seventh — Waq'iyya, eighth — Mutajahiliyya, ninth — Mutakasiyya, tenth — Ḥamiyya, eleventh — Ḥulūliyya, twelfth — Wujūdiyya, thirteenth — Mujassimiyya. Furthermore, the beliefs of these 13 groups are included into the beliefs of 72 groups [22].

As to the group of Hābiṭiyya [23] — they believe that when one of God's servants achieves the state of Love for Allāh the Most High, and he can not love anybody except Him, so all regulations of *sharī'a* and religious obligations are changeable for him, and what was earlier forbidden becomes allowed. And they also state: "All religious obligations such as praying and fasting should be fulfilled and more of it should be fulfilled more perfectly". And some of them do not hide their nakedness, thus such behaviour is truly mistaken. And part of them believe that in case someone reaches the highest point of Love for Allāh the Most High, then if he trespasses for instance, in adultery, drinking 'araq or stealing, then Allāh will not send him to the Hell for punishment. These beliefs are wrong in fact.

And some of them believe that if someone achieves the last step of Love to Allāh the Most High, so there are no regular religious duties for him except one duty — conceiving *tafakkur*. These beliefs are misleading.

Furthermore, some of them believe that if someone achieves the last step of Love to Allāh the Most High so he is allowed to possess any women and any courtesan. And such beliefs are truly wrong.

And some of them believe that the mystery of the Universe was revealed to the son of Ādam as the prophet of Allāh and father of all mankind, while Siti Ḥawwā' is their Mother. The clandestine mystery was unveiled for both of them in order to be inherited by the following generations. All these beliefs are wrong and a delusion.

As to the group of Awlawiyya [24] — they believe that if someone achieves the state of *wilāya*, he is not controlled by religious regulations and prohibitions. Furthermore, they state that God's beloved *walī* is more preferable than the prophet. And such beliefs are wrong and a delusion, save Allāh.

As to the group of Samrahitiyya [25] — they believe that if someone performing favourable deeds, adoring Allāh the Most High, so all regulations and prohibitions do not apply to him, besides he ought to honour the helmsmen and the ordinary people, *muri* and *ribāb*, singing and so on. They are also permitted to commit adultery and to hold cockfighting matches. They call themselves Samrahitiyya, as they follow to the doctrine of 'Abd Allāh Samrahit. Their appearance is contradictory to their deeds that are absolutely depraved. And their beliefs are mistaken, save Allāh.

As to the group of Ibāhiyya [26], so their beliefs and rituals prevent regulations and prohibitions. They also state that human beings are not able to restrain themselves from the forbidden things, so they are prescribed to be adulterous. These people are the worst among the sinful, and their beliefs are really heresies, save Allāh from such people.

As to the group of Ḥāliyya [27], so they believe and state that they are prescribed to dance and applaud during singing until losing consciousness, or a state of trance. All *murīds* tell that they are guided by *shaykh* along this way. Such deeds contradict to the way of *rasūl* Allāh, let the blessings and regards of Allāh be upon him, and namely they are heresies and a delusion, save Allāh.

As to the group of Ḥūriyya [28], so their beliefs are like some beliefs of Ḥulūliyya, about which more will be said. Besides, they tell that when they are in a state of trance, the little houri comes up to them, and they concubine with her, and when they awake so wash their defilement. These beliefs are faithless and wrong.

As to the group of Waq'iyya [29], so they reject the possibility of cognition of Allāh the Most High by the human being. They state that the Most High Truth can not be perceived by the servant of God as he is weak and unable to grasp it. And these beliefs are mistaken as they contradict to the *āyāt* of the Qur'ān and *hadīth*.

As to the group of Mutajahiliyya [30], so they cook, wear women's dresses and do women's work. Likewise they state that thanks to such conduct they restrain themselves from adultery. So their conduct is a delusion, save Allāh.

As to the group of Mutakasiyya [31], so they refrain from any activity for earning their daily bread. They are wanderers and beg for food in any house and take *zakāt*. And their deeds are sinful, as they differ from the way of *rasūl* Allāh, let the blessing and regards of Allāh be upon him.

As to the group of Ḥamiyya [32], so their beliefs resemble the beliefs of infidels. They feel hostile to reciting the Qur'ān and studying, moreover, they state that the Qur'ān is a veil for the Divine Truth. Besides, they worship the words of philosophers and admire any heresy and their *sha'irs*. So that is their way where the whole life is spent reciting *shī'r* by poets. Such people are also heretics being in delusion.

As to the group of Ḥulūliyya [33], so some of them believe that Divine Truth penetrates them like all other bodies. Such beliefs are wrong like the persuasions of Christians. And some of them believe and state that one must look at women with both divinely beautiful faces and those with withered ones. They dance and sing, furthermore, they say that Divine appearance is like one of the attributes of Allāh which He sent down for us to kiss and embrace it. Such deeds are absolutely mistaken according to the words of *shaykh* Abū Najīb al-Suhrawardī in his treatise 'Awārīf al-ma'ārīf, let his grave be blessed.

One part of the Ḥulūliyya called themselves *qalandar* [34]. They allowed for themselves all forbidden things, as they tell that if the soul is free from carnal wishes so it is unveiled for Allāh the Most High by all its aspirations. As to the favourable deeds, prescribed by *sharī'a*, so this level of being is available for any person, moreover it is in the very beginning of the way. Such beliefs are wrong, namely heretic and pagan as the human being truly dies when his soul leaves the body. So such faith destroys them if they do not repent. Furthermore, *imām* said:

"I suppose that part of all pagans are pagans in their soul, and in fact only regular deeds of *sharī'a* such as praying, fast and *hajj* are determined by the law as a duty for the *al-'awāmm* but not for *al-khāwaṣṣ*" [35].

As to the chosen people (*al-khāwaṣṣ*), so they do not desire only such things, but they desire towards the essence of their hearts. And 'ulamā' say that these beliefs are heretic and destroy any person who follows them as he declines the regulations of *sharī'a*. In truth, all directions of Allāh the Most High are unbeknown; however, knowledge revealed by Him is perfect and obvious. And all 'ulamā' of the past and present time are unanimous that, verily, there is no other way of perfect perceiving of God and His directions besides listening to all His revelations. Those who think that there is another way — such people are disbelievers as they pretend to be prophets. *Imām* al-Ḡhazālī said, let Allāh the Most High be merciful to him:

"If someone among the *awliyā'* think that there is a special state of declining the praying and prohibition on drinking 'araq between him and Allāh the Most High, like the considerations of people who wrongly call themselves Sūfī, so there are no regulations for their apostasy, and to destroy such a person is more preferable than to destroy hundred of disbelievers".

As to Wujūdiyya [36], so they believe and say "there is no God other than God" *lā ilāha illa Allāh*, namely "I am a God" — that is their interpretation of such an important meaning. Besides, they say: "Verily, Allāh the Most High is untouchable, but His Essence exists in the being of all created things". According to their convictions all created things are manifestation of God. Besides, they say: "Only Allāh is untouchable". And additionally they say: "We are of one origin with Allāh the Most High as we have the same aspirations". And also that the Essence of Allāh the Most High is exposed and His attributes of time and space are manifested. They are all heretics, and are called *zindīq* [37]. Thus I confirm that there are two groups of Wujūdiyya: those who do not believe in the Oneness of God (*mulhid*) and those who do believe in the Oneness of God (*muwahhid*), namely they are really Sūfī.

As to the group of Mujassimiyya [38], so some of them believe that Allāh the Most High is manifested in the flesh, but His fleshly form differs from the other human bodies. And some of them believe that Allāh the Most High is like a human being, that He has flesh, blood, face, hands, legs and fingers. Furthermore, some of them believe that Allāh the Most High has His own shape; however, it is visible only for Him but invisible for human beings. And some of them believe that Allāh the Most High is mounted on the throne as it is the place of His Being, while the other part believe that Allāh the Most High makes Himself appear and disappear moving from one place to another. Thus I confirm that there is a contradiction between the groups of Mujassimiyya namely the above mentioned beliefs interpreting the *āyāt* and *hadīth* concerning similarity word for word, so the group of Mujassimiyya is also called *Mushabbih*iyya. Respecting this, *imām* Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī said:

"Mujassimiyya-Mushabbihiyya are disbelievers as they compare the Essence of Allāh the Most High to the human body and worship this body".

And those who worship the human body become disbelievers, in truth, as they do not put their trust in Allāh the Most High.

Notes

1. D. B. McDonald, *The Religious Attitude and Life in Islam* (Chicago, 1909).
2. M. van Bruinessen, "Global and local in Indonesian Islam", *Southeast Asian Studies* XXXVII/2 (Kyoto, 1999), p. 47.
3. K. A. Steenbrink, *Beberapa Aspek Tentang Islam di Indonesia Abad ke-19* (Jakarta, 1984).
4. G. W. J. Drewes, *Directions for Travellers on the Mystic Path* (The Hague, 1977), pp. 198—214.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 217—29.
6. J. L. van Sevenhoven, *Lukisan tentang Ibu Kota Palembang* (Jakarta, 1971).
7. J. W. van Royen, *De Palembangse marge en haar grond en waterrechten* (Leiden, 1927).

8. M. Ch. Quzwain, *Mengenal Allah. Suatu Studi Mengenai Ajaran tasawwuf Syaikh Abdus-Samad al-Palimbani* (Jakarta, 1985).

9. A. Azra, *The Transmission of Islamic Reformism to Indonesia: Networks of Middle Eastern and Malay-Indonesian 'Ulamā' in the 17th and 18th Centuries*. PhD thesis (New York, 1992).

10. S. Hurgronje, *De Atjehers* (Leiden, 1893—94), ii, pp. 200—3.

11. Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning. Pesantren, dan Tarekat: Tradisi-tradisi Islam di Indonesia* (Bandung, 1995), p. 58.

12. A. H. Johns, *A Gift Addressed to the Spirit of the Prophet* (Canberra, 1965).

13. R. Winstedt, "History of classical Malay literature", *JMBRAS XXXI/3* (Kuala-Lumpur, 1958), p. 125.

14. P. Voorhoeve, "Al-Palimbānī", *EI*, i, p. 92.

15. Drewes, "Further data concerning 'Abd al-Ṣamad al-Palimbānī", *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde CXXXII* (1976), pp. 267—92.

16. M. C. Ricklefs, *Jogjakarta Under Sultan Mangkubumi, 1749—1792. A History of the Division of Java* (Oxford, 1974).

17. Ph. S. van Ronkel, *Batavia Catalogue of Malay MSS* (Batavia, 1913), pp. 399—400, No. DCXXVI.

18. Idem, "Raniri's Maleische geschrift: Expose der religies", *BKI CII* (1944), pp. 50—2.

19. P. Voorhoeve, *Twee Maleische geschriften van Nuruddin ar-Raniri* (Leiden, 1955), p. 19.

20. Hurgronje, *The Achehnese*, transl. by A. W. S. O'Sullivan (Leyden, 1906), i—ii.

21. H. Djajadiningrat, *Critische Beschouwing van de Sejarah Banten* (Harlem, 1913).

22. In the 18th century Palembang, there were a lot of groups who called themselves Ṣūfī but were far away of the patterns presented in the works of the classical Ṣūfī authors. 'Abd al-Ṣamad wrote his work precisely for the purpose of explaining the delusion of such groups concerning their Ṣūfī beliefs. He enumerated 13 groups in the third chapter of *Tuhfat*. All 13 groups correspond to the list contained in al-Rānīrī's work.

23. Ḥābiṭiyya — a group of Mu'tazila, followers of Aḥmad b. Ḥābiṭ. Sunnī authors considered him to be an adherent of the doctrine of transmigration (*aṣḥāb al-tanāsukh*) in addition to being a dualist and magician (al-Shahraṣṭānī, *Kitāb al-milal wa al-nihal*, transl. by S. M. Prozorov (Moscow, 1984) pp. 66—9, 197).

24. *Awliyā'* (pl. from Arab. *walī*), a person who is close to God or chosen by God to be His beloved or friend. 'Abd al-Ṣamad considers that the soul of human being is virtuous and is a part of *nūr Muḥammad*, and before her birth it was in direct connection with God that is her natural state. So during his life the human being is intended to purify his soul. Discussing the path of purification of the soul 'Abd al-Ṣamad maintains the theory about 7 states elaborated by al-Burhānpūrī. 'Abd al-Ṣamad conjoins the last 7th state with the doctrine of the Perfect man (*al-insān al-kāmil*) by Ibn al-'Arabī. The method of purification is crowned by the Perfect man who is characterized as being perfect in God's cognition. This is a state of saint, *walī* and prophet. The highest saint in the Ṣūfī hierarchy of that time was Muḥammad al-Sammān al-Madanī (d. 1776), called *qūṭb-i zamān*. According to 'Abd al-Ṣamad the prophet's state of cognition is higher than the state of cognition of the *walī* which corresponds to the persuasions of Ibn al-'Arabī concerning the special mission of the prophet.

The cult of *walī* is of special importance for Muslim life in Indonesia as the coming of Islam to the Malay Archipelago is closely connected with the names of nine Javanese saints, *wali songo*. The Javanese interpretation of *wilāya* originates from the Hindu conception of *dewa raja*. According to the Javanese traditional conception of power, *kasekten* the "magic power" is an attribute of *dewa raja*, while in Javanese Ṣūfī doctrine *kasekten* has a subordinate place to *waḥy* and *wilāya*. The Javanese historical text *Babad Nūtik* (D. A. Rinkes, "De Heiligen van Java IV: Ki Pandan arang te Tembajat", *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde LIII*, pp. 435—581) narrates that *sultān* Agung (1613—1645), one of the most significant Javanese figures consolidating the state of Mataram was initiated by the spirit of *walī* Bayat on his grave in 1633 and received the instructions of Ṣūfī esoteric knowledge *ngelmu gaib*.

It is interesting to mention that one of the heroes of *wayang Semar* is also venerated as *walī*. Semar, whom many Yogyakarta mystics consider to be the most important character in the *wayang*, is a *punakawan* (Jav. "clown"), Arjuna's servant and mystical guide. This duality stands in contradiction to the Javanese and more general Ṣūfī doctrine that spiritual guides are social superiors. But this contradiction is the key to understanding Semar's role in *wayang* and his significance for Javanese mystical thought. He is both servant and lord, male and female, and he occupies a unique position in Javanese mysticism. For this reason he is also a spiritual guide of *sultāns* of Yogyakarta. Besides, many Yogyakarta mystics look to him for inspirations and regularly journey to the *candi* (Jav. "monument") at Serandil which is considered to be his grave (M. R. Woodward, *Islam in Java. Normative Piety and Mysticism in the Sultanate of Yogyakarta* (The University of Arizona, 1989)).

It may be worth noting that Javanese sailors and fishermen also venerate *Khiḍr* as a savior from the sea, Nabi Kilir. On Java this image has a cultural parallel with one of the heroes of Javanese mythology, Dewa Ruci who is a tiny spiritual being, the soul of Bima and a symbol of harmony of the spirit and the body.

25. Samrahitiyya — the followers of 'Abd Allāh Samrahit. In al-Rānīrī's *Tibyān* they are classified as *Khārijites* (Voorhoeve, *Twee Maleische Geschriften*, p. 19).

26. Ibāḥiyya (Pers. *ibāḥī* — "apostate", "heretic"), *ahl al-ibāḥa*, a group originating in Iran, considering that all deeds, prescribed and not prescribed by *sharī'a* are allowed.

27. Ḥāliyya (Arab. *ḥāl* — "momentary state"). In this case the term is used in the meaning of the state of ecstasy or trance, achieved by the methods mentioned in the text.

28. Ḥūriyya (Arab. *ḥūr* — *hourī*, Mal. *bidadari* — "little girl"). 'Abd al-Ṣamad condemns sensitive perceiving of houris, holding to the traditional Ṣūfī spiritual doctrine about houris and absolutely mystical marriage with them. There are 100001 *bidadari* in Javanese mythology. The most venerated among them are Nawang Wulan, the goddess of moonlight and Dewi

Sri, the goddess of rice. In the western part of Java, Pangandaran the ritual of invocation of *bidadari* Nawang Wulan is still held. During it the spirit of *bidadari* is to enter the body of a little girl or boy before the age puberty, *sintren*. The ritual *sintren* is usually held during the time of western monsoon and the full Moon (E. W. Maurenbrecher, "Sintren en Lais in Cheribon", *Jawa XX* (1940), pp. 119—21).

29. Waq'iyya (Arab. "realistic", "factual"). The views of this group can be considered to be close to materialistic by its methods.

30. Mutajahiliyya (Arab. *tajahalla* — "to pretend", "to be ignorant"). In his book *Kitāb al-milal wa al-nihal* (pp. 122—3) al-Shahraṣṭānī mentions the group of Majhulites who said that human deeds are in fact created by Allāh the Most High, so if you did not perceive Allāh with His names and attributes you did not believe. Mutajahiliyya paid attention to the outward worship of people and did not take care of their spiritual life which contradicts to the *ḥadīth* by al-Bukhārī: "In truth, deeds are only in intentions". In his *Tibyān* al-Rānīrī mentions the *qawm mujahiliyya* who wear offensive clothes, saying, "We must keep aloof from hypocrisy". However, this may have been that 'Abd al-Ṣamad mentions here the popular practices of hermaphrodites (*banci*) (cf. G. Hamonic, "Travestissement et bisexualité chez les 'Bissu' du Pays Bugis", *Archipel X* (1975), pp. 121—4).

31. Mutakasiyya (from the Arab. "indolent", "lazy"). Since the time of early Ṣūfism there have been arguments concerning "allowed daily bread" (*rizq ḥalāl*), referring to the Qur'ān which appeals to the person to rely on God (*tawakkul*) and not to rely on one's own powers. Early Ṣūfīs (*zāhid*) condemned any attempt to earn a living as a lack of faith.

32. Ḥamiyya — the followers of this group perceived the Qur'ān only in its esoteric meaning, giving up all outward worship and regulations. In this case their views are very close to Bāṭinīs (*Shī'a* group in Islam). They might practice listening to poems (*samā'*) in order to achieve a state of ecstasy.

33. Ḥulūliyya (Arab. *ḥulūl* — "embodiment", "incarnation"), pantheists, propagating the incarnation of the Divine Spirit in human beings, namely the human similarity to God which was closely associated with the Christian doctrine. The "extreme" *Shī'a* held up the same persuasions. Al-Shahraṣṭānī in his *Kitāb al-milal wa al-nihal* mentions 11 groups of Sunnīs and "moderate" *Shī'a* which rejected *ḥulūl*. Al-Hujwūrī (Abū al-Ḥasan Hujwūrī, *Kashf al-maḥjūb*, commentaries by V. A. Zhukovskii (Leningrad, 1926)) relates them to one of the outcast groups in Ṣūfism (*mardūd*). Siti Jenar, one of the nine of the most venerated Javanese Muslim saints *wali songo* was the bright representative of this doctrine on Java. In Javanese Ṣūfism this doctrine was combined with the elements of pre-Islamic Hindu-Buddhist mysticism and supplied with Sanskrit and Old Javanese terminology. Ṣūfī doctrine dealing with *sirr* corresponds to the Tantric *shaiva-siddhanta suksma* (Divine eternal substance in human heart) or *dewana* (Sanskrit — "light of the human heart, distinguishing alive from dead"). P. Zoetmulder mentioned that Javanese Ṣūfism adheres more to the philosophy of Vedānta than to the doctrine of Ibn al-'Arabī (P. J. Zoetmulder, *Manunggaling Kawula Gusti (Pantheisme dan Monisme)* (Jakarta, 1991)).

34. 'Abd al-Ṣamad has the same opinion as al-Suhrawardī who considered *qalandar* to be Ṣūfī, but mentioned their similarity with the Malāmatiyya group (*lāma* — Arab. "to blame"). However, *qalandar* especially tried to break the norms of behaviour in order to be blamed, while Malāmatiyya, on the contrary, tried to hide their way of life.

35. In the text *orang yg awam* — ordinary people, crowd, *orang yg khass* — the chosen elite. As to this problem 'Abd al-Ṣamad's opinion coincides with the doctrine of al-Ghazālī who divided people in two groups according to their cognitive capabilities.

36. Wujūdiyya — there were three forms of *tawḥīd* in Ṣūfism. The last one, declaring that there is no essence of Being other than God *tawḥīd wujūdi*, was a characteristic feature of Ibn al-'Arabī's doctrine concerning the unity of Being *waḥdat al-wujūd*. Malay scholar Ch. Quzwain in his work *Mengenal Allah* supposed that 'Abd al-Ṣamad was an adherent of Wujūdiyya as he divided it into two branches: "heretics" (*mulḥid*) and "orthodox" (*muwaḥḥid*). However, accepting the third form of *tawḥīd* as the doctrine of *waḥdat al-wujūd* by Ibn al-'Arabī, 'Abd al-Ṣamad rejected the claim that Allāh cannot be perceived by human being. He indicated that Allāh might be perceived only by heart that confirmed that he knew *waḥdat al-wujūd* in the version of al-Ghazālī. 'Abd al-Ṣamad's views that Allāh is manifested in all varieties of forms as well as a human one is His perfect manifestation, but He can be perceived only by the heart as Absolute Truth through purification and taking the path of the Ṣūfī, were expounded in his work *Sayr al-sālikīn*.

37. *Zindīq* — Persian term, meaning Manichaeans, "dualist" in early Islam. Here it is used in the meaning of "disbeliever".

38. Mujassimiyya (from the Arab. "making embodiment"). The general name for different dogmatic schools, imagining God in the flesh and explaining several of the *āyāt* in their direct meaning. The word *mushabbih* (Arab. "anthropomorphist") was used as a synonym. Al-Hujwūrī considers this group to be one of the outcast *mardūd* in Ṣūfism. According to al-Shahraṣṭānī (*op. cit.*, p. 161), Hishām b. al-Ḥakam, a *Shī'a* authority of the 9th century, was named as the founder of the doctrine of anthropomorphism.

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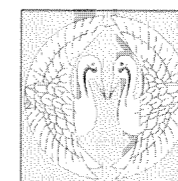
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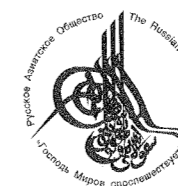
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