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# NINETEENTH-CENTURY *KITĀB* JAWI SUFI WORKS IN PATTANI, THAILAND

## Mainstreaming Ethical Sufism of al-Ghazali

*Jajat Burhanudin*<sup>1</sup>

### **Abstract**

*The nineteenth century plays a decisive role in the history of Islam in the Malay Archipelago and Southeast Asia. It was the period that witnessed the consolidation of Malay-Islamic knowledge culture, which has impacted Malay religious life until present times. This article seeks to investigate the intellectual process that has led to the popularisation of Ghazalian ethical Sufism in the nineteenth-century Malay world. It presents Shaykh Daud ‘Abd Allah al-Fatani (1769-1847), the leading Malay ‘ālim of Pattani origin, as one of the greatest figures to be identified with this process. He adopted neo-Sufism, which had already been introduced to the Malay Archipelago in the seventeenth century, in his formulation of ethical Sufism, as articulated in his Minhāj al-‘Ābidīn, a Malay translation of al-Ghazali’s work with the same title. In this article, Minhāj al-Ābidīn is given special attention considering its status as a leading Malay Sufi work in the genre of kitab Jawi in nineteenth century. And, more importantly, it presents the teachings of ethical Sufism that helped contribute to the emergence of mainstream Sufi thought in the region.*

**Keywords:** Daud al-Fatani, neo-Sufism, al-Ghazali, *kitāb* Jawi, *Minhāj al-Ābidīn*.

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## Introduction

This article seeks to study nineteenth-century Malay *kitāb Jawi* works on Sufism with specific reference to those written by Malay 'ulamā from Pattani, Thailand. Special attention will be given to the work of Shaykh Daud 'Abd Allah al-Fatani<sup>2</sup> (1769-1847) titled *Minhāj al-'Ābidīn ilā Jannat Rabb al-'Ālamīn* (Path of the Worshippers to Paradise of the Lord of the Universe).<sup>3</sup> This work was one of the most influential to have appeared during the period. It is an indispensable source to the understanding of the mystical thought of nineteenth-century Malay Sufism or neo-Sufism. A Malay rendering of al-Ghazali's work with the same title, *Minhāj al-'Ābidīn*, it is a faithful expression of nineteenth-century Malay Sufism, in which the spiritual ethics of al-Ghazali, described by Snouck Hurgronje as the great master of Sufism,<sup>4</sup> constituted a dominant feature, to replace the Sufism of *waḥdat al-wujūd* (the unity of existence) which had enjoyed popularity in the previous centuries.<sup>5</sup>

Taking its Sufi messages as the main focus of analysis, *Minhāj al-'Ābidīn* is treated here as a primary source of an historical research on Islamic intellectual development in the Malay Archipelago in the nineteenth century, where the triumph of al-Ghazali in Sufi discourse can obviously be observed. The discussions start with the ways al-Fatani engaged himself in the neo-Sufism current in Malay Islamic thought, which was related to Meccan scholarship that established him as an 'ālim. As well, this paper will discuss the other Sufi works of al-Fatani, and of other Pattani 'ulamā', which contributed to the

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<sup>2</sup> Henceforth, he will be cited as al-Fatani.

<sup>3</sup> The manuscript of this text is preserved in Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka in Kuala Lumpur (MS 59) and in Perpustakaan Nasional Jakarta (W 5). This work has been printed several times, but the edition which is still available is the one printed, but undated, by al-Ma'arif in Pulau Pinang.

<sup>4</sup> Christian Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka in the Latter Part of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century* (Leiden: Brill, 1931), 174, 219. The issue of al-Ghazali's place in Patani 'ulamā' was noted by Virginia Matheson and M. Barry Hooker, "Jawi Literature in Patani: The Maintenance of an Islamic Tradition", *Journal of Malaysian Branch of Royal Asiatic Society*, 16, (1, 1988), 41.

<sup>5</sup> Matheson and Hooker, "Jawi Literature", 40-41; also S.M.N. al-Attas, *The Mysticism of Hamzah Fansuri* (Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya Press, 1970).

development of ethical Sufism of al-Ghazali in the Malay Archipelago.

Noteworthy is that although al-Fatani was familiar with the Sufi conception of *wahdat al-wujūd*, he sought to formulate and elaborate it within the framework of a *Shariah*-oriented Islam. He put the spirit of neo-Sufism in the dialogue with the long-established Sufism in Malay Archipelago. In this respect, Daud al-Fatani followed the path of his Jawi teacher in Mecca, al-Falimbani (‘Abd al-Samad bin ‘Abd Allah al-Jawi al-Falimbani), who introduced al-Ghazali’s Sufism into the heart of Malay Islamic intellectual tradition in the eighteenth century, and hence preparing the intellectual ground for Daud al-Fatani.

### **Daud al-Fatani and Neo-Sufism: An Intellectual Journey**

The scholarly works on Islam in Southeast Asia demonstrate that Daud al-Fatani was at the heart of intellectual network of Malay with Middle Eastern ‘*ulamā*’ in Mecca in the eighteenth and the first half of nineteenth centuries.<sup>6</sup> His migration to Mecca, which occurred after his Islamic education in *pondok* of Patani in 1780s,<sup>7</sup> provided him with access to learning with the ‘*ulamā*’ of the Holy City. Several scholars with various disciplines of Islamic knowledge are identified as his teachers: Muhammad bin Ali al-Shanwani (d. 1817) and ‘Abd Allah al-Sharqawi (1737-1812), the ‘*ulamā*’ from al-Azhar University in Egypt who frequently travelled to Mecca for teaching Islam in Haram Mosque. Others were Shaykh Muhammad Salih bin Ibrahim al-Zubayri (1774-1825), Sayyid ‘Abd Allah al-Mahjub al-Mirghani (w. 1792) and Muhammad As’ad al-Hanafī al-Makki.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Azyumardi Azra, *The Origins of Islamic Reformism in Southeast Asia: Networks of Malay-Indonesian and Middle Eastern ‘Ulamā’ in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Honolulu: Allen & Unwin and University of Hawaii Press, 2004), 122-6; Francis R. Bradley, *Forging Islamic Power and Place: The Legacy of Shaykh Dā’ūd ‘Abd Allāh al-Fatānī in Mecca and Southeast Asia* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2016).

<sup>7</sup> Ahmad Fathy al-Fatani, *Ulama Besar Patani* (Khota Baru: Majlis Ugama dan adat Istiadat Melayu Kelantan, 2009), 313-4. In this book, Daud al-Fatani is said to have studied in Pondok Pauh Bok under the Patani ‘*ālim*, Shaykh ‘Abd al-Rahman bin ‘Abd al-Mubin Pauk Boh al-Fatani (d. 1780).

<sup>8</sup> Azra, *The Origins*, 124-6; Bradley, *Forging*, 70-3.

Next to his teachers mentioned, another *'ālim* should be mentioned. He was Ahmad Marzuki al-Maliki (d. 1842), who seems to have a special place in Daud al-Fatani's intellectual life. He wrote a commentary (*sharḥ*) on Marzuki's work *'Aqīdah al-'Awām* (The Common Belief), *Bahjat al-Saniyah fī al-'Aqā'id al-Sunniyah* (The Splendid Enjoyment concerning the Pleasant Belief), also known as *Tashīl Nayl al-Muram li Bayān Manzūmat 'Aqīdah al-'Awām* (The Attainment of Goals in Explaining *'Aqīdat al-'Awām*). Although Marzuki was known as an expert in hadīth, and of Maliki school of law,<sup>9</sup> Daud al-Fatani undertook its translation into Malay with the hope of strengthening the Sunni belief (*aqīdah ahl al-sunnah wa al-jamā'ah*) in Southeast Asia.<sup>10</sup> A leading Jawi scholar of Java, Nawawi al-Bantani (Shaykh Muhammad Nawawi al-Jawi al-Bantani, 1813-1897), did likewise around half century later with his work *Nūr al-'Zulām 'alā Manzūmat al-Musammāt bi 'Aqīdah al-'Awām* (Light of the Darkness on the Treatise *'Aqīdah al-'Awām*).<sup>11</sup>

*Bahjat al-Saniyah* is one of only two works that Daud al-Fatani had written in the form of commentary, the other being *Minhāj al-'Abidīn*. Judging from its contents, which deal with fundamental issues of Islamic belief, *Bahjat al-Saniyah* was meant to cater to especially the needs of common believers and beginners in Islamic learning. Not surprisingly, this work presents the discourse of *Shariah*-oriented Islam, which happened to be the intellectual interest among the Jawa of Mecca.<sup>12</sup>

Being as such, *Bahjat al-Saniyah* was purported to strengthen the discussion, and to broaden the readership of his previous work on the related subject of dogma, *al-Durr al-Thamīn fī 'Aqā'id al-Mu'minīn* (The Precious Pearl on the Creed of the Believers). It was completed in 1816 and first printed in Mecca in 1880s. This

<sup>9</sup> Azra, *The Origins*, 126.

<sup>10</sup> Shaykh Daud al-Fatani, *Bahjat al-Saniyah fī al-'Aqā'id al-Sunniyah* (Yala: Sahabat Press, n.d.). This work was completed in 1829/1245 in Mecca, and copies of its manuscript are preserved in Islamic Art Museum in Kuala Lumpur (MI 244, 295, 359).

<sup>11</sup> Shaykh Muhammad Nawawi al-Jawi al-Bantani, *Nūr al-'Zulām 'alā Manzūmat al-Musammāt bi 'Aqīdah al-'Awām*, (Mecca: n.p, 1885). A copy of this work is preserved in the British Library in London.

<sup>12</sup> Daud al-Fatani, *Bahjat al-Saniyah*.



work appeared as an advanced work on the subject making references to a variety of Arabic sources and was thus most likely directed at educated Muslims. More importantly, it was written with the spirit of *Shariah*-oriented Islam under the Sunni theological school. In its opening pages, Daud al-al-Fatani states that the *kitāb* is “to compile the thought of ‘*ulamā*’ as the truth seekers concerning the foundation of religion (*uṣūl al-dīn*) and the creed of those who hold tawhidic belief (*ahl al-tawhīd*)”.<sup>13</sup>

With these two works, Daud al-Fatani provided the Muslims of Southeast Asia with *Shariah*-based knowledge of the religion, which, for reasons that will be later explained, was of crucial importance in preventing them from the impact of Sufism of *waḥdatul wujūd*, and hence in the establishment of neo-Sufism. In fact, Daud al-Fatani wrote a specific work on this subject, *Manhal al-Ṣāfi fī Bayān Ramz Ahl al-Ṣūfi* (The Pure Spring in Explaining the Sign of the Sufis).<sup>14</sup> The date of completion of this work cannot be identified.<sup>15</sup> Its content seems to suggest that *Manhal al-Ṣāfi* was seeking to provide persuasive arguments in support of neo-Sufism outlined in *Minhāj al-‘Ābidīn*. While explaining in great detail the Sufi thought of *waḥdatul wujūd*, he at the same time strongly advised Muslims to uphold the *Shariah* principles. This means that *Manhal al-Ṣāfi* and *Minhāj al-‘Ābidīn* are two closely related works of the author articulating his intellectual journey.

As can be gleaned from its title, *Manhal al-Ṣāfi* seeks to elaborate the meanings of the Sufi terms of *martabat tujuh*, the seven presences in Sufi thought associated with the teaching of Shaykh Muhy al-Din ibn al-‘Arabi (1165-1240). Daud al-Fatani mentions

<sup>13</sup> Shaykh Daud Abd Allah al-Fatani, *al-Durr al-Thamīn fī ‘Aqā’id al-Mu‘minīn*, (Patani: Matba‘ah Fatani, n.d.), 2.

<sup>14</sup> The manuscripts of this work are preserved in Islamic Arts Museum Malaysia (MI117) and Perpustakaan Negara Malaysia (MS232 and MS693). For this article, reference is made to an annotated translation of MS232 prepared by Mohd. Zain Abd. Rahman, “Shayk Dāwūd al-Fatānī’s *Manhal al-Ṣāfi*: An Annotated Translation”, *Afkar: Journal of Aqidah and Islamic Thought*, (6, 2005), 77-118.

<sup>15</sup> In the colophon, it is stated that *Manhal al-Ṣāfi* was transcribed by Abd. al-Rahman bin Abd. al-Samad and completed in Mecca in 1295/1878, thirty years after the death of Daud al-Fatani in 1847. See Daud al-Fatani, *Manhal al-Ṣāfi*, Mohd. Zain, 118.

this Sufi *‘ālim* and his student Sadr al-Din al-Buni (1209-1274) as the main sources of his explanation on this *wujudiyah* Sufism.<sup>16</sup> However, at the same time he emphasizes great caution not to fall astray in both religious ideas and practices.

In his explanation of *tajallī* (self-manifestation), one of the Sufi technical terms provided in *Manhāl al-Ṣāfi*, Daud al-Fatani maintains that this idea may lead the Sufi (the seeker) to a sort of excessive spiritual exercises. “And it is here [in the *tajallī*]”, so he writes, “that it is said where a seeker (*sālik*) may fall astray because he denies his acts, therefore, it is a must to strongly hold to the Prescribed Law (*Shariah*)”.<sup>17</sup> In fact, the term *Shariah* is included in the list of technical terms of Sufism, with the meaning “to obey all God’s commands and to avoid all His prohibition”.<sup>18</sup>

*Manhāl al-Ṣāfi* may be viewed as adopting a moderate religious attitude towards the Malay intellectual heritage that has accumulated up to its time, in which Sufism had an important position, including *waḥdatul wujūd*. Historically speaking, Sufism was the first dimension of Islam to manifest itself in the Malay Archipelago. The idea of ruler (*raja*)-oriented Islam, which arose out of its initial Islamization that proceeded under the *raja* domain,<sup>19</sup> provided a foundation for the rise of *waḥdatul wujūd*. And this Sufi notion emphasized the oneness with God, similar in substance to the rising idea of Sufi king (*raja Sufi*) of the time.<sup>20</sup> In a Sufi work by Hamzah Fansuri, *Asrār al-‘Arifīn* (Secret of the Knowers), the idea of *waḥdatul wujūd* may be observed in his explanation of the relation between the universe and the Creator. He stated that the “the existence of the universe and the oneness of Allah is one, because the universe cannot exist by itself; that the universe appears to exist, but it is truly delusive imagination (*wahm*); it is not real”.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>16</sup> Daud al-Fatani, *Manhal al-Ṣāfi*, Mohd. Zain, 84.

<sup>17</sup> Daud al-Fatani, *Manhal al-Ṣāfi*, Mohd. Zain, 104.

<sup>18</sup> Daud al-Fatani, *Manhal al-Ṣāfi*, Mohd. Zain, 107.

<sup>19</sup> A.C. Milner, “Islam and Muslim State”, in *Islam in Southeast Asia*, edited by M.B. Hooker, (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1983), 30.

<sup>20</sup> Milner, “Islam”, 39.

<sup>21</sup> Hamzah Fansuri, *Asrār al-‘Arifīn*, as quoted by Doorenbos, *De Geschriften van Hamzah Pansoeri*, (Leiden: Batteljee & Terpastra, 1933), 127-9.

The above statement is then reiterated in the concluding section of *Manhāl al-Ṣāfi* where he says that the practice of upholding the *Shariah* is a prerequisite to attain the spiritual goal in the Sufi path, which is illustrated in the quoted saying of Sufis, “whoever does not preserve the roots (*uṣūl*) shall not arrive (*wuṣūl*)”. What is meant by *uṣūl* is the Qur’an and the tradition of the Prophet (ﷺ). These two pillars should be taken as the foundation for religious performance, in the sense that the Sufis are obliged to practice religious duties, “be it prayer or fasting or other than these two”, in line with the practices of the Prophet (ﷺ), “so that their legality become known, and as a result, their branches and fruits can be reaped, and they can be referred to as practice (*‘amal*)”.<sup>22</sup>

In taking this position Daud al-Fatani gravitated to a moderate notion of neo-Sufism that attempted to transform the Sufism of *wahdatul wujud* into a *Shariah*-based Sufi stream in line with the rising discourse in both Mecca and Southeast Asia in the nineteenth century. This new orientation towards *Shariah*-based Sufism is to be explained in relation to the interregnum power of the Wahabis in Mecca in the late nineteenth century.<sup>23</sup> It appears to have been inspired by the intellectual legacy of a leading neo-Sufi ‘*ālim* Ibrahim al-Kurani (1614-1690). But around the same time, Nuruddin al-Raniri, forerunner of neo-Sufi voices in the Malay Archipelago, had attacked severely the Sufism of *wahdatul wujud* thereby contributing to the decline in its popularity. As such, having been part of the Malay diaspora in Mecca with strong connection to Southeast Asia, Daud al-Fatani and other Patani ‘*ulamā*’ were directly impacted by the new trends in Islamic intellectual thought.

In this particular respect, Daud al-Fatani was in the same line of Sufi thought as Abd al-Rauf al-Sinkili (1615-1693), another Malay ‘*ālim* of the Aceh kingdom. Al-Sinkili’s mystical teachings strongly emphasized the application of *Shariah* through which the path to the attainment of spiritual realities (*haqīqat* and *ma‘rifat*) could be realized. Like his teacher Ibrahim al-Kurani, he emphasized the practices of the prescribed Islamic rituals (*‘ibādah*), particularly

<sup>22</sup> Daud al-Fatani, *Manhal al-Ṣāfi*, Mohd. Zain, 110-11.

<sup>23</sup> Badri Yatim, *Sejarah Sosial Keagamaan Tanah Suci (Hijaz (Mekah dan Madinah) 1800-1925* (Jakarta: Logos, 1999), 108-121.

*dhikr* (remembrance of God) as the foundation to grasp the spiritual unity of God.<sup>24</sup> With such line of mystical thinking, al-Sinkili affirms, as Johns argues,<sup>25</sup> “the intuition of mystics and the right of orthodoxy” at the same time. He conveyed his neo-Sufi messages in almost similar terms to *wujudiyah* Sufism.

The neo-Sufism of Daud al-Fatani may also be ascertained from his another work, *Ḍiyā' al-Murīd fī Ma'rīfat Kalimat al-Tawḥīd* (Light for the Seekers in Knowing the Doctrine of Monotheism).<sup>26</sup> This small treatise (*risālah*) discusses the Sufi practice of *dhikr* (remembrance of Allah), which is regarded as one of the main activities of a Sufi order (*ṭarīqah*). Daud al-Fatani is said to have been a follower of the Sammāniyyah order.<sup>27</sup> The treatise was thus most likely written as a guide to the method of reciting the formula of monotheism of the order to which he had strong linkage. In the introductory pages of this *risālah*, Daud al-Fatani states that the formula *lā ilāha illā Allāh* (there is no god but Allah) is the highest Divine words to which the Prophet Muhammad (ﷺ), his family, and his Companions consistently recited for remembrance of Allah.<sup>28</sup> This work is therefore to delineate the meaning and the significance of the formula, as well as the necessity and the ethical process entailed in its recital.

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<sup>24</sup> See for instance Oman Fathurahman, *Tanbih al-Masyi; Menyoal Wahdatul Wujud, Kasus Abdurrauf Singkel di Aceh Abad 17* (Bandung: Mizan, 1999), 76-83.

<sup>25</sup> A.H. Johns, “*Daka'ik al-Huruf* by Abdul Ra'uf of Singkel”, *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society*, (2, 1955), 56.

<sup>26</sup> Not much is known about the textual history of *Ḍiyā' al-Murīd*. The version available until now, to which this discussion refers, is the one attached in the margin of his work mentioned, *al-Durr al-Tsamīn*,

<sup>27</sup> Azra, *The Origins*, 123.

<sup>28</sup> Shaykh Daud al-Fatani, *Ḍiyā' al-Murīd fī Ma'rīfāt Kalimat al-Tawḥīd* (Patani: Matba'ah Fatani, n.d.), 2-3.

### Prelude to *Minhāj al-‘Ābidīn*: The Sufi Works of al-Falimbani

The neo-Sufism of Daud al-Fatani intensified with the appearance of his work *Minhāj al-‘Ābidīn*, as will be discussed. For now, it is important to explain this scholarly process in relation to the intellectual path of his *Jawi* teacher in Mecca, al-Falimbani. Al-Falimbani was most likely the main factor to have persuaded Daud al-Fatani to write this work. He had translated the works of al-Ghazali into Malay thereby presenting his Sufi ideas into the Malay Archipelago in the eighteenth century. His well-known four-volume work, *Sayr al-Sālikīn ilā ‘Ibādah Rabb al-‘Ālamīn* (Path for the Travellers towards Devotion to God of the Universe), which was written in reference to an abridged version of al-Ghazali’s *Ihyā ‘Ulūm al-Dīn* (Reviving the Sciences of Religion), was completed in 1789 when Daud al-Fatani started learning with him in Mecca.<sup>29</sup> In fact, al-Falimbani had started working on the Sufi thought of al-Ghazali about a decade earlier, since he had completed writing *Hidāyat al-Sālikīn fī Sulūk Maslak al-Muttaqīn* (Guide for the Travellers in the Path of the Virtuous Ones) in 1778. This Malay *kitāb Jawi* was composed in reference to al-Ghazali’s *Bidāyat al-Hidāyah* (The Beginning of Guidance).

As stated in its opening, *Hidāyat al-Sālikīn* was written to provide the Muslims of the Malay Archipelago with an extended Malay version of *Bidāyat al-Hidāyah*, which he highly praised. He describes it as a *kitāb* with profound Islamic knowledge that could lead to God-fearing consciousness (*taqwā*) among the Muslims, and which is therefore of great benefit for life in this world and in the hereafter; and Muslims of *mukallaf* age (those who have reached the age of puberty) are strongly encouraged to know the substance of this work.<sup>30</sup> As an extended version, however, *Hidāyat al-Sālikīn* is not solely based on *Bidāyat al-Hidāyah*. Al-Falimbani added relevant and important points to the *kitāb*, referring to a variety of Arabic sources.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>29</sup> Bradley, *Forging*, p. 72.

<sup>30</sup> Shaykh Abd al-Samad al-Jawi al-Falimbani, *Hidāyat al-Sālikīn fī Sulūk Maslak al-Muttaqīn* (Patani: Matba‘ah bin Halabi, n.d.), 2.

<sup>31</sup> al-Falimbani, *Hidāyat al-Sālikīn*, 3-5. Several scholars are mentioned as the sources of al-Falimbani’s ideas, including al-Sha‘rani with his work *Yawāqut*

Al-Ghazali's Sufi teachings were further elaborated in al-Falimbani's *Sayr al-Sālikīn*. Like in *Hidāyat al-Sālikīn*, al-Falimbani extended the discussion of *Lubāb Ihyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn*, the basic text of *Sayr al-Sālikīn*, to include many other scholars as sources of reference. He enlarged the explanation of each point taken from *Lubāb* to the point that *Sayr al-Sālikīn* no longer became a word-per-word translation, but rather an extended Malay version of *Lubāb* in the manner of *Hidāyat al-Sālikīn*. In the opening of *Sayr al-Sālikīn*, al-Falimbani states that the *Lubāb's* combination of the treatment of the subjects of principles of religion (*uṣūl al-dīn*), jurisprudence *fiqh*, and Sufism, is the reason for its being translated into Malay; the subjects are greatly beneficial especially for those who are in the Sufi path. And to enhance the significance of *Sayr al-Sālikīn*, al-Falimbani added several relevant subjects into its discussions.<sup>32</sup>

The above fact seems to be the reason why al-Falimbani held such an important position in the Islamic intellectual life of Southeast Asia. With the religious network that he established with Middle Eastern '*ulamā*', especially Muhammad al-Sammani from whom he learned Sufism and with whom he merged the Sammaniyyah and the Khalwatiyyah Orders,<sup>33</sup> this Malay '*ālim*' took the Sufism of al-Ghazali as the basis for the harmonization of Sufism and the *Shariah*. His *Sayr al-Sālikīn* together with *Hidāyat al-Sālikīn* should be seen in this perspective. The two works render the Sufi ideas of al-Ghazali in language expressions and styles familiar to Southeast Asian Muslims. As a result, *Sayr al-Sālikīn* is acknowledged as a leading Sufi *kitāb Jawi* of the nineteenth century Malay Archipelago. It greatly contributed to the increasing appreciation of the Sufi ideas of al-Ghazali as the *Minhāj al-'Ābidīn* of Daud al-Fatani has shown.

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*al-Jawāhir*, Abd Allah al-Aydarus who wrote *al-Durr al-Thamīn*, al-Qushashi in his *al-Bustān al-'Arifīn*, and al-Sammani in *Nafḥāt al-Ilāhiyyah*. See also Azra, *The Origins*, 131.

<sup>32</sup> Shaykh Abd al-Samad al-Jawi al-Falimbani, *Sayr al-Sālikīn ilā 'Ibādah Rabb al-'Ālamīn*, vol. I (Singapore: Sulaymān Mar'ī, nd.), 3.

<sup>33</sup> Azra, *The Origins*, 116.

### *Minhāj al-‘Ābdīn: an Overview*

Completed in Mecca in 1240/1825,<sup>34</sup> *Minhāj al-‘Ābdīn* presents the Sufi ideas of al-Ghazali. In the last pages, Daud al-Fatani emphasizes the fact that the contents of the *kitāb* are derived from his sayings.<sup>35</sup> He translated the basic points of al-Ghazali’s work with the same title, as well as other points from other qualified sources.<sup>36</sup>

In the introductory pages, Daud al-Fatani notes that *Minhāj al-‘Ābidīn* is a Malay version of the book he considered as the gift and grace of Allah through the hands of al-Ghazali. He described the *Minhāj al-‘Ābidīn* together with *Ihyā’ ‘Ulūm al-Dīn* (Revitalization of the Sciences of Religion) as the essence of *Shariah* and *ṭarīqah* of the Prophet Muhammad (ﷺ), and the stopping places for those who are afraid of Allah ﷻ; as well, these two books open up the meaning and the objectives of the Qur’an and the hadith, the tradition of the pious Muslim generation, and the sayings of ‘*ulamā’*.<sup>37</sup>

*Minhāj al-‘Ābidīn* is the kind of work that provides the believers with guidelines to achieve the highest and the most perfect status of religiosity according to the *Shariah*-based Sufi path. The contents of the book enumerate the ways how Muslims should perform and behave in the fields of both religious devotion (*‘ibādah*) and social relations (*mu‘āmalah*). In so doing, the ethical-religious morality constituted the substance of its discussions, which emerged as the mainstream Sufi thought in the nineteenth century. And al-Ghazali was the ‘*ālim* who had such a central position in this regard. His works influenced the Jawi of Mecca to cultivate the above trend of Sufism.<sup>38</sup> These factors provided Daud al-Fatani with

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<sup>34</sup> The author stated that he, who had little knowledge and deeds, completed the translation of *Minhāj al-‘Ābidīn* by al-Ghazali on Friday 15 Jumādī al-Thānī 1240 (4 February 1825) in Mecca. He humbly noted that his translating this work was with the hands “which had weakness and impoliteness.” See Shaykh Daud al-Fatani, *Minhāj al-‘Ābdīn ilā Jannat Rabb al-‘Ālamīn* (Penang: al-Ma‘arif, n.d.), 146-7.

<sup>35</sup> Daud al-Fatani, *Minhāj al-‘Ābdīn*, 146.

<sup>36</sup> Daud al-Fatani, *Minhāj al-‘Ābdīn*, 4.

<sup>37</sup> Daud al-Fatani, *Minhāj al-‘Ābdīn*, 2.

<sup>38</sup> Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, 291-2. It should be stated that the works of al-Ghazali were also translated into other languages in the Malay Archipelago. One of the Javanese ‘*ulamā’* who studied in Mecca, Muhammad bin Salih bin ‘Umar al-Samarani or popularly known as Saleh Darat (1820-1903), translated some parts

strong reasons to translate the book of al-Ghazali into the Malay language.

*Minhāj al-‘Ābidīn* deals with the steps to achieve proximity to Allah ﷻ. The steps are termed ‘*aqabah*, literally meaning “steep road.” The book enumerates seven ‘*aqabah*, which are meant to demonstrate the Sufi path that the seekers have to undertake, and to emphasize the practices of Sufism that are integrated into the *Shariah* and orthodox doctrines, and hence to show departure from the Sufi notion of *waḥdatul wujūd*. *Minhāj al-‘Ābidīn* is not concerned with speculative Sufism which is well-known for its *martābat al-sab‘* (seven grades or stations), as one scholar puts it.<sup>39</sup>

Detail explanation of the ‘*aqabah* is given below. The point to emphasize here is that the concept of ‘*aqabah* is a strong evidence of the *Shariah*-based Sufism in which the idea of *waḥdatul wujūd* does not exist. All the names of ‘*aqabah* are different from the steps of *martabat* in which the concept of emanation (*tajallī*) dominates and explains God-man relationship in terms of oneness, starting from *aḥadīyah* (the supreme unity of the divinity), *waḥdah* (divine solitude), *wāḥidiyah* (distinctive uniqueness), ‘*ālam arwāḥ* (the realm of spirituality), ‘*ālam mithāl* (of invisibility), ‘*ālam ajsām* (of bodies) and finally ‘*ālam insān* (of mankind).<sup>40</sup>

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of *Ihyā ‘Ulūm al-Dīn* into Javanese language, *Kitab Munjiyat Metik saking Ihya’ ‘Ulum al-Din* (1906). See for instance Jajat Burhanudin, *Islamic Knowledge, Authority and Political Power: The Ulama in Colonial Indonesia*, (Ph.D Thesis, Leiden University, The Netherlands, 2007), 125.

<sup>39</sup> See for instance Bradley, *Forging*, 79, in which this scholar mentioned that the text (*Minhāj al-‘Ābidīn*) “detailed the *martabat tujuh* (sevens steps) of Sufi consciousness one was to take in pursuit of oneness with God”. I argue that *Minhāj al-‘Ābidīn* does discuss different notions of Sufism, which is based on *shariah*; and the Sufi journey is formulated in terms of ‘*aqabah*, instead of *martabat tujuh*. Bradley refers to “the undated version of *Bidāyat al-Hidāya*” as a translation by Shaykh Daud’s another work on al-Ghazali with the same title. I doubt this. To my knowledge, it is al-Falimbani who made a translation of *Bidāyat al-Hidāya* with his work *Hidāyat al-Sālikin* (Guidance for the Travelers).

<sup>40</sup> See for instance J. Spenser Trimingham, *The Sufi Orders in Islam*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977).



### ‘*Aqabah*: The Stages of Sufi Exercises

Daud al-Fatani takes ‘*aqabah* of knowledge (*al-‘ilm*) as the first one to be discussed. It is different from the original book of al-Ghazali, in which the first is titled ‘*aqabah al-‘ilm wa al-ma‘rifah* (‘*aqabah* of knowledge and gnosis). Although without any explanation, the removal of the term “*ma‘rifat*” may be related to his own Sufi thought. He tried to avoid the term that has been associated with the Sufism of *wahdatul wujud*, namely the step of knowing Allah ﷻ by His essence, not by His creature, and is above that of *Shariah*. Daud al-Fatani is here holding firm to the neo-Sufism perspective, which seeks to avoid the use of any term that would lend mystical interpretations.

Following the logic of *Minhāj al-Ābidīn*, it is evident that knowledge is put in place as being part of ‘*ibādah*. ‘*Ilm* and ‘*ibādah* are viewed as two gems and both have emerged as the research subject of writers, the learning materials of teachers or lecturers, and as the subject of preachers’ sermons. It was also due to ‘*ilm* and ‘*ibādah* that the messengers were sent along with their scriptures; and it is for the sake of both that God created the universe (*bumi dan langit*) and all beings inside it.<sup>41</sup>

The integration of ‘*ilm* and ‘*ibādah* is elaborated further as the book emphasizes the crucial role of knowledge, more especially that of *tawhīd*, in the perfection of worship. The book states that knowledge is superior to worship, based on a hadith “the superiority of an ‘*ālim* to a worshiper is just like I am to those of the *umma*”. This statement is made for specific reason, and therefore it does not mean that worship is less important. The book asserts that knowledge is to be the foundation of worship, otherwise it is useless, just like “the scattered dust (*debu bertaburan*)”, giving an illustration that knowledge is tree and worship is its fruits; the benefit of the tree (knowledge) is gained through the fruits it produces (worship).<sup>42</sup>

In addition to emphasizing the necessity of searching for Islamic knowledge, the book also enumerates three disciplines that Muslims need to know. The first is the knowledge of monotheism

<sup>41</sup> Daud al-Fatani, *Minhāj al-Ābidīn*, 10.

<sup>42</sup> Daud al-Fatani, *Minhāj al-Ābidīn*, 11.

(*‘ilm al-tawhīd*), through which the Muslims are required to understand the foundation of religion (*uṣūl al-dīn*), to know the attributes of God (such as existent [*wujūd*], non-origination [*qidam*], oneness [*wahdaniyah*] and power [*qudrah*]), to confirm that Muhammad is His Messenger with his tradition and the Islamic doctrines in the Holy Qur’an, and to uphold the true principles of faith (*‘itiqād*) according to the Sunni school.<sup>43</sup> The second is the knowledge of secret matters (*‘ilm al-sirr*), which refers to spiritual experiences. This *‘ilm* will enable Muslims to know God as the Creator of universe so that they would glorify Him, and to possess good intention and attitudes of sincerity as well as benevolence in behaviour. All of these are directed towards improving the worship to God. The third field of knowledge concerns the *Shariah*, which requires Muslims to know the Islamic pillars and perform on each of them (praying, fasting, alms-giving, and pilgrimage).<sup>44</sup>

The second *‘aqabah* is repentance (*tawbah*). This denotes the process by which those who have committed sins decide to stop from doing anything religiously forbidden. In the *Minhāj al-Ābdīn*, this *‘aqabah* is given great importance for two reasons. First, repentance is a way to obey God; continuing living in sins will make people stay away from virtues and doing good deeds. Second, repentance will make worship and obedience accepted by God; God will not accept the worship of someone who still indulges in things unlawful and forbidden.<sup>45</sup>

As part of the path to get closer to God, *‘aqabah* of repentance is laden with difficulties and barriers. The seekers are strongly encouraged to leave all the sins behind them and begin a new life under the spirit of *tawbah*. Nevertheless, repentance is not the only one with challenges. There are two other *‘aqabah* that are replete with difficulties. The *‘aqabah* of obstacles (*al-‘awā’iq*) is the third and the *‘aqabah* of hindrance (*al-‘awāriq*) the fourth. In this respect, the book introduces the concept of asceticism (*zuhd*), that is, to

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<sup>43</sup> Daud al-Fatani, *Minhāj al-Ābdīn*, 13.

<sup>44</sup> Daud al-Fatani, *Minhāj al-Ābdīn*, 13-4.

<sup>45</sup> Daud al-Fatani, *Minhāj al-Ābdīn*, 16-7.

renounce and disassociate totally from the charms of the world as well as to control desires.<sup>46</sup>

The book also sees the creature (*makhliūq*), precisely humankind, as source of jeopardy of true worship, with the argument that people after the *salaf* generation (the Prophet ﷺ and his Companions) are increasingly exposed to spiritual decline and moral corruption (*dalam fasad yang amat besar*). They are described as having broken their promises, betrayed their trust, and fought one another. Therefore, the book urges the people to keep aloof from public life, devoting all their time to worship Allah ﷻ.<sup>47</sup>

*Minhāj al-Ābdīn* sets forth the concept of *taqwā*' (devoutness and righteousness) as a means of controlling lust and anger. This term is derived from the Arabic word *wiqāyah*, literally meaning protection and prevention. And a person who takes a firm resolve to refrain from sins and disobedience is called *muttaqī*; while the resolve he takes is called *taqwā*. In this book, *taqwā* is explained in great detail, concerning its role and significance in Muslims' religious life, and in reference to the Qur'anic verses in which *taqwā* is cited many times with the meaning mostly "God-fearing" (such as 5:27, 4:131, 2: 281, 2:41, and 24:52).<sup>48</sup> In addition, the book also elucidates several important points that may be described as practices of *taqwā*: safeguarding the eyes, ears and mouth (not to look at, to hear, and to eat everything that is prohibited by religion); and safeguarding the heart, that is to prevent the feeling of jealousy, pride, and hastiness, all of which would yield negative impact on worship.<sup>49</sup>

The fifth *'aqabah* is impetus (*al-bawā'ith*), which inspires Muslim worship and devotion. The book makes clear that if you are in the right path of religious journey, and your way is made easy, while the obstacles and hindrances are alleviated, it is necessary for you to be consistent to know and to remember in your heart the feeling of fear (*khauf*) and hope (*raja'*). The feeling of both fear and hope is expected to function as incentives and prizes which are

<sup>46</sup> Daud al-Fatani, *Minhāj al-Ābdīn*, 22-3.

<sup>47</sup> Daud al-Fatani, *Minhāj al-Ābdīn*, 27-8.

<sup>48</sup> Daud al-Fatani, *Minhāj al-Ābdīn*, 41-3.

<sup>49</sup> Daud al-Fatani, *Minhāj al-Ābdīn*, 45-64.

necessary to encourage and induce people towards true worship and righteous deeds.

In relation to the impetus of worship, an issue that arises is the need to identify the factors that could lead to ruin of worship. The *'aqabah al-qawādiḥ*, as the sixth, deals with this issue. It consists of harmful activities that could spoil acts of worship and devotion. It is necessary for one, so the book states, to protect the good deeds you have done, by the mercy of Allah ﷻ, from those factors which have the potential of wasting and nullifying them.<sup>50</sup>

The last station in the journey to get close to God is the *'aqabah* of praise (*al-ḥamd*) and gratitude (*al-shukr*). As the last station, the main point of this *'aqabah* is to render thanks to Allah ﷻ after having overcome all the difficulties and challenges with His mercy, gone through all the experiences in the previous *'aqabah*, and having been able to attain the objectives of worship that are free from all shortcomings and faults. And the praise and gratitude are rendered for the abundance of Allah's blessing (*ni'mah*), because they, especially gratitude, are a necessary condition for the preservation of a blessing. It follows that the rendering of thanks to Allah ﷻ is to serve as a guarantee for the continuity and permanence of Allah's blessing, otherwise the blessing would be taken away.<sup>51</sup> Gratitude and praise are given much attention. With due regard to the difference between these two terms—that gratitude takes the form of internal action, while praise is an external one—both are to render thanks to Allah ﷻ, and this rendition means that Allah ﷻ is to be glorified and honoured.<sup>52</sup>

### Enhancing the Discourse

In addition to *Minhāj al-'Ābidīn*, Daud al-Fatani's adoption of al-Ghazali's Sufi ethics as the core subject of *Shariah*-based Sufism may also be gleaned from his other Sufi works, one of which is *Jam' al-Fawā'id wa Jawāhir al-Qalā'id* (Collection of the Avails and the Jewels of Necklaces). Completed in 1824/1239, this book was first printed in Mecca (1885/6) and then Singapore but without a date. The

<sup>50</sup> Daud al-Fatani, *Minhāj al-'Ābidīn*, 111.

<sup>51</sup> Daud al-Fatani, *Minhāj al-'Ābidīn*, 128.

<sup>52</sup> Daud al-Fatani, *Minhāj al-'Ābidīn*, 129-30.

undated version printed by Matba‘ah al-Nahdī in Pulau Pinang seems to be the one available in contemporary Southeast Asia.<sup>53</sup> This book appears to have been written in the same spirit as *Minhāj al-Ābidīn*, which was completed in 1825. *Jam‘ al-Fawā‘id* has several similar Sufi concepts and expressions as those of *Minhāj al-Ābidīn*.

As is stated in its introductory pages, *Jam‘ al-Fawā‘id* was written to render religious advices which the author had collected from various sources. The author said, “I pick up them [religious advices] from the books of Sufi scholars, the hadith of the Prophet and the sayings of saints”; and these appear to be the reason why the author named this book *Jam‘ al-Fawā‘id*.<sup>54</sup> The book starts with a presentation of stories-based religious advices, like that of the Prophet Noah (عليه السلام) as he was protected by Allah from heavy storm, and that of the Prophet Moses (عليه السلام) for whom Allah disclosed those who were going to make crimes to himself and his community. These stories are treated as an illustration to emphasize the importance of asking for God’s protection (*ta‘uzu bi Allāh*). Daud al-Fatani wrote, “we are requested to seek for the protection in the name of Allah from all crimes by taking submission to Allah and knocking the door of His mercy”.<sup>55</sup>

As well, the above stories provide us with lessons and examples of the ways to get close to Allah ﷻ and to attain salvation in the Hereafter, while for the life in this world, the book accentuates the belief that easiness will come amidst hardship. This last point is explained by the story of the Prophet Joseph (عليه السلام), which highlights the troubles he experienced before he came to the enlightened condition with the help of Allah ﷻ.<sup>56</sup>

In addition, *Jam‘ al-Fawā‘id* shares the Sufi concept of *zuhd* (ascetism), which is of such importance to *Minhāj al-Ābidīn*. It is discussed in a specific chapter, *rafḍ al-dunyā wa al-zuhd* (leaving the

<sup>53</sup> See Matheson and Hooker, “Jawi Literature”, 23.

<sup>54</sup> Shaykh Daud al-Fatani, *Jam‘ al-Fawā‘id wa Jawāhir al-Qalā‘id* (Penang: Matba‘ah al-Nahdī, n.d.), 3.

<sup>55</sup> Daud al-Fatani, *Jam‘ al-Fawā‘id*, 3-6.

<sup>56</sup> Daud al-Fatani, *Jam‘ al-Fawā‘id*, 16-63. The story of the Prophet Joseph in this book is most likely identical to the author’s work, *Kisah Nabi Yusuf* (Mecca: Matba‘at al-Mīriyah, 1911/1329), as mentioned by Ahmad Fathy al-Fatani, *Ulama Besar*, 17.

world and ascetism), in which the book renders ample advice for an ascetic life, with references to the sayings and the practices of the Prophet (ﷺ) and his Companions. The saying of ‘Ali ibn Abī Tālib (عليه السلام) is one of the sources quoted, as ‘Ali said that he had great concern with two things: having strong courage and following the lust. He argued that strong courage could lead human beings to be strongly bound to the lust, and therefore to neglect the Last Day. For him, the world has been running towards the Last Day, and therefore the people should become the children of the Hereafter; that they need to dedicate their life for the sake of the Hereafter, and to keep away from worldly desire that keeps making one’s life perish, and in fact it is deceitful.<sup>57</sup>

The next Sufi work of Daud al-Fatani in question is *Waṣāyā al-Abrār wa Mau‘iza al-Akhyār* (Respectful Advices and Excellent Exhortation). The Rumi version of this work was prepared recently by H.W.M. Shaghir Abdullah, based on a manuscript preserved in Perpustakaan Negara Malaysia (MS 589). This work was written on the basis of *Limurādat al-Akhyar wa Akhbar al-Abrār* by al-Arif bi Allah Shaykh Muhammad bin Umar al-Ghumri al-Wasiti. In the introductory pages, Daud al-Fatani wrote that he “had learned the messages and advices [and had read] the language of the *kitāb* ... so it attracted me, the poor, to translate some of its beneficial advices”.<sup>58</sup>

This work begins the discussion with the so-called *amalan berharga* (the precious invocations), which are to be recited for many purposes and in different situations. For instance, for those who attempt to avoid suffering and ordeal, there is a specific invocation which is recommended to recite just before leaving the house. It reads as follows: *bismi Allāh ‘āmantu bi Allāh tawakkaltu ‘alā Allāh wa lā haula wala quwwata’ ilā bi Allāh al-‘alīyu’ al-‘azīm*. While for those looking for fortunes, the book provides a specific invocation as follows: *subhāna Allāh wa bi-hamdīhi subhāna Allāh al-‘azīm ‘astaghfiru Allāh*. This invocation is to be recited at the dawn. Many other invocations are given for many wishes, such as to be alleviated

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<sup>57</sup> Daud al-Fatani, *Jam‘ al-Fawā‘id*, 66-71.

<sup>58</sup> Shaykh Daud al-Fatani, *Wasiat Abrar Peringatan Akhyar*, transliterated by H.W.M. Shaghir Abdullah (Shah Alam: Hizbi, 1990), 2-3.

from poverty, despairing and miserable condition, sickness, and others.<sup>59</sup>

The book continues rendering advice, stating that Muslims should be kind to others and always be close to Allah ﷻ. In this respect, the book introduces the term *muhsinin*, with the explanation that “they should worship God as if you see Him; if you do not, [you should believe that] He watches you”.<sup>60</sup> Another related advice is on the way to get Allah’s satisfaction (*riḍā’*), that He approves what the Muslims do in this world. The book presents four activities for this specific purpose, namely: be afraid of Allah (*khauf*), to beg for His grace (*raja’*), to love Allah (*maḥabbah*), and to long for Allah (*shauq*). Each of the four activities entails obligations to be upheld. The term *khauf* requires one to always perform the mandatory duties (*farā’id*) of Allah; those who do *raja’* must be sincere (*ikhhlās*); the feeling of being close to Allah (*muraqabah*) and be watched by Allah (*mushahadah*) is the essence of *maḥabbah*; and to long for Allah means that they should always do *dhikr* both with the tongue and the heart.<sup>61</sup>

In fact, this book gives a special discussion on *dhikr*, in reference to the tradition of the Prophet (ﷺ) and the Sufi practices, with the emphasis on the importance of the recital of *la ilāha illā Allāh* (no God but Allah), regardless of the ways and the styles of its recitation.<sup>62</sup> After elaborating the Sufi concepts and practices of *dhikr*, the book states “it is urged for you to spend time for the worship to God, day and night; to enjoy your time with invocations (*awrād*) in order to gain God’s blessing in your lifetime. The happiness will be bestowed on you in the Hereafter as an unexpected reward for what you have done”.<sup>63</sup> Next to *dhikr*, the book also stresses the need to seek for forgiveness from Allah (*istighfār*) by reciting *astaghfiru Allāh* and some Qur’anic verses, such as *Surah al-Ikhlās* and *al-Fatihah*.<sup>64</sup> The book ends the discussion by

<sup>59</sup> Daud al-Fatani, *Wasiat Abrar*, 4-9.

<sup>60</sup> Daud al-Fatani, *Wasiat Abrar*, 10.

<sup>61</sup> Daud al-Fatani, *Wasiat Abrar*, 12.

<sup>62</sup> Daud al-Fatani, *Wasiat Abrar*, 27-33.

<sup>63</sup> Daud al-Fatani, *Wasiat Abrar*, 34.

<sup>64</sup> Daud al-Fatani, *Wasiat Abrar*, 35-9.

providing the readers with ten versions of invocations which are regarded as to have been practiced by the Prophet Muhammad (ﷺ).<sup>65</sup>

Another Sufi work that deserves mention is by the Pattani scholar, Ahmad al-Fatani titled *Sufi and Wali Allah*. This book has been revised and edited by H.W.M. Shaghir Abdullah.<sup>66</sup> It is divided into several chapters, the first two of which discuss the meaning of some Sufi terms and their benefits, and the answers to the questions asked by Putra Sultan Muhammad, the Sultan of Kelantan. Afterwards, Ahmad arranged his writings in the form of poetic advice, relating to the development of Sufism and mystical path (*tarīqah*) which occurred during his time. Ahmad also spoke about the *wali* (friend of Allah, saint) and *karāmah* (a miracle worked by saint). In this chapter, he included the names of some well-known Sufis and their attachments to the world of Sufism. Finally, Ahmad al-Fatani reminded his Muslim brothers to reflect on the consequences of their lives. He told them, among others, to ponder on the past glory of all great ancient states in human history that subsequently met their decline and destruction.

### Concluding Remarks

The foregoing discussion provides us with ample evidence that the ethical Sufism *ala* al-Ghazali increasingly grew to be a leading and widely recognized stream of Islamic thought in the nineteenth century Malay Archipelago. The translations and commentaries of al-Ghazali's works, including *Minhāj al-Ābidīn* by Daud al-Fatani, became a salient intellectual feature, augmenting the search for Sufi ideas relevant to the increasing demand of the *Shariah*. Instead of reconciling the two fields of Islamic knowledge, mysticism and *Shariah*, the rising discourse of the nineteenth century went further into the formulation of Sufism as a set of teachings that emphasize the inner aspects of religious practices and devotion, termed as ethics. The discussions of *Minhāj al-Ābidīn* are in this line of intellectual discourse. It presents the mainstream voices of '*ulamā*' concerning the spiritual aspect of Islam in the Malay Archipelago. In this respect

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<sup>65</sup> Daud al-Fatani, *Wasiat Abrar*, 45-8.

<sup>66</sup> Shaykh Ahmad bin Muhammad Zayn al-Fatani, *Sufi and Wali Allah*, prepared by H.W.M. Shaghir Abdullah (Kuala Lumpur: Khazanah Fathaniyah, 2018).



Daud al-Fatani was continuing what al-Falimbani had already laid down in his works, especially *Sayr al-Sālikīn*.

Turning to the issue noted in the beginning of this article, it should be stated here that the ethical Sufism of Ghazali is greatly influential in Muslims spiritual life. The works of this Sufi teaching by Malay '*ulamā*' are continuously studied and referred to as the Muslim scholars try to deal with contemporary issues, especially those related to spirituality. To be noted here is the growing Sufism in the contemporary era, known as urban Sufism, which takes the above-mentioned works to be its main sources of reference. Accordingly, the ethical Sufism of al-Ghazali constitutes one of the main pillars of what is termed as Islam Nusantara in present-day Southeast Asia.

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## TRANSLITERATION TABLE

### CONSONANTS

Ar=Arabic, Pr=Persian, OT=Ottoman Turkish, Ur=Urdu

Ar	Pr	OT	UR	Ar	Pr	OT	UR	Ar	Pr	OT	UR	
ء	ب	پ	پ	ز	ز	ز	ز	گ	—	g	g	g
ب	ب	ب	ب	ژ	—	—	ř	ل	l	l	l	l
پ	پ	پ	پ	ژ	—	zh	j	م	m	m	m	m
ت	ت	ت	ت	س	s	s	s	ن	n	n	n	n
ث	—	—	ṭ	ش	sh	sh	ş	ه	h	h	h <sup>1</sup>	h <sup>1</sup>
ث	th	th	th	ص	ş	ş	ş	و	w	v/u	v	v/u
ج	j	j	c	ض	ḏ	ḏ	ž	ی	y	y	y	y
چ	—	ch	çh	ط	ṭ	ṭ	ṭ	ة	-ah	—	—	-a <sup>2</sup>
ح	ḥ	ḥ	ḥ	ظ	ẓ	ẓ	ẓ	ال	al <sup>3</sup>	—	—	—
خ	kh	kh	kh	ع	‘	‘	‘	—	—	—	—	—
د	d	d	d	غ	gh	gh	ğh	—	—	—	—	—
ڈ	—	—	d	ف	f	f	f	—	—	—	—	—
ذ	dh	dh	dh	ق	q	q	q	—	—	—	—	—
ر	r	r	r	ك	k	k/g	k/ñ	—	—	—	—	—

<sup>1</sup> – when not final

<sup>2</sup> – at in construct state

<sup>3</sup> – (article) al - or l-

### VOWELS

	Arabic and Persian	Urdu	Ottoman Turkish
Long	ا	ā	ā
	آ	Ā	—
	و	ū	ū
	ي	ī	ī
Doubled	ي	iy (final form i)	iy (final form i)
	و	uww (final form ū) uvv (for Persian)	uvv
Diphthongs	و	au or aw	ev
	ی	ai or ay	ey
Short	ا	a	a or e
	ا	u	u or ū
	ا	i	o or ö
	ا	i	i

### URDU ASPIRATED SOUNDS

For aspirated sounds not used in Arabic, Persian, and Turkish add h after the letter and underline both the letters e.g. جھ jh گھ gh

For Ottoman Turkish, modern Turkish orthography may be used.



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