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THE ROLE OF SHAYKH ABD AL-RA'UF AL-FANSURI IN THE RECONCILIATION OF SUFISM AND *SHARĪ*^C*AH* OF 17TH CENTURY THE MALAY WORLD[1]

Abdul Salam Muhamad Shukri
Ridwan Arif

Abstract

The tension between Sufism and sharī^cah, i.e., the conflict of wujūdiyyah in Acheh in the 17th century had led Ṣūfī scholars, particularly ^cAbd al-Ra'ūf al-Fanṣūrī to seek the convergence between Sufism and sharī^cah. Therefore, this study is carried out to examine the efforts of ^cAbd al-Ra'ūf to reconcile Sufism with sharī^cah. It examines ^cAbd al-Ra'ūf's approaches of reconciliation of Sufism and sharī^cah in the general context as well as in the context of the controversial issue, i.e., the doctrine of waḥdat al-wujūd. It is a qualitative research which employs document analysis. The result of the study shows that ^cAbd al-Ra'ūf had played a significant role in reconciliating Sufism with sharī^cah in 17th century Malay world. The approaches employed by ^cAbd al-Ra'ūf supported Sufism based on Qur'ān and Sunnah. They were also based on founding Sufism by orthodox (Sunnī) theology, emphasizing the significance of observance of practising sharī^cah and integrating good conducts to Sufism. Meanwhile ^cAbd al-Ra'ūf's approach of reconciliation in the controversial interpreted waḥdat al-wujūd in the orthodox sense and criticized the extreme approach in Islamic creed, i.e., passing judgement on Muslims as infidels.

Introduction

History recorded that Sufism had become the main factor of Islamization of Malay-Indonesian archipelago. In the early period, Sufism that spread in the Malay world was philosophical Sufism which discussed metaphysical matters such as ontology and cosmology. The different understanding on methaphysical doctrine of Sufism, i.e., the doctrine of *waḥdat al-wujūd* had caused disputation in the context of Sufism and *sharīʿah* in Acheh in the first half 17th century which was known as *wujūdiyyah* conflict. Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī (d. 1068/1658), who assessed the understanding of Ḥamzah Fanṣūrī (d. 1016/1607) and Shams al-Dīn al-Samaṭra'ī (d. 1039/1630) on *waḥdat al-wujūd* from the viewpoint of Islamic creed (orthodoxy), charged the latter two as infidels (*kāfir*). Such a disputation led to conflict in tragedy in Acheh, i.e., execution of adherents of Ḥamzah/Shams al-Dīn. With regard to the disputation of *wujūdiyyah*, it had caused chaos and disharmony in Acheh society. It needed to reconcile in order to establish peace and harmony among the Achehnese. As a native of Acheh, ʿAbd al-Ra'ūf was responsible to carry out such a mission by solving the root of problem i.e., the disputation on understanding of *waḥdat al-wujūd* in particular, and the relation between Sufism with *sharīʿah* in general through his works. This paper examines ʿAbd al-Ra'ūf role in the reconciliation of Sufism with *sharīʿah* and approaches employed by him in this effort based on three main works of ʿAbd al-Ra'ūf, i.e., *Tanbīh al-Māshī al-Manṣūb ilā Ṭarīq al-Qushāshī*, *ʿUmdat al-Muḥtājīn ilā Sulūk Maslak al-Mufridīn* and *Daqā'iq al-Ḥurūf*.

Brief Account on ʿAbd al-Ra'ūf

Amīn al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Ra'ūf ibn ʿAlī al-Jāwī al-Fanṣūrī was born in Singkil (Singkel), a town in the west coast of Sumatera which was a section under the Sultanate of Acheh. His date of birth is not known precisely. D.A. Rinkes,[2] estimates that ʿAbd al-Ra'ūf was born in

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[2] T. Iskandar, "Abdurrauf Singkel Tokoh Syatariyah (Abad ke-17)", in Mohamad Daud Mohamad, *Tokoh-tokoh Sastera Melayu Klasik*, (Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 1987), 72-73, hereafter cited as Iskandar, "Abdurrauf".

1024/1615. Meanwhile, Voorhoeve[3] states that he was born in 1620 C.E.

ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf received his early education in his hometown, especially from his father who was a leader of a centre of Islamic learning. It is most probably that he continued his learning in Fanṣūr (Barus).[4] He then continues his learning in several centers of Islamic learning in Middle East, i.e., Doha (Qatar), several cities in Yemen, Jeddah, Mecca, and finally in Medina.[5] Among his prominent masters were Aḥmad al-Qushāshī (d. 1660 C.E.) and Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī (d. 1690). Al-Kūrānī granted ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf the degree (*al-ijāzah*) to spread Islamic teaching in general and some Ṣūfī orders in particular in his homeland (Acheh).

Having returned to Acheh,[6] ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf established an education centre near the mouth of river (*kuala*) of Acheh.[7] Among his prominent disciples were Burhān al-Dīn of Ulakan (1692 C.E.), West Sumatera; ᶜAbd al-Muḥyi of Pamijahan (d. 1730 C.E.), West Java and ᶜAbd al-Malik (1736 C.E.) or popularly known as Tok Pulau Manis, Terengganu, Malaysian Peninsular.[8] ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf returned to Acheh in the reign of Sulṭānah Ṣāfiyyat al-Dīn Syah. He served as *muftī* in the Sultanate of Acheh during the reign of four sulṭānah i.e., Sulṭānah Ṣāfiyyat al-Dīn syah (r. 1641-1675), Sulṭānah Nūr ᶜAlam Naqiyyat al-Dīn Syah (r. 1675-1678), Sulṭānah Zākiyyat al-Dīn Syah (r. 1678-1688) and Sulṭānah Kāmalat al-Dīn Syah (r.

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[3] Voorhoeve, *Encyclopedia of Islam*, Vol. I, (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1960), 88.

[4] Azyumardi Azra, *Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah dan Kepulauan Nusantara Abad XVII & XVIII: Akar Pembaruan Islam Indonesia*, (Jakarta: Kencana Prenada Media Group, Perennial edition, 1th printed, 2013), 240, hereafter cited as Azra, *Jaringan Ulama.*

[5] ᶜAbd Al-Ra'ūf al-Fanṣūrī, *ᶜUmdat al-Muḥtājīn ilā Sulūk Maslak al-Mufridīn,* Manuscript W 41, Perpustakaan Nasional Jakarta, 70-75, hereafter cited as ᶜAbd Al-Ra'ūf, *ᶜUmdat al-Muḥtājīn.*

[6] ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf indicates that he return to Acheh not so long after the death of al-Qushāhsī. Most scholars assumed that he return to acheh around 1661 C.E., i.e., one year after the death of the latter, see Azra, *Jaringan Ulama*, 251.

[7] ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf lived and taught in this place until his death. Hence, He was popularly known among the Achehnese as "*Syiah Kuala*" or "*Teungku Syiah Kuala*" that means *Shaykh* who lives in *Kuala*, see Iskandar, "Abdurrauf", 72.

[8] Azra, *Jaringan Ulama*, 267-68.

1688-1699).[9]

ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf was a prolific author who wrote many works. Azra, for instance, points out that ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf had composed at least around 22 works,[10] Saghir Abdullah lists 25 titles,[11] Fathurahman mentions 36 works[12] and Zainuddin states that ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf's works reached 56 titles.[13] During his career in Acheh, ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf had composed a number of works on various fields of Islamic religious sciences such as Islamic law and jurisprudence (*fiqh*), Qur'anic exegesis   (*tafsīr*), prophetic tradition (*ḥadīth*), ethics (*akhlāq*), history (*tārīkh*), eschatology, theology (*tawḥīd and kalām*), and Sufism (*taṣawwūf*). [14] Among these works are: *Turjumān al-Mustafīd* (Qur'anic exegesis); *Sharḥ Laṭīf ᶜalā Arbaᶜīn Ḥadīthan li al-Imām al-Nawāwī* (A Detailed Commentary upon the Forty *Ḥadīth* of al-Imām al-Nawāwī, *ḥadīth*); *Waṣiyah* (Concerning ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf's advice to his students, Ethics); *Mir'at al-Ṭullāb fī Tashīl Maᶜrifah al-Aḥkām al-Sharᶜiyyah li al-Mālik al-Wahhāb* (The Mirror of Students to Facilitate Knowing of the Laws of God, Islamic law and jurisprudence); *Tanbīh al-Māshi al-Mansūb ilā Tarīq al-Qushāshī* (Guidance for Those who take al-Qushāshī Order, Sufism); *ᶜUmdah al-Muḥtājīn ilā Sulūk Maslak al-Mufridīn* (Guideline for Those who Take the Sufi Path, Sufism); *Sullam al-Mustafīdīn* (The Stair of those who Seek the Benefit, Theology); *Daqā'iq al-Ḥurūf* (The Deep Understanding of Letters, Sufism);

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[9] Ibid., 252-54.

[10] Ibid., 254.

[11] Haji Wan Mohd. Shaghir Abdullah, *Khazanah Karya Pusaka Asia Tenggara*, (Kuala Lumpur: Khazanah Fathaniyah, 1991), 2 volumes, vol. I, 39-41, hereafter cited as Shaghir Abdullah, *Khazanah*.

[12] Oman Fathurahman, *Tanbīh al-Māsyī. Menyoal Wahdatul Wujud: Kasus Abdurrauf Singkel di Aceh Abad 17*, (Bandung: Penerbit Mizan, 1st printed, 1999), 28-30, hereafter cited as Fathurahman, *Tanbīh al-*Māsyī.

[13] H.M. Zainuddin, *Tarich Atjeh dan Nusantara*, (Medan: Pustaka Iskandar Muda, 1961) as cited by Mohd. Syukri Yeoh Abdullah, "Zawiyah Shaykh Kuala: Pusat Penyebaran Islam di Alam Melayu Abad Ke-17 Masihi", *Sari-International Journal of the Malay World and civilization,* vol. 27, No. 2 (2009): 87-118.

[14] Further description and analysis on ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf works, see Peter Ridell, *Islam and the Malay-Indonesian World*, (Singapore, Horizon Book Pte Ltd, 2001), 129-132, hereafter cited as Ridell, *Islam and the Malay-Indonesia World*; Shaghir Abdullah, *Khazanah,* vol. I, 39-190; Azra, *Jaringan Ulama*, 255-64.

Lubb al-Kashf wa al-Bayān li Mā Yarāhu al-Muhtadār bi al-^cIyān
(Essential Exposition and Elucidation on the Visionary Experience of
the Dying and What Make Him Glad, Escatology) and ^c*Umdat
al-Ansāb* (The Guideline of Genealogies, History).

  ^cAbd al-Ra'ūf died in 1105/1693 in the era of Sulṭānah
Kāmalat al-Dīn Syah (r. 1688-1699) and was buried near the mouth
of a river (*kuala*) beside the tomb of Teungku Anjong.[15] His tomb
was regarded as the most holy tomb in Acheh after the tomb of
Teungku Anjong.[16] To remember his greatness, his name was chosen
as the name of a university in Acheh, "*Universitas Syiah Kuala*"
(Syiah Kuala University).[17]

Combining Islamic Theology, Worship and Religious Moral in Sufism Treatise

The first approach employed by ^cAbd al-Ra'ūf in reconciling Sufism
with orthodoxy were to combine the discussion of theology, *sharī^cah*
and good conduct with Sufism. Among ^cAbd al-Ra'ūf's works
representing this type of writing were *Tanbīh al-Māshī ilā Ṭarīq
al-Qushāshī* and ^c*Umdat al-Muḥtājīn ilā Sulūk Maslak al-Mufridīn*.
Even though these two works aimed as Ṣūfīsm treatises, in fact, they
also covered the issue of creed (^c*aqīdah*), *sharī^cah* and moral
behaviour as we shall see below.

The contents of *Tanbīh al-Māshī* can be categorized into:

(i) Islamic Theology

^cAbd al-Ra'ūf begun the book with the matter of creed. Islamic creed
discussed in *Tanbīh al-Māshī* concerned unification of God (*tawḥīd*)
which was, according to ^cAbd al-Ra'ūf, the first obligation to
disciples of Sufism. In this respect, ^cAbd al-Ra'ūf propounded the
definition of *tawḥīd* and the argument of the oneness of Allah
Almighty based on Qur'ānic verse. The author also discussed the
categories of *tawḥīd* as well as its grades.[18]

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[15] Azra, *Jaringan Ulama*, 269.

[16] Snouck Hurgronje, *The Achehnese*, Translated from Dutch by A.W.S. O'Sullivan,
2 volumes, (Leyden: E. J. Brill, 1906), vol. 2, 17-18.

[17] Iskandar, "Abdurrauf" 78.

[18] ^cAbd al-Ra'ūf bin ^cAlī al-Fanṣūrī, *Tanbīh al-Māshī al-Manṣūb ilā Ṭarīq*

(ii)   *Sharīʿah*

The aspect of *sharīʿah* covered a large portion of *Tanbīh al-Māshī*. *Sharīʿah* aspect discussed by ʿAbd al-Ra'ūf in this book were worships, devotional works and rites such as *ṣalawāt*, *istighfār*, al-Qur'ān recitation, voluntary (*sunnah*) prayers and voluntary (*sunnah*) fasting. ʿAbd al-Ra'ūf also recommended some rites (*awrād*) that should be performed by disciples, especially after mandatory prayers.[19]

(iii)   Ṣūfī Doctrines

The doctrines of Ṣūfīs discussed by ʿAbd al-Ra'ūf in *Tanbīh al-Māshī* can be distinguished into two aspects, i.e., the metaphysical doctrine and practical teachings. In the respect of metaphysical doctrine, ʿAbd al-Ra'ūf discussed the issue of ontology like the ontological status of the world and its relation with God.[20] ʿAbd al-Ra'ūf also touched the matter of cosmology, i.e., the concept of creation. In this respect ʿAbd al-Ra'ūf propounded the concept of the "Light of Muhammad" (*Nūr Muḥammad*).[21] He also touched annihilation (*fanā'*), remaining a new life in God (*baqā'*)[22] and gnosis (*maʿrifah*) as the destination of the Ṣūfī journey.[23]

The practical aspect of Sufism discussed by ʿAbd al-Ra'ūf are remembrance (*dhikr*), the rites of *shaṭṭārī* (*asghāl al-shaṭṭārī*) and stations (*al-manāzil*). ʿAbd al-Ra'ūf elucidated considerable length concerning *dhikr* which was, according to him, the shortest and easiest way for a servant to attain *maʿrifah*.

(iv) Religious Moral

In *Tanbīh al-Māshī*, ʿAbd al-Ra'ūf emphasized the significance of religious moral. He touched the issue of religious moral while stating

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al-Qushāshī, MS A101, Perpustakaan Nasional Jakarta, 1, 18-19, hereafter cited as ʿAbd al-Ra'ūf, *Tanbīh al-Māshī*.

[19] ʿAbd al-Ra'uf, *Tanbīh al-Māshī*, 8-14, 20-27.

[20] Ibid., 1- 6.

[21] Ibid., 7-8.

[22] Ibid., 12-13.

[23] Ibid., 18.

that among the result of performing *dhikr* was the appearance of
good conduct and earning the miraculous gifts (*karāmāt*).[24] ^cAbd
al-Ra'ūf also discussed the moral issue when he advised the disciple
to keep his tongue from cursing (*ghibah*); labelling Muslims as
infidel, condemning other Muslims and excessively praising them.
^cAbd al-Ra'ūf also advised his disciples to strengthen the
brotherhood among Muslims by loving them, helping them,
protecting them from being disgraced, not having negative thinking
and being facilitative and forgiving.[25]

In contrast to *Tanbīh al-Māshī*, ^cAbd al-Ra'ūf set out *^cUmdat
al-Muhtājīn* into seven sections[26] and an appendix:[27] (1) Islamic
Theology; (2) Remembrance of God (*dhikr*); (3) The priorities of the
words *lā ilāha illā Allāh*; (4) Benefits for those who immersed in the
words of '*lā ilāha illā Allāh*'; (5) Elucidation on the principles of the
teaching (*talqīn*) of master (*shaykh*) to his disciples on pronouncing
the words '*lā ilāha illā Allāh*'; (6) Exposition on rites and devotional
works; (7) Good Conducts.

Based on its chapters, the contents of *^cUmdat al-Muhtājīn* can
be categorized into several aspects:

(i) Islamic Theology

Among the issues included under the aspect of theology were
the matter of *tawhīd*, the attributes of God as well as the attributes of
the Prophet (PBUH) which each of them consisted the necessary
(*wājib*), the impossible (*mustahīl*) and the contingent (*jā'iz*)
attributes.[28]

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[24] Ibid., 9.

[25] Ibid., 19-20.

[26] In the *^cUmdat al-Muhtājīn*, ^cAbd al-Ra'ūf employed the term "*fā'idah*" for
"section".

[27] The appendix is a kind of short autobiography of cAbd al-Ra'ūf's experience of
learning in the Middle East. In this respect, he lists some scholars with whom he
studied or merely established a contact. 'Abd al-Ra'ūf also wrote his chain of
initiation in both Shattāriyyah and Qādiriyyah orders, see *^cUmdat al-Muhtājīn*,
70-75.

[28] This matter was discussed in Section One of *^cUmdat al-Muhtājīn*.

(ii)   *Sharīᶜah*

Among the issues of *sharīᶜah* discussed in the *ᶜUmdat al-Muḥtājīn* were some devotional works and rites that should be performed by disciples, such as voluntary (*sunnah*) prayers, al-Qur'ān recitation, voluntary (*sunnah*) fasting and other rites.[29]

(iii)   Sufism

It seems the matter of Sufism took a large part of *ᶜUmdat al-Muḥtājīn*, as it was aimed to elucidate Ṣūfī teachings. Among the matters included under the theme of Sufism in this work are: (1) remembrance (*dhikr*) including the kind of *dhikr*, the manner of *dhikr*, the way of *dhikr*, and the kind of words used in *dhikr*);[30] (2) the priorities of the words '*lā ilāha illā allāh*' as one set of words employed in *dhikr*;[31] (3) the advantages earned by those who regularly recited the *dhikr*;[32] (4) the principles of teaching (*talqīn*) of master to disciple concerning pronouncing the words '*lā ilāha illā Allāh*' as well as the way of *talqīn* and *bayᶜah*; (5) rites (*awrād*) and; (6) *rātib shaykh*.[33]

(iv)   Good Conducts

The issue of moral behaviour and good conduct discussed by ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf in the last section of *ᶜUmdat al-Muḥtājīn*, i.e., Section Eight within which he elucidated good conduct that should be performed by those who embarked on the Ṣūfī path. ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf also mentioned the moral behaviour of believers based on the Prophet's traditions (PBUH).[34]

From the contents of *Tanbīh al-Māshī* and *ᶜUmdat al-Muḥtājīn*, it is clear that ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf attempted to combine Islamic theology, *sharīᶜah* and religious moral in Sufism treatise which reflected the thought of ᶜAbd Ra'ūf that emphasized on the

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[29] This matter was discussed in Section Four of *ᶜUmdat al-Muḥtājīn*.

[30] This matter was discussed in Section Two of *ᶜUmdat al-Muḥtājīn*.

[31] This matter was discussed in Section Three of *ᶜUmdat al-Muḥtājīn*.

[32] This matter was discussed in Section Four of *ᶜUmdat al-Muḥtājīn*.

[33] This matter was discussed in Section Five of *ᶜUmdat al-Muḥtājīn*.

[34] This matter was discussed in Section Eight of *ᶜUmdat al-Muḥtājīn*.

equilibrium between the outward and inward dimensions of Islamic teaching. It can be pointed out that ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf was the first Malay scholar who employed such approach. It is not found in the works of his predecessors either Ḥamzah, Shams al-Dīn or al-Rānīrī. Though al-Rānīrī composed treatises in theology and jurisprudence, they were written in separate books.

Supporting Sufism by the Qur'ān and *Sunnah*

Another way employed by ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf in his endeavour to reconcile Sufism with *sharīᶜah* was supporting Sufism through Islamic revelations, i.e., the Qur'ān and Prophetic traditions. ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf is a Ṣūfī who had strong commitment to uphold (commit) al-Qur'ān and *Sunnah* as indicated by his advise:

> Understand and behold strongly to al-Qur'ān and Prophet's traditions, certainly you will earn guidance and constantly be in the straight path. Prophet Muhammad (PBUH), who had not ever been said base on his lust, said, "I inherited two matters to you, i.e., the Book of Allah and my traditions, so interpret the Qur'ān by my traditions certainly your eyes never be blind, your feet never be slip, and your hands never be cut as long as you uphold to the two. [35]

The commitment of ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf to uphold al-Qur'ān and the *Sunnah* is evidenced by the fact that he constantly supported his mystical teaching by using Qur'ānic verses as well as traditions of the Prophet (PBUH), either philosophical Sufism or practical Sufism. In the aspect of philosophical Sufism for instance, ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf quoted several Qur'anic verses and *ḥadīth*s to elucidate the nature of *waḥdat al-wujūd*. In his exposition on devotional works and rites that

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[35] Abd al-Ra'ūf, *Tanbīh al-Māshī*, 3. The true redaction of the *ḥadīth* is "*innī qad tarak-tu fī-kum shay'ayni lan taḍillū baᶜda-humā kitāb Allāh wa-sunnatī wa-lan yatafarraqā ḥattā yuraddā ᶜalayya al-ḥawad.*" The *ḥadīth* was narrated by al-Ḥākim, see al-Imām al-Ḥāfiz Abī ᶜAbd Allāh al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī, *Al-Mustadrak ᶜalā al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, 4 volumes, (Beyrut-Lubnān: Dār Ibn Ḥazm, 1428/2007), Vol. I, 123.

should be performed by disciples, ʿAbd al-Ra'ūf constantly supported it with the *ḥadīth* of the Prophet (PBUH) as we shall see later. This is to prove that Sufism was based on Islamic revelation in general and to demonstrate that his mystical teaching was grounded by Islamic principles contained in the Qur'ān and exampled by the Prophet (PBUH). It is visible in his works especially *Tanbīh al-Māshī* and *ʿUmdat al-Muḥtājīn*.

In *Tanbīh al-Māshī* for instance, to support his thoughts, ʿAbd al-Ra'ūf cited 19 Qur'ānic verses and 54 Prophetic traditions which, according to Fathurahman, are mostly categorized as *ḥadīth al-ṣaḥīḥ* narrated by trusted narrators such as al-Bukhārī, al-Muslīm, al-Tirmidhī, al-Bayhaqī, Ḥakīm, Aḥmad bin Ḥanbal, al-Nasa'ī, and Ibn Majah. Just six among them were categorized as *ḥadīth ḍaʿīf*, whereas 13 of them were of unknown narrators.[36] Meanwhile in the *ʿUmdat al-Muḥtājīn*, ʿAbd al-Ra'ūf cites five Qur'ānic verses[37] and many *ḥadīth*s.[38]

It is important to remark that, the way of ʿAbd al-Ra'ūf in his quotation of al-Qur'ān and *ḥadīth* obviously indicated his alignment to Islamic orthodoxy. Some Ṣūfīs, especially figures of philosophical Sufism, like Ibn ʿArabi,[39] sometimes turn (*taḥwīl*) the meaning of Qur'ānic verses to support their mystical teachings. Even al-Rānīrī, who was regarded to be a representative of orthodox scholars, had also taken the same approach.[40] In contrast, ʿAbd al-Ra'ūf, in his

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[36] Fathurahman, *Tanbīh al-Māsyī*, 83, 185-90.

[37] Al-Qur'ān, al-Baqarah (2):74; al-Qur'ān, al-Baqarah (2):200; al-Qur'ān, al-Nisā' (4):103; al-Qur'ān, al-Aʿrāf (7):205; al-Qur'ān, al-Dhāriyāt (51): 56.

[38] The Prophet's traditions that quoted by ʿAbd al-Ra'ūf in *ʿUmdat al-Muḥtājīn* were cited from several works: (i) *Jāmiʿ al-Kabīr* (on *dhikr jahr*), (ii) *Intibah li-Faḍā'il lā ilāha illā Allāh*, (iii) *Khanz al-Asnā*, (on rites after five times prayers) (iv) *Kifāyah al-Muḥsin*, (on the characters of those who embark Ṣūfī path).

[39] Al-Dhahabī for instance, states that the *tafsīr Ṣūfī naẓarī* which is the Ṣūfī Qur'ānic exegesis of philosophical Sufism that mainly represented by Ibn ʿArabī's *tafsīr* cannot be accepted. This is because, in his view, in this type of *tafsīr*, the Ṣūfīs attempt to turn al-Qur'ān from its shuttle and meaning to the meaning that is suitable to Ṣūfīs thought, in this case philosophical Sufism. For more detail on *tafsīr Ṣūfī naẓarī* and Ibn ʿArabī's kind of *tafsīr*, see Muṣṭafā Muḥammad Ḥusayn Al-Dhahabī, *Al-Tafsīr wa al-Mufassirūn*, 3 volumes, (Al-Qāhirah: Dār al-Ḥadīth, 1433/2012), vol. II, 302.

[40] Among the examples, al-Rānīrī quotes two Qur'ānic verses in order to support the

quotation of Qur'ānic verses and *ḥadīth*, held the proper meaning of
them. He quoted Qur'ānic verses and *ḥadīth* which contained the
common and fundamental belief among Muslims to criticize the
deviated understanding of philosophical Sufism. In other words,
ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf criticized the deviated understanding by the proper
belief of Muslims. It obviously demonstrates that ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf
found his mystical teaching by Islamic creed. ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf, for
instance, quoted some Qur'anic verses and *ḥadīth*s (including *ḥadīth
quds*) to prove that the world and God were not identical. He rejected
the misconception or misunderstanding of the adherents of *waḥdat
al-wujūd* in the Malay world (*wujūdiyyah*) who believed that the
world and that of God were identical by quoting the Qur'anic verse
"Allah is the Creator of all things".[41] Based on the verse ᶜAbd
al-Ra'ūf showed the falsehood of those who claimed that the world
and God were identical since it was unreasonable that God create His
own-essence.[42] ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf employed the same approach in
arguing using *ḥadīth*. ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf for instance quote the *ḥadīth*
"Remember me, [certainly] I would remember thou" which indicated
that the human being and God were not identical. He also quoted a
ḥadīth quds showing the difference between mankind's will and
God's will.[43]

The above facts evidence ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf's loyalty to the
fundamentals beliefs of Islam contained in the Qur'ān and *ḥadīth*. It

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doctrine of *waḥdat al-wujūd*: (1) "Such is God, your real Cherisher and Sustainer:
apart from Truth, what (remains) but error? How then are ye turned away?"
(al-Qur'ān, Yūnus (10): 32); (2) "We created not the heavens, the earth, and all
between them, but for just ends…(al-Qur'ān, al-Ḥijr (15): 85). In these two verses,
al-Rānīrī translates the word '*al-ḥaqq*' as 'God', not as 'truth', the opposite of
unguided. According to Daudi, apparently, al-Rānīrī aware this deviated translation,
but his tendency to *waḥdat al-wujūd* make him choses such meaning. This evidences
al-Rānīrī gave priority to the metaphysical Sufism rather than Islamic orthodoxy, see
al-Rānīrī, *Jawāhir*, 35; *Idem*, *Ḥill al-Ẓill*, 42-43 as cited by Ahmad Daudi, *Allah dan
Manusia dalam Konsepsi Syeikh Nuruddin ar-Raniry*, (Jakarta: CV Rajawali, 1983),
114, hereafter cited as Daudi, *Allah dan Manusia*.

[41] See for instance, Al-Qur'ān, al-Raᶜd (13): 16.

[42] ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf, *Tanbīh al-Māshī*, 2.

[43] ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf, *Tanbīh al-Māshī*, 2. The *ḥadīth quds* and ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf's analysis
on the *ḥadīth* will be presented in the next section, i.e., "Interpreting Ṣūfī
Metaphysical Doctrine (*waḥdat al-wujūd*)" of this study.

also proves how ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf held that mystical teaching and experience should not contradict the principles of Islam taught by the Qur'ān and *Sunnah*.

Founding Sufism with Orthodox (*Sunnī*) Theology

The first proof highlights ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf approach to founding Sufism with orthodox theology is his emphasizing on the significance of principle of Islamic faith, i.e., the concept of the Oneness or Unification of God (*tawḥīd*). ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf's concern was to emphasize *tawḥīd* as basic to Sufism, as Fathurrahman[44] points out, is proven by the fact that in most of his works either theology or Sufism treatises, like *Tanbīh al-Māshī*, ᶜ*Umdat al-Muḥtājīn*, *Sullām al-Mustāfidīn*, *Daqā'iq al-Ḥurūf*, and *Munyah al-Iᶜtiqād*, he constantly begun such writings with the matter of *tawḥīd*. In his *Tanbīh al-Māshī* for instance, ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf wrote thus:

> Then, know O student, (may Allah bestow us and you to obey Him and grant us to do what he pleased), that the first obligation to you is to affirm the oneness of God and glorify Him from inappropriate attributes to Him with the words '*lā ilāha illā Allāh*' that cover four degrees of *tawḥīd*.[45]

The above quotations demonstrate how ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf emphasized on the unification of God (*tawḥīd*) by asserting that it was the first mandatory lesson for the disciples, i.e., those who would embark on the Ṣūfī path at the beginning of their mystical journey.

Second, having emphasized the significance of tawhid, ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf discussed the attributes of God which are mandatory upon every adult man (ᶜ*āqil bāligh*) to know all of them, i.e., the necessary (*wājib*), the impossible (*mustaḥīl*) and the contingent (*jā'iz*) attributes. It was also mandatory upon them to know what was necessary on the right of all the apostles of God and what was impossible upon them, and what was contingent for them. All of these, ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf says, were contained in the words "*lā ilāha illā*

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[44] Fathurahman, *Tanbīh al-Māsyī*, 45.

[45] ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf, *Tanbīh al-Māshī*, 1. Translation is mine.

Allāh Muḥammad Rasūl Allāh".[46]

ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf then elucidated these three categories of attributes of Allah Almighty. The necessary (*wājib*) attributes were twenty: *wujūd*, *qidam*, *baqā'*, *mukhālifatuhu li al-ḥawādith*, *waḥdaniyyah*, *qiyāmuhu ta'āla bi-nafsih*, *ḥayah*, *ᶜilm*, *qudrah*, *irādah*, *samaᶜ*, *baṣar*, *kalām*, *hayy*, *ᶜālim*, *qādir*, *murīd*, *sāmiᶜ*, *bāṣir* and *mutakallim*. The contingent (*jā'iz*) attribute is one, i.e., the new (*ḥadīth*) of the world and does not affect everything by itself. It is because if the world is eternal, it would not need God and this is impossible. This consequence also occurrs if everything in the world is affected by its own power.[47]

The words "*Muḥammad Rasūl Allāh*" according to ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf were the perfect words since they covered the belief in all Holy Books revealed by God to all of His Messengers, and in the day of judgment because Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) was sent to affirm all of them. From such words, it is understood that it is necessary for all of them [the Apostles of God] to be trusted men and it is impossible upon them the attribute of lying as well as to do the prohibited things. From the words, it is also understood that it is reasonable (*jā'iz*) for them to have human beings' attributes (*aᶜrād bashariyyah*), and it would not decrease the apostle (*risālah*) or their high rank.[48] The elucidation of ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf of Islamic theology regarding the attributes of God, as we have seen above, shows that he embraced orthodox (*sunnī*) theology, in Ashāᶜrite school and al-Sanūsī system.

Third, another proof presents ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf's approach to establishing his mystical teachings upon Islamic theology when he supports the Ṣūfī practice, i.e., *dhikr* by Islamic creed.[49] In his

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[46] ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf, *ᶜUmdat al-Muḥtājīn*, 2-3.

[47] Ibid., 3.

[48] Ibid., 4.

[49] *Dhikr* means remembrance, invocation or glorification of Allah through the repetition of one of his names or phrase to his glory. According to Armstrong, true dhikr is spiritual state (hal) in which the remembrancer concentrates all of his physical and spiritual powers upon Allah so that his entire being may be united with the absolute. It is the fundamental practice of the Sufi path (Sufism) and maybe undertaken in solitude or in gatherings. Specific breathing patterns are central to the effectiveness of the *dhikr*, see Amatullah Armstrong, *Sufi Terminology (al-Qamus*

ᶜUmdat al-Muḥtājīn, for instance, after elucidating the issue of Islamic theology, i.e., the necessary, impossible and contingent attributes of God as well as the Prophets, ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf stated that all of the meanings of such creed were covered by the words '*lā ilaha illā Allāh Muḥammad Rasūl Allāh*'. Based on this, ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf argued that it was very significant to pronounce the phrase "*lā ilaha illā Allāh Muḥammad Rasūl Allāh*".[50]

The above quotations demonstrate how the high value of the words '*lā ilaha illā Allāh*' was highlighted by ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf since they covered Muslim's system of belief, i.e., belief on all attributes of God. This was to encourage Muslims in general and disciples of Sufism in particular, to perform *dhikr* excessively and regularly.

Emphasizing the Observance of the Practicing of *Sharīᶜah*

The main concern of ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf in religious practice was proven by the fact that the discussion on devotional works, remembrance and rites took a large part of his Sufism treatises, i.e., *Tanbīh al-Māshī* and *ᶜUmdah al-Muḥtājīn* in which these two books are regarded as his main works Sufism. In ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf's view, religious practices were closely related to Sufism. Therefore, it is necessary for the disciples to perform worship in order to attain the gnosis of God, thus:[51]

> Engage in worships gathered by truthfulness and sincerity to establish the right of your Lord, so you would be among the gnostic, as the author of *al-Ḥikam* says, "the demand of gnostic is truthfulness in worship and establishing the rights of Divinity." Allah Almighty

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al-Sufi) the Mystical Language of Islam, (Kuala Lumpur: A.S. Noordeen, 1416/1995), 41-42, hereafter cited as Armstrong, *Sufi Terminology*.

[50] In *ᶜUmdat al-Muḥtājīn* for instance, ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf wrote: "This is the reality of your saying that all of the meanings are covered by the words '*lā ilaha illā Allāh Muḥammad Rasūl Allāh*' [as mentioned] previously. Whoever knows the reality of this saying, he should excessively pronounce these words of *tawḥīd* because the Prophet (PBUH) commands us to excessively pronounce it," see ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf, *ᶜUmdat al-Muḥtājīn*, 4. Translation is mine.

[51] ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf, *Tanbīh al-Māshī*, 20.

says: "And they have been commanded no more than this: to worship God, offering him sincere devotion, being true (in faith)"[52] and "and serve thy lord until there come unto thee the hour that is certain".[53]

^cAbd al-Ra'ūf suggested some devotional works and rites that should be performed by disciples since they were ordained by the Prophet (PBUH). Among the devotional works and rites recommended by ^cAbd al-Ra'ūf were:

(i) Voluntary (*sunnah*) prayers:

Among the *sunnah* prayers recommended by ^cAbd al-Ra'ūf were:

a.   Two *raka^cah* after dawn

^cAbd al-Ra'ūf recommended to the disciples to perform two *raka^cah* of voluntary prayer after sunrise. [54] He cites a *ḥadīth* concerning the rites after *al-subḥ* prayer and voluntary prayer after the rise of sun thus:

> Whoever performs *al-subḥ* prayer in congregation then he sits by performing remembrance of God until the time of sun rise, then he performs two *raka^cah* of voluntary prayer, certainly he would be granted reward like the rewards of pilgrimage (*ḥajj*) and ^c*umrah* perfectly.[55]

b.   Voluntary prayer of *tasbīḥ*

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[52] Al-Qur'ān, al-Bayyinah (98): 5. Translated by 'Abdullah Yusuf 'Ali, see 'Abdullah Yusuf 'Ali, *The Holy Qur'an*, 782.

[53] Al-Qur'ān, al-Ḥijr (15): 99. Translated by 'Abdullah Yusuf 'Ali, see 'Abdullah Yusuf 'Ali, *The Holy Qur'an*, 315.

[54] ^cAbd al-Ra'ūf, ^c*Umdat al-Muḥtājīn*, 42. Translation is mine.

[55] Ibid. The true redaction of the *ḥadīth* is "*man ṣallā al-fajr fī jamā^cah, thumma qa^cada yadhkuru Allāh hattā taṭla^c al-shams, thumma ṣallā rak^catayn kānat lahu ka-ajri ḥajjata wa ^cumrah, qāla: qāla rasūl Allāh ṣallā ^calayhi wa sallam: tāmah, tāmmah, tāmmah,*" see al-Baghawī, *Sharaḥ Sunnah li al-Baghawī*, (Beyrut: al-Maktabat al-Islamī, 1403/1983), Vol. III, 221. Translation is mine.

If one had leisure time, ʿAbd al-Ra'ūf suggested to the disciples to perform four *rakaʿah* voluntary prayer of *tasbīḥ*. The benefit of performing such prayer, according to him, was God would forgive all of one's sins.[56]

c. Voluntary prayers after *al-maghrīb* prayer and its voluntary prayers of *baʿdiyyah*

ʿAbd al-Ra'ūf recommended six *rakaʿah* of voluntary prayers after *al-maghrīb* prayer and voluntary prayer of *baʿdiyyah*. ʿAbd al-Ra'ūf quoted some *ḥadīths* on the benefit of these prayers as below:

> Whoever performs six *rakaʿah* voluntary prayers after *al-maghrīb* prayer before any speaking, Allah would forgive his sins for fifty years.[57]

d. Voluntary prayer of *al-tahajjūd*.

ʿAbd al-Ra'ūf suggested to the disciples to perform voluntary prayer of *al-tahajjūd* at least two *rakaʿah*.[58] Concerning the priority of *al-tahajjūd* prayer, ʿAbd al-Ra'ūf quoted a *ḥadīth*:

> Two *rakaʿah* performed by mankind at the end of night is better than the world and its contents, and if it is not burden my community, certainly I will ordain such two *rakaʿah* upon them.[59]

With regard to the large benefit of *al-tahajjūd* prayer, ʿAbd al-Ra'ūf advised his disciples to perform *al-tahajjūd* prayer regularly.[60]

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[56] Ibid., 42-43.

[57] ʿAbd al-Ra'ūf, *Tanbīh al-Māshī*, 23; *Idem*, *ʿUmdah al-Muḥtājīn*, 47. The true redaction of the *ḥadīth* is "*man ṣallā sitta rakaʿāt baʿda al-maghrib qabla an yatakkalam, ghufira lahu dhunuba khamsīna sanah.*" The *ḥadīth* was not found in the venerated books of *ḥadīth*. It is only found in Imām al-Suyūṭī, *Kitāb Jāmiʿ al-Ḥadīth*, vol. II, 21. Translation is mine.

[58] ʿAbd al-Ra'ūf, *Tanbīh al-Māshī*, 25; *Idem*, *ʿUmdat al-Muḥtājīn*, 49.

[59] ʿAbd al-Ra'ūf, *Tanbīh al-Māshī*, Ibid. The *ḥadīth* is not found. Translation is mine.

[60] ʿAbd al-Ra'ūf, *Tanbīh al-Māshī*, Ibid.

e.   Voluntary prayer of *al-ḍuḥā*

ʿAbd Ra'ūf also emphasized on voluntary prayer of *al-ḍuḥā* as he says:

> When it will reach fourth of the day, he perform *al-ḍuḥā* prayer at least two *rakaʿah* and twelve *rakaʿah* in maximum.[61]

(ii)   Congregation prayer

ʿAbd Ra'ūf advised his disciples of Sufism to never ignore the congregation prayer:

> And he should not abandon prayer in congregation at that time at least two persons, i.e., *imām* and *ma'mūm* even though with his wife for the sake of the reward.[62]

(iii)   Voluntary fastings

ʿAbd al-Ra'ūf suggested to the disciples to perform voluntary fasting besides mandatory fasting i.e., three days every month, six days in the month of *Shawāl* and nine days in the beginning of *Dhulḥijjah*.[63] ʿAbd al-Ra'ūf quoted a *ḥadīth* concerning the advantages of this fasting:

> Fasting in the month of patience and three days every month can remove envy from the heart. [It is meant by] the month of patience is [the month of] *Ramaḍān*. [64]

Concerning the significance of the fasting of *Shawāl*, ʿAbd al-Ra'ūf posed a *ḥadīth*:

> Whoever does *Ramaḍān* fasting then he continues with six-day fasting of [month of] *Shawwāl*, his fasting is like

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[61] ʿAbd al-Ra'ūf, *ʿUmdat al-Muḥtājīn*, 43.Translation is mine.

[62] ʿAbd al-Ra'ūf, *ʿUmdat al-Muḥtājīn*, 42. Translation is mine.

[63] ʿAbd al-Ra'ūf, *Tanbīh al-Māshī*, 26; *Idem*, *ʿUmdat al-Muḥtājīn*, 50-51.

[64] ʿAbd al-Ra'ūf, *Tanbīh al-Māshī*, Ibid. Aḥmad bin Ḥanbal, *Musnad al-Imām Aḥmad bin Ḥanbal*, 10 volumes, (Beyrut-Lubnan: ʿAlah al-Kutub, 1419/1998), vol. VII, 650. Translation is mine.

one year fasting.[65]

Regarding the priority of fasting the first nine days of *Dhulḥijjah*, ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf cited a *ḥadīth*:

> There is no day beloved by Allah that one performs worship in the ten days. Fasting in those days is like fasting during one year and standing [performing prayer] every night is like standing in *al-qadr* night.[66]

ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf interpreted that the good deeds performed during that period would multiply in rewards to seven hundred rewards.

(iv) Al-Qur'ān Recitation

ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf suggested to his disciples to recite some *sūrahs* of the Qur'ān, among of them were:

a. Sūrah al-Ikhlāṣ

ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf suggested that his disciples recite Sūrah al-Ikhlāṣ ten times after mandatory prayer[67] based on this *ḥadīth*:

> Whoever recites '*qul huwa allāh aḥad*' after mandatory prayer ten times, indeed he will gain the pleasure and forgiveness from Allah Almighty.[68]

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[65] The redaction of *ḥadīth* in ᶜ*Umdat al-Muḥtājīn* is without "*ka-siyām al-dahr*"**,** see ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf, ᶜ*Umdat al-Muḥtājīn*, 51. The *ḥadīth* was narrated by al-Muslim, see Muslim bin al-Hujāj al-Qushayrī al-Naysābūrī, *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, (Beyrut-Lubnan: Dār al-Kutub al-ᶜIlmiyyah, 1429/2008), vol. IV, 124, hereafter cited as Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*. Translation is mine.

[66] ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf, *Tanbīh al-Māshī*, 26; *Idem*, ᶜ*Umdat al-Muḥtājīn*, 51. The true redaction of the *ḥadīth* is "*mā min ayyām al-dunyā ayyām aḥabbu ilā allāh subḥānahu an yutaᶜabbada fīhā min ayyām al-ᶜashr, wa inna ṣiyām yawm fīhā li-yaᶜdala ṣiyām sanah wa laylatun fīhā bi-laylat al-qadr,*" see Abī Abd Allāh Muḥammad bin Yazīd al-Qusrawaynī, *Sunan Ibn Mājah*, 5 volumes, (Beyrūt-Lubnān, Dār al-Kutub al-Ilmiyyah, 1419/1998), vol. II, 354, hereafter cited as Ibn Mājah, *Sunan Ibn Mājah*. Translation is mine.

[67] ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf, *Tanbīh al-Māshī*, 21; *Idem*, ᶜ*Umdat al-Muḥtājīn*, 46.

[68] ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf, *Tanbīh al-Māshī*, Ibid; *Idem*, ᶜ*Umdat al-Muḥtājīn*, Ibid. The *ḥadīth* is not found in the venerated books of *ḥadīth*. It is only found in Imam al-Suyūṭī, *Kitāb Jāmiᶜ al-Ḥadīth*, Qism al-Aqwāl, Ḥarf al-Mīm, No. 23471. Translation is

b.   Sūrahs Yā Sīn, al-Mulk, al-Sajdah dan al-Wāqiᶜah.

ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf advised his disciples to recite Sūrahs Yāsīn and
al-Mulk every morning and afternoon and Sūrahs al-Sajdah and
al-Wāqiᶜah after *al-maghrib* prayer.[69] He said, if the time was short
to recite Yāsīn and al-Wāqiᶜah, it was enough to recite al-Sajdah and
al-Mulk.

ᶜAbd Ra'ūf propounded some *ḥadīths* concerning the priority
and benefits of reciting these Sūrahs, among them were:
A *ḥadīth* narrated by Jābir (God bless him):

> The Prophet (PBUH) did not go to sleep before reciting
> '*alif lām mīm al-sajdah*' and '*tabāraka al-ladhī
> bi-yadihi al-mulk*'.[70]

Regarding the priority of Sūrah Yāsīn, it is mentioned in
ḥadīth marfuᶜ from Anas and narrated by Tirmidhī and others that the
Prophet (PBUH) said:

> Whoever recites Sūrah Yāsīn, Allah Almighty would
> record for him ten times of reciting the Qur'ān.[71]

Concerning sūrah al-Wāqiᶜah, Ibn ᶜAbbās (God bless them),
the Prophet (PBUH) said:

> Whoever recites '*idhā waqaᶜati al-wāqiᶜah*' every night,
> he would not be stricken by poverty entirely.[72]

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mine.

[69] ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf, *Tanbīh al-Māshī*, 21; *Idem*, *ᶜUmdat al-Muḥtājīn*, 50. In *ᶜUmdat
al-Muḥtājīn*, Sūrah Yāsīn and al-Mulk after *al-ṣubḥ* prayer, whereas after *al-maghrib*
prayer: Sūrah Yā Sīn, al-Mulk, al-Sajdah and al-Wāqiᶜah, see ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf, *ᶜUmdat
al-Muḥtājīn*, 50.

[70] ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf, *Tanbīh al-Māshī*, 21; *Idem*, *ᶜUmdat al-Muḥtājīn*, 44. The *ḥadīth*
was narrated by Aḥmad bin Ḥanbal, see Aḥmad bin Ḥanbal, *Musnad al-Imām
Aḥmad bin Ḥanbal*, vol. V, 129, Translation is mine.

[71] ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf, *Tanbīh al-Māshī*, 21. The *ḥadīth* was narrated by al-Tirmidhī, see
Abī ᶜIsa Muḥammad bin ᶜIsa bin Sūrah, *Sunan al-Tirmidhī*, 6 volumes, (al-Qāhirah:
Dār al-Ḥadīth, 1426/2005), vol. V, 11-12, hereafter cited as al-Tirmidhī, *Sunan
al-Tirmidhī*. Translation is mine.

[72] ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf, *Tanbīh al-Māshī*, 21; *Idem*, *ᶜUmdat al-Muḥtājīn*, 46. The *ḥadīth*
was narrated by Aḥmad bin Ḥanbal, see Aḥmad bin Muḥammad bin Ḥanbal, *Fadā'il*

c. Sūrah al-Fātiḥah

ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf propounded some *ḥadīths* concerning the priority of Sūrah al-Fātiḥah, among them is:

> The greatest chapter in the Qur'ān is 'al-ḥamd li-Allāh rabb al-ᶜālamīn'.[73]

Concerning the way of reciting al-Fātiḥah, ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf cited some scholars suggest 18 times after *al-ᶜishā'*, *al-ṣubḥ*, *al-ẓuhr* and *al-ᶜaṣr*, whereas after *al-maghrib* 28 times. Therefore, the total was 100.[74]

(v) Rites:

a. Salutation (*Ṣalawāt*) upon the Prophet (PBUH)

In *Tanbīh al-Māshī*, ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf stated that among the commands of the Prophet (PBUH) was giving *ṣalawāt* to him. ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf cites Qur'anic verse and some *ḥadīths* indicating the significance of *ṣalawāt*, as follow:

> God and his angels send blessing on the Prophet: O ye that believe! Send ye blessing on him and salute him with all respect.[75]

Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) also said:

> Indeed the priority of mankind beside me on the judgment day is those who recited the most *ṣalawāt*

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al-Ṣaḥābah, 2 volomes, (Beyrūt: Muassasah al-Risālah, 1st printed, 1403/1983), No. 1247, vol. II, 726.Translation is mine.

[73] ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf, *Tanbīh al-Māshī*, 21.The true and complete redaction of the *ḥadīth* is "*alā uᶜallimuka sūratun aᶜẓam sūratin min al-qur'ān qabla an akhruju min al-masjid? fa lammā arāda an yakhruja, qāla: al-ḥamdu li-llahi rabbi al-ᶜalamīn, wa hiya al-sabᶜu al-mathānī, wa al-qur'ān al-ᶜaẓīm al-ladhī ūtītum.*" The *ḥadīth* was narrated by al-Dārimi, see Abū Muḥammad ᶜAbd Allāh bin ᶜAbd al-Raḥman al-Dārimī, *Sunan al-Dārimī*, 4 volumes, (Dār al-Mughnī, 1st printed, 1412/2000), No. 1533, vol. II, 935. Translation is mine.

[74] ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf, *Tanbīh al-Māshī*, 22.

[75]Al-Qur'ān, al-Aḥzāb (33): 56. Translated by 'Abdullah Yusuf 'Ali, see 'Abdullah Yusuf 'Ali, *The Holy Qur'an*, 517.

upon me.[76]

Regarding the volume of pronouncing *ṣalawāt*, ^cAbd al-Ra'ūf cites Abū Ḥasan al-Bakrī who stated that, ^cAlī bin Abī Ṭālib (God bless him) said, "The least volume of reciting of *ṣalawāt* is three hundred times".[77]

b. *Al-Istighfār*

^cAbd al-Ra'ūf advised his disciples to excessively pronounce *al-istighfār* and *al-ṣalawāt* upon the Prophet (PBUH). He quoted a *ḥadīth* concerning the benefits of *al-istighfār*:

> Whoever pronounces *al-istighfār* excessively certainly
> Allah relieves him from every trouble, gives solution
> from every narrowness and give him sustenance in
> unexpectedly ways.[78]

^cAbd al-Ra'ūf recommended his disciples to recite *al-istighfār* after *al-ṣubḥ*, *al-^cishā'* and *al-tahajjūd* prayer, each for 100 times.[79]

c. Reciting *subḥāna Allāh wa al-ḥamd li-Allāh wa lā ilaha illā
    Allāh wa Allāh al-akbar wa lā ḥawla wa-lā quwwata illā bi-Allāh
    al-^calī al-^caẓīm ^cadada khalq Allāh bi-dawām Allāh* 10 times.

^cAbd al-Ra'ūf suggested that his disciples perform this rite after *al-ḍuḥā* prayer.[80] He cited a *ḥadīth* concerning the priority of this rite thus:

> It is narrated from Abū Hurayrah (God bless him) that
> the Messenger of God (PBUH) met him while he was

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[76] ^cAbd al-Ra'ūf, *Tanbīh al-Māshī*, 8. See Abū Bakr bin Abī Shaybah, Abd Allāh bin Muḥammad bin Ibrāhīm bin Uthmān bin Khawāsatī al-Abasī, *Musnad ibn Abī Shaybah*, 2 volumes, (al-Riyāḍ: Dār al-Watn, 1st printed, 1997), No. 306, vol. I, 207. Translation is mine.

[77] ^cAbd al-Ra'ūf, *Tanbīh al-Māshī*, 9.

[78] ^cAbd al-Ra'ūf, *Tanbīh al-Māshī*, 20. See Abū Abd Allāh Muḥammad bin Naṣr bin al-Ḥujāj al-Marwazī, *Mukhtasar*, (Fisal Abad, Pakistan: Ḥadīth Academy, 1st printed, 1408/1988), 98. Translation is mine.

[79] ^cAbd al-Ra'ūf, *Tanbīh al-Māshī*, 20.

[80] ^cAbd al-Ra'ūf, *Tanbīh al-Māshī*, 21. Translation is mine.

planting a plant, then the Prophet asked him, "What was you plant?" Abū Hurayrah answered "a plant". The Prophet said "Would you like if I inform you about a plant that is better than this plant, i.e., *subḥāna Allāh wa al-ḥamd li-Allāh wa lā ilaha illā Allāh wa Allāh al-akbar*. Through this one saying, it means you have planted a plant in paradise.[81]

d.   Remembrance of God (*dhikr*).

Another tradition (*sunnah*) of the Prophet (PBUH) that was recommended by ʿAbd al-Ra'ūf was to recite *dhikr*[82] regularly and excessively.[83] Among the rites and devotional works, it seems, *dhikr* has become the main concern of ʿAbd al-Ra'ūf as Johns pointed out, it was the favourite theme of ʿAbd al-Ra'ūf.[84]

In the perspective of Sufism, according to ʿAbd al-Ra'ūf, *dhikr* was the shortest and easiest way to attain gnosis of Allah Almighty (*maʿrifat Allāh*) as well as the best thing inside Him.[85] Regarding the phrase employed on *dhikr*, according to ʿAbd al-Ra'ūf, '*lā ilaha illā Allāh*' was the best, as the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) stated:

> The best prayer is prayer on *ʿArafah* day, whereas the best *dhikr* which is I and my predecessors among the Prophets say, is '*lā ilaha illā Allāh waḥdah lā shārika lah*'.[86]

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[81][81] ʿAbd al-Ra'ūf, *Tanbīh al-Māshī*, 21. The *ḥadīth* was narrated by Ibn Mājah, see Ibn Mājah, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad bin Yazīd al-Quzwayn, *Sunan Ibn Mājah*, 2 volumes, (Cairo: Dār Iḥyā' Kutub ʿArabiyyah, nd), No. 3807, vol. II, 1251. Translation is mine.

[82] ʿAbd al-Ra'ūf defines *dhikr* as *al-takhalluṣu min al-ghaflat wa al-nisyān bi-dawāmi ḥuḍūri al-qulūb maʿa al-Ḥaqq* (releasing from ignoring and forgetting by constantly presenting of the heart with the Truth Most Exalted), see ʿAbd al-Ra'ūf, *ʿUmdat al-Muḥtājīn*, 17.

[83] ʿAbd al-Ra'ūf, *Tanbīh al-Māshī*, 9.

[84] Johns. "Daḳā'iq al-Ḥurūf', 55.

[85] ʿAbd al-Ra'ūf, *Tanbīh al-Māshī*, 9.

[86] ʿAbd al-Ra'ūf, *Tanbīh al-Māshī* 9; *ʿUmdat al-Muḥtājīn*, 6. See Ismāʿīl bin Jaʿfar bin Abī Kathīr al-Anṣārī, *Ḥadīth ʿAli bin Jaʿfar al-Saʿdī ʿan ismāʿīl bin Jaʿfar al-Madānī*, (al-Riyāḍ: Maktabah al-Rushd, 1418/1998), No. 369, 429. Translation is

^cAbd al-Ra'ūf suggested that the disciples of Ṣūfīsm to recite
'*lā ilaha illā Allāh*' one thousand times after praying of *al-ṣubḥ*,
al-^cishā' and *al-tahajjūd*, as Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī advised to his
companions.

e.   Rites before going to sleep

^cAbd al-Ra'ūf advised his disciples to recite al-Qur'ān before going
to sleep that was intended to protect him, his property, the beloved
men, family or others either those who live in his homeland or those
traveling. ^cAbd al-Ra'ūf recommended 33 the Qur'anic verses that
consisted of:[87] (i) Four verses the beginning of Sūrah al-Baqarah; (ii)
The verses of Kursī; (iii) Two verses after the verses of Kursī; (iv)
Three last verses of Sūrah al-Baqarah; (v) Three verses of
Sūrah al-A^crāf; (vi) Two last verses of chapter Banī Isrāīl (vii) Ten
verses among Sūrah Ṣaffāt; (viii) Two verses among the verses of
al-Raḥmān, i.e., *yā ma^cshar al-jinn wa al-ins in istaṭa^ctum* until *fa-lā
tantaṣirān*; (ix) Four end verses of chapter al-Ḥashr, i.e., *law anzalnā
hadhā al-qur'ān ^calā jabal* until its end and two verses starting from
qul ūḥiya ilayya, i.e., *wa annahu ta^cālā had (jaddu) rabbinā* until
shaṭaṭā.

All these verses, according ^cAbd al-Ra'ūf, were called *ayāt
al-kursī* [or *ayāt al-ḥirs* i.e., the verses of guarding). This rite,
according to ^cAbd al-Ra'ūf was based on a *ḥadīth* thus:

> Whoever recites in the night thirty three verses, he
> would be safe from the disturbance of wild animal, thief;
> and he would live healthy as well as safeguarding his
> property and family until the morning.[88]

It is clear that ^cAbd al-Ra'ūf had emphasized the practice of
sharī^cah in his mystical teaching by recommending various
devotional works, remembrance and rites to the disciples of Sufism.

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mine.
[87] ^cAbd al-Ra'ūf, *^cUmdat al-Muḥtājīn*, 67-68.
[88] ^cAbd al-Ra'ūf, *^cUmdat al-Muḥtājīn*, 68. The narrator of the *ḥadīth* is not found.
Translation is mine.

Integrating Good Conduct (*al-Akhlāq*) to Sufism

Hereby we examined the concerns of ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf about moral behaviour among mankind which is known as good conduct. In his main works of Ṣūfīsm, *Tanbīh al-Māshī*, for instance, ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf obviously suggested that disciples of Sufism imitate Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) in order to attain the perfection.[89] Among the matters that should be imitated from the Prophet was his good conduct among mankind.

Prophet Muhammad (PBUH), according to ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf had succeeded to give good examples of morality such as to love among mankind either kids or adults as he said:

Allah will not love those who do not love others.[90]

And again:

A Muslim is a brother to other Muslim; it is not allowed to persecute and ignore him. Whoever helps the need of his brother, necessarily Allah will help him, whoever relieves the difficulty of a Muslim, necessarily Allah will relieve his difficulties on judgment day; and whoever covers [the disgrace] of a Muslim, necessarily Allah will cover [his disgrace] on judgment day.[91]

ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf also advised his disciples to avoid cursing (*al-ghībah*), making condemnation or judging other Muslims as *fāsiq* or infidel as he highlighted:

Keep your tongue from cursing (*ghibah*) and from accusation of infidel (*kufr*) of others, because there is a big sin in both beside your Lord Almighty; never condemn your Muslim brother, because it will plunge

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[89] ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf, *Tanbīh al-Māshī*, 19-20.

[90] ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf, *Tanbīh al-Māshī*, 20. The *ḥadīth* was narrated by al-Bukhārī, see al- Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ al- Bukhārī*, 9 volumes, (Dār Ṭūq al-Najāh, 1st printed, 1422 A.H.), No. 7376, vol III, 367-68, hereafter cited as al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*. Translation is mine.

[91] ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf, *Tanbīh al-Māshī*, 20. The *ḥadīth* was narrated by al-Bukhārī, see al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, No.2442, vol. 3, 128. Translation is mine.

you to join those who sin in the hereafter life…[92]

ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf argued by some *ḥadīths*, among of them was:

One does not accuse another to do *fāsiq* or be an infidel except such accusation returns to him, if the other is not proven as what is accused.[93]

The concern of ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf for good conduct is also proven by the fact that, in ᶜ*Umdat al-Muḥtājīn*, he devoted one section on discussing moral behaviour within which ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf listed several good conducts and propounded some *ḥadīths*[94] concerning the behaviour of believers. He obviously stated that all of them should be practised by those who embarked on the Ṣūfī path. It was, ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf asserted, to ensure disciples would be ascribed to the people of God (*ahl Allāh*). In this respect, ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf propounded some *ḥadīths* concerning the behaviour of the believer which he cited from the work entitled *Kifāyah al-Ḥasn*. Among of the *ḥadīths* were:[95]

The believer is one who is trusted by people; and Muslim is one that frees people from [the evil of] his tongue and hand; and mover is one who moves from the evil; demi one who my soul on his hand [God], a servant will not enter the paradise that his neighbor from his torment.[96]

And again,

The believer is mirror to [another] believer; the believer is brother to [another] believer. However he meets him,

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[92] ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf, *Tanbīh al-Māshī*,19. Translation is mine.

[93] ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf, *Tanbīh al-Māshī*, 19. The *ḥadīth* was narrated by al-Bukhārī, see al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, No. 6045, vol. VIII, 15. Translation is mine.

[94] In this case ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf poses 25 *ḥadīths*, see ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf, ᶜ*Umdat al-Muḥtajīn*, 63-67.

[95] Ibid., 63.

[96] The *ḥadīth* was narrated by Aḥmad bin Ḥanbal, see Aḥmad bin Ḥanbal, *Musnad al-Imām Aḥmad bin Ḥanbal*, edited by Muḥammad abd al-Qādir ᶜAṭā, 11 volumes, (Beyrut: Dār al-Kutub al-ᶜIlmiyyah, 1ˢᵗ edition, 2008), vol. V, 432. Translation is mine.

he will suffice and help him. In his absence, he will keep his [reputation].[97]

ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf also cites Ibn ᶜArabī in his book entitled, *al-Amr al-Muḥkam al-Marbū* concerning which good conducts should be performed by disciples of Sufism, among of them were:[98]

(i)   Loving Muslims but being firm to non-Muslims;
(ii)   Constantly in self-exercise (*al-riyāḍah*), i.e., purifying himself from evil behaviour and performing good behaviour;
(iii)   Constantly repenting to Allah Almighty and saying *istighfār*;
(iv)   Avoiding all prohibited and dubious things and the desire of lust;
(v)   Constantly self-examining (*muḥāsabah*), i.e., to examine all of self-movements and things that come to mind (*al-khātir*);
(vi)   Constantly considering all good deeds while performing them;
(vii)   Constantly being in strive (*mujāhadah*) to overcome his lust;
(viii) Releasing two situations from his heart and helping his brother/sister with his own property;
(ix)   Constantly upholding to Allah Almighty on all of his affairs and being satisfied with what Allah has done for him as well as to have patience on all pains and to obey what He has ordained;
(x)   Withdrawing from his place and escaping from society.

It is clear how ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf viewed the significance of good conduct in Sufism. It is also proven that ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf had set forth good couduct as an integral part in his mystical teachings.

Interpreting Ṣūfī Metaphysical Doctrine (*Waḥdat al-Wujūd*)

The most significant approach employed by ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf to reconcile Sufism with *sharīᶜah* is by clarifying and revealing the orthodox interpretation of the Ṣūfī metaphysic doctrine, i.e., *waḥdat*

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[97] The true redaction of the *ḥadīth* is "*al-mu'min mir'at al-mu'min, wa al-mu'min akhū al-mu'min yakfī ᶜalayhi ḍīᶜatuhu wa-yaḥūṭuhu min warā'ih.*" The *ḥadīth* was narrated by Abū Dāwud, see Abū Dāwud, *Kitāb Sunan Abū Dawūd*, No. 4918, vol. II, 971-72. Translation is mine.

[98] ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf lists 35 good couuducts should be performed by disciples of Sufism, see ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf, *ᶜUmdat al-Muḥtājīn*, 58-63.

al-wujūd. *Waḥdat al-wujūd* is a doctrine which states that, in the respect of fundamental reality (*haqīqah*), there is only one existence (*wujūd*) i.e., the existence of God. The existence of creatures (*makhlūq*) is covered by the existence of the Creator (*Khāliq*). The doctrine was ascribed to a Ṣūfī-philosopher of Spain of the 11th and 12th centuries, named Muḥy al-Dīn Ibn ^cArabī (1165-1240 C.E.).[99] According to Ibn ^cArabī, there was no difference whatsoever between the two. If one found the distinction, it was because he viewed them from different senses or reasons which had limited ability to reach the Reality.[100]

The great condemnation of *waḥdat al-wujūd* was because, in the view of its opponents, the doctrine was regarded as identifying the world and that of God as similar to "pantheism" or "monism" in the Western mysticism.[101] Hence, it was considered to go against Islamic principles, i.e., the concept of *tawḥīd*. Thus, it is regarded by orthodox scholars as the worst kind of heresy.

In the context of the Malay world, the disputation on the understanding of *waḥdat al-wujūd* had led to tension between al-Rānīrī and Ḥamzah/Shams al-Dīn's adherents during the reign of

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[99] Even though *wahdat al-wujūd* mostly ascribed to Ibn ^cArabī, but according to William Chittick, essentially this teaching has been developed in the history of Sufism long time before Ibn ^cArabī. In line to Chittick, Ibrāhīm Bashūnī states that, as far as idea is concerned, *waḥdat al-wujūd* had contained in the thought of Abū Yazīd and al-Hallāj. But, in the systematic and complete form, it is founded firstly in the Islamic world in the writing of Ibn ^cArabī, see William C. Chittick, "Ebno'l-'Arabi's Doctrine of the Oneness of Being", *Sufi*, issue 4, Winter 1989-90:6-14 as cited by Abdul Hadi W.M., Tasawuf yang Tertindas: Kajian Hermeneutik terhadap Karya-karya Hamzah Fansuri, (Jakarta: Paramadina, 1st printed, 2001), 160, hereafter cited as Hadi, *Tasawuf yang Tertindas*, 160; Ibrāhīm Bashūnī, 115, as cited by A. Rivai Siregar, *Tasawuf dari Sufisme Klasik ke neo-Sufisme*, (Jakarta: PT Raja Grafindo Persada, 1st edition, 2th printed, 2000), 45.

[100] Al-Taftāzānī, *Madkhal* 247; HAMKA, *Tasauf*, 140.

[101] An outstanding scholar who productively wrote concerning Ibn ^cArabī either in Arabic or English, namely A. E. Afifi, for instance, is found to employed "*waḥdat al-wujūd*" in Arabic and "pantheism" in English on elucidating the same doctrine, i.e., *waḥdat al-wujūd*, see Zakaria Stapa & Mohamed Asin Dollah (ed.), *Islam Akidah dan Kerohanian*, (Bangi: Penerbit Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, 2001), 117, hereafter cited as Stapa, *Islam Akidah*.

Sulṭān Iskandar Thānī (r. 1637-1641 C.E.). But, it is interesting to remark that al-Rānīrī did not reject *waḥdat al-wujūd* as a Ṣūfī doctrine, but rather the misunderstanding and misconception of this doctrine. That was why al-Rānīrī distinguished the adherents of *waḥdat al-wujūd* into the true *wujūdiyyah* (*muwaḥḥid*) and the heretical *wujūdiyyah* (*mulḥīd*).[102] Al-Rānīrī categorized Ḥamzah and Shams al-Dīn and their adherents to the latter who became the target of his attack. Al-Rānīrī accused Ḥamzah and Shams al-Dīn of mistaking the understanding of *waḥdat al-wujūd* as implying the identification of the world and that of God which was called pantheism in Western mysticism.[103]

The discussion of ʿAbd al-Ra'ūf on *waḥdat al-wujūd* was visible in his works, especially *Tanbīh al-Māshī*. In the work, ʿAbd al-Ra'ūf's elucidation of *waḥdat al-wujūd* can be seen while he dealt with the issue of ontology, i.e., the ontological status of the world as well as its ontology relationship to God. Concerning the ontological status of the world, ʿAbd al-Ra'ūf held the belief of theologians who distinguished the being into the necessary being (*wājib al-wujūd*) and possible being (*mumkin al-wujūd*). The necessary being was the being of God, whereas possible being was the being of the world as ʿAbd al-Ra'ūf stated, "The reality of the world is existence that is bound up by the nature of possibility (*sifat al-mumkināt*). That is why it is called as something other than God." [104] Regarding the ontological relationship between the world and God, ʿAbd al-Ra'ūf employed the allegory of shadow as he said below:

> If it is linked to God, the world is like shadow. It is not other reality beside the known realities of God in the eternal (*al-azal*) times, and then acquired its existence.

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[102] Al-Rānīrī, "Ḥujjat al-Ṣiddīq li-Dafʿ Ahl Zindīq", in Syed Muhammad Naquib al-Attas, *A Commentary on the Hujjat al-Ṣiddīq of Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī*, (Kuala Lumpur: Ministry of Culture Malaysia, 1986), 61, hereafter cited as al-attas, *Commentary*.

[103] Al-Rānīrī, "Ḥujjat al-Ṣiddīq li-Dafʿ Ahl Zindīq", 9-10, in al-Attas, *Commentary*; *Idem*, *Rānīrī and the Wujūdiyyah of 17ᵗʰ Century Acheh*, (Kuala Lumpur: Malaysian Branch Royal Asiatic society, 1966), 35-36, hereafter cited as *Rānīrī and the Wujūdiyyah*; Al-Rānīrī, *Tibyān fī-Maʿrifah al-Adyān*, 99-100, as cited by al-Attas, *Rānīrī and the Wujūdiyyah*, 25. The quotation was translated by al-Attas.

[104] ʿAbd al-Ra'ūf, *Tanbīh al-Māshī*, 1.

Therefore, according to this view, mankind is His shadow, or shadow to His shadow.[105]

ᶜAbd al-Rauf quoted Ibn ᶜArabī who said:

In the respect of fundamental reality, our archetypes are shadow of God Almighty, no other.[106]

ᶜAbd al-Rauf also quoted ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān bin Aḥmad al-Jāmī, thus:

…such potentiality covers the outward archetypes (*al-aᶜyān al-khārijiyyah*) and the permanent archetypes (*al-aᶜyān al-thābitah*). This is because our *al-aᶜyān thābitah* is shadow of the essence (*dhāt*) of God that mixed with His action and our *al-aᶜyān khārijiyyah* is shadow to the *al-aᶜyān thābitah*, therefore shadow of the shadow is shadow through mediator.[107]

ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf asserted that the shadow had no existence other than the existence of its owner. Hence, the existence of the shadow depended on the existence of the owner. Due to the existence of shadow is determined by another, hence, the other was the true reality, i.e., God. Thus, in reality, there is one existence, i.e., the existence of God.[108] ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf states that this was meant by the term *waḥdat al-wujūd*.[109] Through this belief, ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf said, we would know that the world belongs (*milk*) to Allah Almighty, and through His existence, the world came to exist. ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf cited a Prophet's tradition:

Our existence is merely causes by Him, and belonged to Him.[110]

Although ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf accepted the doctrine of *waḥdat*

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[105] Ibid., 1-2. Translation is mine.

[106] Ibid., 2. Translation is mine.

[107] Ibid. Translation is mine.

[108] Ibid.

[109] Ibid., 3.

[110] ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf, *Tanbīh al-Māshī*, 2. The narrator of the *ḥadīth* is not to be found. Translation is mine.

al-wujūd, nevertheless he rejected the identification of the world and God. He stated that, the world was not truly the essence (*dhāt*) of God Almighty. In order to maintain his standpoint, ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf propounded some arguments. Among the Qur'ānic verses quoted by ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf:[111]

> … The Creator of all things …[112]

According to ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf, if it was assumed that the world was the essence of Allah, it was impossible for the Creator to create His own-essence.

Having argued with the help of several Qur'ānic verses, ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf strengthened his argument by the fact that God had ordained mankind to perform *sharīᶜah* obligations. Through logic approach, he argued, if the world [in which mankind was part of the world] was truly the essence of God, certainly He would not burden mankind with religious obligations such as prayer, fasting and so on, since they were the Essence of God.[113]

ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf did not refute any claim stating the absolute unity between everything and of God, but it merely occurred in the eternal (*al-azal*) times since at that time there was no existence except God's existence as he explained:

> If you found someone who says that the world and everything is the essence of Truth Most Exalted, know that it is not true except with regard of the eternal (*al-azal*). One can say everything is the essence based on God's being, not based on its fundamental reality (*ḥaqīqah*). Because, in the *al-azal* time, there is no existence except God's existence; and the possible things (the world) has nothing except the possibility of being.[114]

However, we may not say, ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf argued, everything

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[111] ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf, *Tanbīh al-Māshī*, 2.

[112] Al-Qur'ān, al-Anᶜām (6): 102. Translated by 'Abdullah Yusuf 'Ali, see 'Abdullah Yusuf 'Ali, *The Holy Qur'an*, 171.

[113] ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf, *Tanbīh al-Māshī*, 2.

[114] Ibid., 3-4.

was God except "in Him", i.e., in *aḥadiyyah* in the respect of smelting (encompassing) and no distinction in it to other than God. So never say, "Everything in the beginning is the essence of God Most Exalted, then it changes becoming other possible thing. It is a kind of erroneous understanding."[115]

In °Abd al-Ra'ūf's view, the absolute union between the world and that of God (*al-°ainiyyah*) was not true except before its appearance in the external world, i.e., the *al-azal* times. This is because everything is within the knowledge of God as primordial potentialities that are so called *al-a°yān al-thābitah*. Such potentialities are general and universal in which every kind of creature is united in its generality like human beings are united in their kind of humanity. Based on this, Shāh Walī Allāh al-Dihlawī, for instance, called *al-a°yān al-thābitah* as universal self (*al-nafs al-kullī*).[116] However, in the stage of *al-a°yān al-thābitah* everything had not been created yet, but still was the object of God's knowledge which remained in His knowledge. Nevertheless, in the view of °Abd al-Ra'ūf, after the creation of everything which was indicated by their appearance to the external world, the union between God and that of everything was not valid since the external world as well as the internal world had their law. °Abd al-Ra'ūf advised his disciples to understand this matter well, because making an error in this issue, °Abd al-Ra'ūf said, would be very dangerous. Those who err in this matter would become unguided and led to unguided.[117]

Although °Abd al-Ra'ūf did not reject the cosmological concept of Ibn °Arabī in which the world was manifestation (*majlā*) to the names and attributes of God, he maintained that the world and God were not identical. In this term, °Abd al-Ra'ūf employed the analogy of the mirror thus:

> The Truth Most Exalted was the mirror to the gnostic, so
> he saw within it all of the particular things of himself;

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[115] Ibid.

[116] Wan Mohd Azam bin Mohd Amin, "Tasawuf Falsafi (Philosophical Sufism) Shāh Walī Allāh al-Dihlawī," in Abdul Salam Muhammad Shukri (ed.), *Dimensi Pemikiran Shāh Walī Allāh al-Dihlawī dan Pengaruhnya di Malaysia*, (Gombak: Research Centre International Islamic University Malaysia, 1st edition, 2007), 50.

[117] °Abd al-Ra'ūf, *Tanbīh al-Māshī*, 7.

and he was also the mirror to his Lord, so the Lord saw within it Himself gathering His names and attributes in accordance to his acceptance, not in accordance to his Lord because there is limitation to God in respect of His essence. That is why the manifestations of God change within it by the change of its acceptance and all of its states like the change the image in the mirror, because it changes the acceptance of the mirror.[118]

ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf stated that the different state of the image in the mirror was due to the different state of the mirror. Sometimes, the image was small because the mirror was small; it is long because the length of the mirror; it moved because the mirror moved; it was inverted when the mirror was being in the top or buttom sides; sometimes the right side of an image was opposite the right side of one who faced to the mirror when the mirror was multiplied, and sometimes the right side of the one opposite to the right side of the image, while the mirror was in front of him.   All of such states, ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf explained, referred to the image that was seen in the mirror, never was it the self of one who faced the mirror and also it was other than him because he remained as he was, not changed; what merely changed was his appearance in the mirror because of the change in the mirror's acceptance. This is, ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf said, the analogy of the non-identical (*tiada tashbih*) to the manifestations (*al-tajaliyyāt*) of God the Most High to his servants. It was diverged because of the divergence of His servants in their states.[119] Thus, it could be understood that, in ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf's view, God differed with His manifestations (creatures). On the viewpoint of essence, ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf asserted, the existence was one, i.e., the essence of God, meanwhile in respect of God's manifestation, the existence was many, i.e., God and the world as His manifestations.

The above elucidation demonstrates how ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf masterly understood the nature of *waḥdat al-wujūd* as taught by Ibn ᶜArabī, i.e., the reality of God differs from His manifestations.[120]

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[118] ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf, "Daqā'iq al-Ḥurūf", 139. Translation is mine.

[119] Ibid.

[120] Stapa, *Islam Akidah*, 125; Seyyed Hossein Nasr, *Three Muslim Sages*, (Pakistan: Suhail Academy Lahore, 1988), 106-07.

ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf asserting on the non-identical between the world and
that of God or the transcendence of God upon His creatures also can
be seen in his following statement:

> Understand this affirmation, and never mix something,
> because to mix matters is among the attitude of those
> who do not know Allah Almighty. Say and believe that
> the servant remains a servant despite he goes ascending,
> and God remains God although He descends. The
> ultimate reality would not change, i.e., the reality of a
> servant would not become the reality of God and
> contrary, despite in eternal times.[121]

From the discussion of this section, it can be pointed out that,
even though ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf accepted and maintained the doctrine of
waḥdat al-wujūd, he rejected the misunderstanding or misconception
on this teaching i.e., the identification of the world and that of God.
As we have seen that since the beginning of his discussion on
ontology, although ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf affirmed that creatures were the
manifestations (shadow) of God, he maintained the transcendence of
Allah upon its creatures. ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf's rejection of the
identification of the world and God showed his endeavor to dispel the
misconception and misunderstanding on *waḥdat al-wujūd* which is
against orthodoxy. The orthodox interpretation of ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf on
waḥdat al-wujūd evidenced his strong commitment to reconcile
Sufism and Islamic orthodoxy.

It can be concluded that, ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf had attempted to
reconcile Sufism and Islamic orthodoxy by giving an appropriate
interpretation with orthodoxy. According to him, it was the true
nature of *waḥdat al-wujūd*. As has been seen above, his exposition
was very clear and it is interesting to note that his elucidation was
constantly supported by Qur'ānic verses and Prophetic tradition
(*ḥadīth*).

Criticizing the Extreme Approach in Islamic Creed

Among the important approaches of ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf to reconcile

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[121] ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf, *Tanbīh al-Māshī*, 4.

Sufism and *sharīʿah* related to *wujūdiyyah* disputation in Acheh was criticizing the extreme approach in Islamic creed, i.e., passing infidels (*takfīr*) judgement on Muslims.

The above fact shows that the extreme approach in Islamic creed can sometimes have worse impact on Muslims like persecution and execution as experienced by the above figures/group. In the context of contemporary time, the extreme approach in Islamic belief, sometimes, leads to terrorism which is classified as religious radicalism. Hence, it is necessary to prevent extremism in Islamic creed to establish peace and harmony in society.

Related to this, it is the significant to understand ʿAbd al-Raʾūf's effort through his thoughts to prevent this extremity in Islam. Many scholars view that ʿAbd al-Raʾūf was a moderate scholar who disliked extremity. Daudi, for instance, points out that in contrast to al-Rānīrī, ʿAbd al-Raʾūf was a very tolerant figure when facing various schools of thought even if such a school held a contradictory view. It is evidenced by the fact that nothing had been found in ʿAbd al-Raʾūf's works that attacked or condemned those who differed from his thought.[122] The tolerance of ʿAbd al-Raʾūf, according to Daudi, is also indicated by his very soft attitude toward the sect of *wujūdiyyah* (the adherents of Ḥamzah and Sham al-Dīn) in which ʿAbd al-Raʾūf was very cautious to judge them as infidels, even if their understanding was against ʿAbd al-Raʾūf's belief.[123] The criticisms of ʿAbd al-Raʾūf on radical approach was indicated by his saying thus:

> Avoid your tongue from curse (*ghibah*) and from accusation of infidel (*kufr*) to others, because there is big sin in both beside your Lord Almighty; never condemn your Muslim brother, because it will plunge you to join those who sin in hereafter life, but do not praise them often, because it will plunge you to join people who wrath by God or people who cut the neck of their brothers.[124]

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[122] Daudi, *Allah dan Manusia*, 3.
[123] Ibid., 45.
[124] ʿAbd al-Raʾūf, *Tanbīh al-Māshī*, 19.

The above statement of ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf seemed to be a general advice, nevertheless, with regard to previous Islamic intellectual discourse of Acheh, Daudi for instance, is inclined to assume that this saying indicated the objection of ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf to the extremism approach taken by al-Rānīrī which judged Ḥamzah and Shams al-Dīn as well as their adherents as blashphemous, heretic, and infidels.[125]

Daudi's assumption is affirmed by Fathurahman as to him, such a thesis is supported by the fact that, besides in *Tanbīh al-Māshī*, it is also to be found of ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf's statement in other works. This is, at least, indicates the very concerns ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf had of the issue. In *Daqā'iq al-Ḥurūf*, for instance, ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf said:

> … We should not judge him as infidel, since it is very dangerous. This is because, if he was an unbeliever in reality, we can say about it. But if he was not an unbeliever, certainly the saying would return to us. [126]

Shaghir Abdullah, as cited by Fathurahman,[127] was inclined to assume that the above statement was the insinuation to al-Rānīrī, while "him" in such saying was the adherent of Ḥamzah Fanṣūrī. As his style was to constantly support his mystical thought with the Qur'ān and *ḥadīth*, in this respect ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf argued with some *aḥādīth*, among of them were:

> Anyone says to his brother, "O the infidel!" the saying can attach one among them.[128]

> and again,

> One does not accuse others to do *fāsiq* or be an infidel except such an accusation returns to him, if the others do not prove as what is accused.[129]

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[125] Daudi, *Allah dan Manusia*, 43; Fathurahman, *Tanbīh al-Māsyī*, 63.

[126] ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf, "Daqā'iq al-Ḥurūf", 143. Translation is mine.

[127] Fathurahman, *Tanbīh al-Māshī*, 63.

[128] ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf, *Tanbīh al-Māshī*, 19. The *ḥadīth* was narrated by al-Bukhārī, see al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, No. 6104, vol. VIII, 26. Translation is mine.

[129] Fathurahman states the *ḥadīth* narrated by al-Bukhari and al-Muslim, see Fathurahman, *Tanbīh al-Māsyī*, 186. Translation of the *ḥadīth* is mine.

ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf propounded his argument why it was prohibited to simply judge the Ṣūfīs as unguided or heresy although they had made statements outwardly against Islamic principles. According to ᶜAbd bd al-Ra'ūf, the sayings of the Ṣūfīs should not be understood as ordinary sayings since they are filled with hidden terms and symbols, as he says:

> Know O those who embark God's path that the Ṣūfīs belong to some terms which are not known except by their community.[130]

In this conjunction, according to ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf, those who knew such terms only were allowed to read the Ṣūfī books. Abd al-Ra'ūf quoted Ibn ᶜArabī who said: "We are the community that forbid [people] to read our books,"[131] i.e., for those who were not familiar with the Ṣūfī terms. With quoting al-Ḥāfiz al-Suyūṭī in his book entitled *Tanbīh al-Ghabī*, ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf stated that it was because the Ṣūfīs' expressions mostly possessed peculiar meaning.[132] According to him, whoever understood such sayings according to the common meaning among the *ᶜulamā'* (literal meaning), he might be an infidel. Al-Ghazālī, in his works, analogized some of the Ṣūfī sayings stating that they were like the *mutashābihāt* verses of the Qur'ān. Whoever held its literal meaning, he would be an infidel, because that expression possesseed a peculiar meaning, like the words "face" (*wajh*), "hand" (*yad*), "eye" (*ᶜayn*), and seat (*al-istiwā'*).[133] Therefore, if we do not understand the terms of the Ṣūfīs, ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf advised that, their sayings should be submitted to them and never disputed or refuted them.[134]

Furthermore, we may not know the aim of the Ṣūfī in his statement that is outwardly regarded to be against Islamic principles. ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf recommended two ways: *taslīm* and *ta'wīl*. *Taslīm* means submitting the meaning of such saying to its expert, as Shaykh Zarrūq said: *fa-sallim taslam*. *Ta'wīl* means giving an interpretation

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[130] ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf, "Daqā'iq al-Ḥurūf", 59. Translation is mine.

[131] ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf, *Tanbīh al-Māshī*, 3; *Idem*, "Daqā'iq al-Ḥurūf", 59.

[132] ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf, *Tanbīh al-Māshī*, 3.

[133] Ibid.

[134] ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf, "Daqā'iq al-Ḥurūf", 59.

that is appropriate to *sharīᶜah*.[135] ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf quoted ᶜUmar bin al-Kaṭṭāb's saying:

> Do not regard the saying of your brother as evil while
> you have chance to interprete it to a good meaning even
> though to seventy [ways].

ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf argued, since the word "your brother" in ᶜUmar bin al-Khaṭṭāb's saying was general which covered all Muslims including the perfect ones, it was the main priority to interpret the saying of the perfect Muslim (Ṣūfī master). The approach of ᶜUmar bin al-Kaṭṭāb imitated Prophet Muhammad's (PBUH) way when he said:

> Reject the punishment from Muslim as much as you can.
> If you find the solution for the Muslim, make it easy for
> him…[136]

Therefore, ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf concluded, if we were among those able to interpret such a saying, it would be a priority to us, and in contrast, certainly it would be necessary to submit its meaning to its expert, and we should not judge the former as an infidel.[137]

Even though ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf was thinking positively and offered the ways to understand the Ṣūfī sayings: outwardly, against *sharīᶜah*, he warned disciples who did not attain the gnosis to state any mystical teaching that was against Islamic creed. According to him, one should not claim any Divinity although he granted by God to do any extra-ordinary thing such as miraculous gift (*karamah*) as his will "becomes" after he says "be". ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf argued this with the *ḥadīth*, "The best thing to the creature is he does not claim that to himself, he should stated that he is a servant to God, with Him his existence and, he belongs to God, as the Prophet (PBUH) said:

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[135] Ibid., 143.

[136] According to Fathurahman, the *ḥadīth* was narrated by Tirmidhī and the complete and true redaction of the *ḥadīth* is "*idra'ū al-ḥudud ᶜan al-muslimīn mā istaṭaᶜtum, fa-in kāna lahu makhrajun fakhallū sabīlahu, fa-inna al-imām an yakhta'u fī al-ᶜafwa khayrun min an yakhta'u fī al-ᶜuqūbah*," see Fathurahman, *Tanbīh al-Māsyī*, 187. Translation is mine.

[137] ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf, "Daqā'iq al-Ḥurūf', 143.

We are with Him and belong to Him.[138]

And again:

Am I a grateful servant [to my Lord]?[139]

The Prophet (PBUH) did not like to say: am I the state of my Lord? The Prophet (PBUH) also said:

Do not treat me like Christians treated ibn Maryam [ᶜĪsā al-Masīḥ], I am just a servant, so say "servant of God" and "'His messenger".[140]

The Prophet (PBUH), ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf argued, would not like to say, I am His state. Thus, ᶜAbd al-Ra'uf advised his disciples not to claim any self-Deity as shown by the Prophet (PBUH). Abd quoted his master's saying:

The perfectness is in imitating the Apostle of God.[141]

Based on ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf's statements above, and with regard to the *wujūdiyyah* polemic in *Acheh*, it is assumed that, it is more likely that ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf did not reject Ḥamzah and Shams al-Dīn's teachings. He indicated that if it was found in the statements of these scholars which were outwardly against Islamic principles, it should be interpreted.

Conclusion

It can be concluded that ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf had played an important role in the reconciliation of Sufism with *sharīᶜah* not only in Acheh but in the Malay world in general. This is because, ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf was a prominent Malay scholar in which his works had spread widely thoroughout the Archipelago. ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf's effort of reconciliation was not only significant to settle the issue of his time, i.e., the disputation of *wujūdiyyah*; it was relevant to subsequent era until present time. This is because he did not merely carry out his mission

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[138] Ibid., 141.
[139] Ibid.
[140] Ibid. Translation is mine.
[141] Ibid.

of reconciliation in the issue of *waḥdat al-wujūd*, he consciously brought his mission to reconcile Sufism with Islamic orthodoxy in the wider context. It was proven by approaches employed by ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf in his endeavour of reconciliation of Sufism with *sharīᶜah* as has been discussed above.

Based on those approaches, it is clear that ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf attempted to transform the religious life of Malay Muslims from Sufi tradition to reach an equilibrium between creed, *sharīᶜah*, religious moral and Sufism. In respect of Sufism, ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf attemped to transform the tendency to philosophical Sufism to an equilibrium between philosophical Sufism and traditional (*sunnī*) sufism which was concerned with religious practice and good conduct. In this respect, besides discussing philosophical Sufism, ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf introduced elements of traditional Sufism, i.e., good deeds and religious moral as its main characteristic. Hence, it can be said that ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf was the earliest figure of traditional Sufism or moderate Sufism in the Malay world. The effort of ᶜAbd al-Ra'ūf in reconciling Sufism with *sharīᶜah* demonstrates his authority in maintaining Sufism, including philosophical Sufism, on the one hand and reinforcing the significance of orthodoxy in the other hand.

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	'	'	'	'	ز	z	z	z	z	گ	–	g	g	g
ب	b	b	b	b	ڑ	–	–	–	ṛ	ل	l	l	l	l
پ	–	p	p	p	ژ	–	zh	j	zh	م	m	m	m	m
ت	t	t	t	t	س	s	s	s	s	ن	n	n	n	n
ٹ	–	–	–	ṭ	ش	sh	sh	ş	sh	ه	h	h	h¹	h¹
ث	th	th	th	th	ص	ṣ	ṣ	ş	ṣ	و	w	v/u	v	v/u
ج	j	j	c	j	ض	ḍ	ż	ż	ż	ى	y	y	y	y
چ	–	ch	çh	ch	ط	ṭ	ṭ	ṭ	ṭ	ة	-ah			-a²
ح	ḥ	ḥ	ḥ	ḥ	ظ	ẓ	ẓ	ẓ	ẓ	ال	al³			
خ	kh	kh	kh	kh	ع	'	'	'	'					
د	d	d	d	d	غ	gh	gh	ğ	gh					
ڈ	–	–	–	d	ف	f	f	f	f					
ذ	dh	dh	dh	dh	ق	q	q	k	q					
ر	r	r	r	r	ك	k	k/g	k/ñ	k					

¹ – when not final
² – at in construct state
³ – (article) al - or 1-

VOWELS

		Arabic and Persian	Urdu	Ottoman Turkish
Long	ا	ā	ā	ā
	آ	Ā	Ā	–
	و ي	ū	ū	ū
	ي	ī	ī	ī
Doubled	يّ	iyy (final form ī)	iy (final form ī)	iyy (final form ī)
	وّ	uww (final form ū) uvv (for Persian)	uv	uvv
Diphthongs	و ي	au or aw	au	ev
	ى	ai or ay	ay	ey
Short	◌َ	a	a	a or e
	◌ُ	u	u	u or ü o or ö
	◌ِ	i	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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