

SHAYKH DĀWŪD AL-FATĀNĪ AND HIS MANHAL AL-ŞĀFĪ: AN OVERVIEW *

By:

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Abstrak

Makalah ini mengemukakan suatu sorotan perbincangan penting yang diketengahkan oleh Shaykh Dāwūd al-Fatānī dalam karya beliau al-Manhal al-Şāfī fī Bayān Ramz Ahl al-Şūfī. Ia menyentuh tentang peribadi Shaykh Dāwūd al-Fatānī, merangkumi sejarah hidup, pendidikan dan karya-karya beliau; dan tentang kitab al-Manhal al-Şāfī, merangkumi manuskrip dan sumber-sumbernya. Makalah ini juga memuatkan suatu ringkasan dan sorotan perbincangan fasal-fasal kitab di atas yang menyentuh antara lain doktrin Martabat Tujuh dan istilah-istilah para sufi.

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Preliminary Remark

The history of the Malay Archipelago has witnessed the emergence of many prominent scholars who have written many works covering various fields of Islamic sciences, such as Islamic metaphysics, ethics, theology, history, and jurisprudence. According to Prof. Syed Muḥammad Naquib al-Attas, the 16th and 17th centuries had witnessed the unrivalled prolificness of Malay writing on philosophical and rational theology.¹ The first Malay translation of the Qur'an with commentary based on al-Bayḍāwī's famous commentary, and the translations, commentaries and original works on philosophical mysticism and rational theology also appeared during this period which marked the rise of rationalism and intellectualism not manifested before in the archipelago.² Among the prominent Malay Ṣūfī scholars to represent these eras are Ḥamzah al-Fansūrī (fl. Circa 1550-1600 C.E.),³ Shams al-Dīn al-Sumatrā'ī (d. 629 C.E.),⁴ Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānirī (d. 1658 C.E.),⁵ 'Abd al-

¹ Syed Muhammad Naquib al-Attas (1969), *Preliminary Statement on a General Theory of the Islamization of the Malay-Indonesian Archipelago*, Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, p. 28.

² *Ibid.*

³ See his works *Asrār al-ʿArīfīn*, *Sharāb al-ʿAshiqīn* and *al-Muntahī*, in Syed Muḥammad Naquib al-Attas (1970), *The Mysticism of Ḥamzah al-Fansūrī*, Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya Press. Here after cited as *Mysticism*.

⁴ See his works *Jawhar al-Ḥaqā'iq*, in C.A.O. van Nieuwenhuijze (1945), *Samsu'l-Din von Pasai*, Leiden: E.J.Brill, p. 245-66. See also his work *Nūr al-Daqā'iq* which was romanised with notes by A. Johns, "Nur al-Daka'ik by the Sumatran Mystic Shamsu 'l-Din ibn 'Abdullah", *JRAS* (1953): p. 137-51.

⁵ See his major works on Sufism, for example, *Hujjat al-Siddīq li-Daḥ' al-Zindīq*, in Syed Muḥammad Naquib al-Attas (1986), *A Commentary on the Hujjat al-Siddīq of Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānirī*, Kuala Lumpur: Ministry of Culture Malaysia; *Asrār al-Insān fī Ma'rīfat al-Rūḥ wa'l-Rāḥmān* in the Ph.D. thesis of Tudjimah, published by P.T. Penerbitan Universitas, Jakarta in 1960; and *Lātā'if āl-Asrār li-Ahl Allāh al-Atyār* in the unpublished Ph.D. thesis submitted to the International Institute of Islamic Thought and Civilization (ISTAC) by Muḥammad Zainiy Uthman in 1997. Another two manuscripts of Rānirī's *Tibyan fī Ma'rīfat*

Ra'ūf al-Singkilī (d. ca. 1661 C.E.),⁶ Yūsuf al-Makasari (d. 1699 C.E.).⁷ This intellectual tradition was then continued in the 18th and 19th centuries by such erudite scholars like 'Abd al-Šamad al-Falimbānī (d. ca. 1800 C.E.),⁸ Muḥammad Nafīs al-Banjārī (d. ca. 1800 C.E.),⁹ and Dāwūd al-Fatānī (d. 1847 C.E.).¹⁰

The text of *al-Manhal al-Šāfī* which represents the early 19th century Malay work on Sufism, had demonstrated the continuing discussion of scholars of the past since their works are the sources of reference for scholars of the Malay World. The full title of this work is *al-Manhal al-Šāfī fī Bayān Ramz Ahl al-Šūfī* (The Pure Beaker in Explaining the Signs of the Sufis). The work is an attempt by the author to explain some Sufi symbols or terms that are used in major Sufi

al-Adyān and Ḥujjat al-Siddīq li-Daf' al-Zindīq published in facsimile form in P. Voorhoeve (1955), *Twee Malaise Geschriften van Nuruddin ar-Raniri*, Leiden: E.J. Brill.

- ⁶ See his work *Daqā'iq al-Hurūf* which was romanised and translated into English by A. Johns, "Daka'ik al-Huruf by 'Abd al-Ra'ūf of Singkel", *JRAS* (1955): p. 55-73 and p. 139-58. Another important work of him is *Tanbih al-Māshī* which was the subject of study by Oman Fathurahman (1999), *Tanbih al-Māshī, Menyoal Wahdatul Wujūd: Kasus Abdurrauf Singkel di Aceh Abad 17*, Bandung: Penerbit Mizan.
- ⁷ He wrote many works on Islamic metaphysics and one of his works that had been studied is *Zubdat al-Asrār fī Tahqīq Ba'd Mashārib al-Akhyār*, see Nabilah Lubis (1996), *Menyingkap Intisari Segala Rahasia Karangan Syiekh Yusuf al-Taj al-Makasari*, Bandung: Penerbit Mizan.
- ⁸ See his works *Sayr al-Sālikīn* and *Hidāyat al-Sālikīn*, both are published by Muhammad al-Nahdi, Bangkok, undated.
- ⁹ His work *al-Durr al-Nafīs* was the subject of study by Wan Muḥammad bin Wan Ali in his unpublished master's thesis submitted to Institut Bahasa, Kesusasteraan, dan Kebudayaan Melayu (IBKKM), Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, in 1973. The thesis entitled *Suntingan and anotasi Sebuah Kitab Tasawwuf Melayu Kurun Ketiga belas/Kedelapan belas Masihi: al-Durr'n-Nafis Karangan ash-Shaykh Muhammad Nafis al-Banjariyy (rahimahu'Llah)*.
- ¹⁰ His major works on Islamic metaphysics are *al-Durr al-Thamīn* and the Malay translation of al-Ghazālī's *Minhāj al-'Ābidīn*, both works are published by Maktabah Muḥammad al-Nahdi, Bangkok, undated. Another important work of him is *al-Manhal al-Šāfī*, which is the subject of our present article. It discusses the concept of being particularly on the degrees of existence.

treatises. Its main content concerns about the seven degrees of existence or, as it is better known among the Malays, *Martabat Tujuh*. The basis of its teaching is that God is the Absolute Existence (*wujūd mutlaq*), that becomes manifest through the seven levels of manifestation, namely: *ahadiyyah*, *waḥdah*, *wāḥidiyyah*, *‘ālam arwāḥ*, *‘ālam mithāl*, *‘ālam ajsām*, and *‘ālam insān*. God the Absolute is the source of all beings, and nothing other than He exists in its own right. The work, which is written in Malay, is meant for the Malays who do not have a good command of Arabic with the aim of conveying the true meaning of Ṣūfī teachings since, according to the author, many have misunderstood their books, on account of the poor grasp of Ṣūfī technical terms.

The *Manḥal al-Ṣāfi* had demonstrated that Shaykh Dāwūd al-Faṭānī had benefited much from the work of Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānirī and ‘Abd al-Ra’ūf al-Singkilī. Rānirī’s work, *Jawāhir al-‘Ulūm fī Kashf al-Ma’lūm*, is mentioned and quoted by al-Faṭānī in his *Manḥal al-Ṣāfi*, but surprisingly he did not mentioned the work of ‘Abd al-Ra’ūf even though he quoted a lot from him. We have noticed that al-Faṭānī did benefit a lot from the work of ‘Abd al-Ra’ūf especially the *Daqā’iq al-Hurūf*, for al-Faṭānī quoted almost verbatim several passages from it.¹¹ Very interesting to note here is that the above fact indicated that al-Faṭānī had direct access to Malay sources even though he lived in Makkah, the place where he spent almost all of his life. This also proved that the works of al-Rānirī as well as those of ‘Abd al-Ra’ūf al-Singkilī were used or studied in the Holy city of Makkah thereby demonstrating the network of Malay scholars in the Malay region and the Arab world.¹² Other than Malay

¹¹ The text of *Daqā’iq al-Hurūf* was romanised by A. Johns in his “Daka’ik al-Huruf by ‘Abd al-Ra’uf of Singkel”, *JRAS* (1955), p. 58-67 and p. 139-50.

¹² Research on the network of the Malay scholars with the Arab world had been done by Azyumardi Azra in his *Jaringan Ulama’ Timur Tengah dan Kepulauan Nusantara Abad XVII dan XVIII: Melacak Akar-Akar Pembaruan Pemikiran Islam di Indonesia*, Bandung: Penerbit Mizan, 1995. Here after cited as *Jaringan Ulama’*.

sources, Shaykh Dāwūd al-Fatānī also access to many Arabic sources. Among the main sources that we are able to trace are al-Jīlī's *al-Insān al-Kāmil*, Ibn 'Atā' Allāh's *Hikam*, and al-Burhānpūrī's *Tuhfat al-Mursalah*.¹³

Notes on the Manuscript of *al-Manhal al-Şāfī*

We have found out that the manuscripts of *al-Manhal al-Şāfī* are available in two institutions in Malaysia; Perpustakaan Negara Malaysia (PNM) or the National Library of Malaysia and Muzium Islam Malaysia (MIM) or the Islamic Museum of Malaysia. These institutions possess many copies of the manuscript of *al-Manhal al-Şāfī*. There are altogether 30 extant copies of the manuscript of *al-Manhal al-Şāfī* of which the PNM possesses 16 copies catalogued as MS 147(A), 188(B), 204, 205, 232, 460, 519, 547(A), 622, 629(2), 649(A), 693, 1088, 1333, 1386 and 1495(A),¹⁴ and the MIM has 14 copies of it catalogued as MI 17, 48, 128, 137, 262, 354, 414, 429, 448, 467, 504, 603, 668 and 669 of which only 3 are complete; MI17, 48 and 448.¹⁵ Beside these two institutions, there are copies of the same manuscript available in private hands.¹⁶

¹³ As for the sources referred to in *al-Manhal al-Şāfī*, we will discuss it in the next few pages in this article.

¹⁴ See *Manuskrip Melayu Koleksi Perpustakaan Negara Malaysia: Satu Katalog Ringkas*, Kuala Lumpur: Perpustakaan Negara Malaysia, 1987; *Katalog Induk Manuskrip Melayu di Malaysia: Siri Bibliografi Manuskrip no. 10*, Kuala Lumpur: Perpustakaan Negara Malaysia, 1993; and *Manuskrip Melayu Koleksi Perpustakaan Negara Malaysia: Satu Katalog Ringkas (Tambahan Ketiga)*, Kuala Lumpur: Perpustakaan Negara Malaysia, 1997.

¹⁵ See Engku Ibrahim Ismail and Osman Bakar (eds.)(1992), *Bibliografi Manuskrip Islam di Muzium Islam Malaysia*, Kuala Lumpur: Akademi Pengajian Melayu, Universiti Malaya and Bahagian Hal Ehwal Islam, Jabatan Perdana Menteri, p. 42-8. Here after cited as *Manuskrip Islam*.

¹⁶ For example, Haji Wan Mohd. Shaghir Abdullah possessed three copies of *al-Manhal al-Şāfī* which he used for the romanization of the text in his publication, *Manhalush Shafi Syeikh Daud al-Fathani: Membicarakan Rumus-Rumus Shufi dan Istilah-Istilah Tasawuf*, Kuala Lumpur: Khazanah Fathaniyah, 1992, here after cited as *Manhalush Shafi*.

With regard to the printed edition of this work, we have not seen so far any earlier edition of *al-Manhal al-Ṣāfi* which was normally published by the publishers in Makkah, Egypt and Istanbul. Meanwhile, we have a copy of the lithograph edition of this work which was published in Bangkok by Maktabah Muḥammad al-Nahdi, and it being a third reprint dated 28 Muharram 1373 A.H. However, the text which contains 30 pages, did not mention the name of the author. Another copy of the reprint edition was published by Pustaka Aman Press, Kelantan, which indicates the same edition and the same date as the previous one. The text, also printed in lithographic form and containing 53 pages, was printed together with other texts entitled *Mabādī' al-'Asharah* by Ibn Ismā'īl bin 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Kalantānī and *Kanz al-Sa'ādah* by Muḥammad Shāfi'ī bin Muḥammad Sālih.¹⁷

Notes on the Controversy of the Authorship

The controversy of the authorship of *al-Manhal al-Ṣāfi* arose when different manuscripts of the work revealed three different names as its author. The colophon of MI17 (MIM) stated Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir al-Faṭānī as the author of the work, while the MS693 (PNM) mentioned Shaykh 'Abd al-Raḥmān bin 'Abd al-Mubīn al-Faṭānī. On the other hand, the authorship of Shaykh Dāwūd al-Faṭānī is based on seven manuscripts of *al-Manhal al-Ṣāfi*, six of which are available in the PNM collection catalogued as MS232, MS460, MS519, MS62, MS649 (A), and MS1333, while the other copy, that is MI448, is from the MIM collection.¹⁸ So, based on the

¹⁷ The whole text of this edition can be found in appendix D, in Wan Kamaruzaman bin Wan Drahman, *Sumbangan Syekh Daud al-Fataniyy dalam Tasawwuf: Suatu Kajian Khusus Terhadap Kitab al-Manhal al-Ṣāfi y fi Bayān Ramz Ahl al-Sufiyy*. A project paper submitted in partial fulfillment for the Bachelor's Degree in the Faculty of Usuluddin, Academy of Islam, University of Malaya, 1995.

¹⁸ We are able to access directly all manuscripts of *al-Manhal al-Ṣāfi* available in the PNM collection. However, we cannot do the same thing to the MIM collection since, according to the officer in charge, most of the manuscripts are in a very poor condition. Thus, we are only

number of manuscripts, Shaykh Dāwūd al-Fatānī is most likely the original author of the work. To be more certain, let us examine each and every copy of the manuscripts attributed to others as mentioned above.

The name of Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir al-Fatānī is stated in the colophon of the MI17 (MIM) as follows:

Telah terjemahlah risālah ini yang bernama *Manhal al-Şāfī fī Bayān Amr*¹⁹ *Ahl al-Şūfī*, Āmin. Telah selesai daripada *faqīr ilā Ta'ālā* menyurat kitab ini pada hari *Arba'*, tiga belas haribulan Rajab, pada hijrah seribu tiga ratus sebelas, iaitu 'Abd al-Qādir Fatānī.

(We have translated this treatise namely The Pure Beaker in Explaining the Order of the Şūfī, Amin. The treatise was written by the poor servant of God on Wednesday, 13th of Rajab, in the year 1311 of the Prophet's migration, he is 'Abd al-Qādir of Patani.)

The colophon of this manuscript stated the work was completed in 1311 A.H. (1893 C.E.). It is doubtful that he is the author of the work because the date of its completion is very late compared to the oldest copy of the manuscripts dated 1269 A.H. (1853 C.E.).²⁰ The name Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir al-Fatānī, mentioned without the father's name, is another point of confusion. This is because there are three prominent scholars from Patani who went by the same

allowed to access them through microfilm. Of the 14 copies of the manuscript of *al-Manhal al-Şāfī*, only three of them (MI17, 48 and 448) are complete and in good condition. Based on these three copies, the MI448 stated clearly the name of Shaykh Dāwūd al-Fatānī as the author of the work, while the rest did not state the name of the author except the MI17 stated the name of Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir Fatānī. For the MI17, the description of the manuscripts catalogue remarks that Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir here refers to Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir bin Mustafā al-Fatānī, a student of Shaykh Dāwūd, who had transcribed this manuscript (MI17). See *Manuskrip Islam*, p. 45.

¹⁹ The title of this manuscript is slightly different from the others which bear the term *Amr* instead of *Ramz*. This difference, perhaps, occurs due to wrong spelling or the mistake of the transcriber since the content of the text is the same.

²⁰ MS547(A) (PNM).

name; they are Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir bin 'Abd al-Rahīm (d. 1864 C.E.),²¹ Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir bin 'Abd al-Rahmān (d.1898 C.E.),²² and Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir bin Muṣṭafā (d. 1894 C.E.).²³ We observe that the date of MI17 indicates that it was written a considerable time after the death of Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir bin 'Abd al-Rahīm. Based on this indication, we can therefore put aside this name. As for 'Abd al-Qādir bin 'Abd al-Rahmān as well as 'Abd al-Qādir bin Muṣṭafā, both of them were, in fact, the students of Shaykh Dāwūd al-Fatānī and related to him. So, we believe that both of them must have transcribed the works of their master including *al-Manhal al-Sāfi*. We are, therefore, almost certain that 'Abd al-Qādir al-Fatānī, as mentioned in MI17, is not the original author of the work but rather a transcriber of it. In fact, this assumption is further supported when the cataloguer of the Islamic Museum had also identified 'Abd al-Qādir in the MI17 as Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir bin Muṣṭafā al-Fatānī, a transcriber of *al-Manhal al-Sāfi*.²⁴

²¹ He is better known as Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir Bukit Bayas, a scholar from Patani who moved to Terengganu after the fall of the Patani Kingdom to Siam in 1832 C.E. In Terengganu, he was appointed as the *Mufti* by Sultan Omar (1839-1876 C.E.), the Sultan of Terengganu. He was also the teacher of two great scholars of Terengganu, Tok Ku Tuan Besar and Tok Syekh Duyong. See Omar bin Musa, "Syekh Abdul Kadir Bukit Bayas", in *Ulama Terengganu: Suatu Sorotan*, edited by Muhammad Abu Bakar, Kuala Terengganu: Jawatankuasa Koleksi Terengganu, 1991, p. 145-53.

²² He is better known as Shaykh Nik Dir al-Fatānī, a grandnephew of Shaykh Dāwūd. He was born in 1829 C.E. in Patani, but later moved to Terengganu due to the fall of the Patani Kingdom to Siam in 1832 C.E. He went to Makkah to further his studies on Islam and died there in 1898 C.E. See Ahmad Fathi al-Fatani, "Rumpun Keluarga 'Ulama' Fatānī", *Majalah Pengasuh* (July-Aug., 1992): p. 13-23.

²³ He is better known as Tok Bendang Daya which is attributed to his *Pondok* in Bendang Daya in Patani. It is reported that his *Pondok* or traditional religious school was once the biggest *Pondok* in Southeast Asia in the 19th century. He was born in 1818 C.E. in Patani and died in 1894 C.E. in Makkah. See Wan Mohd. Shaghir Abdullah, "Tok Bendang Daya II: Pondok Teramai di Asia Tenggara", *Majalah Dakwah* (May, 1993): p. 49-52.

²⁴ See *Manuskrip Islam*, p. 45.

Another name attributed as the author of *al-Manhal al-Şāfī* is Shaykh 'Abd al-Raḥmān bin 'Abd al-Mubīn al-Fatānī,²⁵ the teacher of Shaykh Dāwūd al-Fatānī. His name is associated with the MS693 (PNM). The only information available is mentioned on the cover page and the colophon of the manuscript as follows:

Ini kitab *Manhal al-Şāfī fī Bayān Ramz Ahl al-Şūfī*, karangan Shaykh yang 'Arif al-Rabbānī, lagi Waliy Allāh Ta'ālā al-Ghaniy 'Abd al-Raḥmān bin 'Abd al-Mubīn, tuntutlah segala yang *murīdīn*. Dan yang memilik akan dia Hājj Wan 'Abd Allāh bin Muḥammad Sammān negeri Faṭānī, daerah Kampung Perongkok adanya. *Sallama'llah fi al-dārayn*. Āmin.

(This treatise namely *The Pure Beaker in Explaining the Sign of the Sūfī* is written by the Adept Master versed in the knowledge of the Lord, and the Saint of God the Most Glory, 'Abd al-Raḥmān bin 'Abd al-Mubīn whom the novices should seek. This treatise belongs to Hajj Wan 'Abd Allāh bin Muḥammad Sammān of Patani, from the village of Perongkok. May God shower His blessings upon us in both worlds, Āmin.)

and

Tammat kalām pada hari al-thālith pada waqtu Zuhur adanya di Faṭānī.

(The treatise was completed on Tuesday noon in Patani.)

²⁵ He was also known as Shaykh 'Abd al-Raḥmān Pauh Bok, attributed to his birthplace. It is reported that he was the master of the Sammāniyyah Order who received the licence directly from the leader of this Order, Shaykh Sammān. His work, discovered so far, still remains in manuscript form, one of which is *Mir'āt al-Ḥaqq*. This work, which is in the private collection of Haji Wan Mohd. Shaghbir, deals with the doctrine of *Wahdat al-Wujūd* attributed to Ibn 'Arabī. The author also mentioned some sources that he referred to and one of them is *Asrār al-Insān fī Ma'rifat al-Rūḥ wa'l-Raḥmān* of Shaykh Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānirī. See *Manhalush Shafī*, p. 5-11.

This is the only manuscript of *al-Manhal al-Ṣāfi* which names Shaykh 'Abd al-Raḥmān bin 'Abd al-Mubīn al-Faṭānī as the author. The text, which was completed in Faṭānī, did not state the date of its completion, and therefore led to some difficulty in identifying the accuracy of the authorship. In order to reconcile the authorship between Shaykh 'Abd al-Raḥmān and his student, Shaykh Dāwūd al-Faṭānī, some biographers suggested that perhaps Shaykh 'Abd al-Raḥmān was the original author of the work which he then dictated to his student, Shaykh Dāwūd al-Faṭānī. Later on, Shaykh Dāwūd al-Faṭānī comprehended it and put it into the form of a book. By then, the work was known to be the work of Shaykh Dāwūd al-Faṭānī.²⁶ This is a good attempt to reconcile the authorship of the work, but it is still a matter of conjecture.

Even though we cannot deny what is stated in the MS693 (PNM), but it is quite strange when we observe the number of manuscripts found thus far. Of the 30 copies of manuscripts of *al-Manhal al-Ṣāfi*, only one stated the name of Shaykh 'Abd al-Raḥmān bin 'Abd al-Mubīn whereas seven of them stated Shaykh Dāwūd al-Faṭānī as the author of the work, while the rest are anonymous. The colophon of the MS232 (PNM), for example, has stated the name of Shaykh Dāwūd bin 'Abd Allāh al-Faṭānī as the author of the treatise. It was then transcribed by 'Abd al-Raḥmān bin 'Abd al-Ṣamad who finished transcribing the text in Makkah, in 1295 after Hijrah. This information can be found in the colophon of the manuscript as follows:

Telah *khātamlah* risālah ini yang bernama *Manhal al-Ṣāfi fī Bayān Ramz Ahl al-Ṣūfī*, wa'LIāhu a'lam, karangan Dāwūd ibn 'Abd Allāh Faṭānī. Dan yang menyalinkan kitab ini, faqīr al-Ḥāqīr 'Abd al-Raḥmān bin 'Abd al-Ṣamad. Selesai di dalam negeri Makkah, pada hari Jum'at, waktu 'Asar, pada *hijrat al-nubuwwah sanat* 1295.

(We completed this treatise namely *The Pure Beaker in Explaining the Sign of the Ṣūfī*, God Knowth Best,

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

written by Dāwūd bin 'Abd Allāh Faṭānī. This treatise was transcribed by the poor and destitute 'Abd al-Rahmān bin 'Abd al-Samad. Completed in the city of Makkah, on Friday afternoon, in the year 1295 of the Prophet's Migration).

At this point, we tend to believe that the original author of the work is Shaykh Dāwūd al-Fatānī, for many copies of the manuscript stated clearly his name as the author. In addition, the conviction is further strengthened by two manuscripts in a private collection which state the name of Shaykh Dāwūd al-Fatānī as the author. Both manuscripts were transcribed by the students of Shaykh Dāwūd al-Fatānī himself; they are Shaykh Wan Muḥammad Zayn bin Muṣṭafā al-Fatānī, and al-Hajj Muḥammad Hāshim bin al-Hajj Muḥammad Yūsuf al-Fatānī. The former did not state the date of his transcription, but the latter is dated 12 Muḥarram 1307 A.H.²⁷

Notes on the Life and Works of Shaykh Dāwūd al-Fatānī

Few writings concerning the biography of Shaykh Dāwūd al-Fatānī can be found in scattered writings of seminar papers, short paragraph and illustrations in works written for different purposes.²⁸ A brief article on him written in European language, discovered so far, is by P. Voorhoeve in the *Encyclopedia of Islam*.²⁹ His article has brought to light some information about the contribution of this scholar in the Malay region particularly through his writings on various topics in Islam. However, since it is just a brief

²⁷ *Ibid.*, v-vi.

²⁸ For example, *Majalah Dian* and *Pengasuh* seem to pay more attention to the early Malay scholars who contributed greatly to intellectual development in the history of the Malay Archipelago. Both journals are published by Syarikat Dian Sendirian Berhad, Kota Bharu, Kelantan and Majlis Ugama Islam dan Adat Istiadat Melayu Kelantan respectively. However, the former, which was found by the late Dato' Yusuf Zaki Ya'cob, has no longer published in the present time.

²⁹ See P. Voorhoeve, "Dawud al-Fatani" *Et*, 2 (1983): p. 183.

illustration about the scholar, some information given needs further investigation to ascertain its accuracy concerning certain facts and events. The same condition also applies to many seminar papers and illustrations written by local historians and biographers.³⁰ As for the purpose of this article, brief note and summary on the biography of the scholar is presented.³¹

1. His Life

The full name of this scholar is Shaykh Dāwūd ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Idrīs al-Fatānī. He was born in Patani, once a great Malay Kingdom located in the northeast coast of the Malay Peninsula, but which is now a province of Thailand. To date, there is no unanimity with regard to the dates of his birth and death. At least three possible dates of his birth are proposed by biographers based on the oral reports of the descendents of Shaykh Dāwūd al-Fatānī; 1133/1720, 1153/1740, and 1183/1770. We tend to believe that he was born in 1153/1740 based on a report stating that Shaykh Dāwūd al-Fatānī arrived at Haramayn at the age of twenties in which he had the opportunity to study under Shaykh 'Isā al-Barrāwī who died in 1182/1769. Considering the death of al-Barrāwī, it implies that his age must have not exceeded 29 years of age while studying under al-Barrāwī.

With regard to the death of Shaykh Dāwūd al-Fatānī, it is quite certain that he died after the year 1259/1843, the date of his latest work. Thus, we can accept a report by Haji Nik Ishaq Tikat, a descendent of Shaykh Dāwūd al-Fatānī,

³⁰ See for example, Wan Mohd. Shaghir Abdullah (1990), *Syeikh Daud bin Abdullah al-Fatani: Ulama Terulung Asia Tenggara*, Shah Alam: Hizbi. See also Ismail Che Daud, "Syeikh Daud al-Fatani (1769-1847)" in *Tokoh-Tokoh Ulama Semenanjung Melayu (1)*, ed. Ismail Che Daud (1988), Kota Bharu: Majlis Agama Islam dan Adat Istiadat Melayu Kelantan; Abdullah al-Qari, "Pujangga Syeikh Daud Fatani", *Majalah Dian* 10 (1967): p. 131; and Azyumardi Azra, *Jaringan Ulama*, p. 257-66.

³¹ For the full length on the biography of Shaykh Dāwūd, see my "New Lights on the Life and Works of Shaykh Dāwūd al-Fattānī", *Studia Islamika* 9: 3 (2002): p. 83-118.

saying that Shaykh Dāwūd al-Fatānī died in 1263/1847. In fact, it is parallel to what many biographers agree that he died in the middle of the 19th century, in the city of Ṭā'if, Saudi Arabia. He spent most of his life in Makkah, the place where he received his education and also held classes for students especially those from the Malay region.

2. His Education

Shaykh Dāwūd al-Fatānī first received his education from his family members. He started to receive Islamic education from his father Shaykh 'Abd Allāh; his grandfather Shaykh Idrīs; and his uncle Shaykh Şafīyuddīn, whose were the pious scholars of Patani at that time. During his very young age, he had already memorized the Holy Qur'ān, and learnt other sciences like Arabic language and literature. From his family circle, he was sent to receive formal education to the *pondok*, or traditional religious school under the supervision of Shaykh 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Abd al-Mubīn. After five years studying in the *pondok*, he went to Aceh to broaden his knowledge on Islam. He spent two years in Aceh before traveled to Makkah to further his studies. In Makkah, he studied under many great scholars of various expertises in Islamic sciences such as *fiqh*, *kalām*, and *taṣawwuf*. At the same time, he was exposed to various Sūfī orders then obtained his licence (*ijāzah*) from the Sūfī masters of the Shaṭṭāriyyah and the Sammāniyyah Orders. Most of the teachers of Shaykh Dāwūd al-Fatānī were scholars from Egypt, three of whom were *Shaykh al-Azhar*. Among his prominent masters were Shaykh Īsā al-Barrāwī (d.1182/1768), a learned *Imām* and a *Shaykh al-Azhar*, and a pious Shafi'ite jurist; Shaykh 'Abd Allāh ibn Hijāz al-Sharqāwī (d.1227/1812), a learned *Shaykh al-Azhar*, jurist, and grammarian; Shaykh Muḥammad ibn 'Alī al-Shanawānī (d.1233/1817), a pious *Shaykh al-Azhar*, jurist, grammarian, and logician; and Shaykh 'Abd al-Karīm al-Sammān (d.1189/1775), a Madinah scholar, and a chief of the Sammāniyyah Order.

During his stay in Makkah, Shaykh Dāwūd al-Faṭānī was given permission by his master, Shaykh 'Atā' Allāh al-Makkī (d. ca.1186/1772), the Mufti of Makkah of that time, to hold classes in the Holy Mosque of Makkah. This permission had demonstrated great honour for scholars from outside the Arab World especially from the Malay region. In fact, there were very few scholars from the Malay region who had been given such permission to do so. Shaykh Dāwūd al-Faṭānī lived in Makkah and Madinah for about forty years before he moved to Ṭā'if, where he spent the rest of his life.

3. His Works

Shaykh Dāwūd al-Faṭānī is regarded as one of the most prolific scholars in the history of the Malay world. His writings are many and the subjects he dealt with are varied. They cover many disciplines such as Islamic metaphysics, ethics, theology, history, eschatology, and jurisprudence. These works comprise commentaries and translations of Arabic works, which he rendered into the Malay language of Jawi script. Even though he spent most of his life in Makkah, most of his writings were written in the Malay language. This is because, as he always stated in his works, they are meant for the Malays especially those who are not learned enough to read Arabic fluently, but familiar, to a certain degree, with the structure of the language. Thus, it keeps them from misunderstanding or misinterpreting the works, especially those related to the Islamic creed.

The earliest dated work of Shaykh Dāwūd al-Faṭānī was *Kifāyat al-Muhtāj fī Isrā' wa'l-Mi'rāj*, which was completed in 1204/1790; while the latest dated work was *al-Bahjat al-Mardīyyah*, which was completed in 1259/1843. Studies on the writings of Shaykh Dāwūd al-Faṭānī have reported that he wrote more than 100 works. However, his works, which have so far been discovered, numbered 58 inclusive of the printed books and the manuscripts. Out of this 58 works, 33 of them are the printed books. But only 12 of them are still in print and available in the book shops in Malaysia,

Indonesia, Singapore, and South Thailand. Among his famous works which are still used until now are *Furū' al-Masā'il* (on Shāfi'ite jurisprudence), *Bughyat al-Ṭullāb* (on Shāfi'ite jurisprudence), *Durr al-Thamīn* (on the theology), *Munyat al-Muṣallī* (on the manual of prayers), *Īdāh al-Bāb* (on marriage law), *Ghāyat al-Taqrīb* (On Shāfi'ite law of inheritance), and the translation of al-Ghazālī's *Minhāj al-'Ābidīn* (on Sufism). In fact, his writings have been copied and printed from the very early days of the 19th century down to the present day. Most of his writings were first printed in Makkah, then in Istanbul, Cairo, and Bombay. After that, the printing of his writings was gradually moved to the regional printing houses in Singapore, Malaysia, Indonesia, and South Thailand.

Notes on the Sources Used in the text of *al-Manhal al-Şāfi*

The writings of Shaykh Dāwūd al-Fatānī are based on three main sources; the Qur'ān, the Hadith, and the quotations from major work of Muslim scholars either in Arabic or Malay. Shaykh Dāwūd al-Fatānī, who spent most of his life in Makkah, was certainly conversant with the Arabic language as proven in his translations of many Arabic books into Malay. For example, he translated two works of al-Ghazālī's *Minhāj al-'Ābidīn* and *Bidāyat al-Hidāyat*. Besides, he also translated Ibn Madyan's *Kanz al-Minan* and the work of Aḥmad al-Marzūqī namely *Tahṣīl Nayl al-Marām*, a commentary of al-Sanūṣī's creed. His ability to translate all these works not only proved his command of Arabic and Malay, but also his knowledge of the subjects themselves most of which dealt with theology and Islamic metaphysics. Shaykh Dāwūd al-Fatānī himself had admitted in many of these works that he was greatly influenced by those scholars. In fact, they provided him with the encouragement to translate them into Malay.

The involvement of Shaykh Dāwūd al-Fatānī in the Shattāriyyah Order and his interaction with some Ṣūfī masters of this Order had led him to compose a work

namely *al-Manhal al-Şāfi*, that is based mainly on the popular work of this order, the *Tuhfat al-Mursalah* of al-Burhānpūrī. This work had been commented on by many scholars from the Shattāriyyah Orders including Mullā Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī (d.1689 C.E.), the teacher and Master of Shaykh 'Abd al-Ra'ūf al-Sinkilī. It is reported that Aḥmad al-Qushāshī requested his student, Mullā Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī to compose a commentary on the *Tuhfat* purposely for 'Abd al-Ra'ūf of Singkel to be used as the basis of his teaching in the Malay Archipelago.³² 'Abd al-Ra'ūf went back to his home town after receiving the licence from his master, and became the leader of the Shattāriyyah Order of this region. With his high position as the *Shaykh al-Islām* in the Aceh Sultanate, he is believed to have played an important role in spreading this order among the Malays. Even though he did not have a good command of Malay compared to his Arabic, he wrote many works in Malay which were based mainly on the *Tuhfat* like his *Jawhar al-Ḥaqā'iq* and *Daqā'iq al-Hurūf*. These works seem to have gained the attention of Shaykh Dāwūd al-Faṭānī and promoted him to compose a work on the same subject.

As we mentioned earlier, Shaykh Dāwūd al-Faṭānī had benefited a lot from the *Daqā'iq al-Hurūf* of 'Abd al-Ra'ūf even though he did not mention the source. It is obvious since Shaykh Dāwūd al-Faṭānī quoted from it many passages which are almost verbatim. Besides, many other works either in Arabic or Malay are referred to by Shaykh Dāwūd al-Faṭānī in his work, *al-Manhal al-Şāfi*. There are sources whose authors and titles are mentioned by Shaykh Dāwūd al-Faṭānī, and on some occasions only names or titles are mentioned in *al-Manhal al-Şāfi*. Thus, we have attempted to identify the names and their works since they seem to be important to us to bear the interpretation of *al-Manhal al-Şāfi*. The sources, as chronologically mentioned in the text, are listed as follow:

³² See A. H. Johns (1965), *The Gift Addressed to the Spirit of the Prophet*, Canberra: Centre of Oriental Studies, The Australian National University, p. 8. Henceforth cited as GASP.

1. *Manāzil al-Insāniyyah*³³ by Shaykh Muhyiddīn ibn al-'Arabī (d.1240 C.E.).
2. *Tuḥfat al-Mursalah ilā Rūḥ al-Nabī*³⁴ by Shaykh Muḥammad ibn Faḍl Allāh al-Burhānpūrī (d.1620 C.E.).
3. *Jawāhir al-'Ulūm*³⁵ by Shaykh Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānirī (d.1658 C.E.).
4. *Kitāb Hikam*³⁶ by Shaykh Raslān al-Dimashqī (d.1145 C.E.).

³³ This work seems to be popular among the Sufis of the Malay world. It revolves around the famous poem about the Lofty Letters (*Ḥurūf 'āliyyāt*). This work is attributed to Ibn al-'Arabī but so far the book has not been discovered by anybody either in published form or in manuscript. This work has its commentary which al-Rānirī's mentioned in his *Jawāhir*, entitled *Sharḥ Manāzil al-Insāniyyah* by 'Abd Allāh al-Bastamī. See *Commentary*, p. 22. Besides, the work is also mentioned in al-Qāshānī's *Latā'if al-l'ām*, which also revolved around the poem about the Lofty Letters without further information about the work. See, 'Abd al-Razzāq al-Qāshānī (1996), *Latā'if al-l'ām fī Ishārat Ahl al-Iḥām*, edited by Sa'id 'Abd al-Fattāḥ, 2 vols., Cairo: Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyyah, 1: p. 407.

³⁴ This work has been translated into Malay and Javanese. A.H. Johns has made an English translation of the Javanese version of the *Tuḥfat* and also the Arabic original. See *GASP*.

³⁵ The last work of Rānirī was written in Aceh sometime between 1642 C.E. and 1644 C.E. The text, which comprised seven parts, discussed mainly the concept of Being or Existence, the Divine Names and Attributes, and the Permanent Archetypes (*a'yān thābitah*). Its manuscript, which remains unpublished, is kept in the Marsden Collection, text no. 1215; pp.21v-158r., School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, London. See *Commentary*, p. 153, footnote 61. Another manuscript of this text is kept in the personal collection of Tgk. M. Djamil. See Ahmad Daudy (1983), *Allah dan Manusia dalam Konsepsi Syekh Nuruddin ar-Raniry*, Jakarta: CV. Rajawali, p. 53-4.

³⁶ We are not sure that this work is identical to *Risālah fī al-Tawḥīd* since the *Hikam* is not known as the work of Shaykh Raslān al-Dimashqī. Drewes, in his introduction on the author of *Risālah fī al-Tawḥīd*, did not mention anything about the *Hikam* as well as Brokelmann's *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur* (GAL). However, according to Martin van Bruinessen, *Risālah fī al-Tawḥīd* is the commentary of al-Hikam of the same author while the *Faṭḥ al-Rahmān* of Zakariyyā Anṣārī is the commentary on Raslān's *Risālah fī al-Tawḥīd*. See *Kitab Kuning*, p. 80, footnote 33. See also G.W.J. Drewes (1977), *Directions for the Travelers on the Mystic Path*, The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff.

5. *Minah al-Ilāhiyyah*³⁷ by Shaykh Abū al-Mawāhib Muḥammad Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn ibn Muḥammad al-Ghamrī (d.1545 C.E.).
6. *Kitab al-Ḥikam*³⁸ by Shaykh Ibn ʿAtaʾ Allāh al-Sakandari (d. 1309 C.E.).
7. *Daqaʾiq al-Hurūf*³⁹ by Shaykh ʿAbd al-Raʾūf al-Singkili (d.ca.1661 C.E.).
8. *Qaṣd al-Sabīl*⁴⁰ by Shaykh Aḥmad al-Qushāshī (d. 1661 C.E.).
9. *al-Insān al-Kāmil*⁴¹ by Shaykh ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Jilī (d.1403 C.E.).
10. *Sayr al-Sulūk ilā Mālik al-Mulūk* by Shaykh Qāsim Khān (d.1697 C.E.).⁴²
11. *Sharḥ Khalwah*⁴³ by Shaykh ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Jilī (d.1402 C.E.).

³⁷ See GAL II, p. 440; S II, p. 463.

³⁸ Edited and translated into French by Paul Nwyia (1986) as *Ibn Ataʾ Allāh et la Naissance de la Confrérie Sadilite*, Beyrouth: Librairies Orientale. For an English translation, see Victor Danner (1984), *Ibn Ataʾ Allāh's Sufi Aphorisms*, Leiden: E. J. Brill. Here after cited as *Sufi Aphorisms*.

³⁹ The text has been romanized and translated by A. Johns in his "Daqaʾiq al-Huruf by ʿAbd al-Raʾuf of Singkel", *JRAS*, (1955): p. 55-73 (part I); p. 139-58 (part II).

⁴⁰ It is a commentary on his rhymed credal statement *al-ʿAqīdah al-Manzūmah* by his student Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī entitled *Qaṣd al-Sabīl* which was rendered into Malay, possibly by his student ʿAbd al-Raʾūf al-Singkili. See A.H. Johns, "al-Kushashi", *EI2*, 5 (1986): p. 525-26. See also GAL, S II, p. 86i.

⁴¹ The full title is *al-Insān al-Kāmil fī Maʾrifat al-Awāʾil waʾl-Awākhir*, Cairo: Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, 1956, in two parts.

⁴² He is Qāsim ibn Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Khānī al-Ḥalabī al-Qādiri (d. 1109/1697), the author of at least eight treatises. The most popular work of his is *Sayr al-Sulūk ilā Mālik al-Mulūk* as revealed by Brokelmann, GAL II, p. 344; S II, p. 472. See also van Ronkel (1913), *Supplement to the Catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts Preserved in the Museum of the Batavia Society of Arts and Sciences*, Batavia: [s.n.], p. 1-7.

⁴³ Its full title is *Sharḥ Asrār al-Khalwah*. See GAL, S I, p. 284.

12. *Risālah Waḥdat al-Wujūd*⁴⁴ by Shaykh 'Abd al-Ghanī al-Nabulūsī (1641-1731 C.E.).

Apart from these authors and their works cited and quoted by Shaykh Dāwūd al-Fatānī, there are other authors quoted by him without mentioning their works. They are, in chrono-logical order, Abū al-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī (d.1258 C.E.);⁴⁵ Abū al-Qāsim Junayd al-Baghdādī (d. 910 C.E.);⁴⁶ Muḥammad ibn Sahl ibn 'Atā';⁴⁷ Qāsim al-Jīlī,⁴⁸ Ṣadr al-Dīn

⁴⁴ There is no such title listed in Brokelmann's *GAL*, but perhaps it is identical to al-Nabulūsī's *al-Maqṣad fī Ma'nā Waḥdat al-Wujūd*. See *GAL*, S II, p. 473-76. In addition, the work might also refer to al-Nābulāsā (1969), *Idāḥ al-Maqṣūd min Waḥdat al-Wujūd*, Damascus: Maṭba'at al-'Ilm.

⁴⁵ He is Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abd al-Jabbār al-Shādhali or al-Shādhilī, born in Northern Morocco, in the village of Ghumara, in a part of the country between Ceuta and Tangiers, in 593/1196. He received his first *khirqah* from Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Harāzīm (d. 633/1236), a pupil of Abū Madyan, and continued his education in Iraq with Abū al-Faṭḥ al-Wāsiṭī (d. 632/1234), the disciple and *khalīfah* of Aḥmad Rifā'i. Abū al-Ḥasan al-Shādhali settled in Alexandria, Egypt in 1244 or 1252 C.E., the place where he won great renown whereby he and his successors received recognition and encouragement not only among the populace, but also the 'ulamā'. He died at Humaithira, in the Upper Egyptian desert whilst on his way back from performing *Hajj* in 656/1258. See P. Lory, "al-Shadhili", *Et*, 9 (1997): p. 170-72. See also J. Spencer Trimmingham (1971), *The Sufi Orders in Islam*, Oxford: Clarendon Press.

⁴⁶ He is Abū al-Qāsim al-Junayd ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Junayd al-Khazzāz al-Qawāriri who was born and brought up in Baghdad. This great Sufi of Baghdad and the author of many early treatises on Sufism died in Baghdad in 298/910. See Ali Hassan Abdel-Kader (1976), *The Life, Personality and Writings of al-Junayd*, London: E. J. W. Gibb Memorial.

⁴⁷ Perhaps he is the father of Shaykh Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Sahl ibn 'Atā' al-Adami, the celebrated Sufi master who was a contemporary of al-Junayd al-Baghdādī and Ibrāhīm al-Marasānī. Shaykh Aḥmad died in the year 309/921. See al-Qushayrī (1987), *al-Risālah al-Qushayriyyah fī 'Ilm al-Tasawwuf*, Beirut: Dār Usāmah, p. 40.

⁴⁸ We have not been able to identify the biographical background of this scholar.

al-Būnī (d. 1393 C.E.)⁴⁹ and Shaykh Zarrūq (1442-1493 C.E.).⁵⁰

Summary of the text of *al-Manhal al-Ṣāfi*

Shaykh Dāwūd al-Fatānī stated in the colophon of his work that he finished this work in the Holy City of Makkah but did not mention the date of its completion. The manuscript which we used as the main text for our translation stated that it was transcribed by 'Abd al-Rahmān bin 'Abd al-Ṣamad whom we believe was one of Dāwūd's student. The process of transcribing the work was completed in 1295 A.H., in the Holy City of Makkah. This work, as far as the contents are concerned, discussed mainly the seven degrees of existence or better known among the Malays as *Martabat Tujuh*. Besides, the author also compiled a Ṣūfī glossary which is widely used in major Ṣūfī works like Ibn al-'Arabī's

⁴⁹ We believe he is Shaykh Sadr al-Dīn al-Qunawī, a student and successor of Muhyiddīn ibn al-'Arabī. He was born in the province of Malathiyyah in Anatolia in 606/1209. It is reported that Ibn 'Arabī was a friend of Majd al-Dīn Ishāq, the father of Sadr al-Dīn. After the death of Majd al-Dīn, Ibn 'Arabī married Majd al-Dīn's wife and became the adopted father to Sadr al-Dīn. From then, Sadr al-Dīn began his study under Ibn al-'Arabī and became acquainted with the teaching of Ibn al-'Arabī and seems to have taken over the training of some of his disciples. He died in 673/1274 soon after the death of Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, the most famous Persian Ṣūfī poet and a good friend of him. He was buried in a mosque of Quniyah which is attributed to his name. See William Chittick, "The School of Ibn 'Arabī", in *History of Islamic Philosophy*, edited by Seyyed Hossein Nasr and Oliver Leaman, London: Routledge, 1996, 1: p. 510-23.

⁵⁰ He is Shihāb al-Dīn Abū al-'Abbās ibn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Īsā al-Barnūsī al-Fāsi, better known as Shaykh Zarrūq or Aḥmad Zarrūq (1442-1493 C.E.). He is considered to be one of the orthodox Sufi masters whose concern was largely directed towards alleviating the misunderstanding which had occurred in Islamic thought between Jurisprudence and Sufism. He is the author of a large number of works particularly on Sufism and also a commentator on the *Hikam* of Ibn 'Atā' Allāh al-Sakandari. See Ali Fahmi Khushaim (1976), *Zarrūq the Sufi: a Guide in the Way and a Leader to the Truth: A Biographical and Critical Study of a Mystic from North Africa*, Tripoli, Libya: General Company for Publication.

Futūḥāt al-Makkiyyah, al-Qushayrī's *al-Risālah al-Qushayriyyah*, al-Jīlī's *al-Insān al-Kāmil*, and others. Shaykh Dāwūd al-Fatānī had translated these Ṣūfī technical terms into Malay in order to facilitate his students' full understanding of the terms. Its purpose is also to help the people of the Malay region who cannot read Arabic to understand the Ṣūfī terms as well as the text as a whole. However, a precaution is given by Shaykh Dāwūd al-Fatānī for those non-experts that they should not read the Ṣūfī works on their own without proper guidance from a Ṣūfī master because only the Ṣūfī experts can fully understand the meaning. It is better to leave this matter to them and one should not criticise or try to interpret the meanings on one's own without a proper knowledge of this field. Otherwise, it may lead one astray from the right path. Meanwhile, the author also provided certain guidelines for the traveler to follow on his journey along the path of God. States and stations along which the traveler has to pass are also mentioned by the author. Throughout the discussion of the above aspects, we can divide the contents of the work into five parts;

1. Prologue
2. On the Doctrines of the Seven Degrees of Existence
3. On the Ṣūfī Technical Terms
4. Conclusion (*Khātimah*)
5. Admonition (*Maw'izah*)

1. Prologue

Shaykh Dāwūd al-Fatānī begins the prologue with an offering of praises to God and salutations to the Prophet (Allāh's blessing and peace be upon him), his family and Companions whom according to Shaykh Dāwūd al-Fatānī, are the true assistance of the Prophet in clarifying all the difficulties and obscurities of the teachings of Islam especially after the demise of the Prophet. Shaykh Dāwūd al-Fatānī, in his praises to God, refers to Him as the First and the Last, and the Manifest and the Hidden. God is the First since nothing is before Him. His being first is not

related to that which comes after Him, which is all existence seen and unseen, because that would mean that while he is the first, there is still the second. There is none like Him. His firstness means that there is none prior to Him, that He is self-existent that all comes from Him and that He is the cause of all that comes into being. As for God's attribute, He is the Last, nothing precedes him for He has no beginning and no end since He is eternal. As for all other than He that exists, they have two ends: a beginning when they were created, born; and an end when they were rendered naught and disappear. God is the Last because He remains eternal and when all disappears only He will exist. He is the Last in the sense that the circle of existence begins and ends with Him. The beginning and the end of all is from Him, all originate from Him and all return to Him.⁵¹ There is nothing before Him and there is nothing after Him. In fact, God's attributes of the First and the Last are normally recited side by side since their meaning is like the circle where the first point and the last point are one.

Shaykh Dāwūd al-Fatānī had also referred to God as the Manifest and the Hidden that nothing is more manifest and more hidden than He. God's existence is both manifest and hidden. He is apparent to some and hidden from others in accordance with their abilities to see and to realize God's Being. God Most Exalted is hidden from those who seek to see by means of their senses (*al-ḥawās*) or their imagination (*al-wahm*), but He is apparent to those who seek to know Him by wisdom and illuminative knowledge that God has bestowed upon them. He is hidden in the endlessness of His infinite power and existence. He is like a light that makes all visible, yet His Light itself becomes a veil to His Light. That which has no bounds in reality does not have a shape, therefore is invisible. In sum, Shaykh Dāwūd al-Fatānī quoted al-Rānirī from his *Jawāhir al-'Ulūm* as he said that God is the First (*al-Awwal*) in relation to His manifestation due to His predispositions (*shu'ūn*), His Acts

⁵¹ *Al-Baqarah*, 2: 156.

(*af'āl*), and His Rules (*ahkām*), and not due to His Essence (*dhāt*) because His Essence has no beginning. He is the Last (*al-Ākhir*) in relation to things returning to Him since His Essence has no end. He is the Manifest (*al-Zāhir*) in relation to all hearts of those who are perfect (*kāmil*) and who have arrived (*wāṣil*). He is the Hidden (*al-Bāṭin*) in relation to the hearts of those ignorant unbelievers (*kāfir laji jahil*). In fact, He is the Manifest in His very Hiddenness, and the Hidden in His very Manifestness, the First in His very Lastness, and the Last in His very Firstness. God encompasses all creatures, meaning He encompasses the first and the last, the manifest and the hidden of all creatures. Thus, God stated clearly in the Holy Qur'ān: *But Allāh doth encompass them from behind.*⁵²

Shaykh Dāwūd al-Fatānī continues this section by stating his reason for composing this work. According to him, the work is meant for his students and friends who constantly visit and ask him to compose a book to clarify certain matters in Ṣūfī teachings, such as the degrees of existence. In addition, his students asked him to give some guidelines for the traveler on the path of God. Realizing their needs, Shaykh Dāwūd al-Fatānī tried his very best to fulfill the request. With God's grace, Shaykh Dāwūd al-Fatānī firmly believed that He would guide and inspire us to the right course and finally to success in the Hereafter.

Shaykh Dāwūd al-Fatānī also warned his students not to read Ṣūfī works on their own unless they were guided by a Ṣūfī master who actually knew the right meanings intended throughout the work. According to Shaykh Dāwūd al-Fatānī, it is not permissible for the ordinary man to interpret Ṣūfī terms on their own since a person who does not understand the proper meaning will take the literal meaning of the terms. In fact, the terms carry wider and deeper meaning than what appears literally. Literal understanding, misunderstood can lead to unbelief (*kufr*). Due to this, a person is advised to consult and submit to a

⁵² *Al-Burūj*, 85: 20.

Ṣūfī master in order to clarify those technical terms. In other words, the ordinary man is prohibited from studying Ṣūfī works without proper guidance from the Ṣūfī master especially a person who does not understand the Ṣūfī terms.

2. On the Doctrine of the Seven Degrees of Existence

The greater part of this work is devoted to a discussion on the seven degrees of existence or better known among the Malays as "*Martabat Tujuh*". It is an explanation of the Sufi teachings, that is the concept of *Waḥdat al-Wujūd* (the unity of existence) formulated by Ibn al-'Arabī. The main source of this doctrine is the book of *al-Tuḥfat al-Mursalah ilā Rūḥ al-Nabī* written by Muḥammad ibn Faḍl Allāh al-Burhān-pūrī,⁵³ who lived during the second half of the 16th century. This book explains the process of God's self-manifestation (*tajallī*) from the being absolute and invisible into a visible universe through the process of seven degrees of manifestation. This method of explanation is intended to defend the view that God is the only real existence, and His existence is formless, limitless and countless. At the same time, it is also intended to prove the variety and limitations of the things visible.

This doctrine describes how the absolute existence became manifest in creation, and is recognizable through the seven levels of manifestation: *aḥadiyyah*, *waḥdah*, *wāḥidiyyah*, *'ālam arwāḥ*, *'ālam mithāl*, *'ālam ajsām*, and *'ālam insān*. These

⁵³ Very little is known about him except for his known work the *Tuḥfat al-Mursalah*. He was born in Gujerat and died in 1620 C.E. According to Voorhoeve, he was a friend of Sibghatū'LLāh ibn Rūḥ Allāh al-Barocī al-Madanī, who is mentioned in the Malay work, *Hikayat Aceh*, as living in Makkah and conversing with pilgrims from Aceh. Both were students of Wajih al-Dīn al-'Alawī who in turn was a student of Muḥammad ibn Khaṭīr al-Dīn of Gwalior, known as al-Ghawth al-Hindī. All belonged to the Shattāriyyah Order which was transmitted by Sibghatū'LLāh to Abū al-Mawāhib, al-Shinnawā, the teacher and father-in-law of Aḥmad al-Qushāshī, whose pupil, 'Abd al-Ra'ūf of Singkel spread this *ṭariqah* in the Indonesian countries. See Preface to the Arabic text of the *Tuḥfa* by P. Voorhoeve in *GASP*, p. 126-27

degrees of existence are divided into two classes: the first three stages, which are called *martabat ulūhiyyah* (the Divine Degree), are eternal and permanent, while the following last four stages are created, temporal and ephemeral. These two realities indicate the contrast between the existence of God and His creatures. On the one hand, the Divine Degree (*martabat ulūhiyyah*) is eternal and goes beyond time, while on the other hand, the realm of creation is new and temporal which constitutes the beginning, end and limits. This method of explanation is to show the Being of God as the absolute being (*wujūd mutlaq*) which is self-subsistent, while His creatures are metaphorical and contingent beings (*mumkin al-wujūd*) that are created by and dependent for their existence upon God Most Exalted. In other words, the real and true existence is only one that is the existence of God, for the existence of the creatures is just a form of manifestation of the Truth Most Exalted. The Ṣūfīs normally signify their explanation with the image in the mirror and the possessor of the image; to external perception they are seen as two existences, but the fact is not so because the existence of the image is not real.

The text discusses the aspects of *aḥadiyyah*, *waḥdah* and *waḥidiyyah* with emphasis on the relation between God's knowledge and His Essence, His Attributes, and the attributes of all being-existents. The degree of *aḥadiyyah* is also known as the degree of non-determination (*lā ta'ayyun*). The true and real existence is the existence of God because the existence of things other than He is obliterated in the degree of *aḥadiyyah*. According to Shaykh Dāwūd al-Fatānī, the Ṣūfīs normally signify this degree as a blank sheet of paper without anything written on it. This symbolizes the Absolute Existence that is free from any relation with anything that exists. The Ṣūfīs see only God's existence that is His Essence, since they are obliterated in His existence. Thus, the knowers say: *He who knows his Lord is ignorant (jāhil) of his own self.*

The degree of *waḥdah* is known as the first determination (*ta'ayyun awwal*) and also the Reality of Muḥammad

(*Ḥaḳīqat Muḥammadiyyah*). This degree refers to the relation between God's knowledge with His Essence, His Attributes, and the attributes of all being-existent in a general way. The symbol used to signify this degree is a dot in a circle. This dot, in fact, is the origin of all letters; meaning it carries in it all letters yet to be written undifferentiated in it, that is, they have not yet become manifested as individual letters. The degree of *wāḥidiyyah* is known as the second determination (*ta'ayyun thānī*), for it is determined in a particular way. It is also called the Reality of Man (*Ḥaḳīqat insāniyyah*). The Ṣūfīs signify this degree with an *alif* or any other letter that has become manifest in the circle. The manifestation of the letter *alif* is the perfection of the potentialities of all encompassing dot which has become individualized and manifest so long as there is no more change. Thus, it is called the second determination (*ta'ayyun thānī*), because the dot is the first determination (*ta'ayyun awwal*), while the *alif* is the second determination (*ta'ayyun thānī*).

The Ṣūfīs also give another example in order to ease the understanding of these degrees. The degree of *aḥadiyyah* is likened to our intellect (*dhihn*), when it is free from intellectualizing on any particular thing, and it is referred to as non-determination (*lā ta'ayyun*); then, when we begin to intellectualize on it, it is called the first determination (*ta'ayyun awwal*); and as we proceed further and the intellectualization remains continuous, it is called the second determination (*ta'ayyun thānī*). The two degrees of *waḥdah* and *wāḥidiyyah* are referred to as the realm of the known in the eternal knowledge of God, and here is the degree of the permanent archetypes (*a'yān thābitah*). The permanent archetypes refer to things established in relation to the known in the knowledge of God since pre-eternity (*azal*), in which nothing exists except His Essence and His Eternal Attributes. However, after God commanded the permanent archetypes with the utterance of the word "*kun*" (Be), the like of the permanent archetypes came into existence, which is called the external archetypes (*a'yān khārijiyyah*). It was originated because of the effect of the power of God Most

Exalted. At this stage, one should bear in mind that the external archetypes are not from the permanent archetypes because, according to Shaykh Dāwūd al-Fatānī, the permanent archetypes shall never ever smell the fragrance of existence. In fact, the external archetypes (*a'yān khārijiyyah*) are the image (*bayang-bayang*) of the permanent archetypes (*a'yān thābitah*).

The degrees of First Determination (*ta'ayyun awwal*) and Second Determination (*ta'ayyun thānī*) are the Station of the Prophets (*maqām anbiyā'*), and the Station of the Poles (*maqām aqṭāb*). Those who inherit these stations in their respective rank and are able to contemplate unity in multiplicity (*pandang wahdah di dalam kathrah*) are at the station of those who are the ascending ones (*taraqqī*), that is to see God in everything, as the people of God say: "I see nothing except I see God in it". As for those whose rank enables them to contemplate multiplicity in unity (*pandang kathrah di dalam wahdah*), that rank is referred to as the station of the descending ones (*tanazzul*). According to Shaykh Dāwūd al-Fatānī, the Perfect Knower (*al-ʿĀrif al-kāmil*) is not prevented from contemplating both of them together because multiplicity cannot be without unity, since it cannot be independent by itself, and the multiplicity is also originated in the unity, which is the Absolute Existence.

The knowers symbolized the contemplation of the multiplicity in unity with the date's seed. The seed contains the trunk, the frond, the flower, the fruit, and everything complete in it; while the contemplation of unity in multiplicity is to see the fruit, the trunk, the flower, the frond and the branch as contained in the seed. When they are all contained in the seed unseen, they are referred to as the very seed itself. Once they become manifest, each with their characteristics, then they are different from the seed. Another illustration, given by Shaykh Dāwūd al-Fatānī, is the twenty-eight letters of the Arabic alphabet. He elaborated, thus, before the letters are written out hidden in the ink, they are ink even until at the very point where they are at the nib of the pen, they are still ink; but as soon

as they are written out on a tablet, they are different both from the ink and the pen.

The next four degrees after the degrees of *ahadiyyah*, *wahdah*, and *wāḥidiyyah* are '*ālam arwāḥ* (the World of Spirit), '*ālam mithāl* (the World of Images), '*ālam ajsām* (the World of Bodies), and '*ālam insān kāmīl* (the World of Perfect Man). These four degrees are created, temporal, and ephemeral. The degree of '*ālam arwāḥ* is the realm of the living things and what is posited in the mind as being, which comes under the sway of the command "*kun*" (Be), the reflections of God's Simple Act without any intermediary. The first thing that God created is *Nūr Muḥammad* (the Light of Muḥammad) which He created from His Light. But it does not mean that it is part of God's Light since one of God's Names is *Nūr* (the Light) as mentioned in the Holy Qur'ān: "God is the Light of the heavens and earth".⁵⁴ At the same time, Prophet Muḥammad (Allāh's blessing and peace be upon him) is also referred to as Light (*nūr*) in the Holy Qur'ān: "There hath come to you from Allāh a new light",⁵⁵ meaning that there has come to you from God a light that is Muḥammad. In fact, he is the spirit of all the Prophets (*anbiyā'*), the Messengers (*mursalīn*), and the Believers (*mu'minīn*). Since his spirit is the origin of all spirits (*aṣl al-arwāḥ*), he is called the Perfect Manifestation (*mazhar al-atamm*), the Seal of the Prophets (*khātam al-nabiyyīn*), the Leader of the Messengers (*sayyid al-mursalīn*), and the Mercy for all creatures (*rahmatan li'l-'ālamīn*). Therefore, Prophet Muḥammad (Allāh's blessing and peace be upon him) is the perfect manifestation of God's Names and Attributes. He is, then, the one who governs the Macrocosmos ('*ālam kabīr*) and the Microcosmos ('*ālam ṣaghīr*).

The fifth degree is the degree of '*ālam mithāl* (the World of Images) which is also called '*ālam khayāl* (the World of

⁵⁴ *Al-Nūr*, 24: 35.

⁵⁵ *Al-Mā'idah*, 5: 15.

Imagination). The World of Images is what occurred and is posited in the mind and comes under the sway of the command "*kun*" (Be), composed of imaginary part that cannot be further divided nor separated, and cannot be apportioned, separated or combined because of its subtleness and fineness.

The sixth degree is the degree of *'ālam ajsām* (the World of Bodies) which is rough, composed of the four main elements, namely fire, air, water, and earth. From these elements, five things come into being: the mineral (*jamād*), the vegetable (*nabāt*), the animal (*ḥayawān*), man (*insān*), and the angel (*jinn*). The World of Bodies (*'ālam ajsām*) is what is posited in the mind and comes under the sway of the command "*kun*" (Be), which is composed of rough things that can be further sub-divided, separated and combined.

The seventh degree is the degree of *'ālam insān kāmīl* (the World of perfect Man) which is the combination of all the physical degrees; namely the World of Images (*'ālam mithāl*) and the World of Bodies (*'ālam ajsām*); the eternal light, that is the *aḥadiyyah*; and the originated, that is the World of Spirit (*'ālam arwāḥ*) which combines both the degree of *waḥdah* and *wāḥidiyyah*. This is, in fact, the last manifestation which is called the degree of the Perfect Man (*martabat insān kāmīl*).

3. On the Şūfī Technical Terms

Beside the doctrine of the seven degrees of existence, Shaykh Dāwūd al-Fatānī also paid more attention to the Şūfī technical terms. According to Shaykh Dāwūd al-Fatānī, prominent Şūfī masters used a number of terms that only their associates understand. Normally, their terms contain deeper meanings which need further commentary. Moreover, most of their terms are obscure (*mutashābihāt*) in meaning which the ordinary man should not take literally, for their literal meaning may appear to contradict the *Shari'ah*, but their inner meanings do not contradict the hidden sense of the *Shari'ah*. Thus, one must be careful not

to take their expressions lightly. Without proper knowledge of Sufism, people can be misled to unbelief (*kufr*) when they misinterpret the text. To avoid any misinterpretation, Shaykh Dāwūd al-Faṭānī suggested that those who do not understand the meaning should consult and submit to a Ṣūfī master.

Shaykh Dāwūd al-Faṭānī presented us with the Malay Ṣūfī glossary⁵⁶ used by many prominent Ṣūfī masters in their writings like Ibn al-'Arabī's *Futūḥāt al-Makkiyyah*, Abū Naṣr al-Sarrāj's *Kitāb al-Luma'*, al-Jīlī's *al-Insān al-Kāmil* and many others. In addition, these terms too had been used and sometimes translated into Malay by the Ṣūfī scholars of the Malay region. We can see them in many Ṣūfī works written in Malay like the works of Hamzah al-Fansūrī's *Asrār al-Insān* and *Sharāb al-'Āshiqīn*, Shams al-Dīn al-Sumatrā's *Nūr al-Daqā'iq*, Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānirī's *Hujjat al-Ṣiddiq* and *Jawāhir al-'Ulūm*, 'Abd al-Ra'ūf al-Singkīlī's *Daqā'iq al-Hurūf*, 'Abd al-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī's *Sayr al-Sālikīn* and *Hidāyat al-Sālikīn*, and Muḥammad Nafīs al-Banjārī's *al-Durr al-Nafīs*. In fact, these scholars are the most prominent Ṣūfī masters in the history of the Malay-Indonesian archipelago.

As stated earlier, the author's objective in compiling the Ṣūfī technical terms is to help people, especially the novice, in understanding the meaning intended by the Ṣūfīs, and to avoid any possible misinterpretation of the meaning of the terms among the common people who do not possess a good command of the Arabic language. Even though we might find other Ṣūfī works written in Malay, as far as works on a Ṣūfī glossary is concerned, we have not found any Malay books such as this one by Shaykh Dāwūd al-Faṭānī. We believe that this work is the first attempt by a Malay scholar to translate Ṣūfī terms into Malay and compose them into a glossary for reference purposes. The author compiled 35 terms which he considered fundamental and frequently used in Ṣūfī works. Most of the terms that Shaykh Dāwūd al-Faṭānī composed can be found in the

⁵⁶ For the full list of the glossary in original version, we have attached them at the end of this article.

Kitāb al-Ta'rifāt of al-Jurjānī from which he sometimes translated directly. With the help of the *Mu'jam al-Muṣṭalahāt al-Şūfiyyah* compiled by Dr. Anwār Fu'ād Abū Khuzam,⁵⁷ we are able to trace almost all the sources of the Şūfī terms cited in *al-Manhal al-Şāfī*. At least nine major works and dictionaries on Sufism are referred by Shaykh Dāwūd al-Fatānī. They are: *Kitāb al-Luma'* by Abū Naṣr al-Sarrāj,⁵⁸ *al-Ta'arruf li-Madhhab Ahl al-Taṣawwuf* by al-Kalābādhi,⁵⁹ *al-Risālah al-Qushayriyyah* by Abū al-Qāsim al-Qushayrī,⁶⁰ *Awārif al-Ma'ārif* by al-Suhrawardī,⁶¹ *al-Insān al-Kāmil* by 'Abd al-Karīm al-Jīlī,⁶² *Iṣṭilāḥāt al-Şūfiyyah* by Muḥyiddīn ibn al-'Arabī,⁶³ *al-Iṣṭilāḥāt al-Şūfiyyah* by 'Abd al-Razzāq al-Qāshānī,⁶⁴ *Kitāb al-Ta'rifāt* by al-Jūrjānī,⁶⁵ and *Kashshāf Iṣṭilāḥāt al-Funūn* by al-Tahānawī.⁶⁶

In relation to the technical terms, the Şūfis also utilized symbolic terms and similes in order to describe and signify

⁵⁷ This is a dictionary of the Sufi terminology in which the author compiled major Sufi technical terms taken from 13 major Sufi works. The work provides us with Sufi terms as well as their meanings defined by major Sufi masters like Ibn al-'Arabī, al-Ghazālī, al-Jīlī, al-Jurjānī, al-Sarrāj, al-Kalābādhi, al-Qushayrī, al-Suhrawardī, al-Qāshānī, al-Hujwiri, and al-Tahānawī. See Anwār Fu'ād Abī Khuzam (1993), *Mu'jam al-Muṣṭalahāt al-Şūfiyyah (mustakhraj min ummahāt al-kutub al-yanbū'iyyah)*, Beirut: Maktabah Lubnan.

⁵⁸ Edited by 'Abd al-Ḥalīm Maḥmūd, Cairo: Dār al-Kutub al-Ḥadīthah, 1960.

⁵⁹ Edited by Maḥmūd Amīn al-Nawawī, Cairo: Maktabah al-Kulliyāt al-Azhariyyah, 1969.

⁶⁰ Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyyah, 1998. For an English translation, see B.R. von Schlegel (1990), *Principles of Sufism*, Berkeley: Mizan Press.

⁶¹ Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-'Arabī, 1983. For an English translation, see H. Wilberforce Clarke (1984), *The Awarif ul-Ma'arif*, New Delhi: Taj Company.

⁶² Edited by Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān Salāh ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Uwaydah, Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyyah, 1997.

⁶³ Translated into English by Rabia Terri Harris, "Sufi Terminology: Ibn al-'Arabī's al-Istilah al-Sufiyyah", *JMIAS* 3 (1984): p. 27-54.

⁶⁴ Edited by Muḥammad Kamāl Ibrāhīm Ja'far, Cairo: al-Hay'at al-Misriyyah al-'Āmmah li'l-Kitāb, 1981.

⁶⁵ Edited by 'Abd al-Mun'im al-Hifnī, Cairo: Dār al-Rashād, 1991.

⁶⁶ 4 vols., Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyyah, 1998.

the abstract. Hence, one must take into consideration that such symbolic terms and similes are used only for the sake of explanation to aid the understanding in grasping the meanings, but one must not equate them since similes do not imply likeness. God is beyond any description or similes. In fact, the symbol and the thing symbolized are not identical. Such a symbol which is used in the treatise of *al-Manhal al-Ṣāfi* is, for example, a blank sheet of paper without anything written on it which symbolizes the degree of *aḥadiyyah*. It is so in order to describe the degree of the Absolute that it is free from relation with anything that exists. The degree of *waḥdah* is symbolized with a dot in the circle. This dot which is the origin of all letters refers to the relation between God's knowledge with His Essence, Attributes, and the attributes of all-existence in a general way. The degree of *wāḥidiyyah*, furthermore, is symbolized with an *alif* or any other letter that has become manifest in the circle. This letter is a perfection of the potentialities of all encompassing dot which has become individuated and manifest so long as there is no change. This simile refers to the relation between God's knowledge and His Essence, Attributes, and the attributes of all being-existence in a particular way.

On other occasions, the Ṣūfīs have given other examples to explain the three degrees of existence in order to facilitate our understanding. For instance, the degree of *aḥadiyyah* is likened to our intellect (*dhihn*), when it is free from intellectualizing on any particular thing, that is referred to as the degree of non-determination (*lā ta'ayyun*). When you begin to intellectualize on it, it is called the first determination (*ta'ayyun awwal*). As you proceed further and the intellectualization remains continuous, that is called the second determination (*ta'ayyun thānī*), while the two degrees of *waḥdah* and *wāḥidiyyah* are likened to the realm of the known in God's eternal knowledge, and are called the permanent archetypes (*a'yān thābitah*). The permanent archetypes refer to things established in the relation to the known in God's knowledge since pre-eternity (*azal*), in

which nothing exists except His Essence and His Eternal Attributes. The permanent archetypes, however, will never smell the fragrance of existence, meaning even before the word 'Be' (*kun*) is uttered.

In fact, Shaykh Dāwūd al-Fatānī used many symbols and similes in his explanation of the Ṣūfī concept. In order to elaborate the saying of Ibn al-'Arabī "All is He" or the saying of al-Burhānpūrī "All is God", Shaykh Dāwūd al-Fatānī used two illustrations. The first illustration is the twenty-eight letters of the alphabet. Before they are written out, they are ink, even until they are at a nib of the pen, they are still ink. But as soon as they are written out on a tablet, they are different both from the ink and the pen. The second illustration is that of twigs, branches and leaves. When they are all contained in the seed unseen, that is all of them, they are referred to as the very seed itself. Once they become manifest, each with their own characteristics, then they are different from the seed. All these cannot exist prior to the manifestation of the very seed, for the seed is the seed, the twigs are the twigs, the branches are the branches, and the leaves are the leaves even before they grow from the seed. Realities cannot be mixed or exchanged. This is what some Ṣūfīs said:

The servant remains servant, even if he were to ascend

And the Lord remains the Lord, even if He were to descend⁶⁷

4. Conclusion (*Khātimah*)

Since this work is meant for the novices, the conclusion of the work is devoted primarily to advice for them in their spiritual journey. First and foremost, Shaykh Dāwūd al-Fatānī reminded the novice to observe God's commands and prohibitions, and to follow the way of the Prophet Muḥammad to the best of their ability. Shaykh Dāwūd al-

⁶⁷ The original version said "*al-'abd 'abdun wa-in taraqqī, wa'l-rabb rabbun wa-in tanazzal*".

Fatānī stressed that the right journey to seek God is by following the path of the Prophet Muḥammad (Allāh's blessing and peace be upon him), meaning to follow the way of the Prophet in his practices and his abstinences, his acts and his behaviour. This is in line with what God has confirmed in the Holy Qur'ān in which the Prophet is the example par excellence.⁶⁸ Shaykh Dāwūd al-Fatānī also quoted the saying of the Ṣūfīs, "*Whoever does not preserve the roots (uṣūl), he shall not arrive (wuṣūl)*", meaning whoever does not follow the example of the Prophet (God's blessing and peace be upon him), he is prohibited from arriving at God the Most Exalted. What is meant by the roots (uṣūl) are the Holy Qur'ān and the Sunnah of the Prophet. Thus, a novice should realize that the best example to follow in his servitude ('ibādah) is the practices of the Prophet (Allāh's blessing and peace be upon him). As a result, he is rewarded for his practices with the sweetness of worship. Here, we can observe that Shaykh Dāwūd al-Fatānī presents us with the fundamental sources in the Ṣūfī practices which became the prerequisite for a novice to arrive at God. The Holy Qur'ān and the traditions of the Prophet which enshrined in the Prescribed Law (*sharī'ah*) are the primary sources for the novice to rely on in his journey towards God. Hence, it is not correct that certain people regard Sufism as being beyond Islamic boundaries for it is not based on the true '*naṣṣ*' of Islam: the Qur'ān and the Sunnah.

According to Shaykh Dāwūd al-Fatānī, a traveler (*sālik*) will pass through stages along the spiritual journey. The progress from one station to another is attained by the servants through their serious effort to attain spiritual progress and keep the right conduct (*adab*) towards his Ṣūfī masters. Above all, states are bestowed as gifts by God. Shaykh Dāwūd al-Fatānī added that the traveler (*sālik*) on the path of God will have to cut off everything that he sees and thinks except God, the One and Only One (*al-wāḥid al-aḥad*), referring to the traveler being in the state of passing

⁶⁸ *Al-Aḥzāb*, 33: 21.

away (*fanā'*) in God. At this stage, he does not look at or see anything that is other than God, and his heart is free from any impurities (*akdār*) and what is other than God (*aghyār*). At this moment, his heart is filled with illuminative knowledge (*ma'rifat*) and secrets (*asrār*), and thereby ready to bear the responsibility of God's trust. The first stage that the traveler has to pass through during his journey along the path of God is the World of the Kingdom (*'ālam mulk*) which also known as the World of Humanity (*'ālam nāsūt*) because it can be observed with our naked eyes such as bodies and others. After that, he passes through the World of the Dominion (*'ālam malakūt*) which can be seen with the heart, the spiritual organ of illuminative knowledge. It is also known as the World of the Heart (*'ālam al-qalb*) as well as the World of the Hereafter (*'ālam al-ākhirah*). After that, he goes on through the World of Sovereignty (*'ālam al-jabarūt*) that is the World of Spirits (*'ālam arwāh*). Then, he goes on through the World of Divinity (*'ālam lāhūt*), that is the World of Secret (*'ālam sirr*), the secret of God the Most Exalted. At this stage, all disappears and he sees nothing except God. At this moment, he knows not of himself except God, and he knows not of his existence and his non-existence. In fact, this is called passing away (*fanā' fī-Allāh*), and subsisting in God (*baqā' bi-Allāh*). Finally, with God's grace, the traveler arrives at the level of true and real certainty (*Ḥaqq al-yaqīn*).

5. Admonition (*Maw'izah*)

The last part of *al-Manhal al-Şāfī* is an admonition in which Shaykh Dāwūd al-Fatānī advises his students to establish worship (*'ibādah*) only for God, that is by establishing true servitude (*al-'ubūdiyyah*) to God, neither for the sake of self desire nor stations or anything else, for it is the beginning of the journey for those who aim to arrive at God. So, a man whose heart is illuminated is more determined than ever to find God and unto Him alone he asks for help in his journey towards Him. And the means for him to achieve

his goals, according to Shaykh Dāwūd al-Faṭānī, are not stable throughout the journey until he arrives at the Presence of the Holy (*Ḥaḍrat Quds*), that is the carpet of intimacy (*uns*), the place of intimate supplication (*munājāt*), the opening of conversation (*mufāṭahah*), anticipation (*muwājahah*), the communion (*mujālasah*), the conversation (*muhādathah*), the contemplation (*mushāhadah*), and the attentive contemplation (*mutāla'ah*). Thus, the presence of God is a place of those of stable hearts, and a place of return and living. These are the eight things that God bestows upon His servant who seriously performs all His commands and abandons all His prohibitions. This man who is granted with certainty and steadfastness is, therefore, referred to as one of the People of Spiritual Steadfastness (*ahl al-tamkīn*).

Appendix:

The Malay Şūfī Glossary in the MS. of *al-Manhal al-Şāfī*

1. *al-Ittisāl* (الاتصال))
ya'ni berhubung kata *nūr ittisāl* itu, mukāshafah hati dan mushāhadah sirr. Dan kata setengah *ittisāl* itu tiada memandang hamba akan yang lain daripada Tuhan yang menjadikan dia dan tiada berhubung sirrnya itu akan lintasnya bagi yang lain daripada Allāh
2. *Wuṣul ilā Allāh* (وصول إلى الله))
ya'ni setengah daripada istilah mereka itu sampai kepada Allāh. Maka murād daripada "sampai kepada Allāh" itu sampai kepada mengenal akan Dia, ya'ni mengenal akan tiada yang berbuat dan berlaku pada kawn ini dan yang mempunyai sifat dan yang mawjūd melainkan Allāh; dengan dhawq dan wijdān, tiada dengan dalil dan burhān
3. *Murāqabah* (مراقبة))
iaitu mengekalkan pengetahuan hamba dengan melihat Tuhan akan dia atas sekalian kelakuannya; atau dikatanya erti *murāqabah* itu iaitu memfanā'kan hamba akan af'ālnya dan şifātnya dan dhātnya di dalam af'āl Allāh dan şifātNya dan dhātNya
4. *Mushāhadah* (مشاهدة))
iaitu melihat akan Tuhan yang sebenarnya di dalam tiap-tiap dharrah daripada segala *dharrah al-wujūd* ini serta disucikan daripada barang yang tiada patut dengan kebesaran-Nya
5. *Shuhūd* (شهود))
iaitu melihat Haqq dengan Haqq
6. *Tajallī* (تجلي))
iaitu barang yang dibukakan bagi hati orang yang sālik daripada beberapa nur yang datang daripada ghaib. Jika daripada dhātanya dengan tiada dii'tibarkan sifat, dinamai *tajallī dhāt*; dan jika daripada sifat, maka dinamakan *tajallī şifāt*; dan jika daripada af'āl, maka dinamakan *tajallī af'āl*. Maka *tajallī asmā'* itu iaitu barang yang dibukakan bagi hati orang yang salik setengah daripada asmā' Allāh Ta'ālā, maka jadi hilang sālik itu di bawah *nūr* demikian isim itu. Sekira-kira jadilah apabila diseru oleh Haqq dengan demikian isim ini nescaya disahutnya oleh orang yang sālik itu. Maka *tajallī şifāt* itu barang yang dibukakan Allāh satu

sifat daripadaNya bagi hati orang yang sâlik dan adalah yang demikian itu kemudian daripada fanâ' sifatnya. Um-pamanya jika ditajallî Allâh Ta'âlâ dengan *şifat sama'*, maka jadilah orang yang sâlik itu mendengar daripada sekalian yang mawjûd yang bersuara seperti binatang dan yang tiada bersuara seperti kayu, batu dan lainnya. Maka *tajallî af'âl* itu iaitu barang yang dibukakan Allâh bagi hati sâlik daripada af'âl Allâh Ta'âlâ sekira-kira dilihat sekalian perkara itu berlaku dengan qudrat Allâh Ta'âlâ. Ialah yang mengerjakan dan yang mendiamkan akan sebagai shuhûd yang hâlî lagi dhawqî, tiada mengetahui melainkan ahlinya. Maka di sini tempat tergelincir kaki orang yang sâlik karena ia menafikan perbuatannya sekali-kali, maka hendaklah sangat-sangat memegang akan shari'ah

7. *al-Shawq* (الشوق)
iaitu cita-hati kepada mendapat kasihnya

8. *Maḥabbah* (محبة)
iaitu cenderung hati kepada mendapat keelokan ḥaḍrat ketuhanan

9. *Hâl* (حال)
iaitu barang yang datang atas hati orang yang sâlik daripada

suka atau duka atau haybah, jika pergi datang tiada tetap dengan tiada diperbuatnya dan tiada diusahanya, dinamakan *hâl*. Dan jika kekal, maka jadilah tabi'atnya, dinamakan maqâm. Maka *hâl* itu perberian dan maqâm itu dengan diusahakan

10. *ʿIlm al-yaqîn* (علم اليقين)
iaitu 'ilmu yang hasil dengan dalil 'aqal; dan *'Ayn al-yaqîn* (عين اليقين) iaitu pengetahuan yang hasil dengan dilihatnya; dan *Ḥaqq al-yaqîn* (حق اليقين) iaitu fanâ' sifat hamba pada sifat Tuhannya dan baqâ' ia dengan Dia

11. *al-Ṭams* (الطمس)
iaitu hilang ya'ni hapus segala tanda sekalian pada sifat Allâh; maka ia itu satu bagi daripada fanâ'

12. *al-Jam'* (الجمع)
iaitu shuhûd akan segala perkara dengan Allâh Ta'âlâ dan melepaskan dirinya daripada daya dan upaya kepada Allâh Ta'âlâ

13. *Jam' al-jam'* (جمع الجمع)
iaitu memfanâ'kan dirinya dan segala akwân, tiada ada melainkan Allâh Ta'âlâ; iaitu yang dinamakan martabat *aḥadiyyah*

14. *al-Farq al-awwal*

(الفرق الأول)

iaitu ḥāl sālik melihat akan makhluk terdinding daripada Ḥaqq, maka tiada ia melihat melainkan makhluk jua

15. *al-Farq al-thānī*

(الفرق الثاني)

iaitu ḥāl orang yang muntahī; iaitu melihat berdiri segala makhluk dengan Ḥaqq dan melihat ia akan waḥdah pada kathrah dan melihat pula kathrah pada waḥdah, tiada mendinding salah satu daripada lainnya

16. *Tajrid* (تجريد)

iaitu sunyi hati daripada yang lain dan segala akuan pada hatinya dan sirrnya

17. *Taqwā* (تقوى)

iaitu menjauhkan daripada tiap-tiap yang berdosa daripada perbuatan dan mengekalkan suruhNya, iaitu taqwā orang yang 'awwām, dan taqwa orang yang khawwāṣṣ itu, maka iaitu menyucikan hati daripada tiap-tiap yang meimbangan daripada Allāh Ta'ālā

18. *Himmah* (همه)

iaitu berhadap hati dengan segala kuatnya yang ruhani kepada Yang Sebenar supaya hasil kamal baginya atau bagi yang lainnya

19. *Ikhlās* (إخلاص)

dan iaitu disamakan perbuatan pada zahirnya dan batinnya atau menunggalkan Ḥaqq Subḥānahu wa Ta'ālā pada mengerjakan ta'at atau menyucikan hati daripada akan dayanya dan upayanya

20. *Sidq* (صدق)

iaitu disamakan zahir dan batin atau dikatakan dibenarkan qasadnya serta Tuhannya dan tiada dihiraunya barang yang datang daripada kecelaan daripada makhluk

21. *al-Haybah* (الهيبة)

iaitu membenarkan Ḥaqq Ta'ālā dengan mekecilkan [mengecilkan] pada matanya segala makhluk dan demikian ta'zīm iaitu membenarkan Ḥaqq Ta'ālā dengan me[ng]-hinakan makhluk

22. *Munajat* (مناجات)

iaitu berkata-kata sirr tat kala jernih hati serta Tuhannya, Raja yang amat keras

23. *Ṣāliḥ* (صالح)

iaitu yang berdiri ia dengan segala ḥuqūq Allāh dan segala ḥuqūq hambaNya, dan melazim atas mengerjakan ta'at dan menjauhkan segala tegah dan memutuskan nafsu di dalam keinginannya

24. *Waliy* (ولي)

iaitu mereka yang diperintahkan segala pekerjaannya. Dan 'alamat wali itu, mereka yang lemah lembut lidahnya dan baik perangainya dan manis mukanya dan murah nafsunya dan sedikit i'tirādnya dan qabūl 'udhūr orang yang kesalahan dan sempurna kasih sayang atas segala makhluk Allāh. Kata Muḥammad anak Sahl anak 'Atā' (rahmatu'Llāh Ta'ālā): 'Alamat wali itu empat perkara; pertama: memelihara-kan *sirr* pada barang yang antaranya dan antara Allāh Ta'ālā; keduanya: memelihara-kan segala anggotanya pada barang yang antaranya dan antara suruhan Allāh Ta'ālā; dan ketiga: menanggung kesakitan barang yang antaranya dan antara segala makhluk Allāh Ta'ālā; dan keempatnya: meraikan segala makhluk atas qadar bersalah-salahan 'aqal mereka itu

25. *al-Taṣawwuf* (التصوف)

iaitu berhenti serta adab shari'at yang zahir dan batin maka melihat akan hukumnya daripada zahir di dalam batinnya dan daripada batin pada zahirnya. Maka hasillah daripada dua hukum itu sempurna yang tiada sempurna kemudian daripadanya; atau dikatakan iaitu jernih zahir daripada

dosa dan jernih batin daripada aghyār

26. *al-Sharī'ah* (الشريعة)

ertinya shari'ah itu iaitu mengerjakan segala yang disuruhnya Allāh dan menjauhkan segala yang ditegah Allāh

27. *'Ishq* (عشق) dan *'Ashiq* (عاشق) dan *Ma'shūq* (معشوق)

maka murād daripada *'ishq* itu iaitu seperti umpama yang menilik cermin, dan murad daripada *'āshiq* iaitu beberapa cermin yang bersih, dan murād daripada *ma'shūq* itu, rupa yang di kelihatan di dalam cermin. Maka menilik cermin itu iaitu dhāt Allāh, dan cermin yang bersih itu iaitu *a'yān thābitah*, dan rupa yang kelihatan di dalam cermin itu iaitu *wujūd idāfi* ialah yang diberahikan oleh *a'yān thābitah*

28. *A'yān thābitah* (أعيان ثابتة)

iaitu 'ibarat daripada haqiqat segala ashyā' pada martabat 'ilmu, sekali-kali tiada ia mawjūd tetapi adalah ia ma'dūm yang thābit di dalam 'ilmu Haqq Ta'ālā. Sekali-kali tiada ia keluar jadi *a'yān khārijiyyah* dan tiada ia zahir jadi *wujūd 'ayni* tetapi adalah ia kekal atas hālnya di dalam *buṭūn* iaitu *shu'ūn dhāt* yang

nyata pada martabat waḥdah. Dari karena bahawasanya adalah buṭūn itu dhātī bagiNya dan yang zahir jadi a'yān khārijiyyah itu segala hukum-Nya dan āthārNya dan lawāzimNya' dengan sebab wujud Ḥaqq Ta'ālā dari karena tiada ada dari sana wujud, hanya wujud Ḥaqq Ta'ālā jua

29. A'yān khārijiyyah

(إلياس) dan *Ilbās* (أعيان خارجية) iaitu barang yang dita'alluq oleh lafaz *kun*. Dinamakan akan dia 'ālam dan dinamai pula *zill al-thānī* dan *kā'ināt* pun namanya, dan mawjūdāt pun namanya, dan makhḷūq pun namanya

30. Huwiyyah (هوية)

iaitu dhātNya yang sematamata dengan sekira-kira dhāt jua, tiada dii'tibar dengan sifat, dan tiada dii'tibarkan pula dengan tiada sifat dan dinamakan pula *ḥaqīqat al-ḥaqā'iq*. Dan jika dii'tibarkan ia suatu daripada segala sifat yang lebih atas dhāt itu dinamakan *aḥadiyyah* dan dinamakan *al-'amā'* pula. Dan jika dii'tibar bersifat dengan segala sifat kamālāt, maka dinamakan wāḥidiyyah dan ilāhiyyah dan segala sifat Tuhan itu. Jika ta'alluq ia dengan kasih sayang dan rahmat, dinamakan dia dengan sifat *jamāl* atau

bergantung ia dengan qahar-Nya, maka dinamakan *jalāl*

31. *Sukr* (سكر) dan *Ṣaḥw* (صحو)

dan *sukr* itu mengeras atas ḥāl-nya, ya'ni mengeras atasnya mabuk ingat akan kekasihnya. Dan *ṣaḥw* itu kembali ia kepada ḥālnya, ya'ni kepada mendirikan 'ubūdiyyah

32. *Maḥw* (محو) dan *Ithbāt* (إثبات)

dan *maḥw* itu hilang segala sifat dirinya dan *ithbāt* itu menyabitkan barang yang didatangkan atasnya daripada segala bekas kekasih

33. *Murīd* (مرید) dan *Murād* (مراد)

maka *murīd* itu iaitu sālik yang berkehendak dan *murād* itu orang yang dikehendaki iaitu Allāh Ta'ālā

34. 'Ilm al-ladunni

(علم اللدني)

iaitu 'ilmu yang hasil dengan tiada usaha, daripada Allāh Ta'ālā kepada hambaNya yang 'arīfīn

35. *Tawḥīd* (توحيد)

iaitu mengesakan Allāh pada wujudNya dan adalah baginya empat bahagi. Pertama: *Tawḥīd Ulūhiyyah*; dan kedua, *Tawḥīd Af'āl*; dan ketiga: *Tawḥīd Ṣifāt*;

dan keempat: *Tawhīd Dhāt*. Maka *Tawhīd Ulūhiyyah* itu mengesakan Allāh pada ketuhanannya. Dan *Tawhīd Af'āl* itu mengesakan perbuatan, ya'ni ialah yang berbuat dan yang melakukan pada *kawn* ini dengan *dhawq* dan *wijdān*. Dan *Tawhīd Ṣifāt* itu iaitu mengesakan sifat bagi Allāh, ya'ni tiada yang hidup dan tiada yang 'alim dan tiada yang kuasa melainkan Allāh Ta'ālā, maka hilang daripada segala sifat dirinya dan daripada daya dan upaya dirinya. Dan *Tawhīd Dhāt* itu iaitu tiada ada mawjūd melainkan Allāh Ta'ālā, tiada dilihat akan wujud yang lain daripada wujudNya dan tiada dilihat wujud dirinya dan tiada dilihat 'adamnya. Kata Shaykh Abū al-Mawāhib Muḥammad Zayn al-'Ābidīn ibn Muḥammad al-Ghumrī (rahmatul'Lāh Ta'ālā) di dalam kitabnya yang bernama *Minaḥ al-Ilāhiyyah*:

"Bermula tawhīd itu empat martabat; Pertama: *Lā ilāh illā Allāh* serta lalai hati daripadanya atau serta engkar akan dia seperti tawhīd orang yang munāfiq. Kedua: Tawhīd segala 'awwām muslimīn iaitu menyebut *Lā ilāh illā Allāh* serta membenarkan pada hatinya akan yang demikian itu. Ketiga: tawhīd orang yang muqar-

rabīn iaitu memandangkan dengan matahatinya atas jalan kashaf dengan perantaraan *nūr al-ḥaqq* seperti ia melihat akan segala perkara itu keluar ia sekalian daripada Allāh Ta'ālā dengan ḥāl. Keempat: *tawhīd khawwāṣṣ al-khawwāṣṣ* iaitu bahawa tiada dilihatnya pada wujud ini melainkan Tuhan yang Esa dan ialah yang dinamakan Ahl al-Ṣūfī *fanā'* di dalam tawhīd karena tiada dilihat akan dirinya sebab melihat akan Tuhannya dan inilah - ia di dalam 'ilmu kashaf iaitu *mushāhadah* orang yang *ṣiddīqīn*"