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SUFISM IN INDONESIA: AN ANALYSIS OF NAWAWĪ AL-BANTENI'S
SALĀLĪM AL-FUḌALĀ'ī

BY
SRI MULYATI (9000256)
SUPERVISOR: DR. H. A. LANDOLT

A Thesis Submitted to the Faculty
of Graduates Studies and Research
in partial fulfillment of the Requirements
for the degree of Master of Art

Institute of Islamic Studies
McGill University
Montreal, P.Q.
Canada
September, 1992.
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SUFISM IN INDONESIA: NAWAWĪ AL-BANTENI'S SALAMLIM AL-FUḌALĀ'
Abstract

Title: SUFISM IN INDONESIA: AN ANALYSIS OF NAWAWÏ AL-BANTENÎ'S SALÄLIM AL-FUḌALÄ'

Author: Sri Mulyati.

Department: The Institute of Islamic Studies.

McGill University

Degree: Master of Arts.

This thesis is an attempt to understand the views of Nawawï al-Bantenî on the subject of Sufism, especially as they appear in his work Salalim al-Fudalä', a commentary on the Hidayat al-Adhkiya' ila Ṭarîq al-Awliyya' of Zayn al-Din al-Malibari.

By observing the existence and the development of Sufism in Indonesia and the career of Nawawï al-Bantenî, the thesis tries to achieve a better understanding of his contribution in the field. Earlier studies have tended to discuss him and his works in general, whereas this study concentrates more specifically on al-Bantenî's Sufi thought through his comments on the subject.

Another question that is raised is that of Nawawï al-Bantenî's originality in his commentary on the Hidâyat al-Adhkiyâ' of al-Malibari. Finally, the important point is made that Nawawï does not seem to have been influenced by either heterodox or pre-Islamic concepts, which were relatively powerful in Indonesia of his day. On the other hand he had a great influence on the people of his country, especially in his home town Banten, in terms of the development of both nationalism and Islamic education in Indonesia.
Résumé

Titre : Soufisme en Indonésie: une analyse du *Salālim al-fuḍalāʾ* de Nawawī al-Bantenī

Auteur : Sri Mulyati

Département : Institut des études islamiques

Diplôme : Maîtrise ès Arts


Cette thèse, en s'attardant sur l'existence et le développement du soufisme en Indonésie, de même que sur la carrière de Nawawī al-Bantenī, essaye d'arriver à une plus grande compréhension de la contribution apportée par l'auteur dans le domaine du soufisme. Les études antérieures faites sur cet auteur se limitaient à des généralités sur l'homme, de même que sur son œuvre. Par contre, cette étude, par le biais de l'utilisation de ses commentaires sur le soufisme, est centrée plus spécifiquement sur cet aspect de la pensée d'Nawawī.

Il sera aussi question de l'originalité du commentaire de Nawawī al-Bantenī du *Hidayat al-adhkiyāʾ* d'al-Malibari. En dernier lieu, un autre aspect important à soulever est l'absence d'influences de concepts hétérodoxes, ou pré-islamiques, dans l'œuvre d'al-Bantenī: des influences qui étaient pourtant relativement puissantes en Indonésie à cette époque. D'autre part, il exerça une influence importante, surtout dans sa ville natale de Banten, en développant un nationalisme tout autant qu'une éducation islamique en Indonésie.
Acknowledgements

This thesis would never have been completed without the support of my academic advisor and supervisor Prof. Hermann A. Landolt. I would like to thank him for his encouragement and for his generosity with respect to the time he spent helping me while I struggled to deal with my sources and methods of analysis. For his patience and carefully advising and guiding me during my studies at the Institute of Islamic Studies McGill University, once again I am really grateful to Dr. Landolt.

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I would like to note here my appreciation to all my teachers in the Institute of Islamic Studies for their encouragement especially to Dr. Howard Federspiel for his generosity in lending me some sources. Of the many other persons involved in the completion of the thesis, I would like to thank Mr. Steve Millier, Motaz Kabbānī and Roxanne Marcotte for their help in correcting my English, and aiding in my comprehension of Arabic and French materials. My thanks also goes to B. Lois Helms and her family, Dr. M. A. Rabb and family, for all their assistance and attention during my studies and stay in Montreal. I would like also to thank Mr. Adam Gacek, the head of the Islamic Studies Library and other members of the library staff, especially Miss Salwa Ferahian. Many thanks to the director and research fellows at the Centre for Developing Area Studies,
McGill University, as well as to my brothers and sisters in the Muslim Students Association of McGill for their friendship.

I would like also to thank to K. H. Maqrūf Amīn, a relative of Nawawī al-Bantenī, who helped me by giving permission to copy Nawawī's manuscripts when I visited him in Jakarta. Finally, my deepest thanks are due to my husband M. Asrori Cholil and my three children M. Kholis Hamdy, Laily Hafidzah and Ahmad Hilmi Hudlori, and to my mother H. Sumyani for their support, patience and understanding, and as well to all my relatives and friends in Fatayat Nahdatul 'Ulama', waiting for me in my lovely country of Indonesia.

Montreal, September 1992

Sri Mulyati.
**Technicalities**

The transliteration system used in this thesis, except in a few cases as indicated below, follows the system of the Institute of Islamic Studies, McGill University. However, we include Arabic transliteration in Indonesian usage as well. Dates are given according to both calendars, Islamic and Christian. Books and articles cited frequently in the footnotes are given with the full title only in the first reference of each chapter and in general, are mentioned in short form afterwards. Arabic and other foreign words, as well as titles of books that are not mentioned in references have been italicized.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arabic</th>
<th>Persian</th>
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Diphthongs: ِيٍََُِّ، ََٰاََِِّ Exception: ُتْمَرَبِّتا: ُا (not ah); short with tashdīd: ُبِِّ ىyya at in ِٰٓلِفة.
# Table of Contents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>English Abstract</td>
<td>ii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French Abstract</td>
<td>iii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acknowledgements</td>
<td>iv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technicalities</td>
<td>vi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table of Contents</td>
<td>vii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter One: Sufism in Indonesia: Precursors: to Nawawì al-Bantenì</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. Sufism and its development in Indonesia</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. The Sufi Orders in Indonesia</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. Conclusion</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter Two: Nawawì al-Bantenì: His Life and Works</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. Nawawì's family, and his Educational Background</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Classification of Nawawì's Works</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. General remarks concerning some of Nawawì's works</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. Conclusion</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter Three: Mystical Aspects of Nawawì al-Bantenì's Thought</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. A Summary of Manzûma Hidâyat al-Adhkiyâ' ilâ Ţariq al-Awliyâ'</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Nawawì's Commentary on Hidâyat al-Adhkiyâ' ilâ Ţariq al-Awliyâ'</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Nawawì's approach to his sources</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Selected themes from Salâlimal-Fuḍalâ'</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.1. Sufi Concepts</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.1.1. The meaning of tašawwuf</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.1.2. Šarì'â, Ŧariqa and Ḥaqîqa</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.2. Practical Ways to the Path of God

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2.2.1. Al-tawba</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2.2. Al-qa'nâ'â</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2.3. Al-zuhd</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2.4. Ta'allum al-'ilm al-sharî</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2.5. Al-mu'âafaça 'alâ al-sunan</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2.6. Al-tawakkul</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2.7. Al-ikhlaš</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2.8. Al-'uzla</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2.9. Ḥifẓ al-awqāt</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3. Tadhkira</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.4. Mahamma</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

C. Conclusion

Bibliography
Introduction

The history of Sufism in Indonesia is parallel to the history of Islam in that country. There could be no Sufism without Islam. According to William Stoddard, one cannot be a Sufi without being a Muslim any more than one can be a Benedictine without being a Christian. Islam entered the Indonesian Archipelago at a time when indigenous beliefs were relatively dominant and Hinduism and Buddhism were already well-established there.

Both of these latter two religions had enjoyed success in many parts of the country because they incorporated and adapted to the native customs. Islam for its part was easily accepted. It is a fact that indigenous religious practices and Hindu influence continued after Islam came to the region. Taking over where Buddhism had left off, however, *taṣawwuf* was able to make a considerable impact on the Indonesians, and in the early period the Muslim mystics were highly regarded and honored.

In the first chapter of this thesis we observe that in north Sumatra and Acheh, in the last half of the sixteenth and throughout the seventeenth centuries, the most highly respected religious scholars were Sufis and that religion assumed a significant role in community affairs and in the private lives of individuals. In Java, the method of spreading Islam which was used by the nine saints lead to both positive and negative results. Positively Islam was easily accepted and took root among ordinary people, at the same time however, the native element appears to have surfaced and synthesized, becoming *kebatinan*.

By observing the literature on different aspects of Islamic teachings which have been studied and written by Indonesians since the arrival of Islam in Indonesia, we will be able to see how the religion developed, especially the aspect of Sufism. The coming of Sufi

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2See chapter 1 of this thesis pp. 10-11.
orders into the country helped the development of the religious life of the Indonesian people, allowing it to flourish until the end of the nineteenth century.

In chapter two we observe the life and educational background of an important Indonesian Sufi, Nawawi al-Bantenî and discuss the classification of his works. In presenting his biography, in addition to secondary sources, we will refer to primary sources including manuscripts of Nawawi's own works, information given by someone who personally met him and my interview with one of his descendants. We also list Nawawi's works mentioned by other Indonesian and foreign scholars, and present the information that shows his influence on Islamic education in Southeast Asia.

Chapter three deals with mystical aspects of Nawawi's thought on the basis of his work *Sallîlim al-Fuḍâlâ'*, a commentary on the poem of Zayn al-Dîn al-Malibâri, *Hidâyat al-Adhkiya'*. We feel it is necessary to present first a summary of this poem, partly on the advice of the poet himself, who says that "understanding one line from the original text is better than understanding ten lines of the explanation." The chapter then proceeds to discuss Nawawi's commentary on the poem under two headings: Nawawi's approach to his sources; and selected themes from *Sallîlim al-Fuḍâlâ'*, such as the concept of Sufism; practical ways to the path of the friends of God (nine recommendations); and *dhikr*. Comparing *Sallîlim al-Fuḍâlâ'*, to Nawawi's other work on Sufism (according to the classification of his works made by Brockelmann), entitled *Qâmi' al-Tughyân*, a

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3 We have photocopies of three manuscripts of Nawawi's works entitled *Shurût al-Iqtîdâ', Qalată al-Mubtadî', and Tâhir al-Asîr*.


5 K. H. Ma'ruf Amin is one of Nawawi's descendants, who preserves the manuscripts and from whom I received permission to make a photocopy of the manuscripts in Jakarta, August 14, 1991.


commentary on *Shu'ab al-Imān* by the same Malībarī, we find that *Salālim al-Fuḍalāʾ* is more a work in the area of Sufism, while the former places more emphasis on religious ethics. In terms of the date of the composition of *Salālim*, we find that it was written before another commentary, al-Dimyāṭi's *Kifāyat al-Atqiya'*, though Nawawī may have had access, like al-Dimyāṭi, to the *Maslak al-Atqiya' wa Minhaj al-Aṣfiyya'* of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (the poet's own son). Further research needs to be done to find clarity about the originality of Nawawī's commentary since we do not have the first commentary. Yet, we may deduce a general view of Nawawī's positive attitude towards Sufism through his analysis in *Salālim al-Fuḍalāʾ*. Finally, we end chapter three by drawing a brief conclusion concerning Nawawī's own mystical thought.

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8 Nawawī al-Bantenī. Qāmiṣ al-Tughyān. (Semarang: Usaha Keluarga), 3. This work deals with 77 branches of *Imān*. See chapter 3 of this thesis p. 52.

9 Further discussion on this matter see chapter 3 of this thesis pp. 56-57.
Chapter I
Sufism in Indonesia: Precursors to Nawawî al-Bantenî.

A. Sufism and its development in Indonesia.

Sufism in Indonesia cannot be dealt with in isolation from the history of Islam in that country, and yet there is no agreement among scholars about the exact time of the advent of Islam to Indonesia and the particular area of the country which was first Islamized.¹ According to Marco Polo, who spent five months on the north coast of Sumatra in 1292, Islam had already been established there.² Likewise Ibn Battuta discovered that there had already long been an Islamic Kingdom in Samudra (Aceh) when he arrived in 1346.³ At that time he found the prince al-Malik al-Zahir allowing foreign Muslims to attend at court, and "the sultan enjoying lively discussions on points of Islamic law with a small cadre of legal scholars..." ⁴

According to Schriek, "Ibn Battuta also recorded the presence at the court of Pasai of several Persian scholars, who discussed questions of religion and doctrine with the ruler." ⁵ Furthermore, according to Ismā'īl Ḥamid, "Pasai developed into a centre of Islamic studies

¹Thomas Walker Arnold, The Preaching of Islam, A History of the Propagation of the Muslim Faith (Lahore: Ashraf Printing Press, 1979), 364. Chinese sources mention that the establishment of Arab and perhaps other Muslim settlements on the west coast of Sumatra as early as 54 A. H. /674 A. D. See also S. Q. Fatimi, Islam Comes to Malaysia (Singapore: Malaysian Sociological Research Institute, 1963), 38. The oldest evidence of the presence of Islam in Java is dated 1082 A.D. on a gravestone of Fatima at Leran, East Java.


⁴Ibid., 257.

⁵B. J. O. Schriek, Indonesian Sociological Studies, part two (The Hague and Bandung: M. van Hoeve, 1957), 239.
and also became the meeting place of Islamic scholars from the Islamic world, such as Qâdi Amir Sayyid from Shírāz, Tâj al-Dīn from Isfahān and Amir Dawlasa from the Sultanate of Delhi, India."  

More specifically, in the Sejarah Melayu (Malay Annals) there is found the earliest mention of the existence of a tarīqa during the time of sultan Mansur Shah (1456 - 1477). The sultan of Malaka sent a delegation to Pasai to meet a Sufi master (makhdūm) there to ask whether there might be a way for those who are destined for hell to improve their situation.  

There were at least two kinds of influences which attracted Malay rulers to see themselves as Muslim sultans: the Persian-influenced notion of kingship, and Sufism. The particular mystical doctrine which appears to have caught the attention of the Malay Rajas during the early period of Islamization was the doctrine of the "Perfect Man", the saintly

---


7Denys Lombard, Les tarékat, 140. Schrieke also mentions that on the authority of Ibn Battuta we know that as early as 1346 the sultan of Pasai found pleasure in discussing religious and mystical questions with the Persian Muslim scholars at the court. Schrieke, Indonesian, part two 261 - 262. See also A. C. Milner, "Islam and Malay Kingship", in Readings on Islam in Southeast Asia, compiled by Ahmad Ibrahim, Sharon Siddique and Yasmin Hussain (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1985), 28 - 29. See also G. W. J. Drewes, "New Light on the Coming of Islam to Indonesia", in Readings on Islam in Southeast Asia, 11. Drewes also mentions that the Shafi‘i school of law had been followed by the Muslims in these areas.

8A. C. Milner, "Islam and Malay Kingship," in Readings on Islam in Southeast Asia, 28. See also Najm al-Dīn Rāżī, Marmūzāt-i Asadī dar Mazmūrāt-i Dāwūdi, ed., M. R. Shafi‘ī Kadkanī with an English introduction by Hermann A. Landolt (Tehran: Tehran University Press, 1974), 56-57. The kings are told as suggested by the Qur‘ān that there are three biddings and three forbidden things with respect to themselves, the subjects and God. (16:92). The king should perform his three obligations in the following order, first towards himself (his own essence qua King- page 5 in English introduction) (pādīshāhī-i khāss al-khāss), second towards his family (pādīshāhī-i khāss) and the third towards his society (pādīshāhī-i ʿāmm). The king could not govern his society unless he has been succesful in performing the first two obligations.

9A. C. Milner, Islam and Malay Kingship, 28. H. Landolt in the introduction to Marmūzāt, page 5, suggests that “the Platonic ideal King is identified with the "Sufi Perfect Man"... the king should receive both, moral advice and a real Sufi education.”
figure who has "fully realized his essential oneness with the Divine being" and who, boddhisattva-like, guides his disciples along the path he had trodden. This emerges gradually from the records of the fifteenth and sixteenth century Malay world.

One source relates that when an Indian yogi, skilled in magic arts, came one day into the sultan's presence and performed miraculous tricks, the yogi, overawed by the sanctity or karāma of the sultan, fell to the ground. Contests in the performance of miracles, such as that occurring between the Pasai ruler and the yogi, were commonplace among Sufis.

After the decline of Pasai, Malaka gradually became the new Islamic centre. According to Winstedt, the Muslim students at Malaka, especially those from Java, began to study the Islamic religious sciences, for example, Ilm al-hadīth, Ilm al-kalām, tаsawwuf and sharī'a, while basing themselves on the following textbooks: Iḥyā' Ulūm al-Dīn by al-Ghazālī, Kitāb al-Tamhīd by Abū al-Shukūr and Talkhīs al-Minhāj by Imām al-Nawawī, etc.

A. H. Johns writes: "Islam did not take root in Indonesia until the rise of the Sufi orders, and that the quickening tempo of the development of Indonesian Islam subsequent to the thirteenth century was in the main, due to the labours of the Sufi

missionaries."\textsuperscript{16}Osman bin Bakar states: "The Sufi factor appears to be the most plausible explanation ... because it accords with the general religious and spiritual climate prevailing in the Muslim world after the seventh/thirteenth century."\textsuperscript{17} By the eighteenth century, membership in a mystical order was practically synonymous with the profession of Islam."\textsuperscript{18}

Lombard cites the Hikayat Hasanuddin as mentioning that the \textit{Naqshabandiy}ya, the \textit{Shattariyy}a and the \textit{Shadhiliyy}a orders, as well as Islam itself, arrived in west Java in the sixteenth century (especially to the Banten area whence Nawawi came). Sunan Gunung Jati (one of the nine saints) who founded Banten and Islamized the Sundanese was originally from Pasai. In that period many Javanese obtained their religious education in Pasai and in Malaka. \textsuperscript{19}

A clearer proof of the existence of \textit{tariqas} may be seen during the time of Hamza Fan\={s}\=uri\={n} (d. 1600). In his poetry he mentions the name of the founder of the \textit{tariqa} Q\=adir\=iya:

\begin{quote}
Hamza nin asalnya Fan\={s}\=uri\={n}  
Mendapat wujud di tanah Syahr Nawi  
Beroleh khilafat yang \textit{\={q}a\={l}i\={l}}  
Daripada \={s}\=Abdul Q\=adir Sayyid Jil\=mi.
\end{quote}

In another passage he indicates that the initiation took place in Baghdad:

\begin{quote}
Syaikh al-Fan\={s}\=uri\={n} terlalu \textit{\={q}a\={l}i\={l}}  
Beroleh khilafat di benua Baghdadi
\end{quote}

And in a third passage he indicates the name of the founder:

\begin{quote}
Syaikh al-Fan\={s}\=uri\={n} terlalu \textit{\={q}a\={l}i\={l}}  
Beroleh khilafat di benua Baghdadi
\end{quote}


\textsuperscript{17}Osman bin Bakar, \textit{Sufism}, 262.


\textsuperscript{19}Denys Lombard, \textit{Les tariqat}, 140. See also Schrieke, \textit{Indonesian Sociological Studies}, part two, 261 - 262.
Between the years 1637 - 1644 there was a great theological debate between followers of radical Sufism and the more orthodox Nūr al-Dīn al-Ranīrī (originally from Rander in Gujarat). After this time the tariqas made important progress. Several mainstream Sufi orders established themselves in Indonesia during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. The introduction of new orders was often linked to the personality of the master whose memory has in many cases been preserved until today. This process will be discussed below in more detail.

During the eighteenth, nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the major Sufi movements in Africa and Asia were often connected with mainstream Islamic movements. The Sufis have often led the reform movements and directed opposition against oppression and foreign or colonial domination. For example the Naqshabandi Sufis and Shah Waliyullah challenged the British colonial power in India. This was true as well in Indonesia. The fact is that they were deeply involved in political movements. For example those who participated in the peasants' revolt in Banten in 1888, were mostly members of the Qādiriyya order. Another example is the Acehnese war against the Dutch in the late nineteenth century, which showed evidence of Sanusi inspiration, as well as the Naqshabandi movement in West Sumatra. In A. H. Johns' view, one important


21 Denys Lombard, Les tarékat, 141.

22 Karel A. Steenbrink, Beberapa Aspek tentang Islam di Indonesia Abad 19 (Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, 1984), 175.

characteristic of the da‘wa methods employed by the Sufis in Java at that time was the use of familiar media such as the wayangs (Indonesian shadow-play theatres), through which, the common people could relate new doctrines to the experience of their philosophical-mystical world. 24

Osman bin Bakar states that "another characteristic which is known to have attracted conversions was the Sufis' possession of certain spiritual powers, as manifested, for example, in the healing of the sick. The Malays have termed these supernatural powers keramat (in Arabic karīma)." 25 According to A. H. Johns an Islam of the Wahhābī type would have made little impact on a land such as Java.26

Sufi scholars were not the only ones who played a role in Islamizing the Malay Archipelago, A. H. Johns states:

It is not usual to think of sailors or merchants as bearers of religion. If, however, we think of traders belonging to Sufi trade guilds, accompanied by their Shaykhs, there seems a more plausible basis for the spread of Islam. This puts the importance of the tariqas in a new light. The fact that there were tariqas in Indonesia has often been noted. As far as I know their paramount importance has not. At all events, their interpretation of Islam was certainly suited to the background of the Indonesians, and it should not be going too far

24 A. H. Johns, Sufism as a Category, 22. See also H. J. De Graaf and Th. Pigeaud, Kerajaan-Kerajaan Islam di Jawa, Kajian Sejarah Politik Abad ke 15 dan ke 16, vol. 2 (Indonesian translation of De Eerste Moslimse Vorstendommen op Java, Studien over de Staatkundige Geschiedenis van de 15de en 16de Eeuw) (Jakarta: Pustaka Utama Grafiti, 1989), 81-82. The authors mention specific names of the nine saints such as Sunan Kalijaga, Sunan Kudus, and Sunan Giri, but they say that the use of wayang by the wali still needs to be proved; however, they realize that there is a relationship between wali and wayang and admit that there are Islamic mystical songs in Islamic Javanese literature which were used by the saints in spreading Islam. See also Clifford Geertz, Islam Observed: Religious Development in Morocco and Indonesia (New Haven:Yale University Press, 1968), 25, 27. He mentions that "Sunan Kalijaga among the nine apostles, traditionally considered to have introduced Islam into Java, ... he was an historical personage and as an extremely vivid figure in the popular mind-one of a long series of 'culture renewers'" but Geertz also admits that there is some doubt on the part of scholars as to their existence.


to say that the conversion of Indonesia to Islam was very largely the work of the *fārīqas* even though they are ungratefully spurned at the present day.27

Johns also point out the fact that it is characteristic of Sufism to accept non-Islamic elements as long as they do not contradict the Qur'ānic revelation. He furnishes as examples the use of the Sanskrit phrase *Dewata Mulia Raja* instead of the Arabic word *Allāh Ta‘ālā* in the Trengganu inscription and the use of various Sufi interpretations in the *wayang.*28

Osman bin Bakar remarks that in spite of the positive influences of the Sufi orders in Java, the existence of various types of mysticism caused by misinterpretations of Sufism and its practice created much tension between mysticism and the exoteric religious authorities. He cites as an example the case of the execution of Siti Jenar...29

Javanese legend tells the story of Shaykh Siti Jenar, whose situation was similar to that of al-Ḥallāj. He was assassinated because, as Saifuddin Zuhrī states, it was feared that there would be great danger for ordinary Muslims of being led astray if they tried to understand the teachings of Shaykh Siti Jenar literally. The result would be twofold: first by obeying these teachings without knowledge they would be blindly obedient, and second those who did not understand would react badly to the personality of the Shaykh.30 I do not believe that the punishment of assassination was given because of the teaching itself but rather out of consideration for the safety of the *awāmm* (ordinary Muslim believers).

According to Osman bin Bakar: "there were other spiritual manifestations in Indonesian Islam emanating not from Sufism but from the 'native source.' This latter was the ancient


28 A. H. Johns, Sufism, as a Category, 19.

29 Osman bin Bakar, Sufism, 281.

pre-Islamic (even pre-Hindu and pre-Buddhist) Javanese mysticism, whose core is the concept of the essential oneness of all existence and the servant's mystical union with the Divine, expressed in Javanese as *manunggal kawula Gusti*" 31, which Rasyidi calls mystical union.32

However, Van Bruinessen notes that *aliran kebatinan* although not recognized as Muslim, often show strong Islamic influences in terminology and beliefs as well as in practices, 33 while there are no such Hindu or Buddhist terms which can be found in the Indonesian Sufi tradition. Van Bruinessen further indicates that in certain places the *fariqa* has been "indonesianized", sometimes beyond recognition.34 The *aliran kebatinan* tend to use Islamic terms in trying to clarify their concepts. Rasyidi indicates that some Islamic terms they use are really misleading, as well as the words borrowed from Hinduism and Buddhism.35

The process of adaptation of Javanese mystical elements upon Islam's arrival in Java, according to Osman bin Bakar was that those elements at first remained outside of Sufism, but with the decline of Sufism, in contemporary Indonesia have reasserted themselves against exoteric Islamic orthodoxy and now manifest themselves into *aliran kebatinan* (mystical sects)." 36 Osman bin Bakar goes on to state: "Among the most prominent of

31Osman bin Bakar, *Sufism*, 281.


34Ibid., 179.


36Osman bin Bakar, *Sufism*, 281-282. See also Niels Mulder, *Mysticism and Everyday Life in Contemporary Java* (Singapore: Singapore University Press, 1978), 2. See also Rasyidi, *Islam dan Kebatinan*, 54. Ricklefs notes that Javanese Islam in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was almost certainly mystical in its theological content, a natural development given the predominantly mystical thrust of previous religions in Java. Although there are documentary problems concerning
aliran kebatinan are the Pagujuban Ngesti Tunggal, which is better known by its abbreviation, Pangestu, and which is also known to have an intellectual bent, and the Susila Budi Dharma (abbreviated as Subud), which is the most internationally known, having disciples scattered all over the world, particularly in Europe."37

Ricklefs says that:

The issues of orthodoxy and heresy which were important in some other areas of Indonesia, such as seventeenth-century Acheh, seem not to have had much importance in Java. If one had wished to seek orthodox Islamic mysticism in seventeenth or eighteenth century Java, one would have been most likely to have found it on the coast. But if one had sought an austere, exclusive, puritanical orthodoxy, one would probably have found few adherents anywhere. The old culture grew and lived on in a more or less Islamic garb. For much of the populace of central Java, the Goddess of the Southern Ocean undoubtedly was the most important spiritual force in their lives, as she is still today. Javanese Muslims probably had little doubt that their faith was true and correct. The idea that many of them were "bad Muslims" would not have occurred to them. If some visitor or teacher told them their neglect of daily prayer or other formal transgressions required reform, they would probably have taken the view that each finds his own way to God. The tradition of religious tolerance in Java made any serious doctrinal conflict unlikely.38

Geertz writes that because "Islam came to Indonesia from India and was brought by merchants, its mid-Eastern sense for the external conditions of life has been blunted and turned inward by Indian mysticism. It provided but a minimal contrast to the melange of Hinduism, Buddhism and Animism which had held the Indonesians enthralled for almost fifteen centuries. Although it spread peacefully... Indonesian Islam, was cut off from its centers of orthodoxy at Mecca and Cairo..." 39

the first century of Islam, certainly by the sixteenth century (and probably earlier) sufi teachings had been known in Java. M. C. Ricklefs, "Islamization in Java" in Readings on Islam in Southeast Asia, 39.

37Osman bin Bakar, Sufism, 282.

38M. C. Ricklefs, "Islamization in Java" in Readings on Islam in Southeast Asia, 41.

Hodgson rightly criticizes Geertz for the fact that although he succeeds in collecting anthropological data about Javanese society, he is mistaken when he seems not to pay attention to Islamic elements in Indonesian culture. Hodgson mentions three errors on Geertz's part:

When he refers to the archipelago having long been cut off from the centres of orthodoxy at Mecca and Cairo, the irrelevant inclusion of Cairo betrays a modern source of Geertz' bias. We must suspect also the urge of many colonialists to minimize their subjects' ties with a disturbingly worldwide Islam; and finally his anthropological techniques of investigation, looking for a functional analysis of a culture in momentary cross-section without serious regard to the historical dimension.\(^{40}\)

Hodgson concludes that there is Hindu influence in Java but that Islam has already won the field.

Geertz notes that there is a functional historical relationship between market and mosque, and that in the history of the advent of Islam, the preachers performed the \textit{da'wa} in the mosque while they engaged in trade in the market-place. "It was around this market network that the social institutions of Islam grew up in Indonesia." \(^{41}\) According to Nakamura this thesis cannot be applied throughout Java or even in Indonesia as a whole because he found in his field research in Yogyakarta that economic power was dominated by the non-santri group.\(^{42}\)


\(^{41}\) Clifford Geertz, \textit{Islam Observed}, 42.

Another view is offered by Snouck Hurgronje, who says that Indonesians "render in a purely formal manner due homage to the institutions ordained by Allâh, which are everywhere as sincerely received in theory as they are ill-observed in practice."\(^43\)

According to Geertz:

Toward the middle of the nineteenth century, the isolation of Indonesian Islam from its Mid-Eastern fountainhead began to break down. From the Hadramawt, that barren ground of Muslim medievalism at the southern tip of the Arabian peninsula, came Arab traders in ever increasing numbers to settle in Indonesia and transmit their fine sense for orthodoxy to the local merchants with whom they dealt. With the growth of sea travel, Indonesians began to go on the pilgrimage to Mecca in such numbers that by the time Snouck Hurgronje lived there in the 1880's the Indonesian colony was the largest and most active in the entire city.\(^44\)

Wilfred Cantwell Smith comments that in the case of Indonesian Islam, "there has been a very serious disregard, both by western students and by Muslims of other areas, of the fact that here is Islamically something distinctive and fascinating and potentially very rich."\(^45\) He continues: "it would seem that the Indonesians, especially in Java, are the only Muslim group in the world today who have a strong and ancient indigenous liberalism."\(^46\)

\(^{43}\)C. Snouck Hurgronje, The Achehnese, vol. 2 (Leiden: 1906), 280. He also noted that "The indigenous customs which control the lives of the Bedawins of Arabia, the Egyptians, the Syrians or the Turks, are for the most part different from those of the Javanese, Malays and Achehnese, but the relation of these (customs) to the law of Islam, and the tenacity with which they maintain themselves in despite of that law, is everywhere the same. The customary law of the Arabs and... of the Turks differ from the written and unwritten (customary law) of our Indonesians, but they are equally far removed from the revealed law, although they are equally loud in their recognition of the divine origin of the latter."

\(^{44}\)Geertz, The Religion of Java, 125.


\(^{46}\)Ibid., 295. He states in addition: "there could be an argument, over against the widespread view that Indonesians are 'poor Muslims', that on the contrary the rest of the Muslim world may well have something vital to learn from them, even religiously. Surely it will have to be increasingly recognized that the Indonesians constitute one of the cardinal communities of the Muslim world, ranking along with the Indo-Muslim, the Pakistani, the Persian and Turkey and the Arab world. These six are the principal cultures that are the protagonists of contemporary Islam."
B. The Sufi Orders in Indonesia.

According to Trimingham the spread of the orders in the Malay Peninsula, mainly in the nineteenth century, came about through the medium of the pilgrimage. In Indonesia too, "the pilgrimage was the means through which the Sufi way penetrated. The first documentary evidence appears in the sixteenth century in the form of mystical poetry and other writings. In Sumatra, early mystics were Ḥamza Fanṣūrī (d. 1600) and his disciple, Shams al-Dīn Pasai (d. 1630). ‘Abd al-Ra’ūf Singkel introduced the Shāṭīrīyya into Acheh in 1679, not from India as might have been expected, but from Mekka where he was initiated by Aḥmad Qushasī, and came to be honoured as the regional saint. Other members of the Shāṭīrīyya established the order in Minangkabau and probably in west Java at about this time as well. Later, contact with Hadramawt, which became such a feature of Indonesian life, led to the settlement of Arabs in certain parts who introduced their own orders."47

Trimingham goes on to state: "the Islamization of Java is associated with the legend of 'the nine saints', active on the north-east coast in the early sixteenth century, who taught the mystical way and inaugurated a new era in Indonesian life."48 In their evangelical efforts, according to these accounts, they combined their persuasive power with the art of diplomacy and of healing.49 These nine saints, however, it should be noted, are also known by a variety of names.50


48 Trimingham, The Sufi orders, 130.


50 Ibid., 577.
Trimingham states furthermore that: "the Naqshabandiyya was introduced from Mecca into Minangkabau (Sumatra) about 1845. A dispute arose between its adherents and the established \textit{Shafi`i} devotees, but largely on legalistic and secondary issues rather than mysticism. The \textit{Sammâniyya} entered Sumatra (Palembang and Acheh) through the efforts of \textit{Abd al-Šamad} ibn \textit{Abd Allâh} (d.1800) better known as al-Palembâni, a Sumatran pupil of Al-Sammâni who lived in Mecca and initiated pilgrims from his own country. The orders spread into all these parts after they had acquired their definitive form."^{51} The \textit{tariqa} was founded by Muḥammad ibn \textit{Abd al-Karîm} al-Sammâni (1719 - 1775) in Medina. \textit{Abd al-Šamad}, his disciple, composed \textit{ratib Samman}, a text recited as \textit{dhikr} which became very popular in Acheh.^{52} \textit{Abd al-Šamad} of Palembang translated and commented on parts of al-Ghazâlî's \textit{Iḥyâ' Ulûm al-Dîn}, in a work that became known as \textit{Sayr al-Sâlikîn}.^{53} Al-Palimbâni also wrote \textit{Zuhrat al-Murîd wa Tadhkirat al-Mu'mînîn fî Faḍlî'l al-Jîhâd fî Sabîl Allâh wa Karâmât al-Mujâhidîn fî Sabîl Allâh} inspired the Achehnese against the Dutch. Other works of this Sufi include \textit{Tuhfat al-Râghibîn fî Bayân Haqîqa} \textit{Imân al-Mu'mînîn} (written in 1774) and \textit{al-'Urwa al-Mutqâ wa Silsilat ulî al-Ittiqâ},^{54} \textit{Hidâyat al-Sâlikîn} fi

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{51}Trimingham, \textit{The Sufi Orders}, 130. See also Denys Lombard, \textit{Les tarékat}, 144.
\item \textsuperscript{52}Denys Lombard, \textit{Les tarékat}, 144. See also Abubakar Aceh, \textit{Pengantar Ilmu Tarékat} (Solo: Ramadhan, 1990), 354. Hurgronje states that besides \textit{ratib samman}, \textit{hikâyat Sammân} was also famous in Acheh.
\item \textsuperscript{54}\textit{Abd al-Šamad} al-Palimbâni, \textit{Sayr al-Sâlikîn}, Latin script page vii - x on his biography written by Henry Chambert-Loir. See also M. Chatib Quzwain, \textit{Mengenal Allah Suatu Studi Mengenai Ajaran Tasawuf Syaikh Abdus-Samad al-Palimbani} (Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, 1985), 14. Here he states that the manuscript of \textit{Tuhfat} is available in Perpustakaan Nasional (Museum Pusat), Jakarta, no. MI. 719 (V. d. W. 37).
\end{itemize}
It is not known exactly how the Qādiriyah came to Indonesia, but what we do know is that Ḥamza Fanṣūrī of Barus in North Sumatra was of the Qādiriyah order, and being a man of repute, he must have gathered about him a large circle of disciples.

According to Osman bin Bakar:

Ḩamza Fanṣūrī was influenced by the teaching of Ibn ‘Arabī and ‘Abd al-Karīm al-Jīlī who tended to believe that the creature is the outer aspect of the real Truth, made manifest from the One who is God (Tajallī). Al-Fanṣūrī’s writings, which include his prose works, the Asrār al-‘Arifīn (The Secret of the Gnostics), the Sharb and the Muntahā (The Adept), and various poems are highly significant in many respects.

Osman bin Bakar further states that the significance of al-Fanṣūrī’s formulations for Malay intellectual tradition lies on the fact that he was the first Sufī who explained the philosophical and mystical doctrines in the Malay language. This was made possible by his mastery of the Arabic and Persian as well as his understanding of Sufi doctrine.

55Abd al-Ṣamad al-Palimbānī, Hidāyat al-Sālikīn (Bandung: Māʿarif), 307. Hawash Abdullah mentions that Hidāyat al-Sālikīn as one of his works is not merely a translation of Bidayat al-Hidāya of al-Ghazālī but a substantial commentary on it, while the translation itself was done by Shaykh Daud ibn Abdullah al-Fatani. See Hawash Abdullah, Perkembangan Ilmu Tasawwuf, 93, 146. Henry Chambert-Loir mentions that Hidīyat al-Sālikīn is a translation of Bidīyat and done by al-Palimbānī. (see page x, xi and xii about biography of al-Palimbānī in Savr al-Sālikīn, transcribed by Muʿīn ʿUmar).


57Syed Naquib al-Attas, Some Aspects of Sufism as Understood and Practised among the Malays (Singapore: Malaysian Sociological Research Institute, 1963), 51.

58Osman bin Bakar, Sufism, 283. See also Al-Attas, The Mysticism of Hamza Fansūrī, 223-224.

59Osman bin Bakar, Sufism, 283.
notes that "the writings of Ḥamza Fanṣūrī betray familiarity with Persian mystical-erotic poetry." 60

Another famous Malay mystic who flourished in Acheh was Shams al-Dīn Pasai (d. 1039/1630) who is also known by the name of al-Sumatrānī. According to al-Attas:

Shams al-Dīn Pasai whose metaphysical speculations emphasized, like those of Junayd al-Baghdādī, the priority of the intellect, rather than emotion, in the pursuit of knowledge of God. Both Ḥamza and Shams al-Dīn, were regarded as heterodox mystics, and as such, most of their works were thrown into the flames by their opponents. In some of the prose works of Shams al-Dīn as in some of the poetical works of Ḥamza, we find God and creation being described in terms of the analogy of the ocean or sea and waves and surge. 61

Osman bin Bakar states that Shams al-Dīn's works and teachings were first made known to the outside world by Dutch scholars for example by C. A. O. van Nieuwenhuijze. 62 Osman continues, saying that Shams al-Dīn Pasai was the greatest representative of the wujūdiyya school after al-Fanṣūrī. Both of them "enjoyed the protection and patronage of their respective sultans in carrying out their intellectual activities in the face of strong opposition from the exoteric ʿulamāʾ." A. H. Johns quotes Van Nieuwenhuijze's remark that "Shams al-Dīn's mysticism in more than one respect 'stands midway between the Indian and Javanese forms of Islamic mysticism.' " 63

According to al-Attas: "In 1637, Acheh saw the arrival of the famous exponent of 'orthodox' mysticism, Shaykh Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī ibn Ḥasanājī ibn Muḥammad Ḥamīd al-Ranī al-Quraishī al-Shāfiʿī, better known simply as Nūr al-Dīn al-

60 Schrieke, Indonesian Sociological Studies, part two 247.

61 Al-Attas, Some Aspects of Sufism, 25.


Ranîrî (d.1666). It is known that apart from being a thinker of considerable depth, al-Ranîrî was also a prolific writer of books and treatises.  

Another famous Malay mystic who was active in seventeenth century Acheh was ʿAbd al-Raʿūf Singkel (d.1693). He was also a prolific writer of treatises, books and translations from the Arabic of well known mystical works. Like Ḥamza al-Fanṣūrî, he too travelled widely in the Middle East in his quest for knowledge. Al-Attas points out that ʿAbd al-Raʿūf was a disciple of Ḥamad Qushashi (a shaykh of the Shâṭṭâriyya order) when he studied in Madina. His name always appears in the silsila (spiritual genealogy of the Sufi orders) and he became the first Malay mystic to introduce the Shâṭṭâriyya into the archipelago. He is credited with the first complete Malay translation and commentary on the Qurʾān, based on the famous work of al-Bayḍāwī. ʿAbd al-Raʿūf’s Tafsîr, Anwâr al-Tanzîl wa Asrâr al-Taʿwil was published in Istanbul in 1884.

According to Lombard, the disciples of ʿAbd al-Raʿūf Singkel were Burhān al-Dîn and ʿAbd al-Muḥyi. The first is said to have been responsible for the Islamization of west Sumatra (at least in the coastal areas). He became the head of the tariqa and died in 1699. The latter is said to have been the one who was responsible for the Islamization of west Java in the seventeenth century, especially in the mountainous area to the south of Tasikmalaya. ʿAbd al-Muḥyi’s tomb is in the village of Pamijahan in the district of

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65 Al-Attas, Some Aspects of Sufism, 28.

66 Ibid., 29.

67 Osman bin Bakar, Sufism, 287. For further information see also Denys Lombard, Les tarâkat, 141. See also A. H. Johns. Islam in Southeast Asia: Reflections and New Directions in Indonesia. Cornell Modern Indonesia Project, no 19 April 1975, 47. See also D. A. Rinkes, Abdoerrapeef van Singkel, (Heerenven, 1909), 31.
Karangnunggal (west Java), not far from a cave where the tradition says that he hid with his companion and communicated with Mekka.68

According to Kartodirjo: "Communication with Mekka had already been established by Bantenese Muslims in the first half of the seventeenth century by repeatedly sending missions to Mecca to attempt to gain information on religious matters. During the latter part of that century, Banten was reputed as a centre of Islamic orthodoxy, where religious scholarship and a religious way of life were highly esteemed."69

Lombard refers to the fact that out of a collection of Javanese manuscripts catalogued by Th. Pigeaud, 39 discuss the doctrine of the Shattariyya, while only three the Qadiriyya and two the Naqshabandiyya. He goes on to state that in Minangkabau (west Sumatra) the Shattariyya continued growing and spread to Ulakan, while the Qadiriyya developed in Java, as is evident from the growing numbers of groups who recited the biography of 'Abd al-Qadir Jilani (manakiban), especially in the coastal areas of Pekalongan, Semarang and Juwana.70

According to Lombard's research the Khalwatiyya order, which was established in Khurasan by Zahir al-Din 'Umar al-Khalwatî at the end of the fourteenth century, was introduced into south Sulawesi (Makassar-now Ujung Pandang) by Shaykh Yusuf from Goa. He was born in 1626, and went on the pilgrimage in 1644.71 Shaykh Yusuf went to Aceh through Banten in 1645. He received the tariqa Qadiriyya by Nur al-Din al-Ranîrî in Aceh and the tariqa Naqshabandiyya by Shaykh Abû 'Abd Allâh 'Abd al-Bâqi Billâh

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68 Denys Lombard, Les tarékat, 141, 144. See also Sartono Kartodirjo, “The Peasants’ Revolt of Banten in 1888: The Religious Revival” in Readings on Islam in Southeast Asia, 106.

69 Hamza Fanstîrî is also said to have visited Banten. See Sartono Kartodirjo, The Peasants, 106 - 107.

70 Denys Lombard, Les tarékats, 145 - 146.

71 Ibid., 144.
and the *tariqa al-Sā'āda al-Bāsālawiyya* by Sayyid ʿAlī when he was in Yaman. When he was in Madina he was received into the *tariqa Shattāriyya* by Shaykh Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī as well as the *tariqa Khalwatiyya* by ʿAbd al-Barakāt Ayyūb ibn ʿAḥmad ibn Ayyūb al-Khalwātī al-Qurashī in Damascus.  

He returned to Sulawesi to work against Dutch colonialism there. Makassar was occupied by the Dutch in 1667. Shaykh Yūsuf returned to Banten and continued fighting against the Dutch. He was captured in 1683, deported to Ceylon then to Capstad (south Africa) in 1693 and died in 1699. He left Karaeng Abd al-Jalīl to continue the *Khalwatiyya* in Makassar.  

Lombard also informs us of the rise of the Naqshabandiyya order in the Indonesian Archipelago, pointing to L. W. C. van den Berg’s statement that he had come across *Naqshabandiyya* activity in Acheh and in Bogor (west Java), where he had witnessed the *Naqshabandiyya dhikr*. He then goes on to describe the coming of the *Naqshabandiyya* to the region of Medan, where a community was founded at Langkat.  

Lombard further states that Shaykh ʿAbd al-Wahhāb Rokan al-Khālidī al-Naqsabandī introduced the *Naqshabandiyya* to Riau. After spending two years in the Malay Archipelago engaging in trade, he went to Mekka and studied under Shaykh Sulaymān al-Zuhdī. In 1854 he received his certificate and came back to Riau where he finally built a *Naqshabandi* village called The Door of Salvation (*Bāb al-Salām*).  

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75 Ibid., 146 - 147. See also Van Bruinessen, *The Origin*, 171.
Abd al-Rahmān ibn Yusuf al-Jāwī al-Banjarī, who was also a disciple of Sulaymān Zuḥdī in Mekka, introduced al-Khālidīyya to Banjar, an order which was essentially the Naqshabandīyya although it also can be called a branch of the latter. At about the same time another Sufi by the name of Shaykh Muḥammad Naftī ibn Idrīs ibn Ḥusayn al-Banjarī wrote al-Durr al-Naftī, "which expounds a popular version of waḥdat al-wujūd, and is found in south Kalimantan, Aceh and Malaysia."

Another Indonesian Sufi by the name of Muḥammad Arshad Al-Banjārī (d. 1812) was a moderate Sufi from Banjarmasin (South Kalimantan), who is supposed to have introduced the Sammāniyya order to Banjar. He studied in Mekka and taught there. Arshad al-Banjārī was a colleague of ʿAbd al-Ṣamad al-Palembānī, ʿAbd al-Wahhāb Bugis and ʿAbd al-Rahmān Misrī. The four of them learned ṭaṣawwuf from Shaykh ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Sammānī, on the basis of whose tarīqa the order called Sammāniyya. His works are Sabil al-Muhtadin li al-Tafaqqh fi Amr al-Dīn, Perokunan Melayu and Kanz al-Maʿrifa (?). Sabil al-Muhtadin is one of the most important Malay texts of fiqh.

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76 Denys Lombard, Les tarékat, 147.
78 Steenbrink, Beberapa Aspek tentang Islam, 96.
79 Ibid., 92.
80 G. W. J. Drewes, Directions for Travellers on the Mystic Path (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1977), 36.
81 Steenbrink, Beberapa Aspek tentang Islam, 91, 96. According to Van Bruinessen the Sabil al-Muhtadin was written because the previous Malay fiqh handbook, Sirāṭ al-Mustaqīm by al-Ranīrī, contained too many regionalisms and was difficult to understand. The sources of the Sabil are Malikī's Fath al-Muṭtin and Zakariyyā al-Anṣārī's Manhaj al-Ṭullāb. See Van Bruinessen, Kitab Kuning, 249–250.
Although al-Banjari's work is rarely found in Java, it is still quite popular in the Malay-speaking areas. 82

Schrieke points out: "the changes in the role of the tariqas in the archipelago came about not only because of certain tariqas becoming fashionable in Mekka, India and Persia, but also because the native men (Malay and Javanese) of learning, after completing their pilgrimage and studies, returned home and continued to exert an influence on the spiritual life of their homeland." 83 Yet at the same time, there was also strong opposition to Sufi orders.

Steenbrink writes concerning Aḥmad Ḥāfīẓ Minangkabau (born 1860), 84 "He was against the tariqa and wrote Izhār Zaghl al-Kādhībīn fi tashabbuhīhim bi al-Šādiqīn .... This book consists of the answers to five questions: the first about the origin of the tariqa Naqshabandiyya, the second about the silsila of the tariqa Naqshabandiyya, the third concerning sulūk, the fourth regarding the prohibition of eating meat and the fifth about imagining the picture of the Shaykh by the murid (rābiṭa)." 85 His opposition to the tariqas drew varied reactions, especially in west Sumatra. Shaykh Munkar and Shaykh Ḥāfīẓ ʿAlī answered his Izhār with a specific work. 86 Deliar Noer refers to him as the founder of the reformist movement. 87

82Van Bruinessen, Kitab Kuning, 249.

83Schrieke, Indonesian Sociological Studies, part two 248.

84Not to be confused with Ahmad Ḥāfīẓ Sambas, the founder of the tariqa Qadārīyya wa Naqshabandiyya who had numerous Indonesian disciples and who appointed khalīfīs to various parts of the Archipelago, from Sumatra to Lombok. One of these was, ʿAbd al-Karīm of Banten who popularized the tariqa in Banten, especially among the poor village population. Its popularity propelled it into the role of a network of communication and coordination when a large-scale peasant's rebellion broke out in Banten in 1888. See Van Bruinessen, The Origin, 169. See also chapter two of this thesis pp. 36-37, 51.

85Steenbrink, Beberapa Aspek tentang Islam, 143 - 147.

86B. J. O. Schrieke, Penguasa-penguasa Pribumi, (Jakarta: Bhratara, 1974), 30 - 34. The original title is De Indiandische Hoofden, 1928). Denys Lombard mentions that Aḥmad Ḥāfīẓ was against
Furthermore Steenbrinks writes that another figure who was against the tariqas was Sayyid ʿUthmān ibn ʿAqil [?] ibn Yaḥyā al-ʿAlawī, who was born in Jakarta in 1822. His parents were Arabs from Hadramawt. ʿUthmān wrote several books. He was against the tariqas as well as jihād. Hurgronje mentions him as Een Arabisch bondgenoot der Nederlandsch Indische regeering (An Arab fellow of the Dutch Government). Before he met with Hurgronje he was already a friend of L. W. C. Van den Berg and K. F. Holle.88

Despite opposition to the tariqas, the fact is that "the tariqa Qādiriyya was strong in Banten and Serang in the 17th and 18th centuries and the Naqshabandiyya in the 19th and 20th centuries,"89 The Tijāniyya was another significant Sufi order present in Indonesia. Lombard states: "The Tijāniyya order was introduced to Cirebon (west Java) in 1928, an event marked by the appearance of the Kitāb Munājat al-Murīd, published by an Arab in Tasikmalaya..., the Tijāniyya followers increased rapidly in Tasikmalaya, Cirebon, Brebes and Banyumas. At first this order was under the direction of Kiyai Buntet and Kiyai Madrais until the Second World War but later under Kiyai Madrais' influence, it was renamed to Agama Sunda (Sunda religion), and no longer a tariqa, it became Kebatinan or Kejawen."90

The role of the tariqas in colonial times was ambivalent. On the one hand they were closely linked to the Qur'ānic school (madrasa in Java, the pesantren) where the master was both an ustādh and a murshid. The masters established a network that made it easy for the tariqa Naqshabandiyya in west Sumatra since he was in Mekka. See also Denys Lombard, Les tarékat, 144.


88Steenbrink, Beberapa Aspek tentang Islam, 134, 136.


them to communicate and mobilize themselves. Thus, although they were active in rural areas they were nevertheless able to keep in touch with the cities and abroad. On the other hand the local folklore and popular beliefs of old were mixed with the tariqas and developed into kebatinan. 91

In the nineteenth century the tasawwuf works which were studied in the pesantren according to L. W. C. van den Berg were as follows: Ihyā’ ‘Ulūm al-Dīn of Al-Ghazālī in addition to Bidāyat al-Hidāya and Minhāj al-ṣābīdīn ; Al-Ḥikam of ibn Ṭā‘ā Allāh al-Iskandari; Shu‘ab al-ʿImān of Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Ṭījī and Ḥidāyat al-Adhkiyā‘ ilā Ṭariq al-Awliyā‘ of Zayn al-Dīn al-Malibari. (d. 928/1522). 92

Evidence shows that the tariqas still have an important social and political role to play in the enrichment of the spiritual lives of the Indonesian people of today. This can be observed in the establishment of a political party named Partai Politik Thariqat Islam (PPTI) in 1950 by Shaykh Jalāl al-Dīn, a khalīfa of Shaykh ʿAlī Riḍā of Jabal Abū Qubais. He used to claim that the PPTI had been established as early as 1920, and that the initials then stood for Persatuan Pembela Thariqat Islam (Union of Defenders of the Islamic Ṭariqa). This organization seems to be attached to the Naqshabandī order. 93 In 1957 a larger organization was founded by the Nahdlatul ‘Ulama’, the Central Board of Jam‘iyya Ahli Thoriqoh Mu‘tabarah 94 which has established its branches throughout Indonesia. In their

91Ibid., 148.

92Steenbrink, Beberapa Aspek tentang Islam, 154, 157. The research was done by Van den Berg in 1880.

93Van Bruinessen, The Origin, 175.

94Zamakhshari Dhofier. Tradisi Pesantren Studi Tentang Pandangan Hidup Kiyai (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1985), 143.
national conference in Semarang in 1981, 45 different tariqas were accepted as members and considered as providing a link to the prophet Muhammad peace be upon him.95

C. Conclusion.

By observing the formation, the development and the reaction to Sufism in Indonesia, the evidence shows that the tariqas are still developing and taking root throughout the country, especially with the establishment of the tariqa organizations.

The fact that the aliran kebatinan and other religious beliefs which exist in Indonesia are still flourishing among their followers is perhaps an indication of the deep spiritual beliefs of the Indonesian people. However, since most of the population is Muslim, Sufism might be the religious tendency which will experience greater expansion in the future.

Chapter II

NAWAWI AL-BANTENI: HIS LIFE AND WORKS.

A. Nawawi's family, and his educational background.

Nawawi's full name was Abü 'Abd al-Muqarnmad ibn 'Umar ibn 'Arabî al-Tanarî al-Bantâni al-Jâwi. He was born in the village of Tanara, in the district of Tirayasa, Serang, Banten, west Java, Indonesia, in 1230 A. H./1813 A. D. According to the local religious leaders, the name of the village Tanara means to enlighten; some scholars see a coincidence in this as they believe Nawawi to have "enlightened" Islamic education. The name "Nawawi", by which he is also commonly known was apparently chosen as a way of honouring the famous Nawawi, the author of Riyâd al-Śâliḥîn and of al-Tibyân.

"His father 'Umar ibn 'Arabi was a district-penghulu (i. e. director of the mosque, etc.) in Tanara who himself taught his sons, Nawawi, Tāmîm and Aḥmad, the subjects of ʻIlm al-kalām, nahw, taṣfîr and fiqh. The brothers received further instruction from Hajji Sahal, then a famous teacher in Banten, and later went to Purwakarta in Krawang (West Java), where Raden Hajji Yusuf attracted students who travelled there from the whole of

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1C. Brockelmann, Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur, Zweiter Supplement-Band (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1938), 813. See also, Zamakhsyari Dhofier, "The Pesantren Tradition. A Study of the Role of the Kiyai in the Maintenance of the Traditional Ideology of Islam in Java," (Ph. D. Dissertation The Australian National University, 1980), 127. See also Dhofier, Tradisi Pesantren Studi Tentang Pandangan Hidup Kiyai (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1984), 87. See also, Louis Maâlûf, Al-Munjîd fi al-Lugha wa al-A‘lam (Beirut: Dar aI-Mashriq, 1988), 581. Scholars disagree over the spelling of Nawawi. C. Brockelmann and Louis Maâlûf give it as Nawawi, while Khayr al-Dîn Al-Zirîkî in Al-A‘lam Qamîs Tarjîm li Ashhâr al-Rijal wa al-Nisâ‘ min al-‘Arab wa al-Mustâ’ribîn wa al-Mustashriqîn (Beirut: Dâr al-Ilm li'l Malâyîn, 1980), vol. 6, 318 shortens the second vowel, just as Nawawi himself does in his manuscripts. See also Muhammad Nawawi, Qaîrîd al-Mubtadî‘în, 1 Ms (photocopy ... Muhammad Nawawi innâ qad kunu waṣṣatu shâr‘an ‘alâ al-sittîn mas‘alâh...). See also Nawawi al-Bantenî, Shurût al-Iqtiđâ‘, 30 Ms (photocopy), qâla al-Faqîr Muḥammad Nawawi ibn ‘Umar... In his printed works, the name generally appears as Nawawi, not Nawâwî.


Java, particularly from west Java." 4 According to Hurgronje, Nawawî and his brothers made the pilgrimage while they were quite young. Afterwards, it would appear that only Nawawî remained behind in Mekka for about three years. 5

Around 1833 Nawawî returned home with an extensive knowledge of the Islamic sciences. The youth in his village were interested in studying with him, 6 but after his three year experience in the Holy Land, Nawawî had become accustomed to the system of Islamic education in Mekka. This combined with the restriction on Islamic education in Indonesia set by the Dutch authorities, may have led him to decide to settle permanently in the neighbourhood of the House of God. 7 According to Guillot around 1850 Nawawî returned to Mekka for good. 8

It seems to have been a tendency that the Indonesians who lived in Mekka at that time would gather among themselves and study from teachers who originated from the same country. 9 The positive aspect of this attitude perhaps is that students could feel free and were more comfortable with their teacher. This would enable them to make progress in their studies and spare them some of the initial difficulties with language and culture. At the


5Hurgronje, Mekka, 268. See also Chaidar, Sejarah Pujangga Islam Syekh Nawawî al-Bantani Indonesia (Jakarta: C. V. Sarana Utama, 1978), 30. Nawawi's age at that time was about 15.

6Chaidar, Sejarah Pujangga Islam, 40. See also Ramli, Sejarah Hidup, 4. Neither source mentions any date, but one might estimate that this occurred around 1833.

7Hurgronje, Mekka, 268.

8C. Guillot, “Nawawî al-Bantani, Muhammed (Syeh),” In Dictionnaire biographique des savants et grandes figures du monde musulman périphérique, du XIXe siècle à nos jours, ed. Marc Gaborieau et al. Paris: Programme de recherches interdisciplinaires sur le monde musulman périphérique, Fascicule no 1 (April 1992): 34. Dhofer in Tradisi Pesantren, 88 states that Nawawi was active in Mekka from 1830 to 1860 ... whereas Brockelmann says that Nawawi settled permanently in Mekka about 1855. See C. Brockelmann, “Al-Nawawî,” eds. M. Houtsma The Encyclopaedia of Islam (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1938). Since Hurgronje states that he met Nawawi [i.e. in 1885] and that Nawawi had been in Mekka for 30 years, Brockelmann and Guillot's proximations seem to be more correct.

same time it gave them an opportunity to discuss issues affecting Indonesia. Conversely, it could also make them narrow-minded and discourage them from communicating with others. Concerning his teachers according to Ramli, Nawawi, "while he was in Mekka, studied under Aḥmad Naḥrawī, Aḥmad Dimyāṯī, and Aḥmad Zaini Dahlan. However, he occasionally left Mekka to travel to other countries. He studied with Yūsuf al-Dāghistānī while in Dāghistan (in the former of USSR), and perhaps other scholars during his travels in Egypt and Syria."  

However, Ramli does not cite any evidence for Nawawi's travels outside Mekka. Hurgronje states that Nawawi studied "at first with Khāṭib Sambas and ʾAbd al-Ghanī Bima, but his real teachers were the Egyptian Yūsuf Sumbulāwīnī and Naḥrawī besides ʾAbd al-Ḥāmid al-Dāghistānī."  

Naḥrawī may be identified with the Aḥmad Naḥrawī, referred to as the author of al-Duʿāʾ al-Fand. Walid ibn Ibrahim adds that Nawawi also studied under Yusuf Sumbawa. The question arises whether Yūsuf Sumbulāwīnī and Yūsuf Sumbawa are the same person. There is no proof for either explanation so far, although Nawawi himself consistently refers to his teacher as Yūsuf Sumbulāwīnī. Rafiuddin Ramli further notes that Nawawi learned from Shaykh

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11. Hurgronje, Mekka, 268-269. Neither one of the above sources mentions the exact date of Nawawi's contacts with these individuals. For further discussion of Nawawi's teachers, see also below, pp. 36, 45, 51, 58.
12. Ibid., 271.
Muḥammad Ḥaṭṭīb al-Ḥanbali when he was in Medina.16 Hurgronje states that Nawawi maintained active associations with the Arab divines of Mekka.17

In Mekka, improving his knowledge of the Islamic sciences and acting as leader, Nawawi smoothed the path of study for the "Jawah" (the peoples of the East Indian Archipelago and Malaya).18 At first he taught during every available hour, but in the last fifteen years of this period he concentrated more on his literary work. Every morning, between 07.30 and 12.00 noon, he gave about three lectures, in accordance to the requirements of his numerous pupils. He welcomed younger boys who would begin their studies with grammar, as well as more advanced students.19 He taught in the Masjid al-Ḥarām between the years 1860-1870, after which time he gave up teaching in order to devote himself entirely to writing.20 Nawawi wrote prolifically in Arabic. Hurgronje notes that he was more proficient in his writing than in his speaking.21 According to his disciple ‘Abd al-Sattār al-Dihlawī, Nawawi derived the ideas for his written work while he was teaching.22

Hurgronje, who met Nawawi in person in Mekka comments (perhaps unfairly) that "Nawawi was a significant example of the difficulties which a Javanese must overcome in oral use of the Arabic tongue." He states on the one hand that Nawawi, after a thorough preliminary training he lived for thirty years in Mekka. He was able to recite the Qur'an of by heart and he could pronounce the Arabic consonants correctly. On the other hand,

16Ramlī, Sejarah Hidup, 3.

17Hurgronje, Mekka, 268.

18Hurgronje, Mekka, 6. In the introduction (page v), it is explained that the "Jawah" is the term used by the Mekkans to call the people of the East-Indian Archipelago.

19Ibid., 269.

20Dhofier, Tradisi Pesantren, 88.

21Hu'gronje, Mekka, 269.

22H. Rafiuddin Ramlī, Sejarah Hidup, 5.
whenever he used the colloquial language, according to Hurgronje, Nawawi "formed half Javanese-constructed sentences" and from his observations states that he "hurls about the gutturals ħa, kha, ʿayn, and qāf in despair." These four sounds caused the Javanese the most trouble, and as the kha gave comparatively the least trouble, many of them used this instead of the ħa and qāf, and for this reason were often laughed at by the Mekkans." 23

Hurgronje goes on to tell us how the phrase 'qaraṭu fi lḥarām sabḥain sinīn' (I have studied in the Ḥarām for seven years) would be transformed into 'khariṭu fi lkharam sabḥain sinīn' (for seven years I have polluted the Ḥarām), in the mouth of the Javanese, giving delight to the mischievous Arab boys of Mekka.24 In referring to the "Javanese" as he does, Hurgronje, I believe, perpetuates a misconception common amongst Arabs even today, by which the inhabitants of Indonesia, whatever their local origin or background are generalized as being "Javanese".

Hurgronje states that Nawawi's personal ambition led him to concentrate his activity in the literary sphere. Most of his work was published in Cairo; it is possible that he also had material published in Mekka. Some examples of Nawawi's works published in Cairo are as follows: in the grammatical field a commentary on the al-Ajurrūmiyya by Ibn Ajurrūm (1881 A. D.); a treatise on style Lubāb al-Bayān (1884); in the field of doctrine Dhariṣat al-Yaqīn, a commentary on the well known work of Abū Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf ibn ʿUmar ibn Shu'ayb al-Sanūsī (d. 1490 A. D.), Umm al-Barāhīn (1886); a commentary entitled Fath al-Mujīb on al-Durr al-Farīd, written by Nawawi's teacher al-Nāḥrāwī (1881) and others.25

23Hurgronje, Mekka, 269.

24Ibid., 269.

25Ibid., 271. See also C. Brockelmann, Al-Nawawi, 885, where the commentary on al-Durr al-Farīd, is referred to with the title Fath al-Majīd; see also Rafiuddin Ramli, Sejarah Hidup, 8-9, where Ramli distinguishes between the two different works, Fath al-Majīd, a commentary on al-Durr al-Farīd, and Fath al-Mujīb, a commentary on ʿIlm al-Manāṣik of al-Shirbīnī.
Nawawi's wife, according to Hurgronje, was of rural origin. Elsewhere he states that Nawawi had four children from two Arab wives.\textsuperscript{26} Ramli tells us that the names of Nawawi's children were Ruqaya, Nafisa, Maryam and Zahra.\textsuperscript{27} According to Chaidar's notes "Nawawi's wives were both of rural origin, their names are Nasima and Hamdana. From Nasima, Nawawi had Maryam, Nafisa and Ruqaya while from Hamdana, he had Zuhro (Zahra)."\textsuperscript{28} Hurgronje further notes that Nawawi's wife seemed "to have a greater sense of realities" and looked after the more important family business, in contrast to Nawawi who had "no instinct for making money although rich gifts were presented to him he lived in extreme simplicity, and wrote his books at night by the glow of a small petroleum lamp, which other people only used when showing a visitor out." His wife took care of the guests whom Nawawi "invited to meals on holidays," while Nawawi acted as though he were a stranger in his own house.\textsuperscript{29}

As far as Nawawi's relatives are concerned, Hurgronje writes that his brother next in years, Tāmīm, did not pursue such thorough studies as the Shaykh but was said to have had a good Arabic style, and to have spoken good Arabic. "Formerly he had been a pilgrim-Shaykh, and before the steamer had gained supremacy over the traffic, he earned good money as a pilgrim-agent in Singapore. Nawawi himself for several years was also a pilgrim-Shaykh, although his disciples considered this activity unworthy of his scientific attainments."\textsuperscript{30}

\textsuperscript{26}Hurgronje, Mekka, 273.

\textsuperscript{27}Ramli, Sejarah Hidup, 14.

\textsuperscript{28}Chaidar, Sejarah Pujangga Islam, 5-6.

\textsuperscript{29}Hurgronje, Mekka, 272-273.

\textsuperscript{30}Ibid., 272.
The Shaykh Marzūqi, a nephew of Nawawī, "had a much more distinguished appearance and also spoke Arabic. In Mekka he attended the same lectures as Nawawī, and despite the slight difference in their ages, he also studied under Nawawī himself."31

Another relative of Nawawī was Shaykh Iṣmāʿīl Banten, who held a prominent position as descendant of the Banten sultans (who count as sayyids), and was therefore addressed by his countryfolk as 'Tubagus.' At first he was taught by his father Ḥajji Sadili, who took him along on the pilgrimage, while Iṣmāʿīl was a small boy. After returning from this Ḥajj he followed the same course of study as had Nawawī in his youth, studying in Banten under Ḥajji Sahal and in Purwakarta under Ḥajji Yusuf. Most Islamic scholars of the older generation had studied in Banten.32

One source has traced Nawawī's ancestry on his father's side back to the prophet Muḥammad peace be upon him, which includes besides one of the Walisanga, Sharīf Hidāyāt Allāh, as well as eight of the Shi'ite imāms (with the exception of Mūsa al-Kāẓim,33 who should have been included by this source). This ancestry is illustrated in figure one. The same source has provided information regarding Nawawī's ancestry on his mother's side as well as his own descendants. These tables are reproduced in figures two and three.34

Nawawī al-Bantenī passed away on 25 Shawwāl 1314 A. H./1897 A. D. at Shi'ab ʿAlī, Mekka, when he was 84 years old. He was buried in Mālā, close to the graves of Ibn Ḥajar, Sitti ʿĀshūr bint Abī Bakr al-Ṣiddīq and K. H. Arshad Qaṣīr from Tanara.35 Out of remembrance and respect for what he has achieved through his works, the Banten

31Ibid., 273.

32Ibid., 273-274.

33Moojan Momen, An Introduction to Shi'i Islam (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1985), 34.

34Ramli, Sejarah Hidup, 11-12. The figures are on pp. 40-42 of this thesis.

35Ibid., 7. See also Chaidar, Sejarah Pujangga Islam, 36.
community celebrates the day of his death on the last Friday and Saturday night of Shawwāl every year in his home town of Tanara, Banten, west Java, Indonesia.

As far as Nawawi's personality was concerned, 'Abd al-Sattar, his disciple, notes that Nawawi was a modest man, describing him as zāhid, mutawādi and a helpful person. Hurgronje writes that when he once asked him why he never lectured in the Masjid al-Ḥarām, he answered that the plainness of his clothes and his simple appearance "did not accord with the distinguished appearance of the Arab professors." When Hurgronje remarked that less learned countryfolk did not refrain from lecturing there, he replied, "If they have attained such high honour, than assuredly they have earned it." Hurgronje writes:

Nawawi described himself as 'the dust of the feet of those striving for science'. He accepted the hand-kiss from almost all Javanese people living in Mekka as attribute to science, not to himself, and never refused an inquiry on the subject of the Divine Law. In social intercourse, he joined courteously in the conversation, rather than dominating it, and never started any scientific discussion without cause given by others. An Arab who did not know him might pass a whole evening in his company without ever discovering that he was the author of many learned Arabic works.

At the time he was teaching his students, particularly in the Maḥad Nashr al Maqārif al-Dīniyya in the Masjid al-Ḥarām, Nawawi was famous as a kind teacher, who explained the lectures clearly and deeply, and communicated well with his students. In a situation where students were free to choose any teachers they wanted, his pupils numbered no less than 200.

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36 Hurgronje, Mekka, 271.
37 Ibid., 270.
38 Ibid., 5. See also Chaidar, Sejarah Pujangga Islam, 60-91. In these pages he explains in details about ten karāma of Nawawi.
Among his disciples of Indonesian origin who later became great religious leaders are the following:

1. K. H. Hasyim Asy'ari, of Tebuireng Jombang, Jawa Timur. (The founder of the Nahdlatul 'Ulama).
2. K. H. Khalil, of Bangkalan, Madura, Jawa Timur.
3. K. H. Asy'ari, of Bawean, who later became Nawawi's son in law, by marrying his daughter Nyi Maryam.
4. K. H. Nahjun, of Kampung Gunung, Mauk, Tangerang, who married Nawawi's granddaughter, Nyi Salmah bint Ruqayyah bint Nawawi. K. H. Nahjun also served as his secretary, transcribing the work of "Qatr al-Ghayth".
7. K. H. 'Abd al-Ghaffar, of Kampung Lampung, Kecamatan Tirtayasa, Serang, Banten.
8. K. H. Tubagus Bakri, of Sempur, Purwakarta.40

Nawawi had a great influence on his disciples. They became strong Muslims, both in a religious and political sense. It is known that Banten, Madura, Acheh, Padang and Makassar (now Ujungpandang) were and still are centres of strong Muslim belief. For this reason Hurgronje suggested to the Dutch Colonial Government that he study further about Muslim Banten, as he had in the case of Acheh during the Achehnese war (1873-1904).41 "Although Nawawi himself seems not to have been directly involved in 'The Movement of Cilegon in 1888' (many historians refer to this event as the peasants' revolt of Banten), it is nevertheless a fact that most of the rebels were his pupils." 42 While Nawawi does not ever

40Ramli, Sejarah Hidup, 10-11.
41Walid ibn Ibrahim, Syaikh Nawawi, 4.
42Ibid., 4.
seem to have been interested in a political role, it would however, have been impossible for him to serve the infidel government even as a penghulu as his father and his brother H. Ahmad (who succeeded his father) once had done. Hurgronje seems to imply that Nawawî was seen as dangerous by the Dutch because of his influence on Indonesian pilgrims, and because the authorities believed that he inspired them to rebel against the colonial government. 43

Walid notes that "many Indonesian religious leaders co-operated and corresponded with Muslim scholars in Saudi Arabia between the 16th and the 19th centuries. They also invited Muslim scholars from Mekka, Yaman and India to Indonesia to preach. On the other hand Indonesian Muslims who had become residents of the Hijaz, served the pilgrims as mutawwif and muzawwir." 44 Among Indonesian pilgrims it was common to hear the names of Shaykh's like Indragiri, Batawi, Palembani, Bawean, Bantani, Minangkabawi and others. For Indonesian Muslims at that time, the pilgrimage had a very important meaning, for in addition to giving religious prestige or knowledge, the hajj had a political and social impact in developing Islam in Indonesia. 45

According to Hurgronje, "Nawawî neither encouraged nor discouraged his students from joining a tariqa." 46 This point merits further comment given that Nawawî is generally assumed to have been a disciple of Shaykh Khâṭîb Sambas (Ahmad Khâṭîb al-Sambasî), the founder of the combined tariqa al-Qâdiriyya wa al-Naqshabandiyya. 47

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43 Hurgronje, Mekka, 270.

44 Walid ibn Ibrahim, Syaikh Nawawî, 4. A mutawwif is a person who guides the pilgrims in their performance the rukn of the hajj; a muzawwir is a person who guides the pilgrims in their visit to historical sites.


46 Hurgronje, Mekka, 271.

47 Dhofier, Tradisi Pesantren, 87-88, 141. See also Syed Naguib Al-Attas, Some Aspects of Sufism as Understood and Practised among the Malays edited by Shirle Gordon (Singapore:
Ahmad Khājib Sambas was born in Kalimantan and settled in Mecca during the second quarter of the nineteenth century and remained there until his death in 1875. He was in fact a learned scholar in every branch of Islamic knowledge. He was reknown in Indonesia for his success in combining the teachings of the two important tariqa orders in Indonesia, the Qadiriyya and the Naqshabandiyya. In Java his tariqa order is now called Tariqa Qadiriyya wa al-Naqshabandiyya. This tariqa became instrumental in spreading Islam to Indonesia and Malay in the second half of the nineteenth century. Shaykh Sambas wrote Fath al-‘Arifin (Victory of the Gnostics) which became the most popular and important work on Sufi practice in the Malay world.

According to Martin van Bruinessen, Shaykh Sambas did not teach the two tariqas separately but rather in combined fashion. From this point of view it may be seen as a new tariqa, different from both of the tariqas on which it is based.

Shaykh Sambas, "in addition to training the most influential Sufi ‘ulamā’, also trained leading ‘ulamā’ on Fiqh and Tafsīr such as Shaykh ‘Abd al-Karīm who was his disciple and his successor as leader of the combined tariqa. Shaykh ‘Abd al-Karīm was famous as Kiyai Agung, who encouraged jihad (holy war against the Dutch) in 1876 and then left Banten for Mecca to succeed Shaykh Khājib Sambas."

The importance of Shaykh Sambas as a learned scholar must be stressed here because as Hurgronje pointed out, most European writers are radically mistaken in asserting that the ‘ulamā’ were in general hostile to the tariqa orders. It is significant that...
a highly regarded scholar like Shaykh Sambas, from whom almost all kiyais in Java trace their intellectual genealogy, was also a representative of a mystic order (figure 4).

Nawawī also has been interpreted as being either neutral in regard to the ṭariqas, or even opposed to them. Steenbrink compares the three figures ‘Uthmān ibn ‘Aqīl [?] ibn Yaḥyā al-‘Alawī, Nawawī al-Bantenī and Aḥmad Khāṭīb Minangkabau. Like Aḥmad Khāṭīb, ‘Uthmān was against the ṭariqa while Nawawī was neutral. On another page Steenbrink writes that Nawawī was against the ṭariqa, especially the teaching as practiced by Ismā‘īl Minangkabau. ‘Uthmān was for the Dutch while Nawawī and Aḥmad Khāṭīb were nationalists. Unlike ‘Uthmān and Aḥmad Khāṭīb, Nawawī (according to Steenbrink), was really a knowledgeable man; however, the three of them shared similar attitudes about the need for reformation of Islam in Indonesia.53 Nawawī in fact recommends ‘Uthmān’s work Al-Naṣīḥa ʿalā Niqāt in a passage quoted by Steenbrink:

Ini kitab Al-Naṣīḥa ʿalā Niqāt tinggi segala kedudukannya, sahih segala maknanya, bagaimana ia tiada begitu, sebab ia kumpul daripada perkaraan ulama besar-besar. Adapun orang-orang yang mengambil tarekat, jikalau ada perkataan dan perbuatan mereka itu mufakat pada syara‘ Nabi Muhammad sebagaimana ahli-ahli tarekat yang benar, maka maqbul; dan jika tiada begitu maka tentulah seperti yang telah jadi banyak didalam anak-anak murid Syekh Ismail Minangkabau. Maka bahwasanya mereka itu bercela akan zikir Allah dengan (...) dan mereka itu bercela-cela akan orang yang tiada masuk didalam tarekat. Mereka itu hingga, bahwasanya mereka itu menegah akan mengikut bersembahyang padanya dan bercampur makan padanya dan mereka itu benci padanya istimewa pada bahwasanya syekh Ismail itu hanyasanya mengambil ia akan tarekat itu: asalnya karena kumpul harta buat bayar segala hutangnya. Maka ia di dalam asal itu mau jual agama dengan dunia adanya. Ini salinan teks Syekh Nawawī itu...54


54Ibid., 184-185. Prof. Steenbrink explained to me (personal interview) that the passage is copied in a collection of letters [in Latin script] from Mecca preserved in the National archives in Jakarta. Concerning Shaykh Ismā‘īl Minangkabau, actually was a preacher of the ṭariqa Naqshabandīyya Khālīdīyya in Minangkabau, he took the ba‘īs from Quth al-Haramayn al-Sharifīyayn al-ṣālim al-ṣāmil wa al-ṣārif al-Kāmil al-Sayyid Abī ʿAbd Allāh al-Shaykh ʿAbd Allāh Afandi al-Khālīdī. He wrote Kifāyat al-Ghulām fī Bayān arkān al-Islām wa Shurūṭuḥ wa Risāla Muqārana ʿUrfīyya wa Taqwīyya wa Kamālīyya. See also H. W. Muḥammad Shaghir Abdullah, Syekh Ismail al-Minangkabawī penyiar Thariqat Naqshbandīyay Khalīdīyyah (Solo: Ramadhani, 1985), 5, 29. Van Bruinessen states that the Shaykh introduced this ṭariqa in the early 1850. See also Martin van
Steenbrink seems to suggest that Nawawi was against the ṭariqas, based on his interpretation of Nawawi’s recommendation. Such a suggestion, however, is difficult to accept in light of the fact that Nawawi identifies himself as a Qādiriyā follower. Moreover, the recommendation can also be interpreted to mean that Nawawi still accepted the ṭariqas on the condition that they based themselves on the sunna of the Prophet Muhammad peace be upon him.

Thus it is important to point out that “although Shaykh Nawawi did not follow Shaykh Sambas in leading a ṭariqa order, he nevertheless did not abandon his intellectual and spiritual commitment to his master. Nawawi was not against ṭariqa practices so long as they did not deviate from the Islamic teachings. This may explain why his name is still cited among the kiyais in Java.”

In addition to the names attributed to Nawawi in his work, Bahjat al-Wasa‘il, there are the nisbahs Al-Shāfi‘i and Al-Qādiri which indicate that his school of law was Shāfi‘i and that his ṭariqa was Qādiriyā. It should also be noted that in his Nihāyat al-Zayn, Nawawi states that he follows al-Ash‘arī in theology.


55 Nawawi al-Bantenī, Bahjat al-Wasa‘il bi Sharh [al-] Masā’il (Shirka al-Nūr Asia), 2.
56 Dhofier, Tradisi Pesantren, 89.
57 Nawawi al-Bantenī, Bahjat al-Wasa‘il, 2.
Nawawi's paternal ancestry:

Muhammad p.b.u.h

sayyidatuna Fatimah

sayyiduah Husayn

Imam 'Ali Zayn al-'Abidin

Imam Muhammad al-Baqir

Imam Ja'far al-Sadiq

[Muṣṭaṣ-ṣ-Ḵā'im]

Imam 'Ali al-Ridha

Imam Muhammad al-Ṭaṣifi

Imam 'Ali al-Naqi

Imam 'Ali al-Muhammadi 'Ilā Allāh

Imam 'Ubaid Allāh

Imam Sayyid al-Awliya

Sayyid Muhammad

Sayyid 'Ali al-Malik

'Abd Allāh 'Amrah Khān

Sayyid 'Abdul-Malik Shāh Jāfīl

Maulānā Jamāl al-Dīn Akbar Ḥusayn

Ali Nūr al-Dīn

Raja Amat al-Dīn 'Abd Allāh

Maulānā Sharif Hidāyat Allāh

Maulānā Hasan al-Dīn

Kī Tāj al-'Arāsh

Kī Mas'ūdī

Kī Masārīn

Kī Masbūqīl

Kī Jāmīl

Kī Jamālī

Kyā 'Allī

Kyā 'Arabic

Kyā 'Umar

Fig. 1 Ramli, Sejarah Hijri, 11-12.
Nawawi’s maternal ancestry:

![Genogram of Nawawi's maternal ancestry](image)

Fig. 2 Ramli, Sejarah Hidup, 13.

Nawawi’s descendants:

![Genogram of Nawawi's descendants](image)

Fig. 3 Ramli, Sejarah Hidup, 14.
An Intellectual Genealogy of Java's leading Kiyai:

1. Kyai Khalil of Pesantren Bangkalan, Madura.

fig. 4 Dhofer, The Pesantren, 124.
B. Classification of Nawawī's works.

Nawawī was a very prolific writer of Arabic. Brockelmann cites 40 of his works, and classifies them into seven different fields of Islamic teaching.59 J. A. Sarkis mentions 39 of Nawawī's works in his book Dictionary of Arabic Printed Books, (Cairo 1928), 362, as does K. H. Saifuddin Zuhri in his book Sejarah Kebangkitan Islam dan Perkembangannya di Indonesia, (Bandung: Al-Ma'ārif, 1981), 116. H. Rafiuddin Ramli and Chaidar have both stated that Nawawī wrote more than one hundred works.60 The most important among Nawawī's works are listed as follows, in accordance with Brockelmann's scheme of seven fields:61

1. In the field of tafsīr, Nawawī expounded the Qur'ān in his Marāh Lābīd li Kashf Ma'na [al-] Qur'ān [al-] Majid, also known as al-Tafsīr al-Munīr li Mā'līm al-Tanzīl al-Musfīr 'an Wujūh Maḥāsin al-Ta'wil, Cairo 1305 A. H.62

2. "In the field of fiqh Nawawī annotated the Fatḥ al-Qarīb of Muḥammad ibn al-Qāsim al-Ghazzī (d. 918 A. H.), a commentary on Abū Shujaʿ al-Iṣfahānī's al-Taqrīb. This annotated work was printed under two different titles: al-Tawshīḥ (Cairo 1305 A. H., 1310), and Qūt al-Ḥabīb (Cairo 1301, 1305, 1310 A. H.)63 and was reprinted in Indonesia under the title Tawshīḥ ʿalā Ibn Qāsim Qūṭ al-Ḥabīb al-Gharīb, by Maktaba wa Maṭbaʿa Toha Putra, Semarang no date). Nawawī also wrote a commentary on al-Ghazzī's

59C. Brockelmann, Al-Nawawī, 885.

60Ramli, Sejarah Hidup, 8. See also Chaidar, Sejarah Pujangga Islam, 41.

61C. Brockelmann, Al-Nawawī, 885. Most of the bibliographical details in what follows are taken from Brockelmann's article on al-Nawawī.


63C. Brockelmann, Al-Nawawī, 885.
Bidāyat al-Hidāya under the title Marāqī al-‘Ubūdiyya (Būlāq 1293, 1309; Cairo 1294, 1304, 1307, 1308, 1319, 1327 A. H.)\textsuperscript{64}, reprinted in Semarang, Indonesia, (no date). "On the Manāqib al-Ḥājj of Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad al-Shirbīnī al-Khaṭīb (d. 977 A. H./1570 A.D.) Nawawī wrote al-Fath al-Mubīn (Būlāq 1276, 1292; Cairo 1297, 1298, 1306; Mekka 1316). On the Safinat al-Ṣalāḥ of ʿAbd Allāh ibn Yaḥyā al-Ḥaḍramī he wrote the Sullam al-Munājāt (Būlāq 1297; Cairo 1301, 1307)."\textsuperscript{65}

Nawawī also wrote a commentary entitled al-‘Idqd al-Thamīn (Cairo 1300 A. H.) on the work al-Fath al-Mubīn Naẓīm Muqaddima al-Zāhīd, a verse rendering by the Indonesian scholar Muṣṭafā ibn ʿUthmān al-Jāwī al-Qārūṭī of the 601 questions of Abū al-ʿAbbās Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Sulaymān Al-Qāhirī Shihāb al-Dīn al-Zāhīd al-Shāfīī (d. 819 A. H.). The Safinat al-Ṣalāḥ of Sālim ibn Samīr of Shiṭr in Ḥaḍramawt, which was completed in Batavia, was commented upon by Nawawī in a work entitled Kāshifat al-Sajā, (Cairo 1292, 1301, 1302, 1303, 1305; Būlāq 1309, \textsuperscript{66} reprinted in Indonesia by Maktabat al-Īdrus [=al-ʿAydarūs], no date).

3. In the field of dogmatics Nawawī wrote several commentaries, among them are Dhariʿat al-Yaqīn, a commentary on al-Sanūsī’s Umm al-Barāhīn (d. 892 A. H.), and Nūr al-Zalām, a commentary on the ʿAgīdat al-ʿAwāmm of Aḥmad al-Marzūqī al-Mālikī al-Makkī \textsuperscript{67} (Cairo 1303, Mecca 1311 A. H. reprinted in Indonesia by Maktaba wa Maḥāfa

\textsuperscript{64}Ibid., 885.

\textsuperscript{65}Ibid., 885. Martin van Bruinessen, "Kitab Kuning: Books in Arabic Script used in the Pesantren Milieu" in Bijdragen tot de Instituut voor Taal-hand-en Volkenkunde, Deel 146, (1990): 249. He gives al-Ḥaḍramī's name in full as ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUmar al-Ḥaḍramī the same as Brockelmann in his GAL SI, 172 but in GAL SII, 814 the name appears as ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUmar ibn Yaḥyā al-Ḥaḍramī.

\textsuperscript{66}C. Brockelmann, al-Nawawī, 885. See also Martin van Bruinessen, Kitab Kuning, 249.

\textsuperscript{67}Ibid., 885.
Toha Putra Semarang, no date). The latter work (*Nūr al-Zālīm*) was translated into Javanese by Bisri Mustofā Rembang and into Madurese by ʿAbd al-Majīd Tamīm of Pamekasan. Nawawī wrote *Tīǧān al-Dârārī*, a commentary on Shaykh Ibrāhīm al-Bājūrī’s *Rīsāla fī ʿIḥm al-Tawhīd* (Cairo 1301, 1309; Mekka 1329, reprinted in Indonesia by Maktaba wa Maḥbābat al-Hīdāya, Surabaya, no date), and also composed a commentary on the *Māsāʾīl* of Ibrāhīm Abī al-Layth Naṣr ibn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Ibrāhīm al-Ḥanāfī al-Samarqandī entitled *Qaṭr al-Ǧhayth Sharḥ Māsāʾīl Abī al-Layth* (Cairo 1301, 1303, 1309, Mekka 1311, reprinted in Indonesia by Maktabat al-Hīdāya, Surabaya, no date).

Nawawī also wrote a commentary on “the anonymous *Fath al-Rahmān*” which he entitled *Ḥiliyāt al-Sībyān*, published in a *Majmūʿa*, (Mekka 1304), as well as a *ṣāḥīḥ* on the *al-Durr al-Farīd fī ʿIḥm al-Tawhīd* of his teacher Aḥmad al-Nāhrāwī, entitled *Fath al-majīd*, (Cairo 1298, reprinted in Indonesia by Maktaba Usaha Keluarga, no date under the fuller title *Fath al-Majīd Sharḥ al-Durr al-Farīd fī ʿAgāʾid Aḥl al-Tawhīd*). On the work of Muḥammad ibn Sulaymān Ḥasb Allāh entitled *al-Riyāḍ al-Badīʿa fī Uṣūl al-Dīn wa Baʿḍ Furūʿ al-Shariʿa*, Nawawī wrote the commentary *al-Thimlir al-Yānīʿa*, (Cairo 1299, 1308, 1329; Būlāq 1302 A. H., reprinted in Indonesia by Dār Iḥyāʿ al-Kutub al-ʿArabiyya, no date).

4. In the field of mysticism, Nawawī wrote a commentary on the *Manẓūma Hīdāyat al-Adhkiyāʿ ilā Ẓārīq al-Awliyāʿ* of Zayn al-Dīn al-Mālibārī (d. 928 A. H.) entitled *Ṣalāḥim al-Fudalāʿ*, (Cairo 1301, Mecca 1315, reprinted in Indonesia by Dār Iḥyāʿ al-Kutub al-

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69C. Brockelmann, al-Nawawī, 885. See also GAL SII, 814.

Ibid., 885. See also Martin van Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning*, 252. Van Bruinessen does not seem to realize that Aḥmad Nāhrāwī was one among Nawawī’s teachers as pointed out by Hurgronje, Brockelmann See above pp. 28-29) and Nawawī himself. See Nawawī al-Bantenī, *Ṣalāḥim al-Fudalāʿ*, 85. See also Nawawī al-Bantenī, *Fath al-Majīd*, 2. He cites *shaykhī wa sayyīdi Aḥmad al-Nāhrāwī*. 
Arabiyya, no date). There are Javanese translations and commentaries on Hidāyat al-Adhkiyya by Saleh Darat (Minhāj al-Atqiyya) and by 'Abd al-Jalil Ḥamīd al-Qandalī (Tuḥfat al-Asfiyya), as well as an interlinear Madurese translation by 'Abd al-Majīd Tamīm of Pamekasan.\(^{71}\) On al-Malibari's Manṣūma fi Shu'āb al-Īmān, Nawawī wrote the Qāni' al-Ṭughyān, (Cairo 1296, reprinted in Indonesia by Maktaba wa Māṭaštā Usaha Keluarga, Semarang, no date). On the al-Manhaj al-Atamm fi Tabwīb al-Hikam\(^{72}\) of 'Alī ibn Ḥusām al-Dīn al-Hindi (d. 975 A. H.)\(^{73}\) Nawawī wrote Miṣbāḥ al-Ẓalām, (Mekka 1314 A. H.)\(^{74}\)

5. Nawawī's commentaries on stories of the life of the Prophet may be classed as edifying popular literature; he wrote one such work on the Mawlid al-Nabī, also known as al-ʿArūs, (Cairo 1926), which is ascribed to both Ibn al-Jawzī, and to Ḥāmid ibn al-Qāsim al-Ḥarīrī, entitled Fath al-Ṣamad al-ʿĀlim al-Mawlid al-Shaykh Ḥāmid ibn al-Qāsim wa al-Būlūgh al-Fawzī li Bayān Alfāẓ Mawlid ibn al-Jawzī, (Būlāq 1292,\(^{75}\) reprinted by Shirka Piramid, Surabaya, Indonesia, no date). This work was also published under the titles Bughyat al-ʿAwāmm fi Sharḥ Mawlid Sayyid al-Anām li ibn al-Jawzī, (Cairo 1927) or Fath al-Ṣamad al-ʿĀlim al-Mawlid al-Shaykh Ḥāmid ibn Qāsim, (Mekka 1306). Nawawī himself mentions that he gave two titles to this sharḥ.\(^{76}\) Nawawī also commented

\(^{71}\)Van Bruinessen, Kitab Kuning, 259.

\(^{72}\)C. Brockelmann, GAL S II, 519. In Brockelmann in his article "al-Nawawī" in Encyclopedia of Islam, 885, transliterates the title of al-Hindi's work as al-Manhaj al-Atamm fi Tabwīb al-Ḥukm. See also Ramli, Sejarah Hidup, 10.

\(^{73}\)C. Brockelmann, GAL S II, 518. and G II, 503. (His full name was 'Alī al-dīn 'Alī ibn Ḥusām al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Qādīhān al-Muttaqi al-Hindi al-Qādirī al-Shādhili al-Madani. He wrote some 20 works, e.g. al-Burhān fi ʿalāmāt mahdi ākhir al-Ẓamān, Manhaj al-ʿUmmāl fi sunan al-Aqwāl wa al-ʿArifin wa Siyar al-Ṭālibīn, al-ʿUnwān fi sulūk al-Niswān, etc.

\(^{74}\)C. Brockelmann, GAL S II, 519. See also C. Brockelmann, al-Nawawī, 885 and see also Ramli, Sejarah Hidup, 10. Brockelmann refers to the title as Miṣbāḥ al-Zulm, while Ramli cites it (in Arabic script) as Miṣbāḥ al-Zalām.

\(^{75}\)C. Brockelmann, al-Nawawī, 885.


Additional works of Nawawī as cited by Ramli are:

78Ibid., 885.


4. Al-Futūḥat al-Madaniyya. ⁸⁰

5 Bahjat al-Wasāʿil bi Sharḥ al-Masāʿil (Cairo 1289, 1292 a commentary on al-Risālat al-Jāmiʿah bayna Uṣūl al-Dīn wa al-Fiqh wa al-Taṣawwuf of Sayyid ʿAḥmad ibn Zaynī al-Ḥabashī, reprinted in Indonesia by Shirka al-Nūr Asia, (no date).


7. Al-Riyyāḍ al-Fawliyya .


10. Fatḥ al-ʿĀrifīn. ⁸¹

⁷⁹See also Van Bruinessen, Kitab Kuning, 255.

⁸⁰Nawawī al-Banteni, Al-Futūḥat al-Madaniyya (Indonesia: Dār Iḥyāʾ al-Kutub al-ʿArabiyya, no date), 2. The commentary on the branches of faith (Shuʿāb al-Īmān) is taken from al-Nuqīyā of al-Suyūṭī and from al-Futūḥat al-Makkiyya of Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī Muḥy al-Dīn ibn ʿArabī. Al-Futūḥat al-Madaniyya was printed in the margin side of Naṣāḥah al-ʿĪbād.

⁸¹Ramli, Sejarah Hidup 8-10. Ramli perhaps wrongly attributed this work to Nawawī because in other sources Fatḥ al-ʿĀrifīn was considered the work of ʿAḥmad Khāṭīb Sambas. See Hawash Abdullah, Perkembangan Ilmu Tasawwuf dan Tokoh-tokohnya di Nusantara (Surabaya: Al-Ikhlas, 1980), 182. See also H. M. Zurkani Yahya, "Asal Usul Thoriqot Qodiriyah Naqshabandiyah dan Perkembangannya," in Thoriqot Qodiriyah Naqshabandiyah Sejarah, Asal Usul dan
C. General remarks concerning some of Nawawi's works.

Some observations can be made regarding the vast range of Nawawi's works. Martin van Bruinessen has commented that "Nawawi has written on virtually every aspect of Islamic learning, most of them being commentaries on standard works. His tendency was to explain them in simple terms. He is perhaps best described as a popularizer of, rather than a contributor to learned discourse." 82 Although Nawawi seems not to have been a specialist in any particular field of Islamic teaching, it is nevertheless a fact that in Nawawi's time the trend of the intellectual Muslim tradition was not to specialize in any one specific discipline as is the case today. This trend continued until the middle of the 14th century Hijrah. 83

Van Bruinessen says that there appears to be almost no original work by Nawawi, with the possible exception of Nawawi's Tafsir Munir. He further states that Nawawi was probably the last commentator of the Qur"an of his generation, before the reformation by Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī, Muḥammad 'Abduh and Rashīd Riḍā. 84

According to A. Asnawi, Tafsir Munir, although not very radical, brought the Muslim community into the modern era. Because Nawawi refers in his introduction to al- Munir to the works Al-Futūḥāt al-Ilāhiyya of Sulaymān al-Jamal (d. 1790 A. D. see GAL SII, 180, 480), Mafātiḥ al-Ghayb of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 1209 A. D. see GAL SI, 922), al-Sirāj al-Munir of al-Shirbīnī (d. 1570 A. D. see GAL SII, 441) and Irshād al-ʾĀqīl al-Salīm of Abū Suʿūd (d. 1574 A. D. see GAL SII, 651), Asnawi concludes that al- Munir is an analytical, comparative tafsīr. However, Nawawi also referred in his tafsīr

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82 Van Bruinessen, Kitab Kuning, 236.


84 as quoted by Mustafa Helmy, Ibid., 43.
to *Tanwir al-Miqbas* 85, a work of al-Firuzabadi (d. 1415 A. D. GAL SII, 235) which is compiled based on *Hadith* from Ibn `Abbás. 86

From the results of Dr. Martin van Bruinessen's research on the pesantren (religious schools), it can be seen that the works of Nawawi still dominate the curriculum of 42 pesantrens. Shaykh Nawawi is recognized as a link between the classical intellectual period of the central Islamic world and Indonesia. 87 The works of Nawawi are also taught in religious schools in Mindanao (Southern Philippines), Thailand and in Malaysia as well. His books have spread his influence in Egypt, Syria and Saudi Arabia. According to Ray Salam T. Mangondanan, a researcher in the Institute of Islamic Studies, University of the Philippines, there are about forty religious schools in the southern Philippines which still use the traditional curriculum. In addition Sulayman Yassin, a lecturer in the Faculty of Islamic Studies of Kebangsaan University in Malaysia, studied Nawawi's work during the period 1950-1958 in Johor and in many other religious schools in Malaysia. 88

D. Conclusion.

Observing Nawawi's life and education, it is clear that to study and to stay in the Holy Land was the chief goal of Indonesian students of the Islamic sciences at that time. Mekka's status as the center of Islam meant that in "Javanese cosmology, they believed Mekka was a blessed place to seek knowledge and to live" 89.

85 Nawawi, *Marah Labid*, vol. 1, 2.


Nawawi can be considered to have made important contributions to the study of the Islamic sciences in Indonesia particularly in the areas of Arabic grammar, fiqh, usūl al-dīn, Qur'ānic exegesis, ḥadīth, taṣawwuf and life histories of the Prophet. His books are available throughout the country and are studied in the pesantrens. This is perhaps because of the authoritative nature of his work.

In relation to Sufism, although he was not a leader of a ṭariqa it is obvious that he considered himself to be a Sufi of the Qādirīyya order (Bahjat al-Wasā'il, 2). In fact Dhofer and Hurgronje90 insist that Shaykh Ahmad Khātib Sambas, the founder of the ṭariqa Qādirīyya wa Naqshbandiyya, was one among Nawawi's teachers (although, surprisingly, I have not yet found any reference to this fact in Nawawi's own works). His works on Sufism, Salālim al-Fuḍalā', Qāmiq al-Ṭughyān and Miṣbāḥ al-Ẓulam, are evidence of his interest in the field of Sufism. When he quotes Malibari's conclusion that taṣawwuf is the only way to achieve the goal (Salālim, 4), we can no longer be in doubt as to his interest.

90Dhofer, Tradisi Pesantren. 87-89. See also Hurgronje, Mekka, 268.
Chapter III
The Mystical Aspect of Nawawi al-Banteni’s Thought

A. A Summary of Manżūma Hidayat al-Adhkiyā’ ilā Ţariq al-Awliyā’

As was mentioned earlier (p. 45-46), Brockelmann lists three among Nawawi’s works as being mystical in content: Misbāḥ al-Zulam, Qāmi‘ al-Ţughyān and Salālim al-Fudālā’. Among these, only the latter two are available to me. Both Qāmi‘ and Salālim are commentaries on works written by Zayn al-Dīn ibn ‘Alī ibn Aḥmad al-IMITER al-Malibari (d. 928 A. H./ 1522 A. D.).1 Qāmi‘, a commentary on Malibari’s Shu‘ab al-‘Imān is, however, limited to a discussion of 77 branches of faith and belongs more to the field of religious ethics. Salālim, a commentary on Malibari’s poem Hidayat al-Adhkiyā’ ilā Ţariq al-Awliyā’ by contrast, deals with a wide range of mystical themes and concepts. I have therefore chosen to take this commentary as the basis of my study. There can be no doubt as to the definite Sufi nature of this work, given that Nawawi himself relates al-Malibari’s reason for composing Hidayat al-Adhkiyā’ as follows:

The reason that the poet composed the verses is that he was unsure as to what science he should occupy himself with: should he study fiqh and the like, or ṭasawwuf such as ‘Awārīf [‘Awārīf al-Ma‘arīf of Suhrawardi] and the like. Then he had a dream on Tuesday night, 24 Sha‘bān 914 A. H., a dream in which someone told him that it is better to study ṭasawwuf. For a

swimmer in the river, if he wants to traverse from one shore to the other, in order to reach his goal he has to swim [against] the direction in which the water flows, [he has to swim]...upstream.... He does not swim directly across, [for] if he does he will not achieve his goal but he will be [swept by the current] and stopped [at a place] downstream. He [al-Malibari] understood from this that occupying oneself with ṭaṣawwuf will bring someone to his goal while occupying oneself with Fiqh and the like will not allow one to arrive at one's goal. After having this vision al-Malibari composed the poem.2

As Nawawi al-Bantenî (Salālim, 3) points out, the Ḥidāyat al-Adhkiyā‘ ilā Ṭariq al-Awliyā‘ is composed of 188 verses in the metre kāmil. Its content may be summarized as follows:

1) Verses 1 - 2 (after the basmala): Ḥamdala and ṣalawāt.

2) Verse 3: God-fearing (taqwā) as opposed to its contrary "following one's desire" (ahwāl).

3) Verses 4 - 15: The meaning of sharī‘a, ṭariqā and ḥaqīqa.

4) Verses 16 - 75: Nine recommendations (waṣayā) for those searching for the path of the friends of God (ṭariq al-awliyā‘):

   31 - 32: Learning the Islamic sciences (ta‘allum al-‘ilm al-sharī‘a).
   42 - 44: Trust in God (al-tawakkul).
   53 - 61: Isolation (al-‘uzla).

2Nawawi, Salālim, 4.
62 - 75: Preserving the moment (i.e. using every moment for a religious purpose) 
(ḥiṣṣ al-awqāt).

5) Verses 76 - 77: Five ways to cure the heart (dawai' al-qalb) which are: reciting the Qur'ān (tīlāwāt al-Qur'ān), fasting (iḥkāl al-batn), performing the night prayer (qiyyām al-layl), performing the prayer at sahr time (al-taḍarru' bi al-sahr) and gathering with good people (mujālasāt al-ṣāliḥīn).³

6) Verses 78 - 165: A number of themes are discussed in loose sequence (apparently following the daily hours).

78 - 89: On the virtues required of a Qur'ānic reader (with reference to Muḥy al-Dīn al-Nawawī’s Tibyān in verse 89).

90 - 91: Ṣalāt Dhuḥā' and remembering death.

92 - 146: On learning and study (during the morning).

92 - 107: The importance of religious learning; the status of the qālim compared to that of the qābid (verse 93).

108 - 113: Five signs denoting the seeker of knowledge with wrong intentions.

114 - 128: Seven characteristics of the knower of the Hereafter (qālim al-ukhrā).

129 - 132: Six inner natural good qualities of a leader like al-Shāfi‘ī.

133: The importance of beneficial knowledge for happiness in the present world and in the Hereafter.

134: Teaching (the beneficial knowledge) as the best worship (ṣibāda), the best successorship (khilāfa) and inheritance of the prophet (wirātha).

135 - 141: Advice on how to study.

142 - 144: Eight branches of knowledge of the Arabic language.

145 - 146: A warning that one should not be fooled by logic and theology and study the Ihyā'Ulūm al-Dīn of al-Ghazālī instead.

147 - 157: Ādāb regarding eating, drinking, free time for prayer or study and sleeping (with reference to Muḥy al-Dīn al-Nawawī's Kitāb al-Adhkār in verse 155).


161 - 162: The harmfulness of thinking of the present life (dunyā).

163 - 165: What one can and cannot do between the prayer after sunset (maghrib) and the evening prayer (iṣṭahār).

7) Verses 166 - 171: Tadhkira (memento), on prayer, Qurʾān reading and dhikr (for those entirely free of wordly concerns).

8) Verses 172 - 175: Mahamma (important note), in which two concepts are discussed:

172 - 174: Guarding one's breath (ḥifẓ al-anfās) in dhikr.

175: Concerning silent invocation (dhikr khafi).

9) Verses 176 - 178: Concerning mujāhada (serious effort) as a pre-condition for achievement of the special high knowledge (maʿrifah khaṣṣa ʿaliyya). Also mentioned is the struggle against one's ego (jihād al-nafs), i.e. the process of purifying the soul from vice and decorating it with light.

10) Verses 179 - 180: Concerning the status of the gnostic (ṣārif), compared to that of the ʿālim.
11) Verses 180 - 186: Al-Malibari discusses the ways to achieve the highest goal of Sufism, i.e. contemplation (mushahada) according to Suhrawardi.

12) Verses 187 - 188: Conclusion of the mystical treatise with hamdala, salawat on the Prophet Muhammad peace be upon him and hawqala.

B. Nawawi’s commentary on Hidayat al-Adhkiyâ’: Salâlim al-Fudalâ’.

In this part I would like to discuss Nawawi’s commentary from two perspectives: firstly, Nawawi’s approach to his sources; and secondly, selected themes from Salâlim, namely his analysis of the concept of Sufism, of the practical ways to the path of the friends of God, and finally his discussion of dhikr in tadkira and mahamma.

1. Nawawi’s approach to his sources.

Nawawi indicates at the end of his commentary that Salâlim was written over the course of twenty days starting from Wednesday, 22 Rabî’ al-thani and ending Tuesday, 13 Jumâdâ al-’ulâ, 1293 A. H. Another well-known commentary, the Kifâyat al-Atqiyâ’ wa Minhaj al-Asfiyâ’ of Abù Bakr ibn Muhammad Shatâr al-Dimyârî, was completed 9 years later on Friday 10 Jumâdâ al-thani 1302 A. H. Al-Dimyârî says in his introduction that in commenting on the poem he based himself to a large extent on a sharh entitled Maslak al-Atqiyâ’ wa Minhaj al-Asfiyâ’ written by the poet’s own son. Nawawi, does not mention this first commentary in his introduction. He does, however, indicate that Malibarî was "the father of Shaykh ‘Abd al-‘Azîz" (Salâlim, 3); and since he later (Salâlim, 48) refers to "Shaykh ‘Abd al-‘Azîz" in quoting a source, we may infer that he, too, had access to the

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4Nawawi, Salâlim, 120.


6Ibid., 3. See also C. Brockelmann GAL II, 287 and GAL SII, 312. According to Brockelmann, manuscripts of this commentary are extant in Cairo and India.
commentary written by the poet's son. This would seem the more likely as there are at least two other references to a previous commentary in Nawawi's text: in Salālim 5 he refers to the explanation of ǧamdan yuwaṭī birraḥu in verse 1 by "Ibn al-Muqrī" (= the son of the poet?) and in Salālim 108 he quotes an opinion of the commentator (al-Shārīḥ) without further identification. However, a full investigation of this question is clearly beyond the scope of this thesis as it would, of course, require access to the text of the Maslak al-Atqiyā' itself.

Nawawi writes his commentary on Hidāyat al-Adhkiyyā' according to the order of al-Malibari's text. He comments from the beginning of the poem until the end continuously. He often analyzes the poem word by word from a grammatical standpoint, although not to the same extent as al-Dimyāṭ. He always supports his interpretations by referring to appropriate authorities including Qur'ānic verses, hadīth, sayings of the companions and sunni imāms, as well as by quoting a great number of Sufi sayings and written sources. The most important among these are those mentioned by Malibari himself, i.e., Ḥyā' ʿUlūm al-Dīn of al-Ghazālī, ʿAwārif al-Maʿārif of [Shihāb al-Dīn Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar] al-Suhrawardī d. 632/1234, Rīyāḍ al-Ṣāliḥīn and Al-Āḍhkhār of Muḥy al-Dīn al-Nawawi. He also refers to numerous other Sufi authorities such as Al-Qushayrī (d. 465/1072, the author of the Risāla al-Qushayriyya), ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī (d. 559/1166),10 Ibn ʿArabī (d. 638/1240),11 Ibn ʿAṭāʾ Allāh al-Iskandarī (d. 709/1309,12 the author of Al-Ḥikām).

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7Nawawi, Salālim, 5. In the text it is printed Ibn al-Mufrī (?)

8Suhrawardī was the official Sufi master of Baghdad who had the title Shaykh al-Shuyūkh. See A. Schimmel, Mystical Dimensions of Islam (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1975), 245.

9Nawawi, Salālim, 12, 112, 113.

10Ibid., 27, 31, 32.

11Ibid., 14, 19.

12Ibid., 37.
Abū Madyan (d. 590/1197), the author of another al-Ḫikam), ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Shaṣrānī (d. 973/1565), Al-ʿAydarūs ʿAbd Allāh (d. 909/1503), Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505), the author of al-Nuqāḥa), ʿAbd al-Ghānī al-Nābulūsī (d. 1143/1731) and others.

As was mentioned earlier, Shaykh ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz is quoted once in our text (Ṣalālīm 48) as referring to another source, namely, a work of Zayn al-Dīn al-Khawāṣī (d. 838/1435) entitled al-Risāla al-Qudsiyya. This should probably read Al-Waṣiyya al-Qudsiyya, a work mentioned by L. Gardel in his article on dhikr in Encyclopaedia of Islam.

As for Nawawī's own teachers, it should be noted that no reference is found in Ṣalālīm to Aḥmad Khāṭīb Sambas (see above p. 51). There is one reference to Aḥmad al-Nābrū, on page 85 of Ṣalālīm, where he explains the importance of having a teacher (Shaykh) to clarify obscurities rather than seeking explanations from books. Nawawī also refers to Yūsuf Sumbulāwīnī in the course of his discussions concerning the art of writing calligraphy (ʿIlm kitābat al-khāṭīf on page 89, concerning marital intercourse on page 97,

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13Ibid., 12, 35, 46.
15Ibid., 106, 113.
16Ibid., 27, 30.
17Ibid., 12.
18There are unidentified sources quoted by Nawawī, such as Tuhfat al-Khawwāṣ of ʿAll ibn Aḥmad al-Jīzī (see Nawawī, Ṣalālīm, 7, 15, 25, 30, 33) and al-Sayr wa al-Sulūk illī Allāh of Aḥmad al-Junayd (see Nawawī, Ṣalālīm, 11, 107).
concerning silent invocation (dhikr khafi) on page 105, and concerning thinking about oneself (hadith al-nafs) on page 106.

2. Selected themes from Salâlim al-Fuḍalâ‘.

This section focuses on particular themes from Salâlim al-Fuḍalâ‘. For the sake of coherence, the following exposition is organized into four categories. Firstly, we will investigate Nawawi’s point of view concerning some basic Sufi concepts: taşawwuf, shari'a, tariqa and haqîqa. Secondly, we will try to clarify his commentary on the topics which are related to the practical ways on the path toward God. Thirdly we will discuss briefly the theme of tadkhira and fourthly we will conclude this section with a short discussion of mahamma.

2.1. Sufi concepts.

2.1.1. The meaning of taşawwuf.

In the text of Hidayat-Adhkiya’, al-Malibari says that taşawwuf is tantamount to adab (good behaviour-education), and that this should be learned from a study of [Suhrawardi’s] Āwârîf [al-Ma’ârîf]; for the only way to approach God is by following the Prophet Muḥammad (peace be upon him) completely in his inner state (ḥāl), his actions and his sayings.

In the commentary Nawawi begins by restating that taşawwuf means altogether good behaviour (adab). He adds, however, another definition: Taşawwuf signifies the emptying of the heart of all things except God and having contempt for everything else. The idea of having contempt for everything except Him is a reference to the Glory of God.

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20 On adab see A. Schimmel, Mystical Dimensions, 127, 230.

21 Al-Malibari, Hidayat, verses 34 - 37. For a full translation see below, p. 74.

22 Nawawi, Salâlim, 25, quoting from Ālî al-Jīzî, Tuḥfat al-Khawâss.
Nevertheless, Nawawi states that this does not mean that one may look down on the prophets, the angels or the 'ulama', as this course of action will cause disbelief.23

Nawawi explains the importance of *adab* by quoting a number of relevant Sufi sayings from Suhrawardi, such as Yusuf ibn al-Hasayn al-Razi (d.304/916): Through *adab* one will acquire knowledge; with knowledge one's actions will be good; through good acts one will achieve wisdom; with wisdom one will achieve *zuhd*; with *zuhd* one will leave *dunyaa* behind, upon leaving *dunyaa* one will love the Hereafter, and with loving the Hereafter one will attain the Mercy of God.24

Nawawi also quotes Suhrawardi's own definitions: "*adab* is the refinement of the exterior and the interior; if one purifies one's outer and inner [aspect] one will become a Sufi of [true] education (şüfiyan adîban). Behavior/education (*adab*) will be perfect only through moral perfection, i.e. betterment of character."25 And all behaviour or customs are learned from the Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him), for he unites in himself all *âdâb*, internally and externally."26 The latter point is seen in Prophet Muhammad's *âdâb* when he was in the presence of God (during the Prophet's *mi'raj*) as stated in the Qur'an verse 53:17: "The eye turned not aside nor yet was overbold."27 Nawawi (summarizing Suhrawardi) explains that "neither did his inner vision lag behind, nor did his external vision anticipate the inner vision ...: both external and internal vision were straight, in heart and body together."28

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23Ibid., 25. He refers to an explanation of the above by Shaykh al-Islâm Zakariyyâ.

24Ibid., 25. See also 'Abd al-Qâhir ibn 'Abd Allâh [sic, for Abû Hâfîs 'Umar] al-Suhrawardi, Kitâb *'Awârif al-Ma'ârif* (Beirut: Dâr al-Kitâb al-'Arabî, 1983), 276. See also Abû 'Abd al-Rahmân al-Sulami, *Tabaqát al-Sîfiyya* (Halab: Dâr al-Kitâb al-Nafis, 1986), 189. What is stated here is slightly different from what is stated in *'Awârîf*, i.e. the phrase *ridâ Allâh* is used instead of *rahmat Allâh*.


28Nawawi, *Salâlim*, 26; Suhrawardi, *'Awârîf*, 281-283.
Another example given by Nawawi (again following Suhrawardi) is that of the ṣadāb of the Prophet Ayyūb when he, in his prayer, called out God in the midst of his pain saying: "God You are the most forgiving." He did not say: "God forgive me." Another example is that of the Prophet ʿIsā when he was in the presence of God, and said: "If I had said it, You would have known it." He did not say: "I did not say it." These examples illustrate the etiquette of speech.

Nawawi explains (in commenting on verses 35-36) that one should seek the inner state (ḥāl), the actions and the sayings of the Prophet Muḥammad in order to "know" them (maʿrīfa). He also quotes a saying to the effect that just as the body gets its strength from food, so the mind gets its strength from "hearing ṣadāb" (al-ṣadāb al-masmūʿa).

2.1.2. Sharīʿa, ṭariqa and ḥaqīqa.

Al-Malibari says that the path which leads to God consists of three parts: sharīʿa, ṭariqa and ḥaqīqa. Sharīʿa is like a boat, ṭariqa the sea and ḥaqīqa a great pearl of highest price. Sharīʿa is to accept the religion of the Creator and to act in accordance with His clear orders and prohibitions; ṭariqa means to follow the safest way, like piety (al-waraʾ), and ascetic practice (riyāḍa), while ḥaqīqa is the arrival of the traveller at his destination and his witnessing of the light of theophany (tajallī). Whoever wants the pearl should ride a boat and plunge into the sea. Ṭariqa and ḥaqīqa without sharīʿa will not yield the desired result. The poet further says that one should embellish oneself with the practice of the


30Nawawi, Ṣalālim, 26 - 27.

31Al-Malibari, Ḥidāyat, verses 4 - 10. In fact the whole idea of verses 4 - 10 seems to be taken from Najm al-Dīn al-Kubrā. See Najm al-Dīn al-Kubrā, Fawāʾīth al-Jamāl wa Fawāʾīth al-Jalāl ed. F. Meier (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag GmbH, 1957), 35. See also Risāla al-saʿīna (Annex to German part, Ibid., p. 282). (He compares a boat with sharīʿa, the s-a with ṭariqa and the pearl with ḥaqīqa).
\textit{shari'a} to enlighten the heart and erase the darkness in order to soften the heart to accept the \textit{tarīqa}.\textsuperscript{32}

Nawawī in his commentary on these verses explains that \textit{shari'a} is practising what has been commanded and avoiding what has been forbidden. \textit{Tarīqa} is following the acts and ways of the Prophet and living by them, while \textit{haqiqa} is the result (fruit) of following that path. \textit{Shari'a}, as a boat, is a means by which one can achieve one's goal, yet at the same time remain in a secure and safe haven. The \textit{tarīqa}, as the sea, is the place in which the pearl is lodged and where the goal is located. The \textit{haqiqa} is like a great pearl of the highest price. The pearl can be found only in the sea, and one cannot navigate that sea without a boat.\textsuperscript{33}

Nawawī states that \textit{shari'a} means that the seeker should ask God to grant him the religion of Islam permanently so that he will uphold His laws and avoid what He has forbidden. All the "do"s and "don't"s in matters of religion have already been made clear to people. \textit{Tarīqa} is to follow the most sure way to achieve the goal, for example by practicing piety (\textit{al-wara'}; see below). \textit{Tarīqa} is to stick to the hard way, the ascetic way which includes controlling bodily appetites in order to achieve moderation with respect to food, drink and sleeping habits, and also involves shunning curiosity about the permissible things and the allurements of \textit{al-dunyā} in favour of worship of God alone. \textit{Haqiqa} is the arrival of the traveller at his goal which is the understanding of the reality of things and the witnessing of the light of theophany in complete clearness.\textsuperscript{34}

In Nawawī's view \textit{al-wara'} (verse 7) means to stay away from what is suspicious; practicing it is the safest way to achieve the goal of the seeker who is following the \textit{tarīqa}.

\textsuperscript{32}Al-Malibari, \textit{Hidayat}, verses 11 - 12.

\textsuperscript{33}Nawwā'ī, \textit{Salālīm}, 8-9. The commentary on verse 6-7 is misplaced in the printed text on p. 11.

\textsuperscript{34}Ibid., 9 - 11.
Thus a traveller (ṣālik) on the path of the ṭariqa should cultivate the practice of al-wara. Nawawī classifies al-wara into three categories:

1) Wara al-ṣāliḥīn is the shunning of doubtful matters (shubha);
2) Wara al-muttaqīn is the leaving behind of harmless things through fear of harmful things;
3) Wara al-ṣiddīqīn is the avoidance of all things which are not done purely for the sake of God.

As an illustration of the second kind of wara, Nawawī quotes ‘Umar as saying that he abandoned nine of ten things which are ḥalāl because he was afraid of falling into what was ḥarām with the tenth. People who follow the third kind are sincere unitarians (al-muwahhidūn al-mukhlisūn) who neither move nor rest except for the sake of God, who neither talk nor remain quiet unless for the sake of God, who do not eat except for the sake of God and who do not walk except in order to help a Muslim in need. With respect to cultivating piety, Nawawī in his explanations appears to be following al-Ghazālī who mentions four grades of piety (al-wara). Commenting on verse 8, Nawawī describes tajallī as the opening of the unseen lights to the heart of gnostics (witnessing the light of theophany). This means that such persons who achieve the goal (ḥaqīqa) will witness the light of theophany (nūr al-tajallī) with complete clearness (inkishāf tāmm). Nawawī also quotes an anonymous saying according to which ḥaqīqa means understanding the truth and the real meaning of things.

35Nawawī, Salālim, 11.

36Al-Ghazālī refers to four grades of piety: 1) wara al-ṣudūl which is the piety of abandoning everything strictly forbidden in Islamic law; 2) wara al-ṣāliḥīn which is the piety of good people e.g. in the avoidance of doubtful matters (shubha); 3) wara al-muttaqīn, which is the piety of the God-fearing man who gives up even the harmless things for fear of falling into harmful things or error; and 4) wara al-ṣiddīqīn which is the piety of the extremely religious man who gives up everything not done out of pure fear of God. Al-Ghazālī also names this latter rank rutbat al-muwahhidīn al-mutafaqīn ‘an ḥuzūf anfushim al-mufaqārīn lillāhī tāfālī bīl qasd See Al-Ghazālī, Ihya’ Ulūm al-Dīn, vol. 2 (Egypt: Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī wa awlāduh, 1939), 96 - 98.
(haqa'iq al-ashya'), i.e. witnessing the [divine] names, and attributes, as well as witnessing the Essence. It also means comprehending the secrets of the Qur'an, the secrets of (the wisdom behind) what is forbidden and what is permissible (al-man 'wa al-jawāz) and direct access to the knowledge of the unseen (al-'ulūm al-ghaybiyya).37

In explaining tajalli Nawawi refers to a work called al-Sayr wa al-Sulūk ilā Allāh of Aḥmad al-Junayd38 in which several levels of tajalli are distinguished:

When its starting point is the essence without considering the attributes, it is called 'theophany of divine essence' (tajalli al-dhāt). Most of the friends of God (awliyā') deny this type, arguing that tajalli al-dhāt occurs only through the intermediacy of the attributes. It belongs, then, to the 'theophany of the divine names' (tajalli al-asma'), which is close to the 'theophany of divine attributes' (tajalli al-ṣifāt). When its starting point is the act of God, it is called 'theophany of act' (tajalli al-afāl). The theophany of divine names (tajalli al-asma') is the unveiling of the heart of the seeker to the names of God. If God Himself reveals one of His names to the seeker (sālika); the seeker will be annihilated under the lights of that name in such a way that if he invokes God under that name He answers him the same.39

This topic reflects classical Sufi tradition, such as in the teachings of Sahl al-Tustarī, in which three levels of tajalli are distinguished.40

Basing himself on Hidāyat verse 10, Nawawi explains that the first obligation of the obligated one (mukallaf) is to follow the shari'a; for whoever practices the shari'a, will find it easy for him, with God's help, to enter the doors of al-mujāhada (self

37Nawawi, Salālim, 11

38Ibid., 11. See also n. 18. on p. 58 of this chapter.

39Ibid., 11.

mortification) which is the ṭariqa, and that whoever practices the ṭariqa, will have the light of ḥaqīqa appear to him. Nawawī further quotes from al-Qushayrī that no shariʿa without the support of ḥaqīqa is ever accepted, while ḥaqīqa without shariʿa will yield no result. He also quotes an anonymous saying from Shaykh ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī to the effect that the one who follows the shariʿa without ḥaqīqa is an offender (fāsiq), while the one who follows ḥaqīqa without shariʿa is a heretic (zindiq). Moreover, according to Abū Madyan (as quoted by Nawawī), one who thinks that worship is enough without knowledge (fīqh) is an outlaw from Islam, for he invents things, while the one who thinks that knowledge is enough without fear of God (waraʾ) becomes full of himself and is fooled (man iktafī bi al-taʿabbudū dīna fīqhin kharaja wabtadaʾa wa man iktafī bil fīqhi dīna waraʾin ightarān wankhadaʾa ). The former, Nawawī explains, will be against the path of Muḥammad and will start to have the qualities of jāhiliya while the latter is fooled into thinking that his acts are going to save him (from punishment).

Here Nawawī's view seems to anticipate the view of Seyyed Ḥossein Naṣr when the latter declares that the ṭariqa or spiritual path, which is usually known as taṣawwuf or Sufism, is the inner and esoteric dimension of Islam and, like the shariʿa, has its roots in the Qurʿān and prophetic practice. Without participation in the shariʿa the life of the ṭariqa would be impossible, and in fact the latter is interwoven, in its practices and attitudes, with the practices prescribed by the shariʿa. Naṣr states: "the role of the ṭariqa as the inner dimension of the shariʿa has been even testified to by some of the authorities and founders of the schools of law who emphasized its importance in purifying Muslim ethics." 

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41The word al-mujāhdā is derived from the Arabic root "j h d". In the verb form I, it means to endeavor, to strive or to take pains. St. Hans Wehr, Arabic-English Dictionary translated by J. M. Cowan (Ithaca, New York: Spoken Language Service, 1976), 142.


43Nawawī, Salālim, 12.

2.2. Practical ways to the path of God.

Al-Malibari's poem appears to classify Muslim believers according to the following scheme: the worshipper (‘ibid), the knower (‘ilim) and the gnostic (‘arif). Concerning these three levels of believers, Nawawi's view is basically in line with the statements of Al-Malibari in Hidāyat verse 93 to the effect that: "An ‘ilim is superior to the one who worships (an ‘ibid) and is like the moon over the stars." This verse is based on a prophetic tradition and it is obvious that Nawawi too believes that an ‘ibid [without knowledge] is in a lower rank than an ‘ilim. However, Nawawi commenting Hidāyat verses 31-32 also indicates that an ‘ibid may elevate his position by seeking knowledge in the following order: the knowledge of shari’a, ‘aqīda and tassawwuf. Nawawi, referring to a ḥadīth, seems to say that a good deed (‘amal), even if it is small, if done conscientiously and knowingly is better than a great deal of ‘amal without knowledge. By this explanation, it is clear that there are at least two reasons why an ‘ilim is superior to an ‘ibid: based on the ḥadīth mentioned above and the fact that the action will not be considered correct without ‘ilm.

Regarding the status of ‘arif, Al-Malibari and Nawawi agree that an ‘arif occupies a higher level than an ‘ilim. In Hidāyat verses 179-180 Al-Malibari states that the status of gnostics (‘arifūn) is superior to that of the "people of the derived and fundamental sciences" (ahl far‘ wa al-uṣūl), probably meaning the science of fiqh and kallām in general. One rak‘a of an ‘arif is better than 1000 rak‘a of an ‘ilim. In the explanation, Nawawi justifies this by

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45 Nawawi, Salālim, 61.
47 According to Abū Yazid (as stated by M. A. Rabb) the ‘arif's knowledge comes from God, the Living, but the ‘ilim receives his knowledge from dead authors and narrators. If the ‘arif speaks 'from' God, the ‘ilim speaks 'about' God. See M. A. Rabb, Persian Mysticism: Abu Yazid al-Bistami (Pakistan: The Academy for Pakistan Affairs, 1971), 136.
identifying the "gnostics" with the "people of illumination" (ahl al-ishrāq). He further tells us that a single breath (nafs) on the part of the people of the real unity of God (ahl ḥaqīqa al-tawhīd) is superior even to all the good deeds performed by every ālim and ārif, referring to an anonymous saying to this effect.48

Nawawi also quotes a saying that the ārif is above what he says whereas the ālim is below what he says,49 perhaps meaning by this that the speech of the ālim is higher than his state (ḥāl) whereas the state of the ārif is above his speech.50

Nawawi goes on to quote other authorities on this issue: "Ruwaym says that hypocrisy of an ārif is better than the sincerity of a disciple (mursīd), while Abū Bakr al-Warrāq says that the silence of an ārif is more useful and his words are good and pleasant. Dhu al-Nūn says that ascetics are the kings of the other world but (only) the poor among the gnostics."51 Nawawi refers to Abū Yazīd, who when asked about the qualities of an ārif, said that an ārif sees nothing when asleep or awake except God, nor does he agree or communicate with anyone except God.52

In our opinion the concept of the three levels of Muslim believers is discernible in much of Nawawi's interpretation of al-Malibari's poem. Although it is based on Malibari's own text, it is often reflected in Nawawi's overall treatment of Sufi concepts and thus could

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48Nawawi, Salālim, 113. The anonymous saying is quoted from Shaykh al-ʿAydarūs (see above p. 58). Here presumably an ārif is at a lower stage of attainment than the ahl ḥaqīqa al-tawhīd. In fact Nawawi describes eight signs of ārifīn in his other work, Nasāʾīh al-ʿībād (Indonesia: Dār Iḥyāʾ al-Kutub al-ʿArabiyya, n. d.), 55.

49Nawawi, Salālim, 113. This is a saying of Abū Yazīd and according to M. A. Rabb "perhaps this means that the ālim knows much less than what he does, while the case of the ārif is its opposite, or that the ālim acts much less than he speaks while the ārif does its opposite." See M. A. Rabb, Persian Mysticism, 136.

50Explanation given by Dr. Hermann A. Landolt when I discussed this matter with him.

51Nawawi, Salālim, 113. All three from al-Qushayrī see (Risāla, 142). Ruwaym's saying is attributed to Abū Yazīd by ʿAtīfār (cf. M. A. Rabb, Persian Mysticism, 136).

52Nawawi, Salālim, 112. See also al-Qushayrī, Risāla, 142. For a similar saying of Abū Yazīd see M. A. Rabb, Persian Mysticism, 128.
be considered as a significant element in Nawaw's own mystical perspective. Another theme which arises from Nawawi's treatment of Sufi concepts is the relation between one's inner and outer aspect, and the importance of right practice and living for the protection and encouraging of spiritual growth.  

As we stated earlier, Al-Malibari gives nine recommendations (al-wasayya al-tis'a) in *Hidayat al-Adhkiya* for those seeking the path of the friends of God (*tariq al-awliya*). In the following discussion of the nine recommendations (i.e., *tawba, zuhd, ta'allum al-'ilm al-shar'i*, etc.) we will, in some instances, draw upon the perspective developed in the above section, i.e. analyzing the terms in the light of the three levels of Muslim believers and the inner and outer dimensions of these practices.

2.2.1. *Al-tawba* (repentance).

Al-Malibari says that repentance (al-tawba) is the key to all worship and the basis for all good things.  

Nawawi explains that if a seeker is sincere in his *tawba* he has to continue his serious effort (*mujahada*) and keep all the members of his body in obedience to God. When he keeps himself in this state it is good for his outer as well as his inner progress, since the outer (state and practices) will have an impact on the inner. Nawawi quotes Abü 'Uthmân al-Maghribî (d. 373 A.H./983 A.D.) who says that whoever thinks that he discovers the invisible world on the path (*tariqa*), without having exercised *mujahada*, is wrong.  

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53 We should note that this latter concept of the relation between outer practice and inner state is present in Nawawi's previous discussions of *tašawwuf* and the discussions of *shari'a, tariqa* and *haqQA* See pp. 59-65 of this study.


According to Nawawi different people are in different levels of *tawba* depending on their states. When an ordinary person repents for his sins it is called *tawbat al-'awamm*. A higher level of *tawba* is *tawbat al-khawāṣṣ* which is repentance from heedlessness of the heart (*ghallat al-qulūb*). The highest level of *tawba* is *tawbat khawāṣṣ al-khawāṣṣ* which is repentance from all that a person loves (save God).

Nawawi explains further that asking for forgiveness, performing *du‘ā‘* and preserving all the members of the body from committing sin (keeping them in obedience to God in return) are necessary to protect one's *tawba* and might in fact improve the degree of the repentance itself.

In this section we see reflections of the idea of different categories of Muslims, but more in terms of different levels of practice and experience. Although it is too simplistic to relate the first category (*'abid*) to the first degree of *tawba* and so on, it does appear that the lowest level of *tawba* is appropriate to the *'abid* whereas the higher two are more relevant to the Sufi or *'arif* who is attempting to purify his heart and achieve awareness of God. Nawawi also indicates that by conscientiously protecting one's outward practice, one may

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57 Nawawi, *Salālim*, 16-17.

58 Ibid., 18.
improve one's degree of repentance, i.e. that increased purity in practice can result in inner spiritual growth.

2.2.2. Al-qanāʿa (satisfaction).

With respect to al-qanāʿa, al-Malibari says that al-qanāʿa means satisfaction to the point of abandoning desires and luxuries. ⁵⁹

Nawawī agrees with al-Malibari's opinion on the importance of having a satisfied heart, especially in relation to livelihood (rizq). He bases his opinion on the prophetic tradition, "that indeed Allāh, when He likes a man, He provides his livelihood sufficiently, not more which makes him rebell or less which disturbs him." ⁶⁰

In relation to livelihood in terms of physical needs such as food, clothes and housing Nawawī's view is clear: it is by abandoning luxury and excess that one will feel happy with what is available. He also implies that real success in worldly life is determined by the satisfaction of one's heart, and not in terms of material gain, quoting two verses of al-Shafiʿī to this effect. ⁶¹

2.2.3. Al-zuhd (asceticism).

With respect to al-zuhd al-Malibari states that it means wisdom through loosing one's heart's attachments to wealth, not loosing wealth itself. ⁶²

According to Nawawī, zuhd has many different meanings, for example: disregarding the worldly life and looking down on all its trappings. A zāhid is not happy even with a small thing from dunyā and he is not sad over losing it; he does not take

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⁵⁹ Al-Malibari, Hidāyat, verse 23.

⁶⁰ Nawawī, Saḥālim, 19.

⁶¹ Ibid., 19.

⁶² Al-Malibari, Hidāyat, verse 25.
anything from *dunyā* unless it helps him to obey God. A *zāhid* is always busy remembering God and the Hereafter, and whoever reaches the degree of *zuhd*, although his body is in the present world (*dunyā*), his soul and mind are in the Hereafter. 63

Nawawi further clarifies the different opinions concerning the interpretation of *zuhd*. Imām Ahmad [ibn Hanbal] (d. 241/855) and Sufyān al-Thawrī (d 97/715) say that *zuhd* is reducing hope [reducing reliance on *dunyā*]. Ibn Mubārak (d. 181/797) says *zuhd* is reliance on God. Abū Sulaymān al-Dārānī (d. 250/864) says *zuhd* is abandoning what keeps you preoccupied and thus distracted from God. 64

The contrary of reducing hope is "extension of hope (*fīl al-amāl*) [which] is one of the most disliked attitudes in Sufism." 65 Nawawi himself mentions that *fīl al-amāl* belongs to one of the five signs of hardship. 66 In fact, according to Schimmel the negative counterpart of *zuhd* is greed (*hirs*). 67

Avoiding extremist interpretations of *zuhd*, Nawawi quotes a prophetic tradition which makes the seeking of a minimal subsistance in the world a religious duty. 68 At the same time, however, he quotes al-Ghazālī who says that *zuhd* in *dunyā* is a noble stage among the stages of the seeker. A *zāhid* should cultivate within himself three attitudes: first, he should hate what is in his possession and be happy when he loses it; second, the praise or criticism of others should not matter to the *zāhid*; third, God should be his friend and companion and he should feel the sweetness of obedience. 69

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64 Ibid., 20.
69 Ibid., 21. See also Al-Ghazālī, *Ihya‘ ‘Ulam al-Dīn* vol. 4: 236.
Nawawi further comments on verse 28 which states that one should leave a wife that does not help one to serve God. He refers to Abū Sulaymān al-Dārānī who says that living alone is preferable to being married to a woman who distracts one from remembrance of God, and therefore celibacy can be a part of al-zuhd. From the explanation above it is clear that one should abandon even something which is allowed according to Islamic law if it distracts one's heart from God. According to Schimmel, being a zāhid includes "giving up the hope for heavenly reward or the fear of Hell."71

Another aspect which relates to zuhd is knowledge. According to al-Ghazāli (in the above quotation), zuhd is composed of "knowledge" (ʿilm), "inner state" (ḥūl) and "practice" (ʿamal). Nawawi also refers to two prophetic traditions to make it clear that one can learn true wisdom (ḥikma) from an ascetic who knows little logic (matāq), and that he who grows in knowledge (ʿilm) without simultaneously growing in zuhd, only increases his distance from God.72 Hence, people of knowledge ideally should have more zuhd than other people. At this point we see the idea of the relationship between the ʿālim and zuhd: the more that people have knowledge the more they are expected to be spiritually elevated. Knowledge, even religious knowledge, is empty unless it involves spiritual progress.73

It is interesting that Nawawi describes this relationship in terms of learning and ignorance, which are both related to knowledge. In terms of the overall themes of the three levels of believers and the relation between outer practice and inner spiritual progress, it is obvious that Nawawi believes that the purpose of zuhd, ascetical practices, is to allow for spiritual attainment. Similarly knowledge perfects one's conduct and way of life. The

70Nawawi, Salālim, 22.
71A. Schimmel, Mystical Dimensions, 110.
72Nawawi, Salālim, 21.
73In fact Ḥāmid ibn Ḥanbal classifies three different kinds of zuhd: zuhd al-ṣawāmiʿ, which is abandoning forbidden things; zuhd al-khawāṣṣ which is abandoning permissible things and zuhd al-ṭārifin which is abandoning whatever distracts one from worshipping God. See Al-Qushayrī, Risāla, 55, 57.
implication of this last point is that knowledge—religious and/or spiritual (gnostic)—is related to one's practical conduct, including worship. Thus an 'ālim and 'ārif do not become exempt from the practice of obedience; rather their obedience and worship become progressively purified and elevated.

2.2.4. Ta'allum al-'ilm al-shar'i (learning the Islamic science)

Zayn al-Dīn al-Malibī enumerates three types of knowledge: that of obedience (tiyya i.e. the shari'a), that of belief ('aqīda i.e. theology), and that of keeping one's heart pure (i.e. taṣawwuf). These are the three personal obligations (farā 'ayn), the implementation or observation of which will make one safe and spiritually elevated.74

Nawawī comments that an obligated person (mukallaf) should learn the three types of knowledge which are mentioned by al-Malibī. The first will help in making one's worship correct; the second will protect one's beliefs from doubts; and the third will purify the heart and cure it from jealousy, hypocrisy and other vices.75

Nawawī emphasizes the importance of knowledge and/or an 'ālim by referring to two prophetic traditions. "Little action in knowledge of God is beneficial while much action in ignorance of God is useless" and "All creatures on the earth and in the skies will ask for forgiveness for the people with knowledge ('ālim)."76

Since Nawawī does not clearly indicate that this reference to a knowledgeable person (‘ālim) is limited to the person who knows shari'a or 'aqīda, we may be justified in interpreting it in a more general sense, as referring to one who possesses any, or ideally all, of the three types of knowledge mentioned above. In our opinion these types of knowledge

74Al-Malibī, Hidāyat, verses 31 - 32.


76Nawawī, Salālim, 24. See al-Ghazālī, Iḥyā' Ulūm al-Dīn Vol 1: 14, 12. The second hadith is also mentioned in Imām Nawawī's, Riyāḍ al-Salīhīn (New Delhi: Kitab Bhavan, 1989), 658.
are almost similar to the three types of Muslim believers, in that the higher one progresses, the more one integrates these three types of knowledge. In other words one does not leave one level for the next; rather, one deepens and elevates one's worship through the acquisition of religious knowledge, and one deepens and elevates both one's worship and newly acquired knowledge through the acquisition of spiritual insight. When one's spiritual progress increases, the quality of one's state and actions is elevated. So an 'ibid is not in a static condition; in fact according to Nawawi a mukallaf should study the three types of knowledge as a personal obligation. One is not allowed to ignore them if one hopes to be safe in the Hereafter and to achieve a high degree.77 It should also be noted of ta'allum al-'ilm al-shar' trained knowledge that since this concept is discussed in the section concerning religious sciences (and not purity of intention) it indicates the importance of knowledge.

2.2.5. Al-muţafaţa al-sunan (preserving the Prophet's traditions).

On the preservation of the prophet's traditions, al-Malibari has the following to say:

Preserve the sunna and ādāb which come from the best messenger of God. Tasawwuf is tantamount to adab (good behavior), and from 'Awarif, seek it and practice by it. There is no guide on the path to God except following him, the messenger who completed prophethood. Follow him in his inner state, in his actions and in his speech. Keep following and continue practicing them. The way of all the Sufi masters is tied up with the Qur'an and hadith as the original sources.78

In light of the above passage, Nawawi comments that the seeker should preserve the traditions of the Prophet which deal with ritual matters such as ṣalāt and good manners which were inspired in the Prophet by God the Almighty.79 From the Prophet's traditions we know many details concerning his behavior in life. Indeed many pages in Nawawi's works confirm this point.

78Al-Malibari, Hidāyat, verses 33-37.
79Nawawi, Salālim, 25.
As was suggested earlier (pp. 59-61) there is another significant implication in Nawawi's treatment of the importance of following the Prophet's sunna and ādāb in order to draw closer to God. Following the sunna is an obligation for all Muslims and is done out of obedience to God, Who, according to the Qur'ān, has sent the Prophet as the best example for mankind. However Nawawi, by treating it as one of the nine wasāyiʿā for drawing closer to God, implies that following the sunna will improve one's inner spiritual state, i.e. one's ability to draw closer to God, a point which he supports with numerous quotation of classical Sufi sayings. Also implied in this discussion is the necessity of acquiring religious knowledge (ʿilm) in order to be informed of proper sunna practices. Thus Nawawi integrates all three levels of Muslims believers (ʿābid, ʿālim, ʿārif) and implies that one needs to follow the sunna out of obedience, with knowledge and for the purpose of purifying one's heart in order to reach the highest level of closeness to God, which is open only to the seeker who possess all three types of knowledge (see p.73) and has the combined assets of ʿābid, ʿālim and ʿārif. (This seeker can only refer to an ʿārif who has the three levels of knowledge).

It is obvious, in any case, that for al-Malibari and Nawawi, taṣawwuf is based on the ādāb of the Prophet and the path taken by Sufi masters who followed the Qur'ān and ḥadīth (verses 35 - 37). According to Nawawi, verse 37 of Hidāyat al-Adhkiyyā' is taken from the sayings of Abū al-Qasim al-Junayd who emphasized his school's motto that whoever does not study both the Qur'ān and ḥadīth cannot follow the spiritual path. Nawawi adds that Al-Suyūṭi believes that the path of al-Junayd is the right way.80

The section ends with a lengthy explanation of the ḥadīth al-nawāfil 81 alluded to in Malibari's verses 39-41 (Salālim, 28-29).

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80Ibid, 27.

81See A. Schimmel, Mystical Dimensions, 43.
2.2.6. Al-tawakkul (trust in God).

Al-Malibari urges believers to trust in God concerning their livelihood, trusting the promise of the most generous Giver. However, he who has a family is not allowed to abstain from earning livelihood. In any case one should not feel envy for the wealth or positions of others, for to do so is to humiliate oneself.82

According to Nawawi al-tawakkul is to depend on God and to trust in Him, and to hope that He will provide living; since to rely on one's efforts or earnings (kasb) might be tantamount to disbelief.83 It is clear from verse 42 that the obliged man who has no family and is serious in his effort to live in obedience to God and according to His promise should depend on God the Almighty in the matter of livelihood. Nawawi quotes from the Qur'an, "There is no beast on earth that does not depend on God for his livelihood." In another verse (65:3) God says: "Whosoever putteth his trust in Allah, he will suffice him." 84

Nawawi quotes a prophetic saying which states that the person who is devoted entirely to God becomes self-sufficient. God provides for him from a source which he does not know; as for the one who is devoted to al-dunya, God leaves him there. Describing the various points of view concerning al-tawakkul, Nawawi prefers the view that to depend entirely on God does not conflict with the necessity of earning a living; for a person becomes a trusting earner by accepting what God has given without looking for more.

82 Al-Malibari, Hidayat, verses 42-44.
83 Nawawi, Saliiim, 29. According to Schimmel, the Muslim mystics often use the expression 'husn al-zamii' (to think well of God) in terms of livelihood. She cautions against a confusion of this deep trust in God with the stonic acceptance of a blind fate, although she does not deny that the unhealthy exaggeration of tawakkul might "induce man into perfect passivity." However, as one of the basic stations on the Sufi path, tawakkul is still an important element of Muslim piety. A.Schimmel, Mystical Dimensions, 118-119.
84 Nawawi, Saliiim, 30. The translation is from Pickthall, The Meaning, 403. In fact al-Qushayri quotes from Sahl who says that the first stage of tawakkul requires the believer to be in the hands of God, like a corpse in the hands of al-ghasil (the one who performs the ritual ablution for the dead). See al-Qushayri, Risala, 76. See also Martin Lings, What is Sufism? (Great Britain: George Allen & Unwin Ltd, 1981), 97.
Nawawi's reading of verse 44 from *Hidayat* leads him to declare that one should not let one's honour be compromised by being controlled by the people of *dunyā* from whom one seeks money or position or some advantage. Nawawi's statements imply that to trust God means to be content with whatever He gives, whether it is abundance or poverty. Nawawi seems to be in agreement with al-Ghazālī, as he ends this section with the following quote from Ghazālī:

Bishr (al-Ḥāfi, d. 227/841) divided the poor into three categories:

1) Those who do not ask anything of others and if given will not accept it. This type of person will be in a high position alongside the angels (*ruḥāniyyīn*) in heaven (*qilliyūn*).

2) Those who never ask but who take whatever they are given. This type of person will be with "those brought near" (*al-muqarrabīn*) in paradise.

3) Finally those who ask when in need. This type will be with the honest people (*al-ṣādiqīn*), among the "People of the Right" (*aṣḥāb al-yāmīn*)

Basically, Nawawi following Ghazālī, continues to state that it is agreed that asking (begging) is not good. However, every action depends on its intention. As an example, there is the case of Abū Iṣḥāq al-Nūrī who begged, (according to al-Junayd) only in order to provide those who gave him charity with an opportunity to obtain a reward in the Hereafter.

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85Nawawi, *Sahīlim*, 31. Al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyā‘ Ulūm al-Dīn* vol. 4: 210 (*hayān ahwāl al-sā’ilīn*). In a spiritual sense A. Schimmel interprets poverty to mean "the absence of desire for wealth, which includes the absence of desire for the blessings of other world. One of the aspect of true *faqīr* is that the mystic must not ask anything of anyone. For to ask would mean to rely upon a created being. To possess anything means to be possessed by it. The true *faqīr* needs God, nothing else.” See A. Schimmel, *Mystical Dimensions*, 121.


2.2.7. Al-ikhlāṣ (purity of intention).

Al-Mašbarī says:

Purify your intention and do not seek anything by obedience except to become close to God. Do not at the same time aim for worldly benefits, such as being praised by the people. Be wary of riya' (hypocrisy) which will prevent you from worshipping God. Do not make a show of either your virtues or your vices. The faith of a person will not be complete until he looks on people and camels indifferently, so their praise or blame will be equal to him. A good deed, if done because of others (witnessing it), just as omitting it, is a form of shirk. This is hypocrisy. 88

According to Nawāṣ, verse 45 (above) indicates that the seeker should be sincere in seeking the satisfaction of God. Purity of intention or sincerity means to have in mind God only and to be constant in this worship as commanded. Nawāṣ quotes from Sahl [al-Tustari] who said that "purity of intention means that man's resting and movement be specifically for the Most High", while Al-Junayd said that purity of intention purifies the actions of whatever is unclean. 89

In explaining verse 47, Nawāṣ refers to Tuḥfat al-Khawāṣṣ (see above, p. 58) in which it is mentioned that hypocrisy means to worship with the intention of showing off to people, one's motive being in this case to receive praise or to obtain wealth or position, and that this amounts to incurring a major sin. No action which has an element of hypocrisy is ever accepted. 90 Although setting a good example by virtuous deeds is doubtless excellent, one has to beware of "hidden hypocrisy" (al-riya' al-khafti). 91

88Al-Mašbarī, Hidayat, verses 45-51.
89Nawāṣ, Salālim, 32.
90Ibid., 33. A. Schimmel adds that "an act of perfect sincerity, done for God's sake, might result in spiritual progress even though it might appear outwardly foolish." See A. Schimmel, Mystical Dimensions, 108.
91Nawāṣ, Salālim, 34.
With respect to the signs of *al-ikhlāṣ*, Nawawī, in commenting on verse 49, refers to al-Ghazâlî who gives the same example as Malibarî: *ikhlāṣ* is not pure as long as one is not indifferent as to whether one is witnessed by humans or animals. This lack of purity of intention is "hidden shirk". Nawawī also refers to Abû Madyan’s *Hikam* where it is stated that "the sign of *ikhlāṣ* is that the creatures (*al-khalq*) disappear from you when you witness God (*al-‘aqq)*."

As for verse 51, Nawawī explains it by referring to a saying of al-Fuḍayl ibn ‘Iyāḍ, d. 187/803]: "To abandon an act [merely] from [fear of] people is a sign of hypocrisy (*riyā‘*), while to perform it [merely] for the sake of people is mixed worship (*shirk*). Purity of intention results when God saves you from these two evils."

2.2.8. *Al-‘uzla* (isolation).

Zayn al-Dîn al-Malibarî writes that:

One should not keep company with someone who belongs to the people of idleness and carelessness of religion because it is considered a great disaster. It is better for one to isolate oneself when times are bad or out of fear of religious *fitna* (disturbance). Similarly this should be done when one is afraid of being in a state of *shubhat* (uncertainty), or of committing an act which is *ḥaram* (prohibited). And it is better for those who are able to enjoin good and prohibit the forbidden, to mix with people, if one can be patient with harmful things and not be defeated by sin.

In explaining verse 53, Nawawī refers to Aḥmad ibn ‘Aṭā‘ Allāh who, in his *Hikam*, states that one should not keep company with someone whose state (*ḥāl*) is not uplifting and whose words do not guide one to God. Nawawī also refers to Abû...
Madyan who says that the one who sits among people chanting the name of God will be able to wake up from heedlessness. The one who serves good people will be in a higher state to serve Him (God). He further elaborates on good influences resulting from keeping company with good people and the bad influences resulting from keeping company with bad people.97

With respect to benefits derived from al-uzla Nawawi refers to al-Ghazâlî who says that the benefits of al-uzla are six: the first is that one could have time for worshipping and meditating, for speaking or baring one's heart to God and for seeking answers to the secrets of life and existence; the second is that one could get rid of disobedience that result mostly from living and interacting with outer people, which include the habits of lying and showing off; the third is that one could put a stop to fights and quarrels and also protect one's religion; the fourth is that one could prevent people from the habit of lying and doing evil; the fifth is that one could stop wanting things from people and vice versa; and the sixth is that one could avoid the company of bad and foolish people.98

Nevertheless, a case can also be made for the contrary. Thus, Nawawi once again refers to al-Ghazâlî who mentions seven benefits of living in society (fawa'id al-mukhâlaât) or the harms of seclusion (afât al-uzla), as he realizes the fact that there are some religious practices which cannot be performed without mingling with others, and that seclusion can be a result of pride. Nawawi seems to agree with al-Ghazâlî that it is necessary for one to weigh the benefits of living in society as opposed to living outside of it before one opts for a life of seclusion99.

97Nawawi, Salâlim, 37f.
98Ibid., 39. See also Al-Ghazâlî, Ihvâ' ul Um al-Din, Vol. 2: 226 - 235.
2.2.9. *Hifz al-awqāt* (preserving the moment).

Zayn al-Dīn al-Malibāri says:

Spend your time entirely in obeying God, do not waste a moment.... Struggle in order that your heart be present when you are praying to achieve good things. Do not forget that God sees your heart. His presence and His witness for you are clear.... Actively practice *wird* (a kind of prayer or recitation); do not talk; face the *qibla*, be attentive and pronounce *la ilāha illā Allāh*, following the method of the Sufi masters, you will see the fire and the light. The face of the heart will be enlightened and bad habits will be gone. You will become one of the people of vision (*ahl al-mushāhada*), and it is a great favor (*niʿma*).100

Nawawī begins his comments on the above verses by saying that we should spend our time in worship (*anwāʾ al-ʿibāda*) and nothing else not like animals who do not know what they are occupied with. Such worship could be of various kinds: For example, one should spend one's time bringing benefit to other people with knowledge through teaching or studying books. An *ʿālim* should spend his time on this immediately after the prescribed prayers and *rawātib*, while students should occupy themselves with seeking the benefits of religious knowledge. Thus it is clear that according to Nawawī, to spend time teaching or acquiring knowledge is better than to busy oneself with reciting extra prayers.101

It is significant that Nawawi, after all of his emphasis on the importance of preserving *sunna* in general, and on *taʾallum ʿilm al-sharʿī* in particular, should be of the opinion that it is better for the student seeking the benefits of religious knowledge to spend time acquiring (religious) knowledge rather than in busying himself with *sunna* (prayers). We understand this last idea in the light of an earlier concept put forth by Nawawī: that a good deed even if it is small, if done conscientiously and knowingly, is better than a great deal of *ʿamal* without knowledge.102 This idea is quite consistent with Nawawī's overall


101 Nawawi, *Sahīlim*, 43. See also Nawawi, *Al-Futūhat al-Madaniyya*, 26. Here he says that occupying oneself with knowledge is better than *sunna* prayer.

102 See above p.66.
concept of the three levels of believers. Worship and sunna practices are important in themselves, but these gain in significance with the attainment of higher degrees of knowledge, both religious and gnostic knowledge respectively.

This overall concept of the levels of believers and the correspondingly higher levels of knowledge is also reflected in Nawawi's statement that real prayer should be done with the presence of the heart. This type of prayer is both internal and external, rather than merely an outward practice.

In commenting on verses 70-73, Nawawi, referring to Suhrawardi, Shaykh ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz and Imām Nawawi, explains the importance of occupying oneself with wird after the dawn prayer. He quotes Abū Madyan, the author of al-Ḥikam, in order to explain the "attentiveness" (murāqaba) mentioned in Malibari's verse 70: Abū Madyan says that the slave does not complete his deed without purity of intention and murāqaba, because the completeness of the slave is not fulfilled without the completeness of worship and worship is not complete without the completeness of purity of intention (ikhlāṣ) in the service of God. Ikhlāṣ will not yield a result unless it is accompanied by the completeness of murāqaba which is "continuous remembrance of the heart in (awareness of) God's seeing you" (dawām dhikr al-qalb bi nazar Allāh ilayhi). Concerning "pronunciation of lā ilāha illā Allāh following the method of the Sufi masters" (Malibari verses 70-71), Nawawi points out that one will experience "fire" caused by the heat of this formula reaching the heart. The Sufis therefore do not drink water during and after this ritual act. To "see light" as a result of this means that the vision of the heart will be illumined by visible light, bad traits will be removed from the soul, and one will be enabled to achieve vision (of God, mushāhada), which is a great favor. 103

2.3. Tadhkira (reminder).

103Nawawi, Salāt, 46-47.
Al-Malibari states that those who are not preoccupied with the present world (dunya) should continuously worship God whether by praying or by reciting the Qur'an. When one tires of reciting the Qur'an, one may remember God with the heart and tongue, and may continue the dhikr with the heart, being "attentive" (murāqaba) and eliminating any thought of oneself (hadith al-nafs) as this will harden the heart which in turn will not remember God.104

Nawawi agrees with al-Malibari that one who is not preoccupied with dunya should continuously worship God; if he does not do this, he will be the biggest loser both in the present life and in the Hereafter. One should perform extra prayer as this is the best form of worship after belief in God (imān). If one is bored with prayer one may recite the Qur'an;105 after this one should remember God with the heart and the tongue, then continue the dhikr with the heart, being "attentive" (murāqaba) as if one were present before God.106 L. Gardet states: "the mere dhikr of the tongue without intention (niyya) is rejected, for it would be just routine, profitless, while in the dhikr of the heart, the sufi reaches a point where he has effaced the trace of the word on his tongue, and finds his heart continuously applied to dhikr."107

In Nawawi's view dhikr is the shortest way towards God the Almighty. Dhikr is "a sign pointing to the existence of spiritual authority" (ṣalām ʿalā wujūd al-wilāya) or it is

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104 Al-Malibari, Hidāyat, verses 166 - 171.

105 Nawawi, Salālim, 104. Here Nawawi seems to contradict himself (cf above p. 81). For a discussion on the same matter, see Salālim, 49, 55, 57, 104.

106 Ibid., 104. Perhaps Nawawi means by dhikr with the heart and the tongue, dhikr of the tongue with 'intention,' in accordance to L. Gardet's view. See also Nur al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān-i Isfārāyīnī, Le Révélateur des mystères (kāshīf al-asrār), Persian text with two appendixes translation and preliminary study by Hermann A. Landolt, (Lagrasse: Verdier, 1986), 42. "The general rule for the less advanced disciple is that it is necessary in every state and situation to pronounce the dhikr with the tongue and the heart except in an impure place, where only the dhikr of the heart is to be continued."

107 L. Gardet, "Dhikr" in E. I. 225.
public evidence of *wilāya* (*manshūr al-wilāya*). The one who has been made successful in *dhikr* has been given this evidence. The one who denies the *dhikr* has been isolated. All good qualities come from *dhikr*. The benefits of *dhikr* are innumerable and it is enough for one to understand God's saying: "If you remember Me, I will remember you." (Qur'ān 2:152).

Nawawī also points out that a key feature of *dhikr* is that it is not practised with reference to a specific time, God having ordered His servants to practice it any time (unlike other duties). According to Ibn 'Abbās God does not oblige His servant to perform his religious duties except with certain limits (*ḥadd*); in the case of *dhikr*, however, God does not set limits for it, and so there is no excuse to abandon the *dhikr* except for those having a disturbed mind (*maghlūban ṣalā ʿaqlih*).

The servant of God has to remember God as much as possible, performing *dhikr* in every conceivable condition or situation. He cannot abandon the *dhikr* merely out of forgetfulness, although to be forgetful during the *dhikr* is preferable to abandoning *dhikr* altogether. Nawawī recommends that one remember God with his tongue even if one is inattentive or in a heedless condition (*ghafla*), the hope being that by repeating with the tongue, the *dhikr maṣa wujūd al-ghafla* will be raised a notch higher to the *dhikr* with consciousness (*al-dhikr maṣa wujūd al-yaqūza*), which is the attribute (situation) of intelligent people (*al-ʿuqala?*). It is the hope that the *dhikr* with consciousness will be elevated to the *dhikr* with presence of the heart (*al-dhikr maṣa wujūd al-ḥudūr*) and this is the attribute of

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109 Nawawī, *Salālim*, 104. Elsewhere Nawawī indicates that this verse is interpreted differently. He quotes more than 20 opinions by referring to Shaykh ʿAbd al-Qādir (Jīlānī ?). See also Nawawī, *Tangīḥ al-Qawl*, 34-35.

110 Nawawī, *Salālim*, 104. In *Tangīḥ al-Qawl*, 35, he seems to indicate that *dhikr* is the first step in the way of love by referring to the prophetic tradition which says that the sign of loving God is to love to remember God and the sign of disliking God is disliking His remembrance.
the 'ulamā'. Maybe the dhikr with the presence [of the heart] will rise to the level of dhikr with the absence of anything other than God (al-dhikr ma'a wujūd al-ghayba ʿammā siwā Allāh) which is the rank of the truthful gnostics among the friends of God (al-ʿarifīn al-muḥaqiqīn min al-awliyā') . At this station the dhikr with the tongue ends with the slave becoming aware of the existence of direct vision (sahwan fi wujūd al-iyān). At this station the dhikr with the tongue ends with the slave becoming aware of the existence of direct vision (sahwan fi wujūd al-iyān).111

Nawawi quotes from his teacher Yūsuf Sumbulāwīnī that Abū al-ʿAbbas ibn al-Banna said that the best kind of dhikr is what comes to the heart from God. This is known as dhikr khafi.112 In Sufi tradition, this type of dhikr builds up continuously and one is cautioned to develop the capacity to be able to keep this as a 'secret'. One should not reveal what happens inside one's heart verbally as outsiders will consider what one tells them as nonsense (laghw) and disobedience (maṣīya).

2. 4. Mahamma (important note).

Under this heading Aḥ-Malībarī states that most of the gnostics agree that the best obedience is guarding one's breath reciting the word "Allāh" when the breath comes in and out, whether one is in a gathering or alone. He also alludes to specific dhikr practices such

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111Nawawi, Salālim, 104 - 105. Probably the latter dhikr is similar to dhikr of the 'inmost being' (sirr), as the third stage of dhikr mentioned by L. Gardet where the whole being of the Sufi becomes a tongue uttering the dhikr. See L. Gardet "Dhikr" in E.I., 225. Literally saḥw means to become clear, to regain consciousness. See Hans Wehr, Arabic English Dictionary, 505. The term sobriety (saḥw) means the attainment of the goal. See Hujwīrī, Kashf al-Mahjūb, trans Nicholson, 185,187. Hujwīrī defines saḥw as "sobriety [which] is the vision of subsistence while the attributes are annihilated; and this is actual revelation." A. Schimmel writes that the Naqshabandī teaches that "the end of dhikr without words is contemplation (mushāhada) in which subject and object are, eventually, indiscernible. True dhikr is that you forget your dhikr." See A. Schimmel, Mystical Dimensions, 172.

112Nawawi, Salālim, 105. Perhaps this is another meaning of dhikr khafi (meaning maʿrifa?) M. A. Rabb observes that maʿrifa according to Abū Yazīd, seems to be imposed on the ʿarif by God. See M. A. Rabb, Persian Mysticism, 131.
as moving the head below and above, to the dhikr of the phrase lā ilāha illā Allāh and to the "silent dhikr" or dhikr khafl.\textsuperscript{113}

Nawawi begins his commentary on the section by informing us that these verses are taken from Shaykh al-ʻAydarūs ʻAbd Allāh ibn Abī Bakr, who said that most of the gnostics (ʻārifin) are in agreement that the best obedience is to control one's breath (hifz al-anfūs) so that when inhaling or exhaling one pronounces the name "Allāh", and this either as part of a group or alone; "for this is the key to the unseen world." Thus it is necessary for the disciple to recite the dhikr with complete strength [being filled with it] until there is no more space left. When the seeker invokes God with a strong will, the way is made easy for him and he can reach his goal in shorter time. Nawawi following Shārānī bases his elaborations on the Qur'ānic verse 2:74 "then, even after that, your hearts were hardened and became as rocks, or worse than rocks, for hardness."\textsuperscript{114} The stone (rock) does not break easily, so the dhikr does not affect the heart unless it is strong.\textsuperscript{115}

In commenting on verse 174 which alludes to specific dhikr-practices Nawawi refers to Aḥmad al-Junaydī al-Maymūnī who says that he starts the word 'Allāh' and the remaining of God's names from his navel to his heart, and to Shārānī who says that he trembles from his head to his toes. Nawawi further explains that the phrase sīfatun lahu mata barzakh\textsuperscript{116} has two meanings, first that one invokes the word Allāh with the tongue

\textsuperscript{113}Al-Malibari, Hidūyat, verses 172-175.
\textsuperscript{114}Pickthall, The Meaning, 39.
\textsuperscript{115}Nawawi, Salālim, 106f. A. Schimmel writes that "dhikr in its developed forms is usually connected with some sort of breath control; Sahl expressed the idea that the breaths are counted; every breath that goes out without remembering Him is dead, but every breath that goes out in recollecting the Lord is alive and is connected with Him." See A. Schimmel, Mystical Dimensions, 173. According to Trimingham "the Sufi found rhythmic breathing in dhikr as a particular method of glorifying God by repeating His name constantly and also as a means of excluding distractions and of drawing near to God." Elsewhere he quotes Abū Yazīd who says that for gnostics, worship is observance of the breaths. Trimingham, Sufī Orders, 194-195. Further, on p. 203 he explains the principles of Naqshbandī dhikr and states that as the external basis of this ḥarīqa is the breath, one must not exhale or inhale in forgetfulness.
\textsuperscript{116}Hidūyat, verse 174. In fact this phrase is somewhat unclear.
and with sincerity towards the Almighty while placing the image of the Shaykh in one's heart; the second meaning is that the way to do the dhikr is to be with the Shaykh so that its performance does not exceed the teaching of the Shaykh without his permission or guidance. In any case, Nawawī emphasizes the importance of the function of the Shaykh as the intermediary (barzakh=wasiṭa) between the servant and God and the Shaykh's role in giving guidance to his disciple. To this effect he quotes a famous saying which states that whoever does not have a Shaykh has the devil as his Shaykh. Nawawī further tells us the details of how to practice the dhikr (i.e. the technicalities of performing the dhikr) and the ādāb of dhikr. From his description, it appears that he prefers a dhikr with three movements of the head: moving the head upwards and to the right side while pronouncing lā, moving it towards the breast with ilāha, and to the heart with illā Allāh. According to Nawawī, these modalities are required in order for the noble phrase (al-kalima al-musharrafa) to pass through the five latāīf which are: 1) latīfa al-qalb; 2) latīfa al-rūḥ; 3) latīfa al-sīr; 4) latīfa al-khafī; and 5) latīfa al-akhfā. As a result, one's heart will be able to achieve the desired aim of the dhikr and will itself finally become the dhākir, so that one will be able to listen to it.

117Nawawī, Salālim, 107.

118Ibid., 108. This could be a variant of a Kubrawī or Naqshbandī dhikr. For more details see Tringham, Sufi Orders, 202-205. See Hermann A. Landolt, Le Révélateur, 43-48. For the latīf see. H. Landolt pp. 41, 54-68. According to Isfārāyīni there are three parts to performing the dhikr: "First part: to sit cross-legged, putting the right leg on the left leg, the left hand on the right leg and the right hand on the left hand, facing the direction of qibla. To have the 'shape' of the Shaykh in front, because his heart is linked in the same way to his Shaykhs', and so on until the Prophet and to God Himself...To imagine one's material form as a corpse.... To extract the totality of veils, that is, the 'suggested ideas' (khawāfīr), from the navel, by [saying] respectfully but energetically the phrase lā ilāha illā Allāh, until the back and the nape are straight. To stop for a while, with a pause of the action and not of the tongue. Second part: to bring the left shoulder with the head and and the nape towards the right shoulder and to throw the totality of khawāfīr and veils as well as one's dead material existence behind the back, by the force of lā ilāha illā Allāh and by the force of the walāyat of the Shaykh. Up to this stage, it is necessary to maintain the image of the Shaykh, but after, it is necessary to abandon it in order to concentrate on the image of the Reality (God). Third part: to push the right shoulder with force towards the heart while [saying] respectfully but energetically the dhikr Allāh with force (energy) and in enunciating the alif of Allāh with the repulsion of the khawāfīr. If the khawāfīr dominates one's self then the dhikr should be started again from the..."
Regarding *dhikr khafī*, Nawawi describes it as reciting the phrase *la ilāha illā Allāh* without moving the lips. While quoting *hadīth* in favour of both silent and loud *dhikr*, he mentions that al-Sha'rānī points to the benefits of performing the *dhikr* in a group in the mosque when it can be done without hypocrisy or disturbing other people's prayers. Similarly he refers to al-Ghazālī as one who preferred the *dhikr* in a group since it has more effect, and to Shaykh Ibrāhīm al-Matbūlī who suggests that one should raise one's voice when practicing the *dhikr* until one achieves the condition of concentration (*al-jamʿīyya*) as is the case with gnostics (*al-ʿārifūn*). He adds that the *shārīʿa* says that according to the Shaykhs it is necessary for the beginner to raise his voice in *dhikr* until the barrier (*ḥijāb*) is broken. When the murīd becomes strong in his *dhikr*, he no longer needs to recite in a high voice.

From the above, it seems that Nawawi prefers *dhikr jālī* (with loud voice) to *dhikr khafī* (with silent voice), at least for the beginner. However, he certainly does not deny the advantages of *dhikr khafī*. In another work Nawawi refers to the *hadīth* which says that silent *dhikr* is better than loud *dhikr* because it is safe from ostentation especially for those Sufis at an advanced stage in their journey, but that in the beginning stage loud *dhikr* is better (more useful). Nawawi refers to the Prophet who used to order every individual to do what is best and more useful for his particular state.

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119 Nawawi, *Salālim*, 107. However, cf. *Salālim* 115f. where the same authority is quoted as favouring silent *dhikr*.

120 Ibid., 107. Nawawi also explains that the phrase *la ilāha illā Allāh* heals the heart of its spiritual illnesses and cures the sins and heedlessness. See Nawawi, *Tanjih al-Qawl*, 36.

121 See explanation on p. 57 of this chapter.


The last two sections (tadhkira and mahamma) deal with subjects that are exclusively relevant to the ārif. Although clearly not everyone who does the practices described in these sections has achieved the degree of an ārif, the practices and experiences involved in dhikr, murāqaba and mushāhada are part of taşawwuf, are part of the process of purifying the heart and attaining gnostic knowledge. Therefore Nawawi's concept of the three levels of Muslim believers is not directly relevant to these sections. In terms of the relation between outward practice and inner state, the practice of dhikr begins "outwardly"—not only the loud dhikr of the tongue, but also the dhikr of silent internal repetition. However, as the dhikr progresses and takes root in the heart it becomes an inner reality, a spiritual state which is experienced by the ārif. This point is again emphasized in the very last verses of Malibari’s poem (verses 181-186), on mushāhada according to Suhrawardi, which Nawawi explains by citing the relevant passage from the ‘Awārif (chapter 27) [=‘Awārif p. 216f.] as well as a short passage from Ṣabrānī.

C. Conclusion.

In the work studied in this thesis, Salālim al-Fuḍalā’, Nawawi repeats a great deal of material from other Sufi writers and thus it is difficult for us to distinguish his own mystical thought from that of other authorities. However, by analyzing certain themes in his commentary, and in his selection and placement of material we can draw the following conclusions:

From the overall explanations given by Nawawi in referring to classical Sufi texts and authorities, there is no doubt that he was strongly influenced by the classical tradition of Islamic Sufism and not Sufism as it came to Indonesia, let alone the pre-Islamic concepts of the Indonesian people of his time. This is probably due to his educational background and his lifestyle and experiences during his residence in Mekka.

124For example on p. 84-85 of this chapter Nawawi describes the experience of the beginner as he attempts to practice dhikr.
The concept of three levels of Muslim believers, which is taken originally from al-Malibari, seems to dominate Nawawi's perspective in his commentary on the overall themes of *Sa'ilim*. This concept is related to other themes as well, particularly the relation between outer practice and inner experience, and also the different types of knowledge: outer (the knowledge of religious sciences) and inner (the direct knowledge of gnosis which is gained through *dhikr*, *murâqaba* and *mushâhada*). The 'âbid reaches the higher stages of 'âlim and 'arif by the acquisition of outer and inner knowledge respectively.

Nawawi's approach to his sources reveals his wide range of exposure to and comprehension of Sufism; however, in some cases it is not clear whether or not he is depending on the [first] commentary on *Hidâyat*, i.e. *Maslak al-Atqiyâ' wa Minhaj al-Asfiyyâ'* by the poet's son.125

Nawawi defines *tasawwuf* to mean *adab*, meaning the *âdâb* which had been learned by observing the Prophet Muhammad which related to his inner state, actions and sayings. These *âdâb* point towards the path based on the Qur'ân and *hadith* and trodden by the Sufi Masters. Nawawi implies that an *âbid*, through studying and *mujâhada*, can improve himself and attain the level of 'âlim, then by achieving the goal of contemplation (*mushâhada*) he can become an 'arif and can acquire direct access to the knowledge of the unseen. Thus it is important to continue making a stenuous effort in order to raise oneself to a higher position.

Nawawi does not indicate whether the nine *waṣâyâ* represent hierarchical stages; however, he says that *tawba* is the key to all worship and the basis for all good things. This could mean that after *tawba* one can improve one's spiritual state through practicing the nine *waṣâyâ*. Nawawi's concept of knowledge is an interesting one, since he implies that practicing *sunna* without knowledge will not gain much reward. Furthermore he also implies that even people with religious knowledge are empty without achieving spiritual

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125 See this chapter p. 56-57.
progress. Finally, Nawawi considers dhikr, at whatever stage one performs it, as the shortest way towards God the Almighty. Nawawi interprets the meaning of dhikr khaft, firstly as silent dhikr, and secondly as the best kind of dhikr, as it comes to the heart from God.
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