JIHĀD IN TWO FACES OF SHARĪ’AH: SUFISM AND ISLAMIC JURISPRUDENCE (FIQH) AND THE REVIVAL OF ISLAMIC MOVEMENTS IN THE MALAY WORLD

Case studies of Yusuf al Maqassary and Dawud Al Fatani

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2008 STATEMENT OF ORIGINALITY
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Technical writing


The summary of the writing of the footnotes is as follows:

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8.84. Once a work has been cited in complete form, later references to it are shortened. For this, either short titles or the Latin abbreviation ibid. (for ibidem, “in the same place” should be used. The use of op. cit. and loc. Cit., formerly common in scholarly references, is now discouraged. (Kate, 138).

IBID.

When references to the same work follow one another with no intervening references, even though they are separated by several pages, ibid, may take the place of the author’s name, the title of the work, and as much of the succeeding material as is identical. The author’s name and the title are never used with ibid.

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2. Ibid.

The following reference is to a different page:
3. Ibid., 68.

Ibid. must not be used for an author’s name in references to two works by the same author. The author’s name may be repeated, or in references within one note to additional works by the same author, idem (“the same,” sometimes abbreviated id.) may be used. In note 2 below, ibid. stands for all the elements of the preceding reference except the page number; in note 5 idem stands for only the author.

2Ibid., 37.
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Transliteration

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Table of the system of transliteration of Arabic words and names used by the Institute of Islamic Studies, McGill University.

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**Long:**  
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**Diphthong:**  
\(ay = ﻣ\prime = ٢; \ aw = ﻣ\prime = ٢\)
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This thesis is about the concepts of *Jihād*, *Sharī‘ah* and Sufism as they have been understood by Muslims in the course of history and by the Malay people in particular. The focus is on the works of the two great Muslim scholars in the Malay world in the 17-18th centuries, Sheikh Yusuf al Maqassary and Sheikh Dawud al-Fatani.

The background of the thesis is based on concern about the misunderstanding of the concepts of *Jihād*, *Sharī‘ah* and Sufism by some Western scholars, some non-Muslims and even Muslims themselves. Since most of the existing studies of these three concepts focus on the Middle East as the origin of Islam, this thesis instead will focus on the Malays-Indonesian Archipelago. Another reason is that many Muslim scholars in Indonesia turn to non-Indonesian Muslim scholars to guide their teaching and learning discourse. As a result of this, Most of the Malay-Indonesian Muslims scholars seem to ignore their genealogy in the past. The phenomenon also gives the impression that Muslim Malay scholars in the past have made no direct, indirect or important contributions to the present Islamic discourse.

This thesis is an effort to show that Muslim scholars in the past have left an important legacy for their following generations. However, unfortunately, their heritage has not been properly studied. Little attention has been paid to original sources and to the social conditions of Islam in the Malay world. Therefore this study is very important for a better understanding on Islam in the Malay world with its internal dynamics and special characteristics.

The foundation this thesis lays is the methodology being used to conduct this research. The methodology developed by Karl Mannheim, known as “Sociology of Knowledge.” has been chosen as the basic approach of the thesis because it has similarities with the study of critique of the Hadīth in the Islamic tradition. Like the study of the critique of the Hadīth which tries to take into account the origin of the content of Hadīth (Matn al-Hadīth) by observing its transmission and the transmitters (the way the Hadīth was narrated, transmitted: *Riwayah* and *Dirāyah al Hadīth*), the transmitters (*Rijālul Hadīth*), the contents as well as the comparative study of the content of the Qur’anic messages (*Muqāranah Bayn Matn al Hadīth wa al Qur’ān*). The similarities between both approaches may be explained by the fact that Mannheim came from a Jewish family whose traditions about the understanding of the sacred texts are closed to Islamic traditions, Semitic traditions.

This thesis tries to dismantle the origins of the meaning of the text from its semantic features and special terminology, which in Islamic literature is known as *lughatan* (semantic meaning) and *istilāhiyyan* (terminological meaning). After that, this thesis tries to observe the historical context based on the sacred text of the Qur’ān and the historical context of the early period of the Prophet and Muslim society in understanding the concept.

This thesis shows that the dynamic of Islamic discourse of the Malay Muslim scholars in the 17-18th century had a close links with the dynamic of Islamic discourse in the Middle East known as the *Haramayn* circle at that time. Therefore, to understand the heritage of the Malay Muslim scholars it is necessary...
to understand the dynamics of Islam in general. In the course of time, the continuity of the ideas takes different forms when these ideas are dealing with various cultures being practiced by Muslims in many places. Cultural diversity in Muslim societies therefore, can be said as one of the elements which enrich the development of Islamic thought. The thesis argues that among Malay Muslim scholars, the exemplars of Muslim scholars who understood the concept of Islamic teachings as a whole can be found in the figures of Yusuf al Maqassary and Dawud al-Fatani. For this, the reason, this thesis argues is that the greatest Muslim scholars are those who understand the inner and the outer aspects of Shari‘ah based on the guidance of the sacred books of Islam (Qur‘ān and Hadīth) supplemented by the heritage of earlier Muslim scholars.

Key words: Jihad, Shari‘a, Sufism, concept of methodology, Malays-Indonesian, Islam, Sheikh Yusuf al Maqassary and Sheikh Dawud al-Fatani.
CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

1.1. Subject Matter

This study is on Jihād as understood in Sharī'ah and Sufism and its relation to the revival of Islamic movements in the Malay World both in the past time and the present time. This study aims to deepen understanding of the Islamic discourse in the Malay world, especially that relating to the Jihād and Sūfī movements from the first time they emerged to the present time.

Jihād, Sharī'ah and Sufism are three crucial issues in the Islamic World that are also the subject of discourse by Europeans. The former is often represented as an aggressive warrior with sword and long beard who spreads Islam actively, and is ready to die for the sake of his own religion without tolerating other religious adherents. In contrast, Sufism is considered a passive movement that drives its followers to be escapist and inactive in worldly life.1 Additionally, some Islamic jurists consider Sūfī teachings as being different, if not heretical, from the established Islamic teachings (Sharī'ah).2

Most Muslims view Sufism as quite separate from Jihād. Sufism concerns mysticism, focuses beyond worldly life, has something to do with cosmological speculations and presumptions, and recommends seclusion to seek extinction (fanā') in the Creator only. Ignorance about Jihād and Sufism, and the


2 Ibid.
relationship between them, results in fundamental misunderstanding about Islamic teachings (Sharī‘ah), and puts Islam at the level of the most misunderstood religion, not only among Western people, but also perhaps among the adherents of Islam.

_Jihād_ is one of the concepts in Islamic teachings (Sharī‘ah) that the prophet of Islam required of Muslim people. This concept has been variously interpreted: its basic meaning is ‘struggle’ and it is sometimes understood also as ‘battle’.³

In order to understand the relations between _Jihād_ and Sufism, this thesis focuses firstly on understanding the concept of _Jihād_ in Islamic teachings (Sharī‘ah) and secondly to understand the meaning of Sufism in Islamic literature. The concept of _Jihād_ is very significant in Islam as _Jihād_ is the spirit of Islam (elementary teaching principle) that makes Islam a dynamic religion in response to social changes that occur over time.⁴ _Jihād_ is an obligation stated in the Qur‘ān (the holy book) and Hadīth (the Prophet’s traditions). Literally, the Arabic root of the word _Jihād_ is _ja ha da_, a root which is rich in various meanings. Examples of these meanings include:

---


To endeavor, to strive, to labor, to take pains, to fight in the path of God and to wage holy war against infidels, to work hard to formulate an independent judgment in legal or theological questions.\(^5\)

In the development of Islam, in line with the various understandings of Muslim or non-Muslim scholars, the term *Jihād* is often understood and interpreted as a religious war that must be waged against ‘unbelievers’.

Sufism has also been the subject of various interpretations. Despite the consideration of some Islamic jurists that several teachings of Sufism are different from the established Islamic teaching, the followers of Islamic Sufism themselves believe that its practice has its roots in Islamic practice and teachings developed at the time of the Prophet by his companions and his followers.\(^6\)

In response to the existence of Islamic Sufism and Islamic jurisprudence, Islamic *Sharī‘ah* (Law) is divided into two categories. The first is the Sūfī practice of *Sharī‘ah* which mostly emphasizes the inner side (*bāthīnī*) in the worship of God, and the adherence to religious values such as *Zuhd* (piety, ascetism), *Sabr* (patience in accepting God’s will), *Shukr* (gratitude) and *Ridā* (contentment). Sufism is a reaction to the burdens of strict laws and a tiring ritual; it is a protest of the human soul in its search for a purer creed and the essence of Life. In spite of this, not all of the forms of Sufism resist the strictness of the

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Islamic law. Some forms are well integrated with Islamic law, while others have tended towards Gnosticism and the veneration of saints.\textsuperscript{7}

Sufism is *tasawwuf* in Arabic. *Tasawwuf* refers to the teachings and practices of Islamic religion, which followers employ in order to perform their duties - morally, spiritually and practically - in the effort to approach God. Since Islam is considered by some Muslim scholars to have both inner and outer aspects, Sufism represents an effort to understand and fulfill religious duties both inwardly and outwardly.\textsuperscript{8}

The first aspect of *Sharī'ah* or Islamic law is the inner side which is known as Sufism. Sufism tries to raise awareness of the sin of forgetfulness among the people by warning of the importance of purifying the heart. According to Islam, the heart is; the Throne of the Compassionate’ (*Arsh al-Rahman*): thus, God will determine all rewards and punishments based on the sincerity of one’s intentions.\textsuperscript{9}

For example, Fariduddīn Attar, a Sūfī from eleventh century Persia, illustrates the searching of the human soul for the Truth or God by means of an allegorical Sūfī story. In his work, Attar uses birds to symbolize human beings searching for God. The birds must pass by seven valleys to reach their goal of approaching God. The seven valleys are: search, love, mystic apprehension, detachment/independence, unity, confusion, and fulfillment in annihilation. The


purpose of discipline in relation to these seven elements is to achieve purification. Those who have a strong desire to achieve this goal have to purify their nafs (soul) - i.e. their personality or self - from the tendency toward shahawāt, or the thoughts and desires of ‘natural’, undisciplined people. Badness must be replaced by love (mahabba) and the flames of passion (‘ishq) quelled to gain a state of union (wuslā); the self (fanā’) also changes, via the strong impression or catharsis brought about by awareness of the beauty and magnificence of God.\textsuperscript{10} One who tries to reach God is thus advised to experience some stations (maqām).\textsuperscript{11} They are to have a basic knowledge of God which is called ma’rifah, and are advised to have the will or a strong desire for the first stage to reach it. This stage is known as the stage of irāda. The second stage is asceticism or zuhd which restricts the self from practicing extravagance in worldly life. The self should not be concerned with worldly life.

The third station is tawakkul or trust. Trust in God concerns the common people because trusting one’s affairs to God means taking refuge in His knowledge and leaving everything to His kindness. The fourth stage is patience. True patience means to go beyond worldly endurance. The fifth is sadness or huzn which means to feel sad because of the love that one feels for God. The sixth is fear or khauf. This is one of the stations of the common people and is a

\textsuperscript{10} Fariduddin Attar, \textit{Manteq at-Tāir, The Conference of the Birds, English} translation by Afkham Darbandi and Dick Davis (England: Penguin Books, 1984), 14. To have detailed conversation of the birds about their quest in searching God and their obstacles, see Attar, 27-229. In his work, Attar allegorically depicts the reluctance of some birds leaving their places. This is a symbol of the reluctance of humankind to search for the essence of Truth, God.

\textsuperscript{11} Maqām in Sufistic terms refers to the stages which the Sālik or those who walk in the path of God must go through. For example, if one is still a student studying the basic teachings of Islam, he cannot go to the higher levels to study more philosophical teachings. It is just like the system in education. When one’s level is the first grade of elementary school for example, he or she is not supposed to study the lessons for the second or third grade.
departure from happiness and a reversion to sorrow. Fear requires attentive vigilance against any threat, and taking precautions against punishment. The seventh station is hope or rajā. The eighth is gratitude or shukr. This also belongs to the ranks of the common people. It means considering one’s blessings in relation to the One who has given them, speaking appreciatively of the Benefactor, and fulfilling one’s obligation to Him by acknowledging His generosity, with the hope of meeting his Lord (God) in the hereafter. The ninth is love or mahabba. This stage is the beginning of the valleys of extinction and the mountain from which one descends through the stages of self annihilation. The tenth is the sentiment of longing or al shawq, which refers to the longing to meet with God.  

Other prominent Sūfīs such as Jalaluddin Rumi (1207-1273), Shamsuddin Mohammed Hafez (died 1389), Ibn al Arabi (1165-1240), Fakhruddin Iraqi (1213-1289), Abdurrahman Jami’ (1414-1492), Mahmud Shabistari (1250-1320), Ghalib (1797-1869), Nazir (1735-1846), and Baba Kuhi of Shiraz (died 1050), also use poems and stories to express the quest for God. Since it is very common in Sufism to use symbolism to describe the spiritual journey to approach God, these symbols can take many forms. In Malay Sufism for example, a Sumatran Sūfī, Hamzah Fansuri, used the image of a ship in his poem to describe


his quest for God.\textsuperscript{15} In sum, it can be concluded that in Sufī tradition symbols become a language for delivering messages about this quest.

The second aspect of the Sharī‘ah or Islamic law is the outer side which is widely known as Fiqh or Islamic jurisprudence. Islamic jurisprudence or Fiqh is the area where jurists study legal practices and requirements, such as social and ritual obligations. Nevertheless, it is worth noting that some forms of Sufism are integrated with Islamic law: they also teach and require certain ritual and social obligations.

Steenbrink (a 19\textsuperscript{th} century Dutch scholar of Islam in Indonesia) developed a typology of teachers from these various kinds of Sufī groups. According to Steenbrink, there were five types of teachers in Indonesia, perhaps from the first time Islam came to the Malay Archipelago until the 19\textsuperscript{th} century. These included:

1. Teachers of Qur’anic recitation who usually teach the thirtieth part of the Qur’ān only (Juz Amma)
2. Teachers of books of Islamic teachings (kitāb) who usually teach in the classical Islamic boarding schools (pesantren)
3. Teachers of Tarekat orders (This institution was more formal than that of the pesantren in giving acknowledgment to Islamic teaching.)
4. Teachers of unseen knowledge and the sellers of amulets. These generally come from among the teachers of the books of Islamic teachings (the kitāb) and teachers of the Tarekat order. Nevertheless, many Islamic religious teachers considered that these practices deviated from the true Islamic teachings.
5. Teachers with no permanent residence. They were called traveling teachers as they did not reside anywhere permanently. The fifth type of teachers were further divided into two groups, \textit{viz}:
   a. A group which usually consisted of Arabs who were looking for candidates for the hajj [pilgrimage to the Holy Land of Islam, Mecca] for themselves or for other teachers for the sake of money. They also gave religious speeches, and supplied amulets, rosaries and \textit{Zam-Zam} water

\textsuperscript{15} V.Y. Braginsky, \textit{Some Remarks on the Structure of the Sya’ir Perahu by Hamzah Fansūrī} (Land-en Volkenkunde: Koninklijk Instituut Voor Taal-, no date), 407.
(water from Mecca which is believed to have originated from the story of Abraham and his son Ishmael).

b. The second group followed the old tradition of becoming hermits.\(^{16}\) They went to stay in the caves with some of their students.\(^{17}\)

Nonetheless, Steenbrink’s classification of the teachers of Islam in the Malay Archipelago in the 19\(^{th}\) century is overly simple. There were also teachers descended from Sayyids, Shaikhs or Sūfīs who claimed to be the heirs of the Prophet. Furthermore, Muslim merchants and traders served as teachers of members of the royal family; eventually some of these became members of aristocratic local families through marriage.\(^{18}\)

In the course of the history of Islam, Sufism in general is accused of pioneering the decline of Islamic society. At worst, Sufism is associated with passivity, and thus has no tight connection with Islamic jurisprudence or Fīqh. In relation to Jihād in terms of holy war, Sufism is considered to have nothing to do with Jihād or struggle within Islam as it is generally understood in the books of Islamic jurisprudence which emphasize Jihād in terms of war. (This study will be taken up in Chapter Four of this thesis.) During the development of Islamic history, the question of Sufism being passive has gradually become more and more controversial: many Sūfī leaders have led Jihād movements (in terms of both holy war and social movements), either directly or indirectly. ‘Indirect’ leadership means that Jihād movements have been inspired and driven by books

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\(^{16}\) Pritchard, 2.

\(^{17}\) Karel A Steenbrink, Beberapa Aspek tentang Islam di Indonesia abad 19 ( Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, 1984 ), 152-154.

\(^{18}\) For this, see Syed Muhammad Naquib al-Attas, A Commentary on the Hujjat al-Siddīq of Nūrūd dīn al-Rānīrī ( Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia: Ministry of Culture, 1986 ), 5-50.
that have been taught and studied widely in Muslim society. Examples of these can be observed in many Muslim countries both in Asia and Africa.\textsuperscript{19}

It is hoped that a better understanding of the concept of \textit{Jihād} in Sufism will lead to a better understanding of Sufism itself within Islam, since \textit{Jihād} is at the core of Islamic teachings, and Sufism is a search for the essence of religious teachings.\textsuperscript{20} The chief idea that grounds this thought in Sufism is that the souls of people are various and differ in many ways. These differences thus lead to variations in the methods employed, and diverse understandings of religion and God.\textsuperscript{21}

In simple words, it can be said that Sufism tries to reach understanding and to practice the inner side of religious teachings while \textit{Fiqh} or Islamic jurisprudence represents the effort to understand the outer side of religious teachings. To reach both kinds of understanding - i.e. the inner side of Islamic \textit{Sharī‘ah} (Sufism) and the outer side of \textit{Sharī‘ah} (\textit{Fiqh} or Islamic jurisprudence) - one must exert the utmost effort or \textit{Jihad} in the broadest terms; thus one can perform \textit{Jihād} both internally and externally. This is what the Islamic \textit{Sharī‘ah} means by the outer and inner aspects of Islamic teachings. Therefore, in essence, \textit{Jihād} is at the core of Islamic teachings. \textit{Jihād} is the dynamic effort to understand the \textit{Sharī‘ah} (Islamic teaching), since without practicing \textit{Jihād} in relation to both

\begin{flushleft}  \textsuperscript{19} Further detailed explanation about the examples of the cases, see As’ad al-Khatib, \textit{al-Buhūlah wa al-Fidā‘ ina al-Sūfiyyah}, Indonesian translation by Fathurrazi & Ahmad Rusydi Wahab (Jakarta: PT Serambi Ilmu Semesta, 2005), 39-2001.  
\textsuperscript{21} Pritchard, 3-4.  
\end{flushleft}
the inner and outer aspects of *Sharī‘ah*, it is impossible to get a good and comprehensive understanding of Islamic teachings.

In subsequent developments, these differences have had a significant impact on the understanding of the concept of *Jihād* in Islam. There are differences between the groups of so-called Sūfis whose approach was integrated with Islamic law (*Sharī‘ah*), those who tended towards Gnosticism and the veneration of saints (both Sūfis and ordinary people), common people whose beliefs were fairly simple, and Islamic jurists.

The difference between ordinary Muslims and Sūfis can be illustrated as follows. Islamic scholars consider ordinary Muslims to be *muqallid* (those who have only copied faith; whose belief has been handed down and transmitted from their ancestors). Many of the people from this group do not really understand how maintaining a true belief in the creed of Islam is extremely important in ensuring redemption. In contrast Sūfis try to search for the essence of religious teachings and often spend long years in doing so. Some of them fail to achieve their goal after all; only those who are directed by spiritual leaders/teachers are able to reach the understanding of the reality of the created and the Creator. Those who achieve this understanding are considered to have arrived at a completely established faith. The requirements for doing this are to follow good practices and to have a strong knowledge of the outer side of *Sharī‘ah* (*Fiqh* or Islamic jurisprudence).

During the long period of Islamic history, many leaders of Sufi movements have also demonstrated their important role in Jihād movements. Instances of these are the Jihād movements of Ahmad Sanusi Cyreneica in Africa against Italy; those of Yusuf Maqassary in Indonesia and Cape Town, Africa against the
Dutch; and that of Dawud Al Fatani and his followers against the Thai. This thesis will present an analysis of the concepts of *Jihād* (struggle within Islam) according to their views, based on a consideration of their works and movements. The focus will be on two cases: those of Yusuf Maqassary and Dawud Al Fatani.

1.2. Significance of the Study

*Jihād* movements became a significant issue during the wave of westernization movements in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; these provided several forms of colonization, ranging from physical colonization to social, political and economic colonization. Many traditional and modern Muslim leaders and scholars perceived colonization to be a threat to the Muslim world because it asserted hegemony. This issue has long been the concern of many Muslim leaders and scholars.

In response to this colonization, Muslim society became divided in its viewpoints and attitudes toward the West. The adherents of each of these positions attempted to influence the others. The first was a group that tended to uncritically imitate the West: its adherents can be identified as ‘Westernized Muslims’. The second was a group that tended to selectively imitate the West. They took what they considered to be good, and discarded what they considered to be bad. They still maintained their religious norms and culture, and took from the West only what fitted with these. The third group adhered strictly to their religious teachings and traditions. They rejected whatever came from the West
and considered it to be a moral danger for the Muslim world. It was from this group attitude that the idea of Jihād movements against any oppressors and aggressors developed.

Jihād movements have been aiming at reviving the Islamic spirit that is based on the Qurʾān and the Hadīth. Jihād movements against Western colonization in many Muslim countries had repercussions on the subsequent development of Islam. Therefore, to study the history of Jihād and its movements, it is very important to see the linkage. Some Muslims often neglect the concept of Jihād in Sufism, even though it has a close relationship to the Jihād movements in Islamic history. This study is very significant in aiding understanding of the nature and the character of the concept of Jihād in Islam in general, and the concept of Jihād in Sufism that has driven Islamic and social movements in Islamic history.

Jihād movements varied in many Muslim countries. Local conditions and the religious teachings of the masters, as well as the understanding of religious teachings in society certainly influenced this variety. Studying the relationship between the concept of Jihād in Sufism, and the Jihād movements which marked the revival of Islamic movements, will offer a new context for understanding the concepts of Jihād and Sufism and their relationship to the revival of Islamic movements.

22 This is in accordance with Fazlur Rahman’s typology of Muslim groups in relation to the secular West. To explain it, Rahman uses the terms Westernized modernist for the first, Neo revivalist for the second and conservative for the third. In his studies, Rahman more widely grasps the problems of classical modernism, Neo-modernism and revivalism. See Fazlur Rahman, Islam Challenges and Opportunities, Indonesian translation by Yayasan Obor in Perkembangan Modern dalam Islam edited by Harun Nasution and Azyumardi Azra ( Jakarta: Yayasan Obor Indonesia, December 1985 ), 9-44. See also Ali Shariati, Man and Islam, Indonesian translation by Amin Rais, in Tugas Cendekiawan Muslim ( Jakarta: Rajawali Press, 1987 ), 105-116.
This thesis draws on several works on Sufism and its development in the context of the Malay world. However, these works are not specifically about *Jihād* concepts in Sufism and the relationship between Sufism and the revival of Islamic movements. The first, most notable work to mention is G.W.J. Drewes’ *Directions for Travelers on the Mystic Path* (1977). This book describes the important role of Sūfis in the early Islamization of the Malay Archipelago.²³ Drewes goes on to explain the biography of the author of *Risālah fīʿal-Tawhīd* (Treatise on the Oneness of God), Shaikh Wali Raslan of Damascus. This work has been commented on by many Muslims since its publication and has been widely disseminated in the Malay world. The *Treatise* is still important, and is being studied at the present time.²⁴

In connection with understanding Islamic *Sharīʿah* from both its inner side (Sufism) and its outer side (*Fīqh*, or Islamic jurisprudence), Drewes explains that the Sūfī Wali Raslan integrated the outer *Sharīʿah* or *Fīqh* (Islamic jurisprudence) with Sufism. At some time or other Wali Raslan joined the fight against the crusaders. This shows that warrior-saints are not unknown in the history of Islam.²⁵ Drewes also gives an explanation about the commentator Shaikh Zakariyya al-Anshari, whom he called a pillar of *Fīqh* and *Tasawuf*. Zakariyya al-Anshari is a name one often comes across in Indonesian religious literature, particularly in connection with the development of Shafiʿi jurisprudence. This famous scholar died in Cairo in 1520. He had a high position among religious

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²⁴ Ibid., 5-25.

²⁵ Ibid., 25.
scholars of the Shafi’i school of law and he was called by the honorary title of “Shaikh al-Islam”.  

Zakariyya al-Anshari was renowned in the Malay World - modern Indonesia and Malaysia - and is cited in works by Malays. He was quoted for example by the Acehnese scholars Nur al-Din al-Ranniri (first half of the seventeenth century), Abdurrauf (latter part of the seventeenth century), the Palembang writers, Shihabuddin and Kemas Fachruddin (mid 18th century), Muhammad Arshad bin Abdullah al Bukhari from Banjar (latter part of the eighteenth century) and Dawud Al Fatani (first half of the nineteenth century).  

The second body of work that this thesis draws upon is the writing of A. H. Johns. Johns’ work on Malay Sufism explains the pivotal linkage between the great Sufi masters, such as al-Jili and Ibn ‘Arabi, and their influence on the development of Sufism in the Malay World. This thesis also contains some references to Malay Sufi texts, indicating the importance of the Arabic and Malay Arabic languages to understanding Malay Sufism. 

The third body of work is Azyumardi Azra’s study of Muslim scholar networks in the Malay world in the 17th and 18th centuries. Azra’s exploration of the importance of the networks of Muslim scholars in the Malay world provides a foundation for this period, especially in terms of understanding Islamic intellectual discourse in the Malay world in the 17th and 18th centuries, and the

26 Ibid., 26.
27 Ibid., 27.
relations between masters and students. Moreover, Azra’s work is as important source for conducting further study on Sufism and the revival of Islamic movements in Malay world.

The fourth work is Syeikh Yusuf al-Taj al Maqassari by Nabilah Lubis. This thesis emphasizes philological study, and is therefore an exploration of the content of the text (i.e. Zubdat al-astār). Lubis also offers a brief explanation of the life and works of Syeikh Yusuf as a Sūfī. Lubis states that her aim is only to introduce the text of Zubdat al-astār by giving the translation, without corrupting it. As a philological study, Lubis’ work has opened the door for further studies on philology and the possibility of elevating the study of philological hermeneutics to a primary source of evidence in discussing the subject of this thesis.

In line with the study of the Islamic sciences, a prominent Muslim sociologist, Abdurrahman ibnu Khaldun (1332-1406), commented on the importance of the philological aspects of the Arabic language such as grammar, literature and linguistics; these are required to understand the two sources (Qur‘ān and Hadīth) which are the foundation of Sharī‘ah (Islamic law). In addition to that, either Sufism (the inner side of Islamic law) or Fīqh (the outer side of

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Islamic law) are the products of Islamic law which have their basis in both sources, the Qur’ān and the Hadīth.31

The necessity of philological or hermeneutical study lies in its emphasis on understanding the meaning of the language in the text, and viewing language as a set of symbols used to deliver a message. Failure to understand the meaning of the language used in a text can result in misunderstanding the message the text delivers. Therefore, the social and cultural backgrounds, as well as the philosophical thought of the writers of the texts become extremely important.32


Hermeneutic study as a branch of the study of a language is very important as one of the tools for interpreting the Qur’an. In Islamic history, two rival schools of grammar - which were known as the Basra represented by the great grammarian Sibawayh (d.180/796 A.D.); and the Kufan which was represented by al Farra’ (d.207/822. A.D.) - were important factors underlying the varieties of Quranic exegesis in Islamic history. One example is a dispute between al-Ghazali (known as an Islamic theologian) and Ibnu Rushd (known as an Islamic philosopher) when discussing the character and the essence of God the Creator. The basis of the dispute was semantic logic, since a theologian’s understanding of the Arabic terms will differ from that of a philosopher.


To have a good explanation about the dispute, see Abu Hamid al-Ghazali, Tahâfut al-Falâsifah (the incoherence of the philosopher), A parallel English-Arabic text, translated, introduced and Annotated by Michael E. Marmura (Provo Utah, USA: Brigham Young A
As the previous section suggests, the importance of the study of hermeneutics in social and religious science lies in its examination of symbols embedded in the meanings of the words and language used in the texts. The Qur’an is also steeped in symbols which are said to affect the poems of some Sūfis. For example, the verse

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\text{Allahu nūrussamāwātī wal ardi kamatsali nūriḥī kamishkātin fīhā misbāhun almīsbaḥū fīzujājatin azzujājatu kaannaha kaukabun dūriyyun yūqudu min syajaratin mubārakātīn zayṭūnātīn la syarqīyyātīn walā gharbiyyātīn yākādu zaytuhū yudlīū walū lam tamshū nārun. Nārun ala nūrin yahdīlāhu līnūriḥī mān yasyā’u wayadribullāhūl amtsālā līnnūsī wAllahu bikullī syai’īn Alīm.}^{36}
\]

Allah is the Light Of the heavens and the earth. The parable of His Light is as if there were a Niche And within it a Lamp: The Lamp Enclosed in Glass; The glass as it were A brilliant star: Lit from a blessed Tree, An Olive, nether of the East Nor of the West, Whose Oil is well-nigh Luminous, Though fire scarce touched it: Light upon Light! Allah doth set forth Parables For men: and Allah doth know all things.

One example is the poem of al Hallaj in his work Tawāsin.\textsuperscript{37} These are the symbols in the Qur’an which eventually affect the poems of some Sūfis. The symbols enrich the meaning of the text. In Chinese literary tradition, for example, the use of symbols is very important for the so-called economization of

\textsuperscript{36} Abdullah Yusuf ‘Ali, The Holy Qur’an , Text, Translation and Commentary, 24:35 (Maryland, USA: Amana Corporation, Brentwood, 1989) , 875. The capitalization of the translation is quoted as precise as in Yusuf ‘Ali’s

\textsuperscript{37} Hussain bin Mansūr al Hallaj, Kitab Tawāsīn Tāsīn in book of Luminous Form, English translation under the title Ana al-Haqq Reconsidered with a translation of Kitāb al-Tawāsīn by Husain bin Mansur al Hallaj, by Gilani Kamran ( Lahore: Naqsh-e-Awwal Kitab Ghar, 1977) , 55-60.
meaning.\textsuperscript{38} Thus the language of symbols in hermeneutic study according to Gadamer is to make it easier to reveal the original meaning.\textsuperscript{39}

In Sūfī tradition, the use of symbols is closely related to the esoteric tradition which stresses the deeper meaning of the text. Sūfī poetry uses symbols to express the truth and the beauty of God in relation to human understanding of the sacred texts from which the awareness of being the servant of God stem.\textsuperscript{40}

The hermeneutic method is one of the tools for understanding the deeper meaning of a sacred text. This can be clearly seen in the work of the Sūfis in relation to the interpretation of the Qurʾān. It is said that Sūfis tend to view language as a tool of communication and human expression is a locus of meaning.\textsuperscript{41}

The fifth work drawn on here is Syeikh Yusuf, Seorang Ulama, Sūfī dan Pejuang (‘Sheikh Yusuf, an Islamic Scholar and a Hero’) by Abu Hāmid.\textsuperscript{42} Hamid’s study emphasises anthropological and historical approaches and focuses on the role of Shaikh Yusuf in preaching Islam and influencing the process of Islamic history in Macassar.

The sixth source is provided by Peter Riddell. Like Azra, Riddell focuses on the intellectual discourse in the Malay World as well as on society’s responses and challenges. Riddell gives a wide description of intellectual discourse up to the

\textsuperscript{38} Abdul Hadi W.M. Tusawuf yang tertindas, Kajian Hermeneutic Terhadap Karya-Karya Hamzah Fansūrī, Paramadina, Jakarta, 2001, 89.


\textsuperscript{40} Hadi W.M, 90-91.

\textsuperscript{41} Ibid., 96.

\textsuperscript{42} Abu Hamid, Syeikh Yusuf, Seorang Ulama, Sūfī dan Pejuang (Jakarta: Yayasan obor Indonesia, 1994).
19th century. The significance of this work is that it outlines various issues that arose in the Malay world regarding Islamic revival, and the responses and challenges in Muslim society.\textsuperscript{43}

The seventh source is Natalie Mobini Kesheh. Kesheh’s study is focusing on the Hadrami awakening. In his study, Kesheh focuses on the role of the Hadrami as well as their role in the development of Islam in the Malay World from the early Islam in Indonesia and the Indonesian Independence.\textsuperscript{44}

The last source to be mentioned is Michael Francis Laffan, whose study *Islamic Nationhood and Colonial Indonesia: The Umma below the Winds* explains some relations between Muslims and non-Muslims in the Malay Archipelago, and between Muslims in the Malay Archipelago and in other Islamic countries. In relation to the latter Laffan focuses on the long-standing relations among Malay intellectuals who formed the *Ashāb al-Jāwī Haramayn* networks. The process of Islamization and education has given a certain character or pattern to the Malay Islamic community. Their resistance to Dutch colonization also influenced this process. According to Laffan, the peak of this dynamic was the emergence of Islamic reformism.\textsuperscript{45}

The authors mentioned (Drewes, Johns, Azra, Lubis, Hamid, Riddell, Kesheh and Laffan) stress the importance of using the works of Malay *ulama* and their teachers in order to understand Malay Sufism in particular and Malay Islam in general. It is especially worth mentioning here that the work of Drewes and


\textsuperscript{44} Natalie Mobini Kesheh, *Hadrami Awakening*, Indonesian translation by ItaMutiara et.all. (Jakarta: Media Eka Sarana, 2007).

\textsuperscript{45} Michael Laffan, *Islamic Nationhood and Colonial Indonesia, the Umma Below the Winds* (London and New York: Routledge, Curzon, Taylor & Francis Group, 2003).
Azra as well as Kesheh, demonstrate the importance of Islamic intellectual discourse. Azra’s valuable thesis explicated the role played by Haramayn and Malay scholars in the formation of Islamic discourse. Their particular message is that to understand Islam in the Malay world, Arabic and Arabic Malay resources, as well as the works of the Malay scholars, are essential. These six works make a valuable contribution by enriching the store of knowledge about Islamic Intellectual discourse, and the Sufi masters’ role in the development of Islamic discourse in the Malay World.

Drawing on and extending the works mentioned, this thesis demonstrates the importance of philological and intellectual hermeneutic studies, anthropological studies and social studies in better understanding the intellectual milieu, and the social and political contexts within which those writers developed their ideas up to the present time, and their relation to religious matters.

The target of this thesis by using some theories such as hermeneutical, anthropological, political, Social, cultural and historical theories is that each of the above theory mentioned will be used proportionally in accord with the needs. For example when this thesis tries to analyze the meaning of the concepts such as Ḥijād, Shari’ah, fiqh, and Sufism, at the the outset, this thesis tries to trace the meanings by using hermeneutical theories. The purpose is to find out the meaning from the very basic meaning to the meaning that has been elaborated which is known by terminology. The study of terminology also covers the meaning that has been understood by the people over.

Anthropological theories are used then this thesis tries to explain how the Arab peoples had in their minds regarding their understanding about religion before the advent of Islam. These anthropological theories are also used when this
thesis explains how the Malay people view about the existence of religion especially in the case of the south Sulawesi. This case is very important to understand further the study of one of the cases in this thesis that is Yusuf al Maqassary. This part about South Sulawesi will explain how the people of south Sulawesi especially Macassarese view on religion or belief before the coming of Islam and at the time when they had to deal with Islam as a new belief.

Philosophical theory is used to explain the philosophy of the people in viewing the function of religion in their daily life. This is indeed will also have a connection with their culture, politics, and social concepts of life. Therefore, the theories of culture, politics, and social are also used. When this thesis mentions that all the above mentioned theories are used; this does not mean that one case will be analyzed by using all these concepts. What this thesis means that each section will be analyzed based on the appropriate theory concerned. All of these cases are in the framework of historical approach. Thus, as has been stated previously, historical approach will be the main framework of this thesis and the sociology of knowledge becomes the theoretical framework of this thesis.

This thesis is an attempt to offer some interpretations regarding the issues that have been mentioned above. The first aim is to examine the meanings of Jihād in two faces of Sharī‘ah: Islamic jurisprudence and Sufism in Islamic literature. The second aim is to analyze the relationship between the concepts of Jihād, Sharī‘ah and Sufism and their relations to the revival of Islamic movements in the Malay Islamic World. The third aim is to analyze the characteristics of the concepts of Jihād in Sharī‘ah and Sufism and the interrelation of these three concepts (Jihād, Sharī‘ah and Sufism) in relation to the message of the holy book (Qur‘ān) and the Prophet’s sayings (Hadīth). The
fourth is to study the understanding and application of these concepts among the followers in general, and in the Malay World in particular, by referring to the Macassar and Patani cases. The last aim is to revive the heritage of some Malay Islamic scholars; since hardly any specific research has been conducted on the Malay Sūfī concept of Jihād.

1.3. Research Methodology

The most difficult part of conducting research is to show that the research being done is an improvement or extension of previous research, not simply a reproduction. For this the researcher is required to have a broad knowledge of previously published research and to demonstrate that his or her research offers a different analysis of the subject. This means that the approach offered by the researcher is important as a new application of old research data. One factor to be taken into consideration is the choice of a paradigm or a school of thought by the researcher. For this the researcher will deal with the values, methodology, degree of relativity to the chosen subject, scope, time and any other aspects related to several distinct paradigms within social science in order to prove his or her hypotheses.\footnote{Kenneth D. Bailey, \textit{Methods of Social Research} (London: The Free Press, A Division of Macmillan Publishing Co., Inc, 1978) , 13-14.}

This chapter will clearly distinguish between ‘methodology’ and ‘method of study’. According to the \textit{Oxford Advanced Learners Dictionary}, ‘methodology’ is: “a set of methods and principles used to perform a particular activity,”\footnote{AS Hornby, \textit{Oxford Advanced Learners Dictionary} (New York, USA: Oxford University Press, 2000), 803.} while
‘method’ is: “A particular way of doing something: A reliable (and/or) effective (and/or) scientific method of data analysis.”

A paradigm is critical to the conduct of research. A paradigm consists of some concepts and assumptions. It is a frame of reference used to understand the ‘condition’ of something being researched. Although this concept is not a new one in social research, it was popularized by Thomas Kuhn in his *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*. Subsequent to this book’s publication, the concept of paradigms in the social sciences was extended by Friedrichs’s *A Sociology of Sociology* and Ritzer’s *Sociology: Multiple Paradigm Science*.

A Paradigm functions as a window through which the researcher views and conducts his or her research. It is a window that the researcher uses to see the world or the subject he or she is researching. The researcher’s paradigm of concepts, categories, assumptions and biases is critical to the process of analysis and conclusion. To minimize subjectivity, the selection of methodology is important.

### 1.4. Method of Study

To conduct practical research one needs a method of study. The method of study is the way of conducting the research. The stages for conducting research include:

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48 Ibid.


1. Formulating the research design
2. Gathering the data
3.Coding and analyzing the data
4. Interpreting the results so as to test the hypothesis

These four points are closely related to each other. For example, a researcher will not be able to properly gather data before formulating a research design. Coding and analyzing the data cannot be done if the researcher does not have sufficient data and the researcher cannot make a good interpretation and analyze the results and hypotheses if the data is not coded.\textsuperscript{52} In proceeding through these stages of writing, there are three important factors to apply: observation, experiment and comparison.\textsuperscript{53}

1.5. The difference between methodology and method of Study

Methodology is different from method of study, since methodology is the philosophical framework and the philosophy of the research process which involves assumptions, values and analysis, as well as the background of the researcher. Turning to the method there is not much controversy, as the method is only a research technique used to gather the data.\textsuperscript{54} A methodology is meant to be inductive: it is a new approach to analyzing the material, not a confirmation. It is

\textsuperscript{52} Ibid., 4. See also, Mohammad Nazir, \textit{Metodologi Penelitian} (Bogor: Ghalia Indonesia, 2005), 37-43.


\textsuperscript{54}Kenneth D. Bailey, 26.
supposed to be a discovery that enables the researcher to question established views.\textsuperscript{55} It is for this reason that the researcher needs to explore a problem thoroughly, critically and systematically in order to undertake a deeper analysis that allows for greater understanding of the subject.\textsuperscript{56} Therefore it is important to have a theoretical foundation, which is also known as methodology.\textsuperscript{57} A theoretical foundation firstly helps the researcher to explore new interpretations of the phenomena and the data. Secondly, it helps the researcher to predict things about the object being researched based on his or her observations. Thirdly, it relates one study to another in order to find the connections. The fourth advantage is to give a wider framework for further research based on the findings of a current project.\textsuperscript{58}

In relation to this, this subject is being approached by means of a total historical method. Total historical approach tries to approach history in terms of all aspects of social and cultural life of society, as well as to explore the causes and effects of the phenomena which occurred in society. In addition it is important for historians to analyze and explore the development of ideas, as well as all the factors that have shaped and affected those ideas; thus the writing of history will not only be in narrative form, but will also include analytical studies.


\textsuperscript{58}A. Chaedar al-Wasilah, \textit{Pokoknya Kualitatif} (Jakarta: Kiblat Buku Utama, 2003), 44.
to offer new interpretations and a better understanding of the life of the people. Therefore, a total historical approach requires data compiled by other scholars from different fields, so that the researcher can reconstruct and analyze the subject concerned.\textsuperscript{59}

In the humanities, especially in those areas that relate to the origin of concepts, texts are considered to be very important. In religious and social studies for example, a failure to understand the texts can result in misunderstanding the meaning of important concepts. Those who do research in the humanities use a standard research method to represent human life based on data from the written record. This written record is called a primary text. Primary texts can be in the form of poems, manuscripts, plays, letters, diaries, etc.\textsuperscript{60} All of the sources available - either primary or secondary - will be used in this thesis to help the writing to be a 'descriptive analysis'. The 'descriptive analysis' approach is extremely important in writing since a deep analysis must be based on "thick description."\textsuperscript{61} Therefore, using a qualitative method to understand the behavior of human beings in depth, and the social and cultural interactions which formed the way of life of a society and its religious and philosophical understanding of God and the universe, becomes crucial. For this the researcher has to rationally see all the problems from different perspectives in order to be able to present a deep and good analysis.\textsuperscript{62}

\textsuperscript{59} Christine A. Hult, 7-8.

\textsuperscript{60} Ibid., 59-60.


Since the study of the concepts of Jihād, Sharī’ah, and Sufism has a close relation to human beings as the agents of these concepts, it is vitally important to examine these concepts based on primary texts as a starting point. The next step is to examine to what extent specific ‘cases’ follow the original concept or have deviated. Thus by knowing about the concepts in terms of their legal definitions and legislation, from both primary texts and secondary sources, as well as understanding them from an historical perspective and in relation to their development, the researcher can observe which of the ‘cases’ is closer to the message presented.

The transmission of concepts is always affected by power relations (e.g. scholars or politicians: the way groups in society view power differently in order to influence the thinking of citizens or disciples), it is necessary to investigate events historically from the very beginning in order to understand how the ‘mechanism of power’ has played its role in disseminating the understanding of fundamental concepts among the followers of the world-view concerned.63

As this human factor is also related closely to the behavioral sciences, one can learn much from them about the external forces affecting man.64 Additionally, the sociological theory of human behavior aids understanding of many aspects of human behavior such as the social, cultural, political and

63 Michael Foucault, Two lecture, Lecture one on 7 January 1976 and lecture two 14 January 1976 in Michael Kelly (ed.) Critique and Power, Recasting the Foucault/Habermas debate (USA: The Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1994), 38.

64 David Potter, History, the Behavioral studies and the science of man, in Mary Lee Bundy et.al.(eds.) Reader in Research Methods for Librarianship ( Ohio, USA: Microcard editions, Dayton, 1970 ), 35-37.
philosophical background of the subject under study. These tools certainly will lead to a better hypothesis and analysis.\textsuperscript{65}

In conducting this research, various factors concerning \textit{Jihād} movements and Sufism (both religious and social movements) in Muslim society should be taken into consideration. This is what is known as a ‘total historical approach’. A total historical approach takes into consideration a range of factors that have an impact on the event in question. In general terms, these factors may be grouped into religious, cultural, social and intellectual categories.

The idea of total history formulated by the French philosopher Michel Foucault (1926-1984) is as follows: the aim of total history is to formulate all aspects of civilization and culture, including causes and effects in society. A total history will show that every aspect of human life has its own importance, and is linked to all the others. It is by understanding all aspects of the social and cultural background of society that history can be understood as a large interrelated unity of the phases of the development of human civilization.\textsuperscript{66} Various theories and concepts of sociology, culture, anthropology, politics and \textit{Jihād} taken from Muslim and non-Muslim scholars alike will be utilized to elaborate on this issue. Thus the theoretical framework of this thesis covers intellectual discourse and historical process based on cultural and sociological contexts.\textsuperscript{67}


\textsuperscript{67} For the importance of analyzing the relationship between sociological thought and historical observation studies, see for example, Abdurrahman Ibnu Khal'dun, \textit{Muqaddima
The importance of learning from history is grounded in the fact that all that has happened in the past will indeed have an impact on the future.68 In relation to the history of Islam, a Canadian Scholar, Wilfred Cantwell Smith, has commented:

We should suggest also that the historical process in general is special for Islam and is more significant for Muslims than it is for almost any other group.69

The study of the schools of thought that have developed in a society at a certain time is important to understanding the dynamics of Jihād movements in society a certain times. It is for this reason that all social and cultural factors are an integral part of any discussion. The interactions between teachers and students, and between social and political life, as well as their incorporation with cultural values are also matters of importance to be studied thoroughly. In relation to this, it is interesting to note that from the beginning of history until the nineteenth century, scholars have been curious about the origins of ideas. This curiosity is driven by the common view that to know and understand an idea is to know its source or origin.70


69 Wilfred Cantwell Smith, Islam in Modern History (Chicago: Mentor books, American Library, 1987), 22.

70 W. Montgomery Watt, What is Islam? (USA: Frederick A. Praeger, 1968), 12. One of the examples of this matter is the theory of evolution by Charles Darwin which tries to trace the
The theory of the sociology of knowledge developed by Karl Mannheim is also an important tool or paradigm used in this research. The main theme of Mannheim’s ideas is that scholars will not be able to understand a way of thinking if its social background is unknown. This is because the thinking that has stimulated a person is not considered to have originated from him or herself. Rather, the social context and the dominant thinking of the time will shape a person’s thinking.\textsuperscript{71}

Since Mannheim’s approach implies that a person cannot think independently from his or her own environment, thus, it is important to understand how attachment to a group influences a person’s ideas.\textsuperscript{72} The approach of the sociology of knowledge does not start with a single individual and his or her thinking. Rather, it tries to understand ideas in an actual socio-historical situation. According to Mannheim, it is not people in general who think, or even isolated individuals who do the thinking, but people in certain groups who have developed a particularity of thought in an endless series of responses to certain typical situations characterizing their common position.\textsuperscript{73}

\textsuperscript{71} Mannheim, \textit{Ideology and Utopia, an Introduction to the Sociology of Knowledge} with new preface by Bryan S. Turner (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd, 1972) . To have a comprehensive concept developed by Mannheim see also other works by Mannheim such as \textit{Structures of Thinking and Essays of the Sociology of Knowledge} (London: Routledge, 1972) . See also Michael Mulkay, \textit{Science and the Sociology of Knowledge} (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1979) .


\textsuperscript{73} Ibid., 2-3.
In addition to the role of social groups in influencing the individual, it is worth mentioning the intelligentsia as a group. The work of this intelligentsia group is to offer interpretations of the world for their society. This intellectual stratum varies according to the society in question, but includes such figures as magicians, scholars, Brahmins, tribal leaders, and spiritual leaders as well as clergy.74

Antonio Gramsci elaborates the term intelligentsia in terms of ‘organic’ and ‘traditional intellectuals’. According to Gramsci, all people basically have the talent or capacity for intellectual thinking: they have an intellect and they use this intellect. However, in functional terms, there are two groups of intellectuals, traditional and organic intellectuals. Traditional intellectuals have always existed in society: they function as professional intellectuals, such as literary, religious or scientific scholars. Their position in society has a certain inter-class character to offer solutions for social problems. Organic intellectuals are distinguished less by their profession - which may be any job characteristic of their class - than by their function of directing the ideas and aspirations of the class to which they naturally belong.75

In relation to the sociology of knowledge being used in this study, it is very important to examine the role of both traditional and organic intellectuals and their works in the development of the understanding the concept of Jihad in Islamic society over the course of time. Therefore in approaching the works

74 Ibid., 9.

written in the language used at the time that the concept was revealed and
developed, the study of philology is extremely important.

The analysis of thought cannot be separated from the framework of history,
as the conception of the world, the philosophy of thought, and religious world
views ground that thought. Therefore the development of thought at every level
will also be grounded in the historical period of the subject being analyzed.\textsuperscript{76} The
sociology of knowledge is a theory that tries to analyze the relationship between
knowledge and existence. It tries to trace the way this relationship has shaped the
intellectual development of mankind. Its aim is also to find out the interrelation
between thought and action. It is by this approach that the goal of the sociology
of knowledge is to offer solutions in terms of the methodology used to solve the
problems.\textsuperscript{77}

In connection with the importance of the sociology of knowledge and
Islamic history, (in this case two important elements of Islamic history, \textit{Jihād} and
Sufism) it is necessary to go back to the historiography of Islamic history before
the emergence of Ibnu Khaldun. Khaldun is considered to be the first Muslim
sociologist as well as an historian who criticizes the method of writing history
being done by Muslim’s historians before him.

Before the time of Islam, or the time of Muhammad, there was hardly any
historical composition in Arabic. Even one hundred years after the death of the
Prophet Muhammad, history was exclusively communicated through spoken
language, not in written forms.

\textsuperscript{76} Karl Mannheim, 14.

\textsuperscript{77} Ibid., 237.
At the time that Muslim historians - like Ibnu Ishaq, Ibnu Hishām, At Tabary and Ibnu Athīr for example - started to write Islamic history, they just wrote history in the form of narration without deep analysis. It was Ibnu Khaldun who stood alone: he apprehended the nature of history and gave it a sociological foundation. This became the basis of historical analysis; it was not merely a collection of data from individual narratives. This became important as the writing of history (historiography) is the most effective way in Islam to concretely express factual analyses and observations based on the richness of the valid data of life. The aim is to observe life in its cultural development in order to understand the matter concerned even better than before.

The data to be used here are mostly based on manuscripts and literature studies that have been published or remain unpublished (manuscripts, books,


80 Ibnu Jarir al-Tabary, Tārīkh al-Umam wa a-l Muluk, 6 Vols (Cairo: Maktabah Taufiqiyyah, no date).


82 Abdurrahman Ibnu Khaldun writes his famous book Muqaddimah, Prologomena which is considered by modern sociologists as the basis of sociology. In his book, Khaldun proposes fifty sociological theories. All of these theories could be grouped into six categories. The first is about the nature of changes in humankind in general. The second is about the civilization of the Badawī or the Arab villagers i.e. the Arabs who live in the mountainous areas, the civilization outside the Arabia, and their social, cultural and spiritual lives. The third is about the dynasties, kingdoms or governments and their problems. The fourth is about the states, cities and their civilizations. The fifth is about the benefits, manual works and their matters. The sixth is about the various kinds of knowledge, their teaching methods as well as their problems. Further detailed explanation about this, see Abdurrahman ibnu Khaldun, Muqaddimah (Bairut: Dar al Fikr, no date). English speaking people can refer to the English translation of Muqaddimah by Franz Rosenthal, under the title Prologomena in 2 vols, (Beyrut: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1958).


journals, magazines and microfilms). This is the way the research is conducted. This is what the difference is between research methodology and the method of study: the way the writer gathered the information.

1.6. Scope of the Study

Chapter I of this study discusses the understanding of Jihād and Sufism in the Islamic world, especially in the Malay World, and the significance of this study for Islamic literature. It looks at the previous studies of this matter in Malay Islamic discourse and its relation to the wider Islamic world such as the Middle East that is, Mecca and Medina. This chapter also shows how this research work has been conducted by using a total historical approach: that is, by considering philological, historical and sociological perspectives. Anthropological and philosophical approaches have been used when dealing with the sites or the shrines of the Sūfīs as well as their works and the responses of the societies concerned.

Chapter II explores the richness of the meanings of Jihād in Islamic literature. Furthermore, this chapter explains the nature and development of the concept of Jihād in Islam as well as in Sufism from the works of the great Sūfī masters over time. This chapter will give an important genealogical concept of Jihād that has been understood from the time of the Prophet to the time of the rightly guided caliphs.

Chapter III explores the meaning of Sharī‘ah in some religious literature before the Qurʾān such as the Torah, the Talmud and the Bible. Then this chapter explores the dynamic of Islamic Sharī‘ah from its early period to its development.
Chapter IV focuses on the relationship between the concepts of *Jihād* in Sufism and in Islamic jurisprudence. This chapter has three main themes: first is Sufism part of Islamic literature; second a comparative study of the concepts of *Jihād* in Sufism and in Islamic jurisprudence; and third, the attitudes of Sūfīs toward jurists and vice versa.

Chapter V discusses Islam in the Malay World and its significant links to the notion of Sufism. This chapter also contains critical studies on Neo-Sufism.

Chapters VI and VII of this study will concentrate on *Jihād* in Islamic movements by referring to two cases: Yusuf Maqassary and Dawud Al Fatani. This study will attempt to analyze their works, their understanding of the concepts of *Jihād*, *Sharī‘ah* and Sufism, the role of the *Tarekat* orders, and the responses and challenges from their societies.

Chapter VIII is the last chapter and the conclusion of the study.

**CHAPTER II**

**JIHÂD IN ISLAMIC LITERATURE: REVEALING THE VARIOUS MEANINGS OF JIHÂD**

**Introduction**

In its historical development, the term *Jihād* has taken on controversial significance. This phenomenon has been caused by the understanding of various people toward Islam. Many scholars from many disciplines and backgrounds are interested in knowing about Islam, and so, the term *Jihād* comes to be understood according to the vested interests of each group. Much understanding is inaccurate,
and leads to the creation of a negative image of Islam. Thus, Islam is portrayed as
a religion proselytizing other people to follow its creed, to worship Allah only.  

Some Westerners portray Islam as an ‘exotic’ religion. Despite its historical
similarities to Judaism and Christianity in its history and its Prophets of God,
Islam is considered by some non-Muslim commentators to be a militant religion
that provokes its followers to wage war as Jihād in the path of God. Islam is also
perceived as a fanatical, intolerant and ultra-conservative religion, and is believed
to be a sexist religion which discriminates against women. Thus, Islam for
many non-Muslims and Westerners symbolizes violence and fanaticism; it is
perceived as a religion that uses Jihād as a justification to act against non-
Muslims since Jihād is widely understood to mean ‘holy war against infidels’.  

2.1. The History of Orientalism: Tracing the Roots of Western
Understanding of Islam

To understand the situation, it is important to look at the history of the
connection between Islam and Western people. The history of the early relations
between these two poles (Islam and the West) will give us a broader picture of the
problems with Western perceptions of Islam and vice versa.

Orientalism began when Europe came into contact with Muslim culture in
three areas. The first was through Spain, the second was Sicily and the third was
the Crusades. To begin with Spain: Muslims occupied the territory of Spain for

85 David Philips, National President of Australian Festival of Light in his article, The truth
about the Islamic Jihād ( Adelaide: Australian Festival of Light Resource Paper, S.A.5000,
February, 2002 ) , 8-11, is one who portrays Islam as a religion using the term Jihād to bring the
unbeliever to the submission to Allāh.

86 Roy R. Andersen et al., Politics and Change in the Middle East, Sources of Conflict

87 John L. Esposito, Unholy War, Terror in the Name of Islam (Britain: Oxford University
about 800 years (711-1419). During that long period, Spain became the most
developed country in Europe. Cities in Spain like Cordova and Toledo were the
centers of learning and Seville was a centre of art and luxury. Christian and
Jewish scholars brought Muslim learning from Spain to Western Europe. The
Muslim civilization in Spain was the most significant of all the civilizations at that
time.88

The second point of contact was Sicily. Sicily is an island located in the
southern part of Italy. The island is separated from the mainland of Italy by the
Messino strait. Sicily was an important Muslim kingdom for about two hundred
years, after it was captured in 902 A.D. by an Abbasid army led by Muhammad
Ibnu Aghlab. The kingdom endured until the defeat of Ibnu Abbad in 1091
A.D.89 Like the cities in Spain, Messino and Bari in Italy were centres of science
and culture.

88 Maxime Rodinson, Western Image and Western Studies of Islam, in Josep Schacht with
17. See also M.Lombard, L’Islam dans sa premiere grandeur, English translation The Golden Age
of Islam by Joan Spencer (North Holland: Publishing Company, 1975) , 51-87. For the history of
Islam in Spain, see W. Montgomery Watt and Pierre Cachia, A History of Islamic Spain (London:
Edinburgh Press, 1992) . Anwar Chejne, Muslim Society its History and Culture (Minnesota:
University of Minnesota, 1974) . Reinhart Dozy, Histoire des Musulmane d’Espagne, Spanish
Islam, a History of Moslems in Spain, translated with a biographical introduction and additional
notes by Francis Griffin Stokes (London: Frank Cass, 1972) , M.D.Abdu al-Ghani Hasan, Musa

See also, Hasan Ibrahim Hasan, Tārīkh al-Daulah al-Fātimiyah fi a-l Maghrib wa Misl wa Sātiyya
wa bilād al-Maghrib (Cairo: Muta’ah Lajnah wa al-ta’liif wa al-nashr, 1958) , 97-
Bhavan 1214, Kalam Mahal, Daryaganj, 1988) , 581-616. al-Balādhūrī, Futūḥ al- Buldān, volume
one (Cairo: Maktabat al-Nashr wa al-tab‘, no date). Gustav Lebon, Hadlārāt al- Arab (Cairo, Isa
al-Babi al-Halabi, Arabic translation by ‘Adil Zu’aytir, no date) , 302-304. Fauzi Sa’ad ‘Isā,
al-Siyār al-‘Arabi fī Siqilīyya fī al-Qarn al-Khāmis al-Hijrī (Cairo: al-Hai’at al Misriyyah al
Siqilīyya wa Janībi Itāliā (Jeddah: al-Mamlakah al’Arabiyyah al-Su‘udiyyah, no date).
Mahayuddin Hj. Yahya, Islam di Spanyol dan Sisilia ( Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan pustaka
Kementrian Pendidikan Malaysia, 1990) , 159-178.
The third point of contact was the Crusades. It was through contact with Palestine and other Muslim countries that the crusaders came to know about Muslim civilizations. The grandeur of Muslim civilization amazed the Christian pilgrims who came to Muslim countries. They found that the Muslim community was living in peacefulness, brotherhood, justice and tolerance. The Muslim community was living under the rule of Islam, which protected them from being treated unjustly. Returning to their own countries, Christian pilgrims had become aware of their rights as human beings. The result was that they opposed the traditional dogmas of the Roman Catholic Church.\textsuperscript{90}

The dynamism of the Muslim world in science\textsuperscript{91}, philosophy and culture aroused their curiosity to learn more about the civilization of Islam. The first scholar who was interested in the study of Arabic science was Gerbert of Aurillac. Gerbert acquired a high reputation as a teacher and was especially competent in logic and Latin literature. In his early twenties, he spent three years in Catalonia from 967 to 970 A.D., and studied mathematics and astronomy under one of the bishops. He became Pope Sylvester II (999-1003). Gerbert was far ahead of his time. But clergymen were suspicious about Arabic ideas until the coming of Albertus Magnus and his pupil Thomas Aquinas, who integrated Arabic ideas - especially Ibn Rushd’s ideas\textsuperscript{92} - with the Roman Catholic doctrine.\textsuperscript{93}


\textsuperscript{91} Further detailed about the dynamic of the Muslim world in science and technology, see Ahmad Y.Hasan and Donald R. Hill, \textit{Islamic Technology: An illustrated history}, Indonesian translation by Yuliani Liputo (Bandung: Mizan, 1993).

\textsuperscript{92} To observe the ideas of Ibn Rushd, especially on the relation between Philosophy and Religion, see Ibn Rushd, \textit{Fatwâ al-Maqâl Fimâ Baina al-Hikmah wa al-Falsafah min al-itîsâl}, dirasat wa tahqiq by Muhammad ‘Imarah (Cairo: Dar al-Ma’ârif, no date), 23-35. See also, Muhammad Yusuf Mûsâ, \textit{Baina al-Dîn wa al-Falsafah fi Ra‘î Ibn Rushd wa Falsafa ‘asri al Wasîth} (Cairo: Dar al-Ma’‘arf, no date). Further information about the influence of Ibn Rushd
After the Christians conquered Toledo in 1085 A.D., many Muslims and Arabic-speaking Jews continued to live in Spain. Raymundo, Archbishop of Toledo from 1125 to 1151, realized that the situation in Spain presented a great opportunity; he encouraged scholars to come to Toledo. Hispano-Islamic culture had a strong and immediate influence upon Christian style. Nobles and churchmen built their houses in the Moorish manner and borrowed Hispano-Islamic motifs for their heraldry. They dressed in Arab fabrics and had Jewish and Muslim literature translated into Castilian and Latin. Alphonso X arranged for the translation of the Bible, Talmud and Qur’an into Castilian. The story of Mi’rāj or the ascent of the Prophet to heaven was translated into Castilian and Latin, by means of which it may have become available to Dante. It was between 1120 and 1150 that the commentaries of Averroes on Aristotle and the works of Maimonides were rendered into Latin and quoted by St. Thomas Aquinas.

European students were diligent in translating the works of Greek Philosophers and Muslim scholars into European languages. This period was known as the ‘Period of Translation’. Toledo was the centre of this activity. There was a group of translators who specialized in the translation of Arabic

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scientific works. An outstanding translator was Johannes Hispalensis of Spain who translated many books on astrology. He translated the work of al-Khwārizmī on mathematics into Latin. This was the *Algoritmus de Numero Indorum* which introduced the value of zero into Western mathematics. Zero - called *sifr* in Arabic - was translated from the Indian word *Sunya* meaning ‘nothing’. The word *sifr* was translated into Latin as *cifra* or *cifrum*, and then into English as ‘zero’.

In Italy, Salerno and Naples were the main centres of translation. The most outstanding translators in Italy were Leonardo Pissano and Eugenius. It was only in Spain and in Sicily that Muslim civilization attained any great heights; but in these places it flourished, and its influence was then transmitted into France and Italy. The school of philosophy of Cordova and its great teacher Ibnu Rush or Averroes penetrated as far as the University of Paris. Arabic geographers and poets adorned Palermo under the Norman kings and their successor Frederic II. Salerno in Sicily was famous as a centre of medical studies in the tenth century. The Normans in Sicily patronized Arabic learning and adopted Islamic customs.

This resulted in the emergence of Christian universities in the twelfth century, including the universities of Toledo, Bologna, Paris, Montpellier and Oxford. The first school of Oriental studies in Europe was founded in Toledo in 1250 A.D. At these universities students learned Arabic and Biblical Hebrew in

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97 Carl Brockelmann, *History of the Islamic Peoples* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Limited, 1949), 181-220. Further about the cultural heritage of Islam in Italy and the contact of Christian Europe with Islam, see also S.M. Stern, *History and Culture in the Medieval Muslim World* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1984, 177-207. Although this part discusses Abdu al-Rahman Badawi mostly on the Quarter dinar and the language, it is useful to understand how Christian Europe absorbed the art and culture of Islam that made Christian Europe are interested in Islam.
order to make them competent to undertake missionary work among Jews and Muslims. The greatest scholar from the Toledo School was Raymond Martin. These activities were known as ‘orientalism’.98

Nevertheless, orientalism was unpopular until the meeting of the Council of Viena in 1312 A.D. The Council decided to teach Arabic, Greek, and Hebrew at universities such as those of Paris, Oxford, Bologna and Avignon. Until the middle of the eighteenth century, most orientalists were clergymen.99

By the thirteenth century, there was a vigorous intellectual movement in Western Europe. It was by means of European curiosity and their dynamic spirit that they were able to assimilate all the Arabs had learned in science and philosophy. In the subsequent development of these ideas, they made more progress by discovering and inventing new scientific and philosophical theories and applications.

Some Western orientalists tend to have negative views of Islam and some tend to be fair. This study will give some examples of the negative views of Western scholars towards Islamic teachings. Since this study focuses on Jihād, the examples are all taken from discussions about the meaning and thrust of Jihād.

Popular Western scholars of Islam whose views on Jihād emphasize it as meaning ‘holy war’ include the Rev A. Klein.100 In his book The Religion of Islam, he claims that Jihād means ‘war’, and that it is clearly commanded by the

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100 It is worth noting that Klein was one of the important orientalists to note whose work is very significant to mention in this thesis. As Klein’s writing about Jihād in Islam in particular and Islam in general are necessary to observe.
Qur'ān and the Prophet Muhammad. To substantiate this, Klein quotes the classic jurist Ibn Abīdīn’s view of Jihād as a ‘communal obligation’ - *fārdū Kifāyah* - which becomes *fārdū ‘ain* – ‘an individual obligation’ - if invaders enter a Muslim country and attack Muslim territory. Klein claims that the aim of Jihād is to eliminate all non-Muslim who do not accept Islam, and that Jihād is the duty of the whole nation.101

Klein’s claim reflects his ignorance of the comprehensive meaning of Jihād in Islam. The passage Klein cites to substantiate his interpretation actually refers to a specific context, in which Muslims are in a situation of war. For instance, the Prophet’s sayings about the rewards offered to those practising Jihād (in terms of waging war) were aimed at stimulating Muslims to wage Jihād under wartime conditions. Thus Ibn Abīdīn’s explanation of Jihād in terms of ‘waging war’ is in line with the opinions of Islamic jurists (*Fuqahā*). However, the jurists’ explanations set down in the books of Islamic jurisprudence (books on *Fiqh*) do not actually represent the meaning of the concept completely. Thus, the misunderstanding of the concept of Jihād in Islam actually rests on those who ‘understand’ it without being familiar with the whole concept; this cannot be separated from the social context.102

Another popular Western scholar who accuses Islam is Samuel M. Zwemwer.103 In his book, *Islam: A Challenge to Faith*, Zwemwer not only gives

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102 To see an example of the current Muslim scholar writing and explaining Jihād in terms of waging war, see Yusuf al Qaradhawi, *al Muntaqa min Kitabi Targhib wa Tarhib lil Mundziri*, vol. 1 (Cairo: Dar al Tauzi wal an Nashr al Islamiyyah, 2001), 353 – 390.

103 Zwemwer was the leading orientalist and a missionary whose work was very influential in the development of Orientalism in 19th century.
a negative interpretation of *Jihād* in terms of waging war; he also represents Islam as nothing more or less than Judaism, plus the apostleship of Muhammad. Thus, Islam is a ‘copy cat’; reproducing Jewish teachings.\(^{104}\) Further, Zwemwer claims that during a chaotic period in Arabia, Muhammad used the concept of *Jihād* (‘holy war’) to gain worldly power by forcing people to accept the new religion by threatening them: this was ‘conversion by the sword’.\(^{105}\) In relation to the spread of Islam in the Malay Archipelago, Zwemwer again said that the preachers of Islam in the Malay Archipelago used the sword to spread Islam.\(^{106}\)

The writing of Zwemwer about Islam is very negative. His illustrations are not brilliant. In addition, he often does not give accurate footnotes for his quotations. Zwemwer’s select bibliography for reference and further study clearly shows the limitations of his analysis of Islam. Although some of the sources he uses give a negative representation of Islam, others give a positive one. The problem with the analysis lies with Zwemwer himself, not the references alone. Zwemwer does not make a deep analysis by comparing all the negative and positive views about Islam from rich and various resources - such as the original sources on the Prophet’s life in Arabic, as well as other Islamic references written by Muslims themselves, and by other European thinkers who have tried to be fair in their analyses. Zwemwer tends to use references that support his opinion.\(^{107}\)


\(^{105}\) Ibid., 25-50.

\(^{106}\) Ibid., 76-81.For further detailed about the accusation leveled at Islam by Zwemwer, particularly in understanding the term *Jihād* as a tool to force people to embrace Islam and his provocative explanation to counter Islam with the spirit of Christianity, see 80-167.

\(^{107}\) In order to see the poverty of references Zwemwer uses, see the list of references of the book in the appendix. The list is quoted directly in this foot note in order that the readers will be able to consider the strength and the weakness of the work. In addition to that, most of the works
Actually not all the references he uses portray Islam negatively, especially in regard to *Jihād* in Islam. Perhaps Zwemmer’s interpretation of *Jihād* and Islam is colored by his own antipathy towards Islam. A recent work that has the same negative tone towards the understanding of *Jihād* is Robert Morey’s book *The Islamic Invasion*. Morey’s reckless accusation that Islam is a religion that provokes violence, encourages battle against those who are not Muslims and provokes its believers to use the sword to gain conversions, is not based on a wide or deep analysis.\(^\text{108}\)

Further, when Morey tries to analyze the *Hadīth* (Prophetic traditions) on *Jihād*, it is clear that he only emphasizes a little portion of the wide meaning of *Jihād* in Islam. Although he quotes the *Hadīth* on *Jihād*, he selects only those verses which say it means ‘war’. His very negative view of *Jihād* in Islam is blatantly reflected in his shallow analysis on the problem of *Jihād* in Islam.\(^\text{109}\)

In the case the media (news paper, televisions and magazines) in America, a glimpsed observation about Islam shows that there is a misunderstanding and misinterpretation and even a consistent distortion to portray Islam. American

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\(^{108}\) For this, Morey explains the very important concept in Islam in brief only. See Robert Morey, *The Islamic Invasion, Confronting the world’s fastest growing Religion* ( Oregon: Harvest House, Publishers, 1992 ), 39, 81-83.

\(^{109}\) Ibid., 197-200.
media tend to portray Islam as a primitive, exclusive, intolerant, violence, militaristic and fanatic religion as well as discriminative religion which discriminates women. This is not surprising phenomenon since it has its long root from history of 900 years ago, when European were at their backward. The Islam phobia the Pope Urban II (1042 – 1099) provoked at the Clermont council on 25 November 1095.110 It was the Pope Urban II, who became the most responsible person for the concept of Sacrum Bellum (Holy War) in Christianity since the Pope offered the general amnesty for those who take a part in the first Crusade. His provocative speech was the most effective speech to have a very significant impact on the Europeans for the ages to come.111

Religious motive is only one of the motives of the Crusades. The Crusades in fact, were the continuation of the migration of Teutonic peoples. The Teutonic peoples were considered to have had a leading factor in the down of the Roman Empire. Therefore, it can be said that the Crusades were the first steps of the expansion of Western European peoples.112

In the modern time, when the incident of 11 September 2001 happened, the media in America were overwhelmed with the word Jihād. Unfortunately, the real meaning of Jihād is not properly explained as to do the best effort in the path of God, in contrast the term is translated as the holy war. As a result, this


phenomenon gives a negative huge impact on the understanding of Jihād in Islam among non-Muslims in America, which is to create fear and hatred against Islam.\textsuperscript{113}

In relations to the Muslim resistance against the western impact such as the emergence of the Al-Qaida, led by Osama bin Laden, and many other Islamic movements in the Middle East and Southeast Asian countries are actually triggered by at least two major reasons. The first is the ambition of America to expand its economic interests in the world and the second is the support to its major mercenary state, Israel in relations to the conflict in the Arab countries. Since the conflict of the Arab countries and Israel also touches the problem of religion, the solidarity of the Muslim world also involve in this relations. In Southeast Asia including Indonesia, Malaysia, Thailand and the Philippines, the hatred against the domination of America and its economic greediness has aroused the anti American sentiment particularly when the American government launched the propagation against the groups that they considered terrorists.

It is interesting to observe that the support from hatred of some Muslim to the American policy in relations to the terrorism and the radical Muslim movement is actually not based on the support to the radical Muslim movements. It is rather based on the anti American sentiment but the sentiment to have the balance in political situation, that still there are some people dare to resist against the America. This can be observed in the case of Saddam Hussein and Osama bin Laden or in the case of Bali bomber. Many Muslim in Indonesia for example do not tolerate the actions done by some radical Muslims who identified themselves as the defenders of the their Muslim brothers who were intimidated and oppressed

\textsuperscript{113} Jerald F Dirks, 223.
by the American mercenary state, Israel in the Middle east countries such as Afghanistan\textsuperscript{114} and Iraq\textsuperscript{115}

In regard with this, American is going an identity crisis since they do not understand why there is a group of people so hate them. Instead the Americans feel that they have done great virtue to the humankind. So when the September 11 occurred, they are confusing to find the root of the hatred.\textsuperscript{116}  The America is getting more and more arrogant and loosing a sense of the beauty not only of democracy but also of its peril.\textsuperscript{117} The ability of the American to find the

\textsuperscript{114} For the case of the American foreign policy intervention to Afghanistan see Ahmad Rashid, \textit{Taliban: Militan Islam, Oil and Fundamentalism in Central Asia} ( New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000 ).

\textsuperscript{115} For the case of the American foreign policy intervention to the Muslim countries that made a great loss for the Muslim people, see, BBC News, The Battle for Iraq, BBC News Correspondents on the War against Saddam and a New world Agenda, BBC Worldwide Limited 2003, first published in Australia in 2003 by ABC Books for the Australian Broadcasting Corporation. This book is a compilation of the reports. Detailed topic about the intervention of American foreign policy to the so called the dictatorship of Saddam Hussein. Further detailed report on Iraq case, see, Fergal Keane, \textit{The Road to War}, in ibid., 39-65., Matt Frei, \textit{Top Gun-Bush rises to the challenge}, in ibid., 66-78., Marha Learney, \textit{Blair’s Gamble}, in ibid., 79-91., Stephen Sackur, \textit{The disunited states of Europe}, in ibid., 92-104., Paul Adams, \textit{Shok and Awe-an Inevitable Victory}, in ibid., 105-120. Rageh Omaar, \textit{A Baghdad Diary}, in ibid., 121-132. John Simpson, \textit{Saddam-A Dictator of mass destruction}, in ibid., 133-145., Caroline Hawley, \textit{Confliction and Betrayal-an Arab mosaic}, in ibid pp.146-157, Jim Muir, \textit{the northern Front and the Kurds’ endgame}, in ibid.,158-169., Evan Davis, \textit{“All about oil? The economic of war}, in ibid., 170-179., Paul Reynolds, \textit{Vox Populi-Worldwide war-Talk on the web}, in ibid., 180-192., Allan Little, \textit{Promise and Fear- Iraq’s future in the Balance}, in ibid., 193-203. See also Dan Cruickshank and David Vincent, \textit{People, Places and Treasures, Under fire in Afghanistan, Iraq and Israel, An Eyewitness Account} ( London: reports from BBC News, BBC Books, 2003. In relations with the September Eleven attack which was considered to be done by al Qaeda, American government plan to fight it back though Iraq under the reason of war against terrorism, see Bob Woodward, \textit{Bush at War, an Updated on the war with Iraq} ( New York: Simon &Schuster, 2002 ). This book is a record on how the US government plans not only for the case of Iraq but also a meeting of the American important military elites in regard with their actions to Afghanistan. The point used to justify its action against Iraq is that Iraq has a destructive chemical weapon that threatens the existence of humankind which is actually a fear that the mass destruction is used to face the war against America. However, the accusation to have a mass destruction weapon has never been clearly proved.

\textsuperscript{116} Norman Mailer, \textit{Why are we at war?} ( New York: A Random House Trade paperbacks, 2003 ), 10.

\textsuperscript{117} Ibid., 15-16.
meaning of lives is lost\textsuperscript{118} and at worst Americans just consider the terrorism simply. Some addressed to the Muslims people as the terrorists.\textsuperscript{119} Some Muslims hate America because of the commercial expansion. Since the American corporate capitalism has a tendency to take over big portion of the economy of other countries including Islamic countries. This is what eventually arouses the anger among the people who live in poverty.\textsuperscript{120}

Cultural invasion of the West done mostly by the American through the mass media and telecommunication is also considered as a great danger for Muslim societies. The great freedom presented on the TV and mass media given to American women is one of the factor that many Muslim people consider American culture is a threat for the existence of the Islamic values. In fact, that the oppressive government of the US has caused the acute economic gap between the countries and America itself. American corporate capitalism has accelerated the poverty of some countries including the Muslim countries.\textsuperscript{121}

The disappointment of many Muslims which also caused by the nostalgia of the grandeur of their ancestors in the past time is also one of the factors why some Muslims feel a shame. In around 1200-1300 A.D, Muslim civilization was the leading civilization in the world and now they are far behind. This factor also accelerate the anger and hatred when they feel that they are being pressed and intimidated culturally, socially and above all economically.\textsuperscript{122} The worst thing American reaction to September 11 is to harshly accused al Qaeda. American

\textsuperscript{118} Ibid., 19.
\textsuperscript{119} Ibid., 23.
\textsuperscript{120} Ibid., 24.
\textsuperscript{121} Ibid., 27.
\textsuperscript{122} Ibid., 29.
government then expands its disappointment to Iraq. Unfortunately, Bush administrations only see the logic of their political venture to some of the Muslim countries.

US always vetoes all the policy agreed by the Security Council in the United Nation in December 2001 when it tends to reduce the violence. The role of the US in the world is very blatant. US government tries to be determinant in every incident and event happens in the present time. The solution for the problem of terrorism is very simple and easy for the US government to reduce the violent and terrorism that is to stop participating in terrorism in some countries. It is hoped that by doing this American government can lessen the big portion of the world terrorism. For the case of Arab countries, the reason why many Muslim hate America because there is a perception among the Arab people that American supporting corrupt and brutal regime and above all American tries to keep its interest in controlling the oil reserves in the region. It is very difficult to counter this reason as it is very accurate.

In the 1980s, an interesting feature of the American foreign policy was its foreign intervention using the medium of “mercenary states”. America always tries to build its network with other countries in the world to be its mercenary

123 Ibid., 36.
124 Ibid., 37.
126 Ibid., 45.
127 Ibid., 76. To have details participation of US in terror in Chomsky’s views in cases such as Vietnam, Iraq, Nicaragua, El Salvador, Guatemala, Palestine and Lebanon, see 46-75.
128 Ibid., 86.
129 Ibid., 87.
state. To mention as the major mercenary state of the US is there is always a whole network of US, mercenary states] Israel is the major one. However, American mercenary states also including Taiwan, South Africa, South Korea. The case of the double standard of American foreign policy can be observed in American intervention in Nicaragua, the Panama, and also Iran.\textsuperscript{130} America is the sponsor for the international terrorist networks of its mercenary states. In the world history this can be said as the new phenomenon. American government hires terrorist states and other states indeed also hire terrorists for their interest. American has internationally terrorist networks from its mercenary states mentioned above.\textsuperscript{131}

It is worth noting that what makes America tries to build its international network is also caused by the economic factor. There are two phenomena in the world affairs. The first is the shift in the international economy. The second is the crisis and the threat to the environment.\textsuperscript{132} The international economy divided into three major blocks. As the consequence of this, is that America is no longer the only super power in the economic world like it the previous time after the World War II. Now Japan emerges as the important Asian state in the economic power with its allies like Singapore and Taiwan. European countries have been trying to consolidate their economic markets that might threaten American market as if the European countries unite; their economic condition will be stronger than that of

\textsuperscript{130} For the case of the American Intervention in Iran, see Amin Saikal, \textit{Islam and the West, Conflict or Cooperation} (New York: Palgrave Mcmillan, 2003 ), 69-88.

\textsuperscript{131} Peter R. Mitchell and Hohns Schoeffel (eds), \textit{Understanding Power, the indispensable Chomsky} (Melbourne: Scribe publications, Carlton, 2002, based primarily on discussions at Rowe Massachusetts, April. 15-16. 1898 ), 4-5.

\textsuperscript{132} Ibid., 58.
America’s. This could be the nightmare of American planners. For America, there is a threat for its geopolitical tradition, that if European countries and the Asian countries strengthen their economic market, American economic market which based on the capital system is surely under the threat. In response to this, America has been establishing its counter block in North America through free trade agreement. Country which becomes sort of economic colony for America is Canada and for its cheap labor area is Northern Mexico. The global system is planned and designed to keep the interests of American investors. It is by keeping the very important sector i.e. economy, politics, social and culture that American can preserve its hegemony.

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133 Ibid.
134 Ibid., 59.
135 Ibid.
136 Ibid., 58.
In the nineteenth century, the expansion of the western power in the form of European colonialism and American hegemony in the twentieth century has become factor of the extension of the western culture to many non-western countries in the present time. The emergence of Islamic resurgence in many Asian countries is the result of this, and the slogan to counter the hegemony of western culture is that Islam is the solution. This can be observed in the rejection of the western culture and back to promote Islam as the moral guidance for the life. The American hegemony is the only reason for the radical Muslim groups to resist against it.

This phenomenon has affected many Muslim in Islamic countries such as the case in the 1970s and 1980s; Muslim leaders strongly pronounce the identity of their government and themselves with Islam. King Hussein of Jordan stated that there is no place for the secular government in the Arab world. The sultan of Brunei promulgated the kingdom as the Malay Muslim monarchy. Ben Ali in Tunisia started to cite Allah very often in his speeches to identify the response of the Islamic people. In Indonesia, Suharto in the early 1990s showed the policy of becoming more Muslim. In Bangladesh, the government did not use principle of the secular principles any more in their policy and rules. In Turkey, the kemalist identity was challenged by the Islamic politicians; therefore the


140 Ibid., 109-110.


142 Samuel P. Huntington, 110.
leaders like Ozal in Turkey, Suharto in Indonesia and Karimov perform their hajj to Mecca.  

One of the very provoking remarks by the leading American scholar, Samuel Huntington who negatively and pessimistically view on the future of the better understanding between the West and Islam is his fantasy of the clash of civilization. To support his argument, Huntington does not give the solution of the tension between the two societies, rather he accused Islam as the problem not some of the radical Muslims. Huntington harshly says:

The underlying problem for the west is not Islamic fundamentalism. It is Islam, different civilizations whose people is convinced of the superiority of their culture and are obsessed with the inferiority of their power. The problem for Islam is not the CIA or US, department of defense. It is the West, a different civilization whose pople is convinced of the universality of their culture and believes that their superior, if declining power imposes on them the obligation to extend that culture throughout the world. These are the basic ingredients that fuel conflict between Islam and the West.

Huntington dries analysis on the impossibility of the better relationship between the West and Islam is neglecting the positive side of the historical accounts when the Western people could live harmoniously with the Muslim people and both sides had good cooperation in the educational, cultural, political affairs. Thus in the future, the effort to improve the better understanding between the West and Islam should be based on the good intention to realize the peacefulness for the people rather than hegemonic intension and mistrust.

\[143\] Ibid., 115.  
\[144\] Ibid., 217-218.  

\[145\] For wider explanation about this see Mohammad Khatami, *Islam Dialogue and Civil society, Centre for Arab and Islamic Studies, The Middle East & Central Asia* (Canberra: The Australian National University, 2000), especially 12-28.
Therefore, to intensify the dialogue between the West and Islam through the medium of education, culture, social and politic are urgent and important.146

As stated in Chapter I, the aim of this thesis is to approach the meanings of *Jihād*, *Sharī’ah* and Sufism in Islam based on the *Qur’ān* and the Prophetic traditions - *Hadīth* - as well as Islamic religious texts in general and specifically as they are expressed in the Malay texts. The significance of this study is twofold: first, it will demonstrate that *Jihād* is conceptualized more broadly than as a word for ‘holy war’, and second, it will explore the meanings of *Sharī’ah* and Sufism and their relations to Islamic movements in the Malay World from the first time Islam came to the Malay Archipelago until the present time. Unfortunately, the subject of *Jihād* has been neglected by scholars of Islam in Southeast Asia. As a result, studies on this matter in South East Asia are fragmentaries.

In the history of the spread of Islam across the Malay Archipelago, besides merchants and Arab peddlers, Gujaratis who were also known as Sūfīs introduced Islam to the local people. The proliferation of Islam in the Archipelago was also aided by the Sūfī approach of putting more emphasis on tolerance towards the adherents of other religions. The basic idea is that religion is the way to approach the Truth (God). Therefore local people could easily accept this very simple idea. One of the factors that attracted local people to Islam might have been the flexibility with which it was spread, due to the tolerant approach developed by the Sūfī in order to adapt to local traditions.147 A vivid example of the spread of

146 Ibid., 21-28.
147 J.D. Legge, *Indonesia* ( Eaglewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1964 ) , 42-49. For further explanation about the process of Islamization and the role of Islamic Institution see also S. Soebardi, *The Place of Islam in studies in Indonesian History*, in Elayn Mckay (ed.) ( Victoria: Pitman Publishing Pty, Ltd Pitman House, 3053 ) , 41. For the role of the Arabs and Gujarati traders to introduce Islam and the dynamics of trading among the Malay, India, Arab, Portuguese and China, see Rosemary Brissenden, *Patterns of Trade and Maritime society before the Coming*
Islam and the dynamics of Islamic intellectual discourse, which involved the important roles played by Sūfis and merchants, is provided by the case of Aceh in Sumatra.¹⁴⁸

It is not surprising that during the early centuries of the Christian era Sumatra was known to the Indians and Chinese because of its location on maritime trade routes between India and China. The spread of Indian cultural influences on the island is attested by Sanscrit-inscribed archaeological remains in Sumatra. By the 7th century, at least two Indianized states were flourishing on the east coast: Melayu and Srivijaya, with their capital in Palembang. By about 1000 A.D. Srivijaya not only controlled the lucrative Malacca Straits trade route but also most of Sumatra, western Java, and the Malay Peninsula with its Kra Isthmus overland routes. When Marco Polo visited Sumatra in 1292, Srivijaya was a center of Buddhist learning, but its maritime power had waned and it faced growing religious opposition from newly-converted Muslim chieftains in North Sumatra. During the 15th century, Islam became established in Aceh and the Acehnese spread their faith to the south, introducing it among the Minangkabau and other groups.¹⁴⁹

Aceh at that time was able to build the grandeur of Islamic civilization in the Malay Archipelago, especially in Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula from the 15th

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¹⁴⁸ It is necessary to mention the role of Aceh when discussing the role of Sūfis and Islamic merchants in developing Islam in the Malay Archipelago for Aceh was the first Islamic kingdom where Sūfis such as Hamzah Fansūrī, Nuruddin al-Rānīry and Shamsuddin Sumatranī played a great role on the development of Islamic intellectual discourse. See Bruce B. Lawrence, The eastward journey of Muslim kingship, Islam in South and Southeast Asia, in the Oxford History of Islam, John Esposito, (ed.) ( London: Oxford University Press, 1999 ), 420-431.

to the 16th century. The early activities of Sufis and merchants in spreading Islam were also driven by the beliefs of their predecessors: that is, to combat evil and to spread Islam were also part of the Jihād mission.

Jihād is one of the duties prescribed in Islam, but even more than that, it is a spirit that makes Islam able to adapt to the dynamics of society. Jihād is the spirit of Islam that has produced scholars, thinkers, and a just society. As a dynamic religion, Islam obliges all its adherents to undertake Jihād during their lives. However, in order to study the meaning of Jihād, it is necessary to begin by looking at its development in Islamic literature. To get a better understanding of this matter, one must go to the original sources of Islam, the Qur’ān and the Hadīth. This is because the history of Jihād in Islam is closely related to the history of Islam itself. So, the Qur’ān and the Hadīth are primary sources for understanding Islam.

150 A. Hasjmi, Sejarah kebudayaan Islam Indonesia (Jakarta: PT. Bulan Bintang 1990, p. 20. Further explanation about many Islamic kingdoms in Aceh such as Peureulak (840-980), Samudra Pase (1042), Benua (1353-1398), Lingga (886), Pidier (mid of 14th century) and Aceh Darussalam (in the end of 15th century), see 7-21.

151 Fred. M. Donner, Muhammad and the Caliphate, Political history of the Islamic Empire to the Mongol Conquest, in Esposito (ed.), 13.


153 The Qur’ān and the Hadīth are integral to understanding the Islamic law. Hadith is complementary of the Qur’ān. To understand Qur’ān, one is obviously recommended to go to the Hadith. The Qur’ān gives a general guidance that cannot be understood properly without the Hadith. For detail explanation about the role of the Hadith in the formation of Islamic law in its historical course, see Mustafa Assiba’i, Assunnah wamakānatuhā fi al-tashrī’ al-Islāmī, Indonesian translation by Dja’far Abd. Muchith (Bandung: C.V. Diponegoro, 1993) . See also Daniel Brown, Rethinking tradition in Modern Islamic thought (London: Cambridge University Press, 1996) , 6-141. Seyyed Hossein Nasr, Ideals and Realities of Islam (London: Aquarian of Harper collins Publishers, 1994) , 41-91.

154 On the way that the Sunna or the Hadīth, in widest understanding ( sayings and actions of the prophet ) are finally accepted as the significant sources after the process of testing their authenticity in Islamic history, see excerpt from Allama Shibli Nu’mani, Sirat Un-NAbi,
It is strongly recommended that the verses ordering the practice of *Jihād* be understood within the context of the time and the reasons they were revealed. The reader also ought to note that the verses were revealed for the purpose of actions against other people or for self defense. In addition, to understand the message contained within the verses on *Jihād*, it is necessary to know about hermeneutic study in its broadest sense. To understand the words and the sentences literally (semantically), it is necessary to consider their historical, social and philosophical context as well as the politics behind the meaning assigned to them from the first time the verses were revealed, and their subsequent development. *Jihād* is a multi-dimensional concept in Islam, which is not bound to a single interpretation such as ‘waging war’.\(^\text{155}\)

Thus, this concept is misunderstood and is very sensitive in Islam. The failure to understand it properly traps one into interpreting the term *Jihād* as meaning only ‘war’.\(^\text{156}\)

Classical Arabic has a rich vocabulary. Since a word often has various meanings according to its original root, it is not easy to find a very accurate translation in another language. One word may have many meanings: some of those are clear and easy to understand while others are not. This allows the

\(^{155}\)Further about the multi layered of the meaning of *Jihād* from the holy war when needed, fighting the ego and doing the best effort see for example, Salman al-Audah, *Min wasā il Da‘f il Ghurbah*, Indonesian translation by Kathur Suhardi (Jakarta: Pustaka al-Kautsar, 1993).

\(^{156}\)As some westerners often translated *Jihād* as holy war, Armstrong’s advice to consider this term in its historical context is very significant. Wider explanation about this, in Armstrong’s argument is that the meaning of *Jihād* implies moral, physical as well as intellectual effort. See Karen Armstrong, *Muhammad a Biography of the Prophet* (London: Phoenix Press, 2001), 164-210.
possibility of many interpretations of a text. In consequence, some European translators are often inaccurate in translating Arabic texts and ‘grabbing’ the message delivered by the text. This is caused by their ignorance and their lack of deep understanding of Oriental literature in broad terms.157

The ability to understand the Arabic language in order to understand the messages in the Qur’ān is a very important requirement. In order to give interpretation to the theme in the Qur’ān, one is advised to have the ability of knowing about the meaning of literary words in the Qur’ān. The ability to understand the meaning of the words of the Qur’ān, will lead one to know the social conditions and context of the time when the message of the Qur’ān was revealed, since the usage of the language in the Qur’ān has a close relation to the social context of the society at that time. Thus, if one does not give much intention to the language the Qur’ān uses and only puts more emphasis on social context, the variety of the message will not be understood properly.158 This is due to the importance of language. It is also worth noting that particular literary words presented in the texts are integral parts of the meaning of the text.

2.2. War in Arab Society before and after the Advent of Islam

To have a better understanding of why Jihād (in the sense of ‘waging war’) was eventually included in the Qur’ān, it is important knowing about the socio-cultural life of the Arabs before the advent of Islam. What shocked the Arab


community when Islam emerged in 609 A.D was that Islam promoted moral teachings based on the will of one God. This absolutely contradicted the existing moral beliefs among the Arab tribes, who held that tradition and heritage of their ancestors provided the moral standards of their daily life.159

Islam emerged when an anarchical form of Near Eastern pastoral nomadism was at its peak. There were several conditions that Islam faced in the initial period of its existence. First, Islam faced uncertain political conditions, where tribes were busy with the struggle to gain superiority. Individual and group interests could not be separated from tribal political interests. Second, there were humanistic religious values in tribal Arab society which were implemented in daily life; these took the form of obedience to so-called spiritual leaders. These spiritual leaders functioned as sources of information and decision-makers in pre-Islamic pagan Arab society.160 Third, pre-Islamic Arab society had its own norms in relation to personal and family matters among the tribes. These norms were reflected in the concept of ‘honor’.161

One of the most significant aspects of life among the Arabs worth mentioning here was the sentiment of allegiance to the tribe or clan. Attachment to the clan was very strong, and one’s tribe - which was where one ‘belonged’ -


160 Pagan Arab refers to the Arab community worshipping the statutes as the media to worship God. In Islamic term, they are called Mushrikin, those who partner God in worship. According to them, God has many partners to approach. For this they worship the idols and statues whom they considered partners of God.

was highly respected. The tribal philosophy gave rise to the creed that blood
relations were the strongest principles unifying the Arabs. Members of a clan had
great responsibility for the security of other members. The extent of allegiance to
the group can be observed in the famous adage common among them: *unsur
akhāka zāliman au mazlūman* (‘Help your brother whether he is being wronged or
is wronging others’). 162 Arabs found that their forefathers practiced allegiance
and they followed suit without reserve or criticism. 163

It was from the heritage of the ancestors that Arab tribal society developed a
moral framework. Outward threats that endangered the unity of the clan were to
be resisted and repelled, based on the shared blood relations within the clan. This
was all dedicated to the glory of the clan or group. 164 The social structure of pre-
Islamic Arabia was basically tribal. Blood-relations obliged every member of a
tribe to align him/herself with the tribe in every aspect of life with respect to
outsiders, regardless of the context: i.e. doing wrong to others or being wronged
by them. 165 The depiction of life in tribal society in the Arab World before the
advent of Islam is vividly mirrored in the collections of their poems. 166

162 Safiur-Rahman al-Mubarakfuri, *Ar-Raheeq al-Makhtūm*, *The Sealed Nectar, Biography
of the Noble Prophet* ( Riyadh, Saudi Arabia: Dar Us Salām publication, 1996 ) , 44. See also,
Hasan Ibrahim Hasan, *Tārikh al-Islam al-siyāsī wa ats tsagāfi wal iftima’*, vol.1, Indonesian
translation by Bahauddin ( Jakarta: Kalam Mulia, 2002 ) , 113-118.

163 Toshihiko Isutzu, 46.

164 Ibid., 55.

165 Ibid., 58.

166 The oldest compilation of Arabic poems before Islam is considered to be
*Mufaddaliyat*. *Mufaddaliyat* is a famous Arabic anthology of poems of 67 authors. Of these 67
authors, 2 were Christians. It was celebrated philologist, al-Mufaddal ad Dabbi ( d.circa 775 ) who
compiled this anthology. The anthology contains 126 poems; some of them are complete odes,
while others are fragmentary. They are all the poems which were written from the golden age of
Arabic poetry ( A.D. 500-650 ) and are considered the best collections of poems of that period by
different authors. This collection is a valuable source regarding pre-Islamic Arab life. See
*Mufaddaliyat*, edited by Ahmad Muhammad Shaklī and Abdussalām Muhammad Hārun, Dar al-
Maarif. Cairo, Egypt, 1942. Recent work studying the poems before and after the coming of Islam
Political values were different from one group to another. According to tribal society, the common interest was based on threats from other tribes. The threats of outsiders became a danger to all the members of a tribe. An insult directed towards one member of a tribe was an insult to all the other members.\textsuperscript{167}

The Prophet himself benefited from tribal solidarity - a concept called \textit{Ashabiyya}\textsuperscript{168} - which gave protection to all the members of a clan. The Prophet belonged to a prominent tribe among the Arabs, the \textit{Qurays}, from the clan of Hashim; he was himself a grandson of Hashim, from an influential family among the Arab community in Mecca. While some of Muhammad’s relatives challenged his preaching, some other Hashimites stood beside him to offer protection. The sociologist Emile Durkheim (1858-1917) - in line with Ibnu Khaldun - called this behaviour of solidarity based on blood relationships ‘mechanical solidarity’.\textsuperscript{169} Despite the bitter opposition of some Qurays, Muhammad was able to continue preaching with the support of some Hashimites.\textsuperscript{170}

The Prophet Muhammad introduced revolutionary changes based on a monotheistic faith, and an eschatological vision or expectation of ‘doomsday’. According to the religious vision of Islam, on the Day of Judgement each person

\textsuperscript{167} Michael E. Meeker, 191.

\textsuperscript{168} Ashabiyya refers to the concept of the tribal society among the Arabs. This concept is about the support of the society to the tribe they are attached to. In short Ashabiyya explain that no single tribe can exist but by the support of its members. Ibnu Khaldunis a Muslim sociologist who developed this theory in his famous book. See Ibnu Khaldun, \textit{Mugaddimah, ( Prologomena )} ( Cairo: Dar al-Ihyā al-Kutub al-Arabiyyah, Isā al-Babi al-Halabi, 1960 ) , 97-115.


\textsuperscript{170} Toshihiko Isutzu, 59.
will be held individually responsible for his or her deeds alone. All the royal ancestry, blood relationships, and unconditional allegiances that were the bases of individual and/or tribal pride at that time were worth nothing. \(^{171}\)

The first principle that the Prophet adopted when he migrated to Medina was to declare that ‘brotherhood’ (i.e. allegiance or solidarity) was to be based on religious teachings rather than blood relations. The Prophet proclaimed that the *Muhajirun* (i.e. those migrants who had helped him in the preaching of Islam, had suffered hardships and always supported him during the earliest time in Mecca) and the new converts from Medina called *Anshār* (‘helpers’, because they were ready to help the Prophet and his followers) were obliged to consider themselves brothers in religion, regardless of their actual ancestry. \(^{172}\)

To have an understanding of the pre-Islamic bases of solidarity, it is necessary to know the meaning of ‘honor’ as a key concept in pre-Islamic society. Honor was guarded by heroism and bravery. The spirit of honor was called *ibā‘*, which literally means ‘to refuse or decline’. \(^{173}\)

The refusal to submit to any authority - either human or divine - was caused by pride, based on courage and power. Two other reasons were the hatred of being dominated by others; and the imperative of superiority. Noblemen were required to possess these characteristics of heroism. The tribal system worked well in pre-Islamic society. This solidarity became an effective ‘religion’ among Arab aristocrats: there was no place for the weak and the poor, who were treated as

\(^{171}\) Ibid.

\(^{172}\) Ibid., 61.

\(^{173}\) Hans Wehr, 2.
slaves and expected to obediently serve the interests of their masters. In contrast, Islam introduced obedience to one God, and treating all people well as signs of piety in religion. All people were the humble servants of God, who is the only master, and Lord of the Universe.\textsuperscript{174}

In pre-Islamic Arab society, killing in the name of revenge was a supreme law contained in the concept of \textit{muruwwah}, which literally means \textquoteleft to be manly'.\textsuperscript{175} \textquoteleft Muruwwah' is based on the idea of honor, as revenge was considered to be a manifestation of this highest moral ideal.\textsuperscript{176} The system of clans as the most important institution in pre-Islamic society in Arabia was based on the pattern of nomadic life.\textsuperscript{177} In relation to \textit{Jihād} (in terms of war) which was later set down in the \textit{Qur’an}, it was actually compatible with the sociological context of Arab society at that time. Here is the difference: Arabs killed in the name of revenge, regardless of whether the act constituted an attack or self-defense; in contrast, Islam legislated \textit{Jihād} in terms of war or killing in the cause of God and for self-defense.

The wars that occurred in the pre-Islamic period were often caused by trivial problems and lasted for a long time, incurring substantial losses for the tribes themselves. In Arabic literature, these wars were called \textit{Ayyam al-‘Arab} (literally means the days of the Arabs). Some causes which triggered conflicts in Arabic

\textsuperscript{174}Toshishiko Isutzu, 64-65.

\textsuperscript{175}Hans Wehr, 901.

\textsuperscript{176}Toshihiko Isutzu, 68. Detailed information about the system of belief, the social, and the political structure of the Arab in pre-Islamic period, see Ira. Lapidus, \textit{The Arab conquest and the formation of Islamic society}, in, \textit{The Formation of the Classical Islamic world}, General Editor Lawrence I.Conrad,Vol.27, \textit{The Formation of Islamic Law}, edited by Wael B. Hallaq (Britain: Ashgate Variorum, 2004), 1-17.

tribal society included cases of disputed succession, arguments over the right to dominate oases (sources of water), and struggles over the use of grasslands for their herds. Those conflicts often ended in bloodshed, and cease-fires were agreed to by both parties at nightfall. Names were given to these wars according to the places or the events involved, such as ‘ain abagh, ziqar, and Syi’b. A war was also referred to by a person’s name or that of an animal. Some of the famous wars in the days of the Arabs were the war called al-Basus (‘old women’) and the war of Dahis and Gabra (names of horses).  

In order to understand the concept and practice of war in the pre-Islamic period, here are some wars known in the literary work known as the Ayyām al-Arab. There are many other wars to mention such as Fujjār, Khazzāz (a war between two tribes called Rabī’a and Yaman), the war of Takhfah (between the tribes called Munzir and Yarbu’), the war of Uwārah I (between a tribe called Uwārah and that of Bakar), the war of Uwārah II, the wars of Zuhr and Dahna (a war between a tribe called Asad and that of Tay’), the war of Kulāb (between the tribes of Bakar and Tamīm on one side versus tribes called Taghlīb and al-Namr on the other), the war of Hawzah (between the tribes called Sulaim and Gatafān) and the last example to mention is the war of al-Liwā (between the tribes called Gatafān and Hawazin).  

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The importance of mentioning many wars among the pre-Islamic Arabs is to understand why Jihād (in terms of war) was eventually legislated in the Qur’ān. This was because to establish order, and to free the weak from oppression and torture by the strong could not be done except by waging war.

In pre-Islamic Arab society, the right to take revenge rested with the tribe, while in Islam revenge rests in the hands of God, since God is considered to be the supreme one possessing the highest right to punish all wrong-doing. According to the teaching of Islam, God called Himself dhūntiqām, from the word dhū in Arabic meaning ‘possessor or owner, holder or master of.’\textsuperscript{180} Intiqām from the Arabic word naqama means ‘to revenge; to take vengeance’, and intiqām means ‘revenge’ or ‘vengeance’\textsuperscript{181}.

The Quranic passages for instance say: \textit{falā tahsabannAllaha mukhlīfa wa’dīhī rusulahū innAllaha azīzun dhūntiqām,}\textsuperscript{182} meaning ‘Never think that God would fail his messengers in His promise: for God is Exalted in Power, the Lord of Retribution’. Another passage says: \textit{Waman yahdillāhu famā lahū min mudhil, alaysAllahu bi’azīzin dhintiqām.}\textsuperscript{183} This means: ‘And such as God doth guide there can be none to lead astray. Is not God Exalted in power, (able to enforce His will)?’

The name Islam itself expresses surrender and the absolute necessity of humble submission to God. \textit{Muslim} in Arabic literally means ‘a submitter’, or

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{180} Hans Wehr, 314. \\
\textsuperscript{181} Ibid., 996. \\
\textsuperscript{183} Ibid., 39:37, 568. 
\end{flushright}
one who has submitted and surrendered his or her heart and mind to Allah’s will.\textsuperscript{184}

In relation to the right to take revenge in pre-Islamic Arab society, it should be explained that at that time the Arabs possessed no system of government above the tribe, which was ruled by the authority of the chief of the tribe.\textsuperscript{185} There was no central government and the political system was in the hands of tribal leaders. Tribal war was decided on by the power of the tribal leaders.\textsuperscript{186} In considering the treatment of the concept of \textit{Jihād} in Islam in the broadest sense, the social and political conditions of pre-Islamic Arab society are relevant, particularly the practice of revenge and the imperative of maintaining alliances between blood relatives.

2.3. \textit{Jihād} in Islamic Literary and Religious Texts: Arabic Dictionaries, \textit{Qur’ān} and \textit{Hadīth}

To approach the meaning of \textit{Jihād} in Islam, it is important to first look at literary works in the Arabic language since \textit{Jihād} comes from Arabic; and to examine the meaning of \textit{Jihād} in the two important sources of Islam, the \textit{Qur’ān} and \textit{Hadīth}. It is also important to examine the

\textsuperscript{184} Hans Wehr, 426.

\textsuperscript{185} Muhammad Jalal Sharaf and Ali Abdul Mu’ti Muhammad, \textit{Al-Fikr al Islāmī fī al Islam, Shakhsīyyāt wa Madzāhib} (Islamic thought in Islam, personalities and schools) (Egypt: Faculty of Arts, University of Alexandria, 1978), 34.

\textsuperscript{186} Ira Lapidus, \textit{A History of Islamic Societies} (UK: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 20.
historical development of Islam. To begin with the semantic meaning of Jihād the definition of Jihād in Arabic literary works is worth knowing.

2.3. a. Arabic Dictionaries

Jihād is derived from the root ja ha da in Arabic. Derivatives from this word include: jāhada for the verb in Arabic; fi’lul mādī which is equivalent to the past tense in English grammar; yujāhidu for the verb in Arabic; fi’lul mudārī’i - similar to the present tense in English; ijhad, the imperative word for fi’lul amr in Arabic; and Jihād and mujāhadāt, which are called masdar in Arabic grammar, and are similar to abstract nouns in English. Jihād means ‘to make the utmost effort or struggle - in any form - in the path of God’.

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Therefore *Jihād* is to make the utmost effort or struggle in the name of God. *Jihād* in terms of waging war is only permitted when Muslims must defend themselves from evil-doers. War is the last option when an enemy attacks the community of Muslims. Indeed to defend oneself from humiliation and threats from others is a must for everybody. This is because by defending one’s rights the person concerned will keep his or her dignity as a human being. Thus, all Muslim activities in their various forms could be considered to be *Jihād* - for example using natural resources for the prosperity of human beings.

**2.3.b. Jihād in the Qur’ān**

The concept of *Jihād* in Islamic literature has many meanings. Some Sūfis stress the importance of inward struggle as a more important form of *Jihād* than material struggle. However, in its wider understanding, *Jihād* in Islam is an attempt to do the right thing and to avoid wrongdoing. This is ordered by the Prophet for all Muslims: they must do their best to correct wrong actions, firstly by using the hands (i.e. through action) or physical power; and, if this is not possible, by speech; and if this is still not possible, at least by their intentions.

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In order to gauge the meaning of Jihād at the time of the Prophet, it is necessary to go back to the Qur’ān and Hadīth.

Generally, all Qur’ānic verses are divided into two categories based on the place where they were revealed. These verses are popularly known as the Mecca and Medina verses. In relation to this, knowing the characteristics of these categories is critical. The Mecca verses were the verses revealed in Mecca before the emigration of the Prophet to Medina. The Mecca messages were shorter and addressed to humankind generally; while the Medina verses were lengthier and were addressed to believers. The Mecca verses called for God’s worship only, while the Medina verses called for society’s formation.

Jihād in Islam basically takes many forms in accordance with its broad meaning as ‘the efforts exerted for the sake of God’s religion’. Thus, the actual implementation of Islamic teachings is part of Jihād in the path of God. In its broadest sense, Jihād can be categorized in terms of the Jihād of wealth, the Jihād of the soul - meaning both ‘war in the path of God’ and ‘purification of the heart’; the Jihād of education, the Jihād of politics and the Jihād of science. The Qur’ānic command to undertake Jihād in terms of making one’s best effort as expressed in the verses revealed at Mecca, includes the following:

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191 Mecca verses are the verses revealed in Mecca, while Medina verses are the verses revealed in Medina.


‘If any strive with might and main, they do so for their own souls, for God is free of needs from all creation.’

‘And those who strive in our cause, We will certainly guide them to our paths; for verily God is with those who do right.’

The Mecca verses that demonstrate Jihad in terms of showing the right action in terms of worshipping God even to one’s parents who do not believe in God, are as follows:

‘We have enjoined on man kindness to parents: but if they either of them strive to force thee to join with me in worship, anything of which thou hast no knowledge, obey them not. Ye have all to return to me, and I will tell you the truth of all that ye did’.

In situations where Muslims were wronged and were patient or endured that condition, the Qur’ân advises:

‘But verily thy Lord, those who leave their homes, after trials and persecutions, and who thereafter strive and fight for the faith and patiently persevere, thy Lord, after all this is oft-forgiving, most merciful’.

The reference to Jihad in the passage above refers to any efforts undertaken by Muslims in a manner which is considered sabar, or ‘patient’. Another reference to Jihad orders Muslims to perform religious duties:


195 Ibid., 29: 69, 1048.

196 Ibid., 29: 8, 1030.

197 Ibid., 16:110, 686.
(5)  Wajāhidū fillāhi haqqa Jihādihi huwajtabākum wamā ja'ala ‘alaikum fīddīnī min harajin millata abīkum Ibrahima, huwa sammākumul muslinīna min qablu wafi hādīzā liyakunarrasūlu syahīdan ‘alaikum watakānū syuhadā a ‘alannāsī, ãa aqīmuussalāāta wa ātuzzakāta wa’tasimū billāhi, huwa maulākum fanī‘mal maulā wani‘man nasīr.198

‘And strive in His cause, as ye ought to strive, with sincerity and under discipline. He has chosen you, and has imposed no difficulties on you in religion; it is the cult of your father Abraham. It is he who has named you Muslims, both before and in this revelation: that the apostle may be a witness for you, and ye be witness for mankind. So establish regular prayer, give regular charity, and hold fast to God. He is your protector - the best to protect and the best to help.

In the Mecca verse below Muslims are ordered to strive hard and with determination, using the Qur‘ān to inspire them rather than physical battle.

(6)  Falā tuti‘il kāfrīna wajāhidhum Jihādan kabīran.199

‘Therefore listen not to the unbelievers, but strive against them with the utmost strenuousness, with the Qur‘ān’.

These verses were revealed in Mecca before the revelations which occurred in Medina, which explained Jihād in terms of waging war. According to a Pakistani Muslim scholar, Maulana Muhammad Ali, the Meccan verses refer to the effort to approach God (Allah), to fight the ego and to pronounce the teachings of the Qur‘ān. It is important to reiterate that there was no war in the Mecca period.200 Other verses revealed in Medina also give a wider meaning to Jihād, beyond just ‘waging war’.

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198 Ibid., 22:78, 872.
199 Ibid., 25:52, 939.
Two examples of the identical verses being revealed in Medina, which order Muslims to strive hard against the unbelievers and so-called the hypocrites, are as follows:

(7) **Ya ayyuhannabiyyu jāhidil kuffāra wal munafigīna waghludz ‘alaihim wa ma’wākum jahannamu wa bi’sal masīru. (Qur’an, 9:73).**  

‘O Prophet! Strive hard against the unbelievers and the hypocrites and be firm against them. Their abode is Hell - an evil refuge indeed.’

(8) **Ya ayyuhannabiyyu jāhidil kuffāra wal munafigīna waghludz ‘alaihim wa ma’wākum jahannamu wa bi’sal masīru. (Qur’an, 66:9).**  

‘O Prophet! Strive hard against the unbelievers and the hypocrites and be firm against them. Their abode is Hell - an evil refuge indeed.’

According to these verses, the Prophet commanded ‘striving hard’ against infidels and so-called hypocrites. The term *Jihād* in these verses is not used in terms of war since the hypocrites were living among Muslims, as were non-Muslims (Jews and Christians). Therefore, the meaning of *Jihād* in these verses is in terms of striving (to make unbelievers and hypocrites become true Muslims by making the best effort). In this case, *Jihād* is about doing one’s best to make others understand Islamic teachings. *Jihād* at the time of the Prophet in Mecca as shown in the above verses was aimed at countering the bad influence exercised by non-believers on the new converts to Islam. It is extremely important to note that the verses above are not for the purpose of waging war.

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There are at least three kinds of interpretations of the practice of *Jihād* in the *Qur’ān*. The first is *Jihād* by words, the second is by war and the third is by good deeds.\(^{204}\)

In order to observe the reason why the radical Muslim groups tend to take the meaning of *Jihād* in term of war, it is worth noting to look back to some classical Islamic texts that often to be used for their justification. Since there are many Qur’anic verses dealing with *Jihād*. This chapter will look at two verses that could be representative for the message of *Jihād* in the *Qur’ān*. The first verse is Al-Baqarah: 190. The verse is as follow:

‘Waqātīlū fī sabīlillāhilladžīna yuqātilūnakum walā ta’tdū innAllaha ya yuhibbul mu’tadīn’.

Meaning: Fight in the cause of God those who fight you, but do not transgress limits; for God loveth no transgressors. \(^{205}\)

The second verse is al Haj 39-40.

‘Udzina lilladžīna yuqātalūna biannahum zulimū, wainnAllaha ‘alā nasrihim laQadir. Lilladžīna ukhrijū min diyārihim bighayri haqquin illa an yaqūlū rabbunAllah. Walaulū daf’ullāhannāsa ba’d’lahum biba’dlin lahudimat sawāmi’u wa biya’un wasalwatin wa masājīdu yudzkarū fihāsmullahī katsīrān. WalayansurannAllaha man yansuruhū innAllaha laqawiyyun ‘azīz. \(^{206}\)

Meaning: To those against whom war is made, permission is given (to fight), because they are wronged; and verily, God is Most Powerful for the aid. (They are) those who have been expelled from their homes in defiance of right – (for no cause) except that they say, "Our Lord is God (Allah). Did not God check one set of the people by means of another they would surely have been pulled down monasteries churches, synagogues and mosques, in which the name of God is commemorated in abundant measure. God will certainly aid those who aid His (cause): for verily God is full of strength, exalted in Might (able to enforce His will).


\(^{205}\) Yusuf Ali, (2): 190.

\(^{206}\) Ibid., (22): 39-40.
Some classical exegetes such as Al Qurtubi, (d.671 Hegira),
Attabari (224-310 H), Muhammad Ibrīs al-Shaftī Abu Abdillah (d.204 H),
Imam Jalalayn (d 911 Hegira),
Al Baydhawi, Az-Zamakhsyari, Ibn Katsir,
Fakhruddin al-Razi, Abu Hayyan al-Andalusi al Gharnati (654-754 of

207 Muhammad Ibn Ahmad Ibnu Abi Bakr Ibnu Farh al Qurtubi Abu Abdillah, al-Jāmi’ li
ahkamil Qur’ān, Vol. 2 of 20 Vols ( Cairo: Dar-Sha’b, edited by Ahmad Abdul Alim al Bardūnī,
1372 H), 347. Commentary of the Qur’ān, Surah al-Baqarah: 190. This verse is considered as the
first verse that permitted Jihād in term of waging war since the Muslims were wronged at that
time.

208 Muhammad Ibnu Jarir Ibnu Yazid Ibnu Khalid al- Tabari Abu Ja’far
(Tafsir al Tabari, Vol.2 of 30 vols ( Bairut, Lebanon: Dar al-Fikr, 1405 H), 189. Commentary of
Qur’ān, Surah al-Baqarah: 190.

by Abdul Ghani Abdul Khaliq ( Bairut, Lebanon: Dar al Kutub al Ilmiyyah, 1400 Hegira ), 10-60.
See also Ahmad Ibnu Amr Umaru Ibnu Asim Ad Dhalhak Abu Bakar ( 206-287 H ) 2 vols, edited
by Musaid Ibnu Sulayman Rasyid al Majid ( Madinah al Munawwarah: Maktabah al Ulum wal
Hukm 1409 of Hegira ).

210 Muhammad Ibn Ahmad and Abdurrahman Ibnu Abi Bakar al Mahalli Al Suyuti,
Tafsīr Jalalayn, 1 vol ( Cairo: Dar al Hadith, no date ), 140, commentary of the Qur’ān, Surah (2)
al-Baqarah: 190.

211 Nasaruddin Abu Said Abdullah Ibnu Umar al Baidhawi, Anwār al Tanẓīl wa Asrār
Lipsiensibus edidid indicibusque intruxit H.O. Fleischer, DR.Theol. Et. Philos. Et.II.00.p.o. Lips,
Volumen I ( Lipsiae: MDCCCXVI, Sumtibus Friderici Christiani Guiulielmi Vogell., Typisguil.
Vogel II., Filii. 1846 ). This book is in classical Arabic language.pp.105-106. Commentary of
Qur’ān, Surah (2) al-Baqarah: 190. Baydlawi commentary on Surah al Bara’ah,  167. See also his
commentary of the Qur’ān on surah (22) al-Baqarah: 190. Baydlawi commentary on Surah al Bara’ah,  167. See also his
counterpart of Qur’ān on surah (22) al Haj: 39, 234.

212 Al Zamakhshari, al Kashshāf an al Haqāiq at Tanẓīl wa ‘Uyun al Aqūwil fi Wujūhit
Ta’wil, including commentaries by al Munayir al Iskandari al Intisāf, Ibnu Hajar al Asqallānī, al
Kāfī al Shaftī fī Tahrīṣ al Ahādīth Kashshāf and Mushāhid al Ansāf al-lā Shawāhid al Kashshāf, 4
Vols ( Bairut: Dar al Kitab al Arabi, vol.1, Commentary of the Qur’ān, Surah al-Baqarah: 190,
235, and also his commentary on Surah al-Baqarah: 244-245 about Jihād in the path of God. See
also his commentary of the Qur’ān on surah al Haj: 39, 160. See also Imam Abu Abdillah Sufiyān
ibnu Said Ibnu Maruq al Thauri al Kufi (d.777 Hegira ), from riwayah Abu Ja’far Muhammad
Ibnu Abi Huzaifah an Nahdi anhu. Edited by Imtiyaz Ali Ursyi ( New Delhi: The Ministry of Law
India, 1965 ) , 19. This book gives a brief explanation about Jihad in term of war if Muslims
meet the enemy.

213 Ibnu Kathir, Tafsīr Ibnu Katsīr or Tafsīr al Qur’ān al Adzīm, vol.1. Edited by Sayyid
Muhammad Sayyid et all. ( Cairo: Dar al Hadith, 2002 ), for surah al Baqarah:190, 490-491 and

214 Fakhruddin al-Razi, Tafsīr al Kābir or Mafṣūḥ al Ghayb, vol.3, edited by Imad Zakī
al Bārūdi ( Cairo: Maktabah al Taufiqiyah, 2003 ). For surah al Baqarah:190, 116 and Ibid.,
vol.23, for surah Al Haj 39-40, 36-37
Hegira), Abil Barakat Abdullah al-Nasafi (701 Hegira), explain the verses about Jihād in term of war in general.

However, these scholars generally explain the importance of Jihād in terms of waging war when it is necessary and when the Muslims are attacked by the enemies. These verses also ban killing the women, priests, children, civilians and animals, as well as to destroy places of worship and the trees without the appropriate reasons. The examples mentioned in these verses are taken from the situation when the prophet was at war with the pagan Arabs.

In line with this, modern exegetes such as Muhammad Jamaluddin al-Qasimi (1866-1914 A.D./1283-1332 H), Wahbah al-Zuhaili, Muhammad Rasyid Ridla, Syeikh Mutawalli Sya’rawi, Abdul Karim al Khatib, Abu Tayyib Shiddiq ibnu Hasan ibnu Alial Husaini al-Qanuji al-Najjari (1248-1307

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Hegira), Muhammad Abdul Mun’im Jamal and the group of the Egyptian Muslim scholars are also in opinion that *Jihād* in term of waging war is permitted only for self-defense.

In line with this, to compare the situation of the prophet with the current situation, according to an Egyptian scholar, Sayyid Qutb is comparable. Qutb mentions in the modern Jāhilīyya (the modern era of ignorance). Thus, Qutb emphasizes the importance of *Jihād* in term of waging war against the tyranny for the sake of humanity based on Islam.

There are also some Qur’ānic exegeses that emphasize the importance of *Jihād* in term of fighting the ego before going to wage *Jihād* in term of waging war. Two prominent Sufi exegets worth mentioning in this field are Muhyiddin Ibnu Arabi (1165-1240 A.D) and al-Qushairi. Although these two important figures of Sufism stress the important of fighting the ego they do not deny *Jihād* in term of waging war. In their explanation of *Jihād* in term of waging war, they

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generally explain the condition of Muslims at the time of the prophet who had been wronged by the pagan Arab that eventually becomes the reason why Jihād in term of war is permitted in Islam.

A contemporary Indonesian Muslim Exeget, Quraish Shihab when explaining the sūrah al Haj: 39-40 on the permission of Jihād in term of waging war says that someone will not be sued for killing or murdering when he or she does it for the purpose of self-defense for his or her country, property and honour. On condition, that they are attacked by others. In this case the acts will not be condemned as terrorism. For this defense, therefore, Islam then bans Muslims to destroy all places of worship, to cut the trees and to kill animals without the right reason and to kill women, old people and the children.228

The explanation above raises the question: how to analyse these two explanations since the verses are multi interpretation? This is what then can be used by the radical groups to justify the actions in the name of God. To analyse this, the verses clearly mentions the condition to wage Jihād in terms of waging war. That is why the verses take the form of conditional sentences. Jihād in term of waging war cannot be waged unless the condition is fulfilled. Unfortunately, although the prophet sayings also clearly explain this condition, some radical Muslim groups can justify that their situation has fulfilled the condition required.229


229 Further about the explanation on the social and political condition of the war at the time of the Prophet and Jihād in Islamic literature, see again the previous chapters, chapter II and chapter IV of this thesis.
In accord with the current situation, it is significant to mention a Tamil Sūfī from Ceylon Raheem Bawa Muhaiyadden (d.1986.) who wrote an important short treatise on Jihād entitled ‘Islam and world peace’. Concerning the obligation of waging the Jihād, he argues that Jihād in terms of fighting the ego is more important than Jihād in term of war, particularly when Jihād in term of war is not really needed. It is because to wage Jihād in terms of war, one should remove all the intention for the worldly life only for the sake of God. In addition to that the situation that obliges Muslims to wage Jihād in term of waging the war is also required. 230

As Iman (Islamic creed) is the foundation of Islam and Jihād in terms of waging war is the last option to be waged for the purpose of protecting the religion if it is attacked by others, therefore, Jihād in terms of waging war is only

230 Quoted from Richard Bonney, *Jihād from Qur’ān to Osama bin Laden*, Palgrave McMillan, New york, pp.401-402. The complete text is as follow: The holy wars that the children of Adam are waging today are not true holy wars. Taking other lives is not true Jihād. We will have to answer for that kind of war when we are questioned in the grave. That Jihād is fought for the sake of men, for the sake of earth and wealth, for the sake of one’s children, one’s wife, one’s possessions selfish intentions are intermingled within it. True Jihād is to praise God and cut away the inner Satanic enemies. Until we reach that kingdom, we have to wage a holy war within ourselves. To show us how to cut away this enemy within and to teach us how to establish the connection with Him, Allāh sent down 124,000 prophets, twenty five who are described thoroughly in the Qur’ān the inner enemy. This battle within should be fought with faith, certitude and determination with the declaration of faith and with the Qur’ān. No blood is shed in this war, holding the sword of wisdom, faith, certitude and injustice. We must cut away the evil forces that keep charging at us in different forms. This inner Jihād ---prasing Allāh and then destroying others is not Jihād. Some groups wage war against man, for man to kill man, is not holy war. There is no point in that. There can be no benefit from killing a man in the name of God. Allah has no thought of killing or going to war. Why would Allāh have sent His Prophet in He had such thought?. It was not to destroy men that Muhammad came; he was sent down as the wisdom that could show man how to destroy his own evil. Those who fight for the sake of wife, children, or house follow other rules. Even if an atom’s worth of such thoughts are present, it is not a true holy war, but rather a political war. It is fought for the sake of land and country, not for the sake of Allāh. With wisdom, we must understand what the true Jihad and we must think about the answers we will have to five on the day of questioning. True holy war means to kill inner enemy, the enemy to truth. But instead people should, Jihād, and go to kill an external enemy. That is not holy war. We should not spread Islam though the sword, we must spread Islam through the kalimah, through the truth, faith and love.
a tool not a purpose. *Jihād* in term of war then is an attempt to keep the religion from those who do the wrong doings (*zulmun*).231

In relation to this, at the present time when most of the Muslim countries and Muslim people in the backward situation in many important aspect such as, social, politics and economy and particularly in education as the heart of the progress, a Pakistani intellectual, Ziauddin Sardar offers the Muslims the importance of doing ‘intellectual *Jihād*’ continuously and seriously.232 Other Muslim scholar who writes his Phd thesis on Islamic economy, Jaribah bin Ahmad al Haritsi after conducting the research on Islamic economy strongly suggests that to improve the economic condition of Muslim society is also very important *Jihād*.233

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231 Muhammad al Ghazali, *al Sunnah al Nabawiyyah baina ahl al Fiqh wa ahl al Hadîs*, Indonesian translation by Muhammad al Bâqir (Bandung: Mizan, 1992), 134-136. Further explanation about *Jihād* based on Qur’ān and the Hadîth and the misunderstanding of some Muslims to understand the Qur’ān and the Hadîth on *Jihād* in terms of waging the war see 130-148.


233 Jaribah bin Ahmad al Haritsi, *Al Fiqh al Igtishâdî, Li Amiril Mukminin Umar Ibn Al-Khaṭṭāb*, Indonesian translation by H. Asmuni Sholihan Zamakhsyari (Jakarta: Khalifa, Pustaka al Kautsar Grup, 2006), 63. This very brilliant PhD thesis got Summa Cumlaude from the faculty of Islamic Law and Islamic studies for Islamic economy program at the University of Ummul Qura Mecca. This thesis explains the important keys of the basic economy, the building of economy and its relations to international economy and the participation as well as the control of the state on the economic development for the prosperity of the people based on Islamic teachings.
2.3. c. Jihād in the Hadīth

Since the Hadīth also serve as an historical source for understanding the meaning of the word Jihād at the time of the Prophet, it is important to refer to the Prophetic traditions of the Hadīth where the term Jihād was not specifically used in terms of waging war. It is useful to begin with some instances of the various meanings of the term Jihād as expressed by the most prominent narrator, Bukhari.

In his chapter on Jihād, Bukhari clearly stated that some Hadīth refer to Jihād in terms of waging war, using the words ghazwu, harb or qitāl, which mean ‘war’.234 Bukhārī also reported on the rewards for those who undertook Jihād in terms of waging war. The meaning of Jihād as war certainly referred to the condition of Muslims in war at that time. It was for that reason that the Prophet mentioned the rewards for those waging war in the path of God beside the Prophet. Such battles included Uhud and Tābūk.235

Bukhari also stated that the Prophet mentioned Jihād in terms other than as a word for war. Jihād was also mentioned as performing prayers and obeying one’s parents.236 Moreover, to do Jihād in terms of waging war required the permission of one’s parents. Further, to introduce Islamic teachings to non-Muslims in a wise manner was a part of Jihād fi sabīllillāh too; for instance when the Prophet introduced Islam, and called on the king of Persia, Qisra, to become a

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234 The wars in Islam are mostly known as Ghazawāt. Further about this see the early works on wars at the time of Islam written by al Wāqīdī. See Abu Abdillah Muhammad Ibnu Umar ibnul Waqidi al Waqidi, Kitāb al Maghāzī, 2 vols, edited by Muhammad Abdul Qadir Ahmad ‘Ata ( Cairo: Dar el Kutub al Ilmiyyah ) , 2004.

235 Bukhari, 16-26.

236 Ibid., 15.
Muslim. Some other Hadith narrating Jihād not in terms of holy war are as follow:

\[\text{Ahabbul Jihād ilAllah kalimatu haqqin tuqālu li Imamin jāirin}\]

The most loved Jihād to Allah is the truth being uttered for the cruel and tyrant leader. Another Hadith narrated which explains that to earn from the good sources (halāl) is part of Jihād is Talabus halāl Jihād.

Imam Raghib al-Isfahani in his book Mufradāt alfāz al-Qur`ān writes about Jihād in terms of three domains based on the Hadith of the prophet Muhammad: the self, others and Satan. The root ja-ha-da from which the word Jihād comes means ‘to work hard’; juhd means ‘one’s utmost capacity’. The two together would mean making the utmost efforts to one’s utmost capacity. Then he goes on to say that Jihād wa al-mujahadah means ‘to spend one’s utmost capacity in defending oneself in the face of an enemy’. Then he divides Jihād into three categories: the first is to fight against enemies - i.e. unbelievers; the second is to fight against shaitan (Satan); and the third is to struggle against oneself i.e., against one’s own greed and selfishness.

238The Hadith was narrated by Imam Ahmad and At Tabrani in the book called al KAbir from Abu Umamah, An Nasai from Jabir Ibnu Abdullah. Imam Suyuti said that this Hadith is good (Hasan). See Ibnu Hamzah al Husaini al Hanafi al Damshiqi, al Bayān wa al ta`rif Fi Asbābī Wurud al Hadith al Sharīf, vol. 1, Indonesian translation by HM. Suwarta Wijaya and Zafrullah Salim (Jakarta: Kalam Mulia, 2005), 46.


240Raghib al-Isfahani, Mufradāt alfāz al Qur`ān (Bairut, Lebanon: Dar al-Qalam li al-Tiba’a wa al Tauzi’, Damascus, Suria and Dar al-Shāmiya, 1992), 208. Isfahani’s explanation is based on the following: First the Qur‘ān: Hajj 78- And do your best effort in the path of God, and Taubah 41:-And do your best effort with your wealth and yourself in the path of God. Second is the Hadith (Prophetic tradition). Once the prophet said: Fight against your bad temper as you fight against your enemy. This Hadith is quoted from the book called al-Dzar‘āh, 34, and from Musnad al-Imam Ahmad Ibnu Hanbal vo.2, 22. Another was from Fadhalah Ibnu Ubaid that the Prophet
In conformity with this, a prominent Muslim scholar, Ibnu Qayyim al Jauziyyah, explores the stages of *Jihād* in four stages. The first is *Jihād* to struggle against one self, the second is to struggle against Shaytan, the third is to struggle against the unbelievers and the fourth is to struggle against the hypocrites. Further, he clearly mentions for these in detail. The first part is to struggle against one self consist of four as follow:

a. The first, to struggle to get true and good knowledge about the true religion (creed).

b. The second is to practice the religious teachings based n the knowledge.

c. The third is to struggle to preach and teach the knowledge and teachings of Islam.

d. The fourth is to struggle to be patient in facing the difficulties in preaching and teaching Islam.\(^{241}\)

The second part is to struggle against the Shaytan which consists of two kinds as follow:

a. To deal with strengthening the belief against the doubtful.

b. To struggle against the will and desire that will endanger the belief.\(^{242}\)

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(pace be upon him) said ‘ the fighter is who strive him/her self in the obedience to Allāh. This hadith is from Imam Tirmidhi and the book is called ‘Sunan Tirmidhi’in Chapter ‘Zuhd’ vol.4., 105 and Chapter *Jihād* number 1621. This Hadith is also existed in the book of hadith called Sunan Abu Dawud in chapter *Jihād*, Hadith number 2500. Another Sunan Abu Dawud in chapter *Jihād*, Hadith concerning *Jihād* is that the prophet said: strive against the unbelievers with your hands and your tongue. This Hadith is narrated by Ibnu Hibban number 1621 and a prominent muslimnarrator named al-Hakim said that this Hadith is true. Hakim’s book of Hadith vol.2, 81 and confirmed also by another prominent scholar on Hadith named Ad-DzahAbi and Imam Nawawi in his book Riyāduussālihīn, 515, and Abu Dawud also narrated it in chapter *Jihād* number 2504 and Imam Nasa’i in his book of Hadith vol.6., 7, and Imam Ahmad in his book of Hadith vol.3., 124. These are the arguments of Imam Rāghib al- Isfahani regarding this matter, see Ibid. , 208.


\(^{242}\) Ibid.
The third and the fourth are to struggle against the unbelievers and the hypocrites. The struggle is dealing with the effort to correct them through the heart, tongue, wealthy, soul and for the unbelievers in particular, according to Qayyim is by using hand or power when it is needed.243

This is also quoted by a Pakistani Muslim scholar Asghar Ali Engineer when explaining the multi-layered concept of Jihād.244 Another revered Muslim scholar Ibnul Qayyim al-Jauziyyah also mentions several domains of Jihād in Islam in the manner of al-Isfahani; only he devides unbelievers into ‘enemies’ and ‘hypocrites’. The first is inner struggle, Jihād against the Devil, Jihād against enemies and Jihād against hypocrites.245

2.4. Types of Jihād in the Qur‘ān

This section provides a brief overview of the Jihad obligation dealing with the individual and society contained in the Qur‘ān. The Qur‘ān shows many goals when it uses the word Jihād. Sometimes the term Jihād implies striving for spiritual good, at other times it may not refer specifically to a spiritual meaning but to the collective work that a group of people should perform. The former usage usually denotes the level of self-improvement and mentality; while the latter refers to other purposes.

243 Ibid.


245 Ibnul Qayyim al Jauziyyah, Zād al Ma‘ād fī Hudā khayru l ‘Ibād, vol. 2 (Cairo: Shirkah wa Maktabah Wa Matba’ah Mustahafa al Babi al Halabi wa Auladuhu, 1970), 44-47. His complete name is Shamsuddin Abu Abdillah Muhammad Ibnul Abi Bakr.
However, the basic meaning of this word deals with hard work and effort - i.e. ‘to strive hard’. To make the utmost effort one needs to make sacrifices, either materially or non-materially. For example, to earn money for the sake of the family, one needs time and hard effort as well as patience and discipline. To study one needs money as well as effort and discipline. To work one needs money for transportation and facilities that make the work efficient. All these efforts are considered as part of Jihād by the Qur’ān when these struggles are undertaken for the sake of God.

The Qur’ān considers all the hard work Muslims do for the prosperity of humankind to be part of Jihād. The reward for those who practise Jihād is very great in the life after this life. Generally the concepts of Jihād in the Qur’ān are divided into two kinds. The first is individual Jihād and the second is communal Jihād.

2.4.a. Individual Jihād

The first category is Jihād on the individual level. The verse that refers to Jihād as an individual effort which will be rewarded, based on the intentions of the doer, is stated in the Qur’ān as follows:

(1) Yauma tuwaffā kullu nafsin bimā kasabat wahum la yuzlamūn.\textsuperscript{246}

‘One day every soul will come up struggling for itself, and every soul will be recompensed (fully) for all its actions and none will be unjustly dealt with.

Islam also stresses self-responsibility when discussing Jihād, as this obligation deals with the primordial commitment between God and each person.

\textsuperscript{246} Yusuf Ali, Qur’ān; 16:1 11, 68.
In this respect, the religion revealed by God gives some guidance as to the sincere and good deeds which will please God. Islam for instance commands its followers to seriously study the contents of the holy book (Qur’ān) as a part of their effort to understand and implement religious teachings. In this case, the effort to understand the teachings of religion is also Jihād. Moreover it is the most important aspect of a Muslim’s life.

Islam guides its followers to worship God alone, to do good to all creatures regardless of race, religion and sect, to help people in misery, to respect the rights of neighbors as well as other people, and above all to spread peace to all creatures (including people, animals and plants) by not doing harm. The Qur’ān says:

(2) Man ‘amila sālihan min dzakarin au untsā wahuwa mu’minun sayadkhulul jannata walā yuzlamūna syai’ān.\textsuperscript{247}

‘If any do deeds of righteousness be they male or female and have faith they will enter heaven and not the least injustice will be done to them.’\textsuperscript{248}

All the examples of Qur’ānic verses quoted above show us the significance of Jihād and its role in individual Muslim life. In addition, the verses also warn that God will judge all good deeds based on the sincere intentions of the doer. Therefore, Jihād, which emphasizes individual responsibility towards God, is the basis of the formation of society. As the Qur’ān says:

(3) Qul ya qaumi’malu ‘ala makanatikum inni ‘amilun fasaufa ta’lamuna man takunu lahu aqibataddari innahu la yuflihulzzalimun.\textsuperscript{249}

\textsuperscript{247} Ibid., 4:124, p. 219.

\textsuperscript{248} Have faith in the translation of this verse refers to mu’min, one who has a faith in Islam as monotheistic religion.

\textsuperscript{249} Ibid., 6: 135, 872.
‘Say, O my people, do whatever ye can: I will do (my part) I. Soon will ye know who it is whose end will be best in the hereafter, certain it is that the wrongdoers will not prosper.

Jihād in terms of individual obligation is considered to be more significant than Jihād in terms of waging war by the Prophet. This is clearly illustrated in the statement of the Prophet upon returning from the battle of Badr: that they had returned from the ‘lesser Jihād’ to the ‘greater Jihād’, that is the Jihād against the ego. The internal Jihād is represented as continuous and systematic actions that every Muslim undertakes. Internal Jihād is an effort to observe and fight the ego, and to know one’s own weaknesses. In terms of religion, this is called muhāsabāt al-nafs and mujāhadāt al-nafs - ‘taking account of one self’ and ‘fighting the ego’. The aim of this is to differentiate the good from the evil and to distinguish the importance of sincere intentions. Failure to carry out internal Jihād will result in the failure of the external Jihād. This is because the doers of good deeds will be considered losers if they do not possess sincere intentions toward God.250

In this sense, Jihād tests the individual for sincerity in his/her faith. This commitment requires purity of heart and intention. This requirement becomes

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250 Syed Ali Ashraf, The inner Meaning of the Islamic Rites: Prayer, Pilgrimage, Fasting, Jihād in Islamic spirituality, edited by Seyyed Hossein Nasr (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1987), 125. It is important to note here that the Hadīth about Jihād as fighting the ego is considered as not Hadīth Shahīh, it is actually the remarks of Ibrahim Ibn Ablah. According to Hasan al Banna, this Hadīth is not eliminating the duty of Jihād in term of Holy war. Al-Bannā stresses the importance of Jihād in terms of war. Al Banna himself admitted that it is worried that if the Hadīth is understood widely, it will make people ignore the obligation to wage Jihād in term of war. Al-Banna tends to narrow the wide meaning of Jihād to the term of Holy war. He tends to follow the rule of Jihād from the fiqh or Islamic jurisprudence prespective. See Hasan al Banna, Majmū‘ah Rasālīl al Imam Ass Syaḥid Hasan al Bannā, Indonesian translation by Wahid Ahmadi et.all (Solo: Intermedia 1998), 19-48.
necessary for Muslims who are fulfilling their obligations to God according to Islam.\textsuperscript{251}

Muslims are the vice-regents of God - \textit{Kh\'Aliifat Allah} - on this earth. The duty of vice-regents is to educate people to be able to know right from wrong. A further task of a vice-regent of God is to use all the natural wealth that God has bestowed to further the prosperity of human life. However, the heaviest task of a vice-regent of God is to call people to realize their existence on this earth; and to remind people of the final goal of life. The first is to know the Creator; then to know the destination of life. For this the function of the people on this earth is to create peace; to abolish all evil, injustice, oppression, and the suppression of human freedom; and above all to put respect for human rights at the top level of priority, as everyone is equal before God.

2.4.b. Communal \textit{Jihād}

The second domain of \textit{Jihād} deals with the communal arena. Communal \textit{Jihād} refers to the formation of a just community, and fair governance; on a larger scale it requires the participation of the whole community to create prosperity for the benefit of human beings and society. This means that all the elements of a community are advised to cooperate and work together to reach a just and prosperous society. The idea of war against any suppression and/or aggression, including injustice and tyranny, might be implied in the notion of a ‘just society’. A principle Qur’anic verse which states the importance of ‘being just’ is:

\textsuperscript{251} The statement that God created humanbeing to be His vicegerent is in the Qur’\'ān, 2: 29-33.
(4) *Ya ayyuhallazīna āmanū kūnū qawwāmīnā bilqisti syuhadā a lillāhi* 
*walau ‘alā anfusikum awil wālidayni wal aqrabīna, in yakun ghantiyyan au* 
*faqīran fāllahu aula bihimā. Falā tattabi’ul hawā an ta’dilū wa in talwū au turīdū* 
*fainAllaha kāna bimā ta’malūna khabīran.*

‘O ye who believe!, Stand out firmly for justice, as witnesses to God, even 
against yourselves or your parents, or your kin and whether it be against rich or 
poor: for God can best protect both. Follow not the lusts (of your hearts), lest ye 
swerve, and if ye distort (justice) or decline to do justice, verily God is well 
acquainted with all that ye do.’

At the time of the Prophet, any battles that occurred were not principally 
for forcing other people to embrace Islam; rather they were for defending freedom 
and human rights. It is for this reason that Islam stresses the freedom of choosing 
one’s religion as the top priority. Anyone who compels - that is, who proselytizes 
one’s religion to others - is considered to be wrong, and to deviate from the main 
principle of Islam. For example the *Qur’ān* clearly states:

(5) *La ikrāha fīddīn qad tabayyantar rusydu minal ghayy, faman yakfur* 
*fittāghūti wa yu’mīn billāhi faqad istamsaka bil urwatil wustqā lan fīsāma lahā.*

‘Let there be no compulsion in religion: truth stands out clearly from Error: 
whoever rejects evil and believes in God hath grasped the most trustworthy 
handhold that never breaks; and God heareth and knoweth all things.’

After the death of the prophet Muhammad, the battles continued to occur. It 
is worth noting that although there were many battles in the course of the history 
of Islam, not all of the war could be categorized as *Jihād* in Islam since many of 
the battles are not in line with the spirit of Islam. Thus, anyone who wants to 
know whether the battle is in line with the spirit of *Jihād* in Islam or even

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252 Ibid., 4:135, 223.
253 Ibid., 2: 256, 103.
contradicted to should thoroughly analyze and observe it before labeling it to be Jihād in Islam. Jihād - in whatever form - should serve justice for the sake of God (Allah). Principally, any Muslim fighting in the name of God should also fight in the name of justice. Both the Qurʾān and the Hadīth do not mention the concept of ‘holy war’. The concept which is widely used and known is Jihād fī sabīl Allah - ‘To struggle in the Path of God’. Whereas other Arabic terms for ‘war’ include: Qitāl, Harb, and Ghazwu.254 This is in accord with the word Islam, which is derived from the word Salām meaning ‘peace’.255

Although the meaning of Islam is ‘peace’, this does not mean that Islam does not permit war. War has occurred under certain conditions in the history of Islam. These conditions have tended to be bound to ideas of justice and freedom, as well as self-defense. Avoiding war is a priority in Islam. War may occur if it is accepted as being for the good of all.

In the Qurʾān, Allah (God) commands Muslims to anticipate war by preparing themselves with all the forces and equipment they have. The Qurʾān says:

(6) Wa ʿaʾiddū laham mastataʾum min quwwatin wamin ribātil khayli turhibūna bihi aduwAllahi wa aduwwakum wa ākharīna min dānīhīm la ta ʿamīnahum Allahu ya ʿamūhum wamā tunfiqū min syaiʾīn fī sabīlīllahi yuwaffā ilaikum wa antum lā tuẓlamūn, Wain jannahū lissalmī fajnah wa tawakkal ʿalAllah innahu huwassamīʿul ʿAliīm.256

‘Against them make ready your strength to the utmost of your power, including steeds of war, to strike terror into [the hearts of] the enemies of God and your enemies, and others besides, whom ye may not know. Whatever ye shall spend in the Cause of God shall be repaid unto you, and ye shall not be treated

254 Hans Wehr, 742-743, 166, 673.
255 Ibid., 425.
unjustly. But if the enemy incline towards peace, and trust in God; for He is the One that Heareth and knoweth all things'.

Islam tolerates the use of war where it is aimed at self-defense:

(7) Udzina lilladzīna yuqātalūna biannahum zulīmū, wainnAllaha ‘ala nasrihim laQadir. Lilladzīna ukhrijū min diyārihim bighayri haqqin illa an yagullū rabbunAllah. Wa laula daf’ullāhannāsa ba’dlahum biba’dlin lahudimat sawāmi’u wa biya’un wasalwatan wa masājidu yudzkaru fihasmullāhi katsīran. WalayansurannAllaha man yansuruhi innAllaha laqawiyyun ‘azīz. 257

‘To those against whom war is made, permission is given (to fight), because they are wronged; and verily, God is Most Powerful for the aid. (They are) those who have been expelled from their homes in defiance of right – (for no cause) except that they say, "Our Lord is God (Allah)." Did not God check one set of the people by means of another they would surely have pulled down monasteries churches, synagogues and mosques, in which the name of God is commemorated in abundant measure. God will certainly aid those who aid His (cause): for verily God is full of strength, exalted in might (able to enforce His will)’.

The above verse explicates the command to undertake Jihād in terms of war for the sake of self-defense; this is not war in terms of aggression against other groups of people. Even war fought in self-defense is to be undertaken within certain strict limits:


‘Fight those who fight you in the cause of God, but do not transgress the limits; for God loveth no transgressors. And slay them wherever ye catch them and turn them out from where they have turned you out: for tumult and oppression

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258 Ibid., 2:190-193, vol., 1, 75.
are worse than slaughter. But fight not at the sacred Mosque, unless they (first) fight you there: but if they fight you, slay them. Such is the reward of those who suppress faith. And fight them on until there is no more tumult or oppression, and there prevail justice and faith in God: but if they cease, let there be no hostility except towards those who practice oppression.’

The verses cited above are called Medina verses. These verses were revealed after the explication of Jihād in terms of war. It is worth noting that these verses were revealed in the context of a war situation. Commenting on these verses, Yusuf Ali – a prominent Muslim’s scholar - argues that the only reason Islam allowed war was for self-defense, in order to establish security, order and peace for the people. Islam provides strict guidelines to be followed in the context of war. For example, in Islam, women, children, old men and civilians who are not involved in a war should not be assaulted. It is also strictly prohibited for Muslims waging war to cut down trees or damage crops. This is an example of the normative war ethic decreed by Islam.

Yusuf Ali claims that although the position of Muslims at that time was strong and influential, the pagan Arabs drove many of them out of Mecca. In Mecca, the pagan Arabs had established a powerful and intolerant autocracy; some authorities prohibited Muslims from visiting their own homes or performing pilgrimage. These prohibitions were imposed during a period or truce agreed to by both the Muslims and the pagan Arabs. Therefore, although the pagan Arabs betrayed the agreement, the Prophet did not take any violent action. However, in subsequent developments, when the honor of religious Muslim adherents was humiliated, the only choice was to defend religion. This is why in Islam war is
only for self defense.\footnote{Ibid.} Self defense in Islam including to defend against all that threatens the religion and threatens the preaching of religion.\footnote{Abu Zaid Shalabi, \textit{Tārikh al Hadlārah al Islamiyyah wal Fikr al Islami} (Cairo: Maktabah Wahbah, 1984), 147-150.}

Yusuf Ali argues that for Muslims, the Prophet Muhammad was the best role model and leader to follow. Therefore if the command to face a challenge from outsiders came from Muhammad, his followers would obey it. To avoid the challenge would mean cowardice; and worse than this, unfaithfulness and hypocrisy. This is in accord with the word \textit{Din} in Arabic, which means ‘to profess, to adhere to one’s custom’;\footnote{Hans Wehr, 306.} this implies duty, obedience, judgement, justice, faith, religion, customary rites and indebtedness. The followers of the Prophet have those responsibilities to maintain their creed, Islam.\footnote{Yusuf Ali, Ibid. Hans, Wehr, 305.}

Syed Ali Ashraf, a Pakistani Muslim scholar, strongly emphasizes the importance of understanding the basic meaning of \textit{Jihād}. \textit{Jihād} is striving for the purpose of bettering everything for God’s sake. \textit{Jihād} thus requires sincerity and purity of motive from those who practice it. Any worldly motivations such as gaining fame, glory and material wealth will not be considered as \textit{Jihād}. This is vividly illustrated in an episode when the Prophet was asked by one of his followers, ‘One man fights for booty, one for reputation and one for his quality (bravery to be witnessed by others); which of them is in the path of God?’ The Prophet then replied that only those who fight for the glory of God are considered
to be fighting in the path of God.\textsuperscript{263} From this example, it can be deduced that one’s intention functions as the measure of whether God will accept one’s deed or decline it.\textsuperscript{264}

In the course of the spread of Islam in the Arab World and beyond, abuse of the concept of \textit{Jihād} often occurred. This happened particularly often during the history of Islamic dissemination. It must also be admitted that during the long history of Islam, some Islamic rulers sometimes abused the concept of \textit{Jihad} by waging war not only against non-Muslims but also against fellow Muslims.\textsuperscript{265}

2.5. **The Characteristics of \textit{Jihād} at the Time of the Prophet**

The manifestations of \textit{Jihād} at the time of the Prophet can be divided into three periods. The first period was from the advent of Islam to the \textit{Hegira}. In this period, Muslims undertook \textit{Jihād} by introducing the teachings of Islam to ‘unbelievers’ - i.e. those who did not previously believe in God but had other beliefs.

The second period was from the \textit{Hegira} to the opening of Mecca; this is widely known in the history of Islam as \textit{fathu Mecca}. The third period lasted from after the \textit{fathu Mecca} to the death of the Prophet. In these periods, Muslims

\textsuperscript{263} Syed Ali Ashraf, 125-126. This is based on the story that a man asks the prophet “that all man from the tribe named Salama took a part in waging the war. Some of them for the worldly advantages, some of them to be called the brave ones and some of them for Allāh only. For this question the prophet said that only those whose intention is for the sake of God. This prophetic tradition is quoted also in Yusuf al Qarāḍlawī when discussing the importance of intention when waging the war. See Yusuf al Qarāḍlawī, \textit{Fiğh-Tharīq Ilallâh, Anniyyah wal Ikhlâs}, Indonesian translation by Kathur Suhardi (Jakarta: Pustaka al-Kautsar, 1996) , 99.

\textsuperscript{264} Yusuf al Qarāḍlawī, 21. Further detailed explanation, see 17-136.

undertook *Jihād* in the broadest terms, either waging war if it was considered necessary; or establishing a more just and prosperous society.

The following section shows how Muslims at the time of the Prophet understood and implemented the concept of *Jihād* in Islam in their daily lives. A picture of the social and political conditions of Muslims and non-Muslims further enriches our understanding of the concept of *Jihād* in Islam.

Historically, the understanding of the term *Jihād* in the sense of a holy war began in Medina, when the pagan Arabs tortured the Muslims severely, and planned systematic attacks upon Muslims in Mecca and Medina.\(^2\) This was the first command to practice *Jihād* in terms of war in the history of Islam; and it was considered to have been directed by God. The war was known as the Battle of *Badr* and it was a decisive war for Islam. It was a determining event for the continuation of the preaching of Islam. During the Mecca period, the new converts to Islam suffered cruel oppression and social and sexual harassment at the hands of the *Mushrikūn* or pagan Arabs.\(^3\)


2.5.a. The History of Islam up to the Hijrah

At the time of the advent of Islam in Mecca, the Prophet had to face torture and enmity from his own clan, the Quraysh. This enmity was triggered by the teachings of Islam that promoted the liberation of human beings from slavery, which was common at that time. The new teachings, which propagated human rights and freedom as the basic rights of every person, threatened the established position of the wealthy Quraysh. For example, they tried to diminish public respect for the Prophet by calling him ‘soothsayer’, ‘madman’, ‘liar’ and insulting him with coarse words.\(^{268}\)

The peak of the opposition to Islam by the pagan Arabs was expressed in the form of a boycott against the new converts to Islam as well as against the relatives of the prophet Muhammad, in this case the family of Hashim and Muttalib. For example, they issued a document written by Mansur son of Ikrima, declaring that all the members of the Quraysh tribes were strictly prohibited from having any relations with the members of the Hashim and Muttalib families for the purposes of marriage or economic dealings.\(^{269}\)

During the Meccan period, the prophet and the new converts to Islam had to migrate to Ethiopia to seek protection. Eleven of the new Muslim adherents went to Ethiopia, seeking asylum. They were followed by eighty-three other Muslims.\(^{270}\) The protection given by King Negus of Ethiopia to some Muslims

\(^{268}\) Ibnu Hisham, 289-291.


made some pagan Arabs in Mecca even more hostile. The torture of Muslims still living in Mecca was worsening. However, the command of *Jihād* - to fight against the pagan Arabs - was still not given by the Prophet. This extended period of patience in Mecca lasted for thirteen years; it is an important point that should also be taken into consideration when analyzing *Jihād* in Islam in terms of the defense of oppressed Muslims.

There are several reasons why *Jihād* in terms of war was not allowed in the Meccan period, or even at the beginning of the Medinate period. During the Meccan period, there was no political reason for *Jihād* as there was no policy prohibiting a person from propagating his or her beliefs to others. The prophet was under the protection of his clan, *Banū Hāshim*, and was able to proclaim his new belief openly.

The second point is that this period was considered to be a time to train Muslims to be patient in enduring challenges and trials. It was hoped that by means of these challenges and trials Muslims would develop the ‘good’ characteristics necessary to build a new ‘civilized’ and just society.

Third, *Quraysh* pride and the superiority of their noble status made it difficult to propagate revolution. The most effective way to deliver the message was peacefully. In this period, Muslims who resisted would have met with severe punishment.

The fourth likely reason why *Jihād* as war was not encouraged in the Meccan period was to avoid its massive disadvantages and consequences. If the violence perpetrated by the pagan Arabs had been revenged, then it would have
resulted in civil war among the tribes; affecting every member of society, and increasing people’s sufferings.

The fifth point is a religious reason, for Islam teaches that bitter opponents may one day become loyal defenders. One such instance was the case of Umar, son of Khattab, who was initially a declared enemy of Islam and later turned out to be its loyal defender.

The sixth point is that oppressed people might gain sympathy from those with power; as in tribal society helping the weak - especially those from one’s own clan or tribe - is a source of pride.

The seventh reason was the small number of Muslim communities in Mecca. In other words, if Jihād in terms of waging war had been legislated in this period, the effort would have been in vain: the new faith would never have been able to spread its teachings; and idolatry and polytheism would have continued in Arab society.271

It is due to the reasons given above that the legislation of Jihād in terms of waging war was not implemented at that time. Clearly, the legislation of Islamic law is linked to the socio-political conditions of the society.

2.5.b. Jihād from the Hijrah to Medina until Fathu Mecca - ‘the Opening’ or the Victory in Mecca

271 Further detail explanation about social and political condition of the Arabs society and their responses to the Prophecy of Muhammad, see Karen Armstrong, Muhammad, a Biography, 72-133. Martin Lings, 50-117. Malise Ruthven, Islam In The World ( London: Oxford University Press, 2000 ), 26-46. Ira Lapidus, 11-26. To have a description about the character of the Arabs such as pride over their tribes and superiority can be seen in the Arabic poems before the coming of Islam, see Suzanne Pinckney Stetkevych, The Poetics of Islamic Legitimacy, Myth, Gender and Ceremony in the Classical Arabic Ode with the original Arabic text ( USA: Indiana University Press, 2002 ).
The *Quraysh* in Mecca were not interested in the Islamic teachings introduced by the prophet Muhammad, so the prophet then tried to introduce his teachings to the pilgrims from Medina who come to perform the Islamic pilgrimage or *haj* annually. The pilgrims responded positively to this preaching, enabling the Prophet to continue to teach Islam. When the pilgrims of Medina offered to assure the security of the prophet and his original followers if the prophet was willing to move to Yathrib, the prophet then took the oath known in the history of Islam as the First Aqaba Agreement (as it was made at the hill of Aqaba). This took place in the eleventh year after the birth of Islam.

It was due to the diplomatic and untiring efforts of the prophet Muhammad and his followers that they eventually saw the gradual establishment of this new religion. In A.D. 622, the new converts to Islam from Yathrib took a second oath to become the guardians for the continuation of Islamic preaching; meaning that they would protect the prophet and his followers from any threats and dangers to come. This event is known as the Second Aqaba Agreement.²⁷²

In the first year of the prophet’s residence in Medina, the prophet had to deal with rivalry and quarrelling between the *Auz* and the *Khazraj*, the two biggest tribes in Medina. The prophet also needed to ensure the security and prosperity of both Muslims and non-Muslims in Medina. The prophet composed an agreement popularly known as the Medina Charter. This charter was an agreement to establish civil society in Medina.²⁷³

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²⁷² Karen Amstrong, 146. Ibnu Hisham, 431-435.

In the Medinan period, a new Islamic society emerged. The Prophet was able to organize a more structured society in Medina due to the support given to him by the new converts to Islam. Since the number of new Muslim converts was significant enough compared to the numbers from the Meccan period, a new society began to take form. In Medina, the first step taken by the Prophet was to provide a meeting building for the community. This was a place for worldly activities such as trading, marriages, worship, the performance of ceremonies, etc. The building was named Baitullāh. Although it was not specifically designed to function as a mosque, in its later development the place was divided into two spaces. One space functioned as the center of trading activities, and the other space was used for worship. The second step taken by the Prophet was to make a tight relationship between the new arrivals - categorized as the Muhājirīn ('the emigrants') - and the native Medinan community, who were categorized as the Anshār - ‘the helpers’; this relationship was based on Islamic brotherhood - *Ukhuwwah Islāmiyyah*.274

Broadly speaking, the Prophet’s efforts to build a new Islamic society in Medina can be divided into three distinct phases. The first was the period of empowering the faith of the new Islamic converts. In this period, the Prophet and his followers faced both external and internal threats (i.e. from the pagan Quraysh of Mecca and those considered to be hypocrites among the congregation in Medina). This period lasted until the Hudaybiya Treaty, which took place in the sixth year of the *Hegira* in the month called *Zulqā’dā*.275 The second period was

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275 Philip K. Hitti, 118.
the cease-fire period between the Muslims and the pagan Arabs. This period lasted until the eighth year of the *Hegira*.

The third period was the period when the Prophet undertook his diplomatic mission to introduce Islam to the lands of some other kings. Among them were included Kisra of Persia, Heraclius of Rome, and Amir Ghassan, the Roman Governor in Busra. Of these leaders, Amir Ghassan killed the Prophet’s emissary. It was for this reason that the war called *Mu’tah* broke out in the eighth year of the *Hegira*.

In the same year, the eighth year of *Hegira*, the pagan *Quraysh* betrayed the Hudaybiya Treaty by raiding the *Khaza’a* tribe, allies of the Muslims. In order to assist the *Khaza’a*, the Prophet raided the pagan *Quraysh* Arabs. War did not break out, however, since the pagan Arabs surrendered before the battle. This event is popularly known in the history of Islam as the ‘Opening of Mecca’ - *Fathu Mecca*.276

### 2.5.c. From *Fathu Mecca* – (‘The Opening of Mecca’) - to the Death of the Prophet

The Opening of Mecca (*Fathu Mecca*) was a momentous event in the history of Islam. As soon as Mecca was under the control of the prophet, he ordered the destruction of all idols. The prophet’s policy marked the official end of paganism in the Arabian Peninsula at that time. However, the prophet still had

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276 Safiurrahman al-Mubarakfuri, *Ar-Raheeq al-Makhtūm* (the Sealed Nectar, Biography of the Noble Prophet) (Riyadh: Dar-us-Salam, Publication, 1996), 339-441. The treaty of Hudaybiya is as follow: 1. Muslim could not enter Mecca in that year. 2. Muslims were allowed to come to Mecca in the following year. 3. Muslims could not take with them the Muslims who have been settled in Mecca, on the contrary, Muslims should not forbid any Medinan people if they want to live in Mecca. 4. Any Meccan tries to migrate to Medina should be handed over to Meccan, on the other hand any Muslims want to join Meccan people are welcome. The Pagan Arabs of Mecca had no obligation to return them back to Muslims.
to endure threats from the disgruntled Quraysh tribes such as the Hawazin, Thaqīf, Nasrī Jasm and Sa’ad ibn Bakar, as well as the people of Banī Hilāl. All these groups prepared themselves to take revenge upon the Muslims: this struggle is known in Islamic history as the War of Hunain.

The last war during the lifetime of the Prophet was referred to as Tabuk and took place in 631 A.D. This war was triggered by the insecurity of the Byzantine Empire, which perceived the growth of the new Arab power as something dangerous. Nevertheless, the Byzantine armies retreated before war broke out. Since the place where the Muslim armies camped was named Tabuk, the war is known as the War of Tabuk. The prophet continued to preach Islam until his death in 632 A.D. It is worth noting that the word Jihād in terms of war is not frequently or specifically used even in relation to the first wars; from Badr, Tabuk, and Khaybar to the Opening of Mecca. Instead, the word used to refer to war is Ghazwun.

2.6. The Formation of Sects: Sunni, Shi’i & Kharijite and their Conceptions of Jihād

To understand the development of the concept of Jihād in the period after the prophet’s death, it is necessary to observe the political conflict that emerged. For this, three important groups, Sunni, Shi’i and Kharijite are important; as the understanding of Jihād in any Muslim community in the world originated from

277 Philip K Hitti, 119.

these three groups. In relation to Islam in Southeast Asia, this connection is significant since the majority of Muslims in Southeast Asia are Sunnis.

The basis of the conflict in the history of Islam started from the period of Succession, i.e., after the death of the prophet. The conflict concerned a dispute over who was the most suitable person to assume leadership and authority over the Muslim community.

As a result of this dispute, the community divided into two major groups. These groups bitterly competed with each other and formed two great divisions in the Islamic world who are known as Sunni and Shi‘i.\(^{279}\) A third group called the Kharijite was not so popular in the Islamic world, but its radical ideas about political Islam seem to have penetrated Muslim thinking; they may be observed in Muslim radicalism from time to time.

After the death of the prophet Muhammad, some Muslims considered the closest person to the prophet to be his rightful successor - i.e. the person with the right to assume the caliphate. For this reason, some Muslims promoted Ali, whom they considered to be the most appropriate successor. Ali was the first follower of the prophet and the first to embrace Islam. Second, Ali was the prophet’s cousin, and he was also the son-in-law of the prophet, being married to Fatima, the daughter of the prophet. However, the majority of Muslims did not accept this justification.\(^{280}\) According to the partisans of Ali, Ali was the righteous person for this position. They argued that at Ghadir Khumm (now in

\(^{279}\) Esposito, 36.

\(^{280}\) Roy P. Mottahedeh, the Foundation of State and Society in Islam, the Religious and Political Life Of a World Community, edited by Marjorie Kelly, ( New York, USA: Praeger, 1984), 59-60.
Iraq) the prophet chose Ali to be responsible for the general guardianship of Islam.281

After the prophet Muhammad died, the Muslim community divided into three groups, based on their differing opinions about the correct succession. The Islamic community in Medina prepared to choose their own leader in a meeting hall called *Tsaqīfa*. The Medinan community hoped that Mecca would choose their new leader from Mecca, so each group would have its own leader. On the other hand, some Bedouin Muslims thought that the death of the Prophet meant that they were no longer obliged to carry out the teachings and religious duties commanded by the prophet when he was alive.282

In an effort not to inflame the dispute over the succession among Muslims, two close friends of the Prophet, Abu Bakr and Umar, went to the *Tsaqīfa* to try to resolve the dispute.

2.6.a. The Sunni

The majority of the Muslims at the *Tsaqīfa* finally elected the prophet’s companion Abu Bakr as the Caliph; then Umar and Utsmān were to be his successors.283 In later times this group became known as the Sunni. At the *Tsaqīfa* meeting, many companions raised their voices in support of Ali; but these

281 Allāmah Sayyid Muhammad Husayn Tabataba’īi, *Shi’ā* (Qum, Iran: Ansariyan Publication P.O.Box 55, 1981), 40.


283 *Tsaqīfah* was an old assembly hall in Medina where the people used to discuss and solve their problems.
voices seemed to be ignored as Ali was in the Prophet’s house caring for the corpse of the Prophet. The meeting at Tsaqifa can be considered as the first conflict which led to the division of Muslim society into Sunni and Shi‘i.284 When the majority of the Muslims elected Abu Bakr as the Caliph, the partisans of Ali considered the decision to be invalid.

2.6. b. The Shi‘ah

The partisans of Ali who were later called Shi‘a Alii, believed that the Prophet Muhammad had chosen Ali as his successor and the leader of the Islamic community. Ali chose not to violently contest the election of Abu Bakr, in order to avoid civil war.285

After the death of the third Caliph of the Islamic leadership, political rivalry occurred between Ali, the son-in-law of Muhammad and Mu‘awiyya, governor of Damascus. At the battle of Siffin in 657 A.D, Ali - then serving as the fourth caliph - was on the brink of defeating the rebels led by Mu‘awiyya. Mu‘awiyya then tricked Ali into arbitration. Ali accepted Mu‘awiyya’s offer, recognizing that his troops were exhausted. This arbitration proved to be Mu‘awiyya’s strategy for gaining power and eventually led to the downfall of Ali as the Caliph.

Alii’s troops divided into two groups. The first was known as the Shi‘at Ali or ‘the group of Ali and the second was known as the ‘secessionists’ or Khawarij (from the Arabic word kharaja meaning ‘to go out’, since this group


285 Pinnault, 4. See also, Philip K Hitti, 182.
went out and separated from the group of Ali). According to the Kharijites, any Muslim who commits a grave sin (kabirah) should be killed as an unbeliever or exiled from the caliphate.

The Kharijite group used terror to intimidate other Muslim groups that they perceived to be ‘un-Islamic’. According to the Kharijites, both Ali and Mu’awiyya were sources of conflict and instability in Muslim society. Therefore, the only way to stabilize the Muslim society was to assassinate both of them; they decided to do this in 660 A.D. In Mecca a selected group of members was to carry out this duty. Ibnu Muljam struck the head of Ali with his sword when Ali was about to enter the mosque.

Ali was then killed in the mosque but Mu’awiyya survived the Kharijite attack. In the Kharijite view, killing Ali and Mu’awiyya was an example of the implementation of Jihad toward ‘un-Islamic’ people who did not obey the rule of God. Their slogan was Lā hu kma ilAllah - ‘There is no law but the law of God’. The Kharijites perceived that both Ali and Mu’awiyya did not obey the law of God, so they deserved to be killed.

The Shi’ites encouraged the two sons of Ali and Fatima to become caliphs. However, the Mu’awiyya clan finally defeated both of them: Hasan was forced into retirement and ceded the caliphate to Mu’awiyya. However, Hasan was considered the legitimate caliph by the Shi’ites, and is even revered as the second

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286 Kabirah in Arabic is the big sin such as disobeying God’s law (Qur’an and Hadith), committing adultery and disobeying parents.


Imam for the Shi’ites after his father, Alii. In Shi’ism, the term Imam indicates those members of Ahl-e-bayt who are the true spiritual leaders of the Muslim community.289

After the massacre of Ali’s son Hussein by the army of the caliph Yazid (the son of Mu’awiyia.) in 680 A.D., the partisans of Ali were devastated again. According to Shi’ites, this very momentous event in Islamic history - i.e. the massacre of Hussein at Karbala - was an example of the injustice of a tyrant. In this case, the tyrant was the Umayyad ruler. This event provided an inspiration and motivation for Jihād among Shi’ites. In sum, the concept of Jihād in the Shi’a view is war waged against tyrants and any persons or forces considered ‘un-Islamic’. Thus, the Umayyad and Abbasid dynasties, whose caliphs the Shi’a regarded as illegitimate, were considered ‘un-Islamic’.290

Apart from the differences and conflicts between Sunnis and Shi’ites in relation to Islamic history, both Sunni and Shia share the same understanding of the concept of Jihād in general as a struggle in the path of God. In terms of the divisions within Jihād (e.g. the ‘greater’ Jihād as a personal spiritual struggle; and the ‘lesser’ Jihād or external struggle), both are in accordance with Qur’anic teachings. Therefore, Jihād in the broadest sense is a religious duty which is required of all Muslims individually and communally; they must strive towards the improvement of life. This improvement can take various forms: for example,

289 Pinnout, 5. See also Karen Amstrong, the Battle for God, 46-53.

defending property rights against any oppressors, or improving spiritual awareness.291

In relation to the concept of Jihād in terms of waging war, Sunni and Shi’a differ slightly. This difference lies in the authority to declare war, if it is considered necessary. According to the Sunnis, the most authoritative person to declare war is the caliph, with the support of the ulama or religious scholars. In contrast to the Sunni, Shi’ite views the caliphs as ‘un-Islamic’, because they unjustly wrested power away from the legitimate successors of the prophet. According to the Shi’a, only an Imam has the right to declare war; in the absence of the Imam, the only Jihād which is permissible is a defensive Jihād. Indeed, according to some ulama this rule is an ambiguous one. As the Islamic concept of Jihād is a defensive war, some ulama permit the waging of war when it is necessary, even in the absence of the Imam.292

2.6. C. The Kharijites

Kharijite is the name given to a group associated with the group of Ali, who subsequently went out from the group of Ali. The reason for their separation was their disagreement with Ali’s decision to accept the offer of arbitration. In their view, Ali was guilty of compromising God by agreeing to a cease-fire with the rebels represented by Mu’awiyya’s group. The Kharijites not only separated from the group of Ali but took the decision to assassinate him.293

291 Esposito, 38.
292 Ibid., 39.
293 Taha Hussein, 546-549.
According to the Kharijites, both Ali and Mu’awiyya deviated from the true Islamic law of the Qur’ān and Hadīth. As a consequence, they built their own community based on their own strict understanding of the Qur’ān and Hadīth. The Kharijites adopted and elaborated the Prophetic model of Hegira as the basis of their decision to separate from the majority of Muslims at that time. The Kharijites also had a radical opinion on Jihād in Islam. Since according to the Kharijites both Ali and Mu’awiyya were un-Islamic, the Kharijites did not want to live together with their community. Hence, from their base camp the Kharijites promoted war against those they considered ‘un-Islamic’, and claimed that this warfare was in the name of God.294

The Kharijites were proponents of a literal understanding of the Qur’ān which was to be implemented strictly and without compromise, since the good and the bad are clearly explained in the Qur’ān. Therefore, according to Kharijite cosmology, the world is divided into two groups, the believers and the unbelievers. To become a believer means to submit to the will of God and to become an unbeliever means to be the enemy of God. This meant that the Kharijites promoted the importance of waging war against those disobeying the rule of God - including other believers whom the Kharijites considered did not obey the rule of God (until they repented).295

The Kharijites believed that the only law fit to rule the Muslim community was God’s law. All the laws in society should be compatible with the Holy law, i.e. the law enshrined in the Qur’ān.296 In regard to their accusation that the

294 Esposito, 41.
295 Ibid., 42.
296 Majid Fachry, 53.
caliph deviated from the true path, their argument was that the caliph had ignored the law of God by accepting arbitration. Thus, the legitimacy of the caliph was abrogated. The caliph in their opinion had become an apostate from Islam who ought to be killed for the sake of the stability of Islamic society. The Kharijites believed themselves to be the army of God, and the guardians of the true beliefs. As a result, their understanding of *Jihād* was to some extent very radical. This can be observed in their means of *Jihād* - such as revolution, warfare, etc. - which they used to reach their goal. It is for this reason that the Kharijites are considered to have been the first radical Muslim group which used terror in the name of the law of God, even against other Muslims who did not conform to their ideas.

### 2.7. Female *Jihād* in Islam

Women who undertake *Jihād* is an issue often neglected in the study of *Jihād* in Islam. As a consequence, *Jihād* is often associated with the masculine world, especially *Jihād* in terms of warfare. In the development of Islamic history, the representation of Muslim women has at least two faces. First, women have generally tended to be accorded lower social status than men. However, the *Qurʾān* and the prophet’s teachings have - normatively at least - given women an equal position to men. The *Qurʾān* says:

\[
\text{Innal muslimīna wal muslimāti wal muʾminīna wal muʾmināti wal qānīfīna wal qānīfāti wasshādiqīna wasshādiqāti wasshābirīna wasshābirāti waskhāshīʿīna wa khāshī āti wi mutashaddiqīna wasmutashaddiqāti wasshāāmīna wasshāāmāti wālhāfidzhīna}
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297 Esposito, 42.
furūjahum walhāfīdzāti wadzākirīnAllaha katsīran wadzākirat a’addAllahu lahūm maghfīratan wa ajran adžīman. 298

‘For Muslim men and women - for believing men and women, for devout men and women, for true men and women, for men and women who are patient and constant, for men and women who humble themselves, for men and women who give in charity, for men and women who fast (and deny themselves), for men and women who guard their chastity, and for men and women who engage much in God’s praise - for them has God prepared forgiveness and great reward’.

The second face is in contrast with the first in that Islamic society has given women an equal position in society as women. 299 In relation to the concept of Jihād in Islam, it is important to have an overview of the role of women in pre-Islamic Arabia, and in the early Islamic period. As historical texts do not tend to offer much information about the role played by women in pre-Islamic Arabia and during the early Islamic period, the role of men appears to be dominant. The role of women as soldiers in tribal wars before the coming of Islam was significant, however; and this significance continued after the coming of Islam.

There are examples of Muslim women undertaking Jihād in its broadest terms - including waging war - at the time of the prophet. These give further insight into the activity of Jihād. The prophet’s wife ‘Aisha, for instance, was known for her role in transmitting knowledge among Muslims, both men and women. 300 ‘Aisha also undertook Jihād in the battlefield. Khadija, the first wife


299 Ruth Roded, Women in Biographical Collection From Ibnu Sa’ad to Who’s Who ( USA: Lynne Rienner Publisher, 1994) , 1.

300 A very excellent book about the biographry of ‘Aisha and her role in Jihād in the broadest terms from doing the best effort in the path of God to wage the war, see Abdul Hāmid Thahmaz, Assayyidah ‘Āisyah, Ummul Mu’minin wa ‘alimatu nisa-I al-Islam, Indonesian translation by Abu Syauqi B ( Jakarta: Pustaka Arafah, 2001).
of the prophet Muhammad, dedicated her life and property to the continuation of Islamic preaching. Umm Haramm, daughter of Milhan, was the first Muslim to travel on water to undertake Jihād. Umm Sharik Ghaziyya and Umm Ayman are other examples of women who defended the continuation of the preaching of Islam in the early period.

Another woman who undertook Jihād in terms of defending the faith was Sumayya daughter of Hubbat, an old woman who was killed by the prominent leader of the Quraysh, Abu Jahl. Although the event did not occur in wartime, this woman became the first martyr of Islam: she died from torture inflicted by the pagan Arabs in Mecca. Asma, daughter of Abu Bakar, devoted herself to the safety of the prophet when the prophet fled from Mecca to Medina. Asma had a nickname - “She of the Two Girdles” - because she tore her clothes into two pieces to assist the prophet. Another example of a woman who participated in Jihād in terms of war was Nusayba daughter of Ka’ab - known as Umm Umara - who protected the prophet at the battle of Uhud.

In its broadest sense, Jihād is not different for men and women: females have the same obligations as males. However in the case of Jihād as warfare, women are not obliged to wage war. Although women have no obligation to wage war when it breaks out, nevertheless women’s participation in tending the

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301 For the case of Umm Haram who asked the prophet to pray for her to be the one of the first Muslims travelling on water to undertake Jihād, see Muhyiddin Abi Zakariyya Ibnu Sharaf an Nawawi al Dimashqi, al Adzkār an Nawawiyyah ( Bairut, Lebanon: Dar al Fikr, 1994 ), 206 .

302 Abdul Hamid Thahmaz, 33-34.

wounded is considered to be *Jihād*.\textsuperscript{304} The examples above offer understanding of the significant roles played by women in relation to *Jihād* from the early period of the history of Islam.

In his compilation of the Prophet’s sayings, Bukhari stated that performing the pilgrimage to Mecca is also part of women’s practice of *Jihād*. ‘A’isha (one of the prophet’s wives) once asked the Prophet for permission to take part in *Jihād* by waging war; the prophet replied that undertaking the pilgrimage is *Jihād*. Once Aisha said: ‘Ya Rasulullah, hal ala nisa'i Jihādun? Alā na’am Jihādun bilā qiālin: al hajj wal ‘umrah’.\textsuperscript{305} O prophet !, is there *Jihād* for women?, the prophet said: yes *Jihād* without waging war that is doing the pilgrimage (al Hajj wal umrah).\textsuperscript{306}

*Jihād* thus can be categorized into three kinds: the first is *Jihād* in terms of waging war when necessary, the second is *Jihād* by words and the third is *Jihād* by doing good deeds.\textsuperscript{307}

In Islamic history, ‘A’isha was one of the prophet’s wives: she was the one who took part in political matters and led *Jihād* in terms of war. Asma’ - her younger sister - was known as the narrator of the prophetic tradition (*Hadīth*): she did her best to spread the knowledge of Islam, which is also part of *Jihād*. It is worth noting that the involvement of women in *Jihād* in broad terms - either in

\textsuperscript{304} Bukhari, *Sahīhul Buhārī*, Maktabat Utsman Khalifah, Egypt, 1894, vol.3, Chapter *Jihād* (*Bābul Jihād*), 15-44. Bukhari is a prominent and reliable narrator of the Prophetic tradition.

\textsuperscript{305} Ibid., 15.

\textsuperscript{306} As Sulami, 201.

terms of waging war or of preaching can be observed in the history of Islam. Examples include: Umm al Khair binti al harīṣ al Barīqiyya, Azzarqa’ binti addi bin qais al hamdaniyyah, Ummu Sinān binti Jusyaimah bin al madzhaiyyah.  

Muslim women’s participation in Jiḥād in terms of waging war at the time of the prophet Muhammad was very significant, and included such female duties as providing water for the armies, cooking the food, and caring for the injured. In social life, women’s activities in helping their husbands in education, the political arena, and in various social activities can also be counted as female Jiḥād in the widest sense of that term. It is important to underline that all the duties that women have performed to help men - either in waging war or in social life - cannot be underestimated. Far from being only a ‘complement’, they have been a factor in the success of the men’s actions. Therefore, the role of Muslim women in performing Jiḥād in Islam is a key point in Muslim history. Islam makes women and men equal in their rights and duties.

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It is in terms of the discourse on *Jihād* in Islamic literature that the various meaning of *Jihād* can be understood. There is no single interpretation of this term: to interpret *Jihād* in extreme terms (such as ‘holy war’ alone), and not in terms of the other efforts made by Muslims, results in the corruption of its basic meaning. The concept of *Jihād* has a close relation to its operation as a cause and an effect in history. Therefore, to understand this concept is also to understand its history and the development of its interpretation from time to time.311

**Conclusion**

There are some points worth mentioning to conclude the previous discussion in this chapter in relation to *Jihād* in Islamic literature. First, to examine the meaning of *Jihād* semantically as well as in terms of Islamic *Sharī‘ah* is very important, since both semantics and Islamic *Sharī‘ah* are integral parts of the concept. One cannot easily understand the meaning of *Jihād* semantically by neglecting the understanding of *Jihād* in Islamic *Sharī‘ah*.

Therefore, to go back to the *Qur‘ān* and the *Hadīth* as well as to the historical process of the legislation of the concept of *Jihād* in Islamic *Sharī‘ah* is a must. Further, to understand the causes and effects related to *Jihād* in the early

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310 Further detailed about this see for example, Muassasah Dar al Tauhid Shafat, Kuwait, *al-Usrah al Muslimah* Indonesian translation by A.Chumaidi Umar ( Bandung: Mizan, 2001) , 29-51.

311 Esposito, 64. For further description of the *Jihād* in widest meaning played by Muslim women see, *Ibnu Sa‘ad*, vol. 8 edited by Edward Sachau 1904, 1-365. The year for the edition and the editor of Ibnu Sa’ad’s book is sometimes different one from another.
history of Islam will enrich and broaden the horizon of the social context of the society in the historical process. This will be very beneficial for those trying to understand the concept of Jihād in Islam.

To begin with this historical process is to know about the history of Jihād at the time of the prophet Muhammad until the emergence of a schism in Islam; it is also important to understand the concept of Jihād for women, since Jihād is often associated only with the masculine world.

CHAPTER III

SHARĪ’AH IN RELIGIOUS LITERATURE

Introduction

Long before the revelation of the Qurʾān, the word Sharī’ah had already existed in the Arabic language. A similar concept is also found in the Torah and the Bible. Therefore, it is significant to trace the meaning of the word Sharī’ah in the Torah and the Bible, in order to understand the meaning of Sharī’ah in those two books and to try to know the meaning of this word in Arabic as well as to reveal the meaning of this word in the Qurʾān. 312

Like the Qur’ān, the Torah and the Bible are believed to have been brought by messengers of God in the Middle Eastern World. It is worth bearing in mind that Monotheistic teachings never cease and always come to new forms of worship from time to time.

3.1. Islamic Sharī‘ah: Its Origin and Development

Sharī‘ah in the Arabic word means source of water where the people go to. In Islamic terms, Sharī‘ah means every teachings God revealed to the prophet such as praying, paying the alms etc.313

Sharī‘ah thus is used to denote Islamic law. Therefore, Islamic law is meant to be the path for the believer to gain the paradise in the hereafter. Sharī‘ah then is consisting of all the guidance for everyday life in relations to worship God and do social activities with the people. Since the Muslim people live in many different countries, the interpretation of Sharī‘ah teachings in some social cases not in the interpretation of Islamic creed or Tawhid (oneness of God) has many varieties. In legal practices, the interpretations are available in the Islamic jurisprudence or

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fiqh which means understanding. 314 Therefore the implementation of Sharī’ah is functioned as a social control for Muslim peoples in their daily life.315

Sharī’ah means ‘the clear path’. This is the path by which God makes it easy for humankind to return to goodness in life. It also means something that has been legislated in religion which means what has been legislated in the the Qur’ān and the Prophetic traditions (Hadīth).316 Sharī’ah was first legislated at the time of Noah, while criminal law and some other forms of law started from Adam, Syit and Idris and continued to Abraham, Moses, Isa and Muhammad.317 Thus it is a:

Detailed code of conduct or the canons comprising ways and modes of worship, standards of morals and life, laws that allow and prescribe that judge between right and wrong. Such canon law has been undergoing amendments from time to time and though each prophet had the same religion.318

Sharī’ah to Muslims is the complete guidance that covers all the tasks that Muslims should do. It consists of the teachings of ideology, ethics, morals,
spiritual as well as applied Islamic law.\textsuperscript{319} \textit{Shar\textquotesingle ah} also covers laws concerning private and public life.\textsuperscript{320} For Muslims, \textit{Shar\textquotesingle ah} evokes loyalty and becomes a focus of faith.\textsuperscript{321} \textit{Shar\textquotesingle ah} thus can be divided into two parts: the \textit{ibadat} or ‘act of worship’ and the \textit{muamalat} or ‘transaction’.\textsuperscript{322} This is the totality of \textit{Shar\textquotesingle ah} that is embodied in the pillars of Islam and represented in \textit{Fi\textquotesingle qh} or Islamic jurisprudence and \textit{tasawwuf} (Sufism). These two important pillars of \textit{Shar\textquotesingle ah} cover the legal law for daily life, eschatological, morals and ethics in Islam.\textsuperscript{323}

\textit{Shar\textquotesingle ah} thus has a special purpose in its implementation, better known in the terms of ulama as \textit{maqāsid al \textit{Shar\textquotesingle ah}} (the purpose of Islamic law). \textit{Maqāsid} is a plural form from the word \textit{maqṣūd} meaning to ask for something or to direct to somewhere. This is the terms the ulama give to denote the purpose of Islamic law, the result the Islamic law wants as well as the meanings existing in the implementation of Islamic law.\textsuperscript{324}

The main purpose of the concept of \textit{maqāsid al \textit{Shar\textquotesingle ah}} (the purpose of Islamic law) is to keep the goodness of people in general and the Muslims in particular. The purpose can be categorized into three kinds as follow:


\textsuperscript{320} Abdullahi Ahmad An Naim, \textit{Toward an Islamic Reformation, Civil Liberties, Human Right and International Law}, Foreword by John Voll (New York: Syracuse University Press, 1990), 11.


\textsuperscript{323} Ibid., 129-256.

\textsuperscript{324} Majma’ Buhust al Fi\textquotesingle qh al Islami Riasah Junhuriyyah Khartoum, \textit{Majallah Majma’ al Fi\textquotesingle qh al Islami} (Sudan: Hauliyyah, Ilmiyyah Muhakkamah, 2007), 2-3.
1. General purpose of *Sharī’ah*

2. The purpose of *Sharī’ah* in Islamic jurisprudence’s (Fīqh) perspective

3. The purpose of *Sharī’ah* for the decision of the legal law (Islamic jurisprudence or Fīqh).  

The first is the general purpose which consists of four kinds. They are: the first is to keep the continuaty of religion, the second is keep the dignity of one’s self, the third is to keep the mind, the fourth is to keep the offsprings and property,. This need is known as the primary needs (daruriyyat), since these four are the basic needs for life. *Sharī’ah* strictly bans any Muslim to transgress the rights these four have in connection with the social life and individual one.

The second stage is known as *hajiyyat* (the needs) this is concerning the needs of the people in daily life. The third is known as *tahsiniyyat* (the goodness). *Tahsiniyyat* means that the goodness is one of the principle of the implementation of *Sharī’ah* teachings. This is in accord with one of the formulations in *ushul fīqh* (the principle of law) the so called “*al-mashlahat al-mursalah,*” better knows as *istislah* (for the goodness). *Istislah* is the implementation of *Sharī’ah* teachings which is based on the goodness or the needs of the people or society. This stipulation is implemented in the case where

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325 Ibid., 7.

326 Ibid., 8-19.

327 Ibid., 19-23.
Sharī’ah teachings have no specific decision.  

Mashlahat (al-mashlahah) means to give advantages or something that gives advantages.

Therefore, the use of this concept is in parallel with the message of Sharī’ah teachings. According to a prominent Muslim Jurist, al-Syathibi the legislation of maqāsid al Sharī’ah (the purpose of Islamic law) is for the goodness of human life in worldly life as well as in the hereafter life.

According to Al-Shafī’i, the law is valid in accord with the situation and condition of one country or society. Thus, the implementation of law is always different from one place to other’s and from time to time. As the consequence, in Shafī’i’s opinion, the custom or habitual manner in one place could be in certain condition the basis for the implementation of law. Other prominent jurist from Maliki school, Al-Qarafī, further added that a mujtahid (one who tries to analyze and comes up with the decision of law) should know about the custom and habitual manner of the society concerned. It is with the hope that the law which will be implemented is not contradictory with the goodness and the need of that society.


332 Al-Syafi’i, al Risalah (Cairo : Dar at-Turats, 1989), 492.

The thought above shows that maqāsid al Shari‘ah (the purpose of Islamic law) is essentially in line with the need of human life as well as functioned as the education for human life. In short it is designed to keep the goodness in human life and to abolish the badness.

In connection with the position of the law and the material of the law, both could be said to have the same position in the history of Islamic thought. As a result was the emergence of the four Islamic legal schools known as Hanafi, with its founder, Abu Hanifah (d. 767 A.D) with its basis in Iraq, Maliki, with its founder, Malik bin Anas (d. 795 A.D), with its basis in Madinah; Shafi‘i with its founder, Imam Syaf‘i (d. 820 A.D) and Hanbali, with its founder, Imam Ahmad ibnu Hanbal (d. 855 A.D) with its basis in Baghdad.

One of the biggest school which is considered to be very attentive to the local tradition in deciding the law is Shafi‘i’s. Shafi‘i’s approach can be considered to be the successful in the intelectual process. Shafi‘i’s thought had a very important position in the discourse of Islamic jurisprudence and its implementation in society. His thought then was followed more sistematically by his follower, Abu Hasan Ali al-Mawardi (Basrah 974 H - Baghdad 1058

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334 Alal al Fasi, Maqasid al Syari‘ah al Islamiyyah wa Makarimuha (Cairo: Dar-Turats, no date), 3-9. See also

335 Imam Al-Ghazali, Al-Mustashfa min ‘Ilm al-Ushul, (Bairut: Dar al-Fikr, no date), 286-287. See also Muhammad Abu Zahrah, Al-Mubadar fi Tarikh al-Mazahib al-Fiqhiyyah (Bairut: Dar al-Fikr, no date), 237.


337 Ibid., 80.
A.D. Al-Mawardi was a prominent jurist who keenly try to adapt the *Sharī’ah* with the society’s need.338

In the Sunni tradition, Ibn Taymiyya is considered to be one of the thinkers of Islamic jurisprudence. His well-known book studying the political system in Islam is *al-siyasah al-syar’iyyah fi islahir ra’i war ra’iyyah* (the politics to govern the society). In this book, Taymiyyah puts an importance of the concept of trust in leadership (*amanah*).339 Further he says that the leadership needs two requirements, they are; the power and the trust.340 If a leader has both of these qualifications, he will be able to govern the society as well as to fulfill the duty to implement the law of God.341 The principles of *Sharī’ah* thus are:

1. The rights of God,
2. The rights of the self and
3. The rights of all creatures.342

These principles have general as well as special aims. The general aim is to implement justice for all humankind, whereas the special aims are as follows:

1. A religious aim, that is to keep the creed and worship.
2. An ethical aim, that is to keep the morals of the adherents parallel with the religious teachings.

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342 Sayyid Abul a’la al-Maudūdī, 158-159.
3. A human aim, that is to keep the honor of all humankind; this includes the honor of blood, property rights, and the freedom not to be unjustly subjugated by others.
4. An economic aim, that is to prevent the economic rights of the community from being unjustly transgressed by others.
5. Future aims, that is to keep the continuity of the regeneration of humankind by providing rules and guidance for the life of humankind.343

The knowledge of good understanding on the meaning and the position of *Sharī‘ah* in Islam, the position of the prophet as the one who brought the *Sharī‘ah*, as well as the religion which the prophet propagated is extremely important for the Muslims.344

In Islam, the *Hijra* in 622 A.D. was a very significant event since the number of converts increased. It was also after the *Hijra* that the first Muslim community was established in Medina. In the Meccan period, the revelations were primarily about the teachings of religious faith; in the Medinan period, the revelations were mostly about social and political norms and guidance. This was because the new Islamic society in Medina needed more fundamental teachings and regulations for daily life.345

The revelations in Medina were mostly on social and political matters because of the changing condition of the Muslim society: it became less oppressed and more secure. This historical and geographical context needed new suitable

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345 Abdullahi Ahmed An Na‘īm, 12.
regulations or laws for daily life. Therefore, the adjustment to the new situation and to the new Muslim state was inevitable.346

The formation of the Sharī‘ah in the history of Islam was a result of an intellectual process as well as social conditions and politics within Muslim society itself. Since the teachings of the Qur‘ān and the Hadīth needed to be interpreted in order to fit with the needs of society at that time, the translation of the Sharī‘ah from the written concepts in the Qur‘ān and Hadīth to suit the real needs of society began.347 It is also worth noting that the revelation of the Qur‘ān to the prophet Muhammad was a gradual process. Some of the verses were revealed to address the social problems faced by Muslim society; they governed Muslim relations to non-Muslims and among the Muslims themselves.

The basis of Islamic Sharī‘ah as the source of Islam was not based only on Divine will without any relation to the needs of society. As a consequence of this, the Islamic Sharī‘ah cannot be understood properly without knowing the reasons behind the revelations.348 These Islamic traditions - and the process of the formation of Islamic law - were attempts to find the will of God and they were very meaningful.349 Thus, Sharī‘ah functions as the ideal will of God; and Fīqh

346 Ibid., 13.


348 The reason for the revelation is known as Ashbāb al Nuzūl ayat al Qur‘ān. The knowledge about the reasons of the revelations is becoming compulsory to understand and to interpret the Qur‘ān. See for example, Muhammad Ali al Shabuni, al Tibyān fi Ulūmil Qur‘ān, Makkah Mukarramah, 1980. Unfortunately this book has no publisher name, it is only written, published by the expenses of Hasan Abbās Sharbiti for the sake of Allāh. See also Jalāluddīn al Suyūtī, al Itqān fi Ulumil Qur‘ān ( Bairut: Dar al Fikr, lit Tib‘ah wat Tauzī‘, no date) . and Subhi al Shālīh, Mabahits fi Ulumil Qur‘ān.

or Islamic jurisprudence is the concrete attempt to realize it.\textsuperscript{350} For Muslims the only way to know the will of God is to go back to the Qur‘ān and the Prophetic traditions (Hadīth) by using reason, intuition, historical studies, the universe, observed facts, the consensus of pious people, prayer and requests.\textsuperscript{351} Therefore, both the Qur‘ān and the Prophetic traditions (Hadīth) have the highest place in Sharī‘ah.\textsuperscript{352} In Islam, submission is only to God whose orders and prohibitions are to be followed;\textsuperscript{353} and these orders and prohibitions are reflected in Sharī‘ah.

The formative period of Sharī‘ah took place during the first three centuries of Islam (seventh to ninth centuries A.D.) In this period of formation, it is worth bearing in mind that the development of social and political conditions at that time had significant influence on the formulation of Islamic Sharī‘ah. It is also worth noting that during this period, the number of converts to Islam increased significantly. The increasing number of Muslims surely enriched the pattern of the Muslim community, making it a very pluralistic community in terms of its inclusion of people from various social and cultural backgrounds. Therefore, the formulation of Sharī‘ah was always linked with the sociological context of the Muslim community,\textsuperscript{354} since moderation is the core of Sharī‘ah.\textsuperscript{355}

\textsuperscript{350} Ibid., 61-62.
\textsuperscript{351} Ibid., 127.
\textsuperscript{352} Ibid., 128.
\textsuperscript{354} Abdullāhī Ahmed An Naim, 14.
After the Romans, the Arabs were the people who formulated the science of jurisprudence during the middle Ages. It is from this jurisprudence - i.e. Islamic jurisprudence - that an independent system of jurisprudence which they called **Fiqh** developed. This jurisprudence was based on two important sources of Islam - i.e. the *Qurʾān* and the prophetic tradition (*Hadīth*). The formation of the system might have been influenced by the Greco-Roman system of law but not in terms of its content. Islamic jurisprudence or **Fiqh** covers many aspects of **Sharīʿah** such as the practice of worship, the obligations of civilians, the laws of daily life and the laws concerning criminal penalties.\(^{356}\)

Due to the differences in the social conditions and cultural backgrounds of Muslim societies, the thought of Islamic jurisprudence developed into some different schools, such as the **Hanafi** school in Iraq which stresses the importance of using reason in interpreting the *Qurʾān* and the Prophetic traditions (*Hadīth*); the **Maliki** school which stresses the importance of using the prophetic traditions (*Hadīth*) and the **Shafiʿi** school which tries to harmonize both methods.\(^{357}\)

In a further development of the process of the introduction of Islam beyond Arabia, cultural assimilation took place in the regions where Islam was introduced, such as Spain in the West and to northern India in the East. As a consequence of this, Islam is enriched by various ethnic and cultural groups. Some of them have had their own sophisticated culture and civilization such as India. It was during the period of the late Umayyad and the early Abbasid

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\(^{357}\) Ibid., 499.
Caliphates that the assimilation and acculturation process took place. However, due to the lack of transportation facilities during the seventh and eighth centuries, this process was not accelerated.\textsuperscript{358} In the next few centuries, the development of \textit{Sharī‘ah} as well as Islamic arts and science grew rapidly.\textsuperscript{359}

The Islamization process also took place during the Umayyad period. After the period of the old Umayyad Dynasty, the Abbasid also tried to apply \textit{Sharī‘ah} in a more comprehensive and strict fashion. In the early era of the Abbasid Caliphate, the practice of \textit{Sharī‘ah} might have been true; however in later developments the practice eventually did not fit with \textit{Sharī‘ah}. In spite of these changes, it is important to note that the development of \textit{Sharī‘ah} in this era gave a crucial formulation to the fundamental concepts of \textit{Sharī‘ah} in particular and to general principles. The majority of Muslims adhere to the Sunni schools of Islamic jurisprudence.\textsuperscript{360}

In the early stage of the development of Islamic jurisprudence, controversy emerged concerning the \textit{Sharī‘ah} and its relation to the exemplary actions of the Prophet and his companions. The reason for the controversy was the lack of data attributed to the life of the Prophet.\textsuperscript{361}

Since 622 A.D. the Muslim community had already become a political entity. This was in accordance with the needs of the community at that time. The \textit{Qur‘ān} and the guidance of the living Prophet were the fundamental sources of \textit{Sharī‘ah} or Islamic law, on which the Muslim community relied to solve its

\textsuperscript{358} Abdullahi Ahmed An Naim, 14.
\textsuperscript{359} Ibid., 15.
\textsuperscript{360} Ibid., 15-16.
\textsuperscript{361} Ibid., 16.
problems. After the death of the Prophet, the codified Qurʾān and the prophetic traditions become two important fundamental sources of Sharīʿah. It is worth noting that the surviving companions of the prophet, although they varied in the degree of their knowledge about the Qurʾān and the prophetic tradition, became the third source of Sharīʿah. After that time (since various opinions should be examined according to their strengths), in further developments the concept of *ijmaʿ* or ‘consensus’ becomes a source of Sharīʿah. In the first century of Islam, despite the fact that knowledge about the Qurʾān and the prophetic traditions had been codified, the majority of Muslim people were still relying on memory and oral tradition. It was not until the second century after the birth of Islam that all these sources were systematically recorded and developed. In the second century, *Sunna* became a more authoritative source of Sharīʿah.\(^{362}\) In sum it can be said that Sharīʿah as a systematic Islamic law was not formulated until the second century of Islam, although the materials were already available in the Qurʾān and the Sunna or Prophetic tradition.\(^{363}\)

The formulation of Sharīʿah as a systematic form of law was done by Muslim scholars and jurists in Islamic centres such as Medina and Mecca in western Arabia, Basra and Kufa in southern Iraq, Damascus in Syria and in Egypt.\(^{364}\) There are four sources of Sharīʿah, namely: the Qurʾān, the Sunna of the Prophet, *Ijmaʿ* (consensus) and *Qiyas* or ‘reasoning by analogy’.\(^{365}\) The

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\(^{362}\) Ibid., 16-17.

\(^{363}\) Ibid., 17

\(^{364}\) Abdullahi Ahmed An Naim, 14.

\(^{365}\) Ibid., 19. Further about the Qurʾān and Sunna as the most authoritative of Islamic Sharīʿah, see Muhammad Alwi Al Maliki, *Ar Risālah al Islamiyyah*, kamāluḥā wa khulūdūḥā wa aʿlāmiyyatuhā, Indonesian translation by Abdul Mustaqim ( Yogyakarta: eLSAQ Press, 2003 ), 1-41.
logical sequence of *Sharī’ah* as the Islamic legal system thus began from the *Qur’ān* as the first Divine revelation; then the *Sunna* or prophetic tradition as the explanation of the *Qur’ān*, since the Prophet was the intermediary between the message of God and humanity. It was after the death of the Prophet that the consensus of Islamic scholars who were familiar with the *Qur’ān* and the tradition of the Prophet Muhammad became the third source; and *Qiyās* (‘reasoning by analogy’) which was the product of the *Ijtihād* of Muslim scholars, appeared in the second third centuries of Islam.\(^{366}\)

Since the *Qur’ān* is the primary source of Islamic law, all the interpretations of the Muslim jurist scholars must be in accord with the principles of the *Qur’ān*.\(^{367}\) Indeed *Sunna* or the prophetic tradition is also used as a complementary source to understand the *Qur’ān* since the function of the *Sunna* or the prophetic tradition is to serve as an explanation of the *Qur’ān*. The term *Sunna* from early Islam was used to refer to all the traditions of the Prophet in the forms of sayings, conduct and deeds.\(^{368}\)

### 3.2. *Sharī’ah in the Qur’ān*

The word *Sharī’ah* in the *Qur’ān* appears first in *al Jatsiyah* 45:18. The *Qur’ān* says:

\[
\text{Tsumma raja’nāka alā syarī’atīn minal amri fattabi’hā walā tattabi’ ahwā alladzīna lā ya’lamūn.}\(^{369}\)
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\(^{366}\) Ibid., 19.

\(^{367}\) Ibid., 20.

\(^{368}\) Abdullahi Ahmed An Naim, 14.

\(^{369}\) *Qur’ān*, see Yusuf Ali, *Original Arabic Text with English Translation & Selected Commentary and translation* ( Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia: Saba Islamic Media, Sdn Bhd, 1999 ), al
'Then we put thee on the right Way of Religion: so follow thou that (Way), and follow not the desires of those who know not.'

After that in as Syūrā 42:13, the Qurʾān says:

_Sharaʿa lakum minaddīnī mā wassā bihi nūhan walladzī awhaynā ilaika wamā wassāynā bihi Ibraahīma wa mūsā wa ‘Īsā an aqīmuddīna walā tatāfarraqū fīhi, kabura ‘alāl muṣyrikīna mā tadʾāhum ilaihi, Allahu yajtab ilaihi man yasyū u wa yahdī ilaini man yunību._

‘The same religion has He established for you as that which He enjoined on Noah - that which We sent by inspiration to thee – and that which We enjoined on Abraham, Moses, and Jesus: Namely, that ye should remain steadfast in Religion, and make no divisions therin: those who chooses to Himself those whom He pleases, and guides to Himself those who turn to Him.’

Then in another verse, al Māīdah 5:48, the Qurʾān says:

_Wa anzalnā ilaikal kitāba bilhaqqi mushaddiqan limā baina yadaīhi minal kitābīn wa muhaiminan alaihi, fahkum bainahum bimā anzalAllahu walā tattabiʿ ahwā ahum ‘ammā jā aka minal haqqi, likullin jaʿalnā minkum syīr ʿatan wa minhājan, walau syā Allahu lajaʿalakum ummatan wāhidatan wāhidatan wāhidatan liyabluwakum fī mā ātkum, fastabiquul khairaat, ilallahi marjīʿukum jamīʿan an fayunabbiukum bimā kuntum fīhi takhtalifūn._

To thee We sent the Scripture in truth, confirming the scripture that came before it, and guarding it in safety, so judge between them by what God hath revealed, and follow not their vain desires, diverging from the truth that hath come to thee. To each among you have We prescribed a Law and an open way. If God hath so eilled, He would have hade you a single people, but His plan is to test you in what He hath given you: so strive as in a race in all virtues. The goal of you all is to God: it is He that will show you the truth of the matters in which ye dispute.

Then in as Syūrā 42:21, the Qurʾān says:

_Jatsiyah (45:18), 616. According to Yusuf Ali, Sharʿīʿah is best translated the ‘right Way of Religion’: which is wider then the mere formal rites and legal provisions, which mostly came in the Medinah period, long after this Makkah verse had been revealed._

370 Ibid., as Syūrā 42:13, 596.

371 Ibid., al Māīdah, 5: 48, 141.
‘What! Have they partners (in godhead), who have established for them some religion without the permission of God? Had it not been for the Decree of Judgment, the matter would have been decided between them (at once). But verily the wrong doers will have a grievous Penalty’.

Semantically the word Shari‘ah means ‘a method’ or ‘the way’ as in al Jatsiyah 45:18. There it says that God has given the method and the way of religion to you all though His prophets Noah, Ibrahim, Jesus, Muhammad etc.

The word Shari‘ah in the language used in the Qur‘an does not mean ‘legislation’. The word Shari‘ah appears in two forms: Shari‘ah appears as a noun in al Jatsiyah 45:18; and as the verb Shara‘a in asy Syura 42:13. Both these verses are Meccan verses, revealed before the legislation of Islamic law, which began when the Prophet Muhammad migrated to Medina.373

The derivation of this word is al syir‘ah in the Qur‘an, where it is found in al Māidah 5:48. This verse was revealed in Medina after the legislation. This verse was revealed not to enable legislation but for the punishment of adultery; this also exists in the Torah, which prescribes stoning (rajam) for Jewish adulterers.374

When the Qur‘an outlines the legislation of law - tashri’ - it does not mention the word Shari‘ah, not even in one of its derivative forms, although some of the laws are in the form of commands. Examples of this include al A‘rāf 7:29, where the Qur‘an says:

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372 Ibid., as Syūrā, 42:21, 597.

373 Asymawi, 21.

374 Ibid., 23.
Say: ‘My Lord hath commanded justice: and that ye set your whole selves to Him at every time and place of prayer, and call upon Him, making your devotion sincere as in His sight: such as He created you in the beginning, so shall ye return.’

In another verse, an Nisa 4:24, the Qur’an says:

‘Also prohibited are women already married, except those whom your right hand possesses?  Thus hath God ordained (prohibitions) against you: except for these, all others are lawful, provided ye seek (them in marriage) with gifts from your property, desiring chastity, not lust; seeing that ye derive benefit from them, give them their dowers at least as prescribed; but if, after the dower is prescribed, agree mutually to vary it, there is no blame on you and God is all knowing, all-wise.’

Drawing on the above examples from the Qur’an showing that in Islam Sharī’ah is used to refer to the major method; Asymawi suggests that Islamic Sharī’ah was influenced by other religions such as Christianity and Judaism. Asymawi says that as in the Jewish tradition, in Islam the word Sharī’ah has also changed from its original meaning. The Sharī’ah is understood as ‘the rules’ in the Qur’an, ‘the method’ in religion, the rule of worship, the legislation of law and social law, all the rules in the prophetic tradition, and the opinions of the jurists, exegetes, commentators and religious leaders. Thus the sources of Sharī’ah according to Muslim scholars are: the Qur’an, the Hadīth, Ijma’

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375 Qur’an, see Yusuf Ali, al A’raf:7:29, 185.

376 Ibid., an Nisā 4:24, 105-106.
(‘consensus’ and *Qiyās* (‘analogy’). According to Asymawi, these interpretations have caused much difficulty in understanding religion.377

Asymawi then comments that the word *Sharī‘ah* in religious understanding does not reveal its authentic semantic meaning - that is, ‘the place of watering’ or ‘the way or method’. This word has an etymological meaning, but it has come to mean ‘all the law in Islam, anything related to religion and anything related to the legislation of laws, either in the *Qur’ān, Hadīth, Ijma’* or exegesis.378

Asymawi’s accusation of similarity in the character of the deviation in the *Talmud* and the *Qur’ān* is ambiguous: the two are incomparable. In the case of the *Talmud* for instance, when he explains about the Talmud as the sacred book of the Jews, he mentions that the oral traditions of the Jewish prophets and the explanations of the Jewish rabbies have all been included in what is known as the *Talmud.*379 This kind of corruption of the text does not happen in *Islam.* Although the explanations of Muslim scholars are often considered to be included in the totality of the Islamic *Sharī‘ah*, the text of the *Qur’ān* has never been mixed with those explanations. The main problem with the deviations of the Christians and the Jews is their corruption of the original messages of the *Bible* and the

378 Ibid., 26.
379 Ibid., 17.
Torah that emphasize monotheism. It is for this reason that Islam considers both Jews and Christians have deviated from the true teachings of Moses and Jesus.\(^{380}\)

Asymawi himself does not give any clear explanation of Sharī‘ah. Instead he only explains the general principles of Sharī‘ah, and the backgrounds of the Muslim scholars that might affect their bias in interpreting Sharī‘ah. The second point is that the revelation of Sharī‘ah has some causes.\(^{381}\) The third is that the revelation of Sharī‘ah was intended to realize prosperity and benefit society.\(^{382}\) The fourth is that some Sharī‘ah teachings were only for the Prophet Muhammad and some others related to events which happened at that time.\(^{383}\) The fifth is that the Islamic Sharī‘ah always has relations to the past, since Sharī‘ah is a continuation of the messages of previous prophets. Thus the root of Sharī‘ah is not separate from the society where the word Sharī‘ah was revealed. Sharī‘ah also adopted the good customs and culture of society as an element of law.\(^{384}\)

Thus in Asymawi’s opinion, Sharī‘ah is the method that leads to progress, by continually creating laws without freezing the law itself. Sharī‘ah is a continuous spirit in which Islamic authorities create new rules, implement reforms and give new interpretations; nevertheless, it is not frozen to the rules, implementation or interpretations.\(^{385}\) Sharī‘ah is a motor that generates movement, as its aim is for the prosperity and the benefit of humankind; it ensures

\(^{380}\) For more detailed explanation and argument about this crucial matter regarding the deviation of both Jews and Christian in Islamic point of view, see, Ibnu Taymiyyah, al Jawāb al Shahīh Liman Baddala Dīn al Masīh, 2 Vols ( Cairo: Maktabah Tijāriyyah, no date ).

\(^{381}\) Asymawi, 53-68.

\(^{382}\) Ibid., 69-74.

\(^{383}\) Ibid., 74-81.

\(^{384}\) Ibid., 81-90.

\(^{385}\) Ibid., 212.
that the interpreter of a text does not stop at its literal meaning. Examples of this can be found in the *Sharī‘ah* canons of Moses, Jesus and Muhammad.\(^{386}\)

Asymawi does not offer a solution about how *Sharī‘ah* may be understood in detail; he only gives the outline of *Sharī‘ah* mentioned above. However, he does offer a reflection for the understanding of *Sharī‘ah* in relation to the needs of society in a changing world. His reflections deserve to be recognized in relation to the reformulation of a better understanding of *Sharī‘ah*.\(^{387}\) Observing his reflections, one can estimate that his disappointment about the implementation of *Sharī‘ah* in his own country, Egypt, where he is much involved in the field of Islamic law, might be one of the reasons for his attitude.

### 3.2. a. The Place of the Law in Islam

The main goal of any law is to maintain the stability of the social life of a society. Since the law is formulated to benefit humans, law is always based on the interests of the maker. In man-made laws for instance, the interest of the law-makers in a particular society is reflected in the formulation of the law. Therefore, after time passes, along with changes of rulers and social values, the law also changes.\(^{388}\) It is worth bearing in mind that although the values of societies are said to be based on selected religious teachings that have been chosen by a consensus of community leaders and elders, there is often ambiguity

\(^{386}\) Ibid., 212-213.

\(^{387}\) Further about Asymawi’s reflection see Ibid., 209-233.

regarding what a society considers legal and what religious teachings actually do.\textsuperscript{389}

In Islam there is no such ambiguity, since it has formulated the key to understanding the \textit{Sharī'ah}. Islamic society is bound by the testimony of Islam - called the \textit{Shahāda} - that clearly testifies that there is no god but Allah. As the consequence of this testimony, Muslim society accepts Allah both as the Lawgiver and the Sustainer of the universe. It is only He who has the authority to determine what is lawful and what is unlawful. Therefore the revelation becomes obligatory on all Muslims. The Prophet himself as the messenger had no authority to determine the \textit{Sharī'ah}.\textsuperscript{390}

Before the advent of Islam, the \textit{Ka'ba} in Mecca had been a symbol of monotheism for a long time, since it was built by the prophet Ibrahim as the father of monotheism. In a further development, the people adhering to monotheism tended to deviate from the Abrahamic form of monotheism. This phenomenon could be observed in the system of polytheistic belief reflected in Mecca around the \textit{Ka'ba}; before the advent of Islam, more than 360 idols existed there.\textsuperscript{391} The polytheistic system of belief then spread widely through the Arabian Peninsula.

\textsuperscript{389} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{390} Ibid., 5.

\textsuperscript{391} The denial of the pagan Arabs to the monotheism propagated by the Prophet is not the problem of admitting Allah as the only God to preserve Universe but their denial is because the testimony of Islam known as Shahada begin with the sentence Lā Ilāha, demanded the eliminations of their gods, and affirmation Illallāh afterward demanded their submission to the will of allah. This means that they have to surrender to the teaching of Islam as their way of life. The problem of the Oneness of Allah is called \textit{Tawḥīd Rubūbiyyah} and \textit{Tawḥīd Ulūhiyyah}. \textit{Tawḥīd Rubūbiyyah} only demands the admittance that God is the preserver and Sustainer of the world and the universe, while tauhid \textit{Tawḥīd Ulūhiyyah} demands the submission to the Will of Allāh as the only God to be worshipped and obeyed. The implication of \textit{Shahāda} (Islamic testimony) is that the Pagan Arab if they accept Islam should leave their idols as their gods and surrender to the will of Allāh which is embodied in Islamic teachings. See for this, Sayyid Abul A'la Maudūdi, \textit{Four Basic Qur'ānic Terms}, English rendering by Abu Asad ( Lahore, Pakistan: Islamic Publications LtD., Shah Alam Market, 1979 ), 1-77.
Some of the former polytheists converted to Christianity. The town grew and developed commercial life. There was no organized government. Some people lived in freedom and others were the slaves of their masters. The political system rested in the hands of rich men. Although it is also worth noting that the Arabs were known for their generosity to guests, hospitality, honesty and courage; nevertheless before the advent of Islam they were also known as people who liked to do evil for the sake of their own satisfaction.392

The Prophet Muhammad was born into this environment. He was commanded by God to reintroduce monotheism as the most important belief for humankind. During his mission, the Prophet endured humiliation and harassment for promoting the new faith, which the pagan Arabs considered to threaten the existing polytheism. The testimony Lā Ilāha IllAllah, ‘There is no god but Allah’, demanded total submission to God: this would eliminate the belief in other gods and require everyone to obey and submit only to one God. Muslims were to surrender only to the will of Allah, and not to the will of influential people or the rich.393 As Allah says:

\[
\text{Inna shalatī wānumukī wa mahyāya wamamātī lillāhirabitīmān}.
\]

‘Say my prayer, my ritual sacrifice, my living my dying all belongs to Allah the Lord of the worlds’.

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393 Ibid.

394 Qur’ān, see Yusuf Ali, 6: 162, 180.
In this message, which became known as Islam, the position of Allah as propagated by the Prophet was that of the only lawgiver. Since the function of the Messenger was to explain the will of Allah through His sacred book (the Qur’ān), thus the prophetic tradition became the second source for Muslims to use to obey the Prophet, since the traditions about him are also expressions of the will of Allah.\textsuperscript{395}

In his lifetime, the Prophet saw almost the whole of the Arabian Peninsula come under the guidance of Islam. Within a quarter of a century of his death, Afghanistan, Iran, Iraq, Syria, part of Turkey, Egypt, Palestine, Lebanon, the Sudan, Yemen, Libya and Tunisia were under Muslim control.\textsuperscript{396} The propagation of Islam was continued by the companions of the Prophet through the medium of education. Great cities like Mecca, Madina, Basra, Kufa, Cairo and Damascus become centers of Islamic learning. It was through the rapid growth of Islamic educational institutions that eventually Islam spread beyond the Arabian Peninsula.\textsuperscript{397} It is worth noting that Islamic law is essentially a medium of communication between God and humankind to implement the God’s laws through the choice, statement and decision.\textsuperscript{398}

Some principles of sharī‘ah that can be underlined are:

(1) The revealed principles of law cover all aspects of human activities. As Islam demands total submission it ought to provide laws and guidance to cover all facets of human activity. In fact the Qur’ān together with the Sunna of the

\textsuperscript{395} M. Mustafā Al-Azamī, 8.

\textsuperscript{396} Ibid., 9.

\textsuperscript{397} Ibid. 8.

\textsuperscript{398} Imran Ahsan Khan Nyazee, \textit{Theories of Islamic Law} (Islamabad: Islamic Research Institute and International Institute of Islamic Thought, 1945), 64.
Prophet cover all legal aspects of life either in the form of general rules or in detail; as for example in the laws on inheritance, marriage and certain crimes.\textsuperscript{399}

(2) The revealed law is binding on the community: even the Prophet had to follow what was revealed to him. Whoever does not follow the revealed law and does not judge according to it is counted an unbeliever. Whoever rejects the divine revelation and acknowledges anyone but Allah as authorized to legislate is not a Muslim. The revealed law is inalterable: no one had authority to alter the law. Even the Prophet could not alter the divine revelation of his own volition.\textsuperscript{400}

Observing matters from an historical perspective, it is clear that \textit{Sharī’ah} had already been established at the time of the Prophet, not afterward.\textsuperscript{401} However, it must also be admitted that the discourse about \textit{Sharī’ah} developed further after the time of the Prophet, especially after the emergence of the Islamic jurisprudence schools.

At the time of the Prophet, it was the Prophet himself who was the single interpreter of the divine message. The Prophet’s role can be observed in the Qur’ānic passages that explain it. The Qur’ān explains the role of the Prophet as follows: he is ‘Expounder of the Qur’ān’.\textsuperscript{402} The Prophet is the expounder of the Qur’ān and was so appointed by Allah. Allah says:

\begin{quote}
\textit{Wa anzalnā ilaika zikrā litubayyīna liinnaśi mā nazzala ilaihim wa la’allahum yatafakkarān.}\textsuperscript{403}
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{399} M. Mustafa Al-Azami, 8.
\textsuperscript{400} Ibid., 10-13.
\textsuperscript{401} Ibid., 13.
\textsuperscript{402} M. Mustafa Al-Azami, 13.
\textsuperscript{403} Qur’ān, see Yusuf Ali, 16:44, 322.
‘We have sent down unto thee the Message; that thou mayest explain clearly to men what is sent for them, and that they may give thought.’

Thus the Qur‘ān repeats - if we may take salāt (praying) as an example – orders for salāt (praying) at numerous places but does not prescribe in detail the manner of prayer. The responsibility for passing this on by practical demonstration as well as orally was entrusted to the Prophet.

The Prophet was also a legislator.404 Speaking about the legislative power of the Prophet, Allah the Almighty says:

Wa yahillu lahum al tayyibāt wa yuharrimu alaihim al khabāīts wa yadha’u ‘anhum asrahum wal aghlāla latī kānat ‘alaihim fallazīna āmanū bihi wa azarū wa nasharū wattaba’ū annūral lazi anzala ma’ahu ulāîka humul muflīhūn.405

‘He allows them as lawful what is good (and pure) and prohibits them from what is bad (and impure); he releases them from their heavy burdens and from the yokes that are upon them. So it is those who believe in him, honour him, help him, and follow the light which is sent down with him,-it is they who will prosper’.

The Prophet was also Mutā’ - ‘one to be obeyed’. Many verses in the Qur‘ān order total obedience to the Prophet.406 For example:

Wamā arsalnā min rasūlin illa liyutā ‘a bi'dznillāh.407

‘We sent not a Messenger, but to be obeyed, in accordance with the will of God.’

404 M. Mustafa Al-Azami, 13.
405 Qur‘ān, see Yusuf Ali, 7:157, 204.
406 M. Mustafa Al-Azami, 14.
It therefore can be deduced that all Muslims are bound by *Sharī'ah*, since it represents the will of Allah for the Muslim life.\(^{408}\)

According to Arabic lexicography, *Sunna* means a ‘way, course, rules, mode or manner of acting, or conduct of life’.\(^{409}\) The word was used in pre-Islamic as well as in Islamic poetry with the same literary meanings.\(^{410}\) Therefore the use of *Sunna* by the Prophet was a continuation of the meaning of *Sunna* in the Arabic language. There is no ambiguity in applying *Sunna* to the tradition of the Prophet. In further developments, this word is used in Islamic literature as an equivalent to *Hadīth* to refer to the Islamic norms that the Prophet Muhammad taught.\(^{411}\)

There is misunderstanding about *Sharī'ah* and *fiqh* or Islamic jurisprudence. Islamic law is often explained both as a Divine law and as jurists’ law. To compare the Divine Revelation (*Sharī'ah*) and the human reasoning of Islamic jurists is misleading, and prevents a better understanding of *Sharī'ah*.\(^{412}\) *Sharī'ah* is ‘a comprehensive system of personal and public behavior’, whereas Islamic jurisprudence or *fiqh* is the effort of Islamic scholars to understand

\(^{408}\) M. Mustafa Al-Azami, 15.


\(^{410}\) M. Mustafa Al-Azami, 30.

\(^{411}\) Ibid., 31. Further detail about Sunna see Ismail R. Al-Faruqi, and Louis Lamya al Faruqi, 112-140.

Sharī'ah. The main duty driving this effort is to formulate the principles of Islam from the sources of the Qur‘ān and Hadīth so that this formulation can be used to further elaborate the sources (Qur‘ān and Hadīth). Therefore this legal theory is known in Islamic tradition as Usūl al Fīqh or the ‘origins of understanding’.413

This effort is known as Ijtihād in Islamic terms. This effort is a key to the dynamic of Islamic discourse in the later period. This example is also based on the event when the Prophet sent Muadh ibn Jabal to propagate Islam. When the Prophet asked what he would do if he had a problem, Muadh ibn Jabal answered that he would look for the answer in the Qur‘ān; and then the Prophet asked again, what if you do not find it; Muadh then answered that he would look for it in the prophetic traditions; then the Prophet asked if he could not find it in the hadīth or the prophetic tradition; Muadh then answered that he would make an effort by using his reason. Prophet then praised Muadh for his intelligence.414

Reasoning is used because there are two kinds of teachings in Islam. The first type is the absolute teachings. These absolute teachings are universals and eternals. These teachings can be found in the Qur‘ān and the truest prophetic tradition - known as hadīth mutawātir in Arabic. The second type includes the teachings that are not absolute: they are relative and changeable. These teachings are the understanding of Islamic scholars in their efforts to understand Sharī'ah.415

413 Ibid., 3.
Therefore *Ijtihād* or ‘reasoning’ can be said to be the key to the dynamic of Islam.\(^{416}\) *Ijtihād* functions as a key to offer solutions for the problems of Muslim societies at the present time and in the future. *Ijtihād* thus becomes the third source of law in Islam. In the development of Islamic history as well as in the Islamic golden ages, *Ijtihād* has been proved to play a significant role in the development of science and knowledge in Islam.\(^{417}\) In Islamic tradition this method is accepted as the effort to understand the whole teachings of Islam based on the *Qurʾān* as the Divine Revelation and the prophetic tradition as a complementary source to the *Qurʾān*. It is for this reason that the function of the Prophet as an instrument and intermediary between God and humankind is needed.\(^{418}\)

Islamic *Sharī‘ah* is thus the part of Islam that deals with the relations between human beings and their Creator and between humans. In Islam, doing the duties that are obliged by *Sharī‘ah* is also required by the creed which is known as *al Aqīdah* in Islam. In Islam, the creed - that is the testimony that there is no God but Allah and Muhammad is the messenger of Allah - is the fundamental requirement before fulfilling all the obligations obliged by Islam. Both *Sharī‘ah* and *Aqīdah* are integral parts of Islamic teachings. *Al- Aqīdah* (the creed) is the root of Islam and *Sharī‘ah* is the branches. Both *Al- Aqīdah* and *Sharī‘ah* are based on the Qur’anic teachings and the prophetic traditions.\(^{419}\)

\(^{416}\) Ibid., 113.

\(^{417}\) Ibid., 116.

\(^{418}\) Noel J.Coulson, 4.

Therefore, Islamic jurisprudence in Islam can be formulated as the intellectual process and activities used to transform the message of the Divine Revelation so that it can be easily understood by Muslims. The result of the transformation of the message is codified into a legal system to fulfill the needs of Muslim societies in daily life in relation to their rights and duties.\textsuperscript{420} In relation to this, it is worth bearing in mind that Islam consists of the Divine law - \textit{Sharī‘ah}, the spiritual path - \textit{Tarekat}, and the \textit{Hakekat as} - the source - which underlie performing the duties.\textsuperscript{421}

In the early period of Islamic law, the connection between the doctrine and the practice was very tight as the Prophet was alive and was the only source to ask about problems. In this period, the law was growing into an actual law determined by the Prophet. Examples of this can also be found in the following periods, such as the well-known period of the Caliph Umar. As the need for laws for daily life was growing more and more serious, the earliest scholar to compile a compendium of Islamic law, Imam Malik, formulated the actual legal practice based on the society he lived in - i.e. Medinan society.\textsuperscript{422}

According to Coulson the \textit{Sharī‘ah} is both a code of law and a code of morals. It is a comprehensive scheme for human behaviour which derives from the one ultimate authority of the will of Allah so that the dividing line between

\begin{itemize}
\item\textsuperscript{420} Noel J.Coulson, 42.
\item\textsuperscript{421} Seyyed Hossein Nasr, \textit{Islamic Art and Spirituality}, Indonesian translation by Sutejo (Bandung: Mizan, 1993 ), 15. What Nasr means is actually in accord with Islam which requires the purity of the creed before doing the religious duties which are embodied in Islamic law (Sharī‘ah), since the purity of the creed is dealing with the inner side of Islamic law or spiritual aspect of Islam. \textit{Sharī‘ah} itself as has been explained previously is consisting of the outer aspect of law known as Islamic jurisprudence and inner aspect (Islamic spirituality of Tasawwuf). All of this is indeed in the frame of Islamic creed ('\textit{Aqīdah}).
\item\textsuperscript{422} Noel J.Coulson, 60. Further explanation about the earliest complete legal theory see, Mālik ibn Anās, \textit{Muwatta and its explanation Tanwīrul Hawālik} by al-Suyūtī (Cairo: Shirkah Maktubah Mustafā al Babi al Halabi, 1951).
\end{itemize}
The distinction between moral and legal rules is not clear and consistent in the Qur’ān. The Qur’ān only outlines the fundamentals of the principles of right and wrong, good and bad, proper and improper etc. It does not explain in detail about the legal consequences. An example of this is the amputation of the hand for theft.424

Although there is a clear distinction between the monotheism that was propagated by Islam as a continuation of the Message of God to the previous prophets and earlier monotheisms, still in the development of Islamic history, the problem of faith became a subject of controversial debate. This is because faith is the very essence of Islam: it separates those who believe in the message of Islam brought by the Prophet and those who do not. In addition this theological problem touches the problem of interpretation based on the existence of God, the Qur’ān and the prophetic tradition. The discourse and debate during the development of Islamic history became a factor in the emergence of Ijtihād or reasoning in theology.425

423 Ibid., 80.

424 Noel J.Coulson, 60.

425 It is interesting to observe the example of the Muslim scholars in relations to the theological problems such as the existence of God, character, the Qur’ān and the will of God, the destiny etc. This problem is becoming very crucial in Islam since the term deviators (Ahlul Bida’) is used to refer to some groups that are considered deviated from the true faith of Islam. Example of this can be observed in the work of al Ash’ari, see Abul Hasan Ali Ibnu Isma’il al Ash’ari, Kitāb al Luma’ fi Raddi ‘ala Ahrizzaygh wal Bida’, edited by Richard J. McCarthy, S.J., ( Baitur: Mathbaah al Kathulikiyawah, 1953 ). This book has two versions in it, i.e. the original text of the Arabic and the English translation. Ash’ari also has another more extensive work on the problem. Ash’ari in his work also discusses the problem of the emergence of many sects in Islam in relation to the theological problem. Ashari for example bitterly debated the sect called Mu’tazila in relation to their understanding about the destiny and the use of reasoning in understanding God.See, Abul Hasan Ali Ibnu Isma’il al Ash’ari, (d.324 Hegira), Maqālat Islamiyin wa Ikhtilāfi al Mushallīn, edited by Hellmut Ritter, In Kommission Bei Franz Steiner Verlagh GMBH, Weisbaden, 1963. See also other work of Ash’ari, Abul Hasan Ali Ibnu Isma’il al Ash’ari, Al Ibānah ‘an Usūl Ad Diyānāh, (The Elucidation of Islam’s foundation), a translation with Introduction and notes by Walter C.Klein ( Connecticut: American Oriental Society, New Haven, 1940). Reprinted with the permission of the original publisher Kraust Reprint Corporation, New York, 1967. This treatise is a critique in response to the theology of some sects in Islam which he considers deviated such as
Theoretically, *Sharī'ah* is a comprehensive code of behaviour encompassing all aspects of Muslim life. The law covers the relations between humankind and God, Muslims and their Muslim and non-Muslim *Sharī'ah* becomes the basis of Muslim life as it is a code of rights and obligations passed down from the only Lawgiver, Allah. 426 *Sharī'ah* is not a detailed explanation of the Divine revelations: it requires human effort to formulate the will of Allah; thus Muslim scholars try to interpret this code of rights and obligations. As a consequence of these interpretations, conflicting opinions arose in the development of Islamic law (*Sharī'ah*).427 However, it is worth bearing in mind that despite the conflicting opinions among Muslim scholars regarding the interpretation of *Sharī'ah*, the dynamic of *Sharī'ah* as an intellectual process has proved that *Sharī'ah* is very flexible and serves as the guide for Muslim life.

The process that is widely known as *Ijtihād* in Muslim tradition is an effort exerted by Muslim scholars (mentally, physically, spiritually and intellectually) in order to be able to formulate Islamic law.428 The very significant point from the traditionalist narrative is that for many Muslims, the *Qurʾān* and the *Sunna* are the

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427 Ibid., 20.

only sources for Islamic *Sharī‘ah*. To understand both, people must go first to the period closest to the lifetime of the Prophet - that is to the companions of the Prophet; and then to the period of the companions of the companions of the Prophet (known as *tābi‘īn*); and further to the followers of the companions of the companions – *tābi‘it tābi‘īn* - and to the following generation. The reason is that the earlier generations of Muslims were the ones who laid down the basis of knowledge of the *Qur’ān* as the study of the *Qur’ānic* text itself, its exegesis, its principles of abrogation, its legal language, the prophetic tradition or *Hadīth*, Arabic grammar, philosophy and even exact sciences like arithmetic.\(^{429}\)

### 3.2. b. The Formation of Islamic Jurisprudence

It is worth noting that the early jurists who formed the Islamic jurisprudence (*Fiqh*) schools - Abu Hanifah (d.150/855), Malik (d.179/795), al Shafi‘i (d.204/820), and Ahmad Ibnu Hanbal (d.241/855) - had a significant role in the development of Islamic jurisprudence. Of the four, Shafi‘i is the one who formulated the methodology of law known as *Usul al fiqh*.\(^{430}\) In Islam there were four essential attributes in relation to the development of Islamic law (*Sharī‘ah*). These were:

1) The evolution of a complete judiciary with full-fledged court systems and laws of evidence and procedure.
2) The full elaboration of a positive legal doctrine.
3) The full emergence of a science of legal theory and legal methodology which among other things reflected a great deal of hermeneutic, intellectual and juristic self consciousness.


\(^{430}\) Ibid., xvii. For Usūl Fiqh, see *the Risālah of Shafi‘ī*. Muhammad Ibnu Idris Abdillah al-Shafi‘i, *Ar- Risālah*, edited by Muhammad Shakir (Cairo: Maktabah Qāhirah), no date.
4) The full emergence of the legal schools, a cardinal development that in turn presupposed the emergence of various doctrinal, educational and practice-based elements.431

The process of development of the four factors mentioned above was completed, and the Sharī‘ah was formulated, by the middle of the tenth century.432

The Sharī‘ah is the holy law that is the basis of legal conceptions in Islam. The practical aspects of these conceptions are codified in Islamic jurisprudence (Fīqh) as the basis of practical religious beliefs in relation to duties, obligations, and rights and wrongs.433

During the early period of Islam in Mecca, the function of the Prophet was to preach; while in Medina after the number of adherents to Islam increased, a law for their daily life was also needed. Thus, in this period, the Prophet also acted as the ruler who implemented the Divine Revelations.434 Historically, the idea of the Sharī‘ah was already available at the time of the Prophet as the interpreter of the Divine Revelation; it was not the result of further development.435

In the development of Islam, many non-Arabs were converted: thus it is also important to consider their role in the development of the Sharī‘ah.436 Some Islamists have views concerning the possibility of the impact of Roman, Christian

431 Ibid., xxi. See also Fayzee, 21-41.

432 Ibid., xxi.


434 Ibid., 71.

435 Ibid., 75.

and Jewish legal systems on Islamic *Sharī’ah*. Nonetheless, considering the places where the non-Arab Muslims lived (such as Iraq and Iran - Persia), where they received their education from non Islamic systems and introduced these into the *Sharī’ah* system. However, this assumption has no strong argument. There was no case recorded from the first two centuries A.H.\(^{437}\)

*Sharī’ah* or holy law is independent of any political control. It is the law given and formulated by God as a Divine Revelation. As a consequence, even the Prophet had no right to change it. The interpretations of the Prophet and his followers after his death are bounded by the basic principles of *Sharī’ah* as it existed in the Divine Revelation.\(^{438}\)

Conclusion

Islamic *Sharī’ah* is the basic fundamental teaching of Islam. It is the method or the way that directs Muslims to understand the totality of the Divine revelation. Many other previous forms of *Sharī’ah* - which can be translated as the canon (law) or the law of the Divine such as in the *Torah* and the *Bible* - were revealed before the time of Islam to Moses and Jesus; these developed along with the

\(^{437}\) Ibid., 176-177.

development of Islam. Since the *Qurʾān* gives the outline of a global code of how Muslims should behave in the light of their religious teachings, the prophetic tradition is then needed to understand it. In the course of its development, the Prophet’s companions and Muslim scholars then developed it in response to the practical needs of Muslim people.

After the spread of Islam beyond the Arabian Peninsula, the formation of *Sharīʿah* developed rapidly. This development adjusted the law to the social situations and conditions of the various Muslim peoples. Therefore as a result of this the pattern of practicality of *Sharīʿah* in dealing with the social life of the Muslim people often causes it to vary from region to region. However the fundamental creed of Islam as embodied in the *Qurʾān* is always the same: monotheism. The differences revolve around the interpretation of *Sharīʿah* in terms of how *Sharīʿah* is implemented in social life, particularly in regard to the rules that are not mentioned in detail in the *Qurʾān* and the prophetic tradition. It is for this reason that Muslim scholars function as interpreters of the religious teachings for their society.

To understand *Sharīʿah* is thus to understand the totality of the *Qurʾān* and the prophetic tradition, plus the development of scholarly understanding to the *Qurʾān* and the *Hadīth*. It is ridiculous to understand *Sharīʿah* only as the ‘method’ or the ‘way’ that directed people to their religious teachings based on the *Qurʾan* and the *Hadīth* (tradition). Nevertheless, it is also worth noting that the interpretations of Muslim scholars which are embodied in the legal book of
Islamic law (*Sharī‘ah*) known as Islamic jurisprudence are not absolute. There is always space to formulate new interpretations and insights concerning the problems faced by the Muslim people from time to time. Thus the way to maintain the dynamic of *Sharī‘ah* is to adapt the products of Islamic scholars from the past to current needs without deviating from the outline and guidance of the *Qur‘ān* and the Prophetic tradition (*Hadīth*).

**CHAPTER IV**

**JIHĀD IN SHARĪAH ( SUFISM AND FIQH ) IN ISLAMIC LITERATURE**

**Introduction**

The relationship between Sufism and *Fiqh* or Islamic jurisprudence has been one of the important aspects in the course of Islamic history. Many Muslims do not understand the complexities of Islamic Sufism and Islamic jurisprudence and even confuse jurisprudence with the broader concept of Islamic law or Islamic *Sharī‘ah*. While Islamic jurisprudence is only a small part of Islamic law
Sharī’ah). Islamic jurisprudence which is also called Fiqh is an attempt by some Islamic jurists to formulate some teachings of Sharī’ah dealing with the outer side.

Islamic jurisprudence or Fiqh comes from the Arabic word Faqiha meaning understanding or comprehending.⁴³⁹ Therefore from the origins of this word, Fiqh is an attempt to understand Sharī’ah which is based on the two important sources - Al-Qur‘ān and the prophetic traditions. In addition to that, they also used ijma’ (agreement) and qiyas (analogy).⁴⁴⁰ Fiqh or Islamic jurisprudence which is actually called Fiqh Sharī’ah consists of two kinds. The first is the outer Islamic jurisprudence or Fiqh al-dzāhir and the second one is the inner Islamic jurisprudence or Fiqh bātin. Fiqh dzāhir is dealing with the understanding toward the laws dealing with the acts of our body. This is widely known as Fiqh in Islamic society. The second one is the inner Fiqh which is dealing with the acts of the heart.⁴⁴¹ This Fiqh is the source of acceptance of the deeds before Allah. According to the prophet Muhammad (Peace be Upon Him), every deed will be rewarded based on the intentions of the doer. If the intention is for God and His prophet, so he will get what he or she intends, and if the intention is for worldly life or women for marriage, so will he get.⁴⁴²


⁴⁴⁰ Abdul Aziz Amir, al Madkhal li Dirāsāt al Qānūn al Muqāran bi al Fiqh al Islāmi, Nazariyyāt al Qānūn (Egypt: University of Qayrawan, Dar el Gharib, 1977), 47-147. As this book tends to follow Shāfi‘ī in the process of formulating the Islamic law, this book also gives the important formulations of the Usūl al Fiqh in formulating the Islamic law. Further details see 147-159.

⁴⁴¹ Abdurrahman Ibin Khaldun, Shifā’us Sāil li Tahdīb al Masāil, alapaisement a Qui cherche comment clarifier les problems, with the introduction in French language, edited by Father Inace Abdo Kalife S.J. Imrimiere Catholique (Bairut: Maktabah Kathulikiyyah, 1959), 26.

⁴⁴² Ibid., 27.
Thus, Islamic law asks two kinds of responsibilities from Muslims: the first kind is the law that relates to the outer deeds and the second is that which is related to the inner deeds. The first is the outer deeds which consist of commands and prohibitions. The commands include prayer, paying alms, performing the pilgrimage (Hajj) etc. The second consists of prohibitions such as murder, adultery, stealing, drinking alcohol etc.\(^{443}\)

The inner deeds also consist of commands and prohibitions, such as the command to believe in God, in His angels, His books and His messengers. Other commands are to be honest and be a good Muslim. The prohibitions are against denying Him as God, being hypocritical, arrogant etc. The second set of deeds is more important since the inner deeds are the measure of the outer deeds. The wrong intention of the inner deeds will cause the failure of all the outer deeds.\(^{444}\)

Much has been discussed about the meaning of Sufism. Some say that the word Sūff comes from the diligent companions who were always in the first rank when performing prayer at the time of the Prophet. Others argue that the name was taken from their clothing, since the Sūfīs practiced simplicity by wearing woolen cloth (suff). There is also a claim that this name derives from Ashab al-Suffā. Ashab al Suffa was the group which tried to please God by doing his commands and living in simplicity; they were not interested in worldly life. Another opinion said that the root of the word is safa, which means ‘purity’, as


\(^{444}\) Ibid., 12-15.
Sūfis try to purify the heart. Despite all the arguments about the name, those explanations are still far from being satisfactory. This is in relation to the explanation of the Prophet who said:

The *safw* (‘pure heart’; i.e. the best) of this world is gone, and only its *Kadar* (‘impurity’) remains. Therefore, since the people of this persuasion have purged their morals and conduct, and have sought to free themselves from natural taints, on that account they are called Sūfis: and this designation of the sect is a proper name (*az asami-yi alam*) inasmuch as the dignity of the Sūfis is too great for their transactions (*muʿāmalāt*) to be hidden, to that their name should not need a derivation.\(^445\)

According to Hujwri, a prominent 11th century Sūfī from Persia, whose work is considered the oldest Sūfī treatise in Persian, God has not shown the essence of Sufism to most people as well as to those who adore Sufism. God keeps the mysteries of their hearts since they do not sincerely try to understand the essence of sincerity. Some people considered Sufism a practice of outward piety only, neglecting deep inner contemplation. As a result they just became a *mustaswif* (one who claims to be Sūfī), and they imagine themselves to have become real Sūfī. In contrast, some even suppose that Sufism has no essence and root in Islam. Some Islamic theologians - including jurists concerned mostly with the outer side - have condemned Sufism altogether. They do not try to find out the essence of Sufism.

Many Islamic jurists who do not understand Sufism have tended to dominate public opinion by giving rigid interpretations of the Sharīʿah in the form of laws and moral justifications. They assert that Sūfīs offer an alternative way to devote oneself to worshipping God.\textsuperscript{446} Another reason for this is that Sharīʿah is often misused by some Islamic rulers and the jurists in a relative general level of social activities enforced to the Muslim community.\textsuperscript{447} However, Sharīʿah is more than just Islamic jurisprudence (Fiqh). Sharīʿah has a vital positive function for a universal standard to legitimate actions, thus the application of Sharīʿah has a rich variety from country to country in the development of Islamic history up to the present time.\textsuperscript{448}

Therefore, the discourse of the Islamic jurists and the Sūfīs probably can be categories as the Islamic jurists’ task was mainly to formulate legal decisions and theory, while the Sūfīs are actually the guardians of the inner side.\textsuperscript{449} When the jurists failed to observe the essence of the protest of the Sūfīs, the problem became very political, such as in the case of Mansur al-Hallaj (‘wool carder’). He was a Sūfī who was persecuted under the Abbasid caliphate (in 922), because they supported the Islamic jurists in understanding Islamic religion.\textsuperscript{450}


\textsuperscript{447} Ibid., 121.

\textsuperscript{448} Ibid., 122.

\textsuperscript{449} For the process of formulating Islamic legal theories as part of Islamic Sharīʿah, see, Wael B. Hallaq,1-231. For Sufism as the guardian of the inner side see, Abu Nasr al-Sarraj, Alluma’ (Qahirah: Maktabat li al-Nashr wa al Tab’a al-Sūfiyyah, no date). Abu al-Qasim Abdul Karim ibnu Hawāzin ibnu Abdul Malik Talhah al-Qushairi al-Naysaburi al-Shafiʿi, \textit{Al Risālah al Qushairiyah}, (Cairo: Maktabah Musthafa al Babi al Halabi wa Awladuhu, no date).

Al-Ghazali was a Sufi theologian who tried to harmonize the tension between Sufism and Islamic jurisprudence: in this he was successful. In addition to that he reconciled both with the philosophical method. He condemned some philosophers whom he considered to have deviated from the true Islamic concepts. His philosophy of education was obviously the peak of his thought in theology when discussing these two important subjects. His significant role in the development of Islamic thought lies in his methodical explanations, emphasizing the importance of the prophetic tradition. Besides that, Ghazalin also developed ideal and practical codes of conduct for Muslims.

In Ghazali’s opinion learning is the highest virtue, since learning is the gate to knowing and loving God the Creator. No achievement is higher then being able to know and love God based on a deep knowledge. This knowledge certainly deserves to be pursued by Muslims. However, other knowledge - such as medicine, social science and computation - and other knowledge related to the needs of the Muslim community in particular and to all humankind in general are also advisable to learn for the sake of humanity. According to Al-Ghazali, all

451 Al Ghazali actually did not condemn the philosophy itself. What he condemned is the attitude of some philosophers whom he considered neglected some points in the Shari'ah in the problem of theology (’Aqidah). For this then Al Ghazali discussed twenty points of the errors of some philosophers and three of them are the most crucial part in theology and cannot be tolerated. Any philosopher clinging strictly to these matters are being infidel or kāfir. The three are: first, God do not know the particular. Second, the resurrection in the hereafter is only the resurrection of the soul not the body and the third is that nubuwwah or the prophet hood of the Muhammad was the seal of the prophet hood. See Tahāfut al-Falāṣifah (The Incoherence of the Philosophers), A parallel English-Arabic text, translated introduced and annotated by Michael E. Marmura (Provo, Utah, USA: Brigham Young University Press, 1997).

those sciences and the related ones are only tools to gain this highest aim. Thus these sciences and knowledge should be used as tools and not for the sake of worldly life only.  

4.1. Definitions of Sufism in Islamic Literature

There are many definitions of Sufism. Most of the definitions lead to the importance of purifying the heart and the attempt to gain knowledge of divine reality by following the exemplary model of the Prophet. Below is an extract of the definitions relating to this study.

Sufism or *tasawwuf* is an attempt to purify the heart, and to observe the inner side of the self in relation to worshipping God. A Sūfī should practice good conduct towards all creatures and to get rid of bad conduct. It deals with the knowledge of Dinive reality by abiding by and following the messenger of God in performing the *Sharī’ah*. Therefore, in fact the essence of Sufism was practiced in the early period of Islam by the Prophet Muhammad and his companions.

Thus, Sufism in Islam is a spiritual attempt to comprehend the message of God by exercising oneself in the spiritual exercises based on the teachings of *Sharī’ah*. Sufism then must be in line with the rule of *Sharī’ah* which is embodied widely in the *Qur’ān* and the prophetic tradition. It is important to

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453 Ibid., 193-194.


emphasize the understanding of *Sharī‘ah* in a wide sense since the legalists sometimes reduce the understanding of *Sharī‘ah* to Islamic jurisprudence which deals with the law. Sufism goes far beyond the outwardness of the Islamic law which is represented in Islamic jurisprudence (*Fiqh*). Sufism tries to go deeper to reach the Real (*Al-haqq*). This experience also requires both inward and outward exercises.\(^{456}\) It should also be admitted that some Sūfis make some exaggerations in their way of worshipping God. However, in sum it can be said that Sufism is an effort to reach God based on *Sharī‘ah*.\(^{457}\)

Sufism is a special method to approach the *Hakekat* (the Truth). In this method, the spiritual faculties are trained through tight disciplines such as *dhikr*, fasting, meditating and exploring the deeper meaning of the sacred texts (the *Qur‘ān* and the Prophetic tradition) under the guidance of a qualified director (*Murshid*). The aim of this training is to reveal the bad characteristics in oneself that become obstacles to understanding the Creator. The ways and the methods are widely known as *Tarekat* (association of brotherhood in Sufism) since it comes from the Arabic word *Tariq* which means ‘the way’. In its historical development, this way developed into a more systematic organization besides the modes of worshipping God.\(^{458}\)

### 4.2. The Nature of Sufism in Islam and its Development

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\(^{458}\) Ibid., 1-2.
From the early advent of Islam, some of the companions of the Prophet who had sincere intentions tried to have the experience of direct communication with God through sensing God’s presence directly in addition to obeying the outer obligations of Islam - such as praying, paying alms, fasting etc. It was through discipline and fighting the ego that they were able to feel the greatness of God and the littleness of humankind.\(^{459}\)

It was during the ninth century that different trends for approaching God emerged in Islam.\(^{460}\) Most of the Sūfis also attributed the example to the great-grandson of the Prophet, Ja’far al Shadiq (d.765 A.D.), known as one of the greatest teachers of Sufism. Imam Ja’far divided the understanding of the Qur’ān into three levels: The first is the expression of the Qur’ān for the common people, the second is the allusions for the elite ones, the third is the touches of grace for the saints and the realities for the Prophet.\(^{461}\)

In the early times, Sufism was merely a natural expression of personal experience in relation to the understanding of religion. At the outset it was an attempt to gain more spiritual satisfaction through contemplation and meditation to gain direct inspiration from the Creator. It was an attempt to go deeper, beyond the outward understanding of religion. Its emphasis was on the ritual quest and legalistic morality based on the Islamic law (Sharī’ah).\(^{462}\) It is a natural phenomenon for human beings, as the hunger of the human body is not only

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\(^{462}\) J.Spencer Trimingham, 2.
physical but also spiritual. Therefore the quest for spiritual satisfaction is a perennial one in human life.  

Further, in the process of gaining the knowledge of God as the very essential goal in life, Sufism discusses three important elements: the nature of God, the nature of man and the spiritual virtues. These three elements are the basic ones: if one understands them well they will lead that person to attain the level of *ahsan taqwīm*, that is, of becoming the *total theophany of God’s names and qualities*. According to Sufism that person will gain knowledge of the Divine reality.

According Jamaluddin al Afghani, prominent Muslim scholars in the 19th century, to gain the knowledge of Divine reality, a person must know the essence of God and humankind in depth. This knowledge is called the essence of humanity in relations to God. This is stage of those who has gained the knowledge of Divine reality or *Ahl al Kamāl* which is called the the perfect man or in Sufistic terms is better known as *al Insān al Kāmil*. To arrive at this stage the seeker of God has to have a director that leads the person to understand properly, in order not to deviate from *Sharī‘ah* as the basis for the practices of Sufism. Sufism is then a complement to *Sharī‘ah*.

According to the great Sufi Abu Nasr as Sarrāj (d.378/988), there are seven stations in the practice of Sufism. These are: the station of repentance (*tawba*),

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464 Seyyed Hossein Nasr, 34.
466 Seyyed Hossein Nasr, 35.
the station of watchfulness (wara’), the station of renunciation (zuhd), the station of poverty (faqr) and the characteristics of the poor, the station of patience (sabr), the station of trust (tawakkul), the station of acceptance (ridlā) and its characteristic of its people.\textsuperscript{468} Through training oneself to attain these stations, seekers of God will be able to gain the knowledge of Divine reality. Knowledge about God is therefore the most profound and basic sense.\textsuperscript{469}

The followers of Sufism then can be categorized into three kinds: namely the Sufī, the Mutasawwif and the Mustaswif. The Sūfīs are those who have attained the knowledge of Divine reality, the Mutasawwif are persons who try to gain it through spiritual exercises, and the Mustaswif are those who pretend to be Sūfīs to get the advantages of worldly life.\textsuperscript{470} It is by knowing true knowledge of Divine Reality that one can practice it to be able to get the presence of God.\textsuperscript{471}

According to the process of Sufism the attempt to understand God is to know the Absolute (God) by fighting one’s ego. This process is known as \textit{fanā
At the time the seeker of God arrives at this level, that person will experience three degrees of knowing the Divine reality. The first is Mukāshfāt (‘uncovering’). Mukāshfāt means that God shows the seeker the grandeur and the majesty of God. The second is Tajallī (‘revelation’): God shows His glory so that the person will feel peace and serenity. The third is Mushāhadāt (‘perception and sight of God’). This is a direct knowledge that the seeker of God feels in witnessing God. Sūfis believe that all this is performing the duty of Sharī‘ah. Even if some people could do miraculous acts, such as flying in the air or something that is very extraordinary.

4.3. Sufism and Tarekat: An Attempt to Understand the Essence of God and the Method of Approaching Him

A further development in Sufism was the emergence of the Tarekat orders in the late tenth and eleventh centuries. Groups of people who had studied under one master then formed groups to affirm their existence and to perpetuate the teachings of their masters. This phenomenon is known as the emergence of the Tarekat orders. Each Tarekat order claimed to have a direct link to the Prophet Muhammad and his companions. It was for the reason of keeping the relations between the master and his students that the Tarekat orders kept the lineage of

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472 Ibid.
473 Ibid., 32-34.
474 Abdul Halim Mahmud, Sulḥān al-‘Ārifīn, Abu Yazīd al-Būstāmī, Indonesian translation by A. Rivai Usman and Abdul Syukur A.R (Jakarta: Penerbit Hikmah, 2002), 37-44. In relations to those who walk in the path of God and who wants to know the real Sūfī and Murshid who has attained gnosis or Ma‘rifah, Abu Yazid gives the rule as follow: If you see somebody could do the miraculous acts such as flying on the air, do not be astonish by until you see the person concerned perform the teachings of God and keep the teachings of Sharī‘ah.Ibid., 37-38.
their previous teachers. Most of the *Tarekat* orders were named after their founders and continued by the heirs and students of those founders.\(^{475}\)

Iraq was the place where many *Tarekat* orders flourished, such as the *Rifa‘iyya* in the twelfth century, and the *Suhrawardiyya* in the thirteenth century, which then developed into the *Qadiriyya* named after a Baghdad saint, Abdul Qadir al Jilani (1077/8-1166). This *Qadiriyya* order emerged rapidly in the fourteenth century. In Egypt the most well known *Tarekat* order, which gained many followers, was the *Shadhiliyya*. It was al Jazuli (d. c.1465) who organized this *Tarekat* order. Other *Tarekat* worth mentioning are the *Mawlawiyya* in Anatolia and the *Naqshabandiyya* in central Asia. These two eventually also gained many followers in the Arabic-speaking countries.\(^{476}\)

The institutionalization of Sufism into orders had consequences on the formation of the system and the relations between the teacher and his students. This institutionalized Sufism then became known as the order of *Tarekat*. In this system, the director or the *Murshid* formulated the steps for guiding the students, called *maqāmat*. The foundation of the orders was the system and relationship of master and disciple, in Arabic *Murshid* (director) and *murīd* (aspirant). It was natural to accept the authority and guidance of those who had traversed the stages (*maqāmat*) of the *Sūfī* path. Masters of the way say that every man has inherent within him the possibility for release from the self and union with God, but this is latent and dormant and cannot be released, except by certain illuminations given by God without the guidance of a leader.\(^{477}\)

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\(^{475}\) Albert Hourani, 154.

\(^{476}\) Ibid.

\(^{477}\) J.Spencer Trimingham, 3.
In the early times, the masters of Sufism were more concerned with spiritual experience than with theosophical theory. They tended to direct rather than to teach. They tried to show students the importance of acquiring insight into spiritual truth. According to Abu Hamid al-Ghazali, the strange and extraordinary phenomena - such as the condition of ecstasy and inward transformation - shown in the attitudes of Sufism at certain times cannot be gained by learning but by experience. For example, someone who has not been intoxicated by alcohol knows nothing about the causes and condition of drunkenness.\textsuperscript{478} Therefore to reach this condition, it is important to have a special director who has had this experience.\textsuperscript{479} The function of the master as a director is very important in order that the seeker of Divine reality does not stray from the straight path. It is for this reason that they are usually bound by an agreement between the master and the student through an initiatory tie or vow of allegiance.\textsuperscript{480}

To some extent the institutionalization of Sufism in the \textit{Tarekat} led to the emergence of religious corporatism. Politically it was aimed at resisting the rigid Islamic understanding posed by the fanatic legalists. In further developments around the 19\textsuperscript{th} century, \textit{Tarekat} orders also functioned as the basis for the resistance by groups of Muslims against the so-called Western onslaught. In this case, \textit{Tarekat} is slightly different from Sufism. Not all the followers of the \textit{Tarekat} can be categorized as Sūfīs. When it comes to economic matters, this is what Hujwiri warns against: that there were some Muslims who identified


\textsuperscript{479} J.Spencer Tringham, 3.

\textsuperscript{480} Ibid., 4.
themselves as Sūfīs to gain advantages in worldly life. They are actually not Sūfīs but fake Sūfīs.

The process of the silsila method (silṣila = ‘chain’) is not clear. Students usually traced it through their relations with the teacher with whom they studied. This chain also became the guarantee of their teachings and training when they wanted to pass them down to succeeding generations. They claim that the primary importance of personal relations is the most important aspect in the transmission of this knowledge.\(^{481}\)

This method is incompatible with the validity of knowledge. However, when this method is limited only to the personal relations between the students and the teachers, with only the strict regulation to get an Ijāza (certificate) from the teacher as the only requirement for understanding Sufism, it led to deviations from the essence of Sufism itself. The regulation of getting an Ijāza from the teacher - rather than knowledge from the book and teachings - was not the tradition of the early Sūfīs until the emergence of the Tarekat orders. This is the difference between Sufism and Tarekat.

In relation to the emergence of the Tarekat orders, Alial Hujwīrī (d. c.467./1074.), whose book Kashful Mahjūb (Uncovering the Covered) is considered to be the oldest Sufī treatise in Persia (Iran), mentions twelve schools of Sufism:

The whole body of aspirants to Sufism is composed of twelve sects, two of which are condemned (mardūd) while the remaining ten are approved (maqbūl). The latter are the Muhāsibis, the Qassāris, the Tayfūris, the Junaydis, the Nūris, the Sahlis, the Hākimis, the Kharrāzis, the Khafīfīs and the Sayyāris. All these assert the truth\(^ {481}\) Ibid., 11.
and belong to the mass of orthodox Muslims. The two condemned sects are firstly, the *Hulūlis* who derive their name from the doctrine of incarnation (hulūl) and incorporation (imtizāj) and with whom are connected the salami sect of anthropomorphists and secondly, the *Hallājis* who have abandoned the sacred law and have adopted heresy and with whom are connected to the Ibāhatis and the Fārisis.  

Historically, Sufism is considered to be the only religious sphere that gives more opportunity to women to find a place. There were many Ṣūfī women who were famous for their piety as well as their knowledge of Islamic law. Perhaps the best known of them was Rabī’ah al Adawiyah (d. A.D. 801). There were seven convents for women in Aleppo alone, all founded between A.D. 1150 and 1250.

Some important places where *Tarekat* orders have taken root are Mesopotamia, Egypt, the Maghrib (Syria), Iran, Turkey and the Indian subcontinent. In their development, the *Tarekat* orders became very hierarchical. Since the leader of a *Tarekat* order is considered to have special power, the adoration of their leader by the followers of a *Tarekat* order sometimes became a cult. The leader of a *Tarekat* order is considered to be the intermediary between God and human beings. As a consequence of this, bitter opposition

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482 Hujwiri, 130-13. Further detailed explanations of this see 176-266.


484 Ibid., 72.
came from the jurists. The occult practices of some Tarekat orders - which were actually not part of the essence of Sufism - were challenged by firm jurists like Ibn Taymiyya.485

4.4. Sufism - From a Silent to an Active and Radical Movement: An Analysis of the Essence of Sufism

It is interesting to observe that Sufism - which has been widely known as a silent movement for approaching God and purifying the heart to become a ‘Perfect Man’ (al-Insān al-Kāmil) - has to some extent become an active and sometimes radical movement when it encounters situations where injustice exists. Example of this can be observed in some cases such as al-Ghazali, who wrote some treatises in relation to giving advice and criticizing some unjust acts by rulers. These letters were a token of al-Ghazali’s concern about the injustice of the ruler of his time. In his treatises al-Ghazali wisely advised the ruler to be a just ruler and moreover al-Ghazali bitterly criticized unjust rulers. According to al-Ghazali - who drew his wisdom from Islamic teachings - the ruler’s duty is to serve the people. Al-Ghazali is actually a good example of how Sufism is not associated with passivity. A real Sūfī is one who cares about justice and prosperity for the people, and is ready to become involved in political and social affairs for the sake of people and society.486

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485 For the attack of Ibnu Taymiyyah on Tasawwuf see, Taqiyuddin Ahmad Ibnu Taymiyyah al-Harrani,, Majmu’ah Fatāwā, book 6th, vol. 11, al-tasawwuf wa al-Qur’ān, kalām Allāh, edited by Amir al-Jazari and Anwar al-Baz (Cairo: Dar al Wafi, 2001). His critique on Ibnu Arabi can be found in 125 and his critique on Sufism can be found in 129-130, 199, 204, 213. Since this chapter is limited, this chapter cannot discuss the attack in detail.

486 For this see, Abdul Qayyum, Letters of al-Ghazālī, Indonesian translation by Haidar Bagir (Jakarta, Penerbit Hikmah, 2000). This book is a compilation of letters of al-Ghazālī, from many letters in Arabic and Persian, such as Tabaqāt-i-Syāfi’ah, Mamā’ul Insyā, Atsarul Wuzarā etc. The 26 letters are as follow: 1.) To Sultan Sanjar al-Saljuki about the advice to Islamic scholars not to try to get a good position in the court, 29-32. 2.) To Nizamuddin Fakhrul Mulk about the obligation of the ruler to live simple life, 33-43. 3.) To Nizamuddin Fakhrul Mulk about the
The second example is the case of Sanusi of Cyreneica in Libya. Before the coming of Sheikh Sanusi and Sayyid al-Mahdi, the Cyereneican people, although they were Muslims, did not care about the Islamic teachings. After those two Ṣūfīs mentioned above transformed the spirit of Islamic teachings through right guidance and well organized preaching, the preaching of Islam was the basis of the dynamics of change in the social and political life of the Muslims in Cyrenaica.

The third example of the dynamics of Sufism is the Ṣūfīs in Egypt. A good understanding of Islam has made the Ṣūfī group in Egypt active in both spiritual
and worldly life. The understanding of destiny does not make them passive to surrender to the will of God. Moreover, their understanding of destiny as has been decided by God makes them active in the Muslim community, as members of society and as members of Tarekat.\footnote{Michael Gilsenan, \textit{Saint and Sufi in Modern Egypt, An Essay in the Sociology of Religion} (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973), 129-133.} An example of this worth mentioning is Tarekat Shadhiliyyah whose members use the practice of Sufism as the vital driving force in social and spiritual life, without neglecting their social neighborhood.\footnote{Ibid., 133-139.}

4.5. The Nature of of Islamic Jurisprudence (Fiqh) and Its Development

This study will focus on the concept of \textit{Jihād} as understood in Islamic jurisprudence books, either as outer \textit{Fiqh} (\textit{Fiqh al Dzāhir}) or inner \textit{Fiqh} (\textit{Fiqh Bātin}). The first to mention is outer \textit{Fiqh}, commonly known as \textit{Fiqh} in Islamic society. Muslim scholarship specializing in this \textit{Fiqh} was started around the early part of the second century of Hegira, and lasted about 250 years. As there were many Muslim scholars in this field, this study will focus on the four most prominent founders of the Islamic schools of law. First, Imam Abu Hanifah (originally named Isa Nu’man bin Thabit), born in Kufah in 80 Hegira and died in Baghdad in 150 H. His school is named after his name: the Hanafī School. His deductions about Islamic jurisprudence were based on the Qur’ān and the Sunnah and the sayings of the favorite companions of the Prophet.\footnote{Abdul Wahhab Khalaf, \textit{Khulāsoh Tārikh Tasyri' al Islamī}, Malay translation by Yusoff Zakky Yacob Kota Bharu, Kelantan: Syarikat Dian SDN, Berhad, 1979), 85-86. Further about this see 88-89.}
The second scholar was Malik bin Anas as Asbahi from Yaman, who was born in 93 H in Medina, and died in 173 H. Like Imam Abu Hanifah, Imam Malik also based his decisions in religious matters on the Qur‘ān and the Sunnah, to which he added analogy and examples of the activities of the Medinan people. However, in addition to those three, he relied much on the activities of the Medinan people. For this, he argued that the Medinan people were the heirs of the great companions of the Prophet. Therefore, they were close to the ideal examples of the life of the Prophet and his companions.  

The next Imam was Muhammad bin Idris al Shafi’i al Quraishi, born in Ghazzah in 150 H. Imam Shafi’i developed the foundations of Usūlul Fiqh (the source of Fiqh). His first and prominent treatise is al Risālah (‘The Treatise’). This book explains how deducing Islamic law is supposed to be done.  

After Shafi’i comes Imam Ahmad bin Hanbal al Shaibani al Marwasi. He was born in Mewv in 164 Hegira and died in Baghdad in 241 Hegira. His prominent book on Islamic jurisprudence for his school is al Mughnī by Ibnu Qudamah. This book is considered to be the biggest book of Islamic jurisprudence in his school.  

The development of Islamic jurisprudence (Fiqh) can be divided into four phases. The first is the phase of the Prophet; the second is the phase of the rightly guided Caliphs; the third is the phase of the minor companions of the Prophet; and
the fourth is the phase of the legal schools - such as Hanafi, Malikī, Shafi’i and Hanbali outlined above.494

4.5. a. The Characteristics of these Sects

(1) The Hanafi School:

The Hanafi School spread mainly in Baghdad, Delhi and Constantinople. The supporters of the Hanafi School were the caliphs and the emperors. The doctrines of this school were developed by its prominent jurist, Abu Yusuf, who made them more humane and practical on the whole than those of other schools. This is especially evident in some of the regulations concerning the treatment of the women of the *dhimmis* (non-believers who were under the protection of the Islamic government).495

(2) The Maliki School:

Another scholar from this time who was diametrically different from Imam Abu Hanifah was Malik bin Anas (795). The reason might be the location where Malik developed his school system. Malik lived in Medina, the town also known as the town of the Prophet (*madinatunnabi*). Malik’s emphasis was more on the Qur’ān and the prophetic tradition. He was known for his knowledge of the Hadīth and Fiqh.496 Although he acknowledged the use of reason, he preferred to follow the tradition of the Prophet and the companions, rather than the judgment by opinion based on suitability (*Istislāh*). He argued that even if a reasoned judgment is good, the improvement of the tradition is better. His famous

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495 Seymour, 12.

496 Abdul Azim Sharafuddin, 189.
book - which consists of sayings from the compilation of the prophetic tradition - is called *Muwatta’ li Imam Mālik*. This book eventually became the main source used in his school after the *Qur’ān*. This book contains reliable Hadīth (prophetic sayings and traditions) that deserve to be the source of Islamic jurisprudence.\(^{497}\)

Most of the followers of the Maliki School are in Northwest Africa, from Nigeria to the Gulf of Tunis. However it also has some followers in Upper Egypt and Western Sudan. In addition to that, *Maghribis* who settled in Jerusalem perhaps also become its followers.\(^ {498}\)

(3) The Shafi’i School

The Shafi’i school - is probably the most popular school in Egypt, East Africa, Southern Arabia, the Malay Peninsula and the East Indian Archipelago. Some of its followers also reside on the southern coast of India and in Ceylon.\(^ {499}\) Shafi’i (820), the founder of the Shafi’i School, based his doctrine on the tradition compatible with the spirit of the *Qur’ān* and the prophetic tradition. Shafi’i systematically demonstrated that the spirit of the *Qur’ān* and the prophetic tradition is compatible with the traditions of society. So it is not an obstacle to compromise the traditions of society with the message of the *Qur’ān* and Hadīth. Although Shafi’i accepted the use of reason, in practice he used it less than Abu Hanifah (of the Hanafī School). Shafi’i described his procedure as analogy or *qiyas*: the proposed ruling should be on the same lines as earlier, similar situations which had called for similar treatment; in this way he defended his proposals. He also followed the agreement of the community as a whole, going further than

\(^{497}\) Tritton, 60.  
\(^{498}\) Seymour, 13.  
\(^{499}\) Ibid., 15.
Malik, who had followed the agreement only of Medina. It is important to note that Shafi’i doctrines place custom alongside the law. Thus it can adapt easily to the local people.\textsuperscript{500}

(4) The Hanbali School

Ahmad Ibnu Hanbal puts more emphasis on the Qur’ān and the prophetic tradition in his doctrines. He was considered the most conservative in religious matters. The most prominent follower and leader of the important Islamic movement in Arabia was Muhammad bin Abdul Wahab. The followers of this school live mostly in Nejd and Hijaz.\textsuperscript{501} The most different school was founded by Ibnu Hanbali (855). Hanbali rigidly followed the prophetic traditions as well as the companions. These were the practices common at the time of the Prophet. His doctrines are basically taken from the Qur’ān and the Sunna. Although Hanbali also considered the opinions of the Prophet’s companions, he would always choose the one closest to the Qur’ān and Hadīth.\textsuperscript{502} This school resists innovations - including understanding religion contextually - if they are not compatible with the prophetic tradition. This rigidity is based on the idea that religion and the sacred law are from Almighty God, whereas analogy comes from human reason. Therefore, it was only the Qur’ān and Hadīth which deserved to be the sources of law. In this case, any interpretation of the sacred text is strictly limited to the literal meaning of the text. If an interpretation includes the spirit of

\textsuperscript{500} Ibid., 16.
\textsuperscript{501} Ibid., 16.
\textsuperscript{502} Sharafuddin, 198.
the texts, it is considered to deviate from the literal meaning of the texts - either the text of the Qur’ān or Ḥadīth. 503

The Hanafi School gains many adherents in Turkey, Central Asia and India; whereas the Maliki dominates in Upper Egypt, North Africa, West Africa and the Sudan. The followers of Shafi’i are mostly in Egypt, South Arabia (except the highlands of Yemen which are Zaidī), the East Indies and East Africa. Hanbali has its followers in Wahabi Arabia. 504

4.5. b. Ḥijād According to the Sūfīs

Most of the Sūfīs put more emphasis of Ḥijād in terms of struggling against the ego - Ḥijād al-Nafs - because the heart is the source of the acceptance of the deeds before God. Thus Ḥijād in Sufism is first concerned with fighting the ego or Mujāhadāt al-Nafs. This has a significant role to protect Sharī’ah as a whole. If the ego is not restrained the heart tends to do things not for the sake of God but for the sake of worldly life. To discuss the Sūfī concept of Ḥijād, discipline is the most important aspect to mention since it is a primary requirement needed in the practice of Sufism. This word means a practice of training to obey rules and orders. The result from this training is controlled attitude. 505

Discipline is an exercise done in order to be an inherent part of life. The classical Sūfī meaning of the word has largely been lost in modern Arabic - in

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504 Ibid., 69.
which the word usually means ‘exercise, sports, gymnastics’. This reflects changes in Muslim views of discipline in the west. Discipline is fine for the body, as long as there is a healthy and normal goal, such as being a soccer player. Therefore, it is not strange that Olympic athletes should undergo years of grueling discipline. Other examples are musicians who need to follow a rigorous course of discipline in order to become masters of their art. To sum up, that discipline might be praiseworthy for scholars and certainly for scientists.  

In Arabic, the word *riyādiyāt* has the same root as the form *riyādah*. *Riyādiyāt* literally means ‘things related to discipline’; it also means ‘mathematics’. This word is associated with the rule and discipline of the mental faculty. As one of the branches of philosophy, mathematics is dealing with deep thinking. According to Muslim philosophers, mathematics is known as *al-mutawassitāt*, or ‘intermediate science’ since this science is in the middle position between knowledge of the external world, and metaphysics. For example, in mathematics, numbers and figures exist in the mind. When the mind is trained according to the discipline of mathematics to think mathematically, it facilitates gaining the highest aspect of knowledge especially that related to the world and outside world.

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In Sufi tradition, *riyādah* is disciplined training related to improvement of the body and mind to gain harmony with God the Creator. Since the meaning of *riyādah* is not far from the term *riyādah*, prominent Sufis, al-Ghazali and others use this term for *mujāhadah*. *Mujāhadah*, which in Arabic is derived from the word *Jahada*, has the same meaning as the term *Jihād*. The meaning of both words is ‘struggle in the path of God’. According to al-Ghazali, to do the best effort for pleasing God, one must have faith and the right knowledge about Islam. Therefore, one must have a good understanding of the *Sharī‘ah* based on the *Qur‘ān* and the Prophetic traditions, *Hadīth*. Further, al-Ghazali argues that it is with good understanding of both *Qur‘ān* and *Hadīth*; faith is not just a verbal statement, but also a practice in life. For this, disciplined training is very significant to reach this goal.508

Thus *Jihād* in Sufism is life-long struggle. *Jihād* or fighting the ego is also the way to the highest aim, to know God (*Ma‘rifatu’llāh*), which means people can guard the *Sharī‘ah* including the law of Islamic jurisprudence (*Fiqh*).509 Although Sufis mostly emphasize the inner aspects, this does not mean that they deny *Jihād* in terms of warfare. One may wonder what the relation between the concept of *Jihād* in Sufism and its development is. To answer this question, one is advised to visit the distant past to observe the relationships between the concept of *Jihād* in Islam and in Sufism. Moreover, it can actually be said to be the fundamental aspect that is the basis of all the acts accepted by God. Regarding this matter, one should also remember again the question posed by one

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508 William C. Chittick, 171.

509 Abu al-Qasim Abdul Karim Ibnu Hawazin Ibnu Abdul Malik Talhah al-Qushairi al-Naysaburi al-Shaf’i, *Āl Risālah al Qushairiyah* ( Cairo: Maktubah Musthafa al Babi al Halabi wa Awladuhu, no date ), 52. Further detail explanation about this, see 52-2003.
of the Prophet’s companions about the criteria of *Mujāhid* (‘fighter’) in the path of God. The answer was that the purity of intention would be the measure of all deeds. If the intention is for a worldly life, one is not considered a *Mujāhid* (‘fighter’). It is thus based on this important point that *Sūfīs* strongly emphasize the importance of purifying the soul. The spiritual struggle characterizes the *Sūfīs*.

Abu Nasr al-Sarraj is one of the earliest *Sūfī* writers associated with teachings about fighting the ego. He even stresses the need of doing this continuously. Further, Abu Nasr explains the importance of purifying the heart from evil and focusing the mind solely on the Creator as the exercise to be sincere in doing everything. This is because sincerity is the highest stage a Muslim is advised to attain in performing the religious teachings.510

Other *Sūfī* such as al-Qushayri was also in line with al-Sarraj. According to Qushayri, knowing oneself is the first stage to knowledge. This is based on the *Hadīth*: *man ‘arafa nafsahu faqad ‘arafa rabbahu* - meaning ‘he who knows him or herself knows his or her God’ - this is the *Hadīth* that is mostly quoted by *Sūfīs* before performing the stages of greater *Jihād*. According to Qushayri by knowing oneself one will be able to make his or her best effort for the betterment of the soul to live here and the hereafter. The reason for this is that striving is very essential to stop the bad habits the soul is used to doing everyday, even every single hour and minute. Soul, in Qushayri opinion has two characters – bad and good. Both are in a continuous battle to drive the self to attend to one of them. Therefore to control both of them at a moderate level is the prime aspect in

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510 Abu Nasr al-Sarraj, *Alluma’* (Cairo: Maktabat li al-Nashr wa al Tab’a al-Sūfīyyah, no date), 29-34.
making harmony. As a consequence, one must undertake lifelong Jihād or fighting the ego.511

In relation to the importance of knowing the essence of the heart, Ibnul Qayyim al Jauziyyah explains at length and detail about the type of the heart, how to cure the heart from its sickness in order to be able to have the pure heart. Furthermore, Qayyim also stresses the importance of purifying the heart and fighting the ego to avoid the seduction from the evil (Shaytan) and to reach the Truth (God) by having sincere and pure heart in doing religious duties.512

Abdul Qadir Jaylani, another famous Sūfī, even reminds us that all the time everybody struggles against the lower self. Struggling against the ego is considered to be the greater Jihād. Whenever one can afford to overcome her or his ego, the ego will reappear. This is life-long struggle that needs patience and hard work. Quoting the Prophet’s famous saying after the battle of Badr: ‘We have returned from the lesser Jihād (war) to the greater Jihād (self control).’ Jaylani continues by saying that one has to serve God sincerely until certainty comes.513 What he meant by certainty is actually death. Therefore, the greater Jihād or fighting the ego is considered the heaviest task to do.

The greatest Sūfī of all time, Abu Hamid Muhammad al-Ghazali, in his special chapter in his work says that soul has two definitions. First, it means the power of anger and sexual appetite in humankind. Most of the Sūfīs often


512 Further detail about this see, Shamsuddin Muhammad Ibnu Abi Bakr Ibnu Qayyim al Jauziyyah, Ighasatul Lahfān Min Masādiri al Shaytān ( Cairo: Dar al Hadith, 2002 ) , 11-99.

513 Abdul Qadir Jaylani, Futūh al-Ghayb (Opening the Invisible), on struggling with Self, English translation by John Alden (ed.) , 281.
address the word *nafs* to every bad thing and evil existing in the hearts of the people. The most popular command *Sūfīs* often use is that everyone should make his or her best effort to conquer the ego and destroy it. Al-Ghazali argues that their opinion is based on the prophet’s saying: *a’da aduwwaka nafsuka allatī bayna janbayka* - meaning, ‘your enemy that you must struggle upon is that exists in your self’. Second, it is called the soul. Al-Ghazali further explains that the soul has the power of anger and sexual appetite, and if somebody is able to conquer this power, he certainly has the ability to proportionally control this power.\(^{514}\)

Another *Sūfī* Master who was strongly integrated with *Sharī‘ah* like Al-Ghazali was Hākim al-Tirmidhi. According to Tirmidhi, *Jihād* is of two kinds: the first is to wage war and the second is to fight against the ego. In his book, Tirmidhī even clearly explains in detail the types of people doing this *Jihād*, the methods, causes and effects of success and failure that the doer will know.\(^{515}\) Therefore, according to Ibn Arabi, heart is always in the state of war. It is the condition or the state to fight against the seduction to follow the evil.\(^{516}\)

Those concepts show clearly that even the *Sūfī* consider war as a small part of the whole understanding of the term *Jihād* in Islamic literature, popularly

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known as ‘little’ Jihād (Jihād al-Asghar). Moreover, Sūfīs integrated with Sharī‘ah even more comprehensively in formulating the term Jihād in Islamic literature by referring to the Qur‘ān and Hadīth. Sūfīs do not deny the meaning of Jihād as waging war when it is necessary in self-defense: this will be discussed in the following chapter by referring to Malay Sūfīs as examples.

4.5. c. Jihād According to Islamic Jurists (Fuqaha)

In connection with the concept of Jihād in Islam, it is thus very significant to understand this Jihād from these two kinds of Islamic jurisprudence. A proper understanding of the concept of Jihad based on Fiqh and Sharī‘ah will lead us to a better understanding of the concept of Jihād in Islam as well as in Sufism. Medieval Islamic theologians arrived at a doctrine of territorial definition that also, like the idea of Islamic holy war, gave the appearance of a condition of permanent war with unbelievers. The Dār al Islam in which Muslim law operates is a domain of peace.

The following are explanations of Jihād in some books of Islamic jurisprudence (kutub al-Fiqh), from the four madzhab. Although not all the books of Fiqh are listed here, all the books are represented in the four schools, Hanafī, Maliki, Shafī‘i and Hanbali

(5) The Book of Islamic Jurisprudence (kitab al-Fiqh) of the Mālikī School

Imam Mālik, the founder of the Maliki School compiled most of the strong Hadīth (Prophet’s sayings) in his monumental book al Muwatta’. It is considered to be the first formulation of Islamic law and includes a special chapter on Jihād. The first part of the Hadīth (Prophet’s sayings) is about the importance of Jihād
and the rewards for the doers. In the next Hadīth, Mālik compiled an ethical code of Jihād in terms of war such as the prohibition against killing women and children in war.517 The next is about fulfilling the safety of conduct;518 about somebody giving something in the way of God (in this Hadīth the example was during war), the booty gained in war and the group who had no right to one fifth of the booty.519

The next explanation is regarding what Muslims are allowed to take from the booty before the contribution of one fifth (khumus), returning enemy plunder to the owner. Further explanation is given about stealing from the booty.520 There is also information concerning those dying in war on behalf of Allah (shuhadā - martyrs).521 The last explanation of the Hadīth in Muwatta’ Imam Mālik is about burial in one grave by necessity and Abu Bakr’s carrying out the promise of the Messenger of Allah after the death of the Messenger.522

(2) The Book of Islamic Jurisprudence of the Shafī’i School on Jihād

The first book of Islamic jurisprudence or Fiqh according to the Shafī’i School is Al Umm.

517 Malik ibn Anas, Muwattha’ and its explanation Tanwīrul hawālik by al-Suyūṭī, Shirkah Maktabah Mustafa al Babi al Halabi, Egypt 1951, 297-298. For comparative study see also Muwatta’s translation in English, al Muwatta’ of Imam Mālik ibn Anās, the First formulation of Islamic law, translated by Aisha Abdurrahman Bewlwey ( London and New York: Kegan Paul International 1989 ), 173-183. Although the chapter is Bāb al Jihād, but the explanation of Jihād in term of war he uses is Ghazwa or Qitāl. The Hadith regarding the events of Jihād are actually also the events before or during the war. Vol. One, Ibid., 294-313.

518 Ibid., 297.

519 Ibid., 299.

520 Ibid., 303-305.

521 Ibid., 306-308.

522 Ibid., 313.
2. a. *Al Umm (The Manual Book)*

This book was written by Shafī’i himself. In the first discussion about *Jihād*, Shafī’i stresses the important point about *Jihād* in terms of war if Muslims are attacked. They are allowed to fight back. Shafī’i then argued according to the verse of the *Qur’ān* that was first revealed in connection with the permission for *Jihād* in terms of waging war.523

Shafī’i then discussed the obligation of *Jihād* in terms of war after the permission.524 Shafī’i discusses the law which is applied in the situation of war such as the position of the land of Islam - *dār al Islam* - and the position of the land of the enemies - *dār al harb*, the hostages of war, marrying hostages, the law of the ‘people of the book’ (*ahl al kitab*), *jizya*, booty, taxes, people who converted to the religion of the enemy, the law of peace, the law of hostages who converted to Islam and many other laws related to the situation in war.525

In relation to permission from the parents for performing *Jihād* (in terms of waging war), according to Shafī’i, if the parents are non-Muslims, then their permission is not needed. However, if the parents are Muslims then obtaining their permission is a must.526

Another example of the book is *Kifāyat al Akhyār* (The Sufficiency of the Selected ones).

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523 Imam Abdullah Idris Shafi‘i, *al Umm* (Jordan: Bayt al Afkar al-Dauliyyah, International ideas Home, no date). See also which is published by (Lebanon: Dar al Fikr, Bairut Vol.3, 1990). In Dar al Fikr version, the chapter *Jihād* is named *Kitāb al Jizya*, while in the Jordanian version is *Kitāb al Jihād*, both texts are the same. Being used is Dar al-Fikr version, 759-817. The quotation here is Dar al Fikr version Vol.3, 169.

524 Ibid., 169-170.

525 Ibid., 169-170.

526 Ibid., 170-213.
2.b. Kifāyat al Akhyār (The Sufficiency of the Selected ones)

The Kifāyat al Akhyār is also the same in discussing Jihād. It stresses the importance of Jihād as waging war. The prophetic traditions quoted are also the Hadīths relating to the condition of Jihād in terms of waging war.527

(3) The Books of Islamic Jurisprudence (kitab al Fiqh) of the Hanbali School

3.a. The Kitab al-Mughnī (The book of Sufficer)

One of the most important books besides Shafī’i’s book, al Umm, is al Mughnī. Al- Mughnī is considered as the book of the Hanbali School. The chapter on Jihād in al Mughnī is also more emphasized in terms of war.528 Jihād is fardu kifāyah or ‘communal obligation’. If some groups have already waged it, others are free from that obligation.529 This book also contains and explains the requirements of doing Jihād in terms of war: such as, if meeting with enemies, if non-believers invade Muslim countries, and if the imam or the Islamic leaders declare it.530 Some of the following studies in the chapter on Jihād in this book are certainly in war conditions, such as about the obligation and the superiority of Jihād,531 about the time of Jihād as well as Jihād on the land and at sea,532 the

527 Taqiyyuddin Abu Bakr al-Dimashqi ash Shafī`i, Kifāyat al Akhyār edited by Abdullah Ibrahim al-Ansharī (Qatar: Shu`un al Dīniyyah, no date), 386-419.


529 Ibid., 347.

530 Ibid., 348.

531 Ibid., 347-350.

532 Ibid., 351-354.
permission from Muslim parents, the arrival of the enemies, about the restriction of civilian Muslim women from being taken to the land of the enemy, about the people waging war, and about the division and obligation of various taxes as well as the protection of non-Muslims in the land of Islam.

3. b. *Al Mabda’* (The beginning)

Abu Ishaq starts by explaining the obligation of *Jihād* in terms of semantics; that is, exerting the effort to wage war. He then explains that *Jihād* is an obligation to wage war particularly against infidels. Accordingly he discusses *Jihād* as communal obligation or *fardu kifāyah*, according to the agreement of the Jurists and the intentions of those who wage war in the path of God. Abu Ishāq then explains war and its contexts. Then he discusses the contributions of booty (*ghanīmah*), as well as *jizyah* (a tax imposed on non-believers living under the protection of Islam), *fā‘ī* (wealth obtained from non-Muslims without war - such as *Jizya*) and *kharaj* (tax) including the law applied to hostages and the law of *dzimmī* (non-believers living under the protection of Islam).

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533 Ibid., 361-362.
534 Ibid., 363-365.
535 Ibid., 366.
536 Ibid., 367.
537 Ibid., 374-377.
538 Ibid., 365-541.
540 Ibid., 335-353.
541 Ibid., 354-416.
3. c. *Kitāb Dalīl al-Thālib (The proof of the student)*

This book discusses the meaning of *Jihād* in terms of war and also the law of the *dzimmī*.\(^{542}\)

3. d. *Kitāb al-Furū’ (the branches)*

Like other books of Islamic jurisprudence, this book discusses *Jihād* as a communal obligation (*fardu kifayah*) and related matters such as on whom *Jihād* is obliged etc;\(^{543}\) then about the strict law against killing civilian women and children.\(^{544}\) The next explanation is about *ghanīmah* or booty, the country which has been conquered, *dzimmah* (protection for non-believers in Islamic lands) and the *fāʾī* (taxes gotten without war such as *jizya*).\(^{545}\)

3. e. *Kitāb al Muharrar fī al-Fiqh (The book of the liberated in Islamic Jurisprudence)*

The chapter about *Jihād* in this book discusses the obligation of *Jihād* as a communal obligation or *fardu kifāyah*, the importance of getting permission from Muslim parents,\(^{546}\) the contribution of booty,\(^{547}\) and protection or *dzimmah*, and *fāʾī*.\(^{548}\)

3. f. *Kitāb al Inshāf li al Murdawī (The book of Insaf of al Murdawī)*


\(^{544}\) Ibid., 194-206.

\(^{545}\) Ibid., 207-263.


\(^{547}\) Ibid., 174-178.

\(^{548}\) Ibid., 179-188.
Firstly, in its chapter on *Jihād*, this book discusses *Jihād* as a communal obligation and mentions the requirements for those who are allowed to do *Jihād* in terms of war, the permission of Muslim parents and the obligation of the Imam (leader) upon the army.\(^{549}\) The next topic is about protection for non-believers and the distribution of *ghanīmah, fā’ī* and the status of the conquered land.\(^{550}\)

\begin{itemize}
\item[(4)] **The Books of Islamic Jurisprudence in the Hanafi School (The *Kitāb Tuhfat al Mulūk* (*Gift of the Kings*))**
\end{itemize}

This book, like many other books mentioned, starts its discussion about *Jihād* in terms of war as a communal obligation for Muslims and its requirements;\(^{551}\) then it discusses some laws concerning booty, (*ghanīmah*), taxes (*jizyah* or *kharaj*) and many others related to the situation of war.\(^{552}\)

The compendium of comparative *Fiqh* or Islamic jurisprudence by a prominent Islamic Jurist and philosopher, Ibnu Rushd, named *Bidāyat al Mujtahid wa ghāyat al Muqtashid* (The beginning of the Mujtahid and the goal of the one who search for the goal), which contains the opinions of the four sects - Mālikī, Hanafi, Shafī‘i and HanbAlii - also stresses the meaning of *Jihād* in terms of waging war.

The chapter on *Jihād* in this compilation of four jurists discusses the elements concerning war, such as identification of the law (*hukm*) of war toward non-Muslims, and the permission from the parents for those who want to wage


\(^{550}\)Ibid., 156-232.


\(^{552}\)Ibnū Rushd, *Bidāyat al Mujtahid wa Ghāyat al Muqtashid*, ( Bairut: Dar al-Fikr, no date ), 184-192.
$Jihād$ in terms of war. These are included despite the jurists’ disagreement in the matter of whether the consent of non-Muslim parents is needed or not. The majority said that consent is not needed from non-Muslim parents but it is certainly needed from Muslim parents.

Section two of this chapter deals with the identification of the persons to be fought, who deserve to be fought.\footnote{553 Ibid., 455-456.} Section three discusses the identification of the harm permitted to be inflicted upon the enemy.\footnote{554 Ibid., 456-461.} Section four concerns the conditions for the declaration of war. The condition of war by agreement is the communication of the invitation to accept Islam, which means that it is not permitted to wage war on them unless the invitation has reached them. This is something upon which the Muslim jurists agreed because of the words of the Exalted:\footnote{555 Ibíd., 461-462.}

\begin{quote}
Wamā kunnā mu’adzzibīna hattā nab’atsa rasūlan.
\end{quote}

‘nor would We visit with Our Wrath until We had sent a messenger’ (to give a warning).\footnote{556 Yusuf Ali, Qur’an, 17:15, 338.}

Section five is about the identification of the number of warriors from whom retreat is not permissible.\footnote{557 Ibnu Rushd, 462-463.}

The next section, section six is about the process of allowing a truce. The question is whether a truce is permitted or not. A group of jurists permitted this warfare without a truce if according to the $Imam$; this action will give much advantage for Muslims. In contrast, another group of jurists did not allow it
except for the sake of avoiding turmoil in the Muslim community, not including
*jizyah*. *Jizyah* is the amount of money that is paid by non-Muslims living under
the protection of an Islamic government as a token of their subjection to the
Muslim rulers. Awzāʾī, one of the prominent Muslim jurists, permitted for the
reason of avoiding greater disadvantages for both sides besides gaining more
advantages for Muslims and non-Muslim civilians. According to Shafīʾi,
Muslims are not permitted to do it except when the non-Muslims (disbelievers)
are afraid of the great number of their enemy if their number is so small or for the
reason of severe torture from their opponents.558

Those who upheld the permission of making a truce when there is an
advantage for Muslims in this were Malik, Shafīʾi and Abu Hanifah; except that
Shafīʾi stipulated that the duration of the truce should not be for a period greater
than the one transacted by the Messenger of Allah.559 Section seven deals with
why to wage war. Why wage war? The Muslim jurists agreed that the purpose of
fighting the people of the book, excluding the *Quraishite* people of the book and
the Christian Arabs is one of two things: it is either for their conversion to *Islam*
or the payment of *Jizyah*. The payment of *Jizyah* is because of the words of the
Exalted:560

Qāтīlūl lādžīna lā yuʾminūna billāhi wabil yuʿmuʾil ākhiri wali yuharrīmūna mā harramAllah warasūluhū wali yādīnūna dīnal haq minālladžīna ū tul kitāba hattā yuʿtū al jizyata ʾan yadin wa hum shāghirūn.
‘Fight those who believe not in God nor the Last Day, nor hold that
forbidden which had been forbidden by God and His messenger, nor
acknowledge the religion of Truth, (even if they are) of the People of the

558 Ibid., 463.
559 Ibid., 463–464.
560 Ibid., 464–466.
Book, until they pay the Jizyah with willing submission, and feel themselves subdued’.  

All the jurists Ibn Rushd mentions in this book discuss the problem of Jihād in terms of war. So the discussion is mainly in the context of war.

A book of Islamic jurisprudence (Fiqh al Islamī) of the Shi’ah sect worth mentioning here is Da’āim. Da’āim is one of the Shi’ī books of Fiqh composed at the time of the Fātimid Dynasty, precisely when Mu’iz Lidnillāh was reigning Caliph (930 A.D). The writer was a jurist from a Shi’ite sect, al Qādlī al Nu’mān. Since its publication this book has become a very significant source for the followers of the Ismaili Shi’ah. One of the Ismaili da’wah Institutions which had a great role in spreading and making it available to be studied from time to time was the Musta’lī Tayyibī branch. Musta’lī Tayyibī was first established in Yemen and spread to India. The narration of Hadīth used in this book mostly originated from Ali and his descendents, like Ja’far al-Shadiq. Like many other books of Islamic jurisprudence, the chapter on Jihād in this book explains Jihād mostly in terms of waging war.

4.6. The Attitudes of Sūfīs towards Jurists and vice versa in Understanding Sharī’ah in Islam

History has shown that there have been legalist jurists (Fuqahā) who were hostile to the practice of Sufism and its spiritual exercises. Suhrawardī was one of the Sūfīs who became a victim of this hostility. He was on trial and executed at

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the age of 38, a martyr to the fanaticism of the orthodox ‘ulamā of Aleppo, by Mālik Az Zahir at the order of Saladin in 587/1191.563

The group of jurists involved in this hostility is hard to identify. In the following years, there are many jurists who are hostile to Sufism too. However, it is important to mention the most famous one as an example, Ibnū Taymiyya. Ibnū Taymiyya accused Sūfis of being heretics and said Sufism was the origin of the deviant practices in Islam. However, Ibn Taymiyya also admitted that if the practices used to approach God the Divine reality were based on the Sharī’ah, they do not deviate from the true path of Islam. Ibnū Taymiyya seems to be inconsistent about the essence of Sufism. His accusation is directed more to the deviant practices of some who claim to be Sūfī - but actually in Sūfī terms they are not Sūfīs but mustaswif.564 His great supporter was his student Ibnū al Jauzī who had the same views. Nevertheless, ridiculously, when Ibnū al Jauzī took an example of an exemplary model of a pious Muslim he mentioned Dhun Nūn al Misrī. Dhun Nūn al Misrī is famous as one of the leading figures in Sufism.565

The tension between those who accept Sufism as a part of Islam and those who reject it is often rooted first in the definition of Sufism. The term Sufism itself is the cause of many debates and becomes problematic for some Muslims,

563 J. Spencer Trimingham, 9.

564 Further accusation addressed to Sufism by Ibnū Taymiyyah, see Ibnū Taymiyyah, Majmū’ Fatāwā Ibnū Taymiyyah on Sufism, 125, 129-130, 199, 204, 213.

565 In his work, Talbīs Iblīs, Ibnul Qayyim eloquently explains the importance of the sincerity in relation to the worship of God. Unfortunately when he explains about Sufism, he tended to be ambiguous like his teacher Ibnū Taymiyya. He generally condemns the practice of Sufism as deviated from the true Islam. Detailed of his accusation see Ibnul al Jauzī, Talbīs Iblīs, edited by Hilmi ibnu Ismā’il al-Rāsyidi, (Cairo: Dar-al-Aqīdah, no date), 171, 175, -443.
especially jurists.\textsuperscript{566} Many Muslims even consider Sufism as a strange concept in Islam. However the supporters of Sufism have an argument that the practices of Sufism that emphasizes the inner side besides the outer side truly come from the example of the Prophet. To find a balance between the body and the heart in performing Islam is a must because Islam is dealing with the outer and inner side. In relation to performing the duty in Islamic Shari‘ah, such as performing the prayer, the followers of this path are also aware of the importance of prayer as one of the pillars in Islam.\textsuperscript{567} As the foundation of Sufism stemmed from the Qur‘ān and the prophetic tradition,\textsuperscript{568} Sufism then becomes the living heart in Islam and functions as a complement of the outer Fiqh in Islamic law, as the actualization of Īmān (belief) and Ihsān (being good to God and humankind) in Islam.\textsuperscript{569} It is for this reason that right doing, right thinking and right seeing are supposed to be based on the sincerity of the heart.\textsuperscript{570} Sufism has three important paths such as teachings, doing the right thing and spirituality.\textsuperscript{571} Al-Ghazali[d.111] used the


\textsuperscript{568} Abdurrahman Ibn Khaldun, 4.

\textsuperscript{569} William C.Chittick, 23.

\textsuperscript{570} Ibid., 3-19.

\textsuperscript{571} Titus Buckhardt, 115.
According to Sufism, these paths are the ways to understand the Divine reality. That is why in practicing the Islamic teachings Sūfis are very tolerant to the local customs of the people even to the local religion. This attitude of Sūfis is also part of the process of introducing Islam to non-believers. Nevertheless, the tolerance of the Sūfis toward the people is considered by some jurists to deviate from the Islamic law.

In relation to this, it is worth noting that at the outset Sufism was a reality without a name and in its further development, Sufism became only a name without the reality. Thus the rejection of Sufism can be categorized into two kinds. The first is those who reject the name: this is not a big deal since the essence still exists. However, those who reject the essence of Sufism are rejecting the essence of Islam and the message of the Qurʾān.

Conclusion

Sufism is a natural phenomenon in Islamic development, as an attempt to go beyond the exoteric meaning of the Sharī′ah. It is a quest for spiritual experience.

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572 The term al Kimia al Saʿādah is used by al Ghazālī (d.1111), when studying the importance of the happiness and its relation to the situation of the heart. For this see, al Ghazālī’s work, Iḥyā Ulūmiddīn, ma’a Muqaddimah fī al-Tasawwuf al-Islāmī wa Dirāsāt Tahlīliyyah al-Shakhṣiyyah al- Ghazālī, 4 volumes (Cairo: Shirkah Maktabah wa Matba′ah Mustafā al-Babi al Halabi wa al IDarāh bi Misr, 1939).

573 Titus Buckhardt, 125-126.

574 Roy R, Anderson et.all, 57.

575 Ali bin Uthman al Jullabi al Hujwiri, 44.

576 Ali bin Uthman al Jullabi al Hujwiri, 44.
in relation to understanding Divine reality. Sufism (tasawwuf) is the inner aspect of Sharī‘ah while Fiqh (Islamic jurisprudence) is the outer aspect of the Sharī‘ah. They are natural complements.

Historically, Sufism began with asceticism to avoid the extravagance of worldly life, following the example of the Prophet. During its development, many un-Islamic attitudes also became part of the practices of Sufism. These un-Islamic attitudes were caused by the ignorance of the followers of Sufism who identified themselves as Sūfīs although they did not fully understand Sufism. Another factor was that some seekers of God were not really seeking the Divine Reality; they were just seeking worldly life by attributing the name of Sufism to themselves. As a consequence, Sūfīs were viewed negatively or even considered as heretics by some fanatic jurists who were hostile toward Sufism.

This phenomenon caused tension between the group of fanatical jurists and the Sūfīs. On the one hand, the group of jurists accused Sufism as the destroyer of the true Islamic teaching since Sufism spread heresy under the name of religion. On the other hand, the Sūfīs considered that the jurists did not understand the essence of Islamic Sharī‘ah. One example of the differences in interpretation between the jurists and the Sūfīs in relation to the most crucial and sensitive aspect in Islam concerns the concept of Jihād. Although not all the jurists condemned the Sūfī concept of Jihād - widely known as fighting the ego - but the emphasis of jurists on the understanding of Jihād as waging holy war also became one aspect which triggered tension. In addition, it has been widely misunderstood that Jihād in Sufism is only fighting the ego. Thus the study of Islamic literatures on Sufism, being written by real Sūfīs who understood Islamic jurisprudence well shows that both kinds of Jihād are very important in Sufism.
CHAPTER V
ISLAM IN THE MALAY WORLD

Introduction

The spiritual life of the Malay peoples before the coming of religions such as Hinduism, Buddhism, Islam and Christianity was animistic. The original religion of the Malay people in tribal society was like pagans; they worshipped the phenomena of the universe. They believed that the spirit of a Supreme Being or God existed in every creature. Some of them worshipped their ancestors, as they believed the spirits of their ancestors were more powerful than their own. Some worshipped wild animals. After the coming of Hinduism and Buddhism, these two religions largely replaced animism in the religious life of the Malay people.  

The ancient Malay people’s religious beliefs tended to be syncretism, assimilating elements from both Hinduism and Buddhism. Buddhist kingdoms in the Malay Archipelago include the Majapahit Kingdom (1293-1478 M) and Singosari (1276-1292).

5.1. The Coming of Islam and its Development: Revisiting the Dynamics of Early Islam in the Malay Archipelago

Islam came after Hinduism and Buddhism. It was Sufism that had a great role in the process of Islamization in the Malay world. There were two modes of transmission of the teachings of Sufism in the Malay Archipelago. The first

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578 Ibid., 13-16.
was the role of the so called *Wali Songo* (‘the Nine Saints’) who accelerated the process of Islamization in the early *hijra* or the 7th century. The second was initiated from the 14th century by the coming of the heirs of Ali and Fāṭima (the daughter of the Prophet) who were known as the *Alawīyyin*, who were led by the pioneer Imam Muhādjir Ahmad ibn Isa al Alawī. As a result of this intensive Islamization the religion reached a peak of influence in the 15-17th century.579

The Malay Archipelago and the Malay Peninsula possess a strategic location due to their positions between the Indian Ocean and South China Sea, linking the eastern countries such as China and Japan with the western countries such as India, Persia, and the Arab countries as well as the African and European continents. The Malay Archipelago produced nutmeg and other natural resources sought by western and eastern merchants. In the Malacca Straits, some transit shipping ports emerged, and became meeting places for all merchants.580 The Kingdom of Samudra Darussalam was established from the 13th century; the Malacca Kingdom in the 15th century; and in the early 16th century the emergence of Aceh Darussalam allowed it to replace Malacca as the leading port in the region. Throughout this period, Muslim merchants come to these cosmopolitan sea ports. Besides trading, the merchants - along with some Muslim preachers and scholars, as well as *Sūfīs* - tried to introduce Islam. The three kingdoms near Malacca evolved to become the center of Islamic learning and development in Southeast Asia.581

579 Ibid., 17-25.


581 Ibid., 1-2. Further explanation about Samudra Pasai functioned as the trading sea port by merchants from many countries as well as the influence of its gold coin to Malacca, Aceh, Johor and Brunai see 4-11. See also, Herbert Feith, *Indonesia in Governments and Politics of*
According to the story of the kings of Pasai (*Hikayat Raja-raja Pasai*), Samudra Pasai in that period (13-16th century) became the center of Islamic religion and civilization. The creative minority in Samudra Pasai succeeded in using Arabic letters brought by Islam as tools for writing classical Malay works in the script known as Jawi. One of the classical Malay stories tells the story of the Kings of Pasai and the coming of Islam until the period of the fall of Islam under King Ahmad, destroyed by the Majapahit Kingdom. The first sentence of the story of the Kings of Pasai mentions:

> Alkisah peri mengatakan ceritera yang pertama masuk agama Islam ini Pasai: maka ada diceritakan oleh orang yang empunya ceritera negri yang dibawah angin ini Pasailah yang pertama membawa Islam akan Allah dan akan Rasul Allah.

‘There was a story that the story teller told: it was Pasai which first became Moslem: the story of the nation below the winds told that Pasai was the first to become Moslem.’

Islam became the predominant religion of maritime Southeast Asia in the Malay Archipelago except for the northern islands of the Philippines. Chinese sources mention that the Malay islands such as Sumatra, Java, Borneo and Maluku were important trading ports for the merchants, and important transit places between China and India. Chinese sources claim that since the 7th

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582 Ibid., 11.


century, Arab settlements had already existed in the western part of Sumatra.\textsuperscript{585} Chinese sources also mention that during that period there was an Arab who became the chief of the Arab settlement in the western part of Sumatra.\textsuperscript{586}

It was based on these claims of activity that a seminar entitled ‘The Coming of Islam’, held in Medan in 1963, concluded that Islam arrived in the Malay Archipelago in the 7th century or early Hijra. However, perhaps, at that time, Islam merely became the religion adhered to by some Muslims who embarked from some of the key seaports in the Malay Archipelago. In this early period, there was no record claiming that the local people had already embraced Islam.\textsuperscript{587}

Another record from Chinese sources recalls the fleeing of Muslims from Canton and their request to the King of Kedah for asylum. It was claimed that they had wanted to ‘live an Islamic life’ in Palembang and Kedah. It is from this that some scholars claim that Islam had already come to Kedah and Sumatra in the 7th century.\textsuperscript{588} However, other sources suggest that the fleeing of Muslims to Kedah and Sumatra happened from the 9th century. Chinese sources mention that the Hung Chou rebels drove Cantonese people away during a peasant revolt against the King of China. So it is known that during the Tang dynasty in the 9th to 10th centuries Islamic communities had been established in Canton and

\textsuperscript{585} J.V., Van Leur, \textit{Indonesian Trade and Society}, (Bandung: Sumur, 1960), 91.


\textsuperscript{587} Teuku Ibrahim Alfian, 7, quoted from the treatise of the coming of Islam to Indonesia, see \textit{Risalah seminar, Medan}, 1963, 265.

Sumatra. The travels of Admiral Zheng He — a Chinese Muslim originally from Yunan Province — to offer security in the Malacca straits to the Ming Court ruler Paramesvara between 1405 and 1431, shows that China had good relations with the Muslim rulers.

Although it was said that Arab ships had already arrived in the Southeast Asian seas, this is not entirely correct as the stories by Arab writers from the other merchant centres referred to the nations ‘below the wind’ i.e., the Malay Archipelago. These stories often referred to the goods and the routes of trade. Until the 14th century, only Abu Dulaf during the 10th century, and Ibnu Battūtah during the 13th century, had traveled to Southeast Asia and China. Others only reached India or Persia. Based on this we can say – although without certain proof - that between the 7th and 10th centuries, Muslims settled in the Malay Archipelago. It is possible that Muslim communities had already settled especially in the coastal areas, evidenced by such relics as a tombstone in Leran, Gresik, Java, of Fatimah binti Maimun who died in 1082 A.D.

5.2. Islamic Political Centers: The Basis for Islamic Development

Concurrently while Muslim merchants traveled throughout the Malay Archipelago and the settlement of Islam became established between the 7th and 13th centuries, the Buddhist kingdom of Srivijaya in Palembang also flourished. Although an Islamic polity existed, political hegemony in the maritime period lay


in the hands of Srivijaya and the Hindu Kingdoms of Kediri and Singasari. An example is provided by the Panmalayu expedition by Kartanegara of Singasari in the 13th century, which threatened the hegemony of Srivijaya. In this period (7th-12th centuries), Islamic merchants and preachers began to form an Islamic community. They introduced Islam gradually by adapting to the social and cultural mores of the local society. Islam introduced principles of tolerance and equal rights among the people.

5.3. The Process of Islamization and the Date of the Coming of Islam to the Malay Archipelago

In relation to the Islamization of the Malay Archipelago, the process of local people’s acceptance of Islamic teachings was crucial. Before 1500 AD, Islam had become a growing power. Contradicting Schrieke’s and Wertheim’s opinions that the coming of the Portuguese to some extent accelerated the process of Islamization, A.H. Johns showed that some local rulers tried to oppose the spread of Islam by cooperating with the Portuguese. A blatant example was the non-Muslim King of Sunda’s agreement with the Portuguese in 1522. This is


claimed as evidence of the growing power of Islam on the north coast of Java before the Portuguese arrived.\(^{594}\)

S.Q. Fatimi showed the important role of Sufism as the driving force of Islam both in Bengal and in Indonesia. In Indonesia, Fātimi refers to the linkages between the Islamic port towns of Java and Sumatra with Malacca, Aceh, and Makassar.\(^{595}\) The role of Sūfīs in trade was very significant and resulted in a robust economy in Muslim society. The process of Islamization was made easier by Sūfī efforts to introduce Islamic teachings, and their ability to adapt to the local people, including some rulers. In the evolution of the spreading of Islam in the Malay Archipelago, Sūfīs with various roles contributed to the shaping of Islamic society in the Malay Archipelago. As the majority of those Muslims introducing Islam in the Malay Archipelago were followers of the Sunni school of theology and the Shafī’i School of Islamic jurisprudence, the majority of the Muslim converts likewise became followers of the Sunni school of theology, and Shafī’i Islamic jurisprudence.

According to M.B. Hooker, a Professor of Islamic law from the Australian National University, the process of Islamization in Southeast Asia can be characterized as complex and inconsistent. He refers particularly to the assertion and adaptation of Islamic teachings to the life of Indonesian society. Various elements had an impact on the practice of Islamic teachings in Indonesia and the Malay world.\(^{596}\) Professor Hooker notes a misunderstanding among some

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\(^{595}\) Drewes, 20-21.

scholars regarding Sufism. Most historians of Islam in the Malay Archipelago are of the opinion that Islam in Southeast Asia takes its characteristics from a Sūfī form. Of this, Professor Hooker says, ‘Sufism is not a cultural form but an attempt to state the outer limits of the doctrine’.  

5.4. Modes of Transmission

According to Professor Hooker, in relation to the distinction about Sūfī forms, it is necessary to have a broad overview of the transmission of Islamic teachings in the Malay Archipelago. Professor Hooker explains that there are two modes of transmission, a temporal dimension and an intellectual dimension, and each has its own character.

5.4.a. The Temporal Dimension

The first is the temporal dimension which refers to the process by which Islamic teachings become familiar in the daily lives of people in Southeast Asia. This process includes the way that Islam came to be known by the people, to be understood, to be accepted, and finally to be implemented in daily life. This temporal process had a great impact on the formation of Islamic history in Southeast Asia. However, the process of temporal transfer is not clearly explained. One example is the problem of the route of the arrival of Islam. Modern Islamic historians in Southeast Asia estimate that from the end of the thirteenth century (i.e. from about 1292 to the 1390s) the presence of Islam

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accelerated in Southeast Asia. This estimation is based on material evidence (archeological) in the form of the gravestones found in Pasai (now Aceh) dating from the first half of the 15th century, and a gravestone from Gresik, East Java, dated 1419.\textsuperscript{599}

According to archeological observation, the pattern of these gravestones resembles those of Cambay in Gujarat, and conclusions were drawn about a Gujarati origin. This is also supported by the evidence that a much earlier gravestone from Pasei (dated 1297), also had a similar pattern to Cambay, and was also considered to be of Cambay origin. Other material evidence includes gravestones from Leran in Java dated 1102 and 1391, a Tralaya inscription from East Java, and an undated Trengganu inscription estimated to be from between 1303 and 1386-87 A.D.\textsuperscript{600}

Evidence about the route of the arrival of Islam can also be found in the accounts of travelers who came to Southeast Asia. Ibnu Battūtah from Morocco for example, who visited Pasai in 1345 A.D., reported that he found that the inhabitants had already become Muslims. Marco Polo came to the areas called Perlak and Pasai in 1292 A.D., and also reported that the people of these areas were Muslims. Tome Pires completed his travel report in A.D. 1515 and depicted Pasai as a cosmopolitan Muslim city. Chinese sources that constitute the history

\textsuperscript{599} Ibid., 3.

\textsuperscript{600} Ibid., 3-4.
of the Sung Dynasty (960-1279) also indicate the presence of the Arabs in
Sumatra.\textsuperscript{601}

Evidence can also be found in the oral histories of local people. This local
history offers details of the coming of Islam in the specific locality concerned.
Examples of such local histories can be found in the \textit{Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai} and
the \textit{Sejarah Melayu} (1612). Although the evidence from the historical accounts of
local people cannot give a certain date for the transformation to Islam, these
accounts give valuable insight into how Islamic values were transmitted.\textsuperscript{602} To
give a clear explanation of the history of Islam in Southeast Asia, interpretation of
the evidence is needed.

\textbf{5.4. b. The Intellectual Dimension}

The second mode of transfer mentioned by Professor Hooker involves an
intellectual dimension. The intellectual dimension is the process of the
transmission of Islamic teachings communicated to the Malay people. It is worth
bearing in mind that mostly it was \textit{Sūfīs} integrated with \textit{Sharī'ah} who introduced
and translated Islamic teachings to the local people in the Malay Archipelago.
The teachings concerned various aspects of Islam such as \textit{Fiqh} (Islamic
jurisprudence), \textit{Tawhīd} (Islamic theology), \textit{al-Ādab wa al-Falsafah} (Islamic
literature and philosophy), \textit{Tarikh Islam} (Islamic history), and \textit{Tasawwuf} (Islamic
spirituality).\textsuperscript{603}

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\textsuperscript{601} Ibid., 4.
\textsuperscript{602} M.B. Hooker, 6.
\textsuperscript{603} Ibid., 9-13. For further explanation about the dynamic of Islamic teachings in the
Malay Archipelago, see M.B. Hooker, 1-22.
It was in this dynamic process of translation that teachers of religion or Ulamā (Muslim scholars) including Sūfis played a great role in shaping Islamic society. An example is provided by Aceh, where religious intellectual life was articulated in relation to centers of Islamic learning located in Mecca, Medina and Egypt. In the case of Islamic law, local Malay rulers who became devout Muslims held intense discussions with Islamic preachers, including Sūfīs, on the subject of implementing Sufism which is integrated with Shari‘ah. This meant that the rulers attracted to Islamic Sufism were also committed to Islamic law.

In connection with the teachings of Sufism, Malay rulers paid great attention to the concept of the ‘Perfect Man’ or al-Insān al-Kāmil. This notion can be found in the Malay Annals. The idea of the ‘Perfect Man’ was developed by Abdul Karim al Jili (d. 1417 A.D), and Arabi (Muhyi al-din Ibn Arabi, 1165-1240) before him. Both authors’ writings have been quoted often as representing a glorious period of Islam in Sumatra. The ‘Perfect Man’ or al-Insān al-Kāmil is the one who has attained ‘gnosis’ (full understanding) about the essence of God and His character. Among Muslims, the first perfect man was the Prophet Muhammad, peace be upon him. This idea is known as the Wahdat al Wujūd.


605 A.C. Milner, 25-29.

606 Ibid., 29-30.

(‘Unity of Being’) in the words of Ibnu Arab Arabi. This idea raised a controversy in Aceh and subsequently influenced Java.

The ideas of Ibnu Arab on philosophical Sufism also had a great impact in Java. However, in the case of Sufism in Java, the historian Merle Ricklefs proposes that philosophical Sufism tended to be more aligned to the pre-Muslim Javanese monism that was eventually considered heretical. Examples of its adherents include Sheh Siti Jenar, Pangeran Panggung, Ki Cebolek and Sheikh Among Raga. However, according to Ricklefs, there was a counter attack from Islamic jurists as well as Sūfīs themselves. In fact, to take an example from the martyrdom of the Javanese Sūfīs mentioned above, their heresy seems to be not a matter of deviation from Islam, but rather the error of revealing the ultimate truth to ordinary people instead of keeping it concealed.608

It cannot be concluded that pre-18th century Sufism in the Malay Archipelago compelled its followers to be inactive in worldly life. From the early conversion period and afterward in the Malay Archipelago, Sufism did not function to accommodate existing beliefs; rather it served as a pious practice for those seeking a deeper understanding about the religion. (The accusations against Sūfīs were made by formalist Muslims who adhered strictly to certain schools in Islam.)609 In the early period of Islam in the Malay Archipelago, Aceh — which was known for its Sufism — used Islamic law as a source of law for Muslim

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609 Mohd. TaibUsman, 46.
Other Muslim kingdoms in Southeast Asia which were attracted to the practice of Sufism and Islamic law as well as establishing legal administrations were Banten and Mataram. In contrast to the common view of Sufism as heretical and inactive, Sufism in these areas was considered to be an important source of spiritual energy for the establishment of Muslim societies from the eleventh century onward.611

5.5. The Role of Sūfīs in the Development of Islam in the Malay Archipelago

The dynamic of Islamic movements accelerated after the eighteenth century. This acceleration was supported by contact between Malay students - known as Ashab al-Jāwī - with the Haramayn networks in the Middle East. One of the results of this was the Padri movement in Minangkabau, which was significantly influenced by the Wahabi movement in Saudi Arabia. The Padri could be considered to be a fairly rigid and radical literalist group seeking purity of religious practice and the implementation of Islamic Sharī‘ah. Occasionally the Padri movement used force to legitimize their actions, even killing family members - in this they were similar to the Kharijites.612 The examples mentioned give evidence that Sufism has close relations to Jihād in Islamic Sharī‘ah.

Sharī‘ah (Islamic Law) and Tasawwuf (Islamic spirituality) are both integrated

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611 Ibid., 26-42.

teachings of Islam. They are the outer and the inner side of Islamic teachings, and complement one another.\textsuperscript{613}

One line of a famous poem - the \textit{Syair Perahu} by the great Acehnese Sūfī mystic Hamzah Fansuri - clearly mentions the importance of every Muslim practising prayer as an obligatory duty of Islam and an essential pillar. In his poem, Hamzah reminds Muslims to undertake prayer and to strive in pursuit of knowledge:

\textit{Tuntutlah ilmu jangan kepalang}
\textit{didalam kubur terbaring seorang}
\textit{Munkar wa Nakir kesana datang}
\textit{Menanyakan jikalau ada engkau sembahyang}.\textsuperscript{614}

‘Be steadfast in the search for knowledge
In the grave thou art alone
Here Munkar and Nakir come to visit thee
Asking, “Hast thou prayed?”’

In relation to philosophical Sufism, the concept of understanding God, the so-called ‘Monism’ or ‘Unity of Being’ (\textit{Wahdat al Wujūd}), it is essential to note that this concept is often misunderstood by the Muslims to be the concept which neglects \textit{Sharī’ah} and deviates from Islam. The great Sheikh, with whom \textit{Wahdat al Wujūd} is often associated with, was Muhyiddin Ibnu Arabi. Although Ibnu Arabi is often misunderstood by many jurists, who consider him to have deviated from the \textit{Sharī’ah}, nevertheless in his works he stressed the importance of \textit{Sharī’ah}, and is often quoted by Sūfīs in the Malay world. In one of his works

\textsuperscript{613} John Bousfield, \textit{Islamic Philosophy in Southeast Asia}, in M.B. Hooker, (ed.), Ibid., 126.

on Sufism, Ibn Arabi says that to approach God, one must do so both inwardly and outwardly (outer and inner approach). In other words, the important thing to do is to search for knowledge and to perform such duties as ablutions, praying, fasting, and piety as well as other religious obligations set out according to Sharī‘ah. Ibn Arabi forbade additional prayers that were not permitted by Islam. Furthermore, he said that the first step is to approach God. After that comes performing outward deeds (Amal), then preserving oneself from evil (Warā‘) avoiding being devoted to worldly matters (Zuhd), and surrender to God (Tawakkal).615

Let us return to the writings of Hamzah Fansuri of Barus in North Sumatra (ca.1600). In one of his poems he states that he himself belonged to the Qadiriyyah Order:

Hamzah nin asalnya Fansuri
Mendapat wujud di tanah shahr Nawi
Beralih Khilafat ilmu yang ali
Daripada Abdul Qadir sayyid Jilani.

‘I, Hamzah who come from Fansur
At Shahr Nawi I gained the realization
The knowledge sublime I acquired from one
Called Abdul Qadir Sayyid of Jilan.’616

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615 Muhyiddin Ibn Arabi, Risālat-ul-Anwār fīmā Yamnā Sāhib al-Khalwah min al-Asrār in Majmū‘ muallafât Ibn Arabi ( Cairo: Maktabah ‘Alamul Fikrī, 1986) , 15. Detailed explanations about this see 15-36. For the conduct of the sālik (one who walks in the path of God) toward the religious obligations such as the importance to do the prayers and other obligations see Ibn Arabi, Kunhul la Budda lil Murid minhu in Ibid., 12-32. See also, Ibn Arabi, al Kholvah al Mutlqah in Ibid, 12-32. al Mau’idzah al Hasanah, ibid., 5-28. Ibn Arabi, al-Ujālah, in Ibid, 6-31. Ibn Arabi, Aqīdah fī at Taufīd aq Aqīdah Ahlīl Islam, edited by Abdurrahman Hasan Mahmud, in Ibid., 11-29. Ibn Arabi, Wasiyya, in Ibid., 24 about the importance of following the Sharī‘ah, Qur‘ān and Hadīth, (Yā Waladī, Ţīsika Bitawallāh wa Luzūmīsyyu’r wa Hifzī Hudūdīh wa Ta'allumi ilma. Yā Waladī, Tarīqatun Hādhīhi Mahniyyatun ‘alā Kitābi wa Sunnātī wa Salāmatuussodrī, wa Sakhāul Yadi wa Badzlun nidāi wa Kurhul jifā wassafhu ‘an Atsarāt al Ikhwān).

Hamzah’s Sufism-based poetry is full of symbols to explain the relation between human beings and the Creator. Therefore, to understand the inner aspect of Islamic law (Sharī’ah) in this case Sufism, emotional feeling is more necessary than rational thinking.\textsuperscript{617} In this case, poetry functions as an important medium of communication to introduce religious teachings to the people.\textsuperscript{618} Hamzah’s poetry appears to be influenced in structural terms by the famous Indian Sūfī; Sheikh Fadlullāh al Burhanpūrī (d.1029), whose work \textit{Tuhfat al Mursalah ilā Rāhīn Abī} gained much influence in the Malay world.\textsuperscript{619} \textit{Tuhfah} is a brief work about Sufism which consists of aphorisms and Sūfī teachings.\textsuperscript{620} This work explains the most important teaching in Islamic Sufism in relation to the existence of God:

\begin{quote}
That God is being and that this being proceeds to the visible world through six stages of emanation but is involved in no change thereby. The first stage, that of hiddenness of God is \textit{ahadiyya} and the second stage is the six stages of emanation which proceed from it are \textit{Wahda} and \textit{Wāhidiyya}, ‘\textit{Ālam al Arwāh} (the world of the spirit), ‘\textit{Ālam al Mitsāl}, (the world of ideas), ‘\textit{Ālam al Ajsām} (the world of bodies) and ‘\textit{Ālam al Insān al Kāmil} (the world of the Perfect Man).\textsuperscript{621}
\end{quote}

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
\bibitem{617} Ibid 24.
\bibitem{619} For this see, A.H. Johns, \textit{The gift addressed to the spirit of the Prophet, with the original text of the al- Tuhfat al Mursalah ilā Rāhīn Abī}, The ANU, Canberra, 1965. See also, Sheikh Fadlullah al Burhanpuri, \textit{al- Tuhfat al Mursalah ilā Rāhīn Abī}, Tegaat by Prof.Dr.C. Snouck Hurgronje, ( Leiden: Manuscript, Code, Or.7050, 1936.)
\bibitem{620} Ibid., 6.
\bibitem{621} Ibid., 6-7. To see the importance of this text, \textit{Tuhfa} in Sumatra and also Java which eventually arouse the bitter discourse between Hamzah, Shamsuddin and Ranniri see 8-9. This original text in Arabic and its Javanese translation is available in Johns, Ibid., 13-165. Further explanation on the influence of Ibnu Arabi in the Malay world and India through the work of Burhanpuri, see, A.A. Rizvi, \textit{A History of Sufism in India, Vol.II, 16th to Modern} (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, Publishers, 1983), 36-56. This influence shows the strong relation between the Indian Sufism and the Malay Sufism. See also Karel K. Stenbrink, 180-183.
\end{thebibliography}
The Malay Islamic world in seventeenth century Aceh generated bitter debate on Islam between Muslim scholars expert in the inner aspect (Sufism) represented by Hamzah Fansuri and his disciple Shamsuddin Sumatrānī, and the outer aspect of Islamic law (Fīq̄ - Islamic jurisprudence) represented by Nuruddin al Ranniri. Ranniri’s accusation directed at Hamzah Fansuri and Shamsuddin Sumatrānī is elaborated in his books: *Hujjatul Siddiq Lidaf’i al Zindiq* and *Tibyān fi Ma’rifatil Adyān.* Ranniri’s misunderstanding of Hamzah and Shamsuddin led him to criticize and discard their works, as well as those of their disciples.

In relation to the Sūfīs in Aceh and Sufism in the 17th century, it is worth mentioning Abdurrauf of Singkel (1661), known as Tengku di Kuala, whose tomb is located at the mouth of the Aceh River. Abdurrauf was one of the Malay students in the circle of the Ulama network known as Ashāb al Jāwīyyīn. Abdurrauf studied under a Haramain scholar, Ahmad Qushashi. After the death of Qushashi, his successor Ibrahim Kurani permitted Abdurrauf to teach the Shattariya order in the eastern part of the Malay Archipelago, Sumatra, Java and Malaya. These three figures were considered ‘peaks’ of the mountain of Sufism in the Malay world.

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623 *Nuruddin al Ranniri Tibyān fi Ma’rifatil Adyān*, (Explanation In Understanding Religion), complete manuscript, Leiden no. 3291, in *Twee Maleise Geschriften Van Nuruddin al Rannirī* in Facsimile Uitgegeven met Aattekeningen Door, P.Voorhoeve, Uitgaven Van De stichting de Goeje No.16. ( Leiden: E.J.Brill, 1955) . This text is in Malay Arabic script.

624 Naquib al Attas, 26.

625 Ibid., 28-29.
Sufism had an impact on the moral, political and social lives of the Muslim people in the Malay world. It was the Sūfis who systematically propagated Islam in the Malay Archipelago, and whose role continued until the further development of Islam. Even during the colonial period, Sufism remained a source of spirit and inspiration which can be observed in the tariqat movements. The dynamic of Sufism among the Malay people is central to understanding the dynamics of Islamic history and its people in the Malay Archipelago.

5.6. Neo-Sufism Reconsidered: Examining the Term and its Implications

‘Neo Sufism’ is a term proposed by Professor Fazlur Rahman, a Pakistani Muslim scholar. According to Professor Rahman, ‘Neo Sufism’ tended to reproduce the activity of the orthodox Muslim, and re-emphasize the importance of positive conduct in viewing the world. Further ProfessorRahmanclaims that ‘Neo Sufism’ is ‘intellectual Sufism’. ProfessorRahmanthen includes Ibnu Taymiyya and his student Ibnul Qayyim al Jawziyya as well as Hindi Sufī, Ahmad Sirhindi to be ‘Neo Sūfīs ts’. ProfessorRahmanargues that Sufism before the 17th century tended to be a speculative philosophy, with a weaker attachment to Sharī’ah. Thus ProfessorRahman divided the types of Sufism into un-Islamic Sufism and Islamic Sufism.

What ProfessorRahman meant by ‘Neo Sufism’ was that Sufism became integrated with the dynamics of Sharī’ah (Islamic law). Professor Rahman’s

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626 Ibid., 98.

division of Islamic Sufism into un-Islamic and Islamic Sufism is inappropriate. There is only Islamic Sufism in Islamic history, while un-Islamic Sufism is not recognized as Sufism at all. Rather, its followers are known as those who claim to be Sūfīs but are actually not. This term is widely known in the Arabic language as Mustasawwif. It is important to know the difference between the forms that claim to be Sūfī and the real Sufism. Some of the types of groups claiming to be Sūfīs are as follows:

Sūfīs are of three types: Sūfī, Mutasawwif and Mustasawwif. The Sūfī is he who has annihilated himself and is living eternally with Allah Almighty. He emerges from his human state and is united with reality. The Mutasawwif is he who is constantly engaged in spirit striving to attain a higher state who tries to follow the footsteps of the exalted Sūfīs. The Mustasawwif is he who dons the garb and appearance of the Sūfīs merely for the sake of wealth and position. He has no real connection with either the Sūfīs or the Mutasawwif. It is said about him, ‘The Mutasawwif is like a covetous fly to the Sūfīs and others think he is a wolf. That is why Sūfīs are called the united ones. Mutasawwif are called the principled ones and Mustasawwif are called the worthless ones.  

Professor Rahman’s description of ‘Neo-Sufism’ outlined above, seems to be inconsistent when explaining the early development of Sufism which was also integrated with Sharī‘ah (Islamic Law). When discussing the early period of the Prophet and his companions, Professor Rahman argued that although the Prophet ‘laid spiritual experience before being the prophet and after becoming the prophet, this spiritual experience could not be called a historical background of Sufism from the prophet.’ Another reason proposed by Professor Rahman was that the companions of the prophet never asked about this spiritual experience — Professor Rahman calls it ‘Sufic

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mysteries’ — they just did what they had to do based on what they believed.\textsuperscript{629} Professor Rahman’s effect was accusing Sufism of not having a foundation in Islam. His argument is in contrast to the opinions of Nicholson,\textsuperscript{630} Massignon,\textsuperscript{631} and Ibnu Khaldun,\textsuperscript{632} who claimed that the roots of Sufism were from the the Qur’an and the Prophetic traditions. Nonetheless, Nicholson and Massignon do not deny that in its later development Sufism might have been influenced by other religious traditions such as Christianity, Hinduism and Buddhism.

Professor Rahman’s inconsistency appears in his discussion of the keynote of Sūfīs tic piety. According to him, the keynote of Sūfīs tic piety is ‘Fear of God’, which stresses moral responsibility. In the previous discussion Rahman mentions that Sufism has no foundation in Islamic history, yet he also mentions Abu Dhar al Ghiffarī, one of the Prophet’s companions, as an example of a Sūfī whose piety became the foundation of Muslim asceticism during the 7th and 8th centuries. Professor Rahman then mentions Hasan of Basra (d.110/728) as a figure who gained recognition in the spiritual life. To compare this discussion with Professor Rahman’s previous writing which says that Sufism has no historical background from the Prophet is inconsistent. Professor Rahman’s inconsistency is a contradiction in terms Professor Rahman denies the historical foundation of

\textsuperscript{629} Fazlur Rahman, 128-129.


Sufism in Islam, but then gives an example of an early Sūfī from the companions of the Prophet.

Further, Professor Rahman suggests that Sufism was a result of the political situation and a reaction to Kharijism. ‘The political situation’ means that Sufism emerged when the Muslim community enjoyed ‘luxury and worldly enjoyment as the result of the establishment and consolidation of the vast new empire of the Umayyad dynasty’. Therefore Sūfīs should detach themselves from the world and withdraw to live in a secluded place. In relation to this, during the course of the 2nd /8th and the 3rd /9th centuries, Professor Rahman divided the ‘Ulama (Muslim scholars) into two categories: theologian/jurists and Sūfīs.

Professor Rahman proposed that the concept of trust in God (tawakkul) from the Qurʾān had been taken to an extreme level of detachment from worldly life. According to Professor Rahman this understanding had led to the central Sūfī concepts of love and grace being collapsed into a single sentiment. For example, Professor Rahman quotes verses by the famous Sūfī poet Rabi’ah al Adawiyyah (d.185/801) that contain expressions about pure love and grace:

I love thee with two loves, love of my happiness,
And perfect love, to love Thee as is Thy due.
My selfish love is that I do naught
But think on Thee, excluding all beside,
But that purest love which is Thy due,
Is that the veils whih hide thee fall, and I gaze on Thee
No praise to me in either this or that,
Nay, Thine praise for both that love and this.634

Professor Rahman interprets this poem as a Sūfī challenge of love and pure devotion to the legalist concept of obedience and observance of the law. Islamic law deals with external matters and activities while Sufism deals with the

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633 Fazlur Rahman, 129.
634 Ibid. 130
internal matters of the heart.\textsuperscript{635} Actually there is no contradiction between the concept of love introduced by Rabī’ah al Adawiyyah and the concept of obedience used by the jurist. Certainly what Rabī’ah wanted to express was obedience based on love as a higher stage than obedience based on the hope of paradise or fear of hellfire. Professor Rahmandid not elaborate clearly that before Rabī’ah came to this concept, she knew the Fīqh in depth, and practiced it as others did. Yet, Professor Rahman’s explanation implies that Sūfīs such as Rabi’ah and Ma’ruf al Karkhidid not know and practice Islamic teachings based on Fīqh (Islamic jurisprudence).

Professor Rahman again questioned the celibacy practice of some Sūfīs in the 2\textsuperscript{nd}/8\textsuperscript{th} century as it is not encouraged by Islamic teaching, although Professor Rahman did acknowledge that ‘married life remained the normal practice of Sūfīs down the ages.’\textsuperscript{636} However, Professor Rahman did not elaborate that celibacy was not taught in Sūfī teachings. Clearly, the practice of celibacy cannot be taken as an argument to judge the essence of Sufism in Islam.\textsuperscript{637} Initially, Sufism took the form of common religious discussion. The religious discussion held was also accompanied by spiritual exercises - i.e. reading or recitation of dhikir (words remembering Allah). These activities could be held anywhere including the mosque. When these activities became joined with spiritual concepts they were considered as a threat to the mosque as the center of religious activities. It was here that Professor Rahmanaccused Sufism of having originated from Shī‘ah,\textsuperscript{635} Ibid., 131.
\textsuperscript{636} Ibid., 132.
\textsuperscript{637} For this, see al Kalabadzi, \textit{al Ta‘arruf Limadzhab Ahl-al Tasawwuf}, see also Abu Nasr al-Sarraj, \textit{al-Luma},
whereas Shi‘ah is more influenced by Christianity, for example the doctrine of the Mahdī (Millenarianism).638

Professor Rahman then talked about orthodox Sufism, and claimed that some Sufism was heavily criticized by Islamic jurists. However, he then mentions al Harith al Muhasibi as a successor of orthodox Sufism who moved from rational theology to Sufism. By saying this, Professor Rahman seems to accuse Sufism of not being rational — al Muhasibi like al Ghazali tried to reconcile the outer law (Fiqh) and the inner law (Tasawwuf). Professor Rahman distinguishes Sufism from orthodox Islam by saying:

But from the 4th/10th century onward there emerged a new doctrine, completely opposed to the spirit of orthodox Islam, but which nevertheless became the first article in the constitution of Sufism as it launched itself in an organized fashion. In this respect the constrast, not only with orthodox Islam but even with the early Sufi practice, is remarkable.639

Professor Rahman then proposes that passivity can be seen in the Sufi practice of disciples following and obeying their teachers without reserve. Of this Rahman says:

Whereas during the first three centuries seekers of the Sufi path displayed a striking independence of spirit, resourcefulness and creativity, later on a rigorous discipline was imposed and an absolutely unquestioning submission to the spiritual dictatorship of the Sheikh or the master. And whereas in the 3rd/9th century Junayd of Baghdad taught that a seeker should behave vis-a-vis God as a puppet it was now said that he should be in the hands of his preceptor as a dead body in the hands of its washers.640

638 Fazlur Rahman, 133.

639 Ibid., 137.

640 Ibid., 137. Junayd al Baghdadi (born around 910 A.D.) was the prominent Ninth century Sufi. He stresses the importance of understanding the concept of Tauhid (Oneness of God) as the foundation of practicing Sufism by doing all the obligations as Muslims. See for example Ali Hassan Abdel Kader, “The Life, Personality and Writings of Al-Junayd”, A Study of a Third/Ninth Century Mystic with an Edition and Translation of his writing (London: The Trustees
Professor Rahman mentions the dictatorship of the teacher or sheikh; this is not actually a principle of Sufi teachings. It is a choice made by individual disciples when they seek knowledge about Sufism and need a Murshid or ‘Director’. When a disciple is ignorant of the basic teachings of Islam and Sufism and wants to know them, he or she should be like a ‘dead body’ in the hands of the master. In other words a disciple ought to obey the master or Sheikh because they do not yet know anything. Also the master or Sheikh must satisfy certain requirements based on Shar’i‘ah or Qur’ān and Hadīth. According to Ibnu Arabi who is considered to be a great Sheikh, those learning about Islam and Sufism are not obliged or required to have a master or sheikh. In other words having a sheikh is not a must. Ibnu Arabi says:

\[ Idzā kāna himmatuka, tahta Sultanika fakhudzil murshid, wa idzā kāna Sultanuka faqqa himmatika fakhudzil khalwah wa lā tubAllī. \]

641 The Sheikh or the director of this path must know the Qur’an and Hadīth in depth. He has attained the perfect knowledge and knows the illnesses of the soul and knows how to cure them. (Al-Syaikh huwal insān al kāmil fi ‘ullum al-Syar‘i‘ah wa al ta‘riqati wa al haqiqati, al bāli‘ī lā haddittakmil ġilha li‘ilmihī bi fiqī fiatīn nufusi wa amrādīlīhā wa adwālīhā wa qadrathī ‘alā sīyāsāhā.) See, Kamaluddin Abdur Razak al Kashani (the 8th century Hegira), Istilahat al-Sūfīyyah, (The terms of Sufism), edited by Kamal Ibrahim Ja’far ( Cairo: al Haiah al Mishriyya al ‘Âmah li al Kitāb, 1981 ) , 104.

642 Himma means endeavor, ambition, intention, design, resolution, determination, zeal, ardor, eagerness, hight mindedness, high aiming ambition, see Hans Wehr, A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic, edited by Milton Cowan, (Bairut and London: Libraire du LibanBairut and MacDonald &Evans LTD, 1980 ) , 1033.

643 Sultan means power, might, strength, rule, reign, dominion, sway, authority, mandate and authorization. (The strength includes the strength in knowledge about Islamic Shar‘i‘ah, spiritual and material strength.) Ibid., 422.

‘If your desire to approach God is beyond your strength (ability), you are supposed to find a director. However, if your strength (ability) to approach God is above your desire, you can go to seclusion to approach God, and not care for others’.

Ibnu Arabi’s opinion above shows the flexibility of Sufism and what Professor Rahman criticised is actually the practice of Tarekat, however Tarekat is not Sufism and Sufism is not Tarekat. Tarekat is only one element of Sufism as Tarekat is an Islamic religious organization which tries to organize the Muslim community to perform the religious teachings and exercises - that is, repeating the names of God in a loud voice, and practising contemplation in order to understand Islam and God. However in later times Tarekat was often considered to be identical with Sufism.

Therefore, to follow the Tarekat is not an obligation in Islam. One can practice the teachings of Sufism which are based on the Qur’ān and Hadīth. However, in its development, it is true that as a result of the Tarekat system which has a tight hierachical system of knowledge, a feudal system or autocracy might occur. For example, the Sheikh or the director could be the only authoritative source of knowing how to gain gnosis (Ma’rifah).

Professor Rahman’s inconsistency appears again when he writes about active Sūfīs integrated with Sharī’ah before the 17th century. Professor Rahman writes:

From the middle of the 4th/10th century there are visible signs of a movement for compromise between Sufism and orthodox theology. A well known Sufi Ibnu Kahff (d.371/981) rallied to al Ash ‘ari’s theology and was its noted defender. A curious example is offered by a brief creedal exposition of strict orthodoxy attributed to the theologian al Māṭūrīdī. His work called an Epistle on the Creed or fisal fi al aqaid, though it cannot have been written by al al Māṭūrīdī himself he died in 333/945. Nevertheless cannot, it seem to be later than the second half of the 4th century, for its terminology is primitive
and pre philosophical. The Sūfī overtones of this otherwise strictly formal work are striking, even though these mystic traces are kept in check so that they do not fall outside the fundamental framework of kalam theology.\textsuperscript{645}

In the same text Professor Rahman then goes on to mention active Sufism and the efforts of some Sūfīs to reconcile Islamic orthodox teachings with Sufism:

In the last quarter of the 4\textsuperscript{th}/10\textsuperscript{th} century a number of men wrote books like al Sarraj (d.377/987) Kitab al Luma’ and Kalabadžī (d385/995) introduction to the way of the Sūfīs, Atta’arruf Limadhabi Ahli Tasawwuf, to plead the cause of a moderate Sufism with a structure of ideas consistent with and even lending support to orthodoxy. This activity was followed in 438/1073, a manifesto for a synthesis of Sufism and orthodox theology.\textsuperscript{646}

Next Professor Rahman mentions that al Ghazali (d.111) pioneered the movement which combined the Sharī’ah and Sufism. According to Professor Rahman, it was al Ghazali (d.111) who was able to transform the formula of orthodox theology with divine will and bring them both down to earth in the context of society.\textsuperscript{647} However even before Ghazali who lived in the 11\textsuperscript{th} century, the real Sūfīs never neglected the Sharī’ah. Professor Rahman proposes that before the 17\textsuperscript{th} century Sufism tended to be philosophical and not strongly attached to Sharī’ah based on their resistance to the Islamic jurists. However, Professor Rahman’s explanation about Ghazali demonstrates a certain inconsistency with his use of the term ‘Neo Sufism’, and even suggests the hostile tendencies of some Islamic jurists towards Sūfīs. Professor Rahman’s explanation of Sufism does not touch the essence of Sufism in depth. His

\textsuperscript{645} Fazlur Rahman, 139.
\textsuperscript{646} Ibid., 140.
\textsuperscript{647} Fazlur Rahman, 139.
accusation of Sufism is actually based on a case rather than the principal concept of Sufism and its relation with the *Sharī’ah*.

When Professor Rahman discusses *Sūfī* theosophy, he tends to simplify the *Sūfī* understanding of the oneness of God which is called *Ma’rifah*. According to Professor Rahman, the *Sūfīs* exaggerate the concept of *Tawhid* by giving it a special formulation based only on their experience. In his writing, Professor Rahman seems to overlook that the concept of *Ma’rifah* (knowledge about God) in Sufism is not only based on the spiritual experience, but is also the knowledge about *Sharī’ah*, in this case the outer *Sharī’ah* (Islamic jurisprudence) and the inner *Sharī’ah* (Islamic Sufism). Professor Rahman questions Ibnu Arabi’s understanding on the light as God himself, and the doctrine of the Prophet Muhammad as ‘the Primal Light’. Professor Rahman’s interrogation runs as follows:

The Primal Light means penultimate constituent of ontological reality after God, a doctrine which later became a centrally orthodox doctrine of Sufi thought the teaching of Ibnu al Arabi (7th/13th) century who was we shall see made of this light god himself. This understanding eventually caused the emergence of the Hadith largely accepted even by orthodoxy which declared that Muhammad was a prophet while Adam was still in a state between water and earth. Orthodoxy did not accept the metaphysical implications of this Hadith but regarded it as a correct eulogistic statement of Muhammad’s position Vis a vis other prophets.

According to Professor Rahman the idea was much influenced by Gnostic-Manichean ideas. However, Professor Rahman’s claim that Ibnu Arabi viewed this light as God himself, influenced by Gnostic-Manichean ideas, is not based on

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648 Ibid., 141.
649 Ibid., 142.
650 Fazlur Rahman, 141.
a strong argument. Ibn Arabi based his interpretation on the Qur’ān since the Qur’ān says:

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\text{Allahunūrussamāwāti wal ardhi, kamatsali nūriḥī kamishkātin fīhā misbāhun, al misbāhu kazzujājati, azzujājatu ka’annhu kaukabun dürīyya yūqadu min shajaratim mubārakatin zaitūnatin la sharqiyatin wālā gharbiyyatin, yakādu zaytūna yudīfū wālau lam tamsashū nūrun, nūrun alam nūri yahdillāhu linūriḥī man yashā wa yadribullāhul aṁtsāla linnāṣi, wAllahu bikulli shai’in ‘Aliim.}
\]

God is the Light of the heavens and the earth. The parable of His Light is as if there were a Niche and within it a Lamp: the Lamp enclosed in Glass: the glass as it were a brilliant star: lit from a blessed Tree, an Olive, neither of the East nor of the West, whose oil is well-nigh luminous, though fire scarce touched it: Light upon Light! God doth guide whom He will to His Light: God doth set forth Parables for men: and God doth know all things.⁶⁵¹

With regard to the understanding by some Sūfis of the existence of the Prophet Muhammad before other prophets, including Adam, this is actually only a matter of interpretation of the position of the Prophet Muhammad among other prophets. That the interpretation of some Sūfis does not resemble the interpretation of the Islamic jurists is something to be expected as the juristic interpretation tends to look mostly to the outer dimension of the text.

Professor Rahman elaborated further by saying:

Many Sūfis came to hold that the seeker who arrives at this mystic truth goes beyond the Shari‘ah - the religious law of which he is no longer in need, and which is meant only for the masses and neophytes. Even those who held a less extreme view saw in the positive religion only a pedagogy, a ladder to be climbed and then discarded.⁶⁵²

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⁶⁵¹ The Qur’ān, 24:35. The translation of the Qur’ān in this quotation is from Rahman’s book.

⁶⁵² Fazlur Rahman, 143. However, unfortunately when saying this, Rahman does not refer to any reference.
Indeed there were some Sūfīs who insisted that the law may not be transcended at any point. These were precisely the orthodox Sūfīs who developed the categories of the inner and the outer described in the previous section. However, their reform was not enough; they did not develop any organic and necessary relationship between the inner and the outer, between the Sharī’ah life and the discursive intellect. If they had been able to do so, they might not only have averted the gravest inner conflict in Islam, but would have enriched it with an unprecedented creativity. As a result, these Sūfīs also left the impression that they were merely juxtaposing two irreconcilable currents out of hypocrisy and through fear of the ‘Ulama.\footnote{Ibid., 143.}

Professor Rahman also claimed that Sūfīs who attained gnosis (Ma’rifah) no longer need the Sharī’ah. Nevertheless, Professor Rahman’s claim is unsupported as it can be said that no real Sufi neglects the Sharī’ah even after gaining gnosis or Ma’rifah. If what Professor Rahman refers to is the condition of ecstasy, this has been discussed earlier as a temporary state. According to Professor Rahman, the Sūfī idea of gnosis (Ma’rifah) is peculiar in terms of the relation between the Sharī’ah and what it called the Hakekat (inner truth).

Professor Rahman did not refer to specific references when discussing the ones whom he called Sūfīs in the claim that Sharī’ah is not required when a Sūfī has attained gnosis. However it can be deduced that this statement is Professor Rahman’s opinion. This opinion is contradictory and even dangerous in relation to the existence of Sūfīs, since there is no evidence that Sharī’ah is not required when attaining gnosis. According to Sūfī teaching, Sharī’ah law is not implemented for those in an ecstasy (in a trance), as the words of a person in
trance (Shatahāt or Sūfī sayings) are considered to be the words of one who is crazy, and the crazy one is free from the obligations of the law (Sharī’ah). However, this condition is temporary only. Professor Rahman drew his conclusion based on the practice of some mustaswif (those who claim to be Sūfīs and to have attained Ma’rifah). Indeed, this kind of Sūfī is actually not a Sūfī.  

Elsewhere, Professor Rahman contradicts himself when explaining about the ecstasy of Abu Yazīd al Bistāmī, who abandoned the Sharī’ah law but only temporarily; for when Abu Yazīd al Bistāmī awoke from his ecstasy he undertook regular religious obligations. Nevertheless, Professor Rahman seems not to agree with this in his comment:

But the whole method of the Sūfīs created a problem of the utmost gravity of Islam.

Professor Rahman’s conclusion that Sūfīs who attain Ma’rifah or gnosis ‘do not require’ (are not subject to) Sharī’ah is reckless.

Professor Rahman then commented on Ibnu Arabi as follows:

The classic formulation of the new iepistemology was worked out by Ibnu al Arabi (d.638/1240) the apostle of theosophic mysticism in Islam. At the beginning of his magnum opus entitled The Meccan Revelation (Al Futūḥāt al Makkiyah) he discusses the ways of knowledge and concludes that intuitive revelation (Kashf) is the highest and the only sure source of cognition. He criticizes the philosophers for their exclusive reliance on reason but he also admonishes the religious classes in the same work, (reminding them) that not all philosophical doctrines are to be rejected as false. What really happened in this process was that the philosophical legacy was

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655 For this contradiction, see Fazlur Rahman, 135, when discussing the ecstasy of Abu Yazid al Bistami.

656 Ibid., 135.
adopted and developed by Ibn al Arabi and his followers into a monistic doctrine, but instead of being given out as a product of reason it was issued in the name of mystic intuition.657

In this case, actually, it is only a matter of interpretation. Ibn Arabi’s tendency not to incline towards the arguments of philosophers in dealing with gaining the understanding of God does not mean that he was hostile to philosophy. He merely thought that the arguments were weak if not based on spiritual knowledge. In this case for example, Ibn Arabi wrote a controversial book based mainly on philosophical thought, titled Fushūs al Hikam (‘String of Pearls’). Nevertheless, it is important to read Ibn Arabi’s magnum opus al Futūḥāt al Makkīyah ‘The Opening of Makka’ to observe whether Professor Rahman’s assertion that Sūfīs who have attained gnosis (Ma’rifah) do not need Sharī‘ah is right.658 It is thus, according to Ibn Arabi, the most perfect human being or al Insān al Kāmil, understood as the ‘Muhammadan’ friend of God.659

Professor Rahmanis inconsistent again when discussing the problem of ‘Neo Sufism’, when he explains the dynamics of the Sūfī movement in medieval Turkey before the 18th century. Their dynamic social and economic activities led to the establishment of guilds like those in Europe in medieval times. The Sufi movement was also associated with resistance against the state from the 7th/13th century, at the time when the prominent Sufi leader Shaikh Baba Ilyas rose in

657 Ibid., 145.


rebellion against the last Seljuk Sultan. In Africa, Sūfī orders of various kinds constantly put up fierce military resistance against penetration by European colonial powers.660

When Professor Rahman explains the character of Sufism before the 18th century, he stresses that Sufism was speculative. Professor Rahman then offers the term ‘Neo-Sufism’ to refer to the Sufi movements after the 18th century: according to Professor Rahman these were more dynamic and more attached to Islamic law (Sharī‘ah, by which he actually means Fīqh or Islamic jurisprudence). However, his explanation is contradicted by the examples he gives. Professor Rahman gives examples from Sūfī movements before the 18th century which were very dynamic and were attached to Islamic Sharī‘ah.

In connection with the concept of ‘Neo Sufism’ proposed by Professor Rahman and the Malay scholars, it is worth mentioning Professor Azra. Professor Azra is a prominent Indonesian Muslim scholar who followed and promoted Professor Rahman’s idea of ‘Neo Sufism’. In line with Professor Rahman, Professor Azra agrees that the character of Sufism in the Malay World before the 17th century was ‘inactive’. Professor Azra used the term ‘Neo- Sufism’ borrowed from Professor Rahman, to claim that after the 17th century (coinciding with the strengthening of the Muslim scholars’ network), ‘Neo Sufism’ emerged. According to Professor Azra, ‘Neo Sufism’ was different from the previous Sufism which was an interpretation of the philosophical mysticism of Islam. ‘Neo Sufism’ emphasized the obedience of followers to Shari‘ah, and impelled them to be active.661 However, by arguing and using this term, both Professor Azra and

660 Fazlur Rahman, 151-152.
661 Azra, 44-51.
Professor Rahman appear to overlook the existence of the Sūfis who did incorporate Shari‘ah long before the 17th century, as Professor Azra himself explained in his own research.\textsuperscript{662}

Professor Rahman uses an example of a Sūfī Junayd al Baghdadi, who according to Professor Rahman said that a disciple of Sufism was supposed to be like a dead body (i.e., passive) in the hands of the Sheikh.\textsuperscript{663} However, to determine the character of Sufism by quoting this remark seems inappropriate. Professor Rahman’s assertion can be further explored in the counter evidence provided by the life of the Sūfī Hasan al-Bashrī who actively undertook Jihād, and applied Shari‘ah as well as the practice of Sufism. Early Sūfīs included other learned men who undertook Jihād in its wider sense; i.e. they were active Sūfīs who impelled people to be active in worldly life by knowing the Shari‘ah before trying to know the secrets of the esoteric meanings of the Qur‘ān.\textsuperscript{664}

There are two important points to discuss in relation to the opinions of Professor Rahman and Professor Azra and their use of the prefix ‘Neo’ in the context of ‘Neo-Sufism.’ Professor Rahman promoted the term ‘Neo-Sufism’ and

\textsuperscript{662} Ibid., 8-153. Over all in his research, Professor Azra puts more emphasis on explaining the dynamics of Sufism in the Malay Archipelago in the 17th and the 18th centuries by mentioning some scholars of the Malay World. However, what makes contradicted in his research itself is that Professor Azra also explains that the dynamics of the Malay Sufis whom he called Neo Sufism is also rooted from their teachers and the teachings of the Sūfis before, that is the teachings of the Sufis before 17th century. It is therefore the conclusion of his research is contradicted with his own explanation.

\textsuperscript{663} Fazlur Rahman, 154.

\textsuperscript{664} For wider explanation about this, see, Faridduddin Attar, Tadzkiratul Auliya, (A memorial of the saints), Indonesian translation, Warisan para Auliya by Asep Hikmah ( Jakarta: Pustaka Firdaus, 1990, see also al-Hujwiri, Kashf al Mahjūb, English translation by Reynold A Nicholson, ( Leiden:E.J.Brill.Imprimiere Orientale, London:Luzac&CO, 1911). Ira Lapidus in his A History of Islamic Societies said that Hasan Al-Bashri was the earliest Sūfī after the prophet’s companion who drove its followers to be active in undertaking Jihād. See Lapidus, a History of Islamic Societies ( London: Cambridge University Press, 1999 ), 110.
used the prefix in other contexts such as ‘Neo-Revivalist’ and ‘Neo-Modernist’. However, Professor Rahman qualified his use of the term, stressing that it ‘may be called Neo Sufism’. The word ‘may’ in English denotes possibility not certainty. So, Professor Rahman himself only proposes the use of this term to describe what he sees as changes in Sufi activity. Professor Rahman then gives a definition of the distinctive character of Sufism before the 18th century and afterwards. ‘Neo-’ as a prefix attached to ‘modernist’ is also problematic. In the English language, *neo* means ‘new or in a later form’ and the word *modern* means ‘contemporary, of the present times or recent times, new and intended to be different from traditional styles’. To use these together resulted in a redundancy; i.e., ‘words are used that are not really necessary for somebody to understand the meanings’. Professor Azra follows Professor Rahman’s use of the term ‘Neo Sufism’, as does Professor Nurcholis Majid — known as Cak Nur — and many other writers in Indonesia.

Professor Nurcholis Madjid argues that the term ‘Neo Sufism’ is neutral rather than modern as proposed by Indonesian Islamic scholar Professor Hamka in

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665 Fazlur Rahman, 195.


667 Ibid., 853.

668 Ibid., 820.

669 Ibid., 1065.

his book on Sufism entitled *Tasawuf Modern* (or *Modern Sufism*). However, Professor Hamka’s criticism of *tasawuf* in Sufism refers not to the essence of Sufism, but rather to the cases where one claims to be or acts like a Sūfī but actually is not genuine. In Arabic, this type of claim to be Sūfī is called *Mustaswif* and refers to those people who claim to be the followers of Sufism and withdraw from worldly life i.e., false Sūfīs. Professor Hamka concluded that this practice was not Sufism, and proposed the term ‘Modern *Tasawuf*’. What Professor Hamka means by ‘modern *Tasawuf*’ is actually not modern but the real *Tasawuf* (real Sufism), which involves being active in social life. Professor Hamka’s conclusion is similar to Professor Rahman’s, who proposed the term ‘Neo Sufism’.

A clearer picture of the activity of a real Sufī can be had by tracing back to an early figure of Sufism. Often addressed as the companion of the Prophet, Abu Dzar al Ghiffārī was actively involved in social and political life. Temporary withdrawal from worldly life in order to fulfil Sūfī teaching and practice is expected, but permanent withdrawal from social life is not intended. Temporary withdrawal is for the purpose of searching for inspiration for the improvement of social life (either for the individual or for all of society), following the model set by the Prophet before and during his prophethood.

From the discussion above, it is evident that the uses of the words ‘Neo Sufism’ and ‘Neo Modernist’ or ‘Modern Sufism’ are inappropriate from a semantic, hermeneutic and definitional point of view. Since the characteristics of Sufism and ‘modern’ have not undergone change, the words ‘Sufism’ or ‘Sūfī’ or ‘Modernist’ are appropriate; the prefix ‘Neo-’ is not an accurate qualification.
Both Professor Rahman’s and Professor Azra’s differentiation of classical Sufism and ‘neo-Sufism’ distorts and negates the character of Sufism before the 17th and 18th century. In fact, the deviations in Sufism explained by Professor Rahman and Professor Azra have existed from the early history of Sufism up to the present time. Therefore it is not so much a matter of fundamental characteristics, but a matter of the strengthening and weakening of the form of Sufism integrated with Sharī’ah, and false forms of Sufism (Mustaswif in Arabic). The conclusion that the form of Sufism before the eighteenth century was inactive and focused more on philosophical interpretation, denies the historical evidence to the contrary. Appropriate examples which illustrate the dynamism of the Sūfis before the seventeenth and eighteenth century include the case of Khorasan in eleventh-century Persia, where Sufism became a driving force for social change. Sufism became a basis of the spiritual strength necessary for overcoming the hardships of life, and the Sūfī leaders gathered their followers into brotherhoods to actively work in the fields and elsewhere to provide the requirements for daily life after the Mongols destroyed the city. Sūfīs developed the arts of tailoring clothes, boot-making, candle-making, corn milling and bread baking. The process and development of Sufism in the Malay Archipelago can be understood in terms of the dynamic activities that occurred in other Muslim countries.

Conclusion

Before the coming of Islam, the beliefs of the Malay people can be described as animistic and dynamic. Over time, the Malay Archipelago evolved to become a center of trading activities due to its strategic location. The natural resources of the Malay Archipelago attracted many merchants from Arabia, India, Persia, and Europe. The Malay Archipelago became the meeting point for many merchants of different ethnicities and nationalities. It is not surprising that the Malay Archipelago received many belief systems such as Hinduism, Buddhism, Islam and Christianity. The coming of Islam to the Malay Archipelago has been estimated by some to be during the 7th century, while others claim that it took place in the 13th century. Sufism contributed to the Islamization of the Malay Archipelago from the earliest times to the full development of Islam there.

From the early period of Islam in the Malay Archipelago, Sufism understood and implemented the notions of *Jihād, Sharī‘ah* and Sufism in its broadest terms; i.e. ranging from striving in the path of God to waging war when necessary. This chapter has argued that Sūfīs did not abandon the *Sharī‘ah*, although in the course of history there existed some Sūfīs, usually referred to as ‘false Sūfīs’ (Arabic Mustasawwīf), who claimed to be Sūfīs and preached inactivity in worldly life. This phenomenon has existed in the history of Islam, not only in Indonesia but also in many other parts of the Muslim world. This chapter has also argued that Sufism is a way or mode of introducing Islam, and that *Sharī‘ah* is not abandoned by real Sūfīs, as Sufism is part of *Sharī‘ah*. Sufism is an inner aspect of the *Sharī‘ah*, and *Fīqh* or Islamic jurisprudence is its outer aspect. Both are interwined in the frame of *Sharī‘ah*, as *Sharī‘ah* is the outer and the inner aspect of Islam which is represented by *Fīqh* (Islamic jurisprudence) and *Tasawwuf* (Islamic Sufism). Therefore the term ‘Neo Sufism’
is inaccurate in relation to the discourse of Sufism in Islam, especially in relation to Sharī‘ah. The consequences of accepting ‘Neo Sufism’ will be an inconsistent understanding of the history of Sufism in Islam. The term ‘Neo Sufism’ itself has two problems. First in its literal meaning, it is a redundancy, and in its definition, it is contradictory to the historical evidence. Finally, the term denies the historical evidence, and tends to overlook the role of the great Sūfis and the real Sūfis in relation to the understanding and implementation of Sharī‘ah.

CHAPTER VI
STUDIES ON JIHÂD, SHARÎAH AND SUFISM IN ISLAMIC MOVEMENT:
THE CASE OF YUSUF AL- MAQASSARY

Yusuf al Maqassary (1626–1699 A.D.); a Sūfī master, scholar, a pioneer and a leader of the struggle against Dutch colonization

Introduction

Historical writing in South Sulawesi, especially that of the Buginese and Macassarese chronicles, cannot escape from mythology and legend. So according to these chronicles of Sulawesi, the ancestors of the Sulawesi people were from the Upper World, and their kings and queens were descended from heaven. Present conditions have nothing to do with these stories. For this reason, the South Sulawesi chronicles begin the narrative with ‘it is said …’ to indicate that the writer of the chronicle was not sure about the certainty of the narrative, and therefore was not responsible for its accuracy. Such narratives do not refer to the
message of the prophecy.\footnote{J. Noorduyn, Origin of South Celebes historical writing in Soedjatmoko et.al. eds, An Introduction to Indonesian Historiography ( New York: Cornell University Press, 1965 ) ,138-140.} Another important source for the history of South Sulawesi is the diaries of the rulers. The information recorded in these diaries is quite detailed and gives very clear information about events such as the dates of the reigns of various rulers.\footnote{Ibid, 142.} In relation to the history of Islam in Sulawesi, it is important to note that the historical data recorded in the diaries is becoming significant to understanding the history of South Sulawesi.

The Muslims in the early Islamic period in the Malay World came from various ethnic backgrounds including Arabia, Persia, India and China. As a result of the rapid growth of Islam for instance, Arabs from Hadramaut came en masse to the Malay Archipelago in the 18th century.\footnote{L.W.C. Van den Berg, Le Hadramaut et Les Colonies Arabes dans L’archipel Indien, Indonesian translation by Rahayu Hidayat, INIS series Vol.3 (Jakarta: INIS, 1989), 72-78.} In these periods, the role of the Ṣūfī and tarekat orders became important as a means of introducing Islam to the local people. The trading activities undertaken by tarekat members were driving factors in accelerating the spread of Islam. Trade became a very effective means of introducing faith and custom. Through peaceful means and the tolerance promoted by the Ṣūfīs and Muslim traders, Islam gained influence in many areas in the Malay Archipelago, such as Sumatra, Sulawesi, Java, and Kalimantan.\footnote{Sartono Kartodirjo, Pengantar Sejarah Indonesia Baru 1500-1900 dari Emporium sampai Imperium, vol 1 ( Jakarta, P.T. Gramedia Pustaka Utama, 1992 ) , 11-36.}

As a result of this, the process of acculturation between Islam and pre-existing beliefs and cultures such as Hindu-Buddhist and local cultures was inevitable. Literary works provide clear examples of this. At the time that Islam
was gaining more influence over the people, Muslim preachers modified some stories, literary works and performances to fit with the spirit of Islamic teachings. Thus, some Islamic stories from the Arab world and Persia were introduced. Examples of these can be observed in some religious books that exist in many parts of the Malay Archipelago. These are known as *kitāb*, and are written in either Arabic or Arabic *Jawi* scripts; they consist of religious teachings or stories for the Muslim community.  

In connection with these developments in the Malay Archipelago, the role of the Sultanate of Aceh was important in the latter part of the 16th century. Aceh was a Muslim kingdom at the centre of a dynamic intellectual discourse. The significance of the Sultanate of Aceh lay in its influence on the formulation of Malay Islamic theology in the early period of Islam from around the 13th to 15th centuries up until the 18th century. In the early 17th century for instance, Sultan Iskandar Muda of Aceh, who was a progressive thinker and a contributor to the development of Islam encouraged a progressive dynamic in Islamic development.

6.1. An Overview of Islamic History in Macassar: An Attempt to Understand Islam among the People of Macassar

It is impossible to understand the intellectual journey of Sheikh Yusuf al Maqassary without mentioning Aceh as the center of Islamic intellectual activities at the time Yusuf lived. According to Azyumardi Azra, a leading Indonesian Muslim scholar, the most prominent Aceh Scholar, Nūr al-dinar Raniri was a

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teacher of *Sheikh* Yusuf.\(^{678}\) At that time Aceh and Macassar were centers of trade. The relations between Aceh and Macassar was established when some Islamic preachers from Aceh travelled to Macassar to introduce Islam.

Before elaborating on the process of Islamization in Sulawesi, especially in Macassar, it is necessary to have an overview of Sulawesi where Macassar is located. Like many other islands in the Malay Archipelago, Sulawesi has a very long history. Migration occurred from the Asian mainland to Sumatra and Sulawesi. Many people from India, Malaya, China, and Europe developed trading relations with local merchants because of Sulawesi’s strategic location on the path of various trade routes.\(^{679}\)

The whole history of South Sulawesi was based on a struggle for hegemony. For example, the hegemony of the Kingdom of Gowa until it was defeated by the Dutch East India Company in 1668, which was followed by the defeat of the Kingdom of Bone also by the East India Company.\(^{680}\) In the 17th century, under the King of Gowa, Sultan Malikussaid (1639-1653) and his brilliant Prime Minister, Karaeng Pattingaloang, Macassar became the most crowded harbour in Southeast Asia, and was said to be the finest port in the eastern part of the Malay Archipelago.\(^{681}\)

Karaeng Pattingaloang became Prime Minister of the kingdom of Gowa when his father, Karaeng Sultan Abdullah Awwalul Islam, who was the king of

\(^{678}\) Azyumardi Azra, *Renaissans Islam Asia Tenggara, Sejarah wacana dan kekuasaan*, (Jakarta: Remaja Rosdakarya, 1999), 131.

\(^{679}\) *The Encyclopaedia Americana*, 862.

\(^{680}\) J. Noorduyn, 151.

the kingdom of Gowa-Tallo as well as a prime minister of Gowa, died on 10 October, 1636. The grandeur of the Kingdom of Gowa was based on good governance and good moral ethics laid down by the Prime Minister. As Prime Minister, Karaeng Pattingaloang advised that great kingdoms could fall:

1. Punna tenamo naerok riptaikingak karaeng makgauga
2. Punna tenamo tumangasseng ri lalang paraksanganganga
3. Punna ngalle ngasemmi sosok pabbicaraia
4. Punna majai gauk rompo ri lalang pakrasanganga
5. Punna tenamo nakameseangi atanna karaeng makgauka

1. ‘If the reigning king refuses to accept advice’
2. ‘If there are no scholars in the country’
3. ‘If the judges and officials are fond of bribery’
4. ‘If there are many great conflict in the country’
5. ‘If the reigning king shows no mercy towards the people’

Karaeng Pattingaloang was very eloquent in many languages including Portuguese, Spanish, Latin, English, Arabic and French. He used these languages eloquently in diplomatic affairs. It is worth noting here that at that time, many members of the royal family and officers of the kingdom of Gowa-Tallo were acquainted with the Portuguese language. Thus, when the Dutch and the Macassarese agreed to sign the treaty called the ‘Bongaya Agreement (Bongaaisch Tractaat) on 18 November 1667, they used Portuguese as the diplomatic language. This was suggested by Speelman, one of the Dutch officers at that time, on consideration that the Dutch did not understand the Macassarese language and the Macassarese did not understand Dutch either.

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683 Andi Zainal Abidin, 228.
Karaeng Pattingaloang was a bibliophile. He had a complete library full of many books in the various fields of knowledge such as science, technology, politics, society and religion. Therefore he was a very good diplomat in regard to the relations with the Europeans and the Arabs.\textsuperscript{685}

According to the historical records of the Buginese and Macassarese, the Islamic religion was officially adopted by the Kingdom of Goa-Tallo in 1603. The three Muslim preachers were Datu Tiro, Datu Ri Bandang, and Datu Patimang from Minangkabau. Prior to this, a Muslim community had settled in Macassar. They comprised migrants from Malaka after its defeat by the Portuguese in 1511.\textsuperscript{686} These three preachers were invited to the Kingdom of Gowa to serve the Islamic community.\textsuperscript{687}

Long before the coming of these three preachers, the two religions of Islam and Christianity had tried to attract the Kings of Goa and Tallo. The choice was either to become Catholic like the rulers in Flores and Jailolo, or to accept Islam like the Islamic Kingdom of Ternate. However, the Kings of Goa and Tallo did not want to accept either religion, for two reasons. The first reason was that they refused to convert to Christianity due to their hatred of the Portuguese who were Christians. And the second reason was that they refused to convert to Islam for fear of the consequences of becoming a vassal kingdom under the Kingdom of Ternate. Since both these reasons were extremely political, the coming of the three Islamic preachers was accepted widely in the royal family of the Kingdoms

\textsuperscript{685} Ibid., 139.


\textsuperscript{687} Amir, Maudu Lompoa Cikoang Takalar, (Makassar: Pedoman Rakyat, Sabtu 31 Mei 2003), 7.
of Goa and Tallo as they were considered sincere in preaching Islam without any hidden political aims.688

It is essential to mention that the Islamization process in the Malay Archipelago - more precisely in the eastern part of Indonesia - moved from Sumatra to Java, then to Kalimantan, finally to Sulawesi and Maluku. In the second wave of the process of Islamization in Macassar, an important figure from Aceh, Sayed Jalāluddīn, was married to a daughter from the royal family of the Kingdom of Gowa, I Acara Daeng Tamami. Jalāluddīn then lived in a place called Cikoang and developed Islam.689 In the seventeenth century, Macassar became an important center of Islam and played a significant role in resisting the increasing power of Dutch colonization.690

Since many Macassarese traders had already been to Malaka before its fall, they knew much about the political and religious developments there. Indeed, they also knew much about the Portuguese, socially and culturally as well as politically. In later developments, this information might have assisted the people of South Sulawesi in developing a trading state in relation with other trading states in the Malay Archipelago.691

The fall of Malaka in 1511 provided a great advantage for the development of Islamic regions in the Malay Archipelago. Regions such as


South Sulawesi, Aceh in Sumatra, Patani, Johor in the Malay Peninsula, Banjarmasin (Kalimantan), as well as Demak in Java, assumed Malaka’s position as important trading states in the Malay Archipelago. South Sulawesi became a significant trading power in the middle of the sixteenth century. Initially, South Sulawesi did not attract the Portuguese, whose main concern was to secure the important spice trade from the Moluccas. As a consequence, the Portuguese had to maintain their route along the Javanese north coast and Sunda Island. Nevertheless, in 1533 the Portuguese gained an interest after learning about the existence of gold in South Sulawesi. The Portuguese tried to send expeditions to South Sulawesi, particularly to some regions that were considered to have much gold, such as Manado, Toli-toli, Mamuju, Siang, Tallo, and Garassi. 692

There was a competition between Muslim and Christian efforts to gain influence over the people. However, since some kingdoms in South Sulawesi (such as Ternate-Gowa, Gorontalo and Buton) had become Islamic kingdoms, Christianity was not able to gain many followers. Islam developed and spread widely in South Sulawesi. 693 There was also the question of the implementation of Islamic law by Islamic kingdoms. For example, Dato’ Ri Bandang made efforts to apply the principles of *Sharī’ah* law to such matters as the performance of religious services and of funerals, the problem of marriage, circumcision, eating pork, drinking wine and charging interest on loans. However, as these customs (such as eating pork and drinking wine) were commonly practiced among the people, Dato Ri Bandang incorporated *Sharī’ah* law very gradually. Dato Ri

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692 Pelras, 125.

693 Ibid., 133-138.
Bandang tried to introduce Islam by avoiding conflict with local traditions and norms. Therefore, he used an adaptive approach to gain the hearts of the people.

The first King of Gowa to embrace Islam was Sultan Alāuddīn, who accepted Islam from Datuk Ri Bandang. His original name was I Mangngarangi, I Daeng Manra’bia. Evidence of the early acceptance of Islam in Gowa-Tallo is recorded in detail in the diaries known as Lontara. The conversion occurred on 18 Radjab 1016 according to the Islamic calendar, and on 16 November 1607 A.D. according to the Gregorian calendar

The attempt to apply Sharī‘ah literally and to follow orthodoxy in Islam emerged first among the elite. La Maddaremeng for instance, a 17th century Bone ruler, was an example of how the rulers in South Sulawesi tried to minimize syncretism. He made efforts to reject superstitious practices as ‘bad customs’ and banned the Bissu (transvestite priests). La Maddaremeng is said to have been a Sūfī and his writings are still read and studied by some Bugis scholars. The Sūfī tradition in South Sulawesi reached its peak when a famous Sūfī born in Macassar, Yusuf al-Maqassary, returned from his studies in the Middle East.

A new development in Islam in South Sulawesi emerged in the 18th century with the discovery of an anonymous book called Budi Istirahat Indra Bustanil Arifīn. The content of this book is similar to that of the Mahkota Segala Raja (Malay) or the Tājus Salatīn (The Crown of the Princes) by Sheikh Bukhārī


696 Pelras, 188-189.
of Johor, written in Aceh in the previous century. This book explains the position of the kings as having been elected by God to rule the people. This was perhaps an attempt to change the old belief of the local people that the kings were actually descended from Heaven, i.e., that they were the tools of God for ruling the Earth. This belief is certainly not a new one in the Malay tradition and may have been influenced by medieval Islamic thought, which held that rulers were the shadows of God on Earth.697

This was the situation at the time when Yusuf was born. This overview provides some understanding of the background environment that shaped Yusuf al Maqassary. However, before studying the history and the works of Yusuf al Maqassary, the next section will examine various studies by some scholars. This is important in order to show that the focus of this thesis is different from that of previous works. This thesis provides an understanding of the works of Yusuf al Maqassary that focuses on Jihād, Sharī‘ah and Sufism.

6.2. Studies on Yusuf al Maqassary: Previous Works on Yusuf al Maqassary, His History and his Writings

This section will examine the work that has been done by previous scholars; it will discuss some important problems in relation to Yusuf al Maqassary, what he wrote and the ideas he expressed in his work as well as the thinkers who influenced him.

6.2.a. Studies on Yusuf al Maqassary

697 Ibid., 189. To have a wider explanation about the behaviour and thought of Macassar-Buginese in family system called Siri (honour) and belief as a way of life, see Hamid Abdullah, Manusia Bugis Makassar, suatu tinjauan Historis terhadap pola tingkah laku dan pandangan hidup manusia Bugis Makassar (Jakarta: Inti Idayu Press, 1985).
There are several studies about Sheikh Yusuf.

(1) The first of these was made by A. A. Cense in *Bingkisan Budi: Een bundle opstellen an Dr. Philippus Samuel Van Ronkel door Vrienden en leerlingen aangeboden op Zijn achtigsten Verjaardag, ‘Pemujaan Syaikh Yusuf di Sulawesi Selatan’.* 698 This is a short article about the history of Sheikh Yusuf and his important role as a saintly man.

(2) A second study by Hamka, entitled *Sjeikh Jūsuf Tadjul Chalwati (Tuanta Salamaka), 1626-1699,* comprises a brief history of Sheikh Yusuf and his role in resisting Dutch colonization. 699

(3) The third study is Abu Hamid’s thesis, *Syeikh Yusuf, Seorang Ulamā, Sūfī dan Pejuang. (‘Syeikh Yusuf as a Muslim Scholar, a Sūfī and a Hero’).* 700 This study emphasises an historical and anthropological perspective, and contains some translations of Sheikh Yusuf’s work.

(4) The fourth study is contained in Azyumardi Azra’s thesis: *The Transmission of Islamic Reform to Indonesia: Networks of Middle Eastern and Malay Indonesian Ulamā in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth centuries.* This thesis provides a brief history of Sheikh Yusuf and his role in shaping intellectual discourse in the Malay world in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, together with other Sūfī figures in the Malay World. 701 A new version of this thesis has

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699 HAMKA36-50.


been published under the title: *The Origins of Islamic Reform in Southeast Asia, Networks of Malay Indonesian and Middle Eastern ‘Ulama in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries.*  

(5) The fifth study was made by Tudjimah and is titled *Sheikh Yusuf Makasar, Riwayat dan Ajarannya.* This study gives a brief history of Sheikh Yusuf and contains translations of Yusuf’s works.  

(6) A sixth study was done by M. Arfah H. S. and is entitled *Ajaran Tarekat Yusuf dan Pengaruhnya di Banten Jawa Barat* (‘the teachings of Yusuf al Maqassary and their impact in Banten, West Java’). This study is focused on how the teachings of Yusuf al Maqassary influenced the religious attitudes and understanding of the Banten people. This thesis only gives a general overview of the impact of the teachings of Yusuf on the Banten people.  

(7) The seventh work is *Allah dan Jalan Mendekatkan diri kepadaNya dalam Konsepsi Syeikh Yusuf* by Sahib Sultan. This book explains the way a servant approaches God through performing worship (prayers and reciting the names of God).  

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6.2.b. The History of Yusuf al Maqassary, from Birth to Death: An Attempt to Understand the Factors Influencing Yusuf’s Thought

Yusuf al Maqassary was known in Sulawesi as Tuanta Salamaka ri Gowa. The annals of Gowa record that he was born in 1037/1627. At the time Yusuf was born, his family had already been fully converted to Islam.707 Therefore, it is not surprising that since his early childhood, Yusuf Maqassary received an Islamic education. At the outset of his education he learned to recite the Qur’ān. His first teacher for this was Daeng ri Tasammang. After having learned to read the holy Qur’ān, he continued to study other Islamic knowledge such as Arabic, fiqh, tauhid and tasawwuf under the instruction of Sayyid Ba Alwi bin Abdullah al allamah al Tahir in Bontoala and Jalal al din al Aydid in Cikoang.708

In the early period of Yusuf’s childhood, Makassar was one of the Islamic centers in the Malay Archipelago. So-called Sūfīs from Aceh, Minangkabau, South Kalimantan and Java were actively introducing Islam in Sulawesi. The Sūfīs peacefully introduced Islam to the local rulers. The ability of the Sūfīs to adapt the local culture to the teachings of Islam made the local rulers interested in Islam.709

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707 Azyumardi Azra, 87.
708 Ibid., 87-88.
709 Ibid 88. See also H. Andi Rasdiyanah, Integrasi Sistem Pangngaderreng (Adat) Dengan Sistem Syari’at Sebagai Pandangan Hidup Orang Bugis Dalam Lontarak Latoa, (......)
At the time Yusuf Maqassary was born, Islam had a strong influence on the royal kingdom of Macassar. These rulers attempted to implement Islamic law (Sharī‘ah), and to adapt it to political life. Some religious positions such as the leader of the prayers, khatīb, the giver of the Friday sermon, and qadhi (judges) were held by members of the royal family. It is worth noting, however, that the Islamic law that was applied was only concerned with the family problems which were suited to local custom. This acculturation of the system is known as Pangadereng or the Pangadakkang System.710

Yusuf studied in Cikoang under Jalaluddin al Aydid. After completing his studies in Cikoang, Yusuf married the daughter of the Sultan of Gowa, Alāudīn - also known locally as Mangarangi Daeng Murabia (reign 1001-46/1591-1636 AD). Since Yusuf’s desire to study further was strong, he continued his studies in the Middle East. His previous teachers might have been the driving factor in Yusuf’s ambition to pursue Islamic knowledge further. In September 1644 (Rajab 1054 Hegira), Yusuf left Macassar for Arabia. At that time, Macassar was one of the important harbours that had close relations to other harbours such as those in northern Java, Malacca and Aceh as well as Banten. Therefore, Yusuf took the opportunity to sail from Banten.711

Banten was one of the most important Muslim kingdoms on Java. At the time Yusuf came to Banten, the ruler of Banten was Abu al Mafakhir Abdul Qadir (reigned 1037-63/1626-51). The Sharif of Mecca awarded him the title of Sultan
in 1048/1638. As an Islamic sultan, Abu al Mafakhir was greatly interested in Islam. For this he sent religious enquiries not only to the Islamic scholars in the Malay Archipelago (for example, to Al Raniri in Aceh) but also to the Haramayn scholars in Mecca and Medina. Yusuf might possibly have studied in Banten for some time. In Banten Yusuf was able to establish good relationships with members of the royal family, especially with the Crown Prince, Pangeran Surya, who after the death of his father, Abu al Mafakhir was known as Abdul Fath or Sultan Ageng Tirtayasa.712

From Banten, Yusuf continued his education in Aceh. Yusuf might have heard of the fame of Nuruddin al Raniri and wanted to study under him. At the time that al Raniri left Aceh in 1054/1644 for his home town, Ranir (Randir?) in India, Yusuf was departing from Macassar to Banten. Therefore, it is doubtful that they met in Aceh.713 Nevertheless, Yusuf mentioned al Raniri in one of his works as one of his teachers. In this work Yusuf says:

Fainni akhadztu zimaamii wa sanadii al ‘aalim al fadlil wal arif al kamil al jami’ baina ulumin ssyari’ati wal mutahaqiq bil ma’rifati wat tariqati sayyidi wa maulaya Muhammad Jiila asy syahir al mad’uu bisysyaikh Muhammad Nuruddin Hasanji ibni Muhammad Humaidi al Qurasyi al Raniry, qaddasallahu ruuhahu wa nawwara dhariihahu wa huwa akhadzaha.714

712 Ibid.
713 Ibid., 89.
714 Yusuf al Maqassary, Safinatun Najāh, in Akhyar Nis (rewriter), Al Majmu’āt min Muallafti al Syaikh Yusuf, 131-132, no date. This treatise was given to be copied from the Khalifah or Mursyid of the Tareka Khalwatiyyah Yusuf in Macassar, Sāhib Sultān (Thank to Sāhib Sultān for allowing the writer of this thesis to copy it) when the writer of this thesis conducted his research in Macassar, South Sulawesi. This treatise consist of seven treatises of Yusuf al Maqassary, Hablul Warīd li Sā‘ūdīl Murīd, al Futūhāt al Rabbāniyyah, Zubdatul Asrār, Tuḥfatul Lāhib, Surah Ila Sultānil Wazir Daeng Kareang Karunrung, Safinatun Najāh and al Manhah al Saylāniyyah fi al Minhah al Rabbāniyyah. Although this is the rewritten of the manuscripts from the local people, the writer of the thesis in conducting the research tries to recheck the original text of this manuscript in Arabic with the translation of the text by the more authoritative in its field, Tudjimah. See also Yusuf al Maqassary, Safinatun Najāh, Indonesian translation by Tudjimah, the text is as follow: Sesungguhnya aku mengambil kelompok syekh ini dari syekh kami, sandaran kami yang alim, yang mufia, yang arif, yang sempurna, yang
‘As for the chain of initiation of the khalifah al Qadiriyah, I take it from my shaykh and prop the learned and prominent the wise and inimitable who possesses the sciences of Shar‘ī‘ah and haqiqah, exploring ma‘rifah and tariqah, my master and teacher, shaykh Nur al Dīn bin Hasanji bin Muhammad Humayd al Qurayshī al Raniri, may God purify his spirit and illuminate his tomb.715

Based on this account, Yusuf went to Gujarat before continuing his academic journey to the Middle East. Yemen was his first intended destination, as at that time Yemen was known for its Islamic scholarship. Yusuf studied in the area called Zabīd under Muhammad bin Muhammad bin Abul Baqi al Naqshabandi, Sayyid Ali al Zabidi and Muhamad bin al Qajih al Sa‘di al Yamani716

Muhammad bin Abdul Baqi al Mizjadi al Naqshabandi (d.1074/1664), was the most important scholar in the Yemen. He was the predecessor of the Mizjadi scholars who had a significant role in the networks that spread Islamic knowledge in the Muslim world through those students who came from many parts of the Muslim world including the Malay Archipelago. It was Abdurrauf al Singkili who was known to be in contact with him who played an increasingly important role in the expansion of these networks.717 Sayyid al Zabidi or Ali bin Abi Bakr

mempersatukan ilmu syari‘at dan hakekat, yang berhak atas makrifat dan tarekat, tuan kami Syekh Muhammad al-Jilān, yang terkenal dengan panggilan Syekh Nūr al-Dīn Hasanji bin Muhammad Humaid al-Urshā al-Rammīrī (semoga Allāh mensucikan ruhnya dan menyinari makamnya). See Tudjimah, Syeikh Yusuf Makasar, Riwayat dan Ajarannya ( Jakarta: UI Press, 1997 ) .The writer of the thesis does not find the contradiction. Therefore, these texts will also be used for the enrichment of this thesis.

715 Yusuf al Maqassary, Safinatatun Najāh, English translation is following the translation of Azra, 89.

716 Ibid., 89.

was the second major teacher of al Maqassary mentioned in the *silsilah* of the *Ba Alwiyyah tarīqah*.\(^{718}\)

Other teachers in the Haramayn mentioned by Yusuf were: Muhammad al Mazru’ al Madani, Abdul Karim al Lahuri and Muhammad Muraz al Shami. Abdul Karim al Hindi al Lahuri lived in the Haramayn and gained his fame in the eleventh century. He was involved in the networks of the Islamic scholars of Haramayn, and was a friend of Abdullah al Basri, Ahmad al Nakhli, Taj al Din al Qal’i and Abu Tahir al Kurani. It is very probable that Yusuf learned the Indian Islamic tradition from Abdul Karim, another name of Muhammad al Lahuri.\(^{719}\)

Muhammad Mirza, who was another likely teacher of al Maqassary, was a student of Taj al Din al Hindī al Naqshabandī. Just like Muhammad bin Abdul Baqi al Mizjaji, Muhammad Mirza was also initiated by Taj al Din into the *Naqshabandiyyah* order in Mecca. They probably knew one another. Yusuf was initiated into the order by Abdul Baqi. Abdul Baqi might have suggested to Yusuf that he pursue further study under Muhammad Mirza when he left Yemen for the Haramayn. Muhammad Mirza moved from Damascus to Medina and lived in Medina for 40 years, and then he moved to Mecca, where he died in 1066/1656, two years later. Muhammad Mirza was mainly known as a *Sūfī* who tried to

\(^{718}\) Azyumardi Azra, 90.

\(^{719}\) According to Azra, Muhammad Muraz al Shāmī mentioned by Yusuf was probably Muhammad Mirza bin Muhammad al Dimashqī. It is because the copy of Yusuf’s works often mistakenly spelled the names of the teachers. Instances of this can be found such as Muhammad al Zujaṭī al Naqshabandī instead of Muhammad bin Abdul Bāqī al Mizjāji al Naqshabandī or Muhammad bin Abdul Bāqī Allāh al Lāhūrī instead of Abdul Karimal Lāhūrī or Muhammad bin Abdul Bāqī al Naqshabandī. See Azyumardi Azra, Ibid., 90.
interpret the doctrine of Ibnu ‘Arabi, so that it could be more easily understood by the people.720

Ayyub al Khalwati (994-1071; 1586-1661) was another teacher of Yusuf who was very knowledgable in many fields of Islamic knowledge such as Islamic jurisprudence (Fiqh), Islamic traditions (Hadith), Qur’anic exegesis (Tafsir) and Sufism (Tasawwuf). He was born and died in Damascus. He was known as ‘the great teacher’ (ustādz al Akbar). Ayyub al Khalwati was known as a Sūfī who adhered strictly to Sharī‘ah. Sultan Ibrahim, the ruler of Syria, often consulted him in matters relating to Islamic law and mysticism.721 Abu Ayyub was known for his reputation as an active writer and the one who provided an interpretation of Ibnu ‘Arabi’s teachings - especially those regarding the concept of al Insān al Kāmil (‘the perfect’ or ‘universal man’) in the light of the Sharī‘ah. Ayyub al Khalwati also had extensive networks through his Hadith studies. His scholarly reputation made his halqahs (group of learning) popular with students from various parts of the Muslim world - such as the Maghribi region, Arabia and South and Southeast Asia.722

There is no record regarding the length of the period of Al Maqassari’s study under Ayyub al Khalwati. However, it was Ayyub that awarded the title of ‘crown of the Khalwatiyya order’ to al Maqassary for his learning. Later, in his own works, Yusuf Maqassari often mentioned Ayyub al Khalwati as the leading

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720 Ibid., 91-92.

721 Ibid., 92.

722 Ibid.
expert in both esoteric and exoteric Islamic knowledge. Yusuf al Maqassary also committed his *tariqah* order to Ayyub al Khalwati as a great teacher.\(^{723}\)

Gowa sources report that Yusuf had already started teaching while he was still in Mecca. Many of his students were from the Malay Archipelago, and had come on the *hajj*. One of his students who happened to come from the same region as Yusuf did was Abdul Basîr al Dařî al Rappānî(from Rappang, South Sulawesi). Abdul Basîr was the one who was responsible for the development of the *Khalwatiya* order in Macassar.\(^{724}\) It was through his pupils that the teachings of Yusuf al Maqassary spread. It is worth noting that although Yusuf moved to Banten, the relations between Yusuf and his pupils continued. Yusuf’s students - whether in the Haramayn, Macassar or Banten - were the agents for his teachings.\(^{725}\)

There is some evidence that Yusuf never returned to Gowa but went directly to Banten, since the ruler of Banten, Ageng Tirtayasa had been his closest friend before Yusuf went to Saudi Arabia. Ageng tried to keep Yusuf in Banten by offering him his daughter in marriage.\(^{726}\)

Sultan Ageng Tirtayasa was interested in promoting the Islamic religion in his kingdom. Like his father, Sultan Abul Mafakhir Abdul Qadir, Ageng continued to maintain the diplomatic relations which his father had initiated with Muslim rulers overseas, particularly with the Sharif of Mecca. Besides its

\(^{723}\) Ibid.

\(^{724}\) Ibid., p. 94.

\(^{725}\) Ibid., p. 95.

\(^{726}\) Ibid.
relations with Mecca, Banten also had good relationships with the Muslim kingdoms on the coast of the Indian subcontinent.\footnote{Ibid.}

Ageng Tirtayasa was aware that it was because of Yusuf that Banten had become a major center of Islamic learning. Therefore, to keep Yusuf near him, Ageng gave Yusuf the high position of Grand Judge in Banten besides taking him as his son-in-law. It was by this marriage that relations between Yusuf and Ageng Tirtayasa became stronger. Yusuf not only played a great role in religious matters but also in politics.\footnote{Ibid., p. 96.} The fame and success of Yusuf in Banten caused the Sultan of Gowa to send a delegate to persuade Yusuf to return to Macassar. Yusuf declined the offer, however.\footnote{Ibid.}

During his life in Banten, besides teaching, Yusuf was also involved in political matters. The Dutch had tried to gain a position in Banten, but Sultan Ageng Tirtayasa did not favor the Dutch. When war broke out between the Dutch and Banten, Yusuf became commander of the Banten army. When the Dutch successfully defeated Sultan Ageng, Yusuf retreated to the village of Karang in Tasikmalaya. In this village, Yusuf happened to meet one of his students, named Abdul Muhyī. Abdul Muhyī had studied under him when he was in Mecca. Muhyī then took the opportunity to continue his studies under Yusuf and asked him to transmit the chain of the \textit{tarīqah} he had received when he was studying in Mecca (Haramayn).\footnote{Ibid.} When Banten was defeated in 1683, the

\footnote{Ibid.}
sultanate was forced to surrender to the Dutch. Yusuf was subsequently deported to the Cape.\textsuperscript{731}

The Dutch ruled Ceylon in the period between 1050/1640 and 1211/1796. During this period, Ceylon became the second centre of banishment after the Cape of Good Hope for most of the Malay Indonesian exiles. The Dutch preferred Ceylon to the Cape of Good Hope because of its nearer location to the Dutch in the Malay Archipelago, and thus, it has greater efficiency in terms of time to control. The Dutch started to remove a large number of Malay Indonesian exiles to Ceylon as soon as they had established their rule there. Yusuf was thus banished to Ceylon after his initial banishment to the Cape of Good Hope. He was the most prominent figure ever to have been banished to Ceylon by the Dutch.\textsuperscript{732}

Taking his example from Âdam who was removed from Heaven to the Earth, thus bringing a blessing for the continuation of human life, Yusuf hoped that his banishment to Ceylon (Sri Lanka) would bestow the wisdom of Âdam upon him.\textsuperscript{733}

During his banishment in Ceylon, Yusuf successfully established a scholarly network with some scholars of Indian origin who became his friends - such as Sidī Matilaya, Abu Al Ma‘ānī Ibrahim Minhan and Abdul Siddiq Muhammad Shādiq. In one of his treatises, \textit{Safīnātun Najah} (‘The Boat of


\textsuperscript{732} Azra, 96.

\textsuperscript{733} Ibid., p. 98.
Success’), Yusuf mentions that the work was written at the request of some friends.

It is reported that Yusuf wrote the work entitled *Safīnāt al Najāh* based on the request of Ibrahim Minhan. The request was a proof that Yusuf’s knowledge was highly respected by Ibrahim ibn Minhan and his fellow Indian scholars. It is said also that through the Indian scholars who acknowledged Yusuf’s knowledge of Islam, the Moghul Sultan, Aurangzeb (1071-1119/1659-1707) came to know that Yusuf was being held by the Dutch government. To show his sympathy for Yusuf’s struggle, Aurangzeb warned the Dutch authorities in Ceylon to treat him with respect. It was evident that during his exile Yusuf attached great importance to teaching and writing to propagate his ideas among his students.

There are supposedly two tombs of Yusuf. According to one Dutch authority, De Haan, Yusuf was buried in Gowa because the Dutch sent his body back to Gowa. By contrast, Muslims in the Cape believe that his body remains in his first tomb in Faure (Cape Town). Muslims in the Cape believe that instead of his body, the dust of one of Yusuf’s fingers was returned to Gowa. It is believed

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734 Tudjimah, 198-204. See the original version of this text in Arabic. Yusuf al Maqassary *Safīnāt Al-Najāh* in Akhyar Nis, Kumpulan Karangan Syeikh Yusuf al Maqassary. This compilation of treatises is given to be copied from the Khalifah or Mursyid of the Tareka Khalwatiyyah Yusuf in Macassar, Sāhib Sultān (Thank to Sahib Sultan for allowing the writer of this thesis to copy it) when the writer of this thesis conducted his research in Macassar, South Sulawesi. This is rewritten and edited by Akhyar Nis. This compilation of treatises consist of seven treatises of Yusuf al Maqassary, *Hablul Warīd li Sa’ādatil Murīd, al Futūhāt al Rabbāniyyah, Zubdatul Asrār, Tuhfatul LAbib, Sūrah ilā Sultānil Wazīr Daeng Kareang Karunrung, Safinatun Najāh and al Minhah al Saylāniyyah fī al Minhah al Rabbāniyyah*, 124-138.

735 Azyumardi Azra, 99.

736 Ibid.

737 Ibid., 101.
that the dust miraculously grew until it took the shape of his body when it reached Gowa.738

6.2.c. The Role of the Tarekat Order in Promoting Jihād, Sharī’ah and Sufism: Looking at Yusuf’s Role in Macassar and Banten

The five most important Tarekat orders that came to the Malay world were: (1) Tarekat Qādiriya founded by Abdul Qadir al-Jailānī (born 1007 in Baghdad); (2) Tarekat Naqshabandiya founded by Bahāuddīn al Uwaysī (died 1388); (3) Tarekat Shatāriyya founded by Abdullah Shatār (died 1415); (4) Tarekat Khalwatiyya Yusufiyya founded by Sheikh Yusuf Maqassary; and (5) Tarekat Khalwatiyyah Sammaniyyah founded by Muhammad Ibnū Abdul Karim Samman (d.1720 in Medina).739

This section will not discuss all the Tarekat orders mentioned above. Since the focus is on Yusuf Maqassary, this section will discuss only the role of the Tarekat Khalwatiyya in Macassar.

After a long time spent studying overseas, Yusuf felt that his knowledge of Islamic spirituality was adequate, and he returned to his hometown of Gowa Tallo. After his long period (23 years) of study (1645-1668), Yusuf eventually returned to Gowa.740 As soon as Yusuf returned to Macassar in about 1668, he began teaching Islamic spirituality through what became known as the

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738 Ibid., 103.
739 Abdul Rahim Yunus, Posisi Tasawuf dalam system kekuasaan di kesultanan Buton pada abad 19, ( Jakarta: Indonesian Netherlands Cooperation in Islamic studies, INIS, 1995 ), 8.
Yusuf was a member of many tarekat orders but it was from the Khalwatiyah Order that he was awarded the highest certificate as Taj al-Khalwati (‘the crown of Khalwatiyah’). Following his receipt of this award, Yusuf commenced preaching Khalwatiyah among the royal family of Macassar.

When Yusuf al Maqassary returned to his homeland in Gowa after his studies, the bad habits of the Macassarese - such as gambling, cockfighting, drinking alcohol and smoking opium - were still widely practiced. Although they claimed to be Muslims, they did not care about the requirements of Islam. They still practiced local beliefs and customs such as giving offerings to the spirits. Yusuf tried to open a circle of Islamic studies in Macassar. Some of his students became prominent scholars. During the years from 1668 to 1671 Yusuf successfully established the Khalwatiyah Order in Macassar in his own hometown, Moncong Loe.

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741 Khalwatiyah order was a branch from tarekat Aqidah Suhrawardiyah, which was established in Baghdad by Abdul Qadir Suhrawardi (d.1235 A.D.) and Umar Suhrawardi (d.1234). Further about this tarekat, see. Prof. Dr. H. Abu Bakar Atjeh, Pengantar Ilmu Tarekat dan Tasawuf ( Kota Baharu, Kelantan, Malaysia, Pustaka Aman Press, 1980 ), 350-363.


743 Azyumardi Azra, 94. Mattulada, Islam di Sulawesi Selatan in Taufik Abdullah [ed]. Agama dan perubahan Sosial ( Jakarta: C.V. Rajawali, 1993 ), 243-244. According to Macassarese’s historian, Mattulada, from the University of Hasanuddin, at this time, Goa Tallo was already under Dutch colonization, and the the Islamic spirit of the Muslim community of Makassar suffered profoundly. Traditions such as peacock fighting, drinking liquor, and gambling were commons. Economic, social and political factors supported these practices. The reasons of the Gowa ruler for not to support Yusuf’s ideas are as follow: for example, if gambling were banned, the traditional market would have closed which mean that many people would loose their source of income. Young people would not come to the market; this would result in their being unavailable at the command of the rulers when they were needed. If drinking liquor were banned, the people will lack of the courage, if the heroin were banned there would not be inspiration for the thinkers and if the idols are destroyed there would not be difference between the royal family members and the common people.

744 M. Arfah H. S, 60.
Yusuf al Maqassary tried to abolish all the un-Islamic practices in Gowa by asking the ruler to support his efforts. The ruler of Gowa, however, did not approve his request since the consequence of Yusuf’s request would be to reduce his income.745

Since the situation in Macassar at that time was not conducive to the development of Islamic preaching, and because Yusuf was disappointed by the attitude of the Gowa ruler, he moved again to Banten on September 19, 1671. He was accompanied by his 300 Macassarese followers, and went to see his close friend Ageng Tirtayasa who was the Sultan of Banten at the time (reigned 1651-1682).746 However some of his followers - such as Nūr al Dīn Abdul Fatah Bashīr al Darīr and Abdul Kadir Karaeng Jeno - remained in Macassar. They became responsible for the development of the Khalwatiyya Tarekat.747

Yusuf came to Banten after the kingdoms of Gowa and Bone in Sulawesi had been defeated by the Dutch (VOC) in 1669. As a result, some warriors and sailors from Macassar also left for Banten. Although Yusuf was already known in Banten as the Sheikh of the Khalwatiyah Tarekat in Macassar, nevertheless, his Tarekat was not widely known among the Banten community.748 In Banten Yusuf became the commander of the army as well as the first Grand Teacher of

745 Azyumardi Azra, 94.


Tarekat in Banten; he also became the highest Mufti or Qadhi (Judge and Chancellor) to the Sultan. The Dutch called him ‘The highest Priest’. 749

Yusuf led the troops of Banten to fight against the Dutch. Yusuf and some other Macassarese living in Banten played a pivotal role in facing and resisting the injustices and tyranny of the Dutch VOC (Veereneging Ops Indische Company) colonial rule. 750 This role had a close relation to the idea of Jihād in Islam in the broadest terms: namely in terms of Sharī‘ah (what Yusuf means is Islamic jurisprudence or Fīqh) and also of Sufism, two important Islamic concepts that Yusuf often emphasizes in his works. Therefore, Jihād in terms of both waging war and fighting the ego are interrelated in Yusuf’s teachings; their relationship is often emphasized in his writings.

There were several factors that resulted in the Dutch gaining the victory over Sultan Ageng. First, the Dutch had a stronger military force and better equipment; thus the Dutch military gradually occupied many parts of the East Indies. Second, some rulers tended to align themselves with the Dutch - such as the brother Sultans of Cirebon, and Sultan Haji, who overthrew Sultan Ageng in 1680. Third, probably tired of fighting a guerilla war without enough ammunition, Sultan Ageng finally surrendered in 1683 after large numbers of his soldiers had deserted. Sultan Ageng was later sent to Batavia, where he died in 1692. After the surrender of Sultan Ageng, Sultan Haji established himself as


the Sultan of Banten (previously known as Bantam), and opened the territory's political and commercial doors to the Dutch.\textsuperscript{751}

Yusuf refused to surrender and continued to fight against the Dutch with some 4000 followers (of who only about 1000 were able-bodied men). They carried out guerilla activities and concealed themselves in the mountains of Fatsijara in Banten, moving eastward in order to seek help from Mataram. Many of his followers fled en route, particularly after two ferocious battles against the Dutch.\textsuperscript{752} The Dutch finally captured Yusuf in 1686.\textsuperscript{753}

\textbf{6.2.d. The Role of the Tarekat Order in Promoting Jihād, Sharī’ah and Sufism: Yusuf's Role after the Banishment to Ceylon and Cape Town}

When the Dutch lost Ceylon to the British but kept Cape Town, Cape Town became a place of exile from 1652 until 1834. These exiles included prisoners of war, and those considered criminal by the Dutch - such as Muslims from the Malay Archipelago including Yusuf and his followers.\textsuperscript{754}

After the Dutch captured Yusuf, they sent him to Batavia, but then relocated him to Ceylon as it was considered that Yusuf would be able to sustain his influence among his students and followers in Batavia. Finally in 1693 at the

\begin{footnotes}
\item[752] Ibid., 22.
\item[753] Ibid., 29.
\item[754] Yusuf da Costa, \textit{The early Cape Muslims: Victims of European colonizing activities in Asia and Africa in pages from Cape Muslim History} (South Africa: Schuter and Shooter, 1994), 1.
\end{footnotes}
age of 68, Yusuf was deported to Cape Town where he continued his preaching.\footnote{Suleman Essop Dangor, 33.}

At the Cape, Yusuf again focused on teaching Sufism. His deep knowledge attracted many people to become his students. His writings during this period include *Safīnāt al Najāh* (‘The Board of Success’), *al-Naḥḥah al Saylāniyyah*, *al-Hablul warīd*, *Tuḥfat al-Labīh*, *Zubdat al-asrār*, and *Tuḥfat al-Rabbāniyyah*.\footnote{Nasution, Harun (ed.), *Ensiklopedi Islam Indonesia* (Jkarta: Djambatan, 1990) , 245-246.} It is important to note that Yusuf’s *tarekat* – the *Tarekat Khalwatiyyah* – had massive popular support in Banten, Macassar, and Cape Town. It was through this organization that Yusuf gained support from his followers in resisting the Dutch.

The Muslim communities in the Cape practiced the *Tarekat* under *Sheikh* Yusuf’s direction. The *Tarekat Khalwatiyyah* thus became the basis for resistance against Dutch colonisation while Yusuf remained at the Cape. Yusuf and his followers organized *Tarekat* activities by promoting Islam through learning and teaching. Many Muslims who studied under the instruction of *Sheikh* Yusuf eventually became initiated into the *Khalwatiyyah* Order, of which *Shaykh* Yusuf was the *taj* (‘the crown’), or the highest spiritual director (in Arabic, *Mushrif*). It was through the activities of this *Tarekat* that they continued to resist the Dutch. Under the leadership of Yusuf, the *tarekat* group at Zandvliet in the Cape formed one of the first elementary structures of a Muslim community, and they came to represent the first arena of resistance to colonisation.\footnote{Suleman Essop Dangor, *The footsteps of the Companions: Shaykh Yusuf of Macassar (1626-1699) in pages from Muslim Cape history* ( South Africa: Schuter and Shooter, 1994) , 19.
As Yusuf was getting older, the King of Goa, 'Abdul JAliil, asked for Yusuf’s return to his homeland. However, the Dutch declined this request since Yusuf was still considered dangerous. Yusuf remained at the Cape until his death at the age of 73 on 23 May 1699. After his death, the King of Goa continued to ask the Dutch Governor-General and Council at Batavia to return Yusuf’s family and friends in Cape Town to Batavia. This was finally allowed in 1704 after many requests from the King of Goa. The family and friends of Yusuf were sent to Batavia on two ships: De Liefde and De Spiegel. As far as Yusuf’s sons and grandsons were concerned, only those below the age of five/six were permitted to return to Batavia. The Dutch still controlled Shaykh Yusuf’s friends and servants. Shaykh Yusuf’s burial site is situated at Zandvleit, Faure in Cape Town. Haji Sullaiman Shahmohammed - a Muslim philanthropist of Cape Town - built a tomb for Yusuf in 1927.

There is another record of the burial site of Yusuf. According to this version, after the death of Yusuf, the King of Gowa, 'Abd al-JAliil, asked the Dutch to return his body for reburial in Macassar. Eventually, after he had asked several times, in 1704 the Dutch gave permission to the King of Gowa to send his envoy to take the body of Sheikh Yusuf back to Sulawesi, along with his remaining followers. Of the 49 followers still at the Cape, four of them died and two decided to remain at the Cape. On April 5, 1705, these bodies were brought to Gowa and buried in the

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758 Ibid., p. 39.
760 Abu Hamid, 121-23.
region named Lakiung. However, the general belief among Muslims in Cape Town is that Yusuf’s body and those of his followers are still buried in Faure, Cape Town, South Africa.\(^{761}\) In Macassar and Banten, Ceylon and Cape Town where Yusuf lived and taught, he was highly respected by his community and by local rulers, as the highest spiritual leader and a hero. Even after his death, Yusuf was highly respected as a saint and a hero.\(^{762}\)

It is also interesting to note that Yusuf did not write a special treatise on *Jihād* in terms of waging war. All of his treatises emphasize the importance of performing *Sharī‘ah* in terms of *Fiqh* (Islamic jurisprudence) and *Tasawwuf* (Sufism). Yusuf’s involvement in *Jihād* in terms of waging war is known and reflected from the history, local stories and the sites associated with his memory. This is in contrast to other figures associated with *Jihād* in the Malay Archipelago, such as Abdus Samad al Palimbani who wrote a special treatise on *Jihād* in terms of waging war,\(^ {763}\) and Dawud al Fatani who wrote many times on *Jihād* in terms of waging war in his books on *Fiqh* (Islamic jurisprudence).\(^ {764}\)

In relation to the *Tarekat* orders, although Yusuf promoted *Tarekat* in his teachings and actively played a great role in fighting against the Dutch, there is no record that he officially used the *Tarekat* order to fight against the Dutch. It is true that Yusuf was a grand judge as well as a commander of the army when he

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\(^{761}\) Suleman Essop Dangor, 48.

\(^{762}\) Further description about the response of Muslim community to Sheikh Yusuf ’s preaching; see for example, A.A. Cense, 235-246.

\(^{763}\) Abdus Samad al Palimbani, *Nasihatul-Muslimin wa-Tadzkiratul Mu’minin Fī Fadhālīlil Jihādi Fī Sabī lillāh wa Karamaṭil-Mujāhidin Fī Sabī lillāh*, manuscript number CCIX, no date (Jakarta: National Librar, no date).

\(^{764}\) The concept of *Jihād* in Dawud al Fatani books is discussed in the following chapter on Dawud al Fatani.
was in Banten and he was also a great master when he was in Ceylon and Cape Town. Therefore, it is not surprising that all the followers of Yusuf were also his students. Some of them officially became members of the Tarekat, but even those who never became Tarekat members nevertheless remained his students. In spite of this, the role of tarekat orders in promoting Jihād both in terms of waging war and fighting the ego as two integrated teachings linked to the performance of Islamic Sharī’ah is worth taking into account.

6.2.e. Yusuf's Concept of Jihād, Sharī’ah and Sufism Based on his Works: Examining the Importance of the Outer and Inner Aspects of Sharī’ah.

Jihād, in its broadest meaning, is to make one’s best effort in the path of God and for the sake of His pleasure. Therefore, to understand Yusuf’s concept of Jihād, Sharī’ah, and Sufism, we must study these concepts in their broadest terms.

Yusuf Maqassary was a prolific writer. He wrote many treatises on Sufism. P. Voorhoeve only mentions some of them in his list of Arabic manuscripts. These are as follows: (1) al-Barakāt al-Saylāniyyah; (2) Bidāyat al Mubtadi; (3) al-Fawāih al Yusufīyāh; (4) Hāshiyah in kitāb al-anbah; (5) Kaifīyyāt al-Munghi; (6) Matālib al-Sālikīn; (7) al-Nafahāt al-Saylāniyyah; (8) Qurrat al-‘ain; (9) Sirr al-asrār; (10) Sūrah; (11) Taj al-Asrār; and (12) Zubdat al-Asrār.765

This study uses more than the twelve works of Yusuf mentioned by P. Voorhoeve. This study uses the works of Yusuf from the manuscripts available in the Perpustakaan Nasional (the National Library) in Jakarta, Indonesia as well as

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765 P. Voorhoeve, Handlist of Arabic manuscripts in the Library of the University of Leiden and other collections in the Netherlands, in Bibliotheca Universitatis Lugdun Batavorum, 1957, 461, 463, 467, 539.
Tudjimah’s compilation of the translations of Yusuf’s works. Although Tudjimah has provided translations of 21 of Yusuf’s works, it is very important to go back to the original manuscripts in Arabic. By referring to the original manuscripts, a comparison can be made with their translations.

This thesis will study the 21 treatises of Yusuf. These are: (1) al-Barakāt al-Saylāniyyah; (‘Blessing of Ceylon’) (2) Bidāyat al Mubtadi; (The beginning of the beginner), (3) al-Fawāih al Yusufīyah fī Bayān Tahqīq al-Sūfīyah (a work by Yusuf explaining the essence of Sufism); (4) Ḥāshiyyah (‘Footnote’), in the book entitled al-Anbāh fī i’ rāb lā ilāha illAllah; (5) Kaifīyyāt al-Munghi wal Ithbāt Bil Ḥadīth al-Qudsī (‘How to utter words and confirm them in the Prophet’s sayings called Ḥadīth al-Qudsī); (6) Matālib al-Sālikīn (‘What is sought by someone who walks in the Sufī’s path’); (7) al-Nafahāt al-Saylāniyyah (‘The Breath from Ceylon’); (8) Qurrat al-‘ain (‘Consolation for the Eyes’); (9) Sirr al-asrār (‘Secret of the Secrets’); (10) Sūrah (‘Letter’); (11) Tāj al- asrār fī Tahqīq Mashrab al-‘Ārifīn ‘The Secret Crown in the Essence of the Goblet of the Gnostics’; (12) Zubdat al-Asrār fī Tahqīq Ba’d Mashārib al-Akhyār (‘Some Secrets of the Essence of Selected Vessels’); (13) Fath Kaifīyyāt Al-Dhikri (‘Explanation of How to Perform Dhikir or Remembering God’); (14) Daf Al- Balā’ (‘Rejecting Calamity’); (15) Ḥādhihi Fawāid Azīmah Zikru Lā ilāha illAllah (‘The Advantages of Dhikir or Remembering God’); (16) Muqaddimāt al-Fawāid Allātī Mā Lā Budda Min Al-‘Aqāid (‘Pearls of an Introduction that should be known from the Creeds’); (17) Tahsīl Al-Ināyāt Wal Hidāyah (‘The Result of Help and Guidance’); (18) Risālah Ghāyat Al-Ikhtisār Wa Nihāyat Al-Intizār

766 Tudjimah, Syeikh Yusuf Makassar, Riwayat dan Ajarannya, (Jakarta: UI Press, 1997)
Generally, in his various writings, Yusuf discusses three primary aspects of the importance of performing the obligations of Sharīʿah (Islamic Law) and Hakekat (Islamic Sufism). The first is about the character of God, and can be observed in Yusuf’s works numbered 1, 2, 7, 9, 14, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, and 21: (1) al-Barakāt al-Saylāniyyah; (2) Bidāyat al-Mubtadi; (‘Blessing of Ceylon’) (7) al-Nafahāt al-Saylāniyyah (‘The Breath from Ceylon’); (9) Sirr al-asrār (‘Secret of the Secrets’); (14) Daf Al-Balā’ (‘Rejecting Calamity’); (17) Tahsīl Al-Ināyāt Wal Hidāyah (‘The Result of Help and Guidance’); (18) Risālah Ghāyat Al-Ikhtisār Wa Nihāyāt Al-Intizār (‘Treatise on the Brief and the Last Expected Destination’); (19) Tuḥfat Al-Amr Fī Fadīlat Al-Dhikri (‘The Gift about the Nobility of Dhikir or Remembering God’); (20) Tuḥfat Al-Abrār Li Ahli Al-Asrār (‘The Gift of Obedience to the Ahli Asrar - Those with Mystic Knowledge’); and (21) Al-Wasiyyāt Al-Munjiyyah ‘an Al-Madārāt Al-Hijaiba (‘Secret Will from the Hidden Misery’).

The second is the requirement of being the friend of God (Waliyullāh). This comprises thinking of the Creator and His creatures in a positive way, having a good moral character, and following the guidance of the Prophet Muhammad by performing Sharīʿah (Islamic Law) and Hakekat (Islamic Sufism). Discussion of these points can be found in Yusuf’s works numbered 3, 14, 17, and 20: (3) al-Fawāih al Yusufiyah fi Bayān Tahqīq al-Sūfiyyah (‘The words of Sheikh Yusuf’).
explaining the Essence of Sufism’); (14) Daf Al-Balāʾ (‘Rejecting Calamity’); (15) Ḥādhihi Fawāid Azimah Zikru Lā ilāha illAllah (‘The Advantages of Dhikir or Remembering God’); (17) Tahsīl Al-Ināyāt Wal Hidāyah (‘The Result of Help and Guidance’); and (20) Tuḥfat Al-Abrār Li Ahli Al-Asrār (‘The Gift of Obedience to the Ahli Asrar - Those with Mystic Knowledge’).


The Indonesian Muslim scholar Tudjimah, whose work focuses on the manuscripts of Sufism in the Malay Archipelago, compiled the works of Yusuf Maqassary. The first is Habl al-Warīd li saʿādāt al-Murīd, 1099 H/1687 A.D

676 Ibid., 103-107.
(‘Tight Rope for the Happiness of Those who Walk in the Path of God’). The second is *Al-Futūḥāt al-Rabbāniyyah* (‘The Opening of Divinity’). The third is *Zubdat al-Asrār fī tahqīq ba’d mashārib al-akhyār*. The fourth is *Tuhfat al-Labīb biliqā al-habīb*. The fifth is Sūrat, which was written in Banten in 1084 H/1673 A.D. The sixth is *Safīnāt al-Najāh*, written in Ceylon. The seventh, *Al-Manhāt al-Saylāniyyah fī al-Manhat al-Rahmaniyyah* was also written in Ceylon. Since the third manuscript, *Zubdat al-Asrār fī tahqīq ba’d mashārib al-akhyār*, has been discussed prior to this, the remaining six works will be discussed in brief.

In her compilation of the works of Sheikh Yusuf based on her research on Yusuf Maqassary, Tudjimah added some others including *Fath Kaifiyyāt al-Dzikri, Da’al Balā’, Hādhīhi Fawād Azimah dhikru Lā ilāha ill-Allah, Muqaddimat al-Fawādi allatī mā lā budda min al-‘aqāʾid Tahsīl al ’Ināyah wa al-Hidāyah, Risālah Ghāyat al-ikhtisār wa Nihāyāt al-Intizār, Tuhfat al-Amr fī Fadhīlat al-Dhikri, Tuhfat al-Abhār liahlih asrār, and al-Munjiyya ‘an madārīt al-hijaiba*.769

Most of these works emphasize the importance of the purification of the heart in worshipping God. This study will not consider all of these works. Rather, it will focus on the concept of *Jihād* as expressed in these texts, either in terms of fighting the ego, or in terms of waging war.

In the additional works of Yusuf added by Tudjimah, Yusuf discusses the importance of the *Sharī’ah* (Islamic Law, including Islamic Jurisprudence, or

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768 Ibid., 111.
769 Ibid., 21
Fiqh), Hakekat (Islamic Sufism), the importance of Dhikr or remembering God, and fighting the ego or Mujāhadāt/Jihād al-Nafs.

The importance of Sharī'ah and Hakekat can be found in Yusuf’s works numbers 5 and 7. Number (5) is (5) Kaifīyyāt al-Munghi wal Ithbāt Bil Hadīth al-Qudsī (‘How to utter words and confirm them in the Prophet’s sayings called Hadīth al-Qudsī); Number (7) is al-Nafahāt al-Saylāniyyah (‘The Breath from Ceylon’); the importance of dhikir is contained in number (6) Matālib al-Sālikīn (‘what is sought by someone who walks in the Sufi’s path’).

Jihād in its broadest sense and fighting the ego (Mujāhadāt/ Jihād al-Nafs) are found in numbers 6 and 7: (6) Matālib al-Sālikīn (‘What is sought by someone who walks in the Sufi’s path’) and Number (7) is al-Nafahāt al-Saylāniyyah (‘The Breath from Ceylon’).770

The writings used in this thesis are the original texts from the National Library of Indonesia in Jakarta, some texts the writer obtained when conducting his research in Macassar and also the translations of the manuscripts by Tudjimah in order to obtain a broader insight into these texts.771 Since at the outset of the research the writer used the translations of Tudjimah, in this thesis the translations of Tudjimah of the works of Yusuf al Maqassary are the main reference. Furthermore, when explaining a text in the original version, the writer tries to attach the appropriate text. Thus, in checking the content and the texts of the manuscripts some of the references mentioned above are used alternately. It is worth noting that due to the focus of this thesis, some general ideas about the

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770 This is the explanation for the additional works not including the 21 works before.

content of Islamic Sharī'ah relating to the orders and commands of God are not quoted directly. However, some important ideas relating to the concepts of Jihād, Sharī'ah and Sufism are quoted directly to show how Yusuf’s works emphasize these three concepts.

Since the study of these works is important for an overview of Yusuf Maqassary’s thinking, the following section presents the content of every treatise in brief. A more detailed analysis of Yusuf’s concepts of Jihād, Sharī'ah and Sufism based on his works will be provided later in the chapter.

The first treatise is al-Barakāt al-Saylāniyyah (‘Blessing of Ceylon’). This work is about the purification of the heart by remembering God. This treatise explains the steps to purify the heart and the method of approaching God. In this treatise Yusuf says:

Risalatun musammā bil Barakātis Saylāniyyah minal futūhāt al rabbāniyyati madzkūratun fihā anwā’u tarīqidz dzikri asmā’ihi wa ma’ānihi wa kaifiyyatih bi’aynillāhi ta’älā wa husni taufiqihī.773

The treatise is known as al-Barakāt al-Saylāniyyah (‘Blessing of Ceylon’) from the opening containing the Divinity’s blessings. In this treatise, there are some explanations of the many ways of remembering the names of God, the meaning of God’s names and the methods for reciting them with the help of God and His blessing.

Regarding the ways of approaching God, for instance, Yusuf divided the method into three kinds. The first is called murāqabāt al-qalb (‘the method of approaching through the heart’). This method emphasizes the feeling of fear of the punishment of God. The second is murāqabāt al-rūh (‘the method of approaching through the spirit’) which stresses the fear of separation (as a


773 Yusuf al Maqassary, al-Barakāt al-Saylāniyyah, manuscript in compilations of Yusuf al Maqassary manuscript no. A.108 (Jakarta: Perpustakaan Nasional Republik Indonesia), 68.
‘servant’) from God. The third is *murāqabāt al-sīr* (‘the method of approaching through the implicit’), that is, the knowledge that God is nearer than one’s own soul.\(^{774}\)

In relation to the importance of *dzikr*, remembering God in Sufism, Yusuf says briefly for those who walk in the path of God:

> *Tsumma anna al dzikra matlūbun fayanbaghī lis sālik an yasytagīla bidzikrillāh.*\(^{775}\)

‘Since remembering the names of God is commanded, thus those who walk in the path of God are supposed to be busy with this act’.

The second treatise is *Bidāyat al Mubtadi;* (The beginning of the beginner). This very short treatise explains the Oneness of God, His authority and His existence as the Most Complete One.\(^ {776}\) This treatise is about the creed of Islam.

The third treatise is *al-Fawāiḥ al Yusufīyah fī Bayān Tahqīq al-Sūfiyyah* (a work by Yusuf explaining the essence of Sufism). This treatise discusses two important elements of human nature, the outer side and the inner side. In Islamic terms these are *Sharī‘ah* and *Hakikat*. The *Sharī‘ah* deals with the inner side, including fighting the ego. This treatise also advocates that those Muslims who walk in the way of Sufism must maintain good conduct and a sincere heart in carrying out religious obligations.\(^ {777}\) The most important aspect Yusuf

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\(^{774}\) Ibid., 25.

\(^{775}\) Yusuf al Maqassary, 69.


emphasizes in this treatise is that Sharī‘ah (Islamic law) without Hakikat is wrong, and Hakikat without Sharī‘ah is incomplete.778

In short the importance of the outer aspect and the inner aspect of Sharī‘ah allow a person to reach the stage of al Insān al-Kāmil (‘the Perfect Man’). For this the first stage is to remember God as much as possible by carrying out one’s Islamic obligations. Yusuf says:


‘The Islamic treatises, the Qur‘ān and the Prophetic tradition (Hadīth) have suggested that one should remember by uttering the name of God as much as possible until one cannot count the number mentioned. The Prophet says: If God wants the servant to be a good servant, He will make that servant remember Him much. And it is also suggested that the person observe all the creations of God all of the time and observe all changed phenomena as a response to the words of God saying: See what are in the heaven and the earth, and many other verses until this good servant becomes the perfect man and the knower who has attained the knowledge of God. This stage can be reached by experts in the knowledge of God who combine the Sharī‘ah (Islamic law - what he means here is the outer form of Islamic law known as Fīq) and haqîqa [the inner aspect of Islamic law; what he means here is the essence of Sufism], and those walk in the path of God so that the outer aspect of the way is Sharī‘ah (Fīqh or Islamic jurisprudence) and the inner aspect of the way is haqîqa (the essence of Islamic spirituality or Sufism) and they are thus called the perfect man (al Insān al Kāmil).

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778 Ibid., 30

The fourth treatise of Yusuf is *Hāshiyah* (‘Footnote’), in the book entitled *al-Anbah fī i’ rāb lā ilāha illAllah*. This treatise is about the Oneness of God through negating other gods such as idols, and the sun, moon and stars, etc.\(^780\) This book is about the Islamic creed. Since the Islamic creed is the most important aspect of Islamic *Sharī’ah*, it is also part of the concept of *Sharī’ah* in Yusuf’s work.

The fifth treatise is *Kaifīyyāt al-Munghi wal Ithbāt Bil Hadīth al-Qudsī* (‘How to utter words and confirm them in the Prophet’s sayings called Hadīth al-Qudsī’).\(^781\) This treatise focuses on the purification of the heart through remembering and reciting God’s name (*Dhikr*).\(^782\) The content of this treatise regarding various types of *dhikr* is rather similar to the treatise *al-Barakāt al-Saylāniyyah*; (‘Blessing of Ceylon’).

The sixth treatise is *Matālib al-Sālikīn* (‘What is sought by someone who walks in the Sufi’s path’). This treatise is about the Oneness of God, Gnosis (Arabic: *Ma’rifah*) and worship. These three are considered to be the most salient factors in understanding and approaching God the Creator. They are symbolized by the branches of a tree, its bark, and its fruit. The tree symbolises

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\(^780\) Tudjimah, Quoted from Voorhoeve, op. cit., p.129.

\(^781\) Hadīth Qudsī means that the words and the contents of Hadith are from God but uttered by the Prophet.

\(^782\) Ibid., 31-38. This is quoted by Voorhoeve p.148. This is an explanation about remembering and reciting God’s name (*Dhikr*). For the original text of this manuscript see, Yusuf Maqassary *Kaifīyyāt al-Manfī wal Ithbāt Bil Hadīth al-Qudsī*, manuscript no. A.108, Perpustakaan Nasional Republik Indonesia, Jakarta, no date.
the Oneness of God, while the branches and the bark symbolise Gnosis, and the fruit symbolises worship. In this case Yusuf says:

I'lam yā akhī waffa[qakAllahu wa ‘ayyana limā yuhibbu falā budda laka min tsalāsati asy yā 'a tauhīdun wa ma’rifatu wa ‘ibādatun. Fattauhidu ka syajaratin wal ma’rifatu ka aghsānin wa aurāqin, wal ibadatu katsamarihi  

O you my fellows, you all should have three dimensions in relation to your belief in God. Those are: tauhīd (The belief that God is one), Ma’rifat (knowledge about God) and Ibadah (the worship of God). Tauhid is like the tree and ma’rifat is like the branches and leaves and worship is like the fruit.

This treatise briefly elaborates substantial points about the understanding of the three elements in the quest to reach God. Yusuf emphasizes the importance of knowing about Tauhid (the Oneness of God), Ma’rifat (Gnosis), and Ibadah (performing religious duties), in order to know the essence of religion, and thus become a tauhidist and obedient servant. For this, the Sālik (the Walker in the path of God) is obliged to know and to perform the duties of Islam as commanded by the Sharī’ah in order to approach the One.

In this treatise, Yusuf clearly and simply explains the concept of Wahdat al Wujūd or ‘unity of being’. In this work it is clear that he also follows Ibnu ‘Arabi (d.1240. AD). Wahdat al Wujūd (Unity of Being) is a well-known concept in Sufism. Wahdat al Wujūd explains that the existence of the whole universe is

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784 Yusuf Maqassary, Matālib al-Sālikīn, manuscript no. A.108, Perpustakaan Nasional Republik Indonesia, Jakarta., no date, 51. This treatise is also available in manuscript no. A.101, 87-88.

785 It is worth noting that three of these are interconnected one another.

786 Tudjimah, p. 40.
one. This being is known as the Real Being or God the Creator. The existence of the universe is the manifestation of the existence of God. The universe is dependent on the existence of God, the Real Being. All the creatures in the universe are actually one, all from God. Considered in terms of its essence, the universe is one. So the universe and all the creatures are merely shadows of the existence of God. All creatures are He in terms of their attributes but they are not He in terms of their essence.787

At the time Yusuf lived this concept was bitterly opposed by the Indian Naqshabandī, Ahmad Fārūqī Sirhindi (1564-1624). In this dispute for example, Yusuf’s teacher, Muhammad Abdul Bāqī, was an opponent of Sirhindi.788 Yusuf himself in this treatise tended like his teacher not to support Sirhindi’s idea of the Wahdat al Shuhūd, ‘the Unity of Testimony’.789

Yusuf’s seventh work is al-Nafahāt al-Saylāniyyah (‘The Breath from Ceylon’).790 This work discusses the problem of the Oneness of God. To reach God the searcher is advised to find a Shaikh whose function is to direct him in how to walk in the path of God. In this treatise, Yusuf mentions the important

787 For detail of the concept of the Unity of Being, see MuhyiddinIbnu Arabi, Fusūs al Hikam, edited by Abul Ala Afīfī, Dar Ihyā al Kutub al Arabiyah, Isa al Babi al Halabi wa Shirkah, 1946, see also Abdurrazzaq al Kashānī, Sharhu Fufūs al Hikam, Mustafā al Babi al Halabi, Egypt, no date, see also See also Tim Penulis IAIN Syarif Hidayatullah, Ensiklopedi Islam Indonesia (Jakarta: Djambatan, 1992), 976-977.


789 The translation of Tudjimah does not very often mention the word Wahdat al Wujūd. However, if we examine the Arabic text of Yusuf, Matālib al-Sālikīn, it is clear that Yusuf mentions and explains the concept on Wahdat al Wujūd clearly.

790 This work is quoted from microfilm copy from MSKBG 101, Arabic catalogue v.d. Berg: 29 F. Or A 13 d (1).
role of the guide. To some extent the advice is extreme, ordering students to be unconditionally obedient to the *Shaikh* without questioning his actions.791

Yusuf emphasizes the obligation of harmony between *Sharī‘ah* and *Hakekat* by quoting the Prophet’s saying (*Hadīth*) that the Prophet was sent with both *Sharī‘ah* and *Hakekat*. Yusuf also quotes the sayings of a prominent Sūfī master, AbuYazid al-Bustami, who stated that *Sharī‘ah* without *Hakekat* is false, and *Hakekat* without *Sharī‘ah* is incomplete. He also quoted other masters’ sayings that (1) a person who does not care about Sufism has strayed; (2) any person who knows Sufism but does not care about Islamic jurisprudence is an atheist; and (3) any person who implements Islamic jurisprudence and Sufism is authentic.792

In confirming the importance of combining *Sharī‘ah* (what he means here is Islamic Jurisprudence or *fīqh*) and *Hakekat* (Islamic spirituality or Sufism) Yusuf explains at length:

791 Tudjimah, 42.

792 Ibid., . 42-43.
bima’nā bātīnuhu, kamā annahū lā yakmulu al syai’u alat tamāmi illā bisūratin zāhiratīn.\textsuperscript{793}

It is also compulsory for you to combine the Shari’ah and based on the words of the Prophet (Hadīth): I was sent with the Shari’ah and Hakekat. And all other prophets were sent only with Shari’ah. It is known among the people that the Prophet says: Shari’ah is my words, tariqa is my condition and haqeqa is the head of my heart. It is said that Abu Yazid al Bustami, may God purify his soul said: All Shari’ah without Hakekat is wrong and all Hakekat without Shari’ah goes astray. Other Sūfī experts say: he who performs Islamic Jurisprudence (Fīqh) without Hakekat [the essence of the teachings] has (deviated), and he who performs Sufism without Islamic jurisprudence (Fīqh) is an atheist. He who performs both Islamic jurisprudence (Fīqh) and Sufism (Tasawwuf) is the real one. Some of them say: It is incumbent on those who walk in the path of God to adhere outwardly to Islamic Jurisprudence and inwardly to Islamic Sufism. It is said also that the way of the Prophet Muhammad has two important aspects, an outer aspect and an inner aspect. The outer aspect is called Shari’ah (Islamic jurisprudence - Fīqh - is meant here) and the inner aspect is called Hakekat or Sufism. The outer aspect relates to the law of the body and the inner aspect relates to the law of the soul. Both the outer and the inner aspects are actually an integrated whole. Something will not be performed except with its meaning; something is called ‘perfect’ if it has the material aspect or the form. (Without the form, something is not called perfect).

In sum, something that is to be performed should have two aspects, an outer aspect (the form or the shape) and an inner aspect (the meaning of the action). If an action does not have these two aspects, it is not perfect. For example, prayer is called ‘perfect’ if the doer first fulfills its requirements based on the rules of Islamic Jurisprudence (Fīqh) and second, deeply understands the meaning of the prayer and its message in relation to his worship of God and its implications in his daily life.

Yusuf describes the act of seeking God in terms of three stages. The first is the beginner’s stage, also known as the ‘general stage’ in Sufism (martabat

\textsuperscript{793} Yusuf Maqassary, al-Nafahāt al-Saylānīyyah, manuscript, no. A.101, Perpustakaan Nasional Republik Indonesia, Jakarta, no date, 4.
\textit{‘umūm}). The second is an intermediate stage known as ‘the stage of the true ones’. The third stage is for those who have reached the last station. Those who reach this stage are considered special. This stage is called ‘the stage of those who are the near ones’.\textsuperscript{794}

Yusuf explains the importance of good manners by quoting the Prophet’s saying that the nearest one to the Prophet on Judgment Day is the one with a good character. Then Yusuf quotes the Prophet’s sayings about being good in character: that is, good in deeds, good in expression, good-hearted, and abiding by these characteristics. Those who walk in the path of God are strongly advised to practice these good qualities unconditionally in relation to all creatures.\textsuperscript{795} Yusuf emphasises the role of repentance and remembering God for those seeking God in their life.\textsuperscript{796}

Since the various methods for approaching God are too many to mention, Yusuf distinguishes three important categories for those who walk in the path of God. The first category is the path of the ‘selected ones’ (\textit{al-akhyār}). This method is practiced by performing religious duties such as praying, fasting, reading the holy \textit{Qur’ān} and the Prophetic sayings (\textit{Hadīth}), performing \textit{Jihād} in times of war if necessary, and other outward actions. Those who reach God through this way are very few. The second category is the path of those who practice \textit{Mujāhadāt al-nafs} (fighting the ego). This path is considered to require heavy training to purify the heart. The first group is more concerned with outward

\begin{footnotes}
\item[794] Tudjimah, 43.
\item[795] Ibid., 45.
\item[796] Ibid., 45-58.
\end{footnotes}
appearances in practicing their religious duties, while the second places greater emphasis on the inward essence.

The third category is the path of those who remember God and love Him both outwardly and inwardly. This is the highest stage because those who practice this path must observe the two dimensions of religious duty. Yusuf explains this method of walking in the path of God and elaborates on the importance of a teacher or Sheikh in directing students in their search for God.

In this connection, Yusuf discusses Jihād in terms of waging war. Here he follows Islamic jurisprudence (fiqh), which puts more emphasis on Jihād in terms of war.

It is clear though, as Yusuf repeatedly mentions the significance of Fiqh, he does not have to explain Jihād in terms of waging war and its requirements, because the treatises he wrote are not treatises about Islamic jurisprudence in particular.

Therefore, Jihād in terms of waging war is not fully elaborated in Yusuf’s works, since he only occasionally mentions Jihād in terms of waging war in his treatises, and it is simply referred to as Jihād. Although Yusuf does not discuss Jihād in terms of waging war at length, nevertheless this does not mean that he does not care about it. It is worth noting here that most of Yusuf’s works discuss the key concepts of Islamic Sharī’ah such as Sharī’ah (he means Fiqh or Islamic Jurisprudence), Tarekat (the path to reach God) and Hakekat (Sufism).

Therefore to understand Yusuf’s work in relation to Sharī’ah or Islamic teachings in the broadest sense, one is advised to know the basic teachings of

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797 Ibid., 58-59.
798 Ibid., 59-63.
Islamic Sharī’ah. This is because Yusuf uses the word Sharī’ah to refer to both Islamic teachings and Islamic jurisprudence. However, Yusuf mentions the importance of Fīqh or Islamic jurisprudence in referring to Sharī’ah. Those who are not fully acquainted with this style of writing will be confused. A plausible explanation for this is that it has been common in Islamic literature before Yusuf, at the time of Yusuf, and even at present to use the word Sharī’ah to refer to Fīqh (Islamic jurisprudence).

In relation to the word Jihād which Yusuf mentions as part of Islamic Sharī’ah, this means that Yusuf refers to Jihād in terms of waging war. It is also interesting to note that although Yusuf does not write any special treatise about Jihād, he was fully engaged in Jihād in terms of war until he was captured.

The eighth is a text known under the title Qurrat al-‘ain (‘Consolation for the Eyes’).799 In this text, Yusuf discusses the importance of remembering God the Almighty: that is, thinking deeply about the existence of God and His grandeur. This deep thinking results in increasing the believer’s faith and worship of God, and is more valuable than a thousand years of worship. This is a quotation from the Prophet and shows the significance of remembering God all the time as is the case for ‘the Perfect Man’ (al-Insān al-Kāmil).800 The concept of al-Insān al-Kāmil is the idea of a perfect man who has a perfect soul. This

799 P.Voorhoeve, quoted it, 279. This treatise is written by Haj al-Tāj Abul Mahāsin al-Safī al-Ashari al-Khalwāṭī f 53-74 v or 7025 (4). The copy of this microfilm comes from MSKGB 101, Arabic, 53-74, catalogue v.d. Berg, 91 H 1186, 14 pages. F.or A 13 d (13). Or.7025 (4) F.53v-74v, 21 pages.For the original version of this manuscript in Arabic see Yusuf al Maqassary, Qurrat al-ain (Consolation for the Eyes) A.101 ( Jakarta: Perpustakaan Nasional Republik Indonesia, no date ).

800 Ibid., 63. The idea of al-Insān al-Kāmil is widely known among the Sūfīs as the highest station. However, the complete explanation of this is examined systematically and clearly by Abdul Karim al-Jili, in his book al-Insān al-Kāmil. See Abdul Karim al-Jili, al-Insān al-Kāmil fi Ma’rifatīl Awākhīr wal Awā’il, Two Vols ( Cairo: Shirkah wa Matba‘ah al Babi al Halabi wa Aulāduh, 1956 ) . See Ibnu Arabi, Fusūs al Hikam, with the explanation of Abdurrazak al Kashānī, ( Cairo: al Maktubah al Azhariyyah lit Turāts, 2003 ), 12-13.
quality is attributed to the man who has attained the highest station in understanding God the Creator. Clear examples of this concept are the existence of the Prophet and after the Prophet, the saints, who followed the path of the Prophet and have successfully educated their souls to gain the highest station in understanding God. In Islam the concept of al-Insān al-Kāmil always refers to the Prophet Muhammad as ‘the Perfect Man’.  

In relation only to those who perform both the outer and inner aspects of Shari‘ah and who will be able to attain the stage called al-Insān al-Kāmil, Yusuf says:

Minal āyāti al Karimati wal ahādītsi al syari‘ati yadullu ‘alā anna dzikrAllahi wattafaqkuri fil āyāti matlūbun, wadzālīka yakūnu min lawāzīmi ahli kamāl wa‘ilūa kamalalladzīna kānu zāhirasy syar‘āti muqayyidīna wa bibātinīl haqiqati muayyidīna wa humul musammūna bil Insān al-Kāmil ‘indal muhaqqiqīna min ahlīt tahqīq, idzl ‘abdu la yakūnu kāmilan illā idzā kāna lahū zāhirun wa bātinun. Liannażzāhira in lam yakun lahū bātinun kāna bātilan, wakadzal bātinu idzā lam yakun zāhirun lahū ‘ātilun. Yusuf then quotes the essence of Sufism which he confirms that all the great Sūfī masters agree that: Al Jam’u Ta’rīquna hādza ya’ni tarīqut tasawwuf muqayyadun bilkitābi wasunnati.  

There are some excerpts from the Qur‘ān and the prophetic traditions (Hadīth) which refer to the obligation of remembering God and of thinking of God’s creation. This way is common among those who have attained perfection, those who outwardly adhere to the outer aspect of Shari‘ah (Fiqh) and inwardly adhere to the inner aspect of Shari‘ah (Sufism). Those are called al-Insān al-Kāmil (‘the Perfect Man’). Since the servant will not be complete if the body has no soul, it is not called a man or it is wrong (i.e. it is just like a dead body), and if the soul has no body, it is without a function. Further Yusuf says: The combination of our path that is Sufism adheres to the sacred book and the prophetic tradition.

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802 Yusuf al Maqassary, Qurrat al-‘ain (Consolation for the Eyes), manuscript A.101 (Jakarta.: Perpustakaan Nasional Republik Indonesia, no date) , 51.
In this treatise, Yusuf again stresses the importance of *Sharī'ah* (Fīqh) and Sufism (*Tasawwuf*) - or, expressed differently, of the exoteric and esoteric aspects of undertaking religious obligations. Yusuf adds the important role of the teacher in leading students to the right path, the position of the *Qurʾān* and the Prophetic tradition in Muslim life, as well as the significance of the testimony of the *Shahādāt* in a Muslim’s life. The last point of this treatise warns against the emergence of slanderous blasphemy at the time of turmoil on the Day of Judgement (where only a few authentic religious scholars and no pious rulers will be found).\(^{803}\)

The ninth treatise is *Sirr al-Asrār* (‘Secret of the Secrets’). P. Voorhoeve has quoted this treatise. Although this treatise is anonymous, the similarity of its content to the works of Yusuf suggests that it was written by Yusuf al-Tāj (d.1110/1699).\(^{804}\) This treatise discusses the existence of God as the Creator Whom nothing else resembles. Again Yusuf stresses the importance of remembering God,\(^{805}\) the necessity of *Sharī'ah* and *Hakekat*, good manners, and repentance.\(^{806}\)

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\(^{803}\) Tudjimah, 63-67.

\(^{804}\) G II, 422.x f 3 v – 17 x Or 5706 (2). X f 34 v – 52 v x or 7025 (3). This microfilm is reproduced from MSKBG 101, Arabic catalogue, v.d. Barg p.91 F or A 13 d (8) and from MSKBG 108, Arabic catalogue, v.d. B. p. 96, F or A 13 b (10). Microfilm reproduced from MSKBG 101, Arabic catalogue, v.d. p. F 00 A 13.

\(^{805}\) Ibid. p.68.

\(^{806}\) Ibid. pp. 69-72. See also the original manuscript of Yusuf al Maqassary, *Sirr al-Asrār (Secret of the Secrets)* manuscript A.101.,Perpustakaan Nasional Republik Indonesia, Jakarta., no date. See also, Yusuf al Maqassary, , *Sirr al-Asrār (Secret of the Secrets)* translated and edited by Suleman Essop Dangor, Centre for Research in Islamic Studies, University of Durban Westville, South Africa, 1995.
The tenth document - *Sūrat* (‘Letter’)\(^{807}\) - discusses the existence and character of God. One of His characteristics is that He is ‘all knowing’. This treatise also discusses the Oneness of God. This letter also includes the advice to adhere to *Sharī‘ah* and *Hakekat*.\(^{808}\)

The eleventh document is *Tāj al-asrār fī Tahqīq Mashrab al-Arifīn* (‘The Secret Crown in the Essence of the Goblet of the Gnostics’).\(^{809}\) There is a version in which the name of the writer is not given in the Javanese translation. The document is referred to as ‘the Javanese paper’ and it is damaged.\(^{810}\) The title of the treatise is carried on the last page, and is given as *Tāj al-asrār fī bayān shuhub al-abrār* (The crown of the secrets in the explanation of being friend with the good people). The content is the same, and there is no author’s name. Other treatises filed under the code of Or 7025 (1) x f 1-9 v x, give the author’s name as al-Sheikh al-Hāj Yusuf al-Tāj, and the title of the treatise: *Tāj al-asrār fī Tahqīq mashrab al-‘arifīn*. (‘The Secret Crown in the Essence of the Goblet of the Gnostics’)

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\(^{807}\) P. Voorhoeve quoted this treatise from p.347. Syeikh Yusuf al-Tāj. G.II, 422, a copy of the microfilm is from MSKBG 108, Arabic catalogue, v.d.Berg, 97. x pp 2x = H 1221, under the code: F Or A 13b (24 a).

\(^{808}\) Ibid., 73. See also the original text in Akhyar Nis (rewriter), manuscript of Syaikh Yusuf, 117-123. This treatise was given to be copied from the khaliifah or Mursyid of the Tareka Khalwatiyyah Yusuf in Macassar, Sahib Sultan [Thanks to Sahib Sultan for allowing the writer of this thesis to copy it] when the writer of this thesis conducted his research in Macassar, South Sulawesi. This treatise consists of seven treatises of Yusuf al Maqassary, *Hablul warid lisa‘adatil murid, al futuhat al rabbaniiyyah, zubdatul asrar, tuhfatul labib, surah ila sultanil wazir Daeng Kareung Karimrung, Safinatun Najah and al Minhah al Saylaniyyah fi al minhah al Rabbaniyyah*. Although these are rewritten manuscripts by the local people, the writer of the thesis in conducting the research tried to recheck the original text of this manuscript in Arabic with the translation of the text by the more authoritative scholar in its field, Tudjimah. The writer of the thesis did not find any faults in these manuscripts. Therefore, these texts will also be used for the enrichment of this thesis. The compilation of the seven manuscript of Yusuf al Maqassary,

\(^{809}\) This treatise by al-Hāj Yusuf al-Tāj, d. 110/1699. G. Ii 422 x fl – 9 v x Or. 7025 (1) is quoted by P.voorhoeve p.334. This microfilm is a copy from MSKBG 101, Arabic catalogue, under the code: v.d. Berg, 91 F or A 13 d (5).

\(^{810}\) F 36 f – 44 r; c. H 1260. Or 7741 a (3) p.72-95 x Or 7435 b (3).
This eleventh treatise considers the characteristics of God and the way to come to know these characteristics. After discussing the importance of knowing the Oneness of God, Yusuf discusses the importance of undertaking the truest path. The truest path is to follow the *Sharī‘ah* and *Hakikat* based on the *Qur‘ān* and the *Hadīth*. For this the only way to reach God is to follow the Prophet Muhammad. Any Muslim performing according to this guidance will reach the gnosis that will make that person ‘a Perfect Man’ (*al-Insān al-Kāmil*).

The twelfth treatise is *Zubdat al-Asrār fī Tahqīq Ba‘d Mashārib al-Akhīr* (‘Some Secrets of the Essence of Selected Vessels’). This treatise discusses the important pillars of Islamic belief, and the role of remembering God in order to repent of all one’s sins.

Yusuf discusses the concept of the ‘Perfect Man’ (*al-Insān al-Kāmil*) by quoting Ibn ‘Arabi, who expected any Muslim wishing to reach this position to follow the *Sharī‘ah* (Islamic Law) and *Hakikat* or Sufism (the ‘Essence of Truth’), meaning to inherit the position of the Prophet Muhammad. Also discussed in this treatise are methods for approaching God with some teaching examples from

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811 Ibid., 74-75.


813 This treatise is quoted by P. Voorhoeve, p.408 as written by al-Haj Yusuf al-Taj al-Mukanna min janib shaikhīhi bi Abīl Mahasin, d.1110/1699, G II, 422 x f 10 v-33r Or 7025 (2). Microfilm copy from MSKBG 101, pp. 30-49, under the Arabic catalogue, v.d. Berg, p. 97 pp. 37 F. Or 13b (31) Id. In Javanese language, and between the line is pp. 223 F. Or A 14b (2) Or 7025 (2).

814 Ibid., 77-78.

815 Ibid., 79.
the great Sufi masters such as Abdul Qadir al-Jailani, Yazid al-Bustami, Dhun Nun al-Misri and Muhammad ibnu Fadl Allah Al-Burhanpuri.  

There are three important points in this treatise. The first is Sufism; the second is the importance of performing the Sharī'ah (Islamic Law) and Hakikat or Sufism; and the third is that those who are able to perform both the outer and inner aspects of Sharī'ah will reach the stage called al-Insān al-Kāmil. About Sufism, Yusuf says:


The first goal of Sufism is to focus on only one God and the last goal is to imitate the noble characteristics of God. Ali says that the first goal of Sufism is thus to have knowledge about God, the second is to do good deeds and the third is to give something to the needy. It is also incumbent for those walking in the path of God to believe in God’s destiny that is to believe in what God has destined, what has been done and God will also provide a destiny for what will happen in the future.

This does not mean that Sufism teaches fatalism in life; on the contrary, this concept drives its followers to be active in worldly life for the sake of the Hereafter since God has given human beings the choice to do their best before everything is destined. It is this effort that God will judge in people. The second goal is the importance of performing the outer and the inner aspects of Sharī’ah. Quoting Ibnu ‘Arabi, Yusuf says:

Rijālu hādzal maqāmi la yatrukūna zāhirus syarī’ati abadān walā siyyamā ‘an bātinil haqīqati.

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816 Ibid., 80-83.

817 Yusuf al Maqassary, Zubdat al-Asrī Tahqīq Bad Mashārib al-Akhyār, manuscript, no. A.101 (Jakarta: Perpustakaan Nasional Republik Indonesia, no date), 36.
People of this path will not abandon the outer aspect of *Shari’ah* let alone the inner aspect of *Sharī‘ah*.

Regarding *al Insān al Kāmil* (‘the Perfect Man’), Yusuf says:

If the servant does all of those (things) and performs all of what we mentioned with sincere intention for God only, by also remembering God without ignorance, following all the teachings of the Prophet Muhammad peace be upon him, outwardly and inwardly with the knowledge that all of this is only for the sake of God, then all of these good deeds become habit. In this habit, the person is aware of the presence of God and that person is aware that all of his acts and intentions are observed by God, thus that person will carefully perform all obligations. If the person realizes all of this, that person therefore may be called *al Insān al Kāmil* (the Perfect Man).

According to Yusuf, *al Insān al Kāmil* or the Perfect Man will become the instrument of God in performing the obligations of *Shari’ah*. This means this person will hear all of what God speaks, speak based on the speaking of God and do everything based on the will of God.

The thirteenth work bears the title *Fath Kaifīyyāt Al-Dhikri* (‘Explanation on How to Perform Dhikir or Remembering God’). This work explicates the method of performing dhikir including correct conduct before performing dhikir.

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818 Ibid., 37.

819 Ibid., 36.

820 This work is quoted by P. Voorhoeve, 79 anonym, in a microfilm, a reproduction from MSKBG 108, Arabic catalogue, v.d. Berg p. 95, in five pages. See also the original version in Arabic, see Yusuf al Maqassary, *Fath Kaifīyyāt al-Dzikri*, manuscript no. A.108, Perpustakaan Nasional Republik Indonesia, Jakarta, no date.
required conduct at the time of performing it, and proper conduct after performing it.821

The fourteenth work is Daf ‘Al-Balā’ (‘Rejecting Calamity’).822 The author of this treatise explains that he has written on this subject in another treatise under the title Sirr al-asrar (‘Secret of Secrets’). The author adds that this treatise is a summary of his treatise, Zubdat al-Asrār. This statement indicates that the writer of Daf ‘Al-Balā’ is Sheikh Yusuf al-Tāj, as both of the treatises mentioned were written by Sheikh Yusuf al-Tāj. This treatise discusses the Total Oneness of God and the importance of dhikir (remembering God) in order to be able to be His friend (in Arabic: WAllī min auliya’i-llāh). Yusuf then explains the essence of performing the prayer as a token of submission to God and His Prophet. One of the most significant requirements for performance is to exercise good character towards all creatures. The last subject discussed in this work is the character of God as the Knower of all things. Yusuf warns those walking in the path of God that God is always watching (He is omnipresent).823

The fifteenth work is Hādzihi Fawāid Azimah Zikru Lā ilāhā illAllah (‘The Advantages of Dhikr or Remembering God’).824 It is for the sake of those reciting this sentence and seeking to understand its meaning in depth, that in this treatise Yusuf emphasises its meaning as the completeness of His existence i.e.,

821 Ibid., 84-86.
822 P. Voorhoeve quoted it, 55, anom. The microfilm is reproduced from MSKBG 108, Arabic vd Berg p. 97 pp. 11. See also the original version in Arabic, see Yusuf al Maqassary, Daf ‘Al-Balā’ (Rejecting calamity), manuscript, no. A.108, ( Jakarta: Perpustakaan Nasional Republik Indonesia, no date).
823 Ibid., 87-89.
824 Quoted by P. Voorhoeve, p. 463 Faida azima: how to recite La ilāha illAllah: (There is no god but Allāh) Allāh - Allāh and Hu Hu and followed by the great action which is taken from the great masters.f 81 v-83 v. Or 7025 (9).
nobody deserves to be worshipped but He. In this treatise, Yusuf also stresses the necessity of intention only for Him, and not even for worldly life and the Hereafter.\textsuperscript{825}

The sixteenth treatise is \textit{Muqaddimāt al-Fawāid allatī Mā Lā Budda Min Al-Aqā’id} (‘Pearls of an Introduction that Should be Known from the Creeds’).\textsuperscript{826} This treatise contains a brief explanation about what Muslims should know. Although the name of the writer is not mentioned in this treatise, it is apparent that this is Yusuf’s work because it was written for the beloved Sayyidina Abdul Qadir bin al-Sultan Abil Ma’ali bin al- Sultan Abil Mafakhir of Banten. Sultan Sultan Abil Mafakhir of Banten died in 1651. Thus this work is dated in the second half of 17\textsuperscript{th} century.\textsuperscript{827} In this manuscript, the author discusses the characteristics of God and the pillars of belief. He also discusses the superiority of the great companions of the Prophet Muhammad such as Abu Bakar, Umar, Uthmān, Ali, and those who took part in the battle of Uhud and that of Badr, and also mentions other companions of the Prophet, friends of God (\textit{Waliyullāh}), pious people, and Muslims in general. Yusuf mentions the piety of all the prophets before the Prophet Muhammad, and again emphasizes the importance of undertaking \textit{Sharī’ah} as well as \textit{Hakekat}.\textsuperscript{828}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{825} Ibid., 89-90.
\item \textsuperscript{826} P.Vorhoeve quoted this from p. 239. See also the the original version in Arabic, see Yusuf al Maqassary, \textit{al-Fawāid allatī Ma La Budda Min Al-Aqā’id}, manuscript, no. A.108, (Jakarta: Perpustakaan Nasional Republik Indonesia, no date).
\item \textsuperscript{827} X f 1 v-9 v; nd x Or 5472 (1) Microfilm, reproduction of MSKBG 108 (8) Arabic catalogue, vd Berg, x pp5 x, 95.
\item \textsuperscript{828} Ibid. 92-93.
\end{itemize}
The seventeenth work is *Tahsīl Al-ʿInāyāt Wal Hidāyah* (‘The Result of Help and Guidance’).\(^{829}\) This manuscript contains guidance about becoming the friend of God (*Waliyullāh*). Yusuf repeatedly mentions *dhikir* (remembering God) at all times and everywhere as the requirement for reaching this stage (*martabat Waliyullāh*).\(^{830}\)

The eighteenth treatise is *Risālah Ghāyat Al-Ikhtisār Wa Nihāyat Al-Intizār* (‘Treatise on the Brief and the Last Expected Destination’).\(^{831}\) This work contains a discussion about the existence of God and His attributes, and the existence of creatures as manifestations of His existence.\(^{832}\)

The nineteenth treatise is *Tuhfat Al-Amr Fī Fadilat Al-Dzikri* (‘The Gift about the Nobility of Dhikir or Remembering God’).\(^{833}\) This work explains the significance of *dhikir* or remembering God in a Muslim’s life. Yusuf also adds that this path is following the Sunnī school.\(^{834}\)

The twentieth treatise is *Tuhfat Al-Abrār Li Ahli Al-Asrār* (‘The Gift of Obedience to the Ahli Asrār - Those with Mystic Knowledge’).\(^{835}\) In this

\(^{829}\) Quoted by P. Voorhoeve p. 358. Anom. Microfilm, copy from MSKBG, 108 Arabic, Painting vd Berg p.95. F Or 13 b (8)x pp 6 x. See also the the original version in Arabic, see Yusuf al Maqassary, *Tahsil Al-Inayat Wal Hidaya [The Result of Help and Guidance]*, manuscript A.108,. ( Jakarta: Perpustakaan Nasional Republik Indonesia, no date )

\(^{830}\) Ibid., 93-96.

\(^{831}\) Quoted by Voorhoeve, 314. Anom. This microfilm is a copy from MSKBG 108, Arabic. Painting vd Berg. F. or A 13 b (9) x 7 pp x. *Risālah Ghāyat Al-Ikhtisār Wa Nihāyat Al-Intizār*, 96.

\(^{832}\) Ibid., 96-99.

\(^{833}\) Quoted by P. Voorhoeve p.382.x 1v-3r. Or 5706 (1). This microfilm is a copy from MSKBG 101, Arabic catalogue, v.d. Berg, p. 91, H.1186 F Or A 13 d (6). See also the the original version in Arabic, see Yusuf al Maqassary, *Tuhfat Al-Amr fi Fadilat Al-Dzikri*, manuscript, no. A.101, ( Jakarta: Perpustakaan Nasional Republik Indonesia, no date )

\(^{834}\) Ibid., 99-100.

\(^{835}\) Quoted by P. Voorhoeve p.382, anom. This microfilm is a copy from MSKBG 101. Arabic catalogue, p. vd. Berg p.91. H 1186. F. or a 13 d (9) x 3pp x Microfilm copy from MSKBG 113 Arabic painting. vd Berg p. 101 F. or. A 20e (3). See also the the original version in Arabic,
treatise, Yusuf advises students to believe in the existence and the characteristics of God as the only God to be worshipped. Again he mentions the role of dhikir or remembering God and of sincere intention in performing religious duties to God. Yusuf also reminds those students walking in the path of God to demonstrate good character. Students are advised to treat all creatures well.836

The twenty-first treatise is *Al-Wasiyyāt Al- Munjiyya ʿan Al-Madārāt Al-Hijaiba* (‘Secret Will from the Hidden Mystery’).837 This treatise is a reminder for those walking in the path of God. Yusuf explains the method to reach God and ask for His guidance for the sake of a better future. For example, he mentions the prayer called *Istikhārah* (a prayer which is performed to ask for better choices in life), the prayer called *Dhuhā* (prayer performed in the morning), and the prayer called *Tahajud* (prayer performed in the middle of the night). In this treatise, Yusuf also discusses the problem of destiny.838

Additional works added by Tudjimah and mentioned earlier include the following. The first is *Habl Al-Warīd Li Saʿādāt al-Murīd* (‘On the Pulse of Happiness for Students Walking in the Path of God’). In this work, Yusuf clearly explains the Sūfī method that students walking in the path of God are advised to follow. This method includes sincere intention, and obedience to a Sheikh or director of the Sūfī path.839

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836 Ibid., 100-103.
837 Quoted by P. Voorhoeve p. 399, anom, This microfilm is a copy from MSKBG 101, Arabic catalogue, v.d. Berg, p. 91 F. or A. 13 d (II) x 5 pp x (115-119).
838 Ibid., pp.103-106.
839 Ibid., 113-147.
The second work is *Al-Futūhāt Al-Rabbāniyyah* (‘The Opening of Divine Matters’). This work explains the obedience of students to their masters by giving some examples from the great Sufi masters.840

The third is *Zubdatul Asrār fī Tahqīq Ba’d Mashā‘ir al Akhyār* (‘Some Secrets of the Essence of Selected Vessels’). This treatise has been discussed above.

The fourth is *Tuhfas Al-labīb biliqā Al-Habīb* (‘The Saved Gift and Meeting the Beloved One’). In this work, Yusuf again mentions the superiority of *dhikir* or remembering God and the role of the *Sheikh* in directing students on the Sufi path.841

The fifth is *Sūrat*. This is a letter which was written in Banten in 1084 H/1673 AD. This letter was written by Sheikh Haji Yusuf al-Tāj to Sultan Wazir Karaeng Karunrung as a reminder to maintain the relationship with God the Almighty, and to follow the Prophet Muhammad by performing both *Sharī‘ah* (Islamic Law/ Fiqh or Islamic jurisprudence) and *Hakekat* (Sufism or Tasawwuf). This letter also mentions a gift given by Yusuf to the Sultan, and Yusuf’s request to the Sultan.842

The sixth work is *Safīnāt Al-Najāh* (‘The Boat of Success’). This treatise explains the role of Sufi Masters in directing students to the Sufi path and the

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840 Ibid., 148-161. See the original version of this text in Arabic. Yusuf al Maqassary, *Al-Futūhāt Al-Rabbāniyyah* in Akhyar Nis, Ibid., 69-86.

841 Ibid., 186-189. See the original version of this text in Arabic. Yusuf al Maqassary, *Tuhfas Al-labīb biliqā Al-Habīb* in Akhyar Nis, Ibid., 107-116

842 Ibid., 187-193. See the original version of this text in Arabic. Yusuf al Maqassary, *Surat ila Sultān Wazir Karaeng Karunrung*, in Akhyar Nis, Ibid., 117-123.
method of dhikir.\textsuperscript{843} Yusuf also reminds students to ‘undertake Jihād’ in the path of God in order to achieve happiness in this worldly life and the Hereafter by obeying God and His Prophet’s guidance.\textsuperscript{844} The rest of this treatise is a description that gives examples of the obedience of students to their masters, and the chain of transmitters of the various tarekat that Yusuf studied, including the names of the masters.\textsuperscript{845}

The seventh is \textit{al-Manhāt Al-sailāniyyah Fī Al-Manhāt Al-Rahmaniyyah} (‘The Bestowal of Ceylon is the Bestowal of the Most Compassionate’).\textsuperscript{846} This treatise discusses the problem of belief, and the sincerity of those walking in the path of God. Again, Yusuf explains the role of the Sūfī master in guiding students to perform the \textit{Sharī’ah} and Hakekat (‘Essence of Truth’) by training themselves to fight the ego as a manifestation of Jihād, by removing all bad qualities referred to as \textit{Mujāhadāt al-Nafs}. In the last of these treatises, the writer humbly apologizes to his readers for its imperfect structure, and any other mistakes or indulgences.\textsuperscript{847}

This discussion of Yusuf’s works shows that there are at least three important aspects of Islam which are discussed repeatedly by Yusuf. These are \textit{Sharī’ah}, Sufism and \textit{al Insān al Kāmil}. Yusuf sees that Sufism is good manners and obedience in performing the outer and the inner aspects of \textit{Sharī’ah}.

\begin{thebibliography}
\bibitem{843} Ibid., 194-196.
\bibitem{844} Ibid., 197.
\bibitem{845} Ibid.,198-204. See the original version of this text in Arabic.Yusuf al Maqassary \textit{Safīnāt Al-Najāh in} Akhyar Nis, Ibid., 124-138.
\bibitem{846} What Yusuf means in this treatise is that his exile to Ceylon is bestowed by God. Therefore the Bestow of the Ceylon is actually the Bestow from God.
\bibitem{847} Ibid., 205-213. See the original version of this text in Arabic. Yusuf al Maqassary, \textit{al-Manhāt al-Sailāniyyah fī al-Manhāt al-Rahmaniyyah} in Akhyar Nis, Ibid., 139-149.
\end{thebibliography}
Therefore to gain the stage of the so-called *al Insān al Kāmil*, one is obliged to master and perform these two aspects. In relation to *Jihād* in the broadest terms, since *Jihād* in the outer aspect of *Sharī’ah* is commonly understood in terms of waging war when necessary, and *Jihād* in the inner aspect of *Sharī’ah* is understood as fighting the ego, all the works of Yusuf represent this complete understanding of Islamic *Sharī’ah*.

Yusuf agrees with Ibnu Arabi and al Jili about the concept of *Wahdat al Wujūd*. When one has fully understood and performed the teachings of *Sharī’ah*, one understands the concept of *Wahdat al Wujūd*. This unity of being means that one has already performed the will of God. Although this concept is often misunderstood, *Sūfī* like Yusuf al Maqassary does not deny that it is only some selected individuals who can understand this idea well.848

Yusuf refers to the work of Ibnu Arabi to emphasize the importance of having a master for those who walk in the path of God. It is important to underline that Yusuf does not appear to quote the work of Ibnu Arabi precisely. According to *Sheikh* Yusuf, a *Sheikh* is an absolute and necessary requirement. In contrast, according to Ibnu Arabi having a *Sheikh* is not an absolute requirement. A *Sheikh* is needed when the disciple of Sufism cannot perform the practices of Sufism alone. Indeed in Arabi’s opinion if one has chosen a *Sheikh* to be one’s director in the *Sūfī* path, one has to obey that *Sheikh*. However, Ibnu Arabi did not insist on following a *Sheikh* as an absolute requirement. Ibnu Arabi suggested certain conditions for those who needed a *Sheikh*, and those who did not.

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848 This will be discussed in the next section about the position of Yusuf al Maqassary which is addressed to be *Neo Sūfī*. 

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In the text of his work entitled *An Nafhah al-Saylāniyyah*, Yusuf says that some ulamā commented on the hadīth of the Prophet:

> man māta walaysa fī ‘unuqihi bai’atun faqad māta maytatal jāhiliyyah wailā hādīzā asāra ba’dlhum biquāli man istabda a bira’yīhi wa istaghnā bimā ‘indahū minal ‘ilmī faqad tu’ridlul aghwā’al shaiṭān. Ya lau ‘ayyana sha’iṣkuwa waqad fa’ala syai’an khilāf sharīf fainnal insānā ba’d al-anbiyā’i laysa bimā’sūmin wal ‘ishmatu laysa bisyurūt sil masyāyikh.

He who dies and has no bond on his or her neck dies the death of ignorance. He who feels sufficient with his or her knowledge will be led astray by the shaitan (Satan). If you have found a director (sheikh), surrender yourself like a dead body, even if the director commits evil, deviating from the Sharī‘ah.

Yusuf’s explanation about the director, who deviated from the Sharī‘ah, seems to be awkward for the common people. Probably what he meant is that even if sometimes the Sheikh is deviated from the Sharī‘ah (the Sheikh does something contradicted with the Sharī‘ah teachings), his goodness is still more than his badness and therefore is still reliable to follow. However, this is in contrast with Ibnu Arabi who stressed the importance of following the Sharī‘ah, the Qur‘ān and the Hadīth. In this case Ibnu Arabi says:

> Ya waladī, ūṣīka bitaqwAllah wa luzūmussyar‘ī wa hīfi hudūdihi wata’allumil ilma. Ya waladī tariqatunā hādzihi mabniyyatun ‘alal kitābī wasunnati wasalāmatussodri, wasakhā il yadi wabadzlun nidā i wa kurhil jīf ā was safhi an ‘atsarat al ikhwān.

O my son I advice you to obey God (Allah) and follow the Sharī‘ah and keep His borders and study the knowledge. O my son our path is founded on the sacred book and the Hadīth and the peacefulness of heart, giving the needy and so on.

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849 Yusuf Maqassari, *an Nafhah al-Saylāniyyah*: manuscript, no. A.101, 3 (Jakarta: Perpustakaan Nasional, no date).

In regard to the requirements for those walking in the path of God, and whether one needs a *Sheikh* or not, Ibnu Arabi says:

Fabillāhi la tadkhul khalwataka hattā ta’rifā ayna maqāmuka wa qūtuka min sulthānil wahmi. Fa in kāna wahmuka hākiman ‘alaika falā sabīla ilal khalwah illā ‘ala yadi sheikh mumayyizun ‘ārifun. Wa in kāna hammuka tahta sulthānīka fakhudzīl khalwah fālā tubālī. Wa ‘alaika birriyādlati qablal khalwati war riyādlatu ‘ibāratun ‘an tahdzībil akhlāqi wa tarkur ra’ūnati watahmīlul adzā fainnal insāna idzā taqaddama fathuhu qabla riyādlatīhi falan yajī a minhū abadan illā fīhukmin nādir. 851

Do not enter your retreat until you know your position. If your doubt becomes a judge of your decision (i.e. if you doubt your judgement), you have to enter your exile under the instruction of your *Sheikh* who knows how to differentiate good from bad and is knowledgable. If your desire is under your power, you can enter your exile without a *Sheikh* and not care about what people say. You must also do the inner exercise before the exile since the exercise is a symbol of exercising morality. Since nothing happens to those who walk in the path of God, it may be that the path is opened by God without the performance of exercises but only in certain cases, and this is very rare.

In the case of the swearing an oath to a *Sheikh*, what *Sheikh* Yusuf meant is probably that anybody who chooses to walk in the path of God and is guided by the hand of a *Sheikh* must abide by the directions of his or her *Sheikh* without reserve, surrendering like a dead body. Unfortunately, what *Sheikh* Yusuf quotes from Ibnu Arabi deals only with the condition if the *Sālik* (a person who walks in the path of God while choosing to be in the hands of a *Sheikh*).

It is clear that following a *Tarekat* with a *Sheikh* is only one of the ways to approach God. It is not an absolute requirement for those who walk in the path of God. The question why Yusuf quoted Ibnu Arabi only in this particular case is a

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matter of his concern to keep his followers. It is also a matter of how one views
the position of the *Sheikh* among his followers. Yusuf may have quoted Ibn
Arabi from Abu Madyān’s work since Yusuf also quoted Abu Madyān who might
have said the same thing. However, when Yusuf made reference to Ibn Arabi, he
should have clarified and confirmed the source. Another possible answer is that
Sheikh Yusuf wanted to preserve the faith of his followers so that they did not
deviate from the straight path by trying to approach God without a Sheikh. In
addition, Sheikh Yusuf may have done this to strengthen the position of the
tarekat as a religious order and social grouping as well as a political institution for
resisting the contemporary Dutch push towards colonization.

In relation to the contents of Yusuf’s works, it is important to distinguish
between *Sharī’ah* and *Fiqh*. First of all, it is worth noting that the source of the
Islamic law has two major elements: Divine revelation (*Wahy*) and human reason
(*Aql*). These two elements are the basic principles of Islamic law. *Sharī’ah* and
*Fiqh* are the Arabic designations for these two elements.852 The word *Sharī’ah*
literally means ‘to go to or to commence, to enter’, and denotes ‘strong attachment
to the revelation of Islam’.853 Whereas *Fiqh*, whose literal meaning is
‘understanding and comprehension’,854 is mostly the result of human thought.

*Sharī’ah* refers to ‘the right path’ or guidance, whereas *Fiqh* refers to
human understanding of the revelations of Islam. *Sharī’ah* therefore indicates the
right way to find a solution for a problem based on the general principles of Islam,
and using the *Qurʾān* and *Hadīth* as the main sources of Islam. Since *Fiqh* is a

852 Hans Wehr, 466-723.
853 Ibid., 465.
854 Ibid., 723.
product of human thought in interpreting the two basic sources of Islam, the Qur’an and the Hadith, it is thus a small part of Sharī‘ah. Thus, Fīqh is not the same as Islamic Sharī‘ah. Nevertheless due to Yusuf’s use of the word Sharī‘ah to refer to Fīqh in his works, Sharī‘ah is used as equivalent in meaning to Fīqh in the translation of Yusuf’s works.

It can be said that Yusuf’s works present on integrated concept of Islamic Sharī‘ah. However it is worth noting that Yusuf’s works present only a general concept of Islamic Sharī‘ah. They do not explain the concept in detail except in relation to some points of Sufism such as the way to remember God. The works emphasize the important of Islamic jurisprudence and Islamic Sufism. It is worth noting that in referring to Islamic jurisprudence; it is referred to as Sharī‘ah. While in terms of Sufism Yusuf often mentions tharīqah as the way to approach God and Hakekat as a term to refer to one who has attained the highest level in understanding the knowledge of God (i.e. the Perfect Man).  

According to Yusuf, al Insān al Kāmil or the Perfect Man will become an instrument of God in performing Sharī‘ah. The person who has attained this stage will hear based on the hearing of God, speak based on the speaking of God and act

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856 See also the similarity of Yusuf thought with the previous Sūfī whom often be quoted in Yusuf’s work Qusyairī about Sharī‘ah and Hakekat, see Abul Qāsim AbdulKarimHawāzin al-Qushairī an NaisAbur, Ar RisālatulQusyairīyyah fi ‘Ilimit Tasawwuf, Indonesian translation by Umar Faruq, ( Jakarta: Pustaka Amani, 1998) , 104-105. Further about the importance of knowing God and performing religious obligation for those who walk in the path of God (Sufism) see also Ali Ibnu Utsman al Hujwīrī, The Kasyf Al-Mahjūb: The Oldest Persian Treatise on Sufism, Indonesian translation from English by Suwardjo Muthary and Abdul Hadi W.M. ( Bandung: Mizan, 1994 ), 242-298. See again Yusuf al Maqassary, Zubdat al-Asrār fi Tahqīq Ba’d Mashā‘ir al-Akhīyar, manuscript, no. A.101 ( Jakarta: Perpustakaan Nasional Republik Indonesia, no date ), 36-37. For the similarity of definition between Yusuf and other Sūfī before him see the definition of Sufism in Amīn al Kurdi, Kitāb al ‘Uhūd al Watsiqah fi Tamassuki biš Syari‘ati wal Haqīqati ( Cairo: Matba‘ah al Mausūlāt, 1320 Hegira ), 1-260.
based on the will of God. It is not surprising that Al-Maqassary's notion of the Universal Man reminds us of a similar doctrine elaborated by al-Jili.

Writing on *al Insān al Kāmil*, al-Jili states:

Wa’lam, annal haqqa subhānahū wata’ālā, ja’ala hādzal ismi mir’atun lil insāni, faizā nazara biwajhihi fīhā ‘alima haqīqatan, kāna Allahu wa lā syai’a, wa kasyafa lahū hānādzin anna sam’ahu sam’ullāh, wa basarahu basarullāhī wa kalāmahu kalāmullāhi wa hayatahū hayatullāhī, wa ‘ilmahū alAllahi wa irādatahū iradatullahī. wa qudratullahī ilaihi wa irādatuullū hinnamā kāna mansūban ilaihi bitarīqati ‘āriyati wal majāzī wahiyAllahu bitarīqati mulki wa al tahqiqī.

Bear in mind that it is certain for God to make this name *al Insān al Kāmil* a mirror of the person. If the person sees all the creation with the blessing of God, one will understand well that there is only God in the universe (meaning only the greatness of God). At that time, God reveals all the outer and inner hindrances in that person’s heart (meaning that God removes all bad qualities), the hearing of that person becomes God’s hearing, and his sight becomes God’s sight, and his words become God’s words, his life becomes God’s life, and his knowledge is from God, his will becomes God’s will. And the will and the decision of God is directed to him by way of clarity and allegory857 and that is the way of God by way of possession and realization.858

The following section will closely analyze the terms of the criticisms directed at Yusuf al Maqassary as a Neo-Sūfī. This is very important since it is not only a matter of terminology but also of

857 Allegory is that picture in the event is a symbol representing an idea or quality such as truth, evil etc.

definition and implication as has been explained clearly in Chapter V of this thesis.859

6.3. Is Yusuf al-Maqassari’s Version of Sufism Actually a Form of ‘Neo-Sufism’? Considering the Inappropriate Criticisms Directed at Yusuf al-Maqassary’s Teachings

This section will examine two important points about Yusuf’s thought. The first is the energetic activity of Yusuf, which shows that Sufism is not identical with passivity. The second point concerns the idea promoted by Professor Rahman that Sufism before the 17th century tended to be more philosophical and was not active. According to Professor Rahman, ‘Neo-Sufism’ tended to reproduce the activity of the orthodox Muslim, and re-emphasized the importance of positive conduct in living in the world. Further Professor Rahman claims that ‘Neo-Sufism’ is ‘intellectual Sufism’. Professor Rahman then names Ibnu Taymiyyah and his student Ibnul Qayyim al Jawziyyah as well as the Hindi Sūfī, Ahmad Sirhindi as ‘Neo-Sūfīs’. Professor Rahman argues that Sufism before the 17th century tended to be concerned with speculative philosophy, with a weaker attachment to Sharī‘ah. Thus Professor Rahman divides Sufism into un-Islamic and Islamic Sufism.860

Professor Rahman’s accusation that Sufism before the 17th century tended to be mainly speculative philosophy with a weaker attachment to Sharī‘ah is related to the idea of the Wahdat al Wujūd. This idea was promoted by Professor

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859 See again Chapter Five of this thesis on Islam in the Malay World.

Azra in his thesis. This problem is crucial to the acceptance of the term ‘Neo-Sufism’, and its use as a label for Yusuf al-Maqassary will give the wrong impression that Yusuf and other Sūfīs after the 17th century tended to focus on Shari‘ah while previous Sūfīs tended to focus on speculative philosophy and had a weaker attachment to Shari‘ah. All the works of Yusuf, for example, show that this idea is wrong. Yusuf’s works are full of quotations from Sūfīs who lived before the 17th century. In Sūfīs ’ works, as has been explained, for those who walk in the path of God, the attachment to Shari‘ah is very strong. Shari‘ah in terms of Islamic jurisprudence or Fīqh is integrated with Sufism. Both should be understood properly, like the two sides of a coin.

Since the work of Yusuf has already been explained, this section will focus on a crucial problem which has been debated in the Islamic world, concerning the concept of Wahdat al Wujūd. However, since the focus is on Yusuf Maqassary, this section will look at Professor Azra’s statement in his thesis that Yusuf al-Maqqassary rejected this concept, although in fact Yusuf never rejected it.

The first matter to consider is the active role played by Sūfīs after the 17th century, in this case Yusuf al Maqassary. According to Professor Azra, all the activities of Yusuf showed that he was a real Sūfī since his Sufism did not prompt him to retreat from worldly life. This can be observed in Yusuf’s activities in teaching and leading a Jihād against the Dutch. Professor Azra said that it is

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862 This is also the case with Dawud al Fatani in the following chapter, which relates to the statement of Professor Azra in his thesis.
interesting to note that Yusuf did not use a *tarekat* organization when he opposed the Dutch onslaught in Banten. There is no record that he vigorously mobilized the followers of the *tarekat* to support him in the war against the Dutch. There are similarities between Yusuf’s actions in Banten and those of other Sūfis in the Malay Archipelago such as al Ranniri and al Sinkīlī in the Sultanate of Aceh.  

In this case Professor Azra is correct. However when Professor Azra compared Yusuf with previous Sūfis whom he accused of retreating from worldly life, like professor Rahman he just made a generalization without supplying accurate references. Professor Azra’s accusation was the same as Professor Rahman’s. Professor Azra writes:

> Unlike earlier Sūfis who exhibited strong tendencies to shun worldly life, the whole expression of al Maqassary’s teachings and practices shows a full range of activism.  

The second matter to consider is about the problem of the concept called *Wahdat al Wujūd*. This is very important since it is related to the concept of *tauhīd* or the Oneness of God. An incorrect understanding of this concept will lead someone to be accused of being a heretic. The pivotal point of Yusuf al-Maqassary's theology of God's Unity is that he tries to reconcile all the Attributes or Qualities of God. According to Islamic belief, God possesses Attributes which may seem to be in conflict with one another. God is, for

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863 Ibid., 103.

864 Ibid.,103. Since the problem of the term ‘Neo Sufism’ has been clearly discussed in the previous chapter from the first source of the pioneer of the term ‘Neo Sufism’ that is Professor Rahman, this chapter will not discuss it at length. This chapter will only show that some of the conclusions by by professor Azra about ‘Neo Sufism’ are only a repetition of what Professor Rahman proposes. Professor Azra’s explanation about the activism of Yusuf as a Sūfī was absolutely correct. However, when he addressed this activism as Neo-Sufism and considered the early Sufism as not active, he contradicted the meaning of Sufism itself. See the chapter on Sufism and Islam in the Malay World.
instance, believed to be the First - *al awwal* - and the Last - *al Akhīr*; the Exterior - *al dzāhir* - and the Interior - *al-bātin*; the One who gives guidance - *al hādi*, but also the One who allows humans to go astray - *al-Mudīl*). According to Yusuf al-Maqassary, all these seemingly conflicting Attributes of God should be understood in accordance with the Unity of God Himself. If someone pays attention only to certain characteristics of God and ignores others, the result will be misleading in terms of believing and practicing religious teachings. Thus it is only those who are given the knowledge to understand the secret of God’s names who can fully understand them.

In theology, Yusuf al Maqassary follows the doctrines of Ash’arī. Therefore, Yusuf al Maqassary emphasizes the importance of the Six Pillars of belief; namely belief in one God, the angels, the Revelation, the Prophets, the Day of Judgement and the Will of God. In relation to some Qur’anic verses called *al-Mutasyābihāt*, this seems to be ambiguous in meaning. Yusuf al Maqassary suggests that Muslims should believe first and then try to seek for the deeper meaning of those verses. It is through this method that those who are walking towards God will get His blessing.

The concept of theology of Ash’arī attaches importance to the predestination of human beings vis-à-vis the Will of God, and Yusuf al Maqassary accepts this concept. Yusuf al Maqassary often empazises that every Muslim should believe in, or accept the decrees of God - *al Qadā*.

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865 Ibid., 104.
866 Ibid., 105.
867 Ibid.
wal Qadar - and the fate that has been destined for every person, whether it is good or bad. To understand this, Yusuf al Maqassary stresses that every Muslim must exert his or her best effort in doing something. Although there is a decree of God that will determine the fate of humankind; since nobody knows the final aims of God, one should not surrender to fate before making one’s best effort. People cannot blame God for their wickedness and their bad fate. People must continuously improve their condition by exerting their best efforts for the sake of humanity.868

In the case of the dispute over the concept of the Unity of Being (Wahdat al Wujūd) between the servant and God, Professor Azra states that Yusuf al Maqassary did not want to be trapped into this bitter controversy. The idea is that although the servant is able to enter the existence of God, he nevertheless remains a human being, whereas God remains God. Like many other Sūfīs, Yusuf al Maqassary had a positive attitude towards all people. Yusuf al Maqassary believed that basically all people have an inherent tendency to believe in God because they realize their weaknesses. However, not all people are able to develop this trait into positive behaviour toward God. Those who can develop this positive characteristic rightly are those who have attained closeness to Him. It was for this reason that al Maqassary stressed the importance of always having a positive outlook - husnus zhan - towards unbelievers and the sinful. ‘Citing Abu Madyān al Tilimsānī, he reminds his readers that the flaws of the unbelievers may be better than the pitfalls of the faithful. Having such a view, it is not surprising that

868 Ibid.
nowhere in his works does Yusuf al Maqassary accuse the Dutch who inflicted great misery on his life."  

Professor Azra further says that according to Yusuf al Maqassary, believers could be divided into four kinds. The first are those who say that they believe in God but do not really believe in Him. These people are the hypocrites (alMunāfīqūn). The second type is the people who really believe in God in their heart and try to implement this in their daily life. This group is called the common faithful al Mu’min al Awwām. The third group is those who are called Ahlul Khawwās. These people are the ones who really understand the consequences of their belief, inwardly and outwardly. They try to practice the religious teachings with a sincere heart and to avoid the acts that are banned. The fourth group is the highest level among the believers. These people not only try to practice the religious teachings with a sincere heart: moreover they intensify their efforts to get closer to God and to reach His love by practicing Sufism - Tasawwuf - doing the training to purify themselves in order to attain the position of the lovers of God. It is for this reason that the fourth group is called ‘the select ones’ or ‘the elite’ - Khāss al Khawwās. 

It is clear that in Yusuf al Maqassary’s opinion, Sufism is only for the select ones who have a strong basic training in outward Sharī’ah (understanding and practicing Fīqh, or Islamic jurisprudence). In Professor Azra’s opinion, referring to the term proposed by Professor

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869 Ibid., 106.
870 Ibid., 106.
Rahman, Yusuf al Maqassary’s tasawwuf or Sufism can be called ‘Neo-Sufism’. Yusuf al Maqassary’s himself called his Sufism or *tasawwuf* by the name of the *tarīqat al Muhammadiyyah* or *tarīqat al Ahmadiyyah*. This name was common among other Sūfīs in their networks, to denote that the teachings they follow are based on the teachings of the Prophet Muhammad. And those following the teachings of the Prophet are on the right track in practicing religious teachings. Yusuf al Maqassary’s works clearly show his commitment to the inward and outward aspects of Islamic *Sharīʿah*. Thus Yusuf al Maqassary condemns those who believe that they will be able to reach God without practicing Islamic legal precepts such as praying and fasting. In Yusuf al Maqassary’s opinion, these people are the heretical ones.⁸⁷¹

Yusuf al Maqassary’s efforts to harmonize both the esoteric and exoteric aspects of Islamic teaching are reflected in those of his works in which he stresses the importance of the outward *Sharīʿah* (following Islamic legal precepts) and the inward aspects of *Sharīʿah* (practicing Sufism). As Yusuf al Maqassary puts it:

> Let it be known, my fellows, exoteric devotion without esoteric devotion is like a body without a soul or *ruh*, whereas esoteric occupation without exoteric devotion is like a soul without a body. Finally he cites a *hadīth* of the Prophet which states that the Prophet was sent by God in order to bring both the *Sharīʿah* and *Haqīqah* to the people.⁸⁷²

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⁸⁷¹ Ibid., 106-107.

⁸⁷² Ibid., 107.
Before practicing Sufism in depth, those who follow the teachings of Sufism have to have a strong understanding and practice of the Islamic legal precepts known as *Fiqh*. For this they must perform various kinds of prayers, both the optional and the compulsory prayers. They must follow the way of the best Muslims - *al Akhyār* - to perform all the obligations. After that, they will be able to enter the second stage; that is, to fight against their ego. These two kinds of worship have to be performed continually.\(^{873}\)

It is worth noting that entering the second stage does not mean leaving the first stage. Purifying the heart must go hand in hand with the practice of the exoteric aspects of Islamic *Sharī‘ah*. In brief, both outward and inward aspects of Islamic *Sharī‘ah* should be performed to arrive at the highest level of devotion to God.

Professor Azra continues that according to Yusuf al-Maqassary the *sheikh* role is very important in leading the sālik (the travelers towards God) so that they do not go astray. It is only through the director that the student can arrive at the highest understanding of God. Yusuf al-Maqassary argues that the directors are the heirs of the Prophet in religious matters.\(^{874}\) This is slightly different from Ibnu Arabi’s opinion, which says that a director is not required for those who have all the qualifications for travelling to God without the aid of a special director or *sheikh*.

\(^{873}\) Ibid.

\(^{874}\) Ibid.
Yusuf al-Maqassary differentiates himself from most scholars in the Islamic networks in reserving such an important position for the Sufi shaykh. Unlike Ahmad Qushashi, who encourages a sālik to leave his master if the latter disobeys the Sharī‘ah, Yusuf al-Maqassary adheres to the earlier notion of the position of the Sufi master vis-à-vis his disciples. Thus, for Yusuf al-Maqassary, once a Sālik pledges his allegiance or bay‘ah to a certain Sufi master, he must obey him totally, even if the Shaykh does something that does not necessarily lead to a closer communion with God. In accordance with the traditional attitude, he should behave like a dead body in the hands of those who clean it. To support his view, Yusuf al-Maqassary cites Ibn Arabi, who maintains that a sālik must obey his master even though he may observe that the Shaykh does something that runs contrary to the precepts of the Sharī‘ah. The reason for this is that the Shaykh is not infallible; even some prophets made mistakes. However, when the director makes mistakes by transgressing certain rules of the Sharī‘ah, Yusuf al-Maqassary reminds the disciple to keep up his good deeds and not to imitate his master’s transgressions.875 However, it is true that if one chooses a director, Yusuf al-Maqassary holds the opinion that the disciple should submit all his religious matters to the Sheikh.876

Since this thesis has clearly explained the work of Yusuf al-Maqassary based on his original writings in Arabic as well as their translations for the sake of comparison, the quotations above are from Professor Azra’s study. To give the quotations illustrated by Professor Azra above is very significant, particularly in

875 Ibid., 108.
terms of the focus of the problem discussed in this section - that is the concept of *Wahdat al Wujūd* (‘Unity of Being’) and its relation to the concepts of the Oneness of God and Sufism in Yusuf al-Maqassary’s work.

In this case, Professor Azra only refers to Yusuf al-Maqassary’s work without confirming it accurately in comparison with the work of Ibnu Arabi. As Yusuf al-Maqassary’s statement about the importance of the *Shaykh* is contradictory to Ibnu Arabi’s opinion, Yusuf al-Maqassary perhaps quoted it from Abu Madyan Tilimsanī or Tilmisani. The problem is that Yusuf al-Maqassary only mentions the names of the *Shaikhs* without giving specific references to the works cited. See the analysis about the important of the *Shaykh* above. It is also important to note that Qushashi is more appropriate, as he suggested that the *sālik* should leave the master if his acts are contradictory to the *Sharī’ah* (see the citation of the work of Ibnu Arabi). In his works Qushashi is also very strict about the requirement of the *Sheikh* that he must know and follow the *Sharī’ah*.877 Professor Azra did not analyse this further; he just describes it through the work of Yusuf al-Maqassary. Yusuf al-Maqassary’s work in the case of the *Shaykh* is contradicted by what he mentions, such as in Ibnu Arabi’s case. In Ibnu Arabi’s case, the source is still traceable since the works of Ibnu Arabi can easily be found, although Yusuf al-Maqassary did not mention them. Yusuf al-Maqassary did not mention the work of Abu Madyān Tilimsānī or Tilmisānī either. However this work can be found in the Malay translation by Dawud al Fatani.878 This is like the case of Abdul Karim al Jili, as al Jili’s work can still be easily found. As


a person Yusuf al-Maqassary might have made a mistake by generalizing about the opinions of the Sheikhs of Sufism.

Yusuf al-Maqassary discusses some specific religious devotional services and the steps towards spiritual progress that should be undertaken by the travelers in God’s path at length. He puts a special emphasis on dhikr. His version of dhikr was mainly the vocal form or jahr as taught by both Ibrahim al Kurani and Muhammad Abdul Bāqī al Naqshabandī. In accordance with his concept of the purification of faith, in Yusuf al-Maqassary’s opinion, the essence of dhikr is the full recognition of the Unity of God. On the preliminary level, nothing should be worshipped but God. On the intermediate level, al mutawassit, the devotee recognizes that he seeks and loves nothing but God. On the final level or al Muntahī, he fully believes that there is no other being but God.879

In spite of Yusuf al-Maqassary’s focus in his writings, which put more emphasis on the importance of Sufism, he still showed his intention to actually revive the teaching of Islamic Sharī’ah in order to bring both the exoteric aspect of Islamic Sharī’ah (Islamic jurisprudence) and the esoteric aspect (Islamic Sufism) into harmony. In teaching Sufism, Yusuf al-Maqassary established the Khalwatiyya Order, which attracted many Muslims in South Sulawesi and Banten (West Java). It is worth saying that Yusuf al-Maqassary had a significant role in shaping an Islamic identity for the Muslims in South Sulawesi and Banten. The result of this might be that from Yusuf al-Maqassary’s time until the present day, the Muslim People in South Sulawesi and Banten have been known in the Malay Archipelago for their strong Islamic identity.880

879 Azyumardi Azra, 108.
880 Ibid.
As has been discussed earlier, Yusuf al-Maqassary’s writings mostly emphasize Sufism. Since at the time of Yusuf al-Maqassary the concept which attracted the most widespread and bitter debate among Muslim scholars was the concept of wahdat al-wujūd, the Unity of Being, Yusuf al-Maqassary explains it eloquently and clearly in his writing. Yusuf al-Maqassary even wrote a special treatise on this concept, supporting its importance. Yusuf al-Maqassary brilliantly and simply explains the concept so that it could be widely understood by the common people. Like his teachers, Yusuf al-Maqassary opposed the ideas of Ahmad Sirhindi, who attacked the concept of Wahdat al Wujūd. One of Yusuf al-Maqassary’s teachers, Ibrahim al Kurani, wrote a treatise about Wahdat al Wujūd. This is actually a treatise against some of those who claim to follow the concept of Wahdat al Wujūd. The treatise is not actually against the concept but against the ‘pantheist’ interpretation of Wahdat al wujūd. Yusuf al-Maqassary even referred frequently to Ibnu Arabi and other Sūfis.

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883 Ibid., 21. Further about the explanation of this concept see Ibrahim al Kurānī, Ithāfuz adz Zakī, Sharhu al Allāmah Sheik Ḥabīb Yūsuf al Kurānī ‘ala Risālah al Tuhfah al Mursalah, Taḥīd, microfilm, no.27601 (Cairo: Maktabah Darul Kutub, 1921). See also the manuscript that been typed neatly. Thanks to Prof. John from the Australian National University for allowing the writer to copy this text. The title is Kitāb Ithāf al Dzākī, li al Syaikh al Kāmil al ʿĀmil al Allāmah al ʿArif bi’llāhī taʿālā Ibrahim al Kurānī ibnu Ḥasan al Kurdi al Ḥaḍān bi ṣiyārī Ṭuḥfatīl Mursalah ilan NAbī Sallallāhū Aḥmad ibn Fadlallāh al Hindī al Abūrūnāṯīrī nafaʾ anāʾláhū biʿilīmīhim. See also, Ibrahim al Kurānī, al Imam li Ḥażīl Himam (Hyderabad: Dāiratul Maʿārif, 1328 Hegira, 122-124.)
However Yusuf al-Maqassary did not directly write about his opposition to Sirhindi, who attacked this concept. Instead Yusuf al-Maqassary wrote his thesis on this. In relation to this, Professor Azra’s conclusion that al Maqassary rejects the concept of *Wahdat al Wujūd* (‘the Unity of Being’, or ontological monism) is inaccurate. Further, Professor Azra inaccurately concluded that Yusuf al-Maqassary adopted the doctrine of *Wahdat al Shuhūd* developed by Sirhindi. Professor Azra’s further explanation that Yusuf al-Maqassary tried to avoid being trapped into the debate over the controversial doctrine is correct; however this does not mean that Yusuf al-Maqassary rejects it. Professor Azra’s conclusion about this problem is as follows:

With the concepts of *al ihātah* and *al maiyyah*, God descends or *tanazzul* while man ascends or *taraqqi*, a spiritual process that brings the two closer. It is important to note that according to al Maqassary the process will not take its form in the ultimate unity between man and God: while the two may be closely associated, in the final analysis man is man and God is God. With this Maqassary rejects the concepts of *Wahdat al Wujūd* (‘Unity of Being’, or ontological monism) and *hulūl* (Divine incarnation). In his opinion, God is simply incomparable to anything (*laysa kamithlihī shay, Qur‘ān 42:11*). Instead he adopts the concept of *Wahdat al Shuhūd* or ‘unity of consciousness’, or phenomenological monism. Thus while he carefully disengages himself from the controversial doctrines of *Wahdat al Wujūd* of Ibnu Arabi and of *al hulūl* of Mansūr al Hallaj, al Maqassary adopts the doctrine of *Wahdat al Shuhūd* developed mainly by Ahmad al-Sirhindi (971-1034/1564-1634); later, this doctrine was also adopted by Shah WAIlī Allah (I I I4-76/1707-1767). 884

This conclusion is contradicted by the work of Yusuf al-Maqassary which explains the problem of *Wahdat al Wujūd*. Even though Yusuf al-Maqassary called it *Tauhīdul Wujūd*, both terms actually refer to the same concept. *Wahdat*

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884 Azyumardi Azra, 104.
al Wujūd means that all beings in the universe are the manifestation of God.\(^885\)

Thus in relation to the oneness of God, the belief is that all beings are actually one - both inwardly and outwardly - as Yusuf al-Maqassary says in the treatise below.

The concept of the unity of being - Wahdat al Wujūd - that Yusuf al-Maqassary supports and explains can be found in the works of Matālib Sālikīn and Tājul Asrār fī Tahqīq Masyrab al-‘Arifīn. The first treatise is by Matālib Sālikīn. The text is as follows:


\(^885\) Ibn Arabī, Fusūs al Hikam with its explanation by Abdurrazāq Kashānī, al Maktabah al Azhariyah lil Turats, Cairo, 2003, p. 13. Further detailed see pp12-41. Abdurrahman Zaimuddīn, Kitāb Kasfūl Huṣbīl Musbalah, Sharh Tuḥfatīl Murṣalah, ( Cairo: Maktabah Annī, no date ) , 68. Further explanation, see 68-70. See also Ibrahim al Kurānī, Matla’ul Jādī bi Tahqīq Tansīh fī Wahdatīl Wujūd. See also, Abdurrahman al-Aydarūs, Latāfīl Jādī fī Mas’alati Wahdātīlhī Wujūd, ( Cairo: Manuscript Maktabah Azhāriyyah 1325 Hegīra ). Khan Sahib Khajah Khan, Studies in Tāsawwuf ( Jakarta: Indonesian translation by Ahmad Nashir Budiman, P.T Raja Grafindo Persada, 1995 ) , 33-35. Ibrahim al Kurānī, Ithāf adz Zakī, Sharh al Allāmah Sheikh Ibrāhim al Kurānī ‘alā Risālah al Tuḥfat al Murṣalah, Tawhīd, microfilm, no. 27601 ( Cairo: Maktabah Darul Kutub, 1921 ) . See also the manuscript which Prof. John has that has been typed neatly. Thanks to Prof. John from the Australian National University for allowing the writer to copy this text. The title is Kitāb Ithāf al Dzakī, li al Syaikh al Kāmil al ‘Āmil al Allāmah al ‘Ārif billahī ta’ālā Ibrāhim al Kurānī ibnu Ḥasan al Kur̄ānī al Madāni biyarīh Tuḥfatīl Murṣalah ilan Nābi Sallallāhū Alisha Wāsīllam il il ‘Ārif billahī Muhammad ibnu Fadlullāh al Hindi al Abruhaṇpurī naḥa’ānīlaḥū bi’ulāmiḥīm. See also, Ibrahim al Kurānī, al Imam li Ḥaqāzīl Ḥinām ( Hydarabad: Dāruratul Ma’ārif, 1328 Hegīra ) , 122-124.

\(^886\) Yusuf Maqassary, Matālib Sālikīn, manuscript, no. A.108( Jakarta: Perpustakaan Nasional Republik Indonesia, no date ) , 51. 

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This is the book entitled *Matālibi al sālikīn* (‘That Desired by the Travelers to God’). In the name of God the most merciful. Praise be to God who keeps the hearts of those the sincere ones from the deceits of the Devil that might enter and makes their hearts the mirror of the lights and their secrets. Peace be upon the Prophet, the source of benevolence and nobility and the secrets of God, and peace also be upon the families, friends and the selected ones from the Prophet’s friends. Al Sheikh al Maqassary may God give him all peace and make him the expert in the real aspects of Islamic *Sharī‘ah*, amen. I took this treatise entitled *Matālibi al sālikīn* for those purifying God the Lord of the Universe, from our teacher the Imam who knows God; the Imam was the Lord of his time, the honorable Abdul Karim al Naqshabandī of Lahore, may God purify his spirit and enlighten his grave and may we take advantage of his knowledge, amen. He has narrated to us as follows: please bear in mind, oh my fellow friends, may God bless you and us by God’s love. Oh you my fellows, you all should have three kinds in relation to your belief in God. Those are *tauhid* (the belief that God is one), *Ma‘rifa* (knowledge about God) and *Ibadah* (worshipping God). (A note from the writer: all three of these are interconnected with one another :) The *tauhid* is like the tree and the *ma‘rifa* is like the branches and leaves and the worship is like the fruit.

If you find the tree you find the tree, you find the branches and the leaves; if you find the branches and leaves, you expect that this tree will give its fruit; if you do not find the branches and

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887 Ibid., 52.
leaves in that tree, it will be impossible for you to find its fruit: this is the allegorical example; we discuss it in order that you may understand the real example of tauhid (the oneness of God). If you arrive at the stage of tauhid (belief in one God), you arrive at the stage of Ma’rifa (knowledge about God); if you arrive at the stage of Ma’rifa, you arrive at the stage of ibada (worshipping God). Those who cannot find God’s oneness are the unbelievers, and those who cannot know Him through His knowledge are the stupid ones, and those who do not worship Him by means of His worship are the damaged ones (Fāsiq). The worship of the unbelievers is declined. The belief in one God is of two kinds: the first is Wahdatul Wujūd (Unity of Being) as all the Sūfīs, the ones who know God (Muhaqqiqūn) agree that all the being outwardly and inwardly is actually One Being, one substance and one reality. Parts of your body for example are different and they are alive and you are alive yourself with the spirit in your body. It is like everything that is being is with God and God is being Himself.

fanisbatu qiyāmil asy yā i billāhi kanisbatī qiyāmi al jasadi birrūhi fayusammā al īnsānu bil jasadi warrūhi īnsānan la birrūhi faqat walā biljasadi faqat bal biljam‘ī’i faidzdālika tussammā al ilāhu ilāhan likaunīhi bidzāti wassifāti, fal ilāhu tsalātsatu ahrūfin, al Aliifu wal lāmu wal hā’u. Fal Aliifu isyāratu ilāhiyyatin fahuwa ahadun bidzātihi wa wāhidun bissifātihi wa sifātuhū kamālàtuhū, kal ‘īlimi wassam‘i wal basari wal hayāti wal qudrati wal irādati wa ghairu dzālika minal āsmā i. Fa āsmā u sifātil ulūhiyyati wa huwiyyatuhū mañjūdatun fi jam‘ī’in wāhidin wa huwa mañjūdun fi jam‘īl asyyā‘i kamā tsabata ānnal asy yā’a qāimatun bihi wahuwa qāimin bidzātihi kamā dzakarnā ānnal jasada qāimin birrūhi warrūhu qāimin bidzātihi falā yatasawwaru qiyāmul jasadi illā an yakūnarrūhu mañjūdatan fi jam‘ī’l a’dlā’i kamā ʾidzā kānad dammu mañjūdatan fi īnsānī fahuwa hayyun wa illā lā yatasawwaru hayātuhū, kadzālikAllahu mañjūdun fi jam‘ī’i al asy yā ‘i. Falau lam yūjadillālu fiIL asy yā ‘i fahuwa munazzahun

The analogy of the existence of something in relation to the existence of God is like the existence of the body with the soul. The existence of the soul in the body is what makes the creature called a ‘human being’. A soul without a body is not a human being and neither is a body without a soul, it is both soul and body that makes a human being. That is why God is called God for His existence and His characteristics. Al-Ilah (God) in Arabic has three letters, al-Aliif, al-lām, and al-hā’; Al-Aliif is a divine signal that God is One for His existence and one for His characteristics, and His characteristics are His completeness. These are such as to Know, to Hear, to See, to Live, to Be able to (Have the Power), to

888Ibid., 53.
Will, to want and many others of His names. The names are divine characteristics and they exist in one unity and He exists in everything, as it is that everything exists because of the existence of God, and God exists by His existence and there will be no existence of the body without the soul that exists in every part of the body. As if the blood exists in the body of the human being, thus the human being is alive, and if not, he or she is not alive. This is the analogy of the existence of God in everything.

‘an kulli makānin wazamānin wa ‘an mā lā yAliqu lidzātihī kamā annarrūha la tastaqirru fī ‘adwin wāhidin. Minal a’dlā i wa hiya mājuḍatun fī jamī’īl a’dlā i, kadzā likAllahu laa yastaqirru fī syai’in wāhidin wa huwa mājuḍūn fī jamī’īl asy yā’i, falmāmah tsabata qiyāmūlus asy yā’i billāhi falā yatasawwaru illā an yakūna mājuḍūnūn fī asy yā i wa hādzā ma’nā qauli Sayyidina ‘Ali ra. Allahu ‘anhu ‘anhu: mā ra aitū syai an illā wara aittūlāha fihi. Fahal tarā yā akhī syai an minal asy yā i khārijan ‘an ilmī al azaliyyī. Fain qulta balā fā anta ‘ārifun wain qulta na’am fā anta jāhilun am yatasawwaru al asnū’u (ay lā sun’a) qabla ilmī sānī’i fā in qulta na’am fahādzā mah ālun lā yatasawwaru ‘an kullī dzī aqlīn kal kātībī là yatasawwaru lahūl kitābatu illā ba’da ilmī bil kitābatī wa kadhālikka llāhu a’jadal ‘ālama minal ghai bi ila syyahādati ba’da mā kānati asy yā’u mājuḍūtānī fī ‘ilmī al azaliyyī bil wujūdī zihī wahuwa ma’nā qaulihi ta’ālā, innamā amrunā idzā arāda syai an an yaqūla lahu kun fayakūna liannal asy yā a kānāt mājuḍūtānī fī ‘ilmī al azaliyyī fī ‘ālamīl ghai bi fā amara bi irādatihi. 889

If God does not exist in things, thus those things will not exist and He is pure from every time and place and from everything improper to His existence, just as the soul does not settle down in one of the parts of the body but is existing in every part of the body. This is thus the case of God (Allah), that God does not settle down in one thing, but on the contrary He exists in everything when everything exists with the existence of God. The existence of God then is manifested in everything. This is what Ali son of Abu Thalib may God bless him says: I do not see something but I see that God is manifested in that thing. Do you see oh my fellows, something that is not known by His eternal knowledge and cannot escape from it? If you say yes that everything is not known by His eternal knowledge, then you are the stupid one. If there is a question: does the creature exist before the knowledge of the Creator? And if your answer is yes, it is impossible and it is illogical; like a writer - he or she will not be able to imagine his or her writings until after gaining the knowledge of writing. Thus is the case of God who creates the

889 Ibid., 54.
universe from nothingness into being, after everything exists in His eternal knowledge by the existence of God’s image. This is the meaning of what God says: Surely that our command if we want something, we say let it be and it will be, since everything exists in His eternal knowledge in the nothingness and by His command, it comes into being.

minal ghaibi ila ssyahādati fazahara fī asy syahādati kamā kāna fī al ghaibi faidzā arādahu an yuṣībahu minal ghaibi ilasy syahādati fayujihu biamrin kun fayakānu, fal asy yā u fī ‘ilmihī, wa ilmuhī shibghatuhu, fassifātu bidzzātī wāhidatun lā yatasawwaru infīkākussifātī ‘anidzzātī kamā lā yatasawwaru infīkākul jasadi ‘anirrūhi qablal mauti kamā taqūlu kamā lā yatasawwaru infīkākuz zubdati ‘anīl hAlīibu wal hAlīibu ‘anizzubdati qablar raubi, wa hādzā ma’nā qaulihī ta’ālā: wakānAllahu bikullī syai in muhīta, fahlAlīibu maujūdatun fīzzubdati wazzubdatu maujūdatun fīl hAlībi wa hiya fīl haqīqati syai un wāhidun kadrālikal asy yā u maujūdatun fīl hAlībi wa hiya fīl haqīqati syai un wāhidun. KānAllahu fīl azAlīi walam yakun ma’ahu syai’un fayakānu fīl abadati kamā kāna fīl azAlīi wa hādzā ma’nā qaulihīn mā syammati ma’lūmātīl ‘ilmiyati min syammāti fāihatīl wujūdīl khārījīyi wa an tusammā abadān fa’īna hādzihī suratun manqūlatun minassūrati asliyyati fī ‘ilmil haqīqīl azAlīi wa hādzā an naqlū hāditsun kal hurūfī allafī takhrūju minka890

Therefore, the image manifested in Being is similar to the image in Nothingness. If We want to make it exist from nothingness into being, We make it by Our command: let it be and it will be. Everything is His creation. The characteristics and the being (substance) are one and the image of both cannot be separated like the body and the soul cannot be separated before death, or you can say that the image of the froth and the milk cannot be separated before they curdle. This is the meaning of what God says: and God is all encompassing. The froth exists in the milk and vice versa. Both froth and milk are as a matter of fact an integrated unity. This is the same as everything existing in God and God exists and is manifested in everything and both are an integrated unity. God alone exists eternally and then manifested before everything was created and He existed from the eternal time. This is the meaning of what the Sūfīs say: And the smell of scientific knowledge will not be smelled from the smell of outside existence and it cannot be smelled forever, and this is the image that is moved from the original image in the eternal truth of knowledge. This is the new movement like the alphabet that came out from your mouth.

890 Ibid., 55.
laa min jihatil huruufi al asliyyati yakuunu tsaabatatan fi dzaatika. Fawujuuduka musta’irun minal asli al haqiqii wa kullu musta’irin laysa lahuu fil haqiqiqi wujuudun fa anta bil’adami wala laka mial wujuudi nasaibun wa anta bil adami muttasifun faininnma’ayta fil wujuudi faqad syarakta billahi wainnasy syirka lazultun azizun fa aamana billahilladzii huwa bidzzaati ahadun wassifaati waahidun liana kulla maa tsabata wujuuduhu lighairihi fawujuuduhu lighairihi laa linafsihi, fafhah.Wahaqiiqatul iimaani biyin takhruja min wujuudika al majaazi ilaa ‘adamil haqiqiyyu ja’alahallahu mir’atan lidzaatihi wa taqallaa alaihi bilkamaalidzaati, kulluhal mu’tabaratun ‘anhu bil fanaa’I al amammi’ayta sirta ‘adman tasiru mir’atan lahu wa yusyaahidul haqq u dzaatahu fi hadzihil mir’ati wa huwal masyhuudu min haytsu annahu yuraa hadhhihil mir’ati. Waman ‘arafa hadhhihil mas’alata wa is’taqada biha fahuwa mu’munun891

It is not from the original alphabets that you become established [exist] in your self. Your being [existence] is borrowed from the real original Being. Everything borrowed actually has no being or existence. If you claim to exist apart from the existence of God, you have made something an ally of God and to make an ally for God is a big wrong-doing. Believe in God who alone is being or existing with His characteristics since if everything exists its being for others then its being is not for itself and you must understand this. The essence of belief is to come out from your allegorical existence to the real nothingness since the real nothingness makes God the mirror of its existence and by making God the mirror, His perfection appears in the form of al Insān al Kāmil or ‘the Perfect Man’ and everything is considered to this existence by complete nothingness. If you become nothing, you become the mirror for God and the mirror will show the real being of His existence in yourself. Existence is something that is shown, in that it shows the existence of God in this mirror. Anyone who knows this problem and believes in this concept is a real believer.

muwahhidun haqiqiyyun wa illā fahuwa mu’munin majāziyyun kāfirun haqiqiyyun liannahū mā āmanah bihaqīqatin wa ammā qālunūn fa anta jāhīlin in qulta na’am fal zalzumu min hādžā fayakūna khalliqiyatal ‘alāmī qabla ‘ilmihī ta’ālā zalzumu min hādžā aydān nisbatul jāhīli ilAllahi ta’ālā fahadza kūfrun wa adl lālun fal kufru wa adl dlālālū fi haqqihī subhānahū ta’ālā mahālun wa huwa subhānahū wata’ālā munazzahun ‘ammā yaqūlūna zzālīmūna ‘uluwwan kabīrān. Wattahuḥīdūs tsānī ma’lūmūn ‘inda kulli ahadīn minal muslimīnāl khāsātī wal ‘āmmāti fahuwaAllahu

891 Ibid., 56.

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If not, he is not a real believer but only an allegorical believer and even actually a real infidel since he or she does not believe in the truth. Whereas our words - that you are stupid if you say yes that everything or something is not known by His eternal knowledge means that this universe existed before God’s eternal knowledge. This belief means that God is identical with stupidity. This word is really an atheist or an infidel and astray from the right path. Both atheism and being astray are impossible in God’s being or existence since God is the Pure One and free from what the wrong-doers say arrogantly about that. The second belief (tauhīd) is known commonly by every Muslim whether common or extraordinary, that God is One. God is independent, God does not bear children and he is not born either. Nothing resembles Him. Yes, understand this and bear in mind His oneness. Gnosis (Ma’rifah) is to know that your worship is from Him and your return will be to Him and you will return to Him as your beginning is from Him just like if the sea overflows into the river, the water in the river will return again to the sea as it was and the water will not change from its substance and existence. Worship is to be loyal and obedient to His oneness of being.

lighairīhī wa huwa subhānahu wata’ālā wāhidun lā syyākālahū fīl wujūdī wa ma’nal ubūdiyyati fīllughati tā’atusy syai’i lisyai’in ka a’dālāka mutī’atun lirūhika min haytsul amri bisytiḥā ‘īrūḥi liannaka mā taf’ala syai an illā bisytiḥā I rrūḥi fasīẓāhīri a’dāla uka’ābidatun laka wadžatūka ma’būdun, fadzzātu ‘ābidatun min haytsuzzāhīri wadzzātu ma’būdun min haytsul bātīnī, liannal amra minhū ilaihi faidāz̄ afnaita wujūdaka wa wujūda ghairillāhī ma’dūmun falā tārā illā huwa walā tusyāhīdu illā huwa walā yabqā illā huwa wa laysa laka minal amri fayaṣīru huwal ‘ābidu min haytsu al amru yarji’u ilaihi kullu syai in ḫālikun illā wajhahū, lāḥīl ḫukmu wa ilaihi turja’ūna kullu man alaihā fānin wayabqā wajhu rabbika dzuljālālī wal ikramī. Faman ‘ārafa haqīqatat tauhīdī wal ma’rifātī wal’ubūdiyyati fahuwa ‘ārifun muwahhidun mutī’un wa illā falaysa lāhū bisyai in. 893

892 Ibid., 57.
893 Ibid., 58.
It is to believe that there is not being or existence but He Himself only, the only One who has not an ally in His being or existence. The meaning of worship is the loyalty of something to something such as the loyalty of your body to your soul in terms of acting. He commands the will of your soul since you will not do something but at the will of your soul. In reality, the parts of your body are your servants and your being is to worship in terms of the inward, since the command is from the inward (soul) to the outward (the parts of the body). If your being has perished as well as all beings except the being of God, you know yourself that all are nothing and you do not see anything but Him and you will not see and testify but Him and nothing is eternal but Him. You have nothing to command. Everything returns to Him and everything will perish but Him. He is the owner of the law and everything in the universe will perish and His being who has all the glory will exist eternally. Anyone who knows the essence of belief, Gnosis and worship is the one who knows God and is really a monotheist who is loyal to God. And if not, then he or she is nothing.

Faman arādas sulūka ilallahi falyafham awwalan hādzihil kalimātī tsumma yasluku littartiqī ilallahi bi hādzihil kayfīyyati ya’nī yanbagā lissālīki an yasyru’a awwalan linafūdjī ghairillāhī ‘ilmān falamammā nafīya wujūdahu wa wujūdā ghairillāhī ‘ilmān yahsulān lahū nafyu wujūdihī wa wujūdī ghairillāhī ‘iyānan tsumma yafñī min hādzihin nafīyī min ‘ilmī nafīyī fayahsulān lahū al fanū u fillāhī wal baqā’u bihi kamatsali firāsīyin idzā ramā rūhahū fissirājī wahtaraqū fataqūfū hal sāra al firāsyu sirājan am sāra ‘adamān bal naqūlu sāra bissirājī wāhidan liannahu qabla ramyī rūhīkā kāna minassirājī mahjūbūn falammā famiyā rūhahu ittasala wa sāra bihi wāhidun kadżālīkas sālīku qabla nafyī wujūdihī wa wujūdī ghairillāhī ittasala wa sāra bihi wāhidun wataruruqū ilAllahi katsfūn kaqaulī ba’dīlī ‘ārifīnā, atturuqū ilAllahi ta’ālā bi’adādi anfāsīl khalāqi wālākī aqrabuhū ilAllahi wa a’lāhā wa ausuluhā ilal matālībi hādzā fahuwa an yaqsudas sālīku lidzzātillāhī ta’ālā ma’a ‘adamī iltīfā tihī ilal ghairī wal ghairīyyatī. 894

Those who want to approach God; they firstly are advised to understand this belief. Subsequently, they approach God through this path or through this method that those who walk in this path to approach God should perform the Sharī‘ah (Fiqh) and eliminate other beings besides God’s being as knowledge. At the time through this knowledge they can eliminate other beings as well as their being physically with their eyes but God’s being and they arrive at the stage of extinction (Fanā) in God and are eternal with Him just like a flying white ant that throws itself into the light and is burned. We will ask: Does the flying white ant become the light

894 Ibid, 59.
or is it extinct? Or we will say it becomes the light as an integrated one, since before it throws itself into the light and becomes one and integrated with the light. It is therefore like those who walk in the path of God: first of all, they should eliminate themselves and be with God only. When the sālik or those who walk in the path of God arrive at the stage of extinction, they feel that they become one with God. The paths of God are many: as the gnostics ('Arifīn billāh) say the paths of God are as many as the number of His creatures, but the closest, the highest and the most related to those who walk in the path of God is that they should focus their attention on God only and not look at others.

Qul ḥādżīhi sabīlī ad’ū ilAllahi ‘alā baṣīratīn anā wa manittabā’anī wa subhānAllahi wama anā minal musyrikīn, wa kāna qaṣī bi bayna asbi’ā’īnī min aṣāби’IRahmani yaqūlibuḥā kāya fa yasyā u wa sallAllahu ‘alā Sayyidīna Mūhāmmadin wa āliḥī wasahbihī wasallama taslīman katsīrān. 895

Say that this is my path: I call others to God through my outward and inward sight, I and those who follow me. Glory be to God and I am not the one who makes something an ally of God. My heart is between two of God’s fingers. He will fold it down at His will and peace be upon the Prophet Muhammad, his families and companions with much peace. This treatise is completed with the help of God.

The second treatise of Yusuf’s discussing the problem of Wahdatul Wujud (Unity of Being) is Tāj al-asrār fī Tahqīq Mashrab al-‘Arifīn (‘The Secret Crown in the Essence of the Goblet of the Gnostics’). Yusuf al Maqassary says:

Yanbaghī lil wālī al ‘aqīl wal ‘ārif al kāmil an ya’rīfa wa yatayaaqqa annAllaha subhānāhū wata’ālā ma’ahū haytis kāna liqaulihi sallAllahu ‘alaihi wasallama: Afdhalul īmān mar’ī billāhi an ya’lāma annAllaha ta’ālā ma’ahu haytis kāna liqaulihi ta’ālā ta’līman lānā: Wahuwa ma’akum aynāmā kuntum, wa ya’rīfa wa yatayaaqqa aydīn annAllahu subhānāhū wa ta’ālā muḥīṭun bi asy syai‘ī kullihā liqaulihi ta’ālā ta’līman lānā: Wa kānAllahu bikulli syai in muḥīṭan, wa qauluḥū ta’ālā: waqad ahāta bikulli syai in ‘īlman. Falamāma ma’iyyatuhū subhānāhū wa ta’ālā fayākūnu dzālika kama’iyyatur rūhī ma’a jasadihi wa kama’iyyatīl fā’il ma’a fi lihi. Wayuqālu fī ḥādzīhil ma’iyyati, ma’iyyatu ihātātil ma’lūmil mafhūmi bihi ‘‘indal ‘ārifīl kāmil, la kama’iyyati ahādisy syai aini ma’a syai il ākharīl ma’lūmi ‘‘indan nāsi jamī’īnan. Wainnmāmā ihātātuhū Subhānāhū wa ta’ālā bikulli fayākūnu kadžālika ka ihātātil mausūfi biausāfīhi au ka ihātātil mazīmi bilawāzimīhi wayuqālu fī ḥādzīhil ihātātī ihātātul ma’iyyatīl

895 Ibid., 60.
It is incumbent on the friend of God, the perfect gnostic to know and to be certain that God is with him or her wherever they may be. As the Prophet Muhammad peace be upon him says: the most excellent and superior person before God is the one who knows that God is always with him or her anywhere and watching over him or her. This is also based on the words of God that teach us, which say that He is with you whenever and wherever you are. The most excellent and superior person before God is the one who knows and believes that God is all encompassing. As God says: He is all encompassing through His knowledge. The presence of God is similar to the presence of the soul in the body and like the doer and his or her actions. This presence is called Omnipresence as many perfect Gnostics call it, and it is not like the presence of something with another thing as many people know; the presence of God encompasses everything. It is also similar to the presence of an adjective with its noun, or the presence of the adherent and what he or she adheres to. It is like two sides of one thing as many people know. Two sides of one thing; this is an integrated one. Understand this and hope in order that you will arrive at the main point of the knowledge of realization and the extraction of the understanding of the knowledge of realization. It is with the firm perfection of the presence of God with us and everything that many people understood it. It is for instance like the fire when it is mixed with the firewood or when it burns the firewood. The firewood stood alone and the fire stood with the firewood.


896 Yusuf al Maqassary, Tāj al-asrār fī Tahqīq Mashrab al-‘Ārifīn, manuscript no.A.101 ( Jakarta: Perpustakaan Nasional Republik Indonesia, no date ), 72.
As a matter of fact, the fire and the firewood resemble what is said of the servant: the servant is a servant although he or she ascends, and God is God even though He descends. This means that the servant is a servant even if he or she arrives at the stage of extinction (Fana) in God and feels that he or she exists in Him. Although God is present in that servant and shows His greatness and His specification and shows some of His characteristics, all of His characteristics are reflected in that servant's life. Understand this and do not be mistaken and now we go back to the real explanation of that concept. The question is: ‘couldn’t that resemblance from the two points of view be included in the stage of Wahdat al Wujud (Unity of Being)?’ This concept is as it is understood by the Gnostics (those who know about God) and God is the Source of everything and everything has its source in Him. This means that there is none but Him. He is the First, He is the Last, He is the Outward, He is the Inward and He is with you wherever and whenever you are in this world and in the Hereafter, in the changes of time and affairs and in the combination of two opposite things, but this does not appear blatantly. Imam Abu Sa‘īd al Kharrāz, may God purify his soul once was asked: ‘How could you know God?’ He answered that he knew God by combining two opposite things since God has the characteristics that nothing resembles Him and He is the owner of everything and He is the most Soft and Gentle One, the most Mighty, the Benefactor, the Avenger, and He is the most just Judge. In relation to this stage, the stage of extinction (Fana) in God and existence in Him, the prophet Muhammad peace be upon him gives a sign in his

897 Ibid., 73.
saying: He or she who knows himself or herself knows God. As the poet says: if the cup is clean, the wine in it is clean too and both become the same in their form. Just like all the wine without the cup and like all the cups without the wine. Nobody can understand what we say except those who understand He is us and we are Him, understand this. If you feel them, you will understand this concept. You will understand that nobody can be in this stage and attain this goodness but only by following the outward aspects of *Sharī'ah* (*Fiqh*) of the Prophet Muhammad peace be upon him, the imam of Islamic people; and hold firmly the inward aspect of the *Sharī'ah* of the Prophet Muhammad peace be upon him (Sufism). Do not make a mistake in understanding this concept at this stage. If you say, how could God be with us whereas He is all encompassing and He has the characteristics of not resembling anything (Nothing resembles Him) and this is without doubt, for certain.

Wa ammal āyatu laysa kamitslihī syai un fahiya aslul i’tiqādātī. Walaqad qāla al Imamul qutubul waliyyu Sultanan ‘ārīfī wa muqta’dīl muhaqqiqīna syai khū masyi’yikh sayyidūn syai Khū Muhyyiddin Ibnu Arabī qaddasahullāhu sirrahu wa nafasīnā bihi āmin. Jamī’ul āyītīl Karimati mardīdatun ilā āyati laysa kamitslihi syai un wa dzālika fī usūlīl i’tiqādātī wala tatrūkūhā wala tabrahīn min ḥādzat maqāmī, fāman laysa i’tiqādīhū kadζālika faqad dlallā ‘an sirātīl mustaqūmīn wa tariqātit qawīm ālladāzī salakā alaihi sayyidūn al Imām, ahlul Islāmī ‘alaihi awliyā’ihī al ‘ārifīnī billahi wa salakā alaihi jamī’ul anbiyā’ī wala auliya’ī il ’ārifīnī billāhī laysa illā ay laysal i’tiqādū ghayrā ḥādzīhī. Tsumma la’allā fī khāṭirīn ku suālin waqultā idzā kānatił asy yā u aynal haqqī subhānahu wata’ālā yalzamu min dzālika an yakūnīl haqqu subhānahu wata’ālā huwa nafsul asy yā i kulluhā wala asyyā u hiya nafsul haqqi lianna dzālika kamā qīlā ja a zaydun ‘aynhū ay nafsuhū wa kānatił asy yā’u bidζālīلك ma’nā huwa nafsul asy yā i là bighayriyyati hūnā biwjājhī minal wujūhī abadān ‘alālā ḥādzat taqīdīrī kamā dzukira al istilahīyyatu, īstilāhātul qaumi biannal ‘ayna hūnā bīma’nā lá ghayrā. Wal qaulu biannal asy yā’a ‘aynlīl haqqī tā’ālā bīma’nā annahu lá ghayrā. Wāḥādza ma’nā qauli syahlīnīl wAliyyil ‘ārifī billāhī tā’alā as syahlīkhul Muhammdu lBudullāhī al-Burhanpurī qaddasahullāhu sirrahū al azīzī, anna jamī’al asy yā i min haytsul wujūdī ‘aynlīl haqqī subhānahu wata’ālā, qālū na’am. Famin ayna yūjudul ghayrū hūnā liannahū qad tahaaqaqu wa takarrara al-‘ārifīnī ashābul kasīfī wala wujūdu kamālu taufiqīsyy suhūdī biannahum yaqūlūna là ilāhu illAllahu bīma’nā là majūdū illAllahu biannal wujūda wāhidun là tsāniya lahū falā yutlaqū lafdzu lighayrī hūnā illā idzā hasala wujudātī fīl khārijī wala majūdū fīl khārijī illal haqqī tā’alā. 898

898 Ibid., 74.
The verse ‘nothing resembles Him’ is the basis of faith. The leader of the Gnostics, Sheikh Muhyiddin Ibnu Arabi may God purify his soul and may we be able to obtain advantage from him, amen. All verses go back to ‘nothing resembles Him’ as the basis of belief. If someone has no belief in this, it means that he or she goes astray and deviates from the right path which many prophets have walked on. Sheikh Fadlullah al-Burhanpurī may God purify his soul says: Everything in terms of its being is the Being of the Source of the Truth (God) and they say yes. All the gnostics said that the words ‘there is no God’ mean that there is no being but the Being of God. The being is one and there is no second being. It is thus improper to say ‘other’ except if there is another being on the outside, since the only being is God.

wainnamal maujūdu fil khārīji fil istilāhil qaumi huwal wujūdul qāimi binafsihi là syai al maujūdu bighayrihi, fāfham. Tsumma idzā qulta faidzdā kā nal wujūdu wāhidan wahuwa wujūdul qāimu binafsihi wahuwa wujūdul haqqi ta’ālā fīmā hādzhīhil asyyā u allātī ra aynāhā muta’addidun wa mukhtalifatun wa muta’ayyinatun mutasyakkilatun waghayru dzālika mimmā wajadnāhā, qulta anna min qawā’idil istilāhil qaumi aydlan kullamā kāna wujūduhu bighayrihi. La yuqālū fī haqqihi annahū maujūdun wainnamal maujūda haqqatun, huwal wujūdul qāimu binafsihi alladžī la awaliyyata liwujūdīhi walayysa dzālika illā wujūdal haqqi ta’ālā. Fallātī ra aynāhā minal asy yā’ī hādzhīhi innamā hiya yuqālū fī haqqihi annahū zillul wujūdīl haqqīqī. Wazuhūrū wujūdīl mutlaqī alladžī là yuqā biluhū taqyīdun ma’a qabiltuhū lidzālika. Walidzālika huwa wujūdul haqqi subhānahū wata’ālā. Wailā syai an fil haqīqati ay haqīqatul amri bima’nā nafsul amri kulluhā. Hiya zuhūrun min zuhurātīhi wata’yīnun min ta’yīnātīhi watajāllā min tajallyātīhi wa amrun min umrūtātīhi wa sya’nun min syu’unātīhi wa hālun min ahwālīhi wa fī’lun min af’ilātīhi. KānAllahu walā syai a ma’āhu wahuwal āna ʿala mā ʿalaihī kāna. Fāfham, in kunta dzā fahmīn walā taghūlīn fatanzīlu qāimūka faghāyatuka ilan nāri wal ‘iyāzu billāh minhā allahummarzuqīnāl ‘ināyata warri’īyata wakamālāt taufiqī wakhītī lamā bihusnīl khitāmī āmin yā rabbal ʿālamīn. Tsumma ba’da taḥaqqīqī dzālika kulluhū yanbahgī lil’ārīfīl ‘aqīlī wal waliyyīl kāmil an yatamassaka bitharīqīl qawmī wa yamsīl ʿalā sirātīl mustaqīm wadzālika huwat tharīqulladzā kāna zāhiruhu syari’atun wa bātinuhu haqqatun wahuwa mā ʿalaihinnābī salAllahu ʿalaihi wasallam wa jamī’ī warasātīhi minal anbiyyā’ i wal auliyyā’ i wal ʿārifīnī billāhī ta’ālā. Faman tamassaka bihī fiddūnyā wal ʾakhirati sārā min ahlīsaa’ādatīl kibarī llaftī la syāqāwata ba’dāhā wamā laḥū illal jannata. Wayusammī biḥādīzāl maqāmī bil ʾIsānīl Kāmīlī. Waman salaka ghayra hādzhā tahrīqīl madzkūrī faqad khasīra fiddūnyā wal ʾakhirītī khusrūnān mubīnān wahalaka halkan bayyīnān.899

899 Ibid., 75.
There is no being but God’s being which is called al-Maujūd fil khārījī (‘the being outside’) which according to the Gnostics is ‘the independent being’. If you say: if being is only one, that is the independent being, God the Almighty, therefore the question is what are the various beings that we see? The answer is that the real being is God, the Absolute. All those various beings are actually the shadows and the manifestations of the being of God, the Absolute One. All those beings are the manifestations of His greatness. It is incumbent on the Gnostics (al-‘Ārif billāh) to hold to and follow the right path. This is the path which in its outward practice is the Sharī‘ah (Fiqh) and in its inward practice is Hakekat (Sufism/ Tasawwuf). This is the path which the prophets and other friends of God have walked on. Those who strictly adhere to these - i.e. Sharī‘ah and Sufism - will be successful both in this world and in the Hereafter. They will become those who obtain happiness. This stage is the highest stage, the stage of the ‘Perfect Man’ (al-Insān al-Kāmil). Those who walk on other than that path are lost, really lost, and at worst they will become the destroyed ones.


900 Ibid., 76.
Those who walk on other paths are walking towards hellfire since they do not follow the right path. The right path is the path that everybody who walks it will approach God. One of the characteristics of the servants of God is to love God and God loves them. As the Prophet peace be upon him says: if God loves His servant, He will keep him or her from committing sin. I have mentioned this hadith in my other treatises and I hope that you can take much advantage from this. All the Gnostics agree and say: Sharī‘ah (Fiqh) without Hakekat is false (untrue) and Hakekat (Sufism) without Sharī‘ah is destitute (devoid) and incomplete. They also say: those who perform Sharī‘ah (Fiqh) without Sufism are deviating from the right path and those who perform Sufism without Sharī‘ah (Fiqh) are atheists, and those who perform both Sharī‘ah and Hakekat are on the right path. A prominent Sūfī, Sheikh Junayd al Baghdādī may God purify his soul says: Our path is bounded with the teachings of the Koran and the Hadith (prophetic tradition). Another Sūfī, Sheikh Muhammad ibnu Fadlullāhī Burhanpūrī may God purify his soul says: those who wish to approach and come to God should follow the teachings of the Prophet Muhammad peace be upon him both outwardly (Sharī‘ah) and inwardly (Sufism). All the gnostics (al-‘Ārif’ billāh) agree, saying that nobody can approach God except by following the Prophet Muhammad peace be upon him, the noblest creature, the most perfect in knowledge and the most perfect in worship. Therefore, we are commanded to follow him. The Prophet also says: I am the Lord of the children of Adam and others are under my flag (banner) in the Hereafter or doomsday.
Sheikah Rabī‘ah al Adawiyah may God purify her soul says in her prostrations: oh my Lord, I did not worship you for fear of your Hellfire nor did I hope for your paradise but I worship you sincerely only for you alone. Sheikah Rabī‘ah was one of the prominent Sūfis in her time. The Gnostic (al ārif billāh) knows nothing but the being of God because he or she lives in extinction in God (Fanā’) and is with Him. He or she is always with God, exists for God, is in God and is from God. God is the beginning of everything and the goal of everything since all commands are from Him and will go back to Him. He is the First, the Last, the Outward and the Inward. The Gnostic becomes the one who in whom the greatness of God appears because the Gnostic implements some of the characteristics of God and he or she becomes His vice-regent, commonly known as al Insān al Kāmil (The Perfect Man). It is said that the Sufī word is one of the names of God. In the hadith al-Qudsi, God says: the servant still always performs the optional worship to approach Me until I love him or her. If I love him or her, I will become his or her heart and everything. God also says: those who ask for Me will find Me. Those who find Me, I will love them, if I love them I will be with them. Those whom I love I make them die in Me. Those who die in Me, I have a debt to. Those who give a debt to Me, I will become their debt. If so, the servant is in the stage of the body and God is in the stage of the soul.


901 Ibid., 77.

902 Hadīth Qudsi is the hadith whose content is from God but uttered by the prophet Muhammad peace be upon him.
Nothing can move except with the will of God. It is through this example that God shows us that He is all encompassing; understand this. The Prophet peace be upon him says: He or She who knows himself or herself knows his or her God. Imam Abu Hāmid Al-Ghazalimay Allah purify his soul says: the meaning of the self here is the soul. Thus, the meaning of the Prophet’s saying that he or she who knows his or her soul knows his or her God is because the soul is the manager of the body and the thing that makes the body move. This soul is exists in the body and encompasses the whole body. The soul is with the whole body and not placed in a special part of the body. This is also the situation of God in relation to everything. He is the Manager of everything, He is the first Cause that makes everything move and He is the All-Encompassing. The example above is to show the similarity of the position of God over the whole of His creatures. Understand this and hope to gain the love of Gnosticism (Ma’rifah). The Prophet peace be upon him also says: the most gnostic among you is the one with most knowledge of yourself. Please understand that this is an example of the real knowledge of God and nobody knows it but the person most knowledgeable about God. The servant who arrives at the stage of

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903 Ibid. 77.
extinction (Fana’) becomes the secret of God as God becomes his or her secret. As God says in the hadīth al-Qudsī: Man is the secret and I am his secret that is ‘the Perfect Man’ (al-Insān al-Kāmil) not the minus man; and ‘the Perfect Man’ is above all humankind. Please understand this. Therefore, the main and the great goal of all these is that the servant goes back to his or her God outwardly and inwardly by his or her knowledge and acts. Allībnu Abī Thālib, May God bless him, says: the first stage of Sufism is to focus the goal on God only and the last stage is to equip the self with the noble characteristics of God. It is through this method that the body is the servant and the soul is the soul of God. This is the concept that God is manifested in everything.

It is clear from the two works of Yusuf al Maqassary cited above that Yusuf al Maqassary did not reject the concept of Wahdat al Wujūd (Unity of Being). He tries to explain this very difficult concept eloquently by giving simple allegorical examples. Furthermore, it is clear too that he mentions some important figures associated with Sufism and the concept of Wahdat al Wujūd such as Ibnu Arabi, Muhammad Ibnu Fadlullah al Burhanpurī, Junayd al Bahdadi and Imam Abu Hamid al-Ghazali. The first two mentioned are often associated with this concept, whereas the second two are associated with Sufism but not very much with the concept of Wahdat al Wujūd. Surprisingly, according to Yusuf al Maqassary in the text above, they did briefly discuss this concept.

In regard to this, Zakariyya al Ansari, one of the leading Sūfīs in the Malay Archipelago, also stresses the importance of four elements in approaching God: Tauḥīd (Oneness of God), Sharīah (Islamic Law, what he meant is Fīqh or Islamic jurisprudence) Tarekat (Muslim brotherhood association is Sufism), and Ma’rifah (Hakekat or knowing the Truth).904

904Titi Farhanah, Naskah Fath al Rahman bisharh Risālah al WAlī Rasūlān Penikiran Tasawuf Zakariyya al Anshārī (Suntingan Teks dan Terjemahan) (Jakarta: Thesis diajukan untuk melengkapi salah satu persyaratan untuk meraih gelar Magister Ilmu Agama Islam, Program bahasa
Conclusion

In the 16th century, South Sulawesi was a center of trade and economic activity. The various Islamic kingdoms (especially Makassar from where Yusuf al Maqassary originated played a great role in the development of Islam. *Sheikh* Yusuf al Maqassary’s works stress the importance of a good understanding of Islamic *Sharī‘ah* and Sufism. Yusuf al Maqassary’s concepts of *Jihād* and Sufism clearly show that both are integral parts of Islamic Law (*Sharī‘ah*). Sufism is the form and the way Muslims are advised to practice in order to be able to implement the Islamic *Sharī‘ah* both inwardly and outwardly. Since *Jihād* is often discussed in the *Fīqh* books on the outer aspects of Islamic Law, then Sufism as the inner part or aspect of Islamic law is also important. In this case, *Sheikh* Yusuf al Maqassary’s emphasises the importance of *Jihād*, both inward *Jihād* (*Jihād al-nafs* or fighting against the ego) and outward *Jihād* (*Jihād* in terms of war). *Sheikh* Yusuf al Maqassary’s leading role against Dutch colonization demonstrates the implementation of *Jihād* in terms of war when the Muslim community struggled against the Dutch.

*Sheikh* Yusuf al Maqassary set out to improve the condition of his society physically, by leading the resistance against Dutch colonization; and also spiritually by teaching and educating people to better understand their religion. Indeed all of these efforts were implementations of *Jihād* or struggling in the path of God. *Sheikh* Yusuf al Maqassary undertook *Jihād* in its broadest terms. After

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dan sastra Arab. Program Pascasarjana Institut Agama Islam Negri (IAIN) Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta, 2004), 186. For the original version of this text see, Zakariyya al Anshārī, *Fathurrahman bi syarh Risālah Wali Rasūl*, manuscript, no. A. 23 number 944 (Jakarta: Perpustakaan Nasional Republik Indonesia, no date).

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his exile from Banten to Cape Town, South Africa, *Sheikh* Yusuf al Maqassary was known as ‘Josep’ the nobleman from Macassar, a high-ranking spiritual and military leader for his community, and a dangerous enemy of the Dutch Company. Even after his death, he was respected and venerated by his followers in Cape Town.

The development of Islam in Cape Town can also be credited to the service of *Sheikh* Yusuf al Maqassary and his followers in propagating Islam through their teaching. It was the courage and diligence of early Muslim preachers that produced the development of Islam in Cape Town. The descendants of Yusuf and his followers carried all of these developments out, even up to the present day. It can be concluded that *Sheikh* Yusuf al Maqassary was indeed an influential person in the development of Islam in various areas including Java, Macassar, Banten, and the Archipelago as a whole, as well as Cape Town.

There are five key points in the works of *Sheikh* Yusuf al Maqassary that are worth mentioning here. Yusuf al Maqassary emphasizes the importance of *Tauhīd* (Oneness of God), *Sharī‘ah* (Islamic Law, what he meant is Fiqh or Islamic jurisprudence) *Tarekat* (Muslim brotherhood association is Sufism), *Ma‘rifah* (*Hakekat* or knowing the Truth) and *Wahdat al Wujūd*, all of which should be understood by Muslims. It is by knowing the concept of *Wahdat al Wujūd* and implementing the three concepts of *Sharī‘ah*, *Tarekat* and *Hakekah* that a Muslim hopes to be able to become the perfect man or *al-Insān al Kāmil*. In this case, Yusuf follows the ideas of Ibnu Arabi and Abdul Karim al Jiliin his explanation of the concept of *Wahdat al Wujūd* (Unity of Being). All the works of Yusuf al Maqassary represent the importance of the outer aspect of *Sharī‘ah*.
known as Islamic jurisprudence or *Fiqh* and the inner aspect of Islamic *Sharīʿah* known as Sufism. Yusuf al Maqassary’s thought is therefore a continuation of Islamic tradition since most of his ideas are in accord with the previous Sūfī masters whom he often mentioned in his works.

**CHAPTER VII**

**STUDIES ON JIHĀD, SHARĪʿAH AND SUFISM IN ISLAMIC MOVEMENT: THE CASE OF DAWUD AL FATANI**

*Introduction*

The southern part of Thailand has been known for its Muslim community. It is the area in Thailand where the majority of the Muslims community lives. Historically, this area is known for its glory in the ancient time as one of the centers of Islamic civilization and center of learning besides Aceh. The most popular figure was Dawud al Fatani. Dawud was a prominent Muslim scholar, known for his piety and his mastery on Islamic knowledge. Dawud wrote many treatises on Islamic teachings or *Sharīʿah* including the notion of *Jihād* in two aspects of *Sharīʿah* (Two aspects of *Sharīʿah* are the inner aspect known as Sufism and the outer aspect known as Islamic jurisprudence).

In conformity with the study of the chapter, therefore, it is important to know the early history of Patani as well as the history of Dawud al Fatani from its birth until he became the prominent Muslim scholar. It is also important to study the thought of Dawud al Fatani which has been perpetuated in his works, especially the notion of *Jihād in Sharīʿah*.

7.1. *The Early History of Patani*
It is believed that Patani was the successor of the ancient Malay kingdom of Langkasuka which was founded sometime in the first century AD. Although Langkasuka was considered one of the important commercial ports for Asian mariners, the kingdom gradually disappeared and was replaced by Patani when the major powers in the region, such as the Khmer in Cambodia, the Mon Empire of Pagan, and the Srivijaya Empire intervened. According to local traditions, the kingdom of Patani was established by Phya Tu Nakpa, originally from the town called Mahligai. Geographically, Patani was known as a major strategic locality and an influential seaport in Southeast Asia because of its location on the western trade routes. Patani became an entrepôt for both eastern and western traders such as Chinese, Indians, Europeans, and Japanese.

There are two important perspectives that should be taken into consideration in relation to the history of Muslims in Patani. The first is the external version and the second is the indigenous sources.

To begin with is a general overview based on the external versions, the accounts written by writers from outside Patani. This historical data deals with the establishment of the Muslim kingdom of Patani and its relations with the Thai Buddhist kingdom, the conflict between these two kingdoms and the subjugation of the Malay Patani kingdom to the Thai kingdom up to the present time. This


version also deals with the current situation - that is, the resurgence of the Muslims of Patani in the Southern part of Thailand and their claims for their rights and independence.\textsuperscript{1811}

The second perspective is the internal view which is based on indigenous sources describing the history of the Malay Patani kingdom. The indigenous sources are usually based on oral traditions and are recorded in narrative form. The local stories usually explain the name of a place based on events experienced by the ancestors of the contemporary population.\textsuperscript{1812}

7.2. Islam Comes to Patani.

The initial contact of Patani with Islam was undoubtedly a by-product of the Arab trade with China. Arab and Indian merchants had settled in the commercial centres of Patani by the end of the twelfth century, intermarrying with the indigenous people and forming the nucleus of a Muslim community. More than three centuries after Islam had spread into the area, the royal court of Patani was converted to Islam. The kingdom of Patani was officially declared to be an Islamic state in 1457.\textsuperscript{1813}

The adoption of Islam by the royal court of Patani was the result of several factors. The King of Patani was cured of an illness by a Muslim preacher, \textit{Sheikh} Said or Safiuddin from Aceh, who subsequently converted the ruler to Islam other

\textsuperscript{1811} Virginia Matheson and M.B. Hooker, \textit{Jawi literature in Patani: The maintenance of an Islamic Tradition} ( Kuala Lumpur: Journal of the Malaysian Branch Royal Asiatic society, 61 (1),1988 ), 6-8

\textsuperscript{1812} Ibid. 10-11.

\textsuperscript{1813} W.K.Che Man, 114. See also Teeuw and Wyatt, 1-2, Ibrahim Syukri, \textit{Sejarah Kerajaan Melayu Patani}, (Bangi: Penerbit University Kebangsaan Malaysia, 2002), 34.
likely motives were economic and political. For example, Islam provided a basis for claiming certain trading privileges with Gujarati, Arab, Persian and Turkish traders who controlled much of the commerce on the western trade routes during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The kingdom of Patani reached its peak when its territory included Terengganu, Kelantan, Patani, Singgora and Patalung between 1457 and 1729.  

Since the establishment of a Muslim sultanate, the kingdom of Patani seems to have experienced alternate periods of independence and Thai control. At the times when it was under Thai sovereignty, the sultans and sultanats were obliged to send the ‘Flowers of Gold’ (bunga emas) to the Thai court as tribute and a sign of loyalty. When the kingdom of Patani was strong, its leaders protested against their subservient status as a vassal state of the Thai kingdom, calling it unreasonable and intolerable. In time, however, the territorial division of Patani by Thailand resulted in weakening it, and gradually increasing its dependence on Bangkok. An administrative reorganization of the region at the beginning of the 17th century ultimately forced the local Malay Raja (‘king’) and the indigenous ruling elites to acknowledge Thai authority.  

7.3. A Brief History of Dawud al Fatani: An Attempt to Understand the Factors which influenced His Intellectual Development

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1814 Ibid., 114
1815 Zamberi Malik, 17.
1816 W.K.Che Man, 115.
The choice of Dawud al Fatani as the subject of a case study for this thesis is because Dawud al Fatani was the most famous and prolific writer among all of Patani’s scholars. Moreover his works became the foundation for the works of later scholars.  

7.3. a. Dawud’s Birth

There are disputes regarding the date of Dawud’s birth. If one refers to Anno Domini, it was in 1720, 1740 or 1749 AD. According to Wan Shagir Abdullah, the year 1720 is the most likely based on the writings of Haji Abdul Hāmid son of Abdul Qadir. If one makes an estimation of the year 1297 Hegira with the 166 years of Dawud’s age, based on the writing of Tuan Guru Haji Abdul Hāmid, the result will be 1131 H. This means that 1131 Hegira = 1718 AD was the year of the birth of Dawud al Fatani. The year 1131 is only two years different from the year 1133 H/1720 A.D. According to Professor Azra, Dawud was born in 1153 H./1740 AD. He refers to his complete name as Dawud bin Abdullah bin Idris al Jawi al Fatani al Malayui. He was better known as Sheikh Dawud Patani. He was born in a village named Parik Marhum near the

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1817 Virginia Matheson and M.B. Hooker, 19.


1819 Ibid., 3.

1820 Azyumardi Azra, The origins of Islamic Reformism in Southeast Asia, networks of Malay Indonesian and Middle Eastern Ulama in The Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries ( Australia and Honolulu: Asian studies Association of Australia in association with Allen & Unwin and University of Hawai’ii Press, Honolulu, 2004 ) , 123. Apart from the controversy of the year of the birth of Dawud, Azra’s opinion is worth to be taken into account.
village of Kerisek (Kampung Kerisek) about seven kilometers from the southern side of the seaport of present-day Patani.\footnote{Ahmad Fathy al Fatani, \textit{Ulama Besar dari Patani} (Bangi, Kuala Lumpur: University Kebangsaan Malaysia, 2002), 25. See also Azra, 124. In relation to the place called Kerisik which is said to be located in the old harbour of Patani, Azra quotes Wan Shagir Abdullah without giving any comment on this. Therefore, this opinion can be accepted for the time being until more valid data is discovered.}

7.3. b. **Dawud’s Education**

According to Professor Azra, Dawud received his first education from his father. He may have continued his education in Aceh before going to the Haramayn. In the Haramayn he studied in the circle of Malay students known as \textit{Ashāb al Jāwī}; he was probably then in his 20s.\footnote{Azyumardi Azra, 124-125.} The teachers recorded as Dawud’s teachers were Isa bin Ahmad bin Isa bin Muhammad al Zubayr al Shafi’i al Qahiri al Azhari, also known as al-Barrawi, an expert in legal \textit{hadīth} and the schools of Islamic law; the second was al-Sharqawi, the \textit{Sheikh} of Azhar University in Cairo; then Muhammad bin Ali al Shanwani (d.1233/1818), Muhammad As’ad; Ahmad al Marzuqi; and Ibrahim al Ra’is.\footnote{Ibid., 125.} Dawud was then initiated into the \textit{Shattariyah} Order under the guidance of Muhammad As’ad al Makki whose scholarly lineage (\textit{silsilah}) was related to Said bin Tahir, Ibrahim Kurani, Ahmad Qushashi, Ahmad Shinnawi and Shibghat Allah.\footnote{Ibid., 126. Since Professor Azra has clearly discussed the study of the networks of the Ulama, this writing will not repeat it at length. This brief information on Dawud’s education is only provided as introduction to Dawud’s work.}

All in all it can be said that Dawud al Fatani studied various branches of Islamic knowledge under various experts in these fields. It is important to mention the names of his teachers in order to observe their significant impact on
Dawud’s intellectual development. All of his teachers contributed much to Dawud’s intellectual development, and their influence can be seen in his works.

The significant influence of various teachers on Dawud’s thought can be observed in his works, which attach importance to both the outer aspect of Sharī‘ah (Islamic jurisprudence or Fiqh) and the inner aspect of Sharī‘ah (Islamic Sufism or tasawwuf). Therefore, Dawud’s thought, like that of his teachers, was very open-minded, very moderate. This was because his thought was based on the needs of people - who need both the outer aspect of Sharī‘ah which is reflected in the applied law for their daily needs, and the inner aspect of Sharī‘ah which is reflected in the exercise of the soul to gain satisfaction in their spiritual life. It is worth bearing in mind that although Dawud studied many kinds of tarekat just like Yusuf al Maqassary did, like his teacher Ahmad Qushashi, Dawud chose the Shattariyyah Order. The genealogies of Dawud’s and Yusuf al Maqassary’s teachers meet at Ahmad Qushashi and Ibrahim Kurani.

In connection with the death of Dawud, it is worth noting that there is no exact date recorded. Some claim that Dawud reached 80 years of age, while others claim he lived for 200 years. Some say that he reached 166 years of age in the year 1879.\textsuperscript{1825}

7.3. c. Dawud’s Return to Patani for Jihād

There are at least two opinions about whether Dawud returned to his home country or remained in Mecca. One opinion claims that he never returned to

\textsuperscript{1825} Ibid., 41.
Patani: instead he sent all of his writings on *Jihād* to Patani to inspire his people to resist against the Thais.\(^{1826}\)

The second opinion is that of Shagir and is based on oral sources which claim that Dawud al Fatani returned to Patani to lead a *Jihād* in the path of God against the Thais. In relation to *Jihād* in terms of waging war, this opinion claims that Dawud undertook *Jihād* together with *Sheikh* Abdussamad Al-Palembani. Abdussamad Al-Palembani was also considered to be an important figure in encouraging *Jihād* in terms of war against the Thais.\(^{1827}\) It is important to note that Abdussamad Palembānī wrote a special treatise on *Jihād* encouraging the Muslim people to fight against the oppressors since to defend oneself and one’s religion from oppression and onslaught obliges Muslims to undertake *Jihād* according to Islam.\(^{1828}\) Shagir mentions two of Dawud’s works which contain the explanation of *Jihād* in terms of war. However, this thesis argues that there are more than two works by Dawud on *Jihād* in terms of war. This will be shown below.\(^{1829}\)

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1826 Azyumardi Azra, 126.

1827 Hj Wan Mohd. Shāgir Abdullāh, 8-12. This opinion has no strong evidence as the information often used is based on the oral tradition of the local people. Further details please see Azra who says that the concern of Dawud al Fatani and Abdussamad Palimbani to their home lands that they encourage the people to wage Jihad in terms of war although both spent most of their lives in Harāmayn and even died in Harāmayn, 140.

1828 Further explanation about *Jihād* in terms of waging war when needed, see the work of Abdus Samad Palembānī, *Nasīhatul Muslimīn wa tazkīratul mu'mīnīn fī fadālātīl Jihād fī sAbīlillāh*, Manuscript No.CCXV, Feb. 1880, A.209 (Jakarta: Perpustakaan Nasional Republik Indonesia, no date). The catalogization of this text can be found from the major catalog on Naskah Nusantara, Vol. 4 (Jakarta: Perpustakaan Nasional Republik Indonesia, Jakarta and Yayasan Obor Indonesia with the cooperation with Ecole Francaise, Jakarta, 1998).

1829 Ibid., 12. Shagir mentions two of Dawud works containing the explanation of Jihad in terms of war. However, this thesis shows that the Dawud works on *Jihād* in terms of war are more than two works as can be observed in this thesis in studies of his works.
The role of Dawud al Fatani in developing Islamic thought is very significant. Dawud’s role and position in comparison with the younger generation of Muslim scholars from Patani (such as Muhammad Zain), was more modern. Dawud was in essence considered as ‘a medieval man’.  

7.4. Dawud Writings Preserved and Analysed in Various Forms: Manuscripts, Published Books, Transliterated Texts, Published and Unpublished Theses

The notion of Jihād in this thesis is actually an extension and elaboration of a small section written by Professor Azra about Jihād and the radical course of reformism in relation with Sufism. In this section, Professor Azra then gives some examples from the Jihād movements of the Malays against the Thais and the Dutch.

Dawud al Fatani was a prolific writer. He wrote on numerous fields of Islamic knowledge. The works of Dawud are many and cover many aspects of Islamic Sharī’ah such as Islamic jurisprudence, Islamic Sufism, stories from the Qur’ān, the principles of religion (aqāid), prophetic traditions (hadīth), and Islamic exegesis (tafsīr). Virginia Matheson and M. B. Hooker mention 40 works by Dawud. Hj. Wan Mohd. Shagir Abdullah says that the works of Dawud number 131; but only 66 of these 131 manuscripts are considered to be the works of Dawud. Other opinions claim the works of Dawud to total 99 or 101 pieces.


1831 Azyumardi Azra, 139-147.

with the possibility that other works by Dawud have survived but are as yet unknown.  

Due to the plethora of Dawud’s works, this study has to select a few of Dawud’s works that discuss aspects of Jihād, Sharī’ah and Sufism. This study tries to discuss some of Dawud’s works which at least cover some important aspects of Islam: those that focus on Jihād, Sharī’ah or Islamic law, and Islamic Sufism. Since most of Dawud’s works have been published in the form of books, this thesis uses some works that have been published in Arabic or Malay Arabic (Jawi - the Malay language written in Arabic script) as well as some works that have been transliterated into Roman script. As the focus of this chapter is to show that Dawud’s works are very comprehensive on the subject of Jihād, either inner Jihād or outer Jihād, Sharī’ah and Sufism, this chapter will clearly explain how those works are intertwined with these three concepts in Islam.

Before continuing to explain the contents of Dawud’s works, it is necessary to refresh our understanding of Sharī’ah. Since Sharī’ah refers to the teachings that God revealed in the Qur’ān which function as the way of life of the Muslim people, thus Sharī’ah includes many aspects of life such as the laws regarding daily life, moral teachings, the principles of religion, modes of worship and all the commands and prohibitions that God legislated in the Qur’ān and explained in the prophetic sayings or hadīth. 

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1834 Abdullah al-Bustani al-Lebanoni, al-Bustān mā Huwa Mu’jam Lughawī, Vol. one of two vols, ( Bairut: al-Maktabah al-Amirikaniyyah, 1967 ) , 1315. See also Sayyid Abul Ala al-Maududi, Towards Understanding Islam, translated and edited into English version from Urdu by Khursid Ahmad, ( Lahore: Islamic Publication, Limited, Shah Alam, Market 1960 ) , 152-153. This definition is just like many other definitions from Islamic scholars which is also in parallel with Dawud’s definition about Sharī’ah which is explained in this chapter. Further detailed about Islamic Sharī’ah, see Chapter III of this thesis on Sharī’ah.
First of all we will briefly explain the contents of the works. After giving a brief explanation of the contents of each work, this chapter will show why all of Dawud’s works are part of Sharī’ah. Therefore, from the works that will be explained below, readers can see the relation among the concepts of Jihād Sharī’ah and Sufism. The analysis of the concepts of Jihād, Sharī’ah and Sufism and of their interrelation will be discussed afterwards. Since Sharī’ah consists of all the teachings of Islam ranging from moral teachings from history, applied Islamic jurisprudence, praying, the creed, the attributes of God, and so on; in order to offer a clear explanation, Dawud’s works and their explanations will be listed below. It is worth noting here that although there are some works that have not been listed here, these 29 (twenty-nine) works strongly represent the ideas of Dawud, particularly on Jihād, Sharī’ah and Sufism. It is for this reason that this chapter mentions and explains the works of Dawud.

To help make it easy for readers to understand the categories of the concepts studied in this thesis - e.g. Jihād, Sharī’ah and Sufism, this chapter also gives a table that shows the content of the books and the categories of each book.

Examples of the work one of the works by Dawud is as follow:

1. Al Bahjat al Saniiyah fī al Aqā’id al Saniiyah

(‘The Exalted Magnificence in the High Religious Creed’)

This book discusses the oneness of God and His characteristics, and how God sent His Prophet to teach His messages. This book also explains that God sent several prophets before Muhammad, including Ādam, Idrīs, Nūh, Hūd, Shālih, Ibrahim etc.1835 Dawud mentions the angels and their characteristics.1836 He also

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1835 Dawud al Fatani, Al Bahjat al Saniiyah fī al Aqā’id al Saniiyah, (İstanbul Türk: Matba’ah Dar al Khilafah al ‘Alamiyah, 1306 Hegira). This work is published on the effort of
talks about the books of revelation before the Qur’ān, such as Taurat, Zabur, the Bible and the Shuhuf or pages from Abraham. Then he talks about the importance of the Oneness of God, and the prophethood of Muhammad and the command to believe him. At the end of this work, Dawud explains that the subject matter that he discusses in this book constitutes the basic foundation for ordinary Muslim people, known in Arabic as ‘awām.

This book is relevant to this study, because to understand the basic principles of the creed of Islam is part of Sharī‘ah. To understand these concepts, Muslims are strongly encouraged to make their best effort or do Jihād in general terms that is to exert the best effort in the path of God for the sake of God. To understand these concepts, Muslims should spend their time, energy and even their money. For example to study these concepts Muslims need money to buy books; to study Muslims also need food and water to fuel their energy. Without sacrificing their time, energy and money they will never arrive at a good understanding of their religion.

Therefore the further works of Dawud listed below are part of Sharī‘ah, Sufism or Jihād in general terms as has been explained above. In order not to be

Ahmad al Fatani, edited by Ahmad al Fatani. This work is compiled together with other works of Dawud al Fatani by Hj. Wan Mohd. Shagir Abdullah, koleksi karya Sheikh Dawud bin Abdullah al Fatani, Bahagian Pertama Koleksi Nadir No.I, KN.I ( Kuala Lumpur: Khazanah Fataniyyah 1987), 1-12. This book is actually a translation and explanation of the Tahsīlu Nailīl Marām, written by Ahmad Marzuki, from Arabic language to the Malay language with the original Arabic text. The explanation is in Malay Arabic text to make it easier for readers who do not understand Arabic.

1836 Ibid., 12-13.
1837 Ibid., 13-14
1838 Ibid., 14-15.
1839 Ibid., 15-20.
trapped into repetitive explanations, the reason why the work is relevant to the study will be mentioned as part of Jihād or Sharī‘ah or Sufism for example.

2. *Kitāb Sifat Dua Puluh*

(‘The Book about the Twenty Characteristics of God’)

This book discusses the Oneness of God and His characteristics. The 20 characteristics of God are discussed in this work. These include:

*Wujūd* (Existence)

*Qidam* (The First)

*Baqā* (The Eternal)

*Mukhālafatu lilhawāditsi* (He is not the same as the creature; The Creator is different from the created)

*Qiyāmuhu binafsihi* (He stands alone without any help from others)

*Wahdāniyyat* (He is Alone; the only one)

*Qudrat* (He has the power to do anything)

*Irādat* (He has the will)

*Sama‘* (Hearing)

*Basher* (Seeing)

*Kalām* (Speaking)

*Hayyun* (Life)

‘Ālimun (The Knower)

*Qadir* (The One who is Capable)

*Murīdun* (He who wants)

*Samī‘un* (He who has the most hearing)

*Basīrūn* (He who has the most seeing)
Mutakalimun (He who speaks)\textsuperscript{1840}

This work is a branch of the foundation of religion (in Arabic: Usūl al-dīn); thus it is part of Sharī'ah.

3. \textit{Dhiyā' ul Lum'ah fi shalātīt Zhuhri ba'dal Jum'ah}\textsuperscript{1841}

(‘Shimmering Light on the Noon Prayer after the Jum’a Prayer’)

This treatise discusses many aspects of Zuhr or the noon prayer on Friday. Since the Friday prayer is already obligatory, this treatise discusses whether the usual Zuhr prayer must still be done after the Friday prayer.\textsuperscript{1841} According to this treatise, Muslims do not have to perform the Zuhr prayer if they have performed the Jum’at (Friday) prayer. This work is part of Islamic Jurisprudence or Fīqh, and Islamic jurisprudence is the outer aspect of Islamic Sharī'ah.

4. \textit{Risālatul Masāil}\textsuperscript{1842}

(‘The Treatise of the Problems’)

This treatise discusses the importance of undertaking the Friday prayer, and the requirements necessary during the Friday prayer.\textsuperscript{1842} This is different from Number Three above, because this is an ordinary explanation of the importance of

\textsuperscript{1840} Dawud al Fatani, \textit{Sifat Dua Puluh}, ( Bombay India: al Mathba’ah al Muhammadiyyah, 1318 Hegira ) , 1-32 in Hj. Wan Mohd. Shagīr Abdullah, Ibid., 26-58. The explanation about the publisher of this treatise is not in the first page of the treatise but in the end of the treatise. In his brief explanation, Shagīr Abdullah says that Ahmad Muhammad Zain al Fatani did not acknowledge that this work is the work of Dawud, see 8, from the Latin introduction. Note: This compilation is briefly introduced by Shagīr in Latin version and is read from the left as the common book. However, the Arabic and the Malay Arabic standard which is written and read from the right to the left. Therefore, the pages being quoted, follow the standard Arabic when they refer to the original texts and follow latin standard when they refer to the brief introduction from the compiler, Hj. Wan Mohd. Shagīr Abdullah.

\textsuperscript{1841} Dawud al Fatani, \textit{Dhiyā’ ul Lum’ah fi Shalātīt Zhuhri ba’dal Jum’ah} in Hj. Wan Mohd. Shagīr Abdullah, Ibid., 60-74.

\textsuperscript{1842} Dawud al Fatani, \textit{Dhiya’ ul Lum’ah fi shalatīt Zhur ba’dal Jum’ah}, in Hj. Wan Mohd. Shagīr Abdullah, Ibid. 77-83. In his brief explanation, Shagīr Abdullah says that this manuscript is not published. This manuscript is copy from the manuscripts collection of Muhammad Abdullah who got it from Tuan Guru Haji Umar from Sungai Keladi Kelantan.
performing the Friday prayer for male Muslims whereas Number Three discusses whether those who have done the Friday prayer still have the obligation to perform the Zuhr prayer. This study is part of Islamic Jurisprudence or Fīqh (The outer aspect of Sharī‘ah).

5. *Perhubungan Bughyatul Thullāb*

(‘The Relations of the Object of Desire of the Students’)

This short treatise is about Islamic jurisprudence (*Fīqh*). However, it does not cover many aspects of Islamic jurisprudence but focuses on the slaughter of animals (i.e. which are permitted and which are forbidden).\(^{1843}\) This study is part of Islamic Jurisprudence or *Fīqh* (The outer aspect of *Sharī‘ah*).

6. *Ilmu Tasawwuf al Manhalusshāffī fī bayāni rumūzi ahli sshūfī*

(‘On Sufism: The Pure Source of Water for the Explanation of the Symbols of the Sūfis’)

This text explains the importance of Sūfī teachings to understanding God. It contains not only the basic teachings of Sufism but also the advanced teachings of Sufism in a brief and concise way. The first explanation deals with the importance of knowing the Oneness of God and His character before reaching Him by *Jihād* - in terms of Sufism this is understood as fighting the ego. In Arabic, the term for this is widely known as *Mujāhadatunnafs*.*\(^{1844}\)

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\(^{1843}\) Dawud al Fatani, *Perhubungan Bughyatul Thullāb* in Hj. Wan Mohd. Shagīr Abdullah, *Ibid.*, 88-132. In his brief introduction, Shagīr says that this treatise is never being printed. The copy of this writing is from Haji Mahmūd bin Muhammad Yusuf of Terengganu. In the end of this treatise it is written that this treatise is rewritten in Makka on Sunday 5 of the Rabītu’s Sānī (Islamic month) 1277 Hegira. Many of the writings of Dawud especially which are found in the unpublished manuscripts are given the date and the year based on Islamic calendar not according to the A.D. system.

\(^{1844}\) Dawud al Fatani, *al Manhalusshāffī fī bayāni rumūzi ahli sshūfī*, Maktabah wa Matba’ah Muhammad al Nahdi wa Aulāduhu, no date and no place mentioned. In the manuscript MSS 460, Perpustakaan Negara Malaysia, Kuala Lumpur Malaysia, written *Minhāil as Sāfī fī Bayān Ramz min Ahl Sāfī*, karya asal disusun oleh Dawud bin Abdullah Fatani (37) ff., 2110. 28.
This treatise discusses the importance of Sufism, particularly philosophical Sufism. Before discussing philosophical Sufism, Dawud says:

Ketahui hai saudaraku yang diberi petunjuk!. Bahawa diterangkan oleh Allah akan hatiku dan hati kamu dengan punya nur iman dan tauhid. Bahawasanya adalah bagi segala kaum penghulu Ahlsh Shufī itu mempunyai beberapa “istilah” mereka itu, yang tiada mengetahui akan dia melainkan ahlinya. Maka tiada harus bagi yang bukan ahlinya mutalā‘ah akan segala kitab mereka itu. Karena tiada mengetahui kehendaknya atas zahir perkataan mereka itu membawa kepada kufur. Sebab itulah diharamkan mutalā‘ah segala kitab mereka itu bagi yang bukan ahlinya.1846

Please be informed oh my brothers who have the guidance. That God (Allah) lightens your hearth and mine with the light of belief and creed. Bear in mind that all the Sūfī masters have their own terms that cannot be understood but by the masters. Thus, those who do not understand are not supposed to read their books. This is because if they do not know the essence of the outer words of the Sufī master this will make them become unbelievers. Therefore, for those who do not understand, they are banned from reading their books.1847

Dawud then quotes Ibnu Arabi as having said:

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8x18. 8 cm (lengkap). See also the two versions of this text, the Arabic Jawi script and the Latin transliteration with the introduction of this text by Shagīr Hj. Wan Mohd. Shagīr Abdullah, Mankālus Shāfī Syeikh Dawud bin Abdullah Fatani membicarakan Rumus Shafi dan Istilah istilah Tasawwuf, Khazanah Fataniyah bekerjasama Imatera Publishers Sdn Bhd, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia 1992. Detailed explanation about this treatise see, Faudzi Naim Badaruddin, Mankālus Shāfī by Sheikh Dawud bin Abdullah Fatani as a specimen of Malay Kitāb Literature of 18-19 cc. Text, Translation and Analysis, unpublished PhD thesis, School of Oriental and African Studies university of London, 1998. In his research, Naim used several versions of the texts. However, in attaching the text of the manuscript in his thesis, Naim chooses what he considers the most representative one, See Faudzi Naim Badaruddin, Ibid. 162-206.


1846 Ibid., 22.

1847 Unless otherwise noted, all translations into English including the title of the works of Dawud and other writings cited are my own.
We are the people who ban those who do not understand our knowledge from reading our books.

Dawud goes on to say:

It is therefore we do not take all of their remarks easily; that is that we do not decline their words since their words are based on the inspiration from God (Allah). This is because most of their books contain words that need much explanation (mushtabihat), therefore, those who know the outer aspects of the words only (ahluz zahir) will not understand them. Outwardly the words deviate from shari’ah, but in essence they are not contradictory to the inner side of shari’ah. Thus, the students who do not understand those words must leave the meaning of the words to the Sufi masters.

In this treatise, Dawud also discusses the seven grades (Martabat Tujuh).

Dawud says:

Ketahuilah olehmu bahwasanya adalah haq bagi Allah Swt itu beberapa martabat:

Pertama: Ahadiyah, maka iaitu martabat lâ ta’ayyun, yakni kunhi zatNya.

Kedua: Wahdah, dinamakan ia ta’ayyun tsâinh yaitu ibarat ta’alluq (melekatnya) ilmunya ajab zatNya dab segaka sifatNya dab segala yang maujudat (yang ada) atas jalan tafshîl, dan perceraian dinamakan al Haqiqah al Insâniyyah.

Maka ketiga martabat tersebut disebut martabat ketuhanan.

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1848 Ibid., 22.
1849 Ibid., 23.
Keempat: Daripada "Martabat wujūdiyah." Martabat 'Ālam Arwāh yaitu alam nyawa.
Kelima: Martabat 'ālam Mitsāl, yang dinamakan dia 'Ālam Khayāl’ yang terbit dari hadapan otak’.

Please bear in your mind that it is the right of God to have several grades. The first grade is Oneness - Unity (Arabic: Ahadiyya), that is the grade of no specification or particularization (Arabic: Lata’ayyun), that His essence is being.

The second grade is Oneness or Unity. It is called the second grade of no specification or particularization (Arabic La ta’ayyun). It is in comparison like His knowledge that is sticked with His essence, with His characteristics and all that is being in detail. And the the split is called the essence of Humankind. Those three grades are called ‘the grade of Divinity’.

The fourth grade of the grade of Oneness is ‘the grade of the world of soul or spirit’.

The fifth is the grade of the world of imagination which is produced in front of the mind.

The sixth is the world of bodies, the touchables which are created from the four substances, Fīre, Wind, Water and Soil. These produce inorganic bodies, plants, animals and human beings which also include Jin.

The seventh is the whole grade for all the grades from ‘the world of Body (Touchable)’ and ‘the world of Imagination’ as well as the grade of Oneness which has existed from time immemorial, and new grade that is the grade of soul or spirit and the grade that compiles the grade of the first Oneness and the second Oneness which is called the last

1850 Ibid., 23-38. Dawud concept of this is based on the concept of Fadlullāh al-Burhanpūrī, as in this treatise Dawud mention that he quotes from Burhanpuri in Tuhfatul Mursalah, see, 67. Further detailed about this, see 20- 84.
appearance (Arabic: Tajallî) which is also called the grade of the Perfect Man (Arabic: Martabat Insān yang kāmil).

7. *Nahjur Râghibîn wa Sabîlul Muttaqîn.*

(‘The Method of those Desirous in Searching for God and the Path of the Pious Ones’)

This treatise discusses Islamic jurisprudence, and limits its discussion to the problem of trade in Islam. This treatise is also relevant to this study since trade in Islam is part of the study of Islamic jurisprudence or Fîqh which means that it is part of Sharî‘ah. This is to show that the work of Dawud covers all aspects of Islamic teachings or Sharî‘ah.

8. *Farâidul Fawâ’id al Fîkrî fî al Imam al Mahdî.*

(‘The Beneficial Thoughts on Obligations in the Discussion of the Messiah’)

The contents of this treatise are some Prophet’s sayings about the coming of the Messiah (Imam al Mahdî) at the end of time. This treatise becomes relevant to mention in this study because to believe in the coming of the Messiah on the last day is part of Islamic teaching or Sharî‘ah.


(‘The Rose Blossom Showing the Words of the Joining Jewels’)

This treatise is considered the biggest treatise of Dawud Fatani on the divine sciences (usul al-din) and includes a little bit about Sufism, especially about the Tarekat Shattariyyah that he followed. It covers many aspects of the Islamic sciences.

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sciences such as the Oneness of God (tauhūd), Qur’anic exegesis (Tafsīr), the explanation of the prophetic tradition, Islamic jurisprudence, a comparison of the varieties of Islamic jurisprudence, and Islamic political science.\(^{1853}\)

10. *Hidāyatul Muta’allim wa ‘Umdatul Muallim*.

(‘The Guidance of the Student and the Support of the Teacher’)

This book is about the principles of religion (*Aqā‘id*), Islamic jurisprudence (*Fiqh*), and some branches of Islamic law. The treatise discusses the importance of the testimony that there is no god but Allah, and the rules of Islamic jurisprudence or *Fiqh* such as purifying oneself before praying, daily prayer, paying alms, trading, marriage, fasting, undertaking the pilgrimage, and about *Jihād* or fighting in the path of Allah. Dawud explains *Jihād fi Sabīlillāh* in terms of Islamic jurisprudence or *Fiqh*, that is, *Jihād* in terms of war. For example Dawud says:

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\text{Ini suatu kitab pada menyatakan Jihād Sabīlillah. Bermula Jihād itu kemudian daripada hijrah ya’ni berpindah nabi SAW daripada Makkah ke Madīnah. Dan kuffar itu bahagi mereka itu atas dua bahagi. (Pertama) adalah mereka itu dinegrinya maka wajiblah atas imam atau lainnya memerangkan mereka itu pada setiap tiap tahun sekali fardu kifayah. Apabila mengerjakan dia orang yang ada padanya gugurlah ia daripadanya dan orang lain. (Dawud lalu menerangkan tentang macam macam fardu kifayah, seperti menuntut ilmu). Kemudian Dawud melanjutkan: Dan hanya sungguhnya wajib Jihād itu atas orang Islam yang laki laki, merdeka lagi kuasa baginya, maka tiada wajib Jihād atas sahaya dan atas kanak kanak dan perempuan dan khuntsa (banci/ waria) dan tiada pula orang yang tiada kuasa seperti orang sakit dan orang tiada mempunyai belanja. (Dan haram) musafīr, orang kaya yang berutang dengan tiada izin empunya utang.}\(^{1854}\)


This is a chapter to discuss the problem of *Jihād* (in terms of war) in the path of God. The first legislation of *Jihād* was after the migration of the Prophet that is the migration of the Prophet from Mecca to Medina. And the unbelievers are divided into two. (The) first are those living in their own countries, and then it is the obligation of the Muslim leaders to fight against them once in every year as a communal obligation (*fardu kifayah*). If some Muslims do this obligation, there is no obligation any more for the rest of the Muslims. Dawud then explains some examples of communal *Jihād*. One is to search for knowledge. Dawud goes on to speak of those who are obliged to wage *Jihād* in terms of war: And the obligation of waging *Jihād* is for Muslim men, free people who can afford to do that. Thus this obligation is not required of slaves, children, women, transvestite homosexuals and the disabled such as the sick and the poor (the have-nots). This obligation is not required of those in debt without the permission of those who lent them money.

It is important to note in this paragraph that what Dawud means by the first part of the unbelievers being in their own countries does not mean that Muslims should attack them without any reason. The reasons are if they are against the Muslims and doing harm to Muslim people. Dawud continues:

And for the second, if they come to our country (i.e. attack our country), thus it is the obligation of the Muslim people to fight back against them, either the Muslim people are ready or not ready for that. If we know that if they capture Muslims and kill the hostages or let the hostages live surely the hostages still are not saved. This obligation is also required for those who are not far from the country that is at war, meaning that neighbouring Muslim countries are

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1855 Ibid., 300. Further about this, see 300-304. In parallel with this, another book of Islamic jurisprudence which has been used in the Malay World which has the same tone with Dawud is Zainuddin’s work, *Fathul Muin*. See Zainuddin Ibnu Abdil Aziz al Malibari, *Fathul Muin* (Singopore, Jeddah, and Indonesia: al Haramayn, no date), 133 – 136.
supposed to come to the countries which are at war to help them to fight against the aggressors.

The two paragraphs above explain the importance of waging war (Jihād) in terms of waging war when the enemies attack the country. Those paragraphs also mention in detail those who are obliged to do this duty. It is short and clear explanation from Dawud on Jihād in Islamic jurisprudence. The short treatise above is like many other Dawud treatises on Jihād in terms of war: that is he says that Muslims can wage Jihād for the purpose of self defense. Many other treatises on Jihād in terms of war are available in some of his works such as Fathul Minan tarjamah lishafwatizzubad liwaliyyillāhi Ahmad Ibn Raslan al-Dimashqi (‘The Opening of Grace: the Translation of the Book of the Best Choices of the Pure Milk’) by the friend of God Ahmad Ibn Raslān of Damascus in Furū’ul Masā’il and Sullamul Mubtadi fi ma’rifati tharīqil Mubtadi. Hidāyatul Muta’allim wa ‘Umdatul Mu’allim (‘The Guidance of the Student and the Support of the Teacher’). It is important to note the first part of Dawud’s statement in relation to the unbelievers being in their own countries that Muslims should fight only against those who are hostile to Muslims and do harm. This is in accord with the condition when the country is at war according to the Shafī’i School.1856

This book then discusses the teachings of Sufism, such as how to undertake Jihād in terms of fighting the ego (Mujāhadah al Nafs) and how to be able to reach God through the exercises in order to become the perfect man (al Insān al-Kāmil). This book concludes with various stories of miracles given by Allah to

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his pious servants (saints) for their piety and sincere devotion to God and his messenger. In relation to this study, Dawud says:

In this chapter, Dawud discusses the foundation of the path to reach God. At the beginning, the foundation of this path, as the expert in the knowledge of God, my master sheikh Ahmad al-Zarūq may God be pleased with him says: The foundation of our path to reach God is five keys, the first is to be pious to God either when a person is alone or when a person is with people. The second is to follow the tradition of the Prophet in his words and deeds, and the third is to turn out from the creatures (what Dawud means by ‘turn out’ is that the person does not hope for people in their lives but hopes God will help them), and the fourth is to be pleased with what God has given, either little or much. (What Dawud means by this is that the person should thank God for what God has given regardless of whether it is little or much, so that the person becomes the most thankful person before God). And the fifth is to love Allah only. This loving can be shown in wara’ or keeping oneself from bad words and deeds, with istiqāmah (consistency) in worship, and realizing the prophetic traditions by keeping the words and the deeds. To realize the meaning of turning out from the people in hope is to be patient and to leave everything in God’s hands after making one’s best effort.

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1857 Ibid., 349.

1858 These are five important keys of Sufism explained by Dawud for those who want to be a good Muslim. See Dawud al Fatani, 300. Further about this, see 349-351.
This act can be seen in the manner in which a person is satisfied enough or thankful with what God has given and renders all the results of what he or she has done to God with worship and thankfulness. This means that the person always thanks God and returns to God when having trouble in this life.

These five key points, piety, following the example of the Prophet’s life, placing hope only in Allah, satisfaction and loving Allah only, are very significant for those who walk in the path of God; because these five key points are representative of the obligations of Islam. These five key points suggest that those who walk in the path of God are supposed to perform all the obligations of Islam, such as doing what Allah has commanded through His prophet and following the teachings of the Prophet outwardly. Furthermore, these five key points stress the importance of a noble character in doing all of these in life. The five key points above also teach people to fight against their bad characteristics or ego. It is by performing all the outward obligations and observing the intention to be pure only for God that people will reach God. These are the basic principles of Sufism that Dawud explains in this treatise.

In his writings, Dawud shows that Jihād is of two kinds, that from the juristic point of view and that of the Sūfīs. Therefore since he mastered both Islamic jurisprudence and Sufism, his explanation of Jihād from both sides can be observed clearly in his works. When he discusses Jihād in Islamic jurisprudence or Fiqh, Jihād becomes waging war; whereas when he discusses Jihād in Sufism, it becomes fighting the ego. Therefore, both sidea are integrated in the whole of Dawud’s thought on understanding Sharī'ah. This is the closest understanding of Sharī'ah since Sharī'ah consists of an outer aspect (Islamic jurisprudence or Fiqh) and an inner aspect (Islamic Sufism). To neglect one or the other aspect of Jihād indicates an incomplete knowledge of Sharī'ah.

(‘The Opening of the Grace: A Translation of the Book of the Best Choices of the Pure Milk by the Friend of God, Ahmad Ibnu Raslan of Damascus’)

This book is a translation and explanation of the book *Shafwatuz Zubad* written by Ahmad Raslān of Damascus. Dawud translated it from Arabic to Malay so that Malay speakers who did not know Arabic could understand it. In this book Dawud retains the original text in Arabic, and provides an explanation sentence by sentence and sometimes paragraph by paragraph. This book consists of explanations of the origin of knowledge about God, and of the principles of religion (*usūl al dīn*) as the basic belief for Muslims. Therefore, the testimony that there is no god but Allah, and that Muhammad is the servant and messenger of Allah, becomes the first important principle of Islamic religion (*aqidah*). This book goes on to discuss the essence of life and death, and the spirit as well as the characteristics of God and the importance of the position of the Prophet. Also discussed is the problem of Islamic jurisprudence (*fīqh*). The book begins by mentioning the importance of the position of such famous scholars in the Islamic world as Shafi’īMālikī, Hanafi and HanbAlīi (according to Sunni tradition). According to Dawud, Shafi’i occupies the highest position among the three scholars. Dawud goes on to discuss matters of the spirit (*ruh*) and the importance of knowledge.

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1860 Ibid., 38-52.

1861 Ibid., 53-58.
In Dawud’s discussion of Islamic jurisprudence (Fiqh) in this book, he discusses some problems such as purifying oneself before prayers and its problems, the system of trading and its problems, marriage and its problems, crime and its problems, children and their problems etc. At the end of this writing, Dawud explains the importance of Sufism as the knowledge of the heart. Sufism (inner Islamic law) is also very important as the complement of the outer Islamic law which is called Islamic jurisprudence (Fiqh). This book also reminds all Muslims of the importance of being a pious Muslim by surrendering to God and the Prophet’s will; that is, by undertaking all of the teachings of Islam. This book ends with praise for the Prophet Muhammad and the reminder from the Qur’an to be pious Muslims.

In this treatise, Dawud also discusses the problem of Jihad as follows:

*Ini suatu kitab pada menyatakan perang sabil dan diterjemahkan setengah mereka itu dengan kitabus sair karena bahwasanya adalah ahkamnya yang disebut diambil daripada sair nabi daripada dikerjakan dia dan asalnya firman Tuhan, Kutiba alaikumul Qitāl, telah difardukan atas kamu berperang.....*

This is a chapter about Jihad in terms of war and is translated by some people as the book of journeys of the Prophet for war, as the legislation of this is based on the words of God, that God obliges you to wage war.

*Jihād* in terms of war is sanctioned in the Qurʾān after the migration of the Prophet to Medina. As has been explained elsewhere in this thesis (in Chapter II),

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1862 Ibid., 59-65.
1863 Ibid., 66-466.
1864 Ibid., 467-5004.
1865 Ibid., 407. Detailed about this see 407-417.
the reason for sanctioning Jihād in the form of war is because the pagan Arab Qurays attacked the Prophet’s followers, the first Muslims in Medina.  

12. Jam’ul Fawāid wa Jawāhirul Qalāid.

(‘The Collection of the Benefits and the Jewels of the Necklaces’)

This book is about the advantages of reciting verses from the holy book (al-Qur’ān), basmallah (the opening prayer in the Qur’ān), the benefits of zuhd (asceticism), Islamic jurisprudence or fīqh, the love of God, and the interpretation of Qur’ānic verses. This book also discusses the ascendancy of the Prophet Muhammad based on the prophetic tradition, the additional advantages and values of some months in Islam, prayer, the obligation of obeying one’s parents, the rights and obligations of husbands and wives, leaving sin behind, and praying for the Prophet (salawat nabī). This book contains the moral teachings of Islam; for example, how to have good relations with God and fellow human beings by drawing on the good stories and examples from the holy book and hadīth (prophetic tradition). In addition to this, Dawud discusses some problems of Islamic jurisprudence (Fīqh) such as prayer, and the rights of parents.

As for Jihād, in this book Dawud also discusses it in terms of waging war. Dawud says:

Ini suatu bab pada menyatakan kelebihan Jihād dan ghazwu fī sabīlillāh dan bertangku (bertumpu) pada tempat, dan memanah.Dan menuangkang (meriwayatkan) daripada Abu Hurayrah, katanya sabda Nabi Saw,: Tiada berhimpun debu didalam sabiillah dan asap jannaham didalam rangka seorang hamba selama lamanya. Dan tiada berhimpun kikir dan iman didalam hati seorang hamba selama lamanya (riwayat Hisham) daripada Hasan bahrainya Nabi Saw

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1866 See Chapter II of this thesis.

1867 Dawud al Fatani Jam’ul Fawāid wa Jawāhirul Qalāid ( Fathani Thailand: Matba’ah bin Halabi, no date.This book has two printed versions, the second one is published by Sulayman Mar’ie Publishing and trading, Singapore: no date.
This chapter discusses the superiority of Jihād in the path of God and those who stand firmly in their places and throw the arrow. Narrated from Abu Hurayrah, he said that the Prophet SAW said: The dust of Jihād in the path of God will not mix with the smoke of hellfire in the body of the Muslim (servant) who wages war in the path of God. And the characteristic of meanness and belief will not be mixed in the heart of Muslims forever. A Ḥadīth (from Hishām) from Hasan says that the Prophet SAW said: one morning and night in Jihād (waging war) in the path of God is superior to the world and everything in it; and a man’s standing in the line in Jihād (waging war) in the path of God is superior to performing worship for six years.

The Prophet’s saying quoted by Dawud in this chapter on Jihād is to show that Jihād in terms of waging war in Islam is very noble. The reward in Islam for Muslims waging Jihād in terms of war is very precious. Jihād is superior to worshipping God for six years, and to undertake Jihād in terms of war when it is necessary is more precious before Allah than the world and its contents. Therefore the reward in the Hereafter is to be free from hellfire.

The big and precious reward the Prophet promised is because Jihād is the way to preserve the religion from extinction, from the attack of those who dislike it. When the existence of Islam is in danger, being attacked by outsiders, the only way out is to stand firm in the line of war to preserve religion. It is for this reason that Jihād in terms of war has a high position in Islam. Moreover, for Muslims dying in Jihād in terms of waging war, it is not necessary to be cleansed; unlike Muslims who have died a natural death or from disease or accident.


1868 Ibid., 187.
This book contains explanations about some problems in Islamic jurisprudence such as purifying oneself before prayer, and purification after personal ablutions. It also discusses prayer. The second part deals with the treatment of a dead body and its burial, and also offers explanations about paying alms, fasting, and undertaking the pilgrimage. This book is listed because it is relevant to this study, particularly on Sharī‘ah. Islamic jurisprudence (Fiqh) and its problems is part of Sharī‘a although it is not part of Jihād either in terms of waging war or fighting the ego.

14. Sullamul Mubtadi fī Ma‘rifati tharīqatil Muhtadī, Pelajaran Usuluddin atas Jalan Ahlussunnah wal Jamā‘ah dan Hokum Fīqh

(‘The Lesson of the Principles of Religion Based on the Method of Ahlussunnah wal Jamā‘ah - Those who Adhere to the Prophetic Tradition and the Community’)

This treatise discusses some issues regarding the principles of religion (Usūl al dīn) and the problems of Islamic jurisprudence (Fiqh) such as prayer, paying alms, fasting, pilgrimage, sacrifice, criminality, inheritance, marriage, the length of time after a divorce before a woman is permitted to remarry, criminal issues, Jihād in terms of war in the path of God, the situation of war, and the belief in freeing slaves. At the end of this treatise, Dawud mentions that the principles of religion and Islamic jurisprudence (Fiqh) is based on the Sunnī sect widely known as Ahlussunnah wal Jamā‘ah (the group adhering to the Prophetic tradition and

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1869 Dawud al Fatani, Bughyatut Tullāb li Murīdi Ma‘rifatil Ahkām bis Shawāb, Maktabah wa Matba‘ah al Nahdah wa Auladuh, two Vols, see also manuscript no. MSS. 1540 ( Kuala Lumpur: Malaysia: Perpustakaan Negara Malaysia, no date).
the community). The first five pages of this treatise discuss the principles of Islamic religion (Arabic: *Usūl al-dīn*)1870

In relation to *Jihād* in terms of war, Dawud follows the concept of *Jihād* according to Islamic jurisprudence (*Fiqh*). Dawud’s view on *Jihād* in terms of war follows the Shafī’i school that *Jihād* in terms of war is a communal obligation when enemies enter and attack a Muslim country. In this case *Jihād* becomes a defensive war.1871 Dawud comments about *Jihād* in terms of war as follows:

*Ini suatu kitab pada menyatakan perang sabil, maka adalah dituntut akan dia kemudian daripada berpindah nabi Saw ke Madinah. Jika adalah mereka itu kafir pada negrinya maka perang akan dia fardu kifayah atas segala muslimin pada tiap tiap tahun, maka jika ada yang mengerjakan itu orang yang ada mereka itu ahlul kifayah gugur dosanya atas orang yang lainnya dan kedua, jika masuk mereka itu pada negri kita maka sekali itu wajib Jihād atas mereka itu wajib ahl negri itu menolong mereka itu sebelah sebelah (maksudnya bahu membahu) dan wajib segala negri yang hampir (bersebelahan) dengannya menolakkan dia (melawan musuh tersebut). Dan wajib Jihād itu ada tujuh perkara, Islam dan baligh (cukup umur) dan berakal (tidak gila], dan merdeka dan laki laki dan sehat badan dan kuasa (mampu) melawankan dia ya’ni berperang.*1872

This book discusses *Jihād* in terms of war in the path of God, thus *Jihād* was obliged on all Muslims when the Prophet Muhammad SAW migrated to Medina. If the people are unbelievers to their country thus doing *Jihād* in terms of waging war is a communal obligation (*fardu Kifayah*) for all Muslims every year. If some of the Muslims have done this *Jihād* in terms of war, then there is no more obligations for the rest of the Muslims. Secondly, if the unbelievers come into (attack) a Muslim country (our country), at that time, *Jihād* in terms of waging war is an obligation for all the Muslims in that country to help one another. And the Muslims in neighboring countries are also obliged to help that country by fighting against the unbelievers. The requirements of waging *Jihād* in terms of war include seven points, which are: first, being a Muslim, (non-Muslims are not obliged), the

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1870 Dawud al Fatani, *Sullamul Mubtadi fi Ma’rifati tharīqatil Muhtadī, Pelajaran Usuluddin atas Jalan Ahlussunnah wal Jamā‘ah dan Hokum Fiqh* (Singapore: Sulayman Mari’ie publishing and trading, no date).

1871 Ibid., 34-35. The publication is (Thailand: Matba’ah Bin Halabi Press, no date). The pages mentioned are special on *Jihād*.

1872 Ibid., 242.
second is that a man has reached puberty, the third is to be healthy in his mind (the insane have no obligation to take part), to be male, (women are not obliged), to be healthy, and to be able to afford to fight against the enemy.

Since Dawud was a Sūfī and also an expert in Sufism (the inner aspect of Sharī‘ah), when explaining Jihād in Sufism, he explains it in terms of fighting the ego. As has been mentioned earlier in this chapter, that Sharī‘ah consists of an outer aspect (Islamic jurisprudence or Fīqh) and an inner aspect (Islamic Sufism or Tasawwuf), therefore both are like the two sides of a coin in understanding Sharī‘ah. In this case, Dawud mastered both aspects; this is reflected in his works, which means that he fully understands Sharī‘ah.


(‘The Treasure of Grace According to the Wisdom of Abu Madyān’)

This book is about Sufism. It is a translation of the book titled Hikam written by Abu Madyān Shu‘ayb Ibnil Husain al Anshāri (1126-1198). This book explains what Muslims ought to do in order to approach God. This book contains the original text in the Arabic language, with an explanation written in the Malay Arabic script (Jawi).1873 Speaking of those who are allowed to know about Sufism, it says:

La yasluhu sam‘u hadzal ilmi illā liman hasalat lahū arba‘atun: al zuhdu wal ilmu, wal tawakkulu wal yaqīnu.1874

Those who have not these four qualities cannot even hear this knowledge (i.e. Sufism). First he is not greedy for the worldly life, the second is to have knowledge of Islamic Sharī‘ah both outwardly and inwardly (i.e. to understand the outer and inner aspects of Sharī‘ah),

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1873 Dawud al Fatani, Kitab Kanzul Minan alā Hikami Abī Madyān ( Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia: Khazanah Fathaniyah, 1999 ) .

1874 Ibid., 5.
the third is to have the character to surrender to God and the fourth is to have a strong belief in God.

The explanation of these four important points is as follows:

Those who do not have these four qualities are not supposed to hear this knowledge (of Sufism). The first is not to be greedy for a worldly life, the second is to have knowledge, the third is to surrender all problems to God, and the fourth is to have belief. The meaning is that this knowledge of Sufism is only for those having the four good characteristics. The first is not to be greedy for worldly life (Zuhd); that is to abandon excess even from good things. Since the walker is the traveller to God, thus it is better to be contented with the things that are necessary.

The message of this first point for those walking in the path of God is to live simply; not to be greedy for worldly life since it is not eternal. This point advises those walking in the path of God to prioritize the eternal life in the Hereafter.

Further this treatise states:

1875 Ibid.
1876 Ibid.
The second (quality) is knowledge of the Sharīʿah. (What the treatise means by Sharīʿah is both the outer aspect of Islamic Sharīʿah or Islamic jurisprudence and the inner aspect of Sharīʿah or Sufism.) This is Sharīʿah knowledge relating to imagining the outer aspect of it since those who cannot imagine the outer aspect will not be able to imagine the inner aspect. This is because those who stop at the door will not be able to enter. Therefore, those who walk in the path of God are supposed to adorn themselves with the clothing of Sharīʿah and with the good manners of Sufism. It is by these two that you will attain the light of the essence of truth.

The message of this second point is that a deep knowledge of the outer aspect of Sharīʿah (Islamic jurisprudence or Fiqh) and the inner aspect of Sharīʿah (Sufism) become very important requirements for those who walk in the path of God, so that they can gain the highest stage that is the knowledge of the Truth (God). Therefore, those who want to walk in the path of God but only have a deep knowledge of one of these two are not allowed to enter the Sūfī path. Both the outer and inner aspects are integral parts of Sharīʿah.

Further it says:

Yang ketiganya tawakkal dan yaitu memadai dengan pengetahuan Allah padamu daripada bergantung hati akan yang lain. Maka apabila engkau ketahui bahwasanya Allah itu Tuhan yang alim ya’ni yang mengetahui dengan segala hal kamu lagi amat kuasa atas memudahkan atas segala hajatmu lagi terlebih kasih sayang bagimu.\(^{1877}\)

The third (quality) is to surrender everything to God. This means that those who walk in the path of God (or you) should have sufficient knowledge of God that the heart should go back to God only in their problems, and not to others. Therefore, if you know that God is the Most Knowing of all things and the Most Capable of everything, He will fulfill all of your needs and He will take care of you with a great care.

The third point of this advice obliges those who walk in the path of God to leave everything in God’s hands with the belief that God will give the servant all

\(^{1877}\) Ibid.
he or she needs and God will take care of the servant’s needs. Let alone the servant is in the way to approach Him.

The next point is to believe:

_Dan keempatnya yakin dan yaitu i’tiqad yang putus dengan barang yang mukhbirkan Dia (maksudnya keyakinan yang mantap akan sesuatu yang telah diputuskan Tuhan), Allah dan Rasulnya dengan dia itu sebenarnya tiada syak padaNya. Bahawasanya Allah ta’ālā tiada menjadikan jin dan manusia melainkan karena ibadah akan Dia._\(^{1878}\)

And the fourth is to have belief; that is, to really believe in everything that God and His messenger have decided. (To believe) that all the creatures (ghosts and mankind) are created only for the purpose of worshipping Him.

The message of this point is that those who walk in the path of God should believe that all creatures are created to worship God. Therefore those who walk in the path of God should direct their mind and energy only to Him.

These four points are the basic teaching of Sufism in this treatise. This is relevant to this study because this study is about _Jihād, Sharī‘ah_ and Sufism. If a book is related to one of these three concepts, then it is relevant. In addition to being the four basic teachings of Sufism, these four are also related to _Jihād_ in terms of fighting the ego since the essence of Sufism is to obtain a noble character by eliminating bad characteristics along with performing the outer aspect of _Sharī‘ah_ - that is the obligations required by the Islamic teachings. The way to have a noble character in Sufism is to undertake _Jihād_ in terms of fighting the ego.

16. _Munyatul Mushallī._

(‘The Object of Desire of the Worshipper Who Prays’)

\(^{1878}\) Ibid. Further detailed about this see 4-101.
This book gives a detailed discussion of issues relating to the way Muslims should carry out their prayers, based on the arguments from the holy book and the prophetic traditions.\footnote{1879}{This book is relevant to this study especially in relation to \textit{Sharī’ah}. The obligation of prayer that Muslims are supposed to perform should be based on the teachings from the two important sources of Islam. Therefore, this book is important to the study of \textit{Sharī’ah} because prayer is part of Islamic jurisprudence and Islamic jurisprudence or \textit{Fīqh} is part of \textit{Sharī’ah}. It is worth noting again that the topic of this thesis is not only \textit{Jihād} but also \textit{Sharī’ah} and Sufism. In relation to this, Dawud’s work on prayer is worth mentioning here.} 1879 This book is relevant to this study especially in relation to \textit{Sharī’ah}. The obligation of prayer that Muslims are supposed to perform should be based on the teachings from the two important sources of Islam. Therefore, this book is important to the study of \textit{Sharī’ah} because prayer is part of Islamic jurisprudence and Islamic jurisprudence or \textit{Fīqh} is part of \textit{Sharī’ah}. It is worth noting again that the topic of this thesis is not only \textit{Jihād} but also \textit{Sharī’ah} and Sufism. In relation to this, Dawud’s work on prayer is worth mentioning here.

17. \textit{Minhājul ābidîn ilā Jannatī Rabbīl Ālāmīn.}

(‘The Method of the Servants of God for Reaching the Paradise of the Creator of the Universe’)

This book is a translation of a book about Sufism entitled \textit{Minhājul ābidîn} by Imam al Ghazali (d.1111). Part of the book explains the importance of possessing knowledge about God and the Prophet, and about Islamic law (\textit{Sharī’ah}) and the Oneness of God (\textit{Tauhīd} in Arabic) as the basic foundations of Islam. Knowledge of God is deemed the most important knowledge for those who want to gain happiness in this worldly life and in the Hereafter. This treatise also discusses the

\footnote{1879}{Dawud al Fatani, \textit{Munyatul Mushallī}, Matbaah Bin Halabi, Fatani Thailand without year, see also, Hj. Wan Mohd Shagir Abdullah, Dawud al Fatani, \textit{Munyatul Mushallī}, transliteration Hj. Wan Mohd. Shagir Abdullah (Kuala Lumpur: Khazanah Fathaniyah Malaysia, 2004). Edisi waqaf hamba Allah di Singapura pahala untuk keluarga, Ayah dan ibunya yang telah meninggal dunia. Shagir says that in his transliteration from the Jawi script to the Latin script, he does not change the original text. Therefore to justify it he also attaches the original text of this treatise in Jawi script.}
importance of the position of the Prophet as a source of understanding about God in Islam.1880

Because he translated this work into the Malay language, it appears that Dawud believed that al-Ghazali’s thought was very important and should be accessible to Malay speakers. Al-Ghazali wrote at length about Islamic jurisprudence (Fīqh) and also about the importance of observing the heart which is discussed in Sufism, as well as the importance of akhlak (morals and ethics).1881 Dawud’s writings also follow this pattern. Dawud wrote at length about Islamic Jurisprudence (Fīqh). The influence of al-Ghazali can be observed clearly in all the works of Dawud al Fatani.

18. Īdāhul Bāb Limurīd al Nikāh bis Shawāb.

(‘The Explanation of the Chapter for Those Wishing to Understand Marriage Correctly’)

This book contains an explanation of marriage and its requirements in Islam, and issues associated with marriage such as how a husband gives earnings to his wife and the problem of divorce when both partners have serious problems, and there is disharmony which leads to divorce.1882

1880 Dawud al Fatani, Minhājul Ābidīn ilā Jannatī Rabbīl Ālāmīn, Matba’ah bin Halabi, Thailand, no date. See also other text of this treatise which is still in form of manuscript, Dawud al Fatani, Minhājul Ābidīn, available at ATMA (Alam Tamaddun Melayu) library, 8. BP.189.F37. 2 (Bangi, Selangor, Darul Ehsan, Malaysia: University Kebangsaan Malaysia, no date).

1881 For this see two important books of al-Ghazālī in its original version, Imam al-Ghazālī, Kitāb Minhājul ‘Ābidīn, bihamīshhi bi Kitāb al musammā bi Bidāyatil Hidāyat. This book is also completed with the footnote of the book entitled Bidāyatul Hidāyat, (the beginning of the guidance), see also Imam al-Ghazālī, Iḥyā’ Ulūmiddīn, (The Revivication of Religious Sciences) 2 Vols (Caire: Dar Ibn al Haytām, 2004). This is the news publication, however there is no different in regard with the content of the book to be compared with the old publication.

1882 Dawud al Fatani, Īdāhul Bāb Limurīd al Nikāh bis Shawāb (Thailand: Matba’ah Bin Halabi, Fatani, no date).
This treatise is relevant to this study in relation to understanding ‘Sharī’ah. Marriage is part of Islamic teachings or ‘Sharī’ah. Any Muslims who want to marry and have problems in their marriage are supposed to return to the teachings of Islam. They are to return to the principles of marriage according to Islamic teachings or ‘Sharī’ah. Muslims are considered to be astray if they do not follow the principles of marriage according to Islam: for example if they marry without witnesses, without the person who leads the marriage ceremony, and without a dowry. After marriage they are considered to be astray if the husband does not give money to the wife, the husband does not lead the wife towards performing the teachings of Islam, etc.


(‘The Treatise on the Arrival at the Object of Desire or Gaining what People Wish for’)

This book is about the way to perform prayers. This treatise explains the importance of one’s intention before performing the prayer, and discusses the importance of the obligatory prayers in Islam since prayer is the foundation of the Islamic religion. This book contains the original Arabic text with an explanation in Jawi - Malay written in Arabic script. This book is also significant to mention because prayer is part of ‘Sharī’ah. It is clear that for Dawud, doing the obligatory worship such as prayer is an essential part of ‘Sharī’ah.


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‘The Precious Pearls in the Explanation of the Creed of Religion and the Laws of Islamic Jurisprudence Needed and the Way of Those Walking in the Path of the Followers of Muhammad’

This book is about the principles of Islamic religion (Usūl al dīn), Islamic jurisprudence (fiqh) and Islamic Sufism (tasawwuf). The first part of this book discusses the importance of knowing God, His characteristics and the condition or fate in the Hereafter of those who believe in Islam and those who do not. Explaining these Islamic principles, Dawud emphasizes the importance for Muslims of really understanding the concept of the Oneness of God (Tauhid) and the concept of the prophecy of Muhammad (Nubuwwah).

In the second part of this book, Dawud discusses the problems of Islamic jurisprudence (fiqh) as part of Islamic law (Sharī'ah). The book begins, as is common in Islamic jurisprudence texts (Fiqh), with the problem of purifying oneself before praying. Then Dawud discusses the problem of prayer, death, the prayer for the dead, and the problem of optional (voluntary) donations, followed by the problem of fasting and undertaking the pilgrimage. He goes on to elaborate on other matters (but not on the problem of Jihād in terms of war and in terms of fighting the ego), including sacrificing a goat for a new-born baby and those who have the ability (can afford) to make that sacrifice, trading, gifts, borrowing and lending, economic cooperation among the people, hiring people,

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1884 Dawud al Fatani, Al-Jawāhir al Tsaniyyah fi Sharh al Aqāid al Dīniyyah wa Ahkām al Fiqh al Mardiyyah wa al Tarīq al Sulīk al Muhammadiyyah, Mataba’ah Muhammad al Nahdhī wa Aulādahu (Bangkok, Thailand, no date). See the manuscript, MSS 1540, (Kuala Lumpur: Perpustakaan Negara Malaysia, no date), 2-35. For the comparison of the text of the printed manuscript and the unprinted one, see also, Dawud al Fatani, Al-Jawāhir al Tsaniyyah, Koleksi Islam, Perpustakaan Tun Sri Lanang, K.1.BP.166.122215UN.I (Bangi, Malaysia: University Kebangsaan Malaysia, no date).

1885 Ibid., 38-104.

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inheritance, and marriage and its issues. In this book Dawud does not discuss the problem of *Jihād* in terms of waging war.\(^{1886}\)

The third part of this book focuses on Sufism, explaining the importance of knowledge about Sufism: to know God and the prophets, and to know about the importance of life in the Hereafter. This part also discusses how to be familiar with those possessing knowledge of the Hereafter, and undertaking good deeds for the sake of the life after death. In addition, this part discusses the consequences of those who pay greater attention to worldly life without caring for life in the Hereafter, which in Sufism is considered bad and will result in disadvantages both in this life and in the life hereafter. In brief in relation to the aim of Muslims in this life, Dawud says:

*Seyogyanya bagi orang mu'min menuntut atas keridaan Allah.\(^{1887}\)*

Muslims should seek the pleasure of God.

To understand Sufism, Muslims should know the basic principles of Islam. Some basic principles such as the knowledge of God and His Prophet, embodied in the creed of Islam (*Aqīdah*), the testimony that there is no God but Allah and that Muhammad is His messenger, performing all the obligations that God has ordered, such as the five obligations of Muslims: prayer, paying alms (*zakat*), fasting, and going on the pilgrimage.

In addition to that, the pure intention which becomes the basis of all those deeds should also be observed thoroughly. The pure intention deals with the inner deeds that need training. It is for this reason that the teachings of Sufism

\(^{1886}\) Ibid., 105-264.

\(^{1887}\) Ibid., 265.
which deal with the inner aspects of Islamic Sharī‘ah are important, in order that the outer deeds are performed only for the sake of God’s pleasure.

Dawud emphasizes that it is by knowing the outer aspect of Sharī‘ah (Islamic jurisprudence or fiqh) and the inner aspect of Sharī‘ah (Islamic Sufism) that Muslims will be able to understand the essence of life that is to worship only for God.

21. Ad Dūr ats Tsamīn

(‘The Precious Pearls’).

This book is about the principles of religion, the characteristics of God and the importance of believing in the Oneness of God. It explains the principles of Islamic religion in regard to belief in the prophets from Adam to Muhammad. Finally, this book discusses the position and the importance of knowledge in Islamic law (Sharī‘ah), stressing that knowledge of Islamic law is the most important knowledge.

22. Kifāyatul Muhtāj

(‘The Sufficient which is Needed’).

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1888 The term outer and inner aspects of Sharī‘ah are the translation of the terms used widely in Dawud’s work and that of Yusuf’s on the importance of Zāhir wal Bātin in particular and in the Muslims scholars who are experts in Islamic jurisprudence and Islamic Sufism in general. In many books of Islamic jurisprudence, the first part of the study for example when discusses the book of thaharah (cleansing), niyāh or intention becomes the first requirement. However, the discussion about niyyah or intention in the Islamic jurisprudence is usually not very deep and long. It is in Sufism (tasawwuf) that the deeds of heart are discussed widely. Example of this is the book by al Ghazālī, Iḥyā Ulūmuddīn (the revivication of religious sciences), see Imam Abu Ḥāmid Muhammad al Ghazālī, Iḥyā Ulūmuddīn, two vols (Cairo: Dar Ibn al Haytsām, 2004). This book is new version. Actually there so many books about this. The choice of al Ghazālī in this explanation is because Dawud often refers to al Ghazālī in his work. In addition to that, al Ghazālī is considered to be a representative of Islamic scholars, whose works explain some elements of Islamic Sufism and Islamic jurisprudence at length.

1889 Dawud al Fatani, Ad Dūr ats Tsamīn, ( Singapore: Sulayman Marie, no date ). See also another version of publication by Matba‘ah bin Halabi, Fatani, Thailand, no date. Both are the same in content.
This treatise discusses the problem of the ascent of the Prophet Muhammad to meet God to accept the revelation about performing the daily prayers (five times a day). In Islamic tradition, the ascent of Muhammad is known as *Isrā’ wal Mi’rāj*.  

This work is relevant to this study since belief in the ascent of the Prophet is part of *Sharī’ah*. The belief in this event is also a foundation for the belief that praying five times a day (which is one the foundations of *Sharī’ah* is an obligation for all Muslims. Muslims who do not believe in the ascent of the Prophet certainly will not understand fully why praying five times a day is an obligation for all Muslims.  

23. *Risālah al Bahjah al Sanīyyah fī al Aqāid al Sanīyyah*  

(‘The Exalted Treatise on the High Religious Creed’).  

This book discusses God, His characteristics, the angels and their characteristics, the Prophet Muhammad, his history and characteristics and the importance of believing in the Divine message as delivered by the Prophet Muhammad. All of these dogmas are part of *Sharī’ah*, even the basic foundation of the creed in Islamic teachings.  

24. *Dhiyāul Murīd fī Ma’rifati Kalimatil Tauhīd*  

(‘The Light of the Students in Knowing the Words of the Islamic Testimony of the Oneness of God’).

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1890 Dawud al Fatani, *Kīfāyatul Muhtāj* (Thailand: Matba’ah bin Halabi, Fatani, no date).

1891 Dawud al Fatani, *Risālah al Bahjah al Sanīyyah fī al Aqāid al Sanīyyah*, republished by Hj. Wan Mohd Shagir Abdullah (Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia: Khazanah Fataniyyah, 1999). In the end of this treatise, there is a stamp of the first publisher, al Matbaah al Miriyah al Muhammadiyyah, Mecca, no date.
This treatise discusses the importance of knowing the beautiful names of God. Dawud explains how to recite or chant these names after prayer according to the mode of the Tarekat Shattariyah. Dawud explains that chanting the names of God is very beneficial for Muslims, in order to purify the heart. In this case Dawud says:


Since chanting the names of God many times is counted with the various forms of worship, thus each time chanting the name of God has its own reward based on the intention of the doer. Some of them continue to mention the names of their lover because they love Him. Some of them are of opinion that the word Lâ Ilâha Illalâh is the remedy for every kind of worldly diseases and doubts and revives the heart to be close with God (Allah). Therefore, the Gnostics (‘Arifîn) suggest that those who walk in the path of God recite it and chant it as much as possible. Some of those who chant it say that this phrase Lâ Ilâha Illalâh will clean and purify and enlighten the heart from rust and ignorance. They argue with the saying of the Prophet Muhammad SAW: that the heart could become rusty like iron that can get rusty and the cleaner is saying Lâ Ilâha Illalâh.

As purifying the heart through dhikr (chanting the name of God) is part of Mujâhadât al-Nâfs (Fighting the ego) in Sufi tradition, therefore Dawud’s

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teachings in this case can be categorized as the way of Jiḥād in terms of fighting the ego. It is hoped that by continuously practicing these recitations or chantings, the spiritual quality as well as the spiritual beliefs of the individual will improve.

In this treatise, Dawud also stresses the importance of dhikir (chanting/reciting the names of God) for happiness in both worldly life and the life after death. On this matter Dawud says:

Dan adapun kemudian daripada itu, maka ini adalah suatu risalah yang kecil yang bergantung dengan kalimah iman dan kalimah ikhlas dan dengan seruan yang sebenar benarnya dan tambatan yang teguh, yang tak dapat tiada bagi orang yang berkehendak kemenangan dan kelepasan daripada mengetahui akan maknanya. Dan jikalau dengan ijmal (global) sekalipun dan tiada memberi manfaat orang yang menyatakan dia serta jahil ia akan maknanya, melainkan pada melakukan hukum Islam pada zahirnya juga, maka pada batinnya tiada diberi pahala bagi orang mu’min.1894

Furthermore, this is a short treatise based on the discussion of the creed and the sincerity of the heart with the firm basis that those who want the victory should know the meaning although they know it globally. Those who do not know and do not understand the meaning and only perform the outer aspect of this deed in Islamic Shari’ah, have no share in the inner side.

In relation to his adherence to the Shattariyah order, Dawud says:

Bermula kaifiyyat tariqat penghulu kami ahlis syatar R.A. iaitu menyuruh syeikh akan murid supaya bersuci daripada hadats dan menyuruh tobat daripada dosanya. Dan berjabat tangan dengan segala yang hadirin kemudian menyuruh kepada murid itu menghantarkan tangan kanannya kebumi dan mengantar syeikh akan tangannya diatas tangan murid.1895

First of the way of our tarekah order, the expert in Shattar, God please be with him, the director (the sheikh of the order) commands the student to clean his or her body from dirt and the director commands him or her to repent from his or her sins. Shaking his hand to all who are present, the director then commands the student to put his or her

1893 Ibid., 60-108.

1894 Ibid., 37 in the Roman transliteration and Ibid., 1 in the original text in Jawi script.

1895 Ibid., 109.
hands on the earth and the director then puts his hand on the student’s hand.

Then the process of taking the oath (bay’ah) in the Shattariyah Order takes place.1896 The process Dawud explains in this treatise shows that he is a member of the Shattariyah Order and still follows the ritual ceremonies of the Shattariyah Order in Sufism. The recognition of the continuation of the Shattariyah Order with Dawud is very significant to understanding the essence of the type of Sufism which Dawud followed, especially when the notion of ‘Neo-Sufism’ is applied to Dawud’s Sufism.

25. Farāidul Fawādī al Fīkrī fī al Imam al Mahdī. Furū’ul Masā’il

(‘The Branches of Problems’)

This book is about Islamic jurisprudence (Fiqh) and provides some explanation about the principles of religion (usūl al dīn). Most discussion focuses on matters of Islamic jurisprudence or Fiqh such as purification of the self before prayer, fasting, going on the pilgrimage, marriage, trading, and also Jihad in terms of waging war. Like many of Dawud’s other works on Jihad in terms of war, he grounds his discussion of Jihad according in the concepts of Islamic jurisprudence. In this particular text, he discusses Jihad in terms of waging war according to the Dawud school in Islam.1897 Explaining Jihad in terms of waging war, Dawud says:


1896 Further about the process see Dawud al Fatani, Ibid., 109-114.

1897 Dawud al Fatani, Furū’ul Masā’il, 2 vols (Bangkok, Thailand: Maktabah wa Matba’ah Muhammad al Nahdī wa Aulāduhu, no date).
fardu kifayah, jika ada kuffār pada negrinya dan ia datang pada negri muslimin maka fardu ain atas negri yang datang berperang dengan dia dan segala negri yang hampir menolakkan dia sebelahnya jika dapat boleh menolakkan separuh dan bersiap melawan, maka jika tiada dapat separuh datang dengan sergap maka tiada dapat bersiap melawan, maka wajiblah ia menolakkan (menolak musuh) ia sebelahnya. (Suila RadhiAllahu anhu, ditanya Nabi) Apa syarat wajib Jihād itu?, maka dijawabnya wajib fardu kifayah itu atas orang muslim laki laki yang merdeka lagi kuasa baginya bukan kanak kanak dan orang gila dan haram musafīr, orang kaya yang berhutang dengan tiada izin orang yang empunya hutang jika ada utang itu tunai kifayah sekalipun (maksudnya hutangnya harus dilunaskan terlebih dahulu). Dan haram atas anak dengan tiada izin asalnya (maksudnya orang tuanya), tetapi harus musafīr menuntut ilmu (maksudnya sang anak harus menuntut ilmu).  

This is the chapter discussing the legislation of Jihād. (the Prophet was asked): What is the legislation of Jihād, is it obligatory or optional? If we say obligatory, the next question is whether it is an individual obligation (fardu ‘ain) or a communal obligation (fardu kifayah). The answer is that Jihād is a communal obligation if the unbelievers are in their country, and if they enter and attack a Muslim country; Jihād then becomes an individual obligation for the people in that country. This obligation is also for neighboring countries; they must refuse this attack and fight back whether they are ready or not; meaning that they have to make their best effort to fight back against the attack. The Prophet was asked about the requirements for waging Jihād in terms of war; then he answered: Jihād is a communal obligation for free Muslim men who can afford to wage it and not for children, the insane or for travelers. Jihād is not required for the rich if they have a debt without the permission of the giver of the debt (what the Prophet means is that those who have debts have to pay their debts first), and is not obliged either for children without the permission of their parents; but they must travel to seek knowledge.

It is worth noting that what Dawud means in the first section above about the obligation of undertaking Jihād towards unbelievers is if they come to and attack Muslim countries. Therefore, Jihād in this case is for self defense not for attacking other people. It is thus clear that there are also some requirements necessary before waging Jihād in terms of war. If the requirements are not fulfilled, so Jihād in terms of war is not correct: for children whose parents have

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1898 Ibid., 335.
not given them permission to wage *Jihād*, for example. Even if all the requirements apart from the permission of the parents are fulfilled, still children are not supposed to wage *Jihād*.


(‘Treatise on Exercising the Pure Souls to Attain the Higher Stage of the Quiet Souls’)

This treatise is about Sufism, and focuses on *Jihād al Nafs* or fighting the ego. Dawud discusses the kinds of desire and how to manage desire. In particular, in his explanation, Dawud explains the desires of the heart and the kinds of desire, such as the desire to indulge in anger (Arabic: *Nafsul Ammārah*),\(^{1899}\) the desire to do bad acts, the desire to do wrong acts (Arabic: *Lawwamāh*),\(^{1900}\) inspired desire or (‘the desire to act in accord with one’s inspiration’ - Arabic: *Mulhamah*), the desire to be quiet (Arabic: *Mutmainnah*), the desire to be satisfied and content (Arabic: *Nafsul radhiyyah*),\(^{1901}\) the desire that has been satisfied by God (Arabic: *Nafsul Mardhiyyah*),\(^{1902}\) and the desire that has been perfected by God or answered by God (Arabic: *Nafsul Kāmilah*).\(^{1903}\)

In this treatise, Dawud emphasizes the importance of *Jihād* in terms of fighting the ego in order to gain the highest level of the heart’s desire. For the

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\(^{1900}\) Ibid., 6-12.

\(^{1901}\) Ibid., 24-27.

\(^{1902}\) Ibid., 27-31.

\(^{1903}\) Ibid., 31-33.
most sincere heart will surrender to the will of God with full happiness. Since any person who has arrived at this state, or who has undertaken or experienced purification of the heart as well, has waged *Jihād* in terms of fighting the ego. As a result, one who has arrived at the highest level will be a good Muslim. All of the efforts towards the purification of the heart being made by Muslims in order to become good Muslims are aspects of undertaking *Jihād* in terms of fighting the ego.

In this treatise, Dawud clearly explains the sequence of the desires people possess. In order to purify the heart he then suggests that one should do it gradually by knowing each desire and how to deal with it. The first to mention is desire towards anger (Arabic: *Nafsul Ammārah*). The term Dawud uses is *‘ammārah* since it is this desire that often drives a person to do bad acts. This is the first stage of all actions. One will act based on one’s feeling. Thus, Dawud attaches importance to mastering the desire to be angry in an inappropriate time and place. If one is able to manage this desire, one will certainly be able to manage the desire to do bad acts, the desire to do wrong acts (Arabic: *Lawwamah*). *Lawwāmah* is the desire that drives one to do wrong acts. At this second stage, the desire to do wrong acts is still influencing the soul although one has been able to overcome anger; one must still manage his/her tendency to do bad acts. If one is able to overcome this tendency, the soul will ascend to a higher level called *Mulhamah* or ‘inspired desire’.

The third stage is *Mulhamah* or inspired desire. This term is used because if one can see the weakness of the self, one will be able to be at peace. Since one will act based on the inspiration from God, thus all one’s acts will be controlled.

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1904 Ibid., 34-35.
properly. The fourth is the stage called the desire to be quiet (Arabic: Mutmainnah). At this stage the condition of the desire is stable. One in this stage will become satisfied and content with what God has given. This means that one has attained the next stage, that is, Nafsul al radhiya in Arabic. Further, Dawud then explains that after all of these stages one will reach the stage called Mardhiyyah (‘one that has been satisfied by God’) because one’s desire has already become the will of God. If one’s desire has become the will of God then one will become the ‘Perfect Man’ or al Insān al Kāmil, since the last stage of this sequence is the desire that has been perfected by God.1905

It is worth remembering that Dawud studied Sūfī teachings just like Yusuf al Maqassary. As has been mentioned above, the relations between Dawud and Yusuf are based on their shared teachers, Ahmad Qushshāshī and Ibrahim al Kurani. Therefore, what they each learned about the concept of al Insān al Kāmil is the same, and comes from the same sources; these go back to Ibnu Arabi and Abdul Karim al Jili as Yusuf often mentioned in his works. All those studying Sūfī teachings will meet at the same source, since Sūfī teachings are handed down carefully from master to student. It is for this reason that the thought-worlds of Dawud and Yusuf go back to a shared point of origin.

27. Wasāyā al Abrār

(‘The Wills of the Good People’)

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1905 For this see also, Tim Penulis IAIN Syarif Hidayatullah, Harun Nasution, (ed.in chief), Ensiklopedi Islam Indonesia (Jakarta: Djambatan, 1992), 722-724. In general, the division of the desire in this book is divided into three kinds. The first is Ammārah, the second is Lawwamah and the third is Mutmainnah. Ammara is the anger, Lawwamah is the tendency to do the evils but has been inspired, so consist of Mulhamah (The desire that has been inspired to distinguish the bad from the evil) and the third is the highest stage Mutmainnah (the quite desire). In this highest stage one desire has been perfected by God that eventually one’s desire attains the highest stage. Actually there is no different, but Dawud’s explanation is more detail.
The reason why this treatise is also relevant to the topic of this thesis, particularly as part of Sharī’ah, is because the suggestion to practice the prayer when life is difficult is part of Islamic Sharī’ah. This treatise discusses the important things Muslims are supposed to do when they are in trouble. This treatise explains the advantages of reading prayers and verses from the Qur’ān, as well as chanting or reciting the names of God and the Prophet. For example such a prayer might relate to how to feel ‘rich’; since the truest wealth is to have a satisfied heart that is not frustrated or complaining when one faces challenges or troubles in life.

This treatise also recommends some recitations from the Qur‘ān and the Hadīth (Prophetic traditions and sayings) in order to be happy and to be saved from calamity. This treatise also discusses what to read in order to be given a correct worldly life, and a life of bliss in the Hereafter. Anticipating the cruelty of rulers, this treatise also recommends that certain prayers be read. This treatise then discusses how to gain longevity and knowledge. The end of the first part of this treatise discusses the importance of the sages’ words.\footnote{Dawud al Fatani, \textit{Wasāyā\ al Abru\r,} Wasiyat Peringatan Akhyār, Latin transliteration from Arabic Jāwī script by Hj. Wan Mohd. Shagir Abdullah. The original text in Arabic script is attached in the book. This translation is based on the original manuscript of \textit{Wasāyā\ al Abru\r} no. MS 589 ( Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia: Perpustakaan Negara Malaysia, with the attachment of the copy of the original text of the manuscript, 1-19. For the original text attachment see 55-66 of this book.} The second part discusses the advantages of prayer from the Islamic holy book (Qur‘ān) and the prophetic sayings (Hadīth).\footnote{Ibid., 20-54.}

28. \textit{Risālah Kifāyatul Muhtadi wa Irṣyādil Muhtadi or Irsyādil Atfāl al Mubtadiīn} fi Aqāid al Īmān wa ʿĀdiyah al Nāfī’ah li al Din.
(‘Treatise on the Sufficiency of the Beginner and the Suggestion of the Guided One or the Guidance of the Children at the Beginner Level in the Problem of the Religious Creed and the Beneficial Customs in their Religious Life’)

The reason why this treatise is relevant to the present subject is that teaching the religious creed and teaching children are among the obligations required according to the Islamic Sharī‘ah. This is part of knowing God the Creator and the first stage of knowing Islam before practicing it; since in Islam, doing something without knowing the basis of the deed is not encouraged.

This treatise is about the principles of religion (usūl al dīn) relating to the beliefs of Islam. This treatise attaches importance to knowing God, and for the beginner, the way to know God is by reciting some Qur’anic verses relating to the existence of God. In addition, this treatise also teaches how to praise God and the Prophet. It is by knowing God and the Prophet and praising them that it is hoped that novices - this particular treatise refers to children - will start to love God and the Prophet based on a good understanding of the beliefs of Islam.1908

29. Ghāyatul Marām fī Kayfiyyati Adā il Haj wal Islam

(Manāsik al Haj wal Umrah)

This treatise is about the way that Muslims undertake the pilgrimage or haj. Initially, this treatise explains the importance of doing the pilgrimage for Muslims who have the ability both materially or spiritually to go to Mecca. Subsequently, Dawud also explains that the reward for those who do the pilgrimage to Mecca (Arabic: Haj) is paradise in the Hereafter. This book also explains all of the

requirements needed to undertake the pilgrimage, and what should be done during the process of going on the pilgrimage, and what should not be done.  

7.5. Dawud’s concepts of Jihād, Sharī’ah and Sufism: Examining the Importance of the Outer and Inner Aspects of Sharī’ah Based on His Works.

In order to have a clear understanding of the selection of Dawud’s works mentioned above, the table on the following pages shows the relationship between those works and the concepts of Jihād, Sharī’ah and Sufism.

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<th>Type of Jihād</th>
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<td>1.</td>
<td><em>Al Bahjat al Sanīyyah fī al Aqā‘īd al Sanīyyah</em> ('The Exalted Magnificence in the High Religious Creed')</td>
<td>Aim: to give a basic understanding of the basic principles of Islam for Muslims. For beginners.</td>
<td>Understanding of Sharī‘ah - belief in God, Angels &amp; Prophets of God = Sharī‘ah. One must understand Sharī‘ah to know Islam well and be a good Muslim.</td>
<td>General meaning of Jihād: to do the best effort for the sake of God.</td>
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<td>2.</td>
<td><em>Kitāb Sifat Dua Puluh</em> ('The Book about the Twenty Traits of God')</td>
<td>For beginners. Aim: to give basic knowledge of the traits of God. By knowing the traits of God Muslims will know Him better, &amp; become pious and devoted.</td>
<td>Reference to Sharī‘ah since knowing the characteristics of God is part of Sharī‘ah</td>
<td>General Meaning of Jihād</td>
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<td>3.</td>
<td><em>Dhiyā’ul Lum’ah fī shalātīz Zhuhri ba’dal Jum’ah</em> ('Shimmering Light on the noon prayer after the Friday Prayer')</td>
<td>Many aspects of prayer, esp. In the zuhr or noon prayer on Friday. Aim: to give an explanation for beginners about Zuhr after performing the Jum‘at prayer: Muslims need not perform Zuhr if they have performed the Friday prayer.</td>
<td>Application of the outer aspect of Sharī‘ah - Islamic jurisprudence or Fiqh regarding prayer</td>
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<td>5.</td>
<td><em>Perhubungan Bughyatul Thullāb</em> ('The Relations of the Object of slaughter')</td>
<td>For beginners. Explains about the problem of slaughtering animals.</td>
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<td>6.</td>
<td><em>Ilmu Tasawwuf al Manhalushāfī fī Bayānī Rumūzī Ahlis Shūfī</em> (‘On Sufism: The Pure Source of Water for the Explanation of Sufi Symbols’)</td>
<td>This text is for beginners and advanced students who want to practice the inner aspect of <em>Sharī‘ah</em>. It explains the importance of Sūfī teachings to understanding God.</td>
<td>Reference to the application of <em>Sharī‘ah</em> in both its outer &amp; inner aspects. The outer aspect is doing the optional prayers; the inner is trying to clean the heart by exercising the soul and body.</td>
<td><em>Jihād</em> in terms of fighting the ego</td>
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<td>7.</td>
<td><em>Nahjur Rāghibīn wa Sabīlul Muttaqīn</em> (‘The Method of Those who Desire to Search for God &amp; the Path of the Pious Ones’)</td>
<td>For beginners and advanced students. This treatise discusses Islamic jurisprudence in relation to the problem of trade in Islam. The aim is to explain all the problems concerning trade in Islam to Muslims so that they can understand it well.</td>
<td>Reference to the outer aspect of <em>Sharī‘ah</em> (Islamic jurisprudence or <em>Fiqh</em>)</td>
<td>General meaning of <em>Jihād</em>: making one’s best effort for the sake of God. Obeying Islamic law regarding trade is also <em>Jihād</em> in the path of God.</td>
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<td>8.</td>
<td><em>Farā‘īdul Fawā‘īd al Fikrī fī al Imām al Mahdī.</em> (‘The Beneficial Obligations of Thought in the Discussion of the Messiah’)</td>
<td>For beginners and advanced students. Aim: that Muslims may understand some Prophet’s sayings about the coming of the Messiah (<em>Imam Mahdī</em>) at the end of time.</td>
<td>The reference is to Islamic <em>Sharī‘ah</em> since the belief in the coming of the Messiah (<em>Imam Mahdī</em>) is part of <em>Sharī‘ah</em>.</td>
<td>General meaning of <em>Jihād</em>: doing one’s best for the sake of God. Obeying Islamic law in regard to trade is also <em>Jihād</em> in the path of God.</td>
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<td>9.</td>
<td><em>Warduz Zawāhir li Hilli ‘Iqādil Jawāhir, aqīdah ahlis sunnah wal jamā’ah</em> (‘The Rose Blossom to Show the Words of the Joining Jewels’)</td>
<td>For beginners &amp; advanced students. Aim: to teach understanding of the divine sciences (<em>usul al-din</em>) and a little about Sufism especially about the <em>tarekat</em> <em>shattariyyah</em>. It covers many aspects of Islamic sciences: e.g., the Oneness of God (<em>tauhīd</em>), Qur’anic exegesis (<em>Tafsīr</em>), the prophetic tradition, Islamic jurisprudence, the comparison of various forms of Islamic jurisprudence, &amp; Islamic political science.</td>
<td>The reference is to <em>Jihād</em>, <em>Sharī’ah</em> and Sufism. In the matter of Sufism, it emphasizes fighting the ego, which is part of the inner aspect of <em>Sharī’ah</em>. It is comprehensive in teaching about both the inner and outer aspects of <em>Sharī’ah</em>.</td>
<td>All aspects of <em>Jihād</em>: one’s best efforts for the sake of God; fighting the ego (Sufism); waging war when needed; war in relation to Islamic politics</td>
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<td>10.</td>
<td><em>Hidāyatul Muta’allim wa ‘Umdatul Muallim</em> (‘The Guidance of the Student and the Support of the Teacher’)</td>
<td>For beginners and advanced students. Aim: to teach the principles of religion (<em>aqāid</em>) and Islamic jurisprudence (<em>Fiqh</em>), and some branches of Islamic law. Importance of the testimony that there is no god but Allah, and rules of <em>Fiqh</em>: e.g. purifying before prayer, daily prayer, paying alms, trading, marriage, fasting, the pilgrimage, <em>Jihād</em> or fighting in the path of Allah. Dawud explains <em>Jihād fī</em></td>
<td>The reference is to the inner aspect of <em>Sharī’ah</em> that is the principles of religion that should be understood by Muslims. It also refers to Islamic Jurisprudence or <em>Fiqh</em>.</td>
<td><em>Jihād</em> in general: one’s best efforts for the sake of God; trying to grasp Islamic teachings; esp. <em>Jihād</em> in terms of waging war as explained in <em>Fiqh</em></td>
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<td>No.</td>
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<td>11.</td>
<td><em>Fathul Minan Tarjamah li Shafwatizzubad li Walīyyillāhī Ahmad Ibn Raslān al-Dimashqī</em> <em>(‘The Opening of Grace: a Translation of the Book of the Best Choices of the Pure Milk’ by the friend of God Ahmad Ibn Raslan al-Dimashqī)</em></td>
<td>For advanced students. A translation and explanation of the book <em>Shafwatuz Zubad</em> by Ahmad Raslān al-Dimashqī. Translation from Arabic to Malay (in Jawi script). Aim: to make it easier for Malay readers. It consists of an explanation of the origin of knowledge about God, and the principles of religion (usul al din) to teach Malay Muslim readers the basic principles of Islamic teachings.</td>
<td>The reference is to the inner aspect of <em>Sharī’ah</em>, that is, the belief in God.</td>
<td>General meaning of Jihād - that is, making one’s best effort for the sake of God</td>
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<td>12.</td>
<td><em>Jam’ul Fawāid wa Jawāhirul Qalāid</em> <em>(‘The Collection of the Benefits and the Jewels of the Necklaces’)</em></td>
<td>For advanced students. Aim: to share the advantages of knowing about the <em>Qur’an</em>, Islamic Sufism, &amp; Islamic Jurisprudence or <em>fiqh</em>. It is hoped that readers will also be able to recite the holy <em>Qur’an</em> and understand its contents - belief, law and moral teachings in regard to the relation of human beings with God and human beings with their fellows. <em>(Hablun minallāhi wa hablum minannāsi)</em></td>
<td>Reference to <em>Sharī’ah</em>, both the outer and inner aspects: i.e, Islamic jurisprudence or <em>fiqh</em> and Islamic Sufism or <em>tasawwuf</em></td>
<td>General meaning of Jihād &amp; Jihād in terms of waging war. <em>Jihād</em> as fighting the ego (i.e. Zuhud (not being greedy) - this is <em>Jihād</em> as fighting the ego.</td>
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<td>13.</td>
<td><em>Bughyatut Tullāb limūrīdī Mā’rifatil Ahkām bis Shawāb</em> ('The Object of Desire of Those who Want to Know the Religious Law; for Students Wishing to Know the Religious Law and its Reward')</td>
<td>For intermediate &amp; advanced students. Some problems of praying &amp; performing the pilgrimage in <em>Islamic jurisprudence</em>. Aim: for readers to understand these problems of praying and performing the pilgrimage well.</td>
<td>Reference to <em>Sharī’ah</em>. The outer aspect of <em>Sharī’ah</em> - <em>fiqh</em> or <em>Islamic jurisprudence</em></td>
<td><em>Jihād</em> in general terms: i.e. making the best effort in the path of God for the sake of God.</td>
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<td><em>Sullamul Muḥtadi fi Ma’rifati Tharīqatil Muḥtadī, Pelajaran Usuluddin atas Jalan Ahlussunnah wal Jama’ah dan Hokum Fīqih</em> ('The Lesson of the Principles of Religion Based on the Method of <em>Ahlussunnah wal Jama’ah</em> ‘- those who adhere to the prophetic tradition and the majority of Muslims')</td>
<td>For beginners. Aim: so that readers will understand some problems of the principles of religion (<em>usul al din</em>) and the problems of <em>Islamic jurisprudence</em> based in the <em>Sunni sect</em>.</td>
<td>Reference to <em>Sharī’ah</em> - the outer aspect of <em>Sharī’ah</em> (<em>Islamic Jurisprudence</em>)</td>
<td><em>Jihād</em> in terms of general <em>Jihād</em> and also of waging war.</td>
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<td>17.</td>
<td><em>Minhājul Abidīn ilā Jannati Rabbi Ālamīn</em> ('The Method of the Servants of God to Reach the Paradise of the Creator of the Universe')</td>
<td>For intermediate &amp; advanced students. Translation of a book about Sufism entitled <em>Minhājul Abidīn</em> by Imam al Ghazali (d.1111). Aim: to teach the importance of knowing about God, the Prophet, Islamic law (Sharī’ah), the Oneness of God (<em>Tauhid</em>) as the basic foundations of Islam. Knowledge of God is the most important for those who want to gain happiness in this life and the Hereafter.</td>
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<td>18.</td>
<td>( \text{Idāhul Bāb Limurīd al Nikāh bis Shawāb} ) ('The Explanation of the Chapter for Those Wishing to Know the Problem of Marriage Correctly')</td>
<td>For intermediate &amp; advanced students. The aim is that readers will understand well about marriage and its requirements in Islam.</td>
<td>Reference to outer aspect of ( \text{Sharī’ah - Fīqh} ) or Islamic jurisprudence.</td>
<td>( \text{Jihād} ) in general terms: the best effort in the path of God for the sake of God; sexual intercourse before marriage, is an adultery in Islam</td>
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<td>19.</td>
<td>( \text{Risālah Bulūghul Marām} ) (‘The Treatise on the Arrival at the Wished for, or Gaining what the People Wish’)</td>
<td>For beginners and intermediate students. Aim: for readers to understand the way to perform the prayer and its requirements.</td>
<td>( \text{Sharī’ah, Islamic jurisprudence - fīqh} )</td>
<td>( \text{Jihād} ) in general terms</td>
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<td>20.</td>
<td>( \text{Al-Jawāhir al Tsaniyyah fī Sharhi al Aqāid al Dīniyyah wa Akhām al Fīqh al Mardiyyah wa al Tarīq al Sulūk al Muhammadiyyah} ) (‘The Precious Pearls in the Explanation of the Creed of Religion and the Laws of Islamic Jurisprudence Needed and the)</td>
<td>For intermediate &amp; advanced students. Aim: that readers may understand the principles of Islamic religion (( \text{Usul al din} )), Islamic jurisprudence (( \text{fīqh} )) and Islamic Sufism (( \text{tasawwuf} ))</td>
<td>Reference to both aspects of ( \text{Sharī’ah: Islamic Jurisprudence or fīqh} ) (the outer aspect) and Islamic Sufism (the inner aspect)</td>
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<td><em>Ad Dūr ats Tsamīn</em> ('The Precious Pearls')</td>
<td>For intermediate &amp; advanced levels. Aim: that readers may understand the importance of knowledge in understanding the principles of religion, the characteristics of God and the importance of belief in the Oneness of God</td>
<td>Reference to <em>Sharī‘ah</em> - the outer aspect - Islamic jurisprudence or <em>Fiqh.</em></td>
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<td>For beginners &amp; intermediate students. Aim: Those readers understand the reasons for the duty of praying five times a day by understanding the ascent of the Prophet Muhammad to meet God &amp; accept the revelation about prayer. The ascent is known as <em>Isra’ wal Mi’raj.</em></td>
<td>Reference to <em>Sharī‘ah</em> in belief section (Islamic creed)</td>
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<td>Reference to <em>Sharī‘ah</em> in belief section (Islamic creed)</td>
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<td>24.</td>
<td>Dhiyāul Murūdī Ma‘rifati Kalimatil Tauhid</td>
<td>For intermediate &amp; advanced levels. Aim: to teach the importance of knowing the beautiful names of God and reciting or chanting these names after prayer according to the Shattariyah order.</td>
<td>Sharī‘ah, Islamic Sufism</td>
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<td>(‘The Light of the Students in Knowing the Words of the Islamic Testimony of the Oneness of God’)</td>
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<td>25.</td>
<td>Furū‘ul Masā‘il</td>
<td>For intermediate &amp; advanced levels. Aim: to teach readers to understand many aspects of Islamic Jurisprudence or Fīqh - praying, trading, fasting, Jihad, etc; &amp; the basic principles of Islamic belief or Usūl al dīn</td>
<td>Reference to Sharī‘ah and Islamic Jurisprudence or Fīqh.</td>
<td>Jihad in general terms &amp; in terms of waging war</td>
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<td>(‘The Branches of Problems’)</td>
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<td>26.</td>
<td>Risālah Riyād Minan Nufūs az Zakiyyah ilā Taragqī ala Maqāmin Nafsil Mutmainnah</td>
<td>For intermediate &amp; advanced students. Aim: so that readers will understand Sufism &amp; be able to practice it</td>
<td>Reference to Sufism.</td>
<td>Jihad al Nafs or fighting the ego</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Main Aims, Theses &amp; Target Readers</td>
<td>References to Jihād, Sharī‘ah &amp; Sufism</td>
<td>Type of Jihād</td>
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<td>27</td>
<td><em>Wasāyā al Abrār</em> <em>(‘The Wills of the Good People’)</em></td>
<td>For beginners &amp; intermediate levels. Aim: that readers will go back to pray &amp; ask God for help in their troubles in life</td>
<td>Reference to <em>Sharī‘ah</em> in belief section (Islamic creed)</td>
<td><em>Jihād</em> in general terms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td><em>Risālah Kifāyatul Mubtadi wa Irsyādil muhtadi or Irsyādil atfāl al mubtadin fī aqāid al īmān wal ‘ādiyah al nāfī‘ah li al dīn</em> <em>(‘Treatise on the Sufficiency of the Beginner and the Suggestion of the Guided One or the Guidance of the Children at the Beginner Level in the Problem of the Religious Creed and the Beneficial Customs in their Religious Life’)</em></td>
<td>For beginners, intermediate or advanced levels among parents: this treatise is intended for those who educate children. Aim: that educators or readers will be able to understand how to teach the principles of religion (<em>usūl al dīn</em>) relating to the beliefs of Islam to children</td>
<td>Reference to <em>Sharī‘ah</em> Teaching the religious dogmas &amp; teachings to children is part of the obligations of Islamic <em>Sharī‘ah</em>.</td>
<td><em>Jihād</em> in general terms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td><em>Ghāyatul Marām fī Kayfīyatī adā il Haj wal Islam</em> <em>(manāsik al haj wal umrah)</em></td>
<td>For beginning &amp; intermediate levels. Aim: that readers will understand what to do in relation to undertaking the pilgrimage or <em>haj</em></td>
<td>Reference to Islamic jurisprudence or <em>Fīqh</em>.</td>
<td><em>Jihād</em> in general terms</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
This section does not propose that Dawud had his own particular concepts of Jihād, Sharī‘ah and Sufism, since there is nothing different from the previous Muslim scholars who drew their explanations of Islamic Sharī‘ah from the Qur‘ān and the Hadīth (Prophetic traditions). This section does set out to demonstrate that Dawud’s concepts of Jihād, Sharī‘ah and Sufism are integrated, however. In his works, Dawud explains various subjects related to Sharī‘ah or Islamic law. When he discusses Islamic law or Sharī‘ah, Dawud refers to it as the totality of Islamic teachings, so Islamic Sufism and Islamic jurisprudence are also part of Sharī‘ah.

Dawud explains that two concepts of Jihād exist in Islamic Sharī‘ah. These are known as Jihād in terms of fighting the ego (Arabic: Jihād al Nafs) and Jihād in terms of war. Dawud mentions Jihād in terms of fighting the ego (Jihād al Nafs) in his discussion of Islamic Sufism. Here he stresses the importance of Jihād al Nafs, the war to free the ego from the bad or evil characteristics that create a boundary between the servant and God. This can be clearly found in Dawud’s works for example in Ilmu Tasawwuf;1007 Kitāb Kanzul Minan alā Hikami Abī Madyān,1008 Al-Jawāhir al Tsaniyyah fi Syarhi al Aqāid al Dīniyyah wa Ahkām al Fīqh al Mardiyyah wa al Tariq al Sulāk al Muhammadiyyah (in the third part of this book),1009 Risālah Riyād Minan Nufūs az

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1008 Dawud al Fatani, Kitab Kanzul Minan ala Hikami Abi Madyan (Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia: Khazanah Fathaniyah, 1999).

1009 Dawud al Fatani, Al-Jawāhir al Tsaniyyah fi Syarhi al Aqāid al Dīniyyah wa Ahkām al Fīqh al Mardiyyah wa al Tariq al Sulāk al Muhammadiyyah (Bangkok, Thailand, Mataba‘ah Muhammad al Nahdi wa Aulduhu (Kuala Lumpur: Perpustakaan Negara Malaysia, no date), 2-35. See the manuscript, MSS 1540 For the comparison of the text of the printed manuscript and the unprinted one, see also, Dawud al Fatani, Al-Jawāhir al Tsaniyyah, Koleksi Islam, Perpustakaan Tun Sri Lanang, K.I.BP.166.122215UN.I (Bangi, Malaysia: University Kebangsaan Malaysia, no date), 264-273.
Zakiyyah ilā Taraqqī ala Maqāmin Nafsil Mutmainnah, Sullamul Mubtadi fi Ma‘rifati Tharīqīl Mubtadi, Dhiyāul Murīd fi Ma‘rifati Kalimatil Tauhīd, Minḥājul ‘Ābidīn ilā Jannati Rabbil Ālamīn, and al Manhalusshāfī fi Bayānī Rumūzī Ahlīs Shīfī.

Dawud’s treatment of the second concept of Jihād in terms of waging war follows the Shafi‘i school. The requirements for waging Jihād are: being Muslim, adult, thoughtful, able, and having the permission of one’s parents. If any one of these requirements is missing, it is considered that the requirements of Jihād in terms of waging war have not been fulfilled, and it is therefore strictly prohibited. This concept of war can be found in the works of Dawud in Furū‘ul Masā’il and Sullamul Mubtadi fi

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1010 Dawud al Fatani, Risālah Riyād Minan Nafūs az Zakiyyah ilā Taraqqī ala Maqāmin Nafsil Mutmainnah, manuscript edited rewritten by Hj. Mohd Shagīr Abdullah ( Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia: Khazanah Fataniyyah, 2004), 1-35.

1011 Dawud al Fatani, Sullamul Mubtadi fi Ma‘rifati Tharīqīl Mubtadi ( Singapore: Sulayman Mari‘ie publishing and trading, no date).


1013 Dawud al Fatani, Minḥājul ‘Ābidīn ilā Jannati Rabbil Ālamīn, Matba’ah bin Halabi, Thailand no date. See also other text of this treatise which is still in form of manuscript, Dawud al Fatani, Minḥājul ‘Ābidīn, available at ATMA (Alam Tamaddun Melayu) Library, 8.BP.189.F37.2 ( Bangi, Malaysia: University Kebangsaan Malaysia, no date).

1014 Dawud al Fatani, al Manhalusshāfī fi Bayānī Rumūzī Ahlīs Shīfī, Maktabah wa Matba‘ah Muhammad al Nahdi wa Aulāduhu, no date and no place mentioned. In the manuscript MSS 460, Perpustakaan Negara Malaysia, Kuala Lumpur Malaysia, written Minḥāl as Sāfī fi Bayānī Rumūzī min Ahl Sūfī, karya asal disusun oleh Dawud al Fatani (37) ff., and 2110.28.8x18.8cm (lengkap). See also the two versions of this text, the Arabic jawi scipt and the Latin transliteration with the introduction of this text by Shagīr Hj. Wan Mohd. Shagīr Abdullah, Manhāl as Shāfī Syeikh Dawud al Fatani membicarakan Rumus Shufi dan Istilah istilah Tasawuf ( Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia: Khazanah Fataniyyah bekerjasama Imatera Publishers, Sdn Bhd, 1992). Detailed explanation about this treatise see, Faudzi Naim Badaruddin, Manhāl as Shāfī by Shaykh Dawud al Fatani as s specimen of Malay Kitāb literature of 18-19 cc. Text, Translation and Analysis, unpublished PhD thesis ( London: School of Oriental and African Studies university of London, 1998). In his research, Naim used several versions of the texts. However, in attaching the text of the manuscript in his thesis, Naim chooses what he considers the most representative one, See Faudzi Naim Badaruddin, Ibid., 162-206.

1015 Dawud al Fatani, Furū‘ul Masā’il, 2 vols ( Bangkok, Thailand: Maktabah wa Matba‘ah Muhammad al Nahdi wa Auladulu, no date).
There is a tight relationship between the first kind of \textit{Jihād} in terms of fighting the ego and the second in terms of waging war. In relation to Dawud’s works on \textit{Jihād} in terms of fighting the ego, Dawud teaches that to be a good person in Islam and in order to know God, one has to remove this cover (Arabic: \textit{Hijāb}) by fighting the ego. The \textit{Hijāb} or ‘cover’ in this sense is the collection of bad intentions in the heart that will become obstacles for a person to understand the will of God. If one already knows how to fight the ego, that person will become a good Muslim who will be beneficial not only to him- or herself, but also to society. When Dawud discusses \textit{Jihād} in Islamic jurisprudence or \textit{Fiqh}, he also stresses the importance of waging war against aggressors and oppressors - that is, any ruler who is a wrong- doer (\textit{Zālim}) towards the people.

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1016 Dawud al Fatani, \textit{Sullamul Mubtadi fi Ma’rifati Tharīqil Mubtadi} ( Singapore: Sulayman Mari’ie publishing and trading, no date, for chapter on \textit{Jihad} especially 34-35.


1019 Dawud al Fatani, \textit{Jam’ul Fawāid wa Jawāhirul Qalāid}, Matba’ah bin Halabi, Fathani Thailand, no date. This book has two printed versions; another one is published by Sulayman Mari’ie publishing and trading, Singapore, no date, 187.
\end{flushright}
In the context of Patani, the ruler who was considered to be a wrong-doer (Zālim) towards the Muslim community was the Thai ruler. It is worth noting that a Muslim may only undertake Ḥijād in terms of war if a sincere intention is the basis of this Ḥijād. Ḥijād in terms of waging war requires a sincere intention which can only be gained by waging Ḥijād in terms of fighting the ego. On the other hand, Ḥijād in terms of fighting the ego is not enough for Muslims when Ḥijād in terms of waging war is necessary to one’s Muslim community.

Dawud’s writings stress that after knowing and undertaking purification of the heart, Muslims are at the same time also obliged to perform the religious duties embodied in Islamic jurisprudence, such as performing the prayers, fasting, giving alms for the needy, undertaking the pilgrimage etc. In summary, all forms of effort undertaken to improve one’s spiritual and material condition, undertaken for oneself and/or for society for the sake of Allah, is Ḥijād according to Dawud. It is hoped that by doing these tasks, the message of Islam (to be a blessing for all creation) can be experienced.

Dawud certainly does not mention Ḥijād in terms of war against the Thais. What he mentions in his work is based on Islamic jurisprudence (Fīqh): Muslims should wage Ḥijād in terms of waging war when aggressors attack their property and/or their lives. Ḥijād in terms of waging war is a must for Muslims when unbelievers enter Muslim countries to destroy the land and the people. In this case Jihad in terms of war is in accord with the Islamic teaching that it is for self-defense.

All the works of Dawud explained above consist of the teachings of Islamic Sharīʿah since they can all be divided into two kinds: the outer aspect of Sharīʿah or Islamic jurisprudence (Fīqh) and the inner aspect of Sharīʿah or Sufism (tasawwuf);
**Jihād** either in terms of waging war or fighting the ego is part of these two aspects of **Sharī’ah**. These two aspects can be observed in Dawud’s thought on **Sharī’ah** and Sufism. Dawud says about **Sharī’ah**:

*Asy Syarī’ah, iaitu mengerjakan segala yang disuruh oleh Allah dan menjauhkan segala yang ditegah (dilarang) oleh Allah.*

**Sharī’ah** is to do all the obligations commanded by God (Allah) and to get rid of all that is banned by God (Allah).

Furthermore, when Dawud explains about the importance of understanding and performing **Sharī’ah**, he says:

*Dan setengah daripada pekerjaan yang mustahil pada akal dan syara’ ialah sampai seseorang kepada maqām yang dinamakan ‘Wahdat al Wujūd’ orang yang tiada menjalani dengan syari’at dan thariqat, maka ia dapat haqiqat, yang demikian itu adalah dusta dakwanya dan orang yang dakwa syaitan.*

And some of the impossible things for our mind and religious teaching (**Sharī’ah**) is that one could attain the stage that is called **Wahdat al Wujūd**, the oneness of being. The one who does not perform the **Sharī’ah** with its fullest meaning and performing its way or **tareqa** that one could reach Gnosis (**ma’rifā**). All who say this are liars and they are the followers of **Shaitan** (Satan).

In relation to Sufism (**tasawwuf**), Dawud says:

*At-Tasawwuf iaitu adab syari’at yang zhahir dan batin. Maka ia melihat akan hukumnya daripada zahirnya didalam batinnya. Yang batinnya pada zhahirnya. Maka shahīh daripada dua hukum itu, sempurna yang tiada*

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1020 Dawud al Fatani, 46.

1021 Ibid., 67.
Sufism means the manner of the outer aspect and the inner aspect of *Sharī'ah*. Thus, Sufism sees the outer aspect of *Sharī’ah* (Islamic law) from the inner side or the inner aspect of *Sharī’ah*. It is from the inner aspect looking at the outer aspect. Thus, *Sharī’ah* becomes the correct one if it consists of those two aspects. The most perfect of all is said: ‘From the outer aspect, it is pure from sin and from the inner aspect of *Sharī’ah*, it is pure from deceit’.

7.6. **The Role of Islamic Institutions: Responses & Challenges in Muslim Societies**

The first important Islamic institution which became a center of Islamic learning was the mosque. It functioned as a centre for both religious and social activities. This first Islamic institution had a great role in disseminating Islamic teachings and values to society. It was through the process of teaching and learning that the Muslim intellectual group in Patani emerged in line with the development of Patani as an important Islamic state in Southeast Asia. It is worth bearing in mind that the Mosque or *Masjid* became the center of Islamic learning before the establishment of *Pondok*. When *Pondok* (huts) emerged as centers of Islamic institutions, the mosque also became part of the *Pondok*. In addition to that, the mosque is not officially called an Islamic institution. It was only a place for study in the early period of Islam, when Muslims had not yet developed their institutions.

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1022 Ibid., 46.

The Muslim scholars in Patani were generally considered to be representative of the well-educated people, and of a higher culture. They generally came from well-established families such as traders or rulers or royalty, and were considered to be agents of social change. Islamic scholars had a great role in the life of Patani society. It is not surprising that even in court affairs, ulama or Muslim scholars also became part of the ruling elite, and were decision-makers particularly in relation to the political and economic policies of the Patani kingdom. It is important to mention that the most influential Islamic educational institution in shaping the development of Islamic culture and civilization after the mosque was the Pondok (hut). It is worth observing that although the mosque was the first place of study before the establishment of Pondok, it is not officially called an institution. In later developments, the mosque also becomes part of the Pondok, even in modern times.

No document provides a definite date for the establishment of the first Pondok in Patani. However, some Pondok which are considered to be very early establishments include: Pondok Kuala Bekah, Pondok Semela, Pondok Bendang Guchil, Pondok Bendang Daya, Pondok Chuwuk, Pondok Dala, and Pondok Cho-uk. It was Muslim scholars or ulama who had studied in the Middle East in places such as Masjid al-Haram in Mecca, Masjid al-Nabawi in Medina and al Azhar in Cairo. Masjid or mosques in these Islamic areas functioned as schools and universities before the establishment of universities and schools. They offered various subjects of Islamic teaching such as

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1024 Ibid., 116.
Islam, theology, Sufism, history and the Arabic language, taught by competent Muslim scholars.1025

The Islamic traditional institution widely known as the Pondok has been a popular place to teach Islam in Patani. It can be said that Pondok institutions (the traditional Islamic education system) were the first institutions to disseminate Islamic teachings, especially in Southeast Asian countries.1026 Pondok provided various subjects of Islamic teachings from the very basic to the advanced disciplines. Therefore, Muslims in Patani considered the Pondok as an important institution in terms of moral guidance for the society.1027

Pondok also have an important role as the first place where Muslim students can to strengthen their basic Islamic knowledge before pursuing higher education (for those who wish) in the Haramayn. Since in Islam studying is also part of Jihad in the broadest terms, Pondok play a significant role in Muslim societies.

Malay students, who could afford to undertake further study of Islamic teachings after finishing their studies in Pondok institutions in the Malay Archipelago, traveled to Mecca. Not all students could afford to continue their education in Mecca, so the Pondok institution in Patani became the center of Islamic teaching for Patani Muslim scholars. The Islamic subjects taught in Patani were similar to those taught in Mecca: Fīqh (Islamic jurisprudence), Usūluddīn (the principles of religion), Tafsīr (Qur’anic exegesis), Hadīth (Prophetic traditions), Nahwu and Saraf (Arabic grammar), Mantiq

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1025 Ibid., 116.
1027 W.K. Che Man, 117.
(Logic), Balāghah (Arabic rhetoric), and Arūd (Arabic poetry). In addition, the teachers in the Malay Pondok graduated from Mecca, widely referred to as the Haramayn Circle.\footnote{Mohd Zamberi A.Malek, 102.}

In relation to this, Dawud al Fatani, is the most important and prolific writer to mention since he studied in Mecca and wrote on many of the various subjects of Islam, including making translations from famous Arabic books and providing explanations in the Malay language for Malay-speaking Muslims. Dawud’s contribution through his writing was very significant as it introduced various aspects of Islamic teachings; especially the concept of Islamic law or Sharī’ah which also includes Fīqh (Islamic jurisprudence) and Tasawwuf (Islamic Sufism). It is by explaining the outer aspect of Islamic Sharī’ah (Fīqh) and its inner aspects (Sufism) based and in Patani in particular, Dawud’s works clearly explain the all aspects of Islamic law (Sharī’ah).\footnote{Ibid.}

Dawud’s activities included teaching and writing books, as well as managing those Muslims who performed the pilgrimage (Haj). Most of Dawud’s writings were written in Mecca. Dawud’s works are studied by many Muslim students in Pondok and some other Islamic institutions across the Malay Archipelago. It is for this reason that the works of Dawud’s are re-published and remained popular.\footnote{Further explanation about the publication of Dawud’s, see Virginia Matheson and MB Hooker, \textit{Jawi literature in Patani: The maintenance of an Islamic tradition, JMBRAS” vol. 6, part 1, 1989, 1-86.}

All of these activities show that Muslim society’s response to the works of Dawud’s in particular and other Malay scholars in general were very appreciative. The Islamic
institution known as the Pondok then became the place of transmission for the dissemination of Islamic learning.

7.7. Is Dawud’s Sufism ‘Neo-Sufism’?
Looking at Some Important Aspects of Dawud’s Writings

Drawing from the discussion above, there are some important points in Dawud’s works. They are: Sharī’ah, Tarekah, Hakekah and al-Insān al Kāmil. All of these points are actually focused and embodied in Sharī’ah since it consists of an outer and an inner aspect as has been mentioned above. Since Dawud studied from the works of previous Sūfis, this means that Dawud followed the thought of the Sūfis from before the 17th century. This section will show that Dawud’s thought is a continuation of the previous Sūfī masters. This is to argue that the term ‘Neo-Sufism’ applied to Dawud is inappropriate.

In relation to Sufism and Jihād, although Professor Azra borrows the term ‘Neo-Sufism’ used by Professor Rahman to justify the accusation regarding the passivity of Sufism before the 17th century (see Chapter V of this thesis), in his writing Professor Azra mixed his agreement and disagreement with Sufism, and his inconsistency is apparent. Professor Azra agrees with Professor Rahman that Sufism before the 17th century was inactive: he agrees with the term ‘Neo-Sufism’ and its definition. However, in his subsequent explanation, he defends Sufism. In this case Professor Azra writes:

Most of the accusations are ill founded. There is no need to repeat the arguments and evidence presented throughout this book: that the central teaching of the reformed Sufism or ‘Neo-Sufism’ was puritanical in its nature. It called for the total obedience, both outwardly and inwardly, of Muslims to orthodoxy, or more precisely to the Sharī’ah. The scholars in the networks agreed that it was simply impossible for the Sūfis to achieve
their spiritual goal without committing themselves fully to the orthodox doctrine of Islam. There were, of course, deviant manifestations of Sufism, particularly at the level of the masses, but these were generated mostly by a lack of understanding of the correct teachings of Sufism. Therefore, Sufism as such could not be held responsible for all bid’ahs and khurafats found in Muslim societies. Similarly, the modernists’ accusation that Sufism encouraged passivity and withdrawal from worldly affairs was based mostly on ignorance or misunderstanding of the whole teachings of Sufism. We have shown throughout the discussion that none of the scholars in the networks taught passivity and withdrawal. On the contrary, they appealed to Muslim activism, for them the fulfillment of Muslims’ worldly duties was an integral part of their spiritual progress in the mystical journey.\(^{1031}\)

Professor Azra’a explanation of the case of the Malay Sūfī networks who were teaching an active life is correct. However, how could it be explained that at the same time he agrees with Professor Rahman that Sufism before the 17th century was inactive, whereas the Malay Sūfīs in the 17th century and afterward learned the doctrines of Sufism from the teachings of Sūfīs who lived before the 17th century. Therefore, it is clear that there are some inconsistencies in his writing. It is also proved that the term used in this case - ‘Neo-Sufism’ - with its definition will have serious consequences: it will have an effect on the essence of Sufism itself and at worst will negate the long history of Sufism and its figures as has been explained in Chapter V of this thesis.\(^{1032}\)

In relation to the opinion of Dawud on the concept of Wahdat al Wujūd (Unity of Being or Monism), Azra’s explanation about the reconciliation between al Ghazali’s fiqh Sufism and Ibnu Arabi’s philosophical Sufism\(^{1033}\) is actually contradicted by his remarks

\(^{1031}\) Ibid., 139.

\(^{1032}\) See Chapter V of this thesis, Islam in the Malay World.

\(^{1033}\) Azyumardi Azra, 134-136.
about Dawud’s explanation of the understanding of the concept of *Wahdat al Wujūd*.

Professor Azra writes at length:

In connection with this view, al-Fatani conceives the *Manhal al-Sāfī* as an answer and explanation of various concepts and terms in *tasawwuf*. In addition to discussing such concepts as *Wahdat al Wujūd*, *martabat tujuh*, and other mystico-theological matters, al-Fatani complements the work with a list of some key terms in Sufi vocabularies and their meanings. In the introductory notes to the *Manhal al-Sāfī*, the author again criticizes pseudo-*Sūfīs* who misunderstood the concept of, for instance, *Wahdat al Wujūd* because they simply embraced its literal meaning. For that reason, he reminds the Muslims that books dealing with such topics should be read only by experts or by those who have solid grounding in the ‘*tarīqah Muhammadiyyah*’.1034

Further Professor Azra writes:

The fact that the Malay-Indonesian scholars in the eighteenth century continued to cling to the central doctrine of ibnu Arabi is hardly surprising. Despite criticism of the concept of *Wahdat al Wujūd*, it is in fact the fundamental and central doctrine of all kinds of Sufism. Criticism of this doctrine by such scholars as Ibnu Taymiyyah, al Subkī (d.745/1344) and Ibn Khaldun (d 780/1378) is essentially based on the fact that it can be easily misunderstood. It may lead to the belief that there is continuity or a total unity, between the creation and God. In other words, it could bring one to a pantheistic belief, which is anathema to legal scholars (*ahl al Shar’T*).1035

Professor Azra then continues by saying:

It is important to note that the doctrine of *Wahdat al Wujūd*, quite surprisingly, was defended by several eminent legal and *Hadīth* scholars, including Muhy al-dinal Nawawī (d.676/1278), Jalal al- Dīn al-Suyūṭī and Zakariyya al-Ansari. We have shown how al-Ansari, for example, possessed *hadīth isnād* which can be traced to Ibnu ‘Arabi. The staunchest defender of Ibnu ‘Arabi among neo-*Sūfīs* was, of course, al-Sha’rānī, to whom many scholars in the networks traced their mystical teachings.1036

1034 Ibid., 138.

1035 Ibid.

1036 Ibid.
It is of particular importance to keep in mind that many scholars in the networks, from al-Qushashi, al-Kurani, Uthmān b. Fūḍī, al-Sinkīlī, al-Maqassary, al-Palimbani and Muhammad Naﬁs to al-Fatani, responded in a similar fashion to controversy surrounding Ibn Arabi’s doctrines. Much like al Sha’rani, they insisted that Ibn Arabi’s doctrines should not be taken at face value: they must be understood in connection with other mystical concepts.\(^{1037}\)

In order to avoid misinterpretation of Ibn Arabi’s doctrines, these scholars unanimously urged disciples in the mystical path to read Ibn Arabi’s book only after they had achieved the degree of the “khāṣṣ” (elite). Disciples must have firm grounding in all aspects of mystico-philosophical doctrines and understand fully their relations with the legal teachings of Islam before they can understand the teachings of Ibn ‘Arabi in their proper contexts. It is equally important to note that these scholars took great care not to associate them entirely with Ibn Arabi; they cited other authorities, unanimously known as ‘orthodox’ scholars such as al-Ghazali, as their central sources.\(^{1038}\)

From the explanation above, it is clear that Ibn Arabi himself, like al-Ghazali, also emphasizes the importance of Fīqh before going into the deeper philosophical Sufism. It is also worth noting that the only work of Ibn Arabi discussing philosophical Sufism is one book called Fusūs al Hikam (‘Pearls of Wisdom’); while his other books Jam‘u al Muallafāt (‘A Compilation of Writings’) and Futūhat al Makkīyyah (‘The Opening of Mecca’) attach importance to Fīqh, Islamic jurisprudence. Thus, there is nothing to be reconciled as the works of Al-Ghazali and Ibn Arabi are in harmony. Only in one of his works is Ibn Arabi more philosophical than al-Ghazali.

However Professor Azra quoted from various sources to the effect that this philosophical teaching of Sufism (the concept of Wahdat al-Wujūd) is intended to be

\(^{1037}\) Ibid.

\(^{1038}\) Ibid., 139.
studied only by those who have a good background in *Sharī‘ah*. Since this concept is very complicated, the requirement that the student have a good knowledge of *Sharī‘ah* is plausible. Those who do not have a good knowledge of *Sharī‘ah* may go astray when studying this concept.

**Conclusion**

The importance of Muslim Patani’s role in the history of Thailand has been insufficiently studied. In relation to this, the previous discussion has offered an overview of the history of Islam in Patani from its emergence and during the period of its development. Since the development of the Islamic movement has always been related to the emergence of elite intellectuals as agents of social change, it is necessary to understand the figure of the intellectual in Islam.

This chapter has focussed on the case of Patani, and specifically on a prominent Muslim scholar from Patani, Dawud al Fatani who elaborated the concept of understanding Islam through *Jihād*, *Sharī‘ah* and Sufism, especially at the time when Muslim Patani had a serious problem in relation to non-Muslims (their Thai overlords). The reason for this author’s selection of Dawud is twofold.

The first is that Dawud was an elite Muslim intellectual who had mastery over various branches of Islamic knowledge, evident in some of his works.

Second, Dawud was himself involved in the dynamic of Islamic discourse both in Patani, Thailand in his early life, and in the wider arena of the most prestigious circle of Islamic discourse known as the Haramayn Circle (in Mecca and Medina), and also in
Cairo, Egypt. These three countries were considered to be the centers of Islamic learning at that time.

Although in his later life Dawud did not live in Patani, his relations with Patani Muslims arriving in Mecca for the purpose of the pilgrimage (*haj*) were a precious opportunity to discuss various matters relating to Muslim society in his home country. Additionally, the importance of Dawud’s involvement with his community can be traced not only from the history books but also through his own works which have been circulated and studied widely in the Malay Archipelago in general, and in Patani in particular.  

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**CHAPTER VIII**

1039 Ibid., 144.
GENERAL CONCLUSION

This study has shown that the problems of Jihād, Sharī’ah and Sufism in Islamic history are very dynamic. These three important concepts have aroused debate throughout the history of Islam. To approach this study thoroughly, this thesis proposes four important ways of analysing these problems as they relate to Islam in the Malay world in particular and to the Islamic world in general.

This thesis offers four important key concepts for understanding:

1. The importance of methodology as well as method of study being used
2. The importance of knowing the problem and its causes and effects being studied before giving analysis based on the cases
3. The importance of knowing the transmission of ideas in relation to their applications in the real life of the Malay people.
4. The transmission of the Islamic ideas from the Islamic scholars to the Malay world and their relations to the current condition. This understanding may give a broader overview in analysing why some radical Muslim groups have now emerged.

To begin, the first key concept is the importance of methodology as well the method of study being used. This thesis attaches an importance of using the methodology to investigate and analyse the events in Islamic history, especially the problems of Jihād, Sharī’ah, Sufism and the revival of Islamic movements in the Malay world, case studies of Yusuf al Maqassary and Dawud al Fatani. It is hoped that the understanding of the cases will give the readers significant insights to the notions of Jihād, Sharī’ah, Sufism and the revival of Islamic movements in the Malay world.
To conduct the research, this study chooses to use the sociology of knowledge for Karl Mannheim as the grand theory. The main idea of the sociology of knowledge is that the thought of someone is not independent. The thought has been much influenced by the environments. The environment, according to Mannheim are the teachers, the parents, the books the person uses, the ideas which flourish at the time the person lives, and many others. In short, in Mannheim’s opinion, to know the problem or the case being investigated, someone must go in the research to investigate all aspects shaping one’s thought. In conformity with this research, Mannheim’s theory of the sociology of knowledge helps the study to go deeper to know about the problem being researched.

The Sociology of knowledge tries to trace all aspects that give an influence on the persons who have the ideas such as the background of the family, their societies, teachers from whom they study, the books they use and the philosophy of life to which they adhere. These aspects becoming necessary to analyse before knowing the problem concerned with the persons or the concepts. Thus in terms of method of study, then this methodology uses historical approach which actually was promoted in the Muslim world by Muhammad Abdurrahman Ibn Khaldun and in modern time by Michael Foucault. In addition, historians such as Fernand Braudel, Toynbee and Will Durant also use this approach in their works.

The above explanation shows that methodology is a philosophical framework which becomes very significant. Methodology functions as the window to see the whole problem from the concept to the reality. The methodology is important because it becomes the basis of the study. The methodology directs the study to build a paradigm. Well structured paradigm will make the readers understand the study easily as
it is based on logical arguments. To give analysis to the problems by relying only to the cases not the concept, will result in the accuracy of the conclusion.

Therefore, by studying the root of the problem and comparing it with the reality, someone will be able to observe the problems and to offer plausible solutions. In this study, the methodology is being used to observe the root of the misunderstanding and misconception of *Jihād, Sharī‘ah* and *Sufism* by non-Muslims as well as by Muslims themselves. In attempting to do this, this thesis tries to trace the phenomenon as well as the writings relating to the concepts from the very beginning; the concepts were firstly legislated to their development. In brief, it is necessary to analyse the problems from total historical perspective by observing the cause and effects as well as the development of the problems.

The sociology of knowledge has the similarity with the study of the critique of *Hadīth*. It tries to trace the origin of the content of the *Hadīth* (*Matn al- Hadīth*), the transmission of the *Hadīth* as well as the transmitters themselves. This study covers the study of how the ways the *Hadīth* are narrated and transmitted (better known as *Riwayah* and *Dirayah al Hadīth*). Furthermore, the study discusses the qualification of the transmitters (*Rijālul Hadīth*), the contents of the *Hadīth* and makes the comparative study between the contents of the *Hadīth* and the content of the *Qur‘ān*. (*Muqāranah Bayn Matn al Hadīth wa al Qur‘ān*). It is through this methodology that the study of *Hadīth* decides the level of the *Hadīth*. The methodology being developed by Mannheim is known as the sociology of knowledge. The method uses by this sociology of knowledge is to know the origin of the concept to its development.
This methodology offers the researcher the method of tracing the origin of the object by also tracing all the elements and subjects relating to the objects. For instance, if one wants to know the concepts of Jihād, Sharī‘ah and Sufism, one is advised to trace some points such as the origin of the words, the reasons these words are being used, the development of the words being used, the place the words were firstly used, the reasons they are being used, the person promoting the use of the words, the implication of the word in relation to the understanding of the concept and the respond of societies to the concepts etc. In addition to that, the background of Mannheim makes him easy to understand the problem. Mannheim is of Jewish origin and Judaism. Both Jewish and Judaism have the same tradition as in Islam in seeing the sacred text revealed from God. These are the explanation of the first key concept in this thesis.

The second key concept is the importance of knowing the concept of the problem and its causes and effects being studied before giving an analysis based on the cases. This study focuses on the importance of knowing the concepts of Jihād, Sharī‘ah and Sufism in Islam. Hence, to have a comprehensive understanding on the whole problems, at the outset, this study offers hermeneutical approach in the broader term not only by knowing concepts semantically but also tracing the history of them and analysing their causes and effects. In this case, to understand those three concepts above involves firstly tracing the history of Islam from the time of the Prophet up to his death. Further, this study is tracing the development of the history of Islam after the prophet death to the emergence of the great shicism in the Muslim world. To enrich wider understanding of the problems, this study’s approach is using comparative study. The use of the comparative study is to show the difference of the understanding of the concepts before the time of the prophecy.
of the prophet Muhammad (Peace be upon him) in the Arab and afterward. One of the examples is the concept of war before Islam which was usually practiced by the Arabs to take revenge and to defend their clans. By knowing this historical background, one is hoped to understand well, the reason the concept Jihād in terms of waging war was eventually legislated by the Qur’ān.

This study explains those reasons by analyzing the political traditions of the Arabs in relation to the war. In terms of Sharī‘ah and Sufism this study strongly indicates that the Sharī‘ah is not merely a legal code of law, but is the totality of Islamic teachings including Sufism and Islamic jurisprudence or Fiqh as one the products of the Islamic law (Sharī‘ah) in broadest sense. It is by knowing these concepts; one will not easily address the product of the understanding of Islamic Sharī‘ah known as Islamic jurisprudence as a complete Sharī‘ah. Islamic jurisprudence or Fiqh is the legal aspect of Islamic Sharī‘ah. To understand its flexibility, one is advised to understand the totality of Islamic law (Sharī‘ah).

In conformity with the second key concept for understanding the problem, this thesis then discusses the notion of Jihād. The word Jihād whose meaning is doing one’s best effort in the path of God, in its development has been corrupted to waging war only. This misunderstanding happened, not only among non-Muslims but even among Muslims themselves. One of the causes is that most of Islamic jurisprudence books (Fiqh) which discuss Jihād in terms of waging war are misunderstood by some of the readers. Some of the readers, who misunderstood the concept, use these propositions to justify the explanation. It is worth observing that all the explanations on Jihād in Islamic jurisprudence books (Fiqh) are taken from the Qur’ān and Hadīth, both explain the
situation of war. As a result of this misunderstanding, *Jihād* then is widely understood and promoted as waging war. This misconception and understanding has discredited Islam as the religion supporting violence to reach its goal.

In Islam, both men and women have the same right to carry out the obligation of *Jihād*, either in general terms or in terms of waging war. In general terms, the division to do one’s best effort depends on the capability and proportion of each man and woman. In terms of waging war, the women also have the right to take part in it appropriately. If men are fighting in the battle field, women are obliged to care the injured and to prepare the food. Although women are not banned from taking part in the battle field, nevertheless, to take part in it is optional. This has been demonstrated in the early Islamic history and afterwards.

As a result of this, the terms *Jihād* often has a negative connotation to be understood merely as waging war by some westerners, non-Muslims and even by Muslims themselves. It is thus worth noting that in case of *Jihād*, this thesis tries not to make a generalization which often simplifies the problem, for example in case of Western thinkers. Although in the second part of this thesis, there are some Western thinkers mentioned who have a very negative view of *Jihad*, this thesis does not generalize that most of Western scholars and some non-Muslims have such a view. Thorough and deep observation and analysis must be taken into consideration before drawing this conclusion.

This thesis has shown that it is important to observe the case carefully. It should be admitted honestly that some Western scholars and non-Muslims have tried their best effort to understand concepts in Islam, such as *Jihād*, *Sharī’ah* and Sufism as this thesis
has explained. However, to have more detail knowledge on this, further research on this is indeed needed.

Considering the phenomenon, the thesis sees that it is urgently needed to divide the chapter on *Jihād* in general terms and in special terms such as the chapter on *Jihād* in doing the best effort for the sake of God and in terms of *Qitāl* (waging war in the path of God). The aim of this is to make the propositions (*Dalīl*) clear, between *Jihād* in general terms and *Jihād* in special terms. It is hoped that through this division, the Muslims and non-Muslims will understand the concept of *Jihād* better.

Similar cases are *Sharī’ah* and Sufism. It is clear that generalization to some extent can cause some misunderstandings. A blatant example is the term *Fiqh* (Islamic jurisprudence) which is often be understood as *Sharī’ah*, whereas each is different from the other. People also misunderstand the concept of Sufism since the deviations of some people claiming themselves to be *Sūfīs* are taken as a measure to judge the concept. The label being addressed to the concept of Sufism is often inaccurate. One of the examples is the label of “Neo-Sufism”. Inaccurate definition of the terms has kept some people from proper understanding the essence of the term ‘Sufism’ and its history.

There is a negative view on Sufism which considers Sufism before the 17th century to be more philosophical. At worst, it also accuses Sufism to have a weak attachment to *Sharī’ah*. These negative views are denied clearly by fact of the Islamic history which shows that before the 17th century, there were many followers of Sufism who took an active part in social life and even waged *Jihād* in terms of waging war. It is very significant to bear in mind that *Jihād* is an integral part of the two aspects of *Sharī’ah*. *Jihād* should be done through two aspects of *Sharī’ah* namely outer *Jihād and inner*
Jihād. Outer Jihād is often associated with the understanding of Islamic Jurisprudence or Fiqh by waging war if necessary and the inner Jihād is often associated with Islamic Sufism by fighting the ego. Both are very important in Sharī’ah.

The third key concept this thesis offers is the importance of knowing about the transmission of these ideas in relations to their application in the real life of the Malay people. It is worth bearing in mind that the success of the transmission of Islamic teachings in the Malay Archipelago owes a great debt to the role of the Sūfīs.

At the advent of Islam in the Malay Archipelago, the Sūfīs introduced Islamic teachings peacefully and often adapted it to the local cultures. Although at the very beginning of Islam, there were some practices among the society that were considered un-Islamic to the strict understanding of Islamic Jurisprudence (Fiqh), the practices cannot be regarded as a deviation of Islamic teachings, but rather as a process.

In the case of Sufism, it should be admitted however, that there are some people who practice Sufism have deviated from religious teachings. Some examples being considered to be deviated from Islamic teachings are the occultation of leaders and the neglect of the prayers. Some who considered themselves as true Sūfīs tend to have an attitude to seclude oneself from social life. The seclusion is aimed at reaching God without desiring to carry out the social and religious duties in Islam such as prayer and fasting.

To observe this phenomenon, it is worth knowing that this phenomenon is happened in the course of Islamic history. Nevertheless, the Islamic literature of Sufism shows that such individuals were actually not Sūfīs but Mustaswif (the ones who pretend to be Sūfīs or faked Sūfīs). In parallel with the term of ‘Neo Sufism’ being discussed in
the previous chapter, it can be said that in fact, the essence of Sufism has not changed over time. Thus, the term ‘Neo Sufism’ is inaccurate term. It is the behaviour and conduct of some people who do not really understood what Sufism is that often makes many people misunderstand Sufism particularly when it is related to the understanding of Islamic law (Sharī‘ah).

The fourth key concept is to understand the relation of the concepts of Jihād, Sharī‘ah and Sufism to the contemporary world. Considering the phenomenon that the concepts are often misunderstood by many Muslims in the Malay world, this study thus attached an importance of taking two figures of Islamic scholars in the Malay world Yusuf Maqassary and Dawud al-Fatani, as the significant examples. The two figures become very important to portray how the concepts of Jihād, Sharī‘ah, and Sufism are understood in their works. Both Yusuf Maqassary and Dawud al-Fatani in their works, see Jihād as an integral part of Sharī‘ah. In their views, Jihād in two aspects of Sharī‘ah are both Jihād in terms of Islamic Jurisprudence (Fiqh), to wage the war when necessary and Jihād in terms of Sufism, to fight the ego. It is becoming pivotal to trace the ideas reflected in the books they wrote which show the continuity of the process of the formation of Islamic Sharī‘ah from its sources to its development to the Malay Archipelago. This process helps people understand Jihād, Sharī‘ah, and Sufism at the present time.

It is clear that the ideas of the past whether considered moderate or radical, have always been interconnected with the present time. For example the ideas of Jihād in term of waging war on non-believers have been influenced by the books that have been used from generation to generation. In case of Jihād in term of waging war, the problem is not
simply a matter of ideology but also the circumstances and the situation that affect it. In Yusuf Maqassary’s case and Dawud al-Fatani’s for example, the notion of Jihad in term of waging war became necessary because Muslim were attacked by the foreigners. It is for this reason that to understand the works of both Islamic scholars Yusuf Maqassary and Dawud al-Fatani becomes very crucial.

It is through the study of the works of Sheikh Yusuf Maqassary and Dawud al-Fatani, this thesis has shown that Shari‘ah consists of both inner and outer aspects. The inner aspect is known as Sufism (Tasawwuf), which functions as the spirit of the human being and the outer aspect, which is known as Islamic jurisprudence (Fiqh) as the body of the Human being (al-Insān). This human being is called a human being if it has both spirit and body. Soul without body is not human and body without soul is a corpse. This analogy is to show that Islamic Sharī‘ah with Fīqh but without Sufism can be considered dried like a dead body (corpse) and Islamic Sharī‘ah with Sufism but without Fīqh deviates from true Sharī‘ah.

Another most of the controversial discussion worth noting here is the concept of Wahdat al Wujūd (Monism) in understanding Islamic Sharī‘ah. The concept in fact is not deviated from the concept of Tawhīd. (Oneness) in Islamic Sharī‘ah, but actually stresses the existence of God in every phenomenon in this universe. It is not the concept that makes the similarity between God and human being as has been wrongly perceived by some Muslims that God is everywhere and is in every place. It is the concept that puts an emphasis to the greatness of God. The concept teaches that all the creatures actually are the reflection of the existence of God. Therefore, the cases of the two Muslim scholars, Sheikh Yusuf Maqassary and Sheikh Dawud al-Fatani, who successfully combined and
mastered those two important elements of *Sharī‘ah*, outer aspect (Fiqh or Islamic Jurisprudence) and inner aspect (Sufism) are worth considering as illuminating examples.

Currently, the cases could be considered important in connection with the emergence of radical Muslim movements which often use the notion of *Jihād* and *Sharī‘ah* to justify the action. In the case of September 11 and the Bali bombing for instance, the root of those cases are actually the dissatisfaction of the actors was the double standard of the American foreign policy. The policy that has made the poverty in may Muslim countries. Thus, the use of the notion of *Jihād* in those two cases is actually the justification to their action. However, to direct the action inappropriately to the innocence people is not in line with the spirit of *Jihād*. Although it must also be admitted that American foreign policy can be said to be injustice and a blatant double standard of political attitude, the America plays in the world political stage.

In conformity with this, the Muslim leaders and governments are challenged to formulate the paradigm for the development of their society in economy, social, science and politics. By gaining the stability of these factors, it is hoped that Muslims can live prosperously and can have strong bargaining position in the world political stage.

From the cases and the explanation above, it is clear that the notions of *Jihād* and *Sharī‘ah* are the basis of the emergence of Islam not only in the Southeast Asia but also in the world in general. There are several lessons that can be underline from the past and the present time.

The first, the ideas or the concepts of *Jihād* and *Sharī‘ah* which stem from the same sources, the holy book of religion are always becoming the basis for the religious movements over the time. Therefore, this phenomenon can be said to be the continuation
of the implementation of those concepts. However, in relations to the implementation of Jihād and Sharī‘ah which caused and endangered the loss of other people’s soul and property, one needs to observe it thoroughly.

The second, in the case of Patani, it is clear that one of the reasons of the emergence of the Muslim movement which used the concept of Jihād in terms of war is the continuation of the long history. Therefore, to observe the roots of the conflict is very important.

The third, the emergence of Islamic movement and terrorism at the present time are significantly caused by the American foreign policy toward the Middle East countries and the Muslim countries in general and the Southeast Asian countries in particular. It is becoming crucial, as there is a tight relation between the Islamic problems in the Middle East countries or anywhere else in the world and the Muslim solidarity in the the Southeast Asian countries.

In line with the issue of terrorism at the current time, as for Muslims, the problem is very sensitive, it is worth noting that the terms terrorists or Jihadist should not be generally applied to every Islamic movements as the concept can be easily abused either by the people or by the authoritative institution. In this case is the state.

The fourth, it is necessary to clearly know about the roots of the conflict. It is hoped that by knowing the root of the conflict, one or a group will be able to give the solutions for the problem. Learning from the case of America and the emergence of the radical Muslim groups particularly with the case in the Muslim world in Southeast Asian countries, the American foreign policy should be reformulated to be able to reduce the emergence of the radical groups.
The fifth, it is hard to judge whether one Islamic movement can be called *Jihād* and other cannot or be categorised as the Jihadist and non Jihadist. It is certainly not the aim of this chapter. This chapter tries to trace the relations of the concepts of *Jihād*, *Sharī‘ah* and Sufism to the emergence of the Islamic movement from the past time and the present. This chapter shows that there is always a close relation in terms of concept. Therefore the pattern of the Islamic movements from time to time has strong connection with the oppressions and tyrannical attitudes being done by one group upon the other. It is logical as according to Islam, to defend the right and to resist against the tyranny and injustice is part of *Jihād* as well as part of the implementation of Islamic law (*Sharī‘ah*).

As a consequence of this, the definition of the terrorism which at the present time which is often addressed to the Islamic groups, is worth being observed thoroughly. Islam as religion never teaches its adherents to harm others. Some actions addressed to Islam do not meant to be Islamic. In essence, Islam condemns any killing without the right reasons as have been clearly explained above. Therefore, to understand the emergence of radicalism, one is advised to trace the root of the disappointment of the people.

Nowadays, when most of Muslim countries and Muslim people are in the backward situation in many important aspect of life such as, social, politics and economy and particularly in education as the heart of the progress, Muslim’s leaders are challenged to reformulate the paradigm for the development of their people. The last but the most important to note for Muslim people is that intellectual *Jihād* should have the priority due to the condition of Muslim society in the world. It is by rigorously conducting intellectual
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