

**GENEALOGICAL TRANSMISSION OF
ZAKARIYYĀ AL-ANṢĀRĪ'S THOUGHT ON
TAWHĪD TO THE MALAY WORLD SCHOLARS
WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO HIS
FATH AL-RAḤMĀN**

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Abstract

In Islamic history, Haramayn (Mecca and Medina) were once became a centre of education for Muslim scholars from all over the world. They came here to study all branches of Islamic knowledge from many prominent scholars. In the 17th century, the Egyptian scholar, Zakariyyā al-Anṣārī (d. 1520) had produced a significant work, *Fath al-Raḥmān* that became well-known in the circle of studies in Haramayn. The work consists the exposition of true and pure *Tawhīd* as a foundation to learn *Sharī'ah* and *Ḥaqīqah* (Truth). The ideas that were cast in this work were very important which later became the subject of study among the scholars and their disciples as well as their successors. In the 18th century, the *Fath al-Raḥmān* was of wide-spread in Malay Archipelago. By applying the qualitative research method based on texts and documentations analysis, this research reveals the transmission of Zakariyyā's thought that were documented in *Fath al-Raḥmān* to Malay society occurred through the Malay scholars famed and outstanding as group of *al-Jāwīyyīn* such as

Nuruddin al-Raniri, Abdul Rauf al-Sinkili, Yusuf al-Makassari and others. They brought back the *Fath al-Rahmān* and taught it in the circle of religious students in Malay world. Some of them put initiatives to further translated and commented on the work. The works are currently available in several places around Malay Archipelago including Indonesia and Malaysia and, as such, indicating the transmission of Zakariyyā's thought and signifying an intellectual network between scholars in Haramayn and the Malay world.

Keywords: Zakariyyā al-Anṣārī; *Fath al-Rahmān*; *Tawhīd*; Malay scholars; Malay world.

Khulasah

Sejarah Islam mencatatkan Haramayn (Mekah dan Madinah) pernah menjadi pusat pendidikan bagi ulama Islam dari seluruh dunia. Mereka datang ke sini untuk mempelajari pelbagai bidang ilmu pengetahuan Islam daripada ramai ulama terkemuka. Pada abad ke-17, ulama Mesir, Zakariyyā al-Anṣārī (m. 1520) telah menghasilkan sebuah karya unggul iaitu *Fath al-Rahmān* yang menjadi terkenal dalam kalangan kumpulan pengajian ilmu di Haramayn. Karya ini menjelaskan tentang Tauhid yang benar dan tulen sebagai asas untuk mempelajari ilmu Syariah dan *Ḥaqīqah*. Idea yang tertuang dalam karya ini adalah amat penting yang kemudiannya menjadi subjek pengajian dalam kalangan ulama dan murid mereka serta murid-murid seterusnya. Pada abad ke-18, karya *Fath al-Rahmān* telah tersebar luas di Kepulauan Melayu. Dengan menggunakan kaedah penyelidikan kualitatif berasaskan analisis teks dan dokumen, kajian ini mendapati pemikiran Zakariyyā yang tercatat dalam *Fath al-Rahmān* telah tersebar kepada masyarakat Melayu yang terjadi melalui hasil usaha ulama Melayu yang terkenal sebagai kumpulan *al-Jāwiyyīn* seperti Nuruddin al-Raniri, Abdul Ra'uf al-Sinkili, Yusuf al-Makassari dan lain-lain. Mereka membawa balik *Fath al-Rahmān* dan mengajar dalam

kalangan pelajar agama di dunia Melayu. Ada di antara mereka pula berinisiatif untuk menterjemah dan mengulas karya tersebut. Kini karya ini boleh didapati di beberapa tempat di sekitar Nusantara termasuk Indonesia dan Malaysia, dan dengan itu, menunjukkan penyebaran pemikiran Zakariyyā serta menandakan rangkaian intelektual antara ulama Haramayn dan dunia Melayu.

Kata kunci: Zakariyyā al-Anṣārī; *Fath al-Raḥmān*; tauhid; Ulama Melayu; Dunia Melayu.

Introduction

Throughout the Islamic history, especially since the 3rd century of *Hijriyyah*, the world witnessed to recurrent intellectual conflict and controversy among the Jurists (*fuqahā'*) and the Sufis (*taṣawwuf* practitioners).¹ Both were against each other. The jurists were opposed to the Sufis whose rituals were claimed to hardly be based on the teaching of al-Qur'an and Hadith. The Sufis, on the other hand, criticized the jurists for their ignorance of the real substance of the *Shari'ah*.

The matter was even more complicated as the scholars in the internal organization of the Sufism themselves did not share a single consensus. Adherents of the *taṣawwuf akhlāqī* (morality Sufism) who accentuated rituals disagreed with those of the *taṣawwuf nazārī* (theosophical Sufism) who were inclined more toward philosophical enquiry and exploration.² Not only was this conflict apparent among the scholars of particular places

¹ 'Abd al-Raḥmān Badawī, *Tārīkh al-Taṣawwuf al-Islāmī* (Kuwait: Wakālah al-Maṭba'ah, 1978), 63-82.

² Azyumardi Azra, *Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah dan Kepulauan Nusantara Abad XVII dan XVIII* (Bandung: Penerbit Mizan, 1998), 90.

in the Arab world but also among the Muslim society as the whole.³

Against this backdrop, partial understanding upon Islam and more specifically on its key concept of *tawḥīd* was held responsible for this conflict to rise. Also added to that, scriptural convictions construed extremely by some scholars had worsened the already fragmented Muslim society.

Similar controversy also existed in Haramayn (Mecca and Medina).⁴ In the beginning of the 17th Century, Haramayn became the largest gathering point of Muslims from all over the world and experienced significantly as their hub of information and studies.⁵ The teaching and learning activities therein were traditionally associated with the religious and educational institution of *ḥalaqah* (circle) and *ribāṭ* (Sufi centre).⁶ They were commonly

³ Abū Nāṣir al-Sarrāj al-Ṭūsī, *al-Luma'*, ed. 'Abd al-Ḥalīm Maḥmūd and Ṭāha 'Abd al-Bāqī Surūr (Mesir: Dār al-Kutub al-Ḥadīthah, 1960), 453-454.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ Groups of pilgrims usually came from all parts of the world. They dwelled in Haramayn until Ramadhan. Aside from performing Hajj, they also wanted to study in the Masjid al-Ḥaram from any prominent scholars. They came from multi-level of status quo and held different background of status and intellectualism. Some of them were scholars, scientists, politicians, traders and so on. They gathered into numbers of small groups where *Ḥadīth*, *Tafsīr*, Jurisprudence and *Taşawwuf* were taught fragmentarily. While the scholars from Egypt and North Africa, for example, taught *Ḥadīth*, those from India delivered *Taşawwuf* with its orders like Shatariyyah and Naqshabandiyyah including their mystical traditions. See Martin Van Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning – Pesantren dan Tarikat* (Bandung: Penerbit Mizan, 1995), 50-52; Azyumardi Azra, *Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah*, 85 and 105-109.

⁶ *Ḥalaqah* is one of the learning system whereby disciples are seated on the floor forming a circle or round configuration. Position of the teacher and disciples are collateral. The *halaqah* could be generally found in the mosque in the collegium of learning (*majlis ta'lim*) where Islam is studied. It was of a common place during the life of the Prophet Muhammad SAW. This practice was then preserved and

divided into several groups following the diverse numbers of studies like Traditions of the Prophet (*ḥadīth*), exegesis (*tafsīr*), jurisprudence (*fiqh*) and Sufism (*taṣawwuf*).⁷

Upon this agglomeration, conflict among different scholars and their students, whose intellectual masteries were divergent, ensued. And this was due to the flounder of system in comprehending Islam.⁸ It is worth noting that in order to adequately understand Islam, one has to apprehend 'aqīdah (belief system), *sharī'ah* (Islamic law) and *ihsān* (sanctifying virtue). All these three dimensions of Islamic knowledge always evolve from time to time.

The 'aqīdah, for example, evolves into 'Ilm al-*Tawhīd* (knowledge of Allah's Unity) and 'Ilm al-*Kalām* (knowledge of theology) with their various schools of thought. The *Sharī'ah* also thrives into jurisprudence (*fiqh*) traditionally embraced by four schools of thought, Shafī'ite, Malikite, Hanbalite and Hanafite. As of

followed by the Muslim *ummah*. As for *Ribāṭ*, it is a kind of *ḥalaqah* in a lower level of formality and is privately conducted in the master's house. As such, the disciples could be fully familiar with the master. Upon the completion, the master will eventually issue an *Ijāzah* (certificate of authority) and be conferred to the disciple. See Azyumardi Azra, *Jaringan Global dan Lokal Islam Nusantara* (Bandung: Mizan, 2002), 65 and Azyumardi Azra, *Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah*, 105-109.

⁷ This was testified by Ibn Baṭṭūṭah (1304), an Egyptian Muslim wanderer who visited Madinah in 1326. He witnessed the learning activities in al-Masjid al-Nabawī where scholars and disciples gathered to form *ḥalaqah*. While teaching *Ḥadīth*, *Tafsīr*, Jurisprudence etc, the *Shaykh* was surrounded by his disciples. In 1335, he visited the Holy City for the third time when the *ḥalaqah* system kept to in dwell. He even met scholars who had been teaching for 40 years in Ribāṭ al-Muwaffaq in al-Ḥaram. This indicates the long span which one has to spend in order to learn and deeply recognize the *Shaykh* or the teacher. See H.A.R. Gibb, *The Travels of Ibn Battuta* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1958), 174 - 204.

⁸ Martin Van Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning, Pesantren dan Ulama*, 50-52.

taṣawwuf, it is unfolded into three mainstreams; *akhlāqī* (morality), *'amalī* (practicality) and *naẓarī* (theosophy).

All the Muslims in Haramayn were ideally required to comprehend all these dimensions of Islam. It is thus argued that their inability to adequately comprehend Islam thus claiming the religious legitimacy exclusively to ones' group, and inevitable dichotomy of knowledge served the main factors for the conflict to emerge.

Amid such turbulence, reform of thought (*tajdīd*) was of capital importance for the religious and intellectual life of the Muslim society. The significance of Muslim scholars who mastered all branches of knowledge and more importantly who were able to integrate both exoteric (*sharī'ah*) and esoteric (*taṣawwuf*) knowledge, gained enormous popular appeal in Haramayn.

This was filled by Zakariyyā al-Anṣārī (1420-1520), one of the most renowned Hadith scholars who mastered the knowledge of *tawhīd*, *sharī'ah* and *taṣawwuf*.⁹ In his effort to explain pure *tawhīd*, he authored *Fath al-Rahmān*. He upheld that *tawhīd* is fundamental to comprehending both the exoteric and esoteric knowledge. Every Muslim is in fact compelled to comprehend *tawhīd* before he learns the other branches of knowledge.

Fath al-Rahmān was written by the Egyptian Zakariyyā al-Anṣārī profoundly circulated in Haramayn since the 17th century.¹⁰ It is an elucidation or commentary on *Risālah fī al-Tawhīd* which was written by Walī Raslān al-Dimashqī (d. 1300).¹¹ Zakariyyā commented on the work because it covered two fundamental contents; condemnation of idolatry and expounding the pure *tawhīd*

⁹ Khayr al-Dīn al-Ziriklī, *al-A'lam Qāmūs Tarājim li Ashhar al-Rijāl wa Nisā' min al-'Arab wa al-Musta'ribīn wa al-Mustashriqīn*, vol. 3 (Beirut: Dār al-'Ilm li al-Malāyīn, 2002), 46.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ Muhammad Arsyad al-Banjari, *Risalah Fath al-Rahman*, (copied by) Husni (Banjarmasin: Toko Buku Hasanu, n.d.), 1.

as a way toward Sufism.¹² And so was his work *Faṭḥ al-Raḥmān*. It was presented in such fashion as to elucidate the genuine *tawḥīd* and affirm it as a path to Sufism. Zakariyyā believed that comprehending *tawḥīd* is fundamental to conceiving both the exoteric and esoteric knowledge.¹³

The situation however turned preferable as the conflicting groups came to reconcile their stances¹⁴ and more specifically since the remarkable writings of al-Qushayrī (d. 1073) and al-Ghazālī (d. 1111) were taught in Haramayn. The value of the *Faṭḥ al-Raḥmān* therefore rests in the fact that it disjoints the religious and intellectual bewilderment prevalent among the Muslim especially in Haramayn. It also provides an alternative of solution to that dilemma¹⁵ thus complementing the already displayed array of earlier literatures written by the earlier scholars such as al-Qushayrī, al-Ghazālī and others.

Transmission of Zakariyyā al-Anṣārī's Thought

Zakariyyā admitted that *Faṭḥ al-Raḥmān* was a commentary on *Risālah fī al-Tawḥīd* written by Walī Raslān al-Dimashqī.¹⁶ The *Risālah fī al-Tawḥīd* is

¹² ‘Abd al-Wahhāb al-Sha‘rānī, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, vol. 1 (Cairo: Maktabah wa Maṭba‘ah Muḥammad ‘Alī Shaḥīb wa Awlādūh, 1965), 2.

¹³ Muhammad Arsyad al-Banjari, *Risalah Fath al-Rahman*, 1. See Shaikh Walī Raslan ad-Dimashqī, *Concerning the Affirmation of Divine Oneness (Risalah fil Tawhid)*, trans. by Muhtar Holland (Florida: al-Baz Publishing, Inc., 1977).

¹⁴ ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Badawī, *Tārīkh al-Taṣawwuf al-Islāmī*, 63-82.

¹⁵ Khayr al-Dīn al-Ziriklī, *al-A‘lām Qāmūs Tarājim*, vol. 3, 46.

¹⁶ Walī Raslān was a renowned scholar on mysticism. He served as a distinguished teacher in Shām and was conferred the title (*laqab*) of ‘*Arif bi Allāh*. He was blessed with high esteemed miracles (*karāmah*). Like narrated by Taqī al-Dīn al-Subkī to al-Sha‘rānī, Walī Raslān, while he listened to a *Nashīd* during Sufi gatherings, leaped on the air, gently rotated and finally descended to the ground. It was also said that a desolate and dried tree turned green, lush and amazingly bore fruits as the *Shaykh* was seated nearby. By the time

currently available only in the library of the Leiden University, Netherlands.¹⁷ Connection between Walī Raslān and Zakariyyā al-Anṣārī cannot be proven through ascription (*sanad*) other than the commentary on *Risālah fī al-Tawḥīd*. By reading the *Fatḥ Raḥmān*, one will come across resemblance of thought between the two scholars.

This is true on the view of Mukhtar Holland who sought to reveal the resemblance through his writings.¹⁸ As a commentary, the *Fatḥ al-Raḥmān* was presented in such a way that the religious thought of al-Qushayrī, al-Junayd and al-Ghazālī were overwhelmingly referred to. This signifies uniformity of thought between Walī Raslān and those scholars. By offering commentary on the *Risālah fī al-Tawḥīd*, Zakariyyā al-Anṣārī sought to revive the religious thought of Walī Raslān and called the Muslim into learning it.

Zakariyyā al-Anṣārī's full name is Zakariyyā bin Muḥammad bin Aḥmad bin Zakariyyā al-Anṣārī al-Sunaykī al-Maṣrī al-Shāfi'ī bin Yaḥyā Shaykh al-Islām. According to al-Ziriklī, Zakariyyā lived around 823-926/1420–1520.¹⁹ He was one of the most pivotal

the *Shaykh* deceased in Damascus, there were flock of green birds that encircled the coffin and ushered it to cemetery. See 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Sha'rānī, *al-Ṭabaqat al-Kubrā*, vol. 2, 153 -154.

¹⁷ Carl Brockelmann, *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur. Supplementbana GALS* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1937-1943), 452 and 811.

¹⁸ Shaikh Walī Raslān al-Dimashqī, *Concerning the Affirmation of Divine Oneness: A Treasury of Hidden Association*, trans. by Muhtar Holland (Florida: Al-Baz Publishing Inc., 1998), xi-xii.

¹⁹ In *Tārīkh al-Adab*, as quoted by al-Ziriklī. His name is Zayn al-Dīn Abū Yaḥyā Zakariyyā bin Muḥammad bin Anṣārī al-Sunaykī al-Shāfi'ī, born in 826/1422. Although there appears to be a dissimilarity in term of name and history of his birth, the two refer to the same figure. See Khayr al-Dīn al-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām Qāmūs Tarājim*, vol. 3, 46.

Egyptian Muslim scholars who were also known both as the *Muḥaddith*²⁰ and the jurist (of Shafi'ite jurisprudence).

He was also a master in the realm of *tafsīr* and *tawhīd*. While in Egypt, he studied under many great teachers like al-Ḥāfiẓ Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Aṣqalānī (d. 1452) and so on.²¹ Regarding Prophetic traditions, Zakariyyā wrote several works that have long been taught up to now in many international universities in the Muslim world. Zakariyyā's intellectual prominence in the realm of *tawhīd* and Sufism is also outstanding. His *Fath al-Raḥmān* is an undeniable proof of this.

History recorded that revival of the Islamic thought in the 15th and 16th century was spearheaded by the leading Egyptian scholars like Zakariyyā and Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī (d. 1505). The two were *muḥaddith* and pioneers of the revival.²² Due to their exceptional intellectualism, these Egyptian *muḥaddith* could be regarded as belonging to the Muslim scholars' network and entitled as the intellectual and spiritual leaders of the Muslim society.

Both should have been designated with the title of *mujaddid* (reformer);²³ that is champions of the revival of

²⁰ In the realm of *Ḥadīth*, Zakariyyā was once a disciple to the distinguished scholars Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī (1501) and Ibn al-Ḥajar al-‘Aṣqalānī (1449). On account of this, Zakariyyā as well as the two scholars above were regarded as the scholars of *Ḥadīth* ascription toward whom the late scholars reckoned. Azyumardi Azra, *Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah*, 113.

²¹ People commonly know Zakariyyā al-Anṣārī as the scholar of the Shafi'ite school of thought. See Azyumardi Azra, *Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah*, 92.

²² He was entitled *Shaykh al-Islām* for his outstanding expertise in the Shafi'ite jurisprudence. When he passed away in 1520, his loyal disciple ‘Abdullāh al-Sha‘rānī decided to bury the body of Zakariyyā al-Anṣārī in area in Cairo, Egypt adjacent to the tomb of al-Imam al-Shāfi‘ī. See G.W.J. Drewes, *Direction for Travellers on The Mystic Path* (Leiden: The Hague-Martinus Nijhoff, 2002), 26.

²³ Azyumardi Azra, *Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah*, 90.

²³ Fazlur Rahman uttered the reform (*Tajdid*) as a "Neo-Sufism". This refers to the Sufi movement which aims at renewing the mystical

the Islamic thought. Again, this notion underlines significance of understanding the religious thought of Zakariyyā al-Anṣārī in his work the *Faṭḥ al-Raḥmān*.

Zakariyyā's thought on the Islamic revivalism was further transmitted by his dedicated disciple 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Sha'rānī (d. 1565). He was a faithful student in that he accompanied his master in writing several works for 20 years in Egypt. The adjacent relationship between the master and student helped al-Sha'rānī grasp Zakariyyā's religious and intellectual thought. It was also for this factor that the Egyptian political leaders and scholars entitled him with *Qurrā'* (reciter).²⁴

Under Zakariyyā, al-Sha'rānī studied not only the *Faṭḥ al-Raḥmān* but also the other works like *Sharḥ al-Risālah al-Qushayriyyah*, *Tafsīr al-Bayḍāwī* as well as *Tafsīr Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī*.²⁵ In the Muslim world, both Zakariyyā and al-Sha'rānī are regarded as having a commensurable qualification in term of jurisprudence and Prophetic traditions. Both learned Prophetic traditions from the distinguished Egyptian *muḥaddith* Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī.²⁶ The two were also celebrated as masters in Sufism enjoying an authority to teach it.²⁷ Other than

thought and practices of the mysticism. This is often known as the Intellectual Sufism. See Fazlur Rahman, *al-Islam* (Chicago and London: University Of Chicago Press, 1979), 193-196. This term however, is imprudent. *Tajdid* in Islam is not *Neo-Sufism*. It means restoring the Muslim's understanding and practices which are deviant and redressing them like accorded by al-Qur'an and al-Hadith instead.

²⁴ In the Arabic literature, the term *Qurrā'* is usually used to refer to the assistant (*murīd*) who represent the teacher in reading the book for all the disciples. 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Sha'rānī, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, vol. II, 122-123.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ Azyumardi Azra, *Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah*, 90.

²⁷ 'Abd al-Wahhāb bin Aḥmad bin al-Sha'rānī was an Egyptian Sufi master. He was also a moderate scholars on the history and Sufism and wrote numbers of books. He was the most prominent figure in writing books during the last generation of the Ottoman ascendancy

Prophetic traditions, al-Shaʿrānī's great works cover *Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā* and *Ṭabaqāt al-Ṣuḡhrā*.

The close amity between Zakariyyā al-Anṣārī and ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Shaʿrānī finally made it easier for the student to apprehend the master's religious and intellectual thought. Their elucidation of pure *tawhīd* became as a foundation and groundwork for learning Sufism and *sharīʿah* as way toward truth (*ḥaqīqah*) in one's search of the gnosis (*maʿrifah*). It was Zakariyyā's thought, as elucidated in his *Fath al-Rahmān* that inspired al-Shaʿrānī in seeking the Islamic reform and more importantly fusing the differing jurists and Sufis.²⁸ Al-Shaʿrānī then taught the *Fath al-Rahmān* throughout Haramayn and carried it out more intensely especially after the demise of Zakariyyā, when he gained more popularity and was celebrated as precursor of the revival of the Islamic thought thereafter.²⁹

In the 17th century, reform of the Islamic thought was spearheaded in Haramayn by the Hadith scholars among whom al-Shaʿrānī was worth mentioned.³⁰ He struggled for the reform and promulgated the religious and intellectual thought of Zakariyyā. This was regarded as

in Syria. His thought was of a combination of the four schools of thought on the Islamic jurisprudence. Among his works was *Lawāqih al-Anwār* and *al-Jawāhir wa al-Durar*. See: M. Winter, "al-Shaʿrānī", in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, ed. C.E Bosworth et. al, vol. IX. (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1997), 316.

²⁸ Fazlur Rahman designated al-Shaʿrānī's thought with *Neo-Sufism* or *Reformed Sufism* which meant a restored understanding of Sufism. While Hamka called it as *Tasawuf Modern*, al-Ghazālī named it *Uzlah*. The thorough term for this according to the Islamic tradition however, is *Tajdid*. See Fazlur Rahman, *al-Islam* 193-206.

²⁹ ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Shaʿrānī, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, vol.1, 111-113; ʿAbd al-Qādir Aḥmad ʿAṭāʾ ed., *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Ṣuḡhrā* (Cairo: Maktabah wa Maṭbaʿah, Muḥammad ʿAlī Shihāb wa Awlāduh, 1970), 37-45.

³⁰ Azyumardi Azra, *Jaringan Global dan Lokal Islam Nusantara*, 90.

earlier transmission of the religious and intellectual thought of Zakariyyā.

The transmission was further sought by al-Sha'arānī's student, 'Alī ibn 'Abd al-Quddūs al-Shinnawī. He was a Hadith expert who belonged to an Egyptian Sufi family residing in Medina for learning religion. 'Alī since then bequeathed his knowledge to his son Aḥmad ibn 'Alī al-Shinnawī (d. 1619) who lived in Haramayn. Before passing away, Aḥmad ibn 'Alī al-Shinnawī transmitted Zakariyyā's thought to his son-in-law Ṣafiyuddīn Aḥmad al-Qushāshī (d. 1661).³¹ Although 'Alī al-Shinnawī and Aḥmad al-Qushāshī were the fourth and fifth generation of Zakariyyā, both endeavoured to preserve and propagate Zakariyyā's thought.

Al-Qushāshī himself was firm and more assertive than the master. In his endeavour, he always emphasized that Sufism must be based on true *tawḥīd* and carried out simultaneously with *shari'ah*.³² The transmission is

³¹ His full name is Shāfi' al-Dīn Aḥmad bin Muḥammad Yūnus al-Madanī al-Daghani al-Qushāshī from Medina (1583-1661). He was a Sufism practitioner adhering to 11 Sufi orders like Naqshabandiyah, Qadariyyah, and Kubrawiyah. He was also a Sufi master who owned Shatariyyah great numbers of disciples and played an important role in disseminating Ibn Arabī's thought (1240) throughout the Islamic world. Among his disciples was Abdul Ra'uf al-Singkili (1615-1693). This Indonesian Sufi master studied under al-Qushāshī for 20 years until his death in 1661. Al-Qushāshī's works cover around 50 books mostly on jurisprudence, *Ḥadīth* and Sufism. He also commented on *Sharḥ Kitāb al-Ḥikam* written by Ibn 'Aṭā'i Allāh. Another *al-Jāwīyyīn* student of al-Qushāshī was Yusuf al-Makassari. See Carl Brockelmann, *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur*, vol. 2, 392; Martin van Bruinessen, 'The Tariqa Khalwatiyya in South Celebes', in *Excursions in Celebes*, eds. Harry A. Poeze and Pim Schoorl (Leiden: KITLV Uitgeverij, 1991), 265; 'Abd al-Salām Ḥāshim Ḥāfiz, *al-Madīnah al-Munawwarah fī Tārīkh* (Cairo: Dār al-Turāth, 1972), 149.

³² Aḥmad Qushāshī, Shāfi' al-Dīn Aḥmad bin Muḥammad, *al-Samīḥ al-Majīd fī Sha'n al-Bay'ah wa al-Dhikr wa Talqīnīh wa Salāsīl Ahl al-*

further preceded by Aḥmad al-Qushāshī to his disciple Ibrāhīm al-Kurānī (d. 1699).³³ Ibrāhīm al-Kurānī's character was more moderate than his teacher. He asserted that learning both *tawhīd* and *sharī'ah* as prescribed genuinely by the Qur'an and Hadith was fundamental to every Muslim.

This transmission was invigorated by Martin Van Bruinessen. He upheld that 'Alī al-Shinnawī, al-Qushāshī and al-Kurānī were successors to the Zakariyyā through al-Sha'rānī.³⁴ It is worthwhile to state that in the Islamic intellectual history, there were three distinguished scholars to pioneer the Islamic reform in the realm of Sufism. They were al-Sha'rānī, al-Qushāshī and al-Kurānī.³⁵ During al-Kurānī lifetime, he was of great scholar in Medina and, through his disciples, played an important role in bringing about reformation movement during the 18th century. He disseminated one of Sufi order, Shatariyyah through which *Fath al-Rahmān* was taught and transmitted.³⁶

Tawhīd (Hyderabad: Dār al-Ma'ārif al-Nizāmiyyah 1327/1909), 44-84.

³³ His full name is Ibrāhīm Kurānī bin al-Sharazūrī al-Ḥasan Shahrānī al-Madanī born in Shahrāzi Persia (1023-1101/ 1615-1690). He was a Sufi scholar who resided in Medina and studied in many countries like Egypt, Iraq and Syria. Along with 'Abdul Rahman al-Singkel, he studied under Qushāshī until he passed away in Medina in 1661. He wrote on jurisprudence, *Tawhīd* and Sufism. He graduated from the school of Ibn al-'Arabī. This brought to light of his effort to comment and champion Ibn al-'Arabī's thought. He also sought to reconcile the opposing scholars. He was also celebrated in Hijaz, India and Indonesia. While in Medina, he was a cordial fellow to 'Abdul al-Rahman Singkel and even after he returned to Indonesia, the friendship remained intact for almost 30 years. See C. E. Bosworth et al. eds., *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, vol. V (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1986), 432-433.

³⁴ Martin Van Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning, Pesantren Dan Ulama*, 68.

³⁵ Azyumardi Azra, *Jaringan Global dan Lokal Islam Nusantara*, 89.

³⁶ John Voll, "Muhammad Hayya al-Sindi and Muḥammad ibn Abd al-Wahhab: An Analysis of an Intellectual Group in Eighteenth-Century

While al-Sha'rānī was of the second generation, Aḥmad al-Qushāshī and Ibrāhīm al-Kurānī were of the fifth of Zakariyyā. The three were renowned as the reformists for they sought to tirelessly spread the religious thought of their master which is the integration of *Shari'ah*, *tawhīd* and Sufism as been explicated in the *Fath al-Rahmān*.

In Malay Archipelago, the reform was also played an important role to Malay society. This is because the conflict between the jurists and Sufis in Haramayn also took place in the Malay world.³⁷ In the 17th century, several Muslim scholars from Malay Archipelago studied under leading scholars who pioneered the reform in Haramayn like al-Qushāshī and al-Kurānī. Among them were Nuruddin al-Raniri (d. 1658),³⁸ Abdul Rauf al-Sinkili (d. 1693)³⁹ and Yusuf al-Makassari (d. 1699).⁴⁰ They were

Madina," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, vol. 38, No. 1 (1975), 32, 38, 39.

³⁷ Sri Mulyati, *Tasawuf Nusantara, Rangkaian Mutiara Sufi* (Jakarta: Kencana, 2006), 101-102.

³⁸ Nuruddin al-Raniri was a Sufi master born in India. After studying in Mecca by 1030/1582, he came to Aceh in 1637-1644. He was a notable *shaykh* in some Sufi orders like Rifa'iyyah, Qadariyyah and the likes. His works cover many branches of knowledge in which he declaimed and refuted the religious notion of Syamsuddin Sumaterai and Hamzah Fansuri on *Wujūdiyyah*. The refutation was contained in the *Tibyān fī Ma'rifah al-Adyān*. See, Wan Mohd Saghir Abdullah, *al-Ma'rifah*, vol. 1 (Kuala Lumpur: Khazanah Fathaniyah, 2004), 152.

³⁹ Abdul Ra'uf al-Sinkili was an outstanding scholar and grand *Mufti* of Aceh kingdom in 17th century. He reconciled the opposing views on *Wiḥdah al-Wujūd* with *Wiḥdah al-Shuhūd* and cohorts of *Sumnah*. Al-Sinkili renounced the doctrine of *Wujūdiyyah* which believe in the unification of God and His servants/ slaves. He studied Sufism under Ibrāhīm Kurānī who was a disciple to al-Sha'rānī. See, Solikhin Salam, *Sejarah dan Pemikiran Tasawuf di Indonesia* (Bandung: Pustaka Setia, 2001), 49-50.

⁴⁰ Yusuf al-Makassari was a leading scholar and a Sufi master from Southern Sulawesi. He struggled against the colonial Dutch government while residing in Banten. He was then exiled and

famed and outstanding as group of *al-Jāwīyyīn*.⁴¹ They learnt the *Fath al-Rahmān* from these masters and, by the 17th century, were finally regarded as among the pivotal figures in the reform.⁴²

The description above makes it of capital contention that all the three scholars of *al-Jawīyyīn* have obviously learnt the *Fath al-Rahmān* and brought it back to their homeland. They taught the work to their students therein took the lead by Yusuf al-Makassari, who brought and taught the work in his homeland in Makassar, Eastern Sulawesi. Throughout generations, the work has been transcribed or copied.⁴³

The availability of the work in different forms of transcription and diversification of years of publication, induces one to conclude that Yusuf al-Makassari had undeniably propagated Zakariyyā's thought to his Muslim society. The transcriptions are currently available at the

brought to Ceylon in the South Africa. He was a close associate to Abdul Ra'uf al-Sinkili while studying *Tafsīr*, *Ḥadīth* and Jurisprudence in Haramayn. He once became a *shaykh* therein and was a loyal companion to his master Ibrāhīm Kurānī. Al-Makassari worked on many books like transcription of the *Fath al-Rahmān*. He was an advocate to many Sufi orders especially Shatariyyah in which he studied directly under Ibrāhīm Kurānī. See, H.A.R. Gibb, *The Travels of Ibn Battuta*, 220; Azyumardi Azra, *Jaringan Global dan Lokal Islam Nusantara*, 214-217.

⁴¹ The Arab people used the term *al-Jāwīyyīn* to refer to all students coming from the Malay world, be they from Sumatera, Kalimantan, Sulawesi and even Malaysia and Thailand.

⁴² Hawash Abdullah, *Perkembangan Tasawuf dan Tokoh-Tokohnya di Nusantara* (Surabaya: al-Ikhlās, 1930), 49-50. See, Muhammad Solihin, *Sejarah dan Pemikiran Tasawuf di Indonesia* (Bandung: Pustaka Setia, 2001), 50.

⁴³ In the National Library of Indonesia in Jakarta, the manuscript of *Fath al-Rahmān* is nearly stored with a code number MS A108 and MS 101. It seems highly probable that it belongs to Yusuf al-Makasari. Among these manuscripts, 5 were written by the Bugis scholars. Its translation into Bugis language is also accessible. This verifies the fact that the book was so famous in Makasar throughout generations.

National Library of Indonesia in Jakarta and The National Library of Malaysia in Kuala Lumpur. Abdul Rauf al-Sinkili did the same actions. He wrote his major works on Sufism like *Tanbīh al-Māshī* and *Risalah Jalan Ma'rifah*.⁴⁴ The works have been renowned until today.

During the 18th century in Haramayn, the *Fath al-Rahmān* remained subject of research and inquiry. The transmission of Zakariyyā's thought herein was initiated by Muṣṭafā bin Kamāl al-Dīn bin `Alī al-Bakrī (d. 1749)⁴⁵ and Abū Ṭāhir al-Kurānī (d. 1733). The later was son of Ibrāhīm al-Kurānī. Al-Bakrī was overwhelmingly renowned as a Sufi poet of Damascus who wrote many literatures on the Sufism. His thought in Islamic reform was propagated through a Sufi order al-Khalwāṭiyyah. He was a prominent master on Sufism in Medina.⁴⁶

Among his disciples was Muḥammad bin `Abd al-Karīm Sammān al-Shāfi'ī al-Madanī (d. 1775).⁴⁷ Muḥammad Sammān of Qurays transmitted the religious

⁴⁴ Oman Fathurrahman, *Tanbih al-Masyi Menyoyal Wihdatul Wujud, Kasus Abdurrauf Singkel di Aceh Abad 17* (Bandung: Penerbit Mizan, 1999), 29.

⁴⁵ Muṣṭafā Kamāl al-Dīn al-Bakrī was born in Damascus (1099/1688) and died in Cairo (1162/1749). He was a great master of Sufi order Khalwatīyyah and fond of seeking knowledge from different teachers in different countries. He finally resided in Haramayn. As a renowned Sufi master, he completed his work on Sufism entitled *Taṣliyyāt al-Aḥzan* (A Solace). See, Carl Brockelmann, *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur*, 348-351.

⁴⁶ `Abd al-Hāmid bin Muḥammad `Alī al-Quds, *al-Futūḥāt al-Qudsiyyah fī Sharḥ al-Ṭāwas Sullat al-Samāniyyat* (Cairo: Al-Ḥamīdiyyah al-Miṣriyyah, 1905), 5.

⁴⁷ `Abd al-Karīm al-Sammān al-Madanī was a grand *Shaykh* in the al-Masjid al-Nabawī and great master of the Sufism. He wrote *Futūḥāt al-Ilāhiyyah fī Tawājjuhāt al-Rūḥiyyah*, *Ṣalawāt Nūr Muḥammad*, *Mukhtaṣar al-Ṭarīqah al-Muḥammadiyyah* and some other manuscripts. See Khayr al-Dīn al-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām Qāmūs Tarājīm*, vol. 7, 85; `Abd al-Rahmān bin Sulaymān al-Ahdāl, *al-Nafs al-Yamānī* (Sana'a: Markaz al-Dirāsāt wa al-Abḥāth al-Yamāniyyah, 1979), 143.

thought of al-Bakrī and Abū Ṭāhir al-Kurānī and further became eminent Sufi master in Medina.⁴⁸ He mastered Shāfi'ī jurisprudence and was a loyal disciple of an Egyptian Shaykh al-Islām Sulaymān al-Kurdī (d. 1780). Sulaymān al-Kurdī himself was a disciple of Aḥmad al-Qushāshī and Ibrāhīm al-Kurānī.⁴⁹ Although Muḥammad Sammān studied under many teachers like 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Ṭanṭawī and Ḥilāl al-Mālikī, his main master was al-Bakrī. Before he promulgated the *Faṭḥ al-Raḥmān* in Medina, he studied Zakariyyā's thought under this main teacher.⁵⁰

Among the most eminent *al-Jāwiyyīn* disciples of Muḥammad Sammān were Abdus Shamad Palimbani of Sumatera (d. around 1772), Tuan Haji Ahmad Muhyidin Shihabudin bin Syihabudin (d. 1785), Abdul Rahman al-Misri al-Bantani, Abdul Wahab Afifi al-Misri of Sulawesi, Abdul Rahman Daud al-Fatani (d. 1847) of Thailand, Muhammad Arsyad al-Banjari (d. 1812) and Muhammad Nafis al-Banjari (b. 1735) of the Southern Kalimantan.⁵¹ During the learning processes, Muḥammad Sammān taught the *Faṭḥ al-Raḥmān* and encouraged his disciples to learn the other works on Sufism he already specified.

This was true according to Abdus Shamad Palimbani who revealed⁵² that prior to learning the works on

⁴⁸ Khayr al-Dīn al-Ziriklī, *al-A'lam Qāmūs Tarājim*, vol. 7, 85; Carl Brockelmann, *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur*, vol. 2, 535.

⁴⁹ Sri Mulyati et.al, *Mengenal & Memahami Tarekat-Tarekat Muktabarah di Indonesia* (Jakarta: Kencana, 2004), 186.

⁵⁰ 'Abd al-Ḥāmid bin Muḥammad 'Alī al-Quds, *al-Futūḥāt al-Qudsiyyah*, 5. See, Martin Van Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning, Pesantren Dan Ulama*, 62-81.

⁵¹ Martin Van Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning, Pesantren dan Ulama*, 58. See also Sri Mulyati et.al, *Mengenal dan Memahami Tarikat-Tarikat*, 187.

⁵² Muhammad Arsyad al-Banjari (1710-1812M) was a leading master of the mysticism in Martapura, the Southern Kalimantan. In the Malay world, he was however known as a master of the Shafi'ite jurisprudence whose famous work was *Sabīl al-Muhtadīn*.

Sufism,⁵³ all disciples were required to study the *Fath al-Raḥmān*. Here at this point, it becomes undeniably evident that the *Fath al-Raḥmān* had been transmitted through Muḥammad Sammān down to his *al-Jāwiyyīn* students. He taught the subject to his *al-Jāwiyyīn* disciples who forwarded the transmission in their homeland.

The most outstanding disciples were Muhammad Arsyad al-Banjari (1812) and Abdus Shamad Palimbani. The two were entitled *khalīfah* (successor) by Muḥammad Sammān.⁵⁴ Both were therefore authorized to teach Sufism and Sufi orders. On his returned from Haramayn, Muhammad Arsyad brought the *Fath al-Raḥmān* to the Southern Kalimantan. He found out that the socio-religious condition therein was reminiscent of that in Haramayn. The religious conflict was gaining of a widespread currency. There were few scholars who misguidedly propagated the concept of *wujūdiyyah* (existentialist). Their adherents were alike inflicting a faulty religious perception; neglect of *Shari'ah*.⁵⁵ Misperception and disunity between the jurists and Sufis then arose reaching its peak with the murder of Abdul Hamid Abulung (d. 1788), a Sufi master on *Wujūdiyyah*.⁵⁶

It was because of this factor which spurred Muhammad Arsyad al-Banjari to promulgate the *Fath al-*

⁵³ In learning Sufism, three levels are generally introduced. First, *Mubtadi* (the initial level) toward which the doer of inward or intrinsic disobedience belong. Second, *Mutawassit* (the intermediate level) is for those whose inner side has already been pure. And the third, *Muntahī* (the termination) is for those whose heart is unimpaired and obtain the gnosis (*ma'rifatullāh*). Martin Van Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning, Pesantren dan Ulama*, 68-69.

⁵⁴ Abu Daudi, *Maulana Shaykh Muhammad Arsyad al-Banjari (Tuan Haji Besar)* (Martapura Dalam Pagar: Sekertariat Madrasah Sulam al-Ulum, 1996), 25; Yusuf Halidi, *Ulama Besar Kalimantan Syekh Arsyad al-Banjari* (Surabaya: Penerbit Ikhsan, 1968), 15.

⁵⁵ Ahmad Basuni, *Nur Islam di Kalimantan Selatan, Sejarah Masuknya Islam di Kalimantan Selatan* (Surabaya: Bina Ilmu, 1986), 49-50.

⁵⁶ Abu Daudi, *Maulana Shaykh Muhammad Arsyad al-Banjari*, 58-60.

Rahmān in the Southern Kalimantan. He was convinced that its substantial elements which revealed *tawhīd* as the most fundamental groundwork for learning Sufism and imminent connection between *Sharī'ah* and *ḥaqīqah* (truth), be compatibly referred to as to cure the already ailing society. Considering the linguistic inadequacy of his people, al-Banjari translated and further construed the work in the local language. This would make it much easier for the locals to understand the works. The translation and its commentary were then named *Risālah Faṭḥ al-Rahmān*.⁵⁷ Up until now, especially in Arsyad's own locality, Martapura, there have been a considerable scholars and students studying the work.⁵⁸

The transmission was also sought by Muhammad Nafis al-Banjari, a Sufi master of the Southern Kalimantan who lived in 1735-1812. He was once a disciple of Muḥammad Sammān in Medina. Unlike Arsyad who translated and commented on the *Faṭḥ al-Rahmān*, Muhammad Nafis transmitted Zakariyyā's thought by writing his great work called *al-Durr al-Nafīs*. The work was written in 1200/1785 in Mecca. The significance of true *tawhīd* as a foundation to learning Sufism was engaged largely in the work. The imminent relationship between *Sharī'ah* and *ḥaqīqah* to acquiring *ma'rifah* (gnosis of God) was also dealt overwhelmingly.⁵⁹

⁵⁷ Muhammad Arsyad al-Banjari, *Risalah Fath al-Rahman*, (copied by) Husni (Banjarmasin: Toko Buku Hasanu, n.d.).

⁵⁸ Al-Banjari printing shop was established in 1985 by the Hasanu printing office in the Southern Kalimantan. Source of manuscript was written by al-Banjari's grand son; Muhammad Said bin Marhum Mufti Ahmad bin Shaykh Muhammad al-Banjari. Al-Banjari translated and commented on the book and further changed its title into *Risālah Faṭḥ al-Rahmān bi Sharḥ Walī Raslān*. The bookshop Hasanu in Banjarmasin still augments the book despite the absence of its original version.

⁵⁹ Muhammad Nafis al-Banjari, *al-Durr al-Nafīs* (Jeddah & Singapore: Ḥaramayn li al-Ṭabā'ah wa al-Nashr wa al-Tawzī', n.d.).

One may come to perceive that *al-Durr al-Nafīs* is of resemblance of the *Fath al-Raḥmān*. This is justifiably sustainable for Muhammad Nafīs did refer to the *Fath al-Raḥmān* in the largest part of his work.⁶⁰ The *al-Durr al-Nafīs* is currently renowned not only in the Southern Kalimantan but also the Malay world.

As explicated earlier, the 17th century's Islamic reform was harbingered by the scholars through ways of Sufi orders. The Sufi masters of Shatariyyah Order like Aḥmad Qushāshī and Ibrāhīm Kurānī⁶¹ resorted Sufi order to disseminate their religious thought. This does not imply that Sufi order was the only subject delved massively by the *al-Jāwiyyīn* scholars. It was of a common place among them to study Sufi order in addition to learning *tawhīd* and Sufism.⁶² Al-Raniri, for example, learnt the Sufi orders of Rifa'iyah and Qadariyyah. While Abdul Rauf al-Singkili studied that of Shatariyyah and Qadariyyah, Yusuf al-Makassari adhered with Shatariyyah and Khalwatiyyah.⁶³

The transmission of the *Fath al-Raḥmān* in Malay world was complete also through the dissemination of those Sufi orders. In the 18th century, as a master in Sufism, Muḥammad Sammān taught Sufi order to his disciples. This was of no restraint because Muḥammad Sammān was a master of, at least, 11 Sufi orders such as Naqshabandiyyah, Shaziliyyah, Adiliyyah, Qadariyyah and Khalwatiyyah. Sammān was incomparably credited as he was able to integrate various Sufi orders.

⁶⁰ Martin Van Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning, Pesantren dan Ulama*, 69.

⁶¹ Shatariyyah Sufi order which was promulgated by al-Qushayrī and Kurānī wins the fancy of most Indonesians. This is perhaps because some appealing notion of the book *Tuḥfah* (of Burhanpuri) was closely associated with this Sufi order. See Martin Van Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning, Pesantren dan Ulama*, 68-194.

⁶² Wan Mohd Saghir Abdullah, *Khazanah Karya Pusaka Asia Tenggara*, vol. 1 (Kuala Lumpur: Khazanah Fathaniyah, 1991), 131.

⁶³ Sri Mulyani, *Tasawuf Nusantara Rangkaian Mutiara Sufi Terkemuka*, 102 & 127.

As a result, he established his own Sufi order which later is known as Muhammadiyyah or Samaniyyah like the *al-Jāwiyyīn* disciples designated it.⁶⁴ All of this shows that the *Faṭḥ al-Raḥmān* had already been in Malay world since the 17th and 18th century and was propagated by the Sufi scholars generally attached to the Shatariyyah, Qadariyyah or Khalwatiyyah Sufi orders.

Availability of the *Faṭḥ al-Raḥmān*

The well-known *Faṭḥ al-Raḥmān* is currently available in many libraries. In the Malaysia's National Library, there are 3 manuscripts of the *Faṭḥ-Raḥmān*. One copy of the text is written in Arabic and translated into *Jawi* (Malay Arabic) but without year of publication. Another one is a short excerpt (*Mukhtaṣar*) of the *Faṭḥ al-Raḥmān* which is a transcription of *Sharḥ Khumrah al-Khān* written by 'Abd al-Ghanī al-Nabulīsī Ibn Ismā'īl.⁶⁵ The excerpt is a translation into *Jawi* and was written by the Palembang scholar, Kemas Fakhruddin (d. 1763). It was successfully transcribed by 4th Sha`ban 1297H and was found in Pontianak, the Western Kalimantan.

⁶⁴ He was the founder of the Sammaniyyah Sufi order. Noted among his disciples were Abdus Shamad Palimbani, Muhammad Arsyad al-Banjari and Muhammad Muhyiddin Syihabuddin al-Jawi al-Palimbani. See Martin Van Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning, Pesantren dan Ulama*, 58.

⁶⁵ 'Abd al-Ghanī al-Nablūsī bin Ismā'īl bin 'Abd al-Ghanī bin Aḥmad bin Ibrāhīm or known as Nablūsī al-Ḥanafī al-Dimashqī al-Naqshabandī al-Qādirī was born in Damascus, 5 Zulhijjah 1050 and died in 1143. He was a leading scholar on jurisprudence, *Tafsīr* and *Ḥadīth*. See, 'Abd al-Ghanī bin Ismā'īl, *Dakhā'ir al-Mawāriṭh fī al-Dalālāt 'alā Mawāqī'ī al-Ḥadīthi*, vol. 1 (Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-'Alamiyyah, n.d.), 3-5. He was also known as a great writer and poet whose works was *Tahmis* (a literary work on poetry) taking as its inspiration of a *Qaṣīdah* wrote by Walī Ruslān on divinity. The *Tahmis* was then rewritten into Roman by Drewes and translated into English. See G.W.J. Drewes, *Direction for Travellers on The Mystic Path*, 18.

It is currently accessible in the National Library of Malaysia in Kuala Lumpur.⁶⁶ The last copy is coded AF 128, written in Arabic by Abu Bakar Bone in 1300. Being compared to the earlier copies, this transcription is considered more complete and could be found only in the personal library of Wan Mohd. Saghir Abdullah in Kuala Lumpur.⁶⁷ The availability of the work in Kuala Lumpur ascertains the fact that it has been long learnt and studied by the Malay scholars.

The work is also available in Indonesia. It is accessible in the Indonesia's National Library in Jakarta. The library stocks up five texts. One text is owned by renowned Sulawesi scholar Yusuf al-Makassari (1626-1699) and was published in 1678.⁶⁸ It is in Arabic and was

⁶⁶ Wan Mohd Saghir Abdullah, *Wawasan Pemikiran Ulama Asia Tenggara Jilid 3* (Kuala Lumpur: Persatuan Khazanah Fathaniyah, 2000), 40-41. What Mohd Saghir referred to as manuscript was merely excerpt (*Mukhtaṣar*) and written in *Jawi (Melayu)* without appending its Arabic version.

⁶⁷ Based upon the writer's relentless comparison of the texts, it is argued that the manuscript written by Abu Bakar Bone was the most complete one. The parting pages of the text contain Ibn 'Arabī's exposition on the position and relationship between *sharī'ah* and *ḥaqīqah*. He urged that every Muslim has to master both *sharī'ah* and *ḥaqīqah* regardless of superiority or honor he has in his rank (*maqām*). It is only through this way, he can achieve the gnosis (*ma'rifatullāh*). Ibn 'Arabī also revealed that he who received miracle (*karāmah* or attaining knowledge directly from Allah without any process of learning), while he was a performer of *sharī'ah* and *ḥaqīqah*, then his esteemed ranking was comparable to *Walī* (Allah's lover). See, Abū Yahyā Zakariyyā al-Anṣārī, *Faḥḥ al-Rahmān*, (copied by) Abu Bakar Bone, Manuscript coded AF 128 (1300H), 23.

⁶⁸ Yusuf Makassari or known as Yusuf al-Khalwati was born in 1627 and passed away in 1699. He was a great sufi Master and a hero who stood against the imperialist Dutch. Along with Abdul Ra'uf al-Sinkili and Nurudin al-Raniri, he studied in many countries including Haramayn. In the Masjid al-Haram, he taught the Indonesians be the pilgrim performers or students from the *al-Jāwiyyīn* community. He returned to Indonesia in 1670. Throughout

then rewritten by Harun, the 3rd judge (*Qāḍī*) of Bone in the Southern Sulawesi. There is an annotation within the text exerting that the work was written on the request of the 23rd King of Bone; La Tenritappu Sultan Ahmad Shaleh Syamsuddin (1775-1812).⁶⁹

The second text is written in Arabic added with its translation into Bugis (the Southern Sulawesi) language. It was written in 1307/1889 by H. Abdul Rasyid Ibnu Marhan al-Qadi Ishak of Bandar Majene in the Southern Sulawesi. The third copy is of two different texts and was written in Arabic but without author and year of writing. The fourth text is entitled *Kitāb Faṭḥ al-Raḥmān* and was also written in Arabic. Some words therein were written in red while the purpose is still uncertain. The text is incomplete and there is neither author nor year of writing.⁷⁰ The fifth text was written by the Sufi master of Palembang, Shihabuddin bin Abdullah Muhammad who lived around 1750 and was found by G. W. J. Drewes.⁷¹ What is presented right here is that the availability of the *Faṭḥ al-Raḥmān* in Indonesia signifies the fact that it has been long studied by the Indonesian scholars.

his life, he wrote many books and owned transcript of the *Faṭḥ al-Raḥmān* of Zakariyyā al-Anṣārī. See, Sri Mulyati et.al, *Mengenal & Memahami Tarekat-Tarekat*, 118-121.

⁶⁹ Abu Hamid, *Syekh Yusuf Seorang Ulama Sufi dan pejuang* (Jakarta: Yayasan Obor, 2005), 142-143.

⁷⁰ All the texts are currently available and accessible in the National Library of Indonesia in Jakarta. I could be accessed in the manuscript storage section. As of the text encoded A 23, there are few sentences written in red without further information on them.

⁷¹ Shihabuddin (1750) was a prominent Sufi master in Palembang and lived during the reign of Sultan Najamuddin di Palembang. He was a renowned translator who translated and taught *Faṭḥ al-Rahman* to his people. His text was seen influential in obviating the Muslims from the calamity of shirk prevalent among his society. See, Muhammad Solihin, *Sejarah dan Pemikiran Tasawuf di Indonesia*, 73.

The *Fath al-Raḥmān* has also been noticeable in the other countries. A Dutchmen researcher, G. W. J. Drewes found the work in the libraries in Berlin, London and India.⁷² Other than the *Fath al-Raḥmān*, he found another text of poetry entitled *Fath al-Raḥmān* and was written in 2nd Jumad al-Akhir 1663 or 1738. Drewes translated the text, which was the original translation of the *Fath al-Raḥmān* in ancient *Jawi* version into English.⁷³ The work is currently accessible in the India Office Library.⁷⁴

At the meantime, Carl Brockelmann came across the *Fath al-Raḥmān* in Leiden, Netherlands.⁷⁵ There is one text stored on the shelf of Universiteits Bibliotheek Leiden, entitled *Sharḥ Fath al-Raḥmān*. Declared therein is, "This manuscript was transcribed from a text which belonged to R. Adi Kesoema and was written in Cirebon, the Western Java by 1889."⁷⁶ There is no information of writer or year of transcription. But there is a declaration, "Legaat Prof. Dr. Snouck Hurgronje 1936" which means this manuscript is owned by Prof. Dr. Snouck Hurgronje year 1936.⁷⁷

⁷² G.W.J. Drewes, *Direction for Travellers on The Mystic Path*, 52.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 53- 87.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 52.

⁷⁵ Carl Brockelmann, *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur* Vol. 1, 452 and 811.

⁷⁶ "Naskah ini disalin dari sebuah naskah milik R. Adi Kesoemo, ditulis di Cirebon Pulau Jawa Barat 1889". Oman Fathurrahman, *Tanbih al-Masyi*, 177.

⁷⁷ Snouck Horgronje was a Dutch Orientalist who excelled in Islam and Arabic literature. He was also conversant with Jawa language and died in the Netherlands in 1936. He formally converted to Islam and got a ten years span studying Islam directly from many scholars in Mecca. He sojourned in Indonesia for quite a long time. See, Martin Van Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning, Pesantren dan Ulama*. With regard to his conversion and his study in Mecca, see further P.Sj. van Koningsveld, *Snouck Hurgronje dan Islam: Delapan Karangan Tentang Hidup Dan Karya Seorang Orientalis Zaman Kolonial* (Jakarta: Girisurti Pasaka, 1989).

It is probable that he acquired the work while he served the Dutch that occupied Indonesia by 1936. The *Faṭḥ al-Raḥmān* is also available in the library of Cairo, Egypt. It was written by MSS in 1317/ 1899 and then translated by G. W. J. Drewes into Roman without accommodating the original text which was of Arabic.⁷⁸ All the texts above were handwritten and none was formally typed.

Conclusion

As a conclusion, the availability of the *Faṭḥ al-Raḥmān* of Zakariyyā al-Anṣārī in many leading libraries tells us how well-known it is among people in Malay world and the other parts of the world. This also signifies its significance for the people in the region of Malay world. In the Southern Kalimantan, the work is of no less significant. Its availability herein, as brought by Muhammad Arsyad al-Banjari and the transcribed version of the *al-Durr al-Nafīs* by Muhammad Nafīs, shows the transmission of thought from the Middle Eastern scholars to their disciples in Malay world. The transmission of Zakariyyā's thought as contained in the *Faṭḥ al-Raḥmān* to the scholars in the Southern Kalimantan is undeniably evident. Conclusively, the transmission finally substantiates the creation of an intellectual network among the scholars in those regions.

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⁷⁸ The transliteration has been accommodated in pages 39-51. See G.W.J. Drewes, *Direction for Travellers on The Mystic Path*, 39-51 and 176.

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