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# Comparative Study of Southeast Asian Kitabs (2):

## Papers on Tasawwuf and Fatwa Texts Presented at the Sophia University Workshop on May 20, 2012.

Contributors:
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Edited by:
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# Preface

This working paper comprises two papers that were presented at the Second Workshop on Comparative Study of Southeast Asian Kitabs, held at Sophia University, Tokyo on May 20, 2012. The workshop was organized by the "Southeast Asian Muslims and Modernity" research group from the Center for Islamic Studies at Sophia University. The workshop was the second of a series held by the group and aimed to serve as a forum for the exchange of ideas and information on the comparative study of Southeast Asian *kitab*s. The workshop program and abstracts of the papers presented at the event can be found at the following website:

http://www.info.sophia.ac.jp/SIAS/EN/news/120520e.html

The first paper in this volume, authored by Kushimoto, explores the inter-text relations among several major *taṣawwuf* texts in the Malay world in an effort to bring to light the nature of *taṣawwuf* learning in the region. It focuses on a certain well-known *kitab* titled *Hidāya al-Sālikīn* and compares its text with those of other works.

In the second paper, its author Shiozaki turns his attention to the important role of the members of the *ulama* in Mecca, who came from Southeast Asia (*Jawi ulama*), in creating and promoting new trends in Islamic jurisprudence among Southeast Asian Muslims in the late 19th to the early 20th century. Focusing on the texts of the *fatwa*s by Ahmad al-Fatani, the paper identifies trends in Islamic jurisprudence in the *Jawi* community in Mecca and its influence on the Malay Peninsula during this period.

The findings and questions presented in these papers certainly merit further research. Hence, we plan to continue undertaking comparative studies of Southeast Asian *kitab*s and hold similar workshops and publish their results in future.

Finally, I would like to thank Mr. Ervan Nurtawab from the State Islamic College - Jurai Siwo Metro, Indonesia; Mr. Pramono from Andalus University, Padang, Indonesia; and Dr. Sugahara Yumi from Osaka University for presenting their papers at the workshop. We are also grateful to Dr. Michael Feener from the Asia Research Institute at the National University of Singapore for participating at the workshop as a discussant, and Prof. Aoyama Toru from the Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, who served as a chairperson. Our thanks are also due to other researchers who participated in the workshop, staff at the Center for Islamic Studies, and all others who contributed to our research and the publication of this volume.

KAWASHIMA Midori

# Preliminary Mapping of the *Taṣawwuf* texts in the Malay World: *Hidāya al-Sālikīn* and Some Related Texts

KUSHIMOTO Hiroko

## Introduction

This paper aimed to map the *taṣawwuf kitabs*[1] that are widely used in traditional learning in the Malay world, especially in Malaysia. To draw a general picture of the *taṣawwuf* that have been studied in Southeast Asia, I chose *Hidāya al-Sālikīn* written by Abd al-Samad al-Palembani as the central text with which to start the mapping.

Previous studies have made efforts to list the relevant *kitabs* (e.g., [Bruinessen 1990; Matheson and Hooker 1988]), and these studies have provided information on the *kitabs* used for our mapping. The Center for Islamic Studies of Sophia University published a provisional catalogue that lists the *kitabs* currently available in the book shops in Southeast Asia [Kawashima et al. (eds.) 2010]. This catalogue yields important insights about the contemporary distribution of *taṣawwuf kitabs*. In addition, a number of studies have considered the relationship between the *kitabs'* authors and the development of their key ideas (e.g., [Azyumardi 1994, 2004; Wan Mohd. Shaghir 2004]). However, the relationships among the listed *kitabs*, especially in terms of their contents, have not been well explored.

One of the most important observations is provided by Bruinessen [1990]. Especially with regard to *fiqh*, he categorized the major *kitabs* into some "families" by forming "genealogical trees." However, it is relatively difficult to apply such a method of categorization for the *taṣawwuf* texts because the topics covered by *taṣawwuf* are varied and the relationships between different texts are more

[1] Notes on transliteration: Terms borrowed from Arabic (e.g., *taṣawwuf*), quotations from Arabic texts and Arabic names of people outside the Malay world (e.g., al-Ghazālī) follow the rule of Arabic transliteration. Terms of Arabic origin that have been introduced into the Malay vocabulary (e.g., *ulama*), quotations from Malay texts and names of individuals who are active in the Malay world (e.g., Abd Samad al-Palembani) follow the popular Malay spellings. Thus, some words are transliterated in two ways (e.g., *zikir*: M/ *dhikr*: Ar). M and Ar stand for Malay and Arabic, respectively.

complicated than those between *fiqh* texts. It is true that some *taṣawwuf* texts are related to each other, as, for example, the main text (*matn*) and its commentary (*sharḥ*), as in any other area of study. Bruinessen points out several examples of such relations found in *taṣawwuf* works [Bruinessen 1990: 248–251], but his mapping is limited to a small part of the *taṣawwuf* texts. To understand what types of *taṣawwuf* texts are chosen to be printed and taught in the Malay world from the great variety of *taṣawwuf* teachings in the Islamic tradition, it is necessary to make a wider map of the *taṣawwuf kitabs* based on comparison of their contents. This perspective is supported by Megawati's study, whose insightful analysis centers on the contents of the works related to al-Ghazālī's texts [Megawati 2009; 2011]. However, as she focuses on the influence of al-Ghazālī to the Malay world, her analysis focuses only on the relationship of the Malay *kitabs* to al-Ghazālī's original Arabic texts.

This paper explores the inter-text relations among the major *taṣawwuf kitabs* in the Malay world by means of two comparisons: one is a comparison of the tables of contents and another is a comparison of the explanations of specific topics. I focus on the text titled *Hidāya al-Sālikīn* not only because it is one of the most popular texts for introductory *taṣawwuf* learning but also because its structure of basic *taṣawwuf* learning serves as a yardstick to measure the level of other texts.

The following discussion comprises three parts. The first part introduces Abd al-Samad al-Palembani and *Hidāya al-Sālikīn*. The second part analyzes the structure of *Hidāya* as well as its approach to explanation in comparison with those of other texts, especially al-Ghazālī, enabling us to understand the nature and content of the text as a *taṣawwuf* learning resource for beginners. This is followed by a preliminary discussion in the third part about the technique used for mapping the other *kitabs* in connection to *Hidāya al-Sālikīn*.

## 1. Abd al-Samad al-Palembani and *Hidāya al-Sālikīn*

### (1) Abd al-Samad al-Palembani

Abd al-Samad was one of the most influential *ulamas* in the 18th century due to his position in the network that connected Haramayn (Mecca and Medina) and the Malay world, referred to as the "*ulama* network (*Jalingan Ulama*)" by Azyumardi [Azyumardi 1994]. Azyumardi considers al-Palembani to be among the key figures who spread a type of *taṣawwuf* that emphasizes the "harmonization of *sharī'a* and *taṣawwuf*," an approach that he calls "neo-Sufism," based on the teachings of al-Junayd, al-Qushayrī, and al-Ghazālī [Azyumardi 1994: 18, 245].

Much remains unknown about the life of Abd al-Samad, including such basic information as the years of his birth and death. According to Wan Mohd. Shaghir, Abd al-Samad was born around 1714. His father, Syeikh Abdul Jalil, who was appointed as the *qadi* of Kedah in 1710, relocated to Pelembang where he met and married Abd al-Samad's mother [Wan Mohd. Shaghir 1996: 19].[2] As for the date of his death, while Azyumardi suggests that he passed away a few years after he completed *Sayr al-Sālikīn* in 1203H/1789 in Taif (near Mecca) without coming back to the Malay world, Wan Mohd. Shaghir claims that Abd al-Samad came back to Kedah and became involved in the war against Siam [Azyumardi 1994: 246] [Wan Mohd. Shaghir 1996: 62–89].

Abd al-Samad's father was a Syed who immigrated to Southeast Asia from Sanaa, Yemen [Wan Mohd. Shaghir 1996: 10]. After learning the basics of Islamic knowledge, probably in Patani, Abd al-Samad studied in Mecca and Medina for about 30 years and 5 years, respectively [Wan Mohd. Shaghir 1996: 34]. He studied under a number of teachers in various areas of Islamic knowledge such as *ḥadīth, fiqh, kalām,* and others besides *taṣawwuf*, to which he made great contributions. He then studied under the same teachers along with other contemporary famous *ulama*s from the Malay world such as Muhammad Arsyad al-Banjari, Daud al-Fathani, and Muhammad Nafis al-Banjari [Wan Mohd. Shaghir 1996: 34] [Azyumardi 1994: 246].[3] One of the most important figures in his *taṣawwuf* learning was Muḥammad bin 'Abd al-Karīm al-Sammān (d.1775),[4] from whom he received *talqin zikir* (specific manners of invocation) and *baiah* (initiation to a Sufi order) [Abd al-Samad n.d. (b): 39]. He received *ṭarīqa* al-Khalwatīya and al-Sammānīya from al-Sammān and played a crucial role in spreading *ṭarīqa* al-Sammānīya in the Malay world [Azyumardi 1994: 249–250].

Compared with his colleagues, al-Palembani's contribution to the field of *taṣawwuf* is outstanding. Fifteen works of Al-Palembani are listed by Wan Mohd. Shaghir, most of which are about *taṣawwuf* [Wan Mohd. Shaghir 1996: 96–97]. Of these works, two *kitab*s, namely *Hidāya al-Sālikīn* and *Sayr al-Sālikīn*, are still printed and used today.

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[2] Wan Mohd. Shaghir disagrees with the claim of M. Chatib and Azyumardi that Abd al-Samad was born in 1704 based on the information in *Tarikh Salasilah Negeri Kedah* [Wan Mohd.Shaghir 1996: 16–22].

[3] Azyumardi comments that there is no strong support for the theory that Muhammad Nafis al-Banjari studied together with al-Palembani and others [Azyumardi 1994: 246].

[4] He is the founder of *tarīqa al-Sammānīya*, which currently has a strong influence in Sudan. He learned *tarīqa al-Khalwatīya* from Muṣtafā al-Bakrī and founded his own *tarīqa* in Medina [Azyumardi 1994: 138–139].

## (2) *Hidāya al-Sālikīn*

*Hidāya al-Sālikīn* is one of the most influential *taṣawwuf kitabs* that are widely taught in Indonesia and Malaysia even today [Wan Shaghir 1996: 130; Megawati 2011: 157].[5] This text is so popular that the title is known even among those who have no experience in *taṣawwuf* learning.[6] It was written by Abd al-Samad al-Palembani in Mecca in 1778 and was repeatedly printed, first in Cairo, then in Mecca, followed by many publications in the Malay world. The Cairo edition was edited by Ahmad Zain al-Fathani (d. 1908), one of the most famous Jawi *ulama* and editors, and first published in 1303H/1885 [Wan Mohd. Shaghir 1996: 116]. The catalogue of Sophia University lists five editions published by different publishers in Indonesia and Singapore [Kawashima et al. (eds.) 2010: 299]. The text that is mainly used in this paper is the one published by Chahaya Pernama at Madrasah al-Diniya al-Bakriya. The place of publication is not mentioned, but Madrasah al-Diniya al-Bakriya is the official name of the well-known Pondok Pasir Tumbuh in Kelantan. Although the publication year is not provided, the format of printing on white paper with a colored soft cover indicates that it was printed recently. The copy includes an afterword by the editor, Ahmad Zain al-Fathani, which ends with the same *syair* mentioned by Wan Mohd. Shaghir [Wan Mohd. Shaghir 1996: 115–6]. This copy has 315 pages with 20 lines each.[7]

*Hidāya al-Sālikīn* is a *taṣawwuf* text for beginners based on al-Ghazālī's teachings. Abd al-Samad himself mentioned it as a "translation" of "matters (*masalah*)" discussed in al-Ghazālī's *Bidāya al-Hidāya* [Abd al-Samad n.d. (a): 3, 302]. However, it is widely known that this text includes a number of other references and topics that are not discussed in *Bidāya*.[8] This will be discussed in detail in the following section of this paper.

As for the area of Islamic knowledge addressed by the *Hidāya*, Abd al-Samad clearly states that it is *taṣawwuf*. Throughout the work, Abd al-Samad repeatedly uses the expression "the beneficial knowledge (*ilmu yang memberi manfaat*)," which is a translation of al-Ghazālī's expression "*al-'ilm al-nāfi'*." This term

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[5] Here, "widely used" means that these texts are used mostly in non-formal or informal situations such as voluntary classes at a *masjid*. Such *kitabs* written in Malay-Indonesian are not used in formal school curricula.

[6] I have also observed on many occasions during my fieldwork in Kedah and Kuala Lumpur, conducted from 2006 to 2011, that this text is used in class.

[7] This copy is not included in the catalogue of Sophia University, but its format is exactly the same as *Hidāya al-Sālikīn* that was published by al-Ma'ārif and listed in the catalogue [Kawashima et. al. (eds.) 2010: 299 (no.1064)].

[8] Wan Mohd. Shaghir lists 27 titles that are quoted in *Hidāya al-Sālikīn* [Wan Mohd. Shaghir 1996: 27].

indicates that this knowledge "increases the fear (*takut*: M; *taqwā, khauf*: Ar) of Allah," the pursuit of which is "*taṣawwuf*," as discussed in the *kitab* [Abd al-Samad n.d.: 3, 5–6]. Abd al-Samad claims that all responsible Muslims (*mukallaf*) should learn this knowledge[9] to avoid dying with terrible sin [Abd al-Samad n.d. (a): 3, 5–6].

*Hidāya al-Sālikīn* is a *kitab* meant for beginners who have just started to learn *taṣawwuf*. In the epilog, the author quotes from *Bidāya al-Hidāya* to remind "beginners in *taṣawwuf* learning" that the content of the text is only a "beginning (*bidāya*)" and that there is an "ending (*niḥāya*)" consisting of the advanced knowledge that is written in *Iḥya 'Ulūm al-Din*, another work of al-Ghazālī [Abd al-Samad n.d. (a): 301–2]. As for *Iḥya*, Abd al-Samad wrote another famous *kitab* named *Sayr al-Sālikīn* that will be discussed below.

Abd al-Samad explains that there are three areas of Islamic knowledge that are obligatory for every Muslim to learn: first, "knowledge of the Unity (*tauhid*) that is named *ilmu usulddin*"; second, "knowledge of the law (*syarak*) that is named *ilmu fiqh*"; and third, "knowledge of the hidden things (*batin*) that is named *ilmu tasauf*" [Abd al-Samad n.d. (a): 6–7]. According to Abd al-Samad, each of these areas of knowledge is classified into two categories—what is obligatory for everybody (*fardu ain*) and what is obligatory for some members of the society (*fardu kifayah*). The *fardu ain* portion in *taṣawwuf* is the knowledge of what can save oneself from corruption of outward practices and from errors that cancel the believer's rewards (*pahala*). For example, if one prays but keeps blameworthy natures such as ostentation (*riyā'*) or conceit (*'ujub*) in mind, they may lose the reward for their prayer. The obligatory knowledge of *taṣawwuf* is all-inclusive if one practices what is written in the *Minhāj al-'Ābidīn* of al-Ghazālī, and knowledge further than this is not obligatory for everybody [Abd al-Samad n.d. (a): 7–8]. Therefore, according to Abd al-Samad, the content of *Hidāya al-Sālikīn* is beneficial knowledge that is also mentioned in al-Ghazālī's *Bidāya al-Hidāya* as well as in *Minhāj al-'Ābidīn*, *Iḥya 'Ulūm al-Dīn*, *al-Arba'īn fi Uṣūl al-Dīn*, and *Mukhtasar Iḥya* [Abd al-Samad n.d. (a): 5]. Thus, *Hidāya al-Sālikīn* is written for a beginner of *taṣawwuf* learning, as it covers the obligatory knowledge of *taṣawwuf* by quoting mainly from al-Ghazālī.

[9] "*...maka tak dapat tiada bagi tiap-tiap orang Islam yang mukallaf daripada mengenal akandia*" [Abd al-Samad n.d. (a) : 3].

## 2. Organization of *Hidāya al-Sālikīn* and Its Relation to Other Texts

### (1) Organization of the *Kitab* and Its Relation to al-Ghazālī's Texts

*Hidāya al-Sālikīn* is composed of seven chapters (*babs*) as well as an introduction and an epilog (Table 1). The chapters are categorized by the author into three parts: the first part on the outward and inward obedience (*bab* 1, 2), the second on the outward and inward sins (*bab* 3–6), and the last on the manners of interacting with others (*bab* 7). When compared with al-Ghazālī's *Bidāya al-Hidāya*, which is also organized into the same three parts, the second part of *Hidāya al-Sālikīn* contains more topics related to ways of improving the inner character by knowing what constitutes good natures and practicing them, especially through invocation (*zikir*: M; *dhikr*: Ar). The discussion of *Bidāya al-Hidāya* focuses on the nature of the human soul and concentrates on explaining the blameworthy tendencies of the body and the heart (Table 2, second part), whereas *Hidāya al-Sālikīn* discusses the same topics about the body in *bab* 3 and those about the soul in *bab* 4, and then adds a discussion of praiseworthy natures (*bab* 5) and the means of invocation (*bab* 6), neither of which are found in *Bidāya* (Table 2). It also adds a lengthy discussion about the merits of knowledge and the necessity of learning *taṣawwuf* in the first part, as mentioned above. Thus, it is clear that *Hidāya al-Sālikīn* has a unique structure that does not exactly follow *Bidāya al-Hidāya*.

When the structure of each chapter is considered, *bab* 2 (Outward Worship), *bab* 3 (Outward Sins of the Body), and *bab* 7 (Etiquettes of Companionship) follow the structure of *Bidāya al-Hidāya* almost exactly (see Tables 1 and 2). On the other hand, in *bab* 4 and *bab* 5, Abd al-Samad quotes ten blameworthy and ten praiseworthy natures from *Arba'īn fī Uṣūl al-Dīn*, and organizes the topics in exactly the same way [Abd al-Samad n.d. (a): 185–6; 221].[10]

The praiseworthy tendencies of the heart are not discussed as independent topics in *Bidāya*, though they are discussed in detail in *Minhāj al-'Ābidīn*. When we consider the topic of repentance (*al-tauba*), which appears as the first step in the purification of the soul in every text (Tables 1, 3, 4, and 5), it is clear that the discussion of *Minhāj*, which puts repentance in the first chapter, is focused on the means of purification of the inward nature. *Bidāya* puts more emphasis on the improvement of outward natures compared with *Minhāj*. However, because *Minhāj*

[10] The other texts of al-Ghazālī also mention these but with different order and choice of topics. For example, the second part of *Bidāya* explains the blameworthy tendencies of the body, namely eyes, ears, tongue, stomach, genitals, hands, and feet in the same way as *Hidāya* but the topics about the tendencies of the heart are limited to envy (*al-ḥasad*), ostentation (*al-riyā'*), conceit (*al-'ujub*), pride (*al-kibr*), and boastfulness(*al-fakhr*).

is organized according to "the way or curriculum (*minhāj*)," that is, the way of climbing up the mountain of obedience and purification of the soul, the blameworthy and praiseworthy characters are discussed as disturbances (*'awāiq/'awāriḍ*) and their solutions that appear one after another. In contrast, *Arba'īn fī Uṣūl al-Dīn* organizes them as an overview of the nature of the human soul. Abd al-Samad seems to choose the order of *Arba'īn* as suitable for his introduction to the inward forms of worship. The aim of the *Hidāya* as an introduction for beginners is also clear when compared with *Iḥya 'Ulūmal-Dīn*. *Iḥya* discusses the system of the heart before discussing the blameworthy and the praiseworthy [Table 5: *Rubu'* 3-(1)], whereas *Hidāya* does not include any abstract discussion of the soul such as the structure of the soul.

The Introduction (on knowledge) and Chapter 6 (on invocation) of *Hidāya* are almost original discussion of Abd al-Samad that does not exactly follow any major texts of al-Ghazālī. Both include quotations from al-Ghazālī, especially from *Bidāya* and *Iḥya*, but other *ulama* and Sufi are quoted more frequently here than in other chapters. For example, Abd al-Samad quotes from *Durr al-Thamīn* by Abd al-Qādir al-'Aidrūs,[11] the writings of Abū Ḥasan al-Shādhilī,[12] and *Sharḥ al-Ḥikam* by Ibn Abbād[13] to state that it is obligatory to learn *taṣawwuf*, i.e., the knowledge that increases the fear of Allah [Abd al-Samad n.d. (a): 6–11].

The discussion on invocation in Chapter 6 is even more unique. While al-Ghazālī's explicit explanation about invocation is found in *Iḥya* and *Mukhtasar Iḥya* [Table 5: *Rub'* 1-(9)], there are no clear quotations in *Hidāyat* from either text. Instead, 'Alī al-Murṣifī's *Mukhtasar al-Risālat al-Qusyairīyah* is quoted to explain the 35 merits of invocation, and Abū al-Ḥasan Al-Shādhilī is quoted in the discussion of a better means of invocation for beginners [Abd al-Samad n.d. (a): 257–268]. The most important among the *ulama* quoted here is Muḥammad bin 'Abd al-Karīm al-Sammān, who is mentioned as "our sheikh (*sheikhnā*) and our teacher (*ustādhnā*) [Abd al-Samad n.d. (a): 269, 273–274]. It seems natural that Abd

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[11] 'Abd al-Qādir al-'Aidrūs (d. 1638) was a Sufi born in Ahmedabad. He appears in the genealogy of learning of al-Raniri as one of the teachers of al-Raniri's teacher, Bā Syaybān. According to Azyumardi, 'Abd al-Qādir al-'Aidrūs wrote several texts on *taṣawwuf*, but the text of *Durr al-Thamīn* is lost [Azyumardi 1994: 174, 272].

[12] Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn 'Abd Allah al-Shādhilī (d. 1258), the founder of the Sufi order *Ṭarīqa al-Shādhilīya*, was born in Morocco. He traveled to Iraq seeking a master, and then went back to Morocco to study under 'Abd al-Salam Ibn Mashish (d. 1228), a disciple of Abu Madyān. Later, he moved to Tunisia, then to Egypt, where he taught many disciples. It was these disciples who developed the tariqa al-Shadhiliya [Ibrahim (ed.): 15, 247].

[13] Ibn 'Abbād al-Rundī (d. 1390), a *sheikh* of Ṭarīqa al-Shādhilīya, was born in Ronda, Spain. His commentary on *Ḥikam*, *Gayth al-Mawāhib al-'Alīyah fī Sharḥ Ḥikam al-'Aṭa'allah*, is one of the most famous commentaries on *Ḥikam* [Danner 1978: 40–41].

al-Samad, who was a disciple of Muḥammad al-Sammān and who contributed to spreading *ṭarīqa al-Sammānīya* in the Malay world, would include the means of invocation as an element of knowledge that is necessary for beginners. The entire discussion in the second and third divisions of Chapter 6 on the etiquettes and methods of invocation is based on *Naḥfā al-Ilāhīya fī Kaifīya Sulūk al-Ṭarīqa al-Muḥammadīya* by Muḥammad al-Sammān [Abd al-Samad n.d. (a): 273]. The etiquettes and methods, again, are aimed at beginners, who are advised to practice *zikir* aloud, rather than advanced practitioners, who perform *zikir* in the heart [Abd al-Samad n.d. (a): 273].

Given the overview of *Hidāya al-Sālikīn* above, it is clear that this text is an original work of Abd al-Samad rather than a mere translation of *Bidāya*, as it includes many additional quotations from other sources. It was composed according to what the author regarded as obligatory knowledge among the wide range of topics in *taṣawwuf*. The author expresses his opinion that the limit of obligatory knowledge is discussed in *Minhāj al-'Ābidīn*, which focuses on the improvement of inward forms of worship. In accordance with this view, *Hidāya al-Sālikīn* calls the reader's attention to the blameworthy and praiseworthy natures of the heart in addition to the discussion of outward worship contained in *Bidāya al-Hidāya*. In addition to these parts based on al-Ghazālī's works, Abd al-Samad inserted a discussion of invocations, which were regarded as necessary components for improving obedience according to his background. In this way, *Hidāya al-Sālikīn* seems to have been designed as a comprehensive "curriculum" for beginners of *taṣawwuf*.

## (2) The Ways of Explanation

Given that *Hidāya al-Sālikīn* is characterized as a comprehensive exposition of *taṣawwuf* for beginners, how does it approach the explanation of each topic and what kind of evolution does it propose as students progress to more advanced stages? This section examines the discussion of prayer as an example to understand the nature of *Hidāya al-Sālikīn* as a *taṣawwuf kitab* for beginners.

*Hidāya al-Sālikīn* explains the preferred manners and methods of prayer in Chapter 2. As mentioned above, this chapter follows the organization of *Bidāya al-Hidāya* with minor changes.[14] This chapter in both *kitabs* is primarily concerned with outward obedience, but explains only purification, prayer, and fasting, leaving out the other obligatory practices such as *zakāt* and *ḥajj*.

The organization of *Hidāya al-Sālikīn* is unique compared with those of normal

[14] For example, (5) Washing the Body and (12) Leading and Following the Prayer in *Hidāyat* are not treated as separate topics in *Bidāyat*.

texts on *fiqh* that also deal with prayers. Normally, *fiqh kitabs* begin with the purification (e.g., *al-wuḍū'*, *al-tayammum*) that is a condition for the prayer, and then explain the obligatory prayers followed by the voluntary prayers. In contrast, *Hidāya* organizes what a Muslim should do according to the timeline of one typical day (see Table 1, section (*faṣl*) (1)–(10)). It starts with concerns related to waking up before the dawn (*fajr*) prayer, followed by explanation regarding dressing, using the restroom, and purification, all of which should be done before *fajr* prayer. It then proceeds to concerns about going to *masjid* for prayer. The explanation goes on until the time after the night (*'isyā'*) prayer and the time for sleep in the former part of section 10. The timeline of one day ends here and the remaining sections of Chapter 2 are organized according to the types of prayers.

All aspects of the discussion about prayers are basically organized according to the scheme used in *Bidāya al-Hidāya*,[15] but the content of each topic does not necessarily follow that modeled in *Bidāya*. Abd al-Samad often adds quotations from other texts that depict his ideas of what beginners should know as a part of the obligatory knowledge of *taṣawwuf*.

For example, Abd al-Samad explains the manners of night prayer as follows:

> When the time of *isyak* prayer has come, perform four *rakaat*, two of them with intention of *sunnah* as follows:
>
> "*Uṣallī raka'atain 'aqiba al-'adhān sunnatan li-llahi ta'āla, Allah akbar*"
> This means "I pray two *rakaat* after the call for prayer as *sunnah* for Allah Taala, Allahu Akbar."
>
> After that, two more *rakaat* as *sunnah* added before *isyak* prayer should be performed, and the intention is:
>
> "*Uṣallī raka'atain sunna al- 'ishā' qablīyatan li-llahi ta'āla, Allah akbar*"
> This means: "I pray two *rakaat* as *sunnah* before *isyak* for Allah Taala, Allahu Akbar."
>
> After that you may perform the obligatory *isyak* prayer. Then read the praise [*puji-pujian*], which means to recite *istighfār*, after the five ritual prayers;

[15] Other prayers except the above-mentioned three voluntary ones are not explained in *Bidāya*.

"*Astaghfir Allah al-'Aẓīm alladhī lā ilāha illā huwa al-Ḥaiyu al-Qaiyūm wa atūb ilaihi*"

Three times until the last [Abd al-Samad n.d.(a): 78–79].

The quotation above emphasizes two elements. First is voluntary prayer, while instructional details for obligatory prayer are not mentioned at all. The movement and recitation of the obligatory prayer is explained in section 11, but this section also concentrates on the voluntary recitation in the prayer, unlike *fiqh* texts which tend to focus on the movement. While the movement associated with the prayer is regarded as common knowledge, Abd al-Samad includes the sentences of intention for every prayer that does not appear in *Bidāya*. He also repeatedly adds explanations of the merit of voluntary prayers. For instance, after the quotation reprinted above, Abd al-Samad explains about the importance of voluntary prayer after the night prayer using a quotation from a *ḥadīth* that is not quoted in *Bidāya*.

Those who pray four *rakaat* before noon prayer are like [those who] pray *tahajjud* [voluntary prayer for midnight] for the whole night. And those who pray four *rakaat* after night prayer are like [those who] pray on the night of *Lailatul Qadar* [Abd al-Samad n.d.(a): 80].

Following this quotation, Abd al-Samad states that it was taken from *Bidāya al-Hidāya*, *Iḥya 'Ulūm al-Dīn*, and 'Abd al-Qādir Fākihī's *Syarḥ Bidāya al-Hidāya*. Then he continues to quote similar *ḥadīth*s from *'Iyqāẓ al-Qawābil li al-Taqarrub bi al-Nawāfil* by Ibrahīm al-Kurdī and from *al-Naṣā'iḥ al-Dīnīyah* by 'Abdullah al-Ḥaddād [Abd al-Samad n.d.(a): 81]. The *ḥadīth* quoted from 'Abdullah al-Ḥaddād continues "and one *rakaat* of prayer on the *Lailatul Qadar* is equal to thirty thousand *rakaat* of the prayer on the other nights." This means that the four *rakaat* of voluntary prayer after the night prayer have merits (or a reward) equal to that received for thirty thousand *rakaat*. It seems that Abd al-Samad added such quotations from *ḥadīth*, as much as two pages' worth, to help beginners understand the merit of voluntary prayers and to motivate them to practice them. Many *ḥadīth* of the same kind (i.e., stating that practice A is worth reward B) are quoted throughout the text.

*Istighfār* is never mentioned in *Bidāya*. It is also noteworthy that Abd al-Samad applies a rule in *Hidāya* by which all of the Arabic quotations from *al-Qur'ān*, *ḥadīth*s and other *kitabs* are translated, while the meanings of supplications (*du'ā*) and other kinds of recitations such as *istighfār* are not. This rule shows that the

author sets a limit on "the knowledge for beginners," which falls between the practice of reciting and the comprehension of its meaning.

In addition to such recommendations for additional practice, Abd al-Samad signifies the improvement of the quality of one's prayers. The keyword here is "attention of heart (*hadir hati*)," which is a translation of al-Ghazālī's term *ḥuḍūr al-qalb*. Abd al-Samad begins his explanation of preparation for prayer in the section of manners of prayer with a passage that summarizes *Bidāya* [al-Ghazālī 1998: 78–79].

> (After the outward preparation,) then read "*Qul a'ūdh bi rabbi al-nās*" [al-Quran 114] until the end so that you will be protected from the evil thoughts of Satan and empty your mind from all worldly affairs. Look with the eyes of your heart (*mata hati*) as if you are in front of your God, since Allah does not accept prayers of his servant without his heart attending (*hadir hati*) to him [Allah] and *khusyū'*, that is, to fix the whole body and incline the heart (*hadir hati*) toward Allah Taala and *khuḍū'*, that is, to incline the heart with humility [Abd al-Samad n.d. (a): 108–109].

Such inward preparation for the outward worship is one of the main themes of *taṣawwuf* in *Hidāya al-Sālikīn*. The statement that Allah does not accept any prayer without such inner quality shows that this inner preparation is considered an obligation in addition to the obligatory conditions discussed from the *fiqh* perspective.

There are also many explicit discussions about the knowledge that is considered a personal obligation (*farḍ 'ain*) in *Hidāya al-Sālikīn*. For example, regarding the activities that should be done between dawn and sunrise [Chapter 2 (9)], Abd al-Samad states that the first thing to do is to seek beneficial knowledge.

> Imam al-Ghazālī said that the knowledge beneficial for religion is what increases your fear of Allah and improves the sight of your heart on your weakness[16] of yourself, [what] increases knowledge about service to Allah, [what] decreases favor of this world and increases favor of the next world, and [what] opens the sight of your heart on what ruins your practice[17] so that

[16] The term in the text is "*gā'ib* (hidden)", but this is a mistake for "*'aib* (pl.*'uyūb*: weakness, fault)" as shown by the equivalent sentence in *Bidāya* and also by the context [al-Ghazālī 1998: 62].

[17] This is written as "*'ilm*" in the text but it is a mistake for "*'amal* (practice)" [al-Ghazālī 1998: 62].

you may protect it [practice] and it [sight of heart] may tell you about the deceit of Satan.

It is all the knowledge mentioned by Imam al-Ghazālī in *Bidāya al-Hidāya* that is beneficial as I translate the knowledge in this *kitab*. The beneficial knowledge is also mentioned in *Iḥya 'Ulūm al-Dīn* and in *Mukhtasar Iḥya 'Ulūm al-Dīn* by Imam al-Ghazālī. The beneficial knowledge is also mentioned in *Minhāj al-'Ābidīn* and *al-Arba'īn fī Uṣūl al-Dīn* by Imam al-Ghazālī.

It also means all the knowledge of *taṣawwuf* as in *kitab taṣawwuf* written by Sheikh 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Sya'arānī[18] that is named *Madārij al-Sālikīn* and his *kitabs* named *'Uhūd al-Muḥammadīya*, *'Uhūd al-Mashāikh*, *Durr al-Jawāhir*, *Yawāqit al-Jawāhir*, and others from his writings about knowledge of *taṣawwuf*. All of them contain beneficial knowledge for your religion and the next world. It is also in all the writings of Sheikh Ibn 'Aṭā'allah such as the one named *Miftāḥ al-Falāḥ* and his *kitab* which is named *Tanwīr fī Isqāṭ al-Tadbīr* and his kitab *Ḥikam* and others of this kind such as *kitab 'Awārif al-M'ārif* of Sheikh Suhrawardī, *Risāla al-Qushairīya*, and others that is named *kitab* of *taṣawwuf*. The result of studying all of these topics in *taṣawwuf* is beneficial knowledge for religion in this world and the next [Abd al-Samad n.d. (a): 58].

The first paragraph of this quotation is a direct translation from *Bidāya*, but the titles of the *taṣawwuf kitabs* were added by Abd al-Samad, with the exception of *Iḥya*, which is also mentioned in *Bidāya* [al-Ghazālī 1998: 62]. The *kitabs* listed by Abd al-Samad are not only for beginners but also represent the author's idea of the *taṣawwuf* knowledge that should be learned by ordinary Muslims.

*Hidāya al-Sālikīn* provides the basic elements of traditional *taṣawwuf* learning for beginners in its organization as well as in its nature of explanation. It covers a wide range of topics, going well beyond the "beginning of guidance (*Bidāya al-Hidāya*)" with regard to outward and inward worship and relevant problems and remedies. With this text at the center, it becomes easier to start mapping the other *kitabs* on *taṣawwuf* by comparing their terminology and their depth.

[18] 'Abd al-Wahhāb ibn Aḥmad al-Sya'arānī (d. 1565) was an Egyptian Sufi and *ulama*. Azyumardi identifies him as one of the forefathers of the trend he calls "neo-Sufism" in the Malay world [Azyumardi 1994: 108–115].

## 3. Preliminary Comparison with Other *Taṣawwuf* Texts

What type of relationships can we find if we compare *Hidāya al-Sālikīn* with other *taṣawwuf* texts widely used in the Malay world? The first to be mentioned is *Sayr al-Sālikīn,* another famous *kitab* by Abd al-Samad that is also popular for advanced *taṣawwuf* learning. *Sayr al-Sālikīn* is a four-volume *kitab*, the text of which is approximately four times longer than that of *Hidāya al-Sālikīn.* It is described by the author as a "translation" of *Lubāb Iḥya 'Ulūm al-Dīn* or *Mukhtasar 'Iḥya 'Ulūm al-Dīn*, a summary of *Iḥya* believed to have been written by al-Ghazālī's brother, Aḥmad al-Ghazāli. As in the case of *Hidāya al-Sālikīn*, it is well-known that Abd al-Samad added quotes from many other texts along with his personal opinions. However, the organization of the topics basically follows that of *Lubāb* except in the first quarter in which one chapter about invocation (*zikir*) (Table 6) has been added. Almost all the topics addressed in *Hidāya al-Sālikīn* are discussed in detail in *Sayr al-Sālikīn*. However, *Hidāya* is not a simple summary of *Sayr* because there are some differences in the organization of the topics and the approaches to certain explanations.

The general order of the topics in *Hidāya al-Sālikīn* seems to be different from that in *Sayr al-Sālikīn*. The former discusses three categories of topics; (1) outward worship such as prayer and fasting, (2) inner problems and good natures, and (3) good manners in life and society, in that order. In *Sayr al-Sālikīn*, in contrast, the third category is placed before the second category. Some basic differences are also found in the approaches to explanation. Taking the topic of prayers as an example, both texts explain the methods and manners of prayers in category (1), that dealing with outer worship, after the discussion of purification. In contrast to *Sayr*, which explains all about prayer, fasting, *zakat*, and *haji*, *Hidāya* deals only with prayer, followed by short notes on fasting.

In the explanation, *Sayr* emphasizes the inward meanings of each movement and recitation in prayer, following the normal order of topics as presented in *fiqh* texts. *Hidāya*, in contrast, arranges the prayers according to the timeline of a day from dawn to night, with an explanation of what should be done between prayers. The explanation of the hidden meanings of prayers is shorter in *Hidāya* than in *Sayr*, and the merits of each practice are emphasized. This tendency is symbolized in the rules of translation used in the two *kitabs*: *Hidāya* does not translate the words of *du'ā'* whereas *Sayr* does; however, quotations from *al-Qur'ān, ḥadīth,* and other *kitabs* are translated in both *kitabs*. *Hidāya al-Sālikīn* can thus function as a daily manual for beginners, permitting them to practice outward and inward worship according to Sufi methods, while *Sayr* is meant to inspire a more scholarly

discussion for those who seek deeper knowledge concerning *taṣawwuf*.

Some other popular texts can be compared to *Hidāya al-Sālikīn* based on their choices of topics and their organizational schemes. For example, *Minhāj al-'Ābidīn* by Daud Abdullah al-Fatani is one of the representative texts used for *taṣawwuf* learning among ordinary Muslims as well as among more advanced learners. While it is taught in some open *kitab* reading classes (*pengajian*) such as those in the *masjid*, it is also one of the subjects for a certificate of teaching religion (*tauliah*) examination under state religious departments such as that in Kedah. It is a closer translation of al-Ghazālī's *Minhāj al-'Ābidīn* that more accurately preserves the organization and the explanations of the original text. The discussion is focused on inner obedience, which begins with repentance (*taubah*). The topic of repentance is discussed in Chapter 5 of *Hidāya al-Sālikīn* as the first item with a praiseworthy nature. Unlike *Hidāyat*, where the topics are divided into chapters according to whether they are blameworthy or praiseworthy, *Minhāj* discusses the blameworthy natures in tandem with the praiseworthy natures that are their remedies. Overall, *Minhāj* deals with the topics in Chapters 3–5 in a different organization and with different approaches to their explanation.

*Penawar bagi Hati* (Remedy for the Heart) by Abd al-Qadir bin Abd al-Muttalib al-Indunisi, completed in Mecca in H1378/1958, is another famous *taṣawwuf kitab* for beginners.[19] It is a simple 100-page long *kitab*. The author himself states that "this small book is the beginning of *taṣawwuf* learning...as a note for myself and for anybody who has just started to learn." The topics clearly show that this text precisely follows Chapters 3–5 of *Hidāya al-Sālikīn* in terms of the blameworthy and praiseworthy natures. This text is often used in *pengajian* for ordinary Muslims in the *masjid* and *surau* (prayer room). *Anak Kunci Syurga* (Key to Heaven), another popular *kitab* by the same author completed in Mecca in H1382/1963 is often mentioned as a *kitab* on *taṣawwuf*. The printed version of this *kitab* has 103 pages and there are three categories of topics: belief (*aqidah*), practice (*ibadah*), and the attitudes of the heart. The author of the *kitab* mentions that, among all the topics of belief (*'aqāid al-'Īmān*) and law (*ḥukm*), this *kitab* deals only with matters that are obligatory (*fardu ain*) for every Muslim [Abd al-Qadir 1963: 2]. He does not mention in the introduction that this *kitab* also discusses topics of *taṣawwuf*. However, he gives a simple explanation in the epilog about blameworthy and praiseworthy attitudes of heart, each of which includes ten items, as in *Penawar*

[19] There is at least one other *kitab* with the same title, written by Othman bin Syihabuddin and based on Ibn 'Aṭā'allah's *Tanwīr fī Isqāṭ al-Tadbīr*. The title of the *jawi* version is *Tanwīr al-Qulūb* (Remedy for the Heart) but the newly published *rumi* version is titled *Penawar Bagi Hati* [Othman Syihabuddin 2007].

*Bagi Hati* and Chapters 4 and 5 of *Hidāya al-Sālikīn*. The organization of *Anak Kunci Syurga*, specifically, its opening with matters of belief and then shifting to outward worship, is the same as that of *Hidāya al-Sālikīn*, but the approach to explanation is different. A closer analysis of the explanation of prayer shows that *Anak Kunci Syurga* does not include an explanation about inner preparation as was seen in *Hidāya al-Sālikīn*. On comparison with *Hidāya*, it becomes clear that *Anak Kunci Syurga* is an elementary book that simply combines *'aqīda*, *fiqh* and *taṣawwuf*, with an emphasis on *fiqh* and without a Sufi interpretation.

Here, although I have presented limited examples of relationships between *Hidāya al-Sālikīn* and other texts, any other text can also be connected in the same manner. If we focus more on approaches to explanation than on general structure, it is possible to expand such mapping of *kitabs* to other areas of knowledge. One example is *Muniyat al-Muṣallī* by Daud Abdullah al-Fatani. It is regarded as an elementary *fiqh* text about prayer that emphasizes inward preparation as well as outward conditions. As demonstrated above with regard to *Hidāya al-Sālikīn*, *Muniya al-Muṣallī* states that attendance of the heart is important for the prayer to be accepted by Allah. For example, the author explains in the beginning of the *kitab* that there are two forms of prayer, the outward form (*rupa zahir*) and the real and inward form (*rupa hakikat yang batin*), and the prayer is not complete if either of them is lacking.

> The outward form includes such things as standing up and saying "Allahu Akbar" (*takbīr*), reading al-Fātiḥah, bowing (*ruku'*), standing straight (*i'tdāl*), and two instances of prostration (*sujūd*), sitting up between the prostrations... all of these are among the outward principles, *sunna*, and conditions. On the other hand, the real and inward form includes such things as concentration (*khusyū'*), attendance of the heart, absolute sincerity, humility (*tadhallul*), understanding the meaning of the *Qur'ān*, praising Allah (*tasbīh*), and other inward tasks (*waẓīfah*) of the prayer [Daud Abdullah n.d. 4].

In his explanation of inward forms of prayer, he quotes famous Sufis such as al-Ghazālī and Ḥasan al-Baṣrī[20] [Daud Abdullah n.d. 4, 11]. This is understandable considering that Daud Abdullah was a close colleague of Abd al-Samad al-Palembani in Mecca and was a writer of *taṣawwuf* texts in addition to a large number of *fiqh kitabs*. This kind of mapping of *taṣawwuf* texts along with texts

[20] Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 728) was an ascetic born in Medina. He is regarded as one of the founders of early Sufism.

concerned with other areas may help us to understand how *taṣawwuf* has been understood and practiced in the Malay world.

## Conclusion

In this paper, I started the process of mapping the *taṣawwuf kitabs* that are widely distributed in the Malay world, placing *Hidāya al-Sālikīn* at the core. *Hidāya al-Sālikīn* represents the ideal core text as it covers a wide range of topics that are considered obligatory knowledge (*farḍu 'ain*), combining important discussions from al-Ghazālī's texts and other Sufi writings such as *al-Sammān*. *Hidāya al-Sālikīn* is also a helpful place to begin mapping because it frequently mentions other texts and the levels of study for which those texts are suitable, and these references function as guidelines allowing us to measure the relative depth and complexity of the other *kitab*s. It goes without saying that *Hidāya al-Sālikīn* is not the only core text suitable for such mapping. It is expected that a similar mapping process centered on certain other major texts, such as *Ḥikam* by Ibn 'Aṭā'allah, which is repeatedly quoted in *Hidāya al-Sālikīn*, would also further our understanding of *taṣawwuf* in the Malay world.

By placing *Hidāyat al-Sālikīn* at the core of mapping and using it as a yardstick for comparing other texts, we can know what types of topics related to *taṣawwuf* are being taught to ordinary Muslims and what topics are limited to advanced learners. For example, *Durr al-Nafis* by Muhammad Nafis al-Banjari is an important text in the history of *taṣawwuf* in the Malay world, but it is seldom taught in open classes. It contains a discussion about ontology based on the theory of unity of being (*waḥda al-wujūd*) and a way to reach a level of truth that is not discussed in *Hidāya*. This is consistent with the author's statement that the content of *Durr al-Nafis* is secret and should not be taught without proper preparation [Muhammad Nafis, n.d.].[21] Such statements advising which topics in *taṣawwuf* should be learned by everybody and which should be hidden are important for the mapping of *taṣawwuf kitabs*.

Such mapping can also help us understand which aspects of *taṣawwuf* knowledge are being learned and sought out by contemporary Muslims in the Malay world. As in the case of *Anak Kunci Syurga* and *Muniya al-Muṣallī*, topics relevant to *taṣawwuf* are not necessarily discussed under the banner of "*taṣawwuf*," but they can be included in several other types of religious texts. For example, the school textbooks used in Islamic Education (*Pendidikan Islam*) in schools as prescribed by

[21] It is noteworthy that one printed version of *Hidāyat al-Sālikīn*, edited by Ahmad Zain al-Fathani and published in Mekkah in 1314, contains the text of *Durr al-Nafis* in the margin [Wan Mohd. Shaghir 1996: 117].

the Malaysian government include sections on morals (*akhlak*: M; *akhlāq*: Ar). Their comparison with *Hidāya al-Sālikīn* shows that their content is mainly about the relationships between human beings, as discussed in Chapter 7 of *Hidāya*. This choice of topics gives us important clues about how *taṣawwuf* is understood in contemporary Malaysia. When mapping includes these various *kitabs* and other texts related to *taṣawwuf* and is complemented with field data about how these writings are taught in various forums, it may help explain the historical and contemporary nature of *taṣawwuf* learning in the Malay world.

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**Table 1. Organization of *Hidāya al-Sālikīn***

| Chapter | Topics in *Hidāya al-Sālikīn* | Corresponding text of Al-Ghazālī |
|---|---|---|
| *Mukad dimah* | Beneficial Knowledge (*ilmu yang memberi manfaat*) | *(Minhāj1, Iḥya1-1)* |
| *Bab* 1 | Belief of the Sunni (*Akidah*) | *(Arba'īn1, Iḥya1-2)* |
| *Bab* 2 | Obedience and Outward Worship (*Taat dan Ibadah yang Zahir*)<br>Manners (*adab*) of: (1) Waking from Sleep, (2) Dressing, (3) Using the Restroom, (4) Ablution (*air sembahyang*), (5) Washing the Body (*Mandi Junub*), (6) Cleanliness with Sand (*Tayammum*), (7) Going to the *Masjid*, (8) Entering the *Masjid* until the Dawn (*terbit matahari*), (9) After the Dawn until the Sunrise (*gelincir matahari*), (10) Preparation for the Prayers, (11) Prayers, (12) Leading and Following the Prayer, (13) Friday Prayer, (14) Fasting. | *Bidāyat1, (Arba'īn2, Iḥya1-3,4,6)* |
| *Bab* 3 | Avoidance of the Outward Sins (*Menjauh daripada Maksiat yang Zahir*)<br>Seven Organs of the Body: (1) Eyes, (2) Ears, (3) Tongue, (4) Stomach, (5) Genitals, (6) Hands, (7) Feet. | *Bidāyat2, (Minhāj3, Iḥya2-13,14)* |
| *Bab* 4 | Avoidance of the Inward Sins (*Menjauhkan segala Maksiat yang Batin*)<br>(1) Gluttony (*Gemar makan*), (2) Excessive speech (*Gemar kepada membanyakkan perkataan*), (3) Anger (*Marah*), (4) Envy (*dengki*), (5) Miserliness and Love of Money (*Bakhil dan kasih akan harta*), (6) Love of Glory (*Kasih akan kemegahan*), (7) Love of This World (*Kasih akan dunia*), (8) Pride (*kibir*), (9) Conceit (*ujub*), (10) Ostentation (*Riya*). | *Arba'īn3,(Bidāyat2, Minhāj4,5,6, Iḥya2)* |
| *Bab* 5 | Inward Obedience (*Segala Taat yang Batin*)<br>(1) Repentance (*Taubat*), (2) Fear (*Khauf*), (3) Renunciation (*Zuhud*), (4) Patience (*Sabar*), (5) Gratitude (*Syukur*), (6) Sincerity and Truthfulness (*Ikhlas dan benar*), (7) Trust in Allah (*Tawakkal*), (8) Love for Allah (*Kasih akan Allah*), (9) Contentment with the Divine Decree (*Rida dengan qadha Allah taala*), (10) Remembrance of Death (*mengingati mati*). | *'Arba'īn4, (Minhāj2, Iḥya)* |
| *Bab* 6 | Merit and the Method of the Invocation (*Faḍīlat al-Dhikr dan Adabnya dan Kaifiyatnya*)<br>(1) Invocation and Its Merit, (2) Etiquette of Invocation, (3) Method of the Invocation. | *Iḥya1-9(Sayr1 -8)* |
| *Bab* 7 | Etiquette of Companionship and Intimate Association (*Adab bersahabat dan muasyarah*)<br>(1) Companionship with Allah (*Adab bersahabat serta Allah*), (2) Etiquette of the Teacher (*Alim*), (3) Students, (4) Children with the Parents, (5) Friends (*sahabatnya*), (6) Acquaintances and Unknown Fellow Muslims. | *Bidāyat3, ('Arba'īn 2-8, Iḥya2-15)* |
| *Khatimah* | | |

**Table 2. Organization of *Bidāya al-Hidāya***

| *Muqaddimah* | |
|---|---|
| 1 Obedience (*al-Ṭā'āt*) | Manners (*Ādāb*) of: (1) Waking from Sleep (*al-istiyaqāẓ min al-naum*), (2) Dressing (*libās*), (3) Using the Restroom (*dukhūl al-Khalā'*), (4) Ablution (*al-wuḍū'*), (5) Cleanliness with Sand (*Tayammum*), (6) Going to the *Masjid* (*khurūj ilā al-masjid*), (7) Entering the *Masjid* (*dukhul al-masjid*), (8) After the Dawn until the Sunrise (*mā baina ṭulū' al-shams ilā al-ziwāl*), (9) Preparation for the Prayers (*al-Isti'adād al-ṣalawāt*), (10) Sleep (*al-Naum*), (11) Prayers (*al-ṣalāt*), (12) Friday Prayer (*al-jam'a*) (13) Fasting (*al-ṣiyām*). |
| 2 Purification of sins (*Ijtināb al-Ma'āṣī*) | (1) Sins of the Body: ① Eyes (*al-'Ain*), ② Ears (*al-udhun*), ③ Tongue (*al-lisan*), ④ Stomach (*al-baṭn*), ⑤ Genitals (*al-farj*), ⑥ Hands (*al-yad*), ⑦ Feet (*al-rijl*); (2) Sins of the Heart (*ma'āṣī a-qalb*): ① Envy (*al-ḥasad*), ② Ostentation (*al-riyā'*), ③ Conceit, Pride, and Boastfulness (*al-'ujub wa al-kibr wa al-fakhr*). |
| 3 Etiquette of Companionship (*ādāb al-ṣaḥba*) | (1) Companionship with God (al-Khāliq) and with People (*al-khalq*), (2) Etiquette of the Teacher (al-'ālim), (3) Students (*al-muta'allim*), (4) Children with Parents (*al-walad m'a al-wālidaini*), (5) Associations with a Variety of People (aṣnāf al-nās), (6) With Friends (*al-ṣaḥbat*). |

**Table 3. Organization of *Minhāj al-Ābidīn***

| | |
|---|---|
| *Bab* 1 | The Valley of Knowledge (*'ilm*) |
| *Bab* 2 | The Valley of Repentance (*taubah*) |
| *Bab* 3 | The Valley of Obstacles (*'awāiq*)<br>Worldly Affairs (*al-Dunyā*), Human Beings (*al-Khalq*), Satan (*al-Syaiṭān*), the Lower Soul (*al-Nafs*), Obedience of the Five Organs (Eyes, Ears, Tongue, Heart, and Stomach) |
| *Bab* 4 | The Valley of Obstacles (*'awāriḍ*)<br>Sustainance (*al-Rizq*), Trust in Allah (*al-Tawakkul*), Acceptance of Divine Decree (*al-Riḍā*) |
| *Bab* 5 | The Valley of Urge and Impetus (*al-bawā'ith*)<br>Fear and Hope (*al-Khauf wa al-Rijā'*) |
| *Bab* 6 | The Valley of Factors that Ruin Worship (*qawādiḥ*)<br>Ostentation (*riyā'*), Pride ('ujub), Sincerity (*Ikhlāṣ*) |
| *Bab* 7 | The Valley of Praise and Gratitude (*al-Ḥamd wa al-Syukr*)<br>Praise (*al-Ḥamd*), Gratitude (*al-Shukr*) |

**Table 4. Organization of *Arba'īn fī Uṣūl al-Dīn***

| | |
|---|---|
| *Qism* 1 | Belief (*Al-'Aqāid*)<br>(1) Essence (*al-dhāt*), (2) Holiness (*al-Taqdīs*), (3) Power (*al-Qudrat*), (4) Knowledge (*al-'Ilm*), (5) Will (*al-'Irādat*), (6) Hearing and Sight (*al-sam'/al-Baṣr*), (7) Speech (*al-Kalām*), (8) Action (*al-Af'āl*), (9) The Day of Judgment (*al-Yaum al-Ākhir*), (10) Prophethood (*al-Nubūwah*). |
| *Qism* 2 | Outward Practices (*Al-'Āmāl al-Ẓāhirah*)<br>(1) Prayer, (2) *Zakāt*, (3) Fasting, (4) Pilgrimage, (5) Qur'anic Recitation, (6) Invocation, (7) Seeking for the Lawful (*Ṭalb al-Ḥalāl*), (8) Protecting the Rights of Muslims and Having Good Relationships (*al-Qiyām bi Ḥqūq al-Muslimīn wa Ḥusn al-Ṣaḥbah*), (9) Enjoining Good and Forbidding Evil, (*al-'Amr bi al-M'arūf wa al-Nahī 'an al-Munkar*), (10) Following the Sunnah (*Ittibā' al-Sunnah*). |
| *Qism* 3 | Purification of Heart and Blameworthy Natures (*Tazkīyat al-Qalb 'an al-Akhlāq al-Madhmūmah*)<br>(1) Gluttony (*Syarh al-Ṭ'ām*), (2) Excessive Speech (*Syarh al-Kalām*), (3) Anger (*al-Ghaḍb*), (4) Envy (*al-Ḥasad*), (5) Miserliness and Love of Money (*al-Bukhl wa Ḥubb al-Māl*), (6) Love of Glory (*al-Ru'ūnat wa Ḥubb al-Jāh*), (7) Love of This World (*Ḥubb al-Dunyā*), (8) Pride (*al-Kibr*), (9) Conceit (*al-'Ujb*), (10) Ostentation (*al-Riyā'*). |
| *Qism* 4 | Praiseworthy Natures (*Akhlāq al-Maḥmūdah*)<br>(1) Repentance (*Taubah*) (2) Fear (*Khauf*) (3) Renunciation (*Zuhd*) (4) Patience (*Ṣabr*) (5) Gratitude (*Syukr*) (6) Sincerity and Truthfulness (*al-Ikhlāṣ wa al-Ṣidq*) (7) Trust in Allah (*Tawakkal*) (8) Love of Allah (*Mahabbah*) (9) Contentment with the Divine Decree (*al-Riḍā'bi al-Qaḍā'*) (10) Remembrance of Death (*Dhikr al-Maut*). |
| *Khātimah* | Control of the Soul (*Munāẓarat al-Nafs*). |

**Table 5. Organization of *Iḥya 'Ulūm al-Dīn, Mukhtasar Iḥya 'Ulūm al-Dīn, Sayr al-Sālikīn***

| | |
|---|---|
| *Rub'* 1 | Acts of Worship (*al-'Ibādāt*)<br>Book: (1) Knowledge, (2) Belief, (3) Purity, (4) Worship, (5) Zakat, (6) Fasting, (7) Pilgrimage, (8) Qur'anic Recitation, (9) Invocations and Supplications, (10) Arrangements of Litanies and Divisions of the Night. |
| *Rub'* 2 | Norms of Daily Life (*al-'Ādāt*)<br>(11) Manners of Eating, (12) Marriage, (13) Earning Livelihood, (14) The Lawful and Prohibited, (15) Duties of Brotherhood, (16) Seclusion, (17) Travel, (18) Music and Singing, (19) Enjoining Good and Forbidding Evil, (20) Living and the Prophetic Mannerism. |
| *Rub'* 3 | The Ways to Perdition (*al-Muhlikāt*)<br>(21) Marvels of the Heart, (22) Disciplining the Soul, (23) Breaking the Two Desires (*baṭn/farj*), (24) Defects of the Tongue (*lisan*), (25) Rancor/Envy, (26) the Word, (27) Miserliness/Love of Wealth, (28) Status/Ostentation, (29) Pride/Conceit, (30) Self-Delusion. |
| *Rub'* 4 | The Ways to Salvation (*'al-Munjiyāt*)<br>(31) Repentance, (32) Thankfulness, (33) Fear/Hope, (34) Poverty/Abstinence, (35) Divine Unity/Divine Providence, (36) Love, Longing, Intimacy, and Contentment, (37) Intention, Sincerity, and Truth, (38) Holding Vigil/Self Examination, (39) Meditation, (40) Remembrance of Death. |

**Table 6. Introduction and the first section of *Sayr al-Sālikīn***

| *Muqaddimah* | Discussion of Knowledge (*Bayān al-'Ilm*) |
|---|---|
| *Juz'* 1 | Bab: (1) Belief (*Ittiqad*), (2) Purification (*Taharah*), (3) Prayer, (4) Zakat, (5) Fasting, (6) Pilgrimage, (7) Reading al-Qur'an, (8) Invocation (*dhikr*), (9) Supplication (*du'ā*), (10) Divisions of the Night and Arrangements of Litanies (*Aurad dan tertibnya*). |

**Table 7. Organization of *Penawar bagi Hati***

| *Kitab* 1 | Seven Body Organs (*Segala anggota tujuh*)<br>(1) Eyes, (2) Ears, (3) Tongue, (4) Stomach, (5) Genitals, (6) Hands, (7) Legs. |
|---|---|
| *Kitab* 2 | The heart (*qalbu artinya jantung*)<br>(1) Gluttony (*syaru'taam*), (2) Excessive Speech (*sangat laub atas berkata-kata*), (3) Anger (*marah*), (4) Envy (*dengki*), (5) Miserliness and Love of Money (*kikir dan kasih akan harta*), (6) Love of Glory (*kasih akan kemegahan*), (7) Love of This World (*kasih akan dunia*), (8) Pride (*membesarkan diri*), (9) Conceit (*ujub*), (10) Ostentation (*riya'*). |
| *Kitab* 3 | Praiseworthy Natures (*segala perangai yang dipuji*)<br>(1) Repentance, (2) Fear, (3) Renunciation, (4) Patience, (5) Gratitude, (6) Sincerity, (7) Trust in Allah, (8) Love of Allah, (9) Contentment with the Divine Decree, (10) Remembrance of Death. |

# Ahmad al-Fatani's Fatwa[1] Collection on Modern Problems: Southeast Asian 'Ulama' in the Middle East and the Transition of *Fiqh* Methodology in the Late 19th Century

**SHIOZAKI Yuki**

"On the assumption that it is the idea and its articulation that counts, but that (in good Islamic, not to say historiographical, fashion) the *isnād* (chain of authority) must be known, some effort has been made to reconstruct the intellectual milieu of late eighteenth and early nineteenth century Arabia (to which so many Muslims went to perform the hajj and to study), and to establish something substantial about the teachers and the taught and their links with a wider Muslim world." [Roff 2009: 55]

## Introduction: *Isnād* Reflected in Fatwa

Historically, the activities of the 'ulama' have been trans-regional. The 'ulama' have traveled the world to become successors in the *silsila*, links in the chain of Islamic scholars transmitting their knowledge to future generations. Historically, 'ulama' in Southeast Asia have been responsible for passing on trends in the Islamic world from the Middle East to their own lands. Some of them have resided in Makkah, where they trained their own disciples and sent fatwas to the Malay Peninsula in answer to questions. Makkah has not only been the primary destination for pilgrimages but also the origin of Islamic authority for Southeast Asian Muslims for many years.

This study considers the significance of Makkah in shari'a interpretation among Southeast Asian Muslims from the late 19th to the early 20th century. This study focuses on the transition of *fiqh* (Islamic jurisprudence) methodology and its background. In support of this objective, a fatwa collection by Wan Ahmad bin

[1] Transliteration of technical terms from Arabic follows the International Journal of Middle East Studies (IJMES) Transliteration Guide. A technical term is defined as a word for which there is no English equivalent. All technical terms from non-English languages are italicized. Diacritics are not added to words found in Merriam-Webster's Dictionary, personal names, place names, and titles of books. The spelling of Malay technical terms originating from Arabic also follows the IJMES guide for Arabic transliteration.

Muhammad Zain, known as Ahmad al-Fatani (b.1856–d.1908), is analyzed in this study, along with fatwas by other 'ulama'. More specifically, through the examination of fatwas by Ahmad al-Fatani and other 'ulama', this study explores trends in Islamic jurisprudence among the *Jāwī*[2] 'ulama' community in the Middle East and its influence on Islamic jurisprudence in Southeast Asia, especially the Malay Peninsula, in the late 19th century.

The period from the late 19th to the early 20th century was a time of social transition and modernization in Southeast Asia. Modernization in the Malay Peninsula exhibited specific features under the British protectorate. As in other regions, its modernization was dependent on technological innovations such as transportation, communication, and printing, but the most prominent phenomena were the flow of non-Muslim laborers, such as Chinese and Indian laborers, into the Peninsula and the rapid enlargement of their socio-economic presence. In the same period, as William Roff described in his *Studies on Islam and Society in Southeast Asia* [Roff 2009], Islamic networks, especially those with a Middle Eastern connection, were as important as the British protectorate in driving the transition of the society. In this period, 'ulama' were expected to respond to modernity, and *fiqh* methodology underwent transition through the struggle of the 'ulama' to fill this role.

This study traces the *isnād* (genealogy of intellectual succession)—in a broad meaning—of the Southeast Asian 'ulama'. The development of Islam in Southeast Asia, in terms of both *fiqh* and *taṣawwuf*, has consistently been subject to influences from the Middle East and South Asia [Feener 2009]. Tracing *isnād* is a basic topic in any research on external influences on and transitions of Islam in Southeast Asia. Although there have been a number of prominent works on this subject [Azyumardi Azra 2004; Md. Sidin Ahmad Ishak & Mohammad Redzuan Othman 2000; Riddell 2001; Roff 2009; Bruinessen 1990], the study of the intellectual networks between Southeast Asia, the Middle East, and South Asia is still a frontier field, especially in the area of *fiqh*. This study intends to contribute to the cultivation of this field.

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[2] The Muslims of Southeast Asia were called "*Jāwī*" in Arabic, especially in the Middle East. Their script, used by Southeast Asian languages—especially Malay—and written in Arabic letters, is also called "*Jāwī*." Although most contemporary writings are written in the Latin alphabet (*Rumi*), most of the classics of Islamic knowledge in Southeast Asia (*kitāb Jāwī*) were written in *Jāwī*. All of the texts, including fatwas, analyzed in this study were written in *Jāwī*.

## 1. Ahmad al-Fatani and al-Fatawa al-Fataniyah

For this study to achieve its objective, two factors must be researched and analyzed:

1) The fatwas by Ahmad al-Fatani and their context, especially the intellectual environment in Makkah from the late 19th to the early 20th century, and the *isnāds* of the 'ulama'.
2) The interaction between Makkah and Southeast Asia from the late 19th to the early 20th century and the role of Ahmad al-Fatani in this interaction.

Ahmad al-Fatani was originally from Patani, in the Malay Peninsula; he migrated to Makkah as a child and became an influential Islamic teacher there. The Sultanate of Patani in southern Thailand had been the center of Islamic learning in the Malay Peninsula until the 19th century. Following the failure of a rebellion against Bangkok from 1831 to 1832, many 'ulama' migrated from Patani to Kelantan, Terengganu, Kedah,[3] and Makkah [Ibrahim Syukri 1985: 62–64]. The downfall of Patani led to a rise in Islamic learning in other areas of the Malay Peninsula, especially in Kelantan, Kedah, and Terengganu. Many *pondoks*, or learning centers, were established by members of the 'ulama' diaspora from Patani. The Sultanate of Patani was finally totally assimilated and brought under the administration of Thailand in 1908.

The 'ulama' who had migrated from Patani to the Middle East after the failed rebellion played an important role in the development of Islamic knowledge in Southeast Asia. They congregated in Makkah, where they trained many students from Southeast Asia [Kraus 2008: 42–43]; Ahmad al-Fatani was one such 'ulama' in exile.

Ahmad al-Fatani was born in Jerim, Patani, in 1856; when he was four years old, his family moved to Makkah, taking him along. Most of Ahmad al-Fatani's life was spent in Makkah; for a relatively short time in his late teens and early twenties, he studied medicine in Jerusalem, and he later studied under some of the 'ulama' at al-Azhar Mosque in Cairo, where he completed some of his earliest works in Arabic [Muhammad Adib bin Samsudin & Mohammad Zaini bin Yahaya 2011].[4] Ahmad al-Fatani is conjectured to have been the first Malay student at al-Azhar; after his acceptance to al-Azhar in the early 1870s, other Malay students also became interested in studying there [Md. Sidin Ahmad Ishak & Mohammad

[3] During the rebellion, the Patani ruler had been allied with the rulers of Kelantan, Terengganu, and Kedah.

[4] The exact years are not clear. However, it is known that three of his Arabic works were written in Cairo from 1876 to 1879 [Muhammad Adib bin Samsudin & Mohammad Zaini bin Yahaya 2011].

Redzuan Othman 2000: 46–47].[5] After returning to Makkah, Ahmad al-Fatani taught students from Southeast Asia and spent his life engaged in writing and other projects such as printing. His disciples played crucial roles in Islamic education in their homeland, one example being Muhammad Yusuf Ahmad, also known as Tok Kenali, from Kelantan [Ismail Che Daud 2001]. According to Wan Mohd. Saghir Abdullah, Ahmad a-Fatani wrote 32 works in Arabic and at least 22 works in Malay.[6] Many of his works, including his most widely circulated book, *Faridat al-Fara'id*, were on the subject of *aqīdah*, or the creed. He also wrote on history and current affairs. His *Hadiqat al-Azhar* is a book on the history of the Ottoman Dynasty, which also claimed the political support of the Ottoman Empire in the late 19th century [Wan Mohd. Wan Shaghir Abdullah 1990: 44–60].

Another crucial achievement of Ahmad al-Fatani was his publication project. In collaboration with the Ottoman government, he established the Matba'ah al-Turki Majdiyah al-'Uthmaniyah printing center at Makkah in 1882. There, he edited and published Islamic books in both Malay and Arabic, such as classic manuscripts and contemporary writings including his own works as well as those of Daud Abdullah al-Fatani, the most prominent scholar from Patani. Some of the books printed at this center were imported into the Malay Peninsula and used as textbooks in the *pondoks*. Although Singapore and Penang also became Islamic publication centers later on, Makkah was the main and almost the sole supplier of printed Islamic texts in Malay (*kitab Jāwī*) until the early 20th century [Md. Sidin Ahmad Ishak & Mohammad Redzuan Othman 2000: 60–63]. The Dutch Orientalist scholar Snouk Hurgronje mentioned Ahmad al-Fatani's achievements and prominence and described him "a savant of merit" in a record of Makkah in the late 19th century [Hurgronje 1970: 286]. Ahmad a-Fatani died in 1908 and was buried in Makkah.

Among Ahmad al-Fatani's works, books on *fiqh*, or Islamic jurisprudence, were limited; however, it is possible to understand his thoughts on *fiqh* by examining his two published fatwa collections: *al-Fatawa al-Fataniyah* and *Fatawa Binatang Hidup Dua Alam*. A fatwa is a legal opinion issued in response to a question concerning shari'a. Many of Ahmad al-Fatani's fatwas were answers to jurisprudential questions sent to him in Makkah from Southeast Asia. Until the early 20th century, it was a usual practice for Muslims in the Malay Peninsula to request fatwas from the Middle East, especially in cases of complicated or

[5] See also Wan Mohd. Shaghir Abdullah [1990].

[6] In *Pengasuh*, a weekly magazine published by the Islamic Religious Council of Kelantan, 47 works by Ahmad al-Fatani were listed [*Pensasuh*, Feb. 15, 1934]. Many of Ahmad al-Fatani's works were commentaries on classical Islamic texts, though these were often counted as original works of Ahmad al-Fatani.

controversial topics. The oldest printed collection of fatwas issued for Muslims in the Malay Peninsula was *Muhimmat al Nafa'is fi Bayan As'ilah al-Hadith*, which was published by the Matba'ah al-Turki Majdiyah al-'Uthmaniyah printing center established by Ahmad al-Fatani in Makkah. The fatwas in this collection were mainly issued by Ahmad Zaini Dahlan (b.1817–d.1886), a mufti of the Shafi'i School in Makkah [Kaptein 1997: 1–4].

Ahmad al-Fatani's fatwas were mainly answers to questions from Muslims in Southeast Asia in the period of transition. His fatwa collections included answers to new problems arising at this time such as the classification of non-Muslim residents and the appropriate degree of social relations with them. His answers were mostly based on traditional Shafi'i School theories, and his citations in support of his arguments were drawn from the Quran, hadith, and texts by Shafi'i School scholars, especially those by Ibn Hajar al-Haythami. The following fatwa on non-Muslim newcomers and Muslims' reactions to them was first published in Singapore in 1908 [Wan Mohd. Saghir Abdullah 2002: 1–8].

Question 44:

What is your opinion on kafir [infidels] such as the Siam, Chinese, Kuci (a group from southern Vietnam), Batak (a group from Sumatra Island), or Pangan (aboriginal forest dwellers)? What name is appropriate for them? Is it permissible for us to buy their daughters and make them mistresses [*gundik*], both in cases when they are purchased from their parents and when they are purchased from other people? Under what conditions may they be taken out of their own countries? What are the rules pertaining to such an action? We request your answer based on shari'a.

Answer 44:

Kafirs in Siam and China, along with kafirs in Cambodia and Kuci, are called idolatrous unbelievers [*kuffār wathanīyīn*], because I have heard that they worship idols. Among groups such as the Batak and Pangan, there are two categories.

First category: If they do not embrace Islam, although the call of Islam has already reached them, their disbelief [*kufr*] is certain. If they worship idols or do not believe in known [*ma'arūfat*] religions, they are *man lā dīn lahu* [people without religion].

Second category: If the call of Islam has not yet reached them, and they do not believe in Judaism, Christianity, or similar religions, and if they are related to *ahl al-fatra* [people in a period without a prophet], they are not categorized as disbelievers.

All of the kafirs mentioned above are called *ḥarbīyūn* [people of *dār al-ḥarb*], as long as our leaders [*al-ḥall wa al-'aqd*] are not living among them [e.g., diplomats in residence] and they do not have a treaty of protection [*'aqd dhimmah*] or a treaty of peace [*'aqd amān*].

If they do not have Muslim captives [*asīr*] and a peace treaty with us, it is permissible for us to buy their children. It is permissible to buy children, except from their parents, outside of their country or in a situation without guaranteed security, as in the cases of smuggling and unprotected entry.

If we enter their country under their guarantee of security, any actions prohibited by them, such as theft of their assets, murder, and purchase of their children after prohibition by their leaders, are impermissible. Purchase of children from their parents is also prohibited. In such cases, children are purchased forcibly with the intention of possession [*qaṣad tamalluk*]. Possession of acquisitions in their countries is permissible only when we have entered those countries without a guarantee of security [*ta'amīn*].

Making the purchased daughters of kafirs our mistresses [*pergundik*] is permissible after they embrace Islam, because Muslims may only have intercourse [*waṭ'*] with non-Jewish or non-Christian [*bukan kitābīya*] female slaves [*amah*] if the slave has embraced Islam.

Non-purchased acquisitions obtained by permissible means [e.g., captives in war] may only be possessed after *takhmīs* [obligatory payment of 20% of loot to the ruler]. Removing the kafirs' daughters from their own countries is not a necessary condition for making them our mistresses. Allah knows best. [Ahmad Zain al-Fatani 1957: 92–94; Wan Mohd. Saghir Abdullah 2002: 251–253]

Ahmad al-Fatani issued this fatwa in response to a question concerning the best way to respond to the flow of non-Muslims into the Malay Peninsula. He classified non-Muslim newcomers as idolatrous non-believers (*kuffār wathanīyīn*), except for *ahl al-fatra* (those ignorant of the message of Allah). Therefore, they were not considered *dhimmī* (protected people, non-Muslims under protection of Muslim governance) or potential *dhimmī*. According to the generally accepted opinions of the Shafi'i School, only Christians and Jews can be *dhimmī* and coexist in *dār al-Islām* (the abode of Islam).

In another fatwa, Ahmad al-Fatani strictly regulated commercial transactions with non-Muslims. In line with Ibn Hajar's *al-Fatawa al-Kubra al-Fiqhiyah 'ala al-Madhhab al-Imam al-Shafi'i*, Ahmad al-Fatani banned the rental of real estate to non-Muslims if it was anticipated that they would commit sins such as idolatry and selling alcohol in a fatwa first published in Singapore in 1908 [Wan Mohd.

Saghir Abdullah 2002: 1–8].

Question 50:

A person built a house and lent it to a kafir [infidel] who used it as a shop. The kafir sold permissible goods such as cloth. He also sold impermissible goods such as alcohol. He placed idols in the house and worshipped them according to Chinese custom. What is the rule for such an action? Is it permissible to lend it [the house]? If it is not permissible, what is the best way to make lending permissible?

Answer 50:

If the Muslim, the owner of the house, gathers or infers that the tenant sells alcohol or worship idols in the house, it is impermissible for the owner to lend it to the tenant, whether the tenant is Muslim or kafir or kafir *ḥarbī* [infidel of the abode of war], because lending means participation in sins without necessity [*darūrāt*].

In a fatwa collection that prohibits [*ḥarām*] giving directions to a kafir who is seeking a place of idolatrous worship, Ibn Hajar explains that assisting is a great sin. In addition, lending is conditional. It is impermissible to lend if the property lent does not bring good results. Therefore, jurists [*fuqahā'*] also explain [*men-taṣrīḥ*] that it is impermissible to employ a worker for the conveyance of alcohol, or to borrow female slaves to have intercourse [*di-waṭ'*] with them, and that other similar sins are also impermissible.

One way to avoid such lending is to contract between the owner of the house and the tenant in the presence of witnesses. A better way is to establish contract in front of a judge [*ḥakīm*] and to agree on conditions such as prohibition against selling alcohol and pork and against setting up idols and worshipping them. If the tenant agrees to the contract, and the owner trusts that the tenant will fulfill its terms, it is permissible to lend the shop to him. Allah knows best. [Ahmad Zain al-Fatani 1957: 100–101; Wan Mohd. Saghir Abdullah 2002: 241–242]

Another crucial topic addressed in the fatwa collection is the rise of Sufi order (*tariqa*) such as the Ahmadiyya-Idrisiyya in the Malay Peninsula. Regarding the activities of the *tariqa*, Ahmad al-Fatani held an essentially positive view, as expressed in a fatwa for the Sultan of Kelantan. Nevertheless, the tension between Sufi and the *Salafī* movement was a rapidly growing problem in the "modern" period in Southeast Asia, as in other regions of the Islamic world. This controversy involved competition over *fiqh* methodologies between the traditional

*fiqh* schools (*madhhab*) and *Salafi*.

*Salafi*, or *al-salafiyah*, is a stream of Islamic thought deriving from Ibn Taymiya (b.1258–d.1328). The goal of *Salafi* is to remove *bid'ah*, or additional innovations, from the original Islamic teaching. Intending to pursue the pure Islamic teaching practiced in the period of the Prophet Muhammad, Ibn Taymiya rejected the interpretations of the four *fiqh* schools and established his own interpretations of the Qur'an and hadith. Ibn Taymiya considered Shi'a and Sufi to be the most problematic *bid'ah*s in the Muslim world. In the 18th century, Ibn Taymiya's ideas were revived by Abdul Wahhab (b.1703–d.1791). In the late 19th century, *Salafi* thought became entrenched in some parts of the Muslim world, especially in Egypt. 'Ulama' such as Muhammad 'Abduh, Rashid Rida, and the disciples of Abdul Wahhab shared the beliefs of Ibn Taymiya, including the rejection of the four *madhhab*s and antagonism toward Shi'a and Sufi [Laoust 1939: 541–563]. Since the early 20th century, the revival of *Salafi* thought has been spreading gradually, even to Southeast Asia.

## 2. Makkah as the Autonomous Learning Sphere for Southeast Asian 'Ulama'

Until the early 20th century, Makkah was most important not only as a learning center but also as a center of publication and of issuing fatwas. For Southeast Asian Muslims, Makkah was the center of the Shafi'i School. Ahmad al-Fatani's fatwas were almost all based on traditional Shafi'i thought: his citations in support of his arguments were drawn from the Qur'an, hadith, and Shafi'i literature, especially the works of Ibn Hajar al-Haythami. Southeast Asian 'ulama' who immigrated to Makkah could issue fatwas based on the tradition of the Shafi'i School without regulation by the Malay Rulers and the colonial authorities. Therefore, Makkah could be considered a counter-public sphere where Southeast Asian Muslims could shape public opinion in Southeast Asia via fatwas and other printed matter.

Makkah reached its peak as the learning center for Southeast Asian Muslims in the late 19th century. There were many sites of Islamic learning in Makkah. In every mosque in Makkah, students read classic texts in Islam under the guidance of 'ulama' as mentors. Each reading group sat in a circle (*halaqah*); such circles were seen in every mosque, and especially in the Masjid al-Haram, the most dignified mosque. The four corners of the Masjid al-Haram were dedicated to the four legal schools associated with Sunni Islam: Hanafi, Hambali, Maliki, and Shafi'i [Wensinck 1960].

In the early 20th century, this traditional style of learning was threatened by

the spread of a modern, Western-style education system in the Muslim world. Some semi-modern schools were established even in Makkah, mainly by non-Arab 'ulama' and especially by Indians [Bosworth 2007: 373]. In 1912, the prominent semi-modern school Madrasah al-Falah was established by an Arab merchant named Muhammad 'Ali Zaynal Rida. Madrasah al-Falah drew many Southeast Asian 'ulama' in the 20th century [Bosworth 2007: 373; Wensinck 1960]. Following the foundation of Madrasah al-Falah, Indonesian 'ulama' established madrasahs for Southeast Asian Muslims in Makkah. The most prominent examples were Madrasah Indonesiyya al-Malakkiyya, established by Janan Muhammad Thaib in 1923, and Madrasah Darul Ulum al-Diniyya, established by Sayyid Muhsin al-Musawwa al-Palimbani in 1934. Such Indonesian madrasahs also attracted Southeast Asian Muslim students to Makkah [M. Ishom Saha 2005].

The rise of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia in the1920s and its Wahhabism—a form of *Salafī* thought—had a devastating impact on the Southeast Asian 'ulama' based in Makkah. The new Islamic thinkers and their control over Makkah made the Southeast Asian Muslims uneasy. Another shocking incident was the death of 'Abd Allah al-Zawawi (b.1850–d.1924), the Shafi'i Mufti in Makkah at the time, who was killed by Wahhabis in Ta'if. Before his appointment as the Mufti in Makkah, he had served as the Mufti of Pontianak on Kalimantan (Borneo) Island; accordingly, he was well-known and adored by Southeast Asian Muslims. Hundreds of disturbed Southeast Asian Muslims fled Makkah. Approximately 150 Muslims emigrated to Singapore and spread news of the incident throughout the Malay Peninsula [Mohammad Redzuan Othman 2004: 262–263]. These events served to reduce the importance of Makkah as a counter-public sphere for Southeast Asian Muslims.

After the early 20th century, the center of learning for Southeast Asian Muslims gradually shifted to Cairo. Since the first acceptance of a Malay student to al-Azhar in the 1870s, the number of Malay students at al-Azhar slowly increased. It has been claimed that, in 1902, there were only seven *Jāwī* students among the 645 foreign students at al-Azhar [Dodge 1961: 164–165]. According to Roff, in 1919, there were "fifty or sixty students in Cairo from Indonesia (mostly West Sumatra), with perhaps an additional twenty from the Malay Peninsula and Southern Thailand." Roff also reported that, by 1925, there were at least 200 Southeast Asian students in Cairo; he supposed that the main cause of their increasing numbers in the 1920s was an improvement in rubber prices, which would have correlated with parental cash incomes, towards the middle of the decade [Roff 2009: 133].

As the number of Southeast Asian Muslims at al-Azhar increased in a trend

that would significantly influence Southeast Asian Islam, a magazine published in Cairo was influencing Southeast Asia even more strongly. This was the tremendously influential reformist Muslim magazine *al-Manar*, published by Rashid Rida. This magazine spread the views of reformism or *tajdīd* school, led by Muhammad 'Abduh and Rashid Rida, which can be described as another form of the *Salafī* movement.

In Southeast Asia, some groups of 'ulama' promoted *Salafī* methodology as a line of thinking that could satisfy the demands of the Muslim world in the modern age. The al-Azhar-educated 'ulama' Muhammad Tahir Jalaluddin (1869–1956)[7] and others published the pioneering magazine *al-Imam* from 1906 to 1908. They were based in Singapore and promoted reformist thought in Southeast Asia. *Al-Imam* had the largest circulation (approximately 5,000 copies) ever attained by a Malay journal before the Second World War. Many of the articles in *al-Imam* were either elaborations or translations of articles taken from *al-Manar* [Mohammad Redzuan Othman 2005: 1–18]. The reformist thought of Muhammad 'Abduh and Rashid Rida was widely accepted in Southeast Asia.[8]

After the center of learning had shifted from Makkah to Cairo, *Salafī* methodology in *fiqh* became influential, replacing traditional Shafi'i thought in Southeast Asia. By the middle of the 20th century, many fatwas in Southeast Asia had *Salafī* tendencies and condemned *tariqa* activities. Implementation of *Salafī* methodology was not limited to discourses on *taṣawwuf*. Rather, this period of transition and modernization demanded innovations in Islamic jurisprudence as well. As with the prescriptions regarding non-Muslims in Ahmad al-Fatani's fatwa, the traditional interpretations of the Shafi'i School were difficult to apply to many situations common in this period. *Salafī* methodology was more suitable for innovative jurisprudence or *ijtihād*. However, the innovations in jurisprudence regarding the classification of non-Muslims should be considered a result of political and economic adjustment, rather than an implementation of *Salafī* methodology. After the mid-20th century, for example, the classification of non-Muslims as *kuffār wathanīyīn* or *ḥarbīyūn* (people of the abode of war)

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[7] Muhammad Tahir Jalaluddin was born in Minangkabau, Sumatra Island, in 1869. After he studied both in Makkah and at al-Azhar in Cairo, he was appointed as a Mufti in Perak in the Western Malay Peninsula. After his service as a Mufti, he worked in Islamic education in Johor in the Southern Malay Peninsula. He promoted the reformist thought of Muhammad 'Abduh and Rashid Rida through periodical publications such as *al-Imam*, *al-Ikhwan*, and *Saudara*. See Mohammad Redzuan Othman [2005: 1–18].

[8] The publishers of *al-Imam* were forerunners of other similar *Salafī* supporters in Southeast Asia. Groups such as Persatuan Islam (Islamic Association: Persis) and Muhammadiyah in Indonesia followed them.

declined.[9] Even the classification of non-Muslims as *dhimmī* was considered to be politically incorrect after the 1960s. Non-Muslims, especially the Chinese, had become a significant economic force in the Peninsula, and local Malay establishments also required their wealth. Under such conditions, if Malay Muslims had followed Ahmad al-Fatani's fatwa to the letter, they would have suffered economic hardship. That is why, in this period, an alternative interpretation of shari'a on social issues was demanded by Muslims in the Malay Peninsula.

In Kelantan, the disciples of Ahmad al-Fatani (e.g., Tok Kenali and Tuan Tabal) were influential in administration and education. The tradition of the Shafi'i School was maintained. In fatwa columns in *Pengasuh* (1918–), a magazine published by Majlis Agama Islam (Islamic Religious Council) Kelantan, the main authoritative sources cited in shari'a interpretation were the Shafi'i School classics, especially the works of Ibn Hajar al-Haythami, Sharbini, al-Qastalani, al-Malibari, and so on. In contrast, the fatwa columns in *al-Imam* (1906–1908), the earliest Malay magazine published in Singapore, featured conspicuous *Salafī* methodology in *fiqh* and criticisms of the Sufi *tariqa*.

Since the early 20th century, especially after the first establishment of Majlis Agama Islam in Kelantan in 1915, fatwas and other Islamic affairs came under the authority of Sultans and state governments. In Kelantan, a notice regulating the issuance of fatwas was issued by the Majlis in 1917. The notice forbade the issuance of fatwas without prior approval of the Majlis, and it provided that all fatwas issued to followers of the Shafi'i School must follow the generally accepted opinion of the Shafi'i School [Majlis Agama Islam dan Isti'adat Melayu Kelantan 1917]. Throughout the history of the Malay Peninsula and other regions of the Muslim world, every Muslim had been able to ask doctrinal questions to qualified 'ulama' or *mujtahid*, and by and large, there were no interventions by rulers. *Fiqh* could develop through interpersonal interaction comprising free questions and answers. The regulation of fatwa in accordance with the ruler's authority in the 20th century in the Malay Peninsula is an example of a very rare occurrence in the history of the Muslim world. In 1918, the Meshuarat 'Ulama' ('Ulama' Council) was established as an organ to issue fatwas under the Majlis Agama Islam of Kelantan.[10] After Kelantan, similar organs were established in each state.

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[9] For example, in a fatwa by Mufti of Terengganu in 1955, political coalitions with the Chinese were unconditionally justified for the sake of *maslaha*, or the public interest. In this fatwa, non-Muslims in the Malay Peninsula were defined as *dhimmī* [Jabatan Hal Ehwal Agama Islam Terengganu 1971].

[10] It has been renamed Jemaah Ulama.

In 1952, the Sultanate of Selangor legislated the Administration of the Islamic Law Enactment (Enakmen Pentadbiran Undang-Undang Islam) as a basic law guiding Islamic administration and judiciary. This enactment provided for the appointment of mufti by the Sultan, the composition of a fatwa committee under the Majlis, the process of issuing fatwas, and the observance of the generally accepted opinion of the Shafi'i School. In addition, the enactment prescribed that all Muslims in Selangor were required to follow a fatwa if it was announced in the official gazette. A penalty[11] for Muslims who defied or insulted fatwas, authorized Islamic teachers, Islamic teaching, *madhhab*, or the religion of Islam was also provided [Ahmad Mohamad Ibrahim 1998: 95–97]. Similar enactments were also legislated in other states such as Malacca (1959), Pulau Pinang (1959), Negeri Sembilan (1960), Kedah (1962), Perlis (1964), and Perak (1965) [Ahmad Mohamad Ibrahim 1998: 97].

Later, as Islamic learning developed in the Malay Peninsula, the custom of requesting fatwas from 'ulama' in the Middle East declined. After the middle of the 20th century, Muslims in the Malay Peninsula usually requested fatwas from domestic 'ulama'. At the same time, a system was developed by which state governments could monopolize fatwas. Although requests for fatwas from the Middle East were frequent in the Malay Peninsula until the 1930s, local institutions for issuing fatwas were developed by the governing regime. This process encouraged the localization and state control of fatwas and shari'a interpretation [Shiozaki 2011].

## Conclusion

Ahmad al-Fatani was a Southeast Asian 'ulama' in Makkah when the city was in its final period of being the center of the Shafi'i School. Although Ahmad wrote more than 54 works, his books on *fiqh* were very limited; nevertheless, he left many judgments in the field of *fiqh* in his fatwa collection. Through analysis of his fatwa collection, Ahmad al-Fatani's loyal stance regarding the tradition of the Shafi'i School can be understood. He was a successor of the *isnād* of the Shafi'i School, which he handed down to his own disciples.

Ahmad al-Fatani's fatwa collection also shows his interaction with Southeast Asian Muslims. It reveals details about the intellectual environment of Makkah in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The *Jāwī* 'ulama' community in Makkah functioned as a neutral religious authority for the Malay Peninsula. Because of its

[11] A fine not exceeding 500 ringgit or imprisonment for a term not exceeding six months, or both.

autonomous circumstances, the community could issue fatwas that were completely in line with the Shafi'i School without the intervention of government or colonial authorities. After the primary learning center shifted to Cairo, the dissemination of *Salafī* methodology, and the establishment of religious authority in the Malay Peninsula, the neutral religious authority of *Jāwī* 'ulama' in Makkah declined.

The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia was reestablished in the 1920s. Even after that, although Makkah remained an important learning center for the Shafi'i School until the 1960s, the number of Southeast Asian Muslims studying there declined compared with those studying in Cairo. As a result of influence from Cairo via students and publications, by the late 20th century, *Salafī* methodology had gradually become predominant in Southeast Asia. Makkah ceased to function as a counter-cultural platform. Finally, in the Malay Peninsula, the custom of requesting fatwas from the Middle East diminished, and fatwas became localized and nationalized.

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