ABSTRACT

It is commonly believed that in the early phase of Islamization of the Malay Archipelago, Islam was presented to the indigenous people in the form of syncretistic Sufism. The version of Sufism that had been widely propagated then was the *wujūdiyyah* doctrine identical to the *waḥdat al-wujūd* attributed to Ibn 'Arabī (d. 637/1240). Early Malay scholars like Hamzah al-Fansūrī (d.1015/1607) and Shams al-Dīn al-Sumatrānī (d. 1039/1630) were among the forerunners of this doctrine.

This group was vehemently opposed by Orthodox Sunni scholars represented by people like Nūr al-Dīn al-Ranīrī (d.1068/1658) and moderately by 'Abd al-Ra'ūf al-Sinkilī (d. 1104/1693). Around the eighteenth century of the Christian Era, there rose a group of scholars who tried to reconcile the two conflicting groups. One of them was 'Abd al-Samad al-Falimbānī (d.1202/1788). Together with him were people like Muhammad Nafīs ibn Idrīs al-Banjārī (d.1147/1735) and Dawūd al-Fatānī (d.1263/1847). They tried to harmonise the *wujūdiyyah* approach with that of orthodox mainstream Sunnī Islam. In their attempt to resolve the differences of the two opposing trends, al-Falimbānī brought to the Malay world for the first time the teachings of a moderate and sober Ṣūfī scholar, Hujjat al-Islam Abū Ḥamid al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111). For many centuries, al-Falimbānī has left great impact on the development of Islam and the Muslims in the Archipelago and it is still felt until this present days.

This research analyses the spiritual and metaphysical thought al-Falimbānī which is imbued with al-Ghazālī's methodology and worldview. It discusses, among other things, the biographical details of al-Falimbānī and tries to ascertain the most reliable position on some matters whenever possible; the impact of al-Falimbānī's predecessors have had on the Muslims and Islam in the Archipelago that al-Falimbānī eventually inherited; his mystical teachings and finally this work attempts to answer several major criticisms raised by the modern reformers and critics of al-Falimbānī's mystical teachings.

ABSTRAK

Nusantara Melayu ini dikatakan menerima Islam pada awalnya dalam bentuk yang dipersembahkan melalui ajaran tasawuf. Tasawuf yang dibawa masuk di awal Islam pula dikatakan dari aliran *wahdat al-wujud* yang dikaitkan dengan Ibn 'Arabī (m.637/1240). Tokoh-tokoh ulama Melayu yang terawal seperti Hamzah al-Fanṣūrī (m.1015/1607) dan Shams al-Dīn al-Sumatrānī (m.1039/1630) adalah di antara tokoh yang mempelopori penyebaran ajaran ini.

Kumpulan ini ditentang hebat oleh seorang tokoh yang bernama Nūr al-Dīn al-Ranīrī (m.1068/1658) dan 'Abd al-Ra'ūf al-Sinkilī (m.1104/1693). Pada kurun ke lapan belas Masehi, munculnya kumpulan ulama' yang cuba mengharmonikan kedua-dua kelompok yang bertelagah ini. Salah seorangnya ialah 'Abd al-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī (m.1202/1788). Turut bersama beliau ialah Muhammad Nafīs ibn Idrīs al-Banjārī (m.1147/1735) dan Dawūd al-Fatānī (m.1263/1847). Dalam cubaan mereka untuk mengharmonikan kedua-dua aliran ini, al-Falimbānī telah membawa ajaran tokoh Ṣūfī yang terkenal dan diterima ramai, Hujjat al-Islam Abū Ḥamid al-Ghazālī (m.505/1111). Selama beberapa kurun, pendekatan yang dibawa oleh al-Falimbānī telah meninggalkan kesan yang besar terhadap perkembangan Islam dan Umat Islam di rantau ini hingga kini melalui penyebaran ajaran tasawuf aliran Imam al-Ghazālī.

Kajian ini akan menilai beberapa aspek dari konsep kerohanian al-Falimbānī. Antara lain akan membincangkan biografi lengkap al-Falimbānī berdasarkan maklumat yang berjaya diperolehi, ajaran-ajaran al-Falimbānī dan serangan terhadap ajaran-ajaran al-Falimbānī; kesan yang ditinggalkan oleh tokoh-tokoh sebelum al-Falimbānī terhadap masyarakat sehingga memaksa al-Falimbānī mewarisinya. Kajian ini seterusnya mengkaji pemikiran mistikal al-Falimbānī dan mengemukakan kritikan-kritikan terhadap pemikiran beliau itu khususnya yang dibangkitkan oleh tokoh-tokoh dan pengkritik dari kalangan reformasi moden setelah ketiadaan al-Falimbānī.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First and foremost, all praise to God the Almighty the Most Merciful and the Most Compassionate for enabling this work to materialize after so many years. A number of teachers, friends in one way or the other has helped me in this endeavour. I am very grateful to my supervisor Associate Professor Dr. Wan Suhaimi Wan Abdullah for all his guidance and encouragement in making this piece of work a reality. The Head of Department, Department of 'Aqīdah and Islamic Thought, Associate Professor Dr. Mohd. Fauzi bin Hamat has also been very helpful and supportive. The supports that I received from all staff of the Department of Aqīdah dan Islamic Thought in particular, and the staff of the Academy of Islamic Studies as a whole is also overwhelmed and I thank them all.

There are a few dearest friends of mine who are instrumental in my success from the very beginning that I should mention by name. They are Dr. Mohd. Zaidi Ismail, Dr. Mohd Sani Badron, Dr. Che Razi bin Jusoh, Encik Wan Mohd. Nasruddin Wan Abdullah, Encik Md Asham Ahmad and Encik Mohd. Zain Abdul Rahman. They were always there to sort out things for me at their level best, lending me books and materials whenever needed.

I am also thankful to my superior, the Director General of Institute of Islamic Understanding Malaysia (IKIM), YBhg. Datuk Hj. Nik Mustapha Hj. Nik Hassan who without fail consistently remind me to complete this work without much delay. It would however, be almost impossible to name all friends, colleagues and teachers that have helped me in the course of this intellectual

journey. Suffice for me to say that 'May Allah reward them all' and He knows who they are.

It would be an utter loss of *adab* if I do not mention here the personal intellectual guidance I have received from my honourable teacher, YBhg. Tan Sri Professor Dr Syed Muhammad Naquib al-Attas who has been responsible in shaping my thought and initiating me into the world of philosophy and Sufism when I embarked my studies for the masters degree at the old International Institute of Islamic Thought and Civilization (ISTAC). May Allah preserve him and raise him in ranks. The memories that I had at ISTAC indeed full of intellectual vigour which I shall cherish it always. My gratitude also goes to my beloved wife Haiffa' Hamzah and my children Ammar, Afaf, Ali and Asma' for being patient with me, who at times had been neglected in the course of completing this work.

Last but not least, I began to agree with what our Imam, Imām Shafi'e (may Allah be pleased with him) who after re-checked his masterpiece *al-Risalah* for forty times, but finally concluded that: "Allah has refused to give divine protection from error (*ismah*) to anyone besides His prophets. The matter is as he rightly said no matter how much utmost effort one has made, there is always inevitable error and inaccuracy. I present this modest work humbly with all shortcomings and oversights, and may Allah forgive me for that. I welcome suggestions and recommendations to further improve the study. There are indeed much more could have been done, as 'there is always room for improvement'.

Wallahu'alam.

September 2012

CONVENTIONS

Except for the foreign terms already adopted in the Oxford English Dictionary, such as 'Islam', 'Sufism', and others, the transliteration of the Arabic words, terms and names in this thesis follows the rules employed by Academy of Islamic Studies University of Malaya. This also applies to Malay-Indonesian persons, or titles of Malay works whose names are of Arabic origin rather than using their popular Malay-Indonesian style. Thus, 'Abd al-Samad al-Falimbānī' instead of 'Abdul Palembang' or 'Abdus-Samad Samad Palembang'. Non-Arabic names will be retained in their original spelling. Likewise the titles of Malay works bearing Arabic titles, will not be transliterated if they appear in footnotes or bibliography, and will be kept as they were originally written on the cover of the corresponding works: thus 'Hidayatus-Salikin' not 'Hidāyat al-Sālikīn'. However, when they were cited in the main text, they will be used in their transliterated forms.

Non-English words are italicised throughout this work apart from words already have been anglicised such as 'Sufism', 'Hajj' and others. The plural form of all Arabic words is also anglicised by adding an 's' instead of using proper Arabic forms for the word. Thus *tariqahs* rather than *turuq*, or *hadīths* instead of *ahādīth*. In citing Malay authors with patronymic names or *nisbah*, the *nisbah* is used. Thus in the case of 'Abd al-Samad bin 'Abd Allah al-Falimbānī', 'al-Falimbānī' is used instead of 'Abd al-Samad' or his family name, 'Abd Allāh, or its popular Malay-Indonesian spelling 'Abdus-Samad'. The Library of Congress cataloguing style for Malay names without *nisbah* is used throughout the work where the first name is referred,

thus 'Wan Mohd. Shaghir bin Wan 'Abd Allah' is cited as 'Wan Shaghir' or simply 'Shaghir' not 'Abd Allah' or 'Wan 'Abd Allah'. As for the translation of the Qur'ānic verses, we adopt the translation made by Abdullah Yusuf 'Alī.

TRANSLITERATIONS

Arabic Alphabet	Transcription	Arabic Alphabet	Transcription
۶, ۱	a, '	ط	ţ
ب	b	ظ	Ż
ت	t	٤	c
ث	th	غ	Gh
ج	j	ف	F
ح	þ	ق	Q
خ	kh	٤١	K
د	d	J	L
ذ	dh	٩	M
ر	r	ن	N
ز	z	ه	Н
س	s	9	W
ش	sh	ي	Y
ص	S	ō	Н
ض	d		

Long Vowels	Short Vowels	Difthongs
ĭ : ā	- : a	aw : أو
ي : ū	- : u	ay : اَی
آ : ي	- : i	₂ : iy/ī
		uww : وّ

• The rules emphasize transliterating words as they are written, not are pronounced (i.e., graphically, not phonetically).

CONTENTS

	wledgements			
Conve	ntions			
СНАР	TER ONE: INTRODUCTION			
1.1.	Background	1		
1.2.	Problem Statement	5		
1.3.	Research Objectives	6		
1.4.	Importance of the Research	6		
1.5.	Scope and Limitations of Research	7		
1.6.		8		
1.7.	Methodology of the Research	15		
1.8.	Organization of the Thesis	15		
СНАР	TER TWO: INTELLECTUAL AND RELIGIOUS MILIEU I EIGHTEENTH CENTURY	N THE		
2.1.	Introduction	18		
2.2.	Chronology of Islamization Process In the Archipelago	19		
2.3.	Al-Falimbānī's Predecessors and Their Impacts	31		
	2.3.1. Hamzah al-Fansūrī	33		
	2.3.2. Shams al-Dīn al-Sumatrānī	38		
	2.3.3. Nūr al-Dīn al-Ranīrī	41		
	2.3.4. 'Abd al-Ra'ūf al-Sinkilī	46		
	2.3.5. Yūsuf al-Maqassārī	52		
2.4.	Conclusion	56		
СНАР	TER THREE: BIOGRAPHY OF AL-FALIMBANI			
3.1.	Introduction	57		
3.2.	His Name 57			
3.3.	Family Background	60		

3.4.	His Birth		
3.5.	His Death		63
3.6.	Educational Backs	ground	67
	3.6.1. In the Arch	nipelago	67
	3.6.2. In the Ara	abia	69
	3.6.2.1.	Arabian Peninsula	71
	3.6.2.2.	Yemen	75
	3.6.2.3.	Egypt	77
3.7.	His Teachers		78
3.8.	His Contemporar	ies	79
3.9.	His Works		80
3.10	The Influence of	Scholars	83
3.11.	Conclusion		89
СНАР	TER FOUR: ON K	NOWLEDGE AND SPIRITUAL EDUCA	TION
4.1.	Historical Backgro	ound	92
4.2.	Sources of al-Falin	mbānī's Teachings	95
4.3.	About Siyar al-Sā	likīn and Hidāyat al-Sālikīn	101
4.4.	On Epistemology		105
	4.4.1. Classificat	ion of Knowledge	108
	4.4.2. Aims of S	piritual Education	116
4.5.	4.5. On Creed		121
4.6.	Conclusion		122
СНА	PTER FIVE: ON S	SPIRITUAL PSYCHOLOGY AND COSM	10L0GY
5.1.			123
5.2.	-	•	128
	Spiritual Journey		130
5.4.	-		138
5.5.			147
	Conclusion		151
СНАР	TER SIX : ON SE	VEN STAGES OF BEING	
	Introduction		153
•			-50

6.2.	al Context	156	
	6.2.1.	Wujūdiyyah Teachings of al-Fansūrī	161
	6.2.2.	Wujūdiyyah Teachings of al-Sumatrānī	162
6.3.	Wujūdiy	yah Teachings of al-Falimbānī	165
	6.3.1.	Its Origin	165
	6.3.2.	Its Teachings	171
6.4.	Conte	mporary Debates Surrounding Al-Falimbānī's Teachings	184
	6.4.1	Introduction	184
	6.4.2.	Arguments Against Seven Stages	186
	6.4.2.	Arguments For Seven Stages	192
		6.4.2.1. Knowledge of 'Unveiling'	192
		6.4.2.2. Pantheism	200
		6.4.2.3. Real Existence (wujūd haqīqī)	203
		6.4.2.4. Eternity of the Universe	204
		6.4.2.5. Usage of Seven Stages Theory	206
	6.5. C	Conclusion	208
СНАР	TER SEV	VEN: CONCLUDING REMARKS	210
BIBLI	OGRAPI	НҮ	214