

INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE OF ISLAMIC
THOUGHT AND CIVILIZATION
(ISTAC)

AN ANNOTATED TRANSLATION AND transliteration OF
AL-MANHAL AL-SAFI FI BAYAN BAMZ AHL
AL-SUFI OF SHAYKH DAWUD AL-FATAM

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BY

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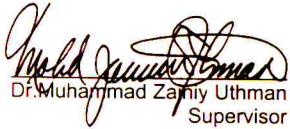
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APPROVAL PAGE

I certify that I have supervised and read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master (M.A.) in **Islamic Civilization**


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بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ



TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	iii
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	v
TABLE OF TRANSLITERATION	vii
ABSTRACT	viii

INTRODUCTION

1. Notes on the <i>Manhal al-Şāfi</i>	1
2. Notes on the Controversy of the Authorship	4
3. Notes on Editing and Rendering	7

CHAPTER ONE

SHAYKH DĀWŪD AL-FAṬĀNĪ :

AN ACCOUNT ON HIS LIFE, EDUCATION, AND WRITINGS

1. His Life	12
2. His Education	18
3. His Writings	26

CHAPTER TWO

BRIEF ANALYSIS OF

AL-MANHAL AL-ŞĀFĪ FĪ BAYĀN RAMZ AHL AL-ŞŪFĪ

1. The Contents	42
I. Prologue	43
II. On the Doctrine of the Seven Degrees of Existence	45
III. On the Şūfi Technical Terms	50

IV. Conclusion	54
V. Admonition	55
2. The Sources	56

CHAPTER THREE

A CRITICAL ANNOTATED TRANSLATION OF <i>AL-MANHAL AL-ŞĀFĪ FĪ BAYĀN RAMZ AHL AL-ŞŪFĪ</i> OF SHAYKH DĀWŪD BIN 'ABD ALLĀH AL-FAṬĀNĪ	60
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CHAPTER FOUR

AN ANNOTATED TRANSLITERATION OF <i>AL-MANHAL AL-ŞĀFĪ FĪ BAYĀN RAMZ AHL AL-ŞŪFĪ</i> OF SHAYKH DĀWŪD BIN 'ABD ALLĀH AL-FAṬĀNĪ	95
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BIBLIOGRAPHY	141
APPENDIX	156

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<i>Commentary</i>	al-Attas, <i>A Commentary on the Ḥujjat al-Ṣiddiq of Nūr al-Din al-Rāniri</i>
<i>EI2</i>	<i>The Encyclopedia of Islam (New Edition)</i>
<i>GAL</i>	Brockelmann, <i>Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur</i>
<i>GASP</i>	Johns, <i>The Gift Addressed to the Spirit of the Prophet</i>
<i>al-Jabarti</i>	al-Jabarti, 'Ajā'ib al-Āthar fī al-Tarājim al-Akḥbār
<i>Jaringan Ulama</i>	Azra, <i>Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah dan Kepulauan Nusantara Abad XVII-XVIII</i>
<i>Jawi Literature</i>	Matheson, <i>Jawi Literature in Patani: The Maintenance of an Islamic Tradition</i>
<i>JMBRAS</i>	<i>Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society</i>
<i>JMIAS</i>	<i>Journal of the Muhyiddin Ibn 'Arabi Society</i>
<i>JRAS</i>	<i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society</i>
<i>Kifāyat al-Muhtadi</i>	al-Faṭānī, Muḥammad Nūr. <i>Kifāyat al-Muhtadi pada Menerangkan Sullam al-Muhtadi</i>
<i>Kitab Kuning</i>	Bruinessen, <i>Kitab Kuning Pesantren dan Tariqat: Tradisi-Tradisi Islam di Indonesia</i>
<i>Manhalush Shafi</i>	Wan Mohd. Shaghir, <i>Manhalush Shafi Syeikh Daud al-Fatani: Membicarakan Rumus-Rumus Shufi dan Istilah-Istilah Tasawuf</i>
<i>Manuskrip Islam</i>	<i>Bibliografi Manuskrip Islam di Muzium Islam Malaysia</i>
<i>Mekka</i>	Hurgronje, <i>Mekka in the Later Part of the 19th Century</i>
<i>MIM</i>	Muzium Islam Malaysia (The Islamic Museum of Malaysia)
<i>Munyat al-Musalli</i>	Wan Mohd. Shaghir, <i>Munyat al-Musalli Syeikh Daud al-Fatani: Pengetahuan Sembahyang Masyhur</i>
<i>Mysticism</i>	al-Attas, <i>The Mysticism of Ḥamzah Faṣṣūri</i>
<i>PNM</i>	Perpustakaan Negara Malaysia (The National Library of Malaysia)
<i>Sejarah Ringkas</i>	Wan Mohd. Shaghir, <i>Sejarah Ringkas Syeikh Daud bin Abdullah al-Fatani dan Karya-Karyanya</i>
<i>Sufi Aphorisms</i>	Danner, <i>Ibn Ata' Allah's Sufi Aphorisms</i>

- Syeikh Abdus Shamad* Wan Mohd. Shaghir, *Syeikh Abdus Shamad Palembang: Ulama Shufi dan Jihad Dunia Melayu*
- Tokoh Ulama* Ismail Che Daud, *Tokoh-Tokoh Ulama Semenanjung Melayu (1)*
- Ulama dan Pengarang* Wan Mohd. Shaghir, *Syeikh Daud bin Abdullah al-Fatani: Ulama dan Pengarang Terulung Asia Tenggara*
- al-Zirikli* al-Zirikli, *Qāmūs Tarājim li-Ashhar al-Rijāl wa al-Nisā' min al-'Arab wa al-Musta'mirin wa al-Mustashriqin*

TABLE OF TRANSLITERATION

Consonants

Arabic Characters	English Transliteration	Arabic Characters	English Transliteration
ب	b	ص	ṣ
ت	t	ض	ḍ
ث	th	ط	ṭ
ج	j	ظ	ẓ
ح	ḥ	ع	‘
خ	kh	غ	gh
د	d	ف	f
ذ	dh	ق	q
ر	r	ك	k
ز	z	ل	l
س	s	م	m
ش	sh	ن	n
	al – regardless of the following consonant.	ه	h
		و	w
		ي	y

initial : unexpected.
medial & final : ’

ah (final)
at (construct state)

Vowels

Short	Long	Diphthong
a	ā	او aw
u	ū	أى ay
i	ī	أى (ī final form)
		أوى (ū in final form)

ABSTRACT

This thesis is an annotated edition and translation of the early 19th century Malay work on Şūfism, namely *al-Manhal al-Şāfi Fi Bayān Ramz Ahl al-Şūfi* written by Shaykh Dāwūd bin ‘Abd Allāh al-Faṭāni (1740-1847 C.E.). The work discusses mainly the doctrine of the seven degrees of existence or better known among the Malays as *Martabat Tujuh*. The subject, in fact, has been discussed by Malay scholars since the 17th and 18th centuries. Among them are Ḥamzah al-Fanşūrī (fl. circa 1550-1600 C.E.), Shams al-Dīn al-Sumatrā’ī (d.1629 C.E.), Nūr al-Dīn al-Rāniri (d.1658 C.E.), ‘Abd al-Ra’ūf al-Singkili (d. ca. 1661 C.E.), Yūsuf al-Makasari (d.1699 C.E.), ‘Abd al-Şamad al-Falimbāni (d. ca. 1800 C.E.), and Muḥammad Nafis al-Banjari (d. ca. 1800 C.E.). For the 19th century, *al-Manhal al-Şāfi* of Shaykh Dāwūd al-Faṭāni demonstrates the continuing discussion of scholars of the past since their works are the sources of reference for him. Thus, it is our intention to expose such a work which can contribute to the study of Malay language and literature as well as to the study of the religious and intellectual history of the Malays for it contains the fundamental concepts in Islām particularly in the field of Şūfism.

The thesis is presented in four chapters with an introduction. The introduction sketches on the historical background of the manuscript of the *Manhal al-Şāfi* and discusses the controversy on the authorship of the treatise. The method of our edition and translation of the text is also included in this introduction. In the first chapter, the accounts on the life of Shaykh Dāwūd al-Faṭāni, his education and writings are presented at length. The second chapter comprises our remarks on the contents of the text which deals primarily with a summary of Shaykh Dāwūd’s discussion on the doctrine of the seven degrees of existence. Its sources on Şūfi doctrines and the metaphysics of the work are also discussed. The text also presents us, perhaps for the first time, with a glossary of Şūfi technical terms in Malay. The third chapter is our critical translation of the text. In rendering the text, we have tried to be faithful to the text, hence producing a translation that is true to the text. The fourth chapter is our

annotated edition and transliteration of the text to which we have tried to be as loyal as possible to the original. It is so in order to highlight the style of the Malay language used by the author which represents the style used during his time. In addition, we hope also to see the influences of other languages especially Arabic upon the Malay language. Finally, the facsimile of the manuscript of *al-Manhal al-Şāfi* is attached in the appendix.

INTRODUCTION

1. Notes on the *Manhal al-Şāfi*

The text of *al-Manhal al-Şāfi*, which is the subject of our study, represents the early 19th century Malay work on Şūfism. The full title of this work is *al-Manhal al-Şāfi fī Bayān Ramz Ahl al-Şūfi* or the Pure Beaker in Explaining the Signs of the Şūfis. The work is an attempt by the author to explain some Şūfi symbols or terms that are used in major Şūfi treatises. Its main content concerns the seven degrees of existence or, as it is better known among the Malays, *Martabat Tujuh*. The basis of its teaching is that God is the Absolute Existence (*wujūd muṭlaq*), that becomes manifest through the seven levels of manifestation, namely: *aḥadiyyah*, *waḥdah*, *wāḥidiyyah*, *'ālam arwāḥ*, *'ālam mithāl*, *'ālam ajsām*, and *'ālam insān*. God the Absolute is the source of all beings, and nothing other than He exists in its own right. The work, which is written in Malay, is meant for the Malays who do not have a good command of Arabic with the aim of conveying the true meaning of Şūfi teachings since many have misunderstood their books, on account of the poor grasp of Şūfi technical terms.

The degrees of existence, in fact, have been discussed by Malay scholars since the 17th and 18th centuries. Among them are Ḥamzah al-Fanşūri (fl. circa 1550-1600 C.E.)¹, Shams al-Dīn al-Sumaṭrā'i (d.1629 C.E.)², Nūr al-Dīn al-Rāniri (d.1658 C.E.)³, 'Abd al-Ra'ūf al-Singkili (d. ca.1661 C.E.)⁴, Yūsuf al-Makasari (d.1699

¹ See his works *Asrār al-Ārifin*, *Sharāb al-Āshiqin* and *al-Muntahī*, in Syed Muhammad Naquib al-Attas, *The Mysticism of Ḥamzah Fanşūri* (Kuala Lumpur : University of Malaya Press, 1970). Hereafter cited as *Mysticism*.

² See his work *Jauhar al-Ḥaqā'iq*, in C.A.O van Nieuwenhuijze, *Şamsu'l-Din van Pasai* (Leiden : E. J. Brill, 1945), 245-266. See also his work *Nūr al-Daqā'iq* which was romanised with notes by A. Johns, "Nūr al-Daqā'ik by the Sumatran Mystic Shamsu 'l-Din ibn 'Abdullāh", *JRAS* (1953): 137-151.

³ See his major works on Şūfism, for example, *Ḥujjat al-Siddiq li-Daf' al-Zindiq* in Syed Muhammad Naquib al-Attas, *A Commentary on the Ḥujjat al-Siddiq of Nūr al-Din al-Rāniri* (Kuala Lumpur : Ministry of Culture Malaysia, 1986); *Asrār al-Insān fī Ma'rifat al-Rūḥ wa al-Raḥmān* in the Ph.D. thesis of Tudjimah, published by P.T. Penerbitan Universitas, Jakarta, 1960; and *Laṭā'if al-Asrār li-Ahl Allāh al-Aryār* in the unpublished Ph.D. thesis submitted to the International Institute of Islamic Thought and Civilization (ISTAC) by Muḥammad Zainiy 'Uthmān, 1997. Another two manuscripts of Rāniri's *Tibyān fī Ma'rifat al-Adyān* and *Ḥujjat al-Siddiq li-Daf' al-Zindiq* published in facsimile form in

C.E.)⁵, 'Abd al-Şamad al-Falimbāni (d.ca.1800 C.E.)⁶, and Muḥammad Nafis al-Banjari (d. ca 1800 C.E.)⁷. For the 19th century, *al-Manhal al-Şāfi* of Shaykh Dāwūd al-Faṭāni demonstrates the continuing discussion of scholars of the past since their works are the sources of reference for scholars of the Malay region. In fact, Dāwūd al-Faṭāni had benefited much from the work of Nūr al-Dīn Rāniri as well as 'Abd al-Ra'ūf al-Singkili. Rāniri's work, *Jawāhir al-'Ulūm fī Kashf al-Ma'lūm*, is mentioned and quoted by Dāwūd in his *Manhal al-Şāfi*,⁸ but surprisingly he did not mentioned the work of 'Abd al-Ra'ūf even though he quoted a lot from him. We have noticed that Shaykh Dāwūd did benefit a lot from the work of 'Abd al-Ra'ūf especially the *Daqā'iq al-Ḥurūf*, for Shaykh Dāwūd quoted several passages from it almost verbatim.⁹ This means that Shaykh Dāwūd had direct access to Malay sources even though he lived in Makkah. This also proves that the works of Rāniri as well as those of 'Abd al-Ra'ūf were used in the Holy City of Makkah thereby demonstrating the network of Malay scholars in the Malay region and the Arab world.¹⁰ Other than Malay sources, Shaykh Dāwūd also had access to many Arabic sources. Among the main sources that we are able to trace are al-Jili's *al-Insān al-Kāmil*, Ibn 'Aṭā' Allāh's *Ḥikam*, and al-Burhānpūri's *Tuḥfat al-Mursalah*.¹¹

P. Voorhoeve, *Twee Maleise Geschriften van Nūruddīn ar-Rāniri* (Leiden : E. J. Brill, 1955).

4 See his work *Daqā'iq al-Ḥurūf* which was romanised and translated into English by A. Johns, "Daqā'iq al-Ḥurūf by 'Abd al-Ra'ūf of Singkel", *JRAS* (1955): 55-73 and 139-158.

5 He wrote many works on Islamic metaphysics and one of his works that had been studied is *Zubdat al-Asrār fī Tahqīq Ba'd Mashārib al-Akhyār*. See Nabilah Lubis, *Menyingkap Intisari Segala Rahasia Karangan Syekh Yusuf al-Taj al-Makasari* (Bandung : Pustaka Mizan, 1996).

6 See his works *Sayr al-Sālikin* and *Hidāyat al-Sālikin*. Both are published by Muḥammad al-Nahdi, Bangkok, undated.

7 His work *al-Durr al-Nafis* was the subject of study by Wan Muḥammad bin Wan Ali in his M.A. Thesis namely *Suntingan dan Anotasi Sebuah Kitāb Taşawwuf Melayu Kurun Ketiga belas/Kedelapan belas Masihī : al-Durru'n-Nafis Karangan ash-Shaykh Muḥammad Nafis al-Banjariyy (rahimahu'Llāh)*. Unpublished M.A. Thesis submitted to Institut Bahasa, Kesusasteraan, dan Kebudayaan Melayu (IBKKM), UKM, 1973.

8 See the text; para 35.

9 For the comparison, see the text ; para. 3-34, and the text of *Daqā'iq al-Ḥurūf* which was romanised by A. Johns in his "Daqā'iq al-Ḥurūf by 'Abd al-Ra'ūf of Singkel", *JRAS* (1955): 58-67 and 139-150.

10 Research on the network of the Malay scholars with the Arab world had been done by Azyumardi Azra in his *Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah dan Kepulauan Nusantara Abad XVII dan XVIII : Melacak Akar-Akar Pembaruan Pemikiran Islam di Indonesia* (Bandung : Penerbit Mizan, 1995). Hereafter cited as *Jaringan Ulama*.

11 For the sources referred to in *al-Manhal al-Şāfi*, see pp. 56-59.

Our study of *al-Manhal al-Ṣāfi* is based on the manuscripts that are available in two institutions in Malaysia; Perpustakaan Negara Malaysia (PNM) or the National Library of Malaysia and Muzium Islam Malaysia (MIM) or the Islamic Museum of Malaysia. It is fortunate that these institutions possess many copies of the manuscript of *al-Manhal al-Ṣāfi*. There are altogether 30 extant copies of the manuscript of *al-Manhal al-Ṣāfi* of which the PNM possesses 16 copies catalogued as MS 147(A), 188(B), 204, 205, 232, 460, 519, 547(A), 622, 629(2), 649(A), 693, 1088, 1333, 1386 and 1495(A),¹² and the MIM has 14 copies of it catalogued as MI 17, 48, 128, 137, 262, 354, 414, 429, 448, 467, 504, 603, 668 and 669 of which only 3 are complete; MI17, 48 and 448.¹³ Beside these two institutions, there are copies of the same manuscript available in private hands.¹⁴

With regard to the printed edition of this work, so far we have not seen the earlier edition of *al-Manhal al-Ṣāfi* which is normally published by the publishers in Makkah, Egypt and Istanbul. Meanwhile, we have a copy of the lithograph edition of this work which is published by Maktabah Muḥammad al-Nahdi, Bangkok, it being a third reprint dated 28 Muḥarram 1373 A.H. However, the text which contains 30 pages, did not mention the name of the author. Another copy of the reprint edition was published by Pustaka Aman Press, Kelantan, which indicates the same edition and the same date as the previous one. The text, also printed in lithographic form and containing 53 pages, was printed together with other texts entitled *Mabādi' al-*

¹² See *Katalog Induk Manuskrip Melayu di Malaysia : Siri Bibliografi Manuskrip no. 10* (Kuala Lumpur : Perpustakaan Negara Malaysia (PNM), 1993); *Manuskrip Melayu Koleksi Perpustakaan Negara Malaysia : Satu Katalog Ringkas* (Kuala Lumpur : Perpustakaan Negara Malaysia, 1987); and *Manuskrip Melayu Koleksi Perpustakaan Negara Malaysia : Satu Katalog Ringkas (Tambahan Ketiga)* (Kuala Lumpur : Perpustakaan Negara Malaysia (PNM), 1997).

¹³ See Engku Ibrahim Ismail and Osman Bakar (eds.), *Bibliografi Manuskrip Islam di Muzium Islam Malaysia*. (Kuala Lumpur : Akademi Pengajian Melayu, Universiti Malaya and Bahagian Hal Ehwal Islam, Jabatan Perdana Menteri, 1992), 42-48. Hereafter cited as *Manuskrip Islam*.

¹⁴ For example, Haji Wan Mohd. Shaghir Abdullah possessed three copies of *al-Manhal al-Ṣāfi* which he used for the romanization of the text in his publication, *Manhalush Shafi Syeikh Daud al-Fathani : Membicarakan Rumus-Rumus Shufi dan Istilah-Istilah Tasawuf* (Kuala Lumpur : Khazanah Fathaniyah, 1992). However, the transliteration system is still poor and needs further improvement. Hereafter cited as *Manhalush Shafi*.

'*Asharah* by Ibn Ismā'il bin 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Kalantāni and *Kanz al-Sa'ādah* by Muḥammad Shāfi'i bin Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ.¹⁵

The colophon of the manuscript that we used stated that Shaykh Dāwūd al-Faṭāni is the author of the work. However, the manuscript we possess is not an author's copy. The copy we have was transcribed by 'Abd al-Raḥmān bin 'Abd al-Samad, who, we believe, was a student of Shaykh Dāwūd. The work was written and finished in Makkah, but the date is not mentioned. Only the date of the transcription of the text is available, stating that it was finished on Friday noon, in the year 1295 A.H. (1879 C.E.), in Makkah.

2. Notes on the Controversy of the Authorship

The controversy of the authorship of *al-Manhal al-Ṣāfi* arose when different manuscripts of the work revealed three different names as the author of the work. The colophon of MI17 (MIM) stated that Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir al-Faṭāni was the author of the work, while the MS693 (PNM) mentioned Shaykh 'Abd al-Raḥmān bin 'Abd al-Mubīn al-Faṭāni. On the other hand, the authorship of Shaykh Dāwūd is based on seven manuscript copies of *al-Manhal al-Ṣāfi* six of which are available in the PNM collection catalogued as MS232, MS460, MS519, MS62, MS649(A), and MS1333. The other copy, that is MI448, is from the MIM collection.¹⁶ So, based on the number of manuscripts, Shaykh Dāwūd is most likely the original author of the work. But, to

¹⁵ The whole text of this edition can be found in appendix D, in Wan Kamaruzaman bin Wan Draḥman, *Sumbangan Syeikh Daud al-Faṭāniyy dalam Taṣawwuf : Suatu Kajian Khusus Terhadap Kitab al-Manhal al-Ṣāfiyy fi Bayān Ramz Ahl al-Ṣūfiyy*. A project paper submitted in partial fulfillment for the Bachelor's Degree in the Department of Usuluddin, University of Malaya, 1995.

¹⁶ We are able to access directly all manuscripts of *al-Manhal al-Ṣāfi* available in the PNM collection. However, we cannot do the same thing to the MIM collection since, according to the officer in charge, most of the manuscripts are in a very poor condition. Thus, we are only allowed to access them through microfilm. Of the 14 copies of the manuscript of *al-Manhal al-Ṣāfi*, only three of them (MI17, 48 and 448) are complete and in good condition. Based on these three copies, the MI448 stated clearly the name of Shaykh Dāwūd al-Faṭāni as the author of the work, while the rest did not state the name of the author except the MI17 stated the name of Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir Faṭāni. For the MI17, the description of the manuscripts catalogue remarks that Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir here refers to Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir bin Muṣṭafā al-Faṭāni, a student of Shaykh Dāwūd, who had transcribed this manuscript (MI17). See *Manuskrip Islam*, 45.

be more certain, let us examine each and every copy of the manuscripts attributed to others as mentioned above.

As for Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir al-Faṭānī, whose name is stated in the colophon of the MI17 (MIM), it is doubtful that he is the author of the work based on the date of completion of the work. It stated there that the work was completed in 1311 A.H. (1893 C.E.) which is very late compared to the oldest copy of the manuscripts dated 1269 A.H.(1853 C.E.)¹⁷ The name Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir al-Faṭānī, mentioned without the father's name, is another point of confusion. This is because there are three prominent scholars from Patani who went by the same name; they are Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir bin 'Abd al-Raḥīm (d. 1864 C.E.)¹⁸, Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir bin 'Abd al-Raḥmān (d.1898 C.E.)¹⁹, and Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir bin Muṣṭafā (d. 1894 C.E.)²⁰. We observe that the date of MI17 indicates that it was written a considerable time after the death of Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir bin 'Abd al-Raḥīm. Based on this indication, we can therefore put aside this name. As for 'Abd al-Qādir bin 'Abd al-Raḥmān as well as 'Abd al-Qādir bin Muṣṭafā, both of them were, in fact, the students of Shaykh Dāwūd and related to him. So, we believe that both of them must have transcribed the works of their master including *al-Manhal al-Ṣāfi*. We are, therefore, almost certain that 'Abd al-Qādir al-Faṭānī, as mentioned in MI17, is not the original author of the work but rather a transcriber of it. In fact, this assumption is further supported when the cataloguer of

17 MS547(A) (PNM).

18 He is better known as Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir Bukit Bayas, a scholar from Patani who moved to Terengganu after the fall of the Patani Kingdom to Siam in 1832 C.E. In Terengganu, he was appointed as the *Mufri* by Sultan Omar (1839-1876 C.E.), the Sultan of Terengganu. He was also the teacher of two great scholars of Terengganu, Tok Ku Tuan Besar and Tok Syeikh Duyong. See Omar bin Musa, "Syeikh Abdul Kadir Bukit Bayas", in *Ulama Terengganu : Suatu Sorotan*, edited by Muhammad Abu Bakar (Kuala Terengganu : Jawatankuasa Koleksi Terengganu, 1991), 145-153.

19 He is better known as Shaykh Nik Dir al-Faṭānī, a grandnephew of Shaykh Dāwūd. He was born in 1829 C.E. in Patani, but later moved to Terengganu due to the fall of the Patani Kingdom to Siam in 1832 C.E. He went to Makkah to further his studies on Islam and died there in 1898 C.E. See Aḥmad Faṭḥi al-Faṭānī, "Rumpun Keluarga 'Ulamā' Faṭānī", *Majalah Pengasuh* (July-Aug., 1992): 13-23.

20 He is better known as Tok Bendang Daya which is attributed to his *Pondok* in Bendang Daya in Patani. It is reported that his *Pondok* or traditional religious school was once the biggest *Pondok* in Southeast Asia in the 19th century. He was born in 1818 C.E. in Patani and died in 1894 C.E. in Makkah. See Wan Mohd. Shaghir Abdullah, "Tok Bendang daya II : Pondok Teramai di Asia Tenggara", *Majalah Dakwah* (May, 1993): 49-52.

the Islamic Museum had also identified 'Abd al-Qādir in the MI17 as Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir bin Muṣṭafā al-Faṭānī, a transcriber of *al-Manhal al-Ṣāfi*.²¹

Another name attributed as the author of *al-Manhal al-Ṣāfi* is Shaykh 'Abd al-Rahmān bin 'Abd al-Mubīn al-Faṭānī,²² the teacher of Shaykh Dāwūd al-Faṭānī. His name is associated with the MS693 (PNM). This is the only manuscript of *al-Manhal al-Ṣāfi* which names Shaykh 'Abd al-Rahmān bin 'Abd al-Mubīn al-Faṭānī as the author. The text, which was completed in Faṭānī, did not state the date of its completion, and therefore led to some difficulty in identifying the accuracy of the authorship. In order to reconcile the authorship between Shaykh 'Abd al-Rahmān and his student, Shaykh Dāwūd, some biographers suggested that perhaps Shaykh 'Abd al-Rahmān was the original author of the work which he then dictated to his student, Shaykh Dāwūd. Later on, Shaykh Dāwūd comprehended it and put it into the form of a book. By then, the work was known to be the work of Shaykh Dāwūd al-Faṭānī.²³ This is a good attempt to reconcile the authorship of the work, but it is still a matter of conjecture.

Even though we cannot deny what is stated in the MS693 (PNM), but it is quite strange when we observe the number of manuscripts found thus far. Of the 30 copies of manuscripts of *al-Manhal al-Ṣāfi*, only one stated the name of Shaykh 'Abd al-Rahmān bin 'Abd al-Mubīn whereas seven of them stated Shaykh Dāwūd as the author of the work, while the rest are anonymous. At this point, we tend to believe that the original author of the work is Shaykh Dāwūd al-Faṭānī, for many copies of the manuscript stated clearly his name as the author. In addition, the conviction is further strengthened by two manuscripts in a private collection which state the name of Shaykh Dāwūd al-Faṭānī as the author. Both manuscripts were transcribed by the students of

²¹ See *Manuskrip Islam*, 45.

²² He was also known as Shaykh 'Abd al-Rahmān Pauh Bok, attributed to his birthplace. It is reported that he was the master of the Sammāniyyah Order who received the licence directly from the leader of this Order, Shaykh Sammān. His work, discovered so far, still remains in manuscript form, one of which is *Mir'āt al-Haqq*. This work, which is in the private collection of Haji Wan Mohd. Shaghir, deals with the doctrine of *Waḥdat al-Wujūd* attributed to Ibn 'Arabi. The author also mentioned some sources that he referred to and one of them is *Asrār al-Insān fī Ma'rīfat al-Rūḥ wa al-Rahmān* of Shaykh Nūr al-Dīn al-Rāniri. See *Manhalush Shafi*, 5-11.

²³ Ibid., p. 3.

Shaykh Dāwūd himself; they are Shaykh Wan Muḥammad Zayn bin Muṣṭafā al-Faṭānī, and al-Ḥājj Muḥammad Ḥāshim bin al-Ḥājj Muḥammad Yūsuf al-Faṭānī. The former did not state the date of his transcription, but the latter is dated 12 Muḥarram 1307 A.H.²⁴

3. Note on Editing and Rendering

The process of editing and translating the text of *al-Manhal al-Ṣāfi* is based on three manuscripts. They were selected for the simple reason that the manuscripts are in good condition and the writing is tidy and legible. In addition, the issue of the authorship of the text is also taken into our consideration for the selection. Hence, the manuscripts used for our edition here will represent the three names which were mentioned as the author of the treatise; Shaykh 'Abd al-Raḥmān bin 'Abd al-Mubin al-Faṭānī, Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir al-Faṭānī and Shaykh Dāwūd bin 'Abd Allāh al-Faṭānī. By this criterion, we hope to see any differences that may occur in the texts. The manuscripts, we refer to are the MI17, MS693 and MS232. The MI17 was selected from the MIM collection, while the MS232 and MS693 were selected from the PNM collection. Photocopies of each of the manuscripts were made available.

The procedure adopted for editing here has been to adhere to the MS232, on the basis of which the other two manuscripts, MI17 and MS693, have been collated and textual differences indicated in the footnotes. Our choice for this manuscript is because it is in excellent condition and well preserved, although it is not entirely free of errors. Furthermore, it is considerably more clear, neat and legible as compared to the other two manuscripts. This manuscript, which contains twenty pages, was written in a finer *naskh* script. It uses two colours of ink; red and black. The red ink is used for the Arabic text or words, while the black ink is used for a general explanation of the text. More important than that, the colophon of the text stated the historical background of the treatise, that is the name of the author of the treatise was stated clearly as Shaykh

²⁴ Ibid., v-vi

Dāwūd bin 'Abd Allāh al-Faṭānī. It was then transcribed by 'Abd al-Raḥmān bin 'Abd al-Ṣamad who finished transcribing the text in Makkah, in 1295 after Hijrah. This information can be found in the colophon of the manuscript as follows :

Telah khātamlah risālah ini yang bernama Manhal al-Ṣāfi fi Bayān Ramz Ahl al-Ṣūfi, wa'LLāhu a'lam, karangan Dāwūd ibn 'Abd Allāh Faṭānī. Dan yang menyalinkan kitāb ini, faqīr al-ḥaqīr 'Abd al-Raḥmān bin 'Abd al-Ṣamad. Selesai di dalam negeri Makkah, pada hari Jum'at, waqtu 'Aṣar, pada hijrat al-nubuwwah sanat 1295.

(We completed this treatise namely The Pure Beaker in Explaining the Sign of the Ṣūfis, God Knowth Best, written by Dāwūd bin 'Abd Allāh Faṭānī. This treatise was transcribed by the poor and destitute 'Abd al-Raḥmān bin 'Abd al-Ṣamad. Completed in the city of Makkah, on Friday afternoon, in the year 1295 of the Prophet's Migration.)

Meanwhile, the collated manuscripts are the MS693 and MI17 which were also written in a finer *naskh* script. Both manuscripts are complete and in good condition. The MS693, which contains 30 pages, named Shaykh 'Abd al-Raḥmān bin 'Abd al-Mubin as the author of the treatise. However, the text does not state the name of the transcriber or its date of completion. The only information available is mentioned on the cover page and the colophon of the manuscript as follows:

Ini kitāb Manhal al-Ṣāfi fi Bayān Ramz Ahl al-Ṣūfi, karangan Shaykh yang 'Ārif al-Rabbānī, lagi Waliy Allāh Ta'ālā al-Ghani 'Abd al-Raḥmān bin 'Abd al-Mubin, tuntutlah segala yang muridin. Dan yang memilik akan dia Ḥājj Wan 'Abd Allāh bin Muḥammad Sammān negeri

Faṭānī, dairah Kampung Peronggok adanya. Sallama'LLāh fi al-dārayn. Āmin.

(This treatise namely The Pure Beaker in Explaining the Sign of the Ṣūfis is written by the Adept Master versed in the knowledge of the Lord, and the Saint of God the Most Glory, 'Abd al-Raḥmān bin 'Abd al-Mubin whom the novices should seek. This treatise belongs to Ḥājj Wan 'Abd Allāh bin Muḥammad Sammān of Patani, from the village of Peronggok. May God shower His blessings upon us in both worlds. Āmin.)

and

Tammat kalām pada hari al-thālith pada waqtu Zuhur adanya di Faṭānī.

(The treatise was completed on Tuesday noon in Patani.)

The MI17 is also complete but the script is untidy and consists a lot of wrong spellings particularly in the Arabic quotations. The manuscript of 23 pages was transcribed in 1311 after Hijrah by Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir al-Faṭānī who was a student of Shaykh Dāwūd. The colophon of this manuscript states ;

Telah terjemahlah risālah ini yang bernama Manhal al-Ṣāfi fi Bayān Amr²⁵ Ahl al-Ṣūfi, Āmin. Telah selesai daripada faqir ilā Ta'ālā menyurat kitāb ini pada hari Arba', tiga belas haribulan Rajab, pada hijrah seribu tiga ratus sebelas, iaitu 'Abd al-Qādir Faṭānī.

(We have translated this treatise namely The Pure Beaker in Explaining the Order of the Ṣūfis, Āmin. The treatise was written by the poor toward God on Wednesday, 13th of

25 The title of this manuscript is slightly different from the others which bear the term *Amr* instead of *Ramz*. This difference, perhaps, occurs due to wrong spelling or the mistake of the transcriber since the content of the text is the same.

Rajab, in the year 1311 of the Prophet's migration, he is
'Abd al-Qādir of Patani.)

Regarding our method of editing and translating, we have made a footnote for each variant word. In places where a word or a string of words or a whole phrase is augmented or amended to our edition, the word, the string of words or the whole phrase is reproduced in the footnote, with full citation of the page number of the augmentation and emendation. This is to minimize any confusion that may arise as to whether it is a word with the footnote number only, the whole string of words or phrase with the footnote number that is added in our edition.

In rendering the text, we have done our utmost to be faithful to the original, hence producing a translation that is true to the text but at the same time idiomatic. In order to maintain the accuracy, I have tried to stick as far as possible to the original text, but in many instances, I opted to translate the Malay into English from the Arabic, since it is the meaning of the Arabic that is intended. Knowing well that translation cannot always capture the language and meaning of the original, where necessary, we approximate the meanings intended. All in all, being well aware of our shortcomings, we have exercised all our skills to present the ideas there in a straightforward manner. In addition, we have divided the text into various paragraphs and assigned to them Arabic numbers in order to facilitate efficient cross referencing between the edition and the translation. Identification of figures and verification of most of the quotations, verses of the Qur'ān and the Ḥadīth are noted in my translation. Insofar as the translation of the Qur'ānic verses is concerned, we rely upon Abdullah Yusuf Ali's *Text, Translation and Commentary of the Holy Qur'ān*, new revised edition (Brentwood : Amana Corporation, 1989) and where appropriate, we render our own.

With regard to our romanised edition, we have tried to be as faithful as possible to the original text. We have done so in order to highlight the style of the Malay language used by the author which represents the style used during his time. We hope also to see the influences of the other languages especially Arabic on the Malay language. We have tried to avoid any unnecessary additional words or phrases that we

might feel missing in the text, unless they are truly needed in order to facilitate our understanding. Any additions, that is in our own edition and translation, are indicated by words or phrase in [] brackets.

Last but not least, the dissertation is presented in four chapters with an introduction. The introduction provides an overview of the historical background of the manuscript of the *Manhal al-Şâfi* as well as the controversy regarding the authorship of the treatise. The method of our editing and translating the text is also included in this introduction. In the first chapter, the accounts on the life Shaykh Dāwūd al-Faṭānī, his education and writings are presented at length. The second chapter consists of our remarks on the contents of the text which deals primarily with a summary of Shaykh Dāwūd's discussion on the seven degrees of existence. His sources on Şūfī doctrines and metaphysics of the work are also discussed. The text also presents, perhaps for the first time, with a glossary of Şūfī technical terms in Malay. While the third and fourth chapters are an annotated translation and romanised edition of the treatise of our present study.

CHAPTER ONE

SHAYKH DĀWŪD AL-FAṬĀNĪ : AN ACCOUNT ON HIS LIFE, EDUCATION, AND WRITINGS

1. His Life

Any consideration of the achievement of a scholar must take into account his life and times which have an impact on his intellectual development. Thus, it is pertinent for us to provide a description on the biography of our figure, Shaykh Dāwūd al-Faṭānī (Patani).¹ However, not a lot is known about this scholar since he did not provide us with any background information about his life. Moreover, there is no work about his life written by his students and companions. Thus, it is difficult to obtain biographical details, since nothing is known about him in detail in one single text written either by the scholar himself or by his students. As a matter of fact, it is a common phenomenon with respects to scholars of this region. It is perhaps out of humility, a character trait of a pious person, that the scholar himself does not want any publicity or undue praise.² This is further aggravated by the lack of scholarly research on him particularly among

¹ The early history of Patani refers to the Kingdom of Langkasuka which, according to the Chinese chronicles, had existed since the 2nd century or around the year 80-100 C.E. The location of the kingdom is believed to be in the Northeast of the Malay Peninsula, but historians differ on the exact location of the kingdom. As a matter of fact, the Chinese chronicles stated that Admiral Cheng Ho used to stop in Langkasuka in his way to Ayuthaya, through the Gulf of Siam, in order to warn its king not to attack Malacca. Based on this report, we, therefore, believed that this Langkasuka refers to Patani, the city on the Northeast coast of the Malay Peninsula. Consequently, A. Teeuw and D.K. Wyatt stated "*Langkasuka was an important trading port for Asian sailors, particularly when mariners began to sail directly across the Gulf of Siam from the Southernmost tip of Vietnam to the Malay Peninsula which often brought them to a landfall in the region of Patani*". Based on these facts, Paul Wheatley and Roland Braddell agreed to say that the Kingdom of Langkasuka was situated in Patani. For further discussion and examples upon this issue, see A. Teeuw and D.K. Wyatt, *Hikayat Patani (The Story of Patani)*, 2 volumes, (The Hague : Koninklijk Instituut Voor Taal, 1970). See also Mohd. Zamberi A. Malek, *Umat Islam Patani : Sejarah dan Politik* (Shah Alam : Penerbit Hizbi, 1993), 1-22. Cf. Ahmad Fathy al-Fatani, *Pengantar Sejarah Patani* (Alor Setar : Pustaka Darussalam, 1994), 3-10.

² What is important, to them, is to preach the message of Islam to Muslims. That is why we can find a lot of anonymous manuscripts or published works. The author introduces himself as *al-faqīr wa al-ḥaqīr ilā Allāh 'Abd Rabbihi*, or, in Malay, *hamba Allāh yang teramat miskin lagi hina*, that is the poor and destitute servant of God.