

**A THEOLOGICAL REAPPRAISAL OF *WUJŪDIYYAH* IN THE
SEVENTEENTH CENTURY: AN ANALYSIS OF *TUḤFAT
SARANDĪB***

A Thesis

**Submitted to the Master's Study Program of Islamic Studies at the
Faculty of Islamic Studies in partial fulfillment of the requirements for
the degree of**

Master of Arts (M.A.)



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Muhammad Cahyadi Gunawan

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ABSTRACT

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This thesis focuses on *Tuhfat Sarandīb*, a seventeenth century manuscript attributed initially to Shaykh Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī that contends Islamic mystical-theological doctrines. It aims to re-examine theological doctrines of *wujūdiyyah* in the seventeenth century through the manuscript and seeks to posit it in the intellectual transmission of South and Southeast Asia. The research assumes that *Tuhfat Sarandīb* is an understudied manuscript that resembles an intellectual transmission in seventeenth century South and Southeast Asia. It recorded two prominent scholars in the Archipelago namely Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī as the author of original Malay treatises and Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maqāṣīrī as the translator of them, intended to al-Maqāṣīrī's acquaintance Ibrāhīm ibn Mīkhān and the people of Ceylon. This study adopts a qualitative methodology resorting to three conceptual frameworks namely, philology and textual criticism, Islamic intellectual history, and Islamic theological-mystical discourses. The first framework is used to produce a critical edition of the manuscript and to analyze its provenance as well as its codicological information. The second and the third are used to reveal the historical and intellectual background of the manuscript alongside with their contestation of mystical-theological debates. The primary data source is a digitized copy of *Tuhfat Sarandīb* provided in the Digital Library of the Iranian Parliament (Majles Library) and catalogued under MS number 10-26404 and the digitized copy of *Ḥall al-Ẓill* accessed from Digital Repository of Endangered and Affected Manuscripts in Southeast Asia (DREAMSEA) under project number DS 0060 00011, while the transcription of *Tuhfat Sarandīb* in Sulaiman Ibrahim's journal remains a complementary source. The secondary sources consist of various manuscript transcriptions alongside relevant books, journals, scholarly seminars in multiple media. This thesis contends that *Tuhfat Sarandīb* is al-Maqāṣīrī's literary work that incorporates an Arabic translation of Rānīrī's mystical treatises. It preserves Rānīrī's theological doctrines in *wujūdiyyah* discourse and reflects al-Maqāṣīrī's multiple transformations during his banishment in Ceylon, Sri Lanka today.

Keywords: *Manuscript*, *Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī*, *Tuhfat Sarandīb*, *Wahdat al-wujūd*, *Wujūdiyyah*, *Yūsuf al-Māqāṣīrī*.

ملخص

تركز هذه الرسالة على وصف قسرن فيب، وهي مخطوطة من القرن السابع عشر نشرت في البداية لدى الشريخ نور الدين الرهيري، وتتناولت الخطأ الصرفي للكالم في السالم. و هي هدف إلى إعاد فحص عقائدالوجدي في القرن السابع عشر من خلال هذه المخطوطة، وتسعى إلى توضيح هي سرياقا لالفكر عفي جنوب وجنوب شرق لري فنتت رض هذا دراسة أن مخطوطت قسرن فيب لم تحظ بالدراسة اللغوية، وتحتل نموذج النقل للكريفي جنوب وجنوب شرق لري في القرن السابع عشر. فيس تحت المخطوطة حضور علي بن بارز في أريخيل المايو، همانور الدين الرهيري مؤلف الرسل المايه الصريه، لري في يوسف القصري ترجمه الى العربيه، الاموجه الى صيق للعال السطيلن بلراي مبن في خان ولي اهل سريال نبعمد هذه الدرسة في هجه ونوعه قتلخز في ثلثة اطرف مايه، هي: لخم ليلول وحيه والقدان صي تاري الخفكر السالم، ولجدال تل صوي الكالم في السالم. وبتخدم الطار اول الصدار طبعه رقيه للمخطوطة، وتلجى لرها ومفومها الكوفيكي وحيه. أما الطاران لثلي ولثالث فيسخدم ان للشف عن لثي لثي لثي في الكريه للمخطوطة، الى جل بلبر ازموق عفي سرياقا لجدل حول في ضيال صوي الكالم في هتخدم اليراس في بي رتاه السلي ع ل ينس خه رقيه من ت خ قسرن في ب م حف وظف ي ل م لثب ل رقيه لم جل س ل شوري الى رلي (لثب ل م جل س) تحت رقم المخطوطة 10-26404، ونس خه رقيه من حل ل ظل مخطفي ل م تودع لرق مي للمخطوطات ل م عرضة لخطر والتمشركفي جنوب شرق لري (DREAMSEA) تحت رقم الم شروع DS 0060 00011 في جي رتيقي نس خه لنص ليشورقي م ل قسلي مان بلراي م ص درًا ل م ل. أم الم ص ادر ال ثل في ت شمل نس خا خطيه من المخطوطات، الى جل ل لثب ولا مج ال بوال ن دوات ال ع في يوس ط ل م ع دة. وتذهب هذه الساله الى أن ت خ قسرن فيب هي عمل لبي ل قصري فيض م ترجمه عربي لرسائل النرييل صفيوه، وتخط على خط دال رهيري الكالم في خطاب الوجوه، كما تلخس لتحوالت لبع دة لتي م ربه ل قصري لثاء في فيس ي الن لتي تعرف اليوم بسريال ك.

للكالم انقلحت احيه ت خ قسرن فيب، مخطوطة، نور الدين الرهيري، وحده الوجود، الوجوه، يوسف القصري

TRANSLITERATION GUIDE

Arabic	Roman	Arabic	Roman	Arabic	Roman
ا	A	س	S	ل	l
ب	B	ش	Sh	م	m
ت	T	ص	ṣ	ن	n
ث	Th	ض	ḍ	و	w
ج	J	ط	ṭ	ه	h
ح	ḥ	ظ	ẓ	ء	'
خ	Kh	ع	'	ي	y
د	D	غ	Gh		
ذ	Dh	ف	F		
ر	R	ق	Q		
ز	Z	ك	K		

Short Vocal

Arab Alphabet	Roman Alphabet	Arabic Example	Transliteration
اَ	A	فَتَّاحَ	<i>fataḥa</i>
اِ	I	عَلِمَ	<i>'alima</i>
اُ	U	حَسُنَ	<i>ḥasuna</i>

Long Vocal

Arab Alphabet	Roman Alphabet	Arabic Example	Transliteration
اِي/اِيْ	Ā	رَضِيَ/قَامَ	<i>riḍā/qāma</i>
يِي	ī	قَرِيبَ	<i>qarīb</i>
وِي	Ū	مَجْلُوسَ	<i>julūs</i>

Diphthong

Arab Alphabet	Roman Alphabet	Arabic Example	Transliteration
أُو	Aw	قَوْمَ	<i>qawm</i>
يِي	Ay	رَيْبَ	<i>rayb</i>

Notes:

1. Consonant with shaddah (ّ) for instance سُلَّم is written as *sullam* (double letters).
2. The Arabic letter *hamzah* (ء) at the beginning of a word is transliterated into “a” not into “’a”. For instance أَكْبَرُ is written as *akbar* not *’akbar*, except in the middle of a term after a consonant. For example, مَرْأَةٌ is written as *mar’a*.
3. The Arabic script of *alif-lām qamariyyah* and *alif-lām shamsiyya* (ال) is written as “al” at the beginning of words. For instance الْمَجْلِسُ is written *al-majlis* and الرَّجُلُ is written *al-rajul*.
4. The Arabic letter *ta’ marbūṭa* (ة) is unwritten/invisible when it is located at the end of the words, such as سُورَةٌ is written as *sūra*. When located in the middle of a sentence is written as “t”, such as صَلَاةٌ is written *ṣalāt al-maghrib*.

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Concluding this series of acknowledgements, I hope this thesis will make a positive contribution to the philosophical-Sufi discourse of the Malay-Indonesian world, and that it may serve as part of my own effort to follow the path of goodness and blessing left by the two key figures in the *Tuhfat Sarandīb* manuscript—Shaykh Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī and Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maqāṣīrī. Āmīn

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Research Background

Islam places profound value on human life in general, and even more so on the lives of its adherents.¹ However, throughout Islamic history—including in the Malay-Indonesian Archipelago—violent conflicts have occurred between groups labeled as orthodox and heterodox.² These tensions often targeted followers of certain mystical doctrines broadly referred to as *wujūdiyyah*. The term itself is associated with the teachings of Ibn ‘Arabī (d.1240), frequently summarized under the expression *waḥdat al-wujūd* (the Oneness of Being), despite the fact that Ibn ‘Arabī never explicitly used this phrase in his writings. His articulation of the concept in Arabic is highly intricate and nuanced—so much that even native Arabic often struggles to derive clear meaning upon their first encounters with his works. A.A. Afifi (d.1969), an Egyptian contemporary scholar who wrote sophisticated commentary on *Fuṣuṣ al-Ḥikam* (the Bezels of Wisdom), once described the experience of reading Ibn ‘Arabī as encountering a book written in perfect Arabic, with every word individually intelligible, yet when composed into a sentence, yielding only ambiguity.³ This reflects the intellectual depth and complexity of his ideas. Nonetheless, Ibn ‘Arabī’s works continued to captivate generations of scholars, theologians, and mystics, sustaining vibrant debates well into the modern era.

In the context of Southeast Asia, the discourse on *wujūdiyyah* often centers on several prominent figures from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, most notably Ḥamzah Fanṣūrī (d. 933/1527)⁴, Shams al-Dīn al-Sumāṭrānī (d. 1630), Nūr

¹ Many verses in Quran literally prohibit Muslim to irritate or annihilate other people’s life foolishly see for instances Q.S 5:32, 4:29, 4:92, 4:93, 6:151,

² Oman Fathurrahman, “Sejarah Pengkafiran Dan Marginalisasi Paham Keagamaan Di Melayu Dan Jawa (Sebuah Telaah Sumber),” *Analisis: Jurnal Studi Keislaman* 11, no. 2 (2011): 462–69, <https://doi.org/10.24042/ajsk.v11i2.624>.

³ Muḥyi al-dīn Ibn ‘Arabī, *Fuṣuṣ al-Ḥikam*, ed. Abo el-Alaa Afifi, I (al-Zahrā, 1947), 21.

⁴ Claude Guillot and Ludvik Kalus, *Batu Nisan Hamzah Fansuri* (Departemen Kebudayaan dan Pariwisata, 2007), 4,

al-Dīn al-Rānīrī (d. 1658), and ‘Abd al-Ra‘ūf al-Sinkīlī (d. 1693).⁵ At the heart of the narrative lies the sharp theological conflict between al-Rānīrī and his predecessors, Fanṣūrī and al-Sumaṭrānī—a controversy that culminated in one of the most harrowing episodes in the Islamic history of the Malay-Indonesian Archipelago. Upon receiving the patronage of Sultan Iskandar Thānī, al-Rānīrī issued a fatwā declaring the doctrines of *Martabat Tujuh* (the Seven Stages of Being)—closely linked to Shams al-Dīn—as heretical. Those who refused to recant were reportedly sentenced to be burned alive.⁶ This uncompromising stance compelled ‘Abd al-Ra‘ūf al-Sinkīlī to oppose al-Rānīrī’s position, referring to the more conciliatory views of his own shaykh, who criticized the extreme nature of the fatwā. For decades thereafter, the teachings of Fanṣūrī and al-Sumaṭrānī were dismissed as heretical without critical reassessment—until the emergence of Sayyid Muḥammad Naqīb al-Aṭṭās, whose scholarship reopened the question and redefined the interpretive terrain of *wujūdiyyah* in the region.

Subsequently, Syed Muḥammad Naqīb al-Attas was the first modern scholar—by his own claim in his master thesis—to re-examine the bitter intellectual conflict between Ḥamzah Fanṣūrī and Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī. Both his M.A. thesis and later dissertation focused on theological and mystical currents in the Malay-Indonesian world, matters that will be analysed in the following section. What deserves emphasis here is al-Attas’s evolving appraisal of Rānīrī’s credentials. In his initial thesis he tended to dismiss Rānīrī’s position vis-à-vis his predecessors, whereas in the commentary to *Hujjat al-Ṣiddīq* he expressed considerable admiration for Rānīrī’s intellectual stature. This ambivalence underscores how Rānīrī’s status, influence, and teachings remain complex. Leaving aside the polemical dimension that fuelled the Acehese tragedy, Rānīrī possessed substantial scholarly authority. He embodied the trans-regional character of the early-modern Islamic intellectual network and, under royal patronage, sought to

http://pustaka.kebudayaan.kemdikbud.go.id/index.php?p=show_detail&id=11689&keywords=hamzah.

⁵ A.H. Johns, “Reflections on the Mysticism of Shams Al-Dīn al-Sumaṭrānī (1550?-1630),” *Studia Islamika* 18, no. 2 (2011): 227.

⁶ Ahmad Daudy, *Syeikh Nuruddin Ar-Raniri: Sejarah, Karya, dan Sanggahan terhadap Wujudiyyah di Aceh* (Bulan Bintang, 1978), 16.

revitalise Aceh's religious landscape through rigorous theological intervention. A prolific writer, he could articulate sophisticated ideas in the local Malay tongue, which enhanced the circulation of his works well beyond the Aceh Sultanate. One of the most tangible traces of his influence outside the kingdom is the manuscript *Tuhfat Sarandīb*.

Sarandīb and *Saylān* were the names given by medieval Arab voyagers and geographers to the island that bridges South and Southeast Asia—modern-day Sri Lanka.⁷ The English terms Serendip, serendipity, and Ceylon are direct offshoots of these Arabic lexicons.⁸ Within a century of the Prophet's demise, Arab sailors had come to dominate the sea-lanes stretching from the Mediterranean to the Indian Ocean.⁹ Owing to its strategic position at the crossroads of East–West commerce, the island features prominently in Arabic literature, often in connection with Adam's Peak,¹⁰ and is celebrated in *Alf Laylah wa-Laylah* (the Thousand and One Nights) as the “Island of Gems.”¹¹ Although the adventures of Sindbād are legendary, the underlying Arab-*Sarandīb* nexus—especially during the reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd (r.786–809)—rests on firm historical foundations.¹² By the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries *Sarandīb* had passed under various Muslim and European powers. Three great Islamic empires—the Ottoman (Sunni), Safavid (Shī'ī), and Mughal—flourished concurrently, while Portuguese and later Dutch

⁷ Rohitha Dasanayaka, *Arabs in Serandib: Trade Relations Between Sri Lanka and West Asia from Ancient Time to 15th Century A.D. : Historical and Archaeological Survey* (S. Godage & Brothers (Pvt) Limited, 2018), 15.

⁸ “Serendib | Sri Lanka, Map, & History | Britannica,” October 6, 2024, <https://www.britannica.com/place/Serendib>.

⁹ Dasanayaka, *Arabs in Serandib*, 18. According to Wormser, there are three phases of Islamization process in the local adoption, namely (1) early contact which extended from the seventh century to sixteenth century, (2) the localization phase which massive conversions to Islam occurred from the the sixteenth to the nineteenth century, and (3) the reform phase which started in the late nineteenth century to this day. While concerning the trajectory of Islamization, he divided it into two main straits. First, Islam spread through the continental Silk Road, from Central Asia to China. Second, it spread through the maritime Silk Road from South Asia to Southeast Asia and South China. Paul Wormser, “The Spread of Islam in Asia through Trade and Sufism (Ninth–Nineteenth Centuries),” in *Routledge Handbook of Religions in Asia* (Routledge, 2014), 111–12.

¹⁰ Dasanayaka, *Arabs in Serandib*, 16, 217, 219, 300.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 15.

¹² M. A. M Shukri, “Arab Contact with Sri Lanka – Sindbad and Ibn Batuta | Silk Roads Programme,” paper presented at UNESCO Maritime Silk Road Expedition, Goa Conference, Goa, Silk Roads Programme, 1990, 12, <https://en.unesco.org/silkroad/knowledge-bank/arab-contact-sri-lanka-sindbad-and-ibn-batuta>; Dasanayaka, *Arabs in Serandib*, 114–34.

merchants vied for control of the same trade routes.¹³ According to Azra, after the Dutch consolidated their grip on the East Indies, they annexed Ceylon and converted it into a place of exile for Malay-Indonesian rebels, reserving the Cape of Good Hope for more intransigent offenders.¹⁴ It was during this period, in the late seventeenth century, that *Tuḥfat Sarandīb* was rendered into Arabic—apparently by one of Rānīrī’s disciples, Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maqāṣīrī, while he himself was confined to the island by Dutch authorities. Although the precise role of Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī in *Sarandīb* remains unclear, several indications—most notably from the Arabic introduction composed by the translator of *Tuḥfat Sarandīb* and reinforced by the efforts of Sulaiman Ibrahim—suggest that Rānīrī’s influence had indeed reached the island. This is not an implausible proposition, considering the Aceh Sultanate’s far-reaching authority in the seventeenth century, which extended beyond the borders of Aceh and Sumatra into other parts of the Indian Ocean world. More significantly, the manuscript of *Tuḥfat Sarandīb* remained largely unknown in Rānīrī’s textual corpus until its emergence during a short course conducted by Oman Fathurahman in 2012.¹⁵ Subsequently, in 2015, Sulaiman Ibrahim published an edited version of the manuscript along with its Indonesian translation. Yet, upon careful examination of Ibrahim’s publication, it becomes apparent that his editorial work requires further scrutiny. Numerous inaccuracies and misinterpretations are found, both in his textual editing and analysis. One fundamental error appears early on: he confidently attributes the manuscript to Rānīrī and claims that it discusses the doctrine of *Martabat Tujuh*. This is a serious misjudgment for anyone familiar with the broader context of *wujūdiyyah* discourse in the Archipelago. Rānīrī, in fact, is the very scholar who issued a decisive *fatwā* against the doctrine of *Martabat Tujuh*, which had been associated with Shams al-Dīn al-Sumatrā’ī and his followers—resulting in the well-known conflict mentioned earlier. Thus, a more

¹³ John Holt, “Muslim Identities: An Introduction,” in *The Sri Lanka Reader: History, Culture, Politics* (Duke University Press, 2011), 219; Patricia Risso, *Merchants and Faith: Muslim Commerce and Culture in the Indian Ocean* (Westview press, 1995), 68.

¹⁴ Azyumardi Azra, *The Origins of Islamic Reformism in Southeast Asia: Networks of Malay-Indonesian and Middle Eastern “Ulamā” in The Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, Asian Studies Association of Australia (Allen & Unwin University of Hawai’i press, 2004), 98.

¹⁵ Sulaiman Ibrahim, “Tuḥfat Sarandīb Tadhkirat Li Al-Muḥib Karya Al-Raniri: Pemikiran Teologis Ulama Melayu Di Tanah Saylan,” *Manuskripta* 5, no. 1 (2015): 3, <https://doi.org/10.33656/manuskripta.v5i1.35>.

rigorous investigation is necessary to determine both the authorship and the thematic content of *Tuhfat Sarandīb*.

Accordingly, this thesis revisits *Tuhfat Sarandīb* in order to clarify its central ideas and determine how, and to what extent, they may be attributed to Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī. The study is organized into five chapters, including an introduction and a conclusion. Following the introductory chapter, Chapter Two situates the manuscript within its intellectual and historical setting. It comprises three sections: (1) an outline of the principal doctrines of *wujūdiyyah*, highlighting key differences between the formulations of Ibn ‘Arabī and those of Rānīrī; (2) an analysis of the political and theological landscape of seventeenth-century Aceh, emphasising how patronage shaped the reception—and contention—of *wujūdiyyah* teachings; and (3) an exploration of *Sarandīb*’s strategic importance and the pivotal role of Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maqāṣīrī, which together raise fresh questions about the authorship of the manuscript and illuminate Indo-Malay intellectual exchanges across the Indian Ocean. Chapter Three turns to issues of authorship and transmission, providing a preliminary thematic analysis that traces the manuscript’s relationship to Rānīrī’s extant works. Chapter Four offers a critical, intertextual reading of *Tuhfat Sarandīb* alongside key Rānīrī texts—particularly *Hujjat al-Ṣiddīq li-Daf‘ al-Zindīq*, *Mā’ al-Ḥayāt li-Ahli al-Mamāt*, and *Ḥall al-Zill*—and, in doing so, re-examines al-Attas’s classification of Rānīrī within a *wujūdiyyah* school that affirms the *ḥaqīqī* (real) aspect of the cosmos. To facilitate further research, a critical edition of *Tuhfat Sarandīb* is appended, accompanied by a diplomatic transliteration and facsimile.

1.2. Literature Review

A thorough engagement with Rānīrī’s corpus demands, first, a clear grasp of Islamic—specifically mystical—currents in the Malay-Indonesian Archipelago during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Azyumardi Azra observes that seventeenth-century Islam in the region was marked by the ascendancy of *wujūdiyyah*-oriented mysticism, dominating scholarly and popular debates both

inside and beyond Aceh.¹⁶ This prominence was largely the result of a cohort of scholar-mystics who combined metaphysical speculation with legal and devotional guidance. Some enjoyed direct sultanate patronage, which amplified the reach and authority of their teachings. Three figures in particular stand out—Ḥamzah Fanṣūrī (d. 933/1527), Shams al-Dīn al-Sumatrānī (d. 1630), and Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī (d. 1658). A fourth, ‘Abd al-Ra‘ūf al-Sinkīlī (d. 1693), represents a later phase of the same tradition and did not participate directly in the earlier controversies. Although all four drew on the metaphysics of Ibn ‘Arabī, their interpretations diverged sharply, culminating in the violent conflict that unfolded during Rānīrī’s tenure at the Acehese court.¹⁷

Over the past several decades, scholars have investigated Rānīrī’s thought, his public role, and the accusations he levelled against his predecessors. Yet most studies remain narrowly focused on his polemics over *wujūdiyyah*; research that moves beyond this controversy is comparatively scarce. One notable exception is Azyumardi Azra, who casts Rānīrī as a pioneer of Islamic-mystical reform—or “neo-Sufism”—in the early modern Archipelago.¹⁸ The majority of other works, however, examine Rānīrī through the lens of his treatises or his condemnation of allegedly heretical doctrines. Because this thesis centres on specific manuscripts attributed to Rānīrī, particular attention must be paid to studies concerned with individual texts. Pivotal in this regard is the groundbreaking thesis of Syed Muḥammad Naqīb al-Attas (1962), which provocatively re-evaluated Rānīrī’s refutation of Ḥamzah Fanṣūrī’s *wujūdiyyah* by closely comparing their respective arguments and texts. Al-Attas later supplemented this research with a romanised Malay edition and English translation of *Hujjat al-Ṣiddīq li-Daf‘ al-Zindīq*. In that edition he dismissed Rānīrī’s denunciation as “not to the point and falsely presented,” contending that Rānīrī exploited weaker opponents at court to secure patronage.¹⁹ Yet al-Attas’s stance evolved. In a subsequent publication he suggested, more diplomatically, that “Rānīrī is saying the same thing as what

¹⁶ Azra, *The Origins of Islamic Reformism in Southeast Asia*, 54.

¹⁷ Johns, “Reflections on the Mysticism of Shams Al-Dīn al-Sumatrānī (1550?-1630),” 231.

¹⁸ Azra, *The Origins of Islamic Reformism in Southeast Asia*, 66.

¹⁹ Al-Attas, “Raniri and the Wujudiyyah of 17th Century Aceh,” 32–33.

Ḥamzah has more clearly said.”²⁰ His later commentary on *Hujjat al-Ṣiddīq* goes further, praising Rānīrī for “separating the false from the true ... for he was gifted with wisdom and adorned with authentic knowledge.”²¹ This progression can be perplexing: it appears to imply that al-Attas ultimately viewed the teachings of Fanṣūrī and Shams al-Dīn as doctrinally deficient, a position that contradicts his earlier defence. Nonetheless, al-Attas’s work remains indispensable, not least because it engages directly with complete, critically edited texts and thus continues to frame scholarly debate on Rānīrī.

Concerning Rānīrī’s literary output, Aḥmad Daudy identified and catalogued no fewer than thirty works attributed to him.²² Several of these have been published and received scholarly attention through theses and academic journals, including *Hujjat al-Ṣiddīq li-Daf‘ al-Zindīq*, *Tibyān fī Ma‘rifat al-Adyān*,²³ *Asrār al-Insān fī Ma‘rifat al-Rūḥ wa al-Raḥmān*,²⁴ and *Hidāyat al-Ḥabīb fī al-Targhīb wa al-Tarhīb*.²⁵ Others have been edited and published as critical editions of manuscripts, such as *Durrat al-Farā‘id*, *Ḥall al-Zill*, *Laṭā‘if al-Asrār*, and *Akḥbār al-Ākhirah fī Aḥwāl al-Qiyāmah*. In recent decades, a growing number of scholars and national preservation efforts—particularly through institutions like the National Library of Indonesia—have focused on cataloguing and publishing Southeast Asian Islamic manuscripts. Some of these initiatives remain relatively unknown due to limited commercial circulation. Beyond Daudy’s comprehensive list, Sulaiman Ibrahim uncovered a previously unlisted manuscript attributed to Rānīrī, which had not been mentioned in earlier bibliographies.²⁶ Unlike his other

²⁰ Syed Muhammad Naguib Al-Attas, “The Mysticism of Ḥamzah Fansūrī.” (SOAS University of London, 1966), 110, <https://eprints.soas.ac.uk/id/eprint/29629>.

²¹ Syed Muhammad Naquib; Al-Attas, *A Commentary On The Hujjat Al-Siddiq Of Nur Al-Din Al-Raniri* (Ministry Of Culture Malaysia, 1986), xiii, Kuala Lumpur.

²² Daudy, *Syeikh Nuruddin Ar-Raniri: Sejarah, Karya, dan Sanggahan terhadap Wujudiyyah di Aceh*, 13–26; Ahmad Daudy, *Allah Dan Manusia Dalam Konsepsi Syeikh Nuruddin Ar-Raniry*, Ed. 2 (Bulan Bintang, 2002), 46–56.

²³ Alef Theria Wasim, “Tibyan Fi Ma‘rifat Al Adyan (Suntingan Teks, Karya Intelektual Muslim, Dan Karya Sejarah Agama Agama Abad Ke-17)” (UNIVERSITAS ISLAM NEGERI SUNAN KALIJAGA, 1996), <https://digilib.uin-suka.ac.id/id/eprint/14557/>.

²⁴ Tudjimah, *Asrār al-insān fī ma‘rifat al-rūḥ wa ‘l-Raḥmān* (Penerbitan Universitas, 1961).

²⁵ Oman Fathurahman, “The Roots of the Writing Tradition of Ḥadīth Works in Nusantara: Hidāyat al-Ḥabīb by Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī,” *Studia Islamika* 19, no. 1 (2012): 1, <https://doi.org/10.15408/sdi.v19i1.369>.

²⁶ Ibrahim, “Tuḥfat Sarandib Tadhkirat Li Al-Muḥib Karya Al-Raniri.”

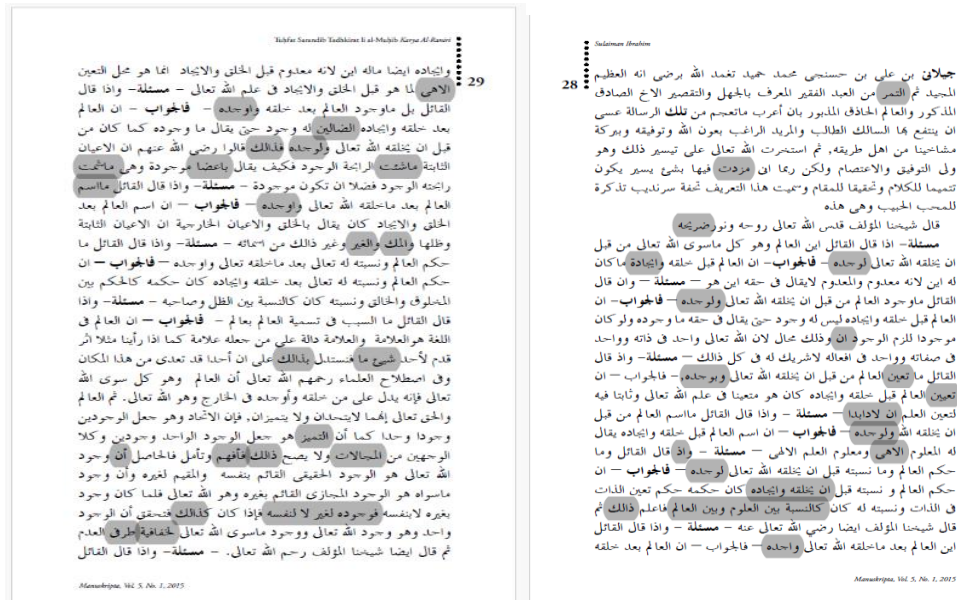
works, which are typically named after the core theological or mystical concepts they explore, this manuscript is entitled *Tuhfat Sarandīb* (*The Gift to Sarandīb*) bearing the name of a geographical location situated between his homeland and the site of his exile. The manuscript's title alone suggests a unique purpose and context, distinguishing it from the rest of Rānīrī's corpus.

However, the nature of this title (*Tuhfat Sarandīb*) presents at least two critical problems. First, unlike other regions *below the winds* (*juz' al-rīḥ*), which Rānīrī explicitly mentions in his works—such as Kedah, Banten, Patani, Makassar, Johor, and Pahang—there is no extant textual or historical evidence indicating that he ever acknowledged or addressed the island of *Sarandīb* specifically, let alone designated it as the title of a treatise. Second, the intellectual and geographical relevance of *Sarandīb* appears more closely associated with the legacy of al-Maqāṣīrī. Having spent nearly a decade in exile on the island, he composed several treatises whose titles clearly reflect their Sri Lankan context, such as *Tuhfat Saylāniyyah*, *al-Barakāt al-Saylāniyyah*, *al-Manḥah al-Saylāniyyah*, and others—thus suggesting a more plausible authorship or influence. Nonetheless, *Tuhfat Sarandīb* remains absent from the known bibliographies of both Rānīrī and al-Maqāṣīrī. Even Ricci's comprehensive study of Sri Lankan Malays—which draws upon approximately 130 documented items and confirms the presence and activity of al-Maqāṣīrī—does not register this manuscript, leaving its attribution in a state of ambiguity and requiring further critical investigation.²⁷

As the only extant study on *Tuhfat Sarandīb*, Sulaiman Ibrahim published his work in an Indonesian journal under the title "*Tuhfat Sarandib Tadhkirat li al-Muḥibb Karya Al-Rānīrī: Pemikiran Teologis Ulama Melayu di Tanah Saylan*" (*Tuhfat Sarandīb Tadhkirat li al-Muḥibb* by Al-Rānīrī: The Theological Thought of Malay Scholar in the land of *Saylan*.) In the abstract, he unequivocally asserts that the manuscript belongs to al-Rānīrī and describes it as addressing "the *Martabat Tujuh* doctrines, which discuss the nature of the relationship between man and God, and how human beings should be at peace with nature." At this point,

²⁷ Ronit Ricci, *Banishment and Belonging: Exile and Diaspora in Sarandib, Lanka and Ceylon, Asian Connections* (Cambridge University Press, 2019), 16.

however, it becomes necessary to underscore that there is a significant issue with his analysis. Upon a closer examination of his article, it becomes evident that many aspects of the study lack the methodological and analytical rigor required of a critical edition. His conclusions seem to rest on premature assumptions—particularly regarding the authorship and the content’s doctrinal orientation—without sufficiently engaging with the theological and historical complexities that surround both the *Martabat Tujuh* discourse and Rānīrī’s known positions. This lack of critical scrutiny calls into question the accuracy and academic reliability of Ibrahim’s edition, especially when measured against the standards of manuscript philology and theological textual criticism.



The first two pages of Ibrahim’s edited text already reveal several philological issues. Numerous words, some of which are highlighted with grey marks, bear uncertain references in Arabic—if not entirely obscure in meaning. These errors, while perhaps minor in some cases, were largely avoidable for scholars who are well-acquainted with Arabic language and literature. One might argue that Ibrahim deliberately reproduced the script of the manuscript to preserve its original form. While this may serve as one justification for the inaccuracies, it also constitutes a valid reason to revisit and revise the work critically. Despite these shortcomings, I remain deeply indebted to Ibrahim’s effort in bringing this manuscript to scholarly attention. His pioneering attempt—particularly in

identifying and cataloguing the philological features of the manuscript—has laid essential groundwork for future research. The value of his work lies not in its final conclusions but in the opportunity offered for further exploration and refinement of both the text and its theological context. It is precisely on this basis that this thesis seeks to continue and improve upon Ibrahim’s initial contribution by offering a more rigorous philological and intertextual examination of *Tuḥfat Sarandīb*.

1.3. Research Questions

Building upon the foundations of previous scholarship, this study formulates its central research questions by focusing on *Tuḥfat Sarandīb* surrounding its authorship, textual features, theological content, and its correlation with the works of Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī and Yūsuf al-Maqāṣīrī. The primary question of the thesis is:

How does *Tuḥfat Sarandīb*, through its authorship, textual features, and theological content, reflect and respond to the contestations surrounding *wujūdiyyah* in the seventeenth-century Indian Ocean Islamic intellectual landscape, particularly in relation to the works of Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī and Yūsuf al-Maqāṣīrī?

To analyze each topic specifically, this question is divided into some secondary questions as follow:

1. How is the intellectual and political landscape in seventeenth-century *Sarandīb* and its surrounding regions?
2. Who authored *Tuḥfat Sarandīb*, and what internal and external evidence supports this attribution?
3. What are the key textual and rhetorical features of *Tuḥfat Sarandīb* that reflect its theological doctrines?
4. How does *Tuḥfat Sarandīb* conceptualize its theological arguments and in what ways do its arguments challenge the prevailing doctrines of *wujūdiyyah* at time?

1.4. Research Limitations and Expected Results

Given the constraints of time and accessibility, this thesis deliberately defines its scope through the following limitations:

1. It is based solely on accessible manuscripts of *Tuḥfat Sarandīb*, excluding copies that remain unattainable.
2. It focuses exclusively on the seventeenth-century *wujūdiyyah* discourse in South and Southeast Asia, while avoiding to delve deeply in other contextual regions that relate to either al-Rānīrī's or al-Maqāṣīrī's intellectual traces.
3. It adopts an intellectual-historical approach and textual-criticism to analyze the text of *Tuḥfat Sarandīb*, thereby excluding conceptual analyses rooted in cultural, linguistic or other frameworks.

In light of these limitations, this thesis aims to achieve the following outcomes:

1. The production of a critical edition, transliteration, and commentary on *Tuḥfat Sarandīb* (TS).
2. A reliable study of philological aspect of TS including its authorship, provenance, and textual or rhetorical features that reflects *wujūdiyyah* discourse of the time.
3. Comprehensive analysis of the theological doctrines in TS, particularly their significance within the *wujūdiyyah* discourse of the seventeenth-century South and Southeast Asian intellectual transmission as exemplified primarily in the works of Rānīrī and Maqāṣīrī.

1.5. Methods

As qualitative research, this thesis approaches *Tuḥfat Sarandīb* through three complementary conceptual frameworks: philology, Islamic intellectual history, and theological–mystical analysis. Philological inquiry assumes that manuscripts preserve the intellectual, affective, and cultural worlds of figures and communities

in the past. In textual scholarship, four editorial formats are commonly distinguished, each defined by its methodology and purpose.

1. Facsimile edition: a photographic reproduction—whether on microfilm or in digital form—that documents the manuscript exactly as it survives.
2. Diplomatic edition: a literal transcription that follows the manuscript's orthography and layout line by line, without normalising scribal peculiarities.
3. Eclectic edition: a reconciled text produced from several copies of roughly equal value, often without reconstructing their stemmatic relationships.
4. Critical edition: an emended text that strives to establish the most authoritative reading, weighing variant witnesses and correcting passages that conflict with established linguistic or doctrinal norms.

Unlike the first three formats, the critical edition does not simply reproduce the text *as is*; it intervenes—where warranted—to resolve contradictions, rectify scribal errors, and restore coherence in light of established grammatical, philological, and theological principles.²⁸

It is noteworthy that, within the context of Indonesian manuscript traditions, autograph versions—i.e., manuscripts written in the author's own hand—are exceedingly rare in the present day. Most extant copies were reproduced by scribes, often carelessly or without critical attention.²⁹ In the case of *Tuhfat Sarandīb*, the manuscript available to me during the composition of this thesis is the only known surviving copy preserved in the Digital Library of the Iranian Parliament (Majles Library) and catalogued under MS number 10-26404. Given the evident transcriptional deficiencies in Sulaiman Ibrahim's edition, this manuscript may be considered a *codex unicus* of *Tuhfat Sarandīb*. According to Prof. Dr. Sulastin Sutrisno, a *codex unicus* leaves only two viable editorial approaches: the diplomatic/facsimile edition and the standard edition.³⁰ For the purposes of this

²⁸ Oman Fathurahman, *Filologi dan Islam Indonesia* (Puslitbang Lektur Keagamaan, Badan Litbang dan Diklat, Kementerian Agama, 2010), 20–22.

²⁹ Ibid., 35.

³⁰ Siti Baroroh Baried et al., *Pengantar Teori Filologi* (Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, 1985), 69.

study, I have produced a standard edition, applying critical scrutiny to the manuscript based on three principles: (1) semantic coherence, (2) consistency in orthography, and (3) grammatical accuracy.³¹ These criteria allow for a more reliable version suitable for academic engagement.

Following this editorial work, the thesis interprets the text within the frameworks of Islamic intellectual history and theological-mystical discourse. These analytical approaches are informed primarily by the works of Azyumardi Azra on intellectual history, and the doctrines of Ibn ‘Arabī and Syed Muhammad Naquib al-Attas on mysticism and theology.

³¹ Fathurahman, *Filologi dan Islam Indonesia*, 35.

CHAPTER II

THE INTELLECTUAL AND POLITICAL LANDSCAPE OF SEVENTEENTH CENTURY *SARANDĪB*: *WUJŪDIYYAH*, RELIGIOUS AUTHORITY, AND POLITICAL POWER

2.1. Chapter Introduction

The discussion of God and the cosmos in Islam—both ontologically and epistemologically—was initially the domain of theology (*‘ilm al-kalām*) and philosophy (*falsafa*).³² The emergence of Ibn ‘Arabī’s (562–638/1165–1240) teachings, as Chittick argues, did not establish a new doctrine per se but rather marked the significant entrance of mysticism into an already established intellectual tradition. This assertion appears reasonable, considering that later scholars engaging in this discourse have often been labeled with terms such as pantheism, panentheism, existential monism, or esoteric monism.³³

In contrast, ‘Afīfī claimed that the discourse of *wujūdiyya* had never been systematically formulated as a theoretical framework prior to Ibn ‘Arabī.³⁴ Still, his teachings remain difficult to fully encapsulate. For example, Schimmel observes parallels between his thought and the system of Plotinus, as well as the doctrines of *Śaṅkara* in the *Upaniṣads*.³⁵ One certainty about Ibn ‘Arabī’s intellectual trajectory is that it drew from, and was enriched by, a wide range of civilizations and traditions—including ancient Greek Neoplatonism, the *Epistles* of the *Ikhwān al-*

³² The questions of God’s Essence, Existence, and Attributes were main objectives in both *Kalām* and Philosophy. One of quranic verses explicitly questioning God’s quiddity (*māhiyya*), “What is the Lord and the Cherisher of the World?” (QS. 26:23). A prominent theologian, Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī elaborate this verse sufficiently in his Quranic exegesis *Mafātīh al-Ghayb*. see Abu ‘Abdillāh Muhammad Ibn ‘Umar Al-Rāzī, *Tafsīr Mafātīh Al-Ghayb* (Dār Ihya’ al-Turāth al-‘Arabī, 1420), 24/498-500; William C. Chittick, “The Quran and Sufism,” in *The Study Quran: A New Translation and Commentary*, Reprint edition, III (HarperOne, 2017), 1737.

³³ W. Chittick, “Waḥdat Al-Shuhūd,” in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam: An Anthology in Arabic Translation Online* (Brill, 2022), https://doi.org/10.1163/2772-7548_eiao_SIM_A7819.

³⁴ Abo el-Alaa Afīfī, *al-Taṣāwwuf: al-Tharwa al-Rūhiyya fī al-Islām* (Hindawi, 2020), 161.

³⁵ Annemarie Schimmel, *Mystical Dimensions of Islam* (University of North Carolina Press, 2011), 5.

Ṣafā', the ideas of al-Ḥallāj, scholastic and peripatetic theology, Jewish philosophy, and Ismā'īlī thought.³⁶ This eclectic nature has led some scholars to interpret—or misinterpret—his teachings as heretical or as diverging from orthodox Islamic thought.

The recurring conflict between so-called orthodox and heterodox groups throughout Islamic history—especially following the Prophet's demise—warrants careful scrutiny, as such divisions were frequently employed to justify the persecution of religious views deemed incompatible with, or oppositional to, prevailing political authorities. As Asad has argued, religious orthodoxy is often closely tied to political power.³⁷ This dynamic was already evident during the lifetime of Ibn 'Arabī, who consistently maintained relationships with royal patrons across various regions.³⁸ In the Acehnese context, all prominent disputants in theological debates held the position of muftī within the Aceh Sultanate, with the notable exception of Ḥamzah Fanṣūrī, who allegedly distanced himself from the court.³⁹ In fact, the most severe acts of persecution became possible only when al-Rānīrī gained ascendancy within the sultanate and enjoyed full royal patronage. His privileged status enabled him to disseminate his works widely and extend his influence beyond the borders of Aceh.

The fact that the manuscript *Tuḥfat Sarandīb* acknowledges al-Rānīrī's name clearly demonstrates the breadth and depth of his influence, especially considering that *Sarandīb* (modern-day Sri Lanka) in the seventeenth century was a culturally and intellectually isolated island from the broader Islamic world.⁴⁰ This

³⁶ Ibn 'Arabī, *Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam*, I, 7; Abo El-Alaa Afīfī, *The Mystical Philosophy of Muḥyid Dīn Ibn 'Arabī* (Cambridge University Press, 1939), 178–91.

³⁷ Talal Asad, "The Idea of an Anthropology of Islam," *Qui Parle* 17, no. 2 (2009): 21.

³⁸ Ibn Arabi was raised in a court environment from the very beginning. His father was employed in government service, and Ibn Arabi even employed as secretary by the Governor of Seville. He was in good relations with Sultan of Konya, Kay Ka'us (1210-19), and a companion of al-Malik al-Zahir (1186-1218), ruler of Aleppo. He was even a teacher of the Ayyubid ruler in Damascus, Muzaffar al-Din (d. 1238) William C. Chittick, *Ibn 'Arabi: Heir to the Prophets*, Makers of the Muslim World (Oneworld, 2005), 4–6.

³⁹ Some excerpts of Fanṣūrī's poetries urge his followers to distance themselves from kings, rulers and the wealthy. He literally uttered: *Jikalau bersahabat dengan orang kaya # Akhirnya engkau jadi binasa* and *Aho segala kamu yang menjadi faqir # Jangan bersahabat dengan raja dan amir*. Abdul Hadi W.M and Lesek K.A., eds., *Hamzah Fansuri penyair Sufi Aceh* (Lotkalla, 1984), 19–20.

⁴⁰ Despite the early arrival of Muslims and the massive Islamization of neighboring regions such as India and the Maldives, Islamic proselytization in Sri Lanka appears not to have progressed in a

isolation likely contributed to the Dutch colonial administration's decision to designate it as one of their key sites of exile during their occupation of the archipelago⁴¹ where the prominent mystic and scholar Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maqāṣirī was exiled for almost a decade.

In light of this, the present chapter mainly contends that although *Tuhfat Sarandīb* is previously understudied, it should be recontextualized as one of key theological treatises within the broader seventeenth-century *wujūdiyyah* discourses in the Indo-Malay and South Asian world. It reflects not only Rānirī's theological teachings but also the transregional Islamic intellectual exchange particularly through the figure of Yūsuf al-Maqāṣirī.

2.2. *Wujūdiyyah* in the Islamic Intellectual Tradition

2.2.1. Defining *Wujūdiyyah*: Its Theological and Conceptual Foundations

*Glory be to God who created things, being Himself their essence.*⁴²

This brief statement encapsulates Ibn 'Arabī's teachings succinctly,⁴³ as it alludes to one of his most influential doctrines: the Oneness of Being, or the Unity

similar manner. Additionally, during the first three centuries of foreign rulings precisely Portuguese and Dutch, Muslims in Ceylon had been culturally isolated from the Muslim world. They A.M.A Azeez, "The Muslim Tradition in Education (From Sixteenth Century to The Present Day)," in *Education in Ceylon: A Centenary Volume*, VII (Ministry of Education and Cultural Affairs, 1969), 1155–57, <https://azeezfoundation.com/articles-speeches/education/the-muslim-philosophy-of-education/>; T. B. H. Abeyasinghe, "Muslims in Sri Lanka in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," in *Muslims of Sri Lanka: Avenues to Antiquity*, ed. M. A. M Shukri (Jamiah Naleemia Inst., 1986), 133, <https://archive.org/details/muslims-of-sri-lanka-avenues-to-antiquity-m.-a.-m.-shukri>.

⁴¹ Azra, *The Origins of Islamic Reformism in Southeast Asia*, 98.

⁴² Ibn 'Arabī, *Fuṣūṣ al-Hikam*, I, 25; Afīfī, *The Mystical Philosophy of Muḥyid Dīn Ibn 'Arabī*, 54; Abdul Aziz Dahlan, *Penilaian teologis atas Paham Waḥdat-al Wujūd (Kesatuan Wujud) Tuhan-Alam-Manusia dalam Tasawuf Syamsuddin Sumatrani* (IAIN-IB Press, 1999), 43. Its literal statement is:

سبحان من خلق الأشياء وهو عينها

⁴³ Another parallel statements see Ibn 'Arabī, *Fuṣūṣ al-Hikam*, I, 73; Muḥyi al-dīn Ibn 'Arabī, *Al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyyah*, 'Ushmān Yāhyā, IV (Al-Hay'ah al-Miṣriyyah al-'Ammah li al-Kuttāb, 1985), 224; Dahlan, *Penilaian teologis atas Paham Waḥdat-al Wujūd (Kesatuan Wujud) Tuhan-Alam-Manusia dalam Tasawuf Syamsuddin Sumatrani*, 36.

[73] وإن كان الكمال وطيل بل هو لا ...

فما في الوجود إلا الله والي عز وجل لا اله الا الله [224]

of Existence (*waḥdat al-wujūd*).⁴⁴ Although these specific terms did not originate with the Shaykh himself,⁴⁵ his deliberate use of the word *wujūd*—rather than *mawjūd*—is particularly noteworthy, as the two carry distinct philosophical implications.⁴⁶ To grasp the complexity of *wujūd* in Ibn ‘Arabī’s thought, one must remain constantly aware of the distinction between the mental and external realms. Afīfī, for instance, asserts that in Ibn ‘Arabī’s writings, the statements “The Reality (external Being) is one and unified” and “Existence (as a mental concept) is one and unified” refer to the same underlying truth.⁴⁷ Building on this, Schimmel explains that *waḥdat al-wujūd* is not merely the unity of being, but also the unity of the process of existentialization and the perception of that process. Nonetheless, she notes that *waḥdat al-wujūd* is sometimes used interchangeably with *waḥdat al-shuhūd*,⁴⁸ though other scholars draw a clear distinction between the two.⁴⁹ Ultimately, she concludes that *wujūd* does not only signify Being or existence, but also “finding,” suggesting a more dynamic articulation: that regardless of the diversity of spiritual paths, they all converge toward a single, unified end—namely, God Himself.⁵⁰

⁴⁴ According to Chittick the most influential teachings of the Great Master can be divided into three sub themes namely, the Oneness of Being, the Perfect Man, and the Five Divine Presence. see William C. Chittick, “The Five Divine Presences: From Al-Qūnawī To Al-Qayari,” *The Muslim World* 72, no. 2 (1982): 107, <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1478-1913.1982.tb03238.x>.

⁴⁵ Chittick, “Waḥdat Al-Shuhūd.”

⁴⁶ In Arabic, the word *wujūd* is included in *ism maṣḍar* (nominal source), while *mawjūd* is included in *ism maf‘ūl*. The most distinct feature between them is the later intrinsically envisages the existence of others namely, *fā’il* (subject) which is *wājid* and *fi’il* (action) which is *wujūd* or *ijād*. In other words, it needs other aspect to be existed. While the former needs nothing to exist since it is the source of all words (*maṣḍar al-kalimāt*). Therefore, from this point of view, it is not that appropriate to refer to God with the term *mawjūd*. However, it occasionally employed to God in terms He who possess true existence or Being, in such a case, it normally translated as the Existent Being. see William C. Chittick, *The Sufi Path of Knowledge: Ibn al-‘Arabī’s Metaphysics of Imagination* (State university of New York press, 1989), 81.

⁴⁷ Afīfī, *The Mystical Philosophy of Muhyid Dīn Ibn ‘Arabī*, 4.

⁴⁸ Schimmel, *Mystical Dimensions of Islam*, 267.

⁴⁹ Firstly, the two concepts are essentially distinct, Al-Attas and Afīfī asserted that the identification *wahdat al-wujud* with *wahdat al-shuhud* is clearly erroneous. Al-Attas, *A Commentary On The Hujjat Al-Siddiq Of Nur Al-Din Al-Raniri*, 458; Afīfī, *al-Taṣāwwuf: al-Tharwa al-Rūhiyya fī al-Islām*, 159–60. However, Afīfī and Daudy asserted that Ibn ‘Arabī contended both *wahdat al-wujud* and *wahdat al-shuhud* in his works which complicates the readers. Moreover, he argued that all utterances from Sufis in third and fourth century Hījri such as Yazīd al-Buṣṭāmī, Junayd al-Baghdādī, and al-Shiblī were included to *wahdat al-shuhūd*, instead of *wahdat al-wujūd*. It is a spiritual state encountered exclusively to Sufi in their spiritual path to God which juxtaposed with other terms namely, *fanā*, *al-wajd*, *al-jadhb*, *al-dhawq*, *al-sharāb*, *al-ghayba*, *al-sakr*, and *al-hāl*. See Ibid., 161, 156, and 249. For additional readings in history of both expressions see Chittick, “Waḥdat Al-Shuhūd.”

⁵⁰ Schimmel, *Mystical Dimensions of Islam*, 267–68; Chittick, “Waḥdat Al-Shuhūd.”

2.2.2. The Inseparable Doctrines of *Tanzīh* (Transcendence) and *Tashbīh* (Immanence)

⁵¹ Ibn 'Arabī, *Al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyyah*, IV, 324; Dahlan, *Penilaian teologis atas Paham Wahdat-al Wujūd (Kesatuan Wujud) Tuhan-Alam-Manusia dalam Tasawuf Syamsuddin Sumatrani*, 70. It said verbatim:

⁵² Chittick, *The Sufi Path of Knowledge*, 81.

⁵³ Ibn 'Arabī, *Fuṣūṣ al-Hikam*, I, 70; Dahlan, *Penilaian teologis atas Paham Wahdat-al Wujūd (Kesatuan Wujud) Tuhan-Alam-Manusia dalam Tasawuf Syamsuddin Sumatrani*, 71. It said:

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verse does not negate the existence of a likeness of God's likeness (*mithl Allāh*), but rather denies the existence of anything *like* that likeness.⁵⁴

For most Muslims, the transcendence (*tanzīh*) of God is an intuitive and foundational belief. It is therefore not difficult for them to accept any doctrine that reinforces this principle, including that of Ibn 'Arabī. What remains more contentious in theological discourse, however, is his assertion of *tashbīh*—the immanence of God. Ibn 'Arabī illustrated this dimension by stating that the cosmos was created according to the *ṣūrah* (form or reflection) of its Creator, and that Adam was created in accordance with that Divine form.⁵⁵ Once again, the inseparability of *tanzīh* and *tashbīh* is central to the doctrine of *waḥdat al-wujūd*; both must be upheld in equal measure. Misunderstanding or neglecting this balance often results in the outright rejection of *tashbīh*.⁵⁶

⁵⁴ Ibn 'Arabī, *Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam*, I:70-71; Dahlan, *Penilaian teologis atas Paham Waḥdat-al Wujūd (Kesatuan Wujud) Tuhan-Alam-Manusia dalam Tasawuf Syamsuddin Sumatrani*, 39. It literally said:

{لَيْسَ لِكُنْهَلْ شَيْءٌ {يُجَمِّعُ أَلْمَدَنِي فِي أَمْرٍ وَاحِدٍ} بِإِنَّهُ شَيْءٌ وَنَزَفِي لَيْةٌ وَتَجِبِلْ فِي نَصْرِفِ أَلْيَةِ ... [70]

{فَنَفِي {لَيْسَ لِكُنْهَلْ شَيْءٌ {بِبَاتِالْعَالِ نَزَفِي} [71]

..فَمَا وَضَعْنَا نَفْسَهُ {إِلَى حَالٍ} وَوَقَوْلُهُ {لَيْسَ لِكُنْهَلْ شَيْءٌ {حَدِيثُ أَيْضًا} إِنْ أَخْفَى الْكَافُ زُطَّةً لَغِيْلُ طَرْفَةٍ وَإِنْ جَعَلَ الْإِلَهَ صَرْفَةً فَقَدْ حَدَّثَنَا؛ وَإِنْ أَخْفَى {لَيْسَ لِكُنْهَلْ شَيْءٌ {عَلَى الْكَلِمَةِ} تَقْوِيْلُ الْهَفِّ مَوْمٍ وَإِلَى الْإِلَاحِ صَرْفٍ حَلَّهَ عَيْنُ أَلْشَيْءِ ... [111]

⁵⁵ Ibn 'Arabī, *Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam*, I, 144, 172, 199, 222; Dahlan, *Penilaian teologis atas Paham Waḥdat-al Wujūd (Kesatuan Wujud) Tuhan-Alam-Manusia dalam Tasawuf Syamsuddin Sumatrani*, 71. It strictly conveyed:

{أَخْرَجَ إِلَى عَالَمٍ عَلَى صُورَةٍ مِنْ أَوْجَدِهِمْ [144]

{فَلَيْسَ فِي الْإِلَاحِ أَنْ يُلْدَعُ مِنْ مَلَكٍ أَلَمْ أَلْنَهُ عَلَى صُورَةِ الرَّحْمَنِ [172]

{لَنْ أَلَا خَلَقَ آدَمَ عَلَى صُورَتِهِ [199]

{إِلَى عَالَمٍ عَلَى صُورَةِ الْحَقِّ وَالنَّاسِ أَنْ عَلَى صُورَتَيْنِ [222]

⁵⁶ This theological tension is clearly observable in seventeenth-century Aceh. Prominent scholars such as Ḥamzah Fansūrī (d. 1527), Shams al-Dīn al-Sumatrānī (d. 1630), and 'Abd al-Ra'ūf al-Sinkīlī (1615–93) integrated both *tanzīh* and *tashbīh* in their teachings. Al-Attas, "The Mysticism of Ḥamzah Fansūrī," 65; Dahlan, *Penilaian teologis atas Paham Waḥdat-al Wujūd (Kesatuan Wujud) Tuhan-Alam-Manusia dalam Tasawuf Syamsuddin Sumatrani*, 46–47; Oman Fathurahman and Abdurrauf Singkel, *Tanbih al-Masyi: menyoyal wahdatul wujud: kasus Abdurrauf Singkel di Aceh abad 17*, Cet. 1, Naskah dan dokumen Nusantara, seri 15 (Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient : Mizan, 1999), 202. Conversely, Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī (d. 1658) tended to reject any expressions associated with *tashbīh*, and this rejection formed the basis of his sharp critique of his predecessors' theological positions. Al-Attas, "The Mysticism of Ḥamzah Fansūrī," 59; Fathurahman and Abdurrauf Singkel, *Tanbih al-Masyi*, 38.

However, in light of the aforementioned principle of *tanzīh* and *tashbīh*, this formulation is not reciprocal: *al-‘ālam—al-Ḥaqq* in the image of the cosmos—is not, and can never be, ontologically equivalent to the Absolute Existence. When contrasted with *al-Ḥaqq*, the cosmos is, in reality, non-existent. It is merely an illusion that appears to human perception as though it were external to *al-Ḥaqq*, which is certainly not the case.⁶²

This ontological illusion is exemplified in a ḥadīth in which the Prophet likens worldly life to a dream that will only be revealed upon awakening—i.e., after death.⁶³ Given the abstract and complex nature of such principles, followers of Ibn ‘Arabī often resorted to analogical or metaphorical illustrations to render these concepts more tangible. The Prophet’s metaphor, in this instance, provides a practical analogy that offers a more accessible understanding of such metaphysical doctrines. However, these analogies must be interpreted within the philosophical and theological framework established thus far.

2.2.4. The Analogical (Metaphorical) Illustration

Ibn ‘Arabī offers several analogies to elucidate the paradoxical relationship between God and the cosmos—how they are simultaneously identical and distinct. Among the most frequently cited is the analogy of a person and his shadow. In this model, God is likened to the person, and the cosmos to his shadow. While the shadow exists from the human perspective, it possesses no independent or autonomous reality; it exists only in relation to its source. Even in its apparent absence, it remains latent within the person’s essence. In this way, the cosmos is described as *al-a’yān al-mumkināt* (possible entities), whose entire existence is

⁶² Ibn ‘Arabī, *Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam*, I, 103; Dahlan, *Penilaian teologis atas Paham Wahdat-al Wujūd (Kesatuan Wujud) Tuhan-Alam-Manusia dalam Tasawuf Syamsuddin Sumatrani*, 70. Written verbatim:

فإنّ عالجهتو هم ماله وجوحيقي، و هذلم عن الالهي الخيل لك لّه أمر زناطوطيفسه خارج عن الحق، وليس لك في نفس
الامر

⁶³ Ibn ‘Arabī, *Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam*, I, 159; Dahlan, *Penilaian teologis atas Paham Wahdat-al Wujūd (Kesatuan Wujud) Tuhan-Alam-Manusia dalam Tasawuf Syamsuddin Sumatrani*, 70. Literally said:
ولم اقل علي طسالم "الناس انما اذا ملوا فلبوا" فيه على لّه كل ما يراه الانسان في حيله انما هو بفرقة الاله للنظام:
في الفال بدنه تأويله لّم الكون في ال ووه حق فالحق في قة

contingent upon God.⁶⁴ This analogy recurs throughout the *wujūdiyya* literature in the Malay-Indonesian world—appearing in both the works of proponents and critics. Al-Rānīrī, for instance, composed specific treatises to elaborate upon it,⁶⁵ while al-Sinkīlī positioned it as a central theme in his exposition of *waḥdat al-wujūd*.⁶⁶

Beyond the metaphor of the shadow, Ibn ‘Arabī employed several other analogies: the mirror and its reflections, permeation and spiritual nourishment, the number “one” and the infinite series of numbers, the body and its parts.⁶⁷ Later generations of scholars further expanded this repertoire. They introduced additional metaphors such as: water in relation to fog, dew, waves, and snow; air and mirage;⁶⁸ the tree and its seed; rainfall and plant growth; the sun, its light, and heat;⁶⁹ the moon and its reflection;⁷⁰ the gem and the stone; cotton and cloth.⁷¹ Interestingly, in *Tuḥfat Sarandīb*, al-Rānīrī offers a detailed elaboration on his chosen

⁶⁴ Ibn ‘Arabī, *Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam*, I, 101–2, 69, 111; Dahlan, *Penilaian teologis atas Paham Waḥdat-al Wujūd (Kesatuan Wujud) Tuhan-Alam-Manusia dalam Tasawuf Syamsuddin Sumatrani*, 41. Strictly written:

إعلم أنال قولعليه"سوىالحق" أومسمىالعالَم هوإللسية إلىالحق كإلظلالشخص، وهو ظلللل، وهو عين نسيب الوجود إلى
العالَم أنال ظل هو جواب الشك في الحس، ولكن إذا كان ثم من يظهرفي هذا الظل حتى يوقد درت عدم من يظهرفي هذا الظل:
كانالظل عقوقال غير هو جوف في الحس بل يكوون القوق في ذات الشخص النسيب إلىالظل فمحل ظهور هذا الظل إلىهي
المسمىبالعلم ثم ما هو أعين أنال لم ينقأ:عليه ما لنهد هذا الظل فتدرك من هذا الظل بحسب ما مبتدئ به من وجود هذه الذات [101-
]2

فلتله الخاص ورأى جسيمة لك و لك كإلروح ال جبرل صورة جسدك [69]

فالعالَم صورته وهو روح ال عالَم ال جبرل له [111]

⁶⁵ Among those treatises are *Nubdha fī Da‘wā al-Zill ma‘a Ṣāhibihi and Ḥill al-Zill* see Daudy, *Allah Dan Manusia Dalam Konsepsi Syekh Nuruddin Ar-Raniry*, 49, 51.

⁶⁶ Fathurahman and Abdurrauf Singkel, *Tanbih al-Masyi*, 92, 200, 202.

وحق يقاقي عالَم هو الوجود المقيد... وهو ليس سبيل إلى الحق كإلظلال وليس و شئها زئداعلى حق تقم على وحلق حق زال من فسب الوجود
شئها لته هي فأنسان على هذا ظل لا حق أو ظل ظله

⁶⁷ Afīfī, *The Mystical Philosophy of Muhyid Dīn Ibn ‘Arabī*, 16–17.

⁶⁸ A.H. Johns, *The Gift Addressed to the Spirit of the Prophet :: Ull Library* (Australian National University, 1965), 135, //catalog.uuii.ac.id%2F%3Fp%3Dshow_detail%26id%3D28563.

⁶⁹ Ḥamzah Faṣṣūrī, “The Adept,” in *Mysticism of Ḥamzah Faṣṣūrī*, trans. Syed Muhammad Naguib Al-Attas (SOAS University of London, 1966), 743, 745, 753, 759–60, 778–79, <https://eprints.soas.ac.uk/id/eprint/29629>.

⁷⁰ Ḥamzah Faṣṣūrī, “The Secret of the Gnostics,” in *Mysticism of Ḥamzah Faṣṣūrī*, trans. Syed Muhammad Naguib Al-Attas (SOAS University of London, 1966), 578, <https://eprints.soas.ac.uk/id/eprint/29629>.

⁷¹ Dahlan, *Penilaian teologis atas Paham Waḥdat-al Wujūd (Kesatuan Wujud) Tuhan-Alam-Manusia dalam Tasawuf Syamsuddin Sumatrani*, 142–43.

metaphor—emphasizing the necessity of accurate understanding to prevent doctrinal error.⁷²

2.3. The Dissemination of *Wujūdiyyah* in South and Southeast Asia

The expansion of *wujūdiyya* in South and Southeast Asia can be traced through key figures and texts. Many proponents were affiliated with the Shattariyya order or were influential Sufis like Ḥamzah Fansūrī. Their teachings, along with texts brought by pilgrims and travelers, formed a transregional literary network⁷³ that extended even to the Ḥaramayn.

Islam in Southeast Asia was significantly shaped by Indian influences, especially due to shared trade routes. Following the fall of Baghdad in 1258, many Sufis fled to India, where they found support under the Delhi Sultanate and contributed to the growth of a mystical Islam. It is therefore Indian Islam, characterized by a “holy man” tradition, leaned more toward the spiritual authority of Sufism than formal legalism.⁷⁴ It was the Shaṭṭārī Shaykh Ṣibghat Allāh (d. in Medina 1015/1606) who introduced *wujūdiyya* texts like *al-Jawāhir al-Khams* to the Ḥaramayn when he settled there after performing *Ḥajj* in 1005/1596.⁷⁵ His disciples, Aḥmad al-Qushāshī (d. 1071/1661) and Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī (d. 1101/1689), became major transmitters of *wujūdiyya* ideas across the Muslim world, including Southeast Asia.

Both al-Qushāshī and al-Kūrānī were direct teachers of two prominent scholars in the Archipelago, namely ‘Abd al-Ra’ūf al-Sinkīlī and Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maqāṣirī.⁷⁶ While al-Kūrānī was renowned for articulating the doctrine of *wujūdiyya* in harmony with the Sharī‘a, al-Qushāshī was a Sufi master who

⁷² Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī, *Tuḥfat Sarandīb*, manuscript, 12th century AH, leaf 6a-8b, Library of the Iranian Parliament (Majles Library), Tehran, Iran, MS 10-26404.

⁷³ Ronit Ricci, *Islam Translated: Literature, Conversion, and the Arabic Cosmopolis of South and Southeast Asia*, South Asia across the Disciplines (University of Chicago Press, 2011), 1–2.

⁷⁴ J. Spencer Trimingham, *The Sufi Orders in Islam* (Oxford University Press, 1971), 22.

⁷⁵ *al-Jawāhir al-Khams* then became a standard part of Sufi training in Arabian Peninsula, particularly in the hand of Aḥmad al-Sinnawī who wrote a commentary on it. read more elaboration “JAWĀHER-E KĀMSA,” *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, n.d., accessed July 8, 2025, <https://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/jawaher-e-kamsa/>; Azra, *The Origins of Islamic Reformism in Southeast Asia*, 13.

⁷⁶ Azra, *The Origins of Islamic Reformism in Southeast Asia*, 90.

transmitted both the Shāṭṭāriyya and Qādiriyya orders to Sinkīlī. During his time in Mecca, Sinkīlī rose to prominence as a teacher to hundreds—if not thousands—of students from across the Indo-Malay world, contributing to the rapid expansion of the Shāṭṭāriyya order in the region.⁷⁷

However, the early diffusion of *wujūdiyya* teachings in the Archipelago owes more to earlier figures such as Ḥamzah Fansūrī and Shams al-Dīn al-Sumatrānī. Ḥamzah was a remarkable and enigmatic wandering Sufi who disseminated *wujūdiyya* teachings in the Malay language for the first time.⁷⁸ He even articulated it within Malay poems making them more accessible to audiences unfamiliar with formal theological texts.⁷⁹ Although little is known about his personal life, teachers, or disciples, Ḥamzah's influence on *wujūdiyya* thought in Aceh was substantial. His impact is evident in the works of al-Sumatrānī, who not only admired him but also composed commentaries on his poetry.⁸⁰ In fact, Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī's refutation of *wujūdiyya* was primarily directed at the teachings of Fansūrī and al-Sumatrānī.

While *Jawāhir al-Khams* and other Shāṭṭārī treatises were introduced to Ḥaramayn scholars by Sibghat Allāh, a seminal contribution came from his friend,⁸¹ an Indian contemporary, Muḥammad ibn Faḍl Allāh al-Burhānpūrī (d. 1029/1620), whose *al-Tuḥfat al-Mursalah ilā Rūḥ al-Nabī* became foundational to *wujūdiyya* discourse in the Archipelago.⁸² Originally composed to temper extremist Sufi tendencies in India and beyond, *Tuḥfat* achieved significant prominence in Southeast Asia.⁸³ It was frequently cited by major figures of *wujūdiyya*⁸⁴ and a Javanese translation of the treatise further attests to its broad regional influence

⁷⁷ Johns, *The Gift Addressed to the Spirit of the Prophet*, 11.

⁷⁸ Syed Muhammad Naguib Al-Attas, "The Mysticism of Ḥamzah Fansūrī." (SOAS University of London, 1966), 3, <https://eprints.soas.ac.uk/id/eprint/29629>.

⁷⁹ H. Mohammad Said, *Aceh Sepanjang Abad*, I (Percetakan dan Penerbitan Waspada, 1981), 247–48.

⁸⁰ Ibid., I, 327.

⁸¹ Azra, *The Origins of Islamic Reformism in Southeast Asia*, 15.

⁸² Fathurrahman, "Sejarah Pengkafiran Dan Marginalisasi Paham Keagamaan Di Melayu Dan Jawa (Sebuah Telaah Sumber)," 452.

⁸³ A.H. Johns, *The Gift Addressed to the Spirit of the Prophet :: UIII Library* (Canberra: Australian National University, 1965), 5, [//catalog.uuii.ac.id%2F%3Fp%3Dshow_detail%26id%3D28563](http://catalog.uuii.ac.id%2F%3Fp%3Dshow_detail%26id%3D28563).

⁸⁴ such as al-Sumatrānī, al-Rānīrī, and al-Sinkīlī, and it even prompted al-Kūrānī to author a dedicated commentary, *Ithāf al-Dhakī*, elucidating its content.

beyond the Acehnese sultanate.⁸⁵ It is plausible that *Tuhfat* reached the Archipelago during al-Burhānpūrī's lifetime and that al-Kūrānī's commentary on *Tuhfat* was composed prior to the death of his teacher, Aḥmad al-Qushāshī, in 1661.⁸⁶

In sum, the proliferation of *wujūdiyya* in South Asia—particularly in India—stemmed from its mystical orientation, which fostered a legacy of influential scholars and texts extending to Ḥaramayn and Southeast Asia. In the latter, the role of Sufi orders such as the Shāṭṭāriyya, along with their affiliated literature, proved instrumental in shaping the discourse. Nonetheless, one figure merits special attention—Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maqāṣirī (1626–1699)—whose political, intellectual, and spiritual contributions, especially in Banten, led to his exile in Ceylon. A separate section will be devoted to him, as *Tuhfat al-Sarandīb* is intimately connected to his banishment and intellectual legacy in Ceylon.

2.3.1. *Wujūdiyyah* in Aceh: Political Landscapes and Theological Controversy

Any serious discussion of *wujūdiyya* in seventeenth-century South and Southeast Asia must consider the paradigm shift in Aceh, particularly the intense conflict between the so-called “orthodox” and “heterodox” groups. It is essential to note that the term “orthodox,” especially in any post-Prophetic context, warrants critical scrutiny. As Asad has argued, religious orthodoxy is constantly entangled with political power⁸⁷—a dynamic especially evident in the centuries following the Prophet Muḥammad's demise. In early Muslim societies, the fusion of religious and political leadership meant that religious authority was often indistinguishable from political rule.⁸⁸ However, as leadership began to fragment across divergent religious and political lines, conflicts emerged that frequently led to the marginalization or persecution of less politically dominant groups. In this light, religious orthodoxy can be understood as a construct shaped by either theological conceptions or by the authority of those in power

⁸⁵ Johns, *The Gift Addressed to the Spirit of the Prophet*, 8–10.

⁸⁶ Ibid., 8.

⁸⁷ Asad, “The Idea of an Anthropology of Islam,” 21.

⁸⁸ Bernard Lewis, “State and Society under Islam,” *The Wilson Quarterly* (1976-) 13, no. 4 (1989): 39.

The Political Landscapes of seventeenth-century Aceh and Its Key Thinkers

Dwelling on the political landscape of Aceh—particularly during the lifetimes of its sultans and the three key figures of *wujūdiyya*, Ḥamzah Fansūrī (d.933/1527), Shams al-Dīn al-Sumatrānī (d.1630), and Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī (d.1658)—is essential to understanding the context of the *wujūdiyya* hostilities initiated by Rānīrī in the seventeenth century. Broadly speaking, the most significant contexts for *wujūdiyya* in Aceh can be divided into three periods: prior to the reign of Sultan Iskandar Muda (1607–1636), during his reign, and after his rule. Sultan Iskandar Muda was arguably the most outstanding ruler in the history of the Aceh Sultanate, having achieved remarkable success in various fields—military, economic, political, social, and particularly in religious and intellectual discourse.⁸⁹ Another significant reason for focusing on this period is that the three major *wujūdiyya* figures appear to have intersected in their intellectual, social, political, and religious engagements.⁹⁰ To sequence their presence: Ḥamzah Fansūrī was clearly active well before Sultan Iskandar Muda, and he likely interacted with Shams al-Dīn al-Sumatrānī, who served as a chief Bishop or the confidant of three successive sultans of Aceh. Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī, on the other hand, was officially appointed to the same position few years after Sumatrānī's death. However, it is quite plausible that Rānīrī had already been involved in Acehnese—or at least broader Malay—religious and intellectual life before his final arrival in Aceh in 1637.

Prior to the reign of Sultan Iskandar Muda, only several sultans were notable enough for further elaboration. Among those who deserve special mention is Sultan Ali Mughayyat Syah (1513–1530), who laid the foundational stone of the Great Aceh Sultanate (*Dar al-Salam*), consolidating several smaller kingdoms such as Jaya, Pedir, and Pasai and consistently resisting Portuguese advances.⁹¹ Following this, Sultan Al-Kahar Alauddin Riayat Syah (1537–1571), widely known as al-

⁸⁹ Said, *Aceh Sepanjang Abad*, I, 262.

⁹⁰ Azra highlighted that whatever the relation between Fansūrī and Sumatrānī, they were certainly met which was recorded in Sir James Lancaster note, the British special envoy to Aceh in 1011/1602 Azra, *The Origins of Islamic Reformism in Southeast Asia*, 53.

⁹¹ Said, *Aceh Sepanjang Abad*, I, 164.

Kahar, who sent an ambassador to the Ottoman Sultanate. Sultan Husin Ali Riayat Syah (1571–1579)⁹² succeeded his throne, his ruling was marked by the arrival of Shaykh Muhammad Azhari—also known as Shaykh Nūruddīn (it is not Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī)—from Egypt, he taught metaphysics to the Acehnese until his demise.

Following Sultan Husin, a series of incompetent rulers governed Aceh for brief periods, until the emergence of Sultan Mansur Syah (1579–1585). His reign is particularly relevant to our discussion, as it coincides with early signs of Ḥamzah Fansūrī's intellectual presence. During this time, three significant scholars arrived in Aceh, two of them debated the concept of *al-A'yān al-Thābitah* (permanent archetypes) before a curious Acehnese audience who demanded deeper explanations.⁹³ This demand prompted them to travel to Mecca for further study in mysticism. Shaykh Jailani who came afterwards received the same treatment and only return to Aceh during Al-Mukammal's reign to solve previous mystical problem.⁹⁴ These episodes reflect the Acehnese community's remarkable intellectual capacity, particularly their ability to critically engage with complex mystical teachings. It is therefore not unreasonable to infer that a leading figure from Acehnese behind these discussions was Ḥamzah Fansūrī,⁹⁵ given that he had already begun articulating *wujūdiyya* ideas in the Malay language—even in poetic form, which helped preserve and popularize them in public discourse.

What sets Ḥamzah Fansūrī apart from the remaining *wujūdiyya* scholars is that he did not benefit from royal patronage. Instead, he embodied the ascetic ideals of Ibrāhīm ibn Adham,⁹⁶ deliberately avoiding direct involvement with rulers or the wealthy—a point clearly conveyed through his poetry.⁹⁷ The only advantage he may

⁹² There are inconsistency regarding this event which is claimed by Said and Daudy from the same source, *Bustān al-Salāṭīn*. While they refer to same figure, Ali Ri'ayat Syah, they identify him and another Aceh sultans periodically different. Further research on those periods is required. Read more Ibid., I, 201–2; Daudy, *Allah Dan Manusia Dalam Konsepsi Syekh Nuruddin Ar-Raniry*, 29.

⁹³ They were Abū al-Khayr b. Shaykh b. Hajar, the author of *al-Sayf al-Qāṭi*, and Muḥammad Yamanī, an expert in various branches of Islamic sciences.

⁹⁴ Said, *Aceh Sepanjang Abad*, I, 244; Azra, *The Origins of Islamic Reformism in Southeast Asia*, 55–56; Paul Wormser, “The Religious Debates of Aceh in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century: An Invisible Cultural Dialogue?,” *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 55, no. 2/3 (2012): 371.

⁹⁵ Said, *Aceh Sepanjang Abad*, I, 252.

⁹⁶ Ibid., I, 250.

⁹⁷ W.M and K.A., *Hamzah Fansuri penyair Sufi Aceh*, 19–20.

have enjoyed from the succession of Aceh sultans was a degree of freedom of speech and expression, which was in later periods restricted to the interest of those patronizing scholars or poets.⁹⁸ Due to the profound influence of his thought, the precise date of his demise becomes less significant. Through his works and enduring legacy, he remains very much alive to this day.

However, some scholars believed that Ḥamzah Fansūrī passed away in 1636,⁹⁹ which would mean he outlived his ‘successor’, Shams al-Dīn al-Sumaṭrānī, who died in 1630. Shams al-Dīn was appointed as *Shaykh al-Islām*—or *Mufti*—confidant, foreign minister, and spiritual guide of the Aceh Sultanate during three successive reigns:¹⁰⁰ Sultan al-Mukammal Alauddin Riayat Syah (1589–1604); his son, Sultan Ali Riayat Syah ibn al-Mukammal (1604–1607); and Sultan Iskandar Muda ibn Sultan Mansur (1607–1636), the latter being al-Mukammal’s grandson through his daughter, Puteri Indra Bangsa,¹⁰¹ and a disciple of Shams al-Dīn in *taṣawwuf*.¹⁰² As the senior court official, Shams al-Dīn played a pivotal role in regulating both the internal and external affairs of the Sultanate and the contemporary European reports attest to the growing prominence of Sumaṭrānī.¹⁰³ It is therefore reasonable to assume that religious authority—and, by extension, the "orthodox" narrative—belonged to him during this period. Nevertheless, there is no recorded instance of Shams al-Dīn—or any of the sultans he served—persecuting adherents of deviant *wujūdiyya*, even though such followers were clearly present at the time.¹⁰⁴

⁹⁸ Abdul Hadi W.M, “Syair-Syair Tasawuf Hamzah Fansuri dan Pengaruhnya,” *Buletin Al-Turas* 13, no. 1 (2007): 11, 1.

⁹⁹ Ibid., 2. Additionally, a comprehensive inquiry on Fanṣūrī’s tombstone has been conducted by Claude Guillot and Ludvik Kalus which asserts that Ḥamzah Fanṣūrī ibn. ‘Abd Allāh al-Fanṣūrī died in 9 Rajab 933/11 April 1527 in Mecca. Read full elaboration in Guillot and Kalus, *Batu Nisan Hamzah Fansuri*, 4–28.

¹⁰⁰ Johns, “Reflections on the Mysticism of Shams Al-Dīn al-Sumaṭrā’ī(1550?-1630),” 232.

¹⁰¹ Said, *Aceh Sepanjang Abad*, I, 260–61.

¹⁰² Johns, “Reflections on the Mysticism of Shams Al-Dīn al-Sumaṭrā’ī(1550?-1630),” 233.

¹⁰³ Denys Lombard, *Kerajaan Aceh Zaman Sultan Iskandar Muda (1607-1636)* (Balai Pustaka, 1991), 218, <http://archive.org/details/kerajaan-aceh-iskandar-muda>.

¹⁰⁴ It was recognized from their narratives about the *zindiq* and *mulhid* in Sumtrani’s and heretical understanding of *hulul* and *ittihad* in Fansūrī’s. See W.M and K.A., *Hamzah Fansuri penyair Sufi Aceh*, 21; Dahlan, *Penilaian teologis atas Paham Wahdat-al Wujūd (Kesatuan Wujud) Tuhan-Alam-Manusia dalam Tasawuf Syamsuddin Sumatrani*, 75.

The reign of Sultan ‘Alī Ri‘āyat Shāh ibn al-Mukammal (r. 1604–1607) was marked by notable administrative weakness.¹⁰⁵ The prestige of Aceh sultanate was restored under Sultan Iskandar Muda (r. 1607-1636). His legal and political institutions gained widespread recognition among regional and global powers, including India, the Arab world, the Ottoman Empire, Egypt, the Dutch, the English, the Portuguese, Spain, and China. Notably, neighboring polities such as Brunei even incorporated aspects of Acehnese governance into their own administrative systems.¹⁰⁶ Territorially, through a series of expansions and military campaigns, he brought nearly all coastal regions of western and eastern Sumatra under his control.¹⁰⁷ One of the most significant conquests, in our context, was the campaign against Pahang in 1617,¹⁰⁸ during which he captured Sultan Ahmad of Pahang, along with his wife and son, Thānī, bringing them to Aceh as prisoners of war.¹⁰⁹ After Sultan Ahmad’s death, Iskandar Muda married his widow, and becoming Thānī’s stepfather.

Sultan Iskandar Muda treated his new family with great care, even marrying off his own daughter, Taj Alam, to Thānī when the latter was nine years old. He then appointed Iskandar Thānī as crown prince of the Aceh Sultanate he was only ten. Shams al-Dīn al-Sumatrānī was a direct witness to this inauguration. It is said that Iskandar Muda deliberately chose Thānī as his successor from a young age due to Thānī’s prestigious lineage, believed to descend from the famed Qur’anic figure *Iskandar Dhū al-Qarnayn*—widely identified with Alexander the Great (356–323 B.C.)—a connection that was expected to enhance the prestige of the Aceh Sultanate in the eyes of the wider Muslim world.¹¹⁰ Due to that appointment, the immediate enthronement of Sultan Iskandar Thānī (r.1636-1641) was inevitable. One particularly striking fact, however, is that Iskandar Muda had executed his own

¹⁰⁵ Said, *Aceh Sepanjang Abad*, I, 257.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., I, 303–4.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., I, 290.

¹⁰⁸ According to Lombard, while Said dated it back in 1619. However, this kind of inconsistency is common in historiography of early period of Aceh and South Asia, such as Sri Lanka

¹⁰⁹ Said, *Aceh Sepanjang Abad*, I, 189; Lombard, *Kerajaan Aceh Zaman Sultan Iskandar Muda (1607-1636)*, 123.

¹¹⁰ According to Wormser, the popularity of Alexander the Great in Muslim rulings was quite common in Persian literature. It was believed that he became a universal ruler appointed by God with the help of Prophet Khidr Said, *Aceh Sepanjang Abad*, I, 338; Wormser, “The Spread of Islam in Asia through Trade and Sufism (Ninth–Nineteenth Centuries),” 110.

biological son just a few weeks before Iskandar Thānī's ascension, due to the son's disgraceful conduct.¹¹¹

Iskandar Thānī was a pious ruler who earnestly sought to implement *sharī'a* in Aceh.¹¹² Nevertheless, he was significantly more tolerant than his father-in-law, especially in politics and economic policy. This leniency, however, made him vulnerable: only eight months into his reign, he faced an assassination attempt. By 1639, the Dutch had successfully infiltrated Perak to freely conduct their tin trade—something that would have been unthinkable under Iskandar Muda's rule. This vulnerability eventually paved the way for the Dutch to capture Malacca with little resistance during the final years of his reign.¹¹³

Nur al-Dīn al-Rānīrī expressed high praise for Iskandar Thānī in his *Bustan al-Salāṭīn*, claiming that many advancements occurred under his rule. At that time, Rānīrī was the de facto Qāḍī-bureaucrate¹¹⁴ (*Mufti*) and used his influence and authority—particularly in religious matters—to aggressively declare the teachings of his predecessors as heresy. With the protection and support of the Sultan, he persecuted those who disagreed with him, a phenomenon that had neither precedent nor continuation after his tenure in the Acehese court. Even 'Abd al-Ra'ūf al-Singkīlī, who largely agreed with Rānīrī's doctrinal positions, firmly opposed his extreme methods of dealing with Muslims he labeled heretical.¹¹⁵ The motivations for Rānīrī's actions—beyond his stated concern for preserving orthodox Islamic teachings—may have included a desire to secure greater attention and patronage from the Sultan.¹¹⁶ Alternatively, they might reflect a sentiment reaction stemming

¹¹¹ Said, *Aceh Sepanjang Abad*, I, 331–32.

¹¹² Ibid., I, 347.

¹¹³ Ibid., I, 350–53.

¹¹⁴ The term Qāḍī-bureaucrat was used by scholar Zacky Umam to signify Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maqāṣīrī's position in Banten Sultanate after his remarkable intellectual journey outside the Archipelago. That position arguably parallels with Rānīrī's position during his sojourn in Aceh Sultanate. Zacky Khairul Umam, "The Scribe of Sufi-Philosophical Letters: Shaykh Yūsuf of Makassar's Formative Decades (1640s-1660s) in Arabia and Syria," *Studia Islamika* 31, no. 3 (2024): 410, 3, <https://doi.org/10.36712/sdi.v31i3.42953>.

¹¹⁵ Daudy, *Syeikh Nuruddin Ar-Raniri: Sejarah, Karya, dan Sanggahan terhadap Wujudiyyah di Aceh*, 16–17.

¹¹⁶ As it conveyed by Al-Attas initially in his thesis on Rānīrī and Wujudiyya in Aceh. He even postulated in same work that Rānīrī was actually did not comprehend Fansūrī's teachings properly. Al-Attas, "Raniri and the Wujudiyyah of 17th Century Aceh.," 32–33. On the contrary, Daudy

from his disdain for the so-called deviant teachings that had once gained momentum in his homeland.¹¹⁷

These political motives became especially apparent in the way he condemned the teachings of Ḥamzah Fansuri and Shams al-Dīn al-Sumatrānī.¹¹⁸ In his early works such as *Ḥall al-Ẓill* and *Ḥujjat al-Ṣiddīq*, Rānīrī refrained from naming these figures directly, instead targeting their followers. Only after concluding his tenure in Aceh, he explicitly named both as proponents of heretical beliefs.¹¹⁹ Moreover, his arrival in Aceh—shortly after the deaths of Sumatrānī and his patron—suggests that he was fully aware of the shifting political climate under Iskandar Thānī. When the court eventually began to change again under the reign of Sultanah Taj al-‘Alam due to the arrival of Sayf al-Rijāl, Rānīrī chose to leave Aceh and return to his homeland in 1644 where he died in 1658.¹²⁰

From Iskandar Thānī’s perspective, as Daudy pointed out, this brutal persecution may have been partly motivated by suspicions of a potential coup attempt.¹²¹ It was substantiated by the fact that Iskandar Thani was not widely

defended Rānīrī stance and asserted Al-Attas’ misinterpretations. Daudy, *Allah Dan Manusia Dalam Konsep Syekh Nuruddin Ar-Raniry*, 206–7.

¹¹⁷ According to Johns, the Indian conflict to some extent influences another orthodox movement in Muslim region including Indonesia. While Drewes noted that that the conflict happened in India was between Muslims and outsiders and it was not the case in Aceh where both conflicting parties were Muslims. A.H. Johns, “Aspects of Sufi Thought in India and Indonesia in the First Half of the 17th Century,” *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 28, no. 1 (169) (1955): 73; Fathurahman and Abdurrauf Singkel, *Tanbih al-Masyi*, 41–42. However, Rānīrī certainly held a grudge against the deviant teachings which was proven from his extreme opinion regarding the Hindu scripture. See Daudy, *Allah Dan Manusia Dalam Konsep Syekh Nuruddin Ar-Raniry*, 43.

¹¹⁸ It is noteworthy to scrutinize the transformation of Al-Attas’s assessments regarding Rānīrī’s scholarly credentials. Initially, he described Rānīrī as an opportunistic scholar who condemned and accused others of heresy for political gain. Later, he argued that both scholars essentially conveyed the same metaphysical meanings. Yet, in his commentary on *Hujjat*, he offered significant compliment, describing Rānīrī as a learned scholar who distinguished truth from falsehood. Nonetheless, in the same work, he insisted that Ḥamzah Fansūrī himself was not a heretic, though some of his followers—or those who merely claimed to adhere to his teachings, or whose hearts were deviant—were. Al-Attas, “The Mysticism of Ḥamzah Fansūrī,” 110; Al-Attas, *A Commentary On The Hujjat Al-Siddiq Of Nur Al-Din Al-Raniri*, xiii.

¹¹⁹ Said, *Aceh Sepanjang Abad*, I, 367, 370.

¹²⁰ It is when Saifurrijal came to Aceh and confronted his opinion. Takeshi Ito, “Why Did Nuruddin Ar-Raniri Leave Aceh in 1054 A.h.?,” *Bijdragen Tot de Taal-, Land- En Volkenkunde* 134, no. 4 (1978): 489–91; Daudy, *Allah Dan Manusia Dalam Konsep Syekh Nuruddin Ar-Raniry*, 44; Sher Banu A. L. Khan, *Sovereign Women in a Muslim Kingdom: The Sultanahs of Aceh, 1641–1699* (NUS Press, 2017), 189–90.

¹²¹ Daudy, *Syikh Nuruddin Ar-Raniri: Sejarah, Karya, dan Sanggahan terhadap Wujudiyah di Aceh*, 15; Daudy, *Allah Dan Manusia Dalam Konsep Syekh Nuruddin Ar-Raniry*, 39.

approved by the Acehnese due to his foreign lineage. After his demise, the *orangkaya* made a secret pact for not allowing a foreign prince to claim the throne and never comply with him voluntarily.¹²² Another consideration is that, despite Iskandar Muda's deep care for Thānī and his mother, he was ultimately responsible for the downfall of their Pahang royal family. It is therefore not unreasonable to suspect that Iskandar Thānī may have harbored resentment toward his stepfather and sought—consciously or otherwise—to diminish his legacy and influence in Aceh. This underlying tension was arguably reflected in some policies he pursued during his reign.¹²³

Theological Debates in Seventeenth Century Aceh

Rānīrī's condemnations of what he regarded as heretical and deviant teachings are clearly articulated in his writings. In *Hujjat al-Şiddīq*, for instance, he vehemently denounced both the views of the Philosophers and the deviating *wujūdiyya*. The former maintained that both the Being of God and that of the world are eternal, based on the theory of emanation, which asserts that the world emanated from God without His volition—just as light naturally emanates from the sun, which has no power to withhold it.¹²⁴ The latter, namely the deviating *wujūdiyya*, posited that the Being of God exists solely in the being of creatures, claiming complete identity between the Divine and the created realm. Consequently, they perceived God—The Most exalted—as possessing visible, quantitative, and qualitative attributes, since His being was believed to exist concretely in time and space.¹²⁵ These conceptions frequently served as the foundation for Rānīrī's judgment that such teachings were heretical and thus dangerous to the faith in Aceh at the time. In *Tibyān*, he openly declared the heresy of Ḥamzah Fansūrī and Shams

¹²² Sher Banu A.L. Khan, "What Happened to Sayf Al-Rijal?," *Bijdragen Tot de Taal-, Land- En Volkenkunde* 168, no. 1 (2012): 104.

¹²³ Some of these policies are (1) Iskandar Thānī had different preponderance of religious teachings, (2) he appointed Rānīrī who strongly opposed previous teachings, (3) he changed the name of Baiturrahman mosque into Bait al-Mashāhid, (4) he granted amnesty to several prisoners, among them were Portuguese, imprisoned by Iskandar Muda. (5) neglecting some regions which resulted to the Dutch occupation.

¹²⁴ Nūr al-Dīn Rānīrī, "Proof of Veracious in Refutation of the Zindīq," in *A Commentary on The Hujjat Al-Şiddīq of Nūr Al-Dīn Al-Rānīrī* (Kuala Lumpur: Ministry of Culture Malaysia, 1986), 88–90.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, 90–91.

al-Dīn al-Sumatrānī, particularly by referring to Fansūrī's metaphor of the seed and the tree.¹²⁶

Rooted in his intellectual affiliations, Rānīrī belonged to the Shāfi'ī legal school, the Ash'arī theological tradition, and followed the several mystical orders such as *Qādirīyya*, *Naqshabandiyya*, *Shaṭṭāriyya*, *Shādhiliyya*, *Kubrāwiyya*¹²⁷ and *Ṭā'ifa Rifā'iyya*, a Sufi order attributed to the Baghdādī tradition.¹²⁸ The Rifā'iyya emphasized the superiority of *ṣaḥw* (sobriety) over *sukr* (intoxication) in their epistemological approach and strongly aligned themselves with the dictates of the *sharī'a*. Meanwhile, the Ash'arī school upheld doctrines that emphasized the ontological distinction between God and the cosmos, the origination of the world in time, and the absolute and exclusive efficacy of God. Nevertheless, Al-Attas argued that the Ash'arīs, by implication, had already incorporated elements of *waḥdat al-wujūd* within their worldview and their essentialist inclinations, typical of kalām traditions, compelled them to affirm God's absolute transcendence from all originated things.¹²⁹

From these intellectual affiliations alone, one can discern Rānīrī's position toward *wujūdiyya* teachings, which closely mirrored that of the Ash'arīs. He upheld the doctrine of the Oneness of Being (*waḥdat al-wujūd*) in a qualified sense—affirming that “there is no real existence except God”—while simultaneously insisting on a strict ontological separation between the Creator and the creation. For Rānīrī, the existence of creatures was nothing but a shadow in comparison to the reality of God, and there was no moment in which their being could be regarded as identical or unified with the Divine Being.¹³⁰ This raises the further question of whether Rānīrī acknowledged the two aspect in the existence of the ‘real’ world.¹³¹

¹²⁶ Daudy, *Allah Dan Manusia Dalam Konsepsi Syekh Nuruddin Ar-Raniry*, 209.

¹²⁷ Tudjimah, *Syekh Yusuf Makasar: Riwayat dan Ajarannya* (Penerbit Universitas Indonesia, 1997), 194–204; Azra, *The Origins of Islamic Reformism in Southeast Asia*, 89; Umam, “The Scribe of Sufi-Philosophical Letters,” 411, 418.

¹²⁸ Al-Attas, *A Commentary On The Hujjat Al-Siddiq Of Nur Al-Din Al-Raniri*, 29.

¹²⁹ However, among the theological schools, the Ash'arīs stood closest to the *wujūdiyya* in their ontological framework—especially due to their doctrine of the *tajaddud al-a'rāḍ* (renewal of accidents) and the theory of perpetual creation, which led to the denial of necessary causality between cause and effect Ibid., 29, 33, and 44.

¹³⁰ Al-Rānīrī, “Proof of Veracious in Refutation of the Zindīq,” 95–97.

¹³¹ According to Al-Attas, the Being of the world has two aspects, the unreal (essentially nothing) and the real. The real aspect of the world consists of two aspects, (1) the Being of the world as the

However, when Al-Attas first brought serious attention to this theological conflict, he formulated five core points that encapsulated Rānīrī's criticisms of the teachings of Ḥamzah Fansuri and Shams al-Dīn al-Sumāṭrānī.¹³² A few years later, Daudy responded by reinterpreting Rānīrī's opposition and offered his own assessment.¹³³ Interestingly, despite their theological competence, neither of them grounded Rānīrī's refutations in the fundamental sources of Islamic theology—the Qur'an or Hadith. Rather, they focused on explicating his arguments by comparing them with Ḥamzah's writings or aligning them with broader religious teachings.¹³⁴ Azra, in turn, chose not to delve further into theological realms beyond what earlier scholarship had already established, as his interest centered more on Rānīrī's role within the framework of Islamic reformism in the Malay world.¹³⁵ It was Abd al-Aziz Dahlan who undertook a more rigorous theological investigation of Sumāṭrānī's teachings and, as a result, directly criticized Rānīrī's accusations. He contended that Rānīrī's charges of heresy lacked sufficient theological basis, arguing that the religious agitation which led to significant hostilities in seventeenth-century Aceh should be recognized as part of a recurring pattern of extremist behavior in Islamic history.¹³⁶

According to Dahlan, who upholds the orthodoxy of Sumāṭrānī's (and Fansūrī's) teachings, the controversial doctrines frequently misinterpreted by Rānīrī and other scholars can be summarized into six main ideas: (1) God permeates every single thing; (2) the existence of the cosmos is the Existence of God; (3) metaphorical illustrations; (4) the illumination (emanation) theory; (5) the Qur'an

Existence itself which is God involvement in dynamic movements and (2) the Being as mode of existence, which is the individuation of God in the level of sensible experience. Though he claimed that Rānīrī comprehend those two aspects of the 'real' world, alluding to Rānīrī's own narratives in *Hujjat*, that is actually hard to be concurred Al-Attas, *A Commentary On The Hujjat Al-Siddiq Of Nur Al-Din Al-Raniri*, 43–44.

¹³² Al-Attas, "The Mysticism of Ḥamzah Fansūrī," 59–60; Fathurahman and Abdurrauf Singkel, *Tanbih al-Masyi*, 37–40.

¹³³ Daudy, *Allah Dan Manusia Dalam Konsepsi Syekh Nuruddin Ar-Raniry*, 202; Dahlan, *Penilaian teologis atas Paham Waḥdat-al Wujūd (Kesatuan Wujud) Tuhan-Alam-Manusia dalam Tasawuf Syamsuddin Sumatrani*, 131.

¹³⁴ Al-Attas, "Raniri and the Wujudiyyah of 17th Century Aceh," Chapter III, IV, and V; Al-Attas, "The Mysticism of Ḥamzah Fansūrī," Chapter II, III, and IV; Daudy, *Allah Dan Manusia Dalam Konsepsi Syekh Nuruddin Ar-Raniry*, chapter III, IV, and VII.

¹³⁵ Azra, *The Origins of Islamic Reformism in Southeast Asia*, 71–72.

¹³⁶ Dahlan, *Penilaian teologis atas Paham Waḥdat-al Wujūd (Kesatuan Wujud) Tuhan-Alam-Manusia dalam Tasawuf Syamsuddin Sumatrani*, 159.

is a creature; and (6) the theory of the spirit (*Rūḥ*). In his elaboration, Dahlan argued that these beliefs remain within the bounds of Islamic orthodoxy, meaning they do not clearly contradict established Islamic truths. These established truths must be based on definitive evidence (*dalīl qaṭʿī*)—either in their source and transmission (*qaṭʿī al-thubūt*), such as the Qurʾan and Hadith *mutawātir*, or in their meaning (*qaṭʿī al-dalāla*), which are universally accepted under all circumstances. These include, for example: the eternal and everlasting existence of God, His creation of both the material and immaterial worlds, His revelation of the Qurʾan in Arabic to guide human life, and the continuation of life after death in the Hereafter and alike. Such principles are undisputed in Islam and should serve as the benchmark for any theological evaluation—not particular teachings associated with individual scholars or figures.¹³⁷

Therefore, Dahlan’s discussion of these controversial ideas may be seen as an effort to reintegrate *wujūdiyya* teachings into the Islamic intellectual tradition in a legitimate and respectful manner. Regarding the first doctrine, he argued that it is not exclusive to Fansūrī and Sumatrānī but is explicitly supported by the Qurʾan—adding that no verse of the Qurʾan or even ḥadīth explicitly mentions the exact locus of God’s Essence.¹³⁸ As for the controversial statement that the being of creatures and the Being of God are identical, he warned against literal interpretation. Instead, while preserving previous principles of the teachings¹³⁹, he offered alternative readings: for instance, that the being of creatures merely *resembles* the Being of God, but the two are not equal; or that the being of creatures is possessed, emitted,

¹³⁷ Abdul Aziz Dahlan, “Pembelaan Terhadap Wahdat Al-Wujūd: Tasawuf Syamsuddin Sumatrani,” *Jurnal Ilmu Dan Kebudayaan: Ulumul Qurʾan* III (1992): 99; Dahlan, *Penilaian teologis atas Paham Wahdat-al Wujūd (Kesatuan Wujud) Tuhan-Alam-Manusia dalam Tasawuf Syamsuddin Sumatrani*, 6–7.

¹³⁸ Dahlan, “Pembelaan Terhadap Wahdat Al-Wujūd: Tasawuf Syamsuddin Sumatrani,” 99–101; Dahlan, *Penilaian teologis atas Paham Wahdat-al Wujūd (Kesatuan Wujud) Tuhan-Alam-Manusia dalam Tasawuf Syamsuddin Sumatrani*, 131–36. However, one certain Hadith was worth to consider since it told a story about an explicit Prophet’s question “where is Allah?” (*Ayna Allah?*) then she replied “Allah is in Heaven” (*Allah fī al-Samāʾ*) see Abu al-Ḥusayn Muslim ibn Ḥajjāj al-Qushayrī Al-Naysābūrī, *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim* (Bayt al-Afkār al-Dawliyya, 1998), 2/70/537.

¹³⁹ Mainly (1) the equal principle of *tanzīh* and *tashbīh*, and (2) the principle of the Absolute and Relative Being

2.3.2. *Wujūdiyyah* Beyond Aceh: From *Sarandīb* to Ceylon and the Role of Shaykh Yusuf Al-Maqāṣirī

The persecution of *wujūdiyya* adherents in mid-seventeenth-century Aceh was not the terminal point of the ongoing tension between orthodoxy and *wujūdiyya*. In fact, the arrival of Saifurrijāl during the reign of Sultanah Ṣafiyat al-Dīn marked a turning point, as the religious authority of the *wujūdiyya* once again gained increased attention from both the court and the public.¹⁴⁵ Although Rānirī still held a prestigious position in the Aceh Sultanate, he likely realized that his influence was no longer as significant. Therefore, in 1643, he decided to return to his homeland while maintaining his contact with Aceh and continuing his opposition to the *wujūdiyya* through his works, which were distributed across various regions. This is explicitly narrated in his *Faṭḥ al-Mubīn*, which he wrote in India, where he addressed the people of Aceh, Kedah, Banten, Patani, Makassar, Johor, Pahang, and all regions "below the wind." From this statement, he indirectly illustrates the far-reaching influence of his teachings in South and Southeast Asia.¹⁴⁶

Interestingly, even though the Aceh Sultanate under Sultan Iskandar Muda was well known to many foreign powers—and Rānirī's influence remained considerable in terms of religious thought—direct contact with *Sarandīb* (Ceylon) is scarcely found in Aceh's historical records. This is despite the geographic proximity of *Sarandīb* and India, and the evidently stronger relationship between the Indian subcontinent and the Aceh Sultanate. The island of *Sarandīb* becomes particularly significant in this chapter, as the main objective of this thesis, the *Manuscript of Tuhfat Sarandīb*, is named after it, signaling the major contributions of Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānirī and his disciple, Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maqāṣirī (1626–1699). The latter was arguably the most prominent scholar and mystic exiled first to Ceylon and then to South Africa during the occupation by the VOC (*Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie*).

¹⁴⁵ Ito, "Why Did Nuruddin Ar-Raniri Leave Aceh in 1054 A.h.?", 489–91.

¹⁴⁶ Daudy, *Allah Dan Manusia Dalam Konsepsi Syekh Nuruddin Ar-Raniry*, 53.

From Sarandīb to Ceylon: The Life of Islam and Muslim from Early Ages to the European Domination.

Sarandīb, *Saylān*, and Ceylon were alternate names for the same island in South Asia, known in modern day as Sri Lanka. Ricci argued that these names were not merely forms of nomenclature; instead, they encapsulate meanings and historical narratives embedded within particular audiences.¹⁴⁷ Both *Sarandīb* and *Saylan* were recorded in Arabic literature along with the significance of Adam's Peak.¹⁴⁸ It also renowned as the "Island of Gems,"¹⁴⁹ a motif that later gained popularity in the *One Thousand and One Nights*, especially in the voyages of Sindbad. Though Sindbad as a fictional character had been exaggerated, his real presence and the relationship between Arabs and *Sarandīb* was grounded in historical reality, particularly during the Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd (r. 786-809) of the Abbasid period¹⁵⁰, when the caliphate established diplomatic and intellectual exchanges with foreign regions through institutions like *Bayt al-Hikmah* (Wisdom House).¹⁵¹

India and Sri Lanka served as pivotal links in the international trade routes connecting Europe, West Asia, and China, particularly in the spice trade.¹⁵² Renowned for their remarkable knowledge of monsoon winds—even before the Greeks—Arabian communities came to dominate trade across these regions. *Sarandīb* and West Asia had commercial ties with the Persian Empire long

¹⁴⁷ Sarandīb, for instance, was a name circulated among early Arabs and Muslims, who associated it with the place of Adam's fall or banishment from Paradise. On the other hand, although "Sri Lanka" is a modern designation, the name "Lanka" holds ancient references—particularly to the banishment of Sita in the epic of *Rāmāyaṇa*. Meanwhile, "Ceylon," derived from the Arabic "*Saylān*," came to signify political exile during the European colonial period from the seventeenth to the late eighteenth century. Ricci, *Banishment and Belonging*, 2.

¹⁴⁸ The presence of Adam's Peak—which many Muslims believe bears the footprint of Prophet Adam, the first human—further deepened Sri Lanka's religious significance for West Asians. As a result, visits to Sarandīb allowed Muslim voyagers to combine both trade and pilgrimage in a single journey. The fact that many local records overlook this sacred site and its value among Muslims is quite astonishing. Rohitha Dasanayaka, *Arabs in Serandib: Trade Relations Between Sri Lanka and West Asia from Ancient Time to 15th Century A.D.: Historical and Archaeological Survey* (S. Godage & Brothers (Pvt) Limited, 2018), 16, 217, 219, and 300.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., 15.

¹⁵⁰ Shukri, "Arab Contact with Sri Lanka – Sindbad and Ibn Batuta | Silk Roads Programme," 12; Dasanayaka, *Arabs in Serandib*, 114–34.

¹⁵¹ Dasanayaka, *Arabs in Serandib*, 207.

¹⁵² K. M. De Silva, *A History of Sri Lanka*, Digital Edition (Penguin Books, 2016), 19.

before Islam, and this successful engagement with the Persians paved the way for similar relationships with Arab traders following the emergence of Islam in the 7th century.¹⁵³

It is said that a large number of the Arab Hāshimite tribe migrated to Ceylon in the first century of Islam, fleeing persecution under the Umayyads.¹⁵⁴ Despite the early arrival of Muslims and the massive Islamization of neighboring regions such as India and the Maldives, Islamic proselytization in Sri Lanka appears not to have progressed in a similar manner.¹⁵⁵ Muslim trading communities practiced their religion freely within their own enclaves, without notable efforts to propagate Islam among the local population. Unlike India—where Islam attracted many from the lower castes due to its egalitarian spirit, something their native religion and culture failed to provide—Sri Lankans were already grounded in Buddhist values that emphasized social equality.¹⁵⁶ Moreover, instead of exerting influence over the people of *Sarandīb*, Islam itself was absorbed into local customs without causing major social or cultural rupture. Muslims became well-integrated into the Kandyan Kingdom,¹⁵⁷ and as evidenced by trilingual (Persian, Tamil, and Chinese) Galle slab inscription of Cheng Ho in the fifteenth century (see picture 2.1),¹⁵⁸ various Muslim ethnic groups at the time chose to inscribe it in their own languages rather than using Arabic, the lingua franca of Islamic scholarship.¹⁵⁹

In short, from the rise of Islam until at least the early sixteenth century, the island witnessed peaceful coexistence, collaboration, and competition among Muslims. However, this peaceful situation did not shield the Muslim community from later European intrusions—namely, the Portuguese, Dutch, and British—who

¹⁵³ Dasanayaka, *Arabs in Serandib*, 203–4.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 113.

¹⁵⁵ Abeyasinghe, “Muslims in Sri Lanka in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries,” 133.

¹⁵⁶ Dasanayaka, *Arabs in Serandib*, 302.

¹⁵⁷ Dennis McGilvray and Mirak Raheem, “Origins of the Sri Lankan Muslims and Varieties of the Muslim Identity,” in *The Sri Lanka Reader: History, Culture, Politics* (Duke University Press, 2011), 410.

¹⁵⁸ Shukri, “Arab Contact with Sri Lanka – Sindbad and Ibn Batuta | Silk Roads Programme,” 10.

¹⁵⁹ the Muslim community in Sri Lanka is considered the only ‘ethnic’ group in the country defined entirely by religion. They are labeled ‘ethnic’ largely because, while they speak Tamil, they do not identify strongly with Tamil cultural traditions. Holt, “Muslim Identities: An Introduction,” 409.

occupied Ceylon and aggressively suppressed Islam through their implementation of anti-Muslim policies.¹⁶⁰

It is imperative to understand that after the arrival of the Portuguese—followed by the Dutch and the British—most available information about Islam and Muslims in Ceylon was recorded and produced primarily by their oppressors, especially the Portuguese.¹⁶¹ Their anti-Islamic policies isolated Muslim *Sarandīb* from the broader Muslim world, leading to a decline in various aspects of life, including intellectual and educational development. Many madrasas that had once flourished under the patronage of the Baghdad Caliphate ceased to exist. Educational activities were consequently moved into private settings with limited subject matter, or to maktabas located within local mosques, widely known as *Qur'an Pallikoodams* and *Thinnai Pallikoodams*.¹⁶²

Those with sufficient knowledge of Arabic and Islamic sciences took on the role of educational supervisors and community guides. They actively discouraged Muslim communities and maktabas from engaging with English education, claiming that it served as a tool for transforming their Islamic identity and moral framework into one aligned with English values and manners. Since Arabic was not a unifying spoken language among them, these maktabas adopted *Arabu-Tamil*—a hybrid of Arabic and Tamil—as the language of instruction.¹⁶³

The isolated and fragmented condition of Muslims in *Sarandīb*¹⁶⁴ provided an ideal opportunity for the Dutch to exile political threats from the Archipelago. From this point onward, the people of the Archipelago became increasingly familiar with the island—so much so that the Javanese incorporated it into their lexicon as

¹⁶⁰ Abeyasinghe, “Muslims in Sri Lanka in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries,” 135; D. A. Kotelawele, “Muslims under Dutch Rule in Sri Lanka 1638-1796,” in *Muslims of Sri Lanka: Avenues to Antiquity*, ed. M. A. M. Shukri (Jamiah Naleemia Inst., 1986), 167–68, <https://archive.org/details/muslims-of-sri-lanka-avenues-to-antiquity-m.-a.-m.-shukri>.

¹⁶¹ Abeyasinghe, “Muslims in Sri Lanka in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries,” 129.

¹⁶² Azeez, “The Muslim Tradition in Education (From Sixteenth Century to The Present Day),” 1155–57.

¹⁶³ Ibid.

¹⁶⁴ Some Muslims in Sri Lanka even established a company of Muslim soldiers to assist the main Dutch armies during the war of 1760-1766, while some others acted as spies and couriers for them. Kotelawele, “Muslims under Dutch Rule in Sri Lanka 1638-1796,” 184.

diselongke (to be “Ceyloned”: exiled).¹⁶⁵ The presence of influential figures on the island, accompanied by their families, followers, or servants, eventually formed a distinct community now identified as the Sri Lankan Malays.¹⁶⁶ Though currently a minority, they continue to exist and have left behind a number of intellectual legacies and manuscripts that document various aspects of their lives—such as their origins, languages, ethnic identities, religious teachings, and more.¹⁶⁷ Among the earliest exiles to Ceylon was arguably the most influential leader, scholar, and ‘saint’ from the Archipelago at the time: Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maqāṣīrī.¹⁶⁸ During his banishment, he managed to compose and disseminate a number of treatises, which were circulated through the ḥajj and trader networks connecting the Indo-Malay world.¹⁶⁹

The Role of Shaykh Yusuf Al-Maqāṣīrī and His Exile to Ceylon

His complete name is *al-Shaykh al-Hājj Muḥammad Yūsuf b. ‘Abd Allāh (‘Aṭf al-Dīn) b. Abī al-Khayr Abū al-Maḥāsin Hadiyyat Allāh al-Tāj al-Khalwatī al-Maqāṣīrī al-Manjalāwī al-Bantānī*,¹⁷⁰ known in Sulawesi as *Tuanta Salamaka ri*

¹⁶⁵ Ricci, *Banishment and Belonging*, 7.

¹⁶⁶ Hamka, *Dari Perbendaharaan Lama*, III (Pustaka Panjimas, 1994), 36; Ricci, *Banishment and Belonging*, 1.

¹⁶⁷ Ricci’s *Banishment* clearly demonstrates that the Sri Lankan Malays preserved their cultural heritage and religious teachings through written texts, such as the *Kidung Rumeksa ing Wengi* (pp. 32–34), which is attributed to Sunan Kalijaga, and the teachings of the Four Caliphs on the Divine Presence (pp. 40–41), composed in Malay using Arab-Javanese (Arab gundul/pegon) script and the manuscript of *Encik Sulaimān’s Malay Compendium*, which lists several influential texts authored by Arab and Malay scholars, including Zakariyyā al-Anṣārī, Imām al-Nawawī, Imām al-Ghazālī, Dāwūd al-Fāṭanī, and Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī Ricci, *Banishment and Belonging*, 32–34 and 40–41 and 28.

¹⁶⁸ Azra, *The Origins of Islamic Reformism in Southeast Asia*, 98; Ricci, *Banishment and Belonging*, 3.

¹⁶⁹ Tudjimah, *Syekh Yusuf Makassar*, 13; Azra, *The Origins of Islamic Reformism in Southeast Asia*, 99; Syamsuddin Arif, “Shaykh Yūsuf of Makassar (d. 1111 AH/1699 CE): A Bio-Bibliographical and Doctrinal Survey,” *Intellectual Discourse* 32, no. 1 (2024): 62, 1, <https://doi.org/10.31436/id.v32i1.2079>.

¹⁷⁰ Hamka, *Dari Perbendaharaan Lama*, 35; Azra, *The Origins of Islamic Reformism in Southeast Asia*, 87; Naser Dumairieh, *Sufis and Their Lodges in the Ottoman Hijāz: Ḥasan b. ‘Alī al-‘Ujaymī’s (d. 1113/1702) Khabāyā al-zawāyā “Secrets of the Lodges” & Risāla fī ṭuruq al-ṣūfiyya “Treatise on Sufi Orders”* (BRILL, 2023), 372; Arif, “Shaykh Yūsuf of Makassar (d. 1111 AH/1699 CE),” 57; A. C. S. Peacock, *Arabic Literary Culture in Southeast Asia in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, Handbook of Oriental Studies. Section One, The Near and Middle East, volume 175 (Brill, 2024), 158. I personally change one affiliation *al-Jāwī* conveyed by Arif due to al-Maqassārī played significant role precisely in Banten instead of the entire Java island.

Gowa (“Our Gracious Master from Gowa”), later shortened to *Tuanta*.¹⁷¹ While the epithet *Abū al-Maḥāsin* is common among Islamic scholars, and the honorific title *Tāj al-Khalwatī* refers to his high status within the Khalwatī order, the several place-based affiliations following his name indicate the major milestones of his life. *Al-Maqāṣirī* and *al-Manjalāwī* are the Arabicized forms of his birthplace and the site of his initial engagement with intellectual discourse. *Al-Bantānī*, on the other hand, marks the most significant phase of his life, when he was actively involved in the political and intellectual spheres in Banten before his exile to Ceylon in 1684. According to this convention, he could have justifiably borne one or two additional affiliations, namely *al-Saylānī* and *al-Ifriqī*, referring to his prolific period in Ceylon and his significant legacy in the Cape of Good Hope, South Africa. However, no scholar to date has applied these latter two affiliations when referencing his full name.

Some scholars stated that he was born in 1627,¹⁷² while Hamka (d. 1981) and Tudjimah believed it was in 1626.¹⁷³ This uncertainty reflects the broader lack of consistent historical documentation from his period of life. Generally, al-Maqāṣirī’s real journey began from his hometown Makassar to Banten and Aceh. To pursue his Syakh, al-Rānirī, he travelled to India before performing his long journey in Arabian Peninsula particularly, in Yemen, the Ḥijāz, and Damascus. After his meticulous intellectual journey, he settled in Banten, as the ultimate Qāḍī-Bureaucrat of Banten Sultanate and reinforced the reign of his close acquaintance, Sultan ‘Abd Fattāḥ or widely known as Sultan Ageng Tirtayasa (r. 1651-1683). In 1684, he was exiled to Ceylon for nine years then exiled even further to Cape of the Good Hope in South Africa for the next six years until his death.¹⁷⁴

In Makassar, he lived within the Kingdom of Gowa, which had been fully Islamized in 1603.¹⁷⁵ After gaining his initial Islamic education in Makassar, he

¹⁷¹ Tudjimah, *Syekh Yusuf Makasar*, 1; Arif, “Shaykh Yūsuf of Makassar (d. 1111 AH/1699 CE),” 57.

¹⁷² Azra, *The Origins of Islamic Reformism in Southeast Asia*, 87; Arif, “Shaykh Yūsuf of Makassar (d. 1111 AH/1699 CE),” 57.

¹⁷³ Hamka, *Dari Perbendaharaan Lama*, 35; Tudjimah, *Syekh Yusuf Makasar*, 4.

¹⁷⁴ Umam, “The Scribe of Sufi-Philosophical Letters,” 409–10.

¹⁷⁵ Through the efforts of three scholars (or saints) from Minangkabau, namely Datu Tiro, Datu ri Bandang, and Datu Patimang Hamka, *Dari Perbendaharaan Lama*, 39.

embarked on a journey through the global trade network for several sojourns. His first destination was Banten, where he established a close relationship with the Crown Prince of the Banten Sultanate, Pangeran Surya, who would later be known as Sultan ‘Abd al-Fattāḥ or Sultan Ageng Tirtayasa (r. 1651-1683).¹⁷⁶

Subsequently, he visited Aceh and India in 1644 to study under his *murshid* in the Qādiriyya order, Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī.¹⁷⁷ While Azra stated that al-Rānīrī only initiated al-Maqāṣīrī into Qadiriyyah order, Halim through his latter findings contends that al-Rānīrī also was his master for other three Sufi orders namely, *Suhrawardiyya*, *Rifā‘iyya*, and *Shādhiliyya*.¹⁷⁸ He later continued his sojourn to several major Islamic intellectual centers—such as Yemen, the Ḥaramayn,¹⁷⁹ Damascus, Aleppo, and Istanbul.¹⁸⁰ The most detailed account for Maqāṣīrī’s activities in Arabia is recorded in Ibn ‘Ujaymi’s biographical dictionary of Sufi saints and shrines, *Khabāya al-zawāyā*.¹⁸¹ This source highlights his repeated journeys between the Ḥaramayn and Yemen then to Damascus, followed by his return to the Ḥaramayn, another journey to Yemen, and eventually his return to the Archipelago.¹⁸² Throughout these intense scholarly travels, he was engaged with common scribal work, either as a student or as a professional earning income to support his studies.¹⁸³ According to Umam, he often referred to himself as *kātib hadhihi al-marqūm* (scribe of the book) or *kātib al-‘aḥrūf* (scribe of letters).¹⁸⁴ By copying those manuscripts al-Maqāṣīrī maintains his relationship with established scholars in his intellectual networks. He was also initiated into multiple Sufi orders,

¹⁷⁶ Azra, *The Origins of Islamic Reformism in Southeast Asia*, 89.

¹⁷⁷ According to Arif, in 1649. Ibid.; Arif, “Shaykh Yūsuf of Makassar (d. 1111 AH/1699 CE),” 59.

¹⁷⁸ Azra, *The Origins of Islamic Reformism in Southeast Asia*, 89; Halim M. Khoiri, “Documenting Al-Maqāṣīrī’s Indian Silsila: Tehran MSS 4898 and the Indo-Persianate Transmission of Akbarian Thought to Nusantara,” *EuroSEAS Congress*, January 1, 2024, https://www.academia.edu/122326022/Documenting_al_Maq%C4%81%E1%B9%A3%C4%ABr%C4%AB_s_Indian_Silsila_Tehran_MSS_4898_and_the_Indo_Persianate_Transmission_of_Akbarian_Thought_to_Nusantara.

¹⁷⁹ His study period in the Ḥaramayn coincided with that of ‘Abd al-Ra’ūf al-Singkilī, suggesting that they may have studied under the same group of teachers. Azra, *The Origins of Islamic Reformism in Southeast Asia*, 90.

¹⁸⁰ Hamka, *Dari Perbendaharaan Lama*, 41; Azra, *The Origins of Islamic Reformism in Southeast Asia*, 89–92; Arif, “Shaykh Yūsuf of Makassar (d. 1111 AH/1699 CE),” 59–60.

¹⁸¹ Dumairieh, *Sufis and Their Lodges in the Ottoman Hijāz*.

¹⁸² Umam, “The Scribe of Sufi-Philosophical Letters,” 415–17; Peacock, *Arabic Literary Culture in Southeast Asia in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, 158, 161.

¹⁸³ Umam, “The Scribe of Sufi-Philosophical Letters,” 432–33.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid., 412–13.

including the *Naqshbandiyya*, *Bā'alawiyya*, *Shāṭṭāriyya*, *Dāsuqiyya*, *Shādhiliyya*, *Jishtiyya*, *Rifā'iyya*, *Khalwātiyya*, and others.¹⁸⁵

There is no definitive information regarding al-Maqāṣirī's return to the Archipelago and the route to his homeland.¹⁸⁶ However, it is clear that upon his return, he visited his close friend Sultan Ageng Tirtayasa in Banten. The Sultan, recognizing al-Maqāṣirī's value, the Sultan married his daughter to al-Maqāṣirī shortly after his arrival as a mark of this trust and alliance. Eventually, Sultan appointed him as a trusted adviser and the mufī of the Banten Sultanate.

The Banten Sultanate, during the rule of Sultan Ageng Tirtayasa, was clearly a favorable place for al-Maqāṣirī to settle. After appointing his disciple al-Dārī as his substitute in preaching Islamic teachings in the Kingdom of Gowa, al-Maqāṣirī confirmed his position in Banten. As the confidant of the Sultan, he played an important role in both religious and political affairs. However, this favorable situation did not last long for either the Sultan or al-Maqāṣirī, as internal conflict between the Sultan and his son 'Abd Qahhār, who strongly favored the Dutch, led to a devastating civil war. The Sultan, assisted by al-Maqāṣirī and his youngest son, Pangeran Purbaya, fought against 'Abd Qahhār, who was reinforced by the Dutch. It has been recorded that during this turmoil, al-Maqāṣirī had contact with the disciple of al-Sinkīlī, Hādī Karang, who took the opportunity to meet with al-Maqāṣirī and study under him. 'Abd Qahhār eventually dethroned his father and sent him as a captive to Batavia until his death.¹⁸⁷ Meanwhile, al-Maqāṣirī sustained the struggle using guerrilla warfare tactics. However, after multiple deceptions, the Dutch eventually managed to capture him in 1683. Due to his significant political and religious influence, al-Maqāṣirī and some of his followers were exiled to Ceylon in 1684 and he was 56 or 57 years old.¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁵ Hamka, *Dari Perbendaharaan Lama*, 40–41; Tudjimah, *Syekh Yusuf Makassar*, 16; Azra, *The Origins of Islamic Reformism in Southeast Asia*, 89–92; Arif, "Shaykh Yūsuf of Makassar (d. 1111 AH/1699 CE)," 60.

¹⁸⁶ Azra, citing Hāmid and Van Bruinessen, mentioned two possible dates of his return: 1075/1664 and 1083/1672. A similar ambiguity surrounds his route home—whether he returned directly to Gowa or stopped in Banten en route. For several reasons, Azra concluded that al-Maqassārī most plausibly returned first to Banten, not Gowa, where he intended to stay only temporarily before continuing to his homeland. Azra, *The Origins of Islamic Reformism in Southeast Asia*, 94–95.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid., 96–97.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid., 98; Arif, "Shaykh Yūsuf of Makassar (d. 1111 AH/1699 CE)," 61.

One might say that al-Maqāṣirī's banishment to Ceylon was a blessing in disguise, as it allowed him to proliferate intellectual works rather than being embroiled in political turmoil. Given the solitary nature of Islamic intellectual life in Sri Lanka during that time, as previously elaborated, it is not difficult to understand Azra's claim that local studies of the Malay-Indonesian Muslim community fail to disclose al-Maqāṣirī's role in the development of Islam there.¹⁸⁹ However, al-Maqāṣirī, to some extents, succeeded in maintaining his influence in Ceylon, where he established correspondence with some local scholars¹⁹⁰ and his presence in Ceylon even prompted the Mughal ruler Aurangzeb Alamgir (1071-1119/1659-1707) to warn the Dutch authorities there to take good care of him.¹⁹¹ Additionally, his contact with Malay-Indonesian pilgrims was even more pronounced. It is through them that his and other Malay-Indonesian works were brought to and from various places. Considering these circumstances, and disregarding his old age, the Dutch found it necessary to exile him even further from the archipelago, precisely to the Cape of Good Hope in South Africa, in 1694.

Stressing his intellectual traces and treatises, al-Maqāṣirī indeed demonstrated considerable knowledge of *wujūdiyya* teachings.¹⁹² His views on Divine Existence exhibit a close similarity with those of Mutakallimīn (theologians) in Rānirī's *Hujjat*, particularly in affirming dual existence of God and that of creation, and emphasizing the *tanzīh* dimension of the doctrine.¹⁹³ Accordingly, Azra argued that he espoused the doctrine of *waḥdat al-shuhūd* rather than *waḥdat al-wujūd*.¹⁹⁴ Yet, unlike al-Rānirī, al-Maqāṣirī also embraced the aspect of *tashbīh*, acknowledging that God is All-Encompassing (*al-iḥāṭa*) and Omnipresent (*al-ma'īyya*).¹⁹⁵ It is therefore reasonable to conclude that he upheld the dual principles

¹⁸⁹ Azra, *The Origins of Islamic Reformism in Southeast Asia*, 98.

¹⁹⁰ such as Sīdī Maṭīlaya, Abū al-Ma'ānī Ibrāhīm Minḥān, and 'Abd al-Ṣiddīq b. Muḥammad Ṣādiq.

¹⁹¹ Hamka, *Dari Perbendaharaan Lama*, 47–48; Azra, *The Origins of Islamic Reformism in Southeast Asia*, 99.

¹⁹² This is evident from his multiple encounters with *wujūdiyya* linkages—both its key figures and the affiliated *ṭarīqa*. Among these figures were Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānirī, Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī al-Madānī, and Muḥammad Mīrẓā b. Muḥammad al-Dimashqī. He was also initiated into the *Shāṭṭariyya* order, which was largely associated with *wujūdiyya* doctrines.

¹⁹³ Al-Rānirī, "Proof of Veracious in Refutation of the Zindīq," 85; Arif, "Shaykh Yūsuf of Makassar (d. 1111 AH/1699 CE)," 69.

¹⁹⁴ Azra, *The Origins of Islamic Reformism in Southeast Asia*, 104.

¹⁹⁵ Adib Misbachul Islam, *Rahasia Segala Rahasia; Ajaran Sufistik Syaikh Yusuf Makassar* (Perpusnas Press, 2020), 34–35; Arif, "Shaykh Yūsuf of Makassar (d. 1111 AH/1699 CE)," 69.

of *tanzīh* and *tashbīh*, in line with the broader tradition of *wujūdiyya* scholars—with the notable exception of al-Rānīrī.

Turning to his written legacy, Tadjimah and Arif listed dozens of works attributed to al-Maqāṣīrī, preserved either at the National Library of Indonesia in Jakarta or at the University of Leiden Library in the Netherlands.¹⁹⁶ Of particular relevance to this study is his use of the nomenclature "*Saylān*," which appears in the several titles of his works: *al-Barakāt al-Saylānīyya*, *al-Nafaḥāt al-Saylānīyya*, *al-Tuḥfat al-Saylānīyya*, and *al-Manḥah al-Saylānīyya*. These titles are especially noteworthy in that, unlike others which refer to theological concepts, they explicitly invoke the spatial context of Ceylon, despite their contents being primarily non-geographical. This linguistic choice by al-Maqāṣīrī invites further reflection—particularly in light of the manuscript *Tuḥfat Sarandīb*, which Ibrahim has associated with Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī. Ibrahim also suggests the possibility of Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maqāṣīrī's involvement in the text.¹⁹⁷ If so, the significance of *Tuḥfat Sarandīb* is further magnified, as it would represent a confluence of intellectual trajectories from both prominent scholars.

2.4. Chapter Conclusion

To conclude this chapter, I contend that all scholars in Aceh held their own perspectives regarding the proper interpretation of Ibn 'Arabī's teachings. Nevertheless, theological debates between the so-called orthodox and heterodox groups persisted across all periods. This divide may have stemmed from sincere religious motives—implying that there existed a correct and an incorrect understanding of certain doctrines—or it may have been mobilized for political purposes that ultimately benefited one of the conflicting parties, most often the ruling authority. In this case, the core issue was less about doctrinal correctness and more about whether a particular figure or group aligned with those in power.

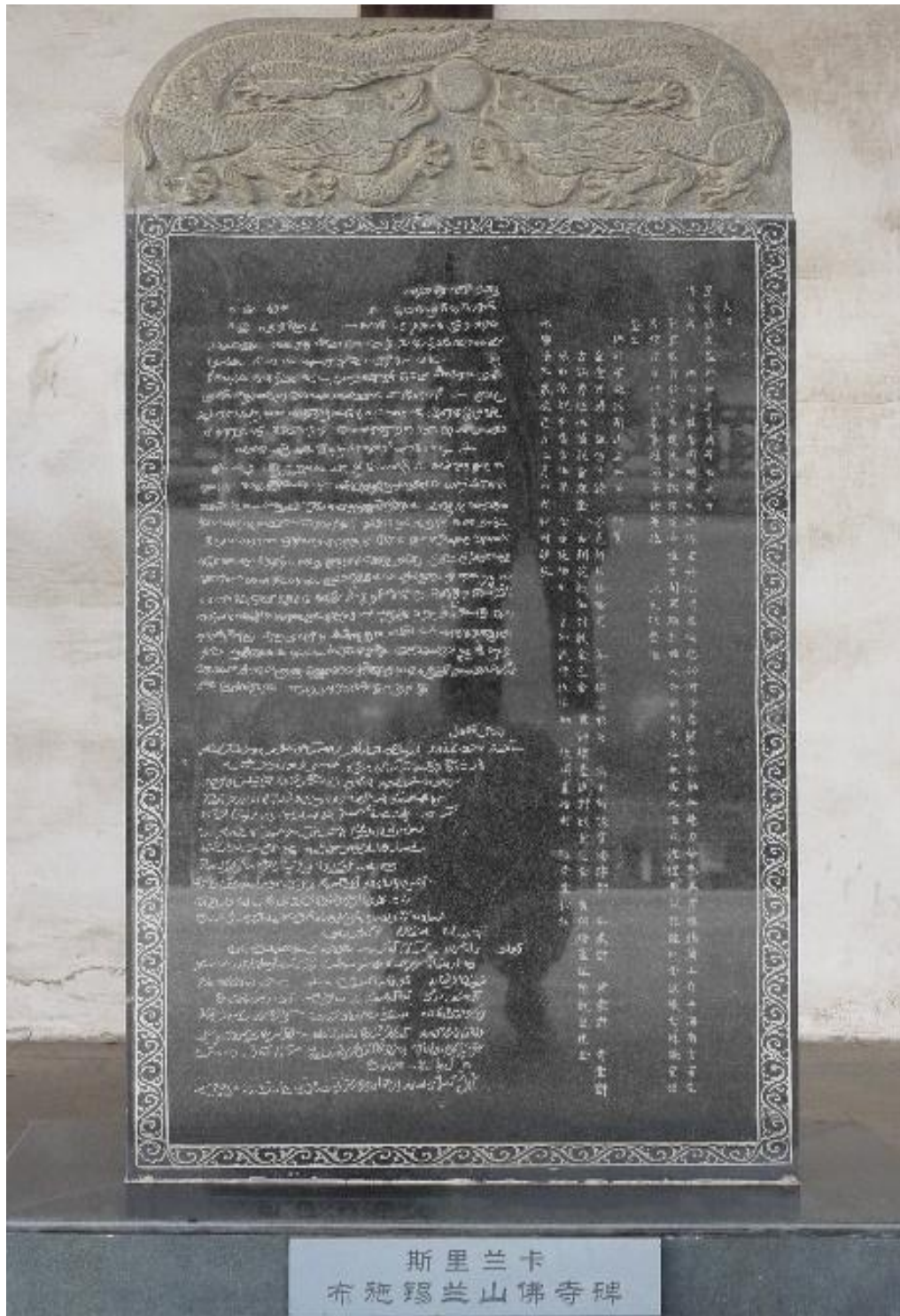
¹⁹⁶ Tadjimah, *Syekh Yusuf Makassar*, 21; Arif, "Shaykh Yūsuf of Makassar (d. 1111 AH/1699 CE)," 64–68.

¹⁹⁷ Ibrahim, "Tuḥfat Sarandīb Tadhkirat Li Al-Muḥib Karya Al-Raniri," 3.

In either case—or both—declaring a doctrine or group heretical must be approached with extreme caution. Such judgments should rely on definitive evidence (*dalīl qaṭʿī*) that reflects indisputable and universal truth, rather than on contested doctrinal positions. Ultimately, declaring someone heretical and killing someone perceived as such, are two fundamentally different matters. The latter, in particular, cannot be readily justified against Muslim communities, especially when the disputed doctrine does not concern the core, immutable foundations of Islamic belief. The case of *wujūdiyya* is illustrative in this regard.

Accordingly, any serious discussion of *wujūdiyya* in the seventeenth century must consider the paradigm shift within the Acehnese court, which led to violent conflict between two interpretations of *wujūdiyya*—one represented by the teachings of Ḥamzah Fanṣūrī and the former muftī, Shams al-Dīn al-Sumaṭrānī, and the other by the then-serving muftī of the Aceh Sultanate, Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī. The works of the latter scholar were widely disseminated across various regions through the broader global networks of trade and pilgrimage, which often included Ceylon as a transit hub. In time, the island came to play an even more significant role as a place of exile for royal figures and distinguished scholars such as Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maqāṣīrī, who not only forged meaningful correspondence with figures such as the Mughal ruler Aurangzeb but also helped bridge the intellectual discourse spanning Banten, Aceh, and Ceylon.

Ultimately, this chapter has outlined the intellectual and political landscape that framed the emergence of *Tuḥfat Sarandīb*, emphasizing the entanglement of *wujūdiyya* discourses, power struggles, and transregional scholarly networks. As a preliminary foundation, these reflections serve to contextualize the manuscript's content and significance. The discussion now turns into a philological inquiry, which seeks to trace the manuscript's transmission, identify its authorship, and examine the editorial challenges involved in its present form.



(Picture 2.1) Galle stele replica, Treasure Boat Shipyard in Nanjing.

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Galle_Trilingual_Inscription#

CHAPTER III

AUTHORSHIP, TRANSMISSION, AND THE LEGACY OF *TUḤFAT SARANDĪB*

3.1. Chapter Introduction

Following the foundational background outlined in the previous chapter, this chapter turns to the internal formation and literary structure of *Tuḥfat Sarandīb*. The primary objective of this chapter is twofold: first, to trace the textual genealogy and provenance of the manuscript; and second, to interrogate the question of authorship by analyzing internal textual evidence alongside philological and codicological features. While the role of Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī is fundamental, this chapter argues that the intellectual contribution of Yūsuf al-Maḳāṣīrī substantiates his claim to authorship.

To support this argument, the chapter is divided into three sections. The first section outlines the manuscript profile and its provenance, emphasizing the significance of *Tuḥfat Sarandīb* within the intellectual networks of the Indian Ocean world and reviewing previous scholarly contributions related to the treatise. The second section addresses the issue of authorship, which reflects not only questions of literary attribution but also broader concerns of scholarly authority, textual continuity, and theological agency. Special attention is given to the catechetical (the question-and-answer) format and the stylistic features of the text. Finally, the chapter concludes with a general thematic overview of the treatise as a prelude to the more detailed theological analysis undertaken in the following chapter.

3.2. The Overview of Surviving Manuscript: Description and Provenance

Based on online library research, at least three copies of *Tuḥfat Sarandīb* have been identified in different locations. One copy is preserved in Iran, while two others appear to be held in Aceh and India, respectively. The Iranian copy is the only manuscript currently available in digitized form. While the Acehnese copy has

been published as a diplomatic transcription by Sulaimān Ibrāhīm in 2015, in which he briefly mentioned the existence of the Indian copy. According to Ibrāhīm, the Indian manuscript of TS is recorded in *A Descriptive Catalog of the Islamic Manuscripts in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library*, No. 290(b), under the title *Tuhfat Sarandīb Tadhkirah li al-Muḥibb*, attributed to al-Rānīrī.¹⁹⁸ Due to various constraints, descriptions of the Acehnese and Indian manuscripts rely primarily on Ibrāhīm's article and the aforementioned catalog. For brevity, this study may refer frequently to the Iranian manuscript as (MS) and the general Arabic text of *Tuhfat Sarandīb* as (TS).

Structurally, *TS* is divided into four main parts: (1) a preface, (2) the primary content, translated from Rānīrī's Malay treatise, (3) the translator's commentary on selected theological points, and (4) the explicit.¹⁹⁹ The preface provides a detailed account of the text's transmission, highlighting several key figures: the author of the original Malay treatise, the translator, the intended recipient, and the individual who requested translation. While the two main content sections of *TS* will be elucidated thoroughly in following subsections, it is noteworthy that, due to the nature of *TS* which accommodates double works, the *incipit-explicit*²⁰⁰ structure allegedly appears three times in the manuscript. The first marks the entire text of *TS* composition, the second demonstrates the text of the Arabic translation of the original Malay treatise, while the third implies the additional commentaries of Hadiyat Allah. Significantly, the final *explicit*, which accentuates the final ending of the entire *TS*, reveals textual variations across the three copies of *TS*, a matter that will be addressed below.

The work was translated and compiled in *Sarandīb* (Ceylon), a place of exile in the seventeenth century, where the translator, Hadiyat Allāh, resided.²⁰¹ He was

¹⁹⁸ Ibid., 3–4.

¹⁹⁹ The explicit refers to the final sentences that constitute of a whole content of the text in contrast to the colophon which is not accounted as the part of the content. For more philological terms read Fathurahman, *Filologi dan Islam Indonesia*, 94–100.

²⁰⁰ The Incipit refers to the first words or lines of the text in a manuscript. Fathurahman argues that it does not refer to the title or preface. Instead, it refers to the exact first line of the text. While the explicit refers to the final words or lines of a text which still considers part of the text. Ibid.

²⁰¹ Shaykh Yūsuf al-Tāj al-Khalwatī Hadiyat Allāh al-Maqāṣīrī, "*Tuhfat Sarandīb*" (Teheran-Iran, 1700), fol 5a, Library of the Iranian Parliament MS 10-26404, <https://ketabpedia.com/بازار کتابت حنفیه>.

asked by a local scholar, Ibrāhīm ibn Mīkhān, to render into Arabic a Malay treatise on *taṣawwuf* authored by his teacher, Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī. The original Malay work consisted of twenty-two questions and answers addressing metaphysical doctrines and esoteric knowledge. He subsequently added his own commentaries, forming the second part of *TS*. He titled the entire work *Tuḥfat Sarandīb Tadhkirah li al-Muḥibb al-Ḥabīb*. Hence, the term *TS* here refers to the complete Arabic redaction, comprising both the translation of the original Malay treatise and the appended commentaries but excluding the original Malay text.

Despite the detailed historical background presented in the preface, several critical points remain unresolved and merit further investigation. For instance, what was the original title of the Malay treatise authored by al-Rānīrī? Is the text still extant? What prompted Ibrāhīm ibn Mīkhān and his intellectual circle to request a translation of this particular work? Was it the only mystical treatise by al-Rānīrī to reach Ceylon? Most of these questions unfortunately remain unanswered due to current limitations in time and source availability.

According to the bibliographical record provided by the Digital Library of the Iranian Parliament (Majles Library), the *MS* is a handwritten Arabic treatise copied in the twelfth century AH by the scribe Muḥammad Fatiḥ Khātīm.²⁰² It is bound together with several other works in a single codex comprising 101 leaves of European paper, lacking any watermark. The paper measures approximately 20.5 × 15 cm and features neither border decoration nor fixed margins. The codex is catalogued under *MS* number 10-26404, though an internal identification label registers it under number 87726. This compilation contains multiple treatises, including *Tuḥfat Sarandīb*, *Jawhar al-Ḥaqāʾiq* by Shams al-Dīn Abū ʿAbd Allāh, *Manzuma fī Dhikr*, *Khatmah al-Aḥbān*²⁰³, *Daqāʾiq al-Muḥkama* by Qāḍī Zakariyyā al-Anṣārī, among others. A close codicological examination reveals nine distinct treatises separated by the formula *Bismillāhirraḥmānirraḥīm*.²⁰⁴ Rubricated titles

²⁰² It is deserved more scrutiny since in the very last leaf of the codex, the expression ‘Muhammad al-Fātiḥ al-Khātīm’ refers to the Prophet and the scribe only named himself ‘Muhammad’

²⁰³ This title is scarcely readable and has no reference inside the codex.

²⁰⁴ These nine treatises are: (1) *Tuḥfat Sarandīb*, the present inquiry (2) *Jawhar al-Haqaiq* authored by Shams al-Din Abu Abd Allah, (3) untitled treatise by anonymous author consisting *manzumat* of Divine Names (4) untitled treatise by anonymous author pertaining rules of writing to various figures

This *explicit*²¹⁰ is completely identical with Ibrahim's transcription which conducted based on the Acehnese copy. He illustrated the manuscript as written on paper measuring 8,5 x 6,5 inches with the *TS* occupying a layout dimension of 23 x 11,5 cm. This copy consists of fifteen pages with twenty-five lines per page and an interlinear spacing of roughly 0,5 cm. No watermark is found. It is bound in a cover made of paper and white-blue plastic, bearing the label "Naskah XXVI". Regarding its provenance, Ibrahim only noted that it was brought by Oman Fathurahman and was copied from the original manuscript in Aceh though no precise location was provided.²¹¹ Furthermore, in separate work, Oman Fathurahman and Henri Chambert-Loir listed five potential institutions in Aceh known to house Indonesian manuscripts written in Arabic script.²¹² However, due to current limitations I have found no further information concerning the Acehnese original beyond what is recorded in Ibrahim's journal.

All records of the three copies assert that they constitute complete manuscripts, though none contain a *colophon* or specific date of production, rendering their *codicological* details obscure. Nonetheless, this textual completeness affirms the status of the *MS* as an independent and reliable witness in the reconstruction of *TS*. The variation observed in the final passage of the *MS* suggests that it was copied from a source distinct from those used for the other two extant copies. Furthermore, the presence of *TS* in three geographically separate locations underscores its prominence as a treatise, indicating that it attracted the attention of Muslim scholars who, upon visiting Ceylon, deemed it worthy of dissemination in their respective homelands or destinations.

²¹⁰ The written *explicit* above is an edited version of both were written in the Ibrahim transcription and the Indian Catalog.

²¹¹ Ibrahim, "Tuḥfat Sarandib Tadhkirat Li Al-Muḥib Karya Al-Raniri," 3–4.

²¹² They are *Balai Kajian Sejarah dan Nilai Tradisional, Banda Aceh*; *Dayah Tanoh Abee, Seulimeum*; *Museum Negeri Propinsi DI Aceh, Banda Aceh*; *Pusat Dokumentasi dan Informasi Aceh, Banda Aceh*; and *Yayasan Pendidikan Ali Hasyimi, Banda Aceh*. For further reading in Indonesian manuscript catalog see Henri Chambert-Loir and Oman Fathurahman, *Khazanah naskah: panduan koleksi naskah-naskah Indonesia sedunia* (Yayasan Obor Indonesia, 1999).

The Role of Previous Transcription of *Tuhfat Sarandib*

Ibrahim's journal remains, curiously, the sole study dedicated to *Tuhfat Sarandib* to date. His work is based on the Acehnese copy, which he considered at the time to be the only extant manuscript, and from which he produced a diplomatic transcription along with a translation in Bahasa.²¹³ While his contribution to the study of TS is undeniably significant, it nonetheless warrants further scrutiny. This subsection provides a critical assessment of his transcription, which appears to have been produced without rigorous philological methodology. Several inaccuracies raise questions about the scribe's competency, particularly given Ibrahim's own affirmation that the manuscript was preserved in good condition. The identified errors are categorized into four types of scribal mistakes: omission or *haplography*, interpolation, orthographic inaccuracies, and graphical confusion. The following tables present concrete examples of such errors in the transcription, with particular attention to graphical confusion that is unexpectedly present in the work of a scribe presumably well-versed in Arabic.

Table 3.1. The Omission or Haplography

Text in the transcription	Text in MS
بتعين ال ذانتي ال ذات ...	بتعين ال ذانتي ال ذانتي ال ذات ...
... قبل للخالق ولاي جاد ل ما مو ...	... قبل للخالق ولاي جاد ولاي جاد ل ما مو ...
... وجوده لغير ...	... وجوده لغيره ...
... وجود ما سوى ال خاف في ...	... وجود ما سوى ال الكال وجود في ام مغيره ال فينس ه خاف في ...
... والغير ...	... والغير ...
... يعرف لثها ...	... يعرف لثها ...
... يقول ايضا ...	... يقول ايض ال ظل مولشيء لادي

²¹³ Ibrahim, "Tuhfat Sarandib Tadhkirat Li Al-Muhib Karya Al-Raniri," 27–48.

سئلة اذاق الل قطل أن ألس ماعل طلفات ما هي جملها تغل فل جواب ان ألس ماعل طلفات انتكلها...	سئلة واذاق الل قطل ان ألس ماعل طلفات تكلها...
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Table 3.2. The Interpolation

Text in the transcription	Text in MS
..بوما اني زدت فلي بشيء...	...بما قد بشيء...
ال قطل ما وجود...	ال قطل ما وجود...
...فيما...	...فما...
...وم اصاحه الينغير...	...وصاحه الينغير...
...غى هذا القى اسرفي الكمل...	...غى هذا القى اسرفي الكمل...

Table 3.3. The Alternate or Incorrect Spelling

Text in the transcription	Text in MS	Standard Spelling
سئلة	سئلة	مسألة
الصلوة	الصلوة	الصلاة
للس اني	للس ان	(MS)
مش اخنا	مش اخنا	مشلي خنا
هلك	ذلك	(MS)
سواه	سوه / سواه	سواه
أفهم	أفهم	(MS)

إلسم	السم	(MS)
ناش اهل	ن ش اهل	(MS)

Table 3.4. Graphical Confusion

Text in the transcription	Text in MS
...مادى ال غريب...	...مأوى ال غريب...
..برضى ن ال عطي مال م حيد...	..برضو ن ال عطي مال م حيد...
..القمر من ال عيد...	..القمر من ال عيد...
...ان ال بددا...	...ازال و بددا...
يقال باعضا موجوده...	يقال بل ها موجوده...
...هو المشر ال ذي...	...مولش يء ال ذي...
...قني عدد و نيل...	...قني عدد و نيل...
...وال مراجع لعل ماس و نيل...	...وال مواج لعل ماس و نيل...
...وان ال حر ادت...	...وان ال حوا دت...

Due to the presence of scribal errors and the uncertain provenance of the manuscript upon which it is based, Ibrahim's transcription is employed only as a supplementary tool to clarify ambiguous readings or to reconstruct unintelligible passages in *MS*. Nevertheless, the transcription plays a valuable role in fostering scholarly engagement with the manuscript and in supporting a more cautious and reflective editorial approach. Accordingly, a critical apparatus is included whenever significant divergences arise between the transcription and *MS*.

3.3. The Question of Authorship: Between the Theological Treatise of Rānīrī and the Lost Work of al-Maqāsīrī

The question of authorship surrounding *TS* constitutes one of the central issues of this inquiry—not merely as a philological concern, but as a point of entry into the broader intellectual and theological dynamics of seventeenth-century South and Southeast Asia. The records associated with the extant copies propose three different figures as the author of *TS*. The *Madras Catalogue* attributes authorship to Ibrāhīm ibn Mikhān, a local scholar who requested his disciple, Hadiyat Allāh, to translate the original work into Arabic. Sulaiman Ibrahim, in contrast, explicitly identifies Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī as the author in his journal, while regarding Yūsuf al-Maqāsīrī as merely the translator of the Malay treatise into Arabic. A third, conflicting view was offered by the Indonesian philologist Ginanjar Syaban during a virtual seminar organized by the National Library of Indonesia, where he examined the Iranian copy and argued that the author of *TS* was actually a disciple of Yūsuf al-Maqāsīrī, not al-Maqāsīrī himself.²¹⁴ However, close textual scrutiny and supporting manuscript evidence suggest that *TS* is, in fact, a reworked version of Rānīrī's Malay treatise by Yūsuf al-Maqāsīrī—one that has been misattributed to other figures in the historical record.

All Arabic manuscripts in the world reflect two cultural presences simultaneously. Firstly, the Arabic culture which is manifested in its language and some codicological features (e.g. paper, rubrication, writing *sharḥ* or *ḥāshiya*). Secondly, the local culture wherein they engage with local Muslim people who involve in their production.²¹⁵ In the case of *TS*, the issue of authorship bears significant implications for the interpretation of *TS*, as each figure associated with it was embedded in distinct intellectual and theological contexts. If the work originated from the ideas of Ibrāhīm ibn Mikhān, it would foreground the role of local Ceylonese scholars within the broader theological discourse of seventeenth-

²¹⁴ WBS Radio Perpusnas. *Diskusi Naskah Nusantara #39 Syekh Yusuf Al-Makassari: Kebaruan Pemikiran dan Jejaring Intelektualnya*. YouTube. Sept 21, 2023. https://youtube.com/clip/UgkxsRMzkFYIgWjh5pVCm5VZFMZ3QFHM447v?si=GjrLgcQLM1hRf_____.

²¹⁵ Chambert-Loir and Fathurahman, *Khazanah naskah*, 39.

century South and Southeast Asia. If, on the other hand, *TS* reflects the theological project of Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī, it must be read in conjunction with his vehement polemics against *wujūdiyya* teachings in Aceh, as exemplified in works such as *Hujjat al-Šiddīq* or *Hall al-Zill*. Conversely, if the voice that emerges is that of Yūsuf al-Maqāsīrī—whether as translator, editor, or co-author—it may point to a more nuanced adaptation or contextual reception of Rānīrī’s metaphysical doctrines within a different intellectual milieu and political framework. In any case, it affirms that Arabic literary development in seventeenth-century Southeast Asia was deeply entangled with contemporaneous debates in Malay texts, which reflected more broadly in the Indian Ocean world.²¹⁶

The multiple attributions of *Tuḥfat Sarandīb* (TS) may be traced to a misinterpretation of its preface, wherein a detailed account concerning the authorship is explicitly provided. As previously noted, three individuals are named in connection with the production of this work: Ibrāhīm ibn Mīkhān, Hadiyat Allāh, and Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī. Although biographical information on Ibn Mīkhān remains scarce, his role is clearly described in the text as that of a local scholar who engaged with Malay treatises addressing esoteric knowledge, attributed to Rānīrī.²¹⁷ Notably, the preface asserts that one such Malay composition—left untitled—was entirely rendered into Arabic without preserving its original Malay text.²¹⁸

This Arabic translation was undertaken by Hadiyat Allāh, who not only translated the original material but also appended explanatory remarks on certain doctrinal concepts, ultimately compiling the entire work under the new title *Tuḥfat Sarandīb*. While the foundational content of TS demonstrably preserves the theological positions of Rānīrī and literally addresses his name, its Arabic formulation cannot be attributed to him uncritically. Translation, in this context,

²¹⁶ Peacock, *Arabic Literary Culture in Southeast Asia in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, 21.

²¹⁷ al-Maqāsīrī, “*Tuḥfat Sarandīb*,” fol. 5b.

²¹⁸ Some translation paradigm in Southeast Asia prevailing its original text with their translation. In this case, the translation is carried out in sentence-by-sentence model while another model employing word by word translation. Within these paradigms the translator can maintain the literal meaning instead of employing his broad interpretation while preserving simultaneously the original text. For further elaboration see Ronit Ricci, “Story, Sentence, Single Word: Translation Paradigms in Javanese and Malay Islamic Literature,” in *A Companion to Translation Studies* (John Wiley & Sons, Ltd, 2014), 543–55, <https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118613504.ch41>.

operates not as a neutral act but as a creative process of intellectual mediation, reinterpretation, and re-creation of text, especially when accompanied by supplemental commentary. There is no identical translation compares to its original text since all translations, to some extents, are “free” from it.²¹⁹ It is therefore reasonable to ascribe authorial credit of TS to Hadiyat Allāh, a *laqab* known to be associated with Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maqāṣirī.

This identification is supported by an attribution of *Hadiyat Allah* following his name in multiple sources²²⁰ and by the literal evidence in the preface of two al-Maqāṣirī’s works written in Ceylon, *Ḥabl al-Wārid li al-Sa‘adat al-Murīd* and *Kayfiyyat al-Manfī wa al-Ithbāt min al-Ḥadīth al-Qudsī* (see **figure 3.2**), in which he introduced himself in the former as:

“...Syekh Yusuf al-Taj yang bergelar di samping syekhnya dan gurunya, al-Mahasin Hadiyat Allah...” (Shaykh Yūsuf al-Tāj, who is also known—prior to his shaykh and teacher, al-Maḥāsin, Hadiyat Allāh.)²²¹

In light of this, the interpretation offered by the Indonesian philologist Ginanjar Syaban—who proposed that Hadiyat Allāh was a disciple of al-Maqāṣirī who accompanied him from the Archipelago to Ceylon—appears to stem from a misreading. As the same misreading happens when Syaban identified the copying date of *Daqā’iq al-Muḥkamah* by Zakariyyā al-Anṣārī—which is on Muḥarram 16, 1095/January 4, 1684—as the copying date of TS.²²² Unless further evidence proves otherwise, there is no compelling basis to argue that the title Hadiyat Allāh, as asserted in TS, refers to anyone other than Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maqāṣirī himself.

²¹⁹ Efrain Kristal, “Philosophical/Theoretical Approaches to Translation,” in *A Companion to Translation Studies* (John Wiley & Sons, Ltd, 2014), 29, 33–34, <https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118613504.ch2>.

²²⁰ See again the full name of Yusuf al-Maqasiri in previous chapter.

²²¹ Tudjimah, *Syekh Yusuf Makassar*, 113.

²²² He argued that all texts incorporated in the same codex have the same approximate copying date which is Muḥarram 16, 1095/January 4, 1684. *Diskusi Naskah Nusantara #39 Syekh Yusuf Al-Makassari: Kebaruan Pemikiran Dan Jejaring Intelektualnya*, directed by WBS Radio Perpustakaan, 2023, 02:39:38, <https://www.youtube.com/clip/UgkxfCFRvyidTVuDgBScMwNPvTEr6RgtMemC>.

Several indicators support the attribution of *Tuḥfat Sarandīb* to Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maqāṣirī, the foremost among them is the geographical context of its title. TS was written in Ceylon (present-day Sri Lanka), the island to which al-Maqāṣirī was exiled for a decade, from 1684 to 1694, and where he is known to have authored and disseminated multiple treatises. This spatial orientation is consistently reflected in his works, either through explicit references in their titles or in the prefaces that affirm their places of composition. Among such titles are *al-Barakah al-Saylāniyyah*, *Al-Nafḥah al-Saylāniyyah*, *al-Tuḥfah al-Saylāniyyah*,²²³ and *al-Manḥah al-Saylāniyya*, alongside other works such as *Ḥabl al-Wārid*, *Safīnat al-Najāḥ*, *Risālat Ghāyat al-Ikhtiṣār wa Nihāyat al-Intizār*, and *Kayfiyyat al-Manfī wa al-Ithbāt min al-Ḥadīth al-Qudsī*.²²⁴ While there is no textual or historical evidence recorded that Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānirī ever visited Ceylon, nor is the island referenced in any of his extant writings. This stands in stark contrast to the numerous regions explicitly mentioned in his *Fath al-Mubīn*, such as Kedah, Banten, Patani, Makassar, Johor, and Pahang, which attest to his direct engagement with the broader Malay-Indonesian world.²²⁵ The absence of Ceylon in his oeuvre further undermines the direct attribution of TS to Rānirī and reinforces the likelihood that its authorial voice belongs to al-Maqāṣirī.

Another possible reason behind this title may be his intent to differentiate between self-authored works composed in Ceylon and his intertextual writings derived from other sources. In this regard, all treatises bearing the epithet *Saylāniyyah* appear to be original compositions, while *Tuḥfat al-Sarandīb* stands as the sole intertextual work, incorporating several treatises of his master, Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānirī. This distinction becomes evident in the way he refers to himself in TS as *kātib al-aḥruf* (the scribe of letters), while designating al-Rānirī as *al-mu'allif* (the

²²³ This treatise was mentioned only once in Tudjimah without any further reference or record affirming its presence. Tudjimah, *Syekh Yusuf Makasar*, 13.

²²⁴ Tudjimah spelled it '*Kayfiyyat al-Munghī wa al-Ithbāt bi al-Ḥadīth al-Qudsī*' which is compiled with summaries and translations of all mentioned works in Bahasa, while in the MS 108, it is spelled '*Kayfiyyat al-Manfī wa al-Ithbāt min [al-]Ḥadīth al-Qudsī*' see Shaykh Yūsuf al-Tāj al-Khalwatī Hadiyat Allāh al-Maqāṣirī, "Kayfiyyat Al-Manfī Wa al-Ithbāt Min al-Ḥadīth al-Qudsī," Jakarta, n.d., 82, MS A 108, Perpustakaan Nasional Republik Indonesia, <https://khastara.perpusnas.go.id/koleksi-digital/detail/?catId=50512>; Tudjimah, *Syekh Yusuf Makasar*, 31.

²²⁵ Daudy, *Allah Dan Manusia Dalam Konsepsi Syekh Nuruddin Ar-Raniry*, 53.

author). However, this should not be understood that he was merely a scribe of the text, for he regularly employs similar expressions in most of his other works and confidently refers to himself as *ṣāhib al-risālah*, *muṣannif*, and *mu'allif*, even alongside the use of *kātib* in *Qurrat al-'Ayn*.²²⁶ The recurrence of this phrase is likely influenced by his prior occupation as a professional scribe, a role that had supported his intellectual pursuits during his travels.²²⁷

Rhetorically and stylistically, the preface of TS aligns with the conventions found in other treatises composed during al-Maqāṣirī's exile in Ceylon. In these works, he typically recounts the circumstances surrounding the composition of the text with a narrative tone that combines humility and theological reflection. He frequently refers to himself—either individually or in combination—as the inferior (*al-ḥaqīr*), ignorant (*al-jāhil*), impoverished (*al-faqīr*), or sinful (*al-mudhnib*) servant, residing in the land of Ceylon in addition to his typical self-reference *al-kātib al-aḥrūf*.²²⁸ Moreover, he often names either a particular individual or a group to whom the treatise was addressed or by whom it was commissioned. This is usually followed by a general description of the content and its source—particularly if it is derived from earlier scholarship—and a structural overview, before mentioning the title of the work.

Of particular note is a distinctive stylistic formulation found at the outset of the preface, wherein he situates himself “by God's precise decree and firm will, in the land of Ceylon, which is the island of *Sarandīb*, the exile of the sinner and the refuge of the stranger” (*lammā kunnā bi-taqdīr Allāh al-muḥkam wa-qaḍā'ihī al-mubram bi-'arḍ Saylān wa-hiya jazīrat Sarandīb, marma al-'āṣī wa ma'wā al-gharīb*).²²⁹ This formulation appears in several other works attributed to him, including *al-Nafḥah al-Saylānīyyah*, *Ḥabl al-Wārid*, *Safīnat al-Najāḥ*, and *al-*

²²⁶ Shaykh Yūsuf al-Tāj al-Khalwatī Hadiyat Allāh al-Maqāṣirī, “Qurrat Al-'Ayn,” Jakarta, n.d., 50–51, 63, MS A 101, Perpustakaan Nasional Republik Indonesia, <https://khastara.perpusnas.go.id/koleksi-digital/detail/?catId=50512>.

²²⁷ Umam, “The Scribe of Sufi-Philosophical Letters,” 423.

²²⁸ al-Maqāṣirī, “*Tuḥfat Sarandīb*,” fol. 6v; Ibrahim, “*Tuḥfat Sarandīb Tadhkirat Li Al-Muḥib Karya Al-Raniri*,” 37; Umam, “The Scribe of Sufi-Philosophical Letters,” 413; Peacock, *Arabic Literary Culture in Southeast Asia in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, 179.

²²⁹ al-Maqāṣirī, “*Tuḥfat Sarandīb*,” fol. 5b.

Manḥah al-Saylānīyya,²³⁰ indicating a recurring pattern of self-representation that may serve as a marker of authorship.

The theological implications of this phrasing are significant, as it foregrounds themes of divine will, exile, and spiritual humility. The metaphoric expression “the exile of the sinner and the refuge of the stranger” can be interpreted as an allusion to the primordial exile of Prophet Ādam from Paradise, while also evoking al-Maqāṣīrī’s own displacement from the Malay Archipelago to the island of *Sarandīb*.²³¹ This rhetorical motif and allusion, whether quoted in full or in part, appears consistently across his corpus written in Ceylon, reinforcing the authenticity of his authorial voice in TS. The presence of both figures, prophet Adam and al-Maqāṣīrī in Ceylon continued to resonate with later generations, as evidenced by the tributes paid to them in two literary works by the Ceylonese scholar Bābā Ūnus Saldīn (1832–1906), that are *Kitab Segala Peringatan* and *Syair Faiḍ al-Abād*.²³²

The figures addressed in these treatises were primarily hajjis—either originating from or destined for the archipelago—and local disciples or scholars, notably Abu al-Mā’ nī Ibrāhīm ibn Mīkhān and Abū al-Ṣiddīq Muḥammad Ṣādiq. The former is mentioned in *Tuḥfat Sarandīb* and *Safīnat al-Najāh*, while the latter appears in *al-Manḥah al-Saylānīyah* and *al-Nafḥāh al-Saylānīyah*. Although their biographical details remain scant, both were explicitly addressed as requester and targeted audience of the works who had encounters with al-Maqāṣīrī during his exile in Ceylon, rather than as authors of the texts.

In light of the foregoing arguments, it is reasonable to attribute the authorship to al-Maqāṣīrī; however, the primary content’s provenance from Ranīrī sustains the validity of attributing the work to him as well. This problematic authorship is not unique in TS, as al-Maqāṣīrī frequently produced multiple versions of relatively similar treatises under different titles. Tudjimah and Peacock, in their respective studies, have encountered comparable cases regarding al-

²³⁰ Tudjimah, *Syekh Yusuf Makasar*, 41, 113, 194, 205.

²³¹ Dasanayaka, *Arabs in Serandib*, 221; Ricci, *Banishment and Belonging*, 134–35.

²³² Ricci, *Banishment and Belonging*, 230.

Maqāṣīrī's writings. For instance, *al-Nafḥah al-Saylāniyah* and *Al-Manḥah al-Saylāniyah* are effectively dual treatises with virtually identical content. Similarly, *Daf' al-Balā'* appears to be a condensed summary derived from both *Sir al-Asrār* and *Zubdat al-Asrār*.²³³ The case most analogous to *Tuḥfat Sarandīb*'s authorship issue is that of *Maṭālib al-Sālikīn*. Peacock observes that although *Maṭālib al-Sālikīn* is commonly considered an original work by al-Maqāṣīrī in secondary literature, it is, in fact, an almost verbatim reproduction of a treatise by 'Abd al-Karīm al-Lāhūrī bearing the same title.²³⁴ Despite acknowledging al-Lāhūrī's precedence, the fact that al-Maqāṣīrī merely translated and altered the language into a more formal Arabic renders this appropriation problematic. Such instances suggest that the reproduction or adaptation of existing works, either within the same language or across different languages, was a not uncommon practice in al-Maqāṣīrī's literary production.

Accordingly, the nature of al-Maqāṣīrī's treatises composed during his exile in Ceylon tends toward brevity and complementarity.²³⁵ These works typically span only a few pages and often function as exegetical elaborations on themes previously addressed in his earlier or longer writings. It is therefore unsurprising to observe recurrent parallels and intertextual references across his corpus. The conciseness of these treatises, as suggested by Peacock, can be attributed to several factors. First, it reflects a broader scholarly trend among leading ulama of the period who opted for concise compositions tailored to their audiences' temporal constraints. For instance, Peacock cites al-Kūrānī's response to a question on *al-a'yān al-thābita*, in which he acknowledged the impossibility of offering a comprehensive answer due the limited time of pilgrims who will depart from Mecca less than a month after he got the question.²³⁶ This limitation was even more pronounced in al-Maqāṣīrī's context, as Ceylon functioned merely as a transitory stop for pilgrims' route to other destinations. Consequently, many of his treatises were composed either at the

²³³ Tudjimah, *Syekh Yusuf Makasar*, 19; Peacock, *Arabic Literary Culture in Southeast Asia in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, 180.

²³⁴ Peacock, *Arabic Literary Culture in Southeast Asia in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, 180.

²³⁵ *Ibid.*, 175.

²³⁶ *Ibid.*, 181.

behest of these brief visitors or intended to accompany them to subsequent locations. Another plausible explanation for the brevity of these texts lies in their strategic design to circumvent anti-Islamic colonial policies prevalent during that period.²³⁷ Concise treatises were inherently easier to conceal, preserve, and transport than voluminous tomes, thus enhancing their utility under restrictive conditions.

While considering the intertextual nature of al-Maqāṣirī's writings, Peacock suggests that such textual reuse should be understood as a conscious strategy to adapt established discourses to the specific questions and needs of his audiences. Fathurahman, meanwhile, emphasizes the interconnectedness of Indonesian manuscripts, as a form of "collective memory." For instance, Rānirī's *Sirāt al-Mustaqīm* served as a foundational source for al-Banjārī's *Sabīl al-Muhtadīn*, while one manuscript with Maranao language in Philippines explicitly acknowledges its indebtedness to al-Sinkilī's *Mir'āt al-Tullāb*.²³⁸

Ultimately, in re-evaluating the authorship of *Tuḥfat Sarandīb*, I contend that it is an intertextual work of Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maqāṣirī which incorporates and re-produces his master's treatises, Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānirī. In other words, *Tuḥfat Sarandīb* may reasonably be regarded as a previously unrecognized work of al-Maqāṣirī that emphasizes disciple-master relationship between them. Interestingly, this relationship is unrecognized in Ḥasan ibn 'Alī's (d. 1113/1702) *Khabāyā al-Zawāyā*—the only pre-modern hagiographical work that thoroughly illustrates al-Maqāṣirī's intellectual journey in the Arabian Peninsula until his return to the Archipelago.²³⁹ While al-Maqāṣirī's *silsila* with al-Rānirī is clearly evident from his own preface to *Safīnat al-Najāh*²⁴⁰ identifying him as his Qādirī master,²⁴¹ in

²³⁷ In the 1560s, Portuguese underwent the anti-Muslim (anti-Moorish) policies in Ceylon which oppressed the life of local Muslims. These policies were inherited by the Dutch when they ruled the island during the seventeenth century. (Muslim in 16-17, 135-141) (Muslim under the Dutch rule 168) Abeyasinghe, "Muslims in Sri Lanka in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," 135-41; Kotelawele, "Muslims under Dutch Rule in Sri Lanka 1638-1796," 168.

²³⁸ Fathurahman, *Filologi dan Islam Indonesia*, 113-14.

²³⁹ Dumairieh, *Sufis and Their Lodges in the Ottoman Hijāz*, 372; Khoiri, "Documenting Al-Maqāṣirī's Indian Silsila."

²⁴⁰ Shaykh Yūsuf al-Tāj al-Khalwatī Hadiyah Allāh al-Maqāṣirī, "Safīnat Al-Najāh," in *Syekh Yusuf Makasar: Riwayat Dan Ajarannya* (Penerbit Universitas Indonesia, 1997), 200.

²⁴¹ Azra, *The Origins of Islamic Reformism in Southeast Asia*, 89.

fact—according to Khoiri—al-Rānīrī was not merely a single *ṭarīqa* master for him. Rather, he transmitted more *ṭarīqas* than any of al-Maqāṣīrī’s other masters—including Suhrāwardiyyah, Shādhiliyyah, and Rifā‘iyyah—and was also his first Akbarian master.²⁴² The reason behind the absence of al-Rānīrī’s record in *Khabāyā al-Zawāyā* lies in al-Maqāṣīrī’s courtesy and deep respect for his master, as he may have wanted to avoid any tension or awkwardness between al-Rānīrī and his Ḥijāzī networks, who recognized al-Rānīrī primarily through his controversial *fatwā* against *wujūdiyyah* in the Aceh Sultanate.²⁴³ In this regard, by incorporating al-Rānīrī’s treatises into his own intertextual work, al-Maqāṣīrī demonstrates his respect even further—showing that, despite his remarkable intellectual and mystical background acquired in the Arabian Peninsula, he still recognized and honored his master’s writings

3.4. Textual Characteristics and Topical Mapping of the Manuscript

As narrated in the preface of *Tuḥfat Sarandīb*: Ibrāhīm ibn Mīkhān, a Ceylonese scholar, encountered several treatises concerning mystical and esoteric knowledge composed in the *Jāwī* tounge which translated to Malay language (*waqafa ‘ala ba‘di rasā’il shaykhinā wa ustadhinā al-mu’allaḥ bi-l-lisāni al-Jāwī al-mutarjamah bi-l-kalāmi al-malayuwi fī ba‘di ‘ulūm al-haqā’iqi*). This very sentence was quite problematic considering that the term *Jāwī*, especially in the context of the period during which TS was written, did not merely refer to the island of Java. Rather, it encompassed a broader reference to the Indo-Malay world²⁴⁴—particularly regions influenced or subordinated to the Sultanate of Aceh—where Malay was commonly used as the lingua franca. However, a closer philological reading of these sentences reveals more nuanced implications.

The phrase *al-mu’allaḥ bi-l-lisān al-Jāwī al-mutarjamah bi-l-kalām al-malayuwi* appears to distinguish between the *Jāwī* (*lisān al-Jāwī*) and Malay languages, implying that the original text may have been composed initially in Javanese and subsequently translated into Malay. If this reading is accurate, it

²⁴² Khoiri, “Documenting Al-Maqāṣīrī’s Indian Silsila.”

²⁴³ Ibid.

²⁴⁴ Azra, *The Origins of Islamic Reformism in Southeast Asia*, 3.

suggests that TS is a product of double translation: first from Javanese into Malay, and then from Malay into Arabic. However, the more plausible interpretation is that *lisān al-Jāwī* in this instance refers not to the Javanese language per se, but rather to the *Arab Pegon* script—Arabic-based orthography adapted to transcribe vernacular Javanese or Malay²⁴⁵—while the language itself remains Malay. This practice aligns closely with Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī’s known method in composing his Malay treatises using the Jāwī script.

Regarding the terms *u’riba* and *ta’ajjama* in the preface of *Tuhfat Sarandīb*,²⁴⁶ both can be interpreted through two interconnected semantic fields. The verb *u’riba* may signify either “to elucidate” or “to render into Arabic,” while *ta’ajjama* can denote both “to be unintelligible” and “to be non-Arabic.” In this context, the request addressed to the author could be understood as either a call to clarify the ambiguous aspects of a Malay treatise or to translate it into Arabic—or possibly to fulfill both tasks simultaneously.

Discussing the translation, it is important to underscore that al-Rānīrī—like al-Maqāṣīrī and many other classical Muslim authors—habitually prefaced his works with a prologue detailing the background of the composition along with its title. The absence of such a preface in TS, therefore, suggests at least two possibilities: either the original Malay source lacked this prefatory material, or al-Maqāṣīrī deliberately omitted it and incorporated only the substantive content in crafting what ultimately became *Tuhfat Sarandīb* which will be attested later. In either case, these considerations reinforce the argument for al-Maqāṣīrī’s authorship of TS.

Another issue pertain to the translation is the motivation behind Ibrāhīm ibn Mīkhān’s request for an Arabic version of a Malay text, given that the Malay language functioned as a widely understood medium of communication for trade, cultural exchange, and Islamic scholarship across the Southeast Asia during the

²⁴⁵ Peacock, *Arabic Literary Culture in Southeast Asia in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, 16.

²⁴⁶ It narrated verbatim “*thumma iltamasa min al-abd al-mutaaraf bi al-jahl bi an uriba ma taajjama fi tilka al-risalah...*”

seventeenth century alongside with Arabic.²⁴⁷ Why, then, was an Arabic translation deemed necessary?

It is true that the Malay language had developed a rich literary tradition from at least the fourteenth century onward, flourishing on both sides of the Strait of Malacca and reaching its zenith during the golden era of the Aceh Sultanate in the seventeenth century.²⁴⁸ Functioning as a *lingua franca* across the Indo-Malay Archipelago, Malay played a pivotal role in the dissemination of Islamic teachings alongside Arabic. However, beyond the borders of Southeast Asia—particularly within the broader Indian Ocean world—Arabic enjoyed a more prestigious and authoritative position, largely due to its sacred status as the language of divine revelation.²⁴⁹ This religious prestige likely contributed to the perceived necessity for Arabic texts in Islamic instruction and discourse. From the perspective of translation studies, the rendering of *Tuḥfat Sarandīb* into Arabic may be viewed as al-Maqāṣirī's effort to elevate Malay Islamic literature to a wider Muslim readership beyond the Malay-speaking world.²⁵⁰

However, although al-Rānirī was prolific in composing works in Malay, he nevertheless maintained his scholarly ties to Arabic, as evidenced by his authorship of treatises such as *Nubdhah fī Da'wā al-Ẓill ma'a Ṣāhibihi*, *al-Lama'ān fī Takfīr man Qāla bi-Khalq al-Qur'ān*, *Hidāyat al-Ḥabīb fī al-Targhīb wa al-Tarhīb*,²⁵¹ and *'Aqā'id al-Ṣūfiyya al-Muwaḥḥidīn*.²⁵² It is also plausible that Rānirī—and many *aṣḥāb al-Jāwī*—deliberately used *Arab-Pegon* script (modified Arabic script accommodating Javanese or Malay phonology) rather than indigenous scripts such

²⁴⁷ Chambert-Loir and Fathurahman, *Khazanah naskah*, 23; Peacock, *Arabic Literary Culture in Southeast Asia in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, 13.

²⁴⁸ Chambert-Loir and Fathurahman, *Khazanah naskah*, 33 and 131.

²⁴⁹ Peacock, *Arabic Literary Culture in Southeast Asia in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, 15–17.

²⁵⁰ Mona Baker, “The Changing Landscape of Translation and Interpreting Studies,” in *A Companion to Translation Studies* (John Wiley & Sons, Ltd, 2014), 18, <https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118613504.ch1>.

²⁵¹ This is among the rarely *Hadith* compilation manuscript written in the Archipelago. Oman Fathurahman published a comprehensive study concerning this particular MS. See Fathurahman, “The Roots of the Writing Tradition of *Hadīth* Works in Nusantara.”

²⁵² All mentioned titles are based on Raniri's nomenclature except the last one which was provided by Daudy himself. Daudy, *Allah Dan Manusia Dalam Konsepsi Syekh Nuruddin Ar-Raniry*, 47–55.

as Javanese or Sundanese, precisely due to Arabic's elevated religious status in addition to the massive Islamization progress in Indo-Malay world. Moreover, within the socio-religious milieu of seventeenth-century Ceylon onwards, Arabic proficiency was likely held in higher esteem especially as a counterbalance to the increasing dominance of English as the language of colonial education.²⁵³ In this light, Ibrāhīm ibn Mīkhān's request for an Arabic version of the TS may have been an attempt to establish the work as an authoritative and transmissible religious text suited for the broader Islamic pedagogical environment of Ceylon.

One of the most distinctive features of TS is its organization in a catechetical format (*su'āl wa-jawāb*), a structure that occupies a prominent place in Islamic intellectual history as well as in the theological works of Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī. This format functions not only as a pedagogical device but also as an effective means of asserting specific doctrinal positions. It was common practice among students in classical Islamic learning to engage in *mudhākara*—dialogical questioning and answering—as a method to engrain lessons in memory.²⁵⁴ At the same time, by framing theological dilemmas as explicit questions, the author can anticipate potential objections and respond with concise, authoritative statements that clarify his own doctrinal stance while, deliberately or not, excluding conflicting perspectives. Consequently, this format frequently appears in *fatwā* literature, wherein the primary objective is to articulate the legal opinions of a particular *mufīī* in response to specific queries, rather than to provide a comprehensive treatment of the issue. By contrast, the catechetical format is scarcely found in the original works of al-Maqāṣīrī, especially those written during his exile in Ceylon, where he neither engaged with the *wujūdiyya* controversy that preoccupied Aceh nor adopted Rānīrī's theological stance toward it.²⁵⁵ From this single perspective, it appears reasonable to surmise that Rānīrī composed the original Malay text of TS during his

²⁵³ Azeez, "The Muslim Tradition in Education (From Sixteenth Century to The Present Day)," 1155–57.

²⁵⁴ George Makdisi, *The Rise of Colleges* (Edinburgh University Press, 2022), 103–4, <https://doi.org/10.1515/9781474470643>.

²⁵⁵ Unlike Raniri who weighed more on *tanzīh* aspect of Divine existence, Shaykh Yusuf al-Maqasiri prevailed the equal doctrine of *tanzīh* and *tashbīh*. see Azra, *The Origins of Islamic Reformism in Southeast Asia*, 104; Islam, *Rahasia Segala Rahasia; Ajaran Sufistik Syaikh Yusuf Makassar*, 35; Arif, "Shaykh Yūsuf of Makassar (d. 1111 AH/1699 CE)," 70.

tenure as *mufī* of the Aceh Sultanate, employing the catechetical structure to facilitate his refutation of *wujūdiyya* teachings. Thus, the remaining question is ‘what is the original treatise of *Tuhfat Sarandīb*?’

Building upon the internal evidence preserved in the manuscript, it may be inferred that the original treatise(s) incorporated into *Tuhfat Sarandīb* possessed at least four key characteristics: (1) they consisted of more than one treatise (*rasā’il*—sing. *risālah*); (2) they were composed in the Malay language (*al-mu’allafah bi-l-lisān al-Jāwī al-mutarjamah bi-l-kalām al-Malāyūwī*); (3) they addressed esoteric knowledge (*fī ba’di ‘ulūmi al-ḥaqā’iqi*); and (4) they were structured in catechetical form (*‘alā ṭarīq su’āl wa-jawāb*). In the light of this, referring to the limited references in Daudy’s survey of Rānīrī’s works, three treatises appear to have close affinity with the materials embedded in *TS* namely, *Nubdhah fī Da’wā al-Zill ma’a Ṣāhibihi*, *Ḥall al-Zill* (HZ), and *Ayna al-‘Ālam Qabla Khalqihī*.²⁵⁶ Both *Nubdhah* and *Ḥall al-Zill* exhibit catechetical structure—though the former was composed in Arabic—while the third treatise is quoted in the first entry of *TS* as follows: *ayna al-‘ālam wa huwa kullu mā siwa Allāh ta’ālā min qabl an yakhlūqahu Allāh wa yūjidahu*.²⁵⁷ Although full details regarding the third treatise remain elusive, a close reading of HZ strongly suggests that it constitutes one of the principal sources for *TS*, particularly since twelve of *TS*’s twenty-two entries are directly derived from it. The following table illustrates the correlation between the questions in *TS* and HZ:

Table 3.5. The comparison between questions of *Ḥall al-Zill* and *Tuhfat Sarandīb*.

Number of HZI	Ḥall al-Zill	Number of TS	<i>Tuhfat Sarandīb</i>
-	-	1	Idhā qāla al-qā’il ayna al-‘ālam wa huwa kullu mā siwa Allāh ta’ālā min qabl an yakhlūqahu Allāh wa yūjiduhu?

²⁵⁶ Daudy, *Allah Dan Manusia Dalam Konsepsi Syekh Nuruddin Ar-Raniry*, 46–56.

²⁵⁷ al-Maqāṣīrī, “*Tuhfat Sarandīb*,” fol. 6r.

-	-	2	Idhā qāla al-qā'il mā wujūd al- ‘ālam min qabl an yakhluq Allāh wa yūjiduhu?
-	-	3	Idhā qāla al-qā'il mā ta‘ayyun al-‘ālam min qabl an yakhluqahu Allāh wa yūjiduhu?
-	-	4	Wa idhā qāla al-qā'il mā ism al-‘ālam min qabl an yakhluqahu Allāh wa yūjiduhu?
-	-	5	Wa idhā qāla al-qā'il mā ḥukm al-‘ālam wa nisbatuhu min qabl an yakhluqahu Allāh wa yūjiduhu?
-	-	6	Wa idhā qāla al-qā'il ayna al- ‘ālam ba‘da mā khalaqa Allāh ta‘ālā wa awjadahu?
-	-	7	Wa idhā qāla al-qā'il mā wujūd al-‘ālam ba‘da mā khalaqahu Allāh wa awjadahu?
-	-	8	Wa idhā qāla al-qā'il mā ism al-‘ālam ba‘da mā khalaqahu Allāh ta‘ālā wa awjadahu?
-	-	9	Wa idhā qāla al-qā'il mā ḥukm al-‘ālam wa nisbatuhu lahu

			ta‘ālā ba‘da mā khalaqahu Allāh ta‘ālā wa awjadahu?
-	-	10	Mā al-sabab fī tasmiyyat al- ‘ālam bi‘ālam?
1	Jika ditanyai seseorang orang apa makna <i>ẓill</i> itu?	11	Famā ma‘nā ẓill?
2	Jika ditanyai seseorang orang bahwa alam itu <i>ẓill</i> Allah jika demikian pada bicara akal bahwa <i>ẓill</i> itu seperti serupa dengan yang empunya <i>ẓill</i> umpama seseorang melihat cermin maka kelihatan dalam cermin itu seperti rupa yang melihat jua sekali-kali tiada persalahan. Jika demikian nyatalah bahwa alam itu rupa Allah	12	Wa idhā qāla al-qā’il famā al- sabab fī tasmiyya hādhā al- ‘ālam bi ẓill Allāh ta‘ālā wa al- ḥāl Anna al-ẓill kāna ṣūratuhu kaṣūratī ṣāhibihi faidhā kāna kadhālik fa al-mutabādar fī al- ‘aql anna Allāh ta‘ālā kāna lahu ṣūrat ka ṣūratī al-‘ālam lianna al-‘ālam ẓilluhu
3	Jika ditanyai seseorang berapa tempat kenyataan alam?	13	Kam maḥal taayyun al-ālam
4	Jika ditanyai seseorang bahwa <i>a’yān khārijīyya</i> itu <i>ẓill</i> apa?	14	Idhā qāla al-qā’il al-a’yān al- khārijīyya mā hiya
5	Jika ditanyai seseorang <i>a’yān thābita</i> itu <i>ẓill</i> apa?	15	Inna al-a’yān thābita ẓilālāt mā hiya

6	Jika ditanyai seseorang apa artinya <i>a'yān thābita</i> ?	16	Idhā qāla al-qā'il mā ma'nā al-a'yān thābita
7	<i>A'yān thābita</i> itu apa pada Allah?	17	Idhā qāla al-qā'il al-a'yān al-thābita mā hiya 'inda Allāh ta'ālā
8	Jika ditanyai seseorang <i>a'yān thābita</i> itu adakah berwujud?	18	Hal al-a'yān al-thābita kānat mawjūda
9	Jika ditanyai seseorang rupa maklumat itu apa?	19	Idhā qāla al-qā'il šūrat ma'lūmāt Allāh ta'ālā mā hiya
10	Jika ditanyai seseorang bahwa segala sifat dan <i>asmā'</i> itu apa pada Allah?	20	Idhā qāla al-qā'il inna al-asmā' wa al-ṣifāt mā hiya 'inda Allāh ta'ālā
11	Jika ditanyai seseorang betapa peri mengetahui <i>a'yān khārijīyya</i> itu kenyataan <i>ẓill</i> dan atsar dan hukum sifat dan <i>asmā'</i> ?	21	Idhā qāla al-qā'il kayfa šūrat ma'rifatinā wa kayfiyyatuhā bi al-a'yān al-khārijīyya bi annahā ta'ayyunāt al-asmā' wa al-ṣifāt
12	Jika ditanya seseorang betapa peri kita mengetahui patung itu (menerima) bekas daripada segala sifat pandai itu?	22	Idhā qāla al-qā'il kayfa šūrat ma'rifatinā bi al-maṣnū' innahu qābilun li'athar ṣifāt al-ṣāni'

The twelve questions presented in *Ḥall al-Zill* exactly correspond to the final twelve entries in *Tuhfat Sarandīb*. While this correspondence initially suggests a textual identity between the two works, a closer examination of *TS* reveals notable variations. These deviations indicate the active interpretive role of al-Maqāṣirī in the process of translation and transmission. A more detailed analysis of these variations will be addressed in the following chapter.

This structural observation strongly implies that *TS* was not a simple translation of a single treatise, but rather a composite work compiled by al-Maqāṣirī. His method appears to involve the integration of multiple source texts, of which *Ḥall al-Zill* is only one. Consequently, any attempt to identify the remaining source(s) of *TS* must not only account for the textual gaps but also demonstrate thematic or structural continuity with *Ḥall al-Zill*. Among the candidate texts, *Nubdhah fī Da‘wā al-Zill ma‘a Ṣāḥibihi*—Rānīrī’s earlier Arabic treatise—emerges as the most plausible complement. However, its recognition as a source remains marginal, largely because it was composed in Arabic rather than in Malay, which complicates its association with a work that was originally written in the *Jāwī* language and later rendered into Arabic in *TS*.²⁵⁸

Furthermore, while *Tuhfat Sarandīb* clearly demonstrates its relationship with Rānīrī’s works, it simultaneously establishes an intellectual continuity with al-Maqāṣirī’s own writings through its subject matter. The concept of the permanent archetypes (*al-a‘yān al-thābita*)—a key theme within the *wujūdiyya* discourse in Aceh—also appears in one of al-Maqāṣirī’s compositions in Ceylon, *Risālat Ghayat al-Ikhtiṣār*.²⁵⁹ This intersection suggests that both the notion of permanent archetypes in particular, and the broader spectrum of mystical discourse developed in Aceh, had extended their influence on Ceylon by that period and had sparked the intellectual interest of local Muslim scholars.²⁶⁰ It was likely in this context that

²⁵⁸ One of principal conditions of the source treatise(s) of *TS*.

²⁵⁹ Shaykh Yūsuf al-Tāj al-Khalwatī Hādīyat Allāh al-Maqāṣirī, “Risālat Ghāyat Al-Ikhtiṣār Wa Nihāyat al-Inzār,” Jakarta, n.d., MS A 108, Perpustakaan Nasional Republik Indonesia, <https://khastara.perpusnas.go.id/koleksi-digital/detail/?catId=50512>; Tudjimah, *Syekh Yusuf Makasar*, 96–99.

²⁶⁰ Current studies of Peacock and Ricci attest this hypothesis. Peacock stated that *Ḥall al-Zill* itself, in addition to *TS*, was likely translated into Arabic in Ceylon by Rānīrī’s disciple. While Ricci found a manuscript in Ceylon of the Four Caliphs enunciation that vividly reflected *wujūdiyya* teachings.

Ibrāhīm ibn Mīkhān requested al-Maqāṣirī to translate and elucidate the original text of TS, either for his own benefit or for the spiritual aspirants (*al-sālik wa al-murīd al-rāghib min ahl al-ṭarīqa*) among the Muslim community in Ceylon.

Dwelling on the general content, the first part of *TS* comprises twenty-two question-and-answer entries, all of which address at least six mystical themes: (1) the quality and existence of the cosmos (*‘ālam*) before its creation, (2) its quality and existence after creation, (3) the etymology of its name, (4) the discussion of *al-ẓill*, (5) the three levels of the cosmos (*maḥall al-ta‘ayyun*), and (6) the cosmos’ reception of the Divine Names and Attributes (*al-asmā’ wa-l-ṣifāt*). This part of *TS* resembles the Arabic rendering of al-Rānīrī’s Malay treatises, one of which is *Ḥall al-Ẓill*. Al-Maqāṣirī clearly marks this section with the phrase *qāla shaykhunā al-mu‘allif* (“our Shaykh conveyed...”). In the first theme, *TS* presents five ideas related to the pre-creational state: (1) the place of the cosmos, (2) its existence, (3) its entification (*ta‘ayyun*), (4) its name before creation, and (5) its ontological status (*ḥukm*) and relation (*nisba*) with God. All these topics—except for the entification—are revisited in the second theme, now within the framework of post-creational existence. The third topic—an etymological exposition of the term *‘ālam*—is treated in a single question, though it logically leads into the discussion of *al-ẓill* in the two following entries. The subsequent six points concern the three levels of the cosmos’s entification: the level of Unity (*al-martabah al-waḥdah*), the level of Oneness (*al-martabah al-wāḥidiyyah*), and the level of Spirit (*al-martabah al-arwāḥ*). The final theme discusses how cosmos is capable of receiving God’s Attributes and Names. This point is the longest elaboration where al-Rānīrī resorted to the metaphor that explain the idea.

The second part of *TS* comprises the commentaries of al-Maqāṣirī on several theological points, particularly the nature of existence. This part was marked with his self-reference *thumma qāla al-faqīr al-ḥaqīr... dhayyaltu fī ākhir hādhihi al-risālah* (Then, the impoverished and inferior one said... I have entailed in the end of this treatise...).²⁶¹ While Rānīrī unequivocally asserts the non-existence of the

Read Ricci, *Banishment and Belonging*, 40; Peacock, *Arabic Literary Culture in Southeast Asia in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, 83.

²⁶¹ al-Maqāṣirī, “Tuḥfat Sarandīb,” fol. 9r.

cosmos both before and after creation—without offering detailed reasoning—al-Maqaṣīrī finds it necessary to elaborate. He explores the ontological status of the cosmos and the concept of permanent archetypes (*al-a'yān al-thābitah*), arguing that these must exist in a particular mode to uphold Divine wisdom (*ḥikmah*). His interpretation introduces a twofold conception of existence, grounded in the metaphysical principle of contingency: one being the independent existence, and the other, the contingent existence of the cosmos, which is entirely dependent upon the former. Through the metaphor of the shadow, he explains that the cosmos, like a shadow, possesses no autonomous agency or effect upon the external world. Consequently, its existence cannot be regarded as coexistent or associated with the Divine existence. Most significantly, al-Maqaṣīrī explicitly identifies the acknowledgment of these two modes of existence as the proper understanding of *wahdat al-shuhūd*.²⁶²

3.5. Chapter Conclusion

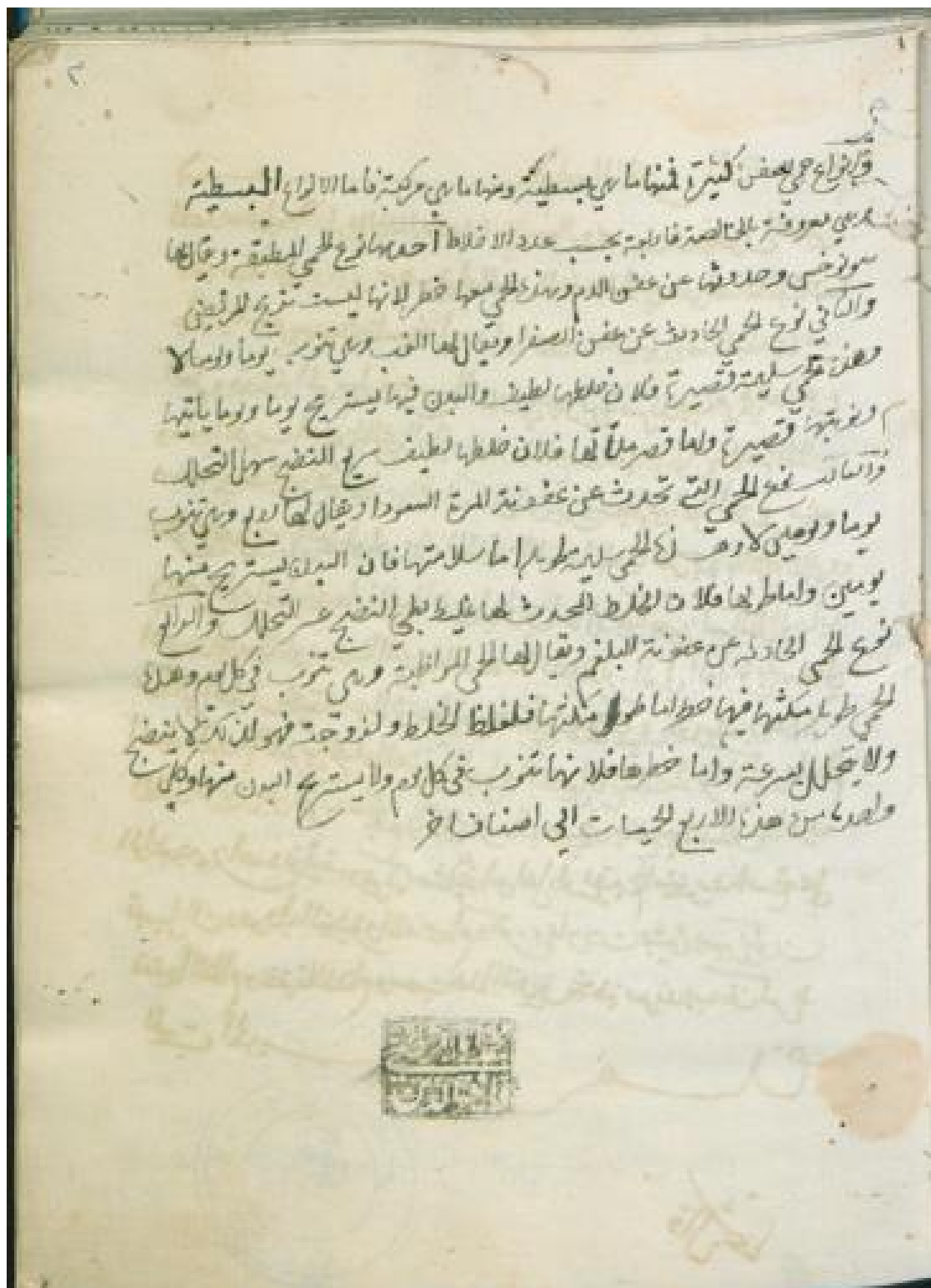
To sum up, the genealogical and philological assessment of *Tuḥfat Sarandīb* reflect its pivotal role in scholarly network of the Indian Ocean world. This text not only anchors the intellectual contributions of Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī, Yūsuf al-Maqaṣīrī, and the Ceylonese scholar Ibrāhīm ibn Mīkhān, but also testifies to the interregional transmission of mystical ideas. The circulation of its manuscript copies across Iran, India, and Aceh reflects a deep engagement by local Muslim communities with the esoteric teachings it preserves.

This study has postulated that TS is an unrecognized intertextual work of Yūsuf al-Maqaṣīrī that incorporates his master's treatises, Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī. One of those treatises is *Ḥall al-Zill* which translated into the Arabic version and expanded with exegetical elaborations. This intertextual nature attests to the disciple-master relationship between al-Maqaṣīrī and al-Rānīrī and resembles al-

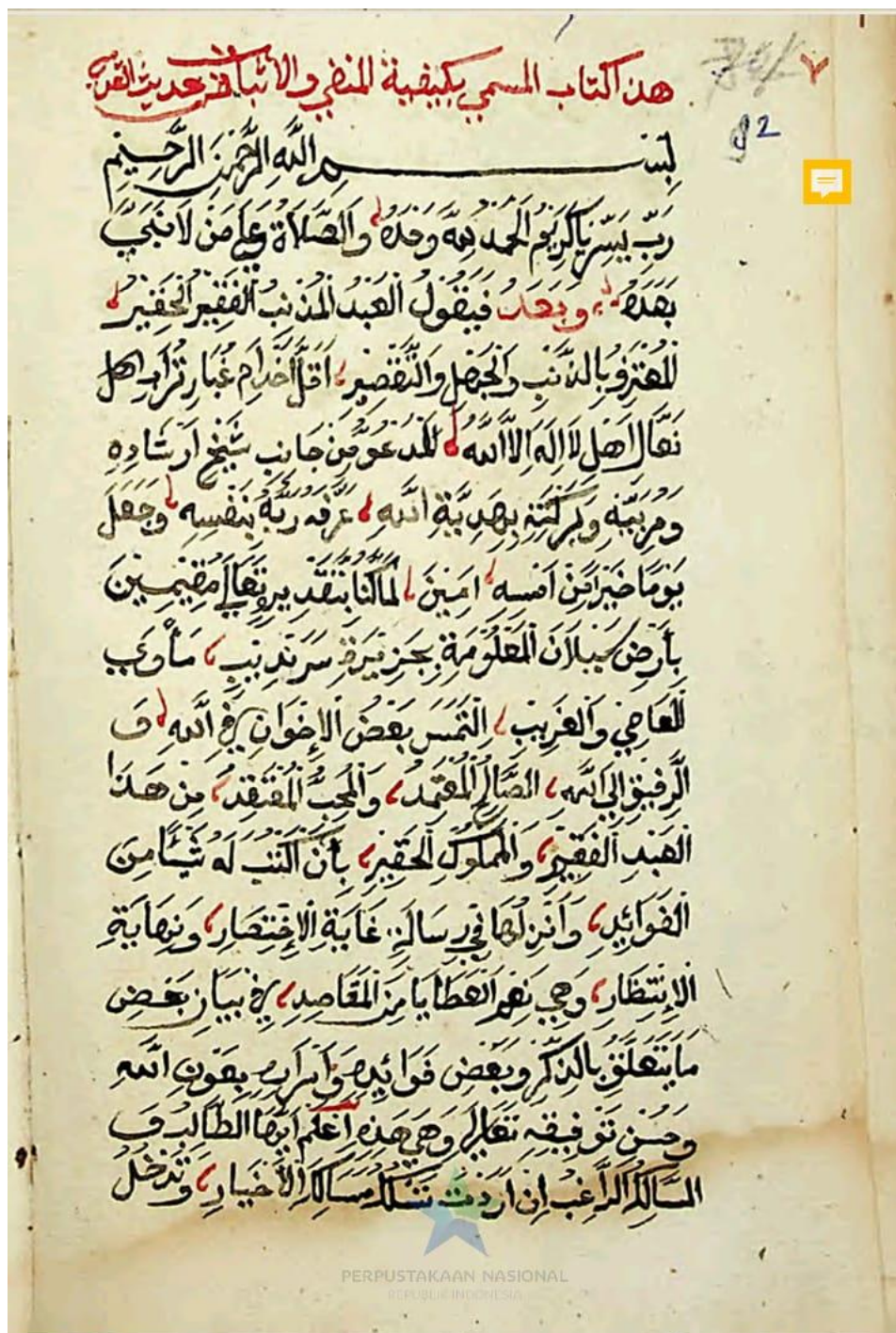
²⁶² While Peacock suspiciously questions Azra for associating al-Maqaṣīrī with *wahdat al-shuhūd* as there is no clear reference to such terms, TS strictly accentuates the doctrine. However, regarding Azra's claim that al-Maqaṣīrī resorted to it as a rejection of *wahdat al-wujūd* requires further scrutiny. al-Maqaṣīrī, "*Tuḥfat Sarandīb*," fol. 9a; Azra, *The Origins of Islamic Reformism in Southeast Asia*, 104; Peacock, *Arabic Literary Culture in Southeast Asia in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, 173.

Maqāṣirī's deep respect to his master even after acquiring prestigious credential through his long intellectual journey in Arabian Peninsula.

Ultimately, *Tuhfat Sarandīb* enables us to trace not only the evolution of early Malay mystical discourse but also the entangled networks of scholarship, translation, and spiritual authority that animated Islamic intellectual life in the seventeenth-century Indian Ocean. The detailed analysis of its doctrinal content and metaphysical arguments will thus be the focus of the following chapter.



Picture 3.1. the seal in the codex fol, 5a



Picture 3.2. The other works authored by Hadiyat Allāh (Yusuf al-Maqāṣirī) in Ceylon

CHAPTER IV

THEOLOGICAL DOCTRINES IN *TUḤFAT SARANDĪB*

4.1. Chapter Introduction

As demonstrated in Chapter II, the *Tuḥfat Sarandīb* occupies a significant position within the intellectual exchanges of the Indian Ocean world, particularly in relation to the *wujūdiyyah* discourse that emerged within the Aceh Sultanate. This discourse engaged prominent figures such as Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī and shaped the intellectual trajectory of al-Maqāṣīrī²⁶³ during his exile in Ceylon. The treatise bears witness to Rānīrī's theological stance vis-à-vis deviant *wujūdiyyah* teachings and reveals how al-Maqāṣīrī may have contributed to interpreting and reshaping its theological content. Chapter III further established the textual and rhetorical structure of *Tuḥfat Sarandīb*, emphasizing its catechetical format, codicological variations, and the intricate problem of authorship. My recent findings confirm that *Tuḥfat Sarandīb* is indeed a translation and adaptation of several of Rānīrī's original Malay treatises, with *Ḥall al-Ẓill* constituting a major component of its content

Building upon the genealogical and textual investigations of the preceding chapters, the present discussion turns to a critical examination of the theological content articulated in *Tuḥfat Sarandīb* (TS). The twenty-two entries of TS may be categorized into four principal argumentative clusters: (1) the non-existence of the cosmos, (2) the notion of *ẓill* and the three levels of Divine determination, (3) the reception of the cosmos from the Divine Names and Attributes, and (4) Rānīrī's refutation of *wujūdiyyah* teachings. These themes will be examined in parallel with other relevant treatises by Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī, including *Ḥujjat al-Ṣiddīq li-Daf' al-Ẓindīq*, *Mā' al-Ḥayāt li-Ahl al-Mamāt*, and *Ḥall al-Ẓill*, with special emphasis placed on the latter due to its substantial intertextual entanglement with TS.

Given the complexity surrounding the authorship of TS, this chapter primarily refers to Rānīrī as the source of the original doctrinal ideas, while also

²⁶³ Meaning that *wujūdiyyah* discourse constituted of al-Maqāṣīrī's intellectual works in his exile in addition to other mystical themes such as *dhikr*, *ṭarīqah*, *sulūk*, etc. See Tudjimah, *Syekh Yusuf Makasar*.

highlighting instances where al-Maqāṣīrī's editorial interventions are evident—particularly in the form of appended commentaries clarifying Rānīrī's theological assertions. To ensure the accuracy and relevance of interpretation, the original Arabic narrative of TS is presented prior to its translation, especially in discussions concerning pivotal doctrinal passages.

4.2. The Articulation of *Hall al-Zill* in *Tuhfat Sarandīb*

Before proceeding with a detailed analysis of *Tuhfat Sarandīb*, the relationship between TS and *Hall al-Zill* (HZ) requires further elaboration. As demonstrated in the previous chapter, the close correspondence between the questions posed in both works confirms that HZ constitutes a principal source for TS. A systematic comparison of their respective answers will illuminate likely al-Maqāṣīrī's translational and interpretive strategies and clarify the extent to which he preserves Rānīrī's original ideas from HZ within TS. Accordingly, this section focuses on the textual variations present in both treatises and consolidates them for subsequent analysis.

For the purpose of this inquiry, an edited version of *Hall al-Zill* (HZ) has been produced based on two principal sources. The first is a manuscript preserved in the Digital Repository of Endangered and Affected Manuscripts in Southeast Asia (DREAMSEA), catalogued under the number DS 0060 00011, encompassing folios 16v to 29r.²⁶⁴ The second source is a philological thesis submitted to Universitas Indonesia, which is grounded in three manuscripts held at the National Museum of Jakarta: ML. 339 A, ML. 109 D, and ML. 813, with MS ML. 339 A serving as the primary source in that study.²⁶⁵ The edited version of HZ is included as an appendix to this thesis. As a complementary manuscript to the present research, its philological apparatus has been limited to the extent necessary to ensure the completeness of its content, thereby enabling a more rigorous and focused comparison with the text of *Tuhfat Sarandīb* (TS).

²⁶⁴ Nūr al-Dīn Al-Rānīrī, "Hall al-Zill," Digital Repository of Endangered and Affected Manuscripts in Southeast Asia (DREAMSEA) Catalog - Manuscript Details, accessed June 19, 2025, <https://www.hmmcloud.org/dreamsea/detail.php?msid=2110>.

²⁶⁵ Tommy Christomy, "Hall al-Zill Suntingan Naskah dan Pengkajian Tema" (Universitas Indonesia, 1986), <https://lib.ui.ac.id/detail?id=20155796&lokasi=lokal>.

Generally, the variations between *Tuhfat Sarandīb* (TS) and *Hall al-Zill* (HZ) pertain either to the relative brevity or to the presence of explanatory narratives found in HZ—an expected outcome considering that the two texts operate within distinct linguistic frameworks. Arabic, by nature, tends to be more succinct in its expression compared to Malay. It is thus not surprising that the corresponding sections in TS are often shorter than their Malay counterparts in HZ. A further reason for this conciseness lies in Rānīrī's practice of quoting Arabic passages followed by their Malay paraphrases or explanations in HZ. These explanatory phrases were entirely omitted in TS, presumably because it was intended for a readership already proficient in Arabic.

Nevertheless, in several instances, al-Maqāṣīrī—as the presumed translator of HZ—appears to have provided extended elaborations on particular topics by integrating supplementary ideas or clarifications. Mostly in these cases, unlike the explicitly marked commentarial section in the second part of TS, no indication is given to distinguish whether these additions originate from al-Maqāṣīrī himself or remain part of Rānīrī's original discourse. Only through a close, side-by-side comparison of the texts can these interpolations be identified and assessed.

These variations occur most frequently—but not exclusively—in three entries that contain notably longer responses than the others: namely, the second question in *Hall al-Zill* (HZ), which corresponds to the twelfth in *Tuhfat Sarandīb* (TS); the eleventh in HZ/the twenty-first in TS; and the twelfth in HZ/the twenty-second in TS. While some variations involve minor differences that bear little consequence for the overall meaning, others present substantial elements that arguably should be integrated for a more complete understanding of the theological points at hand.

For instance, when discussing the nomenclature of *zill* among the Sufis, the first entry of HZ enumerates a wide array of synonymous terms referring to the cosmos, such as *mā siwā Allāh*, *ʿayn*, *makhlūq*, *kun*, *ḥādithāt*, *mawjūdāt*, *athar idāfī*, *wujūd ʿāmm*, *jāʿiz al-wujūd*, *mumkin al-wujūd*, *wujūd majāzī*, *aʿyān*

khārijīyya, ‘*ālam al-amr*, ‘*ālam al-arwāḥ*, and others.²⁶⁶ By contrast, TS includes only a single designation—*mā siwā Allāh*—in the corresponding entry. Interestingly, several of these terms reappear in the eighth entry of TS, which—considering that the first entry of HZ aligns with the eleventh entry of TS—falls outside the textual content derived from HZ. In TS, these names are presented not as direct parallels of the term *ẓill*, but rather as denominations of the post-creational cosmos, as explicitly conveyed in the treatise:

*Inna isma al-‘ālam ba‘da khalqihillāh wa ijādihi kāna yuqālu bi al-khalqī wa al-a‘yān al-khārijīyah atharu al-a‘yān al-thābitah wa ẓilluhā wa al-mulk wa al-ghayr wa ghayru dhālika min asmā’ihī.*²⁶⁷

Indeed, the name of the cosmos (al-‘ālam)—after God, exalted is He, created and brought it into existence—came to be referred to as creature (al-khalq), external entities (al-a‘yān al-khārijīyya), the effect and shadow of the permanent archetypes (a‘yān thābita), the realm of dominion (al-mulk), otherness (al-ghayr), and various other such names.

The enumeration of these terms is crucial for understanding Rānīrī’s nomenclature across his wider corpus. Al-Maqāṣirī’s decision to omit all but *mā siwā Allāh* in the eleventh entry of *Tuḥfat Sarandīb* (TS) consequently blunts the full scope of Rānīrī’s typology. Although the phrase *wa-ghayru dhālika min asmā’ihī* (“and other such names”) appears in TS, eighth entry, mirroring the inclusive stance of the first entry in *Ḥall al-Zill* (HZ), its evidentiary value remains uncertain, given that the original Malay sources for TS entries one through ten have not yet been identified.

The most consequential variations surface in the second question of HZ, which corresponds to the twelfth entry of TS. While the two texts present an identical question in different languages, their respective answers diverge markedly. Both works initially justify the metaphor of *al-ẓill* (shadow) by invoking

²⁶⁶ Nūr al-Dīn Al-Rānīrī, “Ḥall al-Zill,” Solok-Indonesia, n.d., fols. 18r–18v, 19v, DREAMSEA DS 0060 00011, accessed June 19, 2025, <https://www.hmmcloud.org/dreamsea/detail.php?msid=2110>.

²⁶⁷ al-Maqāṣirī, “*Tuḥfat Sarandīb*,” fol. 6r.

Q.S 25:45— “*Have you not considered how your Lord extended the shadow ...?*” — asserting that Rānīrī’s use of metaphor rests on Qur’ānic precedent rather than mere analogical reasoning. Yet several corroborative Qur’ānic verses cited in ḤZ to legitimate Rānīrī’s broader deployment of metaphor are conspicuously absent in TS, along with the associated explanatory arguments. This omission weakens the theological foundation that Rānīrī carefully constructs elsewhere to authorize the multiplicity of metaphors employed in his works.

... Tetapi Maha Suci Ḥaqq ta’ālā lagi Maha Tinggi daripada ditamsilkan akan dia seperti makhlūq dengan ḡill-Nya dari karna firman-Nya yang Maha Tinggi: *Wa lā taḡribū lillāh al-amthāl* yakni jangan kamu tamsilkan Ḥaqq ta’ālā dengan segala misal *tashbīb* yang tiada layak hakikat kunhi zat-Nya dan sifat-Nya dari karna **mumhiya**²⁶⁸ Ḥaqq ta’ālā itu meneguhkan daripada sampai misal kepada māhiya zat-Nya dan kayfiyya sifat-Nya karena Ia Laysa kamithlihi shay’un yakni tiada sebagian Ḥaqq ta’ālā daripada sesuatu jua pun. Tetapi dapat ditamsilkan akan Ḥaqq ta’ālā jika misal itu layak pada hadirat-Nya karena mengambil dalil makrifat kepada-Nya seperti firman-Nya yang Maha Tinggi: *Wa Huwa al-samī‘ al-baṣīr* yakni Ia jua Tuhan yang [Maha] mendengar lagi [Maha] melihat dan lagi firman-Nya yang Maha Tinggi: *Wa lillāh al-mathal al-A‘lā* yakni bagi Allah jua misal yang Maha Tinggi. Maka murād daripada misal itu membicarakan barang suatu yang ada dalam ghaib dirupakan pada zahir. Maka yang demikian itu sekali-kali tiada harus ditamsilkan pada Ḥaqq ta’ālā hanya sesungguhnya dapat ditamsilkan pada Ḥaqq ta’ālā itu seperti makna dengan ṣūrat lafaz jua.²⁶⁹

... But al-Ḥaqq ta’ālā (the Real) is far above being likened to created things through their shadow (ḡill), because of His exalted saying: *wa-lā taḡribū li-llāh al-amthāl*, meaning do not analogize al-Ḥaqq ta’ālā through any metaphor (mithāl) or *tashbīb* that does not befit the essential truth/reality (ḥaqīqah) of His Essence (kunh dhātihi) and Attributes (ṣifātihi). For the very reality (māhiyyah) of al-Ḥaqq ta’ālā repels the possibility of any likeness reaching either His Essence or the modality (kayfiyyah) of His Attributes, for He is: *laysa ka-mithlihi shay’un*,

²⁶⁸ This particular word or meaning is unknown. However, I translate it into *mahiyya* in following translation.

²⁶⁹ Al-Rānīrī, “Ḥall al-ḡill,” fols. 20r–20v.

meaning there is absolutely nothing that shares any part of His reality. Yet, it is permissible to analogize something to al-Ḥaqq ta‘ālā if the analogy is suitable to His Presence (ḥaḍrah), in order to provide a pointer toward gnosis (ma‘rifah) of Him — such as in His exalted words: *Wa huwa al-samī‘ al-baṣīr* and His saying: *Wa-li-llāh al-mathal al-a‘lā*. The intended meaning of *mathal* (likeness) in this context is to express something from the unseen (ghayb) in a visible or perceptible form (ẓāhir). Therefore, such analogizing can never truly pertain to the Real in His Essence — it is only permissible in the sense of meaning manifested in verbal expression (ṣūrat al-laḥẓ). [not as a literal likeness.]

In *Tuḥfat Sarandīb*, these arguments are replaced by a succinct formulation: *lā ka-l-mutabādar fī al-‘aql kamā qīla li-anna dhālika min qiyāsīn fāsīdīn, ta‘ālā Allāh ‘an dhālika ‘uluwwan kabīran*²⁷⁰—which may be translated as: “[God] is not as that which first comes to mind (*mutabādar*) in the intellect, as it has been said, for such a notion arises from a faulty analogy (*qiyās fāsīd*). Exalted is God far above such a thing—exalted greatly indeed.”

Secondly, following this statement, al-Maqāṣīrī proceeded in a manner quite opposite to the brevity maintained by al-Rānīrī. Whereas al-Rānīrī provided only two rationales for the analogy of the cosmos as the shadow (ẓill) of God, al-Maqāṣīrī expanded upon these by incorporating a Qur’ānic verse, a ḥadīth, and two additional rationales. He stated that:

Wa innamā maththala bi ẓiliyyati al-‘ālam lahu ta‘ālā, bi qaṭ‘i al-naẓar ‘an qawli al-āyah al-madhkūrah kāna min wujūhin, al-wāḥidu minhā anna al-ẓill lā yaqūmu bi nafsīhi bal yaqūmu bi ṣāhibīhi, kamā anna al-‘ālam lā yaqūmu bi nafsīhi bal yaqūmu billāhi, wa minhā annahu annahu lā yataḥarraku al-ẓill illā bi ḥarakati ṣāhibīhi wa irādatīhi kamā anna al-‘ālam lāyurīdu wa lā yaqdiru illā bi irādatillāhi ta‘ālā wa qudratīhi bi mūjibi qawlillāhi ta‘ālā { wa mā tasyā‘ūna illā an yasyā‘allāh..} wa bi mūjibi qawli lā ḥawla wa lā quwwata illa billāh, wa minhā anna al-ẓill qad yata‘addadu wa yatakaththaru, wa ṣāhibuhu la yata‘addadu wa la yatakaththaru, fa kadhālika al-‘ālam annahu yata‘addadu wa yatakaththaru, wa

²⁷⁰ al-Maqāṣīrī, “*Tuḥfat Sarandīb*,” fol. 6v.

*al-ḥaqqu ta ‘ālā layata ‘addadu wa lāyatakaththaru fī ḥaddi dhātihi, wa minhā anna al-ẓill yazīdu wa yanquṣu wa yataḡayyaru, wa ṣāhibuhu lā yazīdu wa lā yanquṣu wa lā yataḡayyaru, kamā anna al-‘ālam yazīdu wa yanquṣu wa yataḡayyaru bi ḥālin, wa al-ḥaqqu ta ‘ālā lā yazīdu wa lā yanquṣu wa lā yataḡayyaru bi ḥālin, wa mā asybaha dhālika.*²⁷¹

Indeed, the analogy of the world as a shadow of God, exalted is He, if we set aside (for the sake of argument) the aforementioned Qur’ānic prohibition against drawing analogies [with God], can be considered valid in several respects. **The first** is that a shadow does not subsist by itself but only subsists by its caster — just as the world does not subsist by itself but only subsists through God. **Second**, a shadow does not move except by the movement and will of its caster — likewise, the world has no will nor power except by God’s will and power, in accordance with His saying: “... And you do not will except that God wills...”²⁷² and the (Ḥadith) statement: “There is no power and no strength except through God.”²⁷³ **Third**, a shadow may become multiple and varied, while its caster remains singular and unchanging — so too does the world multiply and diversify, but the Real (al-Ḥaqq), exalted is He, does not multiply nor diversify in His Essence. **Fourth**, a shadow increases, decreases, and changes — but its caster does not increase, decrease, or change; in the same way, the world undergoes increase, decrease, and change, while the Real, exalted is He, neither increases nor decreases nor undergoes any change whatsoever. And there are similar aspects beyond these.

These elaborations in *Tuḥfat Sarandīb* (TS) are not yet conclusive, as the text offers an additional analogy alongside the shadow (ẓill), namely that of the wave and the sea (*al-amwāj wa al-baḥr*) which is marked by the typical expression “*wa qāla kātib al-aḥruf*” attributed to al-Maqāṣirī.²⁷⁴ Collectively, these metaphors contribute to a more nuanced understanding of the concept of ẓill. The analogies of the shadow and the wave—when examined from various perspectives—serve to

²⁷¹ Ibid.

²⁷² QS. Al-Insān: 30/QS. Al-Takwīr: 29

²⁷³ Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Isma‘īl al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ Al-Bukhārī* (Dār Ibn Kathīr, 2002), no. 6384; Al-Naysābūrī, *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, no. 2704.

²⁷⁴ al-Maqāṣirī, “*Tuḥfat Sarandīb*,” fol. 7r; Umam, “The Scribe of Sufi-Philosophical Letters,” 412–13.

explain the multiplicity and diversity of creation in the phenomenal world, while affirming that the ultimate source of all multiplicity remains singular, whether represented by the caster of the shadow or the sea itself. However, a comparison of these passages with those in *Ḥall al-Zill* (*HZ*) suggests that the latter employs a different metaphorical framework, invoking the imagery of light and darkness to elucidate the nature of *zill*, thereby asserting that:

*Dan demikian lagi tiada ada hakikat dua wujud dan zat bagi zill itu melainkan sekira-kira benderang daripada empunya bayang-bayang jua. Dari karna bahwasanya zill itu muhtaj kepada nūr yang limpah dan zulmat yang menerima sūrat, ... Dan dengan zuhūr waḥdat Allah [jadi alamlah zill itu.]*²⁷⁵ *Maka adalah kejadian alam itu daripada terang [Nūr Allāh] ... lā wujūd al-Ḥaqq ‘alayhi*²⁷⁶

And likewise, there is no true reality (ḥaqīqah) of two existences or essences in relation to the shadow (zill); rather, it is only a manifestation of brightness (bayān) from the one who casts the shadow. For indeed, the shadow needs both the light (nūr) that overflows (emanates), and the darkness (zulmah) that receives form (ṣūrah) ... And through the manifestation of the Divine Oneness (zuhūr waḥdat Allāh), the shadow becomes the cosmos. Therefore, the creation of the cosmos arises from the light of God (Nūr Allāh) ... not from the existence of Him.

While TS focuses on describing and analyzing the **intrinsic** elements of the shadow (*zill*) to construct a more nuanced understanding of its metaphysical implications, *HZ* turns to the **extrinsic** element—namely, the light—to connect the concept of the shadow with its source and to address the ontological claim of *wujūdiyyah*, which posits the unity of existence between the Creator and the cosmos. These differing approaches suggest distinct theological inclinations regarding the issue of *waḥdat al-wujūd*. In the preface to *HZ*, Rānīrī unequivocally states that the work was composed to elaborate upon his earlier treatise, *Nubdhah fī Da‘wā al-Zill ma‘a Ṣāḥibihi*, as part of his polemic against *wujūdiyyah* teachings

²⁷⁵ Necessary clause written in Cristomy’s edition.

²⁷⁶ Al-Rānīrī, “Ḥall al-Zill,” fols. 20v–21r, 19r.

in the Malay world. By contrast, al-Maqāṣirī—despite his prominent standing in Sufi scholarship and his affirmation of divine all-encompassingness (*al-iḥāṭah*) and omnipresence (*al-maʿiyyah*)²⁷⁷—appears to avoid direct confrontation with *waḥdat al-wujūd*, aligning instead, as Azra has argued, with the framework of *waḥdat al-shuhūd*.²⁷⁸

Although Peacock rejects this categorization—particularly in reference to *Zubdat al-Asrār*, where the term *waḥdat al-shuhūd* is entirely absent and *shuhūd* itself is considered a conventional term within Sufi discourse²⁷⁹—the text of TS provides substantive grounds for Azra’s claim. Specifically, al-Maqāṣirī explicitly refers to *shuhūd* in his commentary,²⁸⁰ where he also condemns the so-called deviant group (*al-zanādiqah wa al-mulāḥidah*) immediately following his elaboration on the metaphor of the wave and the sea. He writes: *fahākadhā kāna wajhu al-tashbīh fī dhālika, lā kamā yaʿrifu al-zanādiqah wa al-mulāḥidah fī qawlihim inna al-ʿālam wa al-Ḥaqq wāḥid*²⁸¹ (“Such was the intended direction of the analogy—not as the heretics and atheists claim in their statement that the cosmos and the Real are one”)

Thirdly, and likely final, point of variation in this entry concerns the authorities cited to bolster distinct esoteric positions. In ḤZ, Rānirī identifies a roster of prominent mystics and scholars to buttress his argument that the cosmos derives from the illumination of Divine light rather than from the very Existence of God: *inna wujūd al-ʿālam min ishrāqi nūr lā wujūd al-Ḥaqq taʿālā ʿalayhi*.²⁸² He attributes this view to very likely figures such as Imām al-Ghazālī, Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, Shihāb al-Dīn al-Suhrawardī, Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī, Abū-l-Qāsim al-Qushayrī, al-Sulamī, Muḥyī al-Dīn Ibn ʿArabī, and Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī al-Mahāʾimī.²⁸³ In contrast, TS refers to these luminaries only indirectly, employing

²⁷⁷ Islam, *Rahasia Segala Rahasia; Ajaran Sufistik Syaikh Yusuf Makassar*, 17–22; Arif, “Shaykh Yūsuf of Makassar (d. 1111 AH/1699 CE),” 69–70.

²⁷⁸ Azra, *The Origins of Islamic Reformism in Southeast Asia*, 104.

²⁷⁹ Peacock, *Arabic Literary Culture in Southeast Asia in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, 173.

²⁸⁰ al-Maqāṣirī, “*Tuḥfat Sarandīb*,” fol. 9r.

²⁸¹ Ibid., fol. 7r.

²⁸² Al-Rānirī, “*Ḥall al-Zill*,” fol. 19r.

²⁸³ All names mentioned in this passage are needs to be verified. Unless the name of Abū al-Qāsim al-Qushayrī, all figures’ names are spelled differently in both Dreamsea manuscript and Cristomy

the concise expression *sādat al-awliyā' min al-ʿarīfīn bi-Llāh taʿālā* (“the masters among the saints who possess gnosis of God”) to underscore the exclusivity of esoteric knowledge under discussion.²⁸⁴ Daudy notes that the delimitation of true mystical insight is indeed one of Rānīrī’s recurrent concerns,²⁸⁵ yet ḤẒ itself does not explicitly articulate this theme. The divergence raises a pertinent question: why does al-Maqāṣīrī accentuate the notion of elite esoteric authority in TS—part of his translation—while it remains absent from the corresponding passage in ḤẒ? This discrepancy invites further scrutiny of al-Maqāṣīrī’s editorial agenda and his broader theological orientation.

The answer to this question may, in fact, be extended to account for all the variations found in TS. Two primary explanations are plausible. First, these variations may have already existed in the version of ḤẒ that al-Maqāṣīrī consulted during his translation—suggesting that the manuscript he relied upon differed from the extant version used in the current edition. Second, the variations may represent al-Maqāṣīrī’s own interpretive interventions and contributions to the theological ideas embedded in ḤẒ. Substantiating either—or both—of these possibilities constitutes a demanding academic and philological task, one that would require access to all surviving manuscripts of ḤẒ as well as a thorough examination of both Rānīrī’s and al-Maqāṣīrī’s theological frameworks. Nevertheless, if the second explanation is validated, it would significantly challenge the notion that the main content of TS is a mere translation of Rānīrī’s Malay treatises. Such a conclusion would, in turn, strengthen the claim that al-Maqāṣīrī holds rightful authorial status over TS.

Additional textual variations also merit to closer examination. For example, the narrative voice of ḤẒ is notably more direct and persuasive than that of TS; it incorporates three explicit interjections—“Hai ṭālib,” “Hai muwaḥḥid,” and “Hai sālik”—five times to address the reader, whereas TS contains no such vocative appeals. Many of these and other divergences will be analysed in the course of the

edition. For preliminary survey of cited scholars and books in Rānīrī’s work see Al-Attas, *A Commentary On The Hujjat Al-Siddiq Of Nur Al-Din Al-Raniri*, 16–21.

²⁸⁴ al-Maqāṣīrī, “*Tuḥfat Sarandīb*,” fol. 7r.

²⁸⁵ Daudy, *Allah Dan Manusia Dalam Konsepsi Syeikh Nuruddin Ar-Raniry*, 108–10.

detailed commentary on the entire content of TS, with comparative reference to Rānīrī's *Hujjat al-Ṣiddīq li-Daf' al-Zindīq* and *Mā' al-Ḥayāt li-Ahl al-Mamāt*, in order to clarify the underlying doctrinal intentions.

Table 4.1. Comparison between *Hall al-Zill* and *Tuhfat Sarandīb*

Text in <i>Hall al-Zill</i>	Text in <i>Tuhfat Sarandīb</i>
<i>Dan makna zill pada istilah Sufi itu yaitu, segala mā siwā Allāh dan 'ayn pun namanya dan makhluq pun dan kā'ināt pun namanya kun pun namanya.... ḥādithāt... ta'ayyunāt....</i> [fols. 18r, 18v, 19v]	<i>wa ammā ma'nā al-zill 'inda al-sādah al-ṣūfiyah qaddasallāhu asrārahum wa huwa kullu mā siwā Allāh ta'ālā</i>
Sesungguhnya alam zill Allah seperti firman Allah <i>ta'ālā</i>: 'Alam tara ilā rabbika kayfa madda al-Zill...Tetapi Maha Suci Ḥaqq ta'ālā lagi Maha Tinggi daripada ditamsilkan akan dia seperti makhluq dengan zill-Nya dari karna firman-Nya yang Maha Tinggi: <i>Wa lā taḍribū lillāh al-amthāl</i> Tetapi dapat ditamsilkan akan Ḥaqq <i>ta'ālā</i> jika misal itu layak pada hadirat-Nya karena mengambil dalil makrifat kepada-Nya... [fols. 19v-20r]	inna al-'ālam huwa ḡillullāh ta'ālā bi naṣṣi al-āyah al-qur'āniyah fī qawlihi ta'ālā { <i>alam tara ilā rabbika kayfa madda al-zill...</i> } lā ka al-mutabādir fī al'aqli kamā qīla li anna dhālika yakūnu min qiyāsin fāsidin, ta'ālallāhu 'an dhalika 'uluwwan kabīran...
Adapun sebab dinamai akan alam itu <i>zill</i> Allah karena dua sebab. Pertama, karena sekali-kali tiada bagi alam itu <i>wujūd mustaqil</i> sendirinya. Kedua, karena sekali-kali tiada bergerak melainkan dengan <i>qudrat</i> dan <i>irādat</i>	Wa innamā maththala bi ḡiliyyati al-'ālam lahu ta'ālā,... kāna min wujūhin, al-wāḥidu minhā anna al-zill lā yaqūmu bi nafsihi bal yaqūmu bi ṣāḥibihi, kamā anna al-'ālam lā yaqūmu bi nafsihi bal yaqūmu billāhi,

Allah. Seperti kata segala arif, <i>lā tataḥarrak dharrat illā biidhni Allah</i> yakni tiada bergerak suatu jua pun melainkan dengan izin Allah. [fol. 20v]	wa minhā annahu lā yataḥarraku al-ẓill illā bi ḥarakati ṣāhibihi... wa minhā anna al-ẓill qad yata‘addadu wa yatakaththaru, wa ṣāhibuhu la yata‘addadu wa la yatakaththaru, ... wa minhā anna al-ẓill yazīdu wa yanquṣū wa yataghayyaru, wa ṣāhibuhu lā yazīdu wa lā yanquṣū wa lā yataghayyaru...
Dari karna bahwasanya <i>ẓill</i> itu muhtaj kepada <i>nūr</i> yang limpah dan <i>ẓulmat</i> yang menerima <i>sūrat</i>, lagi Ia mengantar Ia antara <i>nūr</i> dan tempat. Dan dengan <i>ẓuhūr</i> waḥdat Allah [jadi amlah <i>ẓill</i> itu.] Maka adalah kejadian alam itu daripada terang [<i>Nūr Allāh</i>]... [fols. 21r, 18r]	—
—	Wa qāla kātibu al-aḥruf -‘afallāhu ‘anhu- wa maththalū ayḍan, ay ahlullāh, al-‘ārifūna bihi, -wa lillāhi mathalu al-a‘lā- bi annallāha ta‘ālā ka al-baḥr, wa al-amwāj ka kulli mā siwallāhi ta‘ālā....
... seperti kata ahli Sufi yaitu Imām al-Ghazālī, Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, Shihāb al-Dīn al-Suhrawardī, Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī, Abū-l-Qāsim al-Qushayrī, al-Sulamī, Muḥyī al-Dīn Ibn ‘Arabī, and Aḥmad ibn ‘Alī al-Mahā’imī... [fol. 18v]	Wa sādātu al-awliyā min al-‘ārifīna billāhi ta‘ālā lā yatakallamūna bi kalāmin wa lā yukhāṭibūna bihi illā man kāna minhum, wa kalāmuhum fīhi qawā‘idun wa iṣtilāḥātun, fa lidhā qāla al-Shaykh Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī - raḍiyallāhu ‘anhu- ṣāni‘an karīm

	‘ibārātihim taḥta ḥijabi al-astār li yu‘rafa man huwa al-ahl wa al-aghyār, fa-‘lam dhālika
Bahwa <i>a ‘yān thābita</i> itu <i>zill zat</i> maka <i>murād</i> daripada zat itu wujud Ḥaqq <i>ta‘ālā</i> yang tsabit pada-Nya segala <i>asmā</i> ’ dan sifat [fol. 21r]	Anna al-a ‘yān al-thābitah hiya zīlālāt al-asmā wa al-ṣifāt kamā anna al-asmā wa al-ṣifāt zīlālāt al-dhāt wa ta‘ayyunātihi
Maka apabila kita lihat akan pandai itu suatupun tiada kelihatan padanya daripada segala sifat yang tersebut Itu tetapi adalah segala sifat itu tsabit lagi lazim padanya hanya yang kelihatan itu zatnya jua [fols. 24r-24v]	—
Maka bicarakan olehmu Hai Talib! daripada firman Allah dan Hadith Rasulullah dan kata segala <i>ghawth</i> dan <i>quṭb</i> dan segala arif yang kamil mukammal seperti yang telah termazkur (dalam) risalah ini [fol. 28v]	—
Hai Muwahid... Hai Ṭālib... Hai Sālik...	—

4.3. Core Theological Themes in *Tuhfat Sarandīb*

In this section, the entire content of TS will be examined intertextually with at least two of Rānīrī's treatises: *Hujjat al-Ṣiddīq li-Daf' al-Zindīq* (HṢ) and *Mā' al-Ḥayāt li-Ahl al-Mamāt* (MH). The former is cited according to al-Attas's transcription, which includes his English translation and commentary, while the latter is drawn from Aḥmad Daudy's transcription appended to his monograph *Syeikh Nuruddin ar-Raniri: Sejarah, Karya, dan Sanggahan terhadap Wujudiyyah di Aceh*. Select passages of *Jawāhir al-'Ulūm fī Kashf al-Ma'lūm* will be cited indirectly from another of Daudy's works. Relevant portions of *Ḥall al-Zill* (HḌ) will also be referenced in specific cases. All Arabic and Malay technical terms will follow the transliteration and glossaries found in al-Attas's third index in his *Commentary on HṢ*.

The primary concern of TS lies in its detailed exploration of the concept of existence (*wujūd*) as it pertains to the cosmos, viewed from several key angles: its ontological status, its placement within the levels of Divine determination (*marātib ta'ayyun al-Ilāhī*), and its receptivity to the Divine Names and Attributes. These thematic elements collectively demonstrate that Rānīrī articulated a version of *wujūdiyyah* that maintains a strict ontological separation between the Creator and creature. This doctrinal stance aligns with his Ash'arī theological commitments,²⁸⁶ which would preclude endorsement of common *wujūdiyyah* teachings that posit the cosmos as a manifestation or gradation of Absolute Existence (*al-Wujūd al-Muṭlaq*). The following sub-section explores Rānīrī's cosmological perceptions and his fundamental rejection of what he terms the "heretical" interpretations of *wujūdiyyah*, which he regarded as theologically untenable on every level.

4.3.1. The Non-Existence of the Cosmos

In the first nine entries of *Tuhfat Sarandīb* (TS), al-Maqāṣirī presents al-Rānīrī's cosmological teachings, which encompass five essential mystical themes concerning both the pre-creational and post-creational states of the cosmos: (1) its

²⁸⁶ Al-Attas, *A Commentary On The Hujjat Al-Siddiq Of Nur Al-Din Al-Raniri*, 29.

spatial locus (*ayna*), (2) its existence (*wujūd*), (3) its determination or entification (*ta'ayyun*), (4) its designation or name (*ism*), and (5) its ontological status (*ḥukm*) and relation (*nisbah*) with God. The tenth entry elaborates on the term *‘ālam*, offering both etymological and terminological analyses, and arguably constitutes a continuation of the previous nine entries as part of a unified discourse. Al-Rānīrī defines the cosmos (*‘ālam*) as:

... *fī al-lughah huwa al-‘alāmah wa al-‘alāmah dāllatun ‘alā man lahu ‘alāmatun kamā idhā ra’ainā mathalan athar qadami li aḥadin ‘alā shayin mā fanastadillu bi dhālika ‘alā anna aḥadan qad ta’addā min hadhā al-makān, wa fī iṣtilāhi al-‘ulamā raḥimahumullāhu ta’ālā inna al-‘ālam wa huwa kullu mā siwāllāhi ta’ālā fainnahu tadullu ‘alā man khalaqahu wa awjadahu fī al-khārijī wa huwa Allāh ta’ālā.*

In [Arabic] language, ‘ālam (cosmos) means 'a sign' (‘alāmah); and a sign is something that indicates the one who possesses it. For example, if we see a footprint on something, we infer from it that someone has passed through that place.

And according to the terminology of the scholars — may God Most High have mercy on them — al-‘ālam (the cosmos), which is everything other than God Most High, is something that indicates the One who created it and brought it into external existence, and that is God Most High.

Rānīrī initiates the discussion in TS by first posing a question concerning its spatial locus (*ayna al-‘ālam*) prior to its creation.²⁸⁷ This rhetorical move subtly underscores his theological assertion that the cosmos is, in essence, non-existent (*‘adam*) from the very beginning. In Rānīrī’s view, the question of its existence is rendered irrelevant because the cosmos has no ontological reality apart from God. Conversely, in HŞ, when addressing the same discourse on *wujūdiyyah*, he begins with an exposition of the concept of *wujūd* itself, emphasizing that true existence pertains to God alone.²⁸⁸ This divergence may explain why TS omits a direct inquiry

²⁸⁷ al-Maqāṣīrī, “*Tuḥfat Sarandīb*,” fol. 6r.

²⁸⁸ Nūr al-Dīn Al-Rānīrī, “Mā’u Al-Ḥayāt Li Ahli al-Mamāt,” in *Syeikh Nuruddin Ar-Raniri: Sejarah, Karya, Dan Sanggahan Terhadap Wujudiyyah Di Aceh* (Bulan Bintang, 1978), 55.

into the existence of the cosmos, yet it does not fully clarify why the treatise opens with a question about the *locus* of the cosmos—an inquiry that presupposes spatiality for something he simultaneously claims does not exist.

The reason behind this approach likely lies in Rānīrī's adherence to the prophetic method of inquiry, exemplified when the Prophet posed the question *ayna Allāh?* ("Where is God?")²⁸⁹ to assess the belief of a female servant. Rather than directing the question toward God, Rānīrī adopts a similar line of reasoning to expose the ontological status of the cosmos—namely, its non-existence (*ma'dūm*). This gesture reflects his commitment to the doctrine of *wujūb al-wujūd*, the absolute necessity of God's existence, which for Rānīrī requires no external demonstration or proof.²⁹⁰ The concept of *'adam* (non-existence), however, demands further elaboration. Yet, as TS appears to be structured as an introductory treatise, many of its mystical notions are conveyed in terse formulations, leaving limited room for detailed exposition. The term *ma'dūm* occurs only twice in TS, both in relation to the question of the cosmos's locus, where Rānīrī states:

Inna al-'ālam qabla khalqihī wa tījādihī mā kāna lahū ayna liannahū ma'dūm...

*Inna al-'ālam ba'da khalqihī wa tījādihī ayḍan mā lahu ayna liannahū ma'dūmun qabla khalqī wa al-tījād wa ba'da al-khalqī wa al-tījād wa innamā huwa maḥall al-ta'ayyun al-ilāhī kamā huwa qabla al-khalqī wa al-tījād fī 'ilmi-llāh ta'ālā.*²⁹¹

Truly, the cosmos before its creation and actualization had no 'where' (ayna) because it was non-existent (ma'dūm).

²⁸⁹ Mu'āwīyyah ibn Ḥakam reported: I said, "O Messenger of Allah, I have a servant-girl whom I slapped." That upset the Messenger of Allah—peace be upon him—I (Mu'āwīyyah) said to him, "Shall I emancipate her?" The Prophet said, "Bring her to me." Then, she was brought and the Prophet asked, "Where is Allah?" She replied, "In Heaven." The Prophet asked, "Who am I?" She said, "You are the Messenger of Allah." The Prophet postulated, "Free her, for she is a believer." Al-Naysābūrī, *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, no. 537.

²⁹⁰ Al-Attas, *A Commentary On The Hujjat Al-Siddiq Of Nur Al-Din Al-Raniri*, 168–69; Daudy, *Allah Dan Manusia Dalam Konsepsi Syekh Nuruddin Ar-Raniry*, 79.

²⁹¹ al-Maqāṣīrī, "Tuhfat Sarandīb," fol. 6r.

Indeed, the cosmos after its creation and actualization also has no 'where', because it was non-existent before creation and actualization and remains non-existent afterward. Rather, it is only a locus (maḥall) for Divine Self-disclosure (ta 'ayyūn ilāhī) as it was before the creation and actualization in Divine knowledge.

This passage encapsulates at least three key mystical concepts related to the cosmos: *ma 'dūm* or *'adam* (non-existence), *ta 'ayyūn ilāhī* (Divine entification), and *'ilm Allāh* (Divine knowledge). Given the brevity with which *ma 'dūm* is treated in TS, al-Maqāṣirī considered this notion a critical theological point warranting further elaboration. Consequently, it became one of the two central themes addressed in his commentaries appended to the treatise. Before examining his explanatory remarks, it is important to note that Rānīrī also employed the term *'adam* in *Ḥujjat al-Ṣiddīq*, where he qualified it with specific attributes—namely, *'adam al-maḥḍ* (pure non-existence) and *'adam al-muṭlaq* (absolute non-existence)

*... Dan alam itu tiada berwujud dan tiada layak dinamai akan dia dengan nama wujud karena Ia 'adam al-maḥḍ.*²⁹²

*... Dan wujud alam itu wujud majazi lagi muqayyad, zill, dan mulk bagi wujud Allah. Maka akan zill itu tiada dapat dikata akan dia wujud dan tiada dapat dikata akan dia 'adam muṭlaq, dari karna jika dikata akan dia wujud niscaya sekutulah Ia dengan wujud Allah, dan jika dikata akan dia adam mutlak maka adam [mutlak] itu tiada ada sesuatu shay' jua pun, dan alam itu ada Ia kelihatan.*²⁹³

*The world has no being and is not qualified to be named with the name 'being', as it is pure non-being ('adam al-maḥḍ).*²⁹⁴

... and the being of the world is metaphorical being and limited (muqayyad), a shadow, and a possession (milk) of God's Being. Of this shadow existence cannot be predicated, nor can absolute non-existence ('adam al-muṭlaq) be predicated of it for the reason that if we predicate of it existence, then it is necessarily a partner

²⁹² Nūr al-Dīn Al-Rānīrī, "Ḥujjat Al-Ṣiddīq Li Daf'i al-Zindīq," in *A Commentary on The Ḥujjat Al-Ṣiddīq of Nūr Al-Dīn Al-Rānīrī* (Ministry Of Culture Malaysia, 1986), 56.

²⁹³ Ibid., 58–59.

²⁹⁴ Al-Rānīrī, "Proof of Veracious in Refutation of the Zindīq," 85.

(*sekutu*) to God's existence; and if we predicate of it absolute non-existence, then this non-existence is nothing at all, and yet the world is seen as existing.²⁹⁵

The excerpt indicates that what Rānīrī means by *ma 'dūm* in *Tuhfat Sarandīb* (TS) is most likely '*adam al-mahḍ* (pure non-existence), rather than '*adam al-muṭlaq* (absolute non-existence). This distinction invites further inquiry: what exactly differentiates these two notions in Rānīrī's ontology, and how can the cosmos remain non-existent even after its creation and apparent actualization? Drawing from *Jawāhir al-'Ulūm*, Syed Muḥammad Naqīb al-Aṭṭās argues that Rānīrī, in his analysis of existence, follows the ontological framework of al-Ghazālī, who categorizes existence into three fundamental modes.²⁹⁶ **The first** is necessity (*wujūb*), which includes two ontological types: the existence that is necessary by itself, referring exclusively to the Necessary Existence of the Real (*al-Ḥaqq*), and the existence that is necessary through another, referring to the empirical universe whose actuality is made necessary by the will and command of God. **The second** category is impossibility (*imtinā'*), which denotes '*adam al-muṭlaq* (absolute non-existence). This refers to that which can be conceived in language, such as a "square circle" or a partner to God (*sharīk li-llāh*), but which cannot exist in any form, whether intellectually (*'aqlī/ilmī*) or concretely (*khārijī*). **The third** is possibility (*imkān*), corresponding to '*adam al-mahḍ* (pure non-existence), a category which in mystical discourse aligns with the notion of possible existence (*wujūd al-mumkin*), though it remains ontologically unreal until actualized by the Divine command.²⁹⁷

Nonetheless, while al-Aṭṭās places the cosmos in both the categories of necessary and possible existence—reflecting its dual dependency and actuality—Rānīrī, according to the textual evidence from TS, appears to confine the cosmos solely to the realm of pure non-existence. This implies a deliberate theological stance to emphasize the ontological gap between the Creator and creation, consistent with Rānīrī's Ash'arī framework and his rejection of any metaphysical

²⁹⁵ Ibid., 87.

²⁹⁶ Al-Aṭṭās, *A Commentary On The Hujjat Al-Siddiq Of Nur Al-Din Al-Raniri*, 168–70.

²⁹⁷ Possible existence (*wujūd al-mumkin*) in theological discourse (*kalām*) refers to what is already externally actualized, not what still remains in the state of possibility. Ibid., 70.

blurring between the two—a position that stands in stark contrast to the cosmological claims of *wujūdiyyah* teachings.

In asserting this matter, al-Maqāṣirī appended his own remarks concerning the existence of the cosmos, grounding his view in the doctrine of the permanent archetypes (*al-a'yān al-thābitah*) as existing within Divine Knowledge (*wujūd 'ilmī*) as well as in their actualization within the empirical realm. He states that:

Qulnā wa huwa kadhālika fī ḥaddi dhātihā wa rubbamā nafaw wujūdiyyatahā qabla al-ījādi wa al-khalqī bi al-i'tibār annhu ma kānat mawjudatan fī al-khārij kamā qayyada ba'du al-muḥaqqiqūn fī qawli man qāla inna al-a'yān al-thābita mā shammat rā'ihata al-wujūd na'am ay al-wujūd al-khārijī lā al-wujūd al-'ilmī. Wa lammā al-qawlu bi'annahā mawjūdatun bi al-i'tibār al-wujūd al-'ilmī fahuwa lā budda min dhālika li muwāfaqati ḥikmatihī ta'ālā.

*wa ammā al-qawl bi'adami wujūdiyyatihā wa law kāna ba'da al-khalq wa al-ījād fa hādhā al-qawl yakūnu fīhi al-masāmiḥah wa la'alla murād hādhā al-qawl yakūnu bi-'tibāri anna al-'ālam kana wujūduhu ka lā wujūd 'inda man taḥaqqqaqā bi **wahdati al-shuhūd** fa kāna wujūd al-'ālam {**ka sarābin bi qī'atin yaḥsabuhu al-ẓam'ān mā'an... ilā ākhir**}²⁹⁸ wa dhālika li 'adami qiyāmihi bi nafsīhi bal qiyāmuhu bi ghayrihi fa idhā kana qiyāmuhu bi ghayrihi fa wujūduhu li ghayrihi lā lahu fa yaṣiḥhu an yuqāl bi dhālika innahu laysa bimawjūdin wa 'in ra'ā bi ru'yati al-'ayni ...²⁹⁹*

We say: this is indeed the case in its essence (fī ḥadd dhātihā), and perhaps some have negated its existence (wujūdiyyah) prior to creation and actualization, on the basis that it did not yet exist externally — as some of the verifiers (muḥaqqiqūn) have qualified the saying of those who hold that the permanent archetypes (al-a'yān al-thābitah) never so much as smelled the scent of existence (mā shammat rā'ihat al-wujūd) — that is to say: of external existence, not of

²⁹⁸ QS. Al-Nūr: 39

²⁹⁹ al-Maqāṣirī, “*Tuḥfat Sarandīb*,” fols. 9r–9v.

existence within Divine Knowledge.³⁰⁰ Now, as for saying that they existed in Divine Knowledge — that is necessary, in accordance with His exalted Wisdom.

But to say that they are non-existent, even after creation and actualization, is a statement that involves some **looseness** (*musāmaḥah*). Perhaps what is meant by such a saying is that the world's existence is as if it were no existence at all, according to those who have realized the doctrine of **the Unity of Witnessing** (*waḥdat al-shuhūd*). For the existence of the world is like: {*A mirage in a desert plain, which the thirsty one thinks is water...*} because it does not subsist by itself, but rather, it subsists through something else (*bi-ghayrihi*). And if its subsistence is through something else, then its existence belongs to something else, not to itself. Thus, it is valid to say that it is non-existent, even if seen by the eye...

A careful reading of this excerpt implies that al-Maqāṣirī was arguably affirming the 'existence' of the world based on two rationales. First, when al-Rānirī emphasized the non-existence of the cosmos in its pre-creational state due to the non-existence of permanent archetypes, al-Maqāṣirī clarified this idea and suggested that the permanent archetypes are existent within Divine Knowledge from the very beginning. Second, when al-Rānirī was consistently hold the non-existence of the cosmos even in its post-creational state, al-Maqāṣirī regarded it as looseness (*musāmaḥah*) towards the conception of the actualized cosmos. He then considered that Rānirī's idea resembled the framework of *waḥdat al-shuhūd* (the Unity of Witnessing) which is frequently contrasted with *waḥdat al-wujūd* (the Unity of Existence).³⁰¹ His position on this elaboration can be perceived either as the insider of *waḥdat al-shuhūd*, which substantiates Azra's claim, or as the outsider of it, which concurs Peacock's claim. However, according to the context of this passage I am personally inclined to the latter argument. For although the exact term of *waḥdat al-shuhūd* is found in his commentary and he seemed to comprehend its

³⁰⁰ Although in TS, al-Maqāṣirī only suggest intellectual existence (*al-wujūd al-‘ilmī*), I deliberately translate it above as existence in Divine Knowledge since the word ‘ilmī’ was juxtaposed with the notion of external existence (*al-wujūd al-khārijī*) which is a technical opposition in mystical discourse instead of epistemological one. Another reason is the subjective of the entire passage is the ontological status of the world, not human awareness of it.

³⁰¹ Chittick, “*Waḥdat Al-Shuhūd*.”

teachings, it does not necessarily imply his adherence to *wahdat al-shuhūd*. Moreover, considering his remarkable mystical background, it is not astonishing to find his competence pertaining to multiple mystical teachings.

Subsequently, in order to reinforce his position on the non-existence of the cosmos, Rānīrī introduces two additional modes of existence: *ta'ayyun* (determination or entification) and *ḥukm* (ontological status) or *nisba* (relational dependence). Each term implies distinct conditions in the pre-creational and post-creational phases of the cosmos. Notably, with respect to the entification of the cosmos (*ta'ayyun al-ʿālam*), Rānīrī raises the issue only with reference to the pre-creational state and leaves it unaddressed after creation. He asserts:

*Inna ta'ayyuna al-ʿālam qabla khalqihī wa ijādihi kāna huwa muta'ayyinan fī ʿilmillāh taʾālā wa thābitan fīhi li ta'alluqi al-ʿālam bihi azalan wa abadan*³⁰²

The determination (ta'ayyun) of the world prior to its creation and actualization was already determined (muta'ayyinan) in the knowledge of God, and firmly established therein, due to the world's eternal and perpetual relation (ta'alluq) to His knowledge.

In *wujūdiyyah* discourse, *ta'ayyun* denotes the process by which Existence is progressively specified and particularized: the single Reality perpetually unveils itself, moving from the most general toward ever more differentiated levels until it manifests in concrete form within the empirical world.³⁰³ When Rānīrī maintains that the cosmos is determined solely in Divine Knowledge, he thereby safeguards his assertion of the cosmos's non-existence, for whatever is “known” or “determined” in God's Knowledge possesses no external, concrete reality but remains a purely conceptual entity—classed, in his terminology, as *ma'dūm* (non-existent).³⁰⁴ He likely refrains from positing any *ta'ayyun* of the cosmos in the post-creational state, as acknowledging such determination would imply an external, concrete existence that would contradict his own thesis. Rather than

³⁰² al-Maqāṣīrī, “*Tuḥfat Sarandīb*,” fol. 6r.

³⁰³ Al-Attas, *A Commentary On The Hujjat Al-Siddiq Of Nur Al-Din Al-Raniri*, 268; Chittick, *The Sufi Path of Knowledge*, 83.

³⁰⁴ Al-Attas, *A Commentary On The Hujjat Al-Siddiq Of Nur Al-Din Al-Raniri*, 162.

designating the cosmos itself as the locus of determination (*ta'ayyun al-'ālam*), he instead characterizes it as merely a locus of Divine Self-Disclosure (*maḥall ta'ayyun ilāhī*).

This same ontological logic underpins Rānīrī's treatment of the cosmos's *ḥukm* (status). Prior to creation, the cosmos possesses no external existence, for all determinations occur solely within the Divine Essence. Rānīrī articulates this state as *ḥukmuhu ḥukmu ta'ayyun al-dhāt li-l-dhāt fī al-dhāt*—"its status is the status of the determination of the Essence, for the Essence, in the Essence."³⁰⁵ By contrast, its post-creational status implies a measure of externality: *ḥukmuhu ka-l-ḥukmi bayna al-makhlūq wa-l-khāliq* ("its status is like the relation between the created and the Creator").³⁰⁶ Significantly, Rānīrī employs the term *ta'ayyun* only for the pre-creational phase, where separate entities cannot yet be imagined.

A parallel distinction governs his discussion of the *nisba* (relation) between the cosmos and God. Before creation, that relation parallels the bond between the known and the knower; after creation, it resembles the relation between a shadow and its caster.³⁰⁷ This consistency reinforces the earlier analysis of *ta'ayyun*: in its essence, the cosmos remains eternally and wholly an object of Divine Knowledge, possessing no intrinsic ontological reality—just as a shadow has no independent existence apart from its source.

The final element that completes Rānīrī's conception of cosmological existence in both its pre- and post-creational states is the nomenclature assigned to the cosmos. Although this issue has been touched upon in earlier discussions, Rānīrī dedicates specific entry to formally introduce it. He asserts that prior to creation, the cosmos is designated as *al-ma'lūm al-ilāhī* (the object of Divine Knowledge) or *ma'lūm 'ilm al-ilāhī* (that which is known within God's Knowledge). In contrast, after creation, the cosmos assumes various names, including *al-khalq* (the creation), *al-a'yān al-khārijīyyah* (external entities), and is characterized as the *athar* (effect) and *ẓill* (shadow) of the *a'yān al-thābitah* (permanent archetypes). It is also referred

³⁰⁵ al-Maqāṣīrī, "*Tuḥfat Sarandīb*," fol. 6r.

³⁰⁶ Ibid.

³⁰⁷ Ibid.

to as *al-mulk* (the dominion) or *al-milk* (possession), *al-ghayr* (otherness), and other such designations.

As previously discussed, these post-creational appellations are addressed more comprehensively in the first entry HZ. However, in its translation—paralleled in the eleventh entry of *Tuhfat Sarandīb*—these designations are largely omitted, with the exception of *mā siwā Allāh*, a term synonymous with *al-ghayr*. This nomenclature, nevertheless, serves as a crucial point of entry for understanding the conceptualization of the cosmos in Rānīrī's framework specifically, and within the broader *wujūdiyyah* discourse generally. The diverse terms employed reflect different ontological and epistemological contexts. Indeed, this very complexity in naming the cosmos likely constitutes one of the key motivations behind Rānīrī's composition of his subsequent work, *Hall al-Zill*.

4.3.2. *Zill* and The Three Levels of Divine Determination

All five notions outlined above are discussed within the first ten entries of *Tuhfat Sarandīb* (TS), which, as established in the preceding section, do not correspond to the content of *Hall al-Zill* (HZI). These entries are likely derived from another of Rānīrī's treatises, one that—fortuitously—aligns with the thematic focus of *HZI*, particularly in its treatment of the ontological status of the cosmos and its nomenclature. These distinct treatises were subsequently translated and compiled into a single work, forming what is now recognized as the primary content of TS. The following subsections therefore examine the contents of both TS and *HZI* together as a unified theological discourse attributed to al-Rānīrī, except in cases where significant textual variations warrant separate analysis and explanation.

It is broadly recognized that al-Rānīrī based his mystical conception of the cosmos on the metaphor of *zill* (shadow). This metaphor constitutes the central objective of *Hall al-Zill* (HZ), which—being a major source for *Tuhfat Sarandīb* (TS)—features prominently in the latter as well. Nevertheless, as previously discussed, the two texts elaborate on this concept in notably different ways. Assuming both texts originated from Rānīrī, it follows that he had already provided a rational and theological justification for the metaphor of shadow. In *HS*, he

clarified its ontological status, arguing that this shadow can neither be classified as *wujūd* (existence) nor as absolute non-existence (*ma‘dūm al-muṭlaq*).³⁰⁸ Rather, he explicitly asserted that it constitutes *ma‘dūm al-maḥḍ* (pure non-existence),³⁰⁹ which he equated with *wujūd majāzī* (metaphorical existence)³¹⁰ and *wujūd khayālī* (imaginal existence).³¹¹

Despite these elaborations, the ontological status of *wujūd majāzī* or *wujūd khayālī* may still appear ambiguous, especially considering that the cosmos is undeniably tangible and exerts a real impact on human life—unlike a mere shadow or reflection in a mirror, which is intrinsically intangible and lacks causal agency. In addressing this subtle tension, al-Maqāṣirī offers a sophisticated and unique analogy in his commentary on *zill*, indirectly clarifying the concept through the following illustration:

*al-zill mathalan fa innahu laysa lahu wujūd ḥaqīqah wa in kāna mar‘iy bi ru‘yati al-‘ayn wa yadullu ‘ala taḥqīq dhālika kamā ‘alimnā inna zila al-shajarah al-kabīrah al-zahir fī al-mā‘ lā yamna‘ murūr al-sufun al-kabīrah fīhi wa law kāna dhālika al-zill lahu ḥaqīqatun fī wujūdihi fa mana‘a al-sufun bi al-murūr fīhi wa lawa ra‘ā bi ru‘yati al-‘ayn kamā qulnā sābiqan fa-fham dhālika wa taḥaqqaq fa innahu taḥqīqun nafīsun lā ghubāra fīhi ‘inda man ‘arafa al-amr bimā huwa ‘alayhi.*³¹²

Take, for example, the shadow (al-zill): it has no real existence (wujūd ḥaqīqī), even if it is visible to the eye. This is affirmed by what we know: that the reflection of a large tree appearing upon the surface of water does not prevent large ships from passing through it. And if that reflection had a real existence, it would have prevented ships from passing through it — even though it is seen by the eye, as we have already said. So understand this and reflect upon it, for it is a precious realization (taḥqīq nafīs) with no doubt or ambiguity in it — for the one who knows the matter as it truly is (‘inda man ‘arafa al-amr bimā huwa ‘alayhi)

³⁰⁸ Al-Rānirī, “Ḥujjat Al-Ṣiddīq Li Daf‘i al-Zindīq,” 58–59.

³⁰⁹ Ibid., 56.

³¹⁰ Ibid., 58–59.

³¹¹ Al-Rānirī, “Mā‘u Al-Ḥayāt Li Ahli al-Mamāt,” 50.

³¹² al-Maqāṣirī, “*Tuḥfat Sarandīb*,” fol. 9v.

This analogy is notably sophisticated in several respects. **First**, it coherently integrates the concept of visibility while also accounting for the *affectability* of what is termed *wujūd majāzī* (metaphorical existence). Previous analogies and metaphors in Rānīrī's corpus primarily emphasize the visibility of the shadow or reflection, whereas the aspect of affectability—namely, how such a shadow reacts to or interacts with other entities in the external world—tends to be overlooked. For example, in the twelfth entry of *TS*, four aspects are used to analogize the relationship between the cosmos and God, all of which highlight the visible dimension of the shadow or wave: (1) ontological contingency or dependency, (2) limitation of motion, (3) quantity, and (4) quality. Similarly, the analogy of the image in a mirror and its possessor in *HŞ* conveys the same focus.

What is generally absent in these analogies is an account of how metaphorical entities might be affected by or exert influence upon other entities. Most of them portray only a dyadic relationship—between the shadow and its source, or the image and the object it reflects—isolated from any external interaction. The analogy offered by al-Maqāṣīrī, however, introduces a third element: an external entity that disrupts or intersects the relationship. His illustration involving a large tree, its reflection on the water, and a passing ship introduces a dynamic triadic interaction that successfully conveys this concept. Through this, the metaphorical image (the tree's reflection) is shown to possess no real affective power over either the tree or the ship—both of which exist on a different ontological level and can meaningfully interact with each other, while the reflection remains inert.

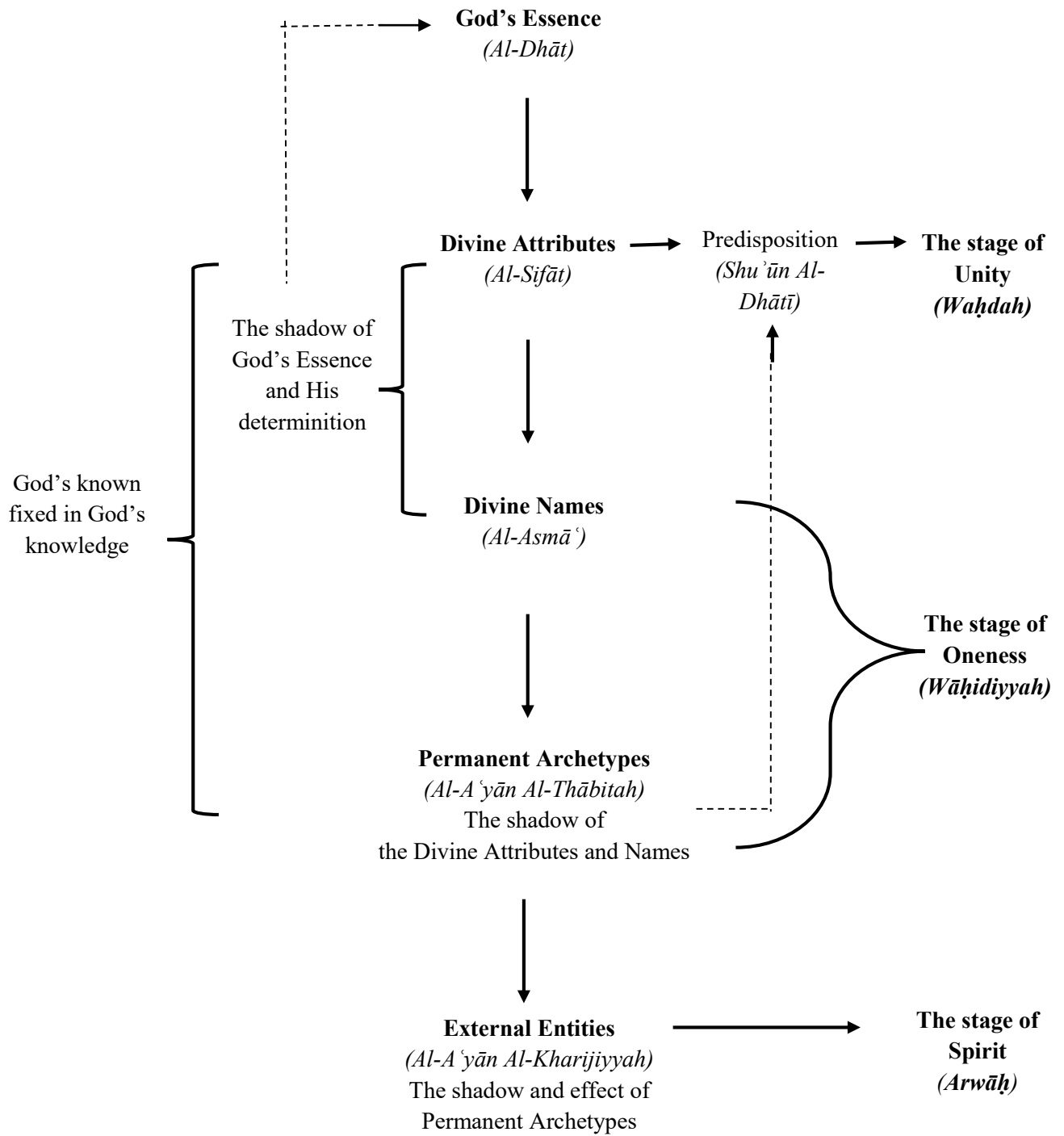
Second, al-Maqāṣīrī constructs his analogy with unusual precision, guided by two deliberate conditions. First, he chooses concrete, identifiable objects rather than the indeterminate expression “the possessor of the shadow” (*ṣāhib al-ẓill*), which in other contexts could ambiguously denote either a mundane object or God Himself. Second, he juxtaposes multiple tangible entities with an intangible one: a large tree and a ship (both tangible) set against the tree's reflection on the water (intangible). This triadic configuration vividly illustrates that the reflection can exert no influence upon either the actual tree or the passing ship, owing to their

distinct ontological orders. By contrast, most of Rānīrī's metaphors, when they combine tangible and intangible elements, remain unspecific—typically cast as “the shadow and its possessor” (*al-ẓill wa-ṣāhib al-ẓill*), a pairing that may be read as God and creation and thus excludes any third, co-level tangible entity. When Rānīrī does specify his examples, as in the analogy of the king and his soldier,³¹³ both terms refer to tangible beings, potentially inviting a misreading whereby the soldier could be thought to influence the king. Al-Maqāṣīrī's carefully layered metaphor therefore clarifies more effectively the ontological asymmetry between the empirical world and its metaphorical shadow.

Third—and perhaps most significantly—al-Maqāṣīrī's analogy indirectly illustrates the concept of levels of determination (*marātib al-ta'ayyun*). Affectability, in this scheme, becomes intelligible only when there are distinct ontological levels, and when at least one entity from a higher level interacts with the metaphorical constructs of the lower. In al-Maqāṣīrī's metaphor, the ship represents an entity on the same ontological level as the tree, while the tree's reflection represents a lower, metaphorical stratum of existence. From the perspective of the ship and the tree, the reflection has no agency. Moreover, in a broader metaphysical reading, the tangible existence of the ship and tree themselves could be regarded as metaphorical when compared to a higher ontological realm—an idea that will be further elaborated in the subsequent discussion on the levels of determination of the cosmos.

Furthermore, al-Rānīrī initiate the following discussion by introducing the three levels of cosmological determination (*ta'ayyun al-ālam*) namely, (1) *martabat waḥdah* (the stage of unity), (2) *martabat wāḥidiyyah* (the stage of Oneness), (3) *martabat al-arwāh* (the stage of Spirits). A brief topical mapping of this notion is presented below:

³¹³ Al-Rānīrī, “Ḥujjat Al-Ṣiddīq Li Daf'i al-Zindīq,” 57.



It is noteworthy that the two mystical terms related to *ta'ayyun*—namely, *ta'ayyun al-ilāhī* and *ta'ayyun al-ālam*—in *Tuḥfat Sarandīb* refer to the same metaphysical process, yet their scope extends beyond the cosmos in its post-creational state. When delineating the three levels of determination, which span both pre- and post-creational realms, al-Rānīrī employed the term *ta'ayyun al-ālam* (cosmological determination). However, when addressing the question of the *locus* (*ayna*) of the cosmos after its creation, he insisted on its ontological non-existence, asserting instead that it is merely the locus of *ta'ayyun al-ilāhī* (Divine determination). This formulation, however, raises a conceptual tension. The first two levels out of the three stages of determination cannot be readily classified under *ta'ayyun al-ālam*, as they are ontologically identified with the Divine Essence itself—*al-dhāt*. Conversely, the third level, which is designated as *al-a'yān al-khārijīyyah* (external entities), cannot straightforwardly be described as the locus of *ta'ayyun al-ilāhī*, since Rānīrī explicitly regards that locus as non-existent in an essential sense. This final level, being ontologically distinct from the Essence, resembles the metaphysical status of the shadow in relation to its possessor—an image employed consistently by Rānīrī to preserve the ontological disjunction between the cosmos and the Divine.

Additionally, these two assertions invite further scrutiny. Regarding the three levels of determination, rather than attributing them to the cosmos (*ālam*), it would be more coherent to ascribe them to Divine determination (*ta'ayyun al-ilāhī*), as the term *ālam* properly pertains only to the third level, whereas the first and second levels are often identified with the Divine Essence itself (as narrated in TS: *anna al-asmā' wa al-ṣifāt kulluhā 'ayn al-dhāt*).³¹⁴ Likewise, when al-Rānīrī denied the existence of the cosmos even after its creation—on the grounds of its non-existence—his subsequent articulation that it is "the locus of *ta'ayyun al-ilāhī*"³¹⁵ paradoxically implies the existence of the cosmos itself. This internal tension is precisely what prompted al-Maqāṣīrī to append his commentary on the topic.

³¹⁴ al-Maqāṣīrī, "*Tuḥfat Sarandīb*," fol. 7v.

³¹⁵ Ibid., fol. 6r.

Drawing out the general narrative of the three levels of determination, it becomes apparent that they are once again intended as an introductory exposition of the metaphysical theory of the cosmos. The treatment in *Tuhfat Sarandīb* merely provides brief definitions of each stage without engaging with contrasting perspectives or addressing the more intricate theological and ontological debates involved. For instance, *al-a'yān al-khārijīyyah* is described as the shadow and effect of *al-a'yān al-thābitah*, while *al-a'yān al-thābitah* itself is described as the shadow of God's Attributes and Names, which, in turn, are the shadow and the determined entities (*ta'ayyunāt*) of the Divine Essence (*al-dhāt*).³¹⁶ These descending ontological gradations correspond to each of the three levels of cosmological determination (*maḥall al-ta'ayyun al-ālam al-thalāthah*), with each locus (*maḥall*) clearly identified.

Nevertheless, each of these levels encompasses themes that warrant deeper exploration. At the stage of *waḥdah*, for instance, where the Divine Essence is determined into *shu'ūn al-dhāt* (the predispositions of the Essence), a process through which individuation occurs, eventually leading to the emergence of God's Attributes (*ṣifāt*),³¹⁷ longstanding theological disputes arise. These debates focus on the ontological status of the Attributes in relation to the Divine Essence—whether they are entirely identical with it, wholly distinct from it, or exhibit a dual nature comprising both unity and differentiation.³¹⁸ Even the term *shu'ūn* itself carries

³¹⁶ Ibid., fols. 7r–7v.

³¹⁷ Ibid., fol. 7r; Al-Attas, *A Commentary On The Hujjat Al-Siddiq Of Nur Al-Din Al-Raniri*, 162.

³¹⁸ Quoting *Jawāhir al-'Ulūm*, Daudy posited that for Rānirī:

The Attributes (ṣifāt) are, from one perspective, identical to the Essence (dhāt), and from another perspective, distinct from it. This is because all attributes are in reality meanings, considerations, relations (nisbah), and additions (iḍāfāt). Thus, from this aspect, the attributes are identical with the Essence, because there is no being (mawjūd) in reality except the essence of al-Ḥaqq. However, from the other perspective — that the concepts (maṣāhīm) of the attributes are each clearly and distinctively delimited — they are considered distinct from the Essence. translated from Daudy, *Allah Dan Manusia Dalam Konsepsi Syekh Nuruddin Ar-Raniry*, 88.

In an excerpt of Hall al-Zill which is not being translated in TS, Rānirī emphasize the identical aspect of the Attributes and the Essence through his metaphor of the intelligent man. Al-Attas also highlighted the double nature of, not only the Attributes but also Names of God in relation with the Essence. It is actually from the distinct aspect of the Attributes and Names, the permanent archetypes (*al-a'yān al-thābitah*) is arisen. See Al-Rānirī, “Ḥall al-Zill,” fols. 24r–24v; Al-Attas, *A Commentary On The Hujjat Al-Siddiq Of Nur Al-Din Al-Raniri*, 455.

layered meanings rooted in the Qur'ānic lexicon,³¹⁹ inviting a more nuanced inquiry than what is provided in TS.

How exactly should *al-a'yān al-thābitah* (the permanent archetypes) be defined? This question, in essence, constitutes one of the most profound metaphysical problems within Islamic mystical thought. Its complexity was already apparent during the early scholarly debates in Aceh, when two local scholars disputed its meaning and Rānīrī's uncle, Muḥammad Jīlānī, felt compelled to travel to the *ḥaramayn* to clarify the matter before the scholars there during the reign of al-Mukammal.³²⁰ Rānīrī himself, quoting 'Abd al-Razzāq al-Kāshānī, referred to *al-a'yān al-thābitah* as *aghmaḍ al-masā'il* (the most obscure or incomprehensible issue) among the Sufis.³²¹ The intricacy of this concept lies primarily in the ontological ambiguity and the metaphysical positioning of the archetypes within the hierarchy of cosmic determination.

Although *Tuhfat Sarandīb* offers several concise statements regarding the notion of *al-a'yān al-thābitah*, these remarks are not without potential confusion. Consider the previously mentioned shadow-like relationship among three key metaphysical levels: God's Attributes and Names, *al-a'yān al-thābitah*, and *al-a'yān al-khārijīyyah*. At first glance, this tripartite structure appears straightforward and logically sequenced. However, in other entries, Rānīrī complicates the framework by asserting that *al-a'yān al-thābitah* are not only (1) the shadow of God's Attributes and Names, but also (2) God's fixed knowns in His eternal knowledge (*ma'lūmāt Allāh al-thābitah fī 'ilmihī*) and (3) *shu'ūn al-dhāt* (the predispositions of the Essence).³²²

The ambiguity intensifies when in another entry, Rānīrī posits that the *form* of God's knowledge (*ṣūrat ma'lūmāt Allāh*) is constituted by God's Names and Attributes, not by *al-a'yān al-thābitah*³²³—a statement that seems to contradict the

³¹⁹ This term is a plural form of *sha'n* which arguably referred to QS 55:29, where it describes that God is in perpetual concern of His creature's needs.

³²⁰ Said, *Aceh Sepanjang Abad*, I, 244; Azra, *The Origins of Islamic Reformism in Southeast Asia*, 55–56.

³²¹ Daudy, *Allah Dan Manusia Dalam Konsepsi Syekh Nuruddin Ar-Raniry*, 100.

³²² al-Maqāṣīrī, "*Tuhfat Sarandīb*," fol. 7r.

³²³ Ibid., fol. 7v.

prior claim. Moreover, he initially connects *shu 'ūn* to the Attributes (*al-ṣifāt*) at the first level of determination (*waḥdah*), rather than to *al-a 'yān al-thābitah*, which he associates with the second level (*wāḥidiyyah*), traditionally related to the Divine Names (*al-asmā'*).³²⁴

This textual constellation suggests that *al-a 'yān al-thābitah* possess a dual affiliation across both the *waḥdah* and *wāḥidiyyah* levels of determination. Daudy, citing *Jawāhir al-'Ulūm*, reinforces this interpretation by listing distinct technical terms for each level. In the level of Divine Attributes (*ṣifāt*), these include: *shu 'ūn al-dhāt*, *al-'aql al-awwal*, *al-wujūd al-idāfī*, *al-wujūd al-'āmm*, *nafs al-raḥmān*, *bāṭin al-wujūd*, and *ḥaqīqat Muḥammad*. At the level of the Divine Names (*asmā'*), *al-a 'yān al-thābitah* appear under various designations such as *a 'yān al-mumkināt*, *ḥaqā'iq al-mumkināt*, *ma'lūmāt al-ḥaqq*, *ḥaqā'iq al-ashyā'*, and *ḥaqā'iq al-insān*.³²⁵

Rānīrī complicates the notion further by declaring that *al-a 'yān al-thābitah*, like the realities of the first two levels of determination, are *qadīm* (eternal or intemporal), whereas *al-a 'yān al-khārijiyyah* alone are *ḥādith* (temporally originated).³²⁶ This raises a pressing ontological dilemma: how can something other than God be eternal when God is categorically the only Necessary and Eternal Existent (*wājib al-wujūd*)? His response lies in his foundational doctrine that the cosmos is non-existent in both its pre- and post-creational states, precisely because *al-a 'yān al-thābitah* themselves never possessed true existence. He repeatedly affirms this by citing the Sufi expression that they "never even smelled the scent of existence" (*mā shammat rā'ihat al-wujūd*). Al-Maqāṣīrī earlier clarified this statement, explaining that it pertains to external, concrete existence (*wujūd khārijī*), which is categorically denied of *al-a 'yān al-thābitah*. In this view, God remains the sole Existence, without partner or rival, while the *a 'yān thābitah* are eternally non-

³²⁴ Ibid., fol. 7r; Al-Attas, *A Commentary On The Hujjat Al-Siddiq Of Nur Al-Din Al-Raniri*, 162.

³²⁵ Daudy, *Allah Dan Manusia Dalam Konsepsi Syekh Nuruddin Ar-Raniry*, 96.

³²⁶ Rānīrī's opinion on this matter conflicting with 'Abd Karim al-Jīlī's where he proposed that *al-a 'yān al-thābitah* is *ḥādith*, although it is preoccupied in God's knowledge. See Daudy's quotation from *Jawāhir al-'Ulūm*. Ibid., 93, 99–100.

existent—intelligible only within the realm of Divine Knowledge, never crossing into the realm of being.

Once again, al-Maqāṣirī endeavours to clarify the notion of non-existence, which he calls *al-‘adam al-mumkin* (“possible non-existence”), noting that this is the term adopted by the theologians to denote *al-a‘yān al-thābitah*. He explains that, prior to creation, *al-a‘yān al-thābitah* exhibit a dual aspect: an existential aspect (*wajh wujūdiyyatihā*) within Divine Knowledge, and a non-existential aspect (*wajh ‘adamiyyatihā*) with respect to external reality, while both aspects remain uncreated. He further states:

fa yakūnu wajhu wujūdiyyatihā al-madhkūrah huwa al-shay’i al-mukhātab fī qawlihi idhā qāla li shay’in {kun fa yakūn}³²⁷ wa yakūnu wajhu ‘adamiyyatihā huwa al-mushār ilayhi fī qawlihi ta’ālā {hal atā ‘alā al-insān ḥīnun min al-dahri lam yakun shay’an madhkūran}³²⁸ thumma al-ḥikmah fī dhālika inna wajha wujūdi al-a‘yān al-thābitah al-ghayr al-maj‘ūlah fī wujūdiyyatihā huwa al-qābil li al-khiṭāb al-ilāhī al-madhkūr wa inna wajha ‘adamiyyatihā al-ghayr al-maj‘ūlah fī ‘adamiyyatihā ayḍan huwa al-qābil li al-tijād wa al-khalq fa kilā al-wajhayn fī ḥaqqihā ghayr maj‘ūlah.³²⁹

... Thus, its existential aspect is what addressed in the Divine saying, “When He says to a thing, ‘Be!’ and it is” while its non-existential aspect is what indicated in His saying, “Has there not come upon man a period of time when he was not a thing mentioned?” The wisdom in this is that the existent aspect of *al-a‘yān al-thābitah*, which is unmade to be existent (i.e., it is not created per se), is that which is receptive to the Divine command (*al-khiṭāb al-ilāhī*), and the aspect of their non-existence — likewise unmade in its non-existence — is that which is receptive to origination (*tijād*) and creation (*khalq*). So, both aspects — their existent aspect and their non-existent aspect — are essentially unmade with respect to their states.

³²⁷ QS. 2:117, QS 3:47, QS. 16:40 and more

³²⁸ QS. 76:1

³²⁹ al-Maqāṣirī, “*Tuḥfat Sarandīb*,” fol. 9v.

After creation, al-Maqāṣirī underscores the contingent existence of the cosmos, derived from the existential aspect of *al-a'yān al-thābitah*. He stresses that this created existence in no way constitutes a pair or rival to the Divine Existence: whereas God's Being subsists by itself (*qayyūmiyyah*) and sustains all else, the existence of the cosmos subsists only through something other than itself—namely, the Divine creative act. This fundamental distinction, he argues, epitomises the perfection of “witnessing” (*tamām al-shuhūd*). He states:

idhā qulnā inna al-wujūd wujūdāni al-awwal wujūdun qā'imun bi nafsīhi muqawwimun li ghayrihi wa huwa wujūdullāh ta'ālā wa al-thānī wujūdun qā'imun bi ghayrihi lā bi nafsīhi wa huwa wujūdu al-'ālam fa dhālika min tamāmi al-shuhūd wa lā yaḍurruna dhālika al-shuhūd bal dhālika al-shuhūd huwa min kamāli martabati ulūhiyatihi wa rubūbiyatihi ta'ālā ma'a annahu ghaniyyun 'ammā siwāhu ta'ālā fa inna isma al-ilāh wa al-rabb wa mā shākalahuma dhātī lahu ta'ālā wa al-ilāh yaṭlubu al-ma'lūh wa al-rabb yaṭlubu al-marbūb.³³⁰

If we say that existence is of two kinds: The first is existence that subsists by itself and sustains other than itself — and that is the existence of God, exalted is He. The second is existence that subsists by other than itself, not by itself — and that is the existence of the cosmos. Then this (recognition) is part of the perfection of (spiritual) witnessing (shuhūd). This witnessing does not harm us in any way. Rather, such witnessing is itself from the perfection of the station (martabah) of ulūhiyyah and lordship rubūbiyyah, exalted is He — even though He is absolutely free of need (ghanī) from all besides Himself. For indeed, the name al-Ilāh and al-Rabb and their like are essential attributes (dhātiyyah) belonging to Him, exalted is He —and al-Ilāh entails the existence of one who is worshipped (ma'lūh), and al-Rabb entails the existence of one who is lorded over (marbūb).

All these elaborations in TS affirm that al-Rānirī and al-Maqāṣirī approach two distinct aspects of the cosmos differently. While Rānirī frequently and systematically argued for the only non-existence of the cosmos, al-Maqāṣirī responded through his commentary on *al-a'yān al-thābitah* affirming its existence

³³⁰ Ibid., fol. 10r.

and non-existence. At this point, it is not surprising to find out that al-Maqāṣirī's comprehensive argumentations—either in elaborations of *ẓill* or in explicating *al-a'yān al-thābitah*—turn out to be part of his conclusive work *Risālat Ghāyat al-Ikhtiṣār*.³³¹

One last notable point in al-Maqāṣirī's commentary on Rānirī's teachings is his assertion of *ulūhiyyah* (Divinity) and *rubūbiyyah* (Lordship). Whereas Rānirī labored to explicate the problem of existence and maintained every argument in alignment with the idea that 'the One and Only existence is God,' al-Maqāṣirī readily suggested that the idea of 'two existences' could also be valid—so long as one of them is in total dependence upon the other. This duality of existence parallels the concepts of *ulūhiyyah* and *rubūbiyyah*,³³² since the Name *Ilāh* necessitates the existence of one who is worshipped and one who worships, just as other Divine Names entail relational counterparts.

4.3.3. Reception of the Cosmos from the Divine Names and Attributes

This sub-section will discuss the final and the longest two entries of *Tuḥfat Sarandīb*, in which both questions examine the modes of human understanding concerning certain mystical arguments. These are the only questions that begin with the explanatory interrogative "How," thereby necessitating more elaborate responses. Unlike the earlier entries, which often imposed conceptual or theoretical elaborations, al-Rānirī in these instances resorted to metaphorical illustrations to articulate his ideas on these epistemological matters. His questions verbatim are:

*Idhā qāla al-qā'il kayfa ṣūratu ma'rifatinā wa kayfiyatuhā bi al-a'yāni al-khārijīyah bi annahā ta'ayyunāt al-asmā' wa al-ṣifāt?*³³³

*Idhā qāla al-qā'il kayfa ṣūratu ma'rifatinā bi al-maṣnū' innahu qābilun li athari ṣifāt al-ṣani'?*³³⁴

³³¹ al-Maqāṣirī, "Risālat Ghāyat Al-Ikhtiṣār Wa Nihāyat al-Inzār," 111–14.

³³² al-Maqāṣirī, "Tuḥfat Sarandīb," fol. 10r.

³³³ Ibid., fol. 7v.

³³⁴ Ibid., fol. 8r.

If someone were to ask: How is the form and modality of our knowledge of the external entities (al-a 'yān al-khārijīyyah) inasmuch as they are manifestations of the Divine Names and Attributes?

If someone were to ask: How is the form of our knowledge of the created object (al-maṣnū') inasmuch as it is receptive to the traces of the Attributes of the Maker (ṣifāt al-ṣāni')?

Both questions actually resonate the same meaning which in more straightforward expressions is “How do we know that the external entities (al-a 'yān al-khārijīyyah/almaṣnū') are *ta'ayyunāt* (entifications/effects) of Divine Names and Attributes?” the second question merely clarifies metaphorical illustrations narrated in advance, since the word ‘*al-maṣnū'*’ refers to specific object which is stated more tangible in the text of ḤẒ. Where Rānīrī enunciated:

*Jika ditanya seseorang betapa peri kita mengetahui patung itu (menerima) bekas daripada segala sifat pandai itu?*³³⁵

If someone asks: How do we know that the statue receives the traces (effects) of all attributes (qualities) of the craftsman?

It becomes evident that the second question must be understood within the framework of Rānīrī's earlier response. Rather than providing a direct explanation, Rānīrī opens with a succinct restatement of the cosmos' determination (*ta'ayyun al-'ālam*), reinforcing his argument through a quotation from 'Abd al-Karīm al-Jīlī (d. 1424). This introductory note appears intended to reorient the reader's focus toward the notion of *al-a 'yān al-khārijīyyah*, especially since the preceding entries were primarily concerned with *al-a 'yān al-thābitah*. The formulation of the second question also reveals Rānīrī's anticipation of potential confusion among readers regarding the ontological link between the external entities (*al-a 'yān al-khārijīyyah*) and the Divine Names and Attributes. Unlike *al-a 'yān al-thābitah*, which Rānīrī seemingly aligns with the Names and Attributes, *al-a 'yān al-*

³³⁵ Al-Rānīrī, “Ḥall al-Zill,” fol. 25v.

khārijīyyah constitutes the final stage of Divine determination, and, notably, the only level that Rānīrī explicitly considers *ḥādīth* (temporally originated).

The substantive answer lies in the second passage, where Rānīrī states that every aspect of the cosmos implicitly discloses one of God's Attributes. He elaborates: the world, insofar as it exists, is the effect (*athar*) of the Divine Name al-Mūjid (the Bringer-into-Existence); insofar as it possesses a particular living form (*hay'ah*), it is the effect of al-Murīd (the One who wills); insofar as it appears as external entities (*al-a'yān al-khārijīyyah*), it is the effect of al-Qādir (the All-Powerful); and insofar as it is created, it is the effect of al-Khāliq (the Creator). By extension, every Divine Name corresponds to—and is “witnessed” through—a distinct facet of the cosmos. To deepen this point, Rānīrī introduces what is arguably his most expansive, yet also most problematic, metaphor—one that carries over into the final question of *Tuḥfat Sarandīb*. He begins:

Tamthīlun fī mā yuqālu inna rajulan mathalan 'āliman ḥakīman 'ārīfan bi jamī'i al-ṣinā'āt wa shāṭiran bi al-umūr kullihā wa lahu awṣāfun min al-kamālāt lā tu'addu wa lā tuḥṣā mithlu al-ḥayāh wa al-'ilm wa al-sam' wa al-baṣar wa al-kalām wa al-qudrah wa al-irādah wa al-shajā'ah wa al-qahr wa al-sulṭanah wa al-raḥmah wa al-ghinā wa al-khāliqiyah wa al-rāziqiyah wa ghayru dhālika min al-sifāt al-kamāliyah min al-jalāl wa al-jamāl wa 'alā 'adadi al-ṣifah al-madhkūrah kāna 'adadu al-asmā' fa idhā kānat lahu ṣifat al-ḥayāh yuqālu lahu ḥayyun wa idhā kānat lahu ṣifatu al-'ilm yuqālu lahu 'ālimun ... wa 'alā hādhā al-qiyās fī al-kull min al-ṣifāt al-bāqiyah³³⁶

*Thumma inna al-ṣifāt wa al-asmā' taṭlubu mazāhirahā ka al-ism al-qāhir mathalan fa innahu kāna yaṭlubu al-maḥmūd wa al-ism al-raḥīm yaṭlubu al-marḥūm ... wa 'alā hādhā al-qiyās fī al-bawāqī.*³³⁷

Thumma idhā ra'aynā mathalan dhālika al-rajul al-madhkūr al-muttaṣif bi jamī'i al-ṣifāt al-madhkūrah šana'a shakhṣan 'alā ṣūratī insān thumma aḥyāhu fa ta'ayyana bi anna al-rajula al-ṣāni'a al-madhkūr innahu kānat lahu ṣifat al-ḥayāh

³³⁶ al-Maqāṣīrī, “*Tuḥfat Sarandīb*,” fols. 7v–8r.

³³⁷ Ibid., fol. 8r.

*al-muta'aththirah fī ḥayāh dhālika al-insān al-maṣnū' al-madhkūr dāllatun 'alā anna al-ṣāni 'muttaṣifun bi ṣifati al-ḥayāh wa lā budda min dhālika.*³³⁸

For example, a man who is knowledgeable, wise, and fully acquainted with all crafts—mastering every discipline. He possesses countless perfections, such as life, knowledge, hearing, sight, speech, power, will, courage, dominance, sovereignty, mercy, wealth, creativity, provision, and many other attributes of majesty (Jalāl) and beauty (Jamāl). For every one of these attributes, there corresponds a name. So, if he possesses the attribute of life, he is called “the living”; if he possesses knowledge, he is called “the knowing.” ... and the remaining attributes are in the same analogy.

Now, these attributes and names seek their manifestations. For example, the name al-Qāhir, (the Subduer) for instance, demands the existence of something to be subdued (al-maḡhūr), and the name al-Raḥīm (the Merciful) calls for the existence of one to receive mercy (al-marḥūm) ... and the rest of Names are in the same analogy.

Then (continuing the analogy): suppose this man, who possesses all these attributes, create a statue in the human figure and brings it to life. This act would clearly demonstrate that he possesses the attribute of life—since the life of the created being indicates that the maker himself must be living. This is necessary.

This extensive metaphor encapsulates at least three key mystical teachings articulated by al-Rānīrī: (1) the hierarchical determination of God (*ta'ayyun al-ilāhī*), (2) the relationship between the Divine Essence, Attributes, and Names, and (3) the reflective manifestation of the Creator's attributes within the creation. As discussed earlier, although Rānīrī has narrated the three levels of determination as *ta'ayyun al-ālam*, they are in fact supposed to be attributed to God instead. This attribution aligns with the underlying structure of the metaphor, in which God's Names and Attributes are not separate from, but rather identical with, the Divine Essence. In contrast, *al-maṣnū'* (the crafted image/statue)—which in this context

³³⁸ Ibid.

symbolizes *al-a'yān al-khārijīyyah*—possesses neither the Essence nor the existence of God.

At the same time, Rānīrī emphasizes a nuanced stance: the Attributes and Names of God are distinct only conceptually (*i'tibāran*), yet in their reality they are identical with the Essence.³³⁹ This position is affirmed explicitly in *Hall al-Zill*, though the corresponding statement appears to be omitted in the TS translation. There, Rānīrī states

*Maka apabila kita lihat akan pandai itu suatupun tiada kelihatan padanya daripada segala sifat yang tersebut Itu tetapi adalah segala sifat itu tsabit lagi lazim padanya hanya yang kelihatan itu zatnya jua.*³⁴⁰

So, when we observe that skillful man, none of those aforementioned attributes are visible upon him; yet, all those attributes are fixed (thābit) and necessarily inherent in him—only his essence (ẓāt) is what is visible.

One may reasonably conclude that, for Rānīrī, the Divine Attributes and Names are real within the Essence, yet distinct from It in the sense that they are apprehended conceptually (*i'tibāran*)—each bearing a particular meaning that differentiates it not only from the Essence but also from other Attributes and Names. The concept of *al-Qahr* (Majesty/Dominance), for instance, is not the same as *al-'Ilm* (Knowledge); *al-Hayāt* (Life) differs from *al-Raḥmah* (Mercy), and so on. Despite these conceptual distinctions, the Attributes and Names are inextricably embedded within the Essence, and their existence cannot be conceived apart from It.

The ultimate thrust of Rānīrī's metaphor lies in demonstrating how the attributes found in external entities (*al-a'yān al-khārijīyyah*) are, in essence, mere reflections of God's Attributes—while simultaneously affirming their ontological disparity. He returned to this point repeatedly through various metaphors, beginning with earlier illustrations and culminating in the final entry of *Tuhfat Sarandīb*,

³³⁹ Daudy, *Allah Dan Manusia Dalam Konsepsi Syeikh Nuruddin Ar-Raniry*, 88.

³⁴⁰ Despite its significant notion, this excerpt is not translated to Arabic in TS, Al-Rānīrī, “Hall al-Zill,” fols. 24r–24v.

where he introduced four additional analogies. Among these, the most comprehensive—and arguably the most problematic—is his metaphor of the Perfect Man who animates a statue. This analogy presents at least two significant challenges. First, it risks imposing anthropomorphic qualities onto the Divine Essence. Second, it appears to suggest that the statue might possess a life qualitatively equivalent to that of its creator.

Interestingly, this metaphor seems more congruent with contemporary technological contexts in which human creations—robots, for instance—can now simulate many characteristics conventionally associated with living beings: respiration, motion, consumption, responsiveness, and the like. Yet, despite these attributes, it remains widely accepted that such entities are not genuinely “alive.” Or even if one were to insist that they are “alive,” their life would undoubtedly remain incomparable to that of the human being who designed them. Similarly, in Rānīrī’s framework, to resolve the potential ambiguity between the life of the statue and that of the creator, he proceeded to elaborate:

wa ma‘a hādhā fa lā tazunna bi anna sifata ḥayāti al-sāni‘ inqalabat ilā al-masnū‘ wa law intaqalat šifatu al-šāni‘ ila al-masnū‘ li intiqāli ḥayātihi ila al-masnū‘ aw qīla bi annahu intaqala ba‘ḍu ḥayātihi ilayhi lā kulluhā la lazima minhu ayḍan anna ḥayāta al-sāni‘ nāqiṣatun, wa bi nuqṣānihā minhu mūjibun li ḍa‘fīhi fa idhā kāna al-šāni‘ ḍa‘īfan fa innahu lā yaqdiru an yaṣna‘a shay‘an ‘alā ṣūrati insānin wa ghayrihi wa lā yaqdiru an yuḥyiya masnū‘ahu.³⁴¹

Yet, despite all this, do not assume that the attribute of life (ḥayāt) of the maker (al-šāni‘) has transferred into the thing made (al-masnū‘). For if the attribute of the maker were to pass into the product, then his life would have necessarily been transferred into it. And if one were to say that only part of his life—not all of it—had transferred into it, this would also necessitate that the life of the maker is incomplete. But if his life were deficient, this would imply weakness on his part. And if the maker were weak, then he would not be capable of producing

³⁴¹ al-Maqāṣīrī, “*Tuḥfat Sarandīb*,” fol. 8r.

anything in the form of a human—or anything else—nor could he impart life to what he has made.

A relatively similar passage appears in Rānīrī's treatise *Mā'u al-Ḥayāt li Ahl al-Mamāt*, in which he quotes al-Ghazālī to elucidate the preceding concept in a more straightforward manner. Through this reference, Rānīrī also underscores the correct understanding of a well-known mystical maxim: *takhallaq bi akhlāqi Allāh*³⁴² ("Adorn yourself with the qualities of God"). He stated:

*All of the attributes of God, Most High—those attributes can never, in any way, become the attributes of creation. What appears in created beings is merely the meaning (ma'nā) of those attributes, that is: the effect (athar) of God's attributes. As the Arabs say: 'So-and-so acquired the knowledge of his teacher' (Fulān ḥaṣala 'ilma ustādhihi)—meaning, not that he possessed the very essence of the teacher's knowledge, but that he received its outcome or trace.*³⁴³

Ultimately, the four additional analogies in the final entry—focused respectively on (1) the sun, its light, the earth, the clouds, and their reflections; and (2) the mirror, an object, and that object's reflection³⁴⁴—reinforce Rānīrī's contention that *this* is the only legitimate way to grasp the principle that "external entities merely receive traces of the Divine Attributes." Any alternative reading, he warns, would risk collapsing into one of three theologically problematic positions: **intiḳāl** (the transposition of the Divine Essence into created form), **ittiḥād** (an essential union between Creator and creation), or **ḥulūl** (the indwelling of the Divine within the creature). By foregrounding these analogies, Rānīrī seeks to preserve a strict ontological boundary: creation "reflects" but never *contains* or *shares* the Essence of the Creator.³⁴⁵

³⁴² Al-Rānīrī, "Mā'u Al-Ḥayāt Li Ahli al-Mamāt," 65.

³⁴³ Translated from Ibid., 56.

³⁴⁴ al-Maqāṣīrī, "*Tuḥfat Sarandīb*," fols. 8r–8v.

³⁴⁵ Al-Rānīrī, "Mā'u Al-Ḥayāt Li Ahli al-Mamāt," 57.

4.3.4. His refutation of *Wahdat al-Wujūd*

The first point that must be clarified is that Rānīrī never rejected the entire doctrine of *wujūdiyyah* (existential mysticism). On the contrary, he is himself a proponent of *wujūdiyyah*,³⁴⁶ upholding the metaphysical interpretation of the shahādah—*Lā ilāha illā Allāh* ("There is no god but God")—as *Lā wujūda li shay' in ḥaqīqatan illā Allāh* ("There is no real existence except God").³⁴⁷ In this view, nothing in existence possesses real being other than God Himself.

Rānīrī explicitly affirms this in his writings, stating that “*adapun sebab dinamai wujūdiyyah itu wujūdiyyah karena adalah bahas dan perkataan dan iktikad mereka itu pada wujud Allah*”³⁴⁸ (the reason why the *wujūdiyyah* are so called is that their discourses, statements, and beliefs revolve around the Existence of God). This conception constitutes a central theme across many of his mystical treatises, including *Hall al-Zill* (HẒ) which was translated in *Tuḥfat Sarandīb* (TS). According to Rānīrī, all *wujūdiyyah* thinkers who affirm divine unity (*tawḥīd*) are properly classified as *ṣūfī*, a designation with which he also identifies.³⁴⁹

What he categorically rejects, however, is a corrupted or heretical version of *wujūdiyyah*—a deviation he explicitly associates with *mulḥid* (heretic) and *zindīq* (apostate). According to Wormser, it is a typical feature of early Muslim reformers who only criticized some aspects of mystical teachings, while they still claimed to be true Sufis.³⁵⁰ In TS, their plural forms *mulāḥidah* and *zanādiqah* appear three times, often paired.³⁵¹ While in HẒ, each of these terms is mentioned twice, alongside other condemnatory labels such as *kāfir* (infidel), *sesat* (deviant),³⁵² and *ḍalālat* (misguidance).³⁵³ Interestingly, al-Maqāṣīrī seems to have deliberately

³⁴⁶ Al-Rānīrī, “Ḥujjat Al-Ṣiddīq Li Daf’i al-Zindīq,” 61; Johns, “Reflections on the Mysticism of Shams Al-Dīn al-Sumatrā’ī (1550?-1630),” 231.

³⁴⁷ Al-Rānīrī, “Ḥujjat Al-Ṣiddīq Li Daf’i al-Zindīq,” 70; Al-Attas, *A Commentary On The Hujjat Al-Siddiq Of Nur Al-Din Al-Raniri*, 97.

³⁴⁸ Al-Rānīrī, “Ḥujjat Al-Ṣiddīq Li Daf’i al-Zindīq,” 61.

³⁴⁹ Ibid., 68; Al-Attas, *A Commentary On The Hujjat Al-Siddiq Of Nur Al-Din Al-Raniri*, 90.

³⁵⁰ Wormser, “The Spread of Islam in Asia through Trade and Sufism (Ninth–Nineteenth Centuries),” 120.

³⁵¹ al-Maqāṣīrī, “*Tuḥfat Sarandīb*,” fols. 7r, 8v.

³⁵² Al-Rānīrī, “*Hall al-Zill*,” fols. 17v, 26v, 27v, 28v.

³⁵³ Ibid., fol. 21v.

softened these condemnations in his commentary, likely for particular pedagogical or rhetorical reasons, while nonetheless preserving Rānīrī's critical stance toward deviant forms of *wujūdiyyah*. He even retains Rānīrī's original Malay quotation, which explicitly characterizes these heterodox teachings, stating:

*Bahwa sesungguhnya, Allah itu wujud kami dan diri kami. Dan kami pun wujud-Nya dan diri-Nya.*³⁵⁴

Verily, God is our existence and our very self. And we, in turn, are His existence and His very self.

Such statements are consistently understood *verbatim* by Rānīrī whenever he discusses the doctrines of the deviant *wujūdiyyah*. As an Ash'arite theologian firmly committed to the principle of an absolute distinction between the Creator and the creation,³⁵⁵ he deemed it necessary to repudiate any formulation that could potentially blur or compromise that ontological demarcation. In response to this particular assertion, he wrote:

*... bianna wujūd al-Ḥaqq lā yaṣīru wujūda mā siwāhu wa lā wujūdu mā siwāhu yaṣīru wujūd Allāh ta'ālā 'abadan 'aqlan wa 'urfan wa shar'an wa ḥaqīqatan.*³⁵⁶

... For the existence of the Real (al-Ḥaqq) never becomes the existence of anything other than Him, nor does the existence of anything other than Him ever become the existence of God, Exalted is He — not ever, neither rationally, nor conventionally, nor legally, nor in reality.

Interestingly, when it comes to *shaṭaḥāt*—the ecstatic utterances of Ṣūfis such as *Huwa huwa* (“He—God—is he—man”) or *Ana al-Ḥaqq* (“I am the Truth [i.e., God]”)—Rānīrī adopts a notably more lenient and discerning stance. He stresses that such expressions are to be understood as forms of *tawassu'* (expansive mystical language) and *tajawwuz* (ecstatic transgression), rather than literal

³⁵⁴ al-Maqāṣīrī, “*Tuḥfat Sarandīb*,” fol. 8v.

³⁵⁵ Al-Attas, *A Commentary On The Hujjat Al-Siddiq Of Nur Al-Din Al-Raniri*, 29.

³⁵⁶ al-Maqāṣīrī, “*Tuḥfat Sarandīb*,” fol. 8v.

theological claims.³⁵⁷ This position is not without merit, given that *shaṭaḥāt* are often articulated in states of spiritual ecstasy, wherein the mystics are not fully conscious of their words—akin to those who speak in dreams. In contrast, the assertions made by the so-called deviant *wujūdiyyah* are expressed deliberately and in full awareness, representing actual doctrinal convictions rather than involuntary mystical utterances. Thus, for Rānīrī, the latter are to be taken as literal affirmations of belief and therefore subject to theological scrutiny and refutation.

The earlier quotation may represent Rānīrī's most literal denunciation of deviant *wujūdiyyah* in *Tuḥfat Sarandīb*, yet his refutation is, in fact, woven throughout the entire treatise. From the outset, Rānīrī structures his argument to affirm that (1) the cosmos is ontologically non-existent. This foundational assertion supports his broader metaphysical position that (2) the highest level of determination (*ta'ayyun*) of the *a'yān al-thābitah* is the *shu'ūn al-dhāt* (predispositions of the Divine Essence), which are eternally non-existent and neither identical with the Essence nor share in Its existence. He constructs an intricate theological architecture in which (3) the Divine Existence, Attributes, and Names remain wholly distinct from their effects and reflections in creation. Through this framework, the cosmos is positioned as radically contingent and utterly dependent upon God, yet never participating in His Essence. Accordingly, the cosmos cannot be said to unite with God, for such *ittiḥād* (union) would require two independently existing entities; nor can it be truly separate from Him, for *tamayyuz* (separation) likewise presupposes two ontologically distinct existences.³⁵⁸ Rānīrī's position denies both of these possibilities by affirming the singularity of Existence—*Lā wujūd illā wujūd Allāh*—where only God possesses true ontological being.

To further substantiate his position, Rānīrī draws upon the authority of Prophetic Hadith: *'alā kullu shay'in ma khalā Allāh bāṭilun*³⁵⁹ (indeed, everything

³⁵⁷ Al-Rānīrī, "Mā'u Al-Ḥayāt Li Ahli al-Mamāt," 59–61.

³⁵⁸ al-Maqāṣīrī, "*Tuḥfat Sarandīb*," fol. 6v.

³⁵⁹ al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ Al-Bukhārī*, nos. 3841, 6147, 6489; Al-Naysābūrī, *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, no. 2256; al-Imām Abī 'Īsā Muḥammad ibn 'Īsā ibn Sawra al-Tirmidhī, *Sunan Al-Tirmidhī* (Dār al-Ta'ṣīl, 2016), no. 2849.

apart from God is false/perishes) and of eminent Sufi thinkers³⁶⁰ that denies the possibility of *inqilāb* (ontological transformation) or *ijtimā* ‘ (essential combination) between the realities of the Creator and those of the created. Such transformations are categorically precluded due to the essential disparity between them—God is eternal (*qidam*) while creation is originated in time (*ḥādith*); He is light (*nūr*), while creation is darkness (*ẓulmah*); He is being (*wujūd*), while the cosmos is non-being (‘*adam*). In the final passage of the treatise, Rānīrī thus concludes with an affirmation of Divine manifestation (*ẓuhūr*) as the means by which the nonexistent cosmos becomes visible and intelligible, without compromising the absolute singularity of God’s Existence.³⁶¹

Those satisfying argumentations allegedly testify that *Tuḥfat Sarandīb* is better understood as an introductory exposition of *wujūdiyyah* teachings rather than a vehement polemic against deviant interpretations of those teachings. The presence of derogatory labels—such as *mulḥid* (heretic), *zindīq* (apostate), *kāfir* (infidel), or *sesat* (deviant)—is notably restrained in comparison to their frequency and intensity in *Ḥall al-Zill*, one of the treatises from which *Tuḥfat Sarandīb* draws. Moreover, TS is devoid of the kind of scathing or sardonic pronouncements that characterize more polemical works. For instance, it does not include statements such as:

“*And if we were to kill or mutilate a person or anyone else, then [to say] that the one we killed and mutilated is in fact Allah — Exalted and Glorified is He. Far is the Real (al-Ḥaqq), Most High, from such a thing.*”³⁶²

And even though terms *mulḥid*, *zindīq*, and *kāfir* narrated several times in TS, Rānīrī did not reveal their heinous consequences explicitly like he did in *Hujjat al-Ṣiddīq*;

³⁶⁰ Those cited mystics are ‘Abd Karīm al-Jīlī (d. 1422), ‘Abd al-Razzāq al-Qāshānī (d. 1345), and Ibn ‘Aṭā’ illāh al-Sakandarī (d.1309). Regarding al-Qāshānī’s name, in the manuscript it is written ‘*fāshānī*’ while in HZI written ‘*Abd Rāzaq al-Kāshī*’. Eventually, the most possible figure associated with both names based on the survey conducted by Al-Attas is ‘Abd al-Razzāq al-Qāshānī or Kāshānī

³⁶¹ al-Maqāṣīrī, “*Tuḥfat Sarandīb*,” fol. 9r.

³⁶² Translated from Al-Rānīrī, “Mā’u al-Ḥayāt Li Ahli al-Mamāt,” 45.

“... then he is considered a deviant (*mulḥid*) and a heretic (*zindīq*), and an unbeliever (*kāfir*) in the eyes of the *Sharī‘ah*. He is to be sentenced in this world with execution, and in the Hereafter to eternal punishment in Hell.”³⁶³

Taken as a whole, one may question: *Why does Shaykh Yūsuf’s rendering of Rānīrī’s Ḥall al-Zill in Tuḥfat Sarandīb appear more neutral in tone?* This may reflect his comprehensive understanding of *wujūdiyyah* teachings, which enabled him to navigate them with both appreciation and caution. While he clearly rejects the views associated with the deviant *wujūdiyyah*, he also shows a more accommodating stance toward the ontological status of the cosmos—an issue that Rānīrī had vehemently opposed. It is not unreasonable to suggest that al-Maqāṣīrī sought to articulate a balance between *tanzīh* (Divine transcendence) and *tashbīh* (Divine immanence) in the existential dimension of God,³⁶⁴ whereas his shaykh consistently privileged the former. Moreover, this neutral narratives in *Tuḥfat Sarandīb* testify as al-Maqāṣīrī’s intellectual synthesis after his encounter with Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī (d. 1101/1690), who had demonstrated emphatic writings for the Jāwī audience whom Rānīrī had claimed heretical.³⁶⁵

Ultimately, the foregoing analysis of Rānīrī’s cosmology also calls into question al-Attas’s assessment, which places him among the Sūfīs who affirm a *ḥaqīqī* (real) ontological status for the cosmos. That school—often linked to the great mystic Imām al-Junayd al-Baghdādī—concurs that the cosmos is particular entities descended from Absolute Existence through the permanent archetypes while retaining their intrinsic link to their archetypal realities.³⁶⁶

4.3.5. Between *Tuḥfat Sarandīb* and other al-Maqāṣīrī’s literary works

In comparing *Tuḥfat Sarandīb* with al-Maqāṣīrī’s other works, it is evident that whenever he named a treatise after the island of his banishment, he consistently employed the term *Saylān* rather than *Sarandīb*. This is apparent in titles such as

³⁶³ Translated from Al-Rānīrī, “Ḥujjat Al-Ṣiddīq Li Daf’i al-Zindīq,” 79.

³⁶⁴ Islam, *Rahasia Segala Rahasia; Ajaran Sufistik Syaikh Yusuf Makassar*, 34–35; Arif, “Shaykh Yūsuf of Makassar (d. 1111 AH/1699 CE),” 69.

³⁶⁵ Umam, “The Scribe of Sufi-Philosophical Letters,” 434.

³⁶⁶ Al-Attas, *A Commentary On The Hujjat Al-Siddiq Of Nur Al-Din Al-Raniri*, 40–44.

al-Barakah al-Saylāniyyah, *al-Nafḥah al-Saylāniyyah*, *al-Tuḥfah al-Saylāniyyah*, and *al-Manḥah al-Saylāniyyah*. This pattern renders *Tuḥfat Sarandīb* exceptional, as it is the only known work composed in Ceylon that uses *Sarandīb* in its title. Although al-Maqāṣirī acknowledged both names—and *Sarandīb* was arguably more familiar to Arab audiences³⁶⁷—he offers no explicit explanation for his choice of title in this instance. Regarding this nomenclature, Ricci suggests that *Sarandīb*, *Saylān*, and even (Sri) Lanka each carry distinct connotations linked to exile and diasporic identity. *Sarandīb*, for example, is the ancient term used by Arabs for the island where, according to Islamic tradition, the first prophet, Ādam, descended following his expulsion from paradise. In contrast, Ceylon was the designation used by European colonial powers, signifying exile during the colonial period. This semantic shift is reflected in the Javanese verb *diselongke*, which denotes being exiled and bears etymological and conceptual affinity with colonial occupation.³⁶⁸

However, al-Maqāṣirī’s own usage of these names—as evidenced in his surviving works—suggests a viewpoint entirely at odds with Ricci’s reading. He ascribes to *Sarandīb* a negative, colonially inflected connotation, referring to it as “*jazīrat Sarandīb marmā al-‘āṣī wa ma’wā al-gharīb*” (the island of *Sarandīb*, the refuge of the rebel/sinner and the shelter of the stranger). By contrast, when referring to *Saylān* in his *Risālat Ghāyat al-Ikhtiṣār*, he describes it in spiritual and exalted terms: “*maḥallu nuzūli ṣaḥīḥ Allāh Ādam min al-jinān*” (the place where God’s chosen one, Ādam, descended from Paradise).³⁶⁹ This explicit contrast reveals that for al-Maqāṣirī, *Saylān* bears a metaphysical and sacred meaning, while *Sarandīb* evokes estrangement, rebellion, and possibly even degradation. Ultimately, both names transcend their geographic referents. They articulate distinct dimensions of meaning that resonate with the socio-political context of seventeenth-century Ceylon—marked by colonial tension and displacement—as

³⁶⁷ He consistently refers to *Sarandīb* as the more popular name for *Saylān* by saying ...*al-ma’rūfah bi-jazīrat Sarandīb marmā al-‘āṣī wa ma’wā al-gharīb*... (... which is known as *Sarandīb* island, the refuge of the sinner and the shelter of the stranger...) in all of his treatises written in Ceylon including TS.

³⁶⁸ Ricci, *Banishment and Belonging*, 77.

³⁶⁹ al-Maqāṣirī, “*Risālat Ghāyat Al-Ikhtiṣār Wa Nihāyat al-Inzār*,” 108.

well as the spiritual imagination of exile as exemplified in the primordial narrative of Ādam's fall.

If al-Maqāṣirī was indeed attentive to the distinction between the nomenclature of *Saylān* and *Sarandīb*, such consideration may also be reflected in his practice of titling his treatises. The use of these distinct place names likely reveals his layered sentimental attachment to the island. When referring to *Sarandīb*, he may have intended to evoke his status as a political exile—an allusion to his displacement following the failed rebellion against colonial powers. In contrast, when invoking *Saylān*, he appears to envision the spiritual and religious significance of the island, as the traditional site where Prophet Ādam—likewise cast out from Paradise—first set foot upon the earth.

Grounded in Sya'ban's finding that the approximate copying date of *Tuhfah Sarandīb* was 4 January 1684,³⁷⁰ it is reasonable to assume that TS was the first treatise al-Maqāṣirī composed in Ceylon. This chronology suggests that, initially, al-Maqāṣirī perceived his presence on the island primarily through the lens of political exile, making the appellation *Sarandīb* more appropriate to symbolize his circumstances. However, upon deeper reflection, he may have reinterpreted his situation in a more spiritual framework—emulating the example of Prophet Ādam and embracing his earthly trial—thus gravitating toward the epithet *Saylān*, which signifies a metaphysical transformation in his self-perception.

Subsequently, in addition to the title, his writing style in works composed in Ceylon may reflect his own synthesis and transition in mystical teachings.³⁷¹ This transition influences his writings in both stylistic and thematic aspects, as can be seen by juxtaposing his works composed outside and inside Ceylon.

In terms of stylistic features, in his 'non-*Saylāniyyah* works',³⁷² he readily addressed deviant groups using strong condemnatory terms such as *al-kufr bi al-*

³⁷⁰ *Diskusi Naskah Nusantara #39* Syekh Yusuf Al-Makassari, 2023.

³⁷¹ Umam, "The Scribe of Sufi-Philosophical Letters," 434.

³⁷² Those works written in Ceylon, not treatises in Ceylonese language.

’ijmā’,³⁷³ *al-zanādiqah*, or *al-mulāḥidah*,³⁷⁴ and even claimed that they could be lawfully executed by the *imām* (the highest authority in Islamic rulings), as seen in *Qurrat al-‘Ayn*.³⁷⁵ Such negative articulations are scarcely found in his “*Saylāniyyah*” works. The expressions found in *Tuḥfat Sarandīb*, as previously discussed, are translations of Rānīrī’s original version in *Hall al-Zill*, and their frequency is notably reduced by al-Maqāṣīrī in his rendering within TS. Another stylistic feature found in his non-Ceylonese works is the strong and assertive tone in discussing *taṣawwuf* and *wujūdiyyah*, particularly in their inclination to reinforce Sharī‘ah-oriented values.³⁷⁶ Regarding *taṣawwuf*, for example, he wrote: “...*al-taṣawwuf* is bound by the Qur’ān and Sunnah...”³⁷⁷ and “...do not assume that the Sharī‘ah is other than the ḥaqīqah, nor that the ḥaqīqah is other than the Sharī‘ah...”³⁷⁸ As for *wujūdiyyah*, the statement (*inna Allāh nafsunā wa wujūdunā wa naḥnu...*) was discussed extensively by al-Maqāṣīrī, occupying almost five or six pages.³⁷⁹ By contrast, such discussions of *wujūdiyyah* are scarcely found in works associated with Ceylon; even the expression itself appears only in TS, and only in a part that represents al-Rānīrī’s *Hall al-Zill*.³⁸⁰

The most distinct feature in this comparison is the thematic aspect, reflected in assertions such as *al-sayf akhū al-Qur’ān* (“the sword is the brother of the Qur’ān”),³⁸¹ and the political stance in the legal maxim: *lā yajūzu in ‘izāl al-malik bi mujarradi fisqihī mā-dāma muṣliḥan wa ḥāfiẓan li al-mamlakah*³⁸² (“It is not permissible to depose the king merely due to his immorality (*fisq*), as long as he remains beneficial and preserves the kingdom”). Such political tendencies are

³⁷³ al-Maqāṣīrī, “Qurrat Al-‘Ayn,” 60.

³⁷⁴ Shaykh Yūsuf al-Tāj al-Khalwatī Hadiyah Allāh al-Maqāṣīrī, “Zubdat Al-Asrār Fī Taḥqīq Mashārib al-Akhyar,” Jakarta, n.d., 42, MS A 101, Perpustakaan Nasional Republik Indonesia, https://opac.perpusnas.go.id/uploaded_files/dokumen_isi3/Manuskrip/NASKAH%20KUNO%20A%20101_001.pdf.

³⁷⁵ al-Maqāṣīrī, “Qurrat Al-‘Ayn,” 61.

³⁷⁶ Ibid., 51–52; Shaykh Yūsuf al-Tāj al-Khalwatī Hadiyah Allāh al-Maqāṣīrī, “Tāj Al-Asrār Fī Taḥqīq Mashrab al-‘Ārifin Min Ahl al-Istibṣār,” Jakarta, n.d., 72, MS A 101, Perpustakaan Nasional Republik Indonesia, <https://khastara.perpusnas.go.id/koleksi-digital/detail/?catId=50512>.

³⁷⁷ al-Maqāṣīrī, “Qurrat Al-‘Ayn,” 51.

³⁷⁸ Ibid., 52.

³⁷⁹ Ibid., 55–61.

³⁸⁰ al-Maqāṣīrī, “Tuḥfat Sarandīb,” fol. 8v.

³⁸¹ al-Maqāṣīrī, “Qurrat Al-‘Ayn,” 53.

³⁸² Ibid., 54.

unimaginable in al-Maqāṣirī's writings composed in Ceylon. For further elaborations this comparison is presented in **the following tables**.

Table 4.2. The Comparison between al-Maqāṣirī's works written inside and outside Ceylon.

	Stylistic features	Thematic features
Treatises composed in the Ceylon , such as: 1. <i>Tuhfat Sarandīb</i> , 2. <i>al-Nafḥah al-Saylāniyyah</i> , 3. <i>al-Barakāh al-Saylāniyyah</i> , 4. <i>Kayfiyyat al-Manfī wa al-Ithbāt</i> 5. <i>Risālat Ghāyat al-Ikhtiṣār</i> , etc	• Subtle articulations to deviant groups of <i>wujūdiyyah</i> (or none at all) • More inclusive and accommodative descriptions	• Predominantly about <i>dhikr</i> and ethics while <i>taṣawwuf</i>, <i>wujūdiyyah</i>, and creed come as secondary • <i>Wujūdiyyah</i> teachings was discussed mostly without its conflicting/deviating ideas
Treatises composed outside the Ceylon , such as: 1. <i>Qurrat al-Ayn</i> , 2. <i>Zubdat al-Asrār</i> , 3. <i>Tāj al-Asrār</i> , etc	• Strong negative articulations (<i>kufr</i>, <i>zindiq</i>, <i>mulḥid</i>) • Addressing deviant groups and theological demarcation decisively • Maintaining equality between <i>sharia</i> and <i>ḥaqīqa</i>	• More diverse including politics • <i>Sharia</i>-oriented mystical teachings • Discussing <i>wujūdiyyah</i> teachings and its conflicting ideas intensively

4.4. Chapter Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated that *Tuhfat Sarandīb* functions more as concise introduction to the metaphysical principles that undergird seventeenth century Acehnese wujudiyah discourse rather than a fierce polemical writing on deviant wujudiyah. Investigating the text alongside other Rānīrī's treatises—such as *Hall al-Zill*, *Hujjat al-Ṣiddīq li Daf'i al-Zindīq*, *Mā'u al-Hayāt li Ahli al-Mamāt*—reveals three interconnecting arguments: First, Rānīrī anchors every discussion in the axiom of ontological unity: the one and only has real existence is God alone, while the cosmos, whether comprehended as permanent archetypes, external entities or mirrored reflection (*zill*), remains eternally non-existent. Second, his elaborate narratives of determination levels (*waḥdah*, *wāḥidiyyah*, *arwāḥ*) serve as his ontological framework towards the reality of God and the cosmos, reflecting the multilayered status of permanent archetypes (*al-a'yān al-thābitah*), Divine Attributes and Names. Third, his extensive metaphors, culminating in 'the Perfect Man' and statue relation, secures his strict boundary between God and creation without denying the latter's capacity to 'reflect' Divine Attributes and Names.

Additionally, al-Maqāṣīrī's interventions complicate yet complement Rānīrī's stance by conveying the concept of *waḥdat al-shuhūd* and clarifying the dual aspect of the permanent archetypes while affirming the doctrine of Divine transcendence. He argues that the idea of two existences may be valid insofar as one of them is in absolute contingency upon the other which concurs the concept of *tawḥīd ulūhiyyah* and *rubūbiyyah* (*ilāh-ma'lūh*, *rabb-marbūb*, *khāliq-makhlūq*). His elaborations on *zill* and permanent archetypes turn out to be part of his conclusive treatise on *al-a'yān al-thābitah*, *Risālat Ghāyat al-Ikhtiṣār wa Nihāyat al-Anzār*.

Finally, juxtaposing *Tuhfat Sarandīb* with other al-Maqāṣīrī's treatises written inside and outside Ceylon allegedly suggest his own transformation on several aspects namely, his personal attachment to the island, his political concern and his intellectual objections including *wujūdiyyah* teachings. These aspects are reflected in stylistic and thematic features of his writings composed in Ceylon

which are more moderate and restrained with fewer condemnations or polemics. The expression of controversial *wujūdiyyah* utterances is also reduced or softened. Political assertions that are clearly visible in *Qurrat al-‘Ayn* like the legitimacy of keeping immoral rulers and the significance of rulers-ulama relationship would be unimaginable in this context.

These findings have two significant implications for the thesis. On the one hand, they challenge earlier classifications that situate Rānīrī within a school affirming the real existence (*al-wujūd al-ḥaqīqī*) of the cosmos;³⁸³ on the other hand, they reveal how Indo-Malay scholars, such as Rānīrī and Maqāṣīrī negotiated complex theological and mystical issues—in Arabic and Malay—by deploying layered conceptual vocabularies and cosmological metaphors.

³⁸³ Al-Attas, *A Commentary On The Hujjat Al-Siddiq Of Nur Al-Din Al-Raniri*, 40–44.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

This study has demonstrated that *Tuḥfat Sarandīb* is an underrecognized work of Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maqāṣīrī (d. 1111/1699) that reflects the intellectual landscape of the seventeenth-century Indian Ocean world, particularly the intellectual influence of Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī (d. 1068/1658) during his sojourn in Aceh. Al-Rānīrī served as the official grand muftī of the Aceh Sultanate and worked under two rulers: Sultan Iskandar Thānī (r. 1636–1641) and his wife, Sultanah Ṣafīyyat al-Dīn (r. 1641–1675). He was a prolific author whose works spread to various regions of the Indian Ocean world, including Banten, Kedah, Johor, Pahang, Patani, and, notably, Saylān. The latter island served as a place of banishment for political detainees during Western colonization in the seventeenth century, where al-Maqāṣīrī was held in custody for almost a decade (1684–1694) before being exiled further to South Africa, where he remained until his death in 1699. This historical record is considered one of the external pieces of evidence that allude to al-Maqāṣīrī’s authorship.

Tuḥfat Sarandīb is an intertextual literary work that incorporates the Arabic translation of al-Rānīrī’s Malay treatises—one of which is *Ḥall al-Ẓill*—alongside al-Maqāṣīrī’s elaborations recorded in *Risālat Ghāyat al-Ikhtiṣār wa Nihāyat al-Anẓār*. This intertextual nature reflects al-Maqāṣīrī’s respect for, and recognition of, his master and his intellectual contributions. The title follows the pattern of al-Maqāṣīrī’s works that were written in, and named after, Ceylon, while its stylistic and thematic features reveal multiple transformations in his personal attachment to the island, his political concerns, and his intellectual objections, including those regarding *wujūdiyyah* teachings. Due to this intertextuality, al-Maqāṣīrī’s self-reference as *Kātib al-Aḥruf* (“the scribe of letters”) signifies his own intervention (authorship) in TS, while the term *al-mu’allif* (“the author”) in this context refers to al-Rānīrī as the author of the original treatises rather than of the present work.

Al-Maqāṣīrī's rendering of *Ḥall al-Zill* is notably more moderate and subtle than the original version. He deliberately avoided polemics over controversial *wujūdiyyah* utterances, which he had previously discussed at length in *Qurrat al-'Ayn* and other works. Consequently, the overall narrative of *Tuḥfat Sarandīb* functions more as a concise introduction to the metaphysical principles underlying seventeenth-century Acehese *wujūdiyyah* discourse, rather than as a fierce polemical attack on deviant *wujūdiyyah*.

Doctrinally, *Tuḥfat Sarandīb* develops its arguments by first presenting al-Rānīrī's conceptions of God and the cosmos. These conceptions imply at least five key points: the non-existence of the cosmos, the elaboration of the cosmos as the shadow (*ẓill*) of God, the three levels of Determination, the explanation of how the cosmos receives or reflects the Divine Attributes and Names, and, finally, al-Rānīrī's refutation of deviant *wujūdiyyah* groups. While al-Rānīrī emphasizes the non-existence of the cosmos on account of the non-existence of *al-a'yān al-thābitah*, al-Maqāṣīrī situates this point within a broader discussion, arguing that *al-a'yān al-thābitah* comprise both existential and non-existential aspects, thereby ensuring that Divine wisdom (*ḥikmat Allāh*) can prevail in every condition. This mystical conception challenges earlier classifications by al-Attas, who places al-Rānīrī within a school that affirms the real existence (*al-wujūd al-ḥaqīqī*) of the cosmos.

Due to the limited time and resources, this inquiry, however, has not examined the extent to which al-Maqāṣīrī substantiates his argumentations through scriptural sources or references to prominent mystical authorities. Nor has it investigated the other treatises that *Tuḥfat Sarandīb* may have incorporated in its composited structure. Despite its intertextual nature, the interpretation of *Tuḥfat Sarandīb* from the perspective of Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maqāṣīrī is feasibly more constructive for his remarkable intellectual background that surpasses his teacher's, Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī in seventeenth century Islamic mystical discourse.

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APPENDIX I

CRITICAL EDITION OF *TUHFAT SARANDĪB*

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله الذي جعل في خلقه ما لا يحصى ولا يعد،
وبعد،

فحق والله فقير لرحمة ماله لا إلى غيره في سره ونحوه ما لا يعد من قبل الراجي فيقول
الملقب من قبل بشيخه ومربي بهدي مثل الفخر الملهي في نفسه:

لم ألق لبقي ولولا لم حاكم وقضائه لبحر بأرض سيالين و هي جني رفس نرب مرمي
العصري و مأوى لا غري ببا جتم في الشياخ صال ح وال عارفان اص حاصة إل خوان وخالصة
لاخالن سيدي أبي الم علي³⁸⁴ لبراهيم بلن في خان رزق لال كمال التفويق وجعله من أهل
للحق فيق.

ثم فوق في عضر سرى لشيخنا وأسنان اللف قبل السان ال ج اوي التمرج مقالك الالم
الم الي و يفيب عض على و مال خلق و معارف الدقائق على طريقال سوال وال جواب عوفل
الملك الوهاب أعزيب لك موالنا ويري في الشياخ بلال سعادة نورالدين³⁸⁵ الولي ال عارف لجلال
تعالى لكمل ال عارف محمد في النبي³⁸⁶ بن في بن حسن ج محمد حيت غم بهل لبوضول
لاعظم الالم في دما لم مس من ال عديم عرف بل جل و في تصير ال خلاص ادق المذكور لي عال
ال حاذق لم زبورب أن أعرب هك ع ج في ثل لاس ال عسى أن يفت ع بل سلك و لم يري دال راغب
ب عوفل و تفويق موب بركة مشرطيخنا من أهل الطريق قشاس تخرنقل لتاع ال في في تسي ر لك
و هو في لتفويق و ال عصارم ولكن بام زد تبش في في يري لي كونت في مل لك الالم و تقيق
للقام³⁸⁷ و سميت طيات عريف:

تحفة سنوي ب تذكر قل مالح بيب،

وهي هذه. [5v]

قال شيخنا الم مؤلف في ملال روحه ونور ضريحه:

1[مسألة]

إذا قلنا قل لي الالم وهو كل ما يرى من لتاع ال من قبل أي خلق لال في وجوده؟

³⁸⁴ In the Iranian manuscript (MS) *al-ma'ān*

³⁸⁵ In MS “*Naṣr al-Dīn*” and the correct one based on the mentioned indications is *Nūr al-Dīn*

³⁸⁶ In MS “*Jibillā*”

³⁸⁷ In the manuscript “*li al-qām*” is corrupted

إِلَّا عَالِمُ الْقَبْلِ خَلَقَهُ وَبَيَّجَ إِدْمًا كَانَ لَمْ يُبَيِّنْ أَلْفَهُمْ عَدُومَ لَوْلَمْ عَدُومَ الْيَقِ الْفِي حَقِّهِ يُنْ مَوْ.

إِذَا قَالَ الْقَوْلُ (388) مَا وَجَّهَ لَمْ يَلَمْ مَقْبَلُ أَخْلِقْ هَلْ أَيْ وَجَّهَهُ؟

إلّا عمل بمبدأ خلقه ويطبق ادّليّله وجود ضيق الفهم في حقّه طرّجوده ولو كان موجوداً للزم الوجودان ولكمّ محال ألّفل لتلّعالى واحففي شكّه، وولّعي صفكّه، وواحففي أفّعاله، انّشريك لفهمي كلّ ذلك.

إِذَا ذَاقَ اللُّذِّيَّ³⁸⁹ هَكَذَا عَالَمٌ مِنْ قَبْلِ يَأْخُذُ بِهِ لَهْلَاهُ وَهُوَ جَدُهُ³⁹⁰ ؟

إِنِّي أَرَأَيْتَ إِنْ لَمْ يَنْفَعِ الْقَوْمَ لِقَاؤُهُ لَوْ جَاءَهُمْ كَأَن مَوْتِهِمْ عِزِّي مُجْمَلٌ لِّتَعَالَى أَوْ تَطْغَى طَعْنُ ذَلِكَ عَالَمٍ بِهِ أَزَالُ وَيُؤَدِّدُ.

وإذا قال إني أئتم السالم عالم من قبلي أنزلقه هل لا وجوده؟

إن اسألني عن القوم قبل خلقه وبيج انبياء الله المعلوم إلى الله ووعلى علم الله.

وإذا قال القائل ما حكمي عالم ومرايسته مقبل أي خلق قبل هو جده؟

³⁸⁸ Is written in the manuscript: “*qāla...alif lam kha*”, to shorten the mentioned phrases

³⁸⁹ In the manuscript “*Qāla... kha ra*” to shorten the word *al-qā’il*

³⁹⁰ In the manuscript “*Min qabli an.....alif lām kha*” to shorten

إن حكمي على القبول خلقه وبيجاده كان حكمه حكمي عن الذات للذات في الذاتون سبت له
كان كالتبقيين لم يعم ويمن لا علم فيهم لك،

ثم حق الشئ في المول فليضض لي ملل ا ه

6[مسألة]

وإذا قلنا قلنا لا علم في المول فليضض لي ملل ا ه

[فالجواب]

إلا علم في المول فليضض لي ملل ا ه وبيجاده يضل ا ماله يئن الله معدوم قبل الحق وإيجاد في علم خلق
والإلهي جاد وول ما هو محل التبيين الإلهي كما حق بالخلق الإلهي جلدي علم في المول

7[مسألة]

وإذا قلنا قلنا لا علم في المول فليضض لي ملل ا ه

[فالجواب]

إلا علم في المول فليضض لي ملل ا ه وبيجاده يضل ا ماله يئن الله معدوم قبل الحق وإيجاد في علم خلق
والإلهي جاد وول ما هو محل التبيين الإلهي كما حق بالخلق الإلهي جلدي علم في المول
موجود

8[مسألة]

وإذا قلنا قلنا لا علم في المول فليضض لي ملل ا ه

[فالجواب]

إن لم لا علم في المول فليضض لي ملل ا ه وبيجاده يضل ا ماله يئن الله معدوم قبل الحق وإيجاد في علم خلق
والإلهي جاد وول ما هو محل التبيين الإلهي كما حق بالخلق الإلهي جلدي علم في المول

9[مسألة]

وإذا قلنا قلنا لا علم في المول فليضض لي ملل ا ه

[فالجواب]

إن حكم مل غل من سبته لت غل عيب عدخلقه ولي جاده كان حكمه فال حكمه ين لام خلوق هي
الخالق³⁹¹ ونسبته كان لئول سب قبيل الظل وصاحب

10) [مسألة]

مال سے بے فتنہ کیسے بنائیے؟

[فال جواب]

إلا قال فيلعل غة موال عالمة وال عالمة دالة على من له عالمة كما إذا رُئي انشال
تُرقم ألد على شيء [61] فنستدل بهذا على أن أحداً قد عدى من هذا المكان،
وفي اصطال علماء رحمهم الله على أن علم وهو كل ما سوي للتعلي
فإن قيل على من خلقه وأوجده في الخارج فلو كانت على
ثم إن علم والحق على أنهما اليتحدان والقيم يزنا في الزمان واحد هو جعل
الوجودين وجوداً واحداً كما أن العلم يزوج على الوجود الواحد وجودين، وكذا الوجودين
من الماحلات، واليصح في النفس فهم وأمل،
فالأصل أن وجوده للتعلي موال وجود لا يحقق القطب نفس له ولا قلم غيره وإن
وجوده ما سواه موال وجوده لا يمازى القطب غيره وهو لا يخالع في كل مكان وجوده وبغيره
النفس فوجوده غيره النفس فإذا كان لكل نفس حق أن الوجود واحد وهو وجوده لل
تعلي ووجوده ما سواه كمال وجوده في غيره النفس له وليست له طفيل عدم.

ثم قال يا بضع اشري خي ال م لي فو ح م ه ل لك على

11 [مسألة]

فما م عى ل ظل؟³⁹²

[فـالـجـوابـ]

إن معنى لظَلَّي الدَّغَة هو التَّخَيُّعُ بَعْدَ الْقَبَاءِ وَقَالَ يَلِضُّ الظِّلُّ هُوَ الشَّيْءُ الَّذِي تَلُزِقُ بِهِ الشَّيْءَ مَسْفُوعِينَ غَسَّ بِضَرْبٍ مِنْ قِبَلِ مَفْغَسَةٍ هُوَ ظِلُّهُ، وَأَمَّا مَعْنَى لَظَلَّ عَمَلُ السَّائِلِ صَوْفِي فَقَدْ سَوَّلَ الْأَسْرَارَ هُوَ وَهُوَ كَلِّ مَسْوَعٍ لِقَائِهِ أَلَى

³⁹¹ In MS “*al-khalq*”

³⁹² Entries from the eleventh to the twenty second are the translations of al-Rānīrī's *Hall al-Zill*

وإذا قلنا قلنا لم السبب في تسوية هلال علم الظلمة لتعالى وال حال أن الظلمة كان صورتها صور قصاصها إذا كان كذا لعلنا نبدأ في العمل أولنا تعالى كان لم صورة كصورتها علم الله علم ظهه؟

[فال جواب]

نعم، إن علم هو ظلمة لتعالى بنص اليفل قرأ في قوله تعالى {لم تتر إلى ربك في مذل ظلم...} ³⁹³ كذا لم تبادف لي عقل كقولي أن لي كون من في اس فامتصا لي ملل عن لك عل وابلغي را.

ولما تلبظية العلم متعلّى بقطع النظر عن قول آية لم تكونه كان من وجوه، الواحد في أن الظلمة الحق ومفسر بلحق ومبصا، كما أن العلم الحقوم نفس بلحق وممل، و منها أنه اليتحرك لظلمة الحركة صاها وإراته كما أن العلم اليفي واليقدر إلب إله لتعالى وقد ترموج بقوله تعالى {و مئشءون إلى أبيشاهل...} ³⁹⁴ وبموج ببول ال حول والقوة إلبلال ³⁹⁵، و في أن لظلمة في عدد ويتلخر، وصاها اليت عدد واليت لثرفك لتعالى عالم أن في عدد يتلخر، والحق تعالى اليت عدد واليت ثرفي حذاته، و منها أن لظلمة في في قص في غير، وصاها اليفي واليفي قص واليت غير، كما أرا علم اليفي ويقص ويتغير بحال، والحق تعالى اليفي واليفي قص واليت غير بحال، ما أشبه لك.

وقال كذا ال حرف ³⁹⁶ —فعي ليل عن —ونظولي أض، أي أهليل ال عافون بهو لالم مثل [6v] أعلى بأقل لتعالى لك ال حر، وأل مواج لك كل ماس وعل لك غلى، ووليت شي في لك أرا لب حر قطنفسه وال حدله والي عرفك نه، ولأنه واحد في حذاته، واليت غير واخيت هك لك ال حق سب حن متوعا ل قطنفسه، ولأنه ال حد له، والي عرفك نه، ولأنه واحد واليت غير وحذاته فثم إن أل مواج فن ملق ومبل حر، اليفسها، وكلت م حذاته كش كل و تمهورة، ويتغير ويتغير وتتغير عرف

³⁹³ QS. Al-Furqān: 45

³⁹⁴ QS. Al-Insān: 30/QS. Al-Takwīr: 29

³⁹⁵ Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Isma'īl al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* (Beirut: Dār Ibn Kathīr, 2002), no. 6384; Abu al-Husayn Muslim ibn Ḥajjāj al-Qushayrī Al-Naysābūrī, *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim* (Riyād: Bayt al-Afkār al-Dawliyya, 1998), no. 2704.

³⁹⁶ According to Zacky, this sentence reflects al-Maqāṣīr's voices as the Sufi author-cum-scribe of Sufi-philosophical treatises. Zacky Khairul Umam, "The Scribe of Sufi-Philosophical Letters: Shaykh Yūsuf of Makassar's Formative Decades (1640s-1660s) in Arabia and Syria," *Studia Islamika* 31, no. 3 (December 31, 2024): 413, <https://doi.org/10.36712/sdi.v31i3.42953>.

كن هه، وكلك كل ماس ويحل لتلعالى، و ملل عال م، أن هك ان قطة لملك عالى، انفس ه،
 و كان تم عدد و محدودا، ول مش كل وصورة، بتلك شر بتلك بريوت صغر ويغري و
 يعرف كن هه فكذا كان و الممت شي في ذلك، ال كم لي عرف لزن لقة والم ال حدقي
 قول هم إنال علم وال حق واحد، كما ألب حر وال موج واحد ال غير هه فلهم ذلك، وال
 يفهمون قول الحق، ألهال حقيقي هذا ال قائل منق ال وال ب حرب حر، على ما كان في
 قدم، و إنال حوادث أمواج و نهار.

وسادة لوليء منال عا في نبلطك عال عيالت كل مون بكالم والي خا بطون به إل
 من كان في هم، وكالم هه في مقواعد واصل طالات فلذاق الل شري ختاج ال بي رل سيلكي –
 رض لعل اعنه — صرل عاكريم عيارك همت حت حجبا لستار لي عرف من هو ال مل
 و ال غير ارفع لمل ذلك.

13) [مسألة]

كم محلت عي نال علم؟

[فال جواب]

إن عي رل عال م كان في ثالت محالت أول في مرتبة الوحدة و هي مرتبة صفات
 هه في هاشئون ال ندي لوئل في مرتبة الواحية و هي مرتبة ألسماء هه في هه
 ال عي رل لثبته و ال تنفي مرتبة أرواح هه في هه ال عي انال خارجة

14) [مسألة]

إذاق الل قئل ال عي انال خارجة ما هي؟

[فال جواب]

إن ال عي انال خارجة هي ظالالت³⁹⁷ (ال عي انال لثبته و نثار هه)

15) [مسألة]

إن ال عي ثابته ظالالت ما هي؟

[فال جواب]

³⁹⁷ In the manuscript, the phrase after “zilālāt” is omitted

إن أُلْعِمَ ان الثبلة هي ظلال تُلْسماء الى صفات كما أن أُلْسماء الى صفات ظلال
الذات بق عنك

16) [مسألة]

إذا³⁹⁸ قال في إيل مام عي أل عي ان الشبكتة؟

[فال جواب]

إن مری الی الثالبۃ می علومہ للعالی الثبت فی علمت علی

17) [مسألة]

إِذَا قَالَ قَوْلٌ أَلْغَىٰ عَنَّا أَنْشَبْتَ مَا هِيَ لِأَعْلَىٰ؟

[فال جواب]

إن أُلْعِيْ اِنْ اِنْ شَبْتَه هُوَ مَلْعَالٌ يَحِقُّ اَلْهَلْ يُوْنِ اِلْذَاتِ

18) [مسألة]

هل أُل على البالية كنت موجودة؟

[فال جواب]

إن ألعريان الثبته لیس له وجود بل فیک فی حقها موجوده وهی ما
شمت راحة الوجود وفضل عن أن تكون موجوده کم اقلوا إن ألعريان الثبته ماشمت
راحة الوجود وفضل عن أن تكون موجوده کم اقلوا ألعريان الثبته ماشمت راحة
الوجود ولما هی معلومه ثبته [7r] فی علم الوجود فی لقی لبأها موجوده مضمت
الوجود انفی وجمول لك غای ما المتحصی بذلك محال

19) [مسألة]

إِذَا قَالَ الْقَوَلُ صَوْرَتُهُ عَلَى وَجْهِ هَذِهِ مَا هِيَ؟

[فال جواب]

ان صورة م نى وتقا هل لك على هي صورة آل سماء الى صفات

³⁹⁸ The written form *idh* in the manuscript is incoherent.

20) [مسألة]

إذا قال القائل إن ألسماء هي صفات ما هي وهل لتتعالى؟

[فالجواب]

إن ألسماء والصفات كلها عين الذات توفي هذه لم يتبقى قال إن السم للسمى واحد
الصفة والموصوف واحد

21) [مسألة]

إذا قال القائل لي فصوره معفوناً ونقيته بآل عيان لا خارجي قبل هل عين اتألسماء
الصفات

[فالجواب]

إن المراد بآل عيان لا خارجي هي كل ما سوى محل لتتعالى وهذا هو عالم القوام
هو العالم كمن قدم لك ولعالم مقتدل على من جعله عالمة وهي تدل على آل عيان
الشيئة وآل عيان التي ثبتت تدل على ألسماء والصفات وألسماء التي صفات تدل على الذات
أنه تلك عينات الذات كما قال السجستاني صاحب النسخ إن الكامل قدس سره إن قل لتتعالى
نص بألسماء لئلا على صفته وجعل للصفات التي اللى تفه هي مظهره وظهوره
على خلقه بواسطه ألسماء والصفات والسبيل إلى غير ذلك

قال شريخ المظفر رحمه الله أن كل وجه من وجوه المخلوقات على الصفات
كفها العالم من جهة وجوده كان متأثر اسهل الوجود ومن حيث له هيئة مخصوصة
هو تأثر اسهل المريد ومن حيث إنه موجود ظاهر مسمى بآل عيان لا خارجي فيقال له
هو تأثر اسهل لتتعالى القادر ومن حيث له موقفيق الأثر اسهل لخالق ومن حيث
له مرزوقيق الأثر اسهل لرازق ومن حيث لنصيريقيق الأثر اسهل للبصير
ومن حيث له سعييقيق الأثر اسهل للسريع ومن حيث لنمكلليقيق الأثر اسهل
المتكلم وعلى هذا في أسفيل الكل

متن في لفي ميقال إن رجال بشايع الماحل ما عرف اب جي غل صرناعات وش اطرا
بألموركله اوله وأصاف منالكمالت التعد والتحصي مثل ال حيوة لقاعلم واسمع
والبصر لى كل مال قدرة وإرادة لى شجاعة والقدر والى لطنة والرحمة والى غنى
والخالقية والرازقية وغير ذلك منالصفات لى كم الية منالجلال والجمال وعلى عدد

الصفة المذكورة كان عدداً لسمها إذا كانت لصفة تعني وتيق ال له حي وإذا كانت ل
 صفة تعني [7v] ل ال له غلام وإذا كانت ل صفة ل سم تعني ل ال لل سم يحيى وإذا كانت ل
 صفة ل ص ر يعي ل ل ل ل ص ير وإذا كانت ل صفة ل الك العي ل ل صفة ل م وإذا كانت ل صفة
 ال ق در يعي ل ال ل ق ادر وإذا كانت ل صفة ل ال ر يعي ل ال له مريد وإذا كانت ل صفة ل س خ اوة
 يعي ل ال م س خي وإذا كانت ل صفة ل ش ج ا ع يعي ل ال ل م ش ج ا ع وإذا كانت ل صفة ل غي يعي ل
 ل ل غي وإذا كانت ل صفة ل ح ك يعي ل ال له ح كيم وإذا كانت ل صفة ل ر ح يعي ل ال له
 ر حيم وإذا كانت ل صفة ل ق ي يعي ل ال له خ ا ل ق وإذا كانت ل صفة ل ر ا ق ي يعي ل ال له
 ر ا ز ق وإذا كانت ل صفة ل ط ي يعي ل ال ل ل ط ا ن و ع لى مثل ق ي ا س ف ي ل ل ك ل م ا ل صفات
 الهيئية

ثم إن ل صفة وأل سم اعطى مظهره اللس لم يق امر بن الفلن ك ان ي طب
 ال ق مور وأل سم ل ر ح ي ط ب ل م ر ح و م واللس لم خ ال ق ي ط ل ب ل م خ ل و ق وأل سم ل ر ا ز ق
 ي ط ل ب ال م ر ز و ق وأل سم ل ر ب ي ط ل ب ل م ب و ب و ال سم ل ل ي ط ل ب ل م أ ل و ه و ع لى هذا
 ال ق ي ا س ف ي ل ل ب و ق ي

ثم إن أي لم ثا ل ل ك ال ر ج ل الم ذك و ال م ت ص ف ج م ي ل ل صفات المذكور تصنع
 ش خ ص ا ع لى ص و رة لئس ان ث م ا ح ي ا ف ت ع ي ن ب أن ال ر ج ل ل ص ن ع الم ذك و ر ل ن ه ك ن ت ل ه
 ص فة ال ح ي ا ل م ث ر ق ي ح ي وة ل ك إن س ا ن ال م ص ن و ع الم ذك و ر د ا ل ع لى أن ال ص ن ع
 ت م ص ف ص فة ال ح ي اة و ال ه د م ن ذ ك و م ع م ن ف ا ل ت ظ ن ب ن أ ص فة ح ي و ل ل ص ن ع ع ل ل ه ت
 إل ال م ص ن و ع و ل و ت ق ل ل ص ف ل ص ن ع إل ال م ص ن و ع ال ت ق ال ح ي و ت ل ال م ص ن و ع
 أ ق ي ل ب ل م ث ق ل ب ع ض ح ي و ت ه ل ي ه الك ل ه ل ل ز م م ا ي ض ا أن ح ي وة ال ص ن ع ق صة،
 ر ف ق ص ل ه ا م ن ه م و ج ب ل ض م ع ه ف إذا ك ا ن ال ص ن ع ض م ع ل ن ه ال ي ق د ر لئى ص ن ع ش ي ه ا
 ع لى ص و رة ن س ا ن و غ ي ر ه و ال ي ق د ر أن ح ي ي م ص ن و ع ه وإذا ر ط ي ن أ ي ض ال م ص ن و ع
 ت م ص ف ل ص فة ل ع ل م ع ل ن ا إن ع ل م ال م ص ن و ع ك ا ن م ن ث ر ع ل م ل ص ن ع ل ه و ع لى هذا
 ل ق ي ا س ف ي ل ل ب و ق ي ف ل ه م أ و ت ا م ل ت ر ش د إن ش ا ه ل ل ت ع لى

22) [مسألة]

إذا قال القائل كيف صورة مغبته ال م ص ن و ع إن ط ب ل أ ل ث و صفات ل ص ن ع

[فلل جواب]

إن صرل عيثل بلش مس و جيجي ص فمك تمثيل نور ها وتمثل أل رضيا لمصنوع
 وجمي عصفات لمصنوع عيلش راقن ورلش مس لحي ها ونورلش مس الي زال عده ها وال
 يزول عن ها والتهفك والتهفك بلداول و[8r] برضبان نورلش مس زال عن ها وتمثل
 من ها إلي ها الظلمت هي أيلش مس ول تمثيل أل رض من إشر اراقنور ها النور بفس ه
 ففلم

وكن لحي مثلب أن جمي ع ماس ويعل لعل على كن ها مرات مجلو قواس عة مقبل
 للصفات الإلهي لعل ها وأن لمرئي يفي لمرآت ظلال ل الصفات والتظن بأن لمرئي
 في ها هني فسر ل صفات ونم الهني في ها ظلال ها

كم اذكر تمثيل آخر هل للمثل الأعلى إن ذات واجبال وجوسب حنه بق على
 يمثلب بلش مس ياضا وإن صفت ها كل هتمثيل إشر اراقنور ها وأسم لقمثل بلش مس حاب
 المثل ونبلل وغلل وان من الحيض والحر والصفرة لاسوداء ليا خضرة ولزرقه³⁹⁹
 والغبر قومثل ظلال لسل ح المثل ونبلل وغلل وان المثل ونبلل ضاربة على وجه
 أل رضيا لحي ان ال خارج يفة افهم

تمثيل آخر إن الذات لمقدس تمثيل بلش مس ياضا و جيجي الصفات تمثيل
 بالزجاجة النور ولام جل ولة صفة النقية وألسم اكل هتمثيل بلل وان ال ظاهر هي ها
 وألحي ان ال خارجي تمثيل لظلال ل المثل ونبلل ضاربة لعل أل رض

يفهم من مذل لمثل فكله بأن وجود الحق لحي صير وجود ماس به⁴⁰⁰ وال
 وجود ماس وي صير وجود لعل على بلداول وعفاوش رعا وتحقيق كملوق هي ذلك
 اصحاب عض لزن اقة الماحدي زملنا هذا يحيى البول سنم

بموش غلله هل لاطيت وجود كامي دان فير كامي دان كامي فو وجودن داندي يث
 ي عيل لاس ان ل عبي إفلل وجون لفسنا ونحن وجودن ففسه لتي
 قال إلم الملم حق قوال عارف المقي قسي ديال شري خال لحي صاحبا لكتا بلل ان سان الكامل
 قدس سره

وإن لكت موفما لكت لكتبل مو وإن كان مو لكتفما مو موبل لكت لكتول كن
 مو مو ولكت لكت

³⁹⁹ In the manuscript: “*al-ruzqah*” is incorrect

⁴⁰⁰ The standard form for this word is مود using *al-alif al-mamdūdah*. However, I deliberately preserve this form since it seems to be a common form at time.

وقال في اشلي⁴⁰¹ قدس سره
اعلم إن حقيقة قال حق على الذي صرح على ما الحق البالي حقيقة فخالق والبال غمس
وقال شريخي المولى ف رحمل
يا عجل في في دخيل في لب أن وجوه لندع الى وجوه دال غلام ووجوه دال غلام هو
وجوه لندع الى كمال التلزن لقة الملة الملة خول ف إن وجوه لندع الى نور و هو
قيم ووجوه الى الملة و هو حادث
فل مذاق الشريخ بلن عطاء ل قدس سره
يا عجل في في ظمر [8v] الوجوه في عدم الكيف في ثبت الحادث مع من له وصف
القدم
قال شريخي المولى ف أن للنور القيم ولا ظمة لاحتضة دان والضدان الذي مع انق هذا
هو اعلم⁴⁰² لاحق ال يغار في فم انب عدال حق اللاضال
فويال حيث أصدق كل م قاله ال عرب كل م نظيد
الكل شيء م الخ مل لب اطل
وقال بلن عطاء⁴⁰³ ياض ا قدس سره
لوال ظهور في للملغونات ما وقع على ها وجود بلصار ولو ظهرت صفك في ها
الضم حلت ملغونك
قال شريخي في ملل اعنه
فظهر ال حق في ها موال ذي أظهر لالخ الحق كل لحت يظمر بروية ال عين
ولوال اضج ببت عينك في كل شيء بلله وقمره وعظم فعل مذاق الصل ليل ال غيه
وسلم كان حبله النار في رولي ثلن ورل وانش ف على حلت رقت سبحات ووجهه كل
شيء ما أدر كعبصر فلعلم في لف إن ه ملل علم حقل لصريح كم اقيل
فمن طلب بالي انب عدال عي ان ف ه في لالخ سران
هذا ولسالم⁴⁰⁴

⁴⁰¹ In the manuscript the word 'fāshānī' is corrupted. In Rānīrī's Hall al-Zill, it was written 'Abd Rāzaq al-Kāshī' which also corrupted. The most possible figure associated with both words based on the survey conducted by Al-Attas, is 'Abd al-Razzāq al-Qāshānī or Kāshānī.

⁴⁰² The word *al-ālam* in the manuscript is incorrect

⁴⁰³ Letter *hamzah* is omitted in the manuscript

⁴⁰⁴ It is the end of the Arabic translation of Raniri's Malay treatise. Passages afterwards are al-Maqāsīrī's commentaries.

فإذا رأى اليعاقبة عنكم الهم فليقل عقله ولو غلبه اليأس فسه وسائر ألك وان تعي تفكر في
نفسه والثبات ومن موالى أوجني ورزقني والى من رجوعي وعظيمة أمري ول من أكثر لشكر
وأعفأ الهم لئلا يعلو على يدي خلتك وسائر ألك وافلما عرف اليعاقبة أن خلقني خرب الهم
فلعلبه وما وجب لي عفو موبوب الشكر بتوجهه إلي ه كيف شكره عفو موبوب الشكر
بل فظال حمد الهم لئلا يعلو على يدي والشكر والحمد وطعن اعاب عبارات مضافة قبل الهم ان يوعده وغيره ما
ذلك في الهم لئلا يعلو على الهم بتمضرع إليه لي أي اسم أحده ما أي اسم أخص الهم دوله اسماء
فوق اليعاقبة الهم لئلا يعلو على الهم بتمضرع إليه لي أي اسم أحده ما أي اسم أخص الهم دوله اسماء
التمحييد وذلك في ظل الهم بتمضرع إليه لي أي اسم أحده ما أي اسم أخص الهم دوله اسماء
جدل الهم لئلا يعلو على الهم بتمضرع إليه لي أي اسم أحده ما أي اسم أخص الهم دوله اسماء
لاخلق شيء من ملكوته ويومئذ تفهم الهم بتمضرع إليه لي أي اسم أحده ما أي اسم أخص الهم دوله اسماء
صفة إضفلية وهو ربى وربلسموات والأرض فلهم والوعلم في ظل الهم لئلا يعلو على الهم بتمضرع إليه لي أي اسم أحده ما أي اسم أخص الهم دوله اسماء
الهم لئلا يعلو على الهم بتمضرع إليه لي أي اسم أحده ما أي اسم أخص الهم دوله اسماء
فإذا وصف بصفة الربوبية وجف في نفسه م حرك الهم لئلا يعلو على الهم بتمضرع إليه لي أي اسم أحده ما أي اسم أخص الهم دوله اسماء
والحقوى [10r] لئلا يعلو على الهم بتمضرع إليه لي أي اسم أحده ما أي اسم أخص الهم دوله اسماء
كان أو غير رفع قد هذا وصف في ضاعف هذا الم حرك وهو لرح من الهم بتمضرع إليه لي أي اسم أحده ما أي اسم أخص الهم دوله اسماء
شيء خلقه من الهم بتمضرع إليه لي أي اسم أحده ما أي اسم أخص الهم دوله اسماء
إحسانه إلى الهم بتمضرع إليه لي أي اسم أحده ما أي اسم أخص الهم دوله اسماء
مفضل لا يزيد على غيره حتى يزداد طاعة على طاعة⁴¹² لئلا يعلو على الهم بتمضرع إليه لي أي اسم أحده ما أي اسم أخص الهم دوله اسماء
لرحم الهم بتمضرع إليه لي أي اسم أحده ما أي اسم أخص الهم دوله اسماء
وأه وبلي هو صاغتته وهو أرحم من الألباء والألمهات وألصح انبفطرغ من هين الوصفين
شر لئلا يعلو على الهم بتمضرع إليه لي أي اسم أحده ما أي اسم أخص الهم دوله اسماء
شيء أضف ف هو ملك الهم بتمضرع إليه لي أي اسم أحده ما أي اسم أخص الهم دوله اسماء
هو عظمة كل أمر خلق وخدم كل محبة لئلا يعلو على الهم بتمضرع إليه لي أي اسم أحده ما أي اسم أخص الهم دوله اسماء
لاخلق يوم التفتي في نفس عن نفس شيئاً واليتبع أحد البائنه والي خرج من لاخلق شيء من

⁴¹⁰ Letter *Tā* is omitted in the manuscript

⁴¹¹ In the manuscript “*an yakūna wa*”

⁴¹² In the manuscript “*itāghah*”

APPENDIX II

TRANSLITERATION OF *TUḤFAT SARANDĪB*

Bismillāhirrahmānirrahīm

Alḥamdu lillahi liwaliyyihi wa al-shukru ‘alā afḍālihi wa al-ṣalātu ‘alā nabiyyihi wa ālihi, wa ba‘du;

Fayaqūlu al-faqīru liraḥmati maulāhu al-lā’idh bihi fī sirrihi wa najwāhu al-‘abdu al-mudhnibu al-rājī ‘afwa Allāhi al-mulaqqabu min jānibi shaykhihi wa murabbīhi bi hidāyatillāh—ghafara Allāhu lahu dhunūbahu wa satara ‘uyūbahu:

Lammā kunnā bi taqḍīrillāhi al-muḥkam wa qaḍā’ihi al-mubram bi arḍi sayalān wa hiya jazīrat *Sarandīb* marmā al-‘āṣī wa ma’wā al-garīb, ijtama’ nā bi al-shaykhi al-ṣāliḥ wa al-‘ārif al-nāṣiḥ khāṣṣat al-ikhwān wa khulāṣat al-khullan sayyidī Abī al-Ma‘ān Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mīkhān razaqahu Allāhu kamāla al-tawfīq wa ja‘alahu min ahli al-taḥqīq, thumma wafaqa ‘alā ba‘ḍi rasā’ili shaykhinā wa ustādhinā al-muallafah bi al-lisān al-jāwī al-mutarjamah bi al-kalām al-malāyuwī fī ba‘ḍi ‘ulūmi al-ḥaqā’iq wa ma‘ārif al-daqa’iq ‘alā ṭarīqi al-suāl wa al-jawāb bi ‘awnillāhi al-malik al-wahhāb a’nī bi dhālika mawlānā wa sayyidunā al-shaykh Abā al-sa‘ādah Nūr al-Dīn al-waliy al-‘ārif billāhi ta‘ālā min **al-kamal**, al-‘ārif Muḥammad Jibillā ibn ‘Aly ibn Ḥasanjī Muḥammad Ḥamīd taghammadahu Allāhu bi riḍwānihi al-‘azīm al-majīd, thumma iltamasa min al-‘abdi al-mu‘tarafī bi al-jahli wa al-taqṣīr al-akh al-ṣādiq al-madhkūr wa al-‘ālim al-ḥādhiq al-mazbūr bi an u’riba mā ta‘ajjama fī tilka al-risālah ‘asā an yantafi‘a bihā al-sālik wa al-murīd al-rāghib bi ‘awnillāhi wa tawfīqihi wa bibarakati mashāyikhinā min ahli al-ṭarīqati thumma istakhartu Allāha ta‘ālā ‘alā taysīri dhālika wa huwa waliyyu al-tawfīq wa al-i’tisām wa lākin rubbamā zidtu bi shay’in yasīrin yakūnu tatmīman li al-kalām wa taḥqīqan li al-maqām wa sammaytu hādihā al-ta’rīf:

Tuḥfatu Sarandīb Tadhkiratun li al-Muḥibb al-Ḥabīb,

wa hiya hādhihi.

Qāla shaykunā al-muallifu qaddasa Allāhu rūḥahu wa nawwara ḍarīḥahu:

1. [Mas‘alatun]

Idha qāla al-qā’ilu ayna al-‘ālam wa huwa kullu mā siwā Allāhi ta‘ālā min qabli an yakhluqallāhu wa yūjiduhu?

[Fa al-jawāb]

Inna al-‘ālam qabla khalqihi wa ijādihi mākāna lahu ayna li annahu ma‘dūmun wa li al-ma‘dūmi lā yuqālu fī ḥaqqihi ayna huwa.

2. [Mas‘alatun]

Idhā qāla al-qā’ilu mā wujūdu al-‘ālam min qabli an yakhluqallāhu wa yūjiduhu?

[Fa al-jawāb]

Inna al-‘ālam qabla khalqihi wa ijādihi laysa lahu wujūdun ḥattā yuqālu fī ḥaqqihi mā wujūduhu, wa law kāna mawjūdan la lazima al-wujūdāni wa dhālika muḥālun li anna Allāha ta‘ālā waḥidun fī dhātihi, wa wāḥidun fī ṣifātihi, wa waḥidun fī af‘ālihi, lā sharīka lahu fī kulli dhalika.

3. [Mas‘alatun]

Idhā qāla al-qā’il mā ta‘ayyunu al-‘ālam min qabli an yakhluqahullāhu wa yūjiduhu?

[Fa al-jawāb]

Inna ta‘ayyuna al-‘ālam qabla khalqihi wa ijādihi kāna huwa muta‘ayyinan fī ‘ilmillāh ta‘ālā wa thābitan fīhi li ta‘alluqi al-‘ālam bihi azalan wa abadan

4. [Mas‘alatun]

Idhā qāla al-qā’il mā ismu al-‘ālam min qabli an yakhluqahu-’llāhu wa yūjiduhu?

[Fa al-jawāb]

Inna isma al-‘ālam qabla khalqihi wa ījādihi yuqālu lahu al-ma‘lūm al-ilahī wa ma‘lūm al-‘ilmi al-ilāhī

5. [Mas‘alatun]

Wa idhā qāla al-qā’il ma ḥukmu al-‘ālam wa mā nisbatuhu min qabli an yakhluqahullāhu wa yūjiduhu?

[Fa al-jawāb]

Inna ḥukma al-‘ālam qabla khalqihi wa ījādihi kāna ḥukmuhi ḥukma ta‘ayyuni al-dhāti li al-dhāti fī al-dhāti wa nisbatuhu lahu kāna ka al-nisbati bayna al-ma‘lūm wa bayna al-‘ālim fa-‘lam dhalika

Thumma qāla shaykhunā al-muallifu raḍiyallāhu ‘anhu

6. [Mas‘alatun]

Wa idhā qāla al-qā’il ayna al-‘ālam ba‘damā khalaqallāhu ta‘ālā wa awjadahu?

[Fa al-jawāb]

Inna al-‘ālam ba‘da khalqihi wa ījādihi ayḍan mā lahu ayna li annahu ma‘dūmun qabla al-khalqi wa al-ījād wa ba‘da al-khalqi wa al-ījād wa innamā huwa maḥallu al-ta‘ayyun al-ilāhī kamā huwa qabla al-khalqi wa al-ījād fī ‘ilmillāh ta‘ālā

7. [Mas‘alatun]

Wa idhā qāla al-qā’il mā wujūdu al-‘ālam ba‘da khalaqahu wa awjadahu?

[Fa al-jawāb]

Inna al-‘ālam ba‘da khalqihī wa t̤jādihī ayḍan laysa lahu wujūdun ḥattā yuqālu mā wujūduhu kamā kana min qabli an yakhlūqahullāhu ta‘ālā wa yūjiduhu fa kadhālika qālū raḍiyallāhu ‘anhum inna al-a‘yān al-thābitah mā shammat rā’ihata al-wujūd fa kayfa yuqālu bi annahā mawjūdātun wa hiya mā shammat rā’ihata al-wujūd faḍlan ‘an an takūna mawjūdātun

8. [Mas‘alatun]

Wa idhā qāla al-qā’il mā ismu al-‘ālam ba‘damā khalaqahu-’llāhu ta‘ālā wa awjadahu?

[Fa al-jawāb]

Inna isma al-‘ālam ba‘da khalqihī-llāh wa t̤jādihī kāna yuqālu bi al-khalqī wa al-a‘yān al-khārijīyah atharu al-a‘yān al-thābitah wa ḥilluhā wa al-mulk wa al-ghayr wa ghayru dhālika min asmā’ihī

9. [Mas‘alatun]

Wa idhā qāla al-qā’il mā ḥukmu al-‘ālam wa nisbatuhu lahu ta‘ālā ba‘damā khalaqahullāhu wa awjadahu?

[Fa al-jawāb]

Inna ḥukma al-‘ālam wa nisbatuhu lahu ta‘ālā ba‘da khalqihī wa t̤jādihī kāna ḥukmuḥu ka al-ḥukmi bayna al-makhlūqī wa bayna al-khāliq wa nisbatuhu kāna ka al-nisbati bayna al-ḥilli wa ṣāḥibihī

10. [Mas‘alatun]

Mā al-sababu fī tasmiyati al-‘ālam bi ‘ālam?

[Fa al-jawāb]

Inna al-‘ālam fī al-lughah huwa al-‘alāmah wa al-‘alāmah dāllatun ‘alā man lahu ‘alāmatun kamā idhā ra’ainā mathalan athar qadami li aḥadin ‘alā shayin mā fanastadillu bi dhālika ‘alā anna aḥadan qad ta‘addā min hadhā al-makān,

wa fī iṣṭilāhi al-‘ulamā raḥimahumullāhu ta‘ālā inna al-‘ālam wa huwa kullu mā siwāllāhi ta‘ālā fainnahu tadullu ‘alā man khalaqahu wa awjadahu fī al-khāriji wa huwa Allāh ta‘ālā.

Thumma inna al-‘ālam wa al-ḥaqq ta‘ālā innahumā lā yattaḥidāni wa lā yatamayyazāni fainna al-ittiḥad huwa ja‘lu al-wujūdayni wujūdan wāḥidan kamā anna al-tamayyuz huwa ja‘lu al-wujūd al-wāḥid wujūdayni, wa kilā al-wajhayni min al-muḥālāt, wa lā yaṣiḥḥu dhalika, fa-fham wa ta’ammal,

fa al-ḥāṣil inna wujūdallāhi ta‘ālā huwa al-wujūd al-ḥaqīqī al-qāim bi nafsīhi wa al-muqawwim li ghayrihi wa inna wujūda mā siwāhu huwa al-wujūd al-majāzī al-qaim bi ghayrihi wa huwa Allāh ta‘ālā fakullu mā kāna wujūduhu bi ghayrihi lā bi nafsīhi fa wujūduhu li ghayrihi lā li nafsīhi fa idhā kāna kadhālika fa taḥaqqqa anna al-wujūd wāḥidun wa huwa wujūdullāh ta‘ālā wa wujūdu mā siwāhu ka lā wujūda li qiyāmihi bi ghayrihi lā bi nafsīhi wa li ḥafāfiyyati ṭarafay al-‘adami

Thumma qāla ayḍan shaykhuna al-muallifu raḥimahullāh ta‘ālā

11. [Mas‘alatun]

Fa mā ma‘nā al-ẓill?

[Fa al-jawāb]

Inna ma'nā al-ẓill fī al-lughah huwa al-muta'ayyanu ba'da al-khafā wa yuqālu ayḍan al-ẓill huwa al-shay' alladhī ashraqat 'alayhi al-shamsu fa yan'akisu bi ḍarbin min muqābalatihi, fa 'aksuhu huwa ẓilluhu, wa ammā ma'nā al-ẓill 'inda al-sādah al-ṣūfiyah qaddasallāhu asrārahum wa huwa kullu mā siwā Allāh ta'ālā.

12. [Mas'alatun]

Wa idhā qāla al-qā'il fa mā al-sabab fī tasmiyati hādhā al-'ālam bi ẓillillāh ta'ālā wa al-ḥāl anna al-ẓilla kāna ṣūratuhu ka ṣūrati ṣāhibihi fa idhā kāna kadhālika fa al-mutabādir fī al-'aqli anna Allāh ta'ālā kāna lahu ṣūratun ka ṣūrati al-'ālam li anna al-'ālam ẓilluhu?

[Fa al-jawāb]

Na'am, inna al-'ālam huwa ẓillullāh ta'ālā bi naṣṣi al-āyah al-qur'āniyah fī qawlihi ta'ālā { **alam tara ilā rabbika kayfa madda al-ẓill...** } lā ka al-mutabādir fī al-'aqli kamā qīla li anna dhālika yakūnu min qiyāsin fāsidin, ta'ālallāhu 'an dhalika 'uluwwan kabīran. Wa innamā maththala bi ẓiliyyati al-'ālam lahu ta'ālā, bi qaṭ'i al-naẓar 'an qawli al-āyah al-madhkūrah kāna **min wujūhin, al-wāḥidu minhā** anna al-ẓill lā yaqūmu bi nafsihi bal yaqūmu bi ṣāhibihi, kamā anna al-'ālam lā yaqūmu bi nafsihi bal yaqūmu billāhi, **wa minhā** annahu lā yataḥarraku al-ẓill illā bi ḥarakati ṣāhibihi wa irādatihi kamā anna al-'ālam lā yurīdu wa lā yaqdiru illā bi irādatillāhi ta'ālā wa qudratihi bi mūjibi qawlillāhi ta'ālā { **wa mā tashā'ūna illā an yashā'allāh..** } wa bi mūjibi qawli lā ḥawla wa lā quwwata illa billāh, **wa minhā** anna al-ẓill qad yata'addadu wa yatakaththaru, wa ṣāhibuhu la yata'addadu wa la yatakaththaru, fa kadhālika al-'ālam annahu yata'addadu wa yatakaththaru, wa al-ḥaqqu ta'ālā lā yata'addadu wa lā yatakaththaru fī ḥaddi dhātihi, **wa minhā** anna al-ẓill yazīdu wa yanquṣu wa yataghayyaru, wa ṣāhibuhu lā yazīdu wa lā yanquṣu wa lā yataghayyaru, kamā anna al-

‘ālam yazīdu wa yanquṣu wa yataghayyaru bi ḥālin, wa al-ḥaqqu ta‘ālā lā yazīdu wa lā yanquṣu wa lā yataghayyaru bi ḥālin, wa mā ashbaha dhālika.

Wa qāla kātibu al-aḥruf -‘afallāhu ‘anhu- wa maththalū ayḍan, ay ahlullāh, al-‘ārifūna bihi, -wa lillāhi mathalu al-a‘lā- bi annallāha ta‘ālā ka al-baḥr, wa al-amwāj ka kulli mā siwallāhi ta‘ālā, wa **wajhu al-tashbīhi fī dhālika** li anna **al-baḥra qāimun bi nafsīhi wa lā ḥadda lahu wa lā yu‘rafu kunhahu, wa bi annahu wāḥidun fī ḥaddi dhātīhi, wa lā yataghayyaru waḥdāniyatuhu**, fa kadhālika al-Ḥaqqu subḥānahu wa ta‘ālā qāimun bi nafsīhi, wa annahu lā ḥadda lahu, wa lā yu‘rafu kunhahu, wa annahu wāḥidun wa lā yataghayyaru waḥdāniyatuhu, thumma inna al-amwāja, fa innahā taqūmu bi al-baḥr, lā bi nafsīhā, wa kānat maḥdūdatan mutashakkilatan mutaṣawwiratan, wa tataghayyaru wa tatakabbaru wa tataṣaghgharu wa yu‘rafu kunhahā, wa kadhālika kullu mā siwallāh ta‘ālā, wa huwa al-‘ālam, annahu kana qā’imun billāh ta‘ālā, lā bi nafsīhi, wa kāna muta‘addidan wa maḥdūdan, wa lahu shaklun wa ṣūratun, wa yatakaththaru wa yatakabbaru wa yataṣaghgharu wa yataghayyaru wa yu‘rafu kunhahu, fa hākadhā kāna wajhu al-tashbīhi fī dhālika, lā kamā yu‘rafu al-zanādiqatu wa al-mulāḥidatu fī qawlihim anna al-‘ālam wa al-ḥaqqu wāḥidun, kamā anna al-baḥra wa al-mawja wāḥidun lā ghayrahu, fa-fham dhālika, wa lā yafhamūna qawla al-ḥaqq, ahlu al-ḥaqq fī hādhā al-maqām, fa li hādhā qālū al-baḥru baḥrun, ‘alā mā kāna fī qidamin, wa anna al-ḥawādith amwājūn wa anhārun.

Wa sādatu al-awliyā min al-‘ārifīna billāhi ta‘ālā lā yatakallamūna bi kalāmin wa lā yukhāṭibūna bihi illā man kāna minhum, wa kalāmuhum fīhi qawā’idun wa iṣtilāḥātun, fa lidhā qāla al-Shaykh Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī - raḍiyallāhu ‘anhu- ṣāni‘an karīm ‘ibārātihim taḥta ḥijab al-astār li yu‘rafa man huwa al-ahl wa al-aghyār, fa-‘lam dhālika

Kam maḥallu ta‘ayyuni al‘ālam?

[Fa al-jawāb]

Inna ta‘ayyuna al-‘ālam kāna fī thalāthi maḥallāti, al-awwalu fī martabati al-waḥdah wa hiya martabatu al-ṣifāt wa yuqālu fihā shu‘ūnu al-dhātī wa al-thanī fī martabati al-wāḥidiyah wa hiya martabatu al-asmā wa yuqālu fihā al-a‘yān al-thābitah wa al-thālith fī martabati al-arwāḥ wa yuqālu fihā al-a‘yān al-khārijiyah

14. [Mas‘alatun]

Idhā qāla al-qā’il al-a‘yān al-khārijiyah mā hiya?

[Fa al-jawāb]

Inna al-a‘yān al-khārijiyah hiya ḡilālāt al-a‘yān al-thābitah wa athāruhā

15. [Mas‘alatun]

Inna al-a‘yān al-thābitah ḡilālāt mā hiya?

[Fa al-jawāb]

Inna al-a‘yān al-thābitah hiya ḡilālāt al-asmā wa al-ṣifāt kamā anna al-asmā wa al-ṣifāt ḡilālāt al-dhāt wa ta‘ayyunātihi

16. [Mas‘alatun]

Idhā qāla al-qā’il mā mā‘nā al-a‘yān al-thābitah?

[Fa al-jawāb]

Inna ma‘nā al-a‘yān al-thābitah hiya ma‘lūmat Allāh ta‘ālā al-thābitah fī ‘ilmihi ta‘ālā

17. [Mas‘alatun]

Idhā qāla al-qā’il al-a‘yān al-thābitah ma hiya ‘indallāhi ta‘ālā?

[Fa al-jawāb]

Inna al-a‘yān al-thābitah ‘indallāhi ta‘ālā yuqālu lahā shu‘ūnu al-dhāt

18. [Mas‘alatun]

Hal al-a‘yān al-thābitah kānat mawjūdatan?

[Fa al-jawāb]

Inna al-a‘yān al-thābitah laysa lahā wujūdun abadan fa kayfa yuqālu fī ḥaqqihā mawjūdah wa hiya mā shammat ra’ihata al-wujūd faḍlan ‘an ‘an takūna mawjūdatan kamā qālū inna al-a‘yān al-thābitah ma shammat ra’ihata al-wujūd faḍlan ‘an ‘an takūna mawjūdatan kamā qālū al-a‘yān al-thābitah ma shammat ra’ihata al-wujūd wa innamā hiya ma‘lūmatun thābitatun [7r] fī ‘ilmillāh ta‘ālā falaw qāla bi annahā mawjūdatur lataḍammanat al-wujūdāt fī wujūdillah ta‘ālā mā lā tuḥṣā wa dhālika muḥālun

19. [Mas‘alatun]

Idhā qāla al-qā’il šūratur ma‘lūmātillāh ta‘ālā mā hiya?

[Fa al-jawāb]

Inna šūratur ma‘lūmātillāh ta‘ālā hiya šūratur al-asmā‘ wa al-ṣifāt

20. [Mas‘alatun]

Idhā qāla al-qā’il inna al-asmā’ wa al-ṣifāt mā hiya ‘indallāh ta‘ālā

[Fa al-jawāb]

Inna al-asmā’ wa al-ṣifāt kulluhā ‘ayn al-dhāt wa fī hādhihi al-martabati yuqālu inna al-isma wa al-musammā wāḥidun wa al-ṣifatu wa al-mawṣūf wāḥidun

21. [Mas‘alatun]

Idhā qāla al-qā’il kayfa ṣūratu ma‘rifatinā wa kayfiyatuhā bi al-a’yāni al-khārijīyah bi annahā ta‘ayyūnāt al-asmā’ wa al-ṣifāt?

[Fa al-jawāb]

Inna al-murād bi al-a’yān al-khārijīyah hiya kullu mā siwallāh ta‘ālā wa hādihā huwa al-‘ālam wa al-‘ālam huwa al-‘alāmah kamā taqaddama dhālika wa al-‘alāmah tadullu ‘alā man ja‘alahu ‘alāmah wa hiya tadullu ‘alā al-a’yān al-thābitah wa al-a’yān al-thābitah tadullu ‘alā al-asmā’ wa al-ṣifāt wa al-asmā’ wa al-ṣifāt tadullu ‘alā al-dhāt li annahā ta‘ayyūnāt al-dhāt kamā qāla al-Jīlī sāhibu al-insān al-kāmil qaddasa sirrahu Inna Allāh ta‘ālā naṣaba al-asmā’ adillatun ‘alā ṣifātihi wa ja‘lu al-ṣifāt dalīlan ‘alā dhātihi fa hiya maẓharuhu wa zuhūruhu ‘alā khalqīhi bi wāṣitāti al-asmā’ wa al-ṣifāt wa lā sabīla ilā ghayri dhālika

qāla shaykhunā al-mu’allifu raḥimahullāh li anna kulla wajhin min wujūhi al-‘ālam yadullu ‘alā al-ṣifāt kullihā fa al-‘ālamu min jihati wujūdihi kāna min athari ismillāh al-mūjid wa min ḥaythu innahu hayatunn makhṣūṣatun huwa atharu ismillāh al-murīd wa min haythu innahu

mawjūdun zāhirun musammā bi al-a‘yān al-khārijīyah yuqālu lahā huwa atharu ismillāh ta‘ālā al-qādiru wa min haythu innahu makhluqun yuqālu atharu ismillāh al-khāliq wa min haythu innahu marzūqun yuqālu lahu atharu ismillāh al-rāziq wa min haythu innahu baṣīr yuqālu atharu ismillāh al-baṣīr wa min haythu innahu samī‘ yuqālu atharu atharu ismillāh al-samī‘ wa min haythu innahu mutakallim yuqālu atharu ismillāh al-mutakallim wa ‘alā hādihā al-qiyās fī al-kull

Tamthīlun fī mā yuqālu inna rajulan mathalan ‘āliman ḥakīman ‘ārifan bi jamī‘i al-ṣinā‘āt wa shāṭiran bi al-umūr kullihā wa lahu awṣāfun min al-kamālāt lā tu‘addu wa lā tuḥṣā mithlu al-ḥayāh wa al-‘ilm wa al-sam‘ wa al-baṣar wa al-kalām wa al-qudrah wa al-irādah wa al-shajā‘ah wa al-qahr wa al-sulṭanah wa al-raḥmah wa al-ghinā wa al-khāliqiyah wa al-rāziqiyah wa ghayru dhālika min al-ṣifāt al-kamāliyah min al-jalāl wa al-jamāl wa ‘alā ‘adadi al-ṣifah al-madhkūrah kāna ‘adadu al-asmā‘ fa idhā kānat lahu ṣifat al-ḥayāh yuqālu lahu ḥayyun wa idhā kānat lahu ṣifatu al-‘ilm yuqālu lahu ‘ālimun wa idhā kānat lahu ṣifatu al-sam‘ yuqālu lahu al-samī‘ wa idhā kānat lahu ṣifatu al-baṣar yuqālu lahu al-baṣīr wa idhā kānat lahu ṣifatu al-kalām yuqālu lahu mutakallim wa idhā kānat lahu ṣifatu al-qudrah yuqālu lahu qādir wa idhā kānat lahu ṣifatu al-irādah yuqālu lahu murīd wa idhā kānat lahu ṣifatu al-sakhāwah yuqālu lahu sakhiy wa idhā kānat lahu ṣifatu al-shajā‘ah yuqālu lahu shujā‘ wa idhā kānat lahu ṣifatu al-ghinā yuqālu lahu al-ghaniy wa idhā kānat lahu ṣifatu al-ḥikmah yuqālu lahu ḥakīm wa idhā kānat lahu ṣifatu al-raḥmah yuqālu lahu raḥīm wa idhā kānat lahu ṣifatu al-khāliqiyah yuqālu lahu khāliq wa idhā kānat lahu ṣifatu al-rāziqiyah yuqālu lahu rāziq wa idhā kānat lahu ṣifatu al-sulṭanah yuqālu lahu sulṭān wa ‘alā hādihā al-qiyās fī al-kull min al-ṣifāt al-bāqiyah

Thumma inna al-ṣifāt wa al-asmā‘ taṭlubu mazāhirahā ka al-ism al-qāhir mathalan fa innahu kāna yaṭlubu al-maqhūr wa al-ism al-raḥīm yaṭlubu al-marḥūm wa al-ism al-khāliq yaṭlubu al-makhluq wa al-ismu al-rāziq yaṭlubu al-marzūq wa al-ismu al-rabb yaṭlubu al-marbūb wa al-ismu al-ilāh yaṭlubu al-ma’lūh wa ‘alā hādihā al-qiyās fī al-bawāqī

Thumma idhā ra'aynā mathalan dhālika al-rajul al-madhkūr al-muttaṣif bi jamī'i al-ṣifāt al-madhkūrah ṣana'a shakhṣan 'alā ṣūrati insān thumma aḥyāhu fa ta'ayyana bi anna al-rajula al-ṣāni'a al-madhkūr innahu kānat lahu ṣifat al-ḥayāh al-muta'aththirah fī ḥayāh dhālika al-insān al-maṣnū' al-madhkūr dāllatun 'alā anna al-ṣāni' muttaṣifun bi ṣifati al-ḥayāh wa lā budda min dhālika wa ma'a hādihā fa lā tazunna bi anna ṣifata ḥayāti al-sāni' inqalabat ilā al-maṣnū' wa law intaqalat ṣifatu al-ṣāni' ila al-maṣnū' li intiqāli ḥayātihi ila al-maṣnū' aw qīla bi annahu intaqala ba'du ḥayātihi ilayhi lā kulluhā la lazima minhu ayḍan anna ḥayāta al-sāni' nāqīṣatun, wa bi nuqṣānihā minhu mūjibun li ḍa'fihī fa idhā kāna al-ṣāni' ḍa'īfan fa innahu lā yaqdiru an yaṣna'a shay'an 'alā ṣūrati insānin wa ḡhayrihi wa lā yaqdiru an yuḥyiya maṣnū'ahu wa idhā ra'ayna ayḍan al-maṣnū' muttaṣifan bi ṣifati al-'ilm al-'alimnā anna 'ilma al-maṣnū' kāna min athari 'ilmi al-ṣāni' lahu wa 'alā hādihā al-qiyās fī al-bawāqī fa-fham aw ta'ammal turshad in shā'allāh ta'ālā

22. [Mas'alatun]

Idhā qāla al-qā'il kayfa ṣūratu ma'rifatinā bi al-maṣnū' innahu qābilun li athari ṣifāt al-ṣāni'?

[Fa al-jawāb]

Inna al-ṣāni' yumaththalu bi al-shamsi wa jamī'u ṣifātihi tumaththalu bi nūrihā wa tumaththalu al-arḍu bi al-maṣnū' wa jamī'u ṣifāti al-maṣnū' bi ishrāqi nūri al-shamsi 'alayhā wa nūru al-shamsi lā yazālu 'indahā wa lā yazūlu 'anhā wa lā tanfakku wa lā tantaqilu abadan wa law furiḍa bi anna nūra al-shamsi zāla 'anhā wa tantaqilu minhā ilayhā la aẓlamat hiya ay al-shams wa innamā taqbalu al-'arḍu min ishrāqi nūrihā lā nūra bi nafsihi fa-fham

Wa kadhālika yumaththalu bi anna jamī'a ma siwā Allāh ta'ālā ka annahā mir'āt majluwah wāsi'ah muqābalatun li al-ṣifāt al-ilāhiyah kullihā wa anna

al-mar'iy fī al-mir'āt ḡilālāt al-ṡifāt wa lā tazunna bi anna al-mar'iy fihā hiya nafs al-ṡifāt wa innamā al-mar'iy fihā ḡilālātuha kamā dhukirat tamthīlun ākhar **wa lillāhi al-mathal al-a'lā** inna dhāt wājib al-wujūd subḡānahu wa ta'ālā yumaththalu bi al-shamsi ayḡan wa inna ṡifatihā kullihā tumaththalu bi ishrāqi nūrihā wa asmā'uhu tumaththalu bi al-ṡaḡāb al-mutalawwin bi anwā'ī al-alwān min al-bīḡ wa al-ḡumrah wa al-ṡufrah wa al-sawḡā' wa al-khuḡrah wa al-zurqah wa al-ḡhubrah wa tumaththalu ḡilālātu al-ṡaḡāb al-mutalawwin bi anwā'ī al-alwān al-madhkūrah al-ḡāribah 'alā wajhi al-arḡi bi al-a'yān al-khārijyah fa-fham

Tamthīlun ākhar inna al-dhāt al-muqaddasah tumaththalu bi al-shamsi ayḡan wa jamī' al-ṡifāt tumaththalu bi al-zujājah al-mutalawwinah al-majluwah al-ṡāfiyah al-naqiyah wa al-asmā' kulluhā tumaththalu bi al-alwān al-zāhirah fihā wa al-a'yān al-khārijyah bi ḡilālāt al-mutalawwinah al-ḡāribah 'alā al-arḡ fa yuhfamu min ḡādhihi al-amthilah kullihā bi anna wujūd al-ḡaqq lā yaṡīru wujūd ma siwāhu wa lā wujūd mā siwāhu yaṡīru wujūd Allāh ta'ālā abadan 'aqlan wa 'urfan wa shar'an wa ḡaḡiqatan kamā waqa'a fī dhālika i'tiqād ba'ḡ al-zanāḡiqah al-mulāḡidah fī zamāninā ḡādḡā ḡattā qālū bi lisānihim

Bahwa sesungguhnya Allah itu wujud kami dan diri kami dan kami pun wujudnya dan dirinya

Ya'nī bi al-lisān al-'arabī anna Allāh wujūdunā wa nafsunā wa naḡnu wujūduhu wa nafsuhu intahā

Qāla al-imām al-muḡaqqiq wa al-'ārif al-mudaqqiq sayidī al-shaykh al-Jīlī ṡāḡibu kitābi al-insān al-kāmil qaddasa sirrahu, wa in kunta huwa fa mā anta anta bal huwa huwa wa in kāna huwa anta fa mā huwa huwa bal anta anta wa lākin huwa huwa anta anta

Wa qāla al-Fāṡḡānī qaddasa sirrahu, i'lam anna ḡaḡiqata al-ḡaqq ta'ālā lā yaṡiḡḡu 'alayḡā al-inḡilāb ilā ḡaḡiqaaṡi al-khalqi wa lā bi al-'aks

Wa qāla shaykhunā al-mu'allif raḥimahullāh, yā 'ajaban kayfa yadkhulu fī al-'aqli bi anna wujūdallāhi ta'ālā huwa wujūdu al-'ālam wa wujūdu al-'ālam huwa wujūdullāh ta'ālā kamā qālat al-zanādiqah al-mulāḥidah al-makhdhūlah fa inna wujūdallāh ta'ālā nūrun wa huwa qadīmun wa wujūdu al-'ālam ḡulmatun wa huwa ḥādithun

Fa li ḥādhā qāla shaykh Ibn 'Aṭā' illāhh qaddasa sirrahu, yā 'ajaban kayfa yaẓharu al-wujūd fī al-'adam am kayfa yathbutu al-ḥādithu ma'a man lahu waṣfu al-qidam

Qāla shaykhunā al-mu'allifu li anna al-nūr al-qadīm wa al-ḡulmah al-ḥādithah ḡiddāni wa al-ḡiddāni lā yajtami'āni fa ḥādhā huwa **al-'ālim** al-ḥaqq lā ḡhubār fīhi fa mādhā ba'da al-ḥaqqi illā al-ḡalāl

Wa fī al-ḥadīth aṣḡaḡu kalimatin qālahā al-'arabu kalimat labīd

Ala kull shay'in mā khalā Allāh bāṭilun

Wa qāla ibnu 'Aṭā' ayḡan qaddasa sirrahu lawlā ḡuhūruhu fī al-maknūnāti mā waqa'a 'alayhā wujūd abṣār wa law ḡaharat ṣifātuhu fīhā la-ḡmahallat maknūnātuhu

Qāla Shaykhunā raḡiyallāhu 'anhu fa ḡuhūru al-ḥaqq ta'ālā fīha huwa alladhī aẓhara al-khalā'iq kullihā ḡattā yaẓharu bi ru'yati al-'ayn wa lawlā uḡtujiba bi ta'ayyunātihi lafāniya kullu shay'in bi jalālihi wa qahrihi wa 'aẓamatihi fa lihādhā qāla ṣallallāhu 'alayhi wa sallam kāna ḡijabuhu al-nār wa fī riwāyati al-nūr law kashafa 'anhā la-ḡtaraqat sabḡāt wajhihi kull shay'i mā adrakahu baṣarahu fa-'lam dhālika fa innahu huwa al-'ilmu al-ḥaqq al-sarīḡ kamā qāla:

Fa man ṡalaba al-bayān ba'da al-'iyān fa huwa fī al-khusrān

Hādhā wa al-salām

Thumma qāla al-faqqīr al-ḥaqīr ‘afāllāh ta‘ālā ‘anhu dhayaltu fī ākhiri hādhihi al-risālah bi shay’in yasīrin yakūnu dhālika tatmīman li al-maqaṣid wa al-marām wa taḥqīqan li al-murād wa al-muqām bi ‘awnillāh al-malik al-ḥakīm al-‘allām wa bi barakati sayyidinā Muḥammad ‘alayhi al-ṣalāh wa al-salām awwalan wa bi barakati mashāyikhinā ahlillāh al-sādah al-kirām thāniyan in shā‘allāh ta‘ālā

Wa lammā kāna shaykhunā al-mu‘allifu raḥimahullāh bi iṭlāqi al-qawl fī ḥaqqi al-‘ālam bi annahu laysa bi mawjūdin sawā’ kāna min qabli an yakhluqahu Allāh ta‘ālā aw ba‘dahu bi dalīli qawlihim inna al-a‘yān al-thabitah mā shammat rā‘ihata al-wujūd qulnā wa huwa kadhālika fī ḥaddi dhātiḥā wa rubbamā nafaw wujūdiyatahā qabla al-ṭjād wa al-khalq bi-‘tibāri annahu mā kānat mawjūdatan fī al-khārijī kamā qayyada ba‘du al-muḥaqqiqīn fī qawli man qāla inna al-a‘yān al-thābitah mā shammat rā‘ihata al-wujūd na‘am ay al-wujūd al-khārijī lā al-wujūd al-‘ilmī wa lammā al-qawl bi annahā mawjūdatun bi-‘tibāri al-wujūd al-‘ilmī fa huwa lā budda min dhālika li muwāfaqati ḥikmatihī ta‘ālā.

wa ammā al-qawl bi ‘adami wujūdiyatihā wa law kāna ba‘da al-khalq wa al-ṭjād fa hādihā al-qawl yakūnu fīhi al-masāmiḥah wa la‘alla murād hādihā al-qawl yakūnu bi-tibāri anna al-‘ālam kana wujūduhu ka lā wujūd ‘inda man taḥaqqaqā bi waḥdati al-shuhūd fa kāna wujūd al-‘ālam {ka sarābin bi qī‘atin yaḥsabuhu al-ḡam‘ān mā ... ilā ākhir} wa dhālika li ‘adami qiyāmihi bi nafsīhi bal qiyāmuhu bi ḡayrihi fa idhā kana qiyāmuhu bi ḡayrihi fa wujūduhu li ḡayrihi lā lahu fa yaṣiḥhu an yuqāl bi dhālika innahu laysa bimawjūdin wa in ra‘ā bi ru‘yati al-‘ayn al-ḡill mathalan fa innahu laysa lahu wujūd ḥaqīqah wa in kāna mar‘iy bi ru‘yati al-‘ayn wa yadullu ‘ala taḥqīq dhālika kamā ‘alimnā inna ḡila al-shajarah al-kabīrah al-ḡahir fī al-mā’ lā yamna’ murūr al-sufun al-kabīrah fīhi wa law kāna dhālika al-ḡill lahu ḥaqīqatun fī wujūdihi fa mana‘a al-sufun bi al-murūr fīhi wa lawa ra‘ā bi ru‘yati al-‘ayn kamā qulnā sābiqan fa-fham dhālika wa taḥaqqaq fa innahu taḥqīqun nafīsun lā ḡhubāra fīhi ‘inda man ‘arafa al-amr bimā huwa ‘alayhi

Fa in qāla al-qa‘il fa ayyu shay’in yukhaṭibu fī qawlihi ta‘ālā? qulna inna al-mukhaṭab fī al-qawl al-ilāhī bi kun huwa al-a‘yān al-thabitah bi ma‘nā al-ashyā’ al-thābitah fī al-‘ilm al-ilāhī al-qadīm al-azalī wa huwa ḡayr maj‘ūlah wa lā tanfakku ‘an al-‘ilm wa lā takhruju minhu abadan

Thumma naqūlu inna al-a'yān al-thābitah kāna lahā wajhāni aḥaduhumā wajhu i'tibāri wujūdiyyatihā fī al-'ilm al-ilāhī wa thānīhumā wajhu i'tibāri 'adamiyatihā fī al-wujūd al-khārijī fa yakūnu wajhu wujūdiyyatihā al-madhkūrah huwa al-shay'i al-mukhātab fī qawlihi idhā qāla li shay'in {**kun fa yakūn**} wa yakūnu wajhu 'adamiyatihā huwa al-mushār ilayhi fī qawlihi ta'ālā {**hal atā 'alā al-insān ḥīnun min al-dahri lam yakun shay'an madhkūran**} thumma al-ḥikmah fī dhālika inna wajha wujūda al-a'yān al-thābitah al-ghayr al-maj'ūlah fī wujūdiyyatihā huwa al-qābil li al-khiṭāb al-ilāhī al-madhkūr wa inna wajha 'adamiyatihā al-ghayr al-maj'ūlah fī 'adamiyatihā ayḍan huwa al-qābil li al-ījād wa al-khalq fa kilā al-wajhayn fī ḥaqqihā ghayr maj'ūlah ilā wajhi wujūdiyyatihā wa wajhu 'adamiyatuha sawā' laysatā bi maj'ūlatin fa-fham dhālika wa ta'ammal

Thumma idhā qāla bi anna al-mukhātab fī al-qawl al-ilāhī bi kun huwa al-'adam lazima an yakūna fī dhālika khilāf al-ḥikmah al-ilāhiyah wa al-ḥaqq ta'ālā khaliqun fā'ilun bi al-ḥikmah wa la-fa'il al-khāliq min ghayr al-ḥikmah yakūnu fī ḥukmi al-'abath fī fī'lihi wa khalqihi fa ta'ālallāh ta'ālā 'an an yakūna fī'luhu wa khalquhu 'abathan kamā qāla subḥānahu wa ta'ālā **afahasibtum annamā khalaqnākum 'abathan .. ila ākhir** wa qāla ayḍan **mā khalaqnā hādihā bāṭilan... ilā ākhirihī** thumma naqūlu kamā annahu ta'ālā qādirun huwa ḥakīmun ayḍan wa lā shakka bi anna Allāh ta'ālā qādirun 'alā kulli shay'in mumkinin wa ḥakīmun fī fī'lihi ghayr anna al-qudrah bi shartī al-irādah wa al-irādah bi shartī al-'ilm al-mutalāzim bi al-ḥikmah al-azaliyah wallāhu ta'ālā a'lam wa aḥkam.

wa ammā qawl al-shaykh raḍiyallāhu 'anhu bi ta'līl 'adami wujūd al-'adam al-mumkin min qabli an yakhluqahu Allāh ta'ālā wa ba'da an yakhluqahu 'azza wa jalla wa huwa ismun min asmā'i al-a'yān al-thābitah 'inda 'ulamā al-kalām fa li annahu qad aṭlaqa al-'ārifūn billāh ta'ālā bi qawlihim inna al-a'yān al-thābitah ma shammat rā'iḥata al-wujūd wa ta'allala bi qawlihi ayḍan wa law kāna lahu wujūdun kamā qāla 'ulamā' al-ẓawāhir la lazima al-wujūdāni wa ḥusūlu al-wujūdāni muḥālun 'inda al-mu'ārif al-muḥaqqiq qulnā na'am wa huwa kadhālika mā idhā kāna al-wujūdāni kullu wāhidin minhumā mustaqillun bi nafsihī qā'imun bi nafsihī lā bi ghayrihi wa ammā idhā qulnā inna al-wujūd wujūdāni al-awwal wujūdun qā'imun bi nafsihī muqawwimun li ghayrihi wa huwa wujūdullāh ta'ālā wa al-thānī

wujūdun qā'imun bi ghayrihi lā bi nafsīhi wa huwa wujūdu al-'ālam fa dhālika min tamāmi al-shuhūd wa lā yaḍurruna dhālika al-shuhūd bal dhālika al-shuhūd huwa min kamālī martabati ulūhiyatihi wa rubūbiyatihi ta'ālā ma'a annahu ghaniyyun 'ammā siwāhu ta'ālā fa inna isma al-ilāh wa al-rabb wa mā shākalahuma dhātī lahu ta'ālā wa al-ilāh yaṭlubu al-ma'lūh wa al-rabb yaṭlubu al-marbūb wa hādhā al-qiyās fī jamī'i al-asma' al-muta'alliqah bimā siwallāh ta'ālā ka al-khāliq mathalan yaṭlubu al-makhlūq wa al-qādir yaṭlubu al-maqdūr wa al-murīd yaṭlubu al-murād wa al-qāhir yaṭlubu al-maqhūr wa al-raḥīm yaṭlubu al-marḥūm wa ghayr dhālika min al-asmā' 'alā al-taqrīr bi hādhā al-taḥqīq wa law lā ru'yatu al-'ālam wa law fī al-jumlah fa kayfa yataṣawwaru fī al-wujūd 'ābidun ma'būdun wa 'abdun wa rabbun wa mukallafun bi fatḥi al-lām wa mukallifun bi kasri al-lā fa-fham dhālika

wa al-salām wa ṣallallāhu 'alā sayyidinā Muhammadin wa ālihi wa ṣaḥbihi
ajma'in bi raḥmatika yā arhama al-rāḥimīn