GENEALOGICAL TRANSMISSION OF
ZAKARIYYA AL-ANŞĂRI’S THOUGHT ON
TAWHĪD TO THE MALAY WORLD SCHOLARS
WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO HIS
FATḤ AL-RAḤMĀN

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Abstract
In Islamic history, Haramayn (Mecca and Medina) were once became a centre of education for Muslim scholars from all over the world. They came here to study all branches of Islamic knowledge from many prominent scholars. In the 17th century, the Egyptian scholar, Zakariyya al-Anşări (d. 1520) had produced a significant work, Fatḥ al-Rahmān that became well-known in the circle of studies in Haramayn. The work consists the exposition of true and pure Tawhid as a foundation to learn Shari‘ah and Ḥaqiqah (Truth). The ideas that were cast in this work were very important which later became the subject of study among the scholars and their disciples as well as their successors. In the 18th century, the Fatḥ al-Rahmān was of wide-spread in Malay Archipelago. By applying the qualitative research method based on texts and documentations analysis, this research reveals the transmission of Zakariyya’s thought that were documented in Fatḥ al-Rahmān to Malay society occurred through the Malay scholars famed and outstanding as group of al-Jāwiyyīn such as
Nuruddin al-Raniri, Abdul Rauf al-Sinkili, Yusuf al-Makassari and others. They brought back the *Fath al-Rahmān* and taught it in the circle of religious students in Malay world. Some of them put initiatives to further translated and commented on the work. The works are currently available in several places around Malay Archipelago including Indonesia and Malaysia and, as such, indicating the transmission of Zakariyya’s thought and signifying an intellectual network between scholars in Haramayn and the Malay world.

**Keywords:** Zakariyya al-Anṣārī; *Fath al-Rahmān*; *Tawḥīd*; Malay scholars; Malay world.

**Khulasah**

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

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

in the Arab world but also among the Muslim society as the whole.\(^3\)

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

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

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4 *Ibid*.

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

6 *Halaqah* is one of the learning system whereby disciples are seated on the floor forming a circle or round configuration. Position of the teacher and disciples are collateral. The *halaqah* could be generally found in the mosque in the collegium of learning (*majlis ta’līm*) where Islam is studied. It was of a common place during the life of the Prophet Muhammad SAW. This practice was then preserved and
divided into several groups following the diverse numbers of studies like Traditions of the Prophet (ḥadīth), exegesis (tafsīr), jurisprudence (fiqh) and Sufism (taṣawwuf). Upon this agglomeration, conflict among different scholars and their students, whose intellectual masteries were divergent, ensued. And this was due to the flounder of system in comprehending Islam. It is worth noting that in order to adequately understand Islam, one has to apprehend ‘aqīdah (belief system), shari‘ah (Islamic law) and iḥsān (sanctifying virtue). All these three dimensions of Islamic knowledge always evolve from time to time.

The ‘aqīdah, for example, evolves into ‘Ilm al-Tawḥīd (knowledge of Allah’s Unity) and ‘Ilm al-Kalām (knowledge of theology) with their various schools of thought. The Shari‘ah also thrives into jurisprudence (fiqh) traditionally embraced by four schools of thought, Shafi‘ite, Malikite, Hanbalite and Hanafite. As of
tasawwuf, it is unfolded into three mainstreams; akhlāqī (morality), ‘amalī (practicality) and naẓarī (theosophy).

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

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

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

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


10 Ibid.

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

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

**Transmission of Zakariyyā al-Anṣārī’s Thought**

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


16 Walī Raslān was a renowned scholar on mysticism. He served as a distinguished teacher in Shām and was conferred the title (*laqab*) of ‘Ārif bi Allāh. He was blessed with high esteemed miracles (*karāmah*). Like narrated by Taqī al-Dīn al-Subkī to al-Sha‘rānī, Walī Raslān, while he listened to a *Nashīd* during Sufi gatherings, leaped on the air, gently rotated and finally descended to the ground. It was also said that a desolate and dried tree turned green, lush and amazingly bore fruits as the Shaykh was seated nearby. By the time
currently available only in the library of the Leiden University, Netherlands. Connection between Walī Raslān and Zakariyyā al-Anṣārī cannot be proven through ascription (sanad) other than the commentary on *Risālah fī al-Tawḥīd*. By reading the *Fatḥ Raḥmān*, one will come across resemblance of thought between the two scholars.

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

Zakariyyā al-Anṣārī’s full name is Zakariyyā bin Muḥammad bin Ṭāhir bin Zakariyyā al-Anṣārī al-Sunaykī al-Maṣrī al-Shāfī‘ī bin Yaḥyā Shaykh al-Īslām. According to al-Ziriklī, Zakariyyā lived around 823-926/1420–1520. He was one of the most pivotal the Shaykh deceased in Damascus, there were flock of green birds that encircled the coffin and ushered it to cemetery. See ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Shaʿrānī, *al-Ṭabaqat al-Kubrā*, vol. 2, 153 -154.


19 In *Tārikh al-Adab*, as quoted by al-Ziriklī. His name is Zayn al-Dīn Abū Yaḥyā Zakariyyā bin Muḥammad bin Anṣārī al-Sunaykī al-Shāfī‘ī, born in 826/1422. Although there appears to be a dissimilarity in term of name and history of his birth, the two refer to the same figure. See Khayr al-Dīn al-Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām Qāmūs Tarājim*, vol. 3, 46.
Egyptian Muslim scholars who were also known both as the Muḥaddithīn and the jurist (of Shafi’i jurisprudence). He was also a master in the realm of tafsīr and tawḥīd. While in Egypt, he studied under many great teachers like al-Ḥāfiz Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Aṣqalānī (d. 1452) and so on. Regarding Prophetic traditions, Zakariyyā wrote several works that have long been taught up to now in many international universities in the Muslim world. Zakariyyā’s intellectual prominence in the realm of tawḥīd and Sufism is also outstanding. His Fatḥ al-Rahmānī is an undeniable proof of this.

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

Both should have been designated with the title of mujaddidī (reformist), that is champions of the revival of

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

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

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

23 Fazlur Rahman uttered the reform (Tajdid) as a “Neo-Sufism”. This refers to the Sufī movement which aims at renewing the mystical
the Islamic thought. Again, this notion underlines significance of understanding the religious thought of Zakariyyā al-Anṣārī in his work the *Fatḥ al-Raḥmān*.

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

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

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

²⁵ *Ibid*.

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

²⁷ ʿAbd al-Wahhāb bin Aḥmad bin al-Shaʿrānī was an Egyptian Sufi master. He was also a moderate scholars on the history and Sufism and wrote numbers of books. He was the most prominent figure in writing books during the last generation of the Ottoman ascendancy.
Prophetic traditions, al-Sha‘rānī’s great works cover Ẓabaqāt al-Kubrā and Ẓabaqāt al-Ṣughrā.

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

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


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


30 Azyumardi Azra, Jaringan Global dan Lokal Islam Nusantara, 90.
earlier transmission of the religious and intellectual thought of Zakariyyā.

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

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

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

32 Aḥmad Qushāshī, Shāfī al-Dīn Aḥmad bin Muḥammad, al-Samīḥ al-Majīd fī Shaʾn al-Bayʿah wa al-Dhikr wa Talqinah wa Salāsīl Ahl al-
further preceded by ʿAlī al-Shinnawi, al-Qushāshī and al-Kurānī were successors to the Zakariyya through al-Shārānī. It is worthwhile to state that in the Islamic intellectual history, there were three distinguished scholars to pioneer the Islamic reform in the realm of Sufism. They were al-Shārānī, al-Qushāshī and al-Kurānī. During al-Kurānī lifetime, he was of great scholar in Medina and, through his disciples, played an important role in bringing about reformation movement during the 18th century. He disseminated one of Sufi order, Shatariyyah through which Fath al-Rahmān was taught and transmitted.

Tawhīd (Hyderabad: Dār al-Maʿārif al-Niẓāmiyyah 1327/1909), 44-84.

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

34 Martin Van Bruinessen, Kitab Kuning, Pesantren Dan Ulama, 68.
35 Azyumardi Azra, Jaringan Global dan Lokal Islam Nusantara, 89.
36 John Voll, ʿMuḥammad Hayya al-Sindi and Muḥammad ibn Abd al-Wahhab: An Analysis of an Intellectual Group in Eighteenth-Century
While al-Shaʿrānī was of the second generation, Ahmad al-Qushāshī and Ibrāhīm al-Kurānī were of the fifth of Zakariyyā. The three were renowned as the reformists for they sought to tirelessly spread the religious thought of their master which is the integration of Shariʿah, tawḥīd and Sufism as been explicated in the Fatḥ al-Raḥmān.

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


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

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

Yusuf al-Makassari was a leading scholar and a Sufi master from Southern Sulawesi. He struggled against the colonial Dutch government while residing in Banten. He was then exiled and
famed and outstanding as group of al-Jāwiyyūn.\textsuperscript{41} They learnt the \textit{Fath al-Rahmān} from these masters and, by the 17th century, were finally regarded as among the pivotal figures in the reform.\textsuperscript{42}

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

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

\begin{footnotesize}
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  \item The Arab people used the term \textit{al-Jāwiyyūn} to refer to all students coming from the Malay world, be they from Sumatera, Kalimantan, Sulawesi and even Malaysia and Thailand.
  \item In the National Library of Indonesia in Jakarta, the manuscript of \textit{Fath al-Rahmān} is nearly stored with a code number MS A108 and MS 101. It seems highly probable that it belongs to Yusuf al-Makasari. Among these manuscripts, 5 were written by the Bugis scholars. Its translation into Bugis language is also accessible. This verifies the fact that the book was so famous in Makasar throughout generations.
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National Library of Indonesia in Jakarta and The National Library of Malaysia in Kuala Lumpur. Abdul Rauf al-Sinkili did the same actions. He wrote his major works on Sufism like Tanbih al-Māshi and Risalah Jalan Ma‘rifah.44 The works have been renowned until today.

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

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

45 Muṣṭafā Kamāl al-Dīn al-Bakrī was born in Damascus (1099/1688) and died in Cairo (1162/1749). He was a great master of Sufi order Khalwātiyyah and fond of seeking knowledge from different teachers in different countries. He finally resided in Haramayn. As a renowned Sufi master, he completed his work on Sufism entitled Taṣliyāt al-Aḥzan (A Solace). See, Carl Brockelmann, Geschicte der Arabischen Litteratur, 348-351.
thought of al-Bakrī and Abū Ṭāhir al-Kurānī and further became eminent Sufi master in Medina.\(^{48}\) He mastered Shāfi‘ī jurisprudence and was a loyal disciple of an Egyptian Shaykh al-Islām Sulaymān al-Kurdī (d. 1780). Sulaymān al-Kurdī himself was a disciple of Aḥmad al-Qushāshī and Ibrāhīm al-Kurānī.\(^{49}\) Although Muḥammad Sammān studied under many teachers like ‘Abd al-Wahhāb al-Ṭanṭawī and Hilāl al-Mālikī, his main master was al-Bakrī. Before he promulgated the \textit{Fath al-Raḥmān} in Medina, he studied Zakariyyā’s thought under this main teacher.\(^{50}\)

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

This was true according to Abdus Shamad Palimbani who revealed\(^{52}\) that prior to learning the works on


\(^{49}\) Sri Mulyati et.al, \textit{Mengenal & Memahami Tarekat-Tarekat Muktabarah di Indonesia} (Jakarta: Kencana, 2004), 186.


\(^{51}\) Martin Van Bruinessen, \textit{Kitab Kuning, Pesantren dan Ulama}, 58. See also Sri Mulyati et.al, \textit{Mengenal dan Memahami Tarikat-Tarikat}, 187.

\(^{52}\) Muhammad Arsyad al-Banjari (1710-1812M) was a leading master of the mysticism in Martapura, the Southern Kalimantan. In the Malay world, he was however known as a master of the Shafi‘ite jurisprudence whose famous work was \textit{Sabīl al-Muhtadin}.  

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

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

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

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


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

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

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

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

As explicated earlier, the 17\(^{th}\) century’s Islamic reform was harbingered by the scholars through ways of Sufi orders. The Sufi masters of Shatariyyah Order like Ahmad Qushāshī and Ibrāhīm Kurānī\(^{61}\) resorted Sufi order to disseminate their religious thought. This does not imply that Sufi order was the only subject delved massively by the *al-Jāwiyyiṭ* scholars. It was of a common place among them to study Sufi order in addition to learning *tawḥīd* and Sufism.\(^{62}\) Al-Raniri, for example, learnt the Sufi orders of Rifa’iyyah and Qadariyyah. While Abdul Rauf al-Singkili studied that of Shatariyyah and Qadariyyah, Yusuf al-Makassari adhered with Shatariyyah and Khalwatiyyah.\(^{63}\)

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

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\(^{60}\) Martin Van Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning, Pesantren dan Ulama*, 69.

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


\(^{63}\) Sri Mulyani, *Tasawuf Nusantara Rangkaian Mutiara Sufi Terkemuka*, 102 & 127.
As a result, he established his own Sufi order which later is known as Muhammadiyyah or Samaniyyah like the al-Jāwiyīn disciples designated it. All of this shows that the Faṭḥ al-Raḥmān had already been in Malay world since the 17th and 18th century and was propagated by the Sufi scholars generally attached to the Shatariyyah, Qadariyyah or Khalwatiyyah Sufi orders.

**Availability of the Faṭḥ al-Raḥmān**

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

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

65 ‘Abd al-Ghanī al-Nabulusī bin Ismā’īl bin ‘Abd al-Ghani bin Ahmad bin Ibrāhīm or known as Nablūsī al-Ḥanafī al-Dimashqī al-Naqṣābandī al-Qādirī was born in Damascus, 5 Zulhijjah 1050 and died in 1143. He was a leading scholar on jurisprudence, Tafsīr and Ḥadīth. See, ‘Abd al-Ghani bin Ismā’īl, Dakhā’ir al-Mawāridh fī al-Dalālāt ‘alā Mawādi’ī al-Ḥadīth, vol. 1 (Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-Alamīyyah, n.d.), 3-5. He was also known as a great writer and poet whose works was Tahmis (a literary work on poetry) taking as its inspiration of a Qaṣīdah wrote by Wālī Ruslān on divinity. The Tahmis was then rewritten into Roman by Drewes and translated into English. See G.W.J. Drewes, Direction for Travellers on The Mystic Path, 18.
It is currently accessible in the National Library of Malaysia in Kuala Lumpur. The last copy is coded AF 128, written in Arabic by Abu Bakar Bone in 1300. Being compared to the earlier copies, this transcription is considered more complete and could be found only in the personal library of Wan Mohd. Saghir Abdullah in Kuala Lumpur. The availability of the work in Kuala Lumpur ascertains the fact that it has been long learnt and studied by the Malay scholars.

The work is also available in Indonesia. It is accessible in the Indonesia’s National Library in Jakarta. The library stocks up five texts. One text is owned by renowned Sulawesi scholar Yusuf al-Makassari (1626-1699) and was published in 1678. It is in Arabic and was

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

67 Based upon the writer’s relentless comparison of the texts, it is argued that the manuscript written by Abu Bakar Bone was the most complete one. The parting pages of the text contain Ibn ‘Arabi’s exposition on the position and relationship between shari‘ah and haqiqah. He urged that every Muslim has to master both shari‘ah and haqiqah regardless of superiority or honor he has in his rank (maqâm). It is only through this way, he can achieve the gnosis (karâmah or attaining knowledge directly from Allah without any process of learning), while he was a performer of shari‘ah and haqiqah, then his esteemed ranking was comparable to Walî (Allah’s lover). See, Abû Yahyâ Zakariyyâ al-Ansârî, Fatîh al-Raḥmân, (copied by) Abu Bakar Bone, Manuscript coded AF 128 (1300H), 23.

68 Yusuf Makassari or known as Yusuf al-Khalwati was born in 1627 and passed away in 1699. He was a great sufi Master and a hero who stood against the imperialist Dutch. Along with Abd al-Ra‘uf al-Sinkili and Nurudin al-Raniri, he studied in many countries including Haramayn. In the Masjid al-Haram, he taught the Indonesians be the pilgrim performers or students from the al-Jâwiyyîn community. He returned to Indonesia in 1670. Throughout
then rewritten by Harun, the 3rd judge (Qādī) of Bone in the Southern Sulawesi. There is an annotation within the text exerting that the work was written on the request of the 23rd King of Bone; La Tenritappu Sultan Ahmad Shaleh Syamsuddin (1775-1812). 69

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

What is presented right here is that the availability of the Fath al-Rahmān in Indonesia signifies the fact that it has been long studied by the Indonesian scholars.

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69 Abu Hamid, Ṣyeekh Yusuf Seorang Ulama Sufi dan pejuang (Jakarta: Yayasan Obor, 2005), 142-143.
70 All the texts are currently available and accessible in the National Library of Indonesia in Jakarta. I could be accessed in the manuscript storage section. As of the text encoded A 23, there are few sentences written in red without further information on them.
71 Shihabuddin (1750) was a prominent Sufi master in Palembang and lived during the reign of Sultan Najamuddin di Palembang. He was a renowned translator who translated and taught Fath al-Rahman to his people. His text was seen influential in obviating the Muslims from the calamity of shirk prevalent among his society. See, Muhammad Solihin, Sejarah dan Pemikiran Tasawuf di Indonesia, 73.
The *Fatḥ al-Raḥmān* has also been noticeable in the other countries. A Dutchmen researcher, G. W. J. Drewes found the work in the libraries in Berlin, London and India.\(^\text{72}\) Other than the *Fatḥ al-Raḥmān*, he found another text of poetry entitled *Fatḥ al-Raḥmān* and was written in 2\textsuperscript{nd} Jumad al-Akhir 1663 or 1738. Drewes translated the text, which was the original translation of the *Fatḥ al-Raḥmān* in ancient Jawi version into English.\(^\text{73}\) The work is currently accessible in the India Office Library.\(^\text{74}\)

At the meantime, Carl Brockelmann came accross the *Fatḥ al-Raḥmān* in Leiden, Netherlands.\(^\text{75}\) There is one text stored on the shelf of Universiteits Bibliotheek Leiden, entitled *Sharḥ Fatḥ al-Raḥmān*. Declared therein is, “This manuscript was transcribed from a text which belonged to R. Adi Kesoema and was written in Cirebon, the Western Java by 1889.”\(^\text{76}\) There is no information of writer or year of transcription. But there is a declaration, “Legaat Prof. Dr. Snouk Hurgronje 1936” which means this manuscript is owned by Prof. Dr. Snouk Hurgronje year 1936.\(^\text{77}\)

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\(^{72}\) G.W.J. Drewes, Direction for Travellers on The Mystic Path, 52.

\(^{73}\) Ibid., 53- 87.

\(^{74}\) Ibid., 52.

\(^{75}\) Carl Brockelmann, *Geschicte der Arabischen Litteratur* Vol. 1, 452 and 811.


\(^{77}\) Snouk Hurgronje was a Dutch Orientalist who excelled in Islam and Arabic literature. He was also conversant with Jawa language and died in the Netherlands in 1936. He formally converted to Islam and got a ten years span studying Islam directly from many scholars in Mecca. He sojourned in Indonesia for quite a long time. See, Martin Van Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning, Pesantren dan Ulama*. With regard to his conversion and his study in Mecca, see further P.Sj. van Koningsveld, *Snouck Hurgronje dan Islam: Delapan Karangan Tentang Hidup Dan Karya Seorang Orientalis Zaman Kolonial* (Jakarta: Girimurti Pasaka, 1989).
It is probable that he acquired the work while he served the Dutch that occupied Indonesia by 1936. The *Fath al-Rahmān* is also available in the library of Cairo, Egypt. It was written by MSS in 1317/1899 and then translated by G. W. J. Drewes into Roman without accommodating the original text which was of Arabic.\(^78\) All the texts above were handwritten and none was formally typing.

**Conclusion**

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

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


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