

The Effect of Ḥamzah Fanṣūrī's Mystical Thought To The Muslim Intellectual Tradition in The Archipelago

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Abstract: This discussion aims to explain further the effect of Ḥamzah Fanṣūrī mystical thought to the muslim intellectual tradition in the archipelago. This research is a library research using a historical approach to obtain data and conducting content analysis. This research show that Ḥamzah Fanṣūrī was the first in the Archipelago who wrote on mystical thought in a systematic form that had roots in a strong scientific approach and pure of deviation and perfect in reference to Arab sources. From the works of Ḥamzah Fanṣūrī, we can see his mystical style of writing which had a distinctive character, in contrast to other ṣūfīs who lived in the past. Although the influence of waḥdah al-wujūd was still strong, Ḥamzah Fanṣūrī was able to transform the term in Arabic into Malay, so it could be understood by people who were unable to speak Arabic. Ḥamzah Fanṣūrī provided new technical concepts in Malay; he has made the language fully adequate to discuss the doctrines of philosophical and metaphysical thought formulated by previous ṣūfīs. Ḥamzah Fanṣūrī is not only as the originator and pioneer of Sufism wujudiyah in the archipelago, but also as laying the foundations of Islamic studies and integration of Islam and culture.

Keywords: Ḥamzah Fanṣūrī, Islamic, mystical, thought, archipelago.

A. INTRODUCTION

The role of the ṣūfī in the history of Islam in Malay had a higher position in the period between the 12-18th century. During those centuries, the *marīqah*

and the intellectual activities of the Sufis developed well. It can be said that the Islamic works such as history, poetry, mysticism, philosophy, and explanations about mysticism or *sulūk* were primarily the works of Sufis or at least they were related to mysticism and the Sufi's *marīqah*.

In the Malay world, the birth and the development of Malay literature and the books of religion are the direct impact of the existence of Sufis and their roles played in intellectual activities, education, and creativity (art). It can be seen from their works, that until now there are reference books for people who want to learn the characteristics and the development of mysticism in Malay. Among those Sufis who wrote the influential works of mysticism is Ḥamzah Faṣṣūrī. The detailed explanation of *wujūdīyyah* in Malay language for the first time is found in the works of Ḥamzah Faṣṣūrī such as *Sharāb al-‘Ashiqīn*, *Asrār al-‘Arifīn* and *Muntahī* (Hadi W. M., 2001: 146-162). The explanation of the *tajallī* principles of God's Substance is on chapter five of *Sharāb al-‘Ashiqīn*. It has been said by many experts who studied Ḥamzah Faṣṣūrī that he was the first in the Archipelago who wrote on mystical thought in a systematic form that had roots in a strong scientific approach. Ḥamzah Faṣṣūrī also the first sufi who adopted and deployed the thought of *waḥdah al-wujūd* of Ibn ‘Arabi which dominated the religious thought and appreciation among the public. In the middle of the 17th century AD in Aceh, because of Ḥamzah Faṣṣūrī, *wujūdīyyah* doctrine became the subject of debate among the *ṣūfīs*. The influence of Ḥamzah Faṣṣūrī's Sufism was broad enough and not only in Aceh but also in other areas in the Archipelago.

Some scholars have conducted the study of Ḥamzah Faṣṣūrī. The research that has been published about Ḥamzah Faṣṣūrī and his teaching is the research wrote by Syed Muhammad Naquib al-Attas entitled *The Mysticism of Ḥamzah Faṣṣūrī*. Suitable with that title, al-Attas explained the biography and the thought of Ḥamzah Faṣṣūrī in the mysticism perspective. Al-Attas also attached three prose of Ḥamzah Faṣṣūrī and translated to English, those prose are *Asrār al-‘Arifīn*, *Syarb al-‘Āsyiqīn*, *Al-Muntahī* (in Malay), *The Secrets of the Gnostics*, *The Drink of Lovers*, *The Adept* (translated in English). In his work al-Attas gave the general analysis to the Ḥamzah Faṣṣūrī mysticism teaching from his works.

The other book is *The Poems of Ḥamzah Faṣṣūrī* wrote by G. W. J. Drewes and L. F. Brakel, consist of 32 Ḥamzah Faṣṣūrī's poetry. Drewes and Brakel explained the live and the journey of Ḥamzah Faṣṣūrī to the other

places. They also wrote the transliteration and the comments of *Syarb al-‘Āsyiqīn* and *Al-Muntahī* in Java.

In Indonesia, the research on Ḥamzah Fanṣūrī thought wrote by Abdul Hadi W. M. He wrote two titles of books on Ḥamzah Fanṣūrī. The first book is *Ḥamzah Fanṣūrī Risalah Tasawuf dan Puisi-Puisinya* and the second book is *Tasawuf yang Tertindas: Kajian Hermeneutik terhadap Karya-Karya Ḥamzah Fanṣūrī*. Abdul Hadi in his first book explained that Ḥamzah Fanṣūrī is not only famous as scholars, cultural observer, and man of letters, but also as the reformer in the mysticism area. Abdul Hadi also put the the first literature of Ḥamzah Fanṣūrī in mysticism *Zināt al-Wāhidīn* known also as *Zināt al-Muwahhidīn* and *Syair Jawi Fasal fi Bayan ‘Ilmu al-Suluk wa al-Tauhīd* in one chapter of his book.

The second book of Abdul Hadi actually is his Ph.D thesis which then published as a book. In that book Abdul Hadi explained how is the idea of love in the Sufism work, esthetic and hermeneutic of sufi. With the hermeneutic approach, Abdul Hadi tries to analysis the hiding spiritual message in the Ḥamzah Fanṣūrī poetries. He also showed that if the history cannot prove the greatest of Ḥamzah Fanṣūrī again, then the works of Ḥamzah Fanṣūrī will be the witness or the judge for the question, do he is an infidel sufi or not, like what has been told by the *fuqah* at that time.

Indonesian scholars who also do a research about the study on Malay world Sufism is Alwi Shihab. He wrote a book on the tittle *Akar Tasawuf di Indonesia; Antara Tasawuf Sunni dan Tasawuf Falsafi* (The root of Mysticism in Indonesia; Between Sunni Mysticism and Philosophical Mysticism). In this book, Alwi Shihab explained the historical background of mysticism in Indonesia and it's role. He also explained that the root of the mysticism in Indonesia and divided mysticism into two form, sunni mysticism and philosophical mysticism. The root of Sunni mysticism in Indonesia is from the teaching of Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī and the root of philosophical mysticism teaching in Indonesia based on the teaching of Ḥamzah Fanṣūrī and he explained also the conflict between both of them from the beginning until today. This book emphasizes the historical approach in order to see the development of mysticism in Indonesia and its influence but not to focus on the mysticism teaching of the figures.

Another research has been conducted by Mira fauziah (2013: 289-304) about the mystical thought of Ḥamzah Fanṣūrī. Kiki Muhammad Hakiki

(2018: 25-58) did a review of the polemic of heresy of Ḥamzah Fanṣūrī by Nur al-Dīn al-Rānirī.

With using a historical approach to obtain data and conducting content analysis, this research aims to explain further the effect of Ḥamzah Fanṣūrī mystical thought to the muslim intellectual tradition in the archipelago. This research is a library research.

B. SUB SECTION

The Understanding of Being

Waḥdah al-wujūd is a phrase that consists of two syllables, namely *waḥdah* and *al-wujūd*. *Waḥdah* means the one, single, or unity (Munawir, 1997: 1538) while *al-wujūd* means existence (Munawir, 1997: 1543). Amatullah Armstrong gives a definition of *waḥdah al-wujūd* as the unity of existence, the unity of being, or the unity of invention. At the end of the journey only Allah (SWT) is found (Armstrong, 1996: 111). Thus *waḥdah al-wujūd* means a form of unity. *Waḥdah* then is used for a variety of meanings. Among the scholars who interpret *waḥdah* it is something of His Substance that cannot be subdivided into smaller parts. The *waḥdah* word is also used by the philosophers and the ṣūfīs as the unity between matter and soul, the substance (essence) and form (shape), among which looks (at birth) and an inner, between universe and God Almighty, because the universe is *qādim* and comes from God (Nata, 1997: 247).

The term *wujūd* is usually translated into English as ‘being’ and ‘existence’ (Noer, 1995: 41). In addition to the two translations, some added different translations, namely “finding”. The word *wujūd* has been entered into the vocabulary of Indonesian, but it has two ways of being written, namely, “*wujud*” (with w) and “*ujud*” (without w), which means “that there is a way and form”, ‘goal’; ‘intent’ (Salim, 1991: 1722), “something that has form (can be seen, touched, etc, “real objects, concrete)” (Tim Penyusun Kamus Pusat Bahasa, 2001: 1275). In Arabic, the word *wujūd* is an *isim maf‘ūl* from *wajada* or *wujida*, which comes from the root letters w-j-d. The *maṣdar* form from same root in Qur’ān is *wujūd* (Q.S. 65:6). The word of *wujūd* not only has an objective but also subjective understanding. In the objective sense, the word of *wujūd* means “found” as a *maṣdar* meaning from *wujida* and in this sense the word of *wujūd* is usually translated into English by “being” or “existence”. In the subjective sense, the word of *wujūd* as an *isim maf‘ūl* from *wajada*,

means “finding”. In the subjective sense the word *wujūd* is understood through epistemology and objectively through ontology. Both aspects in Ibn ‘Arabī’s systems of thinking blend harmoniously in what he called *waḥdah al-wujūd* (Noer, 1995: 42).

There are two fundamentally different senses in understanding the term *wujūd*, first as a concept or that something has existence (Affifi, 1995: 13). The word *wujūd* was used by Ibn ‘Arabī to describe the *wujūd* of God. The only *wujūd* is *wujūd* of God; there is no *wujūd* other than the *wujūd* of God. It can be concluded that the word *wujūd* cannot be given to all things other than God. He used his understanding of metamorphosis (*Majaz*) for anything other than God. The *wujūd* in universe essentially is a *wujūd* of God which is lent. The relation between God and universe is often described by the relationship between light with darkness, because the *wujūd* only belongs to God, so ‘*adam* (absence) is a universe attribute. Therefore, Ibn ‘Arabī said that the *wujūd* is light and ‘*adam* is darkness (Noer, 1995: 42).

Ibn ‘Arabī distinguishes three categories of *wujūd* ontologically. The first is the *wujūd* that must exist. In the language of al-Farābī and Ibn Sīnā it is known as *Wajib al-Wujūd*, that is the *wujūd* that must exist and there is no one to create it; it manifests all things, and it is an absolute *wujūd* and this for Ibn ‘Arabī is God Almighty. The second is the *wujūd* that exists with God, which for al-Farābī and Ibn Sīnā is called *mumkin al-wujūd*, the *wujūd* that must exist because the existence of *Wajib al-Wujūd*, bound or limited (*wujūd al-muqayyad*). It has *wujūd* only because of God. From Ibn Arabi’s point of view, this is the material of nature and everything in it. The last category is non-*wujūd* or nonexistence (‘*adam*), not *ḥudūs* (new) nor *qidam* (first). Ontologically is God and universe, but at the same time He is neither God nor universe. Thus, it has middle position between the first category and second category (Noer, 1995: 45-46).

Similar to Ibn Arabi’s views about the *wujūd*, Ḥamzah Fanṣūrī in *Sharb al-‘Ashiqin* describes that *wujūd* is only one. From this one existence there is a mask and some forms of content (inner reality). All objects are actually a manifestation of God. Ḥamzah describes or likens God’s *wujūd* to a sea that does not move, while the universe is an ocean wave of the *wujūd* of God. Ḥamzah Fansuri said:

Hai Talib!, ‘alam ini seperti ombak, keadaan Allah Ta‘ālā seperti laut; sungguh

pun ombak lain daripada laut, kepada haqiqatnya tiada lain daripada laut (Al-Attas, 1970: 319).

O Seeker! this world is like a wave, God's Existential Mode is the Ocean, though waves and Ocean distinct, yet in reality the waves are not distinct from the Ocean.

Also Ḥamzah equates the *wujūd* of God with the Love of God, namely *Raḥman* (Compassionate) and *Raḥīm* (Merciful) (Hadi W. M., 1995: 22-23). Ḥamzah said, "Kerana Raḥman seperti laut, Ādam seperti buih (for the Merciful is like the ocean and Ādam a bubble)" (Al-Attas, 1970: 319). *Raḥman* and *Raḥīm* are from the same word of *raḥma* (Grace). *Raḥman* is the essential Grace of God and *Raḥīm* is the compulsory Grace of God. It is said that *Raḥma* is essential because of the Attributes of God or the manifestation of His *Raḥīm* applies to all his creatures, including humans who are Muslims, Christians and Jews. Any creature in the universe is not free from His *Raḥma*. All obtain existence because of His *Raḥma*, and are overwhelmed by His Knowledge that is manifested by a great Love of God. On the other hand, *Raḥim* is His compulsory Mercy, because *Raḥīm* must be delegated to certain people who loved Him with great earnestness, which is the Muslim who are cautious, earnest in worship to Him, and do *mushāhadah* and *Mujāhadah* (Al-Attas, 1970: 23-24). It can be concluded that Ḥamzah describes a form of God as Love of God which consists of *Raḥman* and *Raḥīm*. *Raḥman* is general for all His creatures and *Raḥīm* is more specifically delegated to the Muslims who are always obedient in worshiping to Him (*taqwā*).

The Teaching About God

According to Ibn 'Arabī, a substance of God cannot be known by reason, and intellect is not able to reach knowledge of Him. He is not the same as those other than Him. Ibn 'Arabī asserts that humans simply must know that He exists, *Esa* or One in His *Ulūhiyyah*, without His Knowledge about His Substance (Isa, 2001: 60). To provide more information about the Substance of God that cannot be known, Ibn 'Arabī said in *Risalah al-Aḥadiyyah* as follow:

... .. there is not something which controls Him except Himself. No one knows Him except Himself.... He knows Himself by Himself. Besides Him there is none that can control Him. His *Ḥijāb* which cannot be penetrated is the Oneness of Himself. Apart from Him, nothing surrounds Him. His *Ḥijāb* is the reality of His Existence (Burckhardt, 1984: 35).

Because the Attributes of the Substance of God cannot be known by anyone, then in the thinking of *waḥdah al-wujūd*, Ibn 'Arabī stated that the purpose of the *tajallī* (appearance) of God is that God Himself can be identified by His *Asmā'* (Names) and His Attributes. This is the meaning of the secrets of the creation of universe by God in mystical philosophy. For Ibn 'Arabī, the Attributes, *Asmā'* and *Af'āl* of God are the essence in one aspect, or another aspect that is not limited. It is a form of limitation and determinism from the Essence of God. The Attributes and *Af'āl* are none other than Names of God which are manifested in the external world. Ibn 'Arabī called it "theater manifestation" (*Majlā and Maẓhar*), a Substance of God to manifest Himself at a different level. Ibn 'Arabī also believes that Attributes, *Asmā'* and *Af'āl* have no existence (*a'yān*) and the entity of *wujūd* in the Essence of God. He further said it should be understood that it is only a metaphor (Affifi, 1995: 42).

God, according to the mysticism of Ḥamzah Fanṣūrī is the Essence that is higher, and *qādim*. The concept of God, namely that there is only God Almighty seems to have a big impact on the thinking of Ḥamzah in explaining the relationship between the Substance, Attributes, *Asmā'* and *Af'āl* of God. According to Ḥamzah, the Substance covers the Attributes of God, *Asmā'* and His *Af'āl*, because each relationship is strong. Although the substance, nature, *Asmā'* and *Af'āl* were distinguishable from each other according to his understanding, it is a unity that cannot be separated, each of them are interconnected. The existence of this Substance also indicates the Attributes, *Asmā'* and His *Af'āl*. As Ḥamzah stated:

Adapun sifat Haqq Subḥānāhū wa Ta'ālā Kamāl. Di bawah ini Jall dan Jaml, karena kenyataan semesta sekalian alam ini di bawah Jalāl dan Jamāl juga. Adapun Dhat lengkap; kepada Jalāl pun serta, kepada Jamāl pun serta, kerana Jalāl dan Jamāl sifat-Nya juga (Al-Attas, 1970: 321).

The Essence is All-Pervasive; It pervades Majesty (the evil) as well as Beauty (the good), for Majesty and Beauty are its Attributes.

In the Qur'ān no explanation was found about the relationship between the Substance, Attributes, *Asmā'* and *Af'āl* of God (Isa, 2001: 64). The statement that God Almighty does not declare those things as Attributes of Himself, but the Qur'ān refers to them as the names of the Most Beautiful (*al-Asmā' al-Ḥusnā*).

The explanation of the Substance, Attributes, *Asmā'* and *Af'āl* of Allah (SWT) by Ḥamzah Fanṣūrī view is that the Substance of God is absolute, and has no Name, no Attributes, and no association with anything. The only name given to an absolute substance is *Huwa* (He). The Substance of God is absolute unity, knowing *kunhi* (form / essence) God's Substance. The Substance is a Substance of the supreme God, with all other substances beneath it. The Substance of God is called *Lā Ta'ayyūn*, meaning that it is 'not real'. It is called as *Lā ta'ayyūn* because reasonable thoughts, words, knowledge and human *ma'rifah* cannot grasp Him. As Ḥamzah stated:

Ketahui olehmu bahwa kunhi Dhat Allah itu dinamai Ahl al-Sulūk lā ta'ayyūn. Maka lā ta'ayyūn namanya karena budi dan bichara, 'ilmu dan ma'rifah kita tiada tulus kepada-Nya. Jangankan ilmu dan ma'rifah kita, Anbiyā' dan Awliyā' pun hayran (Al-Attas, 1970: 315).

Know that the innermost Essence of God Most Exalted is called by the People of the Path 'indeterminacy'. It is called Indeterminacy because our intelligence and skill in verbal exposition, knowledge and understanding are unable to reach it. Let alone our knowledge and understanding, even The Prophets and the Saints are struck with awe of it.

From the statement of Ḥamzah it can be understood that the substance was called *lā ta'ayyūn* or *kunhi* of Allah. From that substance all Attributes and *Asmā'* of Allah (SWT) appear, but the Attributes and *Asma'* are annihilated (*fana'*) in the Substance of God Almighty. According to him, there is no other substance higher than the Substance of God. The view about the Substance of God is based also on the hadīs of the Prophet (SAW), "Think of what God created, but do not think about His Substance" (Hadi W. M., 1995: 149). It warns us not to think about His Substance. It is impossible for humans to know and understand Him. When the Sufis talk about the principles of creation, God is not talking about substance. That can be achieved by reason and *ma'rifah* such as the way of creation in stages, starting from the spiritually closest to Him until the spiritually most distant from Him. The description of Ḥamzah illustrates that God is an absolute Substance that cannot be known through reason, sense or speculation. This opinion seems to be in line with Ibn 'Arabī's understanding about God. Even the Substance of God is *lā ta'ayyūn*, but He wants to be known. Therefore, He created the Attributes, *Asmā'* and His *Af'āl* with the intention that He Himself be known. This is seen in the following *Ḥadīth Qudsī*:

In the beginning I was a hidden treasure, then I wanted to be known, then I created the creatures and they know Me through My self.

The Will to be known is the beginning of the Divine of *tajallī* (Noer, 1995: 57). After it is done, He is called *lā Ta'ayyūn* (indetermination), which means 'real'. *Ta'ayyūn* situation can be achieved by the mind, knowledge and *ma'rifah* through Attributes, *Asmā'* and His *Af'āl* (Noer, 1995: 42).

Ḥamzah said that Allah can be known by His creatures, for God Almighty had *tajallī* of Himself with the *Nūr Muḥammad*, who is the origin of the event. The process of self *tajallī* of God produces the phenomenon of *Mazhar* (manifestation) of God's Substance. In truth then there is only the manifestation of God Himself; the 'other' is essentially intangible. Ḥamzah further stated:

Ya'ni ada-Nya; itu senantiasada ada, yang lain daripada itu senantiasatiada ada, kerana kepada Ahl Sulūk yang ada juga menjadi ada; yang tiada itu tiada (*dapat*) menjadi ada. Ya'ni Allah *Subḥnu wa Ta'āla Wājib al-Wujūd*, *qā'im sendiri-Nya*, tiada dengan lain. *Mumkin al-Wujūd qā'im dengan Dia*. Apabila *mumkin al-wujūd qā'im dengan Dia*, *Hukumnya tiada (ber) wujūd*. Kata 'Ulam' 'alam ini daripada tiada diadakan-Nya; sudah diadakan-Nya maka ditiadakan-Nya. Kata ahl Sulūk jika demikian *fāsiq-lah Allah Ta'āla atau berhingga*. Adapun kepada kami yang tiada itu tiada dapat menjadi ada, yang ada itu tiada kan tiada. Ada kepada *ṣuwarī* juga lenyap, kepada *ma'nawi* tiada lenyap. Seperti umpama yang mati; *zahirnya lenyap*, kepada *batinnya* tiada lenyap (Al-Attas, 1970: 317).

That is to say, His Being (Existence), that forever 'is', that which is other than becomes existing; that which 'is' not cannot become existing. By this is meant that God the Glorious and Exalted is Necessary Being, Self-Subsistent, and does not depend for His Existence upon any other. Possible Being is dependent (for its existence) upon It (i.e. Necessary Being). Since Possible Being is dependent (for its existence) upon It, it does not exist in reality. The Doctors of Theology say that the world is brought forth into existence by Him from non-existence; after He has brought forth into existence, He then causes its non-existence; the People of the Path say that if this were so then God the exalted is capricious, or limited (in power). To us, that which is non-existent can never become existent; (conversely) that which exists will never cease to exist. It is only that existence which is formal (i.e. material) that is annihilated; the ideal (i.e. non-material) is not annihilated. Just as one who is dead; his outward manifestation perishes, but his inward hiddenness does not perish.

Based on the description given by Ḥamzah, it can be understood that no other entity can exist other than Allah (SWT); the existence which does not exist and which according to Ḥamzah is called as *mumkin al-wujūd* while the existence which is only a manifestation of God Almighty is termed as *Wājib al-Wujūd*. Every substance, including humans vanish under Allah. There is nothing that can *maujūd* (exist) other than God, while the existence besides God does not exist because the form is supported by Him. Essentially an existence other than Allah is *khayalan* when compared with the manifestation of Him. Ḥamzah is a satirical scholar who says that there is a mini-style out of nothing, all that is deemed not exist or vice versa. Ḥamzah called scholars who do that as *fāsiq*.

The relationship between the Substance and Attributes of God Almighty had raised a theological disputes between the Ash'ariah and Mu'tazilah. The problem revolves around the choice of whether God Almighty has an Attributes (*ṣifat*) or not. If God had an eternal Attributes, then the consequence the Attributes is eternal. It is not one, but many. The Mu'tazilite resolved this problem by saying that God Almighty does not have an Attributes. For them, God knows Power, Life and others in His Substance (Nasution, 1983: 135). Meanwhile, the Ash'ariah resolved this issue by saying that God has an Attributes. For them the Attributes of Allah is neither His Substance nor a sub substance of His (*al-ṣifat laisa al-dhat wa lā hiya gayruhā*). According to them, Attributes is not a substance and it is something that is obvious. This is based on the understanding that nature is not the same as substance. What is meant by *al-ghayriyyah* here is to "be separated" (*mufarraqaḥ*), something other than something specific (Isa, 2001: 65).

In relation with the problems above, Ḥamzah said that nature is not an addition to the substance neither something inherent in the substance. These words, according to him derived from the masters of Sufism. One of them came from Imam al-Ghazālī. Ḥamzah:

Ketahui bahwa sifat Allah yang qadīm serta-Nya tujuh: kesatu ḥayah, kedua 'ilm, ketiga irādah, keempat qudrah, kelima kalām, keenam sami', ketujuh baṣar. (Allah itu) qadīm dengan sifat yang ketujuh. Adapun jika sifat yang ketujuh ini tiada serta-Nya, naqīs hukumnya, kerana kepada ahl sulūk sifat 'ayn dhāt, seperti ḥayah; dhāt juga yang bernama ḥayy, seperti 'ilm, dhāt juga karena 'ilm, maka bernama 'ālim, seperti irādah; dhāt juga karena irādah, maka bernama murīd. Dengan sekalian sifat pun demikian- ilā mā lā nihāyah lahu.

Adapun kata 'Ulamā' sifat 'ayn dhāt pun tiada, ghayr dhāt pun tiada; seperti kata Imam Ghazālī:

*Ṣifat allah laysat 'ayn al-dhātī
Wa lā ghayra siwāhu dha'I-infiṣālī.*

Yakni,

*Ṣifat Allah tiada 'ayn dhāt dan
Tiada yang lain daripada-Nya
Bercherai (Al-Attas, 1970: 321).*

Know that the Attributes of God that are eternally together with Him are seven: the first is Life, the second Knowledge, the third Will, the fourth Power, the fifth Speech, the sixth Hearing, the seventh Sight. God is eternally together with all these seven Attributes. If these seven Attributes are not (eternally) together, then He is deficient, for to the People of the Path the Attributes are the Very Essence. For example, Life: it is the Essence that, by virtue of Knowledge, is called Knowing; Will: it is the Essence that, by virtue of Will, is called Willing. Similarly with all the Attributes *ad infinitum*. The Doctors of Theology say that the Attributes are neither the Very Essence nor other than the Essence, as the Imam al-Ghazali (God be well pleased with him!) says:

*Ṣifat allah laysat 'ayn al-dhātī
Wa lā ghayra siwāhu dha'I-infiṣālī.*

That is:

The Attributes of God are neither the Very Essence nor other than He endowed with separation.

From the above quotation it can be understood that Ḥamzah opinion was taken from the opinions of “masters of *Sulūk*” which stated that Attributes is self *mawṣūf* (Attributes is a substance that is nurtured); there was no difference in meaning, nor is it an addition to the substance and not too attached to substance. Therefore, the *ṣūfīs* believe as noted by Ḥamzah, that God Almighty and life with His substance, then He Wishes with His Substance, Knows with His Substance, Hears with His Substance, Sees with His Substance and the Almighty Speaks with His Substance, etc.

Besides the relation with God's Substance, God's Attributes are also often associated with the attributes of creatures. However, the attributes of these creatures do not exist. The reason is given when humans refer to

themselves. Initially humans do not have any attributes which are inherent, like the Attributes of *qudrah*, *irādah*, *‘ilm*, *ḥayah*, and *kalām*. When born into this world, humans do not have knowledge and also power. Gradually, these attributes develop in man, with God as the basis, the attributes which originally does not exist, then arises as to indicate a source of attributes, the Attributes of Allah. Therefore, one day, the attributes of the gradual emergence inherent in human beings will be gone. Thus, it is holding the attributes of the creatures, merely as loans and not the substance. All existing attributes of creatures are a reality of the Attributes of God (Zulkifli and Santoso, 2008: 314-315).

Furthermore, Ḥamzah also explains the relationship between *Asmā'* interrelated with the *Af'āl* of God. The *Asmā'* of God is the Oneness of God Almighty in every name, that is the Oneness that has a name, because all *Asmā'* return to *wujūd*, i.e. God, while the understanding of *Af'āl* is the Oneness of Allah Almighty in all actions. Whatever happens in this universe essentially is the *Af'āl* of Allah. Everything that happens in this universe, according to Ḥamzah, can be divided into two main things: first, whether in form (visual) and the content (essence), it means that it is good in appearance, also good in content. Second, it is ugly in the form (visual), but good in the content (essence). It means that when it is seen in the terms of *Sharī'ah* it is bad, but when it is seen in the terms of essence it is good. For example, a sinner and infidel, in terms of the provisions of personality are considered bad deeds. However, this act is considered good because basically it is a Provision and Act of God the Most Good. As Ḥamzah described as follows:

Su'al Ahl al-Sulūk kepada 'Ulamā: Islam pun dijadikan Allah, kafir pun dijadikan Allah; kerana apa maka tiada disamakan Allah Subḥānahū wa Ta'ālā? Islam diberi-Nya īmān dan ma'rifah, kāfir diberinya kufr dan shirk; setelah diberi-Nya akan mereka itu iman dan kufr, maka diberi-Nya surga akan Islam, neraka akan kafir-keduanya ilā abadi al-ābād. Kerana nama-Nya 'ādil (mengapa maka perbuatannya itu?) Maka kata 'Ulamā': Kerana Ia berbuat sekehendak-Nya. Kata Ahl al-Sulūk: 'Jika (Ia) berbuat sekehendak-Nya, zālim hukumnya, kerana kāfir dapat diislamkan-Nya, mengapa maka dikafirkan-Nya, sudah dijadikan-Nya kafir maka dimasukkan-Nya ke dalam neraka ilā abadi al-ābād tiada lagi ampun-betapa maka dikatakan 'ādil? (Al-Attas, 1970: 322).

The People of The Path question the Doctors of Theology: 'God creates the believer and He also creates the unbeliever; why does He not create them all

to be same? To the believer He bestows faith and knowledge of Himself, to the unbeliever He gives infidelity and polytheism; after having given them faith and infidelity He then grants Heaven to the believer and Hell to the unbeliever – to both everlasting (reward and punishment). The Doctors of Theology say: ‘(He does so) because He does whatever He desires.’ The People of the Path say: ‘if He does whatever He desires, then He is unjust, for He could have willed that the unbelievers become believers, and yet He causes them to be unbelievers and having caused them to be unbelievers He then casts them into everlasting Hell without any mercy – how then can He be called Just?’.

Ḥamzah said that human action is essentially from God, and that human beings are not independent. The freedom is the mirror of God’s Freedom, which is absolute. Thus, humans can follow his own will which is adjusted to the True Will of God, or he may also follow his own will and desires in this world. Those things are in line with the phrase which states that “The world is also derived from God, but his *wujūd* is not the real *wujūd*. If people follow this world, they are deceived. Whereas if they make this word singular, it means that they find their true attributes and their true destiny (Al-Attas, 1970: 233-240).

We should know that God Almighty does a good thing with His Love and God is also the Designer who determined everything in this world. His Oneness Actions are associated with His *Sharī‘ah* (Divine law) or the laws of destiny and the natural law (*sunnah allāh*) which are determined by Him. Ḥamzah Fanṣūrī also encourages us to believe in the Attributes, *Asmā’* and *Af‘āl*. He stated:

Adapun Dhāt itu, sungguh pun dibawa kepada ibarat, kepada kunhinya tiada siapa tahu, kerana Ia tiada dapat di ibaratkan. Sungguh pun Esa, tiada dengan esanya; sungguh pun Tunggal, tiada dengan tunggalnya. Barang Sifat, Dht, Asmā’ kita nisbatkan kepadaNya ibarat juga.

The Essence – although it can be described by means of verbal expression – in reality is unknowable, its absoluteness is not related to anything; although It is One and Only, its oneness and singleness are not related to anything. We attribute to its Essence, Attributes and Names as expressions only (Hadi W. M., 1995: 97).

From the explanation and the description above it can be concluded that when we take the opinion of Ḥamzah about the Attributes, with *Af‘āl* of God in general, we find a similarity with the opinion of Ibn ‘Arabī. For Ibn ‘Arabī

all these things cannot be separated, although the Attributes, *Asmā'* with *Af'āl* can be separated according to their understanding. However, all things accumulate in a God, who is absolute and *qadīm*.

The Creation of The Universe

The doctrine of the creation of the universe of Ḥamzah Fanṣūrī can be related with Ibn 'Arabī's doctrine of creation. Both of these teachings equally believe that the universe was created from something that exists to exist, not created from nothing into being (*creatio ex nihilo*). The universe is *qadīm*, the universe exists, created through a process of *tajallī*, namely the manifestation of the eternal self and without end. *Tajallī* is a process of self-appearance of God in forms that have been determined and devoted, that called *Ta'ayyun* (determination).

The theory about the creation according to Ibn 'Arabī rests on the understanding that the *wujūd* is essentially one, i.e. *Wujūd* of Allah, which is absolute. The *Wujūd* of God that is absolute which has *tajallī* through the following three stages (Isa, 2001: 73-75):

a. The stage of *aḥadiyyah* (unity), which is also called the stage of *dhātiyyah*. In this stage the *Wujūd* of Allah which is absolute still cannot be understood and imagined.

b. The stage of *wāḥidiyyah*, the Substances of God has *tajallī* in the Attributes and *Asmā'* of God. This is called *al-a'yān al-thābitah* (fixed essence) which is also named as *ta'ayyun awwal* (first determination). In this stage the *wujūd* which is real is still the *Wujūd* of Allah.

c. The stage of *tajallī shuhūdī* which is called as *ta'ayyun thānī* (second determination). In this stage God has *tajallī* still through *Asmā'* and His Attributes in the empirical reality. Thus, *al-a'yān al-thābitah* (fixed essence) or *ta'ayyun awwal* (first determination), which is in the second stage is still a potentiality of *Wujūd* in God Substance which now becomes a *wujūd* or an actual reality in the empirical realm. This nature is a collection of God's *tajallī* empirical phenomena in the variety of *wujūd* or forms which have no limit.

The process of God's *tajallī* takes place beyond space and time, there is neither beginning nor end, and He derives from that single essential to manifest Himself in external realities. The goal is that God can be known through His *Asmā'* and His Attributes which have *tajallī* to this world. The theory of creation of Ibn 'Arabī was then known by the term that the nature

is “the Breath of the Merciful” because creation is based on the “Love”, the Essential Image of God. Ibn ‘Arabī’s theory also influenced ‘Abd Karīm al-Jilī. He mentions that the processes of *tanazzul* (down hierarchy), or God’s *tajallī* consists of three stages, namely *aḥadiyyah*, *huwiyah* and *iniyyah*. On the stage of *aḥadiyyah*, God in His Absolute just comes out *al-a’ma*, while *huwiyah* is still not invisible reality, but under *aḥadiyyah*, the Attributes and the *Asmā’* are in the form of potentials. The last stage, *iniyyah*, is the Appearance of God with the Names and His Attributes on creatures (Isa, 2001: 75-76).

The principal idea of the best known of Ḥamzah Fanṣūrī is the five stages of *wujūd*. The five stages is a depiction about the process of the universe that remain valid when the universe appears as a manifestation of Allah’s Substance which is initially spiritual and then proceeds to be physical. The teaching of *waḥdah al-wujūd* often attributed to Ibn ‘Arabī, although he himself never argued this term. A student as well as stepchildren of Ibn ‘Arabī named Qunawī who used this term firstly describes that the Oneness of God is not opposed to the idea of appearance (*tajallī*) of His Knowledge of all kinds (Shadiqin, 2008: 66-67).

Ḥamzah Fanṣūrī, in the work of *Sharāb al-‘Āshiqīn*, when he talked about the creation, seemed to be influenced by the theories of Ibn ‘Arabī and al-Jilī, i.e. the appearance of God Image, from the point of ontology, called by Ibn ‘Arabī and al-Jilī *tajallī*. Meanwhile, Ḥamzah Fanṣūrī mentions the stages with *Ta’ayyun* (determination). According to Ḥamzah, there are four stages of *Ta’ayyun*. Before entering that level, God is in His Solitude which is termed by Hamzah Fansuri as *Lā Ta’ayyun* (indetermination). After that, there is *Ta’ayyun Awwal* (appearance of Himself in the first stage or called first determination), in which God reveals Himself in the image of ‘*ilm* (knowledge), *wujūd* (being), *shuhūd* (Sight) and *Nūr* (light). In *Ta’ayyun Thānī*, the second stage (second determination) of the apparitions of Himself, God reveals Himself in the prototype image of the universe, called *al-A‘yn Thābitah* or fixed essence. In the third stage *Ta’ayyun Thālith* (third determination), God appears in the image of the human spirit and creatures. Then, in the fourth-and fifth-stages are *Ta’ayyun Rabi’* and *Khāmis* (fourth and fifth determination), God reveals Himself in the image of empirical nature. After that, there has been a never-ending process of *tajallī*.

Ḥamzah Fanṣūrī provides the following imagery associated with *Tajallī*

or *Ta'ayyun* (determination) of God:

Ketahui olehmu bahwa kunhi Dhat Allah itu dinamai Ahl al-Sulūk lā ta'ayyun. Maka lā ta'ayyun namanya kerana budi dan bichara, 'ilmu dan ma'rifah kita tiada lulus pada-Nya. Jangankan 'ilmu dan ma'rifah kita; Anbiyā' dan Awliyā' pun hairan. Olehnya itu maka sabda Nabi: "Subhanaka mā 'arafnāka haqqa ma 'rifataka." (ya'ni: "Amat Suci-Mu!, tiada kukenal sebenar kenal akan Dikau"). Dan lagi Sabda Nabi: "Tafakkarū fī khalq allāh wa lā tafakkarū fī Dhāt allāh" (ya'ni: "Kamu fikirkan dalam yang dijadikan Allah; bermula: jangan kamu fikirkan Dhat Allah.") Kerana ini maka dinamai Ahl al-Sulūk lā ta'ayyun. Ma'na lā ta'ayyun" tiada nyata.

Adapun pertama ta'ayyun empat bahagi: 'ilmu, dan wujūd, dan shuhūd, dan nūr. Ya'ni ta'ayyun keempatnya inilah yang bernama ta'ayyun awwal, kerana daripada 'ilmu maka 'alim dan ma'lum nyata; kerana wujūd maka yang mengadakan dan yang diadakan nyata; kerana shuhūd maka yang melihat dan yang dilihat nyata; kerana cahaya maka yang menerangkan dan yang diterangkan nyata. Sekalian ini daripada ta'ayyun awwal jua; 'alim dan ma'lum, awwal dan akhir, lahir dan batin beroleh nama (Al-Attas, 1970: 315).

Know that innermost Essence of God Most Exalted is called by the People of the Path 'indeterminacy'. It is called Indeterminacy because our intelligence and skill in verbal exposition knowledge and understanding are unable to reach it. Let alone our knowledge and understanding, even the Prophets and the Saints are struck with awe it. Hence the Prophet said: "Glory to be Thee! We cannot really know Thee". And the Prophet said further: "Contemplate upon His creation and not upon His Essence." This is why the people of the Path call this (Essence) indeterminate, meaning non-manifest.

The first (stage) of determinacy is fourfold: Knowledge, Being, Sight, and Light. All these four are called the First Determination, for by virtue of Knowledge the Knower and the Known become manifest; by virtue of Being that which causes to be and That which becomes are manifest; by virtue of Sight the Seer and the Seen are manifest; by virtue of Light the Illuminator and the Illuminated are manifest. All these – the Knower and the Known, the First and the Last, the Manifest and the Hidden – are of the First determination.

According to Ḥamzah Fansūrī, *Ta'ayyun Awwal* (first determination) is likened to the sea. If the sea is choppy and the sea water evaporates into the air to form clouds, then the water vapor is called *al-A'yan Thābitah* (fixed essence), or in other words it is at the stage of *Ta'ayyun Thāni*. Then the water vapor forms clouds that undergoes a process of condensation which can reduce the rain water which falls in various places on the earth. Precipitation is

described as *Ta'ayyun Thālith* (nature of spirit), the nature of spirits under the statement of *Kun Fayakūn*, so there it becomes the nature of spirits. The rain fall on the earth is called a river. Rain water that forms the river is described as *Ta'ayyun Rabi'* and *Khāmis* (*'alam mithal*) in which there is the creation of the universe, the creatures, including humans. The creation is endless and infinite. In the end, the river empties into the sea and like all of His creations will return to Him. Further explanation about the *Ta'ayyun* of God is, that the appearance or reality of the first stage of God, which Hamzah Fansuri calls *Ta'ayyun Awwal* (the stage of *waḥdah*), contains a plurality of unity, which is still in the form of *ijmāl* (outline). The Reality of God in the first stage consists of: *'ilm* (knowledge), *wujūd* (being), *shuhūd* (see, watch), and *Nūr* (light). With the knowledge then God is in itself *'ālim* (knowing or omniscient), and *ma'lūm* (known). Since He is *Wujūd*, then by itself He is the Existence, who creates the existence. Because of the light, He is the Explainer (with the light of His) (Al-Attas, 1970: 150) and described (by His lights). However, all of that still does not separate.

In the first stage comes from the Substance of God any Attributes and His *Asmā'* universally. This stage is a single unit containing a plurality. This stage, according to Ḥamzah Fanṣūrī, obtains the essence of *Muḥammadiyyah* (*Nūr Muḥammad*). That is like the science of God to the Substance, Attributes and His *Asmā'*, and to all reality as a whole. There is no separation of one to another; it is the beginning of reality. The stage in *Ta'ayyun Awwal* is unity, rather like seeds, in which its parts, such as branches and leaves still are one within the seed. It can also be likened to a node (point) within the sphere which is the origin for all letters, containing all the letters that would be written, but there is intact aggregate inside the reality of letter. The letter is integrated into one the limits of which are not seen (Simuh, 1988: 323). In his *Sharāb al-ʿAshiqīn*, Ḥamzah gives the parable of *Ta'ayyun Awwal* as the sea, namely:

Adapun ta'ayyun awwal dinamai Aḥad pun namanya, Wāḥid pun namanya. apabila kita lainkan Dhāt semata Sendirinya Aḥad namanya, apabila kita sertakan sifatnya dengan 'ibaratnya, wāḥid namanya, kerana Aḥad itulah bernama Wāḥid, memegang 'alam sekalian dari pertamanya hingga kesudahannya (Al-Attas, 1970: 316).

The First Determination may be called (both) *aḥad* or *wāḥid*. When we regard the Essence by itself it is called *aḥad*, but when we regard the Essence together

with Its Attributes and names then it is called *wāḥid*, for *aḥad* is *wāḥid* sustaining the universe and holding it together from its beginning to its end.

After that he explains:

'The sea is the sea, as it was before,

The 'new' are waves and rivers;

Let not forms that resemble them veil thee,

For the shapes they form are but veils.'

But (the waves) are together with the eternal sea. As the distich says:

The sea is eternal: when it heaves

It is then called by the name 'waves'...

But its real essence is the sea, for sea and waves are not two (entities), but one and the same (Al-Attas, 1970: 37-38).

In the quotation above, Ḥamzah gave the analogy of *ta'ayyun awwal* like sea water, wave, and the river, which then evaporates into vapor and into clouds. Rain then descends from the clouds. This process begins from a drop of sea water that will produce the oceans, rivers, and rains. It is a drop of sea water that is called *Ta'ayyun 'Awwal*.

After the *Ta'ayyun Awwal* stage, God has *tajallī* to the second stage (*Ta'ayyun Thānī*) which is also called as *wāḥidiyyah* stage. The *Ta'ayyun Thānī* (the second determination), also known as *Ta'ayyun Ma'lūm*, depicts reality of God in the second place. In this stage, all which are pent has to be distinguished clearly and in detail. However, it has not appeared in the nature of reality. Each unit has a clear limitation in the science of God. He is known or unknown. God Knowledge or Science reveals Himself in the form of 'known' or 'unknown'. The Knowledge of God, which is called as *al-A'yān Thābitah* (fixed essence), is the reality of all things. *Al-A'yān thābitah* is also called *ṣuwar al-'Ilmiyyah*, the known form or *al-ḥaqīqah aṣl- ashyā; aṣl-ashyā'* is the essence of things in the universe and the spirit of *iḍāfī*, the soul adrift (Hadi W. M., 1995:150).

Adapun *Ma'lūm* itulah yang dinamai Ahl al-Sulūk *a'yān thābitah*. Setengah menamai (dia) *ḥaqīqah al-ashyā'*, setengah menamai (dia) *ṣuwar al-'ilmiyyah*, setengah menamai (dia) *rūḥ iḍāfī*. Sekalian ini *ta'ayyun thānī* hukumnya (Al-Attas, 1970: 316).

The known is called by the People of the Path the Fixed Essence. Some call it the Essence of Things, some the Cognitive Forms, and others call it the Relational Spirit. All these are the Second Determination.

Both of the aforementioned stages, *Ta'ayyun Awwal* and *Ta'ayyun Thānī* are forms of inner universe which are *qādim* and *thābitah* (remain in the science of God - nothing changed since *qādim*). From the two inner stages emerged two new seen stages, called as *A'yān Khārijīyyah* (potential existents). They are *Ta'ayyun Thālith* (the stage of '*Alam al-Rūḥ*') and *Ta'ayyun Rabi'* and *Khāmis* (the stage of '*Alam Mithsāl*').

Ta'ayyun Thālith (the stage of '*Alam al-Rūḥ*'), which is natural of all spirits, a form of subtle body of *jism laṭīf*. As *jism laṭīf*, '*Alam al-Rūḥ*' is not seen by the five senses and eyes of the heart (feelings), and cannot be likened to the situation. In this stage the reality that flows out takes the form of '*Alam al-Rūḥ*'. The essence of this nature is one, only the aspect which is divided into the human spirit, animal spirit and plant spirit. Of this, Ḥamzah stated that, "*Adapun rūḥ insān dan rūḥ hewani dan rūḥ nabati Ta'ayyun Thālith hukumnya*" (Now the spirit of human, animals, and vegetal in the stage of *Ta'ayyun Thālith*).

The latest stages according to Ḥamzah are *Ta'ayyun Rabi'* and *Khāmis* (the stages of '*Alam Mithāl*'). The reality of God in the fourth and fifth stage is the creation of the universe, the creatures, including humans. The creation is endless and infinite. The creation of this endlessness is termed *ilā mā lā nihayah lahu*, because if God does not do creation then God cannot be known as the creator (Hadi W. M., 1995: 39).

Adapun ta'ayyun rabi' dan khāmis, ta'ayyun jismānī kepada semesta sekalian makhlukūqāt, kepada tiada berkesudahan dan ta'ayyun juga namanya.

The Fourth and Fifth Determinations encompass the realm of physical things in its entirety, comprising the whole universe and all created things (herein).

Thus, together with *Lā Ta'ayyun* there are five stages of the *Tajallī* of God. Therefore, this teaching can be said to be the teaching of the five stages and not the seven stages.

The works of Ḥamzah, especially those seen in several passages in his book, allows him to be classified as a follower of *waḥdah al-wujūd*, as taught by Ibn 'Arabī. In another work entitled *Asrār al-'Arifīn*, Ḥamzah likens the relationship of the universe and God to the sun and light, where the light and the sun are an inseparable unity. However, in essence they are different (Hadi W. M., 1995: 39). Ḥamzah stated the following:

Adapun kepada 'Ulamā' shari'at Dhāt Allah dengan wujūd Allah dua

hukumnya; wujud 'ilmu dengan 'ālim dua hukumnya; wujud 'ālam dengan 'ālam dua hukumnya; wujud 'ālam lain wujud Allah lain. Adapun wujud Allah dengan Dhāt Allah misal matahari dengan cahayanya; sungguhpun esa pada penglihat mata dan penglihat hati, dua hukumnya: matahari lain cahayanya lain.

Adapun 'ālam maka dikatakan wujudnya lain kerana 'ālam seperti bulan beroleh cahaya dari matahari. Sebab inilah maka dikatakan 'Ulamā': "Wujud 'ālam lain daripada wujud Allah. Wujud Allah dengan Dhāt Allah lain".

Maka kata Ahl al-Sulūk: Jika demikian, Allah Ta'ala di luar 'ālam atau dalam 'ālam dapat dikata; atau hampir kepada 'ālam atau jauh daripada 'ālam dapat dikata". Pada kami, Dhāt Allah dengan wujud Allah esa hukumnya; wujud Allah dengan wujud 'ālam esa... (Al-Attas, 1970: 242).

According to the 'Ulamā' of the Prescribed Law, the judgment concerning the Essence of God and His Being is that they are two; (similarly,) the being of knowledge and knower are two; the being of the universe and the universe are two; the being of the universe is different from the Being of God. The Essence of God and His Being is like the sun and its light: although they are one to external and internal perception, the judgment is that they are two: the sun is different from its light.

As to the universe, the reason why it is said that its being is different (from that of God), is because the universe is like the moon deriving its light from the sun. This is the reason why the 'Ulamā' say: "The being of the universe is different from the Being of God. God's Being and His Essence are different".

The People of the Path say: "If this is the case, then God can be referred to as being 'outside' or 'in' (the universe); or 'near' the universe or 'far' from it". To us, the Essence of God and His Being is one; His Being and the being of the universe is one...

Seeing the aforementioned parable by Ḥamzah Fanṣūrī, it appears that he is like Ibn 'Arabī, who called a universe to God with two Attributes, which are *tanzīh* (transcendent) and *tashbīh* (immanent). In terms of the Substance of His Absolute Attributes *Lā Ta'ayyun* is *tanzīh*, while in terms of both *tajallī* even *tajallī* of Substances (*al-a'yān al-thābitah*) and *tajallī* of potential existents (*al-a'yān al-khārijīyyah*) is *tashbīh* (immanent). In the explanation above, Ḥamzah, on the side of *tanzīh*, essentially distinguishes between God and the

universe. Although God and the universe are essentially the same, they have different attributes, where God has His own distinct essence to the universe.

The Effect of Ḥamzah Fanṣūrī's Doctrine to The Muslim Intellectual Tradition In The Archipelago

The *waḥdah al-wujūd* concept is regarded as one Sufism doctrines which were influenced by philosophy and various other non-dogmatic sources (Al-Attas, 1970: 210). The *Waḥdah al-wujūd* doctrine is part of the intellectual genealogy of texts developed from Greece, Persia and India which were translated into Arabic. However, sources which describe that the *waḥdah al-wujūd* as not coming from Islamic teachings usually originated from Western Orientalists. This is because they identify these teachings not from the Islam, but are built based on the logic of thinking influenced by social situations. The efforts to identify Islam with other religions or thoughts are not entirely correct, because the teachings of Islam are based on the revelation of the Qur'ān and *ḥadīth*. The Qur'ān is a source that is not derived from the product of human thought, but a revelation from Allah (SWT). Simultaneously, the Qur'ān and *ḥadīth* sometimes appear in a format that can be used not just in its application, but must prior be elaborated and developed by the mind. Thus, there is a part of Islamic teachings that are normative doctrine, namely those based on the Qur'ān and *ḥadīth* which cannot be amended, meanwhile there are also non-normative doctrines, those rooted in the mind that can be developed and even changed (Nata, 1997: 188-189).

The doctrine of *waḥdat al-wujūd* of Ibn 'Arabī also has a relationship with the type of Islamic mysticism that can be found in the mystical studies of Abū Yazīd al-Bistmī and al-Hallāj. The biggest influence comes from Ibn 'Arabī and in his books entitled especially *Futūḥāt al-Makkiyyah* and *Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam*. The doctrine of *waḥdah al-wujūd* of Ibn 'Arabi was very popular in the late 16th century and early 17th-century AD in various areas, particularly in Aceh. The thought of *waḥdah al-wujūd* of Ibn 'Arabi dominated the religious thought and appreciation among the public, especially because it had been adopted and deployed first by the leaders of the ṣūfī of Aceh most revered, i.e., Ḥamzah Fanṣūrī. In the middle of the 17th century AD in Aceh, after the death of Ḥamzah Fanṣūrī, *wujūdīyyah* doctrine was once again the subject of debate among the ṣūfīs. In addition, because of the current social and political factors that affected each party in the dispute, controversy surrounding the

teaching of *wujūdiyyah* was also caused by the differences in interpreting the teaching. Such intense controversy resulted in a tragedy in Aceh, namely the burning of the works of the mystical Ḥamzah Fanṣūrī and Shams al-Dīn that includes the teaching of *wujūdiyyah* by Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī (d. 1068 H/1658 M) and his followers as well as persecution and murder of those who refused to abandon the doctrine (Fathurahman, 1999: 21).

The influence of Ḥamzah Fanṣūrī's Sufism was broad enough and not only in Aceh but also in other areas in the Archipelago. In Java, for example, the works of Ḥamzah Fanṣūrī were disseminated down to Banten, Cirebon, Pajang, and even to Mataram, Buton, and South East Sulawesi. This was through two of his works, namely *Sharāb al-‘Āshiqīn* and *Asrār al-‘Ārifīn*. The existence of two manuscripts in Buton was an indication that the teaching of Ḥamzah Fanṣūrī had been learned by everyone in that area (Mulkan, 2005: 8).

Since the 17th century AD, the mysticism and teaching of *waḥdah al-wujūd* in Java existed in the form of *manunggaling kawulo gusti* (the unity of humans and Allah), which was taught by Shaykh Siti Jenar (Mulkan, 2005: 8), and still hold out in the history of Islam in Java (Teeuw A, 1995: 67). At the end of the 17th century AD the manuscript of *Sharāb al-‘Āshiqīn* was translated into Javanese in conjunction with the spread of understanding of *wujūdiyyah* in Java. The manuscript was found in Banten, precisely in the personal library of Sulṭān Abū al-Maḥasin Zayn al-‘Ābidīn, the king of Banten from the years 1690-1733 AD. This sulṭān was a lover of Sufism and a student of a great ṣūfī from Makasar, named Shaykh Yūsuf al-Maqassarī (d. 1114 H/1699 M) (Hadi W. M., 1995: 147).

The influence of *waḥdat al-wujūd* doctrine of Ḥamzah Fanṣūrī is also found in a poem which very similar to Hamzah Fansuri's poetry. This shows that as a traveler figure, Ḥamzah Fanṣūrī is expected to have made a pilgrimage to the island of Java, after visiting other places that are considered important (Arifin, 2013: 45).

Through the writings *Sharb al-‘Āshiqīn* and other works, the mystical thought of Ḥamzah Fanṣūrī was known by the Muslims in the archipelago. Ḥamzah Fanṣūrī was an adherent of the school of philosophical mysticism of *waḥdah al-wujūd* or *wujūdiyyah* (Hadi W. M., 1995: 147). His worldview was revealed in his prose and poetry. The Malay religious books during Ḥamzah Fanṣūrī grew rapidly, along with the spread of Islam throughout the archipelago and the establishment of royal Malay-Muslims in several places,

namely in Pasai, Malacca and Aceh. Those religious books contain jurisprudence, doctrine, mysticism, and so forth. In this case, Ḥamzah Fanṣūrī was one of the renowned authors of religious books which are aligned with those of ‘Abd al-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī (d. 1203 H/1788 M), and Shaykh Muḥammad Nafīs (d. 1225 H/1812 M).

It has been said by many experts who studied Ḥamzah Fanṣūrī that he was the first in the Archipelago who wrote on mystical thought in a systematic form that had roots in a strong scientific approach. From the works of Ḥamzah Fanṣūrī available today, we can see his mystical style of writing which had a distinctive character, in contrast to other ṣūfīs who lived in the past. Although the influence of *waḥdah al-wujūd* was still strong, Ḥamzah Fanṣūrī was able to transform the term in Arabic into Malay, so it could be understood by people who were unable to speak Arabic. Ḥamzah Fanṣūrī himself said in the introduction of his book, *Sharāb al-‘Āshiqīn*, which he purposely wrote his verses in Arabic-Malay for people who did not understand Arabic and Persia so that they could study mysticism (Hadi W. M., 1995: 59). What had been done by Ḥamzah Fanṣūrī was not only be seen as an attempt to spread the idea of mysticism, but also as a first step to the birth of Malay literature, especially in the field of prose and poetry (Fang, 1993: 236).

Ḥamzah Fanṣūrī brought and developed the ideas of philosophical mysticism to the Archipelago. He was the first person who promoted philosophical mysticism in the archipelago which was clean and pure of deviation and perfect in reference to Arab sources (Shihab, 2001: 123). Furthermore, what had been done by Ḥamzah Fanṣūrī was that he provided new technical concepts in Malay; he has made the language fully adequate to discuss the doctrines of philosophical and metaphysical thought formulated by previous ṣūfīs (Shadiqin, 2008: 76).

In the development of the history of Islamic thought in the archipelago, Ḥamzah Fanṣūrī was not only regarded as a pioneer in the existence of the Sufism genre alone, but in subsequent studies, it was evident that Ḥamzah Fanṣūrī had become a pioneer in the study of Islamic and cultural studies in the archipelago. There are so many works of scholars and researchers who discuss Ḥamzah Fanṣūrī in various aspects of science, whether it is sufism, religion, literature, culture, language, and so on social and political life. In connection with the study, according to the author's observations, there are

dozens of studies on Ḥamzah Faṣṣūrī with various aspects, including: Studies by Wan Mohammad Shaghir Abdullah who wrote two studies, namely Ḥamzah Faṣṣūrī Poetry and Sufi and Al-Makrifah Works: Various Aspects of Tasawuf in The Archipelago. This paper provides information about the person as a mystic Sufi poet Ḥamzah Faṣṣūrī The Malaya. The same was done by Abdul Hadi WM. about Hamzah Fansuri: The Tasawuf leaflet and its poems. It is said that in this study, Ḥamzah Faṣṣūrī was a reformer of Sufism. So did Abdul write about Ḥamzah Faṣṣūrī: an Aceh sufi poet. The works of Edward Djmaris and Saksono Prijanto wrote Ḥamzah Faṣṣūrī and Nuruddin Ar-Raniri.

Vladimir Braginsky wrote Some Remark on The Stucture of The Poetry of the Boat by Ḥamzah Faṣṣūrī. Similarly, Syarifuddin wrote about the existence of Ḥamzah Faṣṣūrī in the Scholars' Debate. Syed Naquib al-Attas wrote The Mysticism of Ḥamzah Faṣṣūrī. Then M. Afif Anshory wrote the Thesis of the Book of Philosophy of Ḥamzah Faṣṣūrī. Sultani wrote a Thesis entitled Al-Insan al-Kamil in Ḥamzah Faṣṣūrī Concept. Also Claude Guillot & Ludvik Kalus wrote Ḥamzah Faṣṣūrī's tombstone. Then Mardinal Tarigan also wrote a Dissertation on UIN-SU Fields on Sufistic Values in Ḥamzah Faṣṣūrī's Poems: Thematic Analysis of the Book of Asrār al-Arifin. A. Jhons's study of The Poems of Ḥamzah Faṣṣūrī in 1990, published in the Dutch Journal of Leiden, has also shown that Ḥamzah Faṣṣūrī was the greatest Sufi figure of all time. If there are more studies on this Ḥamzah Faṣṣūrī, it is from researchers in the archipelago and from outside (the West). Thus, the study of Ḥamzah Faṣṣūrī is actually alive and growing in line with the development of Islamic studies.

Ḥamzah Faṣṣūrī's existence as a pioneer, reformer of Islamic studies — especially in the field of Islamic thought and poetry — has found its true identity. He is not only as the originator and pioneer of Sufism wujudiyah in the archipelago, but also as laying the foundations of Islamic studies who is always in dialogue and dialectic with time and place, namely the meeting between Islam and culture / Malay tradition.

C. CONCLUSION

The principal idea of the best known of Ḥamzah Faṣṣūrī is the five stages of *wujūd*. The five stages are a depiction about the process of the universe that remain valid when the universe appears as a manifestation of Allah's Subs-

tance which is initially spiritual and then proceeds to be physical.

The influence of Ḥamzah Fanṣūrī's Sufism was broad enough and not only in Aceh but also in other areas in the Archipelago. Through the writings *Sharb al-‘Āshiqīn* and other works, the mystical thought of Ḥamzah Fanṣūrī was known by the Muslims in the archipelago. Ḥamzah Fanṣūrī brought and developed the ideas of philosophical mysticism to the Archipelago. He was the first person who promoted philosophical mysticism in the archipelago which was clean and pure of deviation and perfect in reference to Arab sources. What had been done by Ḥamzah Fanṣūrī was not only be seen as an attempt to spread the idea of mysticism, but also as a first step to the birth of Malay literature, especially in the field of prose and poetry, because his world-view was revealed in his prose and poetry.

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