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Address: Gedung Kementerian Agama RI Lt. 18, Jl. M.H. Thamrin No.6 Jakarta-Indonesia, Phone/Fax. 6221-3920713, 6221-3920718

E-mail : heritage@kemenag.go.id

URL : jurnallektur.kemenag.go.id/index.php/heritage

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MANAQIB WRITING IN THE CIRCLE OF THE TARIQA QADIRIYYA WA NAQSYABANDIYYAH: A STUDY ON MUHAMMAD SIDDIQ AL-SALIHI'S NAYL AL-AMANI

Asfa Widiyanto

State Institute for Islamic Studies (IAIN) Salatiga

asfa.widiyanto@gmail.com / widiyanto_asfa@daad-alumni.de

Abstract

The manaqib of ‘Abd al-Qadir al-Jilani is of particular importance in the circle of the Tariqa Qadiriyya wa Naqsyabandiyyah (TQN). Some leaders of the TQN have done their best to give a translation and explanation of this manaqib. For instance, Muhammad Siddiq al-Salihi composed a work titled Nayl al-amānī fī dhikr manaqib al-quṭb al-rabbānī sayyidinā al-shaykh ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlanī. Another leader, Muslih ibn ‘Abd al-Rahman al-Maraqi, wrote a treatise titled al-Nūr al-burhānī fī tarjamat al-lujayn al-dānī fī dhikr nubdhah min manaqib al-shaykh ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlanī. The TQN master Nawawi Siddiq al-Zarkashi wrote a treatise titled Fuyuḍāt al-rabbānī fī kayfiyāt qirā’at manaqib sultān al-awliyā’ al-shaykh muḥyī al-dīn ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlanī. This paper will pay particular attention to the Nayl al-amani, since this work is relatively unknown in Indonesian academia. This book is written in standard Arabic, something which is nowadays rare in the Pesantren and tariqa scholarship. This book is read during the monthly communal ritual of the TQN in the Pesantren Manba’ al-Falah, Dawe, Kudus, Central Java. This paper strives to unravel the narratives of hagiography in Nayl al-amani and also highlight the uniqueness of Nayl al-amani, most particularly in comparison with the two manaqib writings in the circle of the TQN in Central Java.

Keywords: *manaqib, Pesantren, tariqa, communal ritual, Nayl al-amani, hagiographical narrative.*

Abstrak

Manaqib Syeikh ‘Abd al-Qadir al-Jilani mempunyai nilai penting di kalangan Tariqa Qadiriyya wa Naqsyabandiyyah (TQN). Beberapa murshid TQN telah mencurahkan waktu mereka untuk menerjemahkan dan memberikan penjelasan terhadap manaqib tersebut. Sebagai contoh, Muhammad Siddiq al-Salihi menulis sebuah karya berjudul Nayl al-amānī fī dhikr manaqib al-quṭb al-rabbānī sayyidinā al-shaykh ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlanī. Murshid lain, Muslih ibn ‘Abd al-Rahman al-Maraqi, menulis sebuah risalah berjudul al-Nūr al-burhānī fī tarjamat al-lujayn al-dānī fī dhikr nubdhah min manaqib al-shaykh ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlanī. Murshid TQN Nawawi Siddiq al-Zarkashi juga menyusun sebuah risalah berjudul Fuyūḍāt al-rabbānī fī kayfīyāt qirā’at manaqib sultān al-awliyā’ al-shaykh muhyī al-dīn ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlanī. Tulisan ini akan memberi perhatian khusus pada Nayl al-amani, karena karena ini relatif kurang dikenal dalam dunia akademis Indonesia. Karya ini ditulis dalam bahasa Arab standar, sesuatu yang saat ini jarang dijumpai dalam keilmuan Pesantren dan tarekat. Risalah ini dibaca selama ritual bulanan TQN di Pesantren Manba’ al-Falah, Dawe, Kudus, Jawa Tengah. Tulisan ini berusaha untuk mengungkap narasi hagiografi dalam Nayl al-Amani dan juga menyoroti keunikan Nayl al-Amani, terutama dibandingkan dengan dua tulisan manaqib di kalangan TQN di Jawa Tengah.

Kata Kunci: *manaqib, Pesantren, tariqa, ritual bulanan, Nayl al-amani, narasi hagiografi.*

Introduction

This paper investigates the *manaqib* writing in the circle of the Tariqa Qadiriyya wa Naqsyabandiyyah (TQN), by focusing on the treatise of the TQN master Muhammad Siddiq al-Salihi. The account of the TQN is addressed in the first part of the paper, and provides a general context of the topic. The next part of the paper deals with the *manaqib* in Islamic tradition and *manaqib* and the *tariqa*. The main part of the paper includes a discussion about the biographies of Muhammad Siddiq al-Salihi and Muhammad Siddiq al-Salihi. The main section also includes the writing of Nayl al-amani, which offers the justification for reading the *manaqib*, Nayl al-amani explains the al-Lujayn al-dani, and finally provides the account on the miracles and virtues of ‘Abd al-Qadir al-Jilani.

The Tariqa Qadiriyya wa Naqsyabandiyyah

The Tariqa Qadiriyya wa Naqsyabandiyyah (TQN) was a spiritual movement developed mainly by the Kalimantan scholar Ahmad Kha-

tib ibn ‘Abd al-Ghaffar Sambas (1803-1875). Ahmad Khatib Sambas, who is regarded as the founder of the TQN, lived and taught in Mecca in the nineteenth century. He was known as both *faqih* (expert in Islamic law) and Sufi (Martin van Bruinessen, 1999:710). He did not write a single book, but some of his disciples recorded his teachings in the form of a treatise (*risāla*), for instance the *Fath al-‘Arifin*, which is considered to be the most authoritative book on the TQN (Martin van Bruinessen, 1998:90).

It is of interest to note that almost all Indonesian branches of *ṭarīqa* are channelled through the *Ḥaramayn* (two holy places of Islam: Mecca and Medina). There was a network between the ‘*ulamā*’ (religious scholars) in the *Ḥaramayn* and the Malay world. This salient process was significant in developing and maintaining the notion of Sunni orthodoxy and orthopraxy within the latter region.¹

Ahmad Khatib Sambas did his best to synthesise the elements of both Qādirīyya and Naqshbandīyya. The Qādirīyya, named after its founder, the Iraqi scholar ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlanī (d. 1166), is one of the Sufi orders promoting the vocal recollection of God’s names (*dhikr jahrī*). The Naqshbandīyya is a Sufi order attributed to the Central Asian scholar Bahā’ al-Dīn al-Naqshband (d. 1389), despite, as some scholars assert, being pioneered mainly by other Central Asian scholars: Yūsuf al-Ḥamadānī (d. 1140) and ‘Abd al-Khāliq al-Ghijuwānī (d. 1220).² The general tendency of this particular order is that it advocates silent recollection (*dhikr khafī*).³

Here we can see that although the Qādirīyya and Naqsyabandīyya themselves are widespread within an international context, the TQN is found solely in the Malay world. Some scholars maintain that the *sil-sila* (spiritual pedigree, chain of spiritual authorities) used by the TQN was basically Qādirī *sil-sila* (Martin van Bruinessen, 1998:90). When we sift through the books of the TQN, we become aware that there are also elements of the Naqshbandī doctrines.

There were some important centres of the TQN in Java, especially during the 1970s, such as the Pesantren⁴ Futuhiyyah Mranggen Demak under the leadership of Sheikh Muslih ibn ‘Abd al-Rahman al-Maraqī (d. 1981), and the Pesantren Pagentongan Bogor under the leadership of Sheikh Tubagus Muhammad Falak (Martin van

Bruinessen, 1998: 94-96). At this juncture, we can observe the connection between the *pesantren* and *ṭarīqa*. Some *pesantrens* played a significant role in developing and disseminating Sufism and *ṭarīqa*. Although we encountered the Pesantren Suryalaya Tasikmalaya which specialised in teaching and learning the *ṭarīqa*.

In the early phase of its development, the TQN attracted a large number of adherents in the Indonesian Archipelago, alongside other *ṭarīqas* such as the Sammāniyya.⁵ After a short time, the TQN supplanted the Sammāniyya as the most prevalent order in the Indonesian Archipelago.⁶ According to some scholars, the two new orders were in accord with the orthodoxy which was prevalent at that time.⁷ The TQN is the only orthodox order that was established by a scholar from the Indonesian Archipelago.⁸

The emergence of the TQN is often attributed to Ahmad Khatib Sambas, who is considered to have mingled the aspects of Qādiriyya and Naqsyabandiyyah teaching into a new distinct order which was considered no less orthodox than its predecessors. The name of the TQN therefore does not refer to two distinct *ṭarīqas*, but to a single amalgamated order much like the Sammāniyya in which practices of some orders, namely the Khalwatiyya, the Qādiriyya, the Naqsyabandiyyah and the Shādhīliyya, are merged.⁹

‘Abd al-Karīm al-Sammānī employed elements of the Qādiriyya and the Naqsyabandiyyah alongside other orders. However, the different backgrounds of ‘Abd al-Karīm al-Sammānī and Ahmad Khatib Sambas are important. One publication explained that ‘Abd al-Karīm al-Sammānī was a leader of a branch of the Khalwatiyya and created a new order known as the Sammāniyya.¹⁰ The tradition of the Khalwatiyya influenced his new order the most.

Ahmad Khatib Sambas’ *silsila* (chain of spiritual authorities) demonstrated the profound influence of the Qādiriyya. Accordingly one might infer that his new order follows the tradition of the Qādiriyya, although it also employs techniques of other *ṭarīqa*, especially the Naqsyabandiyyah.

Some scholars assert that when we take a look at the *silsila* we come across the name of Shams al-Dīn, but it is hard to obtain further

information about this Sufi master, in order to investigate whether Ahmad Khatib Sambas himself developed the TQN or one of his fore-runners.¹¹

Another source mentions that Ahmad Khatib Sambas was a master in two *ṭarīqas*, Qādiriyya and Naqsyabandiyyah.¹² Relying on this information—provided that Shams al-Dīn was only a master in the Qādiriyya or a master in the Qādiriyya and the Naqsyabandiyyah but did not instruct the fusion of both *ṭarīqas*—it is quite reasonable to suppose that Ahmad Khatib Sambas was the founder of the TQN. Unfortunately a reliable judgement cannot be made on this issue. Above all, it is mainly through the teachings of Ahmad Khatib Sambas in his treatise *Fath al-‘arifin*, which is considered the oldest extant treatise on the TQN, that the TQN has been widely spread.

Ahmad Khatib Sambas was a preacher (*khaṭīb*) in the sultanate of Sambas in Kalimantan before leaving for Mecca (Unang Sunardjo, 1995:1) when he was nineteen years old (Sri Mulyati, 2006:175). In Mecca, he had teachers like the Pattani scholar Dawd ibn ‘Abd Allah al-Fattani (1749-1847) and ‘Abd al-Samad al-Falimbani.¹³ One might assume that it was in the *Jawi*¹⁴ colony in Mecca that Ahmad Khatib Sambas built his relationship with these Southeast Asian ‘*ulamā*’. By the 1850s, Ahmad Khatib Sambas was counted among the prominent figures in this *Jawi* ecumene, together with other people like Abd al-Ghani Bima of Sumbawa and Ismail al-Minankabawi (d. circa 1860s) of West Sumatra.¹⁵ According to some specialists, the *Jawi* colony in Mecca was significant because, to some extent, it influenced religious life in their communities.¹⁶

Dawd ibn ‘Abd Allah al-Fattani was reported to be his first teacher in Mecca. Dawd ibn ‘Abd Allah al-Fattani, who was a *murshid* (master, spiritual mentor) of the Shaṭṭāriyya¹⁷, introduced Ahmad Khatib Sambas to Shams al-Dīn. Shams al-Dīn was considered to be the most dominant person in the life and career of Ahmad Khatib Sambas as an Islamic scholar and *murshid* of the *ṭarīqa*. Ahmad Khatib Sambas was appointed *murshid* before the death of his teacher (Zulkifli, 2002:16).

In one publication it was noted that Ahmad Khatib Sambas received *bay‘a* (oath of allegiance) from the various leaders of the

ṭarīqa. Ahmad Khatib Sambas obtained the *bay‘a* in the Shaṭṭāriyya and the Naqsyabandiyyah from Dawd ibn ‘Abd Allah al-Fattani. He received the *bay‘a* in the Khalwatiyya from ‘Uthmān al-Dimyāṭī, and in the Shadhīliyya from Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Ra’īs (Wan Mohd Shaghir Abdullah, 2000:9).

Unfortunately, it is not clear whether Ahmad Khatib Sambas received the *bay‘a* as a *murīd* (disciple) or *murshid* of those *ṭarīqas*. Nevertheless we have a picture of the variety of Sambas’ *ṭarīqa* affiliations, assuming that the information from the aforesaid source is correct. It is quite possible that Ahmad Khatib Sambas was the one to unite the elements of the Qādiriyya and the Naqsyabandiyyah into one single *ṭarīqa*. When reading the introduction of *Fath al-‘Arifin* the claim was noted that his *ṭarīqa* was a blend of elements from various *ṭarīqas*. Those *ṭarīqas* were the Ṭarīqa Naqsyabandiyyah, the Ṭarīqa Qādiriyya, the Ṭarīqat al-Anfās¹⁸, the Ṭarīqat al-Junayd¹⁹ and the Ṭarīqat al-Muwāfaqah.²⁰ It is, however, not clear whether Ahmad Khatib Sambas employed the term *ṭarīqa* in the connotation of a Sufi order or in another sense, such as a spiritual path or technique.

Ahmad Khatib Sambas learned from some of the most prominent figures in the two schools of Islamic law, most notably *mufṭīs* in the Shafi’ite school ‘Umar ibn ‘Abd al-Karīm ibn ‘Abd al-Rasūl al-‘Aṭṭār (d. 1883/1884) and Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Ra’īs, as well as from the two *mufṭīs* in the Malikite school Biṣrī al-Jabartī and Sayyid Aḥmad al-Marzūqī (Sri Mulyati, 2006:176 – 177).

Ahmad Khatib Sambas was usually known for his merit in the *ṭarīqa*, as demonstrated in his *Fath al-‘arifin*. *Fath al-‘arifin* is considered to be the most important and the best known Sufi treatise in the Indonesian Archipelago and to have played a role in the dissemination of Islam (Sri Mulyati, 2006:179). Some scholars also stress his expertise in Islamic law. Sambas wrote a treatise entitled “Fatwa Syaikh Ahmad Khatib Sambas Perihal Jum’at” (The Legal Opinion of Sheikh Ahmad Khatib Sambas on the Friday Prayer) (Wan Mohd Shaghir Abdullah, 2000:7,15).

Many people from Southeast Asia were interested in becoming pupils of Ahmad Khatib Sambas in Mecca. Three of them were ap-

pointed his main *khalīfas* (deputies, vice-gerents), and they were prominent figures in spreading the TQN throughout the Archipelago. The deputies were Abd al-Karim Banten (d. 1897), Ahmad Hasbullah ibn Muhammad Madura, and Ahmad Talhah Cirebon. Ahmad Khatib Sambas appointed Abd al-Karim Banten as the figure in charge of the development of the TQN after his death.²¹

Not all the students of Ahmad Khatib Sambas were affiliated with the *ṭarīqa*. The prolific Banten writer Muhammad Nawawi ibn ‘Umar al-Bantani (1814-1897), for instance, practised the teachings of Sufism without being affiliated with any particular order (James J. Fox, 2002: 11 – 12). Another publication, however, provided a different explanation. Although both Muhammad Nawawi ibn ‘Umar al-Bantani and Abd al-Karim Banten received the instruction of the TQN from Ahmad Khatib Sambas, nevertheless Muhammad Nawawi in ‘Umar al-Bantani was not appointed a *khalīfa*. The fact that Muhammad Nawawi ibn ‘Umar al-Bantani was not appointed a *khalīfa* is surprising, due to the fact that Muhammad Nawawi ibn ‘Umar al-Bantani mastered many branches of Islamic knowledge.²² Besides that, the founder of the Nahdlatul Ulama, Hasyim Asy’ari (1871-1947), who happened to be a disciple of Nawawi al-Bantani, deserves to be mentioned. Hashim Ash’ari practised the rituals of the TQN and the Tijāniyya, but did not use his *pesantren* as the centre of *ṭarīqa* (James J. Fox, 2002: 12).

The specific position with regard to *ṭarīqa* held by the teachers does not necessarily mean that it would be shared by their disciples. One of the likely factors is that disciples studied under a number of teachers (especially in heterogeneous centres of learning in the *Ḥaramayn*, in which the aforementioned person were involved), and so they have wider perspectives regarding Islamic discourse.

Other *khalīfas* of Ahmad Khatib Sambas also participated in propagating the TQN. Muhammad Ismail ibn ‘Abd al-Rahim of Bali lived and taught in Mecca. Yasin of Kedah made an effort to propagate the TQN in West Kalimantan. Ahmad of Lampung did his best to spread the TQN in his place of origin. M. Ma’ruf ibn ‘Abd Allah al-Khatib of Palembang also promulgated the TQN in his hometown. Two *khalīfas* of Ahmad Khatib, namely Nur al-Din of the Philippines and Muhammad Sa’ad of Sambas, were responsible for the pro-

pagation of the TQN in Sambas, Kalimantan (Kharisuddin Aqib, 1998:54). ‘Abd al-Latif ibn ‘Abd al-Qadir of Serawak made an effort to propagate the TQN in West Kalimantan. The growth of the TQN outside Java was not as strong as in Java. This is probably due to the fact that in Java there are many *pesantrens* that support the proliferation of the TQN (M. Sholihin, 2005: 318 – 320).

‘Abd al-Karim Banten settled in Singapore three years after he obtained the *ijāza* from Ahmad Khatib Sambas (C. Snouck Hurgronje, 1931:276). It may be thought that due to the efforts of ‘Abd al-Karim Banten the TQN reached other Southeast Asian countries, alongside²³ other factors such as the increasing number of pilgrims from Southeast Asian countries, especially in the late nineteenth century. C. Snouck Hurgronje (C. Snouck Hurgronje, 1931:289), for instance, stated that almost all pilgrims from Sumatra were affiliated to the *ṭarīqa* whose master was either ‘Abd al-Karim Banten or one of the three Turkish sheikhs Suleiman Efendi, Khalil Pasha or Khalil Efendi.

‘Abd al-Karim Banten had spent some time in Banten before he succeeded to the position of Ahmad Khatib Sambas in Mecca. He was very charismatic and is considered to be one of God’s saints. He propagated his teachings in his *pesantren* in Banten, in the western part of Java. This position influenced the spread of the TQN in Java and in some other parts of Indonesia (Zulkifli, 2002:22).

The network that was built by the TQN among the Muslim grass roots, particularly at the end of the nineteenth century in Banten, contributed to the rise of a social revolt which terrified the Dutch colonialists (Martin van Bruinessen, 1998: 92 – 93). The TQN underwent a boom with the arrival of ‘Abd al-Karim Banten in his hometown in the early 1870s (Sartono Kartodirdjo, 163). ‘Abd al-Karim Banten, also known as *kyai agung* (Sri Mulyati, 2006:182) (great religious scholar), and his *khalīfas* in Banten, are considered to have played a part in facilitating the conditions which were significant for the social uprising. Here one can see the strong connection between the *ṭarīqa* and politics.

It seems that the network was not the only useful aspect of the *ṭarīqa* in times of revolt. There were other advantageous features of the *ṭarīqa*, namely techniques of magical power and invulnerability.

Although the Qādiriyya is not the only *ṭarīqa* that has such techniques, the reputation of Abd al-Qadir al-Jīlanī is unmatched.²⁴

As the successor of Ahmad Khatib Sambas, ‘Abd al-Karim Banten enjoyed a high reputation, not only in the *Jawi* colony but also in the Meccan community in general.²⁵ All *khalīfas* of Ahmad Khatib Sambas admitted the leadership of ‘Abd al-Karim Banten. After the death of ‘Abd al-Karim Banten, there was no leader to unite them. Each *khalīfa* claimed to be a self-reliant *murshid*.²⁶ During this period there was little contact between the various branches of the TQN, in particular Banten, Cirebon and Madura/East Java.²⁷

The TQN developed and spread throughout the Archipelago, and especially by 1970s there were four important centres propagating the TQN, namely the Pesantren Pagentongan, Futuhiyyah Mranggen, Suryalaya Tasikmalaya, and Darul Ulum Jombang.²⁸ These four focal points were instrumental in expanding the networks, due to the charisma of their respective leaders.²⁹ When observing the lineage of the leaders of these *pesantrens*, we begin to realise that two of these four hubs, namely Pagentongan and Futuhiyyah, derived their authority from ‘Abd al-Karim Banten, while the Pesantren Suryalaya was linked to Talhah Cirebon, and the Pesantren Darul Ulum was linked to Ahmad Hasbullah Madura.

The affiliation of both Naqsyabandiyyah and Qādiriyya was actually not limited to the people in the Malay-Indonesian Archipelago. It holds true for some people in Afghanistan, India, Turkey, Kurdistan and Bosnia. Ahmad Sirhindī, for instance, is an adherent of both the Naqsyabandiyyah and the Qādiriyya. Nevertheless the fusion of the Qādiriyya and Naqsyabandiyyah modes of *dhikr* is considered unique. It is only found in the Malay-Indonesian Archipelago and in Bosnia.³⁰

It is supposed that the TQN emerged due to the intensification of the networks of the ‘*ulamā*’ in the *Ḥaramayn*. As has been explained, the scholars involved in these networks came from diverse countries in terms of their legal and *ṭarīqa* affiliations. Resulting from this intensified contact, it was not surprising that there were efforts to fuse some of these orders, although the spirit of orthodoxy which prevailed in those days has to be taken into account.

***Manaqib* in Islamic Tradition**

Manaqib (often translated as hagiography) is a genre of biographical works which possesses a distinctive feature, namely striving to reveal the merits, virtues and remarkable deeds of the person concerned. Accordingly, the *manaqib* may be called a laudatory biography. This genre is often employed to depict the lives of saints and other venerated figures. As far as they are concerned, with the saints or Sufis the *manaqib* normally attempts to bring out their miracles. The word *manaqib*, however, at times appears as a title of a work describing a particular place.³¹ Other terms such as *karamat and fada'il* share the same meaning with *manaqib*, but these two are less frequently used to designate the merits and doings of celebrated personages in Islam. Some works have been devoted to depict merits and doings of celebrated personages in Islamic history. One may mention for instance, the *manaqib* of 'Umar ibn al-Khattab, of Ahmad ibn Hanbal, of Muhammad ibn Idris al-Shafi'i and of Abu Hanifa.³² It is worth mentioning that the *manaqib* of 'Ali ibn Abi Talib is widely circulated in the Shi'ite circles.

From the end of the middle ages, the *manaqib* writing has developed intensively in Morocco. This can be observed from the fact that almost all sheikhs who played a role in the renaissance of Islam in the region are honoured by the *manaqib* after their deaths.³³

Heather N. Keaney³⁴ highlighted the intricacies of the using of *manaqib* as a source of Islamic history. She stated this in the following words:

In contrast to the historical, political, and human focus of chronicles, *fada'il/manaqib* presents highly idealized individuals as exemplars of eternal religious virtues. The interest is not with historical causation or accountability but timeless character traits. They are hagiographic in nature and bear similarities to sacred biographies in other traditions. They tend to be community centered rather author or text, regime or region, centered. Indeed, as in other hagiographic traditions, the community could be regarded as the collective author as the narrative was evaluated based on how it reflected the shared tradition of the community. This meant illustrating the exemplary behavior and ethical dimension that the community expected to be the outcome of the biography.

Asma Afsaruddin³⁵ provided an interesting explanation on the *manaqib* and *fada'il*:

Roughly around the end of the 7th century, a distinct genre of Islamic literature began to develop under the rubric *fada'il* (virtues or excellences) that praised the merits, for example, of reciting the Qur'an, the Companions of the Prophet, of performing religious duties such as hajj and jihad, and of sacred cities such as Jerusalem. A variant term for this type of tradition is *manaqib* (and less frequently, *khasa'is*). A survey of this kind of praise literatures indicates that the terms *manaqib* and *fada'il* could be used fairly interchangeably. If a distinction was perceived at all between the *manaqib* and the *fada'il* literatures, it would appear to be, according to Rudolf Selhein, that the latter lacks the polemical comparison or dialogue, characteristic of disputes for precedence.

Heather N. Keaney³⁶ explained the *manaqib* of the Companions of the Prophet:

In the case of Islamic sacred biographies of the Companions of the Prophet, the community came to have clear expectations. The content is based on overwhelmingly on hadith (reports of the worlds and deeds of Muhammad) rather than *akhbar* [isolated reports]; it is Muhammad's purported assessment of the individual's character that is most important. As a result, a Companion's career after the death of Muhammad must, of necessity, be largely ignored, even if he became a caliph. When it cannot be ignored, prophetic utterances by Muhammad are used to interpret and contextualize it. Moreover, a key point of personal piety is loyalty to the community. The sacred memory of the individual and collective are mutually reinforcing.

Heather N. Keaney³⁷ went on to elucidate the significance of the *manaqib* literature:

The memory of the Companions and the early community presented in the *fada'il/manaqib* literature came to dominate memory in the fourth/tenth century and has continued to do so down to the present. This presents even more reason to pay attention to universal chronicles and from later periods to see how their portrayals of the same individuals and time period could act as a potentially powerful counter-narrative. This has historiographic as well as religious and political ramifications.

In line with this, Colin Paul Mitchell³⁸ pointed out that the *manaqib* literature can be perceived as "a vehicle for expressing the specific political and doctrinal orientations of various interest groups during the formative period". He went on to argue that "there was indeed an archaic layer of traditions which was formulated in the ninth century, but that kernel...of the older form is often discernible in the later incarnations".

Manaqib and the Tariqa

It is interesting to note that the members of the TQN used to read the hagiography (*manaqib*) of ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī (d. 1166) at their gatherings, although one has to be aware that the practice of reading the *manaqib* of al-Jīlānī is also widespread within the students of other *ṭarīqas*. Interestingly, now in some parts of Java there are also members of the Naqsyabandiyyah who read the *manaqib* of Bahā‘ al-Dīn Naqsyaband (1317-1388).³⁹

Yusuf al-Maqassari (1626-1699) was believed to be the first author in the Indonesia Archipelago who clearly claimed to have been initiated into the Qādiriyya, along with other *ṭarīqas* like the Naqsyabandiyyah. He maintained that he was initiated into the Qādiriyya by an immigrant from Gujarat who lived in Aceh, Muḥammad Jīlānī ibn Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad al-Ḥamīd. Nonetheless, after two decades of studying in Arabia, he returned to the the Archipelago from his studies, Yusuf al-Maqassari did not teach the Qādiriyya but he taught the Khalwatiyya. Therefore he was known as Yusuf al-Khalwati al-Maqassari. This latter order originated in Turkey and was then disseminated in such countries as Azerbaijan, West Arabia and North Africa. In the Malay-Indonesian world, this order is mainly represented in South Sulawesi.⁴⁰

Based on these facts some specialists assert that it was in the seventeenth century that the presence of the Qādiriyya was established in the Archipelago. It seems that this particular order did not acquire a large-scale membership before the nineteenth century. Some specialists likewise indicated the existence of the cult of ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī, to whom the name of the Qādiriyya was attributed. This cult can be seen, for example, in the recitation of his hagiography (*manaqib*) in some parts of the Archipelago. It is occasionally associated with the Qādiriyya, but has also been present apart from it, and most likely predates the spread of the Qādiriyya in the Indonesian Archipelago in the nineteenth century.⁴¹

It was the sheikhs of the TQN who composed translations or adaptations of diverse hagiographical works in local languages.⁴² One of the most prominent sheikhs of the TQN in Central Java, Muslih ibn ‘Abd al-Rahman al-Maraqī (d. 1981), for instance, produced a trans-

lation of the important hagiographical work of Ja‘far al-Barzanjī, *al-Lujayn al-dānī fī dhikr nubdhah min manaqib al-shaykh ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlanī*.⁴³ This treatise was merely a translation of al-Lujayn al-dani into Javanese, without any further explanation and elaboration (*sharh*). Another Central Javanese master of the TQN, Nawawi Siddiq al-Zarkashi, who hailed from Purworejo, also wrote a translation of al-Lujayn al-dani into Javanese, without any further explanation and elaboration. His treatise was entitled *Fuyūdāt al-rabbānī fī kayfiyāt qirā‘at manaqib sultān al-awliyā’ al-shaykh muḥyī al-dīn ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlanī wa al-wasīlah bi akābir awliyā’ al-maḥbūbīn qaddasa Allāh asrārahum al-‘azīzah āmīn*.

The sheikh of the TQN from Kudus, Central Java, Muhammad Siddiq al-Salihi, is worth specific mention. He wrote a more serious work entitled *Nayl al-amānī fī dhikr manaqib al-quṭb al-rabbānī sayyidinā al-shaykh ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlanī*.⁴⁴ This work was devoted not only to presenting a hagiography of ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlanī but also to explained some doctrinal aspects of the Qādiriyya and the Naqsyabandiyyah.

After the establishment of the TQN in the nineteenth century, the other Qādiriyyas ceased to exist. Since then, the terms Qādiriyya and TQN have refer to the same thing. Accordingly, the Dutch scholar C. Snouck Hurgronje often labeled the Qādiriyya in the Indonesian Archipelago as the “Qādiriyya wa Naqsyabandiyyah”.⁴⁵ At times he simply used the name Qādiriyya to designate the followers of Ahmad Khatib Sambas (1803-1875).⁴⁶ This designation was most likely based on the fact that the elements of the Qādiriyya were dominant in the so-called “Ṭarīqa Qādiriyya wa Naqsyabandiyyah”. When reading the writings of Muslih, a prominent leader of the TQN, it is noted that Muslih once labelled himself as an adherent of the Qādiriyya.⁴⁷

The *manaqib* is often read during the *ḥawliyya*. This can be observed for instance in the *ḥawliyya* of ‘Abd al-Rahman al-Mannuri (the founder of the Pesantren Menur, Mranggen, Demak, Central Java) normally consists of the following items: recitation of the Koran and Islamic teachings, visiting the tomb, and the recitation of the *manaqib* of ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlanī.

Short Biography of Muhammad Siddiq al-Salihi

Muhammad Siddiq al-Salihi was born in Kudus, Central Java. He passed away in 2009. He proclaimed himself to be one of the disciples of the TQN Grandmaster Romli Tamim (Rejoso, Peterongan, Jombang, East Java) (Muhammad Siddiq al-Salihi, 350). He was considered as the founding father of the Pesantren Manbaul Falah which is located in Piji, Dawe, Kudus, Central Java. This Pesantren holds the communal rituals of the Tariqa Qadiriyya wa Naqsyabandiyyah. In addition it conducts a recital gathering of the *manaqib* of ‘Abd al-Qadir al-Jilani, every 11th day of the lunar month. The Pesantren Manbaul Falah organizes a *hawliyya* of ‘Abd al-Qadir al-Jilani, every 11th Rabi’ al-Awwal, which attracts a great numbers of participants.

Al-Salihi has wrote a number of books, which include the following: *Nayl al-amānī fī dhikr manaqib al-quṭb al-rabbānī sayyidinā al-shaykh ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlanī* (Kudus: Jam‘īyat Ṭarīqa al-Qādiriyya wa al-Naqsyabandiyyah Manba‘ al-Falāḥ, n.d.), *Risālat al-dhahabiyya al-sughrā fī dhikr silsilat ṭarīqat al-qādiriyya wa Naqsyabandiyyah* (Semarang: Toha Putra, n.d.), *Risālat al-iqyān fī dhikr silsilat ahl al-‘irfān wa-bayān mabnā a ‘māl ṭarā’iq ahl al-‘iyān*, (Kudus: Jam‘īyat Ṭarīqa al-Qādiriyya wa al-Naqsyabandiyyah Manba‘ al-Falāḥ, n.d.), “Risālat kashf al-shubuhāt fī bayān anna ‘aqīdat ahl al-bid‘ah fī al-hafawāt wa al-ḍalālāt” (unpublished work), “Risālat fī dhikr ba‘dh adillat qirā’at manaqib al-awliyā’ wa ta‘zīm mā ‘aḥamahu Allāh min ‘ibādihī al-aṣfiyā’” (unpublished work), “Risālat kashf al-muḍmarāt fī dhikr bayān mā yanfa‘ li al-amwāt” (unpublished work).

Muhammad Siddiq al-Salihi and the Writing of Nayl al-Amani

Regarding the book *Nayl al-amani*, Muhammad Siddiq al-Salihi preferred to designate himself as “compiler” (*jami‘*, *muqtatif*), rather than “author” (*mu‘allif*) or “explainer” (*sharih*). In the cover of this book we encounter such words: *jama‘a hadhihi al-risalah al-faqir al-hajj Muhammad Siddiq al-Salihi al-Qudsi Jawa Tengah* (this treatise was compiled by the poor Hajj Muhammad Siddiq al-Salihi of Kudus, Central Java). In the introduction of the book, we read: “I am neither explainer nor author but rather compiler (*muqtatif*). Whenever cited

excerpts from another book, I put the name and the page number of the book”. Al-Salihi went on to assert that “his treatise is composed on citations from the books that circulated in the circle of Ahl al-Sunna wa al-Jama’a. I made this treatise to expand the explanation on this matter and to fortify our belief, so that we would not be influenced by the people who denounce the saints and Muslim leaders (Muhammad Siddiq al-Salihi, 3).

Al-Salihi’s claim as the “compiler” of the treatise emerged out of his humbleness. His statement in the introduction of the book can be also interpreted from a different angle. His phrase “I made this treatise to expand the explanation on this matter and to fortify our belief” indicated that to some extent he also provided his own explanation pertaining to the text of *manaqib*. This is what I encountered what I read through treatise. In this regard, I would argue that we can also consider al-Salihi as the explainer (*sharih*) rather than merely compiler (*muqtatif*). The cases in which he cited from other books are normal like what we encounter in modern scholarship.

My conviction grows when I encounter a passage in the endorsements to al-Salihi’s treatise. One of these endorsements was written by Arwani from Jombang, East Java. Arwani said, “hadhih al-risalah al-mulaqqabah Nayl al-amani ‘ala sharh al-Lujayn al-dani fi dhikr manaqib al-qutb al-rabbani al-shaykh ‘Abd al-Qadir al-Jilani” (this treatise which was named as Nayl al-amani, an explanation of al-Lujayn al-dani, in telling the hagiography of Grand Saint, Our Majesty the Master ‘Abd al-Qadir al-Jilani) (Muhammad Siddiq al-Salihi, 350). This is a clear message that al-Salihi’s treatise falls into the category of *sharh*.

Arwani praised *Nayl al-Amani* and wrote using prose:

Nayl al-Amani appears in high heaven
Erase the darkness of misunderstandings of a group of people
The sun of Nayl al-amani shows its brightness
in the morning and therefore the slander disappears
The light will not be seen except by health eye
Unhealthy eye denies this due to its illness (Muhammad Siddiq al-Salihi, 350).

Arwani’s endorsement belonged to the three endorsements to Nayl al-amani. The remaining two endorsements come from Abu ‘Umar ibn ‘Abd Allah from Purwosari, Kudus and the TQN Master

Hamdun from Pondohan, Pati. These endorsements served to confirm the quality and high standing of Nayl al-amani among al-Salihi's fellow Muslim scholars. The endorsement from Abu 'Umar ibn 'Abd Allah reads as follows: "I have read through this treatise and found it a beautiful and invaluable treatise. I ask God that he makes this treatise beneficial and a cure for those deny the miracles of saints" (Muhammad Siddiq al-Salihi, 350).

It goes without saying that Nayl al-amani was an explanation to Al-Lujayn al-dani. Al-Lujayn al-dani was written by Ja'far ibn Hasan ibn 'Abd al-Karim al-Barzanji (1176- 1764). Al-Salihi (Muhammad Siddiq al-Salihi, 11) pointed out that al-Barzanji served as a jurist consult (*mufti*) of the Shafiite school in Medina. He was also a master of the Qadiriyyah.

Al-Salihi named his treatise as Nayl al-amani to illustrate Muslims' eagerness in obtaining the ideals and best wishes, by reading the hagiography of 'Abd al-Qadir al-Jilani and intercession through him and his deeds. Al-Salihi defined the audience of his treatise by asserting, "it is not necessary to read this treatise except for those believe on the *karama* (minor miracle, saintly marvel) of the saints, since telling these things to those who not believe them will trigger a condemnation from these refuters. This condition was comparable to telling the virtues of the Companions of the Prophet Abu Bakr and Umar ibn al-Khattab to the Shi'a-Rafidiyya, due to the fact that Shi'a-Rafidiyya condemned these two Companions (Muhammad Siddiq al-Salihi, 3). Al-Salihi hoped that his treatise would benefit the people who love the saints, believe in their miracles, and consider them as role models (Muhammad Siddiq al-Salihi, 281).

Al-Salihi completed the writing of his treatise on Monday, Rajab 21, 1385 A.H. As a scholar trained in the Pesantren, he demonstrated his humbleness in the epilogue of the treatise. He said, "I ask for God's forgiveness whenever he knows from me about my brevity and faulty in explaining and elaborating the sayings of saints". Al-Salihi was also aware of intellectual property right, and accordingly he says, "any excerpts from this treatise which do not mention the name of its author is considered theft" (Muhammad Siddiq al-Salihi, 281).

The Justification for Reading the *Manaqib*

Al-Salihi based his arguments on the legitimacy of reading the *manaqib* from the principles of Islamic jurisprudence (*usul al-fiqh*) and prophetic saying (*hadith*). He said:

Reading the *manaqib* is a thing that is considered good Muslim scholars and Muslim people in many countries, since this an indication of love. This is in line with a *hadith* transmitted via Ibn Mas'ud, 'What Muslims perceive as good, that is also good in the eyes of God, and what Muslims perceive as bad, that is also bad in the eyes of God'. Hence, the gathering in reading the *manaqib* is essentially a gathering of *dhikr* (recollection of God's names), *sadaqa* (charity), *tasbih* (glorification), and honouring the saints of Muslim community (Muhammad Siddiq al-Salihi, 2).

In this regard, al-Salihi was acknowledged *istihsan* (preference) as one of the sources of Islamic jurisprudence and justifies this by the *hadith* which was transmitted via Ibn Mas'ud.

In addition, al-Salihi quoted a Qur'anic verse to support his argument. This verse reads: "Wa kullan naqussu 'alayk min anba'i al-rusul li nuthabbita bih fu'adak" (We told you the stories of the messengers so that your mind would become firm (Qur'an: Hud 10)). Al-Salihi argued that the retelling of stories of the saints also serves to make firm the minds of the disciples. Al-Salihi also referred to the *hadith* which was transmitted via al-Dailami. This *hadith* reads: "Remembering the prophets is a part of worship, remembering the pious Muslims would be a release from sins, and remembering death will make you closer to Heaven" (Muhammad Siddiq al-Salihi, 1).

Al-Salihi acknowledged that the reading of *manaqib* was not practised by the *salaf*-generation, but this does not necessarily mean that the reading of *manaqib* is illegitimate. He based his arguments on the intricate interplays between the notion of *sunna* and *bid'a*. He stated his arguments in the following words: the Prophet designates things that are invented by the Muslim community after his death which do not run in counter with the ideals of Shari'ah as *sunna*. Hence, good innovation (*bid'ah hasana*) which conforms to foundational goals of Shari'ah is also worth to be considered as *sunna*.

In this regard al-Salihi belongs to the scholars who are convinced of with the virtues of saints and *manaqib*. Al-Salihi's further elaboration on the legitimacy of reading the *manaqib* was observed in

his treatise: “Risālat fī dhikr ba‘dh adillat qirā’at manaqib al-awliyā’ wa ta‘zīm mā ’aḥamahū Allāh min ‘ibādihī al-aṣfiyā’”

Short Explanation to the Text of al-Lujayn al-Dani

When we read through Nayl al-amani, we begin to realize that there were two kinds of explanation (*sharh*) which were provided by al-Salihi. The *first* was a **short explanation** of the text of al-Lujayn al-dani, which does not exceed one page. The *second* was a **long explanation** of the text of al-Lujayn al-dani, which lasted more than one page. The first type of explanation was applied to the phrases which do not need a further explanation, since these, for instance, do not constitute the major doctrines of Sufism and *tariqa*. The second type of explanation was implemented if the phrases were parts of major doctrines of Sufism and *tariqa*, and accordingly necessitated a deeper elaboration and exposition.

Al-Salihi’s short explanation to the text of al-Lujayn al-dani can be observed from the following paragraphs. Al-Salihi explains the phrase “mujab al-da’wa” by saying, “Whenever Abd al-Qadir al-Jilani makes a supplication to God, the angels respond to it by saying amen. If he prays for someone, it would come true by the will of God”. Al-Salihi goes on to explain another phrase “karim al-akhlaq”, by saying, “This is due to the fact that he inherits the morals of his grandfather, the Prophet Muhammad. God says, ‘He (Muhammad) is on nobles character’. As for the meaning of the phrase “tayyib al-‘araq”, al-Salihi says, “Al-Jilani’s body is pure in its exterior and interior dimension so that flies do not touch upon his cloth” (Muhammad Siddiq al-Salihi, 219).

Al-Salihi explained the phrase “wa-la yaruddu sa’ilan wa-law bi-ahad thaubih” by saying, “this is due to al-Jilani’s generosity, until he said that, ‘if a thousand dinar comes to me, it would not remain in my belonging. If I were granted a present I would give it to the people who were there”. As for the meaning of “wa la yansur li-ghayr rabbih”, he said, “He would not help people for his own interest”. In this case, Al-Salihi quoted the saying of Ibn ‘Ata’illah al-Sakandari in his book, al-Hikam: “Your pursuance of something other than God is an indication of the lack of your shame to Him, and your asking to

someone other than God is an indication of the existence of your farness from Him” (Muhammad Siddiq al-Salihi, 220).

Al-Salihi sometimes explained the phrases in the *manaqib* by referring to the **sayings** of al-Jilani. This can be seen for instance when al-Salihi explained the phrase “wa al-lahz safiruh”. For the purpose of explaining this phrase, al-Salihi quotes the sayings of al-Jilani. These sayings read as follows, “Sainthood (*walaya*) is the shadow of prophethood (*nubuwwa*). Prophethood is indicated by vision of spirit, and observance of the appearance of arguments and explanations, with the clarity and pureness that eliminate the impurity of humanness, and with the purity that cleans the dirtiness of human soul. Prophets are the sources of Truth (*al-Haqq*) and saints are examples of truthfulness (*al-sidq*) (Muhammad Siddiq al-Salihi, 222).

Long Explanation to the Text of al-Lujayn al-Dani

Al-Salihi’s long explanation to the text of al-Lujayn al-dani was noted in the following paragraphs. This applies for instance to the phrase “sultan al-awliya’”, which he explained in one and half page (Muhammad Siddiq al-Salihi, 12 – 13). In this regard, al-Salihi pointed out that the qualities of “saint” (*wali*) include: (a) being humble and seeing himself through the eyes of lay people; (b) being worry to fall into the low level, (c) believing to the miracles that appear to him and being not deceived by this miracles. He went on to say that:

Whenever God wants to make someone as a saint, He will open the door of *dhikr* (recollection of God’s names). Whenever he immerse in the *dhikr*, God will open the door of *qurb* (nearness), then He will lift him to the position of *uns* (intimacy) in the chair of *tawhid* (witnessing God’s oneness), then He will lift the veil and will enter him to the *dar al-fardaniyya* (abode of individuality). The next stage would be the unveiling to God’s greatness, so that his insight would be filled by His greatness, disappear in His greatness, stay in God’s protection, would be free from his desires, and accordingly become saint.

Al-Salihi’s explanation was based most particularly on Yusuf al-Nabhani’s Jami’ karamat al-awliya’.

It is also worth mentioning al-Salihi’s explanation to the phrase “wa qala marratan ‘ala al-kursi, idha sa’altumu Allah fas’aluh bi’”. Al-Salihi expounded on the necessity and legitimacy of *tawassul* (resorting to intermediation from God’s saints) in five pages of his

treatise (Muhammad Siddiq al-Salihi, 214 – 219). For that purpose, he referred to the works of other scholars, such as Yusuf al-Nabhani's *Shawahid al-Haqq* and Dawud ibn Sulayman al-Baghdadi al-Hanafi's *al-Minha al-Wahbiyya fi radd al-Wahhabiyya*. He also provided arguments which he drew from the hadith, most particularly as he encountered in Jalal al-Din al-Suyuti's *al-Jami' al-saghir*.

Another instance of al-Salihi's long explanation was his explanation of the phrase "wa damat 'alayh barakatuh", which was written in three and half pages (Muhammad Siddiq al-Salihi, 233 – 236). He quoted Abu Hamid al-Ghazali's saying, "those whom may be benefited for their blessing during their life, they may be expected their blessing after their death. These personages would return to the people when they visit their tomb, and this would not be denied only by those who do not understand". For that purpose, al-Salihi referred to the works of other scholars such as 'Alawi ibn Ahmad's *Misbah al-anam wa jala' al-zalam* and Yusuf al-Nabhani's *Shawahid al-Haqq*. He expounded on the arguments on the legitimacy of benefitting the blessing from the saints and pious, and puts these into nine points, some of which are drawn from the Qur'an and hadith.

Al-Salihi also explained the phrase "yuzar" in a considerable length, in two pages (Muhammad Siddiq al-Salihi, 238 – 239). He pointed out that visiting the tomb (*ziyara*) by sticking to the ethics as laid down by the Shari'ah is recommended (*masnuna*). For that purpose he based his arguments from the Qur'an, hadith, and the sayings of Muslim scholars (*aqwal al-'ulama'*). In this case, he referred to such works as *Subul al-salam*, Yusuf al-Nabhani's *Shawahid al-Haqq*, and Ibn Taymiyya's *al-Fatawa al-kubra*. Al-Salihi refers to Ibn Taymiyya's *al-Fatawa al-kubra* most particularly to defend against the worry of some people that during tomb visit, there may emerge evil, namely the mixing of men and women. Ibn Taymiyya argues that the mixing of men and women cannot become a reason (*'illa*) in forbidding tomb visit, since the mixing of men and women also take place in markets.

As for the phrase "wa qasadnahu fal-narfa' ila Allah akfa al-ibtihal", al-Salihi wrote his explanations on two pages (Muhammad Siddiq al-Salihi, 240 – 241). He explained that raising two hands (*raf' al-yaddayn*) during the supplication is recommended, and originated

from the prophetic tradition, and subsequently he brought forward these arguments and arranged them into ten points.

Al-Salihi's explanation of the phrase "ya ayyatuha al-arwah al-muqaddasa" is worth mentioning. He explained this phrase in three pages (Muhammad Siddiq al-Salihi, 244 – 246). The first page was devoted to providing a definition of *ruh* (spirit). The next two pages dealt with the justification of calling and addressing (*al-nida' wa al-khitab*) to the dead, as observed from the phrase "ya ayyatuha al-arwah al-muqaddasa" (O the exalted spirits). In this case, al-Salihi cited some *hadiths* to support his argument. He referred to such works as al-Ghazzali's *Mishkat al-anwar*, Muhammad Habib Allah al-Shinqiti's *Zad al-muslim*, and Yusuf al-Nabhani's *Shawahid al-Haqq*.

Pertaining to the phrase "wa-li al-zulfa rajawna-kum", al-Salihi articulated his explanation in one and half pages (Muhammad Siddiq al-Salihi, 269 – 270). He argued that asking for assistance of the saints (*istimdad, istighathah*) is legitimate both when they are alive or have died. It is essentially God who gives assistance, according He alone is worthy of "essential assistance giver" (*al-mustaghath bih haqiqatan*), whilst prophets and saints only serve as "allegorical assistance giver" (*al-mustaghath bih majazan*).

Al-Salihi explained the phrase "sajida bayn yadayk" in one and half pages (Muhammad Siddiq al-Salihi, 275 – 276). He indicated the difference between the prayer of the Shari'ah and that of Gnostics. He pointed out that the people of Shari'ah perform their *ruku'* (bowing) and *sujud* (prostration) with their physical body, whilst the Gnostics conduct their *ruku'* and *sujud* with his soul, accordingly their prayer is worthy of designating as "constant prayer" (*al-salat al-da'im*).

The Account on the Miracles and Virtues of 'Abd al-Qadir al-Jilani

The account on the *karama* (minor miracles, saintly marvels) of the saints constitutes an important part of the *manaqib*. Al-Salihi himself defines the *manaqib* as "laudatory deeds (*mafakhir al-'amal*), since some people take benefit from the stories and the telling of miracles, and some people are impressed by the poems and hearing" (Muhammad Siddiq al-Salihi, 20 – 21).

Pertaining to the notion of *karama*, Erik S. Ohlander⁴⁸ explained the following, “as a technical term in the Muslim religious sciences both its etymology and usage fall close to the Greek *charisma(ta)* in the sense of denoting the miraculous, wondrous, or preternatural feats which God freely grants certain elect individuals the capacity to perform through the munificent generosity (*karama*) of his divine favor”. Ohlander went on to distinguish between *karama* (minor miracles, saintly marvels) and *mu’jiza* (evidentiary miracle of a prophet). For him, the *mu’jiza* designates “a miraculous deed, act, or sign intended to evince the veracity of a prophet’s mission by publicly demonstrating the error of his opponents through exposing their ‘impotence’ (*‘ajz*) to effect or produce the same, an occurrence always preceded by a ‘proclamation’ (*da’wa*), and a ‘challenge’ (*tahaddi*)”. As for *karama*, Ohlander employed it in the sense: “any number of personal charismata that are neither indicative of prophetic appointment nor, although not always, intended for public view, as distinct from the effects of magic or from seemingly miraculous occurrences which actually result from the ‘divine ruse’ (*makr, istidraj*)”.

Al-Salihi pointed out that one of the miracles of al-Jilani included his extra-ordinary hearing ability. Al-Salihi went on to say (Muhammad Siddiq al-Salihi, 20 – 21):

Al-Jilani is able to hear the glorification of animals, plants and non living creatures. He is also able to hear the conversation across the country, many places of the world and even the deep oceans, so he is able to hear the glorification of fishes. The glorification of these creatures reads ‘Subhana al-malik al-khallaq rab al-jamadat wa al-hayawanat wa al-nabatat wa al-arzaq (Glorification belongs to Great King and Creator”, God of non-living creatures, animals, plants and prosperity).

Another *karama* of al-Jilani was his ability to learn knowledge very quickly and to obtain this knowledge from good sources (Muhammad Siddiq al-Salihi, 31). The place where al-Jilani died would be one of the best places on earth (Muhammad Siddiq al-Salihi, 25). One of the stories pertaining to al-Jilani’s *karama* reads as follows:

At that time I was a child and I went out to the crowd of people at the day of ‘Arafa (9 Dhu al-hijja). A cow followed me, looked at me and said, ‘Hi ‘Abd al-Qadir, you are not created for this purpose’. Then I went home immediately and climb to roof of my house. I saw many people performing *wuquf* (standing) at ‘Arafa. I went to my mother and I said to her, ‘God

granted by smartness and advised me to go to Baghdad so that I could be immersed in seeking for knowledge and visiting the pious people'. My mother asked me about the reason of doing that, and therefore I told her the story, and she cried. She stood and gave eighty *dinar* to me and allowed me to do a journey to Baghdad. She asked me to be truthful in any occasions (Muhammad Siddiq al-Salihi, 29).

Al-Salihi explained the *karamah* of al-Jilani. This pertains to the phrase "wa kana fi tufulatih yamtani' min al-rada'a fi nahar al-ramadan". Al-Salihi explained this phrase by saying (Muhammad Siddiq al-Salihi, 28): "Al-Jilani's mother, Fatimah bint 'Abd Allah al-Sufi, said, 'After I delivered my baby, 'Abd al-Qadir, he never suckle my nipples in the mid-day of Ramadan. At that time the night had been overcast so that the people could not see that crescent (*hilal*) of Ramadan. The people came to me, and accordingly I told them, 'Abd al-Qadir did not suckle my nipples today. It became clear for them that the day was part of Ramadan".

The account on al-Jilani's father Abu Salih is worth remarking, since this will allow us to comprehend his psychological condition preceding the birth of al-Jilani. It was reported that al-Jilani's father saw the Prophet Muhammad in his dream. The Prophet Muhammad said to him, "Hi my son. God granted a son to you. He is my son, my beloved and God's beloved. He will held a special position among the saints, like my special position among the prophets" (Muhammad Siddiq al-Salihi, 27).

Al-Salihi further mentioned the virtues of al-Jilani (Muhammad Siddiq al-Salihi, 26 – 27). *First*, the forthcoming of al-Jilani had been told to the Prophet Sulayman. It had been also told that genie and Satan would be under his control. *Second*, the spirit of al-Jilani became a ladder through which the Prophet Muhammad stepped to the *sidrat al-muntaha* (Lote tree) so that the Prophet's footmark was observable on al-Jilani's shoulders. *Third*, the forthcoming of al-Jilani had been told to some Muslim scholars. This for instance happened to 'Uways al-Qarani al-Muradi. Al-Muradi was whispered by a voice from God that 434 years after his death would emerge al-ghawth al-a'zam (the mightiest succor, the supreme helper) called 'Abd al-Qadir al-Jilani and half of the Muslim community would receive his *shafa'a* (intercession). It is worth remarking that the death of al-Muradi was in 47 A.H. and the birth of al-Jilani was in 471 A.H. Another Muslim scholar, Hasan al-Basri, was given the good news that after his death

would emerge a great saint called ‘Abd al-Qadir al-Jilani. It is worth mentioning that al-Bisri passed away in 110 A.H. whilst al-Jilani was born in 471 A.H, so that the interval between them is 361 years. *Fourth*, existing accounts on the *karama* of the saints show that accounts on the *karama* of al-Jilani are much larger than those of any other saints.

Conclusion

The Tariqa Qadiriyya wa Naqsyabandiyyah (TQN) is a spiritual movement developed mainly by the Kalimantan scholar Ahmad Khatib ibn ‘Abd al-Ghaffar Sambas (1803-1875). Ahmad Khatib Sambas’ *silsila* (chain of spiritual authorities) demonstrated the profound influence of the Qādiriyya. Accordingly one might infer that his new order follows the tradition of the Qadiriyya, although it also employs techniques of other *ṭariqa*, especially the Naqsyabandiyyah.

The members of the TQN used to read the hagiography (*manaqib*) of ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlanī (d. 1166) at their gatherings, although one has to be aware that the practice of reading the *manaqib* of al-Jīlanī was also widespread within the students of other *ṭariqas*. Interestingly, now in some parts of Java there are also members of the Naqsyabandiyyah who read the *manaqib* of Bahā‘ al-Dīn Naqshband (1317-1388).

The *manaqib* can be called a laudatory biography. This genre is often employed to depict the lives of saints and other venerated figures. As far as they are concerned, with the saints or Sufis the *manaqib* normally attempts to bring out their miracles.

It was the sheikhs of the TQN who composed translations or adaptations of diverse hagiographical works in local languages. We may mention such names as Muslih ibn ‘Abd al-Rahman al-Maraqi (d. 1981) and Nawawi Siddiq al-Zarkashi. The sheikh of the TQN from Kudus, Central Java, Muhammad Siddiq al-Salihi, was worth specific mention. He wrote a more serious work entitled *Nayl al-amani*.

Muhammad Siddiq al-Salihi (d. 2009) was considered to be the founding father of the Pesantren Manbaul Falah which is located in Piji, Dawe, Kudus, Central Java. His work, *Nayl al-amani*, serves an explanation to *Al-Lujayn al-dani*. *Al-Lujayn al-dani* was written by

Ja'far ibn Hasan ibn 'Abd al-Karim al-Barzanji (1176-1764). Al-Salihi belongs to the scholars who are convinced with the virtues of saints and *manaqib*, accordingly he devoted some of his time in defending the miracles of the saints and in justifying the legitimacy of reading the *manaqib*.

When we read through Nayl al-amani, we begin to realize that there are two kinds of explanation (*sharh*) which are provided by al-Salihi. The *first* was a short explanation for the text of al-Lujayn al-dani, which does not exceed one page. The *second* was a long explanation for the text of al-Lujayn al-dani, which lasted more than one page. It seems to me that the first type of explanation is applied to the phrases which do not need a further elaboration, since these, for instance, do not constitute the major doctrines of Sufism and *tariqa*. The second type of explanation was implemented if the phrases were parts of major doctrines of Sufism and *tariqa*, and accordingly necessitated a deeper elaboration and exposition.

The account on the miracles of the saints constituted an important part of the *manaqib*. Al-Salihi himself defined the *manaqib* as “laudatory deeds” (*mafakhir al-'amal*), since, he argued that some people received benefit from the stories and the telling of miracles.

Endnotes

- ¹ Martin van Bruinessen, “Controversies and Polemics involving the Sufi Orders”, p. 706-707. For more elaborated discussion of this network, please see: Azyumardi Azra, *Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah dan Kepulauan Nusantara abad XVII dan XVIII: Melacak Akar-akar Pembaharuan Pemikiran Islam di Indonesia*, (Bandung: Mizan, 1994).
- ² For a general survey of the Naqshbandiyya and the Qādirīyya, please see for example: J. Spencer Trimingham, *The Sufi Orders in Islam*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978); D.S. Margoliouth, “Qādirīyya”, *The Encyclopaedia of Islam: New Edition*, (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1978), vol. 4, p. 380-383; and Hamid Algar and K.A. Nizami, “Naqshbandiyya”, *The Encyclopaedia of Islam: New Edition*, (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1993), vol. 7, p. 934-939.
- ³ For further explanation of the type(s) of *dhikr* practised in the Naqshbandiyya, please see: Hamid Algar, “Silent and Vocal Dhikr in the Naqshbandi Order”, *Akten des VII Kongresses für Arabistik und Islamwissenschaft*, (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1974), p. 39-46. See also: Isenbike Togan, “The Khafī Jahri Controversy in Central Asia Revisited”, in: Elizabeth Ozdalga (ed.), *Naqshbandis in Western and Central*

- Asia: Change and Continuity*, (Istanbul: Swedish Research Institute in Istanbul, 1999), p. 17-46.
- 4 The pesantren is a traditional Islamic boarding school in Indonesia.
 - 5 Martin van Bruinessen, "Controversies and Polemics involving the Sufi Orders", p. 709. The Sammāniyya was founded by Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Karīm al-Sammānī (1718-1775). His Sumatran pupil 'Abd al-Samad ibn 'Abd Allah (known as 'Abd al-Samad al-Falimbani) played a significant role in the propagation of the Sammāniyya in the Malay peninsula (J. Spencer Trimingham, *The Sufi Orders in Islam*, p. 77, 130).
 - 6 Martin van Bruinessen, "Origins and Development of the Sufi Orders (Tarekat) in Southeast Asia", p. 11.
 - 7 Anna Gade and Michael R. Feener, "Muslim Thought and Practice", p. 190.
 - 8 Martin van Bruinessen, "Origins and Development of the Sufi Orders (Tarekat) in Southeast Asia", p. 10.
 - 9 Martin van Bruinessen, "Shaykh 'Abd al-Qadir al-Jilani and the Qadiriyya in Indonesia", p. 11.
 - 10 Martin van Bruinessen, "Origins and Development of the Sufi orders (Tarekat) in Southeast Asia", p. 9-10.
 - 11 Martin van Bruinessen, "Shaykh 'Abd al-Qadir al-Jilani and the Qadiriyya in Indonesia", p. 11.
 - 12 See: Syed Naquib al-Attas, *Some Aspects of Sufism as Understood and Practised among the Malays*, p. 32-33.
 - 13 Sri Mulyati, "History of Qādiriyya and Naqshbandiyya Orders in Indonesia", (online), (<http://islamicsupremecouncil.org/spirituality/Qadiri/qad-naqsh-indo.htm>, accessed on 20 February 2007).
 - 14 A classic study on the significance of the *Jawi* community in nineteenth century Mecca can be found in C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka in the Latter Part of the 19th Century: Daily Life, Customs and Learning the Moslems of the East-Indian Archipelago*, (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1931).
 - 15 Michael Francis Laffan, *Islamic Nationhood and Colonial Indonesia*, p. 21.
 - 16 Sartono Kartodirdjo, *The Peasants' Revolt of Banten in 1888*, p. 153. This standpoint is primarily held by C. Snouck Hurgronje.
 - 17 The Shaṭṭāriyya is a Sufi order assigned to 'Abd Allāh al-Shaṭṭār (d. 1428).
 - 18 The technique of *dhikr* which concentrates on breathing (Ahmad Khatib Sambas, *Inilah Risalah yang Dinamakan Fath al-'Arifin, yang Diterjemahkan dengan Bahasa Melayu, pada Menyatakan Baiat Dhikr dan Silsilah al-Qadiriyyah dan al-Naqshbandiyyah*, (Cairo: Dār Ihyā' al-Kutub al-'Arabiyya, 1928), p.1)
 - 19 Ahmad Khatib Sambas (*Fath al-'Arifin*, p. 1-2) provides an example of this sort of *ṭarīqah*, as follows: "reciting *subḥān Allāh* 4000 times on Sunday, *alḥamd lillāh* 4000 times on Monday, *lā ilāha illā Allāh* 4000 times on

- Tuesday, *Allāh akbar* 4000 times on Wednesday, *lā ḥawla wa-lā qūwata illā billāh* 4000 times on Thursday, *ṣalawāt* on Friday, and *istighfār* on Saturday.
- ²⁰ Reciting one of the most beautiful names of God (*al-asmā' al-ḥusnā*) (Ahmad Khatib Sambas, *Fath al-'Arifin*, p. 3).
- ²¹ Martin van Bruinessen, "Shaykh 'Abd al-Qadir al-Jilani and the Qadiriyya in Indonesia", p. 11-12.
- ²² Wan Mohd. Shaghir Abdullah, "Syeikh Nawawi al-Bantani", (online) (<http://ulama.blogspot.com/2005/03/syeikh-nawawi-al-bantani.html>, accessed on 1 March 2010).
- ²³ Iik Arifin Mansurnoor, "Response of Southeast Asian Muslims to the Increasingly Globalized World: Discourse and Action", *HAOL* 5 (2004), p. 106, (online), (<http://www.historia-actual.com/HAO/Volumes/Volume1/Issue5/eng/v1i5c10.pdf>, accessed on 15 January 2007).
- ²⁴ Martin van Bruinessen, "Shaykh 'Abd al-Qadir and the Qadiriyya in Indonesia", p. 16.
- ²⁵ C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka in the Latter Part of the 19th Century*, p. 278.
- ²⁶ Kharisuddin Aqib, *Al-Hikmah*, p. 55.
- ²⁷ Martin van Bruinessen, "Shaykh 'Abd al-Qadir al-Jilani and the Qadiriyya in Indonesia", p. 13.
- ²⁸ Martin van Bruinessen, *Tarekat Naqsyabandiyah di Indonesia*, p. 96-97.
- ²⁹ Martin van Bruinessen, "Shaykh 'Abd al-Qadir al-Jilani and the Qadiriyya in Indonesia", p. 19.
- ³⁰ Werner Kraus, *Zwischen Reform und Rebellion*, p. 103.
- ³¹ CH. Pellat, "Manāḳib", *The Encyclopaedia of Islam: New Edition*, (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1991), vol. 6, p. 349-357
- ³² E. Levi-Provencal, "Manāḳib", *E.J. Brill's First Encyclopaedia of Islam*, (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1991), vol. 5, p. 227.
- ³³ E. Levi-Provencal, "Manāḳib", *E.J. Brill's First Encyclopaedia of Islam*, (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1991), vol. 5, p. 227.
- ³⁴ Heather N. Keaney, *Medieval Islamic Historiography: Remembering Rebellion*, (London and New York: Routledge, 2013).
- ³⁵ Asma Afsaruddin, "In Praise of the Caliphs: Re-creating History from the Manaḳib Literatur", *International Journal of Middle East Studies*. 31 (1999): 329.
- ³⁶ Heather N. Keaney, *Medieval Islamic Historiography*.
- ³⁷ Heather N. Keaney, *Medieval Islamic Historiography*.
- ³⁸ Colin Paul Mitchell, Book Review: Excellence and Precedence: Medieval Islamic Discourse on Legitimate Leadership, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. 124, no. 3 (2004): 613-614.
- ³⁹ Martin van Bruinessen, *Tarekat Naqsyabandiyah di Indonesia*, p. 98.

- ⁴⁰ Werner Kraus, *Zwischen Reform und Rebellion*, p. 104.
- ⁴¹ Martin van Bruinessen, “Shaykh ‘Abd al-Qadir al-Jilani and the Qadiriyya in Indonesia”, p. 1, 4, 5.
- ⁴² Martin van Bruinessen, “Shaykh ‘Abd al-Qadir al-Jilani and the Qadiriyya in Indonesia”, p. 9.
- ⁴³ Muslih ibn ‘Abd al-Rahman al-Maraqi, *al-Nūr al-burhānī*.
- ⁴⁴ Muhammad Siddiq al-Salihi, *Nayl al-amānī fī dhikr manāqib al-quṭb al-rabbānī sayyidinā al-shaykh ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlanī*, (Kudus: Jam‘iyat Ṭarīqah al-Qādiriyya wa al-Naqshbandiyya Manba‘ al-Falāh, n.d.).
- ⁴⁵ Werner Kraus, *Zwischen Reform und Rebellion*, p. 103
- ⁴⁶ See his book, *Mekka in the Latter Part of the 19th Century: Daily Life, Customs and Learning, the Muslims of the East-Indian Archipelago*, (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1931). This position is followed by an Indonesian scholar, Sartono Kartodirjo, who designates the followers of ‘Abd al-Karim Banten as the Qādiriyya.
- ⁴⁷ On the cover of *Wasa’il wuṣūl al-‘abd ila mawlāh* it proclaims that it was written by “al-shaykh al-‘ālīm al-‘allāmah Muslih ibn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Marāqī al-Dīmāwī al-Qādirī al-Shāfi‘ī”. Some leaders of the TQN in Mranggen occasionally call themselves the adherents of the Qādiriyya because its elements are dominant in the TQN.
- ⁴⁸ Erik S. Ohlander, „Karama“, *Encyclopædia Iranica*, XV/5, p. 547-549, available online at <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/karama>, accessed July 29, 2015.

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 5. Reference to CD-R0Ms: eg. Hawking, SW. (1994). A Brief History of Time: an Interactive Adventure (CD-ROM).Crunch Media.

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1. Space is 1.5.
2. Standard Letter (8.5x11) margin: top 1.2cm, below: 0.6, left: 0.8 and right: 0.6.
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هيئة التحرير:

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أدوين ويرينجا (جامعة كولونيا)

أنابيل تيه جالوب (المكتبة البريطانية، المملكة المتحدة)

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عائق سوسيلو (جامعة شريفهداية للهِالإسلامية الحكومية جاكارتا)

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كوسانتو

الصورة فيالغلا فالأمامي عن بيات تنه جاوى و مأخوذة من

<http://kisahdanbabad.blogspot.co.id/2012/07/awal-terbentukny-pulau-jawa.html>

محور هذه المجلة هو تزويد القراء بمعلومات حول خطة إندونيسية ودولية في تطوير المؤلفات والتراث الديني من خلال نشر المقالات والتقارير البحثية ومراجعات الكتب.

تركزت هريتيج اوفنوسانتارا للبحث في المؤلفات الدينية سواء كانت معاصرة أو قديمة، والتراث الديني الواقع فيجنوبشرقآسيا، وترجمتها للمثقفينو العلماء المتخصصين في هذا المجال.

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ت/الفاكس: +62 21 3920713 – 3920718

البريد الإلكتروني: heritage@kemenag.go.id

الموقع: <http://jurnallektur.kemenag.go.id/index.php/heritage>

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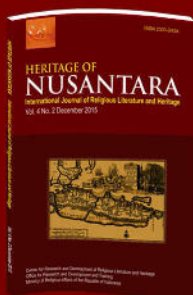
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