



**THE USE OF *NAQLĪ* AND *‘AQLĪ* APPROACHES IN  
AFFIRMING ISLAMIC CREED AS REFLECTED  
IN SHAYKH DĀWŪD BIN ‘ABD ALLĀH  
AL-FATĀNĪ’S *WARD AL-ZAWĀHIR***

By

HASBULLAH BIN MOHAMAD

A Dissertation submitted in fulfillment of the  
requirements of the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in  
Islamic Revealed Knowledge and Heritage  
(*Uṣūl al-Dīn* and Comparative Religion)

Kulliyyah of Islamic Revealed Knowledge  
and Human Sciences  
International Islamic University Malaysia

JULY 2014

## ABSTRACT

In the name of Allah, Most Gracious, Most Merciful.

Shaykh Dāwūd bin Abdullah al-Faṭānī's *Ward al-Zawāhir* is claimed as the greatest and most comprehensive creedal work in *jawi* scripts. Such claim needs proper appraisal, which could be observed within the use of the authoritative argumentations of the revealed sources as well as the faculty of reason that obviously distinguished it particularly from other previous creedal *jawi* scripts. This parallels with his middle course of creedal approach in dealing with the polemic concerning the glorifying of revelation and reason. The first three chapters indicate his scholarship and contribution to the development of knowledge as well as his response to the contemporary religious and social milieu in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries of Mecca and the Malay Archipelago. Thus, his response to such milieus attempts to establish the creedal reform within the writing of *jawi* scripts, as reflected in his *Ward al-Zawāhir*. In this regard, Shaykh Dāwūd bin Abdullah al-Faṭānī's *Ward al-Zawāhir* focuses on the prime creedal objective i.e. knowing God (*ma'rifat Allāh*) that is attainable through sound understanding as well as through the Islamic practices. Towards this end, he emphasised the need to refer to the authoritative creedal argumentation of revealed sources (*naqliyah*) and sound ratiocination (*'aqliyah*) by means of literal or interpretive justifications. Thus, it would elevate from blind imitation (*taqlīd*) to certitude (*yaqīn*) towards *ma'rifat Allāh* as being illustrated in chapter four. For that, Shaykh Dāwūd bin Abdullah al-Faṭānī attempts to employ the authoritative revealed sources of the Qur'ān, and the authentic *ḥadīth* (*ṣaḥīḥ*) and fair one (*ḥasan*). In contrast, the weak *ḥadīth* (*da'īf*) is applicable in the branches of religious practices (*furū'*) and the merit of certain deeds (*faḍā'il al-a'māl*) which support the authorized ones. Similar is his treatment to the authoritative Qur'anic interpretation. Chapter five demonstrates his extent and consistency to deal with the authority of the *naqliyah* based on his attempts to maintain with the authoritative creedal argumentation. Chapter six illustrates his dealing with the faculty of reason (*'aqliyah*). His emphasis on the role of the independent scholar's opinion (*ijtihād*) indicates his recognition of the qualified scholars to deal with the *'aqliyah*. He views that the qualified scholars refer to the Companions, the generation who followed them of the Successors, followers of the Successors, and the Muslim scholars (*mujtahid*) of the *Ahl al-Sunnah*. His employment of the opinions of prominent scholars, consensus (*ijmā'*), and analogy (*qiyās*) indicate his creedal approach of the *'aqliyah*. In fact, his dealing with the *naqliyah* and *'aqliyah* based on revelation is superior to the intellect in the complementary manner with the harmonious dealing, which would be relevant throughout the ages.

## ملخص البحث

لقد قيل عن كتاب ورد الزواهر للشيخ داوود عبد الله الفطاني أنه من أعظم المؤلفات وأكثرها شمولية باللغة الجاوية في علم العقيدة، إن مثل هذا القول يحتاج إلى تقييم مناسب، الذي يمكن أن يلاحظ ضمن المناظرات الموثقة التي تستخدم الأدلة النقلية والعقلية والتي تميزها بوضوح وتحديدًا عن ما سبق كتابته في علم العقيدة باللغة الجاوية. هذا يتناسب مع منهجه الوسطي في دراسة العقيدة في التعامل مع المجادلين فيما يتعلق بتمجيد النقل والعقل. إن الفصول الثلاثة الأولى تتحدث عن نبذة من حياته العلمية وإسهاماته في تطور المعرفة خصوصاً داخل المجتمع الملايوي وتفاعله مع البيئة الدينية والاجتماعية المعاصرة في القرون الثامنة والتاسعة عشر في مكة وجنوب الشرق آسيا. وهكذا فإن تفاعله مع تلك البيئة هي محاولة لتحديد مذهب عقائدي من خلال الكتابة باللغة الجاوية، كما هو واضح في كتابه ورد الزواهر.

في هذا الصدد، يركز كتاب ورد الزواهر على هدف العقيدة الأساسي وهو معرفة الله، والذي يمكن تحقيقه من خلال الفهم السليم وكذلك من خلال الشعائر الإسلامية. وتحقيقاً لهذا الهدف، أكد الشيخ داوود على الحاجة إلى الرجوع إلى مصادر الوحي الصحيحة (النقلية) والاستدلال السليم (العقلية) عند صياغة العقيدة من خلال التفسير التأويلي أو الحرفي. وفي هذا ارتقاء من مرحلة التقليد الأعمى إلى مرحلة اليقين في معرفة الله كما هو موضح في الفصل الرابع. ومن أجل ذلك يحاول الشيخ داوود أن يعتمد على مصادر الوحي الصحيحة (النقلية) كالقرآن، والأحاديث الصحيحة والحسنة. أما الأحاديث الضعيفة فيمكن الأخذ بها في فضائل الأعمال والمسائل الفروعية والوعظ، ولتعزيز الصحيح من الأحاديث. وذلك يتشابه مع تعامله مع تفسير القرآن من خلال الرواية بالمأثور أو الاسرائيليات. وفي الواقع يحاول الشيخ داوود أن يتمسك بالدليل في جدله العقائدي للأدلة النقلية. إن الفصل الخامس يُظهر استمراره وثباته في التعامل مع الأدلة النقلية.

إن الفصل السادس يوضح تعامله مع الأدلة العقلية. إن تأكيده على دور رأي العالم المستقل (الاجتهاد) والتحديد الإسلامي يشير إلى تقديره للعلماء المؤهلين الذين يتعاملون مع الأدلة العقلية من آراء العلماء المؤهلين من الصحابة والأتباع من السلف الصالح و علماء السنة المجتهدين. إن استعماله لآراء إجماع العلماء البارزين والقياس يدل على مناهجه العقائدية من خلال الأدلة العقلية. في الواقع إن تعامله مع الأدلة العقلية والنقلية قام على الوحي كمصدر أعلى من العقل، وذلك بطريقة متممة وأسلوب متسق أي أنهما متكاملان ولا يتعارضان، والذي سيكون ذو صلة وثيقة على مر العصور.

## **APPROVAL PAGE**

The thesis of Hasbullah Mohamad has been approved by the following:

---

Wan Mohd Azam Mohd Amin  
Supervisor

---

Abdul Salam Muhammad Shukri  
Internal Examiner

---

Md. Salleh Yapar  
External Examiner

---

Othman Omran Khalifa  
Chairman

## DECLARATION PAGE

I hereby declare that this dissertation is the result of my own investigations, except where otherwise stated. I also declare that it has not been previously or concurrently submitted as a whole for any other degrees at IIUM or other institutions.

Hasbullah Mohamad

Signature : .....

Date: .....

**COPYRIGHT PAGE**

**INTERNATIONAL ISLAMIC UNIVERSITY MALAYSIA**

**DECLARATION OF COPYRIGHT AND AFFIRMATION  
OF FAIR USE OF UNPUBLISHED RESEARCH**

Copyright © 2014 by Hasbullah bin Mohamad. All rights reserved.

**THE USE OF *NAQLĪ* AND *ʿAQLĪ* APPROACHES IN AFFIRMING ISLAMIC  
CREED AS REFLECTED IN SHAYKH DĀWŪD BIN ʿABD ALLĀH AL-  
FAṬĀNĪ'S *WARD AL-ZAWĀHIR***

No part of this unpublished research may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise without prior written permission of the copyright holder except as provided below.

1. Any material contained in or derived from this unpublished research may only be used by others in their writing with due acknowledgement.
2. IIUM or its library will have the right to make and transmit copies (print or electronic) for institutional and academic purpose.
3. The IIUM library will have the right to make, store in a retrieval system and supply copies of this unpublished research if requested by other universities and research libraries.

Affirmed by Hasbullah bin Mohamad.

.....  
Signature

.....  
Date

## **DEDICATIONS**

**This dissertation is dedicated to my parents, wife, children, all family members, and friends who have supported me all the way since the beginning of my studies. Also, this dissertation is dedicated to all those who believe in the richness of gaining knowledge.**

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

With regard to the completion of my doctorate research, I have benefited invaluable experiences throughout my study from my supervisor, members of staff and friends at the Department of *Uṣūl al-Dīn* and Comparative Religion, Kulliyah of Islamic Revealed Knowledge and Human Sciences, Center of Postgraduate Studies, International Islamic University Malaysia, and those who kindly contributed valuable advice and assistance.

To my supervisor, Assoc. Prof. Dr. Wan Mohd Azam bin Mohd Amin, I owe a great debt of gratitude that I will forever remember his assistance, advice, guidance, support as well as his scholarship and friendship particularly in the completion of my research. His intellectual generosity has strongly inspired me the courage to approach the intellectual qualitative discourse especially in writing my dissertation that eventually has influenced and sharpened my intellectual development especially in Islamic creed. Thus, his kindness of virtues led me to appreciate the Islamic religious role as the way of Muslim life, and therefore attempts to contribute for the betterment of *ummah* especially in dealing with the development of the Islamic educational system.

My study is focused on the way Dāwūd al-Faṭānī's *Ward al-Zawāhir* presented arguments of revealed sources on theological matters and the way he dealt with intellectual capacity in affirming Islamic creed. This study eventually indicates that he was consistent with his methodology of the use of the authority of the *naqlī* and *ʿaqlī* in approaching the goal of Islamic creed, i.e. knowing God (*maʿrifat Allāh*). Thus, I have admired his great effort in affirming the Islamic creed with the optimal use of the authoritative arguments of the *naqlī* and *ʿaqlī* towards its goal, which has significantly benefited especially the Malay people and readers. In fact, we owe a debt of gratitude to our Malay scholars to develop our theological thinking within their Malay works (i.e. *jawi* treatises).

I would like to thank my fellow friends and colleagues for being so supportive especially Assoc. Prof. Dr. Naamane Djeghim, Dr. Abd Latif Abdul Razak, Assoc. Prof. Dr Abdul Salam Muhammad Shukri, Yau Sim Mei, and many others whose friendship, advice, and suggestions contributed to the making of this dissertation. I would like to express my heartfelt appreciation to the Ministry of Higher Education and International Islamic University for their financial support as well as academic consultation. I especially owe a debt of gratitude to the former Dean of Kulliyah of Islamic Revealed Knowledge and Human Sciences, Dr Badri Najib Zubir for his support and advice to overcome the obstacles of writing my dissertation. Without their support, it would have been impossible for me to complete my intellectual contribution for the religion, country, and *ummah*.

First and foremost, I would like to thank my beloved wife, Nik Saramarlina Saadan whom I owe a debt of gratitude beyond what words could express for her understanding, care, patience, encouragement, and tolerance whose sacrifice and moral support sustained my long journey to the completion of my study. The gratitude

of the blessing of Allah who bestowed upon me a happy family that of my children, Muhammad Haziq Abqari, Muhammad Hakim Abqari, Fatin Najwa, Nawal Husna and Muhammad Hariz Abqari who have shared the joy and sorrow throughout my period of study. Their entertaining behaviours have made me glad and happy, and spurred my determination to complete my studies for the betterment of our future. I owe them a debt of gratitude that I will never be able to pay.

I would like to express my greatest appreciation to my family and family in-law especially my father Mohamad Salleh and late mother Melah Yaacob for being firmly supportive of my path of ambitions as early as I was a child until today. To my late mother who paid great effort and sacrifice to the well being of her children, nothing could repay her virtues but at least this contribution would likely be a little gift. Without their love and great attention to my education, I would not have reached this level. I owe a debt gratitude to my stepmother, Rahimah Ibrahim, father in-law Saadan Abdul Jabbar and mother in-law Nik Rakiah Wan Abdullah as well as other family members for being supportive and understanding of my situation as a senior student who has very tight research schedule and constraints, which have limit me to entertain all of them as usual.

Finally, I would like to thank all parties whom I would not be able to mention here, but their contribution is highly appreciated and may Allah always bestow His blessing and rewards on their contributions in helping me complete this research. For them, I owe a debt of gratitude that I would never be able to express with words.

# TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract.....	ii
Abstract In Arabic (ملخص البحث).....	iii
Approval Page.....	iv
Declaration Page.....	v
Copyright Page.....	vi
Dedications.....	vii
Acknowledgements.....	viii
Table of Contents.....	x
Abbreviations.....	xiii
Table of Transliteration.....	xv

## CHAPTER 1: BACKGROUND

1.1 Introduction.....	1
1.2 Statement of the Problem.....	4
1.3 Research Questions.....	8
1.4 Objectives of Study.....	9
1.5 Scope and Limitation of Study.....	9
1.6 Methodology of Study.....	11
1.7 Literature Review.....	15
1.8 Organization of the Chapters.....	26

## CHAPTER 2: DĀWŪD AL-FAṬĀNĪ'S BACKGROUND AND CONTRIBUTION

2.1 Introduction.....	30
2.2 Biography of Dāwūd al-Faṭānī.....	31
2.2.1 His Name and Ancestry.....	31
2.2.2 Birth and Education.....	33
2.2.3 His Teachers.....	37
2.2.4 His Students.....	39
2.3 Dāwūd al-Faṭānī's Scholarly Activities.....	42
2.3.1 His Contribution in Islamic Jurisprudence ( <i>Fiqh</i> ).....	42
2.3.2 His Contribution in Islamic Creed ( <i>'Aqīdah</i> ).....	45
2.3.3 His Contribution in Sufism ( <i>Tasawwuf</i> ) and Ethics.....	47
2.3.4 His Contribution in the Socio-Religious Affairs and Other Disciplines.....	50

2.4 Dāwūd al-Faṭānī's Religious Literature.....	52
2.5 Summary.....	56

### **CHAPTER 3: *WARD AL-ZAWĀHIR*: A RESPONSE TO THE ISSUES WITH RELIGIOUS MILIEU IN MECCA AND THE MALAY ARCHIPELAGO**

3.1 Introduction.....	58
3.2 Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb's Movement and Religious Milieu in Mecca....	59
3.2.1 Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb's Background.....	59
3.2.2 Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb's Movement.....	61
3.2.3 Religious Milieu of Mecca.....	65
3.3 Religious Milieu in the Malay Archipelago.....	69
3.3.1 Animism and Shamanism ( <i>Bomoh</i> ).....	69
3.3.2 Hindu and Buddhist Influences.....	70
3.3.3 The Arrival of Islam.....	72
3.3.4 Colonialism.....	74
3.4 The Response of Dāwūd al-Faṭānī's <i>Ward al-Zawāhir</i> .....	76
3.5 Conclusion.....	84

### **CHAPTER 4: THE METHODOLOGY OF *WARD AL-ZAWĀHIR***

4.1 Introduction.....	86
4.2 The Sources of Commentary.....	87
4.3 The Concept of Knowing God ( <i>Ma'rifat Allāh</i> ).....	93
4.3.1 The Authority of the Revealed Sources ( <i>Naqlī</i> ).....	96
4.3.2 The Authority of the Scholars.....	101
4.4 The Role of <i>Naqlī</i> and 'Aqlī in <i>Ward al-Zawāhir</i> .....	105
4.4.1 Dāwūd al-Faṭānī's Dealing with the <i>Naqlī</i> .....	105
4.4.2 The Presentation of the <i>Naqlī</i> .....	106
4.4.3 The Role of Scholarship in Dealing with the 'Aqlī.....	108
4.5 Systemization of the Writing of <i>Ward al-Zawāhir</i> .....	110
4.6 Concluding Remarks.....	115

### **CHAPTER 5: THE AUTHORITY IN THE *NAQLĪ* APPROACHES OF *WARD AL-ZAWĀHIR***

5.1 Introduction.....	117
5.2 Dāwūd al-Faṭānī's Attitude towards Revealed Sources ( <i>Naqlī</i> ).....	118
5.2.1 The Position of the Solitary <i>Ḥadīth</i> ( <i>Aḥād</i> ).....	118
5.2.2 The Position of Weak <i>Ḥadīth</i> ( <i>Da'īf</i> ).....	123
5.3 The Use of <i>Aḥādīth</i> in <i>Ward al-Zawāhir</i> .....	128
5.3.1 The Authority of <i>Aḥādīth</i> of the <i>Ṣaḥīḥ</i> and <i>Ḥasan</i> .....	128

5.3.2 Elevated <i>Ḥadīth</i> ( <i>Marfūʿ</i> ) and the Transmitters ( <i>Isnād</i> ) of the Companions ( <i>Rāwī al-Aʿlā</i> ).....	135
5.3.3 The Weak <i>Ḥadīth</i> ( <i>Ḍaʿīf</i> ) and the Merit of Certain Deeds ( <i>Faḍāʿil al-Aʿmāl</i> ).....	138
5.4 The Qurʿanic Interpretation.....	144
5.4.1 The Qurʿān and the Commentary Based on Tradition ( <i>Tafsīr bi al-Maʿthūr</i> ).....	144
5.4.2 The Israelite Sources ( <i>Isrāʿīliyyāt</i> ) and Narrative Form ( <i>Ḥikāyah</i> ).....	147
5.5 Conclusion.....	153

## **CHAPTER 6: THE ʿAQLĪ APPROACHES OF DĀWŪD AL-FAṬĀNĪ’S WARD AL-ZAWĀHIR**

6.1 Introduction.....	156
6.2 The Position of Intellect (ʿAqlī) in Islam.....	158
6.3 Intellect as a Source of <i>Ward al-Zawāhir</i> .....	162
6.3.1 Dāwūd al-Faṭānī’s Attitude towards Intellect (ʿAqlī).....	162
6.3.2 The Use of ʿAqlī in <i>Ward al-Zawāhir</i> .....	166
6.4 Jurist’s Exertion ( <i>Ijtihād</i> ) and Blind Imitation ( <i>Taqlīd</i> ).....	175
6.5 <i>Ward al-Zawāhir</i> ’s harmonization in Dealing with the <i>Naqlī</i> and ʿAqlī.....	179
6.5.1 The Preference ( <i>Tarjīḥ</i> ) between <i>Taʿwīl</i> and <i>Tafwīd</i> .....	180
6.5.2 The Integrated Argumentations.....	183
6.5.3 The Abrogation ( <i>Mansūkh</i> ).....	187
6.6 Concluding Remarks.....	188

<b>CONCLUSION</b> .....	191
-------------------------	-----

<b>BIBLIOGRAPHY</b> .....	204
---------------------------	-----

<b>APPENDIX</b> .....	226
-----------------------	-----

## ABBREVIATIONS

### i. Common Abbreviation

AD	After Death
AH	After Hijrah
AFKAR	Journal of <i>'Aqīdah</i> and Islamic Thought
BHEIS	Bahagian Hal Ehwal Islam
d.	died
D.B.P	Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka
ed. / eds.	editor, edited by
edn.	edition / editions
e.g.	( <i>exempligratia</i> ): for example
et al.	( <i>et alia</i> ): and others
etc.	( <i>et cetera</i> ): and so forth
Ibid.	( <i>ibidem</i> ): in the same place
i.e.	( <i>id est</i> ): that is
IKIM	Institut kefahaman Islam Malaysia
n.d.	no date
no.	number
n.p.	no place: no publisher
p. / pp.	page / pages
P.B.U.H.	Peace Be Upon Him
trans.	translator / translated by / transliterated by
vol.	volume / volumes

## ii. List of Abbreviation of the Arabic Literature

<i>‘Aqīdat al-Nājīn</i>	<i>‘Aqīdat al-Nājīn fī ‘Ilm Uṣūl al-Dīn</i>
<i>Ḍiyā’ al-Murīd</i>	<i>Ḍiyā’ al-Murīd fī kalimāt al-tawḥīd</i>
<i>Al-Durr al-Manthūr</i>	<i>al-Durr al-Manthūr fī tafsīr bi al-Ma’thūr</i>
<i>Al-Ibānah</i>	<i>al-Ibānah ‘an uṣūl al-diyānah</i>
<i>Iḥyā’</i>	<i>Iḥyā’ ‘Ulūm al-Dīn</i>
<i>Iljām al-‘Awwām</i>	<i>Iljām al-‘Awwām ‘an ‘Ilm al-Kalām</i>
<i>Istiḥsān al-khawḍ</i> <i>fī ‘Ilm al-Kalām</i>	<i>Risālat fī istiḥsān al-khawḍ fī ‘Ilm al-Kalām</i>
<i>Jāmi‘ al-Bayān</i>	<i>Jāmi‘ al-Bayān ‘an ta’wīl Āy al-Qur’ān</i>
<i>Jam‘ al-Fawā’id</i>	<i>Jam‘ al-Fawā’id wa Jawāhir al-Qalā’id</i>
<i>Kashf al-Ghaybiyyah</i>	<i>Kashf al-Ghaybiyyah fī aḥwāl yawm al-Qiyāmah</i>
<i>Al-Luma‘</i>	<i>al-Luma‘ fī al-radd ‘alā ahl al-ziyagh wa al-bid‘</i>
<i>Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfi</i>	<i>al-Manhal al-Ṣāfi fī bayān ramz ahl al-ṣūfi</i>
<i>Maqālāt</i>	<i>Maqālāt al-Islāmiyīn wa ikhtilāf al-muṣallīn</i>
<i>Al-Munqidh</i>	<i>al-Munqidh min al-ḍalāl</i>
<i>Muqaddimah</i>	<i>Muqaddimat Ibn Khaldūn</i>
<i>Tahāfut</i>	<i>Tahāfut al-Falāsifah</i>

## TABLE OF TRANSLITERATION

System of Transliteration of Arabic Characters.

### Transliteration Table: Consonants

Arabic	Roman		Arabic	Roman
ب	b		ط	ṭ
ت	t		ظ	ẓ
ث	th		ع	‘
ج	j		غ	gh
ح	ḥ		ف	f
خ	kh		ق	q
د	d		ك	k
ذ	dh		ل	l
ر	r		م	m
ز	z		ن	n
س	s		ه	h
ش	sh		و	w
ص	ṣ		ء	’
ض	ḍ		ي	y

### Transliteration Table: Vowels and Diphthongs

Arabic	Roman		Arabic	Roman
اَ	a		أَ، آ، إِي	an
أُ	u		أُو	un
إِ	i		إِي	in
أَ، آ، إِي، عِي	ā		أُو	aw
أُو	ū		إِي	ay
إِي	ī		أُو	uww, ū (in final position)
			إِي	iiy, ī (in final position)

Source : ROTAS Transliteration Kit: <http://rotas.iiu.edu.my>

## LIST OF TRANSLITERATIONS OF THE ARABIC TERMS

<i>‘Adl</i>	trustworthy / reliable
<i>Adillat qat‘iyyah</i>	definitive proofs
<i>Adillat ḡanniyyah</i>	indefinitive proofs
<i>Af‘āl Allāh</i>	Allah’s deeds
<i>Af‘āl al-‘ibād</i>	the acts of the servants
<i>Af‘āl idtirāriyyah</i>	the involuntary actions
<i>Af‘āl ikhtiyāriyyah</i>	the voluntary actions
<i>‘Aqliyah</i>	the faculty of reason / the rational interpretive
<i>Bāṭil</i>	falsehood
<i>Bid‘ah</i>	unwarranted innovations
<i>Ḍabt</i>	good memory
<i>Dalīl ijmālī</i>	general schema of the evidences
<i>Dalīl tafṣilī</i>	detail schema of the evidences
<i>Faḍā’il al-a‘māl</i>	the merit of certain deeds
<i>Fanā’ al-jasad</i>	the destruction of the body
<i>Farḍ ‘ayn</i>	the obligatory on every individual
<i>Farḍ kifāyah</i>	the obligatory on all
<i>Fāsiq</i>	transgressor
<i>Furū‘</i>	branches
<i>Ḥadīth aḡād</i>	solitary tradition / <i>ḡadīth</i>
<i>Ḥadīth ḡa’īf</i>	weak tradition / <i>ḡadīth</i>
<i>Ḥadīth ḡasan</i>	fair tradition / <i>ḡadīth</i>
<i>Ḥadīth marfū‘</i>	elevated tradition / <i>ḡadīth</i>
<i>Ḥadīth matrūk</i>	abandoned tradition / <i>ḡadīth</i>
<i>Ḥadīth mawḍū‘</i>	fabricated tradition / <i>ḡadīth</i>
<i>Ḥadīth munkar</i>	denounced tradition / <i>ḡadīth</i>

<i>Ḥadīth ṣaḥīḥ</i>	authentic tradition / <i>ḥadīth</i>
<i>Ḥadīth mutāwatir</i>	recurrent tradition / <i>ḥadīth</i>
<i>Halaqah</i>	the group of study / gathering knowledge
<i>Al-ḥasan wa al-qabḥ</i>	the concept of good and bad
<i>‘Ilm al-ḥaqīqah</i>	the science of divine realities
<i>Ḥikāyah</i>	narrative form
<i>Ijtihād</i>	jurist’s exertion / the independent interpretation of the Islamic principles
<i>‘Illah</i>	reason
<i>Al-‘ilm al-ḍarūrī or al-yaqīn</i>	the degree of certainty
<i>Isnād</i>	the chains of transmitters
<i>Isrā’īliyyāt</i>	Israelite sources of People of the Book ( <i>Ahl al-Kitāb</i> )
<i>Ittihām bi al-kādhīb</i>	supposed to be a liar (i.e. the reporters)
<i>Al-jarḥ wa al-ta’dīl</i>	the science of criticizing of the reporters of <i>ḥadīth</i>
<i>Jihād</i>	holy way / Islamic activism
<i>Jumhūr</i>	the majority of scholars
<i>Kādhīb</i>	a liar (i.e. the reporter)
<i>Kaffārah</i>	the expiation
<i>Kalām</i>	the dialectical theology
<i>Karāmah</i>	saints (scholars) privileges
<i>Al-mukāshafah or kashf</i>	the science of unveiling of divine mysteries
<i>Khabar</i>	the reports (i.e. <i>ḥadīth</i> )
<i>Khilāf</i>	the dispute
<i>Khalaf</i>	the people after the first three generations (after 300 AD or 500 AD)
<i>Khurāfah</i>	Superstitious / heathen beliefs
<i>Kutaybah</i>	short notes
<i>Ma‘āsī</i>	misconducts
<i>Madhhab</i>	the Islamic sectarian

<i>Maḥmūm</i>	the understanding of the text
<i>Majhūl</i> or <i>mubham</i> ( <i>rāwī</i> )	unknown transmitters
<i>Manāqib</i>	the merit of scholars' efforts
<i>Ma'rifat Allāh</i>	knowing God / the apperception of divinity
<i>Ma'sūm</i>	infallible
<i>Matn</i>	The text (of the <i>ḥadīth</i> or other literatures)
<i>Mubāḥ</i>	permissible / conceivable
<i>Mufradah</i>	brief interpretation (of the Qur'anic verses )
<i>Mujtahid</i>	Muslim scholar
<i>Mukhrij</i>	the sources (i.e. reporters) of the <i>ḥadīth</i>
<i>Mumkin</i>	all possibility / permissible
<i>Murū'ah</i>	dignity
<i>Mustahīl</i>	impossible
<i>Mutakallimūn</i>	theologians
<i>Naqliyah</i>	the revealed sources / literal textual revealed sources
<i>Nasakh mansūkh</i>	the abrogation
<i>Al-nazar</i>	intellectual observation / vision
<i>Al-qadr wa al-qadā'</i>	predestination / destiny
<i>Qidam</i>	Beginningless Eternity
<i>Qiyās</i>	the (Muslim scholars) analogy
<i>Rāwī</i>	transmitters / narrators
<i>Riwāyah</i>	transmission / narrations
<i>Al-saḥīḥayn</i> or <i>Shaykhayn</i>	the transmissions of <i>Ṣaḥīḥ</i> 's al-Bukhārī and Muslim
<i>Salaf</i>	the pious ancestors / the first three Muslim generations (before 300 AD or 500 AD) or those of the later generation who methodologically follow the first ones
<i>Sam'iyāt</i> or <i>ghaybiyyāt</i>	the unseen of the divine mysteries
<i>Shafā'ah</i>	intercession
<i>Sharḥ</i>	commentary
<i>Sharī'ah</i> or <i>shar'</i>	Divine or Islamic Law

<i>Shawāhid and mutāba‘ah</i>	supported tradition / <i>ḥadīth</i>
<i>Shaykh al-Ḥajj</i>	a leader of the pilgrimage affairs
<i>Shirk</i>	polytheism
<i>Ṣifāt thubūtiyyah</i>	affirmation attributes
<i>Ṣifāt salbiyyah</i>	denial attributes
<i>Shubhah</i>	ambiguity
<i>Tafsīr</i>	Qur’anic interpretation / exegesis
<i>Tafsīr bi al-ma‘thūr</i>	commentary based on transmitted traditions
<i>Tafsīr bi al-ra’y</i>	commentary based on opinions
<i>Tafwīḍ</i>	accepting God’s attributes without its modality ( <i>bi lā kayfa</i> doctrine)
<i>Tajdīd</i>	Islamic revival
<i>Takhrīj</i>	the science of source-critics
<i>Taklīf</i>	obligation
<i>Taqlīd</i>	blind imitation
<i>Taqwā</i>	God fearing / piety
<i>Ṭarīqah</i>	Sufis order
<i>Tarjīḥ</i>	preference / predominant
<i>Tashbīh or mutashābihāt</i>	anthropomorphism
<i>Taṣḥīḥ</i>	validation
<i>Tawaqquf</i>	procrastination
<i>Tawḥīd rubūbiyyah</i>	the Unity of Allah’s Lordship
<i>Tawḥīd ulūhiyyah</i>	the Unity of Oneness of Allah
<i>Ta’wīl</i>	figurative way
<i>Thiqah</i>	reliable
<i>Wājib</i>	necessary or obligatory
<i>Wālī</i>	saints / scholars
<i>Zuhd</i>	ascetic
<i>Zindiq</i>	deviant group

# CHAPTER 1

## BACKGROUND

### 1.1 INTRODUCTION

Scholars of the Malay Archipelago<sup>1</sup> have contributed greatly to the development of the Islamic sciences through their treatises which are generally known as the *Kitab Jawi*.<sup>2</sup> Many of the *Kitab Jawi* which are still widely taught in the mosques, prayer halls (*surau*), and traditional Islamic schools (*pondok*) in Malaysia up to this day, are translations or adaptations from Arabic sources but the Malay authors have also presented original ideas in them.<sup>3</sup> The *Kitab Jawi* covers various branches of knowledge including the Islamic creed (*‘aqidah*), Islamic jurisprudence (*fiqh*), Sufism (*taṣawwuf*), ethical discourse (*akhlāq*), *ḥadīth*, and Qur’anic interpretation (*tafsīr*).<sup>4</sup>

Shaykh Dāwūd bin ‘Abd Allāh al-Faṭānī<sup>5</sup> (d. 1263 H/1847 CE) is one of the most influential and prolific Malay scholars of the nineteenth century whose treatises are considered among the most important works of the Islamic sciences in the Malay Archipelago. He authored at least sixty-nine books and treatises of which the most

---

<sup>1</sup> The term “scholars of the Malay Archipelago or Malay scholars” is referred to as the scholars whose origins come from the Malay Archipelago or those who are able to employ Malay language particularly using *jawi* script in their writings.

<sup>2</sup> Literally the word “*kitab*” means book and “*jawi*” means people of Java which also refers to Malays because the Arabs in the past considered all the people in the Malay Archipelago as Javanese; therefore the Malay writing using Arabic characters is called *jawi* treatise of *Kitab Jawi*. See Mohd Nor bin Ngah, *Kitab Jawi: Islamic thought of the Malay Muslim Scholars*, (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1983), viii.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 2.

<sup>4</sup> Some of the *Kitab Jawi* which are widely used in Malaysia are; in *‘aqidah* such as *Bidāyat al-Hidāyah*, translated edition from *Umm al-Barāhīn*, written by Muḥammad Zayn Jalāl al-Dīn al-Āshī (1757 CE), *al-Durr al-Thamīn* by Dāwūd bin ‘Abd Allāh al-Faṭānī (1816 CE), and *‘Aqīdat al-Nājīn* (1890 CE) by Zayn al-‘Ābidīn Muḥammad al-Faṭānī. In *fiqh* such as *Munyat al-Muṣallī* (1827 CE) and *Furū’ al-Masā’il* (1838 CE) written by Dāwūd bin ‘Abd Allāh al-Faṭānī, and *Sabīl al-Muhtadīn* by Muḥammad Arshād ‘Abd Allāh al-Banjārī (1195 H). *Siyar al-Sālikīn* (1788 CE) and *Hidāyat al-Sālikīn* (1882 CE) written by ‘Abd al-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī, and *Jawhar al-Mawhūb* (1306 H) by ‘Alī ‘Abd al-Raḥman al-Kelantānī (Wan Ali Kutan) are among the treatises of Sufism.

<sup>5</sup> Shaykh Dāwūd bin ‘Abd Allāh al-Faṭānī is later referred to as Dāwūd al-Faṭānī.

well-known are *Munyat al-Muṣallī* (1242 H), *Furū' al-Masā'il* (1257 H), *al-Durr al-Thamīn* (1232 H), *Minhāj al-Ābidīn* (1240 H), and *Sullam al-Mubtadī* (1252 H).<sup>6</sup> Dāwūd al-Faṭānī has written substantially in diverse disciplines yet his main contributions are in the Islamic creed, Islamic jurisprudence, and Sufism. *Al-Durr al-Thamīn*, which was completed in 1232 H, is a theological work which is still widely used in traditional schools (*pondok*) and mosques today.<sup>7</sup> However, the most significant work on Islamic creed is probably *Ward al-Zawāhir li ḥall al-fāz 'Iqd al-Jawāhir* (*'ilm al-Tawḥīd Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jamā'ah*) (1245 H) which disappeared from the general recognition of the public to the extent that some researchers and writers do not give it any mention at all, hence this treatise is included under the Rare Works Collection.<sup>8</sup>

A study of the sources and methodological approaches of Dāwūd al-Faṭānī's *Ward al-Zawāhir* reveals the religious milieu of Mecca and the Malay Archipelago. The socio-religious issues encapsulating the milieu led him to provide responses with peculiar approach of the Islamic creed, which eventually resulted in his *Ward al-Zawāhir*.

Mecca (Ḥijāz) region in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries (18<sup>th</sup>-19<sup>th</sup> CE) suffered from disputes on issues concerning the Islamic creed (*'aqīdah*) and various religious acts of worship (*fiqh*). The reformists were aiming to curb and

---

<sup>6</sup> According Bradley, Dāwūd al-Faṭānī wrote at least sixty-nine treatises of which manuscript copies of forty-one are contained in the National Library of Malaysia. Meanwhile Wan Mohd Shaghīr asserts that Dāwūd al-Faṭānī wrote one hundred-one books, but only sixty-six of them were listed in his biography of Dāwūd al-Faṭānī. See Francis R. Bradley, "Syeikh Daud bin Abdullah al-Faṭānī's writings contained in the National Library of Malaysia," *Jurnal Filologi Melayu*, vol. 15 (2007): 121; Wan Mohd Shaghīr bin Abdullah, "Pengarang manuskrip kitab di Alam Melayu: suatu tinjauan awal," *Jurnal Filologi Melayu*, vol. 3 (1994): 87.

<sup>7</sup> Along with this work, *Jam' al-Fawā'id*, *Kashf al-Ghummah*, *Maṭla' al-Badrayn*, *Kitab Sifat Dua Puluh*, *Kifāyat al-Muḥtāj*, *Ḍiyā' al-Murīd fī ma'rīfat kalimāt al-tawḥīd*, and *al-Jawāhir al-Saniyyah*, are among the works which are used in the Islamic creed.

<sup>8</sup> Dāwūd bin 'Abd Allāh al-Faṭānī, *Ward al-Zawāhir li ḥall al-fāz 'Iqd al-Jawāhir* (*'ilm al-Tawḥīd Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jamā'ah*), edited by Wan Mohd Shaghīr bin Abdullah, (Kuala Lumpur: Khazānat al-Faṭāniyyah, 2000). The work is later referred to as *Ward al-Zawāhir*.

subdue the elements of polytheism, unwarranted innovation (*bid'ah*) among the people, and to kindle a spirit of positive resistance against the forces detrimental to Islam (*jihād*).<sup>9</sup> Similar phenomenon was observed in the Malay Archipelago where the elements of heathen beliefs and practices (*khurāfah*)<sup>10</sup> -remnants of past Hindu-Buddhist culture- still exerted an influence over the various strata of Islamic society. Parallel to these conditions were the colonial power which were adversarial to the Islamic lands - the Dutch in Indonesia, the British in the Malay Lands, and the Siamese in the regions of Patani.

In response to these theological affairs, Dāwūd al-Faṭānī sought to strengthen the Islamic creed with the aim of deriving a thorough going set of theological beliefs based on the authority of the revelation (*naqlī*) as well as intellect (*aqlī*) propositions. The overriding concern was for Islam to be able to encounter any challenges to its

---

<sup>9</sup> Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb, the reformer distinguished himself by insisting on the importance of *tawhīd*, the denunciation of all forms of mediation between God and believers (*kufr* and *bid'ah*), the obligation to pay alms-giving (*zakāh*), and the obligation to respond to his call for holy war (*jihād*) against those who did not follow these principles. See Madawī al-Rasheed, *A history of Saudi Arabia*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 18-19; see also Derek Hopwood, "The Ideological Basis: Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb's Muslim Revivalism" in *State, society and economy in Saudi Arabia*, edited by Tim Niblock (Kent: Croom Helm Ltd., 1982), 32-33; Tim Niblock, *Saudi Arabia: power, legitimacy and survival*, (New York: Routledge, 2006), 23-25; Penelope Tuson and Anita Burdet, *Records of Saudi Arabia*, (Oxford: Redwood Press Ltd., 1992), vol. 1, 185-190.

<sup>10</sup> In the beginning, Malay society was rooted in ancestor worship and animism (*semangat*) believing in the permeation of divine spirit in everything, before being influenced by Hinduism-Buddhism introduced by Indian traders to the Malay Archipelago before the arrival of Islam which was to be promulgated by Arab, Indian and Chinese Muslim traders. For instance, in the east and central Java, the religion was much modified into a typically Javanese form of Islam combining the Hindu-Buddhist Javanese concept of fate, reincarnation, the veneration of sacred graves, and the mystical concept of unity with God and pre-Islamic life cycle ceremonies incorporated with belief in Allah and His prophet. Meanwhile in Patani and the Malay Peninsula, consonant with Islamic traditional belief in jinn as mentioned in the Qur'ān, there is the belief in *hantu* which they view as an inclusive category referring to all malevolent spirits. Other classical Malay folk concepts are pantheism and supernatural adept (*bomoh*), and other aspects of the Malay cultural substratum which have been modified and reconciled with the basic tenets of Islam. See R.M. Koentjaraningrat, *Introduction to the people and cultures of Indonesia and Malaysia*, (California: Cummings Publishing Company, 1975), 20-21; Raymond Scupin, "Polupar Islam Thailand" in *The Muslim of Thailand*, edited by Andrew D.W Forbes (Bihar: Soma Prakasan, 1988), vol. 1, 32-34; A. Teeuw and D. K. Wyatt, *Hikayat Patani*, (The Hague: Koninklijk Instituut, 1970), 20-49; Mohd Zamberi bin A. Malek, "Hubungan awal Melayu Siam," in *Tamadun dan sosio-politik Melayu Patani*, edited by Nik Anuar & Mohd Zamberi bin A. Malek (K. Lumpur: Persatuan Sejarah Malaysia, 2007), 38-43; Abdul Rahman bin Haji Abdullah, *Pemikiran umat Islam di Nusantara*, (Kuala Lumpur: D.B.P, 1990), 10-17.

doctrine or corruption of its basic principles; the other objective was to unify the Islamic community and to fortify it in order to combat the colonial invaders.

## 1.2 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The common supposition among the local scholars is that *Ward al-Zawāhir*<sup>11</sup> constitutes the monumental work of the Islamic creed (*‘aqīdah*) in the Malay Archipelago. It is justifiable to examine such a great work. As the nature of study focuses on the textual analysis, Dāwūd al-Faṭānī’s *Ward al-Zawāhir* will be examined from the extent to which it contributes to strengthen the theological belief especially in the Malay Archipelago through the *jawi* treatise.

Based on his response to the religious issues prevailing in Mecca and the Malay Archipelago as represented in *Ward al-Zawāhir*,<sup>12</sup> Dāwūd al-Faṭānī focused on what he considers to be the prime theological objective –the apperception of divinity or knowing God (*ma‘rifat Allāh*).<sup>13</sup> Likewise, the individual’s apperception of divinity allegedly increased his conviction in the Islamic creed. A sound understanding of the doctrine substantiates the religious life and effectively subdues the errors of worshipping any entity besides Allah (*shirk*) and dispels superstitious acts and beliefs (*khurāfah*). The concomitant competence and intelligence of the

---

<sup>11</sup> *Ward al-Zawāhir* itself is the commentary based on original source (*matn*) of al-Laqqānī’s *Jawharat al-Tawhīd* and other sources relating to it such as his *‘Iqdat al-Jawāhir* (*Ward al-Zawāhir*’s commentary is based on the translation of this work); *Ittihāf al-Murīd* by ‘Abd al-Salām ibn Ibrāhīm al-Laqqānī, *Sharḥ Ittihāf al-Murīd* written by Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī Nur al-Dīn al-Qarashī al-Ḥasanī al-Suḥaymī al-Qal‘ī, *Tuḥfat al-Muḥarrarah* by ‘Abd al-Mu‘ṭī al-Shamlāwī, and Sayyid ‘Alī al-Wafā’ī al-Azharī’s *Sharḥ Tuḥfat al-Muḥarrarah*. See Dāwūd bin ‘Abd Allāh al-Faṭānī, *Ward al-Zawāhir*, 422, line 8-17.

<sup>12</sup> According to Bradley, Mecca in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries was experiencing the tremendous change brought on by Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Wahhāb’s political and religious reforms. Dāwūd al-Faṭānī was working mainly as a translator and author within this atmosphere of revival and reform, and produced works in Malay covering a vast array of issues in Islamic creed, Islamic jurisprudence, and Sufism. See Bradley, 121.

<sup>13</sup> Subsequently, *ma‘rifat Allāh* is used to describe this concept.

Muslim community will fortify their initiatives in warding off the challenges of the foreign powers.

Towards this end, Dāwūd al-Faṭānī emphasized the need to refer to the prime sources of religious scholarship -the divinely revealed texts (*naqlī*)<sup>14</sup> and sound ratiocination of the intellect (*‘aqlī*)-<sup>15</sup> in order to strengthen the Islamic faith. In *Ward al-Zawāhir*, he insisted that people strive for knowing God (*ma‘rifat Allāh*) as the objective of the Islamic creed.<sup>16</sup> In this regard, they must avoid blind imitation (*taqlīd*) and learn the proofs and evidences of the existence of Allah to the level of certitude (*yaqīn*) whether it is in a general schema (*jumalī*) or in detail (*tafṣīlī*).<sup>17</sup>

Dāwūd al-Faṭānī maintained that the concept of *ma‘rifat Allāh* is achieved through the contemplation of the Islamic faith -recognizing the perfection of the divine attributes and the sublime glory of Allah- as well as through learning the

---

<sup>14</sup> The term “*naqlī*” is used to illustrate the use of the revealed sources of the Qur’ān and the transmitted traditions. Later the “*naqlī*” is used for these references.

<sup>15</sup> The term “*‘aqlī*” is referred to the use of the rational faculty which in line with the revealed sources (*naqlī*) as well as the general principle of *shar‘*. According to Dāwūd al-Faṭānī, the *‘aqlī* is also applied to refer to the use of intellect (*‘aql*) or interpretation of the prominent Muslim scholars to interpret or explain the subject matters especially pertaining to the theological issues relating to their respective disciplines particularly in *kalām*’s discourse in Islamic creed. Later the “*‘aqlī*” is used for these approaches. See Dāwūd bin ‘Abd Allāh al-Faṭānī, *Ward al-Zawāhir*, 204-206.

<sup>16</sup> Dāwūd al-Faṭānī’s view on *ma‘rifat Allāh* which could be attained by recognizing the perfection of divine attributes through studying the Twenty Attributes of Allah (*Sifat Dua Puluh*) and *taṣawwuf* seems to follow al-Ghazālī’s way. In *al-Iqtisād fī al-i‘tiqād*, al-Ghazālī deals with the major issues of *kalām* which al-Ash‘arī had treated and defended, except for al-Ghazālī’s *Iljām al-‘Awwām* discussing the principles and methodologies of *Salaf* and where he also expresses his attitude towards *kalām* and the preferred methods of the theological learning. As such, he accepts both, but chooses Sufism as a way to acquire indubitable knowledge. See al-Ghazālī, Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad, *al-Iqtisād fī al-i‘tiqād*, (Bayrūt: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyyah, 1988),12; al-Ghazālī, *Iljām al-‘Awwām ‘an ‘Ilm al-Kalām*, edited by Muḥammad al-Mu‘taṣim bi Allāh (Bayrūt: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Arabī, 1985), 21-39; Osman Bakar, *The classification of knowledge*, (Kuala Lumpur: ISTAC, International Islamic University Malaysia, 2006), 182.

<sup>17</sup> In Dāwūd al-Faṭānī’s works and translations he admiringly referred to al-Ghazālī. Among the famous work translated from al-Ghazālī’s *Ihyā’ ‘Ulūm al-Dīn* is *Minhāj al-‘Ābidīn* and *Bidāyat al-Hidāyah* in *taṣawwuf*. Dāwūd al-Faṭānī’s *Ward al-Zawāhir* gave special attention to al-Ghazālī’s treatment of respective issues in Islamic creed. For instance, al-Ghazālī treats seven ways in dealing with *ta’wīl* and *tafwīd*. See Dāwūd bin ‘Abd Allāh al-Faṭānī, *Ward al-Zawāhir*, 66-67.