THE CONCEPT OF AṬ-ṬARĪQ ILĀ ALLĀH (THE PATH TO ALLAH) ACCORDING TO SHEIKH ZAKARIYYĀ AL-ANŞĀRĪ IN THE AL-FUTŪḤĀT AL-ILĀHIYYAH MANUSCRIPT

Arif Syibromalisi*1, Ali Akbar2, Nurman Kholis3, Alfan Firmanto4, Cecep Soleh Kurniawan5

1234National Research and Innovation Agency (BRIN), Jakarta, Indonesia. 5Sultan Sharif Ali Islamic University, Bandar Seri Begawan, Brunei Darussalam.

*Corresponding e-mail: arvie.malizi@gmail.com

DOI: 10.31291/jlka.v21.i2.1090
Accepted: October 20, 2022; Revised: November, 23 2023; Published: December, 11 2023

ABSTRACT
This article examines an Arabic manuscript, al-Futūḥāt al-Ilāhiyyah, authored by an esteemed Egyptian scholar, Sheikh Zakariyyā al-Anṣārī. This text encapsulates a summary (mukhtaṣar) of Sufi knowledge. The primary aim of this research is to overview of the content of al-Futūḥāt al-Ilāhiyyah and dissect the teachings of Sufism embedded within the text. The research utilizes philology and Sufism theories. Philology aids in the accurate translation of the text, preserving the integrity of the original content while making it accessible to the intended audience. On the other hand, Sufism theories provide a framework to unearth the profound meanings and teachings that the text holds within its narrative. The findings from this analysis reveal that Sheikh Zakariyyā al-Anṣārī's work, al-Futūḥāt al-Ilāhiyyah, is characterized by its emphasis on practical or ethical Sufism. The pivotal concept highlighted throughout the text is the “path to Allah” or Maqāmāt. This includes a spectrum of concepts such as Taubat (Repentance), Zahud (Asceticism), Tawakkal (Reliance on God), ‘Uzlāh (Seclusion), Zikr (Habitual Remembrance), Tawajjuh ilā Allāh bi al-Kulliyyah (Total Focus on Allah), Ṣabr (Patience), Murūqabah (Spiritual Supervision), and Riḍā (Contentment). Overall, this research underscores the depth and richness of Sufi teachings within al-Futūḥāt al-Ilāhiyyah, and
the significant role of such texts in preserving and disseminating these teachings.

Keywords: al-Futūḥāt, al-Ilāhiyyah, Maqāmāt, Zakariyyā al-Anṣārī

ABSTRAK


Kata kunci: al-Futūḥāt, al-Ilāhiyyah, Maqāmāt, Zakariyyā al-Anṣārī

INTRODUCTION

Sheikh Zakariyyā al-Anṣārī (824 H/1426 AD),¹ a renowned scholar from Egypt, is known for his proficiency across various disciplines and his prolific authorship. He penned nearly 74 books covering a range of knowledge fields, including jurisprudence, hadith, and Arabic grammar. In recognition of his breadth of expertise, he was awarded numerous titles, including Sheikh al-Islām,² muhyī ad-dīn,³ qāḍī al-quḍāt, ahli tahlīq, al-hafīzh, and more. At one point during the reign of Sultan Ashraf

---

¹ There are differences of opinion regarding the year of birth of Shaykh Zakaria al-Ansari. According to al-Ghazzi in al-Kawakib as-Sairah bi Aʿyān al-Miʿāh al-ʿĀsyirah, Shaykh Zakaria was born in 823 H. While in Al-Nur al-Safir p. 112 and Shazarat al-Żahab Volume 8 p. 134, it was mentioned that he was born in 826 H.

² Shaykh means a highly respected person. Shaykh al-Islam means a respected figure in Islam. This means people who become role models and references for Muslims because of their knowledge and wisdom.

³ Muhyi means one who revives, al-dīn means religion. Muhyī al-dīn means the person who restores the Shari'ā in its place; spreads the teachings of Islam.
Qaitbay of the Mamalik Dynasty,⁴ he was appointed as the supreme judge (qāḍī al-qudūṭ), a position he held briefly due to the sultan's respectful dismissal on the grounds of avoiding tyranny.

From a young age, Zakariyyā al-Anṣārī exhibited academic talent and intelligence, memorizing the Qur'an and learning sections of the book of Mukhtasar,⁵ particularly in jurisprudence, language, nahwu, qira'at, tajwid, and others. His scholarly journey continued at Al-Azhar University, where he began memorizing master books across various knowledge areas. In 851 H, he performed the Hajj to Makkah and sought knowledge from the scholars there.

In addition to studying the aforementioned sciences, he also delved into Sufism and the Tarekat.⁶ Known as a young man who favored the Sufi path, he attended many remembrance assemblies. His teachers in the field of Sufism included Sheikh al-Ghumri,⁷ al-Adkawi,⁸ al-Bulqaini,⁹ and al-Khalili.¹⁰ His

---

⁴ The Mamalik or Mamluk dynasty was an Islamic empire that influenced Islamic civilization in Egypt at a time when the Islamic world was undergoing decentralization and political disintegration. The territory of the Mamluk dynasty included Egypt, Syria, the Hejaz, Yemen, and areas along the Euphrates River. When in power, this dynasty eradicated the Crusaders' remnants by expelling them from Egypt and Syria. This dynasty ruled from 1250 AD-1517 AD which was divided into two periods, namely the Bahri Mamluk dynasty and the Burji Mamluk dynasty. Sultan Ashraf Qaitbay is the 19th sultan of the Burji Mamluk Dynasty, whose full name is Sultan Abu Al-Nasr Sayf ad-Din Al-Ashraf Qaitbay—ruled from 872-901 H or 1468-1496 AD (Thaqqus, 2018).

⁵ Mukhtasar books or summaries are trendy among Islamic scholars and have even become a separate art in the tradition of writing books. Books that have long explanations are summarized in such a way without reducing the substance (https://www.alukah.net/culture/0/92233/)

⁶ Linguistically, Tarekat is defined as the way taken by the Sufis to achieve specific goals. In Sufism, the Shari'a is the rule, the tarekat is the implementation, the essence is the state, and makrifat is the ultimate goal (Permadi, 2004: 2 and 54)

⁷ Muhammad ibn Umar al-Wasiti al-Ghumri

⁸ Syaikh Abi ‘Abbas Ahmad ibn Ali al-Atkawi (al kawakib as sairah hal. 200)

⁹ Syaikh al-Islam Siraj al-Din al-Bulqini (hal. 199)
writings on the science of Sufism and tarekat circulated widely in the Islamic world and the Archipelago. These compositions were copied in manuscript form by the followers of the tarekat, and his writings, both in print and manuscript form, are still widely found in the Archipelago.

The spread of Islam in the Archipelago is closely associated with Sufism, which later formed as a Tarekat organization. Through accommodative and appealing teachings, Sufi saints or teachers made Islam well-accepted by the people of the Archipelago, reaching its peak in the 15th century. Cirebon, a region rich in Sufism and Sufi order practices, owes part of its heritage to Sunan Gunung Jati or Sharif Hidayatullah, a prominent cleric who spread Islam in Cirebon and a Sufi himself. Since the 15th century, Cirebon has received Islamic da'wah. Ricklefs states that by the end of the 15th century, Cirebon was inhabited by people who had embraced Islam. Its golden age is traditionally associated with one of the nine guardians, Sunan Gunung Jati, a guardian, cleric of the Archipelago, and follower of the tarekat.

The term “Tarekat” linguistically means “path”, which refers to the path or method leading towards the truth. The word “tarekat” in the Indonesian language originates from the Arabic term at-tarīq, which means a goal. According to Harun Nasution, Tarekat is the path that a Sufi must take with the aim of being as close as possible to God.

The development of Sufism and Sufi orders in Cirebon is closely linked to ancient manuscripts. Cirebon's Sufi manuscripts are widespread in Kasepuhan, Kanoman, Kacirebonan, and

10 Syaiikh Zain al-Din Abi al-Faraj Abd al-Rahman ibn Ali al-Tamimi al-Khalili
11 Martin Van Bruinessen, Kitab Kuning, Pesantren dan Tarekat; Tradisi-Tradisi Islam di Indonesia, (Yogyakarta: 1994) h. 1-23

590
Keprabonan, as well as in private collections scattered among the community, including Islamic boarding schools. Based on a survey conducted by Titik Pudjiastuti in 1993-1994, there were 189 manuscripts present among the community and in the royal palaces. The collection at Kasepuhan Palace accounted for 65 manuscripts, Keprabonan Palace had 32, Kacirebonan Palace had 14, and Kanoman Palace had 9. Additionally, data gathered from the community identified 69 manuscripts. According to a survey conducted by the Research and Development of Religious Lectures in 2009-2010, approximately 199 Islamic religious manuscripts were recorded to be stored within the community.14

Among the Cirebon Sufism texts, there is the text “al-Futūḥāt al-Ilāhiyyah” (abbreviated as FI), which contains Arabic concepts of Sufism. The text, a digital collection of the Research and Development and Training Agency of the Ministry of Religion, originates from Cirebon and is currently stored at the Cirebon Classical Manuscript Conservation and Utilization Center. The FI text was written by Sheikh Zakariyyā al-Anṣārī, an Egypt scholar of the Shafi'i school of thought (b. 824 H/1436 AD) who was renowned for his expertise in various religious disciplines. He hold the title Sheikh Masyayikh al-Islam, Malik al-Ulama al-A'lam, Umdat al-Muhaqqiqin, Zain al-Millah wa ad-Din for his expertise in various religious disciplines. His writings were widely copied and spread throughout the Archipelago.

Despite thousands of Indonesian manuscripts in Arabic, both stored domestically and abroad, philological research on Arabic manuscripts of the Archipelago remains relatively small compared to other regional languages of the Archipelago, including Malay, Javanese, Sundanese, Bugis, Makassarese, and others. According to Oman Faturahman (2003), there are thousands of Indonesian manuscripts in Arabic, both stored at home and abroad. The language used in Arabic texts is the language of religion, in this case, the language of the Quran which is believed

by its adherents to be the source for explaining the legal norms governing human relations with God and human relations with each other.¹⁵

The Jakarta National Library houses at least 1000 Arabic manuscripts, with a further 400 housed at Dayah Tanoh Abee, Seulimeum, and Aceh. Internationally, about 5000 Arabic manuscripts are kept at the Universiteit Bibliotheek, Leiden, the Netherlands, and an additional 700 at the Kuala Lumpur Islamic Museum, Malaysia. This count does not include private Arabic manuscripts inaccessible to the public. The manuscript "FI" briefly yet comprehensively discusses Sufism concepts over ten chapters, from the elucidation of the meaning of Sufism to instructions on conducting bai’at, wearing khirqah (donning a turban), and talqin az-zikr (whispering remembrance). The Results and Discussion will elaborate further on these ten chapters.

Interestingly, this text was found in Cirebon, a historically strategic political area and a principal reference for the Islamic religion from the 16th to 19th centuries. The text is believed to be a reference for the Syattariyah Order that developed in Cirebon. The lineage and teachings of the Syattariyah Order in Cirebon are distinct from their counterparts in other regions of the Archipelago. His presence in Cirebon went through several lineages, either through Sheikh Abd al-Muhyi (Pamijahan) from Abdurrauf (Singkel), as well as others, such as Kyai Asy'ari (Kendal). This genealogical difference is interesting to study further in the context of Syattariyah in Cirebon.

Five FI texts have been discovered in four matn (text) versions originating from Cirebon (Manuscript A), Jakarta (Manuscript B), Mecca (Manuscript C), and Toronto (Manuscript E). One text is in the form of a commentary (sharh) from Leipzig (Manuscript D). All five texts are in Arabic and have varying levels of legibility. The presence of various text variants with different conditions raises several issues. Only one text has few

¹⁵ Martin Van Bruinessen, Kitab Kuning, Pesantren dan Tarekat; Tradisi-Tradisi Islam di Indonesia, (Yogyakarta: 1994) h. 1-23
writing errors and is thus suitable as a basis, namely the Cirebon manuscript.

The FI text, authored by a scholar with a fiqh tendency, frames its Sufism in an akhlaqi (Sunni) context. Akhlaqi Sufism prioritizes good behavior in worshipping Allah, emphasizing structured remembrance or wirid to attain Allah's pleasure. This form of Sufism advocates for mujahadah (self-training), eliminating despicable traits, and devoting oneself entirely to Allah SWT. Zakariyyā al-Anṣārī was a prolific scholar, particularly in the field of the Shafi'i school's fiqh. His writings in the field of fiqh became a reference for Islamic boarding schools and the Compilation of Islamic Law (KHI), including the book "Fatḥ al-Wahhāb bi Syar Manhaj at-Ṭullāb." His fiqh tendencies also influenced his Sufism tendencies, which emphasized Shari'a.

The FI text is estimated to have been disseminated in various regions in the Nusantara during the 17th century. According to Reid, this century is considered a period of a 'religious revolution,' especially in Islam, in the Nusantara region, requiring an increase in demand for Islamic reading materials to strengthen religion's transformative influence on society. The FI text was reproduced in Cirebon, along with the Fatḥ ar-Raḥmān, which has a Sufi theme by the same author in a single manuscript. The Fatḥ ar-Raḥmān text is well-known and sought after in Indonesia from the 17th to the 19th century, serving as a reference for the writings of Malay Sufi scholars in the 17th to the early 19th century.¹⁶

This paper aims to explore the concept of Sufism as "the path to God" as delineated by Sheikh Zakariyyā al-Anṣārī in the text, "al-Futūḥat al-Ilāhiyyah," and its portrayal of Sufism practice. To conduct a comprehensive research on the "FI" text, this study employs the philological theory through Sufism theory. The philological theory aids in translating texts to make them more comprehensible to readers, while the Sufism theory is used to uncover the meanings and teachings embedded in the text.

Sufism analysis is applied to clarify each tarekat term found in the text.

The Sufism theories and concepts used in this study refer to various sources, including Abu Al-Wafa' al-Ganimi al-Taftazani's "al-Madkhal Ilä at-Tasawwuf al-Islam," and Abu al-Qasim al-Qusyairi's "al-Risalah al-Qusyairiyah," complemented by Sufism theories from classical scholars like Al-Muḥāsibi and Al-Gazali. These sources were chosen for their comprehensive reviews of the theory and history of Sufism over time, particularly relating to Sufism in the 3rd-5th century of Hijri, which is believed to be the source of the FI text. Al-Taftazani explained the history of the development of Sufism, its sources and characters from the 2nd century to the 7th century Hijri. This book is equipped with a sharp analysis of the opinions of the Sufis, complemented by various comprehensive sources. Meanwhile, al-Risalah al-Qusyairiyah is one of the books that is considered as the main book in the field of Sufism, which explains in detail and thoroughly this field.17

Sheikh Zakariyyā al-Anṣārī's works are well-known in the Archipelago. Limbong mentioned the FI text in his 2005 thesis "The Concept of Sufism in the Fath al-Rahman Manuscript: Text Editing Accompanied by Content Studies." He revealed the FI text's existence in the manuscript inventory at the National Library, Jakarta, coded as A108. However, no further information regarding the FI text was provided.

Muhammad Mukhtar Zaedin discussed the FI text in the 2018 journal article "Jungjang Manuscripts and Study of the Guardian's Testament Text." He examined the FI manuscript from a codicological perspective and discussed Wali Ruslan's message, one of the texts in the FI manuscript. However, he only briefly addressed the codicological aspect of the FI text, leaving the content and teachings in the FI text unexplored. Following him, Titi Farhanah examined another essay by Sheikh Zakariyyā

---

17 Quoted from the introduction to the book al-Risalah al-Qusyairiyah by Dr. Mahmud bin al-Syuraim, Sufism and Ethics lecturer at the postgraduate Fak. Dirasat Islamiyyah wa al-Arabiyyah, Al-Azhar University Egypt
al-Anṣārī related to Sufism, the "Fatḥ ar-Rahmān" manuscript. Using philological studies, she edited the Arabic text and its translation and revealed the author's thoughts on harmonizing Shari'a and Sufism. However, she did not delve into the concept of Sufism in the text in detail. Later, Kholil Syu'aib studied the work of Sheikh Zakariyyā al-Anṣārī in his article "Fiqh Imam Zakariyyā al-Anṣārī: Contextual Analysis of the Book of Fatḥ al-Wahhāb bi Syarḥ Manhaj al-Ṭullāb." The article reviews Sheikh Zakariyyā al-Anṣārī's thoughts in the field of Jurisprudence in his book "Fatḥ al-Wahhāb," and describes his life journey, alluding to his thoughts in the field of Sufism.

From these previous studies, it is evident that Sheikh Zakariyyā al-Anṣārī's writings have been studied in terms of fiqh, philology, and the concept of Sufism. They all researched complete copies of Sheikh Zakariyyā al-Anṣārī's books. The FI text, a mukhtasar or summary text, encompasses complete teachings of the tarekat/tariqa for the salik. The discovery of this manuscript in the Cirebon area imparts a special meaning to the developing tarekat in Cirebon, especially the Syattariyah order.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Manuscript Description al-Futūḥāt al-Ilāhiyyah

The text, "al-Futūḥāt al-Ilāhiyyah," is a concise overview of Sufi knowledge, organized into ten distinct sections. The text begins with the basmalah, followed by prayers addressed to the Prophet Muhammad, his family, and his companions. The author of this text, Abū Yaḥyā Zakariyyā al-Anṣārī, is subsequently introduced. The opening of the text also includes a full title reveal, "al-Futūḥāt al-Ilāhiyyah fī Nafṣ Arwāḥ al-Ẓawāt al-Insāniyyah" (God's Grace for the Benefit of Human Souls), accompanied by a delineation of the themes and their corresponding chapters. The author provides a table of contents, stating the discussion themes from one to ten (pages 1-2).

In general, the text is categorized into two primary themes: Sufism as a theoretical science (chapters 1-9, pages 1-11), and Sufism as a practical application (chapter 10, pages 12-15). After the table of contents, the author delves into each
theme. In terms of knowledge, the text encompasses the understanding and the object of Sufi science, both theoretically and practically. The explanation of this science is paired with the necessary pillars and approaches towards Allah, whether through worship, self-improvement and purification of the heart, or the approach of love (maqāmāt) (Pages 3-6).

Further elaboration includes definitions of tawhid, faith (iman), Islam, and their respective types. This is followed by explanations of 'ilmu ladunni, 'ilmu al-yaqīn, 'ain al-yaqīn, and haqq al-yaqīn. In explicating these definitions, the author presents the methods of acquiring these knowledges along with supporting evidence (pages 7-8). In addition, the text discusses inspiration, revelation, and intuition, both linguistically and terminologically (Chapter 5). Terms such as muḥādarah, al-kasyf, al-mukāsyafah, al-musyāhadah, and al-muʻāyanah are deciphered, along with their types and the differences between these terms (Chapter 6) (Page 9).

Subsequent discussions revolve around sharia, tarekat, and hakikat. The author elucidates several definitions of these terms and their interrelation. From a Sufism perspective, the author explicates the causes of happiness and sorrow. This term pertains to a servant's good and bad deeds, and God's promise to reward or punish the servant. The author also explains the whispers along with their types and origins (pp. 10-11).

The practical application of Sufism is positioned at the end of the discussion, specifically in chapter 10. The author explicates the procedure for taking oaths (bai'at), donning Sufi robes (al-khirqah), and whispering zikir (talqīn zikr) in detail. He emphasizes the need for both the Sheikh and the student to purify themselves before the initiation procession, the posture of the Sheikh and the student, the readings recited by the Sheikh and the student, and the student's promise to the Sheikh (pp. 12-15).
Sheikh Zakariyyā al-Anṣārī was not merely a scholar; he was also a prolific author. He authored a minimum of 74 books spanning various fields of knowledge, including jurisprudence (fikih), principles of jurisprudence (ushul fikih), hadith, and Arabic grammar. In the book "ṣabat Syaikh al-Islām," it is mentioned that among his many works, 37 are renowned in various scholarly fields. The text, "al-Futūḥāt al-Ilāhiyyah fī nafʿi arwāḥ aẓ-ẓawāt al-insāniyyah," a summarized text on Sufism, is ranked 32nd among Sheikh Zakariyyā al-Anṣārī's notable works.

Muhammad Ibrahim al-Husain's comprehensive research indicates that this book has been widely disseminated in both Eastern and Western regions in the form of manuscripts. Four copies of this book are housed in Maktabah az-Zāhiriyyah in Damascus, Syria, another four copies can be found in Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyyah, Egypt, and one additional copy in Maktabah al-Azhariyyah, Egypt. Furthermore, there is one copy in Maktabah al-Auqāf in Bagdad, two in al-Khizānah al-ʿĀmmah Ribath, one in Maktabah ʿIlāl al-Fārisī, Morocco, and four in Dār al-Kutub.
al-Waṭaniyyah, Tunisia. In the Western sphere, two copies are recorded in Berlin and one at Princeton University.\footnote{Muhammad Ibrahim Al-Husain, \textit{Tsabat Syaikh Al-Islam Zakariya Ibn Muhammad Al-Ansari} (Beirut: Dar al-Basyair al-Islamiyyah, 2010).}

In Nusantara, it is noted that there are two copies of the FI text. These copies are located at the Cirebon Classical Manuscript Conservation and Utilization Center and at the Jakarta National Library, respectively. Both copies are well-preserved and legible. Remarkably, one of them has been digitized by the Ministry of Religion’s Research and Training Agency in Jakarta.

The text is a \textit{mukhtasar}, or summary, which appears to have been influenced by the works of Sufism scholars from the 3\textsuperscript{rd}-4\textsuperscript{th} centuries of Hijri, such as \textit{Kitāb at-Ta‘arruf li Mażhab Ahl at-Taşawwuf} by Abu Bakr Muhammad bin Ishak al-Bukhari al-Kalabaţi and ar-Risālah al-Qusyairiyah by Imam Abū al-Qāsim Abd al-Karim bin Hawāzin al-Qusyairi al-Naisābūrī ash-Syāfi‘i. As explained by at-Taftāzāni, during these centuries, \textit{Sufis} could be categorized into two primary groups: those who strictly aligned their Sufism with the teachings of the Koran and the Sunnah, and those who adhered to the teachings of \textit{Fanā,}\footnote{Fana ‘is a state of temporary loss of one's consciousness and existence and merges into Allah’s iradat.} say the syaṭāḥāt,\footnote{Syāṭaḥat is an expression that is considered strange used by the Sufis to describe the nature of wajd which overflows with its power and flares up very hotly and overwhelms the heart (al-Tūsi, 1960: 422). In the same book but on another page he explains that syaṭahaṭ is a speech that is translated verbally which reveals about the form that radiates from its source accompanied by speech, and the perpetrator is awake (al-Tūsi, 1960: 453).} discussed the human relationship with God, and explored metaphysics.\footnote{Abu al-Waфа al-Ganimi Al-Taftazani, \textit{Madkhal Ila At-Tasawwuf Al-Islami} (Cairo: Dar as-Saqafah li an-Nasyr wa at-Tauzi‘, 1979).} This group is often called embracing philosophical Sufism.

Over the past two centuries, scholars have started to define Sufism as a distinct discipline. Abu al-Alā al-ʻAffī posits that the 3\textsuperscript{rd} to 4\textsuperscript{th} centuries of Hijri were the golden age of Islamic Sufism, characterized by the proliferation of literature in the field. Ibn Khaldun contended that during this era, a variety of disciplines were penned and documented. Jurisprudence experts
wrote on legal principles, as did scholars of theology and interpretation. Sufi figures also documented their methodologies, with some writing about their tariqahs/methods, some writing about wara (piety), muhaqabah al-nafs (self-accounting), and so on. Thus, Sufism became a written science, transitioning from a solely practical aspect of worship.

The teachings from the scholars of the 3rd to 4th century are characterized by the integration of Sufism with morality. During this period, Sufism had moral and psychological attributes, as it explored the means by which humans can dissociate from ignoble morals and cultivate noble characters. It includes discussions on moral concepts such as mujahadah, taubah (repentance), sabr (patience), rida (content), tawakkal (submissive), roja (piety), khauf (fear of Allah), maqabah, remembrance, among others, as well as discourses about the human soul.

In addition to laying the foundations of the Sufis, the early Sufi orders also appeared in these centuries. The word 'tarekat' at this time, according to al-Qushayiri, refers to a group of morals and manners that a group of Sufis must hold. The FI text composed by Sheikh Zakariyya al-Ansari in the 9th century of Hijri followed in the footsteps of his predecessors by writing themes of good morals as well as practicing them in the order. The author of this text produced syarah (explanation, commentary) on his book ar-Risalah al-Qusyairiyah. In addition, specifically mentioned in the FI text, the author stated that to understand this FI text better, he referred to the commentary (syarah) of ar-Risalah al-Qusyairiyah that he authored. In the FI text, the author asserts:

\begin{quote}
\text{man arada at-tabahthur fi hazah al-ilm fa alaihi bi syarhinah ala risalat al-imam ibn al-qusyairi rahimahu allah ta'ala wa nafa'anabi 'ulumih}
\end{quote}

For anyone who wants to deepen this knowledge, read our commentary on the risalat of Imam ibn al-Qushayiri, may God grant him mercy and benefit us from his knowledge (p. 11).

The influence of the scholars of the 3rd to 4th Hijri centuries is evident in the discussion of the pillars of Sufism. The text sets forth ten pillars: (1) Tajrid al-Tawhid, meaning purifying
monotheism, freed from the influences of *tasybih* (likeness) and *taʻtil* (denial), (2) *Fahm al-Simā‘*: Understanding information, (3) *Usn al-ʻIsyrah*: Maintaining good relationships, (4) *Ār al-Īsār*: Prioritizing the interests of others over one’s own interests. (5) *Tark al-Ikhtiyār*: Abandoning own choices and accepting Allah's choice. (6) *Sur'at al-Wujd*: Quick in emptying the heart and not fill it, preventing hindrance from hearing the truth. (7) *Al-Kasyfu an al-Khawāṭir*: Opening the heart, seeking everything within the heart, following the truth, and leaving what is untrue. (8) *Kaṣrat al-Isfār*: Undertaking numerous journeys to witness the greatness of God and learn lessons. (9) *Tark al-Iktisāb*: Abandoning accumulation to cultivate a sense of surrender. (10) *Taḥrīm al-Iddikhār*: Men leaving iddikhār or excessive savings in certain circumstances, with the exception of seeking knowledge (pp. 3-4).

The author's opinion on the pillars of Sufism is cited from Kitāb al-Ta‘arruf li Mażhab Ahl al-Taṣawuf by al-Kalabażī (d. 380 H). In Chapter 32, titled *fi al-Taṣawwuf wa mā huwa*, al-Kalabażī quotes the view of Abu al-Hasan Muhammad bin Ahmad al-Farisi regarding the ten pillars of Sufism mentioned above, along with their detailed explanation. Al-Kalabażī further elucidates on the pillar of Kaṣrat al-Isfār by citing Quranic arguments and adds the arguments of Hadith to the pillar of Taḥrīm al-Iddikhār.  

**The Path to Allah in the Text of Al-Futūḥat al-Ilāhiyyah**

Indeed, the objective of Sufism is to draw closer to Allah SWT by traversing paths or ascending steps known as *maqāmāt*. The Sufis' conception of the path to Allah encompasses a series of spiritual exercises and phases known as *maqāmāt* and aḥwāl. They believe that through earnest efforts in fulfilling specific obligations, one can draw closer to Allah. Sufis maintain that each individual must go through various spiritual stages (maqāmāt), which should be achieved gradually through continuous effort and unwavering commitment. Additionally, they undergo

---

different states or conditions of the soul (aḥwāl) accompanying each stage of maqam. This perspective reflects the Sufis' endeavor to attain profound recognition (ma'rifat) of Allah. The key concept of the FI text, found on pages 3-7, elaborates on these paths to Allah in detail. As explained in the text:

wa żālika anna aṭ-ṭuruq wa inna kašratan (wa in kašurat) maḥṣūratun fī šalāsat anwā‘ awwaluhā ūṭarīq arbāb al-mu‘āmalāt bi kašrat aš-ṣaum wa aš-ṣalāh wa tilāwat al-qur‘ān wa gairihā min al-a’māl az-zāhirah wa hum al-akhyār sānīhā ūṭarīq arbāb al-mujāhadāt bi tāhsīn al-akhlāq wa tazkiyat an-nafs wa taṣfiyat al-qalb wa as-sa’y fī mā yata’alliqa bi ‘imārat al-bāṭin wa hum al-abrār šālišuhā ūṭarīq as-sā‘irīn ilallāh wa hum asy-syuṭṭār min ahl al-maḥabbah wa hāżā aṭ-ṭarīq mabniyyun ‘alā al-maut bi al-irādah li khabar mūtū qabla an tamūtū wa huwa munḥāṣirun fī ‘asyrati uṣūl.

There are numerous paths to Allah Swt, as many as the breaths of creatures, but the closest and clearest ones can be categorized into three types: The path of the practitioners of mu‘āmalah, who strive to increase their acts of worship such as fasting, praying, reciting the Quran, and other physical (birth) practices. These are the righteous people (al-akhyar). The second is the path of the followers of mujāhadah, who endeavor to refine their morals, purify their souls, cleanse their hearts, and enrich their minds. These are the devoted people (al-abrar). Third, the path of the lovers of Allah (Ahl al-Maḥabbah), who direct their focus solely towards Allah. This path is based on the concept of "dying before you die," as indicated by the hadith "you die before you actually die." This path comprises ten principles that must be followed by sālik. (p. 3).

The third path, the path of the lovers of Allah, is the primary focus of the FI text. The text elaborates on the ten principles that seekers of God must follow in sequence. These principles are explained in the following sections. These principles are explained in the following quotations:

1. **At-Taubah (Repentance)**
   
   "At-taubah wa hiya an-nadam wa tatahaqqqaqu bi al-iglā‘ wa āzm an lā ya‘ūda wa tadāruk mā yumkinu tadārkuhū."
   
   The first principle, Taubat (repentance), involves expressing regret for past wrongdoings, with a firm intention not to repeat them, and making amends for any harm caused (p. 3).

2. **Al-Zuhd (Zuhud)**
   
   "Šānīhā az-zuhd fī ad-dunyā wa huwa khurūj ‘an asbābihā wa syahawātihā wa mālihā wa jāhihā akhžān min khabar ad-dunyā ḥarāmun ‘alā ahl al-ākhirah wa al-ākhirah ḥarāmun ‘alā ahl ad-dunyā wa humā ḥarāmāni ‘alā ahl allāh ta‘ālā,"
   
   The second principle, Zuhd, or asceticism, entails renouncing worldly desires, wealth, and ostentation. This principle draws from the Hadith saying, "The world is forbidden to those who seek the hereafter, and the hereafter is forbidden to those who seek the world. Both are forbidden to the servants of Allah" (p. 3).

3. **Tawakkal (trust in God)**
   
   "Šālišuḥā at-tawakkul ‘alā allāh qāla aksar aṣ-ṣūfiyah huwa al-khurūj ‘an al-asbāb siqatan billāh ta‘ālā wa qarībun minhu qaułu ba‘duhum huwa tark as-sa‘yi fimā lā tasa‘u qudrat al-basyar qāla ta‘ālā wa man yatawwakkal ‘alallāh fa huwa ḥasbihū wa al-muḥaqiqūna minhum wa min qairihin ‘alā annahū qaṭ‘u an-naẓar ‘an al-asbāb ma‘a tahyi’ihā wa li hāžā [qāla an-nabiyyu șallallâhu ‘alaihi wa sallama li man qāla lahū ursilu nāqaṭi wa atawakkalaw aw a’qiluhū wa atawakkalaw qāla laḥū i’qilhū wa tawakkal rawāhu al-baiхаqiyy wa gairuhū]"
The third principle, Tawakkal (trust in God), is interpreted by many Sufis as relinquishing reliance on human reason and placing one's faith in the Almighty. Some define it as ceasing to work on matters beyond human capability. The followers of Sufism who are experts in reality and others state that Tawakkal involves shifting focus away from worldly causes while preparing for the spiritual journey. This aligns with the Prophet's response to the query, "Should I release my camel and then trust in God, or should I tie my camel and then trust in God?" To which the Prophet replied, "Tie it, then trust in God" (H.R Baihaqi and others) (p. 4).

4. Taqannuʻ (acceptance)

The fourth principle, Taqannuʻ (Acceptance), involves relinquishing self-desire and animalistic pleasures, except for essential human needs such as food, clothing, and shelter (p. 4).

5. Al-ʻUzlah (self seclusion)

The fifth principle, Al-ʻUzlah (self seclusion), involves secluding oneself from worldly affairs and focusing on spiritual practices. It calls for living a simple life dedicated to the path of Allah, away from worldly distractions (p. 4).

6. Taqabbul (reception)

The sixth principle, Taqabbul (reception), focuses on accepting the guidance and teachings of the spiritual masters. It involves being receptive to the guidance of the sheikhs and following their instructions without reservation (p. 4).

7. Al-Maṣāiḥ (solitary retreat)

The seventh principle, Al-Maṣāiḥ (solitary retreat), is about taking time for solitary retreats away from the distractions of daily life. It encourages finding quiet moments to connect with one's inner self and with Allah (p. 4).

8. Al-Muṣāra (consultation)

The eighth principle, Al-Muṣāra (consultation), is about seeking guidance and consultation from the spiritual masters. It emphasizes the importance of seeking guidance from those who have knowledge and experience in the path of Sufism (p. 4).

9. Al-ʻIkhwān al-Muṣālihūn (brothers in spiritual practice)

The ninth principle, Al-ʻIkhwān al-Muṣālihūn (brothers in spiritual practice), involves the importance of forming spiritual communities and supporting each other in the path of Sufism. It highlights the value of collective practice and support (p. 4).
The fifth principle, Al-ʻUzlah (Seclusion), advocates for avoiding interference with other creatures by isolating oneself, except when serving one's teacher. A disciple before a teacher should be like a corpse before the person washing it, allowing the teacher to guide them in any way necessary. A disciple must have a perfect teacher who can guide them to Allah. Allah said, "Ask the people of remembrance if you do not know." Anyone who expresses their opinion and takes pride in their knowledge to the extent that they feel they do not need a teacher will be led astray by Satan. Hence, it is said that whoever does not have a teacher, Satan becomes their teacher. The essence of seclusion is to gather all one's faculties in a state of silence from doing anything visible (p. 4).

6. Mulāzamat aẓ-Żikr (sustaining zikr)
sādisuhā mulāzamat aẓ-żikr wa hiya al-khurūj ‘an żikr mā siwā allāh taʿālā bi nisyān gairihī bi an yulāzima murāqabahū taʾālā dāʾiman wa iẓā ḥaṣalat al-murāqabah wa al-murād bihā al-musyāhahadah lam yaḥtaj ilā aẓ-żikr qāla baʾd al-muhaqqiqīna bal lā yataṣawwaru aẓ-żikru maʾahā liannahū yaqtaḍī an-nisyān qāla taʾālā {wāzkur rabbaka iżā nasīta} ay nasītahū wa qāla kaṣīrun nazrun li aẓ-żāhir maʾnā iżā nasīta nasīta gair allāh aw at-taʾliq bi masyīʾah wa lā munāfahā baina al-kalāmain iż al-anwāl mafriḍ fī aẓ-żikri maʾa al-musyāhahadati wa aṣ-šānī fī aẓ-żikri bi diinīhā

The sixth principle, Mulāzamat al-Żikr (habituation to dzikr), involves ceaseless mindfulness of Allah's oversight, transcending the remembrance of anything other than Allah through its forgetfulness. This principle posits that if you attain a realization of Allah's supervision (or witnessing), the need for remembrance becomes obsolete. The principle aligns with the Quranic verse: "Remember your Lord if you forget", signifying forgetting anything other than Allah.
The seventh principle, *Al-Tawajjuh ila Allāh bi al-kulliyyah* (the totality facing Allah), advocates for absolute devotion to God, forsaking all impulses other than the Almighty. It is expressed that nothing remains to be sought, loved, or intended except for Allāh. Al-Junaid RA noted that if a devout person turned away from God for a moment after facing Him for a thousand years, they would lose more than they would gain (p. 5).

The eighth characteristic is *Al-Ṣabr* (patience), which signifies adhering to religious motivations to resist the
urges of one's desires. Patience is described as emerging from the realm of carnal desires by earnestly engaging in obedience to purify oneself and empty the soul. Patience is the path to reliance on God (tawakkal). Cultivating patience and not wanting to be separated from it equates to a deep love for trials. This is reflected in a poetic expression that says, "How long have you served me the cup, and I drank it with my fervent patience." It is believed that when Allah tests His beloved ones with trials, He is not punishing them with those trials; instead, He is purifying them through those trials (page 5).

9. Al-Murāqabah (supervision of God)
The ninth principle, Al-Murāqabah (Supervision of God), involves observing the authority of Allah, waiting for Allah's power to manifest while distancing oneself from anything other than Allah, and immersing oneself in the ocean of His love (p. 6).

10. Riḍā (Rida)
‘Asyiruhā ar-ridā wa huwa al-khurūj ‘an riḍā nafsihi bi ad-dukhūl fī riḍallāh taʿāla bi at-taslīm li al-ʾākhām al-ʾazaliyyah wa at-taaffiḍ li at-tadbīrāt al-abadiyyah bi lā iʿrāḍ wa lā iʿtirāḍa
The tenth principle, Riḍā (contentment), involves transcending self-pleasure to attain Allah's pleasure by submitting oneself to His original laws and surrendering completely to divine rules without resistance or protest (p. 6).

The discourse of Sufism recognizes the terms Maqāmāt and Aḥwāl. However, the author of the text in question does not explicitly categorize the ten principles as Maqāmāt. Instead, these principles are referred to as Tarīq illallāh (the way to Allah).
In the ar-Risālah al-Qusyairiyyah, it is explained that in the early days of Sufism, the terms arīq and arīqah, as well as sulūk (walking a specific path), were used. These terms refer to the psychological and moral aspects of Sufism, which are mirrored in at-ṭarīq ilā allāh (the way to Allah), a journey incorporating several stages, namely Maqāmāt and Aḥwāl. From this, it can be inferred that the term al-ṭarīq ilā allāh essentially refers to the arīqah (path) and sulūk (conduct) of a Sufi in drawing closer to Allah, as depicted through Maqāmāt and Aḥwāl. Embarking on this journey, a Sufi ascends in rank to reach the ultimate stage, maqām al-tauḥid, or ma’rifatullāh, the Gnostic knowledge of Allah.

Abu Talib al-Makki (d. 386 H), the author of the book Qūt al-Qulūb, and a Sufi who influenced al-Gazali’s thinking, stated that the meaning of al-ṭarīq is in line with Islamic Shari’a and Sunnah. Further, the term al-ṭarīq shares synonymous meanings with terms such as arīqah, sunnah, irāṣ al-mustaqīm, maḥajjah, minhāj, and sabīl.24

Maqāmāt, in the context of Sufism, refers to the path a Sufi must tread to draw closer to Allah. As described by Al-Ṭūsi, as referenced by Rosihon Anwar and M. Alfatih, maqāmāt is the servant's (salik) position in his journey to Allah, achieved through worship, sincerity in overcoming challenges (al-mujahadaḥ), and spiritual exercises (al-Riyāḍah).

Historically, the concept of maqamat emerged in the first century of the Hijri calendar, introduced by the Prophet’s companion, Ali bin Abi Thalib. He explained that faith is built on four foundations: patience, conviction, justice, and struggle, with each foundation having ten levels (maqamat). This indicates that the source of Sufism can be traced back to the time of Prophet Muhammad.

However, in Sufi tradition, the terms maqamat and ahwal are often associated with the Sufi figure from Egypt, Sheikh Zunnun al-Mashri, who introduced the theory of ma’rifah or

---

24 Al-Taftazani, Madkhal Ila At-Tasawwuf Al-Islami.Madkhal Ila At-Tasawwuf Al-Islami.
gnosis in Sufi tradition. This concept later gained serious attention from Sufis, who developed different definitions and levels of maqamat. Sufis also formulated definitions related to ahwal and explained the processes of these concepts.

The purpose of creating the concepts of maqamat and ahwal by Sufis is to systematically achieve perfection towards God. With these concepts, Sufis provide rules that can be followed by their followers, making the path towards God clearer and easier to follow.25

The pursuit of proximity to Allah in Sufism is accomplished through several *maqāmāt* (stages), primarily referring to the servant's position before the Almighty in the practice of worship, *mujahadah*, *riyadah*, and detachment from anything other than Allah. The number and sequence of these stages vary among Sufi scholars due to their distinct perspectives. Sufism experts differ on the arrangement of the levels of maqāmāt. As an example, Abu Nasr al-Sarraj al-Tusi, in his book "Al-Luma’ fi al-Tasawwuf," explains seven maqamat (spiritual stages), namely: 1. Repentance (taubah), 2. Caution (wara’), 3. Asceticism (zuhd), 4. Poverty (faqirhood), 5. Patience (sabr), 6. Trust (tawakkal), and 7. Contentment (ridā).

*Aḥwāl* refers to emotional states such as joy, sadness, fear, and anxiety. Unlike *maqāmāt*, which are achieved through effort, *aḥwāl* are received solely as gifts and blessings from Allah. They are temporary in nature, whereas *maqāmāt* are permanent. The systematic explanation of maqāmāt and aḥwāl provides a profound insight into the spiritual journey and inner states that seekers of truth can experience in the Sufi tradition.26 The different views of the Sufis regarding the number and order of maqāmāt are explained as follows:

1. Al-Tusi (d. 377 H) posits that there are seven levels of *maqamat* in the following order: repentance, *wara’*, asceticism, *faqr*, patience, tawakal, and *rida*.

2. Al-Qusyairi (d. 465 H) thinks there are six levels of *maqamat* in the following order: repentance, *wara’*, asceticism, *tawakkal*, patience, and *rida*.

3. Al-Ghazali (d. 505 H) mentions ten levels of *maqamat* in the following order: repentance, patience, gratitude, *raja’*, *khauf*, asceticism, *mahabbah*, *shauq*, *uns* and *rida*.


The Sufi experience, according to at-Taftāzānī, varies among individuals, leading to different objectives in Sufism depending on the extent of the Sufi’s development. Some Sufis aim for moral goals, self-control, and achieving commendable morals while others strive to reach *ma’rifatullah*. Some Sufis adopt a philosophical approach by linking Sufism with nature, nature with God, and humans with God.28

Al-Ghazali asserts that the ultimate goal of Sufism is happiness (*al-sa’adah*), emanating from *ma’rifatullah*. Al-Ghazali discusses this concept of *al-sa’ādah* in detail in his book

28 Al-Taftazani, *Madkhal Ilā At-Tasawwuf Al-Islami*. 
'Ihya', and has even composed a treatise on happiness titled the Kimiya al-Saʻādah. Unlike other Sufis, al-Ghazali comprehensively developed a theory about al-saʻādah, stating that it can be attained through knowledge and charity.

In the FI text, the final phase in the process of drawing near to Allah is rida (contentment), aligning with the final phase (maqām) articulated by al-Tusi, al-Qusyairi, and al-Ghazali. By performing the ten maqāmāt, Allah bestows His noble lights, opens what is closed (futūh) and grants knowledge from His side (ladunni). This is expressed in the text at the end of the discussion of the third way from the path to God. This aligns with the last phase (maqām) expressed by al-Tusi, al-Qusyairi, and al-Ghazali. The author posits that anyone who traverses these roads will be bestowed with the divine illumination of God, the unveiling of divine secrets, and the knowledge of His ladunni. It is mentioned in the FI:

\[fa\ man\ yudāwimu\ bi\ irādāt\ ʻalā\ hāzīhi\ al-uṣūl\ as-saniyyah\\]
\[manaḥlahullāh\ bi\ anwārihī\ al-ʻaliyyah\ wa\ futūḥātuhū\ al-ilāhiyyah\ wa\ ʻulūmihī\ al-ladunniyyah\]

[Whoever accustoms himself with his will to these noble trees, God will certainly give His noble lights and divine gifts and knowledge from His side] (p. 6).

This quote asserts that the pinnacle of the teachings of Sufism in the FI text is ma'rifatullāh or knowledge of Allah. According to at-Taftāzānī, the earliest Sufi to broach the topic of ma'rifah was Zu al-Nūn al-Miṣrī (d. 245 H). Ma'rifah has a moral objective: human efforts to emulate God's character to the best of their ability. The wiser a person becomes in their understanding of Allah, the more solemn they become, as they continuously draw closer to Him.

The author argues that ma'rifah is a divine gift bestowed to the 'ārif or the knowledgable/wise. Furthermore, ma'rifah is consistently linked to Shari'a or Islamic law. According to Zu al-Nūn al-Miṣrī, the ultimate objective of the Sufis is to attain maqam al-Ma'rifah, by revealing the truth known by the Sufis through żauq, i.e. insight without the mediation of reason or vision. This revelation only occurs to the servants of Allah who
are close to Him, as they perceive with the eyes of their hearts. The detailed theoretical discussion of ma'rifah did not occur during the 1st and 2nd Hijri scholars.29

The peak discussion about ma'rifah was discussed by al-Gazali, who in detail puts forward the meaning of ma'rifah as follows:

1. *Ma'rifah* knows the secrets of Allah and His rules that cover everything that exists;
2. A person who has reached ma'rifah is close to Allah; even he can see His face;
3. Ma'rifah comes before mahabbah.

Al-Ghazali, who extensively discussed the meaning of ma'rifah, stated that it involves understanding the mysteries of divinity and the intricacies of religious affairs that encompass everything that exists. According to al-Ghazali, the existence of these levels of ma'rifah implies that there are also levels of mahabbah (love) for God. Al-Ghazali gave the example of the followers of the Shafi'i school of jurisprudence who love Imam Shafi'i. However, the depths of their love vary according to their knowledge of him. Similarly, in al-Ghazali's teachings of Sufism, ma'rifah precedes mahabbah, as mahabbah emanates from ma'rifah. Furthermore, al-Ghazali asserted that the path to reinforcing and strengthening the wisdom of Allah in one's heart involves purifying the heart from all worldly distractions.30

The analysis above leads to the conclusion that the apogee of Sufism contained in the FI text is *ma'rifatullāh* at its highest level, that is, knowing the secrets of divinity and understanding the intricacies of religious affairs, which encompass everything that exists, as stated by al-Ghazali.

**CONCLUSION**

The text of *Al-Futūḥāt al-Ilāhiyyah* is a comprehensive exposition on Sufism, comprised of ten chapters. The initial nine

29 Al-Taftazani. *Madkhal Ila At-Tasawwuf Al-Islami.*
chapters present Sufism as a theoretical discipline, while the tenth chapter covers its practical aspects. The format of this book is a mukhtasar, a summary form commonly found in Islamic literature, which appears to draw influence from the works of Sufism scholars from the 3rd and 4th Hijri centuries. This is exemplified by the Kitāb at-Ta‘arruf li Mażhab Ahl at-Taṣawwuf by Abu Bakar Muhammad bin Ishak al-Bukhari al-Kalabażi (d. 380). The author's reference to al-Kalabażi's book is indicative of the shared perspectives in defining the pillars of Sufism.

A distinguishing feature of the Sufism presented in this text is its ethical focus, mirroring the approach adopted by Sufis in the 3rd and 4th centuries who connected Sufism with ethics. The text delves into the process of personal transformation, elucidating how individuals can replace undesirable traits with virtuous ones. This theme is particularly evident in the discussion on the Path to Allah (ṭarīq ilā allāh), which maps out stages of spiritual progression such as repentance, patience, contentment, reliance on God, piety, turning one's attention to God, and remembrance (zikir).

The FI text delineates ten principles of the Path to God (ṭarīq ilā allāh), sequenced as follows: al-Taubah (Repentance), al-Zuhd (Asceticism), Tawakkal (Reliance on God), Taqannu‘ (Contentment), Al-‘Uzlah (Seclusion), Mulāzamat al-Żikr (Persistent Remembrance), Al-tawajjuh ila allāh bi al-kulliyyah (Complete Devotion to Allah), Al-Sabr (Patience), Al-Murāqa-bah (Contemplation of Allah), and Riḍā (Satisfaction). Each principle represents a step on the spiritual journey towards a closer relationship with Allah.

---------------------

REFERENCES

Manuscripts
THE CONCEPT OF AṬ-ṬARĪQ ILĀ ALLĀH (THE PATH TO ALLAH) ACCORDING TO SHEIKH ZAKARIYYĀ AL-ANŠĀRĪ IN THE AL-FUTŪḤĀT AL-ILĀHIYYAH MANUSCRIPT — Arif Syibromalisi, Ali Akbar, Nurman Kholis, Alfan Firmanto, Cecep Soleh Kurniawan

Al-Futūḥāt al-Īlāhiyyah fī Nafṣ Arwāḥ al-Żawāt al-Insāniyyah. Collection of King Abdullah bin Abdul Aziz Library, University of Umm al-Qurra KSA code: 20765-9
Al-Futūḥāt al-Īlāhiyyah fī Nafṣ Arwāḥ al-Żawāt al-Insāniyyah. Collection of Leipzig University Library, Germany, code: Bl. 39v

Books

Journal Articles

**Thesis**