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MUSTAQĪM BY NŪR AL-DĪN AL-
RĀNIRĪ AND THE
DEVELOPMENT OF TAŞAWWUF
IN LOMBOK

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**THE BOOK OF *ŞIRĀṬ AL-MUSTAQĪM*
BY NŪR AL-DĪN AL-RĀNIRĪ AND THE
DEVELOPMENT OF TAŞAWWUF IN LOMBOK**

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Abstract: Al-Rānirī is the first modern Sufi figure among the Malay Muslims in the 17th century. *Şirāṭ al-Mustaqīm* is his popular book that features Sufism in the archipelago. This study looks into the influence of the book on the development of Sufism in the island of Lombok. Based on the combination of anthropological-phenomenological and textual method, this study shows that al-Rānirī emphasizes in his work *Şirāṭ al-Mustaqīm* emphasized on the importance of *fiqh* (Islamic jurisprudence) on the practice of *taşawwuf* as a response to the doctrines of *wujūdiyya* burgeoning among the Muslims in Aceh. The manuscript was written in Arabic, Malay, and Jawi in the 16th and the 17th century and spread along with the arrival of merchants to the Sasaknese who travelled from Lombok to Palembang and Aceh. This work has added robust *fiqh* features over the practices of *tariqa* (Sufi order) in the island of Lombok. The teachings of *Tariqa Qādiriyya- Naqsyabandiyya* in the island regularly studied the contents of the book, from which they learnt about *wuḍū'* (Ablution) and *şalāh* (praying), which are strengthened from the perspective of *taşawwuf* by drawing on the nine elements of human soul formation. This is what the prominent Islamic figures in Lombok perceive as a way of *ma'rifa* (knowing God) through sharia rituals.

Keyword: *Şirāṭ al-Mustaqīm*, al-Rānirī, *fiqh*, *taşawwuf*, tuan guru, Lombok

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Introduction

NŪR AL-DĪN AL-RĀNIRĪ 'S complete name is Shaykh Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad Jaylānī ibn 'Ali ibn Hasanji ibn Muḥammad Aḥmad, born in Ranir (Rander), a port city in the coastline of Gujarat,

India, and died on the 22 Dhulḥijjah 1096 H (Islamic calendar), which equals to the 21st September 1658. In 1637, he came to Aceh and became an advisor of the local kingdom until 1644.¹ His mother is from Malay tribe, while his dad is an Arabian descendant from India.

After undertaking his scholarship in his hometown, Ranir Gujarat India, that continued to Hadramaut and Mecca and Medina in 1030 H/1621 M, he moved to Aceh in 1637 M. An Islamic master who was very influential on him was Abū Nafs Sayyīd Imām bin ‘Abdullāh bin Shaybān, a master of Tariqa Rifa’iyyah, born in Gujarat, India. The other master who was phenomenal in the realm of Islamic mysticism was Abū Ḥafs ‘Umar bin ‘Abdullāh Ba Shaybān al-Tarimī al-Ḥaḍramī, generally known as Sayyīd ‘Umar al-Alaydrūs.² In terms of Aqidah (creed), al-Rānirī embraced the school of *ahl al-sunna wa al-jamā’a*, while in the realm of *fiqh* (Islamic jurisprudence), he adhered to the school of al-Shāfi’ī.³

Upon his arrival in Aceh, he was appointed as Shaykh al-Islām, one of the highest positions in the kingdom of Aceh. After getting this position, he launched a reform of Islam in Aceh against the provinces that hold the doctrine of the Sufi "*wujūdiyya*", such as the importance of law in the perspective of Sufism by writing *Ṣirāṭ al-Mustaqīm*.⁴ In addition, he authored this book at the request of some of his friends to compile a book of Islamic

¹ W. Mohd. Shaghir Abdullah, *Khazanah Karya Pusaka Asia Tenggara* (Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia: Khazanah Fathaniyah, 1999), 116.

² Other than Tariqa Rifa’iyah, Al-Rānirī is associated to Tariqa Aydarusiyah and Tariqa Qadiriyah. See: Azyumardi Azra, *Jaringan Ulama’Timur Tengah dan Kepulauan Nusantara Abad ke 17 dan Abad ke 18* (Jakarta: Kencana, 2005), 206; Ahmad Daudy, *Syaikh Nurruddin al-Raniri: Sejarah, Karya, dan Sanggahan terhadap Wujudiyah di Aceh* (Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, 1993), 36–37.

³ See also Sirajuddin Abbas, *Ulama al-Shafi’i dan Kitab-Kitabnya dari Abad ke Abad* (Jakarta: Pustaka Tarbiyah, 1975), 379.

⁴ The controversial doctrines of *Wujūdiyya* in Aceh occurred during the reign of Sultan Iskandar Sani (1637-1641) between Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānirī and the teachings of *wujudiyah* Ḥamzah Fansūrī and Shams al-Dīn al-Sumatrānī. See: Oman Fathurrahman, *Tanbih al-Masyi Menyoal Wahdatul Wujud: Kasus Abdurrauf Singkel di Aceh Abad 17* (Bandung: Mizan, 1999), 36.

jurisprudence based on the Shāfi'ī school of thought that non-Arabian people find it easier to understand.⁵

No other literature written in Malay could be referred to before his publication. With this regard, al-Rānirī was the first Islamic scholar who took the initiative to author a standardized handbook pertinent to the essential obligations of Islam (Islamic jurisprudence) for everyone although some of the Islamic rules had been prominent and practised by Malaysians in Indonesia. This context makes the book so accessible that it is still used across Indonesia.

In Lombok, like Arabic-Malay (Jawi) manuscripts that have penetrated the island since the 16th and 17th centuries,⁶ the book of *Ṣirāṭ al-Mustaqīm* spread along with the arrival of traders and Sasaknese who travelled to Palembang⁷ and Aceh.⁸ However, in contrast to other Arabic-Malay manuscripts which emphasize the teachings of Sufistic elements, this book entails stable fiqh features to the practice of Islamic Tariqa (Sufi path) in Lombok, especially

⁵ Oman Fathurrahman and Munawar Kholil, *Katalog Naskah Ali Hasjmy Aceh* (Bandung: PPIM UIN Jakarta & Yayasan Pendidikan Ali Hasjmy, MANASSA, C-DATS, TUFS, 2007), 82.

⁶ See Lalu Muhammad Ariadi, *Haji Sasak: Sebuah Potret Dialektika Haji dan Kebudayaan Lokal* (Jakarta: IMPRESSA, 2013), 67.

⁷ The Kingdom of Lombok had established a diplomatic tie since the time of Palembang kingdom (Sriwijaya). Palembang, the capital of the Kingdom Sriwijaya at that time, became the centre of Buddhism for some Chinese who intended to study Buddhism were suggested to spend a year in the kingdom to learn Sansekerta (an old language of South East Asia). The partnership of both kingdoms suggests that the use of the Sansekerta on the Island of Lombok came from the Sriwijaya Kingdom. Jamaluddin, "Islam Sasak: Sejarah Sosial Islam dan Keagamaan di Lombok (Abad XVI-XIX)" (Thesis Post-Graduate, UIN Syarif Hidayatullah, 2004), 52.

⁸ Some local folktales from the community of *Wetu Telu* narrate three of their adherents who travelled to Bali, Java and Palembang. For the last destination, they aimed to learn Islam in the Arabic-Malay manuscripts Arab-Melayu (An interview with Haji Mustiadi, on the 12th November 2019). For more information about the spread of the Arabic-Malay Islam Manuscripts see Mujib and Achmad Cholid Sodrie, *Khazanah Naskah Desa Ketangga, Kec. Suela, Kabupaten Lombok Timur* (Jakarta: Kementerian kebudayaan dan Pariwisata, 2004).

in the Eastern part of the island.⁹ This is what makes the book gains much appreciation from the Malay Ulama. Shaykh Arshad al-Banjārī in his work *Sabīl al-Muhtadīn* praised him, stating: “.... This is the book of a pious man, Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānirī.....entitled *Ṣirāṭ al-Mustaqīm* on the fiqh adhering to the Shāfi’ī school of thought, the book of which is the best of all of the Javanese books ever written in Jawi language... ”.¹⁰

The assessment of Shaykh Arshad above was based on the contents of the book comprising the standardized references of Shafi’iya literature. He also states that *Ṣirāṭ al-Mustaqīm* entails numerous terms of Acehnese language, which then becomes the embryo of his work *Sabīl al-Muhtadīn* that aims to provide an understanding of the science of Islamic Jurisprudence.¹¹

This present study aims to analyze the influences of the book *Ṣirāṭ al-Mustaqīm* towards the history, teachings and practices of taṣawwuf on the island of Lombok.

The works of al-Rānirī and the network of Nusantara Ulama

In the 16th and the 17th centuries, Aceh was the area where Islam thrived at the outset in the archipelago. Islam was brought by travelling Muslim clerics with Sufi characteristics, particularly from Gujarat and Malabar, India. During the period of Islamic development, four prominent Ulama leaders appeared in the region. They were Ḥamzah Fansūrī, Shams al-Dīn al-Sumatrānī (1630), Nūr al-Dīn Al-Rānirī (1658) and ‘Abd al-Ra’ūf al-Singkilī (1693).

The arrival of al-Rānirī was a response and criticism towards Ḥamzah Fansūrī and Shams al-Dīn al-Sumatrānī who spread the knowledge of the doctrine of the unification of God and humans (*wujūdiyya*). Although al-Rānirī’s works were polemical and apologetic, he did not exclude standard books authored by some leading figures, such as *Minhāj al-Thālibīn* by al-Nawāwī; *Faṭḥ al-Wahhāb bi Sharḥ Minhāj al-Thullāb* by Zakariyya al-Anshārī; *Hidāyah*

⁹ See Lalu Muhammad Ariadi, Abdul Quddus, and Akhmad Asyari, “Manuscripts, Sharia and Religious Freedom Values Growth in West Nusa Tenggara,” *Humanities and Social Sciences Reviews* 8, no. 1 (2020): 183–191.

¹⁰ See Daudy, *Syaikh Nurruddin al-Raniri*, 38.

¹¹ See Fathurrahman and Kholil, *Katalog Naskah*.

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al-Muhtāj Sharḥ al-Mukhtashar by 'Ibn Ḥajar; *al-Anwār* by al-Ardabilī or *Nihāyah al-Muhtāj ilā Sharḥ al-Minhāj* by Shams al-Dīn al-Ramlī.¹²

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 In addition to the Book of *Ṣirāṭ al-Mustaqīm* are several other al-Rānirī's works related to Islam. There are about 31 works, as al-Ṣaghīr 'Abdullāh mentioned, that include¹³ 1) *Durr al-Farā'id bi Sharḥ al-'Aqā'id* (precious gems regarding the description of faith). This is a Malay translation from Arabic entitled *Sharḥ 'Aqā'id*, the work of Imām Sa'd al-Dīn. It contains the teaching of what the author called *ahl al-ḥaq*. 2) *al-Tibyān fī Ma'rifah al-Adyān* (the explanation on the knowledge of religion), comprises of al-Rānirī's towards the concept of *wujūdiyya* scholars of Aceh, Shaykh Ḥamzah Fansūrī and Shams al-Dīn al-Sumatrānī and their followers. 3) *Hujjah al-Shadīq li Daf'i al-Zindīq* (the arguments of the right person against the intention of a heretic), a Malay book containing Islamic principles, streams of Islamic theology, Sufi, philosophers, and the *wujūdiyya* adherents. The purpose was to oppose the abovementioned heretic people 4) *Hill al-Zill*, containing harsh criticism of al-Rānirī against the concept of *wujūdiyya* growing in Aceh. 5) *Ma' al-Hayātī lī Ahl Mamāt* (the living water for the dead), a Malay book containing a condemnation over the followers of *wujūdiyya* who were called *Mulhid* and heresy. 6) *Akḥbār al-Ākhirah fī Ahwāl al-Qiyāmah* (news of the hereafter regarding the day of judgment). 7) *Al-Fawā'id al-Bāhiyah fī al-Aḥādīth al-Nabawīyah*. 8) *Jawāhīr al-'Ulum fī Kashf al-Ma'lūm* (Germ of science in revelling its targets), a Malay book that discusses the mystical philosophy thoroughly. 9) *Faṭḥ al-Mubīn 'alā al-Mulhidīn* (the real champion over all the *Mulhid*), a Malay book containing harsh criticism of Nūr al-Dīn Al-Rānirī over all the concepts of *wujūdiyya* spread by Ḥamzah Fansūrī and Shams al-Dīn al-Sumatrānī including their followers in Aceh since the early 17th century. 10) *Asrār al-Insān fī Ma'rifah al-Rūḥ wa Raḥmān* (The secret of humans to reveal the soul of God), a book written in Malay and Arabic that discusses human being, particularly the soul, characteristics, the truth, and human relation to god. 11)

¹² See Azra, *Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah*, 218.

¹³ Abdullah, *Khazanah Karya Pusaka*, 1–3.

Bad'u Khalq al-Samāwāt wa al-Ard (the beginning of the creation of the universe and earth), a Malay book stemming from some parts of *Buṣṭān al-Salāṭīn*. 12) *Buṣṭān al-Salāṭīn fī Dhikr al-Awwalīn wa al-Ākhirīn* (the garden of Sultan regarding the last and future generations), the thickest history book written in Malay by Syaikh Nūr al-Dīn at that time. 13) *Laṭā'if al-Asrār*, (the softness of secret), a Malay book that discusses Sufism teachings. 14) *Shifā' al-Qulūb* (the medicine of heart), a book written in Malay about ways of Dhikr (reciting the names of god). 15) *Rahiq al-Muḥammadiyah fī Ṭarīq al-Sūfiyyah* (the drinks of the followers of the great prophet Muḥammad in the Sufism path), the last Taṣawwuf book written by Nūr al-Dīn in India. 16) *Sawarim al-Shiddiq li Qaṭ'i al-Zindiq* (the sword of pious persons to slaughter heretics), a book is written in Malay to oppose the adherents of *wujūdiyya*. 17) *Kayfiyyah al-Ṣalah* (procedures of praying), a book written in Malay cited from *Širāt al-Mustaqīm*. 18) *Hidāyat al-Īmān fī Faḍl al-Manān* (the guidance for faith by the mercy of God), a Malay book about faith, Islam, Makrifat, and oneness of God. 19) *'Alaqaṭullāh bi al-'Alam* (the relationship between God and nature), 20) *'Aqā'id al-Šūfiyyah al-Muwahḥidīn* (the belief of Sufi in faith) contains the right teachings of Taṣawwuf, particularly about faith. 21) *Nabdhah fī Da'wah al-Zilma' Ṣāhibih* comprising the single unit of *Wujūdiyya* teachings. 22) *Fath al-Wadūd fī Bayān Wahdat al-Wujūd*, 23) *'Ayn al-Wujūd fī Bayān Wahdah al-Wujūd*. 24) *'Ayn al-Jawād fī Bayān Wahdah al-Wujūd*. 25) *'Ayn al-'Ālam qabla 'an Yukhlaq*. 26) *Awḍah al-Sabīl wa al-Dalīl la Bāthil al-Mulhidīn Ta'wīl*. 27) *Tawḍih al-Lam'an fī Tafkīr*. 28) *Awḍah al-Sabīl laysa lī al-kalam al-Mulhidīn*. 28) *Shazar al-Mazīd*. 29) *Tanbīh al-'Awām*. 30) *Qiṣṣah Iskandar Dhū al-Qarnayn*. 31) *Muhimmah al-I'tiqād*.

In addition to the themes of monotheism, jurisprudence, hadiths, and religious comparisons, the works above are largely thematic. Al-Rānirī has successfully suppressed the thinking of *wujūdiyya* of Ḥamzah Fansūrī and Shams al-Dīn al-Sumatrānī.¹⁴

¹⁴ Alwi Shihab concluded that the thoughts of al-Rānirī could reduce the thrive of Tassawuf philosophy and the teachings of pantheism in Aceh on one hand, and could pave ways for Sunni Tassawuf to expand on the other hand. The teachings of al-Rānirī have successfully instilled and dominated *Ahl al-Sunnah wa*

Among them are his rejection of pantheism and a complete description of the debate against Fansūrī followers that leads to issue a "death sentence" to the group. This theme is discussed in *al-Tibyān fī Ma'rifah al-Adyān fī al-Taṣawwuf* and *Nubdhah fī Da'wah al-Zil*.¹⁵

Through his works, al-Rānirī has played his role in spreading religious renewal. The practice of citing numerous works of leading Islamic figures to justify his arguments throughout his writings was an essential means of disseminating his ideas of reform. In this way, he introduced the leading figures to the Muslims in the archipelago.¹⁶ either in the regions on Sumatera island, or other regions, such as Lombok and Sumbawa. The study of Mujib and Ahmad Cholid Sodrie on the Arabic-Malay manuscripts in Ketangga, East Lombok, the manuscript of *Ṣirāṭ al-Mustaqīm* was filed with other manuscripts, such as Tariqa manuscripts of Imām Abū Ḥamzah that became the reference of Tuan Lebay to teach the Sasak People about Islam and that significantly affected the diversity between Islam in East and in North Lombok. With regard to al-Rānirī 's position, Azyumardi Azra states that in terms of Kalam and Tasawuf, he quotes Imām al-Ghazzālī, Ibn 'Arabī, al-Qunyāwī, al-Qashānī, al-Fayrūzabādī. al-Jillī, 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Jāmi', Faḍlullāh al-Burhanpurī, and other prominent scholars. In the realm of Islamic jurisprudence, al-Rānirī refers to standard books of al-Shāfi'ī, such as *Minhāj al-Thālibīn* by al-Nawāwī, *Fatḥ al-Wahhāb bi Sharḥ Minhāj al-Thullāb* by

al-Jamā'ah. See Alwi Shihab, *Islam Sufistik: Islam Pertama dan Pengaruhnya hingga Kini di Indonesia* (Bandung: Mizan, 2001), 48.

¹⁵ Ar-Raniry criticized the teachings of Wujudiyah Ḥamzah Fansuri through two methods: *first* through the writing of books, *second* through debating against the adherents of Ḥamzah Fansūrī and Shams al-Dīn al-Sumatrānī. In the end, Nūr al-Dīn al-Ranirī declared that the teaching of Wujūdiyyat and the adherents were all infidel based on the Islamic law perspective, and were legal to diminish unless they confessed and returned to the correct path of Islam. For further information see Syed Muhammad Naquib Al-Attas, *The Mysticism of Ḥamzah Fansūrī* (Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia: University of Malaya Press, 1970), 66.

¹⁶ Regarding the manuscripts of Arabic-Malay in Ketangga, East Lombok, see Mujib and Sodrie, *Khazanah Naskah Desa Ketangga*. For information about the role of Tuan Lebay in disseminating the Islamic religion in East Lombok, see Ariadi, *Haji Sasak*.

Zakariyya al-Anshārī, *Hidāyah al-Muḥtāj Sharḥ al-Mukhtashar* by 'Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Anwār* by al-Ardabilī or *Nihāyah al-Muḥtāj ilā Sharḥ al-Minhāj* by Shams al-Dīn al-Ramlī.¹⁷

Şirāṭ al-Mustaqīm; The Teachings of Fiqh in the Practices of Sufism

The book of *Şirāṭ al-Mustaqīm* by al-Rānirī was completed in 1054H/1644.¹⁸ It is a monumental book of Islamic jurisprudence, the most complete and thickest ever written in Arabic-Malay Jawi, and the first of which is written in the archipelago. This book has great influence in Aceh, not to mention its prevalent use in Southeast Asia across the Malay. It is inseparable from the policy of the Sultanate of Aceh on the dissemination of al-Rānirī's works. The book was written in 1044 /1634 in the era of Sulṭān Iskandar Thani and completed in 1054/1644 in the period of Sri Sulṭanah Taj al-'Alam Şafiyah al-Dīn binti Sulṭān Iskandar Muda.

In the introduction of *Şirāṭ al-Mustaqīm*, al-Rānirī stated that his book was the translation of works of the Shafi'i school of thought from Arab to Malay. However, he, in fact referred to the works of Muslim scholars belonging to the Shafi'i school of thought.¹⁹

In this book, al-Rānirī stresses the importance of jurisprudence in the practice of Sufism. The main task of a Muslim is to worship in accordance with the teachings of the Prophet. The relationship between the Sharia (exoteric path) and *ḥaqīqa* (mystical truth) is complementary. The separation between the two, according to him, is misleading. It appears that al-Rānirī emphasized the Sharia

¹⁷ Muzakkir, *Studi Tasawuf: Sejarah, Perkembangan, Tokoh dan Analisis* (Bandung: CitaPusaka Media Perintis, 2009), 147. Also read Abdul Majid, "Karakteristik Pemikiran Islam Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānirī," *Jurnal Substantia* 17, no. 2 (October 2015): 179.

¹⁸ Daudy, *Syaikh Nurruddin al-Raniri*, 19; see for further readings Che Siah bt Che Man, "Manuskrip MS 469: Kitab Şirāṭ al-Mustaqīm, Kitab Ilmu Fiqah Pertama dalam Bahasa Jawi (Melayu)," *Jurnal Filologi Melayu* (2005): 41.

¹⁹ Jamaluddin Hashim and Abdul Karim Ali, "Metode Penulisan Fiqh oleh Nūr al-Dīn Al-Rānirī dalam Kitab al-Şirāṭ al-Mustaqīm," *Jurnal Syariah* 17, no. 2 (2009): 287, see also Jamaluddin Hashim and Abdul Karim Ali, "Kitab al-Şirāṭ al-Mustaqīm by Shaykh Nūr al-Dīn Al-Rānirī: Satu Sorotan," *Jurnal Ilmu Fiqih* 5 (2008).

as an essential foundation in the Sufism (mystical truth). In detail, it explains all the problems of devotion involving prayer, fasting, charity, and so on. The contents of this book are divided into seven main themes, 21 chapters and 90 sub-chapters. The first theme is concerned with *tahara* (Islamic legal standard of purity), containing four chapters and 19 sub-chapter. The second theme is about prayer, containing ten chapters and 38 sub-chapters. The third is about alms-giving, comprising three chapters and ten sub-chapters. The fourth topic is fasting, containing one chapter and seven sub-chapters. The fifth is about pilgrim to Mecca that contains two chapters and 14 sub-chapters. The sixth is theme is about *al-Ṣayd wa al-Dhabā'ih* (hunting and slaughtering) containing one chapter, and the seventh topic is about halal and forbidden food.²⁰

In the introduction of *Ṣirāṭ al-Mustaqīm*, he put forward several Arabic fiqh books which were used as the primary references. The references are as follows: *Minhāj al-Thālibīn wa 'Umdah al-Muftīn*, the work of al-Imām al-Nawāwī, *Minhāj al-Thullāb* and *Faḥ al-Wahhāb*, these two books are the work of Shaykh al-Imām Abū Yaḥya Zakariyya al-Anshārī, *Hidāyah al-Muḥtāj Sharḥ al-Mukhtashar* by 'Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Anwār li A'māl al-Abrār* by Jamal al-Dīn Yūsuf bin Ibrāhīm al-Ardabilī, and *Umdah al-Sālik wa 'Uddah al-Nāsik* by Ṣihāb al-Dīn Abū 'Abbās Aḥmad bin Lu'lu' bin 'Abdullāh ibn al-Naqīb al-Rūmī.

Apart from the references above cited by al-Rānirī, Jalāl al-Dīn opined that he also referred to other fiqh manuscripts. These include *Faḥ al-Jawwad Sharḥ al-Irshād*, *Mughni al-Muḥtāj ilā Ma'rifah Ma'ānī al-Alfāz al-Minhāj*, *Tuḥfah al-Muḥtāj bi Sharḥ al-Minhāj*, and *al-Minhāj al-Qawīm Sharḥ al-Muqadimmah al-Ḥadramiyyah fi al-Fiqh al-Shāfi'ī*.²¹

Ṣirāṭ al-Mustaqīm was written in the Acehnese language, which caused difficulties for the outside community to understand its contents, which is said to be the weaknesses of the book. Shaykh

²⁰ al-Shaykh Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad Jaylānī Ibn 'Alī Hasanaji Ibn Muḥammad Ḥāmid al-Rānirī, *Ṣirāṭ al-Mustaqīm* (al-Ḥāramayn, n.d.); See also Nur Moklis, "Riview Kitab Sirath Al-Mustaqim Karya Sekh Nūr al-Dīn Al-Rānirī," unpublished manuscript, n.d.

²¹ Hashim and Ali, "Metode Penulisan Fiqh," 272-273.

Muḥammad Arshad al-Banjari stated that this was the reason for his writing of the book *Sabīl al-Muhtadīn li al-Tafaqquh fi ‘Amr al-Dīn*. In addition to the issue related to the use of Acehnese language, there are also significant differences between the manuscripts that even obscure the contents of the original book.²²

In Lombok, the manuscript *Širāṭ al-Mustaqīm* is studied together with other manuscripts as the references of Tariqa Qādiriyya wa Naqshbandiyya in many villages. Among the manuscripts is *Sayr al-Sālikīn*, *Bayān al-Taṣdīq*, *Insān Kāmil*, *Tuḥfah al-Mursalāh*.²³ The pattern of the manuscript of *al-Širāṭ al-Mustaqīm* overlapping with other works of Malay Islamic figures could also be found in many different areas in Indonesia, not to mention in South East Asia. AB. Razak bin AB. Karim states that Bangkok Malay community have a lot of Arabic-Malay manuscripts, such as *Širāṭ al-Mustaqīm* and *Sayr al-Sālikīn* studied in many villages, namely Klong Nueng, Tha-it, Bang Po, Namai, Surau Khiau, Surau Daeng, Surau Klang and Suan Prik Thai.²⁴ The pattern consequently became the collection of many Islamic communities in South East Asia. Sri Wulan opines that the number of the collected manuscripts in Indonesia remains uncountable.²⁵ The number and variety of the Arab-Malay manuscripts are certainly not only coming from one source of direction but also from less admitted Sufi order.

In East Lombok, the tendency to establish non-major Sufi order remains very high. The historical factor pertinent to the penetration of the tariqa manuscripts through trading becomes of the primary stimulant. Despite this, the manuscripts remain the primary references to understand the oneness of God in the group.

²² Shaykh Muḥammad Arshad al-Banjari, *Sabīl al-Muhtadīn li al-Tafaqquh fi ‘Amr al-Dīn*, vol. 1 (Singapore: Pustaka Nasional, n.d.), 3.

²³ Interview with Ustadz Mahnan, one of the representatives of Tariqa Qadiriyyah-Naqsyabandiyyah in East Lombok, 17 October 2019.

²⁴ See AB. Razak bin AB. Karim, *Pemuliharaan Naskah-Naskah Nusantara: Satu Pengalaman dan Pengajaran dalam Naskah dan Relevansinya dalam Kehidupan Mas Kini* (Padang: Pusat Studi dan Informasi Kebudayaan Minangkabau (PSIKM), 2014), 190.

²⁵ R.M. Sri Wulan, *Kodikologi Melayu di Indonesia* (Depok: Siri Penerbitan Ilmiah UI, 1994), 7.

This is evidenced from the use of *al-Ṣirāṭ al-Mustaqīm* to date owned by one of the villages in East Lombok in various Tariqa teachings. The manuscript was inherited by their great grandfather who was given by a trader preaching Islam in the regency in the 17th century. He states that:²⁶

2. *kamu beroleh petunjuk jikalau tiada menunjuki Allah yang maha mulia lagi yang amat besar akan kamu. Wa nahmaduhu 'alā anna khaṣaṣnā min al-ṭālibīn al-minhāj. Dan kami puji ia bahwa ditentukannya kami dari pada segala yang menuntut jalan yang benar. Wa khalaqnā bi faḍlihi ilā hidāyatihī min al-muhtāj. Dan dijadikannya kami dengan anugerahnya kepada hidayahnya dari pada yang muhtāj. Wa awḍaha lanā min ḥajbi bi karamihī wa khalaqnā min al-tullāb. Dan telah dinyatakannya akan kami segala jalan dengan anugerahnya dan dijadikannya kami dari pada...// (You won't gain the true direction if your God Almighty Allah does not. And we praise Allah upon the rights path that we are guided toward. And giving us the gondsends towards the true way against muhtāj [who need God's guidance]). And promised us all the paths under his mercy and making us from...//)*

6. *Pahalanya seperti sabda Nabi sallallahu alaihi wa sallam, "Al-dallu 'alā al-khayri kafa'alahu" yakni yang menunjukkan kepada kebajikan serasa ia berbuat dia dan lagi sabda Nabi, "Man yuridillāh bihi khayran yufaqqihh fī al-Dīn" yakni barangsiapa dikehendaki Allah Ta'ala akan dia kebajikan, maka dijadikannya akan dia faqih di dalam agama (riwayat Bukhari). (The merit as stated by the Prophet Muhammad, that who guides to the wisdom as if he did it. And another say of the Prophet Muhammad, that anyone who is Allah to wishes goodness, will make him be faqih-comprehend the religion.)*

Kitāb al-Ṭahārah

Ini kitab pada menyatakan Ṭahārah, qāla Allah Ta'ala "wa anzalnā min al-samā' mā'an Ṭahūran", Firman Allah Ta'ala : "kami turunkan air dari langit yang suci lagi menyucikan. (This book entails Ṭahārah²⁷, revelation of Allah: "we fall the water from the pure sky that purifies".)

Bermula tiada sahnya wuḍu' dan mandi junub, dan membasuh suatu yang kena najis, melainkan dengan air yang mutlak yakni air yang semata-mata yaitu air hujan atau air sungai atau air mata air atau air embun atau air..... atau air peluh yang diambil daripada huwab air yang suci menyucikan; jikalau daripada air laut sekalipun maka air itu terbahagi atas empat bahagi, pertama, air muṭlak²⁸, kedua,

²⁶ This manuscript belongs to Amaq Saleh, the guard of Arabic-Malay manuscripts in Selaparang, East Lombok.

²⁷Ṭahārah is a purification, the opposite of unclean (najāsa). In fiqh terms, Ṭahārah is purifying of *Nājis* (physical unclean) and *Ḥadath* (major or minor ritual impurity), either by performing *Wuḍū'* (ablution), *Ghuṣl* (bathing), and washing or rubbing something that is unclean.

²⁸ Pure water, purifies and does not makruh make use of it.

air makrūh²⁹, ketiga air musta'mal³⁰, keempat, air nājis.³¹ (Starting no legitimate wudu 'and junub bath, and wash something that is unclean, but with pure water that is water that is solely rainwater or river water or spring water or dew water or water... or water taken from steam pure and purging water; if instead of sea water, it is divided into four types, the pure water, makrūh water (optional), musta'mal water (used water), badly polluted water.)

Pasal : Pada Menyatakan Air yang Mutlak (Article: Pure Water)

Yaitu air yang suci lagi menyucikan, tiada makruh memakai dia, maka air yang mutlak itu ada terkadang berubah dengan tiga perkara; pertama, berubah rasanya, kedua, berubah warnanya, ketiga, berubah baunya. Jikalau berubah itu air itu salah suatu daripada tiga perkara yang tersebut itu sebab bercampur dengan suatu benda yang suci hingga hilanglah daripadanya nama air...// (That is pure and purifying water. It is recommended water. The water is changed by three factors, namely changes in taste, color and smell. If one of the aforementioned factors changes the water, it becomes unpure; hence it loses its purity...//)

7. *Ṣallī 'alā Muḥammad wa 'alā ālihi wa sallam, dan sunnah menadahkan kedua tangannya daripada permulaan qunūt datang kesudahan dan jangan ia menyapukan tangan pada mukanya dan pada dadanya yaitu jika disapukan makruh jua. Dan demikian lagi sunnat imam membaca dengan nyaring dan disahut ma'mum Amin dengan nyaring, maka ia mengikut pada qunūt imamnya pada dengan perlahan2 tatkala dibaca imamnya "fa innaka taqḍī" hingga datang kesudahannya dan sunnat bagi ma'mum membaca qunūt dengan perlahan2 jika tiada didengarnya sekalipun. Dan demikian lagi sunnat membaca qunūt pada akhir I'tidal pada tiap-tiap sembahyang fardhu karena kedatangan bala' kepada negeri segala Islam atau kepada setengah negeri Islam maka bala' itu yaitu seperti takut daripada seteru jikalau selama Islam sekalipun atau qahat atau kelaparan atau belalang atau tikus atau waba samfar atau barang sebagainya, tetapi membaca qunūt itu dengan membalikkan kedua tangan. Dan demikian lagi sunnat membaca qunūt itu pada I'tidal dan pada kesudahan raka'at witr pada malam enam belas hari bulan Ramadhan.*

(Ṣallī 'alā Muḥammad wa 'alā ālihi wa sallam, and the sunnah to stretch out both hands in the beginning and after qunūt and he is not allowed to sweep his hands on his face and on his chest. If done so, it is makruh. It is also sunnah for the imām to recite the āyah during praying qunūt followed by the recitation of "āmīn" by his ma'mūm, so are they following the qunūt of their imām gradually When the imām recites "fa innaka taqḍī" at the end, it is sunnah for the ma'mum to read qunūt gradually even if it is read silently. It is also sunna to read qunūt at the end of the prayer in each obliged prayers during which Islamic states face bad situation or half of the Islamic states. The bad situations include war against Islamic countries, starvation, viruses,

²⁹ Pure water, purifies but makruh make use of it.

³⁰ Pure water but does not purifies. water that is less than *qullatayn* (500 rithl 'Iraqi or approximately 270 liters current volume).

³¹ Badly polluted water, water that is less than *qullatayn* and entered unclean.

and etc, but reading the *qunūt* should be by reversing the palm of the hands. It is also Sunna to read *qunūt* at the of the prayer or after Witr prayer on the sixteenth day in the fasting month.)

Pasal : Pada Menyatakan Sunnat yang dalam Sujud. Bermula segala sunnat yang dalam sujud itu yaitu menghantarkan kedua lutut maka kedua tangan maka dahi maka hidungnya dengan tiada berlapik dan sunnat pada laki-laki merenggangkan kedua sikunya daripada lambungnya dan merenggangkan...// (Article : Sunnah in kneeling. It is sunna during the kneeling to based both knees, followed by hands and forehead and nose without basing the floor, and it is sunna for men to stretch their elbows against the stomach and stretche...//)

9. *perutnya daripada paha. Dan demikian lagi sunnat ia mengerjakan pada ruku'nya seperti yang demikian tetapi pada perempuan dan khuntha³⁵ hendaklah dirapatkan keduanya pada ruku' dan sujudnya dan sunnat dalam sujudnya itu mengucap "Subhāna Rabbiy al-A'lā wa bi ḥamdih" maka sekurang2nya sekali dan sebanyaknya sebelas kali dan yang terafdhal itu tiga kali jua dan melebihi dari tiga itu pada sembahyang seorang dirinya jika dikehendakinya dan dilebihi imam jika ridha ma'mum maka dibacanya: "Subbūhun Quddūsun Rabbunā wa Rabb al-malā'ikati wa al-rūḥ, Allāhumma laka sajdatur wa bika āmantu wa aslamtu sajada wajhiy li-lladhī khalaqahu wa sūratu wa shaqa sam'ihī wa baṣarihi bi ḥawlihi wa qanatīhi fatabāraka Allāhu aḥsan al-khāliqīn", Riwayat Muslim. (Stomach against the thigh. And it is sunna to women or effeminate to do so during *rukū'* (bowing) both should be assembled during bowing and kneeling, and it is sunna during the latter to read "*Subhāna Rabbiy al-A'lā wa bi ḥamdih*" at least once and maximum of eleven times, ideally three times, and more than three if praying alone and added by an Imām upon the willingness of the *ma'mūm* to read "*Subbūhun Quddūsun Rabbunā wa Rabb al-malā'ikati wa al-rūḥ, Allāhumma laka sajdatur wa bika āmantu wa aslamtu sajada wajhiy li-lladhī khalaqahu wa sūratu wa shaqa sam'ihī wa baṣarihi bi ḥawlihi wa qanatīhi fatabāraka Allāhu aḥsan al-khāliqīn*".*

*Dan sunnat melebihi daripada yang tersebut itu yang sembahyang seorang dirinya dan imam jika ridha ma'mumnya barang do'a dengan seungguh2nya seperti sabda Nabi ṣalla Allāh 'alayh wa sallam "Aqrabu ma yakūnu al-'abdu min rabbihi wa huwa sājidun fa akthara wa fihi al-du'ā'i, yakni terlebih hampir hamba kepada rahmat Allah nikmatnya selama lagi ia dalam sujud maka hendaklah kamu perbanyak minta doa dalamnya. Riwayat Muslim. Dan sunnat menjarangkan antara dua qadam kadar sejengkal dan demikian lagi antara keduanya lutut dan antara kedua paha dan...//. (And it is sunna to read more than the aforementioned when praying alone and collectively upon the willingness of the *ma'mūm* to collectively read prayer seriously as stated by the Prophet Muhammad that is there will be more mercies of Allah during your kneeling, so it is suggested that you pray during the kneeling (Narrated by Muslim). And it is Sunna to give an inch space between *qadam* which also applies between the knees and thighs and...//)*

³⁵*Khuntha*; effeminate

16. *sekalian sembahyang daripada awal waktu pada orang yang tiada sangat panas dan orang yang sembahyang di rumahnya. Dan demikian lagi sunnat mengemudiankan sekalian sembahyang karena tiada hingga hasil yakin atau takut akan fawut⁴⁸ waktunya. Masalah, barangsiapa beroleh sembahyang serakaat dalam waktu maka hasil lah sembahyangnya itu ada, dan jika tiada demikian maka adalah hukumnya seperti hukum qaḍā'⁴⁹ seperti sabda Nabi sallallahu 'alaihi wa sallama, "Man taraka rak'atan min al-ṣalāh faqad adraka al-ṣalāh", yakni barang siapa mendapat serakaat sembahyang dalam waktu maka sanya didapat ia dapati akan sembahyangnya itu adā'an⁵⁰, riwayat Bukhari dan Muslim. (It is recommended for everyone without any barriers to pray on time even at home. It is also sunna to combine prayers in case of running out of time. If having prayed one raka'ah during the enduring time, the prayer is accepted, and if not they should pray later in returen' as stated by the prophet Muhammad, that is anyone who gets one raka'ah of prayer in one time, his or her prayer is accepted, narrated by Bukhari and Muslim.)*

Pasal: Pada menyatakan Ijtihad yaitu Menentukan Waktu. *Bermula barangsiapa tiada mengetahui waktu karena gabor atau barang sebagainya maka wajiblah ia mengambil khabar daripada orang yang kepercayaan yang menganjurkan itu daripada pengetahuannya atau daripada orang adil yang mengetahui atau dengan kokok hayam⁵¹ yang telah dicoba ia ijtihad dengan barang yang telah dicoba seperti mendaras qiraat atau dengan suatu kepandaian. Adapun orang buta itu hendaklah ia memilih salah suatu dari pada dia perkara antara bertanya kepada orang yang mengetahui yang kepercayaan atau...// (Article: Stating Ijtihād, namely Determining Time. If anyone does not know the time for praying, he should ask someone who has the knowledge about it, or listen to crowing cocks This means that he has tried to seek for ijtihad (serious efforts) such as through learning and intelligence. And for blind people, they should seek for the answer from someone knowledgeable or trusted or ...//)*

17. *Dengan ijtihād sendirinya. Masalah, jikalau seorang sembahyang dengan ijtihad, kemudian maka yakin ia akan sembahyangnya itu gugur dahulu daripada waktu maka wajiblah diqadha'nya. Tetapi jikalau diketahuinya akan sembahyangnya itu gugur kemudian daripada waktu itu tiada diketahui akan suatu hal sekalipun maka tidaklah diqadha'nya melainkan diqadha'nya jika tiada sembahyangnya itu dengan ijtihad lagi durhakalah ia jikalau nyata sembahyang itu gugur dalam waktu sekalipun sebab taqṣīr ia pada meninggalkan ijtihad. (Based on self ijtihād. If someone prays on the basis of ijtihād, and he believes that the time has been over, the prayer needs to be replaced in the later time. However, if he doesn't have any ideas about it, he is not oblided to replace*

⁴⁸ *Fawut*; forget or running out of time.

⁴⁹ *Qaḍā'*; to pay or change of the prayer at another time.

⁵⁰ *Adā'an*; cash, oblided to pray on time.

⁵¹ *Kokok hayam*; cockcrowing.

it, but it should be in case that he doesn't perform prayer and that he is mistaken not to pray because of *taqṣīr*⁵² because he leaves the *ijtihād*.)

Syahdan, sunnat menyegerakan mengqadha'kan sembahyangnya yang luput sebab udzurnya seperti tidur atau lupa maka hendaklah ia mengqadha' dengan segera supaya lepas hutangnya seperti sabda Nabi sallahu 'alaihi wa sallama, "Man nāma 'an ṣalātin aw nasiyahā falyuṣallihā idhā dhakarrahā", yakni barangsiapa tidur atau lupa dari pada sembahyang maka hendaklah ia mengqadha' sembahyangnya apabila ia ingat akan lupanya itu, riwayat Bukhari dan Muslim. Dan demikian lagi sunnat ia mengerjakan sembahyang qadā' itu dengan tertib yaitu mendahulukan qadha' daripada waktu waktu yang hadir jikalau dengan meninggalkan berjama'ah sekalipun melainkan jika takut ia akan luput waktu yang hadir jikalau suatu suka daripadanya sekalipun maka wajiblah ia mendahulukan shalat yang hadir...// (Syahdan, it is sunna to replace the prayers due to oversleeping or forgetting by immediately performing the prayer as stated by the Prophet Muhammad, that is anyone who oversleeps or forgets about praying, he should replace it if he recalls it, narrated by Bukhari and Muslim. And it is sunna to replace the forgotten prayer by performing it first before the prayer of the time even in the situation of collective prayer in case he is afraid of running out of time. If he has some time, it is recommended that he perform the prayer of the time...//)

The teachings of fiqh in *al-Ṣirāṭ al-Mustaqīm* are made complementary by the *tariqa* in East Lombok to shed light on oneness of god found in other manuscripts, such as that of *Sayr al-Sālikīn*. Because of this, it is normal for them to rewrite the representation for the oneness in the last part of the manuscript that they collected. This is evidenced in the last page of the manuscript:



Image 1. A page explaining God and rituals

⁵² *Taqṣīr*; careless.

This tradition, by all mean, allows the qadiriya-naqasyabandiyya to use various resources beyond their own primary references. In other words, the foundation about the belief in the oneness of God leads to the differences regarding the use of various manuscripts or books.

The Influence of al-Rānirī in the Dissemination of the Fiqh and Taṣawwuf in Lombok

In Indonesia, the teachings of tassawuf that grew in the early development of Islam tend to be related to that of Qādiriyya, *Wujūdiyya*, and Rifā'īya Sufi order. The three schools of Sufism thrived during the time of Sultan Iskandar Muda, who reigned Aceh between 1606 M and 1636 M. The teachings of Qādiriyya are the interpretation of Sufism teachings of 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī (1078- 1168 M). The *wujūdiyya* relates to the teachings of Sufism introduced by Ibn 'Arabī, a Sufi master born in the 12th century and the early 13th century. The two Sufis were promoted by Ḥamzah Fansūrī in the 17th century. The Rifā'īyya entails the teachings of Aḥmad bin 'Alī Abū al-'Abbās al-Rifā'ī, who was born in 1106. It is promoted by Nūr al-Rānirī in Aceh.³²

In general, al-Rānirī 's thought that influenced the practices of Sufism in Lombok is found in his book, *Ṣirāṭ al-Mustaqīm*. This book discusses the fundamental problems, such as purification (*Wuḍū'*), prayer (*ṣalāh*), almsgiving (*Zakah*), fasting (*Shawm*), hajj (*Hajj*), animal sacrifice (*Qurban*).

At the outset, it presents a discussion on *Ṭahārah*, namely between the subtitle is a discussion on the use of water container (a bowl) made from gold and silver. Al-Rānirī proposes the hadith:³³

لا تشربوا في آنية الذهب والفضة ولا تأكلوا في صحائفها - رواه البخاري
ومسلم وعنه : من أكل أو شرب في اناء من ذهب أو فضة فكأنما يجري في نار
جهنم.

³² See Martin van Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning, Pesantren dan Tarekat* (Bandung: Mizan, 1995), 188–189.

³³ The starting points of the discussion regarding the *Ṭahārah* is based on the sequences of the books of Shafī'iyah jurisprudence

His translation:

“Do not eat and drink using a bowl made of gold and silver, and the prophet continued, “anyone eating and drinking using a bowl made from gold and silver is like digesting the fire in the hell”.

In this case, al-Rānirī opined that “As for the cause affirmed by the Prophet, it was to confirm and raise himself and broke the heart of the poor”.³⁴

It is likely that al-Rānirī interpreted the prohibition of using a bowl made of gold and silver in that it would bring the feeling of arrogance for the owners towards the poor.

In the chapter of *Najāsah*, in the article stating *istinja* (purifying body with other than water, such as stone and paper), al-Rānirī advocate “... must trample on the Torah and the Gospel whose contents have been changed. Likewise, we have to purify ourselves from the useless books, such as the folklore of Seri Rama and Indera Petra and etc, if there is the absence of the name Allah”.³⁵

With reference to *istinjā'*, al-Rānirī seems to seriously and firmly condemn it using harsh terms. With this regard, Karel Stenbrink contends that the use of the term "has changed from its original" is too general to note here. Karel compared this statement with the opinion of Ibn Taymiyyah through his essay *Bayān al-Jawāb al-Ṣaḥīḥ li-man Baddala Dīn al-Masīḥ*. There seems to be a difference here, Ibn Taymiyya distinguishes two things: the commandments are still intact and perfect in the text of the Christian scriptures, but only their interpretations have deviated from their original meaning. Hence, the changes in the book can only be found in sections regarding historical facts.³⁶

³⁴ Abdullah, *Khazanah Karya Pusaka*, 116.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 117.

³⁶ With this regard, Karel Stenbrink opines that it is reasonable for the book of *Ṣirāṭ al-Mustaqīm* not to gain much attention of the Western scholars. Unlike the book of *Buṣṭān as-Salātīn*, as done by RO. Windstedt, for example, in his book about the history of Malay literature discusses this book in detail, while the book of *Ṣirāṭ al-Mustaqīm* only gains small spaces. For this reason, the book cannot be found in any Western publications. See Karel A. Steenbrink, *Kitab Suci atau Kertas Toilet? Nuruddin Al-Rānirī dan Agama Kristen* (Yogyakarta: IAIN Sunan Kalijaga Press, 1998), 4.

Furthermore, in the article stating *Bersugi* (teeth cleaning), al-Rānirī said that "... it is religiously forbidden for a woman with no husband colours her hair with black and wears a *Hinai* and make up herself and redden her cheeks. And all that is required for women who are married upon the willingness of their husbands".³⁷

In this article, he emphasized the prohibition of making up for unmarried women and on married women, who but did not get permission from their husbands. In this book too, al-Rānirī alludes to and blames those who disagree with him in terms of "*Wujūdiyya*" as stated in the following:

"And so do the Mujassimah group and those who said that Allah is like his worshippers. And the infidels of Wujūdiyya groups, like Ḥamzah Fansūrī and Shams al-Dīn al-Sumatrānī. It is illegal to follow all these people. This is what the four general Imām (priests), then there is no Islamic law to follow except the abovementioned."

He wrote "no halal hunted and slaughtered animals done by Majusi and Wastani and Murtad (deviant) and the infidel of *wujūdiyya* and all the community without any holy books.³⁸ This statement seems to negate firmly against the concept of *Wujūdiyya* of Ḥamzah Fansūrī and Shams al-Dīn al-Sumatrānī.

The last chapter of *Şirāṭ al-Mustaqīm* is about "*Kitab Aṭ'imah*" (the book of *Aṭ'imah*), or "*Bahagian Ibadah*" (a part of worship) according to the Shafī'i school of thought. The writing of the book in Malay was followed by four other books:³⁹

1. *Sabīl al-Muhtadīn*, by Muḥammad Arshad Al-Banjārī.
2. *Bughyāt al-Ṭullāb*, by Dāwūd bin 'Abdullāh al-Fathanī.

³⁷ Abdullah, *Khazanah Karya Pusaka*, 117.

³⁸ Ibid., 118.

³⁹ By citing Al-'Attas, Oman Fathurrahman states that there are at least five reasons of al-Rānirī to condemn the doctrine of *Wujūdiyya*: (1) The perspective of Ḥamzah Fansuri about god, nature, humans, and between them does not differ from the perspective of philosophy, Zoroaster (Majusi) and even Brahmanism, (2) The teaching of *Wujūdiyya* regarding the total manifestation of God in nature cannot be religiously justified; hence is misleading (*dalālan*), (3) The view that the appearance of god is simple corresponds to the perspective of philosophers, misleading, and against the Islamic principles, (4) That the Qur'an is the creature of God, which is the same as the teaching of Qadariyah and Mu'tazilah that are regarded deviant, and (5) The teaching of *Wujūdiyya* that the universe is preceded (*qadīm*) which is contradictory to the principles of Islam. See Fathurrahman, *Tanbih al-Masyi*, 37–40.

3. *Fath al-Mu'īn*, by Muḥammad bin Muḥammad.
4. *Al-Baḥr al-Waḥī*, by Muḥammad bin Ismā'īl Dāwūd al-Fathanī.

Of the four books, the book that is widely used by adherents of the Sufi in Lombok is *Fath al-Mu'īn* together with the book *Ṣirāṭ al-Mustaqīm*. This book strengthens the position of fiqh teachings among the Qādiriyya and Naqshbandiyya groups in South Lombok. For example, the Naqshbandiyya teachings in Mangkung routinely study the contents of *Ṣirāṭ al-Mustaqīm* on Friday night or Sunday night. In sequence, they read a series of explanations about purification (ablution) and prayer.

These groups elaborated the two issues, which are strengthened from the perspective of Sufism by drawing on the nine elements of soul formation of humankind.⁴⁰ By putting forward the importance of knowledge about rituals, such as *wuḍū'* (ablution) and *ṣalah* (praying), the driving force of mind and desire can be reduced. For the adherents of the Tariqa in South Lombok, this is interpreted as seeking for knowledge about God through Shariah rituals.

Drawing on the historical course of the Sufism in Lombok, among the central figures are Tuan Guru Haji Umar Buntimbe who became a *tuan haji* in the mid-18th century, Tuan Haji Abdul Gafur who was the main figure of Muslim scholar at the end of the 18th century and Tuan Guru Haji Umar Kelayu, who went to Mecca in 1799. These Muslim figures had influenced the fundamental philosophy of Lombok culture, from the mystical to more normative ones. This is evidenced by the critical roles of rituals in Sufism, such as praying, fasting, and pilgrimage.⁴¹

A further development can be traced back to the preaching of Haji Muhammad Mutawalli in East Lombok and Tuan Guru Hajji M. Shaleh Hambali of West Lombok. The former comes from

⁴⁰ One of *Badal* of the Naqshbandiyya tariqa in Jerowaru, namely Haji Saman, explained the process of human self-approach to Allah SWT. All processes this begins with the manifestation of 9 elements of the formation of the human spirit.

⁴¹ Abdul Quddus and Lalu Muhammad Ariadi, "Gerakan tarekat dan pertumbuhan budaya berfilosofi di Lombok," *Teosofi: Jurnal Tasawuf dan Pemikiran Islam* 5, no. 2 (2015): 321–345.

Jerowaru, the master of tariqa Qadiriyya-Naqsyabandiyya, who teaches Islamic rituals from exoteric path, *tariqa* (esoteric path), *haqīqa* (mystical truth) to *ma'rifa* (final mystical knowledge).⁴² He is the Islamic figure known to be skillful in penetrating the villages of *Wetu Telu* and using extraordinary techniques for Islamizing the indigenous of Lombok.⁴³ By deploying the tariqa ways of teaching, Tuan Guru Haji Mutawalli taught Islam throughout the villages across the District of Sakra in East Lombok until Bayan in North Lombok. By using arts and cultures, he could empower his teachings of Tariqa and Sufism to the people of Sasak in the villages across the South Lombok. The villages practicing his teachings to date are Jerowaru, Ketara, Rembitan and Padamara. The three regions remain connected to the learning of tariqa from the Islamic scholars who learn from Tuan Guru Haji Sibawaih, the son of Tuan Guru Haji Mutawalli.

In addition, Tuan Guru Haji M. Shaleh Hambali was born in Bengkel village, West Lombok, NTB on Friday, the 7th of Ramadhan 1313 Hijriyah or 1893. The following is the genealogy of the Tariqa Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya burgeoning in Lombok, where Tuan Guru Haji M. Shaleh Hambali Bengkel was the fortieth Mursyid (Master), who received range of genealogy of certificates from Shaykh Nūr al-Dīn Al-Rānirī who became the twenty fifth master 25.⁴⁴

Conclusion

Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānirī produced a myriad of works in various branches of Islamic knowledge. He published some books regarding *tawhīd* (monotheism), *taṣawwuf* (Sufism), *uṣul al-fiqh* and fiqh practice including writing the history of Aceh which has become the primary reference to date. He pioneered the reform and development of *taṣawwuf* among the Malay Muslims. The

⁴² Fahrurrozi, *Sejarah Perjuangan dan Pergerakan Dakwah Islamiyah Tuan Guru Haji Muammad Mutawali di Pulau Lombok* (Jakarta: Sentra Media, 2006); see also Ariadi, *Haji Sasak*.

⁴³ Erni Budiwanti, *Islam Sasak: Wetu Telu versus Waktu Lima* (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 2000), 92.

⁴⁴ Adi Fadli, *Pemikiran Islam Lokal: TGH M. Shaleh Hambali Bengkel* (Lombok: Pustaka Lombok, 2016), 298–299.

book of *al-Şirāṭ al-Mustaqīm* is deemed to be the first work of Islamic jurisprudence produced by the Ulama of the archipelago. Al-Rānirī is the first cleric who delineates the differences of interpretation and understanding pertinent to the doctrines and practices of Sufism.

The book of *Şirāṭ al-Mustaqīm* has strengthened the position of the teachings of Islamic jurisprudence among the groups of Tariqa Qadiriyya-Naqsyabandiyya in Lombok. The contents of the book regarding *wuḍū'* (ablution) and *Ṣalah* (praying) were discussed and elaborated and empowered from the perspective of *taṣawwuf* by drawing on the nine elements of human soul formation. For the followers of the Sufi orders in Lombok, this interpretation is regarded as seeking for the knowledge of God through sharia rituals.

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THE BOOK OF ŞIRĀṬ AL-MUSTAQĪM BY NŪR AL-DĪN AL-RĀNIRĪ AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF TAŞAWWUF IN LOMBOK

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