

## RETHINKING HAMZAH FANSURI'S ISLAMIC COSMOLOGY

*Fuad Mahbub Siraj*

**Abstract:** *This study aims to explain further the cosmological argument of Hamzah Fansuri. This research is library research using a historical approach to obtain data and conduct content analysis. According to Hamzah Fansuri, every single thing in this world that either can or cannot be seen can be pictured as a circle or curvature, the two corners of which can meet each other. Half of the curvature is “the down way curvature” (tanazzul) that is the way of the creation of the universe and its content; the manifestation process from the Oneness or the Higher Existence (Who cannot be known physically) to become many existence or the reality that can be seen physically. The other curvature is “the up-way curvature” (taraqqī), which is a way of creation from physical to metaphysical existence. The entire levels or structure of being are summarized in the person and the human being’s existence as a perfect creature of physical and spiritual quality. Therefore, the universe can only be returned to the One through humans. The concept of cosmology in the Fansuri’s thought is to show the unity and interrelationship of all existence that leads to divine oneness.*

**Keywords:** *Hamzah Fansuri; cosmology; tanazzul; taraqqī.*

**Abstrak:** Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menjelaskan lebih lanjut argumen kosmologi Hamzah Fansuri. Penelitian ini adalah penelitian kepustakaan dengan menggunakan pendekatan historis dalam menggali data serta melakukan analisis konten. Menurut Hamzah Fansuri, segala sesuatu di dunia ini yang dapat atau tidak dapat dilihat dapat digambarkan sebagai lingkaran atau lengkungan, yang kedua sudutnya dapat saling bertemu. Setengah dari kelengkungan adalah “kelengkungan jalan ke bawah” (tanazzul) yaitu cara penciptaan alam semesta dan isinya; proses manifestasi dari Keesaan atau Eksistensi Yang Lebih Tinggi (Yang tidak dapat diketahui secara fisik) menjadi banyak wujud atau realitas yang dapat dilihat secara fisik. Kelengkungan lainnya adalah “kelengkungan ke atas” (taraqqī), yaitu cara penciptaan dari keberadaan fisik ke metafisik. Seluruh tingkatan atau struktur makhluk terangkum dalam pribadi dan keberadaan manusia sebagai makhluk sempurna secara fisik dan spiritual. Oleh karena itu, alam semesta hanya dapat dikembalikan kepada Yang Esa melalui manusia. Konsep kosmologi dalam pemikiran Hamzah Fansuri adalah untuk menunjukkan kesatuan dan keterkaitan semua keberadaan yang mengarah pada keesaan ilahi.

**Kata Kunci:** Hamzah Fansuri; kosmologi; tanazzul; taraqqī.

## Introduction

Since the beginning, masters of Sufism have played an important role in the history of spreading Islam in Malay. Their influence was not exclusively upon their *ṭarīqah* followers, but also upon literature and the intellectual development tradition. Although their role has decreased since the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Sufism still influences the lives and the ways of thinking of Muslims in Malay.

The role of the *Ṣūfī* in the history of Islam in Malay had a higher position in the period between the 12-18<sup>th</sup> century. During those centuries the *ṭarīqah* and the intellectual activities of the Sufis developed well. It can be said that Islamic works such as history, poetry, mysticism, philosophy, and explanations about mysticism or *sulūk* were primarily the works of Sufis, or at least they were related to mysticism and the Sufi's *ṭarīqah*.

In the Malay Archipelago, the birth and the development of Malay literature and the books of religion are the direct impacts of the existence of Sufis and their roles played in intellectual activities, education, and creativity (art). It can be seen from their works, that until now there are reference books for people who want to learn the characteristics and the development of mysticism in Malay. Among those Sufis who wrote the influential works of mysticism are Hamzah Fansuri, Sunan Bonang, Shams al-Dīn al-Samaṭrā'ī, Nur al-Dīn al-Rānīrī, and 'Abd al-Ra'ūf al-Sinkīlī. Their ideas and thoughts are also explained through literature and poetry.

The *Ṣūfīs* of Arabia and Persia who influenced the development of

Malay Sufism are Maṣṣūr al-Ḥallāj, Bayazīd al-Bustāmī, al-Ghazālī, Ibn ‘Arabī, Farīd al-Dīn al-Aṭṭar, Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, Fakhr al-Dīn al-‘Irāqī, ‘Abd al-Karīm al-Jilī, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Jāmī, and others. Concerning the ontological and metaphysical aspects of his thinking, we can say that Ibn ‘Arabī was very influential. Through al-Ghazālī, they learned psychology and ethics. In the 16<sup>th</sup> century AD, the mystical thought of *wujūdīyah* began to be discussed and had wide influence. In the 17<sup>th</sup> century AD, the *wujūdīyah* thought had been transformed into the ‘Seven Stages’ which had a relation with the birth of Shams al-Dīn al-Samaṭrā’ī.

The *wujūdīyah* term is another name for *waḥdat al-wujūd* (the transcendent unity of existence) that developed based on the thought of Ibn ‘Arabī. Because this thought is based on a metaphysical system with philosophical characteristics, it is also called ‘philosophical mysticism’. The root of the metaphysical system of the Ṣūfī’s *wujūdīyah* can be found from such Muslim thinkers in the 9<sup>th</sup>-10<sup>th</sup> centuries AD as al-Farībī, Ibn Sīnā, Maṣṣūr al-Ḥallāj, and Niffārī. The thought of *wujūdīyah* has systematically been formed in the hand of the famous Sufi from Andalusia (Spain) named Muḥy al-Dīn Ibn ‘Arabī, who received the title of *Shaykh al-Akbar* or the Great Master of philosophical mysticism in the 12<sup>th</sup> century AD.

Through Ibn ‘Arabī’s thought, *wujūdīyah* ḥwas developed by the Ṣūfīs of Arabia and Persia in the following centuries. The *wujūdīyah* thinkers were Sadr al-Dīn al-Qunawī, Fakhr al-Dīn ‘Irāqī, Maḥmūd Shabistārī, ‘Abd al-Karīm al-Jilī, al-Maghribī, and ‘Abd al-Raḥman al-Jāmī. Their thought was known in Malay late in the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries AD but began to be known and developed widely in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries AD, especially after the birth of such great figures from Sumatera as Hamzah Fansuri, Shams al-Dīn al-Samaṭrā’ī, ‘Abd al-Jamāl, Ḥasan Fansuri, Shayf al-Rijāl, etc.

The mystical thought based on Ibn ‘Arabī’s teaching is called *wujūdīyah* thought because it discusses the one existence that from Him all other existents in the universe came from. The term of *waḥdat al-wujūd* (the transcendent unity of existence) was introduced by Sadr al-Dīn al-Qunawī in the late 13<sup>th</sup> century AD. Generally, their point of view can be summarized as follows:

1) God as the Creator is the absolute and the Substance of existence who precedes all things in the universe and also oversees all of the existence. Therefore, He is called “The Oneness”; there is no existence except His existence;

2) The existence of the creation in this world is from His *tajallī* or His knowledge manifested. Through His *tajallī*, the Oneness of existence

called God can be known.

3) Because the plural existences of the world depend on His existence, then their existence is not absolute, in contrast to His Existence that is absolute; the Absolute Existence is called *al-wājib al-wujūd* (the existence that must exist, because without His existence other existents are impossible). Otherwise, the “particular” as the relative existence is called *al-mumkin al-wujūd* (the existence that could exist if The Absolute wants it);

4) The meaning that everything is overseen by His existence is that everything is covered by His knowledge and His Attributes. Covered by His Knowledge means that it is in the Knowledge of God, and covered by His Attributes means that everything manifests His Attributes. The main Attributes of God are *al-Rahmān* and *al-Rahīm*. Because everything comes from The One, then everything will return to The One.

The important aspects of the thought of *wujūdīyah* can be seen through the explanation of Hamzah Fansuri regarding the universe. Hamzah Fansuri is one of the most important mystical figures in the history of Sufism thought throughout the Malay world and Aceh in particular. According to Hamzah, every single thing in this world that either can or cannot be seen can be pictured as a circle or curvature, the two corners of which can meet each other. Half of the curvature is “the down way curvature” (*tanazzul*) that is the way of the creation of the universe and its content; the manifestation process from the Oneness or the Higher Existence (Who cannot be known physically) to become many existents or the reality that can be seen physically. The other curvature is “the up-way curvature” (*taraqqī*), which is a way of creation from physical to metaphysical existence. The entire levels or structure of being are summarized in the person and the human being’s existence as a perfect creature of physical and spiritual quality. Therefore, the universe can only be returned to the One through humans.

According to Sayyed Hussein Nasr, the principle of Islamic cosmology is to establish the oneness of God and the graduation of being, which metaphysically asserts that reality is only one, but cosmologically, this nature that can be felt and thought of is one of the various forms that there is. The whole of Islamic science and more specifically cosmology is to show the unity and interrelationship of all existence that leads to divine oneness.<sup>1</sup>

This paper will examine the thoughts of Hamzah Fansuri on cosmology, especially on his concept of creation. Hamzah Fansuri stated that the universe was created from something that exists to exist, not created from

nothing into being (creation ex nihilo). The universe is qadīm, the universe exists, created through a process of *tajallī*, namely the manifestation of the eternal self and without end. *Tajallī* is a process of self-appearance of God in forms that have been determined and devoted, that called *ta'ayyun* (determination). This research shows that every single thing in this world that either can or cannot be seen can be pictured as a circle or curvature, the two corners of which can meet each other. Half of the curvature is "the down way curvature" (*tanazzul*) that is the way of the creation of the universe and its content; the manifestation process from the Oneness or the Higher Existence (Who cannot be known physically) to become many existents or the reality that can be seen physically. The other curvature is "the up-way curvature" (*taraqqī*), which is a way of creation from physical to metaphysical existence. The entire levels or structure of being are summarized in the person and the human being's existence as a perfect creature of physical and spiritual quality. Therefore, the universe can only be returned to the One through humans.

Cosmology comes from the Greek words, "cosmos" (composition or arrangement) and "logos" (science). Cosmology is more precisely interpreted as rational principles and categorized as a branch of metaphysics.<sup>2</sup> Cosmology discussed the origin of the universe and its occurrence. Cosmology is one of the main issues in Islamic mysticism, not only in Islamic philosophy.<sup>3</sup> Cosmology as a science examining the universe has been described in the Quran through various explanations of natural phenomena.<sup>4</sup> It is very interesting to examine cosmology from Sufi's perspective, considering that the Sufi goal is to get closer to God as close as possible, so that he can see God with the eyes of his heart, even his spirit can be united with God's spirit and one of them is seen in cosmology.

Some scholars have conducted the study of Hamzah Fansuri. The research that has been published about Hamzah Fansuri and his teaching is written by Syed Muhammad Naquib al-Attas entitled *The Mysticism of Hamzah Fansuri*. Suitable with that title, al-Attas explained the biography and the thought of Hamzah Fansuri in the mysticism perspective. Al-Attas also attached three prose of Hamzah Fansuri and translated to English, those prose are *Asrāl al-Ārifīn*, *Syarāb al-Āsyiqīn*, *Al-Muntahī* (in Malay), *The Secrets of the Gnostics*, *The Drink of Lovers*, *The Adept* (translated in English). In his work al-Attas gave the general analysis to the Hamzah Fansuri mysticism teaching from his works. The other book is *The Poems of Hamzah Fansuri* written by G. W. J. Drewes and L. F. Brakel, consist of 32 Hamzah Fansuri's poetry. Drewes and Brakel explained the life and the journey of Hamzah Fansuri to the other places. They also wrote the

transliteration and the comments of *Syarāb al-‘Āsyiqīn* and *Al-Muntahī* in Java.

In Indonesia, the research on Hamzah Fansuri's thought written by Abdul Hadi W. M. He wrote two titles of books on Hamzah Fansuri. The first book is *Hamzah Fansuri Risalah Tasawuf dan Puisi-Puisinya* and the second book is *Tasawuf yang Tertindas: Kajian Hermeneutik terhadap Karya-Karya Hamzah Fansuri*. Abdul Hadi in his first book explained that Hamzah Fansuri is not only famous as a scholar, cultural observer, and man of letters, but also as the reformer in the mysticism area. Abdul Hadi also put the first literature of Hamzah Fansuri in mysticism *Zināt al-Wahidīn* known also as *Zināt al-Muwaḥḥidīn* and *Syair Jawi Fasal fi Bayān ‘Ilmu al-Sulūk wa-al-Tawḥīd* in one chapter of his book. The second book of Abdul Hadi is his Ph. D thesis which was then published as a book. In that book, Abdul Hadi explained how is the idea of love in Sufism works, the esthetic and hermeneutic of Sufi. With the hermeneutic approach, Abdul Hadi tries to analyze the hiding spiritual message in the Hamzah Fansuri poetries. He also showed that if the history cannot prove the greatest of Hamzah Fansuri again, then the works of Hamzah Fansuri will be the witness or the judge for the question, does he is an infidel Sufi or not, like what has been told by the *fuqahā* at that time.

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

Another research has been conducted by Mira Fauziah<sup>5</sup> about the mystical thought of Hamzah Fansuri and Kiki Muhammad Hakiki<sup>6</sup> who did a review of the polemic of the heresy of Hamzah Fansuri by Nūr al-Dīn al-Ranīrī. Using a historical approach to obtain data and conducting content analysis, this research aims to explain further the cosmological argument of Hamzah Fansuri.

## Brief Account on Hamzah Fansuri

Much is not known about Hamzah Fansuri's personal life. Who is Hamzah Fansuri exactly? There is no definite information regarding his date of birth and time of death. Until now, there have been no manuscripts found that information about the history of his life. Nevertheless, a theory put forward by Karel A. Steenbrink states that an attempt to find a correct estimation of the historical origin of the figure can be traced in two ways. The first way is through internal sources, which seek information from works that were written by the figure himself. The second way is through external sources, which examine stories or writing from descendants and those who came later.<sup>7</sup>

Utilizing the first way, i.e., through his poem, it was found that he was born in the town of Barus, which is called 'Fanşūr' by the ancient Arabs. That's why he was called "Fansuri". Barus or Fanşūr, a place allegedly to be his place of birth, was located on the West Coast of North Sumatra, between Singkil and Sibolga. The poem goes as so:

*Hamzah nin asalnya Fansuri,  
Mendapat wujud di tanah Shahr Nawī<sup>8</sup>*  
(Hamzah is original of Fanşūr,  
He acquired his existence in the land of Shahr Nawī)

The poem above garners a variety of opinions about his birthplace. Some experts doubt "Fanşūr" as the origin of his birthplace and submit that Shahr Nawī as the birthplace of Hamzah Fansuri, based on the phrase "*mendapat wujud di tanah Shahr Nawī*". According to al-Attas, Fansuri was born in Aceh. The city was named Shahr Nawī as a warning against the envoy of the King of Siam who visited Aceh in the reign of Sulṭān Iskandar Muda. Shahr Nawī's name was taken from the name of the capital city of Siam at that time, namely as the people of Persia to Bandar Ayutthaya, founded in 1350 AD. Al-Attas equates Shahr Nawī with Ayutthaya. For the period between the 16th and 17 century AD, this city was indeed a gathering place for traders of Arab and Persia origin who wanted to continue their journey to China. Since then, the old Arab and Persian traders have called this city 'Shahr Nawī' which means the New Town.<sup>9</sup>

Drewes questioned the birthplace of Hamzah Fansuri as Shahr Nawī. According to Drewes and Brakel in emphasize, the poem of Hamzah Fansuri should be given a Sufistic interpretation. For them the phrase "*mendapat wujud*" in the poem above means to gain teaching of *wujūdīyah* or "*mendapat wujud*" in the sense of achieving *ma'rifah* and meeting with Allah, not tangibly speaking. Shahr Nawī city in the second half of the

16th century AD was a trading port city frequented by Muslim traders from India, Persia, Turkey, and Arabia. Certainly, many scholars also lived in that city (port) and here Hamzah Fansuri was acquainted with the thought of *wujūdīyah* which later would develop in Aceh.<sup>10</sup> If we note the above, the verse of the poem “*mendapat wujud di tanah Shahr Nawi*”, has absolutely nothing to do with a place of birth of Hamzah Fansuri. Drewes also disputed the notion that Hamzah Fansuri had wandered from Barus to Kudus. As evidence of this denial, we may note the following poem:

*Hamzah Fansuri di dalam Makkah  
Mencari Tuhan di bait al-Ka'bah  
Di Barus ke Kudus terlalu payah  
Akhirnya dapat di dalam rumah.<sup>11</sup>*  
(Hamzah Fansuri in Mecca  
Searches for God in the House of the Ka'bah  
From Barus to Kudus he wearily goes  
At last, he finds [Him] in his house.)

The Prefix “*di*” in the phrase “*di Barus*” in the third line quoted above in the Acehnese language, is synonymous with the word “*dari* (from)” ; the word “*terlalu payah* (too bad or too hard)” means “*terlalu sukar* (too difficult)” and “*tidak usah dikerjakan* (do not do)”. This means that Hamzah Fansuri never said that he had traveled from Barus to Kudus (in Java) which was probably too exhausting, to begin with.<sup>12</sup>

Hamzah Fansuri gained his primary education in the region of Faṅṣūr. According to Hasymi, quoted by Abdul Hadi, Faṅṣūr at that time, other than being known as the trading town of Camphor, was known also as a city of education. Therefore, it is not surprising that in the area of Faṅṣūr, Hamzah Fansuri learned in his childhood.<sup>13</sup> Then, intending to know the essence of Sufism, he wandered to various countries in the world, for example, to Baghdad which at that time was known as a center for the development of *Qādirīyah* order. This can be seen from his poem:

*Beroleh khilafat ilmu yang 'Alī  
Daripada 'Abd al-Qādir Sayyid Jilānī.<sup>14</sup>*  
(He achieved his lofty spiritual knowledge  
From 'Abd al-Qādir Sayyid Jilānī).

The poem above hints that Hamzah Fansuri was a student of 'Abd al-Qādir Jilānī,<sup>15</sup> which also means that he was a follower of *Qādirīyah* order, which the latter found. Hamzah Fansuri received these teachings when he was studying in the city of Baghdad, the center for *Qādirīyah* order development. In this city, he gave *bay'ah* and obtained an *ijazah*<sup>16</sup> from Sūfī

leaders to teach *Qādirīyah*. He was even appointed as a *Murshid* (spiritual guide) in this Sūfī order. Thus, Hamzah Fansuri can be considered as an Indonesian who was known for adopting *Qādirīyah* order.<sup>17</sup>

After wandering to various Islamic centers such as Baghdad, Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem, he returned to his homeland to develop his Sufism thought. The Sufism that was developed by Hamzah Fansuri was very much influenced by the *wujūdīyah* thought of Ibn al-‘Arabī, Sadr al-Dīn al-Qunawī and also Fakhr al-Dīn ‘Irāqī. Meanwhile, the metaphors of his poetry were much influenced by Farīd al-Dīn al-Aṭṭar<sup>18</sup> (d. 607 H/1220 M), Jalāl al-Dīn al-Rūmī<sup>19</sup> (d. 672 H/1273 M) and ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Jamī<sup>20</sup> (d. 898 H/1194 M).<sup>21</sup> It is unfortunate that until now all of the manuscripts and articles on Hamzah Fansuri do not provide information about his life; when he was born, died, and where he was buried. The information only mentions that Hamzah Fansuri lived in the Kingdom of Aceh.

In connection with the life of Hamzah Fansuri there are different opinions among scholars. There are at least two opinions, the first opinion holds that he was born and lived in the middle of 16th century AD to the end of 16th century AD, i.e. at the time of Sulṭān ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Riayat Syah Sayyid al-Mukammil (1596-1604 M), and before the rule of Sulṭān Iskandar Muda (1607-1636 M), he died.<sup>22</sup> The second opinion holds that Hamzah Fansuri lived in the late 16th century to the beginning of the 17th century AD, even until 1636 AD, six years after Shams al-Dīn Pasai died.<sup>23</sup> He was estimated to have lived at the time of Sulṭān ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Riayat Syah Sayyid al-Mukammil to the time of Sulṭān Iskandar Muda and became an influential man in the Kingdom of Aceh.<sup>24</sup>

Drewes believed that Fansuri lived before the time of Sulṭān Iskandar Muda and the estimation of his death was in the late 16th century AD, around the year of 1590 AD. According to Drewes, in that time, the Sufism thought which was influential in Aceh was the seven stages taught by Shams al-Dīn Samaṭrā’ī (d. 1040 H/1630 M), meanwhile, Hamzah Fansuri never taught the seven stages, he taught the five stages of Sufism.

The seven stages of teaching, derived from India, was a direct interpretation of the *wujūdīyah* thought of Ibn al-‘Arabī and al-Jīlī. The founder of the seven stages of teaching was Fadl Allāh al-Burhanpurī (d. 1020 H/1620 M). One of the essays of al-Burhanpurī entitled *al-Tuḥfah al-Mursalāh ilā Rūh al-Nabī*, written in 1590 AD, consist of the seven stages of teaching. At the request of Shams al-Dīn al-Samaṭrā’ī, the copy of that book was sent to Aceh for instruction. Not long after arriving in Aceh, at the end of the 16th century AD, the book was distributed by Shams

al-Dīn al-Samaṭrā'ī and many of the Acehnese learned it. Thus Shams al-Dīn al-Samaṭrā'ī had already taken an active role in the Kingdom of Aceh since the late 16th or the beginning of the 17th century AD, during the Kingdom of Aceh under the reign of Sultan 'Alā' al-Dīn Riayat Shah, who died in 1604 AD.<sup>25</sup>

Under the influence of the book of *al-Tuḥfah al-Mursalāh ilā al-Rūḥ al-Nabī*, which was widespread among the scholars of Sufism in Aceh, Drewes said that Shams al-Dīn al-Samaṭrā'ī most likely died before 1590 AD or at the end of the 16th century AD, the year of writing the book or a few years thereafter. Drewes argued that the spiritual leader in the Kingdom of Aceh at the end of the 16th to the beginning of the 17th century AD was Shams al-Dīn al-Samaṭrā'ī. The name of Hamzah Fansuri was mentioned only as a leading figure of the past. Based on this assumption, it means that Hamzah Fansuri probably already died by the end of the 16th century AD and the spiritual influence had been replaced by his student, Shams al-Dīn al-Samaṭrā'ī.<sup>26</sup>

Drewes' opinion was disputed by Syed Naquib al-Attas, Brakel and, Braginsky. They argued that Hamzah Fansuri lived up to the reign of Sulṭān Iskandar Muda, the beginning of the 17th century AD. According to al-Attas and Brakel, although the teaching of the seven stages evolved rapidly in the late 16th century AD (in 1590 AD) and encouraged the spread of the seven stages in Aceh, it does not mean that the role and influence of Hamzah Fansuri's mystical teachings reduced, let alone indicating that he was dead. According to al-Attas, there is no significant difference between the seven stages whose spread by Shams al-Dīn al-Samaṭrā'ī and the five stages that were taught by Hamzah Fansuri. These two mystical teachings in many aspects were still based on their source, namely the *wujūdīyah* teachings of Ibn al-'Arabī and al-Jīlī.<sup>27</sup> This second opinion at least was accepted better than the first. To strengthen his argument, al-Attas suggested several additional reasons. He took the last line of the Baḥr al-Nisa poem, one of the works of Hamzah Fansuri's works, to express his opinion that the latter was still alive early in the 17th century AD, at least until the beginning of the period of the reign of Sulṭān Iskandar Muda. It can be seen in the following verses:

*Hamba mengikat sya'ir ini  
Di bawah hadrat raja yang wali  
Shah Alam raja yang adil,  
Raja qutub sempurna kamil;  
Wali Allah sempurna wasil  
Raja arif lagi mukamil.*<sup>28</sup>

(Your slave composed these verses  
 By the command [literally: presence] of the saintly king  
 Shah 'Ālam the just king,  
 The Pole whose perfection incomplete;  
 The saints of God who is eminently united [with God],  
 The Gnostic king, moreover the most excellent).

Based on the poem above, al-Attas stated that the word "Shah Alam", referred to Sulṭān 'Alā' al-Dīn Riayat Shah Sayyid al-Mukammil, who was the grandfather of Sultan Iskandar Muda. This poem was written as an offering to Sultan 'Alā' al-Dīn Riayat Shah.

In line with al-Attas, Braginsky believes that Hamzah Fansuri lived until the time of Sulṭān Iskandar Muda. Braginsky said that Hamzah Fansuri, through his poem, often criticized the Sūfī deviant lifestyle among the people of Aceh, or the performance environment when the Kingdom of Aceh was led by Sulṭān Iskandar Muda. For example, many people who wanted to become an Sūfī, went into the forests to meditate and expected to obtain *Karāmah*<sup>29</sup> from Allah, to be capable of doing something other than ordinary people, and gain supernatural strength in facing life. This supernatural ability was thought to enhance one's social status in society.<sup>30</sup> In the palace of the Kingdom of Aceh, the understanding of the teachings and mystical view can be seen from the complete name of the palace with carried Sūfī terminology. Sulṭān's palace was called *Dār al-Dunyā* (the abode of the world), the throne of the kingdom is called *Dār al-Kamāl* (the abode of perfection), a place in Aceh Besar was called *Dār al-Ṣafā* (the abode of purity), the fort was called the City of *Khalwah* (the town of seclusion), and the island was called *Pulau Raḥmah* (the island of mercy), and even a flagship used by the sultan to visit a remote area was called *Mir'at al-Ṣafā* (the mirror of purity), and many other things were called by the names that are associated with the term Sufism.<sup>31</sup> Hamzah Fansuri criticisms can be seen from the following poem quote:

*Segala muda dan sopan,  
 Segala tua beruban,  
 'uzlatnya berbulan-bulan,  
 Mencari Tuhan ke dalam hutan.  
 Segala menjadi Sūfī,  
 Segala menjadi Syawqī,  
 Segala menjadi Rūhī,  
 Gusar dan masam diatas bumi.<sup>32</sup>  
 (Every young and well-bred,  
 Every old and white-haired,*

Go forth for months in seclusion  
 Searching for God in the wilderness!  
 Everyone becomes a *Şūfī*,  
 Everyone becomes a 'Passionate Lover',  
 Everyone becomes a 'Spirit',  
 Going about wrathful and sour-faced).

The point of the Hamzah Fansuri's criticism in the poem above was not to restrict people to the path of Sufism because it conflicted with what they believed. He strongly disagreed that their way of approaching Allah was done through the wrong path and not following the correct guidance of the *Şhārī'ah*. In Islam, the effort to get closer to God can be done anywhere as long as someone can undergo spiritual discipline with sincere worship.

Hamzah Fansuri also criticized the practice of *yoga*<sup>33</sup> as a practice of remembrance (*dhikr*), because the practice of *yoga* is a doctrine that originated from India. It was reflected in his poem, that the life of Sufism in Aceh in the period of the late 16th century AD and the beginning of the 17th century AD was still mixed with influences from the Hindu religion that teaches Yoga pranayama.<sup>34</sup> This criticism occurred during the early reign of Sulṭān Iskandar Muda. His criticism is noted in the following verses:

*Sidang 'Talib' kedalam hutan,  
 Pergi 'uzlat berbulan-bulan  
 Dari muda datang beruban  
 Tiada bertemu dengan Tuhan.  
 Oleh riyadat tubuhnya rusak,  
 Hendak melihat serupa budak,  
 Menghela nafas ke dalam otak  
 Supaya minyaknya jangan orak.*<sup>35</sup>  
 (Companies of 'Seekers' into the wilderness  
 Go forth for months in seclusion  
 Until the young turned white-haired  
 Still, they do not meet with God.  
 By ritual exercises, their bodies are ruined,  
 If you would but see them—they resemble statues  
 Drawing the breath into the brain  
 So that its 'oil' will not congeal).

In the practice of *yoga*, God is conceived as a hidden secret in certain parts of the body such as the crown which is regarded as the soul and serves as a point of concentration in an attempt to achieve unity depicted

in the form of light. Hamzah Fansuri did not criticize the necessity of remembrance (*dhikr*) by regulating the breath, but the criticism was directed especially towards a misunderstanding of the core teachings of Sufism and equating the mystical teaching of Islam with Hindu mystical teachings, which causes a rise in deviations.

Considering the various opinions and poems above, the authors conclude that Hamzah Fansuri probably lived between the late 16th century AD until the beginning of the 17th century AD. With this estimate, this means that Hamzah Fansuri lived in the Kingdom of Aceh under Sulṭān 'Alā' al-Dīn Riayat Shah Sayyid al-Mukammil (1589 AD-1604 AD) until the initial period of leadership of Sulṭān Iskandar Muda (1607-1636 AD). If it is true that Hamzah Fansuri died in 1630 or 1636 AD, as thought by some scholars, it can be ascertained that he had lived in the golden era and triumph of the kingdom of Aceh *Dār al-Salām* and contributed immensely to the development of religious thought and practice, especially towards mysticism at that time.

### The Creation of the Universe

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

The theory about the creation according to Ibn 'Arabī rests on the understanding that the *wujūd* is essentially one, i.e., *Wujūd* of Allah, which is absolute. The *Wujūd* of God is absolute which has *tajallī* through the following three stages:<sup>36</sup>

First, the stage of *aḥadīyah* (unity), which is also called the stage of *dhātīyah*. In this stage, the *Wujūd* of Allah which is still cannot be understood and imagined. Second, the stage of *wāḥidīyah*, the Substances of God has *tajallī* in the Attributes and *Asmā'* of God. This is called *al-a'yān al-thābitah* (fixed essence) which is also named as *ta'ayyun awal* (first determination). In this stage, the *wujūd* which is real is still the *Wujūd* of Allah. Third, the stage of *tajallī shuhūdī* which is called *ta'ayyun thānī* (second determination). In this stage, God has *tajallī* still through *Asmā'* and His Attributes in the empirical reality. Thus, *al-a'yān al-thābitah* (fixed essence) or *ta'ayyun awal* (first determination), which is in the

second stage is still a potentiality of *Wujūd* in God Substance which now becomes a *wujūd* or an actual reality in the empirical realm. This nature is a collection of God's *tajallī* empirical phenomena in the variety of *wujūd* or forms which have no limit.

The process of God's *tajallī* takes place beyond space and time, there is neither beginning nor end, and He derives from that single essential to manifest Himself in external realities. The goal is that God can be known through His *Asmā'* and His Attributes which have *tajallī* to this world. The theory of the creation of Ibn 'Arabī was then known by the term that nature is "the Breath of the Merciful" because creation is based on "love", the Essential Image of God. Ibn 'Arabī's theory also influenced 'Abd Karīm al-Jilī. He mentions that the processes of *tanazzul* (down the hierarchy), or God's *tajallī* consists of three stages, namely *aḥadīyah*, *huwīyah*, and *inīyah*. On the stage of *aḥadīyah*, God in His Absolute just comes out *al-ʾaḥma*,<sup>37</sup> while *huwīyah* is still not an invisible reality, but under *aḥadīyah*, the Attributes and the *Asmā'* are in the form of potentials. The last stage, *inīyah*, is the Appearance of God with the Names and His Attributes on creatures.<sup>38</sup>

The principal idea of the best known of Hamzah Fansuri is the five stages of *wujūd*. The five stages are a depiction of the process of the universe that remains valid when the universe appears as a manifestation of Allah's Substance which is initially spiritual and then proceeds to be physical. The teaching of *waḥdah al-wujūd* is often attributed to Ibn 'Arabī, although he never argued this term. A student, as well as stepchildren of Ibn 'Arabī named Qunawī who used this term firstly, describes that the Oneness of God is not opposed to the idea of appearance (*tajallī*) of His Knowledge of all kinds.<sup>39</sup>

Hamzah Fansuri, in the work of *Sharāb al-ʾAshiqīn*, when he talked about the creation, seemed to be influenced by the theories of Ibn 'Arabī and al-Jilī, i.e., the appearance of God Image, from the point of ontology, called by Ibn 'Arabī and al-Jilī *tajallī*. Meanwhile, Hamzah Fansuri mentions the stages with *ta'ayyun* (determination). According to Hamzah, there are four stages of *ta'ayyun*. Before entering that level, God is in His Solitude which is termed by Hamzah Fansuri as *lā ta'ayyun* (indetermination). After that, there is *ta'ayyun awal* (appearance of Himself in the first stage or called first determination), in which God reveals Himself in the image of *'ilm* (knowledge), *wujūd* (being), *shuhūd* (sight), and *nūr* (light). In *ta'ayyun thānī*, the second stage (second determination) of the apparitions of Himself, God reveals Himself in the prototype image of the universe, called *al-a'yān al-thābitah* or fixed essence. In the third stage *ta'ayyun*

*thālīth* (third determination), God appears in the image of the human spirit and creatures. Then, in the fourth and fifth stages are *ta'ayyun rābi'* and *khāmis* (fourth and fifth determination), God reveals Himself in the image of empirical nature. After that, there has been a never-ending process of *tajallī*.

Hamzah Fansuri provides the following imagery associated with *tajallī* or *ta'ayyun* (determination) of God:

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

*Adapun pertama ta'ayyun empat bahagi: 'ilmu, dan wujud, dan shuhūd, dan nūr. Ya'ni ta'ayyun keempatnya inilah yang bernama ta'ayyun awal, kerana daripada 'ilmu maka 'alim dan ma'lum nyata; kerana wujud maka yang mengadakan dan yang diadakan nyata; kerana shuhūd maka yang melihat dan yang dilihat nyata; kerana cahaya maka yang menerangkan dan yang diterangkan nyata. Sekalian ini daripada ta'ayyun awal jua; 'alim dan ma'lum, awal dan akhir, zāhir dan bāṭin beroleh nama.<sup>40</sup>*

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

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

According to Hamzah Fansuri, *ta'ayyun awal* (first determination) is likened to the sea. If the sea is choppy and the seawater evaporates into the air to form clouds, then the water vapor is called *al-a'yan al-thābitah* (fixed essence), or in other words, it is at the stage of *ta'ayyun thāni*. Then the water vapor forms clouds that undergo a process of condensation which can reduce the rainwater which falls in various places on the earth. Precipitation is described as *ta'ayyun thālith* (nature of spirit), the nature of spirits under the statement of *kun fa-yakūn*, so there it becomes the nature of spirits. The rainfall on the earth is called a river. Rainwater that forms the river is described as *ta'ayyun rābi'* and *khāmis* (*'alam mithal*) in which there is the creation of the universe, the creatures, including humans. The creation is endless and infinite. In the end, the river empties into the sea and like all of His creations will return to Him. Further explanation about the *ta'ayyun* of God is, that the appearance or reality of the first stage of God, which Hamzah Fansuri calls *ta'ayyun awal* (the stage of *wahdah*), contains a plurality of unity, which is still in the form of *ijmāl* (outline). The Reality of God in the first stage consists of *'ilm* (knowledge), *wujūd* (being), *shuhūd* (see, watch), and *nūr* (light). With the knowledge then God is in itself *'ālim* (knowing or omniscient), and *ma'lūm* (known). Since He is *Wujūd*, then by itself He is the Existence, who creates the existence. Because of the light, He is the Explainer (with the light of His)<sup>41</sup> and described (by His lights). However, all of that still does not separate.

The first stage comes from the Substance of God any Attributes and His *Asmā'* universally. This stage is a single unit containing a plurality. This stage, according to Hamzah Fansuri, obtains the essence of *Muhammadīyah* (*Nūr Muhammad*). That is like the science of God to the Substance, Attributes and His *Asmā'*, and all reality as a whole. There is no separation from one to another; it is the beginning of reality. The stage in *ta'ayyun awal* is unity, rather like seeds, in which its parts, such as branches and leaves still are one within the seed. It can also be likened to a node (point) within the sphere which is the origin for all letters, containing all the letters that would be written, but there is intact aggregate inside the reality of the letter. The letter is integrated into one the limits of which are not seen.<sup>42</sup> In his *Sharāb al-Āshiqīn*, Hamzah gives the parable of *ta'ayyun awal* as the sea, namely:

*Adapun ta'ayyun awal dinamai Aḥad pun namanya, Wāḥid pun namanya. apabila kita lainkan Dhāt semata Sendirinya Aḥad namanya, apabila kita sertakan sifatnya dengan 'ibaratnya, wāḥid namanya, kerana Aḥad itulah bernama Wāḥid, memegang 'alam sekalian dari pertamanya hingga kesudahannya.*<sup>43</sup>

(The First Determination may be called (both) *aḥad* or *wāḥid*. When we regard the essence by itself it is called *aḥad*, but when we regard the essence together with Its Attributes and names then it is called *wāḥid*, for *aḥad* is *wāḥid* sustaining the universe and holding it together from its beginning to its end).

After that he explains:

‘The sea is the sea, as it was before,  
The ‘new’ are waves and rivers;  
Let not forms that resemble them veil thee,  
For the shapes they form are but veils.’  
But (the waves) are together with the eternal sea. As the distich says:  
The sea is eternal: when it heaves  
It is then called by the name ‘waves’...  
But its real essence is the sea, for sea and waves are not two (entities),  
but the same.<sup>44</sup>

In the quotation above, Hamzah gave the analogy of *ta‘ayyun awal* like seawater, wave, and the river, which then evaporates into vapor and clouds. Rain then descends from the clouds. This process begins from a drop of seawater that will produce the oceans, rivers, and rains. It is a drop of seawater that is called *ta‘ayyun awal*.

After the *ta‘ayyun awal* stage, God has *tajallī* to the second stage (*ta‘ayyun thānī*) which is also called as *wāḥidīyah* stage. The *ta‘ayyun thānī* (the second determination), also known as *ta‘ayyun ma‘lūm*, depicts the reality of God in the second place. In this stage, all which are pent has to be distinguished clearly and in detail. However, it has not appeared like reality. Each unit has a clear limitation in the science of God. He is known or unknown. God Knowledge or Science reveals Himself in the form of ‘known’ or ‘unknown’. The Knowledge of God, which is called *al-a‘yān thābitah* (fixed essence), is the reality of all things. *Al-a‘yān thābitah* is also called *ṣuwar al-‘ilmīyah*, the known form or *ḥaqīqat aṣl-ashyā’*; *aṣl-ashyā’* is the essence of things in the universe and the spirit of *idāfi*, the soul adrift.<sup>45</sup>

*Adapun ma‘lūm itulah yang dinamai ahl al-sulūk a‘yān thābitah. Setengah menamai (dia) ḥaqīqat al-ashyā’, setengah menamai (dia) ṣuwar al-‘ilmīyah, setengah menamai (dia) rūḥ idāfi. Sekalian ini ta‘ayyun thānī hukumnya.*<sup>46</sup>

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

Both of the aforementioned stages, *ta‘ayyun awal* and *ta‘ayyun thānī* are forms of the inner universe which are *qādim* and *thābitah* (remain in the

science of God - nothing changed since *qādim*). From the two inner stages emerged two new seen stages, called *a' yān khārijīyah* (potential existents). They are *ta' ayyun thālith* (the stage of *'alam al-rūḥ*) and *ta' ayyun rābi'* and *khāmis* (the stage of *'alam mithsāl*).

*Ta' ayyun thālith* (the stage of *'alam al-rūḥ*), which is natural of all spirits, a form of the subtle body of *jism laṭīf*. As *jism laṭīf*, *'alam al-rūḥ* is not seen by the five senses and eyes of the heart (feelings), and cannot be likened to the situation. In this stage, the reality that flows out takes the form of *'alam al-rūḥ*. The essence of this nature is one, only the aspect which is divided into the human spirit, animal spirit, and plant spirit. Of this, Hamzah stated that, “*Adapun rūḥ insān dan rūḥ hewani dan rūḥ nabati ta' ayyun thālith hukumnya*” (Now the spirit of human, animals, and vegetal in the stage of *ta' ayyun thālith*). The latest stages according to Hamzah are *ta' ayyun rābi'* and *khāmis* (the stages of *'alam mithāl*). The reality of God in the fourth and fifth stages is the creation of the universe, the creatures, including humans. The creation is endless and infinite. The creation of this endlessness is termed *ilā mā lā nihayah labu*, because if God does not do creation, then God cannot be known as the creator.<sup>47</sup>

*Adapun ta' ayyun rābi' dan khāmis, ta' ayyun jismānī kepada semesta sekalian makhluqāt, kepada tiada berkesudahan dan ta' ayyun juga namanya.*

(The fourth and fifth determinations encompass the realm of physical things in its entirety, comprising the whole universe and all created things [herein]).

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

The works of Hamzah, especially those seen in several passages in his book, allows him to be classified as a follower of *waḥdah al-wujūd*, as taught by Ibn 'Arabī. In another work entitled *Asrar al-'Ārifīn*, Hamzah likens the relationship of the universe and God to the sun and light, where the light and the sun are an inseparable unity. However, in essence, they are different.<sup>48</sup> Hamzah stated:

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

*Adapun 'alam maka dikatakan wujudnya lain kerana 'alam seperti bulan*

*beroleh cahaya dari matahari. Sebab inilah maka dikatakan 'Ulamā': "Wujūd 'alam lain daripada wujūd Allah. Wujūd Allah dengan Dhāt Allah lain".*

*Maka kata Abl al-Sulūk: Jika demikian, Allah Ta'ala di luar 'alam atau dalam 'alam dapat dikata; atau hampir kepada 'alam atau jauh daripada 'alam dapat dikata". Pada kami, Dhāt Allah dengan wujūd Allah esa hukumnya; wujūd Allah dengan wujūd 'alam esa...<sup>49</sup>*

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

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

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

Seeing the aforementioned parable by Hamzah Fansuri, it appears that he is like Ibn 'Arabī, who called a universe to God with two Attributes, which are *tanzīh* (transcendent) and *tashbīh* (immanent). In terms of the Substance of His Absolute Attributes, *lā ta'ayyun* is *tanzīh*, while in terms of both *tajallī* even *tajallī* of Substances (*al-a'yān al-thābitah*) and *tajallī* of potential existents (*al-a'yān al-khārijīyah*) is *tashbīh* (immanent). In the explanation above, Hamzah, on the side of *tanzīh*, essentially distinguishes between God and the universe. Although God and the universe are essentially the same, they have different attributes, where God has His distinct essence to the universe.

### **The Teaching about Mankind**

The concept of mankind is very important in any system of thought of a thinker. The concept of humans is important because it includes part of the philosophy of life. Therefore, although human beings have always been recognized as a mystery that can never be understood completely, the desire to know the essence never ends up. A view of human nature is closely related to and even a part of the belief system. In the history of

Islamic thought, the fundamental view of man has been found in Sufism. Sufism discusses issues relating to God, which includes nature, existence, perfection, the beginning of creation, and the end of life.

In general, mysticism views that human beings consist of two substances: material (body) and metaphysical (soul). In Sufism, the words *al-rūḥ* and *al-qalb* are used to refer to the metaphysical substance of humans. With this metaphysical substance, the Sufis strive to achieve the highest level of perfection so that they acquire knowledge about the Attributes of God or can be “united with Him”.<sup>50</sup> For the Ṣūfis, it seems that *al-Rūḥ* and the eternal character of the human heart are created before time. Before the soul is breathed into the body, he has to know God directly, even in unity with Him. The Ṣūfis and some others even claim that the human soul is not the creature, but it is regarded as the essence of God’s Light which is *qādim*.<sup>51</sup>

The doctrine which is more complicated and has a large influence on the development of Ṣūfism is a doctrine put forward by al-Ḥallāj. According to him, man (Adam) is the appearance of the Eternal Love of God to His Absolute Essence and cannot be characterized. Therefore, Adam was created by God in His Likeness, reflecting all of His Attributes and Names, so that “He is the One”. For al-Ḥallāj, this is the meaning that is contained in a hadith of the Prophet Muḥammad who said that “God created Adam in His likeness”.<sup>52</sup>

Al-Ḥallāj’s doctrine may have influenced the thinking of al-Ghazālī. According to al-Ghazālī, God and humans have *munāsabah* (similarities) that are not owned by His other creatures, but they are, he said, inappropriate to be written in the book. They should be left alone in the pile of dust to be found by those who were taking the road of Sufism. When they have fulfilled the requirements of mysticism, they will have been able to recognize the attributes of themselves and get to know God directly. In this connection, he refers to the aforementioned hadith of the Prophet Muhammad. In this case, al-Ghazālī seems to agree with al-Ḥallāj who regards human beings to be created in the likeness of God. But al-Ghazālī’s discussion about humans is more about the *qalb* and *nafs* (soul). According to him, the human heart, when purified of all stains of lust, can reflect all the essence of God, like a mirror that can reflect every object in front of him.<sup>53</sup>

The aforementioned doctrine of al-Ḥallāj has a more perfect shape through Ibn ‘Arabī. According to Ibn ‘Arabī, humans are not entirely able to be the *tajallī* of Allah. Only a perfect man (*insān kāmil*) can be the *tajallī* of Allah. The man who has reached the highest level of human dignity,

or those who are in Him will have the nature of the *Muḥammadīyah* or *Nūr Muḥammad*. According to Divine *tajallī*, *Nūr Muḥammad* is the most perfect and created before this world was created. He has a two-track relationship or functions: a relationship with nature as a principle of universe creation and a relationship with humans as human nature, which is the perfect man (*insān kāmil*).<sup>54</sup> Thus, the attribute of *Nūr Muḥammad* is the origin and at the same time manifest in the universe and humans as well. In other words, the universe is a macrocosm and man as a microcosm equally derived from *Nūr Muḥammad*.<sup>55</sup>

In his book, *Sharāb al-‘Āshiqīn*, Hamzah Fansuri's detailed explanation about the concept of man is not found, because the discussion is much directed to the teachings of the five stages of *wujūdiyyah* and how to reach *ma‘rifah*. Even so, there are also found implicit ideas about the human concept, known as *insān kāmil*. It is similar to the concept of humans according to Ibn ‘Arabī, the teaching about God and creation. Human beings cannot be separated from the manifestation of God. That is a perfect man or the so-called *insān kāmil*. According to Hamzah, *insān kāmil* are those who reach the broad stage of *ma‘rifah*, so that collected in them are the attribute of *Jalāl* (Majesty) and the attribute of *Jamāl* (Beauty), as was evident to the Prophet Muhammad. As was said by Hamzah:

*Adapun asal Jalāl dan Jamāl daripada wujud, asal wujud daripada Dhāt.*<sup>56</sup>  
(The origin of Beauty and Majesty is from Being, and Being is from Essence).

Humans according to Hamzah potentially reach the stage of *insān kāmil*, if they can see that all deeds are the Acts of God Almighty. All *Asmā’* is the *Asmā’* of God, all attributes are the Attributes of God, and only within the creatures does His *Wujūd* or form appear.

Hamzah places the thought of *insān kāmil* as the pinnacle of the study of Sufism. He showed that the ultimate purpose of the *tajallī* of God is reflected in humans as the pinnacle of the universe. For that, he gave the imagery like the rivers that gather all rainwater. The river is the meeting place of water, which then will return to the sea. Hamzah likens God with the sea, while the river is a perfect parable of the man. The rivers originate from the sea and return to the sea. In other words, *insān kāmil* is a perfect container of the *tajallī* of God, and the peak *taraqqī* (spiritual ascent) will return to its essential form.<sup>57</sup>

Although Hamzah did not explicitly mention the term of *insān al-kāmil* in his book *Sharāb al-‘Āshiqīn*, can be understood that what is meant by the river is nothing but *insān kāmil*. This is implied in the expression:

...Hai Ṭālib, kerana keadaan Allah Subḥānahu wa Ta'ālā seperti laut yang tiada berhingga dan tiada berkesudahan. Semesta sekalian 'alam ini dalam laut itu seperti buih kecil sebiji jua; manusia seorang didalam buih itu berapa bahagiannya? Yakni tiada lagi melainkan seperti firman Allah Ta'āla: 'Kullu man 'alayha fān wa yabqā wajhu rabbika dhū al-jalāl wa al-ikrām—ya'ni: 'Barang segala yang diatas alam ini lenyap; bermula: yang kekal Dhāt Tuhanmu jua, Yang Empunya kebesaran dan kemuliaan'. Hai Ṭālib!, alam ini seperti ombak, keadaan Allah seperti laut; sungguh pun ombak lain daripada laut, kepada hakikat tiada lain daripada laut...<sup>58</sup>

(...O Seeker, because God's condition is like a limitless ocean. The world in its entirety is like a speck of foam within it, and what avails one man to be in this speck of foam? That is, it is none but as God says: 'Everyone in it must pass away. And there will endure forever the face of your Lord, the Lord of Majesty and Beauty. O, Seeker! This world is but a wave, God's existential condition is the sea...)

From the text above it is seen that there is a unity between the reality of the creature which is in the imagery of waves, and the reality of God Who is an image of the sea. Both have the same reality, which is water, they are only different in name. Hamzah also mentioned the *hadīth* that speaks about the incident of Adam as being suitable for the Image of God. This strengthens the previous expression about the unity of reality between creatures and God. This Hadith also expresses that the most similar image of God is Adam, who with it, he is seen as *insān kāmil*. However, the potentiality can only be actualized by certain people, the people who can know God perfectly, as shown by Hamzah through the following *hadīth* of Prophet Muḥammad: "Whoever knows himself, will undoubtedly know God."<sup>59</sup> The rivers originate from the sea and will return to the sea.

To regain that high and real stage, Hamzah revealed four stages of approaching to God, the *sharī'ah*, *ṭarīqah*, *ḥaqīqah*, and *ma'rifah*. The four stages of the journey toward God are identified by Hamzah as they travel through the nature of *nāsūt* (the human nature), the nature of *malakūt* (the angel's nature), the nature of *jabarūt* (*Asmā'*) and the Attributes of God. It is also interpreted as the nature of the soul or the netherworld, and the nature of *lāhūt* (divinity). *Sharī'ah* stage is like a trip to the nature of *nāsūt*. *Ṭarīqah* stage is identical to the nature of *malakūt* trip, while the stage through nature is identical to the natural cover of *jabarūt* which at this stage the Sufis have reached the rank of beings of *insān kāmil* (the perfect humans). *Ma'rifah* stage is identical to the natural occupation of *lāhūt*. At this stage, the Ṣūfīs have reached the stage of *al-kāmil al-mukammil* (most complete). Furthermore, the Sufi may lose the attributes of his *basharīyah* (humanity) and experience unity with God in *fanā'*.<sup>60</sup>

From the expressions above, it is understandable that the mystical ascent was made by the Sufis to attain the stage of *insān al-kāmil*. It is necessary to offset the decline in various stages of *tanazzul* from the *tajallī* of God. So, as a consequence, humans have to do some climbing up stages as well. The Assent begins with *sharī'ah*, *ṭarīqah*, *ḥaqīqah*, and *ma'rifah*, so that in time he can be illuminated by the *tajallī*.

## Conclusion

Hamzah Fansuri stated that the universe was created from something that exists to exist, not created from nothing into being (creation ex nihilo). The universe is *qadīm*, the universe exists, created through a process of *tajallī*, namely the manifestation of the eternal self and without end. *Tajallī* is a process of self-appearance of God in forms that have been determined and devoted, that called *ta'ayyun* (determination). Hamzah Fansuri called a universe to God with two Attributes, which are *tanzīh* (transcendent) and *tashbīh* (immanent). In terms of the Substance of His Absolute Attributes, *lā ta'ayyun* is *tanzīh*, while in terms of both *tajallī* even *tajallī* of Substances (*al-a'yān al-thābitah*) and *tajallī* of potential existents (*al-a'yān al-khārijīyah*) is *tashbīh* (immanent). In the explanation above, Hamzah, on the side of *tanzīh*, essentially distinguishes between God and the universe.

Although God and the universe are essentially the same, they have different attributes, where God has His distinct essence to the universe. every single thing in this world that either can or cannot be seen can be pictured as a circle or curvature, the two corners of which can meet each other. Half of the curvature is “the down way curvature” (*tanazzul*) that is the way of the creation of the universe and its content; the manifestation process from the Oneness or the Higher Existence (Who cannot be known physically) to become many existents or the reality that can be seen physically. The other curvature is “the up-way curvature” (*taraqqī*), which is a way of creation from physical to metaphysical existence. The entire levels or structure of being are summarized in the person and the human being's existence as a perfect creature of physical and spiritual quality. Therefore, the universe can only be returned to the One through humans.

The mystical ascent was made by the Sufis to attain the stage of *insān al-kāmil*. It is necessary to offset the decline in various stages of *tanazzul* from the *tajallī* of God. So, as a consequence, humans have to do some climbing up stages as well. The Assent begins with *sharī'ah*, *ṭarīqah*, *ḥaqīqah*, and *ma'rifah*, so that in time he can be illuminated by the *tajallī*.[]

## Endnotes

1. Seyyed Hossein Nasr, *Science and Civilization in Islam* (New York: New American Library, 1970), 22.
2. Nunu Burhanuddin and Usman Syihab, "Cosmological Dimensions in the Teachings of the Naqshabandi Sufi Order". *Kalam*, 13/2 (2019), 143-166.
3. Fuad Mahbub Siraj, "Tasawuf dan Kosmologi". *Jurnal Ilmu Ushuluddin*, 2/1 (2014), 53-68
4. Siti Nurjanah, "Kosmologi dan Sains dalam Islam. *Akademika: Jurnal Pemikiran Islam*, [S.I.], 18/1 (2013), 109-122.
5. Mira Fauziah, "Pemikiran Tasawuf Hamzah Fansuri", *Jurnal Substantia* 15/2 (2013), 289-304.
6. Hakiki, Kiki Muhammadiyah, "Tasawuf Wujudiyat: Tinjauan Ulang Polemik Penyesatan Hamzah Fansuri oleh Shaykh Nūr al-Dīn al-Ranīrī", *Jurnal Theologia* 29/1 (2018), 25-58.
7. Karel A. Steenbrink, *Beberapa Aspek Tentang Islam di Indonesia Abad 19* (Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, 1985), 91.
8. Syed Muhammad Naquib al-Attas, *The Mysticism of Hamzah Fansuri* (Kuala Lumpur: University Malaya Press, 1970), 7.
9. Syed Muhammad Naquib al-Attas, *The Mysticism of Hamzah Fansuri*, 7.
10. G. W. J. Drewes, L. F. Brakel, *The Poems of Hamzah Fansuri* (Dordrecht-Holland: Foris Publication, 1986), 5-6.
11. Syed Muhammad Naquib al-Attas, *The Mysticism of Hamzah Fansuri*, 9.
12. Syed Muhammad Naquib al-Attas, *The Mysticism of Hamzah Fansuri*, 8-9.
13. Abdul Hadi W. M., *Hamzah Fansuri Risalah Tasawuf dan Puisi-Puisinya* (Bandung: Mizan, 1995), 166-167.
14. Syed Muhammad Naquib al-Attas, *The Mysticism of Hamzah Fansuri*, 11.
15. The full name of Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir Jilānī is Abū Muḥammad Muḥy al-Dīn 'Abd al-Qādir ibn Mūsā ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Jilānī, he was born in the year 471 A.D. in Jilān, Tabaristan. Seen from the pedigree he is still descendant of the prophet Muḥammad SAW. See Iḥsan Ilahī dhāhir, *Darah Hitam Tasawuf: Studi Kritis Kesesatan Kaum Sufi*, translated from *Dirasah fi al-Tasawwuf* by Fadhli Bahri (Jakarta: Darul Falah, 2000), p285-286.
16. *Ijazah* within the meaning of Sufism is the granting of a shaykh or *murshid* to his student to teach the knowledge which already gained from Shaykh or *murshid* to another person. Iḥsan Ilahī dhāhir, *Darah Hitam Tasawuf: Studi Kritis Kesesatan Kaum Sufi*, translated from, *Dirasah fi al-Tasawwuf*, by Fadhli Bahri, (Jakarta: Darul Falah, 2000), 285-286.
17. Abdul Rahim Yunus, *Posisi Tasawuf dalam Sistem Kekuasaan di Kesultanan Buton pada Abad ke-19* (Jakarta: Indonesia-Netherlands Cooperation in Islamic Studies (INIS), 1995), 13.
18. Farid al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Aṭṭar was born in Nishapur around the year 506 A.H. / 1119 A.D. and died in Syaikhuhah. Not much is known about his life from childhood through adulthood. he was like many children in rural areas, starting with learning to read the al-Qur'an then following religious education and interested in the arts and literature. See H. M Laily Mansur, *Ajaran dan Teladan Para Sufi* (Jakarta: Raja Grafindo Persada, 1999), 179.
19. His full name is Jalal al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad al-Balkhi al-Qunuwī, better known by the name of Jalal al-Dīn Rumi. He was born in Balkh (now a country of Afghanistan) on 30 September 1207 AD. See Mojdeh Bayat and Mohammad Ali Jamnia, *Negeri Sufi*, trans. M. S Nashrullah (Jakarta: 2007), 139.
20. His full name is Nur al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Jamī, born in Khrajad, in the Jam, Khorasan, in the year 871 AH / 1414 AD before he holds with the name of al-Jamī, he was known as al-Dasyti, this is because his father Nizamuddin Ahmad bin Shamsuddin derived from Dasyt, close to Aspahan. See H. M Laily Mansur, *Ajaran dan Teladan Para Sufi*, (Jakarta: Raja Grafindo Persada, 1999), 242.
21. Abdul Hadi W. M., "Jejak Sang Sufi: Hamzah Fansuri dan Syair-Syair Tasawufnya," *Arabia Ilmu Ushuluddin* Vol. 8, No. 1, 2021

- Jurnal Kebudayaan Arab*, 3 (2001), 1-2.
22. The scholars who argue that Hamzah Fansuri live only until the reign of Sulṭān 'Alā' al-Dīn Riayat Shah Sayyid al-Mukammil, namely Snouck Hungronje, Nieuwenhuyze, Voorhoeve, and G. M. J. Drewes. see G. W. J. Drewes, L. F. Brakel, *The Poems of Hamzah Fansuri* (Dordrecht-Holland: Foris Publication, 1986), 2-3.
  23. G. W. J. Drewes, L. F. Brakel, *The Poems of Hamzah Fansuri*, 2-3.
  24. Abdul Hadi W. M., *Tasawuf yang Tertindas* (Jakarta: Paramadina, 2001), 117-118.
  25. Sehat Ihsan Shadiqin, *Tasawuf Aceh* (Aceh: Bandar Publishing, 2008), 52. See also Teuku Iskandar, *Kesusasteraan Klasik Melayu Sepanjang Abad* (Jakarta: 1996), 154.
  26. Abdul Hadi W. M., *Tasawuf Yang Tertindas*, 119
  27. Abdul Hadi W. M., *Tasawuf Yang Tertindas*, 119.
  28. Syed Muhammad Naquib al-Attas, *The Mysticism of Hamzah Fansuri*, 12.
  29. *Karamah* is the glory of God delegated to someone in the form of the ability to display extraordinary events. See H. Ahmad Isa, *Ajaran Tasawuf Muhammad Nafis dalam Perbandingan* (Jakarta: Raja Grafindo Persada, 2001), 180
  30. Sehat Ihsan Shadiqin, *Tasawuf Aceh* (Aceh: Bandar Publishing, 2008), 65.
  31. Abdul Hadi W. M., *Tasawuf yang Tertindas*, 126.
  32. Abdul Hadi W. M., *Tasawuf yang Tertindas*, 127.
  33. *Yoga* is if the respiratory system, mental and physical. i.e., set healthy breathing accompanied by uniting the mind for the external and the internal health, physical and spiritual. See B. Sidartanto Buanadjaya, *Hatha Yoga Kundalini Shakti* (Solo: 1993), 9-10.
  34. *Prana* means pure air. *Pranayama Yoga* is the technique of breathing exercises using the lungs, to breathe, collect and satisfy himself with *prana* (pure air), plant life is in clean air. B. Sidartanto Buanadjaya, *Hatha Yoga Kundalini Shakti*, 55-59.
  35. Abdul Hadi W. M., *Tasawuf yang Tertindas*, 50.
  36. H. Ahmadi Isa, *Ajaran Tasawuf Muhammad Nafis dalam Perbandingan*, 73-75.
  37. The existence of God in absolute solitude; it is not known and has no attributes.
  38. H. Ahmadi Isa, *Ajaran Tasawuf Muhammad Nafis dalam Perbandingan*, 75-76.
  39. Sehat Ihsan Shadiqin, *Tasawuf Aceh*, 66-67.
  40. Syed Muhammad Naquib al-Attas, *The Mysticism of Hamzah Fansuri*, 315.
  41. Syed Muhammad Naquib al-Attas, *The Mysticism of Hamzah Fansuri*, 150.
  42. Simuh, *Mistik Islam Kejawaen Raden Ngabehi Ranggawarsita Suatu Studi Terhadap Serat Wirid Hidayat Jati*, (Jakarta: Universitas Indonesia Press, 1988), 323.
  43. Syed Muhammad Naquib al-Attas, *The Mysticism of Hamzah Fansuri*, 316.
  44. Syed Muhammad Naquib al-Attas, *The Mysticism of Hamzah Fansuri*, 37-38.
  45. Abdul Hadi W. M., *Tasawuf yang Tertindas*, 150.
  46. Syed Muhammad Naquib al-Attas, *The Mysticism of Hamzah Fansuri*, 316.
  47. Abdul Hadi W. M., *Tasawuf yang Tertindas*, 39.
  48. Abdul Hadi W. M., *Tasawuf yang Tertindas*, 39.
  49. Syed Muhammad Naquib al-Attas, *The Mysticism of Hamzah Fansuri*, 242.
  50. Muhammad Yasir Nasution, *Manusia Menurut al-Ghazālī* (Jakarta: Raja Grafindo Persada, 2002), 1-4.
  51. M. Chatib Quzwain, *Mengenal Allah: Suatu Kajian Mengenai Ajaran Tasawuf Syaikh Abdul Samad al-Palimbani* (Kuala Lumpur: Thinker's Library SDN BHD, 1986), 58-60.
  52. M. Chatib Quzwain, *Mengenal Allah: Suatu Kajian Mengenai Ajaran Tasawuf Syaikh Abdul Samad al-Palimbani*, 58-60.
  53. M. Chatib Quzwain, *Mengenal Allah: Suatu Kajian Mengenai Ajaran Tasawuf Syaikh Abdul Samad al-Palimbani*, 58-60.
  54. The "perfect man" term in Arabic is composed of two words namely, *al-Insān* meaning human beings, and *al-kāmil*, meaning perfect. This term translated into English becomes "the perfect man," according to Muthahari followed by Juhdi Sharif that the notion of

- “perfect” can be distinguished by the notion of “complete”. Because the word “complete” refers to something that is prepared according to plan. However, something may be complete, but still, there is other higher completeness and this is called the “al-kāmil”. Juhdi Syarif, *Insan Kamil Menurut Pandangan Ibn ‘Arabī* (Depok: Ulinnuha Press, 2001), 58. See also Murthada Muthahari, *Perfect Man* (Iran: Foreign Department of Bonyad Be’tthat), translated by Dr. Alaedin Pazargadi, 7-8.
55. Noer Iskandar al-Barsany, *Tasawuf, Tarekat, dan Para Sufi* (Jakarta: Raja Grafindo Persada, 2001), 165-166.
  56. Abdul Hadi W. M., *Tasawuf yang Tertindas*, 93.
  57. Yunasril Ali, *Manusia Citra Ilahi: Pengembangan Konsep Insān Kāmil Ibn ‘Arabī oleh al-Jilli* (Jakarta: Paramadina, 1997), 184.
  58. Abdul Hadi W. M., *Risalah Tasawuf*, 89-91.
  59. Yunasril Ali, *Manusia Citra Ilahi: Pengembangan Konsep Insān Kāmil Ibn ‘Arabī oleh al-Jilli*, 185.
  60. Yunasril Ali, *Manusia Citra Ilahi: Pengembangan Konsep Insān Kāmil Ibn ‘Arabī oleh al-Jilli*, 185.

## Bibliography

- Ali, Yunasril. 1997. *Manusia Citra Ilahi: Pengembangan Konsep Insān Kāmil Ibn ‘Arabī oleh al-Jilli*. Jakarta: Paramadina.
- Al-Attas, Syed Muhammad Naquib. 1970. *The Mysticism of Hamzah Fansuri*. Kuala Lumpur: ISTAC.
- Al-Barsaniy, Noer Iskandar. 2001. *Tasawuf, Tarekat dan Para Sufi*. Jakarta: Raja Grafindo Persada.
- A, Teeuw. 1995. *Indonesia antara Keberlisanan dan Keberaksaraan*. Jakarta: Pustaka Jaya.
- Amstrong, Amatullah. 1996. *Kunci Memasuki Dunia Tasawuf*. translated by M. S Nasrullah and Ahmad Baikuni. Bandung: Mizan.
- Affifi, E. 1995. *Filsafat Mistis Ibn ‘Arabī*. translated from *A Mystical Philosophy of Muhyidin Ibn ‘Arabī*, Sjahrir Mawi and Nandi Rahman. Jakarta: Gaya Media Pratama.
- Arifin, Miftah. 2013. *Sufi Nusantara: Biografi, Karya Intelektual dan Pemikiran Tasawuf*. Yogyakarta: Ar-Ruzz Media.
- Bayat, Mojdeh and Mohammad Ali Jamnia. 2007. *Negeri Sufi, trans*, M. S Nashrullah, Jakarta.
- Burckhardt, Titus. 1984. *Mengenal Ajaran Kaum Sufi*, translated by Azyumardi Azra. Jakarta: Pustaka Jaya.
- Buanadjaya, Sidartanto. 1993. *Hatha Yoga Kundalini Shakti*. Solo.
- Burhanuddin, Nunu, and Usman Syihab. 2019. “Cosmological Dimensions in the Teachings of the Naqshabandi Sufi Order”. *Kalam*, 13 (2), 143-166.
- Drewes, G. W. J, L. F. Brakel. 1986. *The Poems of Hamzah Fansuri*. Dordrecht-Holland: Foris Publication.
- Dhāhir, Iḥsān Ilahī. 2000, *Darah Hitam Tasawuf: Studi Kritis Kesesatan Kaum Sufi*, Jakarta, Darul Falah.
- Mira Fauziah, “Pemikiran Tasawuf Hamzah Fansuri”, *Jurnal Substantia* Vol. 15 No. 2 (2013): 289-304.

- Hadi, W. M. Abdul, 1995. *Hamzah Fansuri: Risalah Tasawuf dan Puisi-Puisinya*. Bandung: Mizan
- Hadi, W. M. Abdul. 2001. *Tasawuf Yang Tertindas*, Jakarta: Paramadina.
- Hadi W. M. Abdul. *Jejak Sang Sufi: Hamzah Fansuri dan Syair-Syair Tasawufnya*, "Arabia Jurnal Kebudayaan Arab, 3: 1-2, Maret, 2001.
- Hakiki, Kiki Muhammad, "Tasawuf Wujudiyat: Tinjauan Ulang Polemik Penyesatan Hamzah Fansuri oleh Shaykh Nūr al-Dīn al-Ranīri", *Jurnal Theologia* Vol. 29 No. 1 (2018), 25-58.
- Isa, H. Ahmadi. 2001. *Ajaran Tasawuf Muhammad Nafis dalam Perbandingan*. Jakarta: Raja Grafindo Persada.
- Mansur, Laily. 1999. *Ajaran dan Teladan Para Sufi*, Jakarta: Raja Grafindo Persada.
- Nasution, Muhammad Yasir. 2002. *Manusia Menurut al-Ghazālī*. Jakarta: Raja Grafindo Persada.
- Nurjanah, Siti. Kosmologi dan Sains dalam Islam. *Akademika: Jurnal Pemikiran Islam*, [S.l.], v. 18, n. 1, p. 109-122, Mar. 2013.
- Quzwain, M. Chatib. 1986. *Mengenal Allah: Suatu Kajian Mengenai Ajaran Tasawuf Syaikh Abdul Samad al-Palimbani*. Kuala Lumpur: Thinker's Library SDN BHD.
- Syarif, Juhdi. 2001. *Insan Kamil Menurut Pandangan Ibn 'Arabī*. Depok: Ulinnuha Press.
- Sentot Budi Santoso, Zulkifli. 2008. *Wujūd (Menuju Jalan Kebenaran)*. Solo: Mutiara Kertas.
- Steenbrink, Karel A. 1985. *Beberapa Aspek Tentang Islam di Indonesia Abad 19*, Jakarta: Bulan Bintang.
- Shadiqin, Sehat Ihsan. 2008. *Tasawuf Aceh*. Aceh: Bandar Publishing.
- Simuh. 1988. *Mistik Islam Kejawan Raden Ngabehi Ranggawarsita Suatu Studi Terhadap Serat Wirid Hidayat Jati*. Jakarta: Universitas Indonesia Press.
- Siraj, Fuad Mahbub. (2014). "Tasauf dan Kosmologi". *Jurnal Ilmu Ushuluddin*, 2 (1), 53-68

---

**Fuad Mahbub Siraj**, Universitas Paramadina | fuad.siraj@paramadina.ac.id