THE OLDEST KNOWN MALAY MANUSCRIPT: A 16TH CENTURY MALAY TRANSLATION OF THE 'AQA'ID OF AL-NASAFI

Bahan asal dari Arkib
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THE OLDEST KNOWN MALAY MANUSCRIPT: A 16TH CENTURY MALAY TRANSLATION OF THE 'AQĀ'ID OF AL-NASAFĪ

by

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Note on Transliteration

Words from the Arabic text have been transliterated in accordance with the system generally adopted by scholars in Islamic studies. Arabic words in the Malay Jawi text are transliterated in conformity with the above-mentioned method. For reasons of consistency and uniformity I have adopted the previous system of spelling of romanized Malay in transliterating the Jawi text, and not the recent system. This applies mostly to the letters hamzah: ʾ; cha: ch; shin: sh; ‘ayn: ‘; and qāf: q.

S.M.N.A.
Preface

In late 1984, my cousin Ungku Abdul Aziz bin Abdul Hamid of Johor, who is Royal Professor and Vice-Chancellor of the University of Malaya, paid me a visit to show me a manuscript in his personal possession which he had recently purchased from Mr. Bashir Mohamed, a dealer in London. He requested me to identify for him the author of the work contained in the manuscript, and to acquaint him with the general nature of the subject as well as to ascertain the date of the manuscript. Having informed him of what he desired to know in a general way, I also pointed out that the manuscript could indeed be one of momentous significance in the history of Malay language and literature, but that only a thorough study and examination of its details could settle its historic place and value. Sensing the importance of the manuscript, he very kindly entrusted me with the task of writing upon it and of bringing it to light after centuries of oblivion. Due to my many commitments in 1985 and in the following year, I was prevented from directing my attention to the manuscript, except that during a brief visit to the Netherlands in late 1985, on my way home from a conference in America, I took the opportunity of engaging myself in preliminary research. I began work on it in earnest in February 1987 and completed it in May the same year. The result of my labours is the book that now lies between your hands.

27 July 1987

Syed Muhammad Naquib al-Attas

Petaling Jaya
Acknowledgements

The few months that it took me to complete the entire work of writing and research on the subject of this book with concentration was made possible due to the keen interest and prompt assistance of Professor Ungku Abdul Aziz, who facilitated speedy results in the way of providing me with the reference materials that I wished to consult from his University, as well as obtaining for me some financial resources from the University of Malaya Press and the Public Bank which enabled me to make a quick trip to the Netherlands in early July 1987 for final, last-minute checks. To him primarily, and to the University of Malaya Press and the Public Bank, are due my thanks and acknowledgement.

Before my trip to the Netherlands, I had already identified the original owner of the manuscript which is treated in the present book. From my perusal of the manuscript here at home some time in late 1984 and my investigation of the identity of its original owner whose name is inscribed therein, I became convinced that he was a German or Prussian orientalist scholar. This was confirmed as correct when I incidentally found that Brockelmann had cited one of his works in the *Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam* in his references to his article on al-Baydawi. From the date of publication of the work cited, which is 1689, I concluded that he was a scholar of the 17th century. But I needed to know more about him, and this meant searching for the required information from a biographical dictionary or lexicon of 17th century German scholars, a work not available in Malaysia. I was sure that such a work could be found in Europe, and had to wait for an opportunity to visit Europe. This opportunity came when on my way home from a conference in America in late 1985, I was able to make a short visit to the Netherlands. Despite the very little time at my disposal for researching at the various
libraries, I managed to obtain confirmation of the existence of such a lexicon from one of the scholars I met, who at my request obtained for me a photographic copy of a page from the lexicon containing the information I sought. In this respect, I wish to express my thanks to Professor Dr. Hans Daiber, Member of the Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences, and Professor at the Faculty of Letters at the Free University in Amsterdam, for his assistance in obtaining for me the document requested.

In the manuscript are found some notes written in Latin. These notes were written in German script by the original owner three centuries ago, and having peculiarities of their own, it was not as simple as it seemed for me to decipher a word or two found in a note on the page following the colophon. I had already understood what the words meant, but it was necessary for me to obtain verification from an expert to confirm the correctness of my reading and understanding. Again, I had to wait for another short trip to the Netherlands in early July 1987. I have to thank Dr. G. Mussies, Latinist at the Institute of Theology at the University of Utrecht, for a brief discussion I had with him to confirm the correctness of my translation and interpretation of the Latin note in question. I am, however, responsible for the translation and interpretation of all the Latin notes, and should any error be found there it would be solely mine.

In the Netherlands also I wish to acknowledge with thanks the kindness and hospitality of Mevr. P.P. Buss-Tjen of The Hague, who during my brief visits helped in various ways to make it possible for me to consult the above-mentioned scholars, and to facilitate my research at the Royal Library at The Hague.

In Kuala Lumpur, my thanks are due to Herr Hans Sallmann, Director of the Goethe Institute, for confirming the correctness of my translation and paraphrase of a long listing from the photographic copy of the page in the lexicon which was acquired at my request from the University Library at Amsterdam. In this copy many of the words are not legible, as a result of which it makes reading difficult in crucial places. However, during my second trip to the Netherlands referred to above, I checked again the page in question from the actual lexicon, this time at the
Royal Library at The Hague. This is largely in German with Latin references to works, printed in German type or Gothic print. Again, I am entirely to be held responsible for the translation and paraphrase of the contents of the listing, both from the German and the Latin texts.

S.M.N.A.
بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
I Introduction

1. Previous accounts of some of the oldest Malay manuscripts.

The oldest known Malay text is the one inscribed on granite known as the Trengganu Inscription dated Friday, the 22nd February 1303.¹ Some of the oldest Malay manuscripts considered to be extant are the ones kept in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, the University Library at Cambridge, the British Museum, and the University Library at Leiden. Accounts of these manuscripts have been given by Ph. S. van Ronkel in 1896,² and by W.G. Shellabear in 1898.³

According to Shellabear, the manuscripts at the Bodleian Library are considered to be the oldest Malay manuscripts now extant. These are: (1), a copy of the letter of the Sultan of Aceh to Queen Elizabeth the First of England dated 1011 A.H./1602 A.C.⁴ Shellabear presumes that the copy was written by a European. The original letter is probably preserved, it is said, in one of the Archives in London which keeps records and papers of the East India Company; (2), the original letter bearing the stamp of Sultan 'Ala' al-Din Shah of Aceh giving authority for trading purposes to Captain (Sir) Henry Middleton⁵ who went

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¹The correct reading of the text and the fixing of the right date have been established by me in 1970. See my *The correct date of the Trengganu Inscription*, Muzium Negara, Kuala Lumpur, 1970.


⁴*JSBRAS*, 31, pp. 113–117 (A). The date is in the Arabic text on the last line of p. 113 verso.

⁵Ibid., pp. 121–122 (B).
out with Sir James Lancaster in 1601. The letter is not dated, but is affirmed to be of the same date as (1) above; (3), the letter from the Sultan of Aceh to King James the First of England. This is an original letter and it is dated 1024 A.H./1612 A.C. Finally there is the book Hikayat Seri Rama, whose text is not dated. This manuscript was acquired by Archbishop Laud in 1633 as stated at the bottom of the first page of the text.

We see from the information given above, based on Shellabear’s article cited, that the earliest known Malay manuscript texts are all dated from the beginning of the 17th century, and that the text of the Hikayat Seri Rama is believed to be of the same period.

According to van Ronkel, almost all the manuscripts that were once the property of the Dutch scholar Thomas Erpenius are preserved in the Cambridge University Library. Among them are six Malay manuscripts. Three of them originally belonged to a Dutch merchant, Pieter Willemsz. Floris van Elbinck who, according to him, stayed in Aceh in 1604. Van Elbinck was formerly employed by the Dutch Company, and later joined the English Company; and as an enterprising merchant and a good ambassador, he carried out a profitable trade for them with the Indies and other lands of the East. His last successful voyage with the English Company was in 1611. Two months after his return to England in 1615, he died in London. It was he, in the opinion of van Ronkel, who bought or wrote manuscripts for Erpenius. After Erpenius’ death in 1624, the manuscripts among others belonging to him were offered to the University of Leiden, but due to some difficulties in raising the money for them — and when

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*See JSBRAS no. 70, April 1917, Singapore, pp. 181–207; the text of the Hikayat Seri Rama was published by the Methodist Publishing House, Singapore, 1915, pp. 1–128.

*The other Malay manuscripts treated by him are some of those preserved in the University of Leiden Library and in the British Museum. All these date from the first half of the 17th century and from 1669–1680.*
the money was finally raised, the complications that ensued in the negotiations between the University Board and Erpenius' widow—the manuscripts in the end did not pass into the possession of the University of Leiden.\(^\text{10}\) They were finally sold in Antwerp to the Duke of Buckingham, who intended to present them as a gift to the University of Cambridge. When the Duke was assassinated in 1628, his widow carried out his intentions (1632). That in brief was how, according to E.G. Browne, the manuscripts of Erpenius found their way to Cambridge.\(^\text{11}\) A description of the six Malay manuscripts is given in detail by van Ronkel, who came to know of them from his teacher M.J. De Goeje, who in turn was told of their existence by Browne at Geneva in 1894. These manuscripts, with the exception of the ones written by van Elbinck dated June the 1st, 1604 at Acheh\(^\text{12}\) and October the 1st, 1604,\(^\text{13}\) are all undated. Van Ronkel himself thinks that they all date from the beginning of the 17th century.\(^\text{14}\)

One of these manuscripts, numbered Ll. 6.25,\(^\text{15}\) is described by van Ronkel as containing four parts, I and II being an Arabic text with a Malay interlinear translation of the Burdah of Sharaf al-Din Muhammad ibn Sa'id al-Busiri (d. c. 1296),\(^\text{16}\) and a fragment of the Arabic poem, with interlinear Malay translation, by Siraj al-Din 'Ali ibn 'Uthman al-Ushii (d.? ) called the Qasidah al-Lamiyyah fi al-Tawhid, also known as Bad' al-Amali (composed about 1173).\(^\text{17}\) In 1955, G.W.J. Drewes published the text of the

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\(^{10}\) BKJ (46), 1896, pp. 1, 2, 3; 5.

\(^{11}\) See his "Description of an old Persian commentary on the Kur'an," in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, July 1894, p. 417 fol. Cited by van Ronkel, op. cit., p. 5. A few of the manuscripts of Erpenius are at the Bodleian Library at Oxford, two are in the University Library at Leiden, but for the most part they are at Cambridge.

\(^{12}\) Van Ronkel, op. cit., p. 8, Gg. 6.40, IV, II & V.

\(^{13}\) Ibid., p. 7, Dd. 5.37.

\(^{14}\) Ibid., p. 6.

\(^{15}\) Ibid., p. 10.

\(^{16}\) See C. Brockelmann, Geschichte der Arabischen Literatur (GAL), 2v., and Supplementbänden (S), 3v., Leiden, Brill, 1943, GAL I, 264; SI, 467.

\(^{17}\) GAL I, 429; SI, 764.
Malay translation of the Burdah of al-Busi and his translation in Dutch of the Malay text, together with the Malay translation of the fragment of al-Usi's Bad' al-Amali and his translation of it in Dutch in the Appendix to his work. In the opinion of Drewes the text is of late 16th century origin. Although Drewes' claim that the Malay translation of the Burdah of al-Busi is of late 16th century origin, he is unable to make a positive statement about the exact date since the manuscript itself is undated. His argument for a late 16th century origin of the Malay translation, which might not necessarily apply to the Malay text of the manuscript in which the translation is written, is based solely upon circumstantial evidence about which we know that we can also apply to many other old works in Malay literature. All that he could say—and this, too, without the certainty that comes from positive knowledge—is that the termination point for the period in which the translation was made was about the year 1600. In other words, even if we concede that the translation was made sometime between 1591 and 1599, Drewes would have to accept that concession as he cannot prove by the arguments he has set forth that the translation must be of an earlier date than the ones suggested.

As far as I know, then, there is no 16th century dated Malay text in manuscript form that has ever been discovered and noticed. The text here presented, it will be shown, is the only one that has a date earlier than any of the Malay manuscripts so far considered by scholars to be among the oldest, which makes it the

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18Een 16de Eeuwse Maleise Vertaling van de Burda van al-Busi (Arabisch Lofdicht op Mohammad), VK1 (18), 1955. In this work Drewes has given a full explanation on the history of the manuscript; on the question of the oldest Malay Muslim writings; the importance of the Burdah in Malay translation; the role of the Burdah, its popularity and its criticism; an abstract of the contents of the poem; the manuscript and its spelling and morphology; the Arabic words in the Malay text; the Malay text and translation; a list of important words; a list of Arabic words in the Malay text; and an Appendix on the fragment of the poem by al-Usi, its Malay translation, and a translation of the Malay text.

19Ibid., p. 7.
oldest Malay manuscript text now extant. This momentous discovery is undoubtedly of great significance for the study of Malay language and literature as well as for the study of the religious and intellectual history of the Malays, seeing that it deals, not with legends nor with mundane affairs of state, but with the fundamental beliefs and faith of the Muslims based upon the essentials of the religion of Islām.

2. Description of the manuscript.

The entire book, the spine and front and back covers, is bound in light yellow parchment and the leaves gilt-edged. Each of the front and back covers is bordered near the edge on all four sides by a thin gilt line engraved into the parchment forming a rectangular outline of the little book. Each corner of the rectangles thus formed is ornamented with a little fleuron in gilt; and in the centre of the rectangle is engraved a small gilt laurel wreath of oval shape. There is no doubt that this decorative and protective binding was of European make and was probably done in the second half of the 17th century soon after the original owner acquired the manuscript. As far as I can discern the paper has no watermark and is probably of Eastern make. It has yellowed and the black ink of the text has shadowed forth from each page onto the next. Despite this, the Arabic and Malay texts are very clear. Considering its great age, the manuscript has been well preserved and is in remarkably excellent condition.

The format is 15½ cm × 20½ cm. There are 2 blank leaves following which, on the verso page, is what I call the flyleaf. Overleaf on the recto page is the beginning of al-Nasafi’s ‘Aqā’īd. The pages of the manuscript are unnumbered. Counting from the beginning of the Arabic text, al-Nasafi’s work occupies 43 pages. Page 44 verso is what I call the page following the colophon. In it and on the top half of the page in 3 lines are written the names of the Ten Companions who have been promised Paradise, presumably as a note to what is written on the last 2 lines of page 38. They were definitely written by the same hand that wrote the main text. The original owner has
transcribed the ten names in Latin. On the bottom half of the page he has written two notations in Latin in connection with the dating of the main text. Pages 45 to 49 contain the text of an unfinished tract, in Arabic with interlinear Malay translation, on the meaning of religion (din); the nature of knowledge or cognition (ma'rifah); unification (lawhid); faith (iman); and submission (islam). This was written by a different but more flamboyant hand during the same period. Page 50 is blank; and page 51 has 3 words denoting Sufi meanings unrelated to our subject. The remainder of the manuscript consists of 4 blank leaves.

The space taken by the Arabic text of al-Nasafi's 'Aqâ'iq is 10 cm x 14 cm on each page centrally placed and containing 5 lines to a page. The spacing between each line is 21 cm in which the Malay translation is written. The Arabic text, with full diacritical symbols, is in bold naskh script while the Malay text, in similar script, is quite plain and much smaller.

3. History of the manuscript.

The flyleaf bears the handwriting in Latin of the original owner of the book, giving the name of its author, a brief description and date of completion of writing the work, and his own name. It reads:


i.e.: ‘Umar Abū Haš, son of Muḥammad, son of Aḥmad, Nasafi, (Tatar).
Arabic with interlinear translation in Malay.
Script dated the year 998 Hijrī—1590 Christian.
Collection of Andreas Müllerus Greiffenhagius.

The identity of the author and his work is easy enough. Abū Haš
‘Umar Najm al-Dīn al-Nasafī (d. 537 A.H./1142 A.C.) was one of the greatest Sunnī and Ḥanafī juristconsult and theologian belonging to the school of al-Māturīdī (d. 333 A.H./944 A.C.) who wrote an abridgement of the creed of Īslām known as the ‘Aqā‘id. Among his works the ‘Aqā‘id, which is the first statement in concise form and well-knit phrasing of the creed to appear among the Muslims, became popular and was much commented upon. Numerous editions of commentaries on it were written.20 The most famous commentary of the work is the one by Sa‘d al-Dīn al-Taftāzānī (d. 791 A.H./1387/8 A.C.) completed at Khwārizm in 768 A.H. (1364 A.C.).21 The great esteem accorded al-Nasafī by eminent Muslim savants and scholars, his renown throughout the Muslim world, was indeed largely due to the remarkable nature of the brief treatise that he composed and which was recognized as of paramount importance to the understanding of the articles of belief and faith in Īslām. In the preface to his commentary, al-Taftāzānī describes the author of the ‘Aqā‘id and his brief treatise thus:

The brief treatise known as the “Articles of Belief” is by the painstaking Imām, ‘Umar al-Nasafī, the example of the learned of Islam and the star of our faith and religion. May Allah raise his rank in the abode of Peace. It includes under the headings of this branch of knowledge the most striking gems and pearls of great value which are the fundamental standards of our religion. Running through the text [of the creed] these [gems and pearls] are jewels and precious stones of certainty, yet at the same time the acme of conciseness and instruction and the last word in good order and arrangement.22

20 GAL I, 427; SI, 758.
21 GAL II, 215; SII, 301.
The name of relation or nisbah al-Nasafi refers to Nasafi, also Nakhshab, in Soghdiana, a district lying between the rivers Jaxartes (Syr Daryā) and Oxus (Amu Daryā), whose inhabitants were among the Tartar people. A Malay translation of al-Taftāzānī’s commentary, which needless to say must include the text of al-Nasafi’s work, was done by Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī (d. 1068 A.H./1658 A.C.) some time before 1637 perhaps in Pahang. This work was lost and has not yet been found. We know of the existence of the work from al-Rānīrī’s mention of its title, Durrat al-Farā‘īd bi Sharḥ al-‘Aqā‘īd, in two of his other works, one written in Aceh some time between 1642 and 1644, and the other written also perhaps in Pahang before 1637.23 According to A.J. Wensinck in his article on al-Nasafi in the Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam (p. 439), the ‘Aqā‘īd became known in Europe through the edition by W. Cureton (London, 1843). But in fact it was already translated earlier by M. d’Ohsson in his Tableau général de l’Empire Ottoman (Paris, 1785–1824). It was also translated later by D.B. Macdonald in his Development of Muslim Theology, Jurisprudence and Constitutional Theory (London and New York, 1903); by J. Schacht in Der Islam in Religionsgeschichtliches Lesebuch... von Alfred Berthelot (Tübingen, 1931); and by E.E. Elder as part of the commentary on it by al-Taftāzānī in A commentary on the Creed of Islam (New York, 1950). I will also show, in due course, that a Latin translation of the ‘Aqā‘īd was done as early as the second half of the 17th century by the original owner of the manuscript now being treated.

The text of the manuscript presently under discussion is the

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23 See my latest work on al-Rānīrī, A Commentary on the Hujjat al-Ṣiddiq of Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī, Ministry of Culture Malaysia, Kuala Lumpur, 1986, p. 25, no. 2; in his Tībyān fi Ma‘rifat al-Adyān, printed in facsimile by P. Voorhoeve in a publication of the Stichting de Goeje, no. 16, Leiden, 1955, the work is cited on page 54. The title of the work, reading better perhaps with Durrat instead of Durrat for the first word, seems to have been formulated according to al-Taftāzānī’s description of the ‘Aqā‘īd in the preface to his Commentary which I have cited above.
‘Aqā’id of al-Nasafī (Arabic) and its interlinear translation in Malay. At the end of the work, on the last page of the text (colophon p. 43) is found the date of completion of writing the work:

تم الكتاب النسفي وقت الفجر يوم الحب
الرابع يوم من شهر الربيع الآخر المبارك سنة
الباء التي هي الثامن وثمانون وتسعين في
الهجرة النيوية والبدرة الوردية
على صاحبها أفضل الميلات وأكرم التحيات

The Book of al-Nasafī is completed at the time of the Forenoon on Saturday the Fourth Day of the Blessed Month of Rabi‘ al-Ākhir, in the Year Bū‘ which is Nine Hundred and Ninety-Eight years after the Prophetic Emigration and the Well-Pleasing Victory. To their Possessor be the most excellent of Blessings and the most perfect of Salutations!

This date corresponds to Saturday, February 10th, 1596. I will elaborate further on matters pertaining to this when I come to describing the texts, both Arabic and Malay, and explaining their peculiarities. At this juncture I will identify the person who originally acquired this book.

Who was Andreas Müllerus Greiffenhagius? When I first saw this name and the owner’s notation on the flyleaf of the book, I knew at once that he must have been a German or Prussian and a scholar. This is quite evident, of course, from the surname Müller and the name of the place where he was intimately connected: Greiffenhagen. There is no doubt that the notations on the flyleaf, and in some instances in the book itself, as well as on the page following the colophon, were written by Müller himself when he acquired the book, as the script used is the same and the handwriting is done by the same hand. Apart from this, although the notations on the flyleaf, in certain places in the book, and on
the page following the colophon are in Latin, the type of script written is German. The fact that the notations are in Latin and that they refer to the book and to its author, as well as Müller's recognition of certain orthographic peculiarities in the Arabic and Malay texts, and other significant academic details with reference to the dating of the manuscript, it was obvious to me at first perusal that Müller was a scholar and an orientalist. This was later confirmed as correct when I found, in the course of my final checks on another book then under print, that Brockelmann had cited one of his works in the *Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam* in the references to his article on al-Bayḍāwī. But I needed sufficient biographical information on him in order to learn more about him. My opportunity came when, during a very brief visit to the Netherlands in late 1985, I was able to conduct preliminary research and to obtain the relevant information from the general lexicon of German scholars published in Leipzig in 1751. In this biographical dictionary of German scholars, the *Allgemeines Gelehrtenlexicon* by G.G. Jöcher, published in four volumes, Leipzig, 1751, in volume III on page 724, column 2 at the bottom of the page, on to page 725, column 1, Andreas Müller is listed as a philologist. The entry or listing is in German and printed in German type. All titles of Müller's works cited therein are in Latin except for one or possibly two in German. The following is my paraphrase of what is contained in the listing. Andreas Müller was born in 1630 in Greiffenhagen in the Hinter-Pommern, or Lower Pommerania in northeastern Germany bordering on the Baltic Sea and now situated in East Germany. At the age of 16, he went to the University of Rostock. He knew Hebrew, Greek and Latin, and had already written a number of poems in these languages. He continued his studies afterwards at Königsberg and Wittenberg. Later, he was appointed to the *Rectorat* of the University of Königsberg in the Neu-Marck; and after that he was appointed *Präpositus* (Prefect) of Treptow on the Rega in the Hinter-Pommern. He went to London and worked

24 These are a lesson on the Chinese script or characters and print; and a refutation against someone called Elias Grebnitz.
for ten years on Walton’s works on the Bible (or his works on
biblical studies: opere biblico) and on Castell’s Lexicon. Upon his
return, he became Inspektor of Bernau in the Mittel-Marek, and
finally Probst (Provost) of Berlin. He retired of his own accord and
went to Stettin, where he devoted himself to the study of oriental
languages.

Judging from his works as a philologist, his special field of
interest appears to be Chinese language, culture, and history;
although there are clear indications that he had a good
knowledge of Arabic and Persian and other oriental languages. It
is also obvious that he was a scholar in biblical studies and knew
Syriac apart from Hebrew, Greek and Latin. He wrote many
scholarly works on the Chinese civilization, of which the
following résumé gives a general idea. They include works on the
Chinese temple and imported deities, or on Chinese historical
writings and foreign commentaries; weekly reports on Chinese
affairs; comments on linguistic matters pertaining to China and
Central Asia; the geographical terms in the Chinese Empire; a
work on Chinese medicine (basilicon: eye salve?) a lesson on the
Chinese script or characters and print; an annotated Chinese
version of the Lord’s Prayer; a tract on Cathay; and a work on the
Japanese language or alphabet. He also wrote two dissertations
on Mose Mardenko and translated some Syrian sacred books; a
dissertation on the eclipse during the suffering of Christ on the
cross; some critical remarks on the tenfold account-book (a book
in which monthly interest on loans was recorded (?): calendarii
decupli); on Syriac seals or impressions with two dissertations—
and many more. He edited and translated into Latin with notes a
Persian work by Abdallah Baedavaei (‘Abd Allāh al-Bayḍāwī, d.
685/1286) on the History of China (Historia Sinensis). 25

25 This was printed in Jenae in 1689: Abdallah Baedavaei Historia
Sinensis persice e gemino manuscripto ed. lat. quoque redita ab Andrea
Mullero Greiffenhagio, Jenae, 1689. According to C. Brockelmann,
however, al-Bayḍāwī wrote a history of the world in Persian called the
Nizām al-Tawārīkh, and the beginning of this work is followed by the
History of China from the work of the historian Rashid al-Dīn Faḍl
Finally—and most important to my present work—he also wrote *exerpta Manuscripti Azizi Nesephaei, Tartari, de cognitione Dei & hominis ipsius cum versione latina & notis*. Due to the difficulty in describing the exact nature of the works merely from their description in the Latin listing without being able to examine the contents of the actual works themselves, my résumé above should be taken as an approximation of what is conveyed in the listing. The following are the original Latin descriptions cited: *Abdaillae Baedartaei* historiam sinensem percise & latine cum notis; monumentum sinicum cum commentario novensili; hebdomadem observationum sinicarium; commensationem alphabeticam de Sinarum magnaeeque Tartariae rebus; imperii sinensis nomenclatorem geographicum; Basilicon sinense; Dissertationes II de Mose Mardeno & syriacis librorum sacrorum versionibus; alphabetum japanese; oeconomicam bibliothecae sinicae; dissertationem de eclipsi passionali; stricturas calendarii decupli; *exerpta Manuscripti Azizi Nesephaei, Tartari, de cognitione Dei & hominis ipsius cum versione latina & notis*; tract. de Cathaja; symbola syriaca, cum duabus dissertationibus; orationem dominicam sinice cum notis. Andreas Müller of Greiffenhagen died on the 26th of October, 1694, after having published the works referred to above. Some of these works have been edited and printed in Frankfurt on the Oder under the title: *Mulleri opuscula nonulla orientalia* (Some works of Müller on Oriental Studies).

There is no doubt whatsoever in my mind that the *Manuscripti Azizi Nesephaei* cited in the Latin listing of Müller’s published works is the very one at hand. We know that the full name of the author of the ‘Aqā’id is Abū Ḥāfṣ ‘Umar Najm al-Dīn al-Nasafi. We also know that there were two other eminent persons who were referred to by the same name of relation or *nisbah* al-Nasafi, such as Abū al-Mu‘īn al-Nasafi (d. 508/1114) and Abū al-


26 GAL I, 426; SI, 757.
Barakāt al-Nasafi (d. 710/1310). Yet the word 'Azīz, or if what is intended is the personal name 'Abd al-'Azīz, that appears in the Latin text before the nisbahe al-Nasafi is not found or known to be used in the names of either one of the Nasafīs in question. If 'Abd al-'Azīz is intended, which is unlikely, it would have been written and printed as such, i.e. Abdalazizi Nesephaei, just as the personal name 'Abd Allāh is printed Abdallae in the listing in the lexicon. There was in fact a contemporary of Abū Ḥaṣṣ 'Umar al-Nasafi whose name was Abū Muhammad 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn 'Uthmān al-Faḍlī al-Qāḍī al-Nasafi al-Asadī, who came from Kūfah and studied in Bukhārā, became qāḍī of Khurāsān, and died in 1138 A.C. (GAL I, 374; SII, 639). But he was an Arab, as shown by his descent from Quraysh: al-Asadī, and not a Tatar, and could hardly have been confused with a theologian of the stature of al-Nasafi. Moreover, his sole recorded work, the Kitāb Kifāyat al-Fuhūl fī 'Ilm al-Uṣūl, is listed in Brockelmann as a work on jurisprudence and not on dogmatics; and it is unlikely that it could be identified with the manuscript referred to in the listing in the lexicon as a work “on the knowledge of God and of the human self.” Brockelmann noted that W. Pertsch erroneously identified the Kifāyat al-Fuhūl with Gotha 643, saying that the latter is much more of an earlier commentary of the 'Aqā'id of al-Nasafi (i.e. earlier than other commentaries that were written after al-Nasafi's time). In the same way, 'Umar al-Nasafi could have been confused with 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Nasafi by the compiler of the lexicon, whose work was published half a century after Müller's work on the manuscript referred to. But it is unlikely that 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Nasafi was known to the Europeans at the time; moreover, 'Abd al-'Azīz was quite unknown as a scholar of eminence, and could not have been confused with the author of the 'Aqā'id. In my estimation, the word Manuscripti in Jöcher's lexicon must point to the manuscript at hand, for this is the manuscript of Müller, which he identified as the work of Abū Ḥaṣṣ 'Umar al-Nasafi the Tatar. So I conclude from this that Jöcher, the compiler of the lexicon or his printers could either

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27 GAL II, 196; SII, 263.
have made a mistake in setting down the correct name of the author of the ‘Aqā’id, or that the compiler could have found it thus written in Müller’s work referred to. If the compiler of the lexicon found it thus written in Müller’s work as cited, ‘Azīz is not intended to refer to a personal name, but to a name of distinction, that is, to distinguish Abū Ḥaṣṣ ‘Umar Najm al-Dīn al-Nasafī, the author of the ‘Aqā’id, from Abū al-Muʿīn al-Nasafī and Abū al-Barakāt al-Nasafī. ‘Azīz, when applied in this way refers, among other meanings intended, to a man of distinction by excellence, a man superior among men, perspicacious, illustrious. ‘Azīz al-Nasafī would then mean ‘the illustrious or superior one of Nasaf’. Among the three eminent al-Nasafis, the one most fittingly distinguished by the qualities of the ‘Azīz was Abū Ḥaṣṣ ‘Umar Najm al-Dīn who was indeed celebrated as ... “the great imām, the learned, the doer of reverential fear, the star of the revealed Law and Religion, teacher of the foremost masters and of the learned, the Imām of the Two Sanctuaries, the dispenser of judgements to the inhabitants of the East and of the West ...” (pp. 1–2 of this manuscript). Indeed this name of distinction as applied to man primarily refers to the Prophets according to their various ranks; to the Rightly Guided Successors; and to the learned who follow after them. 28 Moreover, the contents of the manuscript described in the Latin text as pertaining to the knowledge of God and of man’s self—de cognitione Dei & hominis ipsius—equals that of the manuscript at hand; and this fact corroborates my assertion that we have here before us the very manuscript referred to in the lexicon. As to the reference to exerpta or extracts of the manuscript, that does not necessarily mean that Müller wrote and translated into Latin only extracts from the manuscript (i.e. of the ‘Aqā’id) of al-Nasafī, but it may well mean a full translation of the treatise itself, seeing that the ‘Aqā’id, by virtue of its conciseness, is already a kind of ‘extract’ derived from the doctrines of the creed in Islām, and

that its brevity could easily have been mistaken for *exerpta*. If this is so, then the 'Aqā'īd became known in Europe not as early as 1843 through the edition by Cureton as Wensinck thought, nor through the earlier translation by d'Ohsson, but earlier still through the annotated Latin translation by Müller during the late 17th century.

Be that as it may, I would like to add to our information about Müller, who as an accomplished philologist and according to the listing in the lexicon cited above had also published the Lord's Prayer in sixty-six different 'alphabets' or perhaps languages, that he was evidently studying the Malay language as well. I adduce as evidence for this the few notes he made in the manuscript identifying Malay words and their meanings, almost certainly with some help from the Arabic text. On page 31 of the manuscript he had transcribed into Latin five Malay words: مكتان as *maccannan* (1.3); متومن as *minom* (1.4); ئوکان as *packejan* (1.4); اتی as *atas* (1.5); and ایر as *ayer* (1.5). Then on the page following the colophon (p. 44), with reference to the Arabic word 'asharah, in connection with the Ten Companions who were given glad tidings of Paradise, or the *Decem Evangeliste Paradisiaci* as Müller noted transcribing their names, the Malay translation below it as مقوله referring to them is recognized by Müller when he noted further: *Malaica sic legenda sunt: sapoulo*. His transliteration of the Malay words indicating their correct pronunciation, even though demonstrated by only a few examples, is sufficient indication of Müller's philological interest in the study of the Malay language. The question as to how Müller had come to acquire this manuscript is difficult for me to answer as I have no knowledge of that. I can only conjecture that he could have possibly received it as a gift, or purchased it from some European merchant-traveller who had ventured to the Malay world where it was acquired, and who brought it back with him on his return to Europe.

4. *Origin of the manuscript*

Judging from its contents and from the manner it was written,
the manuscript is a manual or handbook of the type used by a teacher as a textbook for teaching advanced students in the articles of belief in Islam. As I mentioned earlier, al-Nasafi's concise and well-knit phrasing of the articles of belief in Islam, written in Arabic, summarized the fundamental aspects of the Muslim creed arising from the consensus of the learned which emerged after long controversies among theologians, philosophers, Sufis, and sectarians. His work became popular throughout the Muslim world and many copies of it were written and commented upon. As far as our manuscript is concerned, it is reasonable to think that the Arabic text of the work was written and completed first, with wide spacing between the lines deliberately planned for interlinear translation. Unless the interlinear translation was done simultaneously as the writing of the Arabic text progressed towards completion, which in my estimation is most likely the case, it is possible to suppose that the translation was written after the work was completed. If this were so, and since the date of completion of the work apparently refers specifically to the Arabic text of the book of al-Nasafi (colophon, p. 43 at the bottom), the question may be posed as to whether the Malay translation was written immediately after the Arabic original was completed, in which case the date of the Malay text would be the same as the Arabic (i.e. Rabi' al-akhir, 998 A.H.), or whether the Malay translation was written much later afterwards such that its date could have been later than 998 A.H./1590 A.C. Arising from this last question, it is possible to suppose that the Arabic text of al-Nasafi's work could have been first written elsewhere outside the Malay world, such as in Makkah, for example—indeed, perhaps even many such copies could have been written elsewhere—with wide spacing between the lines deliberately meant for interlinear translation in any one of the languages of the Muslim peoples other than Arabic, or especially meant for the regions "below the wind", and translated at a later date after it was brought for dissemination of its teachings in the Malay world. In view of this supposition, the question of the origin of the manuscript will have to be answered by determining the origin of the Arabic text. This I will now
proceed to do.

There are clear indications showing that the Arabic text of the manuscript, apart from the significant fact that it was written with full diacritical symbols, was written in the Malay world by an indigenous hand. The Arabic and the diacritical symbols or ı'rāh are sometimes faulty. The spelling of certain words is peculiar to Malay style; for instance, the word Bakr in the name Abū Bakr written by the same hand that wrote the Arabic text, and with vocalization (page following colophon—p. 44) has fāthah over bā' and kāf with sukūn over rā' reading Bakar, which is a typically Malay form of spelling the name based on pronunciation. The Arabic form would have the sukūn over kāf with nunnation of the kasrah for rā', as in the case of the spelling of the same name appearing in the Arabic text of line 3 on page 33. Another instance is the spelling of the surname or name of relation al-Nasafi which appears at the beginning and at the end of the Arabic text. In both cases the surname is spelled vocalized with a sukūn over ẓin reading al-Nasfī, whereas the correct form would have a fāthah over the ẓin. This peculiar way of spelling the surname was also noticed by Müller, who translated the words of completion: Tamm al-kitāb al-Nasfī ... at the colophon (pp. 43 and 44) as: Finit liber Nesphi ... and added after Nesphi in parenthesis: ab autur sic dicta v. p. 2. This incorrect spelling of the surname is not a lapsus calami; it is deliberate, to the point of being almost typically Malay, for although the surname al-Nasafi is rarely found in Malay manuscripts, and especially in its vocalized form, a Malay manuscript of a later date in my possession, where the surname al-Nasafi is found, has the same incorrect vocalization reading Nasfī for Nasafi.29

Another indication revealing the Malay origin of the Arabic text of the manuscript is the case where every Arabic word consisting of a medial hamzah with kasrah is invariably spelled according to the Malay orthographic style, namely with two dots

29The manuscript was written by Ḥāji ‘Abd al-Wahhāb of Pulau Siantan and dated 14 Ramadān 1227 A.H. Al-Nasafi’s name, vocalized in the Arabic text, appears on p. 1.
inserted below the place for hamzah to denote the letter ya\textsuperscript{\textdegree}, which in J\textae\textsuperscript{\textdagger}i has come in such cases to signify pronunciation of the kasrah. Thus haq\textae\textsuperscript{\textdagger}iq which in Arabic would normally always be written حقائق, is in our text written حقائق (3.2). In every other such case the orthography invariably follows the Malay style: a'im mah (2.1); sūfata\textae\textsuperscript{\textdagger}iyah (3.3); nā'iyah (5.5); juz\textae\textsuperscript{\textdagger}i (7.1); ajz\textae\textsuperscript{\textdagger}i (8.1; 14.3); rawā\textae\textsuperscript{\textdagger}h (9.3); mā'iyah (10.4); qā'im mah (11.3; 13.1; 14.5); jā'iz ah (15.1); rā' (16.1); qadā'ih (16.5); dalā'il (21.2); sąghā'ir (23.1); kabā'ir (23.2, 5; 24.1); malā'ikah (29.3; 43.2, 3, 5); anbiyā'ih (30.1); ghanā'im (text has ghina'im, 36.1); sā'isan (37.3); yu khtī'u (43.1); tis'amī'ah (colophon, 43.2 from bottom).

But the clearest indication that triumphantly settles the question of the origin of the Arabic text of the manuscript is the use of the Malay dawr kechil, whose counterpart is the Sundanese and Javanese w\textae\textsuperscript{\textdagger}indu, the Muslim cycle of eight years, for the writing of dates, especially in manuscripts. As far as I know, this method of dating is prevalent only in the Malay world. The early disseminators and consolidators of Isl\ae\textsuperscript{\textasciitilde}am in Java used it,\textsuperscript{30} and likewise those who spread Isl\ae\textsuperscript{\textasciitilde}am in Mindanao.\textsuperscript{31} According to this method, each year in the cycle of eight is denoted by the name of a letter in the Arabic alphabet, altogether numbering eight letters in the following order: Alif, Hā, Jīm, Zay, Dāl, Bā, Wāw, and Dhāl (AHJZDBWDh). Whenever one cycle is ended, another begins again from Alif. It is indicated in our manuscript that the writing of the Arabic text was completed in the sixth year of the cycle, which is denoted as the year Bā' (p. 43, line 3 from the bottom). Exactly how does one arrive at this? In the many references that I have come across, in dictionaries, in published works in Arabic, Malay, and European languages, and in manuscripts, the method of arriving at the particular letter indicating the year of the date, though quite simple, has never

\textsuperscript{30}See below, pp. 23–25.

\textsuperscript{31}Studies in Moro history, law, and religion, Najeeb M. Saleebey, Manila, 1905, p. 53; see also Sayyid 'Alawi b. Tahir al-Haddād, 'Uqūd al-\textae\textsuperscript{\textdagger}almās, Ma\textae\textsuperscript{\textdagger}ba'at al-Madānī, Cairo, 1388 A.H./1968 C.E., 2pt. in 1, 2nd printing, pt. 2, p. 137.
been explained. I shall therefore explain this here myself. The cycle begins from the year 1 of the Hijrah; and in the eight-year cycle it means that every eight years after the Hijrah one reverts to the beginning of the cycle denoted by the name of the letter Alif, and so on again and again till one comes to the year one finds oneself in, which will fall on one of the eight letters denoted in the cycle. The date given here is 998 A.H., and this figure is to be divided by the number of the cycle which is 8, obtaining the figure 124 which is the number of cycles of eight that have elapsed from the first year of the Hijrah. There is a remainder of 6, which is the number of years that have elapsed in the last cycle of eight years. This remainder 6 is the sixth year in the cycle of eight denoted by the sixth letter in that cycle which is Bāʾ. As a further confirmation of my correctness in explaining the method I have just described, let us take an example of the dating of a later text, this time inscribed on stone, known as the Batu Tarsilah (Genealogical Stone Tablet) of the Sultāns of Brunei. The dating on the reverse side of the tablet, on the last line, refers to the year Dāl in the year 1221 A.H. Thus 1221 ÷ 8 = 152 with a remainder of 5, which is Dāl in the eight-year cycle. There are other examples which I will cite in due course when I shall clarify differences between the *daur kecil* and the *windu*. 

On page 44, following the colophon, where we find the names of the Ten Companions of the Holy Prophet who were given good tidings of Paradise, and which I said was a note to what is stated

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31 In one of the other instances that I have come across in which this method was used, the date given is 1111 A.H., correctly designated as the year Wāw. But the designation of the year according to this method may not always be correctly written. The reason for this is the existence of differences between the Malay *daur kecil* and the Javanese *windu*, which I have now discovered and which, because of their being assumed as identical, have caused much confusion. See further below, p. 25, fol.

32 From the tradition reported by ‘Abd al-Rahmān ibn ‘Awf on the authority of Saʿīd ibn Zayd as transmitted by al-Tirmidhī and ibn Mājah.
on page 38 of the Arabic text, Müller has written a Latin translation of the Arabic and Malay heading or caption, and has transcribed the Arabic names of the Ten thus: Decem Evangeliste Paradisiaci: Abu Bebr, Omar, Osman, Ali, Taliba, Zubeiry, Sa’d, Sa’id, Abdurrahman, Abu Ubeida. Malayica sic legenda sunt: sapoulo. The last sentence is simply a note to say that the Ten ('asharah) are referred to in the Malay reading of that word as sapoulo. Then at the bottom of the page, he translated into Latin the words in Arabic marking the end of the little book which appear at the colophon: "Finit liber Nesphi (ab autor sic dicta v.p.2) meridie ipsa diei Sabbati, d. 4. mensis Rabiae Posteriori Anni le*, hoc cit, 998 Hegirae, (i.e. Christi 1590)." "Completed the book of Nasfi (thus after the manner the author declares, see p. 2) in the forenoon of Saturday, on the 4th day of the month of Rabî‘ al-Âkhir in the year 297, which is 998 of the Hijrah (i.e. Christian 1590)." I think that the asterisk after le or 297 (for the 28th letter of the Arabic alphabet) was inserted later by Müller when he discovered that what he at first thought was 297 was in fact a Bâ’. This was because I think he at first thought that the letter had two dots below it, but that the dots seemed to overlap one another and were therefore not clearly visible. He later revised his reading of the letter and concluded rightly that there were not two dots merging into one another, but only one dot so that the letter was in fact Bâ’ and not 297. This was why he found it necessary to give a clarification by inserting the asterisk to mark le (297) followed by a corresponding asterisk to his gloss to it in the following way: "*ProLephele (le, ut olim legebam) Be legendum puto. Nun tantum, quia altera pictura no conspicitur, et unicum illud saltim bifurcatur est, sed et quia anny Hegirae 998 est anny Dodecateridis secundy." — "*Instead of 297 (as I have formerly read) Bâ’ is the reading to be considered. Not only because the picture formed by the other one does not have the particular appearance, and it is the only one of the two aforementioned forms anyway, but it is because the year of the Hijrah 998 is the second year of the twelve cycles." On the

34 See above, p. 5.
word \textit{dodecateridis}, it is a Latin loan-word of Greek origin.\textsuperscript{35} On the Latin word \textit{iter}, whose form \textit{iteridis} is used by Müller in his note mentioned above, it is interesting to note that etymologically the word is derived from the Hittite \textit{itar},\textsuperscript{36} which bears a resemblance with the Arabic \textit{idāra}. All these words, especially when they refer to the firmament or the passage of time, convey the basic meaning of a revolution, a circular movement, one that returns repeatedly to its original position. The Arabic \textit{idāra} is derived from the root \textit{dwr}, where the medial and original \textit{w} can also be converted to \textit{y} (\textit{dyr}) and to \textit{a} (\textit{dār}). The verb \textit{dāra} conveys the basic meaning of circular movement, and \textit{idāra} is the fourth form of the verb. The Malay \textit{idar} or \textit{edar} is derived from the Arabic \textit{idāra}. The infinite noun of the verb \textit{dāra} is \textit{dawr}, meaning a chronological cycle; and the Malay word denoting a cycle of years is \textit{dawr}, which is identical with \textit{dawr}.\textsuperscript{37}

How did Müller arrive at his notion of the twelve-year cycle as applicable to the year A.H. 998? If we divide 998 by 12 we get 83 with a remainder of 2. This remainder 2 is in fact the number of the second letter of the Arabic alphabet which is \textit{Bā’}; moreover, \textit{Bā’} has the numerical value of 2 in that alphabet. So Müller concluded that \textit{Bā’} is the correct reading for the letter which he thought denoted the second year of the twelve-year cycle for the year 998 A.H. Considering the period in which he lived and the relative lack of positive knowledge of Islamic civilization in the Malay world in Europe at that time, it was quite ingenious of Müller to arrive at this conclusion. But in my estimation, however, although he was right in reading that letter as \textit{Bā’}, he was wrong in applying the cycle of twelve years to the method

\textsuperscript{35}See \textit{A Greek-English lexicon}, compiled by H.G. Liddel and R. Scott, new ed. revised and augmented by Sir Henry Stuart Jones with the assistance of R. McKenzie and with the cooperation of many scholars, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1940, p. 463, col. 2: \textit{dodekā-iteris}.

\textsuperscript{36}See the \textit{Oxford Latin dictionary}, ed. P.G.W. Glare, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1982, p. 975, cp. also p. 976, the word \textit{iterum}.

of cycles used by the Muslims. It was in fact a clever guess on his part, and since it so happened that the remainder of the years divided by that twelve-year cycle is 2, the coincidence seemed to affirm for him the correctness of his guess. Müller must have had the abjad in mind when he made his guess, and there is no reason to suppose that an orientalist like him did not know of the abjad. The abjad is the arrangement of the letters of the Arabic alphabet according to their numerical values in units from 1 to 9; then in tens from 10 to 90; then in hundreds from 100 to 900, then 1000. The letters whose values number from 1 to 9 are: A (1); B (2); J (3); D (4); H (5); W (6); Z (7); H (8); T (9). The numerical value of 10 is assigned to Y. If there were such a thing as a Muslim twelve-year cycle, the years 11 and 12 in that cycle—such as the years 995 and 996—would be designated Y(10) + A(1) and Y(10) + B(2) respectively—i.e. by two letters instead of by one letter, since there are no numerals of such combination being designated by one letter. But as far as I know there is no such thing as a Muslim year designated by two letters, and as a matter of fact there is no such thing as a twelve-year cycle in the Muslim method of chronology used in the Malay world. Only the octennial cycle of years, each year designated by the name of one letter, is known to have been in use by Muslims; and the arrangement of the Arabic letters in that cycle is neither according to their alphabetical order, nor to the order of their respective numerical values such as arranged in the abjad, but it is peculiar to itself, as I have shown, viz: A (1); H (5); J (3); Z (7); D (4); B (2); W (6); and Dh (700).38 Thus the eight-year cycle is

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38 Pigeaud is mistaken when he says, referring to the Muslim octennial cycle, that "the eight years are called after the eight letters at the beginning of the Arabic alphabet, according to the ancient order preserved in Hebrew" (Literature of Java, vol. 1, The Hague, Martinus Nijhoff, 1967, p. 33, col. 1). The eight letters at the beginning of the Arabic alphabet do not correspond to the eight letters in the Muslim eight-year cycle. His mention of the ancient order preserved in Hebrew refers in fact to the cabbalistic order of the abjad which, as I have shown, is quite different from the order of the letters in the eight-year cycle. One
designated according to the respective order of arrangement as shown, and not to their numerical values. In this cycle, the year designated as *Ba'i* is the *sixth* in the cycle, not the *second* as its numerical value suggests. Why it is ordered in this way, or what its original significance could be, no one seems to know for certain. According to my own observation, there are at least two possible explanations. The first is that if we add up the numerical values of the letters thus arranged—despite the fact that they are not arranged according to the *abjad*, for they still possess numerical values individually and independently and were being used as chronograms—we get the answer 728, which might have been the date of the Hijrī year when the eight-year cycle was invented and introduced into the Malay world. This date corresponds to the Christian year 1327/8. However, we have not found any Malay text, whether in manuscript or on stone, that shows a 14th or 15th century date using the eight-year cycle and designated by one of the names of its letters, so that this hypothesis is not conclusive. On the other hand, if instead of that we add up the numerical values of all the letters making up the *names* of these eight letters, then we get the answer 970 which, taken as the date of the Hijrī year, corresponds to the years 1562 to 1563 of the Christian year. This could be a more plausible date for the invention and introduction of the eight-year cycle into the Malay world. The other explanation is that the eight-year cycle was invented and introduced into the Malay world—that specifically in Java—when the use of the Muslim lunar calendar was being contemplated. Traditional historians of Java maintain that the eight-year cycle was invented and introduced by the *wali*s of Java, who individually bore the title of *sunān*. According to Javanese historians as reported by Raffles, the mosque of Demak was constructed by eight of the *wali*, and its peculiar feature which distinguishes it from all other mosques is that it is supported by eight pillars to commemorate its construction by

gets the impression thereby that Pigeaud based his statement upon conjecture, and not upon positive knowledge.
the eight walī. The mosque, which still stands today, was completed in 1390 of the Javanese Shaka year,\textsuperscript{39} which corresponds to 873 Hijrī and 1468 of the Christian year. In my view, it may well be that the Muslim cycle of years is made to cover a span of eight years in commemoration of the eight walīs who constructed the mosque.\textsuperscript{40} The traditional date for the fall of Majapahit is the year 1478. The king (prabhu) who ruled at the time bore the title Girindra Wardhana, which is said to mean 'continuator of the Shailendra'. The Buddhist House of Shailendra was once the ruling dynasty in Central Java that later continued to rule the Sumatran kingdom of Sriwijaya. It was during the rule of the Sailendras that Mahayana Buddhism dominated Central Java (778–870); and it was they who erected the temple of Borobudur during the earliest period of their rule. The title of Girinda Wardhana borne by the king of Majapahit then indicates that he was a Buddhist by faith and practice, a fact confirmed by traditional historians. This was the king against whom Raden Patath ('Abd al-Fattāh), the Adipati of Demak, marched to secure the conquest of Majapahit. Led by his Commander-in-Chief (panglima) Ja'far al-Sādiq, the Sunan of Kudus, the Muslims in battle array carried aloft a banner bearing the two phrases of the shahādah and the words of the Holy Qur’ān from the sūrah entitled 'Battle Array' (al-Ṣaff) reading: 'Help is from Allah and Victory is near' (naṣrūn mina’ Llāhi wā fathun qarīb [61:13]). Victory in fact went to the Muslims, and with the fall of Majapahit they finally delivered the coup de grâce to Buddhism in Java. My point in giving the bare details above is


\textsuperscript{40}If we consider the important historical events of the time, we see that the fall of Majapahit at the hands of Raden Patath was secured soon after the construction of this mosque. This event roughly coincided with the arrival of Muhammad Kabungsuan at Mindanao from Johor (i.e. around 1475 according to Captain Forest in Saleebey, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 54). This period therefore marked the final hegemony of Islam in Java, and its proliferation to the Philippines from other parts of the Malay world.
to reveal their relevance to the possible significance and history of the letters designating the Muslim octennial cycle. The eight letters AHJZDBWDh do not in their original order of arrangement convey any meaningful information whatsoever. But when their order is rearranged in a certain way—a way that in my exhaustive experiments prove to be the only one possible—they convey an astonishing significance. Thus, when rearranged in the order JHZBWDDhA they form two words which, given the usual grammatical license in such a case, tersely describe the situation barely sketched above, that is: Juhiza (JHZ) Būddhā (BWDDhA), which clearly means: 'Buddha is despatched', meaning the coup de grâce or the finishing stroke is delivered to Buddha; or it can also mean: 'Buddha is prepared for burial'. The reference to Buddha here could be to both, the Buddhist king himself—for the Javanese kings usually considered themselves embodiments, manifestations, or incarnations of their various gods (q.v. dewamurti), and in this case he was the embodiment of Buddha—and to Buddhism in Java, which came to an end with the Muslim conquest of Majapahit. As for the word Buddha in Arabic, it is nowadays generally spelled BWDhA (Būdā). In earlier times, for example as found in the works of some Muslim philosophers who made references to Gautama Buddha, the name was spelled BWDA (Būdā) or BDDH (Buddah)—there was no consistent or established spelling of the name. In the case at hand, and if I am right, the spelling BWDDhA (Būddhā) is hypercorrect; and this remarkable fact could only point to the consummate familiarity of the early Muslims in Java with the original Buddhist elocution of the name, so that their Arabic spelling of it was formulated in consonance with what they heard frequently due to intimacy with those who habitually pronounced it. This is all that I wish to convey at present regarding my explanation—the first ever attempted of the possible original significance of the letters designating the Muslim eight-year cycle.

To my knowledge, then, the twelve-year cycle method of marking dates was never used by Muslims. Actually, it was used by the Siamese, the Cambodians, the Chinese, and the Japanese.
It was because Müller was an orientalist whose field of interest lay chiefly in the realm of Chinese civilization that perhaps his notion of a twelve-year cycle in Islamic chronology was suggested to his mind, for the twelve-year cycle was indeed used in Chinese chronology and is still being used. The Hindu-Javanese also used the twelve-year cycle; and they and the Siamese, Cambodians, Chinese, and Japanese did not denote the cycle of years in their twelve-year cycle by names of letters of their alphabets, but by animal pictures coinciding with their signs of the Zodiac, such as those of the Rat, the Bull, the Tiger, the Rabbit, the Mousedeer, the Dragon, etc.; although the Hindu-Javanese used not only animal pictures to represent their signs, but included also pictures of human and man-made objects such as the Virgin, the Balance, the Bow, and the Water-jug. Four The Malays call the twelve-year cycle Kop (Siamese kap; Pali kappa; and Sanskrit kalpa); and it was in fact an Indo-Chinese cycle of years not used by Muslims. The Muslims in the Malay world used the eight-year cycle and marked each year in the cycle with the names of the letters of the Arabic alphabet only, arranged in a certain order which differs both from the numerical as well as the alphabetical orders in the way I have already explained. Raffles, writing on the history of Java, stated that the Arabs seem to have introduced the eight-year cycle in Java. Traditional historians affirm that it was the disseminators and consolidators of Islam in the Malay world, including the Nine Walis of Java, who were Arabs (sayyids), who introduced the eight-year cycle in the 15th and 16th centuries throughout the Malay world to supplant the Hindu-Javanese cycle of years. The Hindu-Javanese called their cycle of years windu (Sanskrit: bindu), by which they meant to refer to their cycles of twelve, twenty, and thirty-two years. But nowadays the term windu refers to the Muslim cycle of eight years, a fact which confirms the view of

42See above, pp. 18–19; 22–23.
traditional historians that the Muslim cycle was introduced into the Malay world to supplant the Hindu-Javanese cycles and also to render obsolete the Indo-Chinese cycle as well.

Our discovery of this manuscript, furnished with a date marked by the method of the octennial cycle, has brought to light certain differences that exist between the Javanese windu and the Malay daur kechil. These differences have been hitherto unknown. People have generally equated the Malay daur with the Javanese windu, an assumption that must now be considered erroneous and in need of revision. Because of this equation of the daur with the windu, confusion has arisen when it is found that the designation of the year by the name of a letter in the cycle of eight years does not always correspond to the year that is being designated. This irregularity has contributed to the general rise of a kind of historical skepticism among historians and other scholars with regard to the value of Malay texts insofar as the dating of events is concerned. This was the reason why Saleeby remarked, speaking of the early Moros and their dating of events using the octennial cycle, that "whenever one cycle ended they began another without any relation or reference to the corresponding Mohammedan year" (op. cit., p. 53). We now of course know that Saleeby's statement is not true, because it was the confusion of the Malay daur with the Javanese windu that caused him to make such a statement. In order to clarify this problem, it has now become necessary for me to explain the differences that are now discovered to have existed between the Malay daur kechil and the Javanese windu.

The Javanese Muslim eight-year cycle is known as the windu. In 1035 A.H. (1625 A.C.) the Panembahan Chakra Kusuma was made Susuhunan of Mataram, and later Sultan Muhammad distinguished by the title Agung. It was he who promulgated the conversion of the Hindu-Javanese solar Shaka year to the Javanese Muslim lunar windu in line with Islamic chronology. The adoption of the Islamic lunar calendar included the

introduction of the eight-year cycle in Javanese Muslim chronology. The official use of the first Muslim eight-year windu then began in 1035 A.H., which year according to Muslim computation began on a Friday. This corresponds to the Javanese Muslim year 1547, and the Christian year 1625. Since this was the date chosen by the Javanese to mark the beginning of their Muslim windu, the year 1035 A.H. was designated Alif (A), the name of the first letter used to designate the first year in the eight-year cycle. Compared with the Malay Muslim eight-year cycle called daur kecil, which we now know was in use much earlier than the Javanese windu, there is a slight difference in the names of the Arabic letters used in the windu. Whereas the Malays used the names of the Arabic letters A.H.J.Z.D.B.W.Dh., the Javanese used A.H.J.Z.D.B.W.J., the two J’s (Jim) being distinguished, the first and the last, by being called Jim awal and Jim akhir respectively. According to my reckoning based on the given date of our manuscript (998 A.H.) being designated Ba’ in the daur kecil of the Malays, the year 1035 A.H. would have been designated Jim in Malay writings: 1035 ÷ 8 = 129 with a remainder 3 which is the third year (J) in the daur kecil. But since the Javanese began adopting the Muslim windu in 1035 A.H., making their year correspond to that date, the year 1035 A.H. is designated Alif (A), and therefore does not correspond with the Malay designation for the same year. The table below will show at a glance the difference between the earlier Malay and later Javanese designations of years in the

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46 For the conversion of a Javanese year to a Christian year, it is necessary to add 78 years to the Javanese year; for the conversion of a Javanese year to a Muslim year, it is necessary to subtract 512 from the Javanese year.
47 See the tables in ENI, vol. 5, p. 409.
48 Saleeby, op. cit., p. 53.
49 See the tables in ENI, vol. 5, pp. 409, foll., col. 2.
octennial cycle, and the difference in the point of commencement of the cycle:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Malay</th>
<th>Javanese</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1  Alif</td>
<td>Alif 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2  Hā'</td>
<td>Hā' 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3  Žāy</td>
<td>1035 A.H.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4  Dāl</td>
<td>Jim 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5  Žāy</td>
<td>Dāl 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6  Bā'</td>
<td>Bā' 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7  Wāw</td>
<td>Wāw 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8  Dhāl</td>
<td>Jim 8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The difference between the daur kecil and the windu, (1) in the name of the letter designating the last year in the cycle; and (2) in the point of commencement for the first year in the cycle, can and did indeed cause much confusion in checking out the designation of years marking the dates of Malay manuscripts where they appear in dates after 1035 A.H. In fact, all dated Malay manuscripts that we know of are dated after 1035 A.H. The exception to this is the present manuscript, which gives the earliest date known to us, and which makes use of the octennial cycle in marking the year of the given date. It is only by virtue of the above facts that I am able to discover that the Malay octennial cycle has been in use much earlier than that of the Javanese; and that the confusion in the designation of the names of the letters marking the dates found in some Malay manuscripts, which are all dated after 1035 A.H., can now be explained. The following examples will suffice: (1) the letter from the Captain Laut of Buton to the Governor-General at Batavia\(^5\) is dated 1080 A.H. (1670 A.C.), and designated Jim (J). When 1080 is divided by 8, the answer is 135 with no remainder, and

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\(^5\)JSBRAS, July, 1898, pp. 130–32, D.
this signifies the eighth letter marking the eighth year in the cycle. If we look at the table above, we will find that the eighth year in the Javanese windu is designated Jim, whereas in the Malay daur kechil it is Dhāl. But in the Javanese windu, the year 1080 A.H., corresponding to the Javanese Muslim year 1592 is not the eighth, but the sixth year in the cycle, and is designated Ba'ī.51 Again, if we look at the table above, we will notice that the Javanese Ba'ī is aligned to the Malay Dhāl. It is clear from this that the writer of that letter was not using the Javanese windu in his calculation, but the Malay daur kechil; nevertheless, he confused his designation of the eighth year in that cycle by using the Javanese designation Jim (i.e. Jim akir). (2) The Batu Tarsilah (Genealogical Stone Tablet) of the Sultan's of Brunei gives the date 1221 A.H., which is correctly designated Dāl52 using the method of the daur kechil (i.e.: 1221 ÷ 8 = 152; remainder 5 = Dāl). Yet in a Trengganu manuscript dating the same year 1221 A.H., the designation of the year is given as Jim.53 In this case both designations are correct, depending upon which cycle was used, the Malay or the Javanese. Looking at the table above, the Malay Dāl is aligned to the Javanese Jim (i.e. Jim awat). Using the former cycle, it is the fifth year; using the latter cycle it is the third year.54 It is obvious that our writer from Trengganu was using the Javanese windu. (3) In the case of the copy of the text of al-Rāmīri's Hujjat al-Šiddiq,55 the scribe dated it 1186 A.H. and designated it Whāw.56 In my view this is now to be considered an error on the part of the scribe. The year 1186 divided by 8 is 148 with a remainder of 2, which in

51See ENI, vol. 5, p. 409, cols. 1, 2, & 3.
54Corresponding to the Javanese Muslim year 1733 (see ENI, vol. 5, p. 412, cols. 1, 2 & 3).
56Page 145 of the manuscript. See also note on p. 106 of my Commentary, op. cit.; Voorhoeve in his facsimile of the text., op. cit., p. 27.
the Malay *daur kechil* is *Hā*; and this corresponds to *Jim* (*Jim akir*) in the Javanese *windu*, not *Wāw*. *Alif* in the *daur kechil* would have corresponded with the *windu* *Wāw*; but both *Alif* and *Wāw* respectively correspond with the year 1185 A.H., 37 not 1186 A.H. So either the scribe got the date of the year wrong by one year, or the designation *Wāw* is incorrect and should have been *Hā*.

The early date of this manuscript and the occurrence in the text of the designation of the year by the name of one of the letters used in the Muslim eight-year cycle is the earliest evidence of its use that we know of so far. This fact leads to several discoveries:

1. that this is the earliest date where we find the octennial cycle being used in the Malay world; and that as far as we now know there is no earlier date using this cycle to mark its year;
2. that the octennial cycle was already in use in the 16th century, and could have been introduced into the Malay world at an even earlier date;
3. that the Malay *daur kechil* was in use much earlier than the Javanese *windu*, and that the former must not be equated with the latter, as has hitherto been generally understood;
4. that the Malay *daur* is not identical with the *windu* with respect to the name of the letter designating the last cycle, and with respect to the point of commencement of the first year in the cycle;
5. that in view of (3) and (4) above, the dates marked using the Malay *daur* and the Javanese *windu* do not correspond;
6. that in view of (1), (2) and (5) above, it is now possible to construct a comparative table of the *daur kechil* and the *windu* to enable one to explain the apparent and confusing discrepancies in the designation of dates in Malay manuscripts where they appear after the year 1035 A.H.
7. that before the year 1035 A.H. only the Malay *daur kechil*

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37 For the *windu* *Wāw*, see ENI, vol. 5, p. 412, cols. 1 & 2.
was in use; and that any dated text found before this date using the octennial cycle should be referred to the daur kechil.

In the foregoing exposition, I have answered the question of the origin of the manuscript by determining the origin of the Arabic text, and by it also the Malay origin of the Arabic text as well as of the manuscript is established. The question that now arises is where in the Malay world did the manuscript originate? To answer this question in the absence of any clear clue to place-names revealed in the manuscript, or of any definite reference to the 'Aqā'id or to its teachings in any contemporary source material, I shall have to rely chiefly upon circumstantial evidence contained in the Malay text and upon a posteriori reasoning supported by the testimony of historical facts.

When the Portuguese captured Malacca in 1511, Acheh had rapidly risen to become the most important commercial and cultural centre of the Malay world; for the Muslim merchants and traders had moved over from Malacca in the Malay Peninsula and selected Acheh as their base in their trade with the Archipelago. Acheh had become an important transit point for Muslim trade between Muslim lands in the North-West, in India, and in the Far East. Along with the merchants and traders there had come to Acheh scholars of Islām and men of letters, and by 1560, Acheh had become the most important centre of learning, culture, and commerce in the Archipelago, replacing Malacca as the spiritual and intellectual capital of the Malay world. From the Bustān al-Salāṭīn of al-Rānīrī we learn that some of the sciences of the Muslims were already being taught at Acheh Dār al-Salām during the reign of Sulṭān ‘Alī Ri‘āyat Shāh (1571–1579). Muḥammad Āzhari, a learned scholar who came from Makkah, taught the intellectual sciences (al-ma‘qūlāt) there at the time. By 1580 the Islamic sciences such as jurisprudence (al-fiqh); the science of the sources (al-usūl), i.e. the sciences relating to the Holy Qur‘ān; the Usage (al-sunnah) of the Holy Prophet; the Consensus or Agreement (al-ijmā‘); and the traditions relating to the Companions (al-āthār) were all being taught at Acheh in addition to the sciences of logic (al-manṭiq); of
comparison, tropes and metonymies (al-bayān); of metaphysics (al-tašawwuf); of semantics (al-ma‘āni); and the art or science of metaphors and of good style (al-badī‘). The notable scholars who taught at the time were Abū al-Khayr ibn Shaykh ibn Ḥajar and Muḥammad al-Yamanī. At this time also flourished Ḥamzah al-Fanṣūrī. We also learn from al-Rānīrī that his paternal uncle, Muḥammad al-Ḥamīd, had taught religious and intellectual sciences in Acheh between 1580 and 1583, and later taught metaphysics during the reign of Sultān ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Ri‘āyat Shāh (1589–1604),38 at which time our manuscript on the articles of belief and faith was written (1590).

What is briefly sketched above is meant to impress upon the role of Acheh as the intellectual and spiritual centre of Islām in the Malay world at that time. It is most unlikely that the manuscript could have been written in Malacca, which was then still under Portuguese domination, for with the arrival of the Portuguese Malacca had ceased to be a centre of Muslim learning, and the scholars who were there had dispersed to other parts of the Peninsula, such as to Trengganu, for instance, or for the most part to Acheh. As for Trengganu, its development as a centre of Islamic learning began only later toward the end of the 17th century. It is therefore equally unlikely that such a work as al-Nasafi’s ‘Aqā‘id could have been written there, seeing that the teaching of the contents of the work must presuppose the existence of a reasonably sophisticated intellectual atmosphere and a knowledgeable audience. Acheh, on the other hand, possessed both the atmosphere and the audience. Moreover, the rise of sophistical heresies among the pseudo-Ṣūfis under the influence of false interpretations of the teachings of Ḥamzah were then already beginning to become a threat to the islamization process that was being consolidated in Acheh. A fact that is significant in judging the spiritual climate of the times was that when al-Rānīrī’s uncle arrived in Acheh between 1580 and 1583 to teach jurisprudence, ethics, logic and rhetoric, he found the

38 Bustān al-Salāṭin, Ms. no. 41, University of Malaya Library, Kuala Lumpur, pp. 283, 285–86.
courtiers and other seekers after knowledge among his students more interested in learning the Sufi doctrines and metaphysics than what he had to offer. It was only later, between 1589 to 1604, when he arrived for the second time in Acheh after he had mastered the Sufi doctrines and metaphysics, did he succeed in commanding considerable attention among his students. It would not be surprising to me, in view of the fact that the writing of this manuscript coincided with Muhammad al-Hamid’s second presence in Acheh, if the manuscript was written by one of his pupils under his direction. The very substance of the articles of belief and faith in al-Nasafi’s work, especially in its epistemology, which reflects the position of the early theologians among the Ash’ariyyah in their affirmation of the possibility of knowledge and of the reality of things; their establishment of sense perception and observation, authority, and reason as sources and methods of knowledge; their rejection of intuition as a reliable source of knowledge for mankind in general; their theology of difference (mukhala’fah) between God and the world of created things and of the origination of the world in time (ihda’ith); their metaphysics of atoms and accidents—all these come in direct opposition to the position of the sophists as represented by the pseudo-Sufis.59 The writing and teaching of such a work at that time and in that place was timely, and is therefore to be interpreted as a deliberate countermeasure against the encroaching pantheism and monism of the pseudo-Sufis.60

In corroboration of what I said about Hamzah’s teachings and their corruption in the aberrant minds of the pseudo-Sufis as opposed to the theological and metaphysical statements of the ‘Aqīd which were being taught and disseminated at the time, it is important to note what Hamzah said in two of his prose works, the Asrār al-‘Arifīn and the Sharāb al-‘Ashiqīn.61 In these works,

59See my Commentary, pp. 206–207; 225; 385 fol.
60Loc. cit.
61See my The mysticism of Hamzah Fanṣūrī, University of Malaya Press, Kuala Lumpur, 1970. Forthcoming references to these two works will be to my English translation of the Malay texts.
which were written perhaps some decades earlier but were of the same period (i.e. the second half of the 16th century) as our manuscript, he made controversial comments on the position of the theologians as opposed to the Sufis on fundamental issues which have a direct bearing on the statements of the 'Aqā'īd. This does not necessarily mean that he knew the 'Aqā'īd, but possibly that he became familiar with the position of the theologians through the works of some Sufis masters. He controverted the position of the theologians on the following issues:

(1) The Divine Attributes being identical with the Essence and yet also other than the Essence ('Aqā'īd VII);\(^{62}\)
(2) Their doctrine of difference between God and His creation ('Aqā'īd VI and IX);\(^{63}\)
(3) Their affirmation that the non-existent is not a thing, and that the non-existent is the known of God ('Aqā'īd XXI);\(^{64}\)
(4) That the things of creation are something newly produced at the moment of their existence ('Aqā'īd IX);\(^{65}\)
(5) That the Divine Speech (i.e. the Holy Qur'ān) is not a thing created ('Aqā'īd VIII);\(^{66}\)
(6) The theologians' denial of a third metaphysical category between being and non-being ('Aqā'īd IX and XXI);\(^{67}\)
(7) Their affirmation of freedom of choice ('Aqā'īd XI and XII);\(^{68}\)
(8) Their position on miracles and wonders ('Aqā'īd XVIII);\(^{69}\)
(9) Their position on the Divine Omnipresence, in that it

\(^{62}\) Asrār al-'Arisīn (op. cit.), p. 361, par. (8); Sharāb al-'Ashiqīn (op. cit.), p. 440, par. (46).
\(^{63}\) Asrār, p. 362, par. (9).
\(^{64}\) Ibid., p. 367, par. (12).
\(^{65}\) Ibid., p. 367, par. (12) and 373, par. (18).
\(^{66}\) Ibid., p. 367–368, par. (14).
\(^{67}\) Ibid., p. 372, par. (18); Sharāb, p. 443, par. (52).
\(^{68}\) Asrār, p. 381, par. (24).
\(^{69}\) Ibid., p. 413, par. (62).
pertains only to His Attribute (of Knowledge) and not also to His Essence as well (‘Aqāʿid VI);\(^{70}\)

(10) Their position on the Divine Decree and the problem of justice and responsibility (‘Aqāʿid XII);\(^{71}\)

(11) On the nature or role of reason (‘Aqāʿid IV).\(^{72}\)

To those not firmly grounded on the position of the theologians as well as that of the Ṣūfis on these issues and on their respective interpretations of them, the controversial matters raised by Hamzah were not merely susceptible of misunderstanding and confusion, but did in fact generate sophistical aberrations.\(^{73}\) This is not the place for me to go into the details of the controversy, which I propose to do elsewhere. But I consider it important to mention this matter here in order to bring to light the eminently relevant subject of our manuscript to the Achehnese intellectual milieu of the latter half of the 16th century.

Based upon the evidence of historical facts mentioned above and upon what can be deduced from the ideas and beliefs that shaped them, the question of the provenance of this manuscript leads to the answer that irresistably points to Acheh. By the discovery of this most important manuscript, it is now possible to state positively that the ‘Aqāʿid of al-Nasafi was first introduced into the Malay world during the latter half of the 16th century. I had in fact already stated this much about five years ago (1982–83) as a matter of personal knowledge when I wrote in the introduction to my Commentary on the Hujjat al-Ṣiddiq of al-Raniri stating that the short creed of al-Nasafi was already being taught and studied in the Malay world at the end of the 16th century.\(^{74}\) My statement was simply based upon the reasoning that the

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\(^{70}\)Sharāb, p. 432, par. (29).

\(^{71}\)Ibid., p. 441, par. (49) and (50).

\(^{72}\)Ibid., p. 444, par. (55).

\(^{73}\)As confirmed by what was said in another Malay manuscript by an anonymous writer of a later period. See my Mysticism (op. cit.), p. 181 and note 11.

\(^{74}\)Commentary, p. 47.
name of al-Nasafi is not found in any earlier or contemporary Malay work that we know of; and that the technical key terms of the theologians of the school of al-Ash'arī (d. 320 A.H.) as developed by al-Bāqillānī (d. 402 A.H.) regarding their metaphysics of substance and accident in explanation of the origin and nature of the universe are not found in any such work. The key terms jawhar (atom) and its correlative 'araḍ (accident) as defined in the 'Aqā'id of al-Nasafi are not found, for example, in the works of Hamzah or even in that of Shams al-Dīn (d. 1629) as far as I know. It is true that in two or three instances in Hamzah's poems the word jawhar does occur, as it also occurs in some works of Shams al-Dīn, but its meaning there does not refer to the metaphysical context elaborated by the theologians. Similarly, the term denoting the origination of the world in time (iḥdāth) does not occur in the works of Hamzah and Shams al-Dīn, although the terms ġadīth (something new) and muḥdath (newly originated) do occur therein. But these last mentioned metaphysical terminologies used in the writings of Hamzah and Shams al-Dīn are terms used equally by the Šūfīs and theologians alike, and not terms specifically used by the theologians; and this demands the conclusion that Hamzah and Shams al-Dīn derived them from the writings of the Šūfī masters. The fact is that it was only later, in the writings of al-Rānīrī, that we find the metaphysical terminologies of the theologians applied and interpreted. That sometime before 1637 al-Rānīrī translated the commentary of al-Taftāzānī on the 'Aqā'id of al-Nasafi seemed to me then to presuppose the earlier existence of the 'Aqā'id in the Malay world, otherwise what need was there for a commentary? Hence I said in the same place that it would be impossible even in Malay translation for its students and teachers to understand its intended meanings and full implications without its commentary. This was probably the reason for al-Rānīrī's translation of the commentary. In view of this observation, I concluded that sometime during the period between the time after Hamzah and before al-Rānīrī, which falls around the end of the 16th century and the beginning of the 17th century, the short creed of al-Nasafi was already being taught and studied in the
Malay world. Now that this manuscript is discovered, the truth of my statement is confirmed.

Reverting to the manuscript, I now say that the writer of the Arabic text and its Malay translation must have known al-Taftāzānī’s commentary and used it. This can be demonstrated by the mere occurrence in the Arabic text and in the Malay translation of the few additions inserted from the text of al-Taftāzānī’s commentary as will presently be shown.

5. Some remarks on the Arabic text of the ‘Aqā’id.

The Arabic text of the manuscript contains several orthographical errors: meshiyyat for meshīat (12.1) and meshiyyatīhī for mashi’aihī (16.4); bi raḍā’ī for bi ridā’ī (17.2); ridā’īhī for ridā’ihi (17.3); insā’a for inshā’a (25.4); mashyī for mashā (31.5); and nazīl for muzīl (42.4). It also shows an orthographic peculiarity of consistently spelling words ending with the undotted ʿā’, which is in reality the alif al-muḥawwalah, or the transmuted alif, by inserting two dots below the letter: ʿalā; ilā; ʿulā; yurā; narā; taʾālā; and yatajazzā. Compared with a published text of al-Nasafī’s ‘Aqā’id in my possession, namely the Cairo edition of 1335 A.H. containing the commentary of al-Taftāzānī and the supercommentaries of al-Khayālī and al-Isfārā’īnī (vide GAL I, 427), and the Cureton text of 1843, a copy of which is also in my possession, our text differs slightly in construction with few additions inserted from the text of al-Taftāzānī’s commentary. These differences are minor and they will be indicated in the following collation of our text with the published texts referred to above. In this collation, N stands for the text of our manuscript; the numbers that immediately follow the letter refer to page numbers; the letter ‘l’ in lower case stands for the line of the text, and the number following it refers to the line number. K stands for the published text of the Cairo edition of 1335 A.H.; C stands for the Cureton text; and the figures that follow the letter refer to the page numbers of the texts. T stands for the text of al-Taftāzānī’s commentary in the Cairo edition.

N3, l.4: — same as in C1; K23: —
N3, l. 5: الخمسة K25: عيني
N4, l. 1: فالخواص الخمس K26: اما الخواص الخمس
C1: فالخواص الخمس repetition
N4, l. 1: والخبر الصادق
same as in K;
C1: وскوك خاص توقف
N4, l. 3: و (last word) repetition
N4, l. 5: المتابعة same as in K; C1: المتابعة
N5, l. 2: بالضرورة from T (see K29), but follows K in N5 line 3 on the margin
N5, l. 5: والنوع الثاني; K31: والشامي
N6, l. 1: وهو يوجب العلم K32: وهنا يوجب العلم
C1: وهنا يوجب العلم
N6, l. 3: في الواقعة للخيان; C1: في الواقعة
نما ستة بالسيدة
C1: وما ستة بالسيدة
N7, l. 1: كل شيء same as in C1; K39: كل شيء
N7, l. 2: وما ستة بالاستدلال K40: وما ستة بالاستدلال
C1: وما ستة بالاستدلال
N7, l. 3: كالعلم يوجد النار عند رؤية الدخان from T (see K40), not in C (see C1)
N7, l. 4: لمحة السين; C1: لمحة السين
N7, l. 5: نعم الله not in K nor in C (see K41; C1)
N7, l. 5: م: K42: ف: C1: و
N8, l. 2: والاعيان; C1: والاعيان
N8, l. 3: وهو جسم K45: وهو الجسم
C1: كالخوهر not in C (see C1)
N8, l. 4: الذي لا يتجزئ same as in C1; K45: الذي لا يتجزئ
C1: والعرض
N8, l. 5: والاعيان same as in C1; K47: والاعيان
N9, l. 1: مالكيام للذات C1: مالكيام للذات
N9, l. 1: ويلتح same as in C1; K47: ويلتح
N9, l. 4: هو الله K52 and C1: هو الله تعالى
N10, l. 1: الشامئ same as in K60; not in C
N10, l. 1: بترفض read as in K61 and C2: بترفض
N10, l. 1: جسم read as in K62 and C2: جسم
N10, l. 4: بالمثالية same as in K63; C2: بالمثالية
N11, ll. 3 & 4: وله مفات ازلية قائمة بذاته C1:same as in
K70; C2: وله مفات قديمة قائمة بذاته
N12, l.1: والمشينة
K76 and C2: وهو
N12, l.3: والله تعالى
from T (see K79: وهو)
C2: وهو جل جلاله
N12, ll.3 & 4: متكلم بكلم واحد وهو مغناة
same as in C;
K79: متكلم بكلم واحد وهو مغناة له مغناة
N12, ll.5; 1: وهو مغناة إحلينية قائمة بذاته from T;
not in K nor in C
N13, ll.3 & 4: كلام الله تعالى
same as in K81;
C2: كلام الله
N13, l.5: محفوظ في قلوبنا
same as in K83;
C2: محفوظ بقلوبنا
N13, l.5: مقروء بالصدقة
same as in K83;
C2: مقروء بالصدقة
N14, l.1: منزل على نبيّنا
not in K nor in C
N14, l.1: غير حلال فيها
same as in K83;
C2: وهو غير حلال فيها
N14, l.3: وهو تكوينه للعالم
K87; وهو تكوينه تعالى للعالم;
C2: وهو تكوين العالم
N14, ll.3 & 4: وكل جزء من اجزائه وقت وجوده
K87: وكل جزء من اجزائه في الأزل بل وقت وجوده على حسب علمه وإرادته;
C2: وكل جزء من اجزائه وقت وجوده
N15, l.5: ولا坚持不懈 (on the margin: أو اعمال);
K94: ولا اعمال
C2: أو اعمال
N16, l.1: ولا شبوت مسافة
K94: أو شبوت المسافة;
C2: أو شبوت مسافة
N16, ll.2 & 3: والله تعالى خالق كل اعمال العبادات
same as in C;
K96: والله تعالى خالق كل اعمال العبادات كلها
N16, l.4: وهي كلها بهذيتة الله تعالى وارادته
same as in C; K98: وهي كلها بإرادته ومشيئته
C2: فيها
not in K nor in C
N17, l.2: والحسن منها برضاء الله تعالى
same as in K103; C2: والحسن منها برض الله
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N17, l.3: والقبيح ليس برضاه;
K103: والقبيح منها ليس برضاه;
C2: والقبيح منها ليس برضاه

N18, l.1: على سلامة السباب والذكل والجواز;
as in K105; C2: على سلامة السباب والجواز;
N19, l.2: لا معن;
K108 and C2: لا معن
N19, l.3: والذكل والقتل واحد;
K109: والذكل واحد لا كما رغم;
C3: والذكل واحد

N20, ll. 1 & 2: ولا يئمون كان أحد رزق غيره أو يأكل
غيره رزقه
K110 and C3: ولا يئمون كان الإنسان رزقه أو
يأكل غيره رزقه

N20, l.2: والله تعالى same as in K110; C3: والله
والله تعالى same as in K110; C3: والله تعالى
N21, l.2: وتعيم اهل الطاعة في القدر;
as in C3;
K112 adds: بما يعله لله تعالى ويريده
N21, l.5: والحساب حق not in K nor in C
N22, l.1: والنار حق والجنة حق;
both K116 and C3 have the order reversed:
N22, l.3: والجنة حق والنار حق;
K117 and C3: اهلهمها;
N22, l.5: والله تعالى لا يغفر أن يشرك به;
K120: والله لا يغفر أن يشرك به;
C3: والله لا يغفر لمن يشرك به

N23, l.3: والعفو عن الكبيرة إذا لم يكن عن
الاستحصال;
K122: والعفو عن الكبيرة إذا لم يكن عن

الاستحصال
C3: العفو عن الكبيرة إذا لم يكن من استحصال
N23, l.4: والاستحصال البصري كفر;
K122: والاستحصال كفر;
N23, l.5: والاختيار في حق أهل الكبائر بمستفيف من
الاختيار same as in C3;
K122: بالاختيار من; بالاختيار في حق أهل الكبائر
الاختيار is from T (K122)

N24, l.3: محمد صلى الله عليه وسلم not in K nor in C,
but from T (K126)
N24, l.4: شرط لإجراء الأحكام not in K nor in C, but
فهي الطاعات not in K, but from T (K128);
C3: في طاعات

انفسها as in K128; C3: نفسها

وادا وجد من العبد; K131 (also on the margin of N25)
N25, 1.2: وادا مع للعبد;

نقول: K131; جازله ان يقول;
C3: جازله ان يقول

لا ينبغي ان يقول same as in K131;
C3: لا ينبغي له ان يقول

وهيا; K132 ولانها; C3: as in K

على مالفاته; C3: not in K nor in C

ولا على مفاته; K132 and C3: ولا في مفاته

المنافسة same as in K133; C4: المناضفة

آدم عليه السلام; K134: آدم عليه السلام;
C4 as in N

محمد عليه وسلم same as in K134;
C4: محمد عليه السلام

عدهم same as in C4; K135: عددهم
N28, 1.2: عدد;
K135 and C4: عدد

من read as من as in K135 and C4
N28, 1.4: يذكر العدد من ان;
K135 and
C4: في ذكر العدد ان

للكجل not in K nor in C, but from T (K136)
N29, 1.2: عدد;
K135 and C4: عدد

وكرامات الأولياء; N30, 1.5: وكرامة الأولياء;
C4: read as in K139 and

في البداية القليلة same as in K139;
C4: في البداية القليلة

عدد الحاجة same as in C4;
K139: عدد الحاجة البهية

وانتفاع المتوجه من البلاء وكفاية المهم:
انفاع للمستواجه من الاعداء

also in C, but C4 has:
not in K, but from T (K139)
N32, 1.1 & 2: بالدفاع للمستواجه من البلاء وكفاية المهم;

C4: والدفاع للمستواجه من البلاء وكفاية المهم;

في دينه same as in K140; C4: في دينه

ابن عفان; الخطاب;
K141 and
C4: ذو الدورين; الفاروق
المرتضى; K141 and C4: ابن أبي طالب
N33, l.5: رضي الله عنهم اجتمعين not in K;
C4: رضوان الله عليهم
N34, l.1: أيضا same as in C4; not in K
N34, l.5: وضدشغورهم read as in K142 and
C4: وضدشغورهم
N35, l.3: بين العباد same as in K143;
C4: فيما بين العباد
N35, l.4: الشهادات read as in K143 and C4: لا أولى لهم
N35, l.5: لا أولى لهم read as in K143 and
C5: لا مختفيا ولا منتظرا
N35, l.5: وتزويج المنافر; K143 and
C4: وتزويج المنافر والمنافر
N36, l.2: لا مختفيا ولا منتظرا same as in K143;
C5: لا مختفيا ولا منتظرا
N36, l.3: ولا يكون same as in K144; C5: ولا يكون من بني هاشم
N36, l.4: ولا يختص من بني هاشم; K144 and
C5: ولا يختص بني هاشم
N36, l.4: ولا أولاد علي same as in C; not in K, but from T (K144)
N37, l.3: من اهل الولاية same as in C;
K145: من اهل الولاية المطلقة الكاملة
N37, ll.4&5: والمناف المناف من المنافين same as in K;
C5: وانصاف المناف من المنافين
N38, l.2: ويصل; K146 and C5: وليس
N39, l.1: ولا يحرم نبيذ النمر; K147; C5: ولا يحرم النبيذ النمر
N39, l.4: فالعدل same as in C; K148:
N39, l.4: والعدل same as in C; K148;
C5: وجعله النصر;
N39, l.5: وأجزاء النصر same as in K148;
K148 and C5: إلى معان ابتدعها أهل الباطن;
N39, l.5: إلى معان ابتدعها أهل الباطن; K148 and C5: W. the nouns كفر same as in K148;
C5: W. the nouns
N40, ll.1&2: والمعلوم معلوم الله تعالى not in K, C adds: كما أن الموجود معلومه
In comparison with other well-known texts containing al-Nasafi’s ‘Aqā’id, such as other editions of al-Taftāzānī’s commentary on it, namely the Cairo text of 1329 A.H. containing the supercommentaries of al-Khayālī and Mullā Aḥmad al-Jundī (vol. I); the Istanbul text of 1310 A.H. with a supercommentary by Muṣliḥ al-Dīn Muṣṭafā al-Kastalī, and also containing supercommentaries by al-Khayālī and Ramaḍān ibn ‘Abd al-Muḥsin Bihishtī (appendix), the Arabic text of the ‘Aqā’id in the present manuscript approximates in content that of the text of al-Taftāzānī in the Cairo edition of 1335 A.H. as well as that of the Cureton text of 1843. Since this manuscript was written 400 years ago, it is probably among the oldest texts of the ‘Aqā’id now extant.

6. Peculiarities in the text of the Malay translation

I have recurrently said in the foregoing exposition that the hand that wrote the Malay text was the same hand that wrote the Arabic text. An expert in Arabic and Jāwī handwriting can easily confirm this. Examples of identity between the script of the Arabic and Malay texts are to be discerned in the forms of such letters as the final lām, the initial and medial ‘ayn and nga, the initial and medial hā’, mim, wāw, and rā’. To be sure, these are not the only letters that show identical script in the two texts, but from my perusal of the texts the above examples will suffice, as I am positive that they were both written by the same hand. Moreover, the reader will notice that the symbol for the full stop or pausation, which looks like an undotted letter hā, is identical in both texts (e.g. 18.1 & 2 both the Arabic and the Malay texts). These clear indications establish beyond doubt that the two texts were written by the same hand, and that they
were completed simultaneously, and that they were of the same
date.

By way of general remarks on some spelling and morphological
peculiarities in the Malay text, words read with the letter ga such
as bagi, bagai, segala, juga and the like are often written with
the undotted kāf; words read with the letter cha are sometimes written
with jīm; words read with the letter pa frequently written with fā;the letter nga and the suffix nya are generally written with three
dots above the letter, although in certain exceptions the three
dots of the suffix nya are written below the letter: hikmatnya (16.5);
perbuataninya (17.4); and diturunkannya (29.5), presumably because
the letters immediately preceding nya are dotted, and the dots for
nya are written below the letter to avoid overcrowding of the dots.
The letter nya, however, has the dots written below it (e.g.
menyeriterakan: 27.1; 29.1; penyamun: 35.2). The first vowel of the
words asap (7.3); apa (10.4); achara (16.5); ada (17.1; 36.2); air
(31.5); asa (40.4) are all marked with prolongation symbols.
There is absence of final vowels in such words as dua (4.5; kedua:
2.2; 3.5; 4.2; 5.5); jua (8.1; 16.2; 19.3); darma (36.1); tentara (34.5);
sejahtera (17.5); api (7.3); diberi (17.1); keji (17.3); liti (21.5); tahu
(5.2.3); lalu (5.4); aku (25.3.4); palu (18.4.5); etc. In some cases the
final vowel is added when the word takes a suffix nya or kan, e.g
adanya and adakan (9.1). Similarly in the case of repetition of
words, the repeated word takes an alif; e.g., r.j.: raja; r.j.-r.a.j.: raja-raja (34.3). This seems to be a general rule in this text,
although it is not always applied consistently. Medial vowels are
also absent in such words as tuak (39.1); bintang (2.1); masuk
(28.4); periuk (21.4), etc. The word hendak with prefix ke as well as
with double prefixes ber + ke is written with final qāf (10.4; 12.1;
25.4); but with prefix me and suffix it it takes a final kāf preceded
by alif (9.5; 12.1). Generally the former translates Arabic irādah,
whereas the latter Arabic mashī'ah, although in another instance
kehendak with final qāf translates Arabic shā'a (25.4), also (23.1).
The prefix me is used without nasalization before hā' or hā', thus
mehendaki (9.5); mehabisi (19.4); mehalāikan (23.3); mehadap (32.1);
but with nasalization in the case of menghāsilkan (3.4; 5.3; 6.1),
and mengharuskan (23.4). Similarly, nasalization occurs in the
spelling of the words (beri) memeri (2.2; 21.1 written with final yā; 12.2 written without final yā; and 7.4 on the margin, without final yā); (dengar) menengar (9.5); penengar (4.2); (bichara) memichara (43.1). Menyeriterakam (27.1; 29.1) is nasalized, whereas mencheriterai (13.3) is not. The words kenyata’an (27.5); mereka’itu (passim); pancha’inderan (3.4; 4.1 & 3); sese’orang (19.4; 20.1; 32.5) are written with hamzah; other words with double vowels a such as kerajaan, pekerjaan and the like omit the hamzah. The text contains a few orthographical errors which will be indicated in my notes to the text.

That this text is very old, apart from the clear testimony of the given date, is further demonstrated by archaic forms of spelling certain words in conformity with their etymological origin, in this case Sanskrit, and probably also indicating pronunciation consonant with the spelling. The words now spelled kerana and neraka are in this text spelled karana (e.g. 8.1) and naraka (22.1; 24.2), the vocalization of the first vowel being indicated by alif. Spelling with shīn of certain other words of Sanskrit origin, instead of sīn as would be used today, is consistently found in the text: aksara (12.5); shiksha (17.2; 20.5; 23.2; 40.5); dosha (22.3; 23.1; 2; 3; 5; 24.1); manushya (26.5; 43.2; 4); sentosha (40.5); shakshi (35.4; 38.3). The last syllable of the word semua is spelled with hā’: samuha, or semuha (2.2; [se] muha). The hā’ of semuha takes alif with the suffix nya (16.4; 29.3). Binasa is spelled binyasa (13.2), with vocalization, and the ny written separately as nūn and yā’. Derhaka is spelled drohaka or daruhaka (16.4; 38.1). The word budi is spelled with tashdīd: buddi (5.2: vocalized; 6.4; 15.2 omits tashdīd). The word seteru spelled with tashdīd: sattaru (32.2). Words of other etymological origin, possibly Minangkabau, are also spelled vocalized with tashdīd; paddih (18.4) for pedih; dipachchat (37.5) for dipachchat. The word tamung for tenung (41.1) is not spelled with tashdīd, but with double nūn and vocalized. The word pernah is spelled according to Minangkabau panah (28.3). Another word lenyap (22.2) for lenyap is also spelled without tashdīd, but with nūn and nya.

What is remarkable about the Malay translation accomplished 400 years ago is its compact, easy flowing, good
style characterized by a distinctive clarity of expression. The translator has clearly succeeded in reflecting the character and content of the Arabic original, and demonstrated thereby his masterly scholarship and linguistic command.

7. A summary of the philosophical aspects of the 'Aqā'id

Unlike some other statements of the creed in Islām, the 'Aqā'id begins with philosophical statements on the real essences of things; on the possibility of knowledge; on the objectivity of knowledge; on the causes of knowledge; on the atomistic metaphysics of substance and accident and the continuous creation in explanation of the theory of the universe; on the nature of God and on man's self. Beginning the creed on definite statements about knowledge is most significant, for Islām is a religion based upon knowledge, and a denial of the possibility and objectivity of knowledge would involve the destruction of the fundamental basis upon which not only the religion, but all the sciences are rooted.

So al-Nasafi begins by affirming the realities of things, stating that they are established in their existence, and that the knowledge of them is something that can be established with certainty, in contradiction to the Sophists. Who were the Sophists, and what was their position on the question of knowledge and of realities?

We may recall the ancient philosophical movement begun in Greece by men of pseudo-science who came to be called 'Sophists' (Greek: sophistai). The leader of this movement was Protagoras of Abdera (480–410 B.C.), and the other chief protagonists included Georgias of Leontini (483–375), Hippias of Elis and Prodicus of Iulis. In their misleading but persuasive method of logic and rhetoric, they propagated an ethical and epistemological relativism and made man the measure of all things (Protagoras); they taught that nothing exists, and that if something exists, it could not be known, and that if it could be known, it could not be communicated to others (Georgias); religion is a deception invented by the strong to subdue the weak, and hence prayer is superfluous (Georgias and Prodicus); law
and its usage is merely something conventional created by human society and depending for its validity on a particular time and place (Hippias). They cast doubt on knowledge and the possibility of knowledge and initiated a thorough-going philosophical scepticism.

In Islām the *sophistāi* became known as the *sūfasṭā*, and their various schools the *sūfasṭā'iyyah*. Al-Baghdādī (d. 1037/8) was one of the earliest authorities to write about them and to identify them into three groups. Al-Nasafi referred to them in the ‘*Ajā'id, and his commentator, al-Taftāzānī, mentioned the names of the three groups and gave a résumé of their beliefs in his commentary. Al-Rānī, deriving perhaps from al-Taftāzānī's commentary, also mentioned the three groups in question, giving a brief exposition of their beliefs in his *Tibyān* (op. cit., pp. 24–25). The names of the three groups mentioned are: (1), *al-'inādiyyah*; (2) *al-`indiyyah*; and (3) *al-lā adriyyah*. The expression *lā adri* means 'I do not know', and the *lā adriyyah* are people who say that they do not know whether or not a thing has real existence. They are in doubt about the real existence of things, and are in doubt even of their own doubt. They are therefore people who deny the possibility of knowledge, and are properly called Agnostics. As to the second appellation, the word *`inā* means 'according to me', or 'to my opinion'; and the *`indiyyah* are people who say that there is no objective truth in knowledge; all knowledge, they say, is subjective, and the truth about anything is only one's opinion of it. In this sense they are epistemological Subjectivists. Finally, in the case of the third group called the *`inādiyyah*, which means 'the obstinate', they refer to people who deny the realities of things and maintain that what we call 'things' are mere fancies and figments of the imagination. In a sense the Obstinate are closer in ideas to the Subjectivists than to the Agnostics, although in fact all the three groups have in common the denial of objective knowledge. The beliefs of these three groups, which form the basic elements of the position of the Sophists, are in direct opposition to Islām which, as I said, affirms the objectivity of knowledge and the existence of realities. It is obvious that such beliefs represent fundamental deviations from religion and from
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science and can bring about destructive consequences in human society. It is also significant that al-Rānīrī in his debates and polemics against the heretics identified the pseudo-Ṣūfis in the Malay world with the Sophists, so that the relevance of the ‘Aqā'id (III) to the religious and intellectual atmosphere of the time on this question is quite indisputable.

Since a very early period in Islām, a group called the Mu'tazilah had initiated the use of the science of formal logic as a dialectic, a rationalistic method of discussion and disputation, revolving around the problem of interpretation of the obscure or ambiguous and anthropomorphic references to God in the Holy Qur'ān; and they discussed and disputed such problems as those pertaining to the Divine Qualities or Attributes; the nature of the Divine Speech; the Vision of God in the Hereafter. They denied the Attributes, and also the Beatific Vision, and they held the Holy Qur'ān to be a thing created. Moreover, they affirmed a power in man to determine his actions in the sense of free will, and they attributed incumbency upon God to do what is best for man. Refutations against their views by means of the same method of dialectic were established by the early as well as the later theologians in their various books; and the results of what was established are reflected in summary in the form of statements in ‘Aqā'id VII, VIII and IX (on the Attributes); VIII (on the Divine Speech); X (on the Beatific Vision); and XI and XII (on man's actions). Their full meanings and implications can be understood from al-Taftāzānī's commentary.

The philosophers held similar views as the Mu'tazilah on the above-mentioned issues, but they were more intellectually sophisticated, profound, and disciplined in accordance with the philosophical method. Their position on the nature of God, of man, and of the universe was chiefly based upon the Aristotelian natural sciences and the Neoplatonic emanation system. They affirmed the eternity and indestructibility of the world; the eternity of matter and form. They maintained that God is not a free agent; that the world is His eternal effect and that He has no power nor choice to do other than what emanates from Him of necessity. Creation is the emanation of the world from God's
absolute oneness. They denied the Divine Attributes, God's knowledge of particulars, the origination of the world in time, His creation of human actions, the indivisible atom. They also denied the resurrection of bodies, and the personal Ascension of the Holy Prophet. Their views were refuted chiefly by al-Ghazālī on behalf of the theologians (the Ashʿarīyyah). In 'Aqāʾid V, VI, VII, IX, XI, XII, and XVIII are to be discerned the position of the theologians in contradiction to the philosophers on the above issues, set forth in terms of propositions whose elaborations are to be found in al-Taftāzānī's commentary and its various super-commentaries.

On the causes of knowledge set forth briefly in 'Aqāʾid IV, the theologians contradicted the Sophists on the definition of knowledge; and they refuted some of the philosophers who denied the validity of reason as a cause of knowledge because of contradictions and differences of opinion particularly in speculative philosophy and metaphysics. Al-Taftāzānī also pointed out that inspiration or intuition is a reliable source of knowledge only for some, and not for all of mankind. Al-Nasafi's wording on this matter shows that the statement on inspiration is meant to contradict the pseudo-Ṣūfis of various sects who made false pretensions on its account. That intuition is a cause of knowledge cannot be denied, as it is firmly based upon the Sacred Text and the Tradition; and it is chiefly through the demonstrations of the genuine Ṣūfis and al-Ghazālī that its general acceptance in Islamic epistemology was firmly established.

The position of the theologians on the nature of God, of the universe, and of man insofar as it concerns the formulations of a creed is concisely stated in 'Aqāʾid V, VI, VII, VIII, IX, XI and XII. They affirmed that the universe is composed of indivisible atoms similar to one another. The atoms are devoid of magnitude, but when they combine they give rise to bodies. The giving rise to bodies is called generation, while the separation of the atoms causing the dissolution of bodies is called corruption. A void exists in which the combination, separation, and movement of the atoms can occur. Corresponding to the substantial atoms
there exist time atoms. Inherent in the substantial atoms are accidents which do not endure two atoms of time. The substantial atoms themselves would not in their real nature endure two atoms of time, just like the accidents which inhere in them, but God makes the atoms endure by creating in them the accident of duration. God creates a substance, that is, atoms combined as a body, and simultaneously its accidents. Immediately after its creation, it is annihilated and another takes its place, and so on for as long as God wills. Thus the nature of Being is discontinuous, and what is called natural law is in fact God's customary way of acting. All bodies are composed of similar atoms, and since there exists nothing but substance and accident, the difference in bodies is caused by the difference in their accidents. The accidents, which are of a positive or negative kind such as life or death, motion or rest, composition or its opposite, and other such accidents that logically follow from them, are superadded to substance and accompany the body of necessity. One accident cannot exist in another; every accident inheres in substance, which is its substratum. Since God's customary way of acting constitutes what we call natural law, and the Divine Will is not limited by such laws, there is, with the exception of logical contradictions, unlimited possibility in the world. The notion of the infinite with respect to bodies and causes are all impossible. Since the testimony of the senses is not always valid with references to matters not susceptible of proof by sense perception—such as matters summarized above—the evidence of the senses cannot be accepted in the face of rational truth. The theologians further maintained the doctrine of difference between God and the world, and the origination of the world in time, and God's absolute and exclusive efficacy.  

The above summary of the philosophical aspects of the 'Aqā'īd is derived from various parts of my Commentary, op. cit., which I find relevant to the present book. For their full references, the following pages and notes therein may be consulted: on the Sophists, pp. 206–07; on the Mu'tazilah, pp. 208–209; on the philosophers, pp. 347–77; on the theologians, pp. 210–11.
The rest of the ‘Aqa'id treats of man's responsibility before God; of religion and religious beliefs and duties; of the necessity of leadership in the Muslim Community.
II The Malay text of the ‘Aqā’id

Bismi’Llāhi’r-rahmānī’r-rahīm


¹Text: maydīnah.
²Text: balai.
juga: suatu dari dua itu khabar mutawātir, iaitu [5] khabar yang thābit pada segala lidah qawm yang tiadakan dapat pada buddi muwāfaqat mereka'itu atas dusta. Ia itu tahu dengan dibichara diketahui adanya;³ ia itu menghāsikan bagi 'ilmu ḍarūrī, seperti tahu akan segala raja-raja⁴ yang telah sunyi pada segala masa yang telah lalu, dan segala negeri yang jauh. Kedua bagai khabar Rasūl Allāh, [salla Allāhu] 'alayhi wa sallam, [6] yang diquwwatkan dengan mu'jizat (ya'ni melemahkan);⁶ ia itu menghāsikan bagi 'ilmu istidlālī (ertinya menuntut dalil), dan 'ilmu yang teguh dengan dia menyerupai 'ilmu yang teguh dengan 'ilmu ḍarūrī pada nyatanya⁶ dan teguhnya. Bermula: adapun buddi itu maka ia suatu sabab (ya'ni pegawai)⁷ bagi 'ilmu pulang;⁸ dan yang thābit daripadanya dengan badīhah (ya'ni tawajjuh dengan tiada membolehkan pikirnya pada dalilnya),⁹ mereka'itu 'ilmu ḍarūrī dikata, [7] seperti 'ilmu akan bahwa¹⁰ kull (ya'ni perhimpunan)¹¹ sesuatu terbesar dari

³Dengan dibichara diketahui adanya (the knowledge), that is known deliberately, or naturally, i.e. of necessity: bi'l-ḍarūrati, from the commentary of al-Taftāzānī, p. 29.
⁴Text written: rajaz.
⁵Mu'jizah is the active participial noun of the fourth form of the verb 'ajaza, which is e'jaza. It is an act performed by a Prophet which contradicts the normal way of things, by which his opponents are rendered incapable of producing the like. They are therefore incapacitated. The word melemahkan is meant to convey this meaning of incapacitation.
⁶This word translates tayyqun; certainty, because what is known has become clear: nyata, and therefore certain.
⁷Cause or sabab, Malay sebab, is a means by which a thing is brought about. Here the word pegawai is used as a synonym for sebab. The word pegawai is now not used in this way. In the archaic sense used by the translator, pegawai means 'an instrument' synonymous with Arabic ʿalat (Malay: alat), which is the medium by which the doer brings about the desired effect on the thing done. This medium is also a cause.
⁸Pulang is Arabic aydan: also, again; see in Mysticism, op. cit., Ḥamzah's use of the same word, p. 234, note 8.
⁹The words in parenthesis are from the commentary of al-Taftāzānī, p. 39.
¹⁰Akan bahwa, Arabic: bi anna.
¹¹Perhimpunan, Arabic; kull—see Ḥamzah, Mysticism, op. cit., p. 256.
sukunya; dan barang thâbit daripadanya dengan istidlâl (ya'ni menuntut dalîl) maka ia itu 'ilmu iktisâbi namanya, seperti 'ilmu ada api tatkanâl melihat asap.\(^{12}\) Bermula: ilhâm itu (erti ilhâm memeritahu)\(^{13}\) tiada ia daripada segala sabab bagi mengenal shi'at\(^{14}\) sesuatu pada Ahl al-Ḥaqq—ditulung Allâh mereka itu!


VI Bermula: Yang Mengadakan (ya'ni Yang Membaharu)\(^{17}\) bagi 'âlam itu iaitu Allâh, Yang Esa, Yang Sadya, Yang Hidup, Yang Kuasa, Yang Mahatahu, Yang Menengar, Yang Melihat, Yang Mehendaki, [10] Yang Berkehadak. Bukan ia a'ra'd dan bukan ia jisim dan bukan ia jawhar; dan tiada dirupakan dan tiada dapat dihingga dan tiada dapat dibilang (ya'ni tiada lebih daripada esa)\(^{18}\) dan tiada bersetengah dan tiada bersuku

\(^{12}\) Seperti 'ilmu ada api tatkanâl melihat asap: kâ'l-Îlni bi wujûdîl-nâri 'inda rû'yati'l-dukhân, as in the commentary of al-Taftâzâni, p. 41.

\(^{13}\) Ihlâm is here given its basic meaning from alhâm as memeri tahu: giving information; it is what is suggested to the mind by God in the way of giving information that calls for action. It dispenses with the need for demonstration by proof.

\(^{14}\) Shi'ât is an infinitive noun of săhâ (Mal. sâh), meaning, to be sound, established, certain; the soundness of something. It also means health, to be free from disease. The former meaning is meant here. Nowadays, only the latter meaning is generally used and known.

\(^{15}\) Text: 'arâd.

\(^{16}\) Suku yang tiada bersuku, Arabic: al-juz' alladhi lâ yalajazzâ.

\(^{17}\) Yang Membaharu, the Renewer, implies the continuous creation as described in al-Taftâzâni's commentary. It translates the Arabic almuhâdith.

\(^{18}\) Words in parenthesis reflect al-Taftâzâni's commentary, pp. 55-57.

VII Dan akan Dia beberapa peri yang azal berdiri dengan adaNya. Dan ia itu bukan Ia dan bukan ia lainNya. Dan ia itu 'Ilmu Allâh, dan Qudrat, dan Hayât, dan Penguasa, dan Penenggar, [12] dan Başîr (ya'nî Melihat), dan Berkehendak, dan Mehendaki, dan Fi'il, dan Takhlîq (ya'nî: Menjadikan), dan Tarzîq (ya'nî Memeri Kehidupan), dan Berkata.


X Bermula: Melihat Allâh Ta'âlâ itu harus pada buddi dan faraḍ pada naqal. Telah datang dalîl (erti dalîl menunjukkan)20

19Text: dâtNya.
20Text: menunjukkan.
sam't (ya'ni bangsa dengar) dengan memfardukan melihat segala mu'mun itu akan Allâh Ta'âlâ dalam negeri akhirat. Maka dilihat itu tiada dalam suatu tempat dan tiada atas suatu fihaq daripada berbetulan dan tiada dengan bertemu [16] (atau bertemu) cahaya atau thâbit perjalanan antara yang melihat itu dan antara Allâh.


barangsiapa kehendakNya. Bermula: barang ia terlebih layak bagi hamba itu maka tiada demikian itu fardu pada Allāh Ta'ālā.

XIII Bermula: shiksha qubur itu akan segala kāhir dan akan setengah [21] daripada yang 'āşi segala mu'min, dan memerikan ni'mat akan ahli ūat dalam quburnya, dan tanya Munkar wa Nakir thābit adanya dengan beberapa dalīl samī (ya'ni ḥadîth). Dan Berbangkit sebenarnya, dan Timbangan sebenarnya, dan Kitāb (ya'ni surat 'amal) sebenarnya, dan Su'āl (ya'ni tanya Munkar wa Nakir) sebenarnya, dan Ḥawḍ (ya'ni periuk) sebenarnya, dan Titi sebenarnya, dan Hisāb sebenarnya, [22] dan Narak sebenarnya, dan Shorga sebenarnya, dan keduanya itu telah dijadikan keduanya, telah ada keduanya, kekal keduanya, dan tiada lagi akan lenyap keduanya, dan tiada lagi akan lenyap isi keduanya.


XV Bermula: imān itu iaitu taṣdiq (ya'ni menyungguhkan) akan yang datang dengan dia Muḥammad Rasūl Allāh, ﷺ

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21Dan akan segala yang baik: wa līl-akhyār, as in the Cureton text, p. 3.
22These words beginning: dengan segala cheritera ... bi'l-mustafīḍa mina'l-akhbār, ... etc., are the same as in al-Taftāzānī's text, p. 117.


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23 Text: ṇan da.
24 Mereka’itu sekalian kebaktian: fahiyal-tā‘āt, as in the Cureton text, p. 3.
cheriterakan (yā Muḥammad)." Karana tiada dapat sentosha dengan menyebut bilang mereka itu daripada masuk ia dalam mereka'itu yang bukan ia daripada mereka'itu, atau keluar daripada mereka'itu yang ia dalam mereka'itu. Bermula: sekalian mereka'itu [29] adalah menyeriterakan titah daripada Allāh Ta'ālā, sekalian benar mengajari bagi segala makhlūq.25 Bermula: terlebih daripada segala Nabī itu Muḥammad, șalla Allāhu 'alayhi wa sallam.


XVIII Bermula: mi'rāj bagi Rasūl Allāh, șalla Allāhu 'alayhi wa sallam, dalam jaganya dengan tubuhnya kelangit maka26 kepada barang kehendak Allāh dari 'ālam yang tinggi sebenarnya. Bermula: segala kāramat (ya'ni segala laku yang mulia yang indah) segala wālī itu [31] sebenarnya. Maka jadi nyatalah segala kāramat itu atas jalan melawan 'adat bagi seorang wālī, seperti melalui perjalanan yang jauh dalam masa yang sedikit, dan kelihatan makanan dan minuman dan pakaian tatkala berkehendak, dan berjalan atas air dan pada udara, dan berkata-kata [32] dengan jamād (ya'ni segala yang beku) dan 'ajmā' (ya'ni yang tiada tahu berkata), dan tertolak yang mehadap daripada sesuatu [balā'], dan memeliharaakan daripada yang mendukakan daripada sattaru, dan lain dari itu daripada segala perkara. Dan ada demikian itu mujīzat PesuruhNya yang nyata segala kāramat itu akan seseorang

26 Maka here, and in the following para. XIX, means Arabic thumma: then.
daripada ummatnya jua (ya'ni segala yang lain daripada tābi'atnya) ubatan dusta juga, bukan karāmat), karana bahwa sesungguhnya nyata ia dengan dia bahwa ia wali, [33] dan tiadakan ada ia wali melainkan bahwa ada ia sebenarnya dalam agamanya; dan agamanya itu iqrār akan keadaan Pesuruh.

XIX Bermula: terlebih daripada segala manusia kemudian daripada Nabi kita Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq, maka 'Umar ibn Khaṭṭāb, maka 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān, maka 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭalīb—digamari Allāh daripada mereka itu sekalian. [34] Dan keadaan ganti (ya'ni Khalifah) mereka itu atas periringan ini pulang. Bermula: khilāfat itu tiga puluh tahun juga, maka kemudian dari itu raja-raja dan penghulu. Bermula: segala orang Islām itu tiadapat tiada bagi mereka, itu daripada beraja yang berdiri ia dengan meluluskan segala hukum mereka'itu, dan mendirikan segala ḥadd mereka'itu, dan berbaik kota mereka'itu, dan menyanggerahakan segala tentara mereka'itu, [35] dan mengambil segala darma mereka'itu, dan menggagahi segala yang mengeras diri dan segala penchuri dan segala penyamun di jalan, dan mendirikan segala jum'at dan segala hari raya, dan memutuskan segala perbantahan yang jatuh antara segala hamba Allāh, dan berkenankan shakshi yang berdiri atas sebenarnya, dan bersuamikan segala kanak-kanak yang tiada wali bagi mereka'itu, [36] dan membahagi segala rampasan. Maka seyogianya bahwa ada Imām itu nyata, tiada yogia berbunyi dan tiada dinanti orang keluarnya. Dan hendak ada daripada qawm Quraysh, dan tiada harus ia lain daripada mereka'itu, dan tiada tertentu daripada Bani Ḥāshim, dan tiada anak 'Alī, radiya Allāhu 'anhum, daripada mereka'itu, dan tiada
disharatan bahwa ada ia [37] dipelihara (ya'ni tiada dosha), dan tiada disharatan hendak ia terlebih daripada orang masanya. Dan disharatan bahwa ada ia daripada yang dapat kerajaan, kerjas kuasa atas meluluskan segala hukum dan memelihara segala hadd negeri Islam, dan memenari yang dianiaaya daripada yang menganiaya. Dan tiada ma'zul (ya'ni dipachchat) raja-raja itu [38] sebab fasiq dan daruhaka.


33 Kerajaan here does not mean 'kingdom', but 'sovereignty', 'able to govern': ahli'l-wilayah.
34 The word mozhah is Persian meaning boot or stocking. Dua mozhah: a pair of boots, or inner shoes, or stockings. Arabic: khuffayn.
35 The word khurma is Persian: a date. Tuak khurma: unfermented brew made from dates. Arabic: nabidh.
36 The words in parenthesis are derived from al-Taftâzâni's commentary, p. 148.
daripada ghaib itu kufur. Bermula: yang tiada itu tiada ia sesuaatu, dan yang tiada itu diketahui Allâh Ta’âlâ. Bermula: 


XXIII Bermula: imâm mujtahid itu (ya’âni yang pandita memichara pada kerja ‘ilmu agama, ya’âni Îmâm al-Shâfi‘i dan Ḥanâfî dan Mâlik dan Âhmad anak Ḥanbal) ada kalanya salah dan ada kalanya mengenai. Bermula: Pesuruh manushia itu terlebih ia daripada Pesuruh malâ’ikat; bermula: Pesuruh malâ’ikat terlebih ia daripada ‘âm segala mu’min daripada manushia; bermula: ‘âm manushia daripada segala mu’min terlebih ia daripada ‘âm malâ’ikat.

37 Perhaps bahana: din, pandemonium, utter confusion; a lawless state of existence.
38 The words in parenthesis are not found in the text of the ‘Aqâ’îd nor in that of its commentary; they are the translator’s note derived from well-known Muslim tradition.
III Translation of the Malay text

In the Name of Allah, Most Merciful, Most Compassionate

I I begin this book in the Name of Allah, Most Merciful, Most Compassionate to His servants in the Hereafter. Every praise be to [Allah] Lord of the Worlds, and may the reward of the Hereafter be recompense for those who fear Allah, and may Allah’s mercy be upon His Messenger and his entire Family.

II Said the Shaykh, the great Imam, the learned, the doer of reverential fear, [2] the star of the revealed Law and Religion, teacher of the foremost masters and of the learned, the Imam of the Two Sanctuaries (i.e. Makkah and Madinah), the dispenser of judgements to the inhabitants of the East and of the West, Abu Hafs his nickname, ‘Umar his name, son of Muhammad, grandson of Ahmad, Nasafi his country—may Allah envelop him with His forgiveness and may He place him in the center of His Paradise!:

III The People of Reality[3]—may Allah honour them forever!—say: The realities of things are established in their existence, and the knowledge of them is certain in contradiction to the Sophists.³

¹Divine mercy may be understood as generally having two aspects; an aspect that is universal in its application, and an aspect that is particular in its application. In the former it applies to all God’s creatures, whether believing or unbelieving, obedient or disobedient, in the life of this world; in the latter it applies to the believing, obedient ones among God’s creatures in the Hereafter. See further al-Ghazali’s Al-Maqasad al-Asna fi Sharh Ma’ani Asma’i’l-Lah al-Husna, ed. Fadlou Shehadi, Bayrut, 1971, pp. 65–70; al-Razi, Lawami’ al-Bayyinat Sharh Asma’ Allaha Ta’ala wa’l-Sifat, ed. Taha ‘Abd al-Ra’uf Sa’d, Cairo, 1980, pp. 171–72.
²So called because they affirm the realities of things, as what follows shows.
³They are people who deny the realities of things, and the possibility of
IV The means of obtaining knowledge for the creatures are three: first, the five senses; second, true report; and third, reason.

[4] The five senses are hearing, sight, smell, taste, and touch; and by each of these five senses one is informed concerning that for which it is appointed. True report is of two kinds, one of the two is report that is successively transmitted (mutawātir), that is [5] report that is established upon the tongues of people of whom reason cannot conceive that they would purpose together on a lie. It is knowledge arrived at deliberately, and it induces necessary knowledge like the knowledge of departed kings of past times, and of distant countries. The second kind is the report of the Messenger of Allāh, may Allāh bless and give him peace, [6] confirmed by miracle (that is, the incapacitation); and this induces deductive knowledge (meaning knowledge requiring demonstration by proof) and the knowledge established by it resembles necessary knowledge in certainty and fixity. As for reason, it is a cause (that is, an instrument) of knowledge also; and that which it establishes by immediate perception (that is, by perception without allowing for the deliberation of thought to adduce proof for it) is necessary knowledge, [7] like the knowledge that the whole of something is greater than its part; and that which it establishes by deduction (that is, requiring demonstration by proof) is called acquired knowledge, like the knowledge that there is fire when one sees smoke. Now as for inspiration (meaning: giving information), it is not among the

knowledge. They include the agnostics, the epistemological subjectivists, and the monists who consider the things of the world to be mere figments of the imagination. See further my Commentary, op. cit., pp. 206-fol.; above, pp. 47-49.

4See II, above, note 3.
5See II, above, note 5.
6See II, above, note 7.
7The words in parenthesis are from al-Taftāzānī’s commentary, p. 39.
8The last part of this sentence is the same as in al-Taftāzānī’s text; see II, above note 12.
causes for the cognition of the soundness of something according to the People of Reality—may Allâh aid them!

V The [8] world in the totality of its parts is a thing originated, since all of it consists of substances and accidents. Substances are self-subsistent and are either composite like a body or not composite like an atom—the atom being the part that is not further divided. As for accidents [9] they do not subsist in themselves but are originated in bodies and atoms, like colours, states of being-existent, tastes in food, and odours.

VI The Originator (that is, the Renower) of the world is Allâh the One, the Eternal, the Living, the Powerful, the Knowing, the Hearing, the Seeing, the Desiring, [10] the Willing. He is neither accident nor body nor atom; He is not formed nor bounded nor numbered (that is, He is not more than one), neither is He portioned nor having parts nor compounded; He does not come to an end nor is He described by 'whatness' and 'howness'; [11] He is not placed in a place, nor does time affect Him, and nothing resembles Him and nothing is outside of His Knowledge and Power.

VII To Him belongs attributes from eternity subsisting in His Essence. They are not He nor are they other than He. And they are Allâh's Knowledge and Power, and Life, and Might and Hearing [12] and Seeing and Willing and Desiring and Acting

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10 This is according to al-Nasafi and some theologians. But al-Taftâzâni explains that ilhâm is not a cause for the cognition of the soundness of something only for the generality of mankind, and not for some to whom it is indeed also a cause of knowledge.
11 The words in parenthesis allude to the renewal of creation at every atom of time.
12 That is, He is not involved in plurality, as explained by al-Taftâzâni in his commentary, pp. 55–56.
13 Whatness, or apa is ma‘îyyah: quiddity; that which is formed in the mind in answer to its question: 'what is it?'; howness, or be’tapa is kayfîyyah: quality, one of the ten Aristotelian categories (i.e. poiôn).
and Creating (i.e. to bring into existence) and Sustaining (i.e. to provide sustenance) and Speech.

VIII Allah, exalted be He, speaks with a Speech that is one, and it is an attribute from eternity that is not of the genus of letters and sounds. It is an attribute [13] from eternity subsisting in His Essence; and it is an attribute that annuls the coming into silence and into hazard (that is, into ruin). Allah, exalted be He, speaks by means of it, commanding, prohibiting, and reporting. The Qur'an is Allah's speech and it is not a thing created. It is written in our pages, preserved in our hearts, recited by our tongues, heard [14] by our ears, sent down upon our Prophet, without it entering into or residing in them.

IX Originating is Allah's attribute, and it is His creating (that is, His potency in bringing the world into existence from non-existence) the world in the totality of its parts at the moment of its existence. And it [i.e. the attribute] is not the thing created, according to our opinion. Willing is an attribute of Allah, exalted be He, subsisting from eternity [15] in His Essence.

X The Vision of Allah, may He be exalted, is possible according to reason and is necessary according to Tradition. There has come proof (the meaning of proof is demonstration) based on hearing [16] affirming that all Believers shall see Allah Most Exalted in the Abode of the Hereafter. And He is seen not in a place, nor from the point of view of one facing the other, nor by the meeting [16] of light rays nor by there being an interval stretching between the one who sees and Allah.

XI And Allah, may He be exalted, is the Creator of all the actions of His servants whether of unbelief or of belief, of obedience or of disobedience; all of them are by the desire of

[13] This sentence is from the commentary of al-Taftazani, p. 77.
[14] Sam't refers to traditions of the Holy Prophet as transmitted. They are proofs based on hearing and are part of true report.
Allāh Most Exalted and His will and His ruling and His judgement and His decree. [17] As to His servants they have in them the actions of choice for which they are rewarded or punished. The good in them is by the good pleasure of Allāh, exalted be He, and the evil in them is not by His good pleasure.

XII And the ability to do the action accompanies the action, and it is the reality of the power by which the action comes into being; and the effectiveness of this noun (i.e. ability) applies to the soundness [18] of all causes and all instruments and members of the body. And the validity of imposing responsibility is supported by this ability (i.e. the servant's power to act that is created by Allāh Most Exalted together with his action), and the servant is not imposed a responsibility which is not in his power.

And whatever is found of the pain of one who is beaten as a result of being beaten by some man, and the condition of being broken in glass [19] as a result of its being broken by some man, and things similar to these, all that is created by Allāh, exalted be He, and the servant has no part in the work of its creation.

And one who is slain is dead because of his appointed time, and the appointed time and the being slain is one (according to the People of Reality).

And that which is forbidden is still appointed sustenance, and every one brings to a finish his own appointed sustenance whether it be of things permitted or forbidden [20]; and it cannot be [imagined] that someone will eat another's appointed sustenance, or another will eat one's appointed sustenance.

And Allāh Most Exalted leaves astray whomsoever He wills and guides aright whomsoever He wills; and it is not incumbent upon Allāh, exalted be He, to do what is best for His servant.

XIII The punishment of the grave for all unbelievers and for some [21] of the disobedient ones among the believers, and the granting of bliss to the obedient ones in their graves, and the questioning by Munkar and Nakīr are established by several proofs based on hearing (i.e. the traditions of the Holy Prophet). And the Resurrection is a reality, and the Balance is a reality, and
the Book (i.e. of Deeds) is a reality, and the Questioning (i.e. by Munkar and Nakîr) 16 is a reality, and the Tank is a reality, and the Narrow Bridge is a reality, and the Reckoning is a reality [22], and Hell is a reality, and Paradise is a reality, and both of these have already been created, both have been existing, both enduring forever, and they shall never pass away nor shall their inhabitants pass away.

XIV A grave sin does not remove the believing servant from faith and does not make him enter into unbelief.

Allâh, may He be exalted, does not forgive the association of a partner with Himself, and He forgives [23] all else besides to whomsoever He wills of minor and grave sins. It is permissible that He may punish one for a minor sin, and it is permissible that He may pardon one for a grave sin, provided that it [i.e. the grave sin that is being committed] is not considered [by the one who commits it] as being lawful, for making permissible acts of disobedience is unbelief.

The intercession of the Messenger and of the excellent ones 17 on behalf of those who commit grave sins [24] is established by many well-known reports. 18

The grave sinners among the believers will not be made to dwell permanently in Hell.

XV Faith is assent (i.e. to verify) to what has come to Muḥammad the Messenger of Allâh, may Allâh bless and give him peace, from Allâh’s Presence. Affirmation (i.e. confession with the tongue) of it is one of the conditions for the application of legal judgements. Then as for works, they are faithful service and

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16 The Questioning that is meant here is not by Munkar and Nakîr, but as al-Tаftâzānî explains, it is by God Himself. This is based on the Holy Qur’ān 15:92.

17 ‘And of the excellent ones’—same as in the Cureton text, p. 3. The excellent ones refers to the Veracious and the Witnesses and the Righteous who are saints of God. See al-Nisā’ (4): 69.

18 ‘By many well-known reports’ follows the text of Taftāzānî’s commentary, p. 122.
increase [25] of themselves, while faith does not increase and does not decrease.

Faith and Islam are one. Whenever faith and affirmation are authenticated in the servant (or found in the servant), then it is permitted that he should say: “I am a believer in reality,” and it is not proper that he should say: “I am a believer if so desires Allah (i.e. if Allah wills).

The one who is happy sometimes becomes miserable, and the one who is miserable sometimes becomes happy [26]. The changing is in the being-happy and the being-miserable, and not in making happy and making miserable, for these [i.e. the creation of happiness and of misery] are both among the attributes of Allah, exalted be He. There is no changing in Allah Most Exalted in His Essence, and there is no changing in His attributes.

XVI In the sending of Messengers there is wisdom (i.e. there is benefit for all servants, not something futile nor is it for sport). Allahu, may He be exalted, has sent a number of Messengers from among mankind to their fellow mankind announcing good tidings, cautioning against evil and making clear for all mankind what they have need for of the undertakings of the world and of religion. And He strengthened them by means of miracles that contradict the customary way of nature.

The first among the Prophets was Adam and the last among them is Muhammad, may Allah bless and give him peace.

A statement of their number has in fact been narrated in some traditions of the Holy Prophet. However, it is better [28] that we do not set a limit to their number by naming them, for indeed Allah, exalted be He, has said: ‘Of some among them We have related to you their stories (O, Muhammad), and of others among them We have not related to you their stories.” 21 For

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19 The words in parenthesis are from the commentary of al-Taftazani, p. 124.
20 The words in parenthesis reflect al-Taftazani’s commentary, p. 133.
21 The Holy Qur'an, 40: 78.
there is no security in the mention of their number against there being entered among them those who are not of them, or there being taken out from among them those who are of them.

All of them [29] are transmitters of commands from Allāh Most High, veracious in conveying their teachings for all creatures.

The most excellent among the Prophets is Muhammad, Allāh’s blessings and peace be upon him.

XVII The Angels are all Allāh’s servants and they do the work of fulfilling His commands. It is not permissible to describe them as being male or female. To Allāh, exalted be He, belongs several Books which He has sent down upon [30] His Prophets, and in them are made clear His commands and prohibitions, and His promise (i.e. the promise to give reward with Paradise) and His threat (i.e. the promise to mete out punishment with Hell).

XVIII The Ascension of the Messenger of Allāh, may Allāh bless and give him peace, in the waking state and physically to the heavens and thence to whatever exalted realm as Allāh willed is a reality. The divinely gifted wonders (i.e. the way of conduct that is noble and fine) of the Saints are a reality [31]. These wonders become manifest by way of contradicting the customary way of nature on behalf of the Saint, like traversing a great distance over a short period of time, and the appearance of food and drink and clothing at the time of need, and walking upon the water and in the air, and speaking [32] with inanimate objects and with those that do not know how to speak, the dispelling of an approaching distress, and the protection of one in anxiety against injury from enemies, and other such things. And such a thing is a miracle on behalf of the Messenger to one of whose people this wonder appears (i.e. other [wonders] that appear to other than his [the Messenger’s] follower are but sorcery and deception, not wonders), for by it becomes manifest that he is a

22/i.e., stones.
23/i.e. beasts.
Saint [33]; and he could never be a Saint unless he were right in his religion, and his religion is the affirmation of the prophetic office\textsuperscript{24} of the Messenger.

XIX The Most excellent among mankind after our Prophet is Abū Bakr al-Śiddiq, then 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, then 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān, then 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib—may Allāh be well pleased with them all! [34] And the mode of replacement [by one after the other] (\textit{i.e.} as successor) was also in that order of succession. The Khalifate lasted for thirty years and after that came potentates and chiefs.

The Muslims necessarily must have a ruler who will carry out the implementation of their laws, and the administration of their divine ordinances, and the maintenance of their fortifications, and the equipping of their armies [35], and the receiving of their legally prescribed alms tax, and the suppression of the users of force, robbers, and highwaymen, and the setting up of worship on Fridays and days of Festival, and the settlement of disputes which occur between the servants of Allāh, and the approval of testimony established upon legal rights, and the marrying off of minors who have no legal guardians [36], and the division of the spoils.

And it is fitting that the Leader should be visible, and it is not proper that he should be hidden, and his emergence should not be awaited. And [the Imām: Leader] should be of the tribe of Quraysh and it is not allowed that he should be from other than they; it is not stipulated that he should be of the Bani Ḥāshim, nor from among the sons of 'Alī—may Allāh be well pleased with them all! And it is not stipulated that he [37] should be preserved [\textit{i.e.} sinless], and it is not stipulated that he should be the most excellent of the people of his time. And it is stipulated that he should possess sovereignty, a strong power in the implementation of all laws and the preservation of the limits of

\textsuperscript{24}The translator uses the term keadaan for Arabic risālah, which generally means 'message'. But risālah also refers to the prophetic office or function of the rasūl.
the territory of Islam, and in giving the oppressed equity against the oppressor. And the rulers are not to be deposed [38] because of sinfulness and of tyranny.

XX It is permissible to pray behind the righteous as well as the sinful, and to pray over the righteous as well as over the sinful (i.e. over the dead body of the righteous and over the dead body of the sinful). And it is incumbent upon us to refrain from mentioning the Companions except with good. And we bear witness that Paradise is assured for the Ten Companions to whom the Prophet, upon whom be peace, announced the glad tidings of Paradise. And we deem appropriate the wiping of the two inner shoes²⁵ both at home and when on a journey. And the unfermented brew of dates is not forbidden.

XXI And the Saint never reaches the degree of the Prophets; and the servant never reaches a station where command and prohibition fall away from him. The interpretation of the statutes (i.e. [as embodied in] the Books of the People of the Approved Way and the Community)²⁶ is according to their literal meanings, and deviation from them to meanings originated by the People of Inner Meaning [40] is deviation from Islam and it is unbelief. The rejection of the Qur’ân is unbelief. Making disobedience lawful is unbelief, and making light of it [i.e. disobedience] is unbelief, and making a mockery of the sacred Law [i.e. religion] is unbelief. To give up all hope in Allah’s mercy is unbelief, and feeling safe from Allah’s punishment is unbelief [41]. Affirming as true what the diviner tells of the Unseen is unbelief. The non-existent is not a thing, and the non-existent is the known of Allah Most High.²⁷ And in the prayer

²⁵That is, when performing ablution for prayers.
²⁶That is, the Holy Qur’ân and the Sunnah. Cf. Tastâzâni’s commentary, p. 148.
²⁷Being a ‘thing’ refers to that which has real existence according to the theologians, and by ‘real existence’ they mean that which has external existence. Since the non-existent cannot be verified as having real existence in the external world, it is not a thing.
(i.e. request [for good]) of the living for the dead, and their sincere offerings to them [i.e. to the souls of the dead] there is benefit for them [i.e. for the souls of the dead], and Allāh, be He exalted, complies with the requests of His servants and grants their petitions.

XXII And what the Prophet, Allāh bless and give him peace, has reported of the Signs of the Last Day concerning the coming forth of Dajjāl and the Beast of the Earth and Ya‘jūj and Ma‘jūj, and the descent of ‘Īsā, upon whom be peace, from heaven, and the rising of the sun in the West (i.e. the place where the sun sets), that is a reality. (The descent of ‘Īsā after the time of the Lord of the Messengers will be in the early morning [and he will be] practising the sacred Law of Muhammad and not his [i.e. ‘Īsā’s] religion. ‘Īsā, upon whom be peace, will remain in the world till after he has ruled for forty years. After the Prophet ‘Īsā has passed away the Ka‘bah will then be destroyed by the Abyssinians. The performance of the pilgrimage by people will be cut off, and mankind will be left in great confusion for a hundred years until no one will utter “there is no God but Allāh” with sincerity. At this time the sun will rise in the West).

XXIII The Imām who is a mujtahid (i.e. one who is learned in expounding the practice of religious knowledge, such as the Imāms al-Shafi‘i, Abū Ḥanīfah, Mālik, and Ahmad son of Ḥanbal) sometimes errs and sometimes hits the mark. The Messengers of mankind are more excellent than the Messengers of angels; the Messengers of angels are more excellent than the

28 Of prayers and good works or alms on their behalf (ṣadaqāt).
29 According to a report from Abū Hurayrah transmitted by al-Bukhārī and Muslim, the Holy Prophet said that “An Abyssinian with short legs will destroy the Ka‘bah.” Ibn ‘Abbās, as transmitted by al-Bukhārī, reported the Holy Prophet as saying “I seem to see him black and hen-toed pulling it down stone by stone.” This is stated in the Mishkāt al-Maṣābīh, in the Kitāb al-Ḥajj with reference to the sacred territory of Makkah, vol. II, p. 584.
generality of the believers among mankind; the generality of mankind among the believers is more excellent than the generality of the angels.

The Book of al-Nasafi is completed at the time of the Forenoon on Saturday the Fourth Day of the Blessed Month of Rabî’ al-Akhîr, in the Year Bâ’ which is Nine Hundred and Ninety-Eight years after the Prophetic Emigration and the Well-Pleasing Victory. To their Possessor be the most excellent of Blessings and the most perfect of Salutations!
IV Arabic words in the Malay translation of the ‘Aqā’id

There are 179 Arabic words and 2 Persian words (indicated in the list by (P) after the word) in the text of the Malay translation of the ‘Aqā’id of al-Nasafi according to my count. These comprise terms (145), both general and technical; names (32); and phrases (4). The Arabic terms may be categorized into the following classes:

(1) Arabic words in the text that are left untranslated and taken over as such in the Malay translation. These may again be of two classes: (a) those that were not known and were difficult to translate into Malay or into Arabic equivalents that were known; (b) those that were already generally known at the time of writing.

(2) Arabic words known only among the educated.

(3) Arabic words that were already assimilated into the general vocabulary of the Malay language, which include (1), (b) above, and words that were understood to be Arabic equivalents of those found in the text, which include (2) above.

General terms include Arabic words, as well as the two Persian words, that at the time of writing the Malay translation in the last quarter of the 16th century had already been assimilated into the Malay language as part of its general vocabulary (i.e. as in (1), (b) above), viz. ahl (ahlî); ajal (ajal); ‘ānum (am); fikr (fikir, pikir); hasâ (hasâ, hasil); hijâj (hijāj); hasil (hasil); lâ’iq (layak); manfa‘ah (manfa‘at); mashkur (mashkur); and similar words. Among them is included the word of interjection (yâ). Certain other such words of Arabic derivation appear to be unknown as such to lexicologists of the Malay language who have either failed to
indicate their etymological origin or have confused them as original Malay words. Ya’ni is not to be confused with ia-init; it is derived from the Arabic root ‘anā. It (i.e., ‘anā) is synonymous with qaṣada and arāda; and ya’ni therefore also conveys the meaning of maqṣūd (Malay: maksudnya) and murād (Malay: muradnya or hendaknya),¹ that is, ‘he intended by it (i.e., the word or the saying) such and such a thing’. Ya’ni is derived from the same Arabic root as the word ma’nā: meaning. Another word is the Malay fihaq, fihak, or pihak. In my view this word is a compound of two Arabic words: the particle governing the genitive case, fi; and the word haqq. The particle fi relates to a receptacle, or someone or something that resembles a receptacle, so that it conveys the general sense of inclusion, or inbeing, in relation to space and time. Haqq conveys many meanings, but basically it means reality, truth, right, duty, real or true place, purpose, nature. The haqq of a person can mean his reality, his right, his duty, conforming with his real nature, his right, his true condition, such that he thereby affirms a truth. The haqq of a thing points to its real nature, its proper place, its true purpose: and existential condition. When the preposition fi is prefixed to haqq, fi haqq means, among other related meanings, with respect to, on account of, on behalf of. The Malay pada haq usually translates the Arabic fi haqq, and this also occurs in our manuscript having the same meaning as bagi pihak: Wa’l-shaf’a atu thabitatun li’il-rasūli wa’l-akhyārī fi haqqi ahli’l-kabā’ir ... Bermula: memohonkan ampun itu thabib akan Rasūl dan akan segala yang baik pada haq yang punya segala dosha besar ... (23): The intercession of the Messenger and of the excellent ones on behalf of the grave sinners is established ... This meaning still points to the inbeing of a person or a thing, which is the reality, the truth, the right, the duty of the person; or the real nature, the proper place, the true purpose and existential condition of the thing. In this manuscript, the word fihaq occurs in this sentence: Maka dilihat itu tiada dalam suatu tempat dan tiada atas suatu fihaq daripada berbetulan

¹See my Mysticism (op. cit.), p. 118 for an example of hendaknya in Ḥamzah’s works; also al-Rānīr’s use of murad in Ḥujjāh, p. 7 cited in the same work, p. 121.
Dan tiada dengan bertemu chahaya atau thahib perjalanan antara yang melihat itu dan antara Allah (15–16). And this translates the Arabic: fa yurā lā ji makānin wa lā alā jiḥatin min muqābalatin wa lā bi ittiṣālī shu‘ār in aw bi thuḥūtīl-masāfati layna’l-rā‘i wa bayna’Llāh. And He is seen not in a place nor from the point of view of one facing the other, nor by the meeting of light rays or by there being an interval stretching between the one who sees and Allāh. The word fihaq here translates jiḥah, which I have translated as ‘the point of view’ since it refers to the point or position from which the one who sees sees what is seen. The point of view points to a direction, which is also what jiḥah means. But in Malay manuscripts generally, as it is here, the second consonant of the word fihaq is spelled with the guttural ḥā‘ (i.e. ḥā‘ besar) and not the faicial ḥā‘ (i.e. ḥā‘ kecil) as in the word haqq. This change can be explained by the fact that both the guttural ḥā‘ and the faicial ḥā‘ belong to the same class of letters known as ḥalqiyyah, whose place of origin is in the fauces so as to make them sound almost indistinguishable. The change of letter in the second consonant of the Malay fihaq does not negate that fact that the word is of Arabic origin, as not only the sound, but more so the meaning is identical. It is also quite usual in Malay to change the spelling of words derived from Arabic where the distinction of sound is negligible. An example is the Malay word peduli (with dāl as the second consonant) derived from Arabic fudūlī (with dād instead of dāl).

Another Malay word whose origin has not been previously identified by lexicologists is hadap, derived from Arabic hadaf. It is usually the case in Malay to convert the consonant f to p in accordance with Malay pronunciation. In Arabic hadafa basically means to approach, or to draw near to, someone or something, with attention or with a clear intent. The object of such approach, hadaf, is that towards whom or towards which one’s being, whether physically, intellectually, or emotionally, is intently directed. Usually hadaf refers to some tall structure, a building, a mountain; something commanding attention, awe, fear. By analogical transference, a tall, big person, a person in high office, a king, is an object of hadaf. And so it is that in Malay we speak of menghadap when we mean an audience with the king;
menghadapi masalah when we mean facing a problem; di hadapan when we mean something in front; ke hadapan when we mean forward; berhadapan when we mean confronting, and so on. In this text, the word mehadap occurs in the following translation of this Arabic passage: ... wa'l-ndifā' i'il-mutawajjih mina'l-bala' ... dan bertolak yang mehadap daripada sesuatu [bala'] (32): and the dispelling of an approaching distress. Here the approaching one who commands your attention, the object of hadaf, al-mutawajjih, yang mehadap, could be someone confronting you with a problem, someone threatening, menacing. In this case also the someone confronting need not appear physically before you, as he could be in your mind. It could also refer to an event, or to some impending calamity.

Among the words used in the Malay text to translate the Arabic are what the translator considered to be equivalent Arabic terms (i.e. as in (3) above). This suggests that the latter were already assimilated into the Malay vocabulary at that time, and that they were known, some generally and others at least among the circle of the educated. These are: rahmah (1), Mal. rahmat, for Arab. ṣalāt, in wa'l-ṣalātu ʿalā rasūlihi: dan rahmat Allāh atas Pesuruh.Nya: and may Allāh’s mercy be upon His Messenger; also for Arab. mubahshirin as menyeriterakan cheritera rahmat: announcing good tidings;

shari'ah (2), Mal. shari'at, for Arab. milah, in najmu'l-millati wa'l-dīn: bintang shari'at dan agama: the star of the revealed Law and of the Religion;

fatwā (2), Mal. hukum, for Arab. musti'il-khāfiqayn: yang memeri fatwā, ya'nī hukum, akan isi mashriq dan maghrib: the dispenser of formal legal opinion, that is, judgements to the inhabitants of the East and of the West;

hāsil (3), Mal. menghasilkan, for Arab. asbāb, in thumma asbābu'l-ilmī li'l-khalqī thalāthatun: maka segala perkara yang menghasilkan 'ilmu bagi makhlūqāt itu tiga perkara: the means of obtaining knowledge for the creatures are three. In this Malay translation, the term makhlūqāt (sing. makhlūq) is used as an equivalent of khalq. The singular form, makhlūq, is also used for khalq in another passage (29): ... li'l-khalq: bagi segala makhlūq: for all creatures;
 hasil (menghasilkan) is also used for Arab. majib, in wa huwa majibun li'l-'umîl-đärûriyy ... (5): ia itu menghasilkan bagi 'ilmu đärûri: for it induces necessary knowledge;
quwwah (6), Mal. diquwwatkan, for Arab. mu'ayyad, in ... al-mu'ayyad bi'l-mu'jizah: yang diquwwatkan dengan mu'jizat: ... confirmed by miracle; also for Arab. ayyada (27), in ... wa ayyadahum bi'l-mu'jizât: dan diberiNya quwwat mereka itu dengan beberapa mu'jizat: and He strengthened them by means of miracles; in another instance quwwah (quwwatNya mengadakan) is used for Arab. takwîn (14), in ... takwînuhu li'l-âlam: takwînNya, ya'ni quwwatNya mengadakan bagi 'âlam, akan 'âlam: ... His creating, that is, His potency in bringing the world into existence from non-existence, the world ...;
fîrd (15), Mal. farad, farû, for Arab. wâjib, in ... wâjibatun bi'll-naqî: dan farad pada naqî: ... and is necessary according to Tradition; and in falasya bi dhâlika wâjibun 'alâ ...: maka tiada demikian itu farû bagi ... (20): ... and it is not incumbent upon ...; and for Arab. ijâb (15), in ... bi ijâbi ru'yati'l-mu'minîna ... dengan memfarduikan melihat segala mu'min itu ... affirming that all Believers shall see ...; and for Arab. yakassu (38), in ... wa yakassu'an ... dan farû kita peliharakan darîpada ... and it is incumbent upon us to refrain ...;
hiyamah (16), Mal. hikmat, for Arab. qa'dâ', in ... wa qa'dâ'îhi ... dan qa'dâNya, ya'ni hikmatNya ...: and His judgement, that is, His wisdom ...;
lâiq (20), Mal. lâiq or layaq, for Arab. aslah, in wa mâ huwa'l-aslahu li'l-âbî sa layya dhâlika bi wâjibin'âlâ'Allâhi ta'âlâ: bermula: barang ia terlebih layaq bagi hamba itu maka tiada demikian itu farû pada Allâh Ta'âlâ: and it is not incumbent upon Allâh, exalted be He, to do what is best for His servant;
haḍrât (24), Mal. haḍrat, for Arab. 'ind, in min 'indi'lllâh: darîpada haḍrat Allâh: from Allâh’s Presence; sâlih (38), Mal. sâlih, for Arab. bîrîn, in kulli bîrîn: segala yang sâlih: the righteous;
fasîq (38), Mal. pâsîq, for Arab. fâjr in kulli bîrîn wa fâjîrin: segala yang sâlih dan pâsîq: the righteous as well as the sinful;
îtiqâd (38), Mal. i'tiqâd, for Arab. nara, in wa nara'l-masîh ... dan kita i'tiqâdûn menyapu ... and we deem appropriate the wiping of ...;
qawm (39), Mal. qawm, for Arab. ahl, in ahlul-batın: Qawm Bātinyyah: the People of Inner Meaning;
nass (39), Mal. nass, for the Arab. pl. nusūs, in wa yahimal-nusūs 'alā zawahirīhā: bermula: menangungkan nass itu, ya'ni Kitāb Ahlu Sunnah wa'l-Jamā'ah, atas zāhirinya juga: The interpretation of the statutes, that is, [as embodied in] the Books of the People of the Approved Way and the Community, is according to their literal meanings ...; also, by extension, to the source of such Books, for Arab. Qur'ān, in wa raddul-nusūs kufur: bermula: menolakkan Qur'ān itu kufur: The rejection of the Qur'ān is unbelief;
qiyyānah (42), Mal. qiyyāmat, for Arab. al-sā'ah, in ... min ashrātīl-sā'ah: daripada tanda qiyyāmat: ... of the Signs of the Last Day.

As to Arabic words whose technical meanings were not familiar at the time, these have been left untranslated and appropriated directly from the Arabic text. Some have been given brief explanations as to their meanings and are among the category of Arabic words indicated in (1), (a) above. These include mutawātit (4.5); darūrī (5.3; 6.3 & 5); isticlālī (6.2; 7.2); badīḥah (6.5); aʿyān (8.2); ʿarad, pl. ʿārād (8.2 & 5; 10.1); jawhar (8.4; 9.2; 10.1). Some of the terms might have been familiar to the educated, but not necessarily understood in their precise senses. These include khabar ṣādiq (3.5; 4.4): berita yang benar: true report, as a means of obtaining knowledge; biʾl-darūratī (5.2): dengan dibichara diketahui adanya: knowledge arrived at naturally, by deliberation; isticlālī (6.2; 7.2): menuntut dalāl: requiring demonstration by proof; dalīl (16.2): menunjukkan: to demonstrate; sabab, pl. asbāb (6.4; 7.4): pegasai: cause, instrumental in arriving at knowledge; kull (7.1): perhimpunan: the whole of something having parts; takwīn (14.3): mengadakan: to create, or bring into existence from non-existence; mukawwasan (14.4): yang diadakan: the created things that have been brought into existence from non-existence; istitāʿah (7.3; 18.2): penguasa hamba yang dijadikan Allāh Taʿālā serta fīl hamba: the servant's power to act that is created by Allāh Most Exalted together with his action; tasāliq (24.3): menyunggukkan: to affirm the truth, to verify; iqār (24.4): mengaku dengan lidah: to acknowledge or to confess with the tongue; ridāʾ (17.2): kegemaran: Allāh's pleasure; waʿad
(30.2): janji memerikan sharga: the promise to reward with Paradise; waʿid (30.2): janji memperikan naraka: the promise to punish with Hell; jamād (32.1): segala yang beku: inanimate objects; ʿajmāʾ (32.1): yang tiada tahu berkata: those that do not know how to speak; maʿzul (37.5): dipachchat: deposed; etc.

The technical terms, which will be defined and listed separately, are derived from usages in the sciences of the Muslims pertaining to the domains of religion (i.e. belief, faith, and action), jurisprudence, theology, philosophy and metaphysics, epistemology, and eschatology.

The names are those pertaining to God, the prophets, angels, beings of the Last Day, persons, religion, schools, sects, tribes and groups, and places.

The phrases are those which are the customary prayers of blessings and salutations, and the Muslim testimony or profession of faith.
## V List of Arabic words in the Malay translation of the ‘Aqā’id

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VI List of technical terms in the Malay translation of the ‘Aqā’id

achara, (S) ruling or judgement with equity or justice, A. ħukm, 16

ada, to be, is, substantive, A. kāna, yokūn, 36, 37, 19 (adanya); 3, 5, 14, 21; inbeing, A. fihā, 17; being-existent, A. mawjud, 22; existence, A. wujūd, 7; the beginning or termination of a period of time, A. qād, 25, 43; adanya, essence, A. dhat, 8, 9, 11, 13, 15; diadakan preceded by yang, originated things, A. al-mukawwan, 14; originated, A. ibta’dā’a, 39; keadaan, states of coming into existence, A. al-aktuwan, 9; function or condition or existential state, A. risālah, khilāfah, 33, 34; mengadakan, preceded by yang, the originator, A. al-muhdith, 9; mengadakan, origination, A. tabwīn, 14; tiada, non-existent, A. mādīm, 41; meniadakan, to annul, to reduce to non-existence, A. munāfīyah, 13

‘ādal, customary way of things, the regular course of nature, A. ‘ādah, 27, 31

agama,(S) religion, A. dīn, 2, 27, 33, 49, 43

ajal, the appointed time of death, A. ajal, 9

‘ajmā‘, animal beings incapable of speech, beasts, A. ‘ajmā‘, 32

ākhirat, the Hereafter, that which comes at the end in human destiny, A. ākhirah, 1, 15

aku, I, myself; mengaku, taking responsibility on myself, acknowledge, mengaku dengan lidah, to confess with the tongue, A. iqrār, 24

‘ālam, the world, in the totality of its parts consisting of substances and accidents, A. ‘ālam, 1, 8, 9, 14, 30

‘amal, good deed, religious work, A. ‘amal, pl. a’māl, 21, 24; surat ‘amal, book of deeds, A. kītab, 21

amar, command, injunction (God’s), A. amr, 39

anggota, (S) members of a body, limbs, instruments of action, A. asbāb, jawārih, 18

apa, quiddity, that which shares the same genus with other things, A. ma‘āyyah, 10

‘aqal, reason, intellect, as a cause of knowledge, A. ‘aql, 3

‘arad, that which does not endure two atoms of time, accident A. ‘araḍ, pl. a’raḍ, 8, 10

āṣi, yang ‘āṣi, disobedient, sinful, immoral, A. ‘āṣī, ‘usāl, 21; ma‘ṣiyat, disobedience, sinfulness, immorality, A. ma‘ṣiyah, 23, 40; ‘isīn, disobedience (of God’s Law), A. ‘isīn, 16

d’īn, substances, which are either
composite (e.g. body) or not composite (e.g. atom), A. a'yan, sing. 'ayn, 8
azal, yang azal, eternity without beginning, A. azaliyyah, 11, 12, 13; azali (adanya), eternal, A. azaliyyah, 14

badilah, that which is self-evident, so that it is known without the operation of thought to adduce proof for it, A. badilah, 6
bagat, (T) kind, specie, A. na'w, 4, 5, 12
bahar, membaharui, new, renewal (of creation), yang membaharui, the Renower, A. al-muḥdith, 9; see ada
bahaya, (S) danger, because of defect, A. al-afa'il, 13
bajik, benefit, something good; kebajikan, good, for A. khayr, 38
bakti (S), faithful service, for A. al-ta'āt as applied to al-a'mal, works (religious), 24
bangkit, to rise, berbangkit, the Resurrection, A. al-ba'ath, 21
baṣīr, seeing, A. baṣīr, 12, melihat, 9
benar, true, A. ḥaqq, 3, 29; membenari, to see that justice is done, A. ansāf, 37; sebenarinya, certain, verified as real, A. mutaḥaqqaqi, 3; is real, is true, A. ḥaqq, 21, 22, 25, 30, 42; to be correct, right, conforming with the truth, A. muḥtiqq, 33
berat, heavy, weighty, diberati, burdened (by legal responsibility), A. kalāfa, 18; memberatkan, the positing of legal responsibility, A. takliṣ, 18
berita, (S), narrative, report, is of two kinds; true report (berita yang benar); the report conveyed by the Messenger, A. khabar, 3
betapa, quality, one of the Aristotelian categories (poison), A. kayfsiyah, 10
bichara, (S) deliberate, natural, of necessity, tahu dengan dibichara diketahui adanya, knowledge that is arrived at deliberately, naturally, of necessity, A. bi'il-derarati, 5
bilang, dibilang, numbered, meaning having number and multiplicity, a thing numbered is a locus of quantities, A. ma'did, 10
binasa, (S) binasa, the coming into ruin, A. al-afa'il, 13, see bahaya
buat, perbuat, acts, actions, A. afa'il, sing. fi'l, 16, 17; work, A. sun', 19
buddhi, (S), reason, intellect, A. aql, 6, 15; tiadakan datap pada buddhi, reason cannot conceive, A. la yataṣawwar, 5; see 'aqal
dalil, to demonstrate, to prove, A. dal'il, 6, 7, 15, 21; meaning given in Malay is to demonstrate, menunjukkan, 15; that which requires proof by demonstration, A. istidāl, 6, 7, is menuntut dalili; see ilmu
daruhaka, (S), disobedience, A. 'isyān, 16; tyranny, A. al-jauw, 38
dengar, to hear; menengar, preceded by yang, the Hearing, one of God's attributes (al-ма'na'wiyyah) A. al-sa'mi', 9; penengar, Hearing, referring to the essential attribute (al-ма'āni), A. al-sa'mu', 11
dhāt, the essence of God in which inhere His attributes, which are
LIST OF TECHNICAL TERMS

referred to as consisting of ideas (ma‘ānī) and of those derived from ideas (ma’nawiyyah), A. al-dhāl, 15, 26

dīm, silence, the coming into silence, A. al-sukūl, 13, a defective quality impossible in God
dīrī, self, A. nafs, 25; berdiri, to subsist, A. qiyyām, 8, 9; qā‘imatun, 11, 13
du‘ā’, do‘a’, pinta, to call, supplicate, invoke God in favour of oneself or of someone; to pray, request, appeal for blessing from God, A. du‘ā’, 41

ghayb, unseen, the unseen things, world, future, A. ghayb, 41

ḥadd, limit, A. ḥadd, pl. ḥudūd, here in the plural sense as meaning the limits of the territory of Islam, 37; here in the plural sense as meaning the restrictive ordinances or statutes derived from the Holy Qur‘ān, 34

ḥadīth, a saying or a tradition of the Holy Prophet, A. ḥadīth, pl. ahadīth, 21, 27

ḥadrat, presence (God’s), A. ḥadrat, 24

ḥāl, circumstance, case, matter, A. ḥāl; usually, as is found here, preceded by pada: pada ḥāl, in the event of, in the case of, as in A. fi ḥāl, 22

ḥalāl, lawful, A. halāl, 19; mehalākun, menghalakun, A. istihlāl, 23, 40

ḥaqiq, a reality, a truth, A. ḥaqiq; pada ḥaqiq, fi ḥaqiq, on behalf of, 23, see benar

ḥaqiqat, reality, A. ḥaqiqah, pl. ḥaqiqāt, the reality of a thing and its quiddity (see apa) together constitutes that by which the thing is what it is. As something existing extramentially it is called a reality; as something individualized it is a particular existent; considered in itself in the mind it is a quiddity, 3

ḥarām, unlawful, A. harām, 19; tiada harām, not unlawful A. lä yaḥrum, 39

ḥarus, allowable, possible, A. jā’iz, 15; yajūzu, 38; istihlāl: mengharuskam, making something allowable, 23, see ḥalāl

ḥāsil, result, outcome, A. ḥāsil,
menghasilkan, as means of obtaining; segala perkara yang menghasilkan ‘ilmu: the means of obtaining knowledge, A. asbāb, 3; as that which induces, or brings about, A. mujib followed by li, 5, 6 ḥawd, the Pool, or Tank, or Cistern of the Holy Prophet, to which believers will gather to drink from on the day of resurrection, A. al-ḥawd, 21 ḥayāt, the divine attribute of Life, A. ḥayāt, 11 hendak, should be, expressing desire, A. an yokiuna, hendak ada, 36, see ada; kehendak, desire (of God), A. mashdah, 16; will, A. shā’a, yashā’u, 20, 23, 25, 30; berkehendak, willing, an active attribute of God, A. murid, 10; īrādah, 12; what one has need for (in the case of man), A. yahāj followed by īlā, 27; al-ḥājat preceded by ‘inda 31; dikehendaki with the suffix nya preceded by barang siapa, whosoever He desires, or wills, A. man yashā’, 20; mehendaki preceded by yang, the desiring, which is among God’s attributes derived from ideas (ṣifat ma’aniyyah) pertaining to His essential attributes, which consist of ideas (ṣifat ma’ānī), A. al-shā’i, 9; A. al-mash’ah, 12 hidup, preceded by yang, the Living, one of God’s attributes, A. al-ḥayy, 9; kehidupan, sustenance, A. riq, 12 ḥikmat, wisdom, sagacity, perspicacity, A. ḥikmah, 26 himpun, to assemble, gather, meet in one place; perhimpunan, the whole of something composed of parts, A. kull (q.v.), 7 ḥingga, limit, boundary, end; tiada berhingga, having no limit, boundary or end, A. lā mut-ṣāhin, 10; tiada datat di hingga, that which cannot be limited, A. lā maḥdu’din, 10 ḥisāb, reckoning on the day of judgement, A. al-ḥisāb, 21 ḥukum, legal ruling, A. fatwā, 3; judgement, A. qadā’, 16; segala ḥukum, laws, statutes, A. ahkām, sing. ḥukm, 24, 34, 37 ikhtiyār, choice (between possible alternatives), A. ikhtiyār; since this word is derived from the A. root khāra (khayara), from which the meaning ‘good’ (khayr) is formed, the implication is that the choice that is true would be the choice for the better. In this case the word occurs with reference to man’s possession of actions of choice, perbuatan ikhtiyār, A. af’al ikhtiyāriyyah, 17 ikhtisābī, acquired (knowledge), obtained by means of acquisition, A. ikhtisābī, 7 ḥālām, it is what is suggested to the mind by God in the way of giving information that calls for action. It dispenses with the need for proof by demonstration, A. ḥālām, 7 ‘ilm, knowledge, A. ‘ilm, 3, 5, 6, 7, 11, 43; classified as necessary, darūrī, 5, 6; and acquired, ikhtisābī, 7; necessary knowledge, as contrasted with acquired knowledge, is natural, bestowed by nature, instinctive, by divine appoint-
ment bestowed on the creatures; it is intuitive, immediate, axiomatic; it originates without thought or reflection or intellectual examination of an evidence or a proof; acquired knowledge requires reflection, deliberation by thought, and intellectual examination of an evidence or a proof; it requires rational demonstration; and this acquired knowledge that becomes established by such reflection, deliberation, examination and demonstration is called deductive knowledge, 'ilmu istidālī, A. al-‘ilm al-istidlāli, 6, 7; see badīhah; bichara; datīl; fiqī; iktaṣābi
īmām, a leader; A. īmām, pl. a‘immah, in the sciences of religion, 1, 2, 43; in the government of the Muslim Community, 36
īmān, faith, the becoming true to the trust by which God has confided in one, not by profession of belief with the tongue only, without the assent of the heart; it is verification (tasādiq, q.v.) by the heart, acknowledgement of what is verified (iqār, q.v.) by the tongue, concomitant action ('amal, pl. a‘mal q.v.) by the body; faith and submission (īslām, q.v.) are one, A. īmān, 16, 22, 24, 25
iqār, to become aware of the true; mengaku dengan tahu, A. al-iqār, 24, 25, 33; see īmān, īslām, tasādiq
īrādah, the divine will, an attribute of God, A. al-īrādah, willing, 14, 16; see hendak
īslām, submission, intellectually, spiritually, physically, during one’s whole mature life, to Allāh as enacted in the religion of Īslām, A. al-īslām, 25; īslām and īmān (q.v.) are one istidlāli, deductive as opposed to necessary knowledge; A. istidlāli, 6, 7; see ‘ilmu īṣṭiṣāʿah, ability to act in obedience of God, and it points to the reality of the power by which the action comes about, and the coming about of the action is facilitated by means of the soundness of the causes, instruments and bodily members, A. al-īṣṭiṣāʿah, 17, 18; see anggota, pegawai, sabab (asbāb)
īsyaʿah, disobedience of God, the contrary of ṣoʿah (q.v.), A. īsyaʿah, 16; this leads to immorality and sinfulness; see ‘āsī, daruhaka
īṭiqād, to bind in the mind, to believe firmly, A. Ṣṭiqād; kita Ṣṭiqadkan for A. nara, 38, is to establish a conviction based on individual judgement
jadi, to become, to come into existence; dijadikan, to be made to come into existence, to be created, created thing, A. makhlūq, 18, 22; menjadikan, creating, producing, A. takhlīq, 12, 19; preceded by the definitive article yang (equivalent of A. al-), the Creator, A. khāliq, 16
jahat, evil, vile, bad; kejahatan, evil, in menyertakan cheritera kejahatan, announcing warnings of evil, A. mundhirin, 27
jamād, inanimate body or being, A. al-jamād, 32
jauhar, substance, the part that cannot be further divided, atom; it is also one of the ten Aristotelian categories, ousa, A. al-jauhar, 8, 9, 10
jisim, body, a material substance having a three-dimensional nature which is capable of division without losing its identity as a body, it belongs to the genus of quantity, A. al-jisim, 8, 9, 10
kalām, speech (of God), i.e. the Holy Qur'ān, A. kalām, 13
karāmah, nobility of spiritual rank, due to God's gift of grace; hence its possessor, who is a saint, manifests this nobility by way of a wonder which he works on behalf of the Prophet of whom he is a follower, A. karāmah, 30, 31, 32
kata, (S) uttered word, speech, A. kalām (q.v.), 12; berkata, speaks, A. mutakallim, 12; berkata-kata, speaking (A. mutakallim), 13, see kalām
keji, preceded by yang, vile, foul, base, A. al-qabīh, 17
kekal, continuity in existence, kekal keduanya, both shall remain forever, A. bāqiyyatān, 22; tiada dikekalakan mereka'itu, they shall not be made to dwell forever, A. la yahwalladūna, 24
kenal, to know, to cognize; mengenal, cognition, A. al-ma'rifah, 7
kerja, (S) to do, to work; mengerjakan pekerjaan, to do the work, A. al-'āmil, pl. al-āmilūna, 29
khabar, report, A. khabar, pl. akhbār; beberapa khabar, 24; khabar sādīq, true report which is a cause of knowledge, A. al-khabar al-sādīq, 3, is of two kinds: khabar mutawātīr, report that is successively transmitted, A. al-khabar al-mutawātīr, 4; khabar Rasūl Allāh, report of the Messenger of Allāh, A. khabar al-rasūl, 5; see berita, mutawātīr, sādīq
khālifah, successor, caliph, A. khālifah, 43
khilāfat, succession, caliphate, A. khilāfat, 43
kitāb, book, A. al-kitāb, 21, here it is the Book of Deeds that is meant, the sūrat ‘amal (see ‘amal); beberapa kitāb, several books, A. kutub, 29, the Books that God has revealed to certain of His Prophets
kuasa, (S) power; yang kuasa, the Powerful, A. al-Qādir, 9; penguasa, potency, might, A. al-qawwāl, 11; the ability, the power in the creature to bear responsibility for his actions, 18
kufur, unbelief, rejection of what is true, A. kufir, 16, 22, 23, 40, 41; kafir is the person who is an unbeliever and a rejector of what is true, pl. segala kafir, the unbelievers, A. al-kāfirin, 20
kull, the whole of what is composed of parts, A. kull, 7
laku, conduct, behaviour, one's manner of effecting something, 30; jatuh laku, to take effect, A. yaqa'ū, 17; tiada berlaku, does not
affect, A. lā yajī, 11, with reference to God, in that time does not affect Him, i.e. does not pass Him by
larang, forbid, prohibit; larang Nya, His prohibition, A. nahyahu, 30
lemah, weak, having no capacity; melemahkan, incapacitation, A. mu'jizah, 6; see mu'jizah
lenyah, to cease to exist, the cessation of being, A. faniya, yusnā, 22
lihat, to see, yang melihat, the Seeing One, A. al-baṣṣir, 9, with reference to God's attribute of Sight, A. al-baṣar, 12

makhlūq, created thing, A. makhlūq, 13, 19; segala makhlūq, all creatures, A. al-khalq, 29, 3
malā'ikah, angels, A. al-malā'ikah, 29, 43
ma'na, meaning; segala ma'na, meanings, A. ma'ānin, 39
masa, time, A. zamān, 11
maṣiyyah, disobedience, A. maṣiyyah, 23, 40; see 'āsi, daruhaka mūhdath, non-eternal, originated, A. mūhdath, 8; see ada
mu'jizah, evidentiary miracle, the incapacitation, A. al-mu'jizah, active participial noun of the fourth form of the verb 'ajaza, which is 'ajaza; an act performed by a Prophet which contradicts the normal way of things, by which his opponents are rendered incapable of producing the like and are therefore incapacitated. The rendering of it in Malay as melemahkan is meant to convey this meaning of incapacitation, 6, 27, 32

mujahid, one learned in expounding the practice of religious knowledge; a foremost leader among the jurisconsults, one who formulates independent decisions in legal or theological matters, based on the interpretation and application of the four foundations, e.g. the Holy Qur'ān, the Sunnah of the Holy Prophet, Analogy, Consensus, A. al-mujahid, 43
mukawwan, originated things, A. al-mukawwan, 14; see ada
mu'min, believer, one who has faith, A. al-mu'min, 22, 25; pl. al-mu'minin: segala mu'min, 15, 21, 24; see imān
muraqqab, composite (of substance such as body—jism q.v.), A. muraqqab, 8
mutawātir, successively transmitted (of true report), by the tongues of people of whom reason cannot conceive that they would purpose together on a lie, A. al-mutawātir, 4;

nahy, prohibition (by God), A. al-nahy, 39; see larang
naqal, Tradition, which is also true report of the Messenger, A. al-naqāl, 15; see khabar, mutawātir
naraka, (S) Hell, A. al-nār, 22
nāṣ, the text or very words (of the Holy Qur'ān and the Sunnah), a statute or an ordinance derived from them and indicated by the manifest meaning, A. pl. nusūs; menanggungkan nāṣ for yahmal al-nusūs, 39
nyata, the becoming clear, manifest, A. yaẓhar, 32;
nyatanya, certainty, A. tayaqqun, 6

pancha’indera (S), the five senses, one of the causes of knowledge, A. al-hawass al-khams, 3

pandita (S), yang pandita, the learned, A. al-‘alim, 1

pegawai, an instrument which is the medium by which the doer brings about the desired effect on the thing done (A. ālat, pl. ālāt, 18; this medium is therefore a cause, and it is used here in the sense of sabab (q.v.) as a means of obtaining knowledge, A. sabab, 6

peri, attribute, A. sīfah, 12; pl. sīfāt: berapa peri, 11; diperikan, to be described, A. yāṣafu, 10, 29

perigi, the Cistern of the Holy Prophet, A. al-hawd (q.v.), 21

qādā’, judgement, A. qādā’, 16; also ḥikmat. Nya for qādā’. Nya, 16; see ḥikmat, hakam

qā’im, subsistent, A. qā’imatun bi dhātihī, qā’im ia dengan dhātīna, 14; synonymous with berdiri, see diri

qiyāmat, resurrection; here it stands for the Last Hour, A. al-sā’ah, 42; which is heralded by the signs described

qudrat, Power, one of God’s essential attributes, A. al-qudrāh, 11

quwwat, potency, might, strength, power, capability; yang diquwwatkan dengan, to be strengthened by, A. al-mu‘ayyad bi, 6; diberi. Nya quwwat mereka itu, He strengthened them, A. ayyadihun bi, 27; quwwat. Nya

mengadakan bagi ‘alām, His potency in bringing forth the world from non-existence into existence, A. takwīnuhu li al-‘alām, 14

rahmat, mercy, A. al-rahmah, 1, 40; menyeriterakan cheritera rahmat, announcing glad tidings, A. mujabshirin, 27

ridā’, good pleasure (of God); dengan ridā’ Allāh Ta’āla, by Allah’s good pleasure, A. bi ridā’i’llāhi ta’āla, 17; see garn

rizqi, appointed sustenance, A. rice, 19, 20

rupa, form, resemblance; tiada dirupakan, not a thing formed, A. lā muṣawwar, 10; dan tiada menyerupai Dia swatu pun, and none resembles Him, A. wa lā yushbihuhu shay’un, 11

sabab (sebab), cause, means of, means of arriving at knowledge, A. sabab, 6; pl. asbāb, 3, 7; see hasil, pegawai, khabar, pancha’indera, ‘aqal

sadaqah, alms, charitable gift, in the form of prayer or of things of value, A. sadaqat, pl. sadaqat, 4; sadīq, true, of reports; khabar ṣadīq, berita yang benar, true report, A. al-khabar al-ṣadiq, 3, 4; one of the causes of knowledge; see khabar

sadya (S), sedia, what has always been, what already is, yang sadya, the Eternal, eternal; A. al-qadim, 9

ṣahh, validity, dan ṣahh mememberikan, the validity of positing responsibility, A. wa šīhāt al-taklīf, 18; authenticated, sound.
LIST OF TECHNICAL TERMS.

apabila sahîh bagi hamba itu taṣdîq, when the verification is authenticated in the servant, A. wa idhâ sahîha li’l-’abdîl-taṣdîq, 25
sâlih, segala sâlih, the righteous A. kutil birrin, 38
sam’tî, of the hearing kind, i.e., based on hearing (reports); dalîl sam’tî, proof based on true report (hadîth q.v.), A. al-dalîl al-sam’tî, 15; pl. beberapa dalîl sam’tî, A. al-dalîl al-sam’tîyyah, 21
sejotera, soundness, atas sejotera, on the soundness of, A. ‘alâ salâmat, 17
sembahyang, to worship in the form of performance of the prescribed prayer, A. al-salât, 38
setengah, some, A. ba’d, 20; bersetengah, portioned or divided, A. mutaba’d, 10
sharî’at, the Sacred Law of Islâm, A. al-millah, 2; al-sharî’ah, 40; shara’, 42, conveys the same meaning
shharga (S) Paradise, A. al-jannah, 2, 22, 38
sifat, sîfât, attribute (of God), peri (q.v.), A. al-sifâh, pl. sîfât, 11, 12, 13, 14, 26
sîhhat, soundness (in respect of knowledge), A. sîhhat, 7
su’âl, the Questioning by the two angels, A. su’âl, 21
suku, the part, A. al-juz’, 8, 14; sukunya, its part, A. juz’hi, 7; pl. segala sukunya, all its parts, A. ajzâ’hi, 14; yang [tiada] bersuku, not further divided into parts, A. la yatajazzâ, 8; tiada bersuku, not divided, A. la mutajazzin, 10
sungguh, truly, really; menyungguhkan, to really or truly affirm, to verify, A. al-taṣdîq, 24; to affirm as true, A. taṣdîq, 41
susun, to arrange the several parts; bersusun, compounded (of several parts), A. mutarakkib, 10
suruh, command; suruh.Nya, His command, A. amrîhi, 29; pesuruh, messenger, A. rasîl, pl. rusul, 1, 26, 32, 33, 43; menyuruhkan, the sending of (messengers: rusul), A. ırsâl, 26; telah disuruhkan, had sent, A. qad arsala, 26
ta’tîl, loyal service (to God), obedience of God, A. al-ta’tîl, 16, 21; pl. al-ta’tîl, 24, is loyal service rendered to God: kebaktian; see bakti
tahu, to know, knowledge, A. al-‘ilm, 5, 7; mahâtahu, omniscient, A. al-‘alîm, 9; melemah, giving information, A. al-ilhâm, 7; diketahui, known, A. ma‘lîm, 5, 41; pengetahuan, knowledge, A. al-‘ilm; see badîhah, bikhun, ilhâm, ‘ilâm
	akut, reverential fear, segala yang takut, all who fear (God), A. al-muttaqa’in, 1; berbuat takut, the doer of reverential fear, A. al-muttaqa’, 1
takhliq, creating, menjadikan, A. al-takhliq, 12
takwîn, originating, mengadakan, A. al-takwîn, 14
taqdîr, God’s decree or ordainment, whether for good or for bad, A. al-taqdîr, 16
tarzîq, appointing sustenance, A. al-tarzîq, 12
taṣdîq, to verify, verification, A. al-taṣdîq, 24, 25; to authenticate one’s faith (imân q.v.)
tawajjūh, at first glance without the necessity of thought, A. tawajjūh, 6; with reference to what is self-evident; see badīḥah teguh, to be firmly established or fixed; this is a synonym for thābit (q.v.), A. thābit: thabāt, 6: 'ilmu yang teguh, the knowledge that is established (6); dan teguhnya, and in fixity (6).

tempat, place, it refers to one of the Aristotelian categories (pou); although here it means an actual locus, A. makān—a place to be, 10, 15; bertempat, having a locus, A. tanakkān, 10

thābit, to be firmly established (q.v. teguh), A. thābit, 3, 5, 6, 7, 16, 21, 23

timbangan, the Balance, where a person's deeds will be weighed on the Day of Judgement, A. al-wazn, 21

ilāh, the command (of God), A. amr, 29, 30; correlate of nāhī (q.v.) or larang (q.v.)

iti, the Narrow Bridge, where everyone will have to cross after the Judgement A. al-širāź, 21

unjuk, to demonstrate by way of proof, the meaning being derived from that of the Arabic root dalā'; menunjukkan, demonstration, proof, evidence, A. dalīl, 15; see dalīl, istidāl

untung, one's lot, whether good or bad; Malay equivalent of Arabic taqdir, (q.v.), 16

wa'ad, God's promise of reward:
janji memerikan shorga, A. wa'ad, 30
wa'id, God's threat to punish: janji memerikan narakā, A. wa'id, 30
wali, a saint of God, A. wali, 30, 31, 32, 33, 39; a guardian of minors, A. wali, 35; see karāmat wujūd, existence; with reference to the continuous creation, that the world together with all its parts is created at the moment of its existence, A. wujūd, 14; see ada, jadi

zāhir, what is clearly manifested in the texts of the statutes or ordinances (i.e. the Holy Qurān and the Sunnah), A. zāhir, pl. zāwāhir, 39; see nāṣ
VII Facsimile of the manuscript: the text of the ‘Aqā’id

Omaris, Abu Ḥāfẓu, Fīlī Mohamme-
dis, fil. ‘Abdulras, Nesebīnīs,
(Tarazi.)

Arabice cum veteribus, Divitium
Malacâ
Script. anno
Hegira 998.
Cr. T. 1540.

End. Andreas Nieder Frasera
Signis.
بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

كلما كتب ابن عمه أم، فلم يسأل أخاه عن نيته.

لحمد الله ورب الحالين والخالقين،
كلمته إن درسها، حكاية فأنا أخبر.

المتقين والصلاة على سيرته،
ما باقي في قلبه من حكايته.

ممخ على الله أجمعين، قال الشيخ:
محمد بن كثيران، صلى الله عليه.

الإمام أمير العالم، العالم المتقين
بمأ لتهذيب ما ينفيه، نبأته كاب.
بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

وَالَّذِينَ آمَنُوا وَاتَّقُوا...
أكل الحق أسرهم الله أبداً
حقيقاً الأشياء ثابتةً والعلم
مهما خلقت، خلائق الله ضعفت نياً
فلما نفست نفي، في بنيك
المفهوم، والمجرد، والأنسان
ثم قبر البر، الجمل من الحواس
لمن جمع جمع، ينفعه عين
الدلائل، والدبر الصادق
قلت يوم كأنه فحناً
إنه شربت فنجان
بَغْيَةً
فالمؤازير الهلالي، والخير الصادق.

الإمام، والمجدد، والمحترم، والدوق، والناصر.

هناك كثير من الأفكار، كتمام، ودراساته، ودراساته.

وبحكاية من هناك، يوصف علماً.

ورموز النسيان، هي سباق فضيل الرؤية، من فقدان القوة.

وضفته له، وكان الصادق، عليه.

اعتب، وتموه، وتموه، وتموه.

نوعين، واحد في الخبر، والتوارث، وكل.
للنبرة القاتبة على النية قوم لا يتصور
خير ينثاب ذو كليبه فقوم يلتفت كل ذوات
تواطأ هم على اللذب وهو بالضمر
فئته من الخانقين ومقتلهما في الطائرات
و пуغ منجي للعلمة القرية كالجاحم
ابن لامان محاكمين بعلم ضريحري
باللوك المثلية في النوبة الامضة
كين كن راع يعزلون ذكر ماس بين شباش
والبلدان النائية والثانية خبر الشفه
كدولالي خبر سويسري جائي
103
الموسيقى والخيال وفهم منجوب العلم
يأتي من قارئين عن مجوهر
النيل.

العُلم الجديد والعلم الثابت به يضاف.

 danskia

العلم الثابت بالضرورة في التحق.

علم الكل

علم عقلوموري قريب

والذات

وأما الحفل فشوب العلم

كهن

فما الشخصية بالبدائية فشوب العلم.

فما مثلاً يُهاَب للشيء

فما مثلاً يُهاَب للشيء.
فالعلم إن حكّاية أعظم من جزيرة
سنت علم أن نعود نستعد صادقون
وانتصرت منة بالاستدلال الغنو الجميل
وكان عبد الله بن عبد الله بن عبد الله
كان ابنه ائذانا للعلم والعلماء
فلما وقع في النار بعد نظرية اللسان
سنت علم أن ندافع
والعلم ليس من أسباب المعرفة بصفة
بمود العلماء يهادا يهدى سبيل مصلحة
الله تعالى عهد أهل الحق، نشرهم الله
رسالة غاية لحق

[7]
العالم يجيء مخلदاً مخلداً، إلا هو
عالمين مخلدين.

اعيان وأعراص، فعالاً، فعالاً مالاً قيام
كلان عيان، نعراص، مكاران اب، فعلي فإبراره

بداية وهو ثم امرتغح حاليهر
مغن آوان
ابدايت الهالن مرب سرب سرب

أوعيمرضح حاليهر، فواليبر
الدعايات تعرب، سرب جعبر
ابدايت سربر

الذي لا ينجز، وقوقول، فجر، وأغراض
بمارب ابربار
مَالِقَ آيَاتِ اللهِ بِذَاتِهِ وَحَدَّثَتْ فِي الأَطْهَام
بِمُتَّجَدِدِ الْمَلَائِكَةِ جَلَّ لَهُ وَلَحَمَّامٌ نَّعْلَى عَلَى وَشَرَّةِ جَمِيعِ
وَأَجَبَهُ الْحَبَّاءُ عَلَى لَوْانِ وَالْأَحْسَاسُ
وَالْجَعْفُرِ سَهَرَتْ عَلَى وَرَن- وَمَكْرُ عَلَى
وَالْمِلْعَارِ وَالْجَذَّامُ وَالْحُجَّاجُ
وَدَنُو بِسَلْسَالٍ مُكَانٌ دَنْ سَلْسَالٌ وَدَنْ سَلْسَالٌ
لِلْجَهَّاَلِ خَوَافَةً الْأَعْظَامِ الْقَطِيفَةِ
جَغَدَتْ عَلَى رَبِّكُمْ الْجَهَّاَلِ خَوَافَةً الْأَعْظَامِ
أَلْقَىَ النِّعْمَةُ السَّيِّدِ السَّيِّدُ الْبَيِّنُ الْأَكْبَارُ
الازيل ليس بحرض وكاجينم وأجره
فق_remainingت بكون اسم عبر
Dan بكون (ب) جسيم
نابكن (لب) مجر
ولله نفس يوم عجز
ولله مخدود
Dan ثيده رفائن
Dan شيا ومثبت
ولله مخبر وكلمترب
Dan نيا وبرسو
نابتشا بمستقر
ولا تنشاه ولا يوصف باللائعة ولا
Dan ثيده دمك وطريق وليل
Dan ثيده (لب) نيام
بالحكنية ولا يمكن في ممثالي
Dan ثيده وبمثبت طرسات ممثت
وعن بتأث
ولا يجنى عليه زمنًا ولا يشتهيه
دائمًا دوّاره
وكان نحوي عن علبه وقابله
سوات طنون داين يناده كهدور مرنعههن.
وهل صفاته أرليه قايمة
سوات طنون داين أداه برادم نجمي بالرذر تمريرطهن.
بدأت هه وليه هه ولا غيره ولي
وكان مثبات بكره ونابوقن الإيماني.
العلم والقدرة والحياة والقوة والثمرة
علم الله دون مدرة داين حبوبه وان تطواس داين شتفر.
والبشر والشاذة والشجاعة والشجاعة والشجاعة
لأن بشر

والكفر والتكفير وال الكلام

والتعتيلة والتركية وتكلم الكلام

والحالة تحايلي متصل وتكلم واحد

وهو وصفة أمرية ليس من حسن

ولن يواري فماري بن عزر

الحرف والأصوات ووصفه

سكاكا كأر دان كل سوار

لا نبات خرير

110 THE OLDEST KNOWN MALAY MANUSCRIPT
لا يمكن قراءة النص العربي في الصورة المقدمة.
با وانا مستقل على متن الغزال فنياه
وعين صدام تدريجات ناس نبيك تفدوه مايق من
والكلام صفة دله تعالى أزلية وله
بورعون ساعد تعالى

كلونة العالم فلكل جزء من أجل
كلونه أعظم العالم

لو كنت موجود وموضوع الكل فكأن
فلا يعود

وأراد صفة الله تعالى أزلية فطية
فهؤلاء ات سوات نفسه أعلم تعالى أزلية

وأراد صفة الله تعالى أزلية فطية
فهؤلاء ات سوات نفسه أعلم تعالى أزلية
블안의 97조 조리와 행부하강의
주만에의 불사 조리 위엄의

خلافة ـ أقبة بالنقاط ـ ورد الديل
بوب ـbron مخصوص ردولل
دور ویر

السمعي ـ باب نزوة المعنی
سحي ـ ببوب مخصوص طهبت سكا سن ـ يب

الله تعالى في الدار الأخر في كن كن في
من الحلي ـ لبقر ـ أشرت
كل دهعت اللي تدح

مكاني وفله جماعة من مقامه للثقال
سوات مفت ـ دان شياد ـ مسحة فيهم
وشرب من دان شياد ـ عنปร
شهدوا أو شعرت السعادة بين الرأي
جماهير رماة فجرالان الزراعي مليئة.

وينى إنه 0 واقعة تعالي خالص كلام
بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم تبكيين على ضيوفنا.

العابدم بمجردة اللبنان والطاعة
عليكم هيب دل كضم ونابان ومانا.

والعضان وهم حكما بفصيلة الله
وان عصبيا ده مين اللبسين ده.

تعالي وإأرادته وحكي ففطيلة وتقدير
تعالي كان رآته وحكي ففطيلة وتقدير

وان أيكان كان حسان كان تدير
بعنري حياة ابنا ونستعين.
وللعبارت فيها معناها المفيد فيما يلي:

1. بصرف كل شيء من خلال خبراتك وخبرات الآخرين.
2. استغلال كل فرصة.
3. قلبيه وصغيره.

وهذا الصحيح، فإنها ليست برضاء. والنص من هنا:

\[\text{عدلي، داود،} \]

1. قلبيه وصغيره.
2. استغلال كل فرصة.
3. قلبيه وصغيره.

من الفعل و فيه حقيقة القدرة التي كن كن

1. قلبيه وصغيره.
2. استغلال كل فرصة.
3. قلبيه وصغيره.

ويقع لهذا الأسلم على سلامة

1. قلبيه وصغيره.
2. استغلال كل فرصة.
3. قلبيه وصغيره.

على اسم علمائنا: \[\text{سمح الله،} \]
الإنساب والألب والحمى وعج وفحة
كما وردت في النص العامي.

التحليف تحت يد علي فلساطة
يمكن أن يستخدم في هذه الوسائط

وكان أسلوب العنب بالليس في وسيلة
دالة وسيلة، ويعتبر مرشحاً.

وأما إيجاد من ألم في المضر وعيب
يعد باع وضوء مرضي، ممكناً.

صبر الإنسان والامتناع بخلاف
प्राकृतिक रूप से पढ़ाई जा सकता है।
عَقِيِّبَ كَوْنِيَّةُ يَوْمَا الْيَوْمِ هْوَ اَشْهَدُهُ يَا كَلاً
كَذَلِكَ كَيَّدُعَانِي مَانِيَ وَأَلْصِنَ أَعْلَى هَيَّاءُ كَيْلَٰذَي

كَيْلَٰذُ قَ مَيَّةٍ تَتَحَلَّى وَلَا صَنَعٌ لَّهُ أَعْلَيْهِ فِي مَتَىِ
تَفَلْقُ اسْتَحْلَاتِي حَيْرَةُ دَنْ تَنَأَّيَ بِخَبَرِيَّ سَلْيٌ لَّهُ أَحَدُ يَدُهِ
وَكَيْلَٰذُ لَهُمْ بِأَخِيْلهُ وَالْمَلَّ وَالْقَتَّالِ
بِمِرْجَبَمُ مَاتٌ دَرْزَبْ رَبُّ يَا خَلَقُ أَجِلُّ جَوُّرُ rag ٌبِنَ بُنْزَتِي

وَأَهْدِهِ وَالْخَرَامُ بِذَقٍ وَكَلِمَةً تَفْقِ
وَعِبِّدُ لى مِهِبِي بِحُجَّةٍ بَرَقَ بَرْدَل يَوْمٍ سَمُّهُ سَمَّى

رَقِّي نَفْسِي خَلَا لَا أُقَذِّبُ أَوْحَرَ اسْمَهَا
رَقِّي وَرَقِّي جَزَى مَا حَلَّلَ إِلَّا أَنْتُوحَرَ
ولا تفسروا أن أُلْكَ أَحُدًا رَزْقٌ غَيْرُهُ
وزَوُنَا وَأَعْلَمُ وَسُوَّاهُ رَزْقَ فَلَيْتَ
أُوْيَ بَلَاءَنَا بَزْغَةٌ هُوَ اللَّهُ مُثْلِي بَلَاءٌ
وَإِنَّمَا يَشَاءُ يَمْهِلُ عَلَيْهِ مِنْ بَزْغَةٍ
وَإِنَّمَا يَشَاءُ يَمْهِلُ عَلَيْهِ وَمَا إِلَّا أَصْلُ
فَبِعَادِهِ خَلَقَ كَمِنْ كَرُونَ وَأَلْبَاتُ كَمِنْ كَرُونَ
لِلْحَبِّ فَلِيُنَّ بَلَاءً عَلَى اللَّهِ تَعَالَى
فَبِعَادِهِ خَلَقَ كَمِنْ كَرُونَ وَأَلْبَاتُ كَمِنْ كَرُونَ
وَعَدَّنَا اللَّهُ مَعَاهُمَا مَرَّيٌ وأَلْبَاتُ
عصفة المؤمنين وتعتيم أهل الطاعة

من ذهبنا جعلى فين يحكم لنا حكمة أهل الطاعة

في القرآن وسوء المثل وثاني أثاب بالذات

دم ذهباً كانا مكر وكثير زيت غلا أوان مشهور

السيحه والبحث الحق والندق

سعي في حديث

والبحث الحق والندق والمحض

وان لقاب م하신 سنو سبعن سنو سنو

فحوى وحق وثالث الحق والمحض

سبندان من حبيب سنو سنو سنو
والثأرٍ حَق وَهَما الحَلِيقان
وَالشَّرْرُ سَنْ أَنْنَا كَلَا لَوْ كَانَ بِأَبِي جَدٍّ يَسْتَقِيرُ
الَّذِينَ مَوْجُودُوُنَّ بِأَقْهَالٍ وَكَانُوا يُقَلِّبُونَ وَأَقْلِبُونَ
مَنْ أَمَرَ كُبْرَاءٌ فِي جَارِيٍّ كَأَنْ كُرَانَ لَيْسَ كُرَانَ كَأَنْ كُرَانَ لَيْسَ
أَنْقَلِبْوا هَمَّ وَالمَكْسِيَّةَ لِأَقْحَرَ الْحَنْدَ
إِبِ السُّلَطَانِ بِمَرْعَةٍ وَبِشْرَابِي تَبْعَثُونَ مَخْلُوقُونَ صَدِيقٌ
مَتَخَلِّمٌ مِنَ الأَلْوَامِ وَلَا تَنْخَلُّهُ فِي الْخَرْفِ
يَمْسَرُونَ عَمَّالِيَانِ دَانَ تَبْعَثُونَ دِيَاءً مَعْلُوْنَ مَعْلَوْنَ
وَأَنْقَلِبَ لَكَ أَيْضَّا لَا يَفْعَلُنَّ هُمْ وَلَيْسَ
مَعْلُوْنَ بِمَعْلُوْنَ مَعْلُوْنَ دَانَ مَعْلُوْنَ
ما دون ذلك في بيئة من الصغيرة
بائع للبن درايت كما يرتبط كممدصق ودفاعة ورش كل
والخображ ويكبز الحماية في الصغيرة
دان كلي ورش برس.

والعنوان: البنية إذا المري رون الإيقاف
دان فارس مغفوون دمود ورش برس أشياء تيديا، دمود مغفوون这是因为

والاستمتارة: المخيبة كفره فوناللشاعة
محيي يات كفر
دان مستمر على

بأيامة: الديسقية وأخبار في حق أمر الصلاة
ثابت كم رسرد. دان كلي يان بار فلحاء في طم رص على ورش
بالتشفيص من الأخبار فأهل الحبائر
ضمن سر حب أفياء المهمور وفطر مكن خضر
لم تسره كل فرث دون دميش

من المؤمنين لا يجدون في الدنيا إلا الله
دفنت سوء موسى أيت تابود بكالك ميكيت ميكيت
ضرار

هذا التصرف يجاء به فكير صلى الله عليه و
مبارز نصبه ين تبلا الحبائر محمد رسول الله صلى الله عليه وم

مراعنة الله واقراره شرط لإجراء أحكام
دفنة حفرت النار بمصر اشتراك شفاعة شرط للملك في
بجفر

عليه عمام السعاد ففي الطاعة تعايدة في
اتنكل درمول سعد وأيتيت أيت عليت سليلين لبختين بموضوعية

نفسها، والإيمان لا ينفي، ولا ينفسي، والإيمان
إذن بإيمان ابتذال بعضهم، ونذال بعض.
والسلام، وأخذه، وأخذ النذر.
ذن إسلام، حيث تدرك، بعد الأحياء.
والأمر، إن يرفع لنان، من سن، حثًا،
ما أحزار، ما يرغم، كأكر معن، يبن.
فلبن، إن ينسى، أنا من، إنسان، الله
أنا، من، إنسان، الله، يستغيث.
والسفي، والمعين، والسفي، قد يسعد.
والتنثير يكون على السعادة والشقاوة
بأمر الله وربنا وليه تعالى

دون الأمهاة ولا السفاهة كما في صفات
تاء ميم كلا ما كان كرأى عروراً ويرد صفات

الله تعالى هو ويعتبر على الله تعالى في خاتمه
الله تعالى جد وأعلم بما في الدنيا مثلك

وكل في صفاته هو في إصداره الرسول عليه
لا تناله إلا ملك سلطان برغم ما كان كراهية مثل كرامة
بكون رحمة الله عليه ونعمته وكرامته عليه

وقد أرسل الله سبحانه من أبضار البشر
بمرور الزمان سامعنا الدهراني بائنا لمشرومن درنهما كدنسها بواسته
منشرين طهرون بريين وفسفتين للناس مما كتبوا
سير تركهم حزننا حسبًا. انهم يرثون من تركهم
طهرون الذيما منهما مكذبين مكذبين
كذا وردناه منكراً منكراً. دنا دنا كم
من الذين عبئه سكريهان عبئه سكريهان بجحش...
ان لا نقصص عليكم بصرف في السماية فقد جاشن كيت مندكن اتش بلغ ملكيت فدمنا بملكيت ان سكله
قال لامه تعالى من قصصنا عليكم
سندن ملكيت بيها 6 مبركان ندمالله
ومن بمؤمن لم نقصص عليه فلا يقيمن
وكان من قصصنا بسندن ملكيت بيها 6 مبركان ندمالله

بذكر العهد دني أن يدع فيه من ليس
في ملكيت ملكيت
ورد مرن ملكيت بالبر كان

ما نكم أو خبر من هؤلاء هؤلاء وكنا
در ملكيت ولد ملكيت بين اثنين ملكيت
كانا هذين بين عين الله تعالى ضاء قلين
(1) فهم ترابيتي وفرادتي تعالى صلِّين بعزابي.

ناصحين للجليليه واغضب أنتي عليه م神色
(2) تصلح تغلق بمرسلين نبياب محمد.

صلب الله عليه وسلم وصل الله عليه وسلام
(3) صبري الله تعالى وبعدها عباد الله تعالى.

والعالم لآثابك وله ما له صرفونا به كفر
(4) صلى الله عليه وسلم صلى الله عليه وسلم.

فلما بالطاعة ومرت تعالى كتب أنزلها على
(5) مكره ترابي عليه وسلما وسرعان كتابه ونجومته خاتم.
أنبياً في نعمة أمرده ومغنية
كانين قليل كان دين يهين
وانرفع
وعيته ووعيته والخريج
داني موهبن داني موهبن
يعرف بكوفيان شور كيِّف يوهب مالين نار
ليرمم للإنس حي صلِّي الله عليه وسلم في البيضة
كل رماد الدعاء على وسٍ
يستتحى إلى السجاء يمز إلي مائة الله
عنين تبعين كلغات كل قد بِيع ك meille
من الحق يحق وكيلة ألمة ألمة
برمَلْ سكيو برامَت سكيو برامَت
بجيدي سكيو برمَت ألمة الله.
حق منجز الحكمة على طريق إقتصاد
سنن مكة بيت سهل كرامة

الحادثة الفعلية لقطع المسافة البذلة
عادت تجربة، سفرت طيلة عشر سنوات، بلغت

في النهاية الفناءة خاتمة رحلة
ما استماس يفتك

والشراب واللباس عند الحاجة
ذان منعون، كان ما بين

والشريعة على الأمائة والمواقف، وحكم
ذان رعالي أَنْتِ لِي

FACSIMILE OF THE MANUSCRIPT
لسيباً فاً الحماية فان الدفاع المتوجبة
بم جداء النصراء بعد حماة
ويعود عليه سنه
من البلايا وفؤاده مجد من أجلها
وشهدت دنا ملوك كنان حربعين منها كان
ولم يبق من الشيء وليكن ذلك
بجان الله وربته وعشهم من حرب
ويعود عليه سنه
فلما مجيء الوسطى الدخيلة مرت فعلت
معجزته فع hamburgskull
لم الهد من امتته بل إنه يذكر بها أن대로
كأن سمع عجراً ماجاً على رد على مكة شاهد باباً وامرأة
بخرج في سبيل الله إذا درن رفع عن
أوبن دعيت جكر بين وحشت 0
ولن يحكمن علية إلا أن يكون خفيفًا،
فإنني نادينك وأدبك في ملكي له ورأى سيئون
في يبيك في قينته وأشتنا برسلالة سفينة.
"نما كان": إن آلن ما يعترفان كأن ضمهره.
"وافضل البشر" وله أدنى بكتي الصديق،
"بم صدرت" ودبرت كلامي كذين وكلبي كابكر الصداقة.
"كم عمرين" الحطابين ظاك، ان عفان
"كم عمرين" بابن حطاب كعفان.
"كم علي" ابن أبي طالب رضي الله عنه.
"كم علي" ابن أبي طالب، داها ربي الله،
وجلالة ملكنا قد الترتب أيضًا
ما كان كاذبًا، كتبه الله اس ضيقتين اين
عله خليفة
والحالة لم تكن سنة ثم بعد ذلك
معدل خلقاسو ابت تولا ضيقتين من جبريل نور اليمين دلائب
ملك فا مارا ها والسلسلة بلاد لهم من
حراك وان مشهد
معروض على وق عثمان عبد الناصر وتدشتيد
إمام يقف وينقذ أخاههم واقامه
براب يبن بروبرب ونص مطلكان سلسلة مؤخري
لهم من
كل عبد ميتيت دان برسك عت ميتيت دان ميكرماان
في مرت ميتيت
فأحد صدقاتهم فقه التقليدية والتقليدية

وان معبدهم مركب

وان معلما، سائل مغرس مسيرة

وقطاع الطربيق واقامة لمجاهه والأغياء

وان كثرة من طالب

وان مدركين سكن جمعت

وقطاع الن🏠ات الدائمة بين العاแปر

وان موعظتنا على ضيقتون

وقطاع الدهاء وال大きون

ونور النور للذين عسا على الحروف

وان بكى نشامه نفسي بعير ابن بشر

وقطاع الصحابة الذين أوليهم

وان دورة ملكين سكن كنفانت نين تياة ولي بكل ميليغ
ففسختنا الصناعم ثم يسعي أن يعذن
فان مبكيها كل رفاومن كل سيكيلان شهدوا
ولموم ثم اصابفنا فصافنا وان ينفر
إمامهم بابه ينشر بابه نفر
من فرضه ولا يكون من غيرهم فإن
درعهم فتعيش دان نبره هارس أي لين درعهم فيت فتنتين تشيام
كحص من بنيها فاستوى فلا أولا وعالية
فتعشت درعهم فتنتي هاشم
فتعشت الإمام فاعلي
رضي الله عنهم ولا يشرط أن يحكون
شرع الله عنهم درعهم فتنتي دان نبره وشركتن بعهد كبير.
لَمْ يَلْبِسُهُمُ الْأَمْرُ مِنْ أَعْلَمَاتِهِنَّ وَلَمْ يَكُنَّ لِأَهْلِهِنَّ مِنْ أَعْلَمَاتِهِنَّ وَلَمْ يَكُنَّ لِأَهْلِهِنَّ مِنْ أَعْلَمَاتِهِنَّ وَلَمْ يَكُنَّ لِأَهْلِهِنَّ مِنْ أَعْلَمَاتِهِنَّ وَلَمْ يَكُنَّ لِأَهْلِهِنَّ مِنْ أَعْلَمَاتِهِنَّ
بالفِضْلِ وَالجُهُورِ وَيَكْفِرُ الْعُسْرَةُ تَحْلِفَ
سَبِيلَ فَاسِقِ دَانِ دُروَّر،ِ كَذَا سَأَلَّهُ
يَحْبُسُ النَّارَ وَيَفْاجَأَهُ وَتَنْصِبُ عَلَىَّ بِرْوَاءِ
صَوْلَةَ فَاسِقِ دَانِ دُروَّر،ِ سَيّمِهِ كَيْبَتْ إِنَّكَ مَعَ نَفَسِهِ
يَحْنَا مِيتًا مَتَّى مَتَّى
وَيَكْفِفُ عَن دُلْلِيَةِ المَعَابِيْنَةِ الْأُحَدِّيْنِ وَشَهِّدَ
فَأَنْ يُصْحِبُ كَيْبَتْ مَرْضُ بَدْنِيَة مَعَ كَيْبَتِيْنِ
بِلَجَنِةِ الْمُسْتَرَّةِ الْمُنْتَشِرَّةِ الْوَرَّاحِيْنِ
فَعَمْ شَكَرْتُ سَفَرِ المَهَابِتِ بِنَعْمَةِ جَهَرَةِ زَرَاءِ، رَبِّيْنِي
عَلَىِ السَّلَامِ بِلَجَنِةٍ وَتَرْجِيْهًا لِلْحُمَيْنِ
فَعَمْ شَكَرْتُ دَانِ دُروَّر،ِ لَديِ نَعْمَةَ سَفَرِ المَهَابِتِ بِنَعْمَةِ جَهَرَةِ زَرَاءِ
في المصير السريع ولا آخر نبين النصر

فلنذكر من علماً مراعاً دار حرم

ولياِطلع الهمة درجة أثناءاه مهياً

وكان منك في سبيل صوفي سرمك ضرع مفتعلت كأنني في نيةك

العذاب المبين ينقطع عنه الأمير الفقي

مبهراً كأنه ينقف فلوك أكر فزناك

فيَّن في الصبر على ظلوا هرفاً وإلذاب

وطال سلك ذكر نفس أمرات الأناش دار ومجود

عذاباً يهفظان إذ يديعها الفش الباطن

وفذراً كأن يدلسك بكل تأكد قمع بالشم
صخرة واسحلل لالعيسية الفر
فقد 10 مخلالان مصلح أب كفر
والاستعاذة بالله كفر والأستغفاغ
وانباء رضى الله عليه صخر
علي الشريعة كفر وآياء سرینه
اتشريعت أب خضر دان منصس أس دارور وجثاه
تغطى صخرة فأمن من الله تعالى كفر
تانب صخر دان سنترش دارع بكش انتحتالي كفر
وتصديق السحرا، بينها مباركة من
برمود ميثلما، بشرتي،
الغيب حمـّره، والغد فحم لينيتي
فب عين صفر جلدي،
والغد مخلم اخيلة تحالى، وفتي دعا
ربوذ دعا
بعني مفت
الأذى للامواد، وصدق قاتهم عنا، نفع
امن صدق كان، موطئات، وان سلم إمراء، بردفت من سرية

لهُو والدُّ تحالى، حب الأموات فيض
كمن ميثلما، برمود، لدا تحالى، بكرهان، كل فات، هبة، وان بكرهان
الحاجات وما أخبر به النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم من شروط الساعة من حروف التقاليد.

وقد أخذ والدنا في الأسائل وما أخذ أن نحن نذكرون به.

ونقله لوينسي على السلام من السماء.

وطالع الخمس من مخبرنا نتواق

دائم تراب مستدار ومغبر.

جلي من نفتي ونهار ما معه.
iological and medical specialties and services are currently available to the public.

The new facilities include various departments such as general medicine, surgery, obstetrics and gynecology, pediatrics, and more.

In addition, the hospital offers specialized care for patients with chronic conditions and provides a range of preventive and diagnostic services.

The hospital's commitment to quality care is reflected in its dedication to continuous improvement and investment in the latest medical technologies.

Moreover, the hospital is actively engaged in research and development, with collaborations with leading institutions to advance medical knowledge and improve patient outcomes.

Facilities are designed to provide a comfortable and welcoming environment, with state-of-the-art equipment and a staff of highly skilled professionals.

The hospital is committed to providing equal access to care for all, with services available to patients regardless of their ability to pay.

In summary, the opening of the new hospital marks a significant milestone in the delivery of healthcare in the region, offering a comprehensive range of services to meet the diverse needs of the community.
Deam Evangelische Paradosiaci:

Ali See
Omar
Oswin

Ali Taliha
Zabergy
Sala Said
Alvaro Rm
Ali, O
Seida

Malaisie et Aqada sunt:

Japuko
لا يوجد نص يمكن قراءته بشكل طبيعي من الصورة المقدمة.
دعاء

وهو السُّلامُ وَالسُّلامُ وَهُوَ الْدِّينُ الْحَقُّ اسْتَوْيَةُ الْقُرْآنِ

كَانَ رَبُّكَ يُبَارِكَنَّهُ بِذَاتِ الْبَصَرَ.

ذَٰلِكَ الْحَقُّ على مَا كُتِبَ فِي الْكِتَابِ ۖ إِنَّنَا نَحْنُ نَحْنُ بِهِ لَا نَخْلُقُ إِلَّا مِنْ إِلَّهٍ مَّعَ اسْمِهِ ۚ هُوَ الْعَزِيزُ الْمُجِبُّ.

لَيْتَ رَبُّكَ يُفْرِتْ لَكَ بِيَدِهِ رُوَقًا وَيُرِيدَ أَنْ يَخْلُقَ لَكَ مِنْ بَعْدِكَ مَا لم يُخْلِقَ لِكَأَنْفُسِكَ ۗ وَيَقُولُ ۙ الْمَغْفُورُ الْعَلِيمُ.

كَبْرَتْ وَمَضَلَّتْ وَقَالُوا هُوَ نَمَرُودُ الْمُنْقَدِسُ ۖ وَهُوَ الْعَلِيمُ الْحَكِيمُ.
فيما السياقة Flask، المطلوب والثوري والملتزم بـ

هناك شادة

أنه سكح كسب

ستنال

كثيرًا المرفق والمحيط، وهم أسرة للسلام وأجلها

كأنما يجب أن تؤخذ دينًا للدم

وأثرت ذيل اللحن والركعة والصفع، ثم قبض

وهي كأنما نسيه أن سمع

اليمين.

الشارة، ل fossa شرعي يعبر الغاية 124 كما بعث

بعنوان "رول"، فكأنما أصدر الرسالة، وشبه

لهمش "دانيال"، وكأنما أقدر لها السلام

ما تسمى أولاً، وأواع المعنى، والUNITY والسلام

هذا السلام

كأنما ينكر، مداراً عن

والتنام،
فإذا تأتيت وزعت في الساحة دخلت المراقبة لكما الفعل اللائق من شعوره.
ثم جاءت بالله من يفهم عنه حذمة دنا بعينها كأنما يكون من نحن وتعالى 
كينة ملتهبة لا تمنعه إذا هددها وعندما تزعمه.
ولكن على الله بالربوبية في كل الفاعلة للإعتقاد وحكيتاه.
لأننا فعلاً نحن لا نثق في كل ما نعلمه، حتى وإن كانت معرفة ما نعرفه.
فإن يعنى أن لله ما لا نعرفه أو ما لا نفهمه.
نؤمن بذلك إذا كان هذا هو القضاء، وابن العباس هو.
""
عشق و عاشق و عاشوری
ریشه دیگری
VIII Appendix: The Malay translation of an unfinished tract

This is an anonymous tract on the essentials of Islām, the divine attributes, and the nature of God. From its place in the manuscript, and indeed also from its contents, it is obvious that this tract was written after the Malay text of the 'Aqā'id, perhaps not long after, during the same period. Since it is unfinished, it does not have a date indicating when it was written.

The spelling and morphological peculiarities found in this text approximate those in the Malay translation of the 'Aqā'id. The consonant ḥ is used throughout for eh. The three dots of the suffix nyo are invariably written above the letter. Final and medial vowels are seldom written in such words as (final) bahuwa (49); jua (49); mengasihani (45); ketahui (45); arti (47, 49); memberi (49); tahu (49); (medial) sebut (47); betul (45); tunggal (49); perbuatannya (49). The consonant k in the word tunjuk is written with kāf when it takes the suffix i, but with qāf when it takes the suffix kan. There is nasalization of certain words after the prefix me, such as balas: memalas (48); dengar: menengar (48). The word sabda, whose use is generally known to be limited to the utterances or sayings of the Holy Prophet, is here and in the Malay translation of the 'Aqā'id also applied to the words of God (46). But differences between this text and the Malay text of the 'Aqā'id can also be detected. In this text the consonant ng is written with Arabic ghayn instead of 'ayn, similar to the way Arabs would write it. The suffix lah is written separate from the word in itu-lah (46) and iatu-lah (47); similarly, the suffix nyo is written separate from the word in pohon-nya (47); dikemudiankan-nya (49); kerajaan-nya (49); and dhāt-nya (49); and yet not so in kebesarannya (48); kesuchiannya (48); ketinggiannya (48); and sifatnya (48). Keraja'an-nya (49) is written with hamzah between the double vowels, but not so in other similar words. The word kata (45) is written not with the usual lā', but
with the tā' marbūṭah (ta' bersimpul). The final consonants of the words amat (45) and itu (45, 46, 47, 48) are written with the final dotted hā'. However, the word ni'mat (45) is written with tā' instead of the final dotted hā'. The consonant ny in the word menanyai (45) has the three dots above the letter. In one instance the word kekal is spelled kakal (48), the vocalization being indicated by alif after the first consonant. The prefix pe of the word surah is written separate from the word (45, 46).

A few Arabic terms have been left untranslated in the translation, and maintained as they are or in one or another of their respective forms. For the most part, however, the Arabic terms have been translated. Examples of the few are the terms Allāh; ma'rifah (ma'rifat): cognition; sifah (ṣifāt): attribute; fi'rī: active; dhātī: essential; sulbī: privative, etc. As for the terms as a whole, they belong to the domains of religion, theology, and philosophy. These can be categorized broadly as being either general or technical terms. The general terms, mostly in the sphere of religion, are rahmān: mahamurah (45): most merciful; raḥīm: amat mengasihani (45): most compassionate; karīm: mahamulia (45): most munificent; ahdí: tunjuki (45): guide (imperative); thabbit: teguhkan (45): establish (imperative); sirāt al-mustaqīm: jalan yan betul (45): the straight, or right way; dīn: agama (46): religion; ilāh: tuhan (46) god (God); shahādhah: shakshi (46): testimony, to testify (the Muslim profession of faith); buniya: dibangun (46): is built, or erected upon (passive); tawābī: pengiring (47): concomitants; tā'ah: kebaktian (also balas) (47): loyal service, requital (as the basic meaning of dīn); sālāt: sembahyang (47–48): prescribed worship; sawm: puasa (47–48): fasting (in the month of Ramadān); qaww: sabda (45–46): utterance or saying with reference to that of the Holy Prophet, or to the word of God; dhikr: sebut (48): to mention; ma'na; arti (47, 48): meaning; kibriyā': kebesaran (48): greatness or majesty; taqaddus: kesuchian (48): holiness; ta'ālā: ketinggian (48): exaltedness, in the genitive case ta'ālihi: ketinggian.Nya: His exaltedness; kamāl: kesempurnaan (48): perfection; yushārik: menyekutui (49): being a partner or associate; mu'āqabah: menyiksha (49): to inflict punishment; ilhābah: memberi pahala (49): to bestow reward; muhāsabah:
mengirangirai (49): to perform reckoning; mulk: kerajaan (49): kingdom; mustaghfin: kaya (49): self-sufficient, having no need. Hidayah is translated as penunjuk (45): the pointer to the right way, in hidâyat al-Islâm: penunjuk akan Islam: guidance that points the way to Islam; the imperative ahdi is tunjuki (45); and ihdîná is tunjukkan (45):. Tawhid is mostly used in its original form, but also translated as mengesakan (46): to affirm oneness or unity. The word esa also translates wâhid (49): one; and keesaan is wahdânîyyah (49): unicity. Although sifat (pl. sifât) is used in its original form, it is translated as peri in sifâtihi al-salbiyyati: sifâtinya yang sifât salbi as peri menyuahkan (49): attributes that sanctify; and also when speaking of God’s unicity (al-wahdânîyyah) as sifatun qadîmatun: peri yang sadya (49).

Among the technical terms, the term ‘ilm, with reference to God’s attribute of knowledge, is translated as mengetahui (48); also as ‘ilmu (49); an ya’lam: mengetahui akan (48): knowing that, to know that; ka al-‘ilmî: seperti tahu (49): such as to know; fa’lam: maka ketahui olehmu (45): know that. Qidam: sadya (48): eternity; qâdim: sadya (49): eternal; baqâ’: kakal (48): continuity in existence, also kekal (49) for bâqiyyah: af’al: perbuatan (49): the divine acts; jârd: tunggal (49): single, as differentiated from being one (i.e. esa); sîrâh: rupa (49): form; shabîh: serupa (49): resemblance; mithl: seperti (49): like; lawn: warna (49): colour; shay’: sesuatu (49): thing; yaqbat: menerima (49): accepting; takaththur: banyak (49): multiplication; tajzi’ah: bersuku (49): having division; tab’i’d: berseitengah (49): being portioned. Three of the ten Aristotelian categories are mentioned: ayna: mana (49): where, i.e. with reference to place (Greek: pou); kayfa: betapa (49): how, i.e. with reference to quality (Greek: poïon); and malâ: manakala (49): when, i.e. with reference to time (Greek: pote). The Malay terms ada and its affixed forms keadaan and mengadakan are used to convey the meaning of existence and its modes and acts: mawjûd: ada (48): existent, that which exists; wujûd: keadaan (48): existence; dhâl: ada (49): essence; dhawâl: keadaan (49): essences. In the case of mawjûd, wujûd, and dhâl, these terms and the Malay ada and keadaan refer to God’s essence and existence in Whom they are identical; in the case of the dhawâl, the term keadaan refers
to essences other than God’s, and these essences are not identical with their existences. As to the term *mengadakan*, it is used to translate *takwīn* (48): originating, and it is closely related in meaning to *menjadikan*: *takhlīq* (48): creating.

Following his brief introduction on the meaning of Islām (II & III) and of religion (IV), the author proceeds to explain the first principle of Islām which is contained in the two phrases formulating the Muslim testimony of faith, saying that they pertain to knowledge or cognition, and the affirmation of the unity of God (III). There seems to me to be no doubt that what follows (V & VI) is a summarized paraphrasing of al-Ghazālī’s statement of the creed in the *Qawā'id al-'Aqā'id*, which is found in his *Ihya‘*, Book II, on the exposition of the creed of the People of the Approved Way as couched in the Two Phrases of the Witnessing (‘*Aqīdah Ahl al-Sunnah fi Kalimatai al-Shahādah*); in Section III on the Treatise written in Jerusalem (*Risālah al-Qudsīyyah*). If this be so, we may surmise that the continuation of VI and the following sections would presumably treat of the knowledge of God’s attributes and His works; and the verification of what the Holy Prophet brought, including what is to be believed on authority from the Holy Prophet of the resurrection, the inquisition in the tomb, the punishment, and other eschatological realities; leadership in the Muslim Community, the excellence of the Companions according to the chronological order of their succession, qualifications to the leadership, and the prohibition of deposition of the leader or ruler for tyranny and immorality, which are all also found in the ‘*Aqīd* of al-Nasafi. As a matter of fact, al-Nasafi’s statement of the creed also shows an unmistakable influence of al-Ghazālī.

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I. The Malay text

Bismi’Llāhi’l-raḥmāni’l-raḥīm


IV Bermula: adapun arti dīn itu tā’at (ya’ni kebaktian atau balas) kamā tadīnu tudānu, artinya kullamā tuṯū tuṯāzu—kebaktian dibalas; dan rukunnya ma’rifat dan tawḥīd dan īmān dan islām.
V [48] Bermula: arti ma’rifat itu mengetahui akan sesungguhnya Allâh ada dengan keadaanNya, dan sadyaNya, dan kakalNya, dan kebesaranNya, dan kesuchianNya dan ketinggianNya, serta kesempurnaan sekalian šifātNya yang dhâî, dan ia itu: Hidup, dan Mengetahui, dan Kuasa, dan Menghendaki, dan Menengar, dan Melihat, dan Berkata; dan serta kesempurnaan šifātNya yang šifāt fi‘lî, seperti mengadakan, dan menjadikan, dan memberi rizqî, dan menghidupkan, dan mematikan, dan mengembalikan, dan memalas, [49] dan memberi pahala, menyiksha, dan mengirangirai; dan serta kesempurnaan šifātNya yang šifāt salbî (ya’nî peri menyucihkan), seperti tahu akan bahwa Ia bukan jawhar dan bukan jisim dan bukan ‘araq; dan tiada akan Dia ‘mana’ dan tiada ‘betapa’ dan tiada ‘manakala’; dan tiada rupa dan tiada serupa dan tiada warna dan tiada seperti; dan tiada adaNya seperti segala keadaan, dan tiada šifātNya seperti sekalian šifāt.

VI Dan arti tawhîd mengi’tiqâdkan bahwa sesungguhnya Allâh Ta‘âlâ esa juga. Bermula: keesaan itu akan Dia peri yang sadya, yang kekal, tiada menerima banyak dan bersuku dan bersetengah. Dan Ia itu esa, tunggal pada adaNya dan segala periNya dan segala perbuatanNya—tiada menyekutui Dia sesuatu pada demikian itu (ya’nî pada esaNya dan šifātNya). Dan Ia itu kaya dalam KerajaanNya dengan IlmuNya dan QudratNya—
2. Translation of the Malay text

In the Name of Allāh, Most Merciful, Most Compassionate

I  [45] I begin with the Name of Allāh, the Merciful, the Compassionate. O, guide us Thou aright, and establish Thou [our hearts in Thy religion], O Munificent One! Every praise be unto Allāh, Lord of the Worlds, and Allāh’s mercy be upon His Messenger Muḥammad and his entire Family.

II Now then, to proceed. Know that Allāh, may He be exalted, commanded His prophet, who may Allāh bless and give peace, to ask Him concerning the Way to Islām. So He said (that is, Say, O Muḥammad: “Show us the Right Way”): Show us the Right Way.¹ And that is the Way of all the Prophets, the Saints, and the Righteous, by virtue of which and upon whom is favour bestowed;² [46] and that is al-Islām.

III Islām is dīn (that is, religion), by virtue of what Allāh, exalted be He, said: That the Religion with Allāh is Islām.³ Then verily, the beginning of Islām and its trunk is cognition and unification (that is, to affirm the unity), for the Prophet, may Allāh bless and give him peace, said: “Islām is built upon five things: first, the Testimony, to sincerely witness that there is no God except Allāh, and that Muḥammad is Allāh’s Messenger; second, to set up regular prayer; third, to pay the prescribed tithes; fourth, to fast, fifth, to perform the pilgrimage.”⁴ The Prophet, may Allāh bless and give him peace, [47] mentioned first the Testimony in precedence over his mention of prayer,

¹The Holy Qur’ān, 1.6.
²Ibid., 1.7.
³Ibid., 3.19.
⁴This hadīth was conveyed by ‘Ubayd Allāh ibn Mūsā from the report from Hanzalah ibn Abī Sufyān, from ‘Ikrimah ibn Khālid, from ibn ‘Umar as found in al-Bukhārī’s Kitāb al-Imān. See the Matn al-Bukhārī with marginal glosses by al-Sindī, Dār al-Fikr, Bayrūt, 4v. [n.d.], vol. I, p. 11.
tithes, fasting, and pilgrimage, because it is cognition and unification; and that is the beginning of Islam and its trunk. And he reserved his mention of prayer, tithes, fasting, and pilgrimage after his mention of the Testimony because they (that is, prayer, tithes, fasting) are all branches of Islam and its concomitants.

IV As to the meaning of din, it is sincere obedience (that is, loyal service, or requital) like as you repay you shall be repaid, meaning: in the same measure as you serve you shall be rewarded; loyal service is required; and its pillars are cognition, unification, faith, and submission.

V [48] Cognition is knowing with certainty that Allah exists by His Own existence and His eternity, His continuance in existence, His greatness, His holiness and His exaltedness; together with the perfection of His essential attributes, and they are: Life, Knowledge, Power, Will, Hearing, Seeing, and Speech; and together with the perfection of His active attributes like creating, producing, providing sustenance, giving life, giving death, returning to the original state, recompensing, [49] rewarding, punishing, and reckoning; and together with the perfection of all His privative attributes (that is, attributes that sanctify), like to know that He is not a substance, nor a body, nor an accident; and He is not placed in a locus, nor described by quality, nor measured by time; nor has He a form, nor similitude, nor colour, nor like; neither is His essence like essences, nor His attributes like attributes.

VI And the meaning of unification is to believe that Allah, exalted be He, is One, and that His unicity is an attribute that is eternal, continuing for evermore, accepting neither multiplication nor division nor being portioned. And He is One, Single in His essence and His attributes and His acts—none is a partner unto Him in this (that is, in the Oneness and Singleness of] His essence and His attributes). And He is in His Kingdom self-sufficient in His plenitude by His Knowledge and His Power—