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Further data concerning Abd al-Samad al-Palimbani

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FURTHER DATA CONCERNING

"ABD AL-ŠAMAD AL-PALIMBĀNĪ

In the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* 2, Vol. I: 92 Dr. P. Voorhoeve has enumerated the writings, both in Malay and in Arabic, of "Abd al-Šamad al-Palimbānī, a theologian from Palembang (South Sumatra), who apparently passed the greater part of his life in Mecca and wrote all his books there. He did not, however, lose all contact with his native country. Recently two letters of his, written in Mecca and sent to Java, have come to light. In addition, a treatise on various points of Muslim theology and belief, which hitherto had been classed as anonymous, can now, in all probability, be established as composed by him and written at the request of the Sultan of Palembang.

The letters referred to were unearthed from the Dutch Colonial Archives by Dr. M. C. Ricklefs (London) when he was studying the history of Yogyakarta in the reign of Sultan Mangkubumi (1749-1792). The addressees were, respectively, the Sultan of Mataram (= Sultan Hamangkubuwana I, previously Pangeran Mangkubumi), and Susuhunan Prabu Jaka in 'Solocarta'. Dr. Ricklefs suggests that the latter could be Prabu Jaka alias Pangeran Singasari, a son of Amandkurat IV (1719-1726) and, consequently, a half-brother of Pangeran Mangkubumi. This rebellious prince had his headquarters in Malang (East Java), however, and is therefore called Sunan Malang in the Babad Mangkubumi. If the letter was intended for him, one could conclude that the writer's ideas of the situation in Java were none too clear.

A third letter, intercepted by the Dutch authorities on the same occasion, was addressed to Pangeran Paku Nagara (= Mangkunagara), "king of the Javanese realm". This letter, however, did not come from

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1 The documents found by Dr. Ricklefs are not the letters themselves but Dutch renderings of the Javanese translations of the Arabic originals of these letters, which had been despatched from Mecca to Javanese princes and were intercepted by the Dutch authorities in Semarang. I am indebted to Dr. Ricklefs for giving me photo copies of these documents.

Abd al-Ṣamad but from someone who calls himself Sekh Mohamat in the letter but is referred to as Abdul Ragman in the heading of the translation.

Commenting on these letters Dr. Ricklefs made the following observation: "... the letters were ... a significant historical landmark. They were the first evidence to come to light of an attempt from the world of international Islam to foment Holy War in Java in the second half of the eighteenth century".3

I cannot, however, concur with Dr. Ricklefs here. I think that he credits these writings of ābūd al-Ṣamad with far more than they deserve. It is true that the letters were despatched from Mecca but they were written by a Palembang scholar resident in the holy city on behalf of two Javanese pilgrims returning to their homeland. Thus they were clearly a ‘Jawa’ affair4 and I think that their purport was a rather modest one. We are dealing here with letters of introduction written by a scholar of a certain renown for the benefit of two fellow-students, in order to recommend them for suitable positions on their return. Whether or not ābūd al-Ṣamad’s fame had spread all the way to the Javanese courts is questionable, but it certainly would have gratified the addressees to learn that their names and fame were not unknown in Mecca, at least in Jawa quarters.

Oriental epistolary style requires that a letter or petition open with a florid and flattering introduction of some length, in particular when courting the favour of temporal potentates. In Java also, it is considered bad form to come straight to the point at the very beginning of a letter. The real object is not brought forth until its path has been paved. Therefore, the matter broached after the elaborate introductory compliments is not something circumstantial but the real incentive for the writing of the letter. In the present case the solicitation of princely favour is on behalf of the two pilgrims who, possibly, had completed their studies in Mecca under the author’s guidance and were now looking for religious offices in Java. To smooth their way a little more they brought from the holy city a bottle of Zemzem water by way of olèh-olèh, a present that no doubt would have been accepted with good grace because of the beneficial effects ascribed to it.5

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4 ‘Jawa’ is the collective term for all pilgrims from Indonesia and Malaya in Mecca.
In my opinion the flattering introduction of the letter does not contain any direct instigation to holy war. A pious theologian resident in the centre of Islam could have thought of no higher praise than that which he wrote, that the princes concerned were paragons of piety, justice and ardour for the cause of God, and, therefore, lived up to the ideal of the Muslim ruler. However mundane the motives of the princes in their fierce struggle for supremacy may have been, the writer wished to believe, in retrospect, that their campaigns were a battle in the cause of God. Apart from mentioning their repute in this world, he put forth their prospects of heavenly reward. This also gave him the opportunity to display his learning in matters of religion and his conversancy with the subject of holy war, a speciality of his.

The Dutch documents are written in a clear hand but the style is very bad; there are many spelling errors and other mistakes. Punctuation marks are almost entirely absent. Even so, I have tried to translate them into English. The reader is warned, that the result is a translation of a poor Dutch translation made from a Javanese translation of the original Arabic letters. Grosso modo, however, the Dutch translations may be considered to convey the contents of ʿAbd al-Ṣamad’s letters. Nevertheless, a few remarks on the English translation are appropriate here.

The letters open in the usual way, i.e., with a doxology in praise of God (the hamdala) and the Prophet. The hamdala consists of the words al-hamdu līllāh. The accepted Javanese translation of these words is: sakehing puji kedarbe ing Allah; in Dutch: ‘Alle lof komt toe aan God’; and in English: ‘All praise is due to God’. It is most unlikely that this common expression would have been misunderstood by either the Javanese or the Dutch translator. However, in the Dutch document we find: “Alle lof en prijs koortv van den heere onse god”, ‘All praise
and glory come from the Lord our God’. Obviously this is due to a lapse on the part of the Batavia copyist who prepared the copy of the translation which was sent to Holland.

The passing from the doxology to the letter proper is marked by the word ‘further’, Dutch dan, probably a rendering of the Javanese sampun ing mangkana, which words are the accepted translation of Arabic ammā baṭ̢du.

The words ‘the Lord’s favour’ are placed between inverted commas, because it is clear that no Muslim would presume to say that he had directed God’s favour to anyone. The words in question refer to Qorʾān 7: 57, where rahmatuḥu, ‘His favour’, means “water”. In this Scriptural way the writer of the letter refers to the bottle of Zemzem water which was sent with the letter.

FIRST LETTER

Copy of the translation of an Arabic letter written by the Palembang man Samat at present resident in Mecca to the Sultan of Mataram, son of the Susuhunan Dipati, produced in Semarang on May 22nd, 1772.

All praise and glory are due to the Lord our God Who holds sway in and rules all the world and Whose mercy and clemency are enjoyed by the Prophet Muhammad — who was the last of the prophets and apostles of the Lord — as they will be enjoyed by all his followers.

Further, a sample of God’s goodness is that He has moved the heart of the writer to despatch a letter from Mecca and, in addition, ‘the Lord’s favour’, among all marks of honour which are as luminous as the stars that adorn the firmament, for the world is illuminated by the stars, which likewise is evidence of the power and the goodness of the Lord, as the latter lighten upon the garden of paradise, a garden defying enumeration and indeed of countless’ years continuance, and with respect to which the Lord assures that those Sultans shall enter it whose magnanimity, virtue and prowess against enemies of other religion are without equal. Among these the king of Java, who maintains the religion of Islam and is triumphant over all potentates, and furthermore excels in good works in the war against those of other religion. The Lord reassures those who act in this way by saying, “Do not think that those who fell in the holy war are dead; certainly not, they are still alive” (Qorʾān 2: 154; 3: 169). The Prophet Muhammad says, “I was ordered to kill anyone but those who know God and me His Prophet”. Those who are killed in the holy war are in odour of sanctity beyond praise; so this is a warning to all followers of Muhammad. The Lord has said also, “I give the pious wisdom and goodness both liberal and wide” (cf. Qorʾān 2: 269: He giveth the Wisdom to whomsoever He willeth. He to whom the Wisdom has been given, has been given manifold good . . .), or, according to another current interpretation (?),
he will be in good repute everywhere on account of his walking in the ways of God and his praiseworthy rule of his people and soldiers, nay their actions are beyond reproach, as their life is entirely directed by the fear of the Lord.

With this I send Your Highness by the priests Haji Bassarien and Mokhamat Idris a small quantity of Zemzem water from Mecca to be used as a restorative, meanwhile most strongly recommending both priests to Your Highness and assuring you that they are not only well-grounded in religion but also persons of impeccable conduct walking scrupulously in the way of God and the Prophet.

(There follows the usual attestation mentioning the names of the Javanese and the Dutch translators and the certification of the copy by the latter.)

SECOND LETTER

The introductory compliments in the second letter are identical to those in the first. The translator confines himself to the words, “After the usual introductions, which are completely identical to those of the overleaf letter”, and then goes on to say, “I beg to recommend most strongly to Your Highness the two priests”... etc.

THIRD LETTER

The third letter, addressed to Pangeran Paku Nagara, was sent with a banner presented by a certain Siti Fatimah, the daughter of Abdullah. The banner was sent because of the reputation this prince had earned as a warrior but also so he could fight under it against future enemies and infidels. This letter, therefore, differs in character from the other ones. The lady who presented the prince with the banner saw his warfaring first and foremost as a combat against the infidels but it was also clear that a renewal of the hostilities would not be unwelcome to her. Here the motive of incitement to wage continuous warfare is, perhaps, not entirely absent; the whole situation in Java, however, had changed radically since the 1750’s. The contents of this curious letter are as follows:

I pray to God that He may grant His mercy through the Prophet Muhammad, since God has said that anyone praying for remission of sins shall be forgiven. The Lord’s forgiveness is as a current of clear water continually running over those who fear God and are of the religion of His Prophet Muhammad, whose message has spread over the entire Islamic world. More particularly God will forgive the sins of the most pious people like Pangeran Mangku Nagara, whom He has
created to win such repute in the world, and also because Your Highness
is a scion of the house of Mataram, upon whom God has bestowed
abundant mercy beside Muhammad the Prophet, considering that Your
Highness' justice is a matter of common knowledge. Furthermore, Your
Highness should bear in mind the words of the Qur'an, to the effect
that a small host is capable of gaining the victory over a mighty force.

Will it please Your Highness to also keep in mind that it says in the
Qur'an, "Do not say that those who fell in the holy war are dead". God
has said that the soul of such a one enters into a big pigeon and
ascends straight up to heaven. This is a thing all devout people surely
know in their hearts, and more particularly this will be the case with
Your Highness, who is comparable to a flower which gives forth its
fragrance from sunrise to sunset, nay all Mecca and Medina and the
Malay countries are wondering at this fragrance and pray to God that
Your Highness may triumph over all his enemies. Please think of the
word of Muhammad, who has said, "Kill those who are not of the
Muhammedan religion, one and all, unless they go over to your religion".

Therefore, the present writer, Sekh Muhammad, please God, has a
mind to see the toes of Your Highness' feet, for this reason, that the
report of your goodness is sparkling like a brilliant diamond and every-
one wishes to behold it, nor can anyone who sees you omit praying to
God for your well-being. Be confident of permanent good fortune and
exert yourself in the fear of the Lord; do not fear misfortune and eschew
all evil. One doing so will see the sky without a cloud and the earth
without squalor. Derive comfort from the following words of the
Qur'an, "Those who have believed and worked the works of righteous-
ness, shall obtain the grace of the Lord" (Qur'an 2: 25 et passim), for
the Prophet Muhammad has said, "If man can live forever in this
world, he will also live forever and enjoy eternal bliss in the hereafter".

This is to notify Your Highness that I am directed by Siti Fatimah,
the daughter of Abdullah, to deliver to Your Highness the accompany-
ing jimat, the potency of which is such that when it is used by Your
Highness as a banner when campaigning against your enemies, not
only must they give way to it but also Your Highness will always be
victorious, which will lead to the protection of the Muslim faith and
the extermination of all its malevolent adversaries.

The reason why this banner has been sent to you is that we in Mecca
have heard that Your Highness, being a truly princely leader, is much
feared in battle. Value it and make use of it, please God, in ex-
terminating your enemies and all unbelievers. Good wishes and greetings
are conveyed to Your Highness on behalf of the ancient godly people
of Mecca and Medina: Ibrāhīm, ʿImām Shāfiʿī, ʿImām Ḥanafi, ʿImām
Mālikī and ʿImām Ḥanbali, and furthermore on behalf of all the other
people here, whose unanimous wish is that the blessings of the Prophet
and his four great companions Abū Bakr, ʿUmar, ʿUthmān and ʿAlī,
may abide with Your Highness' person.
After the usual attestation is the following:

NB. The banner reads in Arabic: Erachman Erachim Mohamat Rassul Lulah Abdulla. This means: The merciful and compassionate God; His greatest apostle the Prophet Muhammad, being His most humble servant.

Another indication of ʿAbd al-Ṣamad’s sustained contact with his native country is furnished by the Tuhfat al-rāghibīn fi bayān ḥaqīqat īmān al-muʾminīn wa-mā yufṣiduhu fi riddat al-murtaddīn (‘A Gift addressed to those desirous of an exposition of the essence of the Muslim faith and of that which corrupts it, with respect to the apostasy of the apostates’). A manuscript copy of this text is preserved in the Museum Pusat in Jakarta (MS. VdW. 37). It has been described by Van Ronkel in the Batavia Catalogue of Malay MSS., pp. 399-400, no. DCXXVI, but he has not hazarded a guess as to who its author was.

Recently another copy of this treatise, MS. B 4024 in Leningrad, has come to our attention. This copy bears the entry: Van Doorninck, 1876 and a photo copy of it was presented by Dr. V. Braginsky to Dr. P. Voorhoeve, who kindly gave it to the Leiden University Library.

Judging from Van Ronkel’s description, the Jakarta manuscript is a hotch-potch of fragments taken from various texts, among which the Tuhfa (or parts thereof) are included. The Leningrad manuscript, however, contains the full text of the treatise (photos 99-15, line 7 incl.), is dated 1188/1774 and is followed by ʿAbd al-Ra’uf’s treatise on the signs of approaching death (photos 15-1), a text already known from Voorhoeve’s edition of it in Tijdschrift Bataviaasch Genootschap, Vol. 85, pp. 91-99.

Dr. Voorhoeve has added a short note concerning the manuscript, from which I quote the following:

The name of the author is not mentioned, but there are many indications that the author was ʿAbd al-Ṣamad al-Palimbānī. They are:

1. The date. ʿAbd al-Ṣamad usually dated his writings; the dates range from 1178-1203 A.H. (1764-1788).
2. From 1873-1875 F.N. van Doorninck was stationed in Palembang as a civil servant; then he went to Europe on furlough.
3. There is a marginal note in Javanese (photo 23).
4. The word sanggar is used to indicate a heathen offering, consequently in the Middle Malay but not in the Javanese meaning. About 1774 the censured heathen practices probably occurred in the Palembang hinterland.
5. MS. VdW. 37 contains a page dedicated to the holy war, one of ʿAbd al-Ṣamad’s specialities.

It is worth noting that chapter II contains a lengthy abstract of al-Rānīrī’s Tibyān.

I fully subscribe to this argument. The only point I wish to add is that from the wording of the introduction one could infer that the treatise was written at the behest of the Palembang court. It opens with a short doxology, as usual written in Arabic with a Malay translation, followed by the date, and finally the statement that the author has composed his work at the instance of one of the akābir al-zamān (setengah yang terlebih besar pada masa ini), ‘one of the people in the highest authority nowadays’, who would not take no for an answer. The assignment was: to compose a succinct Malay exposition on the substance of īmān, ‘faith’, and the words, ideas, conceptions and acts which entail its corruption. In complying with this request the author divided his book into three chapters and an epilogue. In the first chapter he deals with the question of what is understood by īmān; in the second, with the things which corrupt the right belief and cause it to be lost; and in the third, with the definition of ridda, ‘apostasy’, and its consequences. The subject of the epilogue is tawba, ‘repentance’, and its conditions.

The question arises: Who was the highly placed person whose request, or rather perintah alus, ʿAbd al-Ṣamad could not turn down? The most plausible inference is that the exalted personage alluded to is the Sultan of Palembang, because in the second half of the eighteenth century there was more interest in religious matters at the Palembang court. Both Sultan Ahmad Najmuddin and Sultan Muhammad Baha’uddin were patrons of writers on religious subjects and commissioned them to write. For instance, Kemas Fakhruddin, an older contemporary of ʿAbd al-Ṣamad, prepared a Malay translation of the Futūḥ al-Sha’m (a history of the earliest Muslim conquests by pseudo-Wāqīdī) and an adaptation of Zakariyyā’ al-Anṣārī’s commentary on the Risāla fi ‘l-tawḥīd by the Damascus mystic Wālī Raslān. This adaptation, mistakenly registered as Kitab al-Mukhtasar in the catalogues of Malay manuscripts, was meant to counteract the popular doctrine of the seven grades of being, which was rampant in Palembang at the time. ʿAbd al-Ṣamad’s treatise, however, is aimed at a host of misconceptions, misbeliefs and censurable usages, among which a few traditional practices from pre-Islamic times receive special attention. According to Palembang
tradition, Islam was not solidly rooted in the Palembang hinterland until the latter part of the 17th century, during the reign of Sultan Abdurrahman. It is not surprising, then, that hardly a century later traces of the past still survived. At the court, however, a stricter view of Islam had continued to prevail. Therefore, ābd al-Ṣamad's principal was, in all likelihood, Sultan Ahmad Najmuddin, who became susuhunan (senior sultan, the title of retired sultans in Palembang) in 1774, when his son Muhammad-Baha’uddin was invested with the dignity of Sultan.

As already mentioned above, the text consists of three chapters and an epilogue. In the photo copy, which has been numbered the wrong way, chapter I runs from no. 97, line 4 up, to no. 90, line 2 incl.; chapter II from no. 90, line 3 to no. 28, line 9; chapter III from no. 28, line 9 to no. 26, line 6 up, and the khātima ('concluding chapter') from no. 26, line 6 up to no. 15. Each page has 15 lines of text. The writing is distinct and there are few mistakes. Presumably the pages of the photos numbered 99, 78, 77, 76, 75, 22, 21, 20, 19 and 1, which are written in a different hand, have been renovated in order to preserve the text from further wear and tear. This could be an indication of the value its owner attached to it.

The argumentation, in large part carried on according to the traditional method of advancing arguments by quoting verses of the Qur'ān, statements from Holy Tradition and the dicta of authoritative writers, is not devoid of a certain originality. A curious lapse is the faulty translation of Qur'ān 49: 14. Wa-lamma yadkhiili 'l-imān fī qulūbikum does not mean: dan tatkala masuk iman pada hati kamu but: dan belumah masuk iman pada hati kamu, since lamā followed by a Jussive means 'not yet'. However, this lapse does not detract from the argument that faith is primarily a matter of the heart.

In addition to the author of the Jawharat al-nafis (sic) already mentioned by Van Ronkel, quite a number of other authoritative scholars and authors are mentioned in the text, at times together with the works quoted. About a third of the treatise stems from al-Rānīrī's Tibyān fī ma'rifat al-adyān, viz. the enumeration of the 72 sects destined for hell and of the self-styled sūfis (chapter II, photos 80-52), and also the paragraph on bid'a ('innovation', 'heresy') following it (photos 52-50). For a summary of these pages the reader is referred to Voorhoeve's edition of the Tibyān, pp. 15-24.

Among the authorities mentioned the following are the most important.
1. Abū Ḥanīfa (died 150/267), the Imām of the Ḥanafī school of Law.
2. Abū Manṣūr, better known under the name of al-Māturīdī (d. 333/944), the founder of the Māturīdī school of dogmatics, which is considered on a par with that of al-Ashʿarī.⁶
3. Abū 'l-Najīb al-Suhrawardi (d. 563/1168), to whom the author mistakenly ascribes the authorship of the ʿAwārif al-maʿārif, which, in point of fact, was composed by his nephew ʿUmar b. Muḥammad al-Suhrawardi (d. 632/1234).
4. Abū 'l-Shakūr al-Salīmī (d. second half of the 15th century), author of the Tamīḥīd ʿī bayān al-tawḥīd.
5. Fakhr al-dīn al-Rāzī (d. 608/1209), opponent of the Ḥanbalīs; mentioned here in connection with the Mujassima.
8. Ibn Ḥajar (al-Ḥaithami; d. 973/1565), author of the well-known Tukḥfat al-muḥtāj and of the Zawājīr ʿan iqtirāf al-kabīr.
10. Ibrāhīm al-Laqānī (d. 1041/1631), author of the ʿUmdat al-murīḍ, a commentary on his Jawharat al-tawḥīd.
11. Imām al-Ḥaramain (= al-Juwainī; d. 478/1085), the teacher of al-Ghazālī.
15. al-Shaʿrānī (d. 973/1565), author of the Yawaqīṭ wa ʿl-jawāhir ʿī bayān ʿaqīd al-akābīr.
17. The author of the Jawharat al-naṭīṣ (sic). I do not know which book is meant. It could be al-Jawāhir al-naṭīṣa, a commentary by al-Dafīrī (d. 1079/1668) on his al-Durra al-munīṭa ʿī fiqih Abī Ḥanīfa.

Summary of Chapter I: What is faith?

Faith (imān), defined as inward, intuitive (darūrī) acceptance of Muhammad's message, is a matter of the heart, but when it is not orally confessed by pronouncing the creed, one can neither be known nor recognized as a believer, so that in social life one cannot be counted as a Muslim. However, as such a man is a Muslim before God, paradise is not denied him. On the other hand, anyone who declared himself a Muslim but is an unbeliever at heart, is a hypocrite (munāfiq), destined for a permanent abode in hell. During his lifetime, however, he must be treated as a Muslim and he also receives a Muslim burial, unless his declaration is proved to be a falsehood.

Thus 'to hold true inwardly' (tasdiq dalam hati) is not the same as 'to confess by word of mouth' (iqrar dengan lidah). Despite this, some Ashārīte theologians are of the opinion that both are equally required, and that faith without oral confession is not acceptable to man nor to God. Numerous Qur'ānic verses, for instance 58:22, 16:116, 49:14, can, however, be advanced to support the view that faith is primarily a matter of the heart.

According to Mu'tazilite opinion, not only inner conviction and oral confession but also the observance of rites and religious duties (amal saleh dengan anggota badan) must be included in the definition of faith. They say that anyone neglecting the observances is neither a Muslim nor an unbeliever but in an intermediary position. This is an untenable (bāṭil) statement, for without works faith cannot be brought to perfection, but they do not constitute an integral part of it.  

Subsequently the author answers the following three questions.

1. What is the difference between the orthodox position and that of the Mu'tazilites, in view of the fact that both parties teach that faith is made up of three components? Answer: The Mu'tazilite doctrine is that the works constitute a 'pillar' (rukun) of faith and, in consequence, form an integral part of it (masuk ia dalam haqiqat iman). According to orthodox opinion this is not the case.

2. What does islām mean, a. in a literal sense?; and b. in a religious

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7 The various definitions of faith are amply discussed by Wensinck, The Muslim Creed, Cambridge 1932. On p. 133 the author summarily states, “The orthodox definition of faith, though not absolutely constant, emphasizes neither knowledge nor works, belief and confession being generally admitted to represent the orthodox characteristics of faith”. See also L. Gardet, Le problème de la foi et des oeuvres en Islam, Studia Islamica, V (1956), pp. 60-123.
sense? Answer: Taken in its literal sense, *islām* means ‘to submit’ (*khudū*; Mal. *merendahkan diri*) and ‘to accept guidance’ (*inqiyād*; Mal. *mengikut seseorang*). As a religious term it means ‘keeping to commands’ (*intithāl al-ma‘murāt*; Mal. *mengikut segala yang disuruh-kan*) and ‘refraining from all things forbidden’ (*ijtindūb al-manhiyyāt*; Mal. *menjauhi segala yang diteghahkan*).

3. Are *imān* and *islām* identical in meaning, or is there a difference? Answer: They differ in meaning but in a religious sense they are correlative (*berlazim-laziman wujudnya*). There is no believer who is not a Muslim, and conversely.

The chapter concludes with the admonition to preserve faith, for should one lose one’s faith, then one also forfeits all one’s good works and ends up in hell, since the apostate is the worst of infidels. This clause is the opening of the second chapter, which is dedicated to all things which are destructive to the true faith and make it perish.

**Chapter II**

This long chapter can be divided into five paragraphs.

1. A lengthy enumeration of ideas, acts and words incompatible with sound faith (photos 90-80).

2. Enumerations of the 6 times 12 sects that do not walk in the right path and are destined for hell (photos 80-61), and of the 12 groups of heretical, self-styled mystics (*qawm mulhid yang bersufi-sufi dirinya*); photos 61-52. All this was borrowed from al-Rānīrī.

3. Four traditions containing a warning against innovations and heresies, followed by various classifications of *bid‘a*, also borrowed in part from al-Rānīrī (photos 52-50).

4. The most original and interesting part: a polemic against a number of pre-islamic usages (photos 50-33).

5. A short discourse on *shaitān*, *jinn* and *Iblīs* (photos 33-28).

§ 1. In the long list of aberrations and misconceptions contained in this paragraph from time to time one comes across the censure of

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8 Qur’ān 2 : 217: “... but if any of you turn back from their religion, and die as unbelievers, these (are people) whose works come to nought both in this world and the Hereafter; these are inmates of the Fire, therein abiding”. (Bell’s translation.)

trivial acts of everyday life and words spoken in jest or out of pure cussedness. Thus, for instance, the refusal to cut one’s nails after being informed that this is a normative Muslim custom (qāṣṣ al-azfār min al-fiṭra), is considered evidence of kufr. This is, possibly, directed against the custom of growing the nail of the little finger. An admonition of the same tenor is found in the Javanese kropak preserved in the Museum at Ferrara (Italy), a typescript copy of which is cod. or. Leiden 10.811. This palm-leaf manuscript must be dated about 1600, as its contents show a remarkable resemblance to the 16th century Javanese primbon contained in cod. or. Leiden 266, one of the oldest manuscripts in the Leiden collection. Another evidence of kufr is, that when someone says, “Lā ḥawla wa-lā quwwata illā bi ‘llāh” (‘there is no might or force but God’s’), to retort by saying, “To say this won’t get you very far when you are hungry”. Or, if someone says, ‘I have recommended my property to God”, to retort by saying, “Then you have committed it to someone who, in case of theft, will not give chase to the thief”.

§ 2. For the contents of this paragraph I refer to Voorhoeve’s edition of the Tibyān. I only want to make two observations. Al-Rānīrī refers to a tradition of Ibn ʿAbbas which relates that after diving into the sea for a period of forty days Iblis penetrated into the seventh sea and reached the gate of hell. There he saw the prospective abode of the people who spread bidʿas. The guardians of hell gave him the banners of all their groups and 72 sheets of paper on which the names of their sects were written. As a preliminary to this tradition ʿAbd al-Šamād relates a tradition of Ibn Masʿūd to the effect that, before the revelation of Qorān 6: 153 (‘And this is My path straightly. Follow it then and do not follow the ways so that they diverge with you from his way’) the Prophet traced a straight line on the ground and said, “Follow the religion of Allah and His Prophet, the straight (way)”. Then he drew a number of lines to the left and the right of the straight line and said, “These are a number of other ways, all taken by the Devil”.

In the Tibyān, p. 90 mention is made of the qaum Mujāhiliyya, who wear offensive clothes, saying, “We must keep aloof from hypocrisy”. In our manuscript, however, these people are called Mutajāhiliyya; they wear women’s clothes and do women’s work, saying, “We must keep aloof from unchastity”. This may have been the reading of ʿAbd al-Šamād’s copy of the Tibyān. On the other hand, one wonders whether he himself deliberately altered the wording of this pericope so as to denounce the practices of the hermaphrodites (banči). Popular
Jakarta performances in which bancis figure have been described by Dr. Pigeaud in his Javaanse Volksvertoningen, pp. 265, 269, and many years ago Dr. Matthes wrote an interesting article on the role of the bisus in South Sulawesi. Recently the French journal Archipel published a short paper on the same subject.

§ 3. The exposition of the five categories of bid'as, borrowed from al-Rânîrî, is preceded by four traditions on the guarding against bid'as. 

1. Man waqqara šâhīb bid'âs fa-qad a'ānâ 'alâ hadm al-Islâm, 'Whoever pays respect to an innovator, is instrumental in the demolition of Islâm'. Source: al-Baihaqi (d. 458/1066).

2. Ahl al-bid'âs širîr al-khalq, 'Innovators are the worst of people'. Source: Abû Nu‘aim al-Isfahânî (d. 430/1038).

3. Man ahdna šâhīb al-bid'âs ammanahu Allâh yawm al-qiyâma min al-faza'î al-akbar wa-waqâ-hu Allâh ta‘âlâ, 'Whoever despises an innovator, shall be secured by God from the terror of doomsday and God shall shield him'. No source mentioned.

4. Mâ zhara ahl al-bid'â i'llâ aşhara Allâh fihim ḥujjatahu 'alâ lisân man shâ'a min khalqihi, 'Never do innovators make an appearance but God puts forward counter-proof by the mouth of whoever may please Him'. Source: al-Ḥakîm (d. 404/1014).

§ 4. This paragraph opens with a statement of al-Shâfi‘î (d. 204/820), the founder of the Shafi‘ite school of Law, to the effect that bid'âs anything deviating from the Qur’ân, Holy Tradition, the statements of the Companions of the Prophet and the consensus (ijmâ‘). This is followed by another classification of the bid'âs, borrowed from

14 Cf. Qur’ân 34 : 23: idhâ fuzzi-a can qulâbihim, 'when terror has been removed from their hearts', namely, on the day of reckoning by God's permission of intercession.
15 Cf. Qur’ân 6 : 149: ... fa-li 'llâhi 'l-hujjatu 'l-bâligha, ‘... to Allah belongs the convincing argument'.
Abū 'l-Shakūr al-Sālimī's *Tamhīd*, into those pertaining to God's Essence, His speech, His attributes, the Companions of the Prophet, and man's acts. The author does not describe the first three categories because it is the unanimous opinion of all competent scholars that these *bidās* are all *kufr*. The fourth is only mentioned cursorily. A good deal of attention, however, is paid to the fifth category. Here the author denounces pre-islamic practices, in answer to the question of how much harm there is in the practices of *menyanggar* and *berbuang pesilih*. Judging from the ample discussion of these, the obvious conclusion is that he was greatly scandalized by their existence, as was to be expected of a schooled theologian who, during a prolonged sojourn in the centre of Islam, had been imbued with principles far more rigid than those prevailing at home, and who, therefore, could not condone anything inconsistent with these rigid principles.

On the back of photo 40 Dr. Voorhoeve has jotted down that in Middle Malay *sanggar* indicates both a framework of wattled bamboo upon which an offering is placed and the offering itself, while *pesilih* (Batak *parsilihi*) means 'a changeling', usually made out of a banana stem and destined to be thrown away, as, for instance, at a cross-road.  

Thus *menyanggar* is synonymous with the Javanese word *nyajēni*, i.e., to deposit small offerings in places deemed unhealthy, as, for example, cross-roads and places held sacred (*pupundēn*), and also near old trees and objects whose magic potency makes one apprehensive. The use of a *parsilihi* in the Batak area has been described by Dr. Ph. L. Tobing as follows:

\[\ldots Pane \ (na\ bolon, \textit{the big fire} = \textit{the serpent of the nether world}) \text{ moves round the middleworld, starting from the east. When he is in the east the space between east and west is a favourable one. Everybody coming from this direction brings the power and the blessing of Pane with him. On the other hand, misfortune awaits him who goes in this direction. He will also endanger his relations. For it is said that such a man "defies" Pane, who will then vent his rage upon him and those around him. For this reason people will take care not to undertake a journey to places in the occupied zones... If it should be absolutely necessary to make a journey in one of these directions, then one should offer a sacrifice and also make an effigy of a man called *parsili*, as a substitute. This effigy will become the victim, instead of the 'defier'.} \]


A similar practice is also known in Java. In his *Brieven van een Wedono-pensioen* Snouck Hurgronje tells how to cure a sick person who in some way or other has been touched or hit (*kesambet, katémpér, or kagepok*) because, although unconsciously or involuntarily, he has given offence to the spirit residing in a certain tree, in the usual bathing-place or in a big stone. The remedy suggested by the *dukun* (medicine-man) is usually a *buwangan*, that is to say, an offering such as flowers, incense, an egg, or *sirih*, which must be brought to the spirit's place of residence in order to mollify him. Sometimes one can fool the spirit by presenting to him, in addition to the *buwangan*, some object having the shape of a man or an animal. Popular belief has it that the spirit, mistaking this object for the soul of the patient, is propitiated and thus sets free the real soul.19

"Abd al-Šamad advances two arguments against these practices. And if anyone should try to disprove the second, he still has a third to fall back on. The first argument is that such offerings are sheer waste, and anyone guilty of waste is a *mubadhāhir* ('squanderer'), about whom it says in the Qor'ān that he is a brother of the satans (Qor'ān 17: 27). In an artful manner Satan tries to entice such a person to commit forbidden actions, in spite of the fact that in numerous places the Qor'ān warns against this manifest enemy of the human race (Qor'ān 2: 168, 169; 4: 119, 120; 35: 5, 6; 36: 60).

Furthermore, *menyanggar* and *berbuang pesilih* are nothing other than *shirk*, i.e., the assigning of companions to God, and, therefore, rejection of God's unity. The belief that these practices, in cases of illness, produce a favourable effect on the patient's physical condition, apparently assumes that there are other forces active in this world besides God. Since, however, *shirk* is the only unpardonable sin, the advocates of these practices want to disprove this grave imputation by saying that they trust these offerings not to fail in their effect because of the curative power imparted to them by God.20 Even so, this usage is a sinful innovation (*bid'ah pasek*), and according to the theologians

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20 The same argument is used to justify the invoking of supernatural beings in romantic stories. See Snouck Hurgronje, *The Achehnese*, Vol. II, p. 149, where the author observes (with regard to the Achehnese adaptation of the Malay story of Chintabuhan) that "the Achehnese composer has also given to the whole a slightly Mohammadan tinge. The diwas, it is true, play a weighty part and work all manner of marvels, but not till Allah has expressly charged them so to do; and people in distress invoke the aid, not of the all-administering diwas, but of the almighty Creator".
of Transoxania, tantamount to *kufr*, because the analogy with the effects of food and fire such people refer to, is unacceptable. True, fire scorches and food nourishes, but neither has this effect of itself. That they have these effects, is due to the fact that God has rendered these the customary effects of both, whereas offerings are not of the same category. Anyone referring to this is not only wrong but also lends countenance to that which is forbidden.

In defence of these offerings some say that they are not made to Satan but are for the honour of the deceased and the ancestors, with the view of encouraging them to render assistance to the offerer in his troubles, in the same way as one applies to one's living relatives and friends for help. This can hardly be called squandering or evidence of demonism, and thus it is neither *shirk* nor *bid'a*.

It goes without saying that in the eye of Ābd al-Ṣamad this justification is utterly worthless. It is, says he, a false contention based on delusion (*wahm*). There is no evidence from the Qor'ān or tradition, nor are there pronouncements by authoritative theologians, which can be used to support it. How do we know that the deceased are still alive? What the elders say about this and what is written about it in old stories cannot be counted as evidence, nor can the words of *orang yang kesarungan*, for *yang menyarung itu Sēta jua*.

What is understood by this, is apparent from the following. Obviously *kesarungan* means the same as the Javanese words *préwangan* and *kranjingan*, which indicate the condition of a person who is, allegedly, temporarily possessed by a spirit who is his companion (*réwang*), and who is, in this state of mind, capable of, among other things, revealing information concealed from ordinary mortals. In regard to the word itself, I regard it as a rendering of the Arabic *malbus*, 'possessed (by a spirit)', but literally meaning 'covered, namely by a spirit'. As is well-known, the dealings of spirits (*jinn*) with men are expressed by verbs meaning 'to cover' in various Semitic languages. Trances, swoons and

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22 See A. J. Wensinck, *The Etymology of the Arabic djinn (spirits)*, *Versl. en Meded. Kon. Ak. v. Wet.*, Afd. Letterkunde, 5e Reeks, deel IV (1920). — To counter this interpretation one could say that it would be surprising if this condition were denoted by a loan-translation from the Arabic. On the other hand, *kesarungan*, in the above-mentioned sense, is not given in any Malay dictionary. It is not unlikely that Ābd al-Ṣamad, who had already been living in Mecca for a long time when he wrote this treatise, and was probably greatly Arabicized, simply translated an Arabic term familiar to him.
madness are all ascribed to the activities of jinn. The Arabic ghushiya ‘alaihi, ‘he was covered’, means ‘he swooned’, and majnun, the past participle of janna, ‘to cover’, means ‘mad’. In both cases the unmentioned agent is a jinni.

According to Abd al-Šamad, the spirit which has taken possession of an entranced man is no other than the devil. It is the devil who ‘covers’ him and makes him a man who is ‘kesarungan’, for menyarung means ‘memberi bersarung’, ‘to cover’, ‘to cloth’.

From the Qor’ān, from tradition and from the works of theologians it is well-known that God has imparted the power to ‘cover’ people to both angels and the devil, so that both can enter the hearts of men and inspire them to good or evil. On this topic Abd al-Šamad offers a piece of psychology borrowed from one of the expositions on the subject of khawāfīr, ‘thoughts coming at random into the mind’, as found in the works of various authors. The fact is that, according to their origin, these random thoughts are divided into a number of categories, among which there are khawāfīr malakiyya and khawāfīr shaitāniyya, ‘angelic thoughts’ and ‘diabolical thoughts’, respectively. Referring to this classification the author says that angels are mulhim, ‘prompters of inspiration’ (to the good), operative at the right side of the heart, whereas diabolical prompting (waswās) is brought about at the left side. (The localization of left as the wrong side and right as

23 With regard to the activities of jinn and intercourse with them Lecture V in D. B. Macdonald’s The Religious Attitude and Life in Islam, Chicago 1909, is still interesting reading.
24 In the Achehnese Hikayat Pocut Muhamat it is recorded that Pocut Muhamat, when recruiting auxiliaries for the battle against the anti-king of his brother, came into Peusangan (on the East Coast of Acheh), where he instructed the population not to put their trust in ureuēng meujeunun (orang majnun) but in the culamā’:

Tatuēng eleumē ba’ ureuēng malēm, mangat tuan tamōng ceuruga
Tatuēng akaj ba’ ureuēng meujeunun, salah peureubuētan didalam dönā
t ‘Turn to the scribes for tuition, that you may enter paradise
Advise with orang majnun, and nothing you do will be right in this world’. Because orang majnun is contrasted with culamā’ it is likely that it means the same as kesarungan here.

25 For instance Junaid and Abū Ťalīb al-Makkī; see also Zakariyyā’ al-Anṣāri’s Fatḥ al-Rahmān, which was adapted into Malay by Kemas Fakhruddin of Palembang.
26 On the difference between ilham (inspiration) and wahy (revelation), see F. Jadaane, Révélation et Inspiration en Islam, Studia Islamica XXVI (1967), pp. 23-47, and on the role of the angels in general, see La place des Anges dans la théologie musulmane, by the same author, in Studia Islamica XLI (1975), pp. 23-61.
the right side is also peculiar to the Islamic world.) Pronouncing the name of God is effective against diabolical prompting. Then Satan shrinks back, *terkhanaslah*, as it says in the text, with a reference to Qorān 114: 4, where *al-khannas* is interpreted as 'he who shrinks back'.

But what if someone says, "Yes, indeed; we practise *menyanggar* and *berbuang pesilih* with respect to the Evil One, but these practices should be looked upon like the feeding of a dog. There is nothing wrong with this, and by the same token there is nothing wrong with *menyanggar* and *berbuang pesilih*, provided one performs these actions with the right intention". Abd al-Ṣamad's answer is, of course, that this intention is invalid and does not override the fact that these offerings, being mere waste and diabolism, are strictly forbidden. The untenable nature of this excuse is obvious: in this way one could commit murder on the pretext that one intended to kill a mouse or to get rid of an annoyance. Or a person guilty of unlawful sexual intercourse could declare that he had the intention to have intercourse with his wife or to get rid of a lumbago. It is clear that this is a pack of lies, since the tongue is at variance with the heart. The idea of paying homage to Satan is certainly present. Why else does one offer dainties, and in a ceremonial way at that? This is not the way a dog is fed. To a dog one throws stale food and offal.

Finally, the argument that these practices should be regarded as medical attendance on the person concerned, is null and void, as they have nothing to do with regular medical treatment.

In sum: anyone guilty of these reprehensible actions should lose no time in repenting of his sins and mending his ways, on penalty of forfeiting God's forgiveness and mercy (Qorān 38: 53).

§ 5. In this paragraph the author answers five questions concerning *shaitān*, *jinn* and *Iblīs*.

1. Is there any difference between them? Referring to al-Laqa'ī's *Umda*, quotations from which he came across in an (unspecified) book by Burhān al-dīn al-Ḥalabī, the author says that *jinn* and *shaitān* are both descendants of Iblīs. Those who are Muslim are called *jinn*, the others are called *shaitān*; the former are mortal, the latter are not. Furthermore, it is said, on the authority of Wahb b. Munabbīh, that the *jinn* are of two categories: some of them eat, drink, marry and beget children, others do not. But in his *al-Yawāqīt wa 'l-jawāhir* al-Sha'rānī (d. 973/1565) 27 says that Iblīs is not the father of the

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jinn, as some of them existed before him, in support of which he refers to Qur'ān 18:50, where it says: *illa Iblīs, kanā min al-jinn,* ‘(all) but Iblīs; he was one of the jinn’.

2. Are friendship and keeping company with jinn recommendable, or are they altogether reprehensible? They are utterly reprehensible, and it is a mark of stupidity to prefer their company to that of *ulamā‘,* as the acts and words of jinn, like those of orang *pasek,* overstep the mark and are untruthful. No good ever resulted from this, as jinn owe their origin to fire, which accounts for their fickleness. Moreover, they expose their friends to serious temptations. In the 50th book of the *Futūḥāt Ibn ʿArabī* says that one can never learn anything about Allah from them because they are totally ignorant of Him. Furthermore, it is an illusion to think that one can acquire information from them concerning topics of occult science, a branch of learning proscribed by religion. Finally, keeping company with jinn often makes people haughty, and haughtiness is an object of divine wrath.

3. Will Muslim jinn enter paradise? This is a matter of opinion, but the majority would answer in the affirmative. They shall, however, be assigned the lowest place there. In his *Tadhkira* al-Qurtubi says that the prospective whereabouts of the Muslim jinn are around paradise and not inside it.

4. Will man be able to see the jinn in the hereafter? Al-Shaʻrānī says that man will be able to see the jinn, but only a few privileged jinn will be able to see man, in the same way as in this world only a few privileged men are able to see the jinn.

5. How can these privileged few see the jinn in this world, since God has said, “... O children of Adam ... he (the devil) sees you, he and his tribe, from whence ye see not them?” (Qur'ān 7: 27). Answer: On this issue al-Shaʻrānī observes, “True, but these words must be taken in such a way that one does not see them in their real shape. However, one does see them in the shapes of men, cats, snakes, and so on”, and in this connection he relates the story of how on a certain evening a jinnī came to him in the mosque in the shape of a trim brown dog and asked him questions about *tawhid* (dogmatics). The mosque personnel thought that they were dealing with a real dog and hastened to purify the place by means of water and sand.28 It was this

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28 In the version of this story as given by Macdonald the jinnī, in the form of a dog, ran in the door of the house with a piece of European paper in his mouth, on which certain theological questions were written. (*Op. cit.*, p. 149.)
incident that caused him to write his *Kashf al-hijāb wa ’l-rān ʾan waṣḥ as’īlat al-jānn*, ‘The removal of the veil and the dirt from the face of the questions about the *jinn*’.

Chapter III

This short chapter has only two pages. It deals with *ridda*, ‘apostasy’, a subject of the *fiqh*-books which is treated either in the chapter on the fixed punishments (*ḥudūd*), as for instance in Bājūrī, *Hāshiya*, Vol. II pp. 263-266, or in the chapter on delicts (*jīnāyāt*), as in the *Tanbih* of al-Shīrāzī (d. 476/1083). What ʿAbd al-Ṣamad presents here is a synopsis of what is said about it in the *fiqh*-books.

Following the lengthy chapter II, chapter III is surprisingly brief. This briefness is probably due to the fact that *ridda* was a subject of little or no consequence in Palembang at the time and, therefore, was only dealt with for the sake of completeness. It is unlikely that there were any cases of *ridda* at the time and thus the whole subject of its legal effects was probably a purely academic one, only of interest to students of Islamic law. A similar conclusion with regard to the Rejang area of South Sumatra was reached as late as 1936 by Dr. Hazairin, after making an inquiry into various domains of indigenous law in this area. It would appear to him that here too the prevalent situation was that cases of *ridda* were virtually unknown and that its legal consequences were alien to indigenous law; all of them were still pure *fiqh*. I should add, however, that since one of the consequences is divorce, in Java apostasy has at times been seized upon by Indonesian and Arab wives as an ultimate expedient to obtain dissolution of marriage.

ʿAbd al-Ṣamad begins his exposition by noting the general conditions of legal validity, viz. that the person concerned be sane and of age, and did not act under duress. If apostasy is definitely established, then the apostate must be allowed to recant, as stated in the *Qorān* (8:38). If he does so he will be pardoned, but if he persists he will be killed. His execution can only be ordered by the ruler or his deputy; anyone


30 *De Redjang*, thesis submitted to the Batavia Faculty of Law 1936, p. 159.

else who encroaches on this prerogative is given a discretionary punishment (tazir). A person executed for apostasy is denied a Muslim burial and interment in a Muslim cemetery. In case of insanity the whole procedure is postponed until the patient has recovered. The apostate is not deprived of the right to manage his property but this right is held in abeyance (mawqif) until his apostasy is beyond doubt. If he is executed his property goes to the public treasury (bait al-mal).

Finally, with reference to Ibn Ḥajar and al-Ramli, the author points out how the apostate should repent and renounce any faith other than Islam.

Epilogue

In this chapter ʿAbd al-Ṣamad answers two questions: one about the definition and the number of capital sins, and the other about repentance. According to al-Juwaini (d. 378/1085) any disobedience showing that its perpetrator is lax in matters of religion, is a capital sin. In another definition capital sins are described as 'those acts of disobedience that are penalized severely in the Qurʾān and in Tradition'. They are very numerous. Ibn Muqri’ says that they total 42, shirk being number one. Included also is the acceptance and practising of bid’as. There follows an enumeration of the 42 dosa besar. Other scholars give different estimates. According to Zakariyya’ al-Anṣārī Ibn ʿAbbās fixed their number at about 70, Saʿd b. Jubair at about 700, and Ibn Ḥajar, in his Zuwjir ʿan iqtirdj al-kabāʾir (‘Checks upon the committing of mortal sins’), taking a more lenient view, restricted their number to about 400.

There are three essential elements (rukun) of repentance which cleanse a person of sin (menggugurkan dosa). They are repentance, immediate termination of the reprehensible acts and no relapse into evil. Venial sins are punished by tazir (discretionary punishments), and even if such a sin consists of neglecting ritual worship and fasting, the former three suffice, provided one makes up for the omitted religious duties.

If, however, a claim of Allah (haqq Allāh) is involved, as for example with the alms-tax (zakāt), or a private claim (haqq ādamī), as in the case of theft, then first of all the zakāt must be paid and the stolen property, casu quo its value, restored to its owner. This general rule is followed by an exposition of what must be done if the person defrauded has died or cannot be found. It is not known whether a person who has restored the stolen property or repaired a loss will none-
theless be called to account for his offence in the hereafter. Some people think he will not be called to account, basing their opinion on the view with regard to offences which are sanctioned by hadd punishments (penalized when witnesses testify or when the delinquent himself confesses (iqrār) but otherwise not). That silence is better than acknowledgement, is thought to apply here likewise.\textsuperscript{32}

Herewith our epitome of \textsuperscript{5}\textdegree{}Abd al-\textdegree{}Samad's book is brought to a close. As stated above, the remaining pages of the manuscript (photos 15-1) contain \textsuperscript{5}\textdegree{}Abd al-Ra'uf's short treatise on the agony of death, which is drawn from al-Qurtubi's \textit{Tadhkira}, a work also used by \textsuperscript{5}\textdegree{}Abd al-\textdegree{}Samad. This treatise is followed by a piece on the method of foretelling the time of death, drawn from an unidentified Arabic writing, and finally by an argument that the best \textit{dhikr} at the hour of death is \textit{Lā ilāha illā 'Ilāh}. The appendix \textit{(dhail)}, which mentions that \textsuperscript{5}\textdegree{}Abd al-Ra'uf's teacher, the Medina scholar Ibrāhīm al-Kurānī, concurs with the views of his pupil, is lacking.\textsuperscript{33}

In the preceding pages \textsuperscript{5}\textdegree{}Abd al-\textdegree{}Samad's text has been summarized rather extensively because we are here dealing with a work belonging to a class of writings whose importance was convincingly explained by Hoesein Djajadiningrat in his address on the first anniversary of the Batavia Faculty of Law in 1925. It is "a work that was specially written with a view to Indonesian needs and acquaints us with questions of everyday life concerning Islamic Law".\textsuperscript{34}

As Hoesein Djajadiningrat observed, it is certainly true that such writings are essentially compilations of subject-matter found in works generally considered to be authoritative. But, says Hoesein Djajadiningrat, to begin with, the subject-matter chosen enables us to understand the special needs of religious life in the Archipelago. Furthermore, from the way in which some topics are treated one can learn the attitudes not only of the average Indonesian Muslim but also of the legal expert with regard to certain Indonesian usages and conceptions. Finally, even in works composed merely for the purpose of expounding the provisions

\textsuperscript{32} Cf. Juynboll, \textit{Handleiding}, p. 297: The Prophet is reported to have said, "Any believer will be granted remission of sins save he who himself makes them known publicly". See also J. Schacht, \textit{An Introduction to Islamic Law}, pp. 176-177.


\textsuperscript{34} \textit{De Mohammedaansche Wet en het geestesleven der Indonesische Mohamme- danen}, Batavia, 1925, p. 6.
of Islamic Law and other precepts, one sometimes comes across incidental observations pertaining to Indonesian usages and questions which, although beyond the scope of the work as a whole, are concerned with special cases.  

This quotation justifies, I think, a circumstantial account of the work composed by ʿAbd al-Ṣamad at the behest of an exalted, and in all likelihood Indonesian, principal.

APPENDIX I

Copia Translaat Arabise Brief geschr. door den Palembangar Samat thans te Mecka zig bevindende, aan den Sulthan in de Mattaram zoon van den Soesoehoenang Dipatte vertoond te Samarang den 22 MeiJ 1772.

Alle lof en prijs koomt van den heere onse god die de geheele weereld regeerd en bestierd wiens barmhertig en langmoedigheid den Proveet Mohamat geniet, die de laaste profeet en sendeling van den heere was en ook alle desselfs aanhangers genieten sullen het is dan een proefje van des heeren goedheid en dapperheid tegens de vijanden van andere religie welk ligt het welk ook een teeken van de macht en goedheid is die de machomethanse religie onderhoud en ook overwinnaar is van alle poten.  

Am. cit., p. 7.
Hier neevens laat ik uw hoogheid door de priesters Hadji Bassarien en Mochamat Jdries toekomen eenig D Jam-D Jam waater van Mecka om het zelve tot sterking des Lichaams te kunnen gebruiken ter wijl ik uw hoogheid op het kragtigste de voors. twee priesters aan recommandeere en uw hoogheid verzeekeren kan dat zij lieden niet alleen zeer gegrond in de religie zijn maar ook door een heijlige wandel den weg gods en zijnes proveets onberispelijk opvolgen / onderstond/ volgens op gave van den Jav. Tolk karta Bassa uijt het Arabisch in de Javaanse taal en als doe getranslateerd door mij/. was geteekend/ C. P. Boltze Translater/ onderstond./ Accordeert/ was getekend/ C. P. Boltze Translr.

APPENDIX II


Mijn gebed is tot god, dat hij door den proveet Mahomet zijne genade verleene, dewijl god geseijd heeft wie hem om vergeevinge sijner zonden bid zal hij deselve kwadschelden (sic) die vergevinge des heeren is gelijk een klaare waterstroom die zonder ophouden over degeene komt, dewelke god vreeseen en die ook van het geloof zijns proveets Mahomet zijn wiens proveete rugbaar is over t geheele rijk des Machometaanse gelooff is. Te meer zal god de sonden van de vroomste menschen vergeebeen dewelke gelijk den pang. Mancoe Nagarra sijn, die hij ge-schaapen heeft om zoo groote Eer in de weereid te krijgen als meede om dat uw hoogheid een vorstelige afstammeling uit den huisje van de Mattaram zijt die god neevens zijns proveet Mahomet genade over-vloediglijk verleend also uw hoogheids regteveerdheit over al rugbaar geworden is voorts gelieft uwE hoogheid de woorden van den Alkoranaan te bedenken, dat Een wijning volk een groote Magt wel kan overwinnen.

Mitsgaders dat uwe hoogheid geliefd altoos te bedenken dat in den alkoranaan de volgende woorden geschreven staan en aldus luiden.

Dat indien iemannt in den oorlog van besigie (read: religie) sterft zoo moet gij niet zeggen dat die al dood is door dien god geseijd heeft dat de ziel van sulk een mensch [in een mensch] in een groote duijf in gaat en deselve direct na den hemel voert het geen alle vroome altoos vast in hunnen hertsen hebben en dus moet zulks meer en meer in uwe hoogheids herten zijn ter wijl deselve als een bloem is wier reuk van zons op gang tot haar onder gang geroken werd, Ja zelfs dat gansch mecka en Medina met de malijtse landen zig verwonderd over den aangenaame reuk van dien, en dat alle menschen tot god bidden dat uwe hoogheid moogen triumpeeren over alle deselfs vijanden geliefd uwH op het zeggen van Mahomet te denken dewelke zeijde dodet alle degeene die geen Machometaanse gelooff voeren ten sj denselven tot uwH gelooff koomen.

Dierhalven heeft den schrijver deeses sech Mohamat een groote lust
indien het den Almogen de behaage mogt, om de toonen van uwe hoogheids voeten te zien, de redenen dat ik uwh. zien wil is dat de tijding van desselfs goedheid gelijk een diamant blinkt die zeer helder is en dat alle menschen lust hebben dezelve te moogen zien, ook kan de geene die uwh. zien wel niet vergeten god te bidden voor desselfs welvaart, hebt moed dat gij steeds gelukkig zult zijn benaarstigt u in de vreese des heeren vreest niet voor ’t ongelukt en vliedt alle het quaade en als iemand zulks doet zal hij den hemel zonder wolke ende aarde zonder vuilighed zien en ook de volgende woorden van de Alkoran tot sijnen troost hebben alle de geene die in de Machometaanse religie zijn en ook alles loffelijks doen sullen de genaade des heeren krijgen want den proveet Mahomet heeft geseijd in dien de menschen Eewig in de weereild kan leeven zoo sal hij ook hier namals Ewig leeven en geluksalig zijn.

Bij deese maake ik uw hoogheid bekent dat mij door Siti Pattima dochter van abdulla opgedragen is het neevensgaande djimat aan uw hoogheid te bezorgen zijnde het zelve van zodanige kragt, dat wanneer uw hoogheid dit teeken tegens uwh vijanden in velt gebruikt deselve niet alleen daar voor moeten beswijken maar uw hoogheid moet ook altoos zeeye praalende de overwinning behaalen het mahometaanse geloofd kan daar door beschermt en alle kwaade tegestreevers uit geroeijt worden en de reeden wel uw hoogheid het voorsz. velt teeken.gzonden werden zijn om dat wij alhier gehoort hebben uw hoogheid als een regt voorstelijk hoofd in den oorlog aldaar gevreest zijt hout dan het zelve in waarde, en gebruikt het onder godes seegen tot vernieting (sic) uwer vijanden en alle de geenen die buiten het geloof (sic) van Mahomet zijn wordende uw hoogheid hier niet alleen geluk gewenst maar ook gegroet door de oude godsvreesen de van Mecka en Medina gent. Ibrahim, Jnmaq Safingi Imam Ganapi Jnmaq Maliki en Imam Chambali en voorts van alle anderen deeser plaatsen dewelke eenparig wenschen dat den zegen des proveets en zijne vier groote apposteelen Aboebakar, oemar, oosman en Alie althooos op uwe hoogheids persoon mooge blijven berusten/. onderstond/ volgens opgave van den Jav. Tolk Carta Bassa uit het Arabisch in de Javaansche Taal en als doe getranslateerd door mij/. was geteekend/ C. P. Boltze Translater/. onderstond./ Accorddeert/. was geteekend/ C. P. Boltze Translater/. daar onder./

NB op het vaandel staan de Arabische woorden Erachman Erachim Mohamat Rassoel Loelah. Abdulla hetwelk beteekend de goedertierende en Barmhertige god sijn groote gesant den Proveet Mohamet als gods needrigste slaaff.