Sufi Epistemology: Being the Earliest Exposition in Kitâb al-Luma' of al-Sarrâj and its Manifestation in the Works of Indonesian Sufis

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Abstract

Kitâb al-Luma' fî al-Taṣawwuf of al-Sarrâj (d. 378H./988CE.) is the earliest work in Sufism survived and arrived at us. It did not only record the history of Sufism up to that time but also promoted and placed its position among other disciplines in the history of intellectual and spiritual traditions of Islam. With this work, al-Sarrâj formulated Sufi epistemology in its earliest development. This paper attempts to explore the Sufi epistemology of al-Sarrâj, which will cover the discussion about his classification and hierarchy of knowledge, his analysis of the position of Sufism among other knowledge, and then his elaboration of the methodology of Sufism. Before ending the discussion, the paper will read the works of Indonesian Sufis using Sufi epistemology as a perspective. This study finds that al-Sarrâj was successfully constructed Sufi epistemology in its initial emergence. He placed Sufism as a discipline of knowledge and posed it at the highest level in the structural hierarchy of knowledge. Reading the works of

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Indonesian Sufis from Sufi epistemology, it appears that in the early days of their birth, these works were colored by the epistemology of philosophical Sufism. It was only later that the epistemology of Sunni Sufism came into existence, and this became more evident in the following periods in the development of Sufism in this country.

Keywords: Kitâb al-Luma', al-Sarrâj, Sufism, Sufi Epistemology.

Abstrak

Kitâb al-Luma' fî al-Taṣawwuf karya al-Sarrâj (w. 378H./988M.) adalah buku tasawuf paling awal yang sampai kepada kita. Buku ini tidak hanya mencatat sejarah tasawuf hingga saat itu, tetapi juga mempromosikan dan menempatkan posisinya di antara disiplin ilmu lain dalam sejarah tradisi intelektual dan spiritual Islam. Dengan karya ini, al-Sarrâj merumuskan epistemologi sufi dalam perkembangannya yang paling awal. Tulisan ini mencoba menelusuri epistemologi Sufi al-Sarrâj yang akan mencakup pembahasan tentang klasifikasi dan hirarki ilmu, analisis tentang kedudukan tasawuf di antara ilmu-ilmu lain, dan kemudian penjabarannya tentang metodologi tasawuf. Sebelum mengakhiri pembahasan, makalah ini akan membaca karya-karya tasawuf para Sufi Indonesia menggunakan perspektif epistemologi Sufi. Kajian ini menemukan bahwa al-Sarrâj telah berhasil mengkonstruksi epistemologi Sufi pada awal kemunculannya. Ia tidak hanya menempatkan tasawuf sebagai disiplin ilmu bersama dengan disiplin ilmu lain yang telah ada, tetapi juga menempatkan tasawuf pada level tertinggi dalam hirarki struktural pengetahuan itu. Membaca karya-karya para sufi Indonesia dari perspektif epistemologi sufi, tampak bahwa pada masa awal kelahirannya karya-karya itu diwarnai epistemologi tasawuf filosofis. Baru di kemudian hari, epistemologi tasawuf Sunni hadir dan menjadi semakin kentara pada masa-masa berikutnya dalam perkembangan tasawuf di negeri ini.

Kata Kunci: Kitâb al-Luma', al-Sarrâj, Tasawuf, Epistemologi Sufi.

Introduction

Sufi epistemology was developed through a long process from its initial construction to its later crystallization, in an ethical viewpoint, with *Ḥujjat al-Islâm* al-Imam al-Ghazâlî[1] and, in a

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philosophical framework, with *Shaykh al-Akbar* Ibn 'Arabî[2] and Mulla Sadra with his *Ḥikmah al-Muta'âliyah*[3]. Al-Sarrâj, with his work, *Kitâb al-Luma' fî al-Taṣawwuf,* deserved to be noted as the pioneer to formulate Sufi epistemology in the history of Sufism.[4]

Kitâb al-Luma' fî al-Taṣawwuf (*The Book of Light Flashes in Sufism*) is "the earliest surviving 'surveys' of Sufism"[5] written by al-Sarrâj (d. 378 H/988 CE.). It "is one of the most important, earliest, and fundamental works on Sufism".[6] In this respect, in her work *Mystical Dimensions of Islam,* Annemarie Schimmel further noted that *Kitâb al-Luma'* is:

> "an excellent exposition of the doctrines of the Sufis, with numerous quotations from the sources... His definitions of the different states and stations, his long quotations from Sufi prayers and letters, his words about the behavior of the Sufis at home and on their journeys, and his explanations of difficult expressions are of great value to the student of Sufism."[7]

With this work, al-Sarrâj "set out to capture the authentic thinking and practice of the early Sufi masters in an authoritative documentary survey."[8] According to Renard, this work of al-Sarrâj is "an extensive compendium of Sufi hagiography, lexicography, and theory."[9] In addition, Renard further maintains that *al-Luma'* was not only considered as the first encyclopedia of the history of early Sufism but also the first to affirm the epistemological position of Sufism as

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Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 1996) and Wahyudi, "Epistemologi Tafsir Sufi al-Ghazali dan Pergeserannya," *Jurnal THEOLOGIA,* Vol 29, No 1 (2018), 85-108.

[2] William C. Chittick, "Epistemology," *The Sufi Path of Knowledge: Ibn al-'Arabi's Metaphysics of Imagination* (Pakistan: Suhail Academy Lahore, 2000), 145-190; Syamsuddin Arif, "Sufi Epistemology: Ibn 'Arabi on Knowledge ('Ilm)." *Afkar,* Bil 3, (2002), 81-94; and Nikos Yiangou, "The Epistemology of Heart-Mind in the Spiritual Teachings of Muhyiddin ibn 'Arabi," *Kanz Philosophia,* Vol. 2, No. 1 (September 2012), 123-134.

[3] Syaifan Nur, "Epistemologi Sufi dan Tanggungjawab Ilmiah," *KANZ PHILOSOPHIA,* Volume 2, Number 1 (June 2012), 143.

[4] Ekrem Demirli, "Sufism Becoming a Science of Religion: The Transformation Process of the Tradition of *Ummism* and Expansion of the Field of Objective Science," *Journal of Balkan Studies,* 2021, 22-37.

[5] Ahmet T. Karamustafa, *Sufism: The Formative Period* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press Ltd., 2007), 67.

[6] Muhammad Tanveer Jamal Chishti and Abdul Zahoor Khan, "Approach of The Early Sufis From 10th Century to 12th Century Towards "SAMA"," *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences,* Vol 6 No 5 S1, (2015), 287.

[7] Annemarie Schimmel, *Mystical Dimensions of Islam* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1975), 84.

[8] Karamustafa, *Sufism,* 67.

[9] John Renard, *The A to Z of Sufism,* (UK.: The Scarecrow Press Inc., 2009), 260.

an "authentic religious discipline."[10] It is with *al-Luma'* that al-Sarrâj successfully "consolidated Sufism as a coherent body of spiritual teachings,"[11] as well as giving a comprehensive picture of how Sufism as the spiritual path was in absolute harmony with all aspects of Islamic religious laws and doctrines.[12] Likewise, it is through *al-Luma'* that Sufism not only transformed into a new paradigm of thought but also developed into a discipline of knowledge that paved the way for its survival along with the history of Islamic intellectual and spiritual traditions.[13]

Several researchers have carried out studies on Sufi epistemology. However, these researches focused more on the epistemology of Sufis, which was developed more recently in the philosophical framework[14] or discussed the epistemology of Sufi Qur'anic interpretation.[15] No studies have yet been conducted to uncover the foundations of the Sufi epistemological building that was built since the early days of its growth as did al-Sarrâj in his work *al-Luma'*.

This work aims to explore and expose the earliest construction of Sufi epistemology as it is found in *Kitâb al-Luma' fî al-Taṣawwuf*, the only surviving work of Abû Naṣr al-Sarrâj (d. 378 H/988 CE). In an attempt to contribute to this body of epistemology in Sufi heritage, this paper will first discuss the epistemological position of *al-Luma'* and then analyze Sufism's position among other disciplines of knowledge in that time by examining the classification and hierarchy of knowledge in the view of al-Sarrâj. This work will also expound al-Sarrâj's Sufi methodology, covering the discussion about two central issues: the sources of Sufi knowledge, and the second is the method by which Sufis elicit the true meanings of the Quran and the Prophetic

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[10] John Renard, *Knowledge of God in Classical Sufism: Foundations of Islamic Mystical Theology* (New York: Paulist Press, 2004), 76.

[11] Farida Khanam, *Sufism: an Introduction* (New Delhi: Goodword Books, 2009), 43.

[12] Khanam, *Sufism*, 43.

[13] Abdul Kadir Riyadi, "Abu Nasr al-Sarrâj dan Wacana Sufistik Lintas Disiplin Keilmuan," *Teosofi*, Vol. 4, No. 2 (December 2014), 305-306.

[14] See, footnote no. 2 above; Fatkhul Mufid, "Mengenal Epistemologi Ilmu Huduri dalam Tradisi Tasawuf Falsafi," *Esoterik: Jurnal Akhlak dan Tasawuf*, vol. 4, no. 1, june 2018; and Abdul Mukit Ridwan, "IBN 'ARABI; EPISTEMOLOGI DAN KONTROVERSI," *El-Furqania : Jurnal Ushuluddin dan Ilmu-Ilmu Keislaman*, Vol. 2 No. 01, Februari 2016.

[15] Muhammad Ulil Abshor, "EPISTEMOLOGI IRFANI (Sebuah Tinjauan Kajian Tafsir Sufistik)," *Jurnal At-Tibyan: Jurnal Ilmu Alqur'an Dan Tafsir* , 3(2), 249-264; Wahyudi, "Tafsir sufi: Analisis epistemologi ta'wil al-ghazali dalam kitab jawaahir al-qur'an," Jurnal ushuluddin, Volume. 26 No. 1, Juni 2018; and Wahyudi, "EPISTEMOLOGI TAFSIR SUFI AL-GHAZALI DAN PERGESERANNYA," *Jurnal Theologia*, Vol 29, No 1 (2018)

Traditions. Before concluding remarks, the researchers try to read and examine the works of Indonesian Sufis from the perspective of this Sufi epistemology designed by al-Sarrâj.

Finally, this paper will reveal how al-Sarrâj had begun to build the epistemological basis of Sufism at the beginning of the development of this science so that his successors could perfect the foundation of the existing epistemological building of Sufism. This is in one hand. On the other hand, this work will also expose to what extent this Sufi epistemology applied by Indonesian Sufis in formulating their thoughts and teachings in Sufism.

Biography of Abû Naṣr al-Sarrâj

Very few sources tell about the biography of this great Sufi figure in this early period of its emergence and development. Sufis' writings of this time, post al-Sarrâj, neither the works on the teachings and practices of Sufism nor the biography of Sufi scholars mentioned him, even if only by name. In this case, Reynold Alleyne Nicholson, the earliest researcher who edited and published *al-Luma'*, rightly found that it was difficult to describe the biography of this Sufi. In a complaining tone, he said:

> "Little material exists for the biography of Sarraj. The authors of the oldest Sufi Live pass him over in silence. The first separate notice of him that is known to me occurs in the Supplement to the *Tadhkirat al-Awliya'* (II, 182), from which the article in Jami's *Nafaḥat al-Uns* (No. 353) is chiefly compiled…"[16]

Nicholson then mentioned several other works in the form of shorter notes about al-Sarrâj that could compile this Sufi biography. These works, as mentioned by Nicholson, included *al-Nujûm al-Zâhira fî Mulûk Miṣr wa al-Qâhirah* (*The Bright Stars in The Kings of Egypt and Cairo*) by Abû al-Maḥâsin (d. 874 H.) (Abû al-Maḥâsin, 1950), *Târîkh al-Islâm* (*The History of Islam*) by al-Dhahabî (d. 817 H.) (al-Dhahabî, 1990), *Shadharât al-Dhahab fî Akhbâr man Dhahab* (*God Nuggets in the News of Those Who Had Gone*) by al-'Akrî (d. 871 H.), and *Safînah al-Awliyâ'* (The Ship of Muslim Saints) by Dara Shikuh.[17]

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[16] Abû Naṣr 'Abdallâh 'Alî Al-Sarrâj al-Tûsî, *The Kitâb al-Luma' fî al-Taṣawwuf*. Ed. Reynold Alleyne Nicholson (Leyden: E. J. Brill, 1914), II.

[17] Ibid., II-III.

In this case, Nicholson's account is not entirely true in the sense that it is possible that the work contained al-Sarrâj, which he encountered first was a note in the Supplement of *Tadhkirat al-Awliyâ'* (*Memory of Muslim Saints*) by al-'Attar (d. 620 H.). But *Tadhkirat al-Awliyâ'* of al-'Attar was not the first work to mention al-Sarrâj. About one and a half-century before *Tadhkirat al-Awliyâ'* was written; al-Sarrâj's name had already been mentioned in *Kashf al-Mahjûb (The Revelation of the Veiled)* of 'Alî ibn Uthmân al-Hujwîrî (d. 470 H.). The writer of *Kashf al-Mahjûb*, al-Hujwîrî, lived about a century after al-Sarrâj passed away. In *Kashf al- Mahjûb*, al-Hujwîrî wrote that al-Sarrâj was a figure intensely practiced and lived the Sufi way of life. He related that in the month of Ramadan, al-Sarrâj visited Baghdad. Upon his arrival there, he was given a private chamber in the Masjid of Syuniziyya. Al-Sarrâj was also appointed to become an *imâm* (congregational prayer leader) of the dervish in the *tarâwîh* prayer until it was finished with the coming of '*Îd al-Fiṭr*. During being *imâm of* night prayer of Ramadan (*tarâwîh*), he completed reciting the whole Qur'an five times. Every night, a servant served him a piece of bread in his room. On the day of '*Îd al-Fitr*, when al-Sarrâj had left the masjid, the servant entered the room and found 30 pieces of bread were still complete, untouched. This story was most likely to impress al-Hujwîrî genuinely and Sufi biographers from Persia as to give him the title "The Peacock of The Poor" (*thâwûs al-fuqarâ'*).[18] The second mention of al-Sarrâj's name, in *Kashf al-Mahjûb*, was when al-Hujwîrî cited his opinion regarding the three human ranks in *âdâb al-ṣuhba*. In this issue, al-Hujwîrî (1911, 341) mentioned that al-Sarrâj said:

> "As regards culture (*adâb*) there are three classes of humankind. Firstly, worldlings, whose culture mainly consists in eloquence and rhetoric and learning and knowledge of the nightly conversations (*asmâr*) of kings and Arabic poetry. Secondly, the religious, whose culture chiefly consists of disciplining the lower soul, correcting the limbs, observing the legal ordinances, and renouncing lusts. Thirdly, the elect (i.e. the Sufis), whose culture consists for the most part in spiritual purity and keeping watch over their hearts and fulfilling their promises and guarding the state in which they are and paying no heed to extraneous suggestions and behaving with propriety in the positions of search (for God), in the states of presence (with God), and the stations of proximity (to God)."[19]

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[18] Abû al-Hasan Alî ibn Uthmân al-Hujwîrî, *Kashf al-Mahjûb,* Translation & Commentary Is'âd 'Abd al-Hâdî Qindîl. Vol. 2. (Cairo: al-Majlis al-A'lâ li al-Thaqâfah, 2007), 567 and 'Ali b. Uthmân al-Jullabî, *The Kashf al-Mahjûb: The Oldest Persian Treatise on Sufism.* Translated by Reynold A. Nicholson (Leyden: E.J. Brill, 1911), 323.

[19] Nicholson's translation, see, al-Hujwîrî, 1911, 341.

Even though the disclosures about al-Sarrâj in the works after *Kashf al-Maḥjûb* were mainly carried out shortly and concisely, as Nicholson said, they have their uniqueness in their expressions. For example, in *Tadhkirat al-Awliyâ'* of al-'Attar, which was later quoted in *al-Uns* by al-Jâmî, mentioned the *karâmah* (charism) of al-Sarrâj. These two works told that when al-Sarrâj was conducting a theosophical discussion, he suddenly experienced ecstasy and then threw himself into a blazing fire, but the flame did not burn his face and not even burn his clothes.[20] The other side of al-Sarrâj's spiritual life is told by al-Sullamî in his work *Tabaqât al-Ṣûfiya*. It is said that al-Sarrâj came from a family background who practiced *zuhd* life and was faithfully committed to living a spiritual life with profound and strict *Sharî'a* knowledge and practices. Besides, al-Sarrâj was also mentioned as a scholar very well-versed in Sufism theology and was, by other Sufis, regarded as their authoritative reference.[21] At this juncture, al-Dhahabî, in his *Târîkh al-Islâm*, mentioned the full name of al-Sarrâj as well as his intellectual and spiritual genealogy as follows. The full name of al-Sarrâj is 'Abdullah ibn 'Alî ibn Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyâ Abû Nasr al-Sarrâj al-Sûfî. His teachers were Ja'far al-Khuldî, Abû Bakr Muhammad ibn Dawûd al-Duqqî, and Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Sâ'iḥ. While his students included Abû Sa'îd Muḥammad ibn 'Alî al-Naqqasy, Abdurraḥman ibn Muḥammad al-Sarrâj, and others. It is also noted, in this work, that al-Sarrâj passed away in the month of Rajab in 378 H. or October-November 988 CE.[22]

Epistemological Position of Kitâb al-Luma'

As a Sufi, al-Sarrâj lived in a problematic situation.[23] He illustrated that in his era, Sufism faced two challenges at once; internal and external. Internally, Sufism faced excessive groups praising and defending Sufism that elevated it above its rightful place. They associated Sufism with piety, simplicity, woolen garment, habits of dress, affectation in the use of an idiosyncratic expression, and other such things. While externally, Sufism was dealing with excessive groups in denouncing it and regarded it as a petty game for the feeble-

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[20] Al-Tusi, *Kitab al-Luma'*, 1911, IV-V.

[21] Al-Tusi, III-IV.

[22] Ibid., III.

[23] Abdul Kadir Riyadi, "Jalan Baru Tasawuf: Kajian tentang Gagasan Abu Bakr al-Kalabazi," *Tsaqafah: Jurnal Peradaban Islam*, Vol. II. No. I. May, 2015, 31.

minded, and even they accused Sufis as a heretic and committing a doctrinal error.[24]

The next question is who those internal and external groups are challenging Sufism according to al-Sarrâj? As regards internal groups, al-Sarrâj clearly said that they are the pseudo-Sufis who, in *al-Luma'*, are called.[25] *Al-Mutasyabbihûn bihim* (those who behaved like Sufis),[26] *al-mutalabbisûn bilubsihim* (those who dressed the clothes of the Sufis), and *al-muttasimûn biismihim* (those who used the names like Sufis).[27] Unlike the internal groups which were explicitly declared in *al-Luma'*, al-Sarrâj did not mention at all who precisely the external groups faced by Sufis in his days. However, from his explanation in *al-Luma'*, it is implicitly understood that the external groups are not the Sufis or pseudo-Sufis; they are most likely *ahl al-fiqh, ahl al-ḥadîth*, and *ahl al-kalâm* who represented groups or disciplines of knowledge developed at that time.

This situation prompted al-Sarrâj to write his work, *Kitâb al-Luma'*, as an effort to explain the meaning and the natures of Sufism, its origins, the basis of its teachings, and other important issues relating to establishing this new discipline of knowledge. Al-Sarrâj hoped that this elaboration can be understood and realized well so that people appreciate the existence of Sufism, respect the Sufis, and respond wisely to the negative views and attitudes that rejected Sufism and Sufis.[28] About this work, A.J. Arberry noted that *al-Luma'* is the oldest and most valuable work on Sufism which survives and reaches us today. He continued that we were very fortunate because this tremendous and fundamental work in Sufism for the first time came to us through good editing by Nicholson.[29]

Regarding the structure of *al-Luma'*, in addition to the Preface and Introductory Chapters, al-Sarrâj divides *al-Luma'* into Books and Chapters. In the introduction, there are eighteen Chapters and then

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[24] Al-Tusi, *Kitab al-Luma'*, 1960, 21.

[25] Al-Tusi, *Kitab al-Luma'*, 1960, 18.

[26] For further reading on *tashabbuh*, see, Arin Shawkat Salamah Qudsi, "The Idea of *Tashabbuh* in Sufi Communities and Literature of The Late 6th/12th and Early 7th/13th Century in Baghdad," *AL-QANTARA*, XXXII 1, (2011). (Salamah Qudsi, 2011).

[27] Daphna Ephrat, "Purifying Sufism: Observations on the Marginalization and Exclusion of Undesirable and Rejected Elements in the Earlier Middle Period (late fourth/tenth to mid-seventh/thirteenth centuries)," *AL-QANTARA*, XXXV 1 (2014), 260-261.

[28] Al-Tusi, *Kitab al-Luma'*, 1960, 18-21.

[29] A.J. Arberry, *Sufism: An Account of the Mystics of Islam* (New York: Harper & Row, Publisher, Inc., 1970.), 67.

followed by thirteen Books, each containing several Chapters.[30] Al-Sarrâj did not explain why the initial part of this Book, which contains eighteen Chapters, was not given the name "Book," as in other parts of *al-Luma'* which were named "Book" with their subtitles as "Chapters." The introduction, which includes eighteen Chapters, is entirely an introduction to Sufism.[31] This section begins with an explanation of Sufism and its position among other disciplines; the classification of knowledge; hierarchy of scholars and the characteristics of each fields; the origins of Sufism; the classification of knowledge into exoteric and esoteric; the nature of Sufism; *tauḥîd* as the basis of the teachings and practices of Sufism; and finally it contains three Chapters explaining about the concept of *ma'rifa* in Sufism.

After describing Sufism as a discipline of knowledge, *al-Luma'* continued with the presentation of teachings and practices of Sufism in the section given subtitles as *Kitâb al-Aḥwâl wa al-Maqâmât* (The Book on States and Stations). This Book consists of 20 Chapters, beginning with the definition of *maqâm* (station) and *ḥâl* (state) and differences between the two and then followed with an explanation of seven *maqâmât* (stations) and nine *aḥwâl* (states). This discussion on *maqâm* and *ḥâl* in *al-Luma'* is the first exposition of these teachings of Sufism in the works of Sufis.

Following the issues related to the *maqâmât* (stations) and *aḥwâl* (states), *al-Luma'* then proceeded to present four other Books in which there are twenty-five Chapters. These four Books are discussions about the methodological framework of Sufism which contain a description of sources of Sufism *viz.* al-Qur'an, al-Sunna, and exemplary teachings and practices of Prophet Companions and then closed by an explanation of the methods of Sufis in interacting with these sources.

The following five Books in *al-Luma'* are exposures about the teachings and practices in Sufism that are urgent to be studied and understood by those who practice Islam's intellectual and spiritual life. In this section, *al-Luma'* expounds the teachings of Sufism about etiquette, manifestations, and practices of Sufism in correspondence, poetry, messages, *samâ'* (listening to spiritual music), *wajd* (ecstasy), and about *karâmah* (charism).

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[30] Ayis Mukhalik, "Human Spirituality Phases in Sufism: The Study of Abu Nasr Al-Sarrâj's Thought in The Book of *al-Luma'*." *Teosofia: Indonesian Journal of Islamic Mysticism*, Vol. 6, No. 1 (2017), 25.

[31] Azmiana, Gina Giftia, et. al., "Revitalisasi Tasawuf di Masa Modern," *Jurnal Istek*, Vol. VI, No. 1-2 (2012), 40.

Al-Luma' is then closed with two Books; the first is about the explanation of obscurities terms concerning the problematic words in Sufism and the second is about the Sufi ecstatics utterances (*shaṭaḥât*),[32] which also appeared to be complicated.

Classification and Hierarchy of Knowledge: The Position of Sufism

In the *al-Luma'*, al-Sarrâj maintained that the sciences in religion included the following three classifications: the science of the Qur'an, the science of *Ḥadîth* (Prophetic Tradition), and the science of the nature of faith. About these three sciences, in summary, al-Sarrâj said that the science of the Qur'an is the knowledge of the verses in the Book of Allah, the science of *Ḥadîth* is the knowledge of the Prophetic traditions, and the science of the nature of faith is a lesson learned and abstracted by the hearts of saints of Allah from the Quran and *al-Sunna*.[33]

In this classification, in addition to referring to the empirical reality of the groups of scholars in his time, al-Sarrâj also normatively referred to *Sûra Ali 'Imrân* verse 18, which states that those three groups of scholars, in the terminology of the Qur'an, called *Ûlu al-'ilm qâiman bi al-qisth* (scholars who uphold justice) and appealed to the Prophetic tradition which explains that: *al-Ulamâ' warathah al-anbiyâ'* "The scholars are heirs of the Prophets". Al-Sarrâj then mentioned that they are people who tightly hold to the Book of Allah, sincerely emulated the Prophet Muhammad, and wholeheartedly followed the Companions of the Prophet and generations of *tabi'în*, as well as the path of the pious saints of Allah. Al-Sarrâj further stated that these three classifications of scholars were *ahl al-ḥadîth*, *ahl al-fiqh*, and the Sufis. They were references in the religious sciences, both in the central and branch issues, theory and practice, and both esoteric and exoteric realms, as will be further explained in this paper.

The first of this classification is *ahl al-ḥadîth*. The normative basis for this classification of scholars of *ḥadîth* (*ahl al-ḥadîth*), according to al-Sarrâj, is the divine revelation in QS. al-Hashr [59]: 7 "And whatever is given by the Apostle to you, accept it, and what is forbidden by him, so stay away". Likewise is the saying of Allah in QS. al-Baqarah [2]: 143, "And that way We have made you (Muslims) as middle people,

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[32] Rifqil Halim, "Kritik Terhadap Teori Syathahat Kaum Sufi," *An-Nahdlah*, Vol. 1, No. 2 (April 2015), 4-6.

[33] Al-Tusi, *Kitab al-Luma'*, 1960, 18.

so that you be witnesses of human (deeds) and that the Apostle also be witnesses of your deeds."[34]

Expounding the relationship of *ahl al-ḥadîth* with the two verses above, al-Sarrâj maintained that the implementation of Allah's command in *Sûra al-Ḥashr* verse 7 was realized by *ahl al-ḥadîth* by the way they went to visit many places to meet the narrators of *ḥadîth* and then copied the *ḥadîth* from them carefully and thoroughly. Al-Sarrâj then described in detail and comprehensive the duties, mandates, and responsibilities of *ahl al-ḥadîth* so that they are worth mentioning as witnesses of the traditions originating from the Messenger of Allah and various narrations of his companions and successors (*tabi'în*). Vice versa, the Messenger of Allah bears witness to the truth of their testimony about their history of his words, deeds, circumstances, and morals, as mentioned in *Sûra al-Baqara* verse 143 above.[35]

The second is *ahl al-fiqh* (scholars in Islamic Jurisprudence). The verse 122 of *Sûra al-Tauba* which reads: *falau lâ nafara min kulli firqatin minhum thâ'ifa li yatafaqqahu fi al-dîn* ("Let there be some people from each group among those who study religion)," and the *ḥadîth* of the Prophet reads: *Man yurid Allah bihi khairan yufaqqihhû fi al-dîn* ("Whom God wants for him goodness, He will make him understand religion)" are normative sources appropriated by al-Sarrâj to be the basis for the classification of knowledgeable people in his time called *ahl al-fiqh*. Al-Sarrâj explicitly mentioned that jurisprudence occupied a higher and more important scientific hierarchy than *ahl al-ḥadîth*. The reason is that prerequisite for becoming *ahl al-fiqh* is to agree on and master the scientific fields and the qualifications of *ahl al-ḥadîth*. More than that, *ahl al-fiqh* are required to have the ability to understand and deduce the legal aspects of the *ḥadîth*. In order for *ahl al-fiqh*, to be able to explain the religious laws of various verses and Prophetic traditions, al-Sarrâj maintained that they must master the necessary scientific requirements and instruments, such as, among others, the knowledge of *ijmâ'* and *qiyâs*, *nâsikh* and *mansûkh*, *uṣûl* and *furû'*, *khâṣ* and *'âm*, *amr* and *nahy*, *mujmal* and *mubayyan*, etc.[36]

The last of this classification is *ahl al-tasawwuf*. Unlike in the elucidation of the two classifications above-mentioned, al-Sarrâj did not refer to verses of the Qur'an or traditions of the Prophet (PBUH),

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[34] Ibid., 24-25.
[35] Ibid., 24-25.
[36] Ibid., 26-27.

which form the basis of this third classification, namely *ahl al-taṣawwuf* or Sufis. At the beginning of the classification of this group, al-Sarrâj argued that in matters of creed and knowledge, the Sufis accepted and fully agreed with the views of *ahl al-ḥadîth* and *ahl al-fiqh*. For Sufis who have not yet reached the scientific level as required for *ahl al-ḥadîth* and/or *ahl al-fiqh*, they must refer to them, agree on what they agree on and reject what they reject. As for cases where the two classes of scholars, *ahl al-ḥadîth* and *ahl al-fiqh*, had different opinions, let the Sufis single out a better and more critical idea than the dispute. This is important and necessary to be more careful and at the same time as a form of respect for God's commands or prohibitions to his servants.[37] In his teachings and traditions, to make a choice, the Sufis, therefore, avoid choosing a more straightforward case, lighter, or looser, which contains doubtful or which leads to *ta'wîl*.[38]

Based on the description above, it appears that al-Sarrâj required that Sufis must at least have the minimum ability and scientific qualifications at the level of *ahl al-fiqh* and *ahl al-ḥadîth*. Al-Sarrâj further explained that Sufis' competencies and qualifications must exceed them, as read from the following phrase:

> "Then they (the Sufis) rise to a high degree, are in a noble state, and occupy a high position in various kinds of worship, obedience, and noble character. In this case, they were given priority over the scholars of *ahl al-fiqh* and *ahl al-ḥadîth*."[39]

In addition to classifying knowledge into three, as explained above, al-Sarrâj also divided knowledge into exoteric (outward) and esoteric (inward). This classification is vital for al-Sarrâj to reject the views of some people who believed that the knowledge of *Sharî'a* is entirely exoteric. This view rejected esoteric knowledge and considered it meaningless.[40] In *al-Luma'*, al-Sarrâj outlined the basic argument of this rejection, as follows:

> "In fact, knowledge of the *sharî'a* is unique, because it is a name that encompasses two meanings: transmission (*riwâya*) and comprehension (*dirâya*). If both are united together, then it is knowledge of *Sharî'a* which inculcates both outward and inward deeds. In this knowledge, it must not be said that it is exclusively either outward or inward. For, when it is in

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[37] Ibid., 28.
[38] Ibid., 28.
[39] Ibid., 28.
[40] Ibid., 43.

the heart, it is inward, until it becomes manifest on the tongue. When it is expressed verbally, it is outward."[41]

Al-Sarrâj further argued as follows:

"Indeed, knowledge is both outward and inward. It is the knowledge of Sharia that shows and invites outward and inward deeds. Outward deeds are acts carried out by bodily limbs; both in worship and in the implementation of laws. Acts of worship include, for example, purification, prayer, almsgiving, fasting, jihad, and others. As for the implementations of the law include *ḥudûd*, divorce, freeing slaves, buying and selling, inheritance, *qiṣâṣ*, and so forth. All of these are acts of external organs. Whereas the inner deeds are the actions of the heart that indicate certain spiritual stations and states (*al-maqâmât wa al-aḥwâl*) such as trust, faith, confidence, honesty, sincerity, *ma'rifa, tawakkal*, love, *riḍâ, dhikr*, gratitude, repentance, fear, piety... Each of these deeds; both outward and inward has its knowledge, understanding, explanation, and deep comprehension. The validity of these deeds; both outward and inward refers to al-Qur'an and al-Sunnah... When we say inward knowledge, we mean the science of inward actions carried out by the inner organs, namely the heart. When we say outward knowledge, we mean the knowledge of the actions carried out by outward bodily organs. This view refers to the word of God:" And (Allah) bestowed upon you His favors both outwardly and inwardly." Outward favors are favors given by God to the bodily limbs. While the inward favors are favors given by Allah to the heart... The outward and inward knowledge are interdependent and complementary... And that inward knowledge is the knowledge of *ahl al-taṣawwuf*..."[42]

Al-Sarrâj further strengthened the argument that knowledge consists of outward and inward by saying that the Qur'an, *Ḥadîth*, and Islam also have outward and inward dimensions.[43]

The classification of knowledge made by al-Sarrâj has implications for the hierarchy of knowledge in his view. Based on this classification, it appears that al-Sarrâj put the hierarchy of knowledge in sequence and stratified as follows; the science of *ḥadîth*, the science of *fiqh*, and the science of *taṣawwuf* or Sufism. According to al-Sarrâj, the science of *ḥadîth* is a science that deals with the outer aspects of *ḥadîth* that are more concerned with the quality and qualifications of the narrators of *ḥadîth* (*sanad*) and the validity of the text of *ḥadîth* (*matn*) as well. This science is the basic science of religion, which is crucial and fundamental. This view is in harmony with the saying of God in

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[41] Ibid., 43.
[42] Ibid., 43-44.
[43] Ibid., 44.

QS. al-Hasyr [59]: 7. Then the next level is the science of jurisprudence (*fiqh*). Al-Sarrâj places jurisprudence and *ahl al-fiqh* at a level higher than *ḥadîth* and *ahl al-ḥadîth*, as reflected in his statement below:

> "And as for the level of scholars in *fiqh*, then, in fact, they are preferred to the *ḥadîth* experts (because they accept the knowledge of the *ḥadîth* experts) and agree on the content of their knowledge and qualifications."[44]

The superiority of *ahl al-fiqh*, as mentioned above, is due to the reason that in interacting with *ḥadîth* they do not just stop at the knowledge and determination of the quality and validity of a *ḥadîth*. They are, additionally, required to be able to draw legal conclusions from it. In deducing this legal conclusion, it requires the mastery of specific scientific devices and qualifications that enable this responsibility to be executed.[45]

Similarly, al-Sarrâj ascribed to the Sufis position above the jurist or *ahl al-fiqh*. According to al-Sarrâj, someone who takes the path of Sufism must master the scientific field as possessed by *ahl al-ḥadîth* and *ahl al-fiqh*. According to al-Sarrâj, Sufis, in addition to having a textual and legal understanding, must also have the ability Sarrâj said that the understanding and appreciation of Sufis towards verses of the Qur'an and Prophetic traditions should be able to "bring forth noble morals, present a high spiritual condition, manifest noble behavior, and embody noble religious messages."[46] This perspective, according to al-Sarrâj, is "the ethics exemplified by the Prophet Muhammad."[47] In this case, al-Sarrâj appealed to the words of the Prophet: "Verily, my Lord has educated me, therefore my education has been good," and the verse in the Quran: "And verily you have a noble character." According to al-Sarrâj, this kind of "code of ethics" is well known and widely recognized among scholars, including *ahl al-ḥadîth* and *ahl al-fiqh*. It is just that not all of them mastered well scientific requirements like those of the Sufis.[48] For that matter, al-Sarrâj maintained that of the three groups from among *ahl al-ḥadîth*, *ahl al-fiqh*, and *ahl al-taṣawwuf*, it is the last circle which inherited the knowledge in its profound and most total perfection.[49]
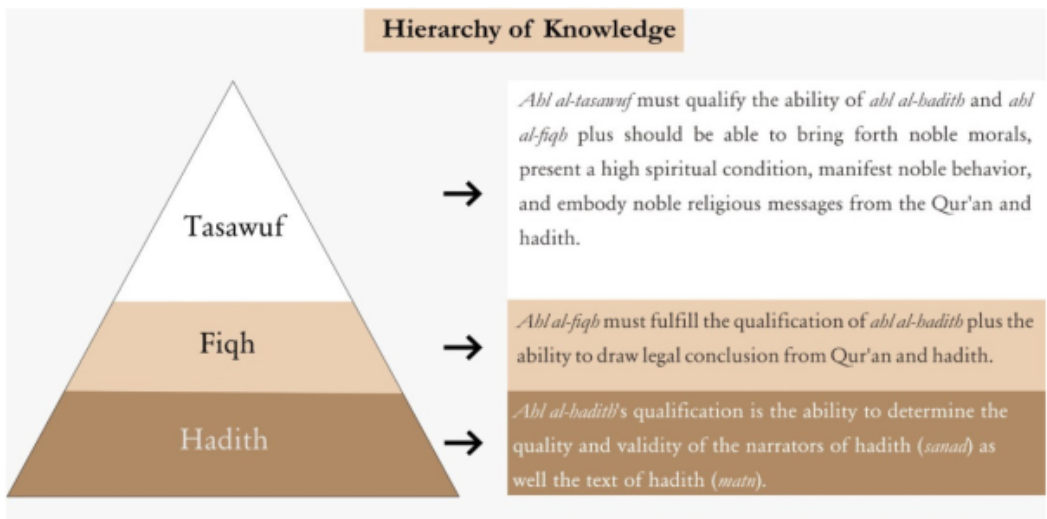
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[44] Ibid., 26.
[45] Ibid., 26.
[46] Ibid., 31.
[47] Ibid., 31.
[48] Ibid., 31.
[49] Atif Khalil, "Abu Talib al-Makkı & the Nourishment of Hearts (*Qut al-qulub*) in the Context of Early Sufism." *The Muslim World*. Vol. 122, No. 2 (2012), 10.

Hierarchy of Knowledge

Tasawuf	*Ahl al-tasawuf* must qualify the ability of *ahl al-hadith* and *ahl al-fiqh* plus should be able to bring forth noble morals, present a high spiritual condition, manifest noble behavior, and embody noble religious messages from the Qur'an and hadith.
Fiqh	*Ahl al-fiqh* must fulfill the qualification of *ahl al-hadith* plus the ability to draw legal conclusion from Qur'an and hadith.
Hadith	*Ahl al-hadith*'s qualification is the ability to determine the quality and validity of the narrators of hadith (*sanad*) as well the text of hadith (*matn*).

Methodology of Sufism

Under this subheading, the writers would like to discuss two essential points related to the methodology of Sufism in *al-Luma'* of al-Sarrâj. The first will deal with sources of knowledge in Sufism, and the second is regarding the method by which Sufis expound and build their understanding and apprehension from those sources.

From the discussion about the classification of knowledge above-mentioned, it is clear al-Sarrâj's opinion regarding the sources of knowledge in Sufism, as it is also evident when he divided knowledge into the science of the Qur'an, the science of the *Sunna*, and the science of the nature of faith.[50] From this classification and division, it appears that the sources of Sufi knowledge in al-Sarrâj's view consist of the Qur'an, the *Sunna*, the Companions of the Prophet, and the heart. The heart as the fourth source of knowledge can be deduced from the following explanation of al-Sarrâj: "and the knowledge of the nature of faith is the wisdom learned and abstracted by the hearts of the saints of Allah from the Qur'an and *al-Sunna*."[51] The following is al-Sarrâj's brief exposition of the sources of Sufism.

As the first source in Sufism, al-Sarrâj explained that al-Qur'an is the Book of Allah revealed to the Prophet Muhammad. This Book contains instructions and explanations for Muslims about the various religious problems they face.[52] The view of al-Sarrâj that the Qur'an is

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50 Ibid., 18.
51 Ibid., 18.
52 Ibid., 105.

the source of knowledge referred to the following *ḥadîth* of the Prophet: "Whoever wants knowledge, he should seek it in al-Qur'an, because, in it, there is knowledge of the earlier and later people." This view also referred to the word of God in QS. al-Baqarah [2]: 2, QS. al-An'âm [6]: 38, and QS. Yâsîn [36]: 13. Concerning QS. al-An'âm [6]: 38: "We have not neglected anything in the Book," al-Sarrâj argued that what is meant by "anything" is the science of religion and the science of spiritual conditions regarding the relationship of the servant with his Creator. As the primary source of knowledge, al-Qur'an also shows the truth that can be acquired through understanding, thinking, contemplation, appreciation, and especially the presence of the heart when reading it.[53] In this case, al-Sarrâj mentioned this verse of the QS. Ṣâd [38]: 29, "The Book (al-Qur'an) that We sent down to you is full of blessings so that they live the verses and so that people of sound mind can learn a lesson". Affirming the importance of the presence of the heart in understanding, pondering, and being aware of verses of the Qur'an, al-Sarrâj looked into the other words of Allah in QS. Qâf [50]: 37, QS. al-Shu'arâ ' [26]: 88-89, and QS. al-Ṣaffât [37]: 82-83.[54]

The second source in Sufism is *al-Sunnah*. To support his argument about the *Sunna* as the source of Sufism, al-Sarrâj relied on the position, role, and function of the Prophet SAW in religion by referring to the verses of the Qur'an that supported his view, among others are[55]: "The Prophet Muhammad is an Apostle sent to all mankind." QS. al-A'râf [7]: 158, "Giving directions to the right path." QS. al-Shûrâ [42]: 52-53, "Never said based on his lust." QS. al-Najm [53]: 3, "Teaches the Qur'an through manners, morals, deeds, and spiritual conditions." QS. al-Jum'ah [62]: 2, "Instructed to convey the content of the Qur'an to the people." QS. al-Mâ'idah [5]: 67, "The people are required to obey him." QS. al-Nûr [24]: 54, "Obeying him is the same as obeying Allah." QS. al-Nisâ' [4]: 80, "By following and obeying him will surely get guidance." QS. al-A'râf [7]: 158 and QS. al-Nûr [24]: 54, "Against him will result in disaster or even a painful punishment." QS. al-Nûr [24]: 63, "Following him will be loved by Allah and forgiven of all sins." QS. Ali 'Imrân [3]: 31, "And he is a good example for the people." QS. al-Aḥzâb [33]: 21. Referring to these verses of the Qur'an above, al-Sarrâj concluded that following the Messenger

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[53] Ibid., 106.
[54] Ibid., 107.
[55] Ibid., 130-131.

of Allah, obeying his commands, and emulating them are obligatory laws for all Muslims until the Day of Resurrection (Al-Sarrâj, 1960: 132).[56] Believing in the truth of the Qur'an also means, therefore, having to believe in and follow all the *Sunna* of the Messenger of Allah, except those which are specific to him.[57]

Companions of the Prophet occupied a central position in the Sufism system of al-Sarrâj. For that matter, al-Sarrâj placed Companions of the Prophet as the third source in Sufism. After discussing al-Qur'an and *al-Sunna* as the sources of Sufism, each in a section called the Book, then followed by a discussion of one more Book about methods of understanding, pondering, living, and practicing the two sources in the perspective of Sufism; al-Sarrâj explained a Book which discusses the Companions of the Prophet before proceeding to another Book about Sufi manners. The discussion about the Companions of the Prophet in one Book that summarizes the seven Chapters of discussion shows the position of Companions of the Prophet for building the Sufi system. This structure reflects that after al-Qur'an and *Sunna*, the next source of Sufism, according to al-Sarrâj, is the Companions of the Prophet (PBUH). Al-Sarrâj's acceptance of his Companions as the source of Sufism is based, among other things, on the Qur'an in *Sûra al-Tauba* verse 100, which states that Allah is pleased with them and they are pleased with the Prophet Muhammad. Al-Sarrâj also adhered to the Prophetic tradition: "My Companions are like the stars (*ka al-nujûm*), whomsoever of them you follow (*iqtadaitum*), you will be rightly guided (*ihtadaitum*)." Explaining this *ḥadîth*, al-Sarrâj said that the Prophet (PBUH) used the parable of *al-nujûm* (the stars) for his Companions, not *kawâkib* (the galaxies). In contrast to galaxies, the star is bigger and the light is also brighter so that it can be a bright clue on land and sea, in the midnight darkness. Likewise, in this *ḥadîth,* the Prophet also confirmed that by taking them as a pattern (*iqtidâ'*) outwardly and inwardly, we will be rightly guided (*ihtidâ'*).

After the Qur'an, the *Sunna,* and the Companions of the Prophet, the heart is an essential source of knowledge in Sufism. Thought, understanding, contemplation, and appreciation in Sufi perspectives cannot be done well without the heart. From the discussion described above, the affirmation of the importance of the heart in contemplating, understanding, and living the verses of the Qur'an were carried out

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[56] Ibid., 132.
[57] Ibid., 132.

by al-Sarrâj by following the sayings of Allah as follows: QS. Qâf [50]: 37, QS. al-Shu'arâ' [50]: 88-89, and QS. al-Ṣâffât [37]: 82-83.[58] Al-Sarrâj's above explanation shows that he also recognized reason as the source of knowledge. That is because in interacting with the Qur'an and the *Sunna* the faculty must understand, think, and contemplate that which in the initial stages must be done by reason. But reason alone is not enough, and here the heart plays a crucial role because it can understand, explore, and interpret the text and the message of the Qur'an and the *Sunna*, both outwardly and inwardly.

Concerning how the Sufis understand, appreciate, and practice the Qur'an and *al-Sunna*, al-Sarrâj discussed this problem in a separate Book called *Kitâb al-Mustanbaṭât*, namely *Bâb Madhhab Ahl al-Ṣafwa fî al-Mustanbaṭât al-Ṣaḥîḥa fî Fahm al-Qur'ân wa al-Ḥadîth...*[59] Al-Sarrâj defined *al-mustanbaṭât* as the interpretation and understanding of the true meanings of the Qur'an and the Prophetic traditions derived by the Sufi with his profound spiritual intelligence under the Qur'an and obey the Prophet as well as alike in theory and practice, both outwardly and spiritually. This practice in the Sufism manner produced *'ilm al-ishâra* or *'ilm mawârith al-a'mâl*, that is the knowledge by which Allah reveals variously hidden and secret meanings that are stored from the understanding of the Qur'an and the *ḥadîth* of the Prophet. This disclosure is not possible to be obtained by those whose hearts are closed and locked because of rust and on account of sins, following the passions, loving the world, greedy, lazy, happy praise, and various other behaviors that show neglect, error, violation, betrayal, etc. Here, al-Sarrâj stressed the importance of the heart as the faculty used by Sufis to elicit, understand, appreciate, and practice the meanings of the Qur'an and Sunna outwardly and inwardly, exoterically as well as esoterically.

According to al-Sarrâj, this work cannot rely on the faculty of reason as practiced by *ahl al-kalâm* (theologians). Al-Sarrâj did not deny that the understanding of theologians based on reason can fulfill the rational arguments they need to defend the truth and reject the evil as they believe. But al-Sarrâj is of the view that Sufi understanding which rests on the heart is better, because their understanding is based on deep knowledge and is strengthened by the sincerity in practicing this knowledge as the fruit of *mujâhada, riyâḍa*, and *taqarrub* to Allah with various kinds of obedience.[60]

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[58] Ibid., 107.
[59] Ibid., 105-196.
[60] Ibid., 148-149.

Reading The Indonesian Sufis' Works from The Perspective of Sufi Epistemology

As explained in the introduction to this paper, the epistemology built by al-Sarrâj is the initial stage of the construction of ethical or Sunni Sufism epistemology which is different from the epistemology of philosophical Sufism. The epistemology of Sunni Sufism which al-Sarrâj started, reached the peak of its development in the works of al-Ghazali. In contrast, philosophical Sufism, which started from the thoughts and teachings of al-Bisṭâmî and al-Ḥallâj, reached its maturity in the formulation of Ibn Arabi's ideas. In Indonesia, the mention of works that can be traced or even works accessible until now show that the epistemology used by the Sufis in the early days of their development in this region was derived from philosophical epistemology and only later ethical or Sunni epistemology employed. The earliest work categorized as Sufism's pioneering thought and teachings in Indonesia was *Durr Mandzum*. It is narrated in the *Sejarah Melayu* that Sultan Mansyur Syah, a king of Malacca (1459-1477), ordered that *Durr Mandzum* be asked for a spiritual explanation to Tuan Pematakan or *Makhdum* (a title for a Sufi teacher) Patakan in Pasai.[61] According to A.H. John, this problem finds its most popular expression in al-Jili›s book *al-Insân al-Kâmil*.[62] At least a century later, it can be traced the emergence of works in Islamic intellectual and spiritual traditions in Indonesia. These pioneering works were started by Hamzah al-Fansuri (d. 1607) and continued by later Sufis such as Syamsuddin al-Sumatrani (1575-1630), Nurruddin al-Raniri (d. 1658), Abdurrauf al-Singkili (1615-1693), Yusuf al-Makassari (1626-1699), Abadussamad al-Palembani (1704-1788), Muhammad Arsyad al-Banjari (1710-1812), and so on.

The first two centuries, to be precise, in the 16th and 17th centuries, the birth of works in the field of Sufism in Indonesia were intensely colored by the epistemology of the philosophical Sufism of the Ibn Arabi school. Works, such as *Asrâr al-'Ârifîn, Sharâb al-'Âshiqîn,* and *al-Muntahî* of al-Fansuri;[63] *Mir'ât al-Muḥaqqiqin, Dâ'irah*

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[61] Nur Hadi Ihsan, "Sejarah dan Perkembangan Tarekat di Indonesia," *Jurnal Kalimah*, vol. 10, No. 2, September 2012, 195.

[62] A. H. Johns, "Tentang Kaum Mistik Islam dan Penulisan Sejarah," dalam Harry J. Benda et.al. (eds.), Jakarta: Tintamas, 1974, 124 and Nur Hadi Ihsan, *ibid.*

[63] Syed Muhammad Naquib al-Attas, *The Mysticism of Hamzah Fansuri,* Thesis Submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the University of London, School of Oriental and African Studies, May 1966, 382-563.

al-Wujûd, Sirr al-Anwâr of al-Sumatrani;[64] Ḥujjah al-Ṣiddîq li Dâfi al-Zindîq, Asrâr al-Insân fi Ma'rifah al-Rûḥ wa al-Raḥmân and Aqâ'id al-Ṣûfiyah al-Muwaḥḥidîn of al-Raniri[65] are examples of works in Indonesia written and formulated based on the epistemology of Ibn Arabi›s philosophical Sufism. This pattern can also be read clearly from the works of two Sufi figures who lived after them such as in Tanbih al-Mâshî ila Tarîq al-Qushshâshî, Bayân Tajallî, and Daqâ'iq al-Ḥurûf of al-Singkili; and Shurûṭ al-'Ârif al-Muḥaqqiq, Sirr al-Asrâr, and Zubdah al-Asrâr of al-Makassari.[66]

All the above-mentioned works are dominated by discussions and explication about metaphysical and aesthetic Sufism issues such as the concept of wujud, seven degrees of existence (martabat tujuh), wahdatul wujud, tajalli, tanazzul and taraqqi, al-insân al-kâmil, mahabbah, and ma'rifah. These works can also include descriptions of ethical issues, especially regarding zikr and its procedures. But in their explanations, zikr in this regard is positioned more as a medium that a Sufi must carry out to achieve the goal of their spiritual journey.

In the 18th century, there seems to be an epistemological shift in the perspective of the Sufis in this region. The dominance of the epistemology of philosophical Sufism began to be replaced by Sunni Sufism with the emergence of Abdussamad al-Palembani, who was a representation of al-Ghazali. The main works of this figure, Hidâyat al-Sâlikîn and Sair al-Sâlikîn, are two works respectively a summary of Iḥya' Ulûm al-Ddîn for the second and an adaptation of the book Bidâyah al-Hidâyah for the first. Iḥyâ' and Bidâyah are the writings of al-Ghazali, the Sufi figure who is most responsible for the development and maturity of the epistemology of Sunni Sufism.

Meanwhile, in Kalimantan, three well-known Sufi figures appeared with their works which researchers continue to study to this day. They are Muhammad Nafis al-Banjari with his al-Durr al-Nafis, Muhammad Arsyad al-Banjari who produced works in Sufism entitled Kanz al-Ma'rifah and Tuḥfah al-Râghibîn, and Ahmad Khatib al-

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[64] Tirto Suwondo, "SYAMSUDDIN AS-SUMATRANI (Riwayat, Karya, Ajaran, Kecaman,dan Pembelaannya)," PANGSURA, Jurnal Pengkajian dan Penelitian Sastera Asia Tenggara, Juli-Desember 1998, vol. 4, no. 7, hlm. 49--62.

[65] Septiawadi, "PERGOLAKAN PEMIKIRAN TASAWUF DI INDONESIA: Kajian Tokoh Sufi ar-Raniri," Kalam: Jurnal Studi Agama dan Pemikiran Islam, Volume 7, Nomor 1, Juni 2013.

[66] Lutfi, "Pemikiran Sufisme Syekh Yusuf al-Makassari dalam Karya-karyanya: Sebuah Penelitian Filologi dan Analisis Isi," Seminar Nasional Riset Inovatif II, Tahun 2014.

Sambasi who wrote a very thin book, 11 pages, entitled *Fatḥ al-'Ârifîn*. These three figures have different positions regarding epistemological dimensions of philosophical Sufism, which are hierarchically sequential according to their mention. Even though they were contemporaries, the first two figures have different aspects of the philosophical Sufism epistemology. Muhammad Nafis' philosophical dimension of Sufism is thicker than Muhammad Arsyad's. In his work *al-Durr al-Nafîs*, he discusses several metaphysical issues in philosophical Sufism such as *Shuhûd al-waḥdah fî al-kathrah, shuhûd al-kathrah fî al-waḥdah*, levels of *tajalli*, the degree of seven existences (*martabat tujuh*), and *Nûr Muḥammad*.[67] In contrast, in *Kanz al-Ma'rifah* of Arsyad al-Bajnari, there is no discussion about the metaphysics of Sufism in a philosophical perspective. Even though the term *Nûr Muḥammad* was mentioned at the beginning of the discussion in this work, it was only a cursory thing to state that it was the origin of humans. Likewise, when the concept of *fana'* is explained, the description is not in a philosophical perspective.[68] Unlike the two works above, *Fatḥ al-'Ârifîn*, which is the sole work of Syekh Ahmad Khatib does not contain any discussion of the metaphysics of Sufism. This book only includes the initiation of *zikr* and the spiritual genealogy of the *Qadiriyah wa Naqshbandiyah* Order.[69]

In the land of Java, in the next era, several well-known Sufi scholars appeared, such as Imam Nawawi al-Bantani (1813-1897), Kiai Saleh Darat (1820-1903), Kiai Hasyim Asy'ari (1871-1947), and Kiai Ihsan Jampes (1901-1952). The most recent figure mentioned, Kiai Ihsan Jampes, is the one who produced a work entitled *Siraj al- Ṭâlibîn*, a commentary on *Minhâj al-'Âbidîn* of al-Ghazali.[70] Given that it is the commentary of the work of al-Ghazali, automatically the epistemological perspective used is the epistemology of al-Ghazali›s sunni Sufism. While the three previous figures, namely Imam Nawawi al-Banteni with his works *Nihâyah al-Zein fî Irshâd al-Mubtadi'în, Miṣ*

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[67] Syekh Muhammad Nafis bin Idris al-Banjari, *Permata yang Indah (ad-Durrunnafis)*. Penerjemah Haderanie HN. Surabaya: CV. Nur Ilmu, t.t.

[68] Shekh Muhammad Arshad al-Banjari, *Kanz al-Ma'rifah*. n.c.: n.p., n.d.

[69] Shekh Ahmad Khatib Sambas, *Fath al-Arifin*. n.c.: Khaniqah Khaliliyah Naqshabandiyah Mujaddadiyah, n.d.

[70] Shekh Ihsan Muhammad Dahlan al-Jampesi al-Kadiri, *Siraj al-Talibin*. n.c.: Dar al-Fikr, n.d., and Syamsun Ni'am, "THE DEBATE OF ORTHODOX SUFISM AND PHILOSOPHICAL SUFISM: The Study of *Maqâmât* in the *Sirâj al-Ṭâlibîn* of Shaykh Iḥsân Jampes," *Al-Jâmi'ah: Journal of Islamic Studies*, Vol. 58, no. 1 (2020), pp.1-34. Doi: 10.14421/ajis.2020.581.1-34

bâḥ al-Ẓalâm or *Nûr az-Ẓalâm, Qâmi' al-Ṭugyân, Salâlim al-Fudlalâ',* and *Marâqî al -'Ubûdiyyah Sharḥ Matan Bidâyah al-Ḥidâyah;*[71] Kiai Saleh Darat who produced works in the field of Sufism, including *Munjiyaat: Metik Saking Iḥya' Ulumûddîn, Matn al-Ḥikam, Sabîl al-'Âbid,* and *Minhâj al-Atqiyâ';*[72] and Kiai Hasyim Asy›ari with his works *Risâlah fi al-Tasawuf, al-Durrah al-Muntathirah, Adab al-'Âlim wa al-Muta'allim fî mâ Yaḥtâj Ilayh al-Muta'allim fî Maqâmât Ta'lîmih, Tamyîz al-Ḥaqq min al-Bâtil,* and *Jami›at al-Maqâshid fi Bayân Mabadi' al-Tawhîd wa al-Fiqh wa al-Tasawwuf li al-Murîd,*[73] the titles of their works already reflect that the epistemology they hold which is not the epistemology of philosophical Sufism, but rather Sunni Sufism epistemology.

Looking further at the explanation of the thoughts and teachings of those figures in the island of Java above, it is apparent that in terms of the issues they discuss, the sources they refer to, as well as the methodology they use in discussing these various issues, it is evident that they utilize the epistemology of Sunni Sufism, and even the epistemology of Sunni Sufism in a simple stage as pioneered by al-Sarrâj al-Sarrâj in his work *Kitab al-Luma'.*

Conclusion

In the preceding pages, this study has exposed al-Sarrâj's Sufi epistemology which covers his discussion about classification and hierarchy of knowledge, and his elaboration of the methodology of knowledge in Sufism which covers the issues of sources of knowledge and its method to apprehend and understand that sources. Al-Sarrâj classified knowledge into the following: First, based on its object, knowledge is classified into the science of the Qur'an, science of the Prophetic traditions, and science of the nature of faith. Second, based

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[71] Suwarjin, "BIOGRAFI INTELEKTUAL SYEKH NAWAWI AL-BANTANI," *Tsaqofah & Tarikh,* Vol. 2 No. 2 Juli-Desember 2017.

[72] Akhmad Lutfi Aziz, "Kiai Shaleh Darat's Moderate Sufism: Dialectic of Submission, Sincerity and World Affairs in Haża Al-Kitab Matnu Al-Ḥikam," *JURNAL PENELITIAN,* Volume 16, Number 1, 2019; and Muslich Shabir, "Corak Pemikiran Tasawuf Kyai Saleh Darat Semarang: Kajian Atas Kitab Minhâj Al-Atqiyâ'," *International Journal Ihya' 'Ulum Al-Din,* Vol 19, No 1 (2017). DOI: 10.21580/ihya.18.1.1744.

[73] Kiai Hasyim Asy'ari, *Kumpulan Kitab Karya Hadlratus Syaikh K.H. Muhammad Hasyim Asy'ari.* Muhammad Ishom Hadziq (ed.), Jombang: al-Masruriyah, n.d.; and Muhammad Rijal Fadli and Ajat Sudrajat, "KEISLAMAN DAN KEBANGSAAN: TELAAH PEMIKIRAN KH. HASYIM ASY'ARI, *Khazanah: Jurnal Studi Islam dan Humaniora,* Vol. 18 (1), 2020, pp. 109-130. DOI: 10.18592/khazanah.v18i1.3433

on its subject, there are three classifications; *ahl al-ḥadîth*, *ahl al-fiqh*, and *ahl al*-*taṣawwuf*. Third, based on the medium by which knowledge is acquired and practiced, there are esoteric (inward) and exoteric (outward) knowledge.

Al-Sarrâj elaboration of the hierarchy of knowledge is closely related to the last two above-classifications, in the sequence of hierarchy, as follows: *ahl al-taṣawwuf*, *ahl al-fiqh*, and *ahl al-ḥadîth*, in the first part; and esoteric knowledge that is the knowledge of *ahl al- taṣ awwuf* and exoteric knowledge that is the knowledge of *ahl al-ḥadîth* and *ahl al-fiqh*, in the second. Concerning the sources of Sufism, al-Sarrâj maintained that they are Qur'an, al-Sunna, the Companions of the Prophet, and the heart. As for the method of how the Sufis interact with those sources, he was of the view that Sufis, with profound spiritual intelligence of the hearts, understand, apprehend, and appreciate the meaning of the Quran and the Prophetic tradition both outwardly and inwardly; they do not only comprehend the outward and the manifest but also the inward and the secret meaning of the revelation.

Reading the works of Indonesian Sufis from Sufi epistemology, it appears that at the beginning of the birth of these works, the color of Sufism developed by Sufis from al-Fansuri to al-Makassari was the epistemological framework of philosophical Sufism. It was only at the beginning of the era of al-Palembani that the epistemology of Sunni Sufism was realized. and this became more evident in the following periods in the development of Sufism in this country.[]

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