WAHDAT AL-WUJUD'S DOCTRINE OF HAMZAH AL-FANSURI IN JAVANESE LITERATURE: THE IDENTITY OF UNITY OF BEING IN A MANUSCRIPT ENTITLED *MIFTAH AL-MANNAN*

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Abstract

The syncretic doctrine of the unity of being of *kejawen* (Javanese mysticism) influence is predominant in the teachings of mysticism in Java. The unity of being, which is closely related to the doctrine of Sufism, is apparent in *Miftah al-Mannan*, which teaches the unity of being through *tariqah* (path of purity) mechanism. The totality of being by denying all forms of being other than God illustrates the doctrine leading to the controversial pantheism of al-Fansuri. Analysis of the content of *Miftah al-Mannan* can prove that al-Fansuri's influence extends to various regions in Indonesia. This study aims to identify such extensive influence through a qualitative method using content analysis. The research revealed that the doctrine of the unity of being in *Miftah al-Mannan* is identical to the concept brought about by al-Fansuri, which denies being in the process of unity of being. Both concepts principally share similarities that underpin the unity of being due to a single source of events. God manifests Himself to all of His creation. To achieve the unity of being, the *salik* (traveler) is required to take *shari'ah* to achieve *haqiqah* (truth) by means of *tariqah* (path of purity). The pantheistic unity of being indicates the expansion of al-Fansuri's influence on the Java region.

The existence of al-Fansuri's doctrine also demonstrates that the doctrine of *wujudiyah* in Java is not only dominated by the syncretic and *kejawen* concept of *manunggaling kawulo gusti* (the unity between human soul and God).

Keywords: Sufi orders; *Miftah al-Mannan*; *wahdat al-wujud*; manuscript; al-Fansuri.

Khulasah

Doktrin sinkretik tentang kesatuan wujud dalam *kejawen* (mistik Jawa) mempunyai pengaruh yang dominan dalam ajaran mistik di Jawa. Konsep kesatuan wujud yang berkait rapat dengan doktrin tasawuf dapat dilihat dalam *Miftah al-Mannan*, yang mengajarkan kesatuan wujud melalui mekanisme tariqah (jalan penyucian diri). Keseluruhan wujud dengan menafikan semua bentuk kewujudan selain Allah menggambarkan doktrin yang membawa kepada panteisme kontroversi al-Fansuri. Analisis kandungan *Miftah al-Mannan* membuktikan bahawa pengaruh al-Fansuri meluas ke pelbagai wilayah di Indonesia. Kajian ini bertujuan untuk mengenal pasti pengaruh tersebut secara meluas melalui kaedah kualitatif dengan menggunakan analisis kandungan. Penelitian mendapati bahawa doktrin kesatuan wujud dalam *Miftah al-Mannan* adalah sama dengan konsep yang dibawa oleh al-Fansuri, yang menafikan kewujudan selain Allah dalam proses kesatuan wujud. Kedua-dua konsep ini pada dasarnya berkongsi persamaan yang mendasari kesatuan wujud, kerana segala kejadian berasal daripada satu sumber. Allah menzahirkan diri-Nya kepada semua ciptaan-Nya. Untuk mencapai kesatuan wujud, salik (pengembara rohani) dikehendaki menempuh syariah untuk mencapai hakikat melalui tariqah (jalan penyucian diri). Kesatuan wujud yang bersifat panteistik ini menunjukkan peluasan pengaruh al-Fansuri ke wilayah Jawa.

Kata kunci: Tarekat; *Miftah al-Mannan*; *wahdat al-wujud*; manuskrip; al-Fansuri.

Introduction

The doctrine of the unity of being in Java, which has long been considered mystical (*kejawen*) and spiritually syncretic [1] was heavily influenced by the controversial doctrine of *wahdat al-wujud* [2] (unity of being) by al-Fansuri. The influence of al-Fansuri's unity of being[3] is obvious in *Miftah al-Mannan,* which used to be kept as a private collection not to be widely disseminated to the public. The interpretation of being other than Allah and the necessity of unity of being is attributed to the nature of a single being as the main doctrine in the manuscript. This doctrine somehow differs from the Javanese form of unity of being which is heavily influenced by Javanese mysticism. In its essence, *Miftah al-Mannan* depicts the unity of being through *shari'ah* compliance as the main way to achieve the level of *tariqah* (the path of purity) and

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[1] Pavla Fajfrlikova, "Kejawen Jako Tradicni Mysticka Vira v Pripade Soucasne Javy", *Kulturni Studia* 1 (2018), 18–34, https://doi.org/10.7160/KS.2018.100102; Ryan Smith, "Mysticism and Syncretism on the Island of Java", *Independent Study Project (ISP) Collection* (2020), https://digitalcollections.sit.edu/isp_collection/3348; Mohamad Zaelani, Zuriyati Zuriyati & Saifur Rohman, "Dialectical of Islam and Javanese Culture in Suluk Saloka Jiwa by Ranggawarsita", *Linguistics and Culture Review* 6 (2022), 154–164, https://doi.org/10.21744/LINGCURE.V6NS2.1940; Sartini, "Mysticism in Javanese Shamans: Morality toward God", *Journal of Indonesian Islam* 15(1) (2021), 129–148, https://doi.org/10.15642/JIIS.2021.15.1.129-148.

[2] *Wahdat al-wujud* means that there is only one Self which is manifested in multiplicity. Allah is One in His *Dhat,* His *Sifat,* and His *Af'al*. There is only One Entity in Existence and multiplicity appears through relations between non-essential entities. See Aisha Bewley, *A Glossary of Islamic Terms* (London: Ta-Ha Publishers, 1998), 226-227.

[3] Syed Muhammad Naquib Al-Attas, *The Mysticism of Hamzah Fansuri* (London: University of London, 1996).

haqiqah[4] (the truth) which leads to the unification of two existences, and thus what remains is only the being of Allah. The totality of the unity of being primarily characterize the teaching of *Miftah al-Mannan,* which distinguishes it from the concept of the unity of being widely known to the Javanese people in the previous period.

The identification of the *wahdat al-wujud* doctrine in various studies emphasizes the thinking paradigm of some figures and its implications for the afterthoughts. Research topics on the new concepts of this thought, especially in the area of Java, have been abandoned since the current research trend widely addresses three aspects. The first research trend is on the historical aspect in the development of *wahdat al-wujud* doctrine, which was initially introduced in Indonesia by Hamzah al-Fansuri,[5] Shams al-Din al-Sumatrani,[6] and Abd al-Ra'uf al-Singkeli in the area of Sumatra.[7] Meanwhile, in Kalimantan, it was brought about

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[4] In Sufi terminology, *haqiqah* is the essential reality that does not admit abrogation and remains equally potent from the time of Adam to the end of the world. See Bewley, *A Glossary of Islamic Terms*, 209.

[5] Khoirul Amru Harahap, "Hamzah Al-Fansuri: A Figure of Malay-Indonesian Philosophical Mysticism and Sufi Literature", in *International Conference of Moslem Society*, vol. 2 (IAIN Purwokerto, 2018), 33–42, https://doi.org/10.24090/ICMS.2018.1847; Damanhuri, 'Hamzah Fanshuri Tentang Konsep Wujud', *Jurnal Pemikiran Islam* 1(1) (2021), 56–73, https://doi.org/10.22373/JPI.V1I1.10356.

[6] Wahyudi & Wahyudin, "Wajah Tafsir Sufistik di Indonesia', *Jurnal Iman dan Spiritualitas* 1(2) (2021), 121–25, https://doi.org/10.15575/JIS.V1I2.11519; Annisa Fitriani Siregar, "Konsep Wahdatul Wujud Menurut Syamsuddin As-Sumatrani" (Master diss. UIN Sumatera Utara, 2019), http://repository.uinsu.ac.id/9584/.

[7] Humaidi, "Mystical-Metaphysics: The Type of Islamic Philosophy in Nusantara in the 17th-18th Century", *Jurnal Ushuluddin* 27(1) (2019), 90–106, https://doi.org/10.24014/JUSH.V27I1.5438.

by Muhammad Nafis al-Banjari [8] and in Java it was
introduced by Sheikh Siti Jenar. [9] The second trend is
related to the controversy raised by the *wahdat al-wujud*
doctrine. In this aspect, Baniah classified three groups of
responses toward the notion of the unity of being: those
supporting, opposing, and moderate. [10] One of the figures
who is known to oppose embodiment is 'Abd al-Samad al-
Palimban. [11] The third trend is on the impact and expansion
of the teachings of *wahdat al-wujud*. Hamid and Yuda
revealed that the influence of Hamzah al-Fansuri doctrine
extended to Java, particularly in Gresik through Abd al-
Muhyi Pamijahan [12] and in some other areas of the
archipelago. [13] However, in the literature, there are only few
studies to address the spread of *wahdat al-wujud* through
certain manuscripts, especially when it deals with the
doctrine of *wahdat al-wujud* in *Miftah al-Mannan*.

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[8] Humaidi & Miftah Arifin, "Neo Sufism and the Concept of Seven
Dignities of Muhammad Nafis Al-Banjari", *AMCA Journal of
Community Development* 1(2) (2021), 31–34,
https://doi.org/10.51772/AJCD.V1I2.66.

[9] Lusinta Rehna Ginting & Mely Nadia, "Pembentukan dan
Perkembangan Tasawuf Falsafi", *Jurnal Bilqolam Pendidikan Islam*
2(1) (2021), 50–64, https://doi.org/10.51672/JBPI.V2I1.48.

[10] Sri Baniah, "Development and Controversy of Tasawuf Falsafi in
Indonesia", *Al-Fatih: Jurnal Pendidikan dan Keislaman* 3(2) (2020),
http://jurnal.stit-al-
ittihadiyahlabura.ac.id/index.php/alfatih/article/view/94.

[11] Arafah Pramasto, "Kritik Terhadap Pemikiran Kontroversial Bercorak
Panteistik di Tengah Umat Islam dalam Karya Syaikh Abdus Shamad
Al-Palimbani Abad Ke-18", *SINDANG: Jurnal Pendidikan Sejarah
dan Kajian Sejarah* 2(1) (2020), 8–18,
https://doi.org/10.31540/SINDANG.V2I1.823.

[12] A. Lukman Hamid & Dendi Yuda S, "Martabat Alam Tujuh Dalam
Perspektif Syeikh Abdul Muhyi Pamijahan", *Abrahamic Religions:
Jurnal Studi Agama-Agama* 2(1) (2022), 25–34,
https://doi.org/10.22373/ARJ.V2I1.12094.

[13] Fuad Mahbub Siraj, "The Effect of Hamzah Fansuri's Mystical
Thought to the Muslim Intellectual Tradition in the Archipelago",
IBDA`: Jurnal Kajian Islam dan Budaya 19(2) (2021), 185–210,
https://doi.org/10.24090/IBDA.V19I2.4170.

Research on the controversial doctrine of the unity of being in Islamic society illustrates the presence of this doctrine in Javanese society. The concept of the unity of being introduced by Hamzah al-Fansuri and Shams al-Din al-Sumatrani was neutralized anarchically[14] by Nur al-Din al-Raniri.[15] Sayf al-Rizal[16] attempted to reintroduce this thought by bridging his understanding through the teachings of Abd al-Ra'uf al-Singkeli with the same title (*wahdat al-wujud*), but with a different meaning.[17]

Thenceforth, there has been a rapid development of the doctrine of the unity of being throughout Indonesia, as indicated by the emergence of the same teaching in South Kalimantan and Java. The presence of this doctrine is also marked by the writing of *Miftah al-Mannan* in Java. The presence of the unity of being in *Miftah al-Mannan* is particularly depicted by three evidences. The first evidence is the teaching of *wahdat al-wujud* in *Miftah al-Mannan.* The second evidence is characterized by the creation of

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[14] Various literatures wrote that Nur al-Din al-Raniri executed the followers of Hamzah al-Fansuri's to death. Executions were carried out in various public places, including in mosques to provide a deterrent effect and repent for other adherents of unity of being. Azyumardi Azra, *Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah Dan Kepulauan Nusantara Abad XVII Dan XVIII: Akar Pembaharuan Islam Indonesia* (Jakarta: Kencana Prenada Media Grup, 2013), 229; Sher Banu A.L. Khan, "What Happened to Sayf Al-Rijal?", *Bijdragen Tot de Taal-, Land- En Volkenkunde / Journal of the Humanities and Social Sciences of Southeast Asia* 168(1) (2012), 100–111, https://doi.org/10.1163/22134379-90003571; G.W.J. Drewes, 'Sjamsuddins Onvindbare Sjarh Ruba'i Hamza Al-Fansuri', *Bijdragen Tot de Taal-, Land- En Volkenkunde / Journal of the Humanities and Social Sciences of Southeast Asia* 107(1) (1951), 31–41, https://doi.org/10.1163/22134379-90002466.

[15] Nor Huda, "Continuity and Change of the Islamic Intellectual Discourse in Indonesia Malay World", *Journal of Malay Islamic Studies* 2(2) (2018), 147–66, https://doi.org/10.19109/JMIS.V2I2.2542.

[16] Khan, "What Happened to Sayf Al-Rijal?", 101.

[17] Azra, *Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah,* 251.

nature as the main foundation for the continuity of the unity
of being without distinguishing between *makhluq* (creature)
and *khaliq* (creator). The third is the identification of
practical paths to achieving the unity of being. The
existence of embodied elements as the holistic unity of
being has led to the massive development and spread of this
teaching despite its entirely controversial aspects.

The predominating concept of the unity of being in the
perspective of the Javanese community is primarily
emphasized by Javanese mysticism (*kejawen*) as a result of
the acculturation of Islam and Javanese culture. Teeuw[18]
deemed the *kejawen* identity as the main identity of Islam
in Java. This identity has had an influence on the concept
of the unity of being widely adhered to by the Javanese
community, which is highly nuanced with syncretism with
an emphasis on spirituality (*kebatinan*) and with the support
of the royal elite.[19]

The achievement of the unity of being in *Miftah al-
Mannan* through compliance with *shari'ah* (the law),
tariqah (the path of purity), and *haqiqah* (the truth), gave a
new identity for the development of this doctrine in Java,
which was close to the *wujudiyah* doctrine known in
Islamic literature. Sartini et al.,[20] labeled this category as
tariqah of pesantren. The *tariqah* (the path of purity) of
pesantren, however, provides a significant distinction
between *makhluq* and *khaliq* at the moment of unity, which
makes it different from *Miftah al-Mannan.* This manuscript
tends to highlight a total unity between God and the servant,
so that there is no other being but God. This points out the

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[18] A. Teeuw, *Indonesia Antara Kelisanan dan Keberaksaraan* (Jakarta:
Dunia Pustaka Jaya, 1994), 28.

[19] Sartini Sartini, Heddy Shri Ahimsa Putra & Al Makin, "A Preliminary
Survey on Islamic Mysticism in Java", *Analisis: Jurnal Studi
Keislaman* 16(2) (2016), 1–40,
https://doi.org/10.24042/AJSK.V16I2.1116.

[20] Sartini Sartini, Heddy Shri Ahimsa Putra & Al Makin, "A Preliminary
Survey on Islamic Mysticism in Java", 1-40.

fact that *Miftah al-Mannan* is slightly similar to the doctrine of *wujudiyah*[21] introduced by Hamzah al-Fansuri which is different from Javanese mysticism (*kejawen*).

Literature Review

i. History and Development of *Wahdat al-Wujud* Doctrine in Indonesia

The concept of the unity of being (*wahdat al-wujud*) has long been known to the Indonesians ever since the early spread of Islam in Indonesia. Hamzah al-Fansuri (d. 1016 H./1607 AD) was noted as the figure who pioneered the spread of this doctrine in the Aceh sultanate region under the leadership of Sultan 'Ala al-Din Ri'ayat Syah.[22] His endeavor was continued by his student, Shams al-Din al-Sumatrani (d. 1040 H./1630 AD), who consistently propagated and expanded the teachings of *wahdat al-wujud*[23] under the patronage of Sultan Iskandar Muda.[24] This teaching, somehow, was fiercely attacked by the opponent, Nur al-Din al-Raniri (d. 1068/1658 AD), under the protection of Sultan Iskandar Tsani, the next ruler of the Aceh sultanate.[25] Al-Raniri sought to protect the concept of

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[21] *Wujudiyah* refers to those who hold the doctrine of *wahdat al-wujud* (the unity of being). There are two groups of the *wujudiyah*. The one is the true (*muwahhidah*) and the other the false (*mulhidah* or deviating). See, al-Attas, "The Mysticism of Hamzah Fansuri", 66.

[22] Al-Attas, "The Mysticism of Hamzah Fansuri", 32; Harahap, "Hamzah Al-Fansuri," 36; Ridwan Arif, "Abd Al-Ra'uf Al-Fansuri's Answer to Early Disputation of Wahdat Al-Wujud of 17th Century Acheh", *Jurnal Peradaban* 1(1) (2021), 66–83, https://doi.org/10.51353/JPB.V1I1.501.

[23] Al-Attas, "The Mysticism of Hamzah Fansuri", 63; Miftah Arifin, "Shams Al-Din Al-Sumatran: The Teaching Pioneer of the Seven Dignities in Indonesia", *Journal of Education & Social Policy* 8(2) (2021), https://doi.org/10.30845/jesp.v8n2p12.

[24] Azra, *Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah,* 220.

[25] Syed Muhammad Naquib Al-Attas, *Comments on the Re-Examination of Al-Raniri's Hujjatu'l-Siddiq: A Refutation* (Kuala Lumpur: Museums Department Peninsular Malaysia, 1975); Mohd Noh Abdul Jalil & Majdan Alias, "Nur Al-Din Al-Raniri's Selected

Sufism based on what he deemed as correct and forced the adherents of *wahdat al-wujud* to repent.[26] This polemic continued until the power of the Aceh sultanate fell to the hands of Sultanah Shafiyah al-Din. Sultanah Shafiyah al-Din received and provided protection for al-Raniri for two years before he decided to turn to Sayf al-Rijal, who supported the teachings of *wahdat al-wujud.* In subsequence, Sayf al-Rijal (d. 1653 AD) attempted to expand and spread the concept of the unity of being to the Acehnese.[27] Nonetheless, this concept was again strongly refuted by the new mufti of the Aceh sultanate, Abd al-Ra'uf al-Singkeli (d. 1105 H./1693 AD). Since the presence of al-Singkeli, who brought about a new concept through the Sattariyah congregation, there had been a demise in the spread of *wahdat al-wujud* of al-Fansuri and al-Sumatrani in Indonesia.

The influence of the concept of *wahdat al-wujud* by al-Fansuri was getting weaker outside Aceh, especially given the flourishing development of Sattariyah al-Singkeli *tariqah* (the path of purity), which was newly introduced. Muammad Yusuf al-Maqassari (d. 1111 H./1699 M.) also sought to abolish heretical doctrines aimed at al-Fansuri by emphasizing the purification of faith by means of introducing the concept of *wahdat al-shuhud* (unity of consciousness) as the peak of ecstasy in the *tariqah* (the

Commentaries on Other Religions in the 17th Century Malay World", *Journal of al-Tamaddun* 15(1) (2020), 147–155, https://doi.org/10.22452/JAT.VOL15NO1.10; Ahmad Fairozi & Sulistiya Ayu Anggraini, "Wahdatus Shuhud, Kritik Al-Raniri Atas Panteisme Ketuhanan", *Kanz Philosophia A Journal for Islamic Philosophy and Mysticism* 6(2) (2020), 119–38, https://doi.org/10.20871/KPJIPM.V6I2.91.

[26] Azra, *Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah,* 227; Rachida Chih, "The Apogee and Consolidation of Sufi Teachings and Organizational Forms", in *The Wiley Blackwell History of Islam*, ed. Armando Salvatore (Oxford: Wiley Blackwell, 2018).

[27] Azra, *Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah,* 251; Baniah, "Development and Controversy of Tasawuf Falsafi in Indonesia", 198.

path of purity). A more moderate view in the concept of monotheism was brought by Abd al-Samad al-Palimbani (d. 1203 H./1789 AD). He also rejected the unity of being that al-Fansuri gives with the moral formation and purification of the mind compared to the search for ecstasy through the concept of *wahdat al-wujud.* [28] Muhammad 'Arshad al-Banjari (d. 1812 AD) who strengthened al-Palimbani's view, rejected the doctrine of *wahdat al-wujud.* [29] In Azra's note,[30] al-Banjari's encounter with the *wahdat al-wujud* doctrine (*wujudiyah mulhidah* or deviating) occurred when he returned to South Kalimantan. In that area, the concept of *wahdat al-wujud* was spread by Haji Abd al-Hamid (d. 1203 H./1788 AD) with the same concept as al-Fansuri who believed in the unity between God's being and His creatures. [31]

ii. *Wahdat al-Wujud* Doctrine in Indonesia

The debate about the *wujudiyah* doctrine in Indonesia is taking place due to different interpretations of the unity between God's being and His servants. Hamzah al-Fansuri, in his *wujudiyah* doctrine, emphasizes the denial of the being of servant since it blends into the being of God in the unity process, which thus leaves no other being than God.[32] To al-Fansuri, nature is an extension of His own Essence, something which had grown out of Him in a series of stages. In al-Fansuri's perspective, the process of God's

[28] Muhammad Sani Umar & Mark Woodward, "The Izala Effect: Unintended Consequences of Salafi Radicalism in Indonesia and Nigeria", *Contemporary Islam* 14(1) (2019), 49–73, https://doi.org/10.1007/S11562-019-00441-Y.

[29] Irsyadurrahman Ahmad, "Kitab Hidayat As-Salikin (Persepsi Ulama Banjarmasin Dalam Pengajian Tasawuf)" (UIN Antasari Banjarmasin, 2021), http://idr.uin-antasari.ac.id/19109/.

[30] Azra, *Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah,* 364.

[31] Azra, *Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah* 364.

[32] Harun Hadiwijono, *Kebatinan Islam Abad XVI* (Jakarta: BPK Gunung Mulia, 1985), 14; Harahap, "Hamzah Al-Fansuri: A Figure of Malay-Indonesian," 41.

incarnation into human beings is described as the parable of the sea with some dignity. The same doctrine was proposed by Shams al-Din al-Sumatrani by detailing the stages of incarnation through the concept of the seven dignities.[33]

The doctrines of al-Fansuri and al-Sumatrani, which emphasize the abolition of being, were opposed by Nur al-Din al-Raniri by accusing them as a pantheistic group who were punished as infidels. Al-Raniri emphasized the *shari'ah* dimension in Sufism by writing *al-Sirat al-Mustaqim.* [34] In addition, al-Raniri had aggressively proclaimed the prohibition of the practice of *wujudiyah* by condemning it as a heretical teaching that believes in many gods.[35] Al-Raniri's view on the teachings of al-Fansuri and al-Sumatrani had a serious impact on the lives of Muslims in Indonesia, which led to a review of these accusations.

Abd al-Ra'uf al-Singkeli conducted a review on the terms heretical and infidel left by al-Raniri. Al-Singkeli clearly rejected the interpretation of *wujudiyah*, which emphasizes the unity of God and His creation. He argued that although the individual external entities (*al-a'yan al-*

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[33] Hadiwijono, *Kebatinan Islam Abad XVI*, 20; Asep Lukman Hamid, "Konsepsi Martabat Tujuh Dalam Wirid Hidayat Jati Ranggawarsita", *Al-Afkar, Journal for Islamic Studies* 2(2) (2019), 88–104, https://doi.org/10.31943/AFKAR_JOURNAL.V4I1.61.

[34] Syakirah binti Rozali & Mashitah Sulaiman, "The Role and Contribution of Sheikh Nuruddin Arraniri in Southeast Asia and Evaluation on His Critical Writing in Sirat al-Mustaqim', in *The International Conference on Da'wah and Islamic Management*, ed. Mohd Faridh Hafez Mhd Omar et al. (Negeri Sembilan: Penerbit USIM, 2021), https://oarep.usim.edu.my/jspui/handle/123456789/16136.

[35] Azra, *Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah*, 221; Al-Attas, *Comments on The Re-Examination of al-Raniri's Hujjatu'l-Siddiq*, 56; Mohamad Nasrin Mohamad Nasir, "Analisis Terhadap Penghujahan Al-Raniri dalam Kitab F*athul Mubin Ala Al-Mulhidin* Terhadap Golongan Wujudiah", *Malay Literature* 33(1) (2020), 21–44, https://doi.org/10.37052/ML.33(1)NO2.

kharijiyah) are manifestations of God, they are different
from God. [36] Al-Singkeli tended to emphasize the
transcendence of God to His creation. Al-Singkeli claimed
that the most effective way to feel and express the oneness
of God is through remembrance, both silently and loudly.
Dhikr [37] (remembrance of God) is taken as a suggestion to
reach *al-mawt al-ikhtiyari* (voluntary death).

To achieve voluntary death, al-Singkeli recommended
compliance to a particular teacher as the one who gives the
appropriate instructions so as not to go astray. [38] He also
highlighted the need to practice Sufism along with the
shari'ah; in fact, only with the *shari'ah* (law) can a *salik* [39]
(traveler) obtain *haqiqah* (the truth). The same doctrine was
brought about by al-Maqassari who mentioned that God
revealed Himself in His creation. However, the expression
is rather in an allegorical form (*al-mawjud al-majazi*), than
a true form (*al-mawjud al-haqiqi*). [40] The being of God in
His creation is not in the form of physical presence, and
thus, God's closeness to His creation does not take the form
of final unity. Humans may be able to achieve the being of
God through the form of *al-'ubudiyah al-mutlaqah*

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[36] A. Johns, "Daka'ik al-Huruf by 'Abd Al-Ra'uf of Singkel", *Journal of
the Royal Asiatic Society* 87(1–2) (1955), 55–73,
https://doi.org/10.1017/S0035869X00107014; Arifin, "Neo Sufism
and The Concept of Seven Dignities", 33.

[37] *Dhikr* is lit, remembrance, mention. Commonly used, it means
invocation of Allah by repetition of His names or particular formulae.
Forms include; *dhikr al-lisan* (*dhikr* with the tongue), *dhikr al-qalb*
(the contemplation of the heart), *dhikr al-ruh* (*dhikr* with the spirit),
dhikr al-sir (*dhikr* of the inner secret), *dhikr al-khafi* (secret
recollection), and *dhikr akhfa al-khafi* (the most secret remembrance
of the secret). See Bewley, *A Glossary of Islamic Terms*, 206.

[38] Azra, *Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah,* 264.

[39] The *salik* is grounded in the necessary wisdom to prevent becoming
mad from the intoxication of yearning and thus acts outwardly in
accordance with *shari'ah* while being inwardly intoxicated. See,
Bewley, *A Glossary of Islamic Terms*, 222.

[40] Azra, *Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah*, 301.

(unlimited worship), which makes him annihilate (*fana'*) in the being of God by recognizing His secrets. Even so, humans will still be humans, and God will still be God, and the only thing that unites them is consciousness (*wahdat al-shuhud*).[41]

iii. The Dialectic of *Wujudiyah*: From Sumatra to Java

The polemic against the *wahdat al-wujud* doctrine revolves around the different concepts of the unity of God and nature. Hamzah al-Fansuri and Shams al-Din al-Sumtrani believed that the universe is an extension of God, and thus nature is the descent of His true being. This belief makes the being of nature part of God, and both are inseparable[42] (*al-'alam huwa Allah, huwa al-'alam*). This concept, nevertheless, was rejected by al-Raniri, who labeled its adherents as deviant and infidel groups.[43] Al-Raniri countered al-Fansuri's thought by intensifying the need to have an in-depth understanding of *fiqh* (Islamic law) to align Islamic teachings to the concepts he deemed as correct.[44] In the subsequent period, the dynamics of the political constellation in the Aceh sultanate diminished the predominant effort of al-Raniri to curb the spread of the teachings of *wujudiyah*. He was gradually replaced by Sayf al-Rijal who took over the center stage by proposing the agenda of reviving al-Fansuri's teaching of *wujudiyah*. However, this doctrine was dammed by Abd al-Ra'uf al-Singkeli who kept on proclaiming that the concept of *wahdat al-wujud* is transcendent in nature, instead totally of unity of being, particularly in discussing the relationship between God and nature. There had been a dwindling uproar on the differences between the two concepts after

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[41] Azra, *Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah*, 301–5.

[42] Al-Attas, "The Mysticism of Hamzah Fansuri", 84.

[43] Azra, *Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah*, 228; Damanhuri, "Hamzah Fanshuri Tentang Konsep Wujud", 72.

[44] Al-Attas, *Comments on The Re-Examination of Al-Raniri's Hujjatu'l-Siddiq*, 87.

the period of al-Singkeli, since the predominating doctrines after that period tended to defend and support it.

The contradictions between the *wujudiyah* doctrine and others that took place outside the Sumatran region were also detected in the Java region. Various records noted that the dialectics on the concept of *wujudiyah* primarily took place in a preventive effort. Laffan introduced two figures, Bari Asheseh Ibrahim, who spread the doctrine of *wujudiyah* using al-Ghazali to fortify society from the influence of Ibn 'Arabi's *wujudiyah*.[45] This story was cited to highlight the contradiction between the existential doctrine which ignores the *shari'ah* represented by Sheikh Siti Jenar and the Sufism doctrine represented by al-Ghazali. The firm response towards the two doctrines was recorded to take place during the reign of Pakubuwana II (1726 AD-1749 AD) who tried Haji Ahmad Mutamakkin for spreading the teachings of *wujudiyah* to the public.[46] A more intense dialectic of the two doctrines was recorded in South Kalimantan between Muhammad Arsyad al-Banjari and the teachings of Haji Abd al-Hamid (d. 1203 H./1788 AD).[47]

Methodology

This article analyzes the manuscript *Miftah al-Mannan* as the primary research object. This book was selected because it discusses various dimensions of the widely developing tariqah in Indonesia, which fall outside the scope of typical library records. The controversial aspect of the *wujudiyah* doctrine, attainable through the tariqah

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[45] Michael Laffan, *The Makings of Indonesian Islam: Orientalism and the Narration of a Sufi Past* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2011), 9.

[46] S. Soebardi, *The Book of Cabolek: A Critical Edition with Introduction, Translation and Notes. A Contribution to the Study of the Javanese Mystical Tradition* (Netherlands: Springer Netherlands, 1975), 41.

[47] Azra, *Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah*, 364.

mechanism, serves as a prominent indicator of the influence of al-Fansuri's teachings on the development of Sufism in Java.

The study employs textual analysis of *Miftah al-Mannan* as the primary source, while secondary data were drawn from various texts and reviews on the development of tariqah in Indonesia. After the data were collected, they were categorized and reduced into several groups to facilitate mapping and comparison between the main manuscript and data derived from other manuscripts. The data were then analyzed using content analysis, a key technique to highlight the dimensions of the manuscript and its distinctions from other contemporary, earlier, and subsequent manuscripts.

Results

i. Manuscript Description (MSS)

Miftah al-Mannan is part of a collection of several manuscripts found in Pati, Central Java, Indonesia. Codicologically, this collection of manuscripts has been damaged since some parts of the manuscript are missing and several pages go loose from their bindings, indicating that the manuscript is no longer intact. This rather damaged manuscript somehow still leaves eight chapters fully intact in a perfect binding. This manuscript is arranged in the form of a book with 8 chapters. A brief overview of each section of the manuscript is found in the second part of the manuscript, entitled Anis al-Muttaqin, which has a Mangala and a colophon. The notes in *Anis al-Muttaqin* give information about the fact that this manuscript was written by Abd al-Samad al-Palimbani, which was copied by someone named Mukhtar. Brief research on the owner of the manuscript provided no clear information on the accurate identity of the copyist. This was due to the fact that the manuscript was only known to be passed down from Kiai Musyarrof to his student, Rahman, which cut off the information link about the previous owners.

This manuscript is a part of several other manuscripts (MSS), which are bound in a book with torn marks on the front, indicating that there used to be other manuscripts at the front part of the book. There is no information written on the black cover of the manuscript, which is 0.3 cm thick and made of piles of papers covered with cloth on the top and bottom with plant ornaments that are stamped and embossed with spiral decorations around the cover. The cover of the manuscript is stitched and joined with other sections of the manuscript. The position of the cover that is still attached to the main manuscript indicates that the existing cover is the original cover. There are eight remaining manuscripts, some of which contain a description of the title of the manuscript.

Sequentially, the manuscripts consist of *Miftah al-Mannan, Anis al-Muttaqin,* MS1 (no title description), MS2 (no title description), *Qissah Sam'un, Khasyiyah Nihayah, Khabar Mi'raj* and *Nasihah al-Mulk.* Based on the colophon of *Miftah al-Mannan,* the author and time of writing are unknown. However, other parts of the manuscript contain an explanation of the year of writing, for example, *Anis al-Muttaqin* which was completed on Saturday, Zu al-Qa'idah 1271, *Qissah Sam'un* which was completed on 2 Zul-Hijjah 1272, *Khabar Mi'raj* which was copied on 2 Ramadan 1273, and *Nasihah al-Mulk* which was copied in 1273 H. Based on the order of the year to copy the other manuscripts, it is estimated that *Miftah al-Mannan* was copied in 1270 H./ 1271 H. (1854 AD/1855 AD).

Miftah al-Mannan, as the primary research object was written in recto-verso. The description was written in one column of *lectionentype* (text is in one column). *Miftah al-Mannan* is located in the first part of the manuscript (MSS) of 8 pieces (f4v-f18v). There are two notes outside the original text; the first note is made by the copyist placed outside the guideline. The second note was written in the hanging form of pegon (Javanese language with Arabic script) to give meaning to the text, which presumably was not written by the copyist because it was written using different inks.

Figure 1. *Miftah al-Mannan*

Miftah al-Mannan was written in Arabic with thick black ink with some addition of red ink in certain parts. The explanation of the *tariqah* concept in this manuscript is divided into some *fasl* (chapter) in red ink and a larger font. Another highlighted explanation is indicated by the term *i'lam* (description) written in red ink and large fonts. There are 6 themes in the form of *fasl; fi Dhikr* (on *Dhikr*), *fi fadilah al-dhikr* (virtue of *dhikr*), *fi adab al-dhikr* (procedure for *dhikr*), *fi Awwal al-wajib* (main obligation), *fi al-wara'* (scrupulousness), and *al-haqiqah* (the truth).

ii. *Miftah al-Mannan:* The Practical Path to Unity of
   Being

The real practice of the doctrine of the unity of being
derived from *Miftah al-Mannan* in this study is described
in three forms. The first form describes the teaching of the
unity of being (*wahdat al-wujud*) as the culmination of a
salik's (traveler) journey in search of God. The second form
is explained in this section by describing the tendency of
the relationship between God and nature in the process of
creation which serves as the foundation of the doctrine of
the unity of being, while the third form explains the stages
that must be carried out by a *salik* (traveler) in reaching the
highest level to unite with God.

a. *Wahdat al-Wujud* (Unity of Being) in *Miftah al-
   Mannan*

The culmination of the inner ritual in *Miftah al-Mannan* is
the union with Allah. The union of a servant with his Lord
can be achieved at the level of *haqiqah* (the truth) with full
self-knowledge of Allah. At this stage, a person will
remove the *hijab*[48] (veiling) between himself and Allah, so
that he no longer sees himself and thus all that remains is
Allah; every movement, silence, hearing, and speech is all
united with Allah (f12v). The process of unity between a
servant and his Lord is achieved through the process of the
disappearance of everything (*ahadiyah*)[49] towards the
source and origin of its occurrence, namely Allah (f14v).
Thus, he will not see anything other than Allah, because the
being of all things is one (f14v):

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[48] In Sufism, meaning the impression produced on the heart by
phenomena which prevent it from seeing the truth. See Bewley, *A
Glossary of Islamic Terms*, 210.

[49] *Ahadiyah* is a transcendent unity which is not the object of any
distinctive knowledge and so is not accessible to the creature; the state
of unity which admits of no plurality whatsoever, the unity is the sum
of potentialities and as such is not an object of worship. See Bewley,
A Glossary of Islamic Terms, 203.

لِأَنَّ الوجودَ وَاحِدٌ لَا تَعَدُّدَ لَهُ أَصْلًا وَلِأَنَّ الأغْيَارَ لَيْسَتْ
مَوْجُودَة إِلَّا كَوُجُودِ الظِّلِّ وَالظِّلُّ لَا وُجُودَ لَهُ وَلَا حَرَاكَةً لَهُ إِلَّا
بِوُجُودٍ وَحَرَاكَة صَاحِب الظِّلِّ وَلَا يَنْفَكُّ الظِّلُّ عَنْ صَاحِبِهِ وَلَا
يَذْهَبُ إِلَّا بِذَهَابِ الْمَرْءِ وَلَا يَتَّخذُ بِهِ وَالظِّلُّ يَكْثِرُ بِكَثْرَة
الْمَرْءِ فَكَذَلِكَ وُجُودُ الْأَشْيَاءِ لِأَنَّهَا الْبَاسٌ وَالالبَاسُ مُخْتَلِفٌ.

Translation: For verily, the being is only one; not many (*la ta'adduda*) at all. Meanwhile, change does not exist except as a shadow, and the shadow has no being for him except as the existence of being and movement which has a shadow, and the shadow is inseparable from the owner of the shadow and will not go away except and cannot be taken away by the displacement of the glass. In addition, the shadows sometimes multiply by multiplying the glass. Thus, such is the existence of something, because verily, something (*ashya'*) is clothing and the clothes are various and different (f14v).

Using the concept of shadow, *Miftah al-Mannan* portrays the existence, motion, and the being of the servant as a manifestation of God that is not different from Him, so that the recognition of the being leads to a reunification with the original source.

The attainment of *salik* (traveler) at the stage of self-unification eliminates self-existence by the unification of being with God. A person who has reached the level of vigilant (*muraqabin*)[50] with Allah has removed (*istahlak*) his own being into the being of Allah and destroyed his nature into the nature of Allah (f14v). At this stage, he has

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[50] *Muraqqabin* is someone who vigilant; permanent state of awareness, not a spiritual exercise.

attained the stage of *fana'*[51] (annihilation) as the path to *baqa'* (going on by Allah, when the sufi returns to mankind after annihilation). The level of *fana'* (annihilation) also leads one to unite with God and it is not permissible to consider his being as separated from the being of *al-Haq* (the Absolute Truth) (f16v). *Miftah al-Mannan* defines *fana'* (annihilation) as a state in which one has no choice (f15r). Lack of choice indicates the death of a *salik* (traveler) from his human nature (*bashariyah*).

فَإِنَّ الْمَوْتَ مَوْتَانِ: إِضْطِرَارِيٌّ وَهُوَ ظَاهِرٌ، وَاخْتِيَارِيٌّ وَهُوَ الْمَوْتُ بِالْفَنَاءِ، وَهُوَ الْخُرُوجُ عَنِ الْأَوْصَافِ الْبَشَرِيَّةِ بِتَرْكِ الِاخْتِيَارِ وَالْإِرَادَةَ كَالْمَيِّتِ لَا إِرَادَةَ لَهُ وَلَا اخْتِيَارَ لَهُ. فَمَنِ خَرَجَ عَنْ إِرَادَتِهِ وَاخْتِيَارِهِ وَحَوْلِهِ وَقُوَّتِهِ خَرَجَ عَنْ نَفْسِهِ وَدَخَلَ فِي إِرَادَةِ تَعَالَى وَاخْتِيَارِه وَهُوَ قُرْبُ الْخُلْقِ إِلَيْهِ. وَقِيلَ: مَن أَقْرَبُ النَّاسِ إِلَى اللَّهِ تَعَالَى يَوْمَ الْقِيَامَةِ يَا رَسُولَ اللَّهِ؟ فَقَالَ: مَن اسْتَهْلَكَتْ ذَاتُهُ فِي ذَاتِهِ تَعَالَى وَصِفَاتُهُ فِي صِفَاتِهِ تَعَالَى.

Translation: Verily, death is divided by two; coercion (*idtirari*) namely bodily death (*zahir*) and choice (*ikhtiyari*) ie annihilation*;* out of the nature of humanity (*bashariyah*) by leaving choices and desires, like a corpse that has no desire and is unable to choose. A person who opts to go out of his desire, choice, and power, will come out of his lust and enter into Allah's will (*iradah*) and Allah's choice, and thus, he will be the closest creature to Allah. It is said, who is the closest human being to Allah on the Day of Resurrection, O Messenger of Allah? The Prophet said that the person who has

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[51] Annihilation in Allah, the cessation of attributes, total withdrawal from the sensory.

removed (*istahlaka*) his essence into the essence of Allah and destroyed his nature into the nature of Allah (f15r).

The level of *fana'* (annihilation) demands that the *salik* (traveler) acquire the essence of (*'ayn*) *al-baqa'* (f16v). He will realize that his being and the being of God have no difference and that there is no need to consider the existence of other beings except for the being of God (f16v). The denial of the existence of all beings to accept the single being of God is the peak of ecstasy in *Miftah al-Mannan* which liberates humans from the shackles of time and space.

The unity of being into the One Being removes the limitations of humanity and drifts away in the vastness of God's being. Humans only know one word; Allah, the Allah who drowned them in a state of no direction, no place, no mass, and no limit (f16v). This state is referred to in *Miftah al-Mannan* as victory, because it realizes God's *tajalli* [52] (self-manifestation) to His creatures which includes all being. The unity of being between God and the servant is clarified by mentioning that God's emancipatory nature is unlike a container that includes the things it contains, unlike *kull* that includes *juz'i,* nor is it like a sign that signifies the signified. In fact, the sign that includes the signified or another is interdependence and needs each other (f16v). This is different from Allah's descends which includes all being without depending on others, because all beings are Allah's descents, such as the existence of waves, bubbles, and ice which show the descends of water in various forms (f17r). The unity of being that takes place between God and creatures is the unity of all beings that originate from the being of God.

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[52] The unveiling of a spiritual reality in the realm of vision, a showing forth of the secrets of the One in existence.

b. The Occurrence of Nature in the Doctrine of the
   Unity of Being in *Miftah al-Mannan*

God's relationship with nature, which leads to the unity of
being, is influenced by the concept of the origin of creation.
God is described as an absolute *dhat* (essence) whose
existence is manifest in every creation in various forms (*wa
albas mukhtalifah*) (f14v). *Miftah al-Mannan* emphasizes
the true nature of existence originating from one *dhat.*

وَأَنْ تَنْظُرَهُ تَعَالَى فِي كُلِّ الْعَوَالِمِ مِنْ سَائِرِ صُورَةٍ وَصَوْتٍ وَجْهِ
اللهِ. لِأَنَّ ظَاهِرَ تِلْكَ الْأَشْيَاءِ لَا يَكُونُ إِلَّا ظَاهِرَ الْوُجُودِ
الْمَنْصُوبِ بِأَحْكَامِ الْأَحَادِيَّةِ (الْأَعْيَانِ الثَّابِتَةِ الَّتِي هِيَ بَاطِنٌ)
فَلِأَنَّ جَمِيعَ الْكَائِنَاتِ مَوْجُودَةٌ مُسْتَقِلَّةٌ عَنِ الْحَقِّ. قَالَ عَلَيْهِ
السَّلَامُ: مَا رَأَيْتُ شَيْئًا إِلَّا رَأَيْتُ اللهَ فِيهِ وَمَنْ نَظَرَ إِلَى شَيْءٍ
وَلَمْ يَرَ اللهَ فِيهِ فَهُوَ بَاطِلٌ. وَذَلِكَ لِأَنَّ الْوُجُودَ وَاحِدٌ لَا تَعَدُّدَ
لَهُ أَصْلًا.

> Translation: You will see God throughout
> nature in every form and sound. Because, for
> the outward appearance of those thing can only
> be the apparent existence established (*al-
> mansub)* by the rulings of oneness (*ahadiyah*)
> (archetype of a being (*al-a'yan al-thabitah*)
> which is inner), because everything comes from
> God. The Prophet said: I do not see anything but
> see Allah in it. If a person sees something and
> does not see Allah in it, then he has failed.
> Principally, there is only one being, instead of
> many (f13r-f14v).

In *Miftah al-Mannan*, the existence of nature is
defined as having a single origin, with all existing forms
being descensions of God with various forms.

The striking difference between God as the origin of all things and nature as His descension is distinctively described in *Miftah al-Mannan.* God is described as absolute *dhat,* while the nature that comes from Him is depicted as a shadow, so that what is seen is a false form (*wahm*) which is forbidden for humans to believe in its existence (f16v). God as the essence of being and the origin of nature is likened to water which serves as the origin and essence of bubbles, waves, and ice. Likewise, the absolute *dhat* (essence) is seen as an inner aspect, while its radiance is seen as an outward thing which is His *tajalli* (self-manifestation) (*wa huwa ahir wa tajalli bi al-shakl*) (f16v). The absolute existence of God is also likened in *Miftah al-Mannan* with the parable of the sea (*fa istaghraq fi bahr al-wujud*) (f16v), which serves as the place where all rivers flow. The ultimate goal of this separation is to achieve the unity of the servant and the Lord.

c. The Path to Unity of Being in *Miftah al-Mannan*

The unity of being of God and humans in *Miftah al-Mannan* occurs at the level of *haqiqah.* This level is the final stage of the *salik* (traveler) journey to God after going through the levels of *shari'ah* (the law) and *tariqah* (the path of purity) in the initial stage (f12v).

وَلَا يَتَّصِلَا إِلَى الْحَقِيقَةِ إِلَّا بِإِثْبَاتِ الشَّرِيعَةِ وَالطَّرِيقَةِ لِأَنَّ الشَّرِيعَةَ كَالتَّقْشِيرِ مِنَ الْجُزْءِ وَالطَّرِيقَةَ كَاللُّبِّ الصَّافِي وَالْحَقِيقَةَ كَالدِّهْنِ بِبَاطِنِ اللُّبِّ وَلَا يَتَوَصَّلُ إِلَى اللُّبِّ إِلَّا بِحَرَاقِ التَّقْشِيرِ وَلَا إِلَى الدِّهْنِ إِلَّا بِذَقِّ اللُّبِّ.

Translation: And will never reach the level of *haqiqah* (truth) unless it has implemented *shari'ah* and *tariqah*, because *shari'ah* is like the shell of a nut, *tariqah* is the core of a pure heart, and *haqiqah* is the mind with the heart.

> Nothing will reach the core (*lub*[53]), unless it has opened the skin and nothing will reach the mind unless it feels the core (*lub*).

Compliance with *shari'ah* law is mentioned in *Miftah al-Mannan* as a way to worship the One Almighty and glorify the knowledge of God and His messenger (f12v). A person who complies with the Sufi path is required to carry out all the things that are ordered by the *Shari'ah*h and leave everything that is prohibited. They are also required to consider things lawful as lawful and avoid all things that are forbidden, perform the five daily prayers in congregation, be consistent in *dhikr* (remembrance) during the day and night, especially after the five daily prayers, perform voluntary fasts and monthly voluntary fasts for three days.

They are also required to maintain morals and improve attitude, both towards God and towards humans (f12v). Paying a good attitude towards Allah is defined as having a good attitude towards all the decisions given, being afraid of the punishment that will befall, always hoping for mercy, and always putting trust in Allah in all matters. Meanwhile, good attitude towards humans is interpreted as an act of helping the poor, guiding the people who go astray, ordering goodness, preventing evil, doing good to others (f9r), staying in touch, helping each other in goodness, leaving hostility, not insulting each other, having good prejudice, and not arguing with each other. Abiding by the *shari'ah* law is considered as the entrance to the next level which is perfected with outward practices.

Miftah al-Mannan elucidates that *shari'ah* compliance can be improved with the daily behaviors of a *salik* who wants to achieve the next level. A *salik* (traveler) is required to find a spiritual guide (*murshid*) who shall provide

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[53] The central locus of awareness in the human being; the heart of the heart.

guidance and protection (*murabbi*) on the path he takes. In fact, without a teacher, one is considered to be led by Satan (f9r).

In addition, the perfection of the *Shari'ah* compliance is carried out by means of eating less, dressing only to protect oneself from heat, cold, and covering the aurat (f9r), and avoiding self-conceit and arrogance (*riya'*) (f11r). Likewise, a *salik* (traveler) is required to be *wara'* [54] (scrupulousness), that is, to leave things that are unclear to stay alert to get the degree of *muttaqin* (pious). The prudence of a *salik* (traveler) is perfected by an effort to leave the pleasures of the world and its beauty by behaving as a *zuhd* [55] (f10v). *Zuhd* (asceticism) is interpreted as an effort to free the heart from the love of the world (f10v). However, *Miftah al-Mannan* also depicts that a *salik* (traveler) does not entirely need to abandon worldly matters since he can seek adequate wealth as long as it can increase the enjoyment of the hereafter. In fact, a *salik* (traveler) *who engages* in a particular profession is emphasized to constantly work according to his abilities and is not recommended to be so immersed in work that he drifts off into worldly affairs (f10v).

Shari'ah (the law) compliance encourages a *salik* (traveler) to achieve the *tariqah* (the path of purity) level as a way to get closer to Allah. *Tariqah* (the path of purity) in *Miftah al-Mannan* is reached in four ways; *dhikr* (remembrance), *muwajjahah* (facing) and *muraqabah* (vigilance), and *mushahadah* (witnessing). *Dhikr* (remembrance) is worship that leads a person to unite with God (f4v) by cleansing the heart from dependence on the world (f5r). *Dhikr* (remembrance) is a form of worship by repeatedly chanting phrases to remember Allah with a pure

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[54] It extends from avoidance of the unlawful and doubtful to avoiding anything that will cast a shadow on the heart.

[55] Making do with little of this of world and leaving what you do not need.

heart until the end of someone's life (f4v), so that everyone thinks they are crazy for constantly performing *dhikr* (remembrance) (f5r). *Dhikr* (remembrance) is done by permeating its meaning to imprint it in our hearts to gain its benefits. It is done as a way to provide protection for the mind against any transient worldly things, not two-timing the love to Allah, and to reveal the veil of the heart to showcase anything hidden (f8v).

 Miftah al-Mannan divides remembrance into five forms; (1) *dhikr al-nafy wa al-ithbat* (remembrance of negation and determination), for example, *la ilaha illa Allah* which is divided into two forms; *dhikr al-nafy* (remembrance of negation), such as *la ilaha* and *dhikr al-ithbat* (remembrance of determination), such as *illa Allah;* (2) *dhikr ism al-dhat,* like *Allah Allah;* (3) *dhikr al-ghayb* (dim remembrance), like *Allah huwa Allah huwa;* (4) *dhikr ghayb fi ghayb,* such as *huwa huwa;* (5) *dhikr al-muntar,* like *huwa hayyu huwa hayyu* (f8v). The mechanism of chanting the remembrance phrase is divided into two: silent *dhikr* (*sirr*) and loud *dhikr* (*jahr*) (f7r) by closing the eyes and perceiving the meaning (meditation) (f5r). *Dhikr* plays a key role in *Miftah al-Mannan,* and thus someone who wants to do remembrance must meet some particular requirements and etiquette.

<div dir="rtl">

وَاعْلَمْ أَنَّ لِذِكْرِ آدَابًا وَحَرْطًا وَمِنْ آدَابِهِ التَّوْبَةُ وَالْغُسْلُ وَالْوُضُوءُ
وَالسُّكُوتُ قَبْلَ الذِّكْرِ وَالْجُلُوسُ فِي مَكَانٍ خَالٍ مُظْلِمٍ طَاهِرٍ
مُتَرَبِّعاً مُسْتَقْبِلِ الْقِبْلَةِ مُغْمَضِ الْعَيْنَيْنِ وَوَضْعُ الْيَدَيْنِ عَلَى
الْفَخِذَيْنِ وَنَفْيُ كُل خَوَاطِرٍ مِنَ الْقَلْبِ بِلاَ إِلَهَ مَعَ ضَرْبِ الرَّأْسِ
مِنْ تَحْتِ الثَّدِيِّ الْيُرَى إِلَى كَفِّهِ الْيُمْنَى وَإِثْبَاتُ أُهِّيَّةِ اللهِ سُبْحَانَهُ
مَعَ ضَرْبِ الرَّأْسِ إِلَى الْقَلْبِ الصَّنُوبَرِيّ الَّتِي تَحْتَ الشَّدِيِّ
الْيُسْرَى مَعَ حُضُورِ الْقَلْبِ الْمَعْنَوِيِّ فِيهِ السُّكُونِ عِندَ

</div>

السُّكُونِ. وَمِنْ شُرُوطِهِ حُسْنُ النِّيَّةِ قَبْلَ الذِّكْرِ وَالتَّخَلُّصُ عَنْ
حُظُوظِهِ الْبَشَرِيَّةِ.

Translation: Know it! That *dhikr* must comply with certain manners and requirements. Some of the etiquette of *dhikr* are repenting, bathing, performing ablution, silence before *dhikr*, sitting in a dark and holy quiet place, sitting facing the Qiblah, closing the eyes, placing the hands on thighs, eliminating distractions (desire) in the heart by saying *la ilaha* while moving towards the left chest towards the right chest and emphasizing the divinity of Allah while moving the head to the heart in the left chest by presenting its meaning in the heart and remaining silent. Some of the conditions for *dhikr* are pure intentions before doing the *dhikr* and freedom from human pleasures (f7r).

Dhikr (remembrance) is a mechanism for a *salik* (traveler) to ask Allah for help by presenting the heart. The meaning of *dhikr* (remembrance) phrases can only be felt by genuinely pronouncing the phrases with the heart, mouth, and all parts of the body (f7r).

At a later stage, a *salik* (traveler) will reach the stage of *muwajjahah* as a path to face Allah by ignoring all distractions other than Allah.

وَتَوَجَّهْ بِكُلِّيَّاتِكَ إِلَى اللَّهِ تَعَالَى وَتَخْضُرُ مَعَهُ فِي جَمِيعِ حَرَكَاتِكَ
وَسُكُونِكَ وَقَلْبُكَ حَاضِرٌ بِاللَّهِ مُجَرَّدٌ عَنْ لِبَاسِ الْحُرُوفِ
وَالْأَصْوَاتِ الْعَرَبِيَّةِ وَغَيْرِهَا وَخَالٍ عَنْ جَمِيعِ الْجِهَاتِ كُلِّهَا
كَشَخْصٍ يَغْمِسُ رَأْسَهُ فِي الْبَحْرِ وَيَفْتَحُ عَيْنَهُ فِيهِ فَمَا رَأَى إِلَّا

بَحْرًا فَلَا تَنْسَ عَنِ الْإِسْمِ الْجَامِعِ وَهُوَ اللَّهُ فِي قَلْبِكَ وَرَاقِبْ مَعْنَاهُ دَائِمًا كَمَنْ نَظَرَ إِلَى شَيْءٍ ثُمَّ يَتَعَقَّلُ ذَٰلِكَ فِي عَقْلِهِ.

And face Allah with all that you have and present it in your movements, in your silence, and in your heart towards Allah bare naked of clothes, of letters, and of sounds, be it in Arabic or otherwise and free from the shackles of direction, like a person who dips his head into the sea and opens his eyes. Thus, he will see nothing but the sea. Don't forget to remember the all-encompassing name of Allah in your heart and always keep its meaning like a person who sees something and then thinks about it in his mind (f13r).

On the other hand, *muraqabah* (vigilance) is an attempt to get out of the state (*ahwal*[56]) and strength (*quwwah*) towards the entire Allah's supervision by ignoring all things to sink into the ocean of Allah's witness. At this stage, a *salik* (traveler) will only see Allah in all the worlds, and in every form and sound. In fact, in essence, nothing exists except as a manifestation (*al-mansuba'*) of Allah through the laws of *ahadiyah* (f14v). *Muraqabah* (vigilance) is related to safeguarding Allah's rights, so that all forms of prejudice (*wahm*) that arise in mind other than Allah have an impact on violating Allah's rights, so that they enter the state of polytheism (f14v).

Salik's achievement at the level of *muraqabah* leads him to the level of *mushahadah.* At this stage, one has denied all his intention towards others and the only thing that remains is only the oneness of Allah.

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[56] *Ahwal* (plural of *hal*) is a state, your transient inward state (*maqam*).

وَاعْلَمْ أَنَّ طَرِيقَ الْمُشَاهَدَةِ لَهُ تَعَالَى أَنْ تَنْفِي نِيَّتَكَ الْوُجُودِيَّةَ أَوَّلًا وَهِيَ مَعْنَى لَا إِلَهَ ثُمَّ تَثْبِتُ وُجُودَ الْحَقِّ فِي بَاطِنِكَ ثَانِيًا وَهِيَ مَعْنَى إِلَّا اللَّهُ وَأَنْ تَدُومَ بِذَلِكَ فِي مُرَاعَاةِ السِّرِّ بِمُلَاحَظَةِ الْحَقِّ مَعَ كُلِّ نَاظِرٍ وَحَاظِرٍ كَمَثَلِ الْهِرَّةِ تَرَاقِبُ الصَّيْدَ فَمَتَى اخْتَلَطَت الْمُرَاقَبَةُ اخْتَلَّ الْفَرْضُ فَكَذَلِكَ حَالُ الْمُرَاقَبَةِ.

translation: Know it! The path of *mushahadah* (witnessing) to Allah is by denying your intention to oneness. This is the meaning of *la ilaha,* then determine the form of *al-Haqq* (the Absolute Truth) in your mind. This is the meaning of *illa Allah.* If you do it continuously in maintaining secrecy by seeing Allah through all visions and prejudices, like a cat watching a mouse, then it is a state of guarding Allah's rights (f14v).

This stage is the path that a *salik* (traveler) must go through in order to achieve unity with Allah.

Discussion

The presence of *Miftah a-Mannan* as part of a manuscript containing the problematic doctrine of the unity of being (*wahdat al-wujud*) in Indonesia has been overlooked, despite the fact that this manuscript provides clues to the existence of the *wahdat al-wujud* doctrine outside Sumatra, where this doctrinal debate initially took place. The unity of being in *Miftah al-Mannan* highlights the existential unity between the servant and his Lord through the disappearance of the being of a *salik* (traveler) who has merged with God and will not see any other being except the being of God.

The disappearance of oneself in the power of God is influenced by the original concept of everything which is the manifestation of God. This concept of creation is

equated with the existence of a shadow that appears due to the existence of a being that has a shadow, so that the shadow is called a false being which reflects the Absolute Truth (*al-Haqq*). To achieve the unity of being, *Miftah al-Mannan* provides us with a practical path with three stages; *shari'ah* (the law)*, tariqah* (the path of purity)*,* and *haqiqah* (the truth). *Shari'ah* (the law) compliance is carried out by fulfilling all orders and leaving all prohibitions. The perfection of *shari'ah* requires a *salik* (traveler) to enter the stage of *tariqah* (the path of purity) with four mechanisms: dhikr, muwajahah (facing), and *muraqabah* (vigilance), and *mushahadah* (witnessing). *Dhikr* (remembrance) is a marker for Islamic mystics in achieving unity with God.[57] This stage encourages a *salik* (traveler) to enter the level of *haqiqah* (the truth) to unite with God. The problematic doctrines are found in *Miftah al-Mannan,* a private collection overlooked by many scholars.

The existence of *Miftah al-Mannan* in the academic sphere reinforced the sustainability of *wahdat al-wujud,* a controversial doctrine in the 17th century in Indonesia. Unity with God without distinguishing between *makhluq* and *khaliq* as a highlighted doctrine in *Miftah al-Mannan* is identical to the doctrines introduced by Hamzah al-Fansuri and Shams al-Din al-Sumatrani. This doctrine was challenged and neutralized in later times by emphasizing the separation between servant and God. Nur al-Din al-Raniri, who was heavily supported by the rulers of the Aceh sultanate, strongly went against this doctrine.

In a subsequent stage, this doctrine was re-introduced in Aceh by Sayf al-Rizal who replaced the position of al-Raniri as a religious advisor to the Acehnese kingdom. Nonetheless, the presence of this doctrine was later

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[57] Kenneth M. George, "Ethical Pleasure, Visual Dzikir, and Artistic Subjectivity in Contemporary Indonesia', *Material Religion: The Journal of Objects, Art and Belief* 4(2) (2008), 172–93, https://doi.org/10.2752/175183408X328299.

counteracted by Abd al-Ra'uf al-Singkeli, followed by
Muhammad Yusuf al-Maqassari, and Abd al-Samad al-
Palimbani. The doctrine brought about by al-Fansuri was
rediscovered in South Kalimantan by Haji Abd al-Hamid
who was opposed by Muhammad 'Arshad al-Banjari.[58] The
existence of the *wahdat al-wujud* doctrine in *Miftah al-
Mannan* denotes the widespread of the doctrine despite the
continuous endeavor to counter it in different times and
places.

The character of the unity of being in *Miftah al-
Mannan* marks the acceptability of this teaching in spite of
the fact that it also sparked considerable resistance among
the adherents of orthodox Islam in Indonesia, especially in
Java. The Javanese community had a much darker
experience with the same concept since the one who
brought about this doctrine, Sheikh Siti Jenar, who was
widely known as *manunggaling kawula-gusti* (the unity of
being) in the 16th century, was fiercely resisted and
executed, which resembled the execution of al-Hallaj in
Baghdad.[59] A similar account regarding the doctrine of the
unity of being which was written close to the time of *Miftah
al-Mannan* is found in *Serat Cabolek* which tells of Haji
Ahmad Mutamakkin, who lived during the reign of Paku
Buwana II (1726-1749) and Sunan Pangun, who taught the
unity of being and were also subjected to death penalty as
that experienced by Sheikh Siti Jenar.[60] These figures were
executed since they neglected *shari'ah* in the attempt to

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[58] Azra, *Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah*, 364.

[59] Ronit Ricci, "Shared Stories: Islamic Techings in Javanese Literature",
in *Religious Harmony: Problem, Practice, and Education*, ed.
Michael Pye et al. (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2006), 144.

[60] Soebardi, *The Book of Cabolek*, 41; Hamid Nasuhi, "Mystical
Discourse in Java in the 18th Century Narrated by the Book of
Cabolek', *Ilmu Ushuluddin* 8(1) (2021), 129–50,
https://doi.org/10.15408/IU.V8I1.23365.

achieve the level of *haqiqah* (unity of being)[61] and because they equated God with the servants.[62] Other beliefs outside the orthodox circles that are embraced by the adherents of *wujudiyah* were extremely persecuted, executed, and labeled as heterodox groups.

The heterodox Sufism doctrine appears in *Miftah al-Mannan* which comprehensively emphasizes the unity of being without distinguishing God from the servant. The presence of this doctrine in Javanese manuscripts reinforces Siraj's[63] notion on the influence of Hamzah al-Fansuri in several regions of Indonesia. The doctrine of the unity of being in *Miftah al-Mannan* with various stages and concepts of the emergence of nature in principle is closer to the *wahdat al-wujud* doctrine brought by Hamzah al-Fansuri. [64] This doctrine shares similarities with al-Fansuri's doctrine in *Sharab al-'Ashiqin*:

Miftah al-Mannan	Sharab al-'Ashiqin
فَاعْلَمْ أَنَّ اللَّهَ فَرَضَ مُتَابَعَةَ النَّبِيِّ قَوْلًا وَفِعْلًا بَاطِنًا أَوَّلًا ثُمَّ مُرَاقَبَةً وَحْدَةِ الْوُجُودِ ثَانِيًا لِحَدِيثِ بُعِثْتُ بِالشَّرِيعَةِ وَالْحَقِيقَةِ وَهُمَا مُتَلَازِمَانِ لِأَنَّ الشَّرِيعَةَ بِلاَ حَقِيقَةٍ عَاطِلَةٍ وَالْحَقِيقَةَ بِلاَ شَرِيعَةٍ بَاطِلَةٍ زَنْدِيقَةٍ. *(Know that Allah obliges us to follow the Prophet both in word and deed, first in the spiritual aspect then in the*	*Barangsiapa i'tiqadnya sabda Rasulullah tiada sungguh atau perbuatannya tiada benar, kafir – na'udhu bi'llahi minha – karena Nabi dijadikan Allah lebih daripada makhluk sekalian…barangsiapa tiada menurut fi'ilnya, ia itu naqis (kekurangan) dan sesat hukumnya, karena shari'at [dan tariqat] dan haqiqat*

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[61] Oman Fathurrahman, "Sejarah Pengkafiran dan Marginalisasi Paham Keagamaan di Melayu dan Jawa (Sebuah Telaah Sumber)", *Analisis: Jurnal Studi Keislaman* 11(2) (2011), 447–74, https://doi.org/10.24042/AJSK.V11I2.624.

[62] Al-Attas, *Comments on The Re-Examination of Al-Raniri's Hujjatu'l-Siddiq*, 54; Al-Attas, The Mysticism of Hamzah Fansuri", 47.

[63] Siraj, The Effect of Hamzah Fansuri's Mystical Thought, 205.

[64] Hadiwijono, *Kebatinan Islam Abad XVI*, 29.

supervision for the unity of being based on hadith: I was sent with shari'ah and haqiqah. Both are obligatory matters because shari'ah without haqiqah is corrupted, and haqiqah without shari'ah is vanity)

وَلَا يَتَّصِلَا إِلَى الْحَقِيقَةِ إِلَّا بِإِثْبَاتِ الشَّرِيعَةِ وَالطَّرِيقَةِ لِأَنَّ الشَّرِيعَةَ كَالتَّقْشِيرِ مِنَ الْجُزْءِ وَالطَّرِيقَةَ كَاللُّبِّ الصَّافِي وَالْحَقِيقَةَ كَالدِّهْنِ بِبَاطِنِ اللُّبِّ وَلَا يَتَوَصَّلُ إِلَى اللُّبِّ إِلَّا بِحَرَاقِ التَّقْشِيرِ وَلَا إِلَى الدِّهْنِ إِلَّا بِذَقِّ اللُّبِّ.

(And you will never reach the level of haqiqah unless you have implemented shari'ah and tariqa. Because shari'ah is like a shell of a nut, tariqa is the core of a pure heart, and haqiqah is a mind with a heart. Nothing will enter into someone's heart (lubb), unless it has pierced the skin and nothing will reach the mind unless it feels the heart (lubb).

*pakaian nabi….jika haqiqat tiada dengan shari'at, binasa.
(Whoever believes that the Prophet is not right and his actions are not right is considered as disbelievers - may Allah protect us from that - because Allah made the prophet the main human being... whoever does not follow his actions is poor and lawfully be labeled as astray, because the Shari'ah [and the tariqa] and haqiqah are the clothes of the prophet. Haqiqah without shari'ah will perish.*

Ketahuilah bahwa tariqah itu tiada lain daripada haqiqat, karena tariqat permulaan haqiqat [seperti shari'a permulaan tariqatpun.

(know that tariqah and haqiqah are no different, because tariqa is the start of haqiqah, just like shari'ah as the start of tariqah)

وَاتْرُكْ لَذَّاتِ الدُّنْيَا وَزِينَتِهَا فَإِنَّهَا قَدَرٌ فَإِنْ هَلَكَ فَلَا تَأْخُذْ شَيْئًا مِنْهَا إِلَّا بِقَدَرِ الزَّادِ لِلْآخِرَةِ.

(And leave the pleasures and adornments of this world, for they will surely be corrupted. And do not take them except for something that will increase the strength of the Hereafter)

Dan tarku al-dunya, yakni jangan menaruh arta dunya banyak, lebih daripada dimakan dan perkain.
(And leave the world, that is, do not put the world's treasures more than the need for food and clothing).

وَأَنْ تَنْظُرُهُ تَعَالَى فِي كُلِّ الْعَوَالِمِ مِنْ سَائِرِ صُورِهِ وَصَوْتِ وَجْهِ اللهِ لِأَنَّ ظَاهِرَ تِلْكَ الْأَشْيَاءِ لَا يَكُونُ إِلَّا ظَاهِرَ الْوُجُودِ الْمَنْصُوبِ بِأَحْكَامِ الْأَحَادِيَّةِ... لِأَنَّ وُجُودًا وَاحِدًا لَا تَعَدُّدَ لَهُ أَصْلًا.

(And you must see Allah in all nature, from all forms and sounds because in reality, nature comes from the laws of ahadiyah… because existence is one, not many at all)

Tatkala ia memandang di luar dirinya jua: jika dilihatnya barang dipandangnya, dirinya jua karena kepada ahl al-haqiqat alam dengan dirinya esa juga, tiada dua tiga
(When he looks outside himself, then what he sees is God, because nature and himself are one, instead of many)

Table 1. The Identity of *Miftah al-Mannan* and *Sharab al-'Ashiqin*

The presence of the doctrine of *wahdat al-wujud* indicates that *Miftah al-Mannan* was influenced by the teaching of Hamzah al-Fansuri in *Sharab al-'Ashiqin*.

The existence of *wujudiyyah* in *Miftah al-Mannan* also denotes the flourishing dynamics of the teaching of *wahdat al-wujud* in Java, which is not only related to Javanese mystical concepts that are dialectical with orthodox understanding. The teaching of *wujudiyah* of the unity of

being in Javanese mystical literature (*kejawen*) is identical to the concept *of manunggaling kawula gusti*, which emphasizes the unity of being with a strong influence of local culture. [65] Another identity is detected from the thought of Abd al-Muhyi Pamijahan, which resembles the teachings of the orthodox circles introduced by al-Singkili. [66] Another concept is recorded through the teachings of the seven dignities, which serve as the basic doctrines of the teachings of *wahdat al-wujud*[67] which is

[65] Mila I Rahmawati et al., "Serat Bayanullah: A Study of Raden Panji Natarata's Thoughts on Javanese Sufism through Classical Javanese Literature", *HTS Teologiese Studies / Theological Studies* 78(4) (2022), 9, https://doi.org/10.4102/HTS.V78I4.7239; Zulfan Taufik & Syafwan Rozi, "Perennialism and the Religious Common Platform of Mystical Tradition in Java", *Teosofia: Indonesian Journal of Islamic Mysticism* 10(2) (2021), 193–208, https://doi.org/10.21580/TOS.V10I2.8439; Dwi Afrianti, "Transformation of the Spread of the Manunggaling Kawula Lan Gusti Concept in Javanese Society from the 16th Century AD to the 21st Century AD", *International Journal of Islamic Khazanah* 9(1) (2019): 29–34, https://doi.org/10.15575/IJIK.V9I1.9018.

[66] Hamid & Yuda S, "Martabat Alam Tujuh Dalam Perspektif Syekh Abdul Muhyi Pamijahan," 33; Azra, *Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah*, 268.

[67] Fadli Rahman & Ahmad Dakhoir, "The Concept of 'Martabat Tujuh' Al-Burhanpuri (Study of the Creation of the Universe in the Perspective of Philosophical Sufism)", *International Journal of Multicultural and Multireligious Understanding* 8(7) (2021), 87–94, https://doi.org/10.18415/IJMMU.V8I7.2681; Wasino et al., "A Historical Perspective of Sufism Networking in Asia: From India to Indonesian Archipelago", *PalArch's Journal of Archaeology of Egypt/Egyptology* 17(3) (2020): 761–74, https://doi.org/10.48080/JAE.V17I3.169; Jajang A. Rohmana, "Diskursus Tasawuf Nusantara di Mekah: Respons Mukhtar 'Atarid Al-Bughuri Terhadap Ajaran Martabat Tujuh", *Jurnal Lektur Keagamaan* 19(1) (2021), 1–36, https://doi.org/10.31291/JLKA.V19I1.923; Darni Yusna, "The Interaction of Suluk/Khalwat and Local Culture", *Majalah Ilmiah Tabuah: Ta`limat, Budaya, Agama dan Humaniora* 24(1) (31 May 2020): 39–52, https://doi.org/10.37108/TABUAH.V24I1.275; Hamid, "Konsepsi Martabat Tujuh", 96; Syamsun Ni'am, "The

also used by the orthodox, heterodox, and Javanese
mystics. The specification of the unity of being by
eliminating other forms in the process of unification is
written in *Miftah al-Mannan* as revealed by researchers.
Miftah al-Mannan gives a complete description of the unity
of being and the practical steps for attaining that stage.
Strong resistance to this doctrine resulted in the
concealment of the manuscript from many circles. Yet, a
complete explanation of this doctrine in this manuscript is
clear evidence of the existence of a community that
constantly studies and practices the teachings of Hamzah
al-Fansuri's *wujudiyah* in Java.

The identity of *wahdat al-wujud* in *Miftah al-Mannan*
provides an overview of the religious doctrines taught at the
time the manuscript was written. Jingrong, who stated that
a manuscript could describe the socio-cultural conditions of
the people at the time,[68] provided reinforcement that the
manuscript understudy clearly highlighted the condition of
the Javanese at the time the manuscript was written. The
socio-religious situation portrayed in *Miftah al-Mannan*
leads to the spread and expansion of the doctrine of the
unity of being in Java. The spread of a controversial
doctrine in the Islamic faith is prone to rejection and
resistance. This condition is obviously depicted through the

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Maqamat in the Siraj al-Talibin of Shaykh Ihsan Jampes", *Al-
Jami'ah: Journal of Islamic Studies* 58(1) (2020), 1–34,
https://doi.org/10.14421/AJIS.2020.581.1-34.

[68] Li Jingrong, "The Nature and Function of the Ernian Luling
Manuscript Unearthed from Zhangjiashan Han Tomb No. 247',
Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies 82, no. 1 (1
February 2019): 143–58,
https://doi.org/10.1017/S0041977X18001507.

research of al-Attas,[69] Azra,[70] Ricci,[71] and Soerbandi[72] which insinuates various forms of resistance to the notion of the unity of being. Resistance to this manuscript is also seen from its concealment and the prohibition against the efforts to disseminate the manuscript. The ban on the distribution of *Miftah al-Mannan* had forced many groups to neglect it from the manuscript catalog, and thus, it was left unresearched. The introduction of the doctrine of the unity of being in *Miftah al-Mannan* provides an overview of the dynamics of the teachings and the resistance that led to the neglect of its existence.

Conclusion

The identity of the divine doctrine in the Javanese community, with its syncretic and orthodox tendency, is left unrevealed in this study. In fact, this study emphasizes the heterodox form of the unity of being with the strong influence of the controversial teachings of Hamzah al-Fansuri. The presence of al-Fansuri's doctrine in the manuscript understudy proves the expansion of this teaching in various regions in Indonesia, while the presence of al-Fansuri's doctrine in Java insinuates that the unity of being is not dominated by the syncretic Javanese mysticism (*kejawen*), which is equally controversial because it differs from the views of orthodox circles. The different identity between the unity of being of *kejawen* tendency and the narrative of Islamic Sufism introduced in *Miftah al-Mannan* is detected from the narrative of *dhikr* to achieve unity of being. In other words, the teachings in this manuscript are part of the *tariqah* teachings known in the Islamic tradition. The totality in the unity of being by eliminating other beings besides God, as recorded in *Miftah*

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[69] Al-Attas, *Comments on The Re-Examination of Al-Raniri's*, 24.

[70] Azra, *Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah*, 127.

[71] Ricci, Shared Stories: Islamic Techings in Javanese Literature, 142-143.

[72] Soebardi *The Book of Cabolèk*, 52-53.

al-Mannan, pinpoints a varied pattern of doctrine that differs from that brought about by the orthodox circles outside of the syncretic and *kejawen* tendencies.

Using content analysis, this research has discovered the fact that *Miftah al-Mannan* contains the concept of the unity of being according to al-Fansuri, as shown from the examination of several key words in the narrative that leads to the totality of unity of being with the absence of a being other than God. However, this research only revealed the character of the teachings in this manuscript without having a further examination and identification of the *tariqah* school adhered by the manuscript. Thus, further research is required to identify the *tariqah* school in this manuscript to find the author's affiliations so as to accurately detect the writing period of this manuscript as a way to appropriately investigate the real author of *Miftah al-Mannan.*

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