

An Introduction to the Intellectual Biography of ‘Abd al-Shakūr from the Sultanate of Banten

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Abstract

‘Abd al-Shakūr b. ‘Abd al-Karīm al-Bantanī was a prominent disciple of the renowned scholar Burhān al-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. Ḥasan al-Kūrānī. Despite his importance as a scholar and Sufi shaykh connected to the Shāṭṭārīyah order, ‘Abd al-Shakūr has received relatively little attention compared to other Jāwī students of al-Kūrānī. The research draws on a range of primary sources, including manuscripts copied by ‘Abd al-Shakūr himself or containing references to him, as well as secondary literature. Key findings include the establishment of ‘Abd al-Shakūr’s genealogical ties to the Banten royal family, his role as a scribe and disseminator of his teacher al-Kūrānī’s works, and his participation in the theological discourse of his time, particularly on the concept of *waḥdat al-wujūd* (the unity of existence). Additionally, the study explores ‘Abd al-Shakūr’s contribution to the spread of the Shāṭṭārīyah Sufi order in the Malay-Indonesian Archipelago, tracing its transmission from al-Kūrānī through ‘Abd al-Shakūr to his son ‘Abd al-Muḥyī al-Dīn and other disciples. The discovery of manuscripts documenting the Shāṭṭārīyah lineage in Jasinga, Bogor, and Mindanao in the Philippines, further highlights ‘Abd al-Shakūr’s significance as a pivotal figure in the dissemination of this Sufi tradition within the region.

Keywords: ‘Abd al-Shakūr al-Bantanī, Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī, Shāṭṭārīyah Order, Banten Sultanate, *Waḥdat al-Wujūd*

Introduction

This study aims to highlight the figure and contributions of ‘Abd al-Shakūr b. ‘Abd al-Karīm al-Bantanī (d. unknown), a prominent disciple of Medinan-Kurdish scholar, Burhān al-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. Ḥasan al-Kūrānī (d. 1690). ‘Abd al-Shakūr’s name can be found in several manuscripts of al-Kūrānī’s works, including *Kashf al-mastūr fī jawāb su’āl ‘Abd al-Shakūr* and a copy of *Qaṣd al-sabīl ilā tawḥīd al-ḥaqq al-wakīl*. He also transcribed several of al-Kūrānī’s books, such as the abovementioned *Qaṣd al-sabīl* which was written as *al-Ghāyat al-quṣwā* and *al-Maslak al-mukhtār fī ma’rifat al-ṣādir al-awwal wa-iḥdāth al-‘ālam bi-l-ikhtiyār*.

His role as a scholar and disciple of al-Kūrānī, as well as a significant figure in the Shāṭṭārīyah *ṭarīqah* (Sufi order) originating from the royal family of Banten, has gone relatively unnoticed. This contrasts with other Jāwī students of al-Kūrānī, such as Muḥammad Yūsuf al-Maqassārī (d. 1699), who also resided in Banten and became the son-in-law of Sultan Ab al-Faṭḥ ‘Abd al-Fattāḥ or Sultan Ageng Tirtayasa (d. 1692), and ‘Abd al-Ra’ūf b. ‘Alī al-Fanṣūrī al-Singkilī (d. 1693). Both are more widely recognized and discussed due to their extensive intellectual contributions and vast *ṭarīqah* networks in the Malay-Indonesian Archipelago.

‘Abd al-Shakūr was discussed by Voorhoeve (1980) in his *Handlist of Arabic Manuscripts*. This information was quoted and interpreted by Azra (2005), who referred to this figure as ‘Abd al-Shukūr al-Shāmī (of Greater Syria). According to Azra, it is highly likely that he was a student of al-Kūrānī who wrote *Ziyādah min ‘ibārāt al-mutaqaddimīn min ahl al-jāwī*. This work, like *Al-Tuḥfat al-mursalāh ilā rūḥ al-nabī* authored by Muḥammad b. Faḍl Allāh al-Burhānpūrī al-Hindī (d. 1620), discussed the issues of divine essence and unity. The name ‘Abd al-Shukūr also appeared in the lineage of the Shāṭṭārīyah *ṭarīqah* from ‘Abd al-Ra’ūf al-Singkilī. Azra suggests that this lineage was received by al-Singkilī from ‘Abd al-Shukūr, who in turn received it from al-Kūrānī, who obtained it from Ṣafī al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Dajānī al-Qushāshī (d. 1661).

This perspective is supported by Fathurrahman (2012), who adds more

specific information about the aforementioned work by ‘Abd al-Shukūr, which includes concepts of *wujūd maḥḍ* (pure existence) and *‘adam maḥḍ* (pure non-existence). He also emphasizes that ‘Abd al-Shukūr’s work is related to the intellectual activities of Southeast Asian Muslims in the Ḥaramayn, referred to in the text as *ahl al-jāwī*.

The name ‘Abd al-Shakūr al-Bantanī was also discovered by Umam (2016) in the paratext of the manuscript *Qaṣḍ al-sabīl fī al-tawḥīd al-ḥaqq al-wakīl* or *Al-Gḥāyat al-Quṣwā fī kalimat al-sawā wa-l-taqwā*, which contained al-Kūrānī’s commentary on *Al-Manzūma* by his teacher Ṣafī al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Dajānī al-Qushāshī (d. 1661). This manuscript is currently housed at the National Library of Indonesia, cataloged as MS A 125. Umam asserts that ‘Abd al-Shakūr al-Bantanī lived in the same generation as ‘Abd al-Ra’ūf al-Singkilī and posed several theological questions to al-Kūrānī, which were subsequently addressed by al-Kūrānī.

Dumairieh (2019) recognizes this figure as one of al-Kūrānī’s “other students,” referring to him as ‘Abd al-Shakūr al-Banītanī. Al-Kūrānī authored *Kashf al-mastūr fī jawāb su’āl ‘Abd al-Shakūr*, presumably in response to a request from his esteemed disciple, ‘Abd al-Shakūr. Additionally, a reading attributed to ‘Abd al-Shakūr can be found within the pages of another significant work, *Janāḥ al-najāḥ bi-l-‘awālī al-ṣiḥāḥ*. This manuscript is housed at the al-Aḥqāf Library, Yemen, under the number MS 132 Majāmi‘ (Dumairieh, 2019).

Peacock (2024) provides a more comprehensive account of ‘Abd al-Shakūr. He found that ‘Abd al-Shakūr was the grandson of Sultan Banten, Sultan Abū al-Mafākhir Maḥmūd ‘Abd al-Qādir (d. 1651), based on information from a copy of *Mashra‘ al-khuṣūṣ ilā ma‘nā al-nuṣūṣ* by ‘Alī b. Aḥmad al-Mahā’imī (d. 1431), which was copied by ‘Abd al-Shakūr’s son, ‘Abd al-Muḥyī al-Dīn. In that copy, ‘Abd al-Muḥyī al-Dīn wrote his full name as ‘Abd al-Muḥyī al-Dīn b. ‘Abd al-Shakūr b. ‘Abd al-Karīm b. Sultan Abū al-Mafākhir. This book was copied in 1729 and dedicated to Sultan Abū al-Maḥāsīn Muḥammad Zayn al-‘Ābidīn (d. 1733).

Various studies on ‘Abd al-Shakūr al-Bantanī affirm that he was a disciple of al-Kūrānī and transcribed several of his teacher's works and received an *ijāzah* (a certificate declaring that the student had achieved competency in a particular subject) from al-Kūrānī. Additionally, ‘Abd al-Shakūr was connected to other disciples of al-Kūrānī, such as ‘Abd al-Ra’ūf al-Singkilī and Yūsuf al-Maqāṣirī, and was part of the Banten royal court. This study is a historiographical research endeavor that seeks to delve deeper into ‘Abd al-Shakūr’s relationship with the Banten royal court and his contributions to scholarly networks and Islamic heritage, particularly the Shāṭṭārīyah *ṭarīqah*, in the Malay-Indonesian Archipelago.

This research is also supported by philology as an auxiliary tool to analyze primary sources in the form of ancient manuscripts copied by ‘Abd al-Shakūr or other related figures. The philological method will be employed to study these texts to reveal the historical context of the works. This research will also utilize various secondary sources, including texts and interviews, relevant to providing a more comprehensive understanding of the life and contributions of ‘Abd al-Shakūr.

Findings from this study indicate that ‘Abd al-Shakūr was linked to the Banten royal court and played a significant role in the theological discourse at court and in the spread of the Shāṭṭārīyah *ṭarīqah* in the Malay-Indonesian Archipelago. ‘Abd al-Shakūr not only acted as a scribe and disseminator of his teacher’s works but also served as a link between the centers of learning in the Middle East and the archipelago. His role in the spread of the Shāṭṭārīyah *ṭarīqah* in this region helped enrich and develop local intellectual and spiritual traditions.

‘Abd al-Shakūr, or ‘Abd al-Shukūr?

The debate around the rendering of ‘Abd al-Shakūr or ‘Abd al-Shukūr’s name reveals intriguing aspects of manuscript studies and historical interpretation. The pronunciation of this name in several manuscripts associated with him is sometimes found without diacritical marks. In others, meanwhile, it is written as ‘Abd Shukūr with a *ḍammah* diacritic, as evident in the manuscript of the Shāṭṭārīyah lineage from Jasinga,

which will be discussed later, and as also can be found at his burial complex in Kasunyatan, Banten.

The presence of diacritical marks in manuscripts underscores the importance of correct pronunciation and textual accuracy in the Islamic scriptural tradition. Despite the clear differences in text and pronunciation, both ‘Abd al-Shakūr and ‘Abd Shukūr are plausible readings, each potentially reflecting a variant transliteration or local pronunciation. Moreover, the absence of diacritical marks in certain manuscripts adds another layer of complexity to interpretation. Without diacritical marks to indicate the correct pronunciation, the name could be interpreted as ‘Abd al-Shakūr or ‘Abd al-Shukūr, allowing for multiple readings and interpretations. This ambiguity highlights the inherent challenges in historical research, particularly when dealing with ancient manuscripts and textual sources. The reference to ‘Abd al-Shakūr with a *fathah* diacritic on the letter “*shīn*” appears in the catalog written by Voorhoeve (1980). The use of the reading ‘Abd al-Shakūr to identify the same person, with the explanation that he was a student of al-Kūrānī, is written as ‘Abd aś-Śakūr ‘Alī as-Sāmi‘ (عبد الشكور علي السامع) (Voorhoeve, 1980).

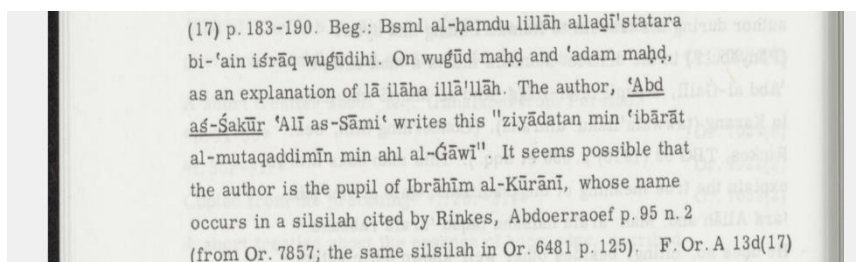


Figure 1. Voorhoeve converts the name Abd al-Shakur as ‘Abd aś-Śakūr ‘Alī as-Sāmi‘ into Latin letters. p. 462

If we investigate the nuances of transliteration found in Voorhoeve’s works, the interpretation of the surname al-Sāmi‘ (السامع) as ‘Alī al-Sāmi‘, which very likely means “the listener or student (to the teachings of al-Kūrānī)”, seems more accurate than other alternatives, such as al-Shāmī (الشامي), which means “of Greater Syria”. This difference arises from

variations in the transliteration of certain letters. For example, the letter ش in ‘Abd aś-Śakūr is depicted as ś with a diagonal line above it, while in al-Sāmi ‘, the letter s is presented without any additional mark, indicating that it represents س. Furthermore, the consistent use of an apostrophe at the beginning of the word ‘Abd and at the end of the word al-Sāmi ‘ indicates the inclusion of the letter ‘Ayn (ع) in the word. Consequently, the transliteration ‘Abd aś-Śakūr ‘Alī al-Sāmi ‘ corresponds to عبد الشكور علي السامع. It is crucial to distinguish this name from any references to the region of al-Shām or present-day Syria.

To avoid potential confusion, this article opts to use the name ‘Abd al-Shakūr, as it holds more relevance. However, on certain occasions, use of ‘Abd al-Shukūr is also employed to indicate the variant used by the sources being discussed. This decision stems from the fact that the term ‘Abd, which means “servant,” is often paired with the names of God. Moreover, al-Shakūr (with a *fathah* diacritic on the letter *shīn*) is one of the *asmā’ al-ḥusnā* (the most beautiful names of God), meaning “the Grateful” (Munawwir & Fairuz, 2007). In contrast, the reading ‘*al-Shukūr*’ is a variant of the verb *shakara yashkuru* in the form of an abstract noun (*maṣdar ghayr mīm*) along with its other forms, namely ‘*shukr*’ and ‘*shukran*,’ which mean “thankfulness” or “gratitude” (Munawwir & Fairuz, 2007). Therefore, based on this analysis, the term that more accurately describes this individual is ‘Abd al-Shakūr. Nonetheless, ‘Abd al-Shukūr is also commonly used as a personal name.

The Lineage of ‘Abd al-Shakūr al-Bantani

The manuscript coded MS Or. 5675, housed in the Leiden University Library, provides crucial information to identify the figure of ‘Abd al-Shakūr al-Bantani. This manuscript is a copy of the work *Mashra’ al-khuṣuṣ ilā ma ‘nā al-nuṣuṣ* by al-Mahā’ imī. The scribe of this manuscript, ‘Abd al-Muḥyī al-Dīn, is the son of ‘Abd al-Shakūr ibn ‘Abd al-Karīm, and ‘Abd al-Shakūr is identified as a disciple of al-Kūrānī (Peacock, 2024). ‘Abd al-Muḥyī al-Dīn wrote his name at the end of this manuscript as ‘Abd al-Muḥyī al-Dīn ibn ‘Abd al-Shakūr ibn ‘Abd al-Karīm ibn Sultan Abū al-Mafākhir. Thus, it becomes clear that ‘Abd al-Shakūr ibn ‘Abd al-

Karīm was the grandson of Sultan Banten, Sultan Abū al-Mafākhir Maḥmūd ‘Abd al-Qādir.

It is noteworthy that ‘Abd al-Shakūr himself never mentioned his connection to the royal family of the Banten Sultanate. Information about this connection comes from his son through the copy he produced, as previously discussed (Peacock, 2024). It appears that ‘Abd al-Shakūr chose the life of a scholar over a political life associated with the royal family.

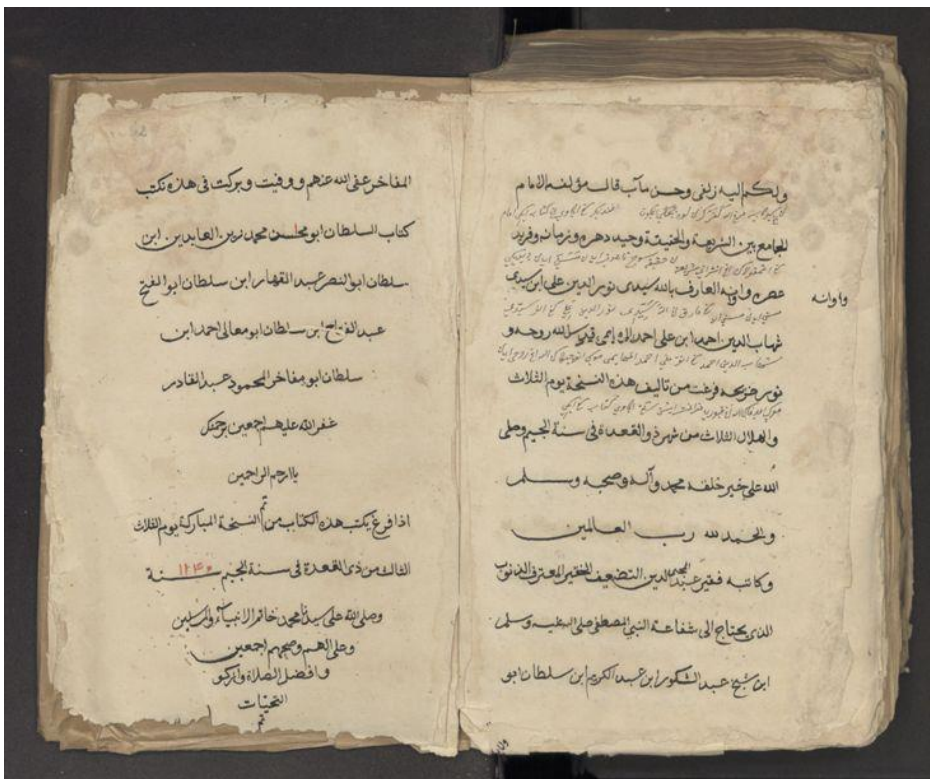


Figure 2. Al-Mahā' imī's work, *Mashra' al-khuṣūṣ ila mā 'nā al-nuṣūṣ*, was copied by Abd al-Muḥyi al-Din ibn 'Abd al-Shakūr ibn 'Abd al-Karīm ibn al-Sulṭān Abu al-Mafākhir in the year 1142 AH (1729 CE). This manuscript is held at Leiden University Library under the catalog number MS Or. 5675.

Based on an interview with Tubagus M Nur Fadhil, the Custodian of the

Customs of the Sultanate of Banten (*Pemangku Adat Kesultanan Banten*) and Chairman of the Banten Sultanate Historical Association (*Rabithah Babad Kesultanan Banten*), there were two individuals named ‘Abd al-Shakūr in the Sultanate of Banten during the 17th to 18th centuries: first ‘Abd al-Shakūr Sepuh (the elder); and, second, ‘Abd al-Shakūr Anom (the younger). Both were buried in the Kasunyatan Mosque cemetery complex located in Kasunyatan Village, Kasemen District, Serang Regency, Banten Province. Their names are pronounced as ‘Abd al-Syukūr in the complex.

In the tradition of the Sultanate royal family, ‘Abd al-Shakūr ibn ‘Abd al-Karīm, also known as ‘Abd al-Syukūr Sepuh, was named Ratu Bagus Suta ibn Pangeran Aria Manduraraja II ibn Sultan Abū al-Mafākhir Maḥmūd ‘Abd al-Qādir. Meanwhile, ‘Abd al-Syukūr Anom was named Pangeran ‘Abd al-Syukūr ibn Pangeran Aria Kidul ibn Wakil Sultan Abū al-Ma‘ālī Aḥmad Raḥmatullāh. Sultan Abū al-Ma‘ālī (d. 1650) was the son of Sultan Abū al-Mafākhir, which means he was the brother of Pangeran Manduraraja II (‘Abd al-Karīm). Thus, ‘Abd al-Shakūr ibn ‘Abd al-Karīm (‘Abd al-Syukūr Sepuh) was the uncle of ‘Abd al-Shakūr ibn Pangeran Aria Kidul (‘Abd al-Syukūr Anom) (Tb. Fadhil, personal communication, May 26, 2024).

The genealogy is found in “The Collection of the Genealogy of His Majesty the Sultan of Banten” (*Kumpulan Silsilah Keturunan Sinuhun Kesultanan Banten*), on page 8 (unpublished). This text was written by Mas

Kanduruhan Muhammad Isa Mangundikaria and is in the collection of Tb. Fadhil, Banten. On the cover, there is a note stating, *"dikutip dari Kumpulan Sejarah Banten yang belum sempat diterbitkan peninggalan almarhum Mas Kanduruhan Muhammad Isa Mangundikaria, ditulis kembali dengan harapan untuk dilengkapi oleh Raden Haji Muhammad Taufiq Djajadiningrat, ditambahkan dan dilengkapi oleh Drs. Tubagus Djodi Rawayan Antawidjaja."* The translation of this is: "extracted from the unpublished Collection of Banten History, a legacy of the late Mas Kanduruhan Muhammad Isa Mangundikaria, reproduced with the hope of being completed by Raden Haji Muhammad Taufiq Djajadiningrat, added to and completed by Drs. Tubagus Djodi Rawayan Antawidjaja.

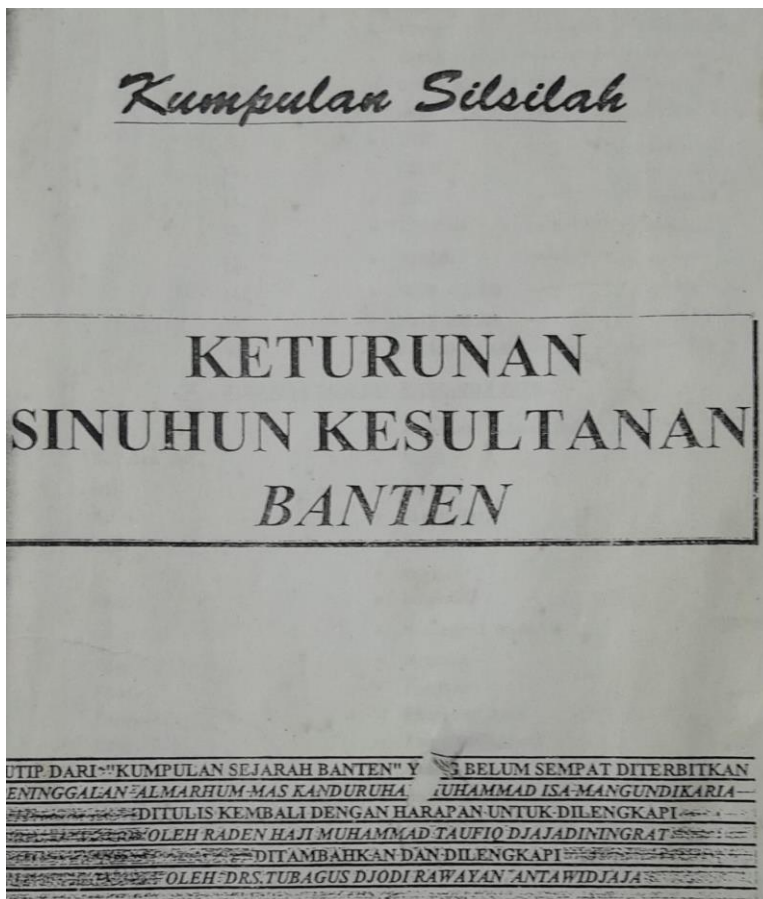


Figure 4. Cover of *Kumpulan Silsilah Keturunan Sinuhun Kesultanan Banten*. No year of writing specified.

Sultan Abū al-Mafākhir was recorded as having 39 children (Djajadiningrat, 1983), and Pangeran Aria Manduraraja II, also known as ‘Abd al-Karīm, the father of ‘Abd al-Shakūr, was his 10th child. Pangeran Aria Manduraraja II served as Mangkubumi, succeeding Pangeran Upapatih or Pangeran Gabang in the 1650s (Guillot, 2008), specifically in 1651 (Djajadiningrat, 1983), assisting the leadership of Sultan Abū al-Fath ‘Abd al-Fattāḥ, also known as Sultan Agung Tirtayasa, his nephew. Mangkubumi was the title of the prime minister responsible for all affairs within the palace or all matters concerning the nobility (Guillot, 2008). ‘Abd al-Karīm ibn Sultan Abū al-Mafākhir bore the name Pangeran Aria Manduraraja II because there was a predecessor with the same name, Pangeran Manduraraja I, who was the son of Sultan Maulānā Yūsuf, the second Sultan of Banten (Michrob & Chudari, 1993; Fadhil, 2024).

‘Abd al-Shakūr was the second child of ‘Abd al-Karīm. Sequentially, the sons of ‘Abd al-Karīm or Pangeran Aria Manduraraja II are as follows:

1. Ratu Bagus Surya Diraja
2. Ratu Bagus Suta (Abd al-Shakur)
3. Ratu Bagus Jayataruna
4. Ratu Dewi
5. Pangeran Mandura
6. Ratu Bagus Cuyin
7. Ratu Bagus Abdulfasut
8. Ratu Jumanten
9. Ratu Bagus Mahmud
10. Ratu Rahmah
11. Ratu Bagus Ahmad
12. Ratu Habibah

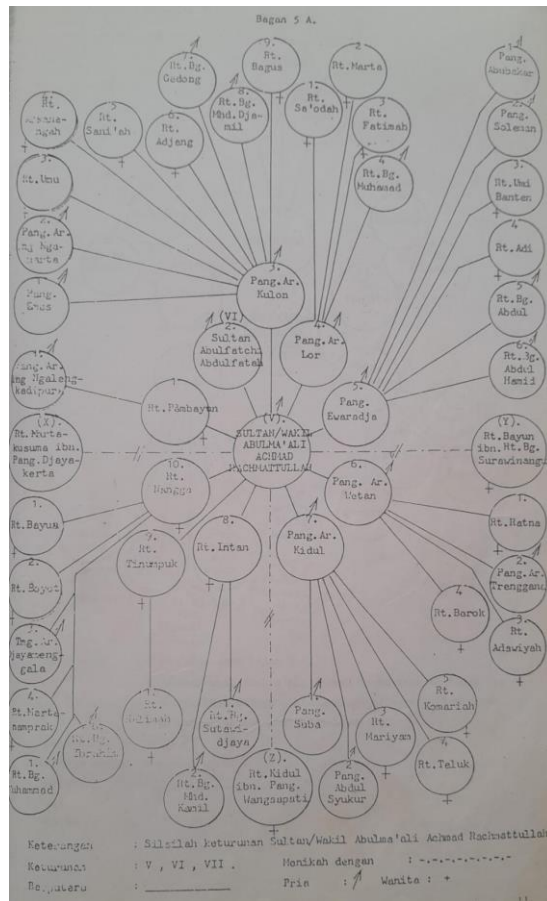


Figure 4. The genealogy of Abdul Syukur Anom is written under his official name in the Sultanate of Banten, Pangeran Abd Syukur ibn Pangeran Aria Kidul ibn Sultan Abul Ma'ali Achmad Rachmatullah (Sultan of Banten V). Source: *Kumpulan Silsilah Keturutnan Sinuhun Kesultanan Banten*, p. 11.

‘Abd al-Syukūr Anom had a close familial relationship with Pangeran Surya, also known as Sultan Abū al-Fath ‘Abd al-Fattāḥ or Sultan Agung Tirtayasa. The father of ‘Abd al-Syukūr Anom, Pangeran Aria Kidul, was the brother of Sultan Agung Tirtayasa, both of whom were the children of Abū al-Ma‘ālī Aḥmad Raḥmatullāh. Thus, ‘Abd al-Syukūr Anom was the nephew of Sultan Agung Tirtayasa. Meanwhile, ‘Abd al-Shakūr ibn ‘Abd al-Karīm, also known as ‘Abd al-Syukūr Sepuh, was cousins with Sultan Agung Tirtayasa, and was simultaneously the uncle of ‘Abd al-Syukūr

Anom.

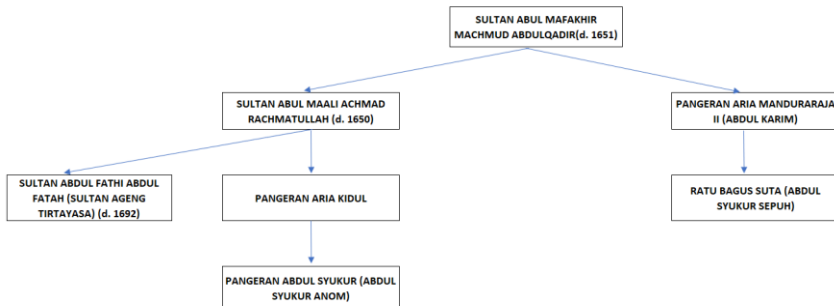


Figure 5. The familial ties between ‘Abd al-Shakūr ibn ‘Abd al-Karīm (‘Abd al-Syukūr Sepuh) with ‘Abd al-Syukūr Anom and Sultan Ageng Tirtayasa.

The Relationship of ‘Abd al-Shakūr al-Bantani and the Banten Sultanate

The Banten Sultanate undoubtedly played a significant role in the transmission of theological knowledge and became a vital node in the network of Jawi ulama (Azra, 2005). Geographically, this region was part of *baldah al-Jāwah* (the land of *Jāwah*), a term that encompassed several areas in Southeast Asia. The earliest indications of use of the term *Jāwah* or *jāwī* (the people of *Jāwah*) was highlighted by a Sufi named ‘Abdallāh ibn As‘ad al-Yāfi‘ī (1298-1367). In the fourteenth century, al-Yāfi‘ī was initiated into the Qadiriyyah order by a person named Mas‘ūd al-Jāwī (Laffan et al., 2015). The term *al-jāwī* has been used since the 13th century to refer to Muslims from the Malay-Nusantara region (now Southeast Asia), including Java, Sumatra, Sunda, the Malay Peninsula, Patani (Southern Thailand), and the Southern Philippines (Fathurrahman, 2012). They were sometimes referred to as *aṣḥāb al-jāwiyyīn*, and *jamā‘at al-jāwiyyīn* (Fathurrahman, 2012). Meanwhile, in the Voorhoeve catalog, the term for this community was *ahl al-jāwī* (Voorhoeve, 1980).

Discussing the *Jāwīs* is essential to illustrate the position of the Banten Sultanate within this network. This term is key to linking the sultanate and ‘Abd al-Shakūr al-Bantani in the theological discourse through the shared connection of al-Kūrānī. Al-Kūrānī specifically wrote several works

addressing theological issues discussed by the Jāwī people, including: *Ithāf al-dhakī bi-sharḥ al-Tuhfah al-mursalah ilā rūḥ al-nabī*, *Al-Jawābat al-gharrāwiyyah ‘an masā’il al-jāwiyyah al-juhriyyah*, and *Kashf al-mastūr fī jawāb su’āl ‘Abd al-Shakūr*. Among these works, the latter is directly related to ‘Abd al-Shakūr, as it is al-Kūrānī’s response to the questions posed by his student (Azra, 2005; Fathurrahman, 2012).

The diplomatic relationship between the Banten Sultanate and the Haramayn can be traced back to 1633/1634 (Gani, 2020) when the Sultan of Banten sent envoys to Sultan Sharīf Zayd ibn Muḥsin, the ruler of Mecca (Peacock, 2024), to inquire about the polemics between Hamzah al-Fansūrī and Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī in Aceh and to request explanations regarding three books on the reception of Ibn ‘Arabī’s doctrine: *Markum* (very likely *Al-Mukhtaṣar al-marqūm* by an unknown Sufi author), *Muntahī* (of Hamzah Fansuri), and *Wujūdiyyah* (Djajadiningrat, 1983; Ali, 2019). The envoys sent were Wangsaraja (Raden Aria Wangsakara), Lebe Panji, and Raden Aria Jayasantika (Demang Tisnajaya), the brother of Pangeran Aria Manduraraja II (‘Abd al-Karīm). Accompanying them was Pangeran Pekik, the crown prince, representing his father and performing the Hajj pilgrimage (Djajadiningrat, 1983; Gani, 2020). From this visit, in 1638, the Banten envoys brought back several heirlooms and titles for the Sultan of Banten, namely Sultan Abū al-Mafākhīr Maḥmūd ‘Abd al-Kadir, and for Pangeran Pekik the title Abū al-Ma’ālī Aḥmad. Sharīf Zayd also bestowed the title of Sultan to the kings of Mataram and Makassar through Banten (Djajadiningrat, 1983).

The Sultan of Banten’s hope that scholars from Mecca would visit him never materialized. However, Sharīf Zayd instructed a prominent Meccan scholar named Muḥammad ‘Alī ibn Muḥammad ‘Allān ibn Ibrāhīm al-Bakrī al-Ṣiddīqī, known as Ibn ‘Allān (d. 1648), to write a book dedicated to Sultan Abū al-Mafākhīr, titled *Ghaws al-biḥār al-ẓāhirah* (National Library of Jakarta collection, MS A 29) and *al-Mawāhib al-rabbāniyya ‘an al-as’ilah al-jāwiyyah* (MS A 105, held at the National Library of Jakarta). *Ghaws al-biḥār* is Ibn ‘Allān’s work attributed to Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad al-Ṭūsī al-Ghazālī (d. 1111). This book comments on al-Ghazālī’s work, *al-Durrah al-fākhira*. Meanwhile, *al-Mawāhib* includes

sections commenting on al-Ghazālī's *Nasīḥat al-mulūk*. This book is divided into 10 chapters to answer Sultan Abū al-Mafākhir's questions. The main discussion of *al-Mawāhib* revolves around the relationship between governance (*siyāsah*) and law (*sharī'ah*), and the role of the sultan as judge and interpreter of laws (*mujtahid*) (Peacock, 2024).

The second visit to Mecca took place when Sultan Abū al-Mafākhir died at the age of 58 in 1651. At that time, his son Abū al-Ma'ālī had died earlier in 1650, so the sultanate passed to Abū al-Ma'ālī's son, or Abū al-Mafākhir's grandson, Pangeran Surya or Pangeran Dipati (Sultan Agung Tirtayasa), who was then given the title Pangeran Ratu. Pangeran Aria Manduraraja II, also known as 'Abd al-Karīm, the father of 'Abd al-Shakūr, was appointed as Mangkubumi. Pangeran Manduraraja II sent Santri Betot and seven others to Mecca to announce the death of Abū al-Mafākhir and the transition of leadership in the Banten Sultanate to his grandson. Upon their return, the Sultan of Mecca conferred the title Sultan Abū al-Faṭḥ 'Abd al-Fattāḥ on Pangeran Ratu (Djajadiningrat, 1983).

It is important to note that Sultan Abū al-Mafākhir lived for 58 years (1596-1651) (Djajadiningrat, 1983). After his death, his grandson, Sultan Abū al-Faṭḥ 'Abd al-Fattāḥ or Sultan Agung Tirtayasa, assumed the throne in 1651, because Abū al-Ma'ālī, the crown prince and father of Abū al-Faṭḥ, died a year earlier in 1650. Abū al-Faṭḥ ascended to the throne as an adult, as, shortly after his appointment, he had a son who later passed away (Djajadiningrat, 1983). Unfortunately, there are no records explicitly mentioning the birth year of Abū al-Faṭḥ and his father. However, considering the lifespan of Abū al-Mafākhir and the events surrounding Abū al-Faṭḥ's appointment, it seems likely that both Abū al-Ma'ālī and his son Abū al-Faṭḥ married and had children at a relatively young age, around their late teens or early twenties. It should also be noted that Abū al-Mafākhir had 39 children from several wives, so it is possible that he had more than one child in a year.

Pangeran Aria Manduraraja II or 'Abd al-Karīm, the father of 'Abd al-Shakūr, was the 10th child of Abū al-Mafākhir. There is no record of his

birth date. However, considering the above pattern, it can be estimated that he was born when Abū al-Mafākhir was between 25-30 years old (1621-1626) or possibly even younger. Based on this, a rough estimate places the birth of ‘Abd al-Shakūr, who was the second child of ‘Abd al-Karīm, at around the 1640s. This estimate is reasonable considering his productive period of study in Medina and his correspondence with al-Kūrānī, which took place between 1669-1678, as will be explained in the next section. On the other hand, the year of ‘Abd al-Shakūr's death is still difficult to estimate. The copy of *Mashra‘ al-khuṣūṣ* written by his son, ‘Abd al-Muḥyi al-Dīn in 1729, did not indicate whether his father was still alive or had passed away.

The Contribution of ‘Abd al-Shakūr al-Bantani to the Discourse on *Waḥdat al-Wujūd* and the Spread of the Shāṭṭārīyah Order from West Java to Mindanao

‘Abd al-Shakūr al-Bantani dedicated himself to studying in Arabia under Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī, a prominent scholar of *waḥdat al-wujūd* (“the unity of existence”) during this time. He was a scholar who engaged in advanced studies of Sufism, reading and copying treatises on *waḥdat al-wujūd*. After obtaining an *ijāzah* and books from his teacher, he returned to Java, and his manuscripts were incorporated into the sultanate's library. Although he did not mention his royal lineage, the presence of his manuscripts indicates he maintained royal connections while pursuing an academic life (Peacock, 2024). ‘Abd al-Shakūr was likely a student of Yūsuf al-Maqāṣirī before traveling to Arabia to study with al-Kūrānī. Yūsuf al-Maqāṣirī may have recommended ‘Abd al-Shakūr to study with the Kurdish teacher. Like al-Maqāṣirī, textual evidence suggests that ‘Abd al-Shakūr's primary interest was in rational theology (Umam, 2021).

The following table lists the books connected to ‘Abd al-Shakūr, including his own works, the works of his teacher that he copied, or other copied works that mention his name:

No.	Book Title	Code	Original Author	Collection Location	Year of Copying	Discussion
1	al-Ghāya al-Quswā fi Kalimat al-Sawā' wa-l-Taqwā wasamayru a'dan Qasd al-Sabil ilā Tawhīd al-Haqq al-Wakil	A 135	Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī	National Library of Jakarta	1669	Copied by 'Abd al-Shakūr, and received ijāzah from al-Kūrānī for reading this book.
2	Mishkāt al-Masābiḥ	A 26	Muhammad Ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Khatīb al-Tabrizī (d. 1340)	National Library of Jakarta	1670-1	This copy was bought by 'Abd al-Shakūr from Hasan b. Muḥammad al-Kūrānī in Madīnah. He then brought it back to Banten
3	al-Ghāya al-Quswā	A 125 p. 1	Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī	National Library of Jakarta	1673	'Abd al-Shakūr began reading this book. Inherited by 'Abd al-Muḥyī al-Dīn
4	al-Maslak al-Mukhtār fi Ma rifat al-Sādir al-Awwal wa-lḥdāth al-Ālam bi-lkhtiyār	A 125 fol. 1a	Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī	National Library of Jakarta	1673	al-Kūrānī also granted ijāzah for this book to 'Abd al-Shakūr.
5	Treatise al-Arba 'un al-'Awālī	A 29 p. 79	Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī	National Library of Jakarta	1674	al-Kūrānī also granted ijāzah for this book to 'Abd al-Shakūr.
6	Masālik al-Abrār ilā Ahādith al-Nabī al-Mukhtār	A 29 p. 80	'Abd al-Ra'ūf b. Taj al-Ārifin al-Murāwī (d. 1621)	National Library of Jakarta	1674	al-Kūrānī also granted ijāzah for this book to 'Abd al-Shakūr.
7	Sharḥ al-'Aqida al-Sughrā	A 44 p. 255-6	Muhammad Ibn Yūsuf al-Sanūsī (d. 1490)	National Library of Jakarta	1674	al-Kūrānī also granted ijāzah for this book to 'Abd al-Shakūr.
8	Kasf al-Mastūr fi Jawāb 'Abd al-Shakūr	Majāmi' 132; MS Hamidiye, 1440, fol. 30b-31a	Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī	Al-Aḥqāf Library, Tānīm, Yemen; Süleymaniye Library, Istanbul	1678	This treatise is al-Kūrānī's response to 'Abd al-Shakūr's questions on the topic of a ḡayb ṭabī'a.
9	Mashra' al-Khusūs ilā Ma'nā al-Musūs	MS Or 5675	'Alī Ibn Ahmad al-Mahā'ini (d. 1431)	Leiden University Library	1729	This book was copied by 'Abd al-Muḥyī al-Dīn bin 'Abd al-Shakūr
10	Janāḥ al-Najāḥ bi-l-'Awālī al-Shāḥ	Majāmi' 132	Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī	Al-Aḥqāf Library, Tānīm, Yemen	unknown	There is a note indicating it was read by 'Abd al-Shakūr.
11	Ziyādatan min 'Ibārat al-Mutaqaddimīn min Ahl al-Jawī	F. Or. A13d p.183-190	'Abd al-Shakūr al-Bantānī	Collection of Muhammad Sa'īd in Mirindanao, Philippines	unknown	Discusses the issues of divine essence and unity
12	Shāṭṭariyya Lineage	MS B1-Ms4	'Abd al-Mu'min Ibn Shihāb al-Dīn	Collection of Mustoppa, Bogor, Indonesia	unknown	Wrote in Arabic and Malayu
13	Shāṭṭariyya Lineage	MS BM1	Unknown (probably Mas Ilim, Jasinga, Bogor)	Collection of Mustoppa, Bogor, Indonesia	unknown	Wrote in Arabic and Javanese

Table 1. This manuscript list is mostly derived from Peacock (2024), and other information, such as Voorhove (1980), and Dumairieh (2018). I obtained a digital file of *Kashf al-mastūr fi jawāb ‘Abd al-Shakūr*, codex MS Hamidiye, 1440, fols. 30b–31a from the Süleymaniye Library, Istanbul, which was gifted to

me by Dr. Zacky Khairul Umam (Freie Universitaet Berlin).

‘Abd al-Shakūr’s enthusiasm for theological discourse, particularly the concept of *waḥdat al-wujūd*, as seen in several literary works by his teacher that he read and copied, or those written in response to ‘Abd al-Shakūr’s questions on the subject, as well as the book he wrote himself as mentioned by Voorhoeve, cannot be separated from the socio-religious context of that time. The introduction to *Ithāf al-dhākī*, al-Kūrānī revealed the background to his writing of the book. Al-Kūrānī highlighted that the *jamā‘at al-jāwiyyīn* (community of Jāwī people) had disseminated books on the knowledge of reality and Sufism without understanding the *sharī‘ah* of the Prophet Muḥammad or the knowledge of reality given to those following the path of God. As a result, some of them had deviated from the true path, corrupting their beliefs, even falling into disbelief and becoming misguided (Fathurrahman, 2012). The socio-religious context of the Jāwī people is also recorded in a statement by one of al-Kūrānī’s students, Muṣṭafā ibn Faṭḥ Allāh al-Ḥamawī (d. 1712) in his work *Fawā‘id al-irtihāl wa-natā‘ij al-safar*. Al-Ḥamawī reveals that al-Kūrānī stated that the Jāwī people had studied *Al-Tuḥfat al-mursalāh* by Muḥammad Faḍl Allāh al-Burhānpūrī. This book was very popular among the Jāwīs, and was even studied in madrasas as part of their basic education (Azra, 2005).

‘Abd al-Shakūr studied this discipline with al-Kūrānī in Medina, specifically at al-Zāwiyyah al-Qushāshīyah, an institution for Sufi education founded by Aḥmad al-Qushāshī (d. 1660) (Umam, 2016), where ‘Abd al-Shakūr also received the Shāṭṭāriyyah order’s *ijāzah* from al-Kūrānī. Al-Qushāshī was al-Kūrānī’s teacher who also passed down the Shāṭṭāriyyah order’s *ijāza* to him. According to Ibn Baṭṭūṭah, a *zāwīyah* is a place where scholars and cultural figures gather to practice Sufism (Trimingham, 1971).

The Shāṭṭāriyya is a notable Sufi order that emerged in India. It is believed to be connected to the Tayfūrī tradition through a descendant of Shihāb al-Dīn al-Suhrawardī named ‘Abd Allāh Shāṭṭār (d. 1428/9). Sent to India by his spiritual guide Muḥammad ‘Ārif, ‘Abd Allāh Shāṭṭār initially settled in Jaunpur and later moved to Mandu. The Shāṭṭāriyyah order flourished through the efforts of Shāṭṭār’s disciples, particularly Muḥammad ‘Alā’ ,

also known as Qāzān Shāṭṭār. It reached its full development under Shāh Muḥammad Ghawth of Gwalior (d. 1562/3), who established the order's distinct identity. Shāh Wajīh al-Dīn (d. 1609), a successor of Ghawth, was a prolific author and revered saint in Gujarat, further cementing the order's influence. Though it shares historical connections with the Suhrawardiyyah, the Shāṭṭāriyyah considers itself a unique *ṭarīqah*, characterized by its own spiritual lineage and practices. Known as the *ʿIshqiyya* in Iran and Turan, and the *Bistāmiyyah* in Ottoman Turkey, the Shāṭṭāriyyah has made significant contributions to the spread of Sufism across several regions (Trimingham, 1971).

Al-Qushāshī was introduced to the Shāṭṭāriyyah order by Abū al-Mawāhib al-Shinnāwī (d. 1619). This order, originating from India, was initially believed to violate the rules of the *sharīʿah*. However, al-Qushāshī later reoriented the order to emphasize the importance of adhering to Islamic legal doctrine. According to him, the exoteric (legal; *sharīʿah*) and esoteric (mystical; *ḥaqīqah*) aspects of Islam must be aligned. Citing *Mīzān al-kubrā* from al-Shaʿrānī, he emphasized that adherence to the *sharīʿah* is the foundation for the doctrines and practices of *ḥaqīqah*. Therefore, mystics must comply with all *sharīʿa* doctrines before hoping to gain divine trust (Azra, 2005).

Similarly, al-Kūrānī, like his teacher al-Qushāshī, emphasized that the reconciliation of *sharīʿah* and Sufism should not be taken lightly. Al-Kūrānī had extensive knowledge of various intellectual discourses, from the Muʿtazilites and Ashʿarites to the philosophical mysticism of Ibn ʿArabī and the philosophies of Plato and Aristotle. His method of conveying knowledge was always conciliatory and inclusive. Besides emphasizing adherence to the *sharīʿah*, he also advocated for the recognition of *kashf* (the unveiling of divine truths) as the correct path to understanding the inner meanings of the Qurʾan and ḥadīth (Azra, 2005).

In the late seventeenth century, ʿAbd al-Raʿūf ibn ʿAlī of Singkel introduced the Shāṭṭāriyyah to Aceh from Mecca, not India, becoming a revered regional saint. This period also saw Arab settlers from Hadramawt bringing their own Sufi orders to Indonesia, enriching the local Islamic

culture. The early sixteenth-century Islamization of Java is linked to the *Wali Sanga* (Nine Saints), who emphasized mystical knowledge and initiated a transformative era in Indonesian religious life (Trimingham, 1971).

At the same time, ‘Abd al-Shakūr also passed down the Shāṭṭāriyya order’s *ijāzah* to his son, ‘Abd al-Muḥyī al-Dīn, and others as will be discussed in another section later. The spread of the Shāṭṭāriyya order in the Malay-Indonesian Archipelago was dominated by al-Kūrānī’s students, namely ‘Abd al-Ra’ūf al-Singkilī and Yūsuf al-Maqāṣirī, who both received the Shāṭṭāriyyah *ijāzah* from al-Kūrānī (Voorhoeve, 1980; Azra, 2002). However, in the case of Yūsuf al-Maqāṣirī, he is better known as a proponent of the Naqshbandiyyah and Khalwatiyyah orders in South Sulawesi (Mulyati et al., 2004).

The Shāṭṭāriyyah order through ‘Abd al-Ra’ūf al-Singkilī in Aceh, Sumatra, reached Java via his student, ‘Abd al-Muḥyī (d. 1715) from Karang, Pamijahan, and spread throughout West Java. In Dutch records, ‘Abd al-Muḥyī is known as Shaykh Ḥājj from Karang, a friend of Yūsuf al-Maqāṣirī (Christomy, 2008). Interestingly, several manuscripts indicate that the Shāṭṭāriyyah *ijāzah* received by ‘Abd al-Muḥyī from ‘Abd al-Ra’ūf originated from al-Qushāshī, not al-Kūrānī, as seen in the Shāṭṭāriyya manuscripts coded KBG 628 and the manuscript titled *Satariyyah* coded NB 1147. Both are part of the National Library of Jakarta’s collection.

‘Abd al-Shakūr also played a key role in spreading the Shāṭṭāriyyah order, as can be seen in two manuscripts, namely: manuscript MS BM1 which contains the Shāṭṭāriyyah lineage in Jasinga, Bogor, West Java, and manuscript MS B1-MS 4 from the collection of Muḥammad Sa‘īd of Mindanao, in the Philippines.

1. MS BM1 Jasinga

A manuscript chronicling the spread of the Shāṭṭāriyyah order in Jasinga, Bogor, is preserved within the account of Mbah Marki ibn Den Mas

Notodipuro, this author's ancestor.

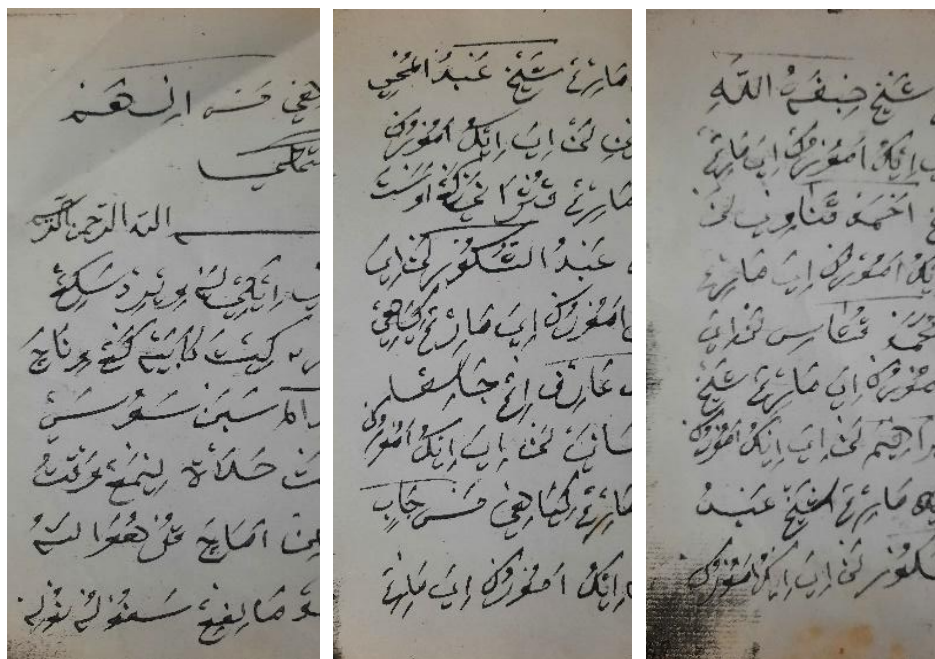


Figure 6 (a, b, c). The original manuscript is currently fragmented due to family ownership transfers. Fortunately, I possessed a copy when the manuscript was still intact and given to my father, Hajj Cecep Sudrajat, Bogor.

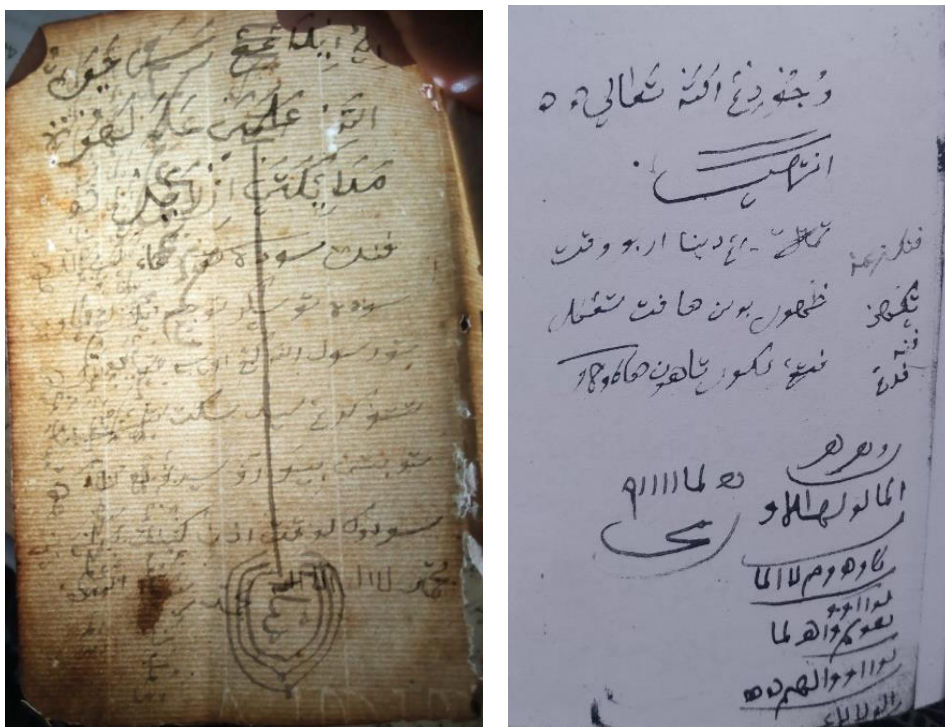


Figure 7. One of the pages on the MS BM1. The condition of the original manuscript has been detached from the volume, leaving 10 sheets. The paper material is European paper, with a truncated watermark or countermark at the bottom of the page, making it difficult to identify. Bisri Mustopa's collection, stored at his residence in Cibadak, Ciampea, Bogor, West Java.

Figure 8. The colophon listed on the manuscript, as shown in the copy of the manuscript, shows the year of writing in Javanese "Tamat ing dina rebo waktu zuhur bulan hapit tanggal pitung likur tahun Ha (The year number is unclear)."

The manuscript has no title page and no title on the cover, and it is titled *Dhikr dan Sanad Shāṭṭāriyah Jasinga*, which refers to its content, which mainly focuses on the Shāṭṭāriyah, especially its genealogical discourse, and its place of origin in Jasinga, Bogor. The manuscript covers a wide range of subjects, including procedural aspects of the bathing ritual and Shāṭṭāriyah *dhikr* (chanting), as well as an explanation of the concept of seven spiritual levels. This concept states that there are seven spiritual ranks or levels that each individual must attain to achieve oneness with

the Divine.

... Ahmad al-Qusyasyi, lan ia iku amuruk ia maring Mulla Ibrahim, lan ia iku amuruk ia maring Abdul Syukur, lan ia iku amuruk ia maring Abdul Muhyiddin, lan ia iku amuruk ia maring putrane kang awasta Abd al-Shakur, lan ia iku amuruk ia maring Kiyai Mas Arif ing Jasinga desane, lan ia amuruk ia maring Kyai Mas Jabin, lan ia amuruk ia maring Kyai Mas Ilham. Intaha.

... Aḥmad al-Qushāshī, and he taught Mullā Ibrāhīm, and he taught ‘Abd al-Shakūr, and he taught ‘Abd al-Muḥyiddīn, and he taught his son ‘Abd al-Shakūr, and he taught Kyai Mas Arif in his village Jasinga, then he taught Kyai Mas Jabin, and he taught Kyai Mas Ilham. End. (See Figure 6)

This manuscript outlines the genealogy of Shāṭṭāriyah *ṭarīqah* practitioners, which was passed down from the Prophet to al-Qushāshī and Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī, both of whom lived in Medina. Al-Kūrānī transmitted this knowledge to ‘Abd al-Shakūr, who subsequently transmitted to ‘Abd al-Muḥyī al-Dīn, his son, who passed it on to his son, also named ‘Abd al-Shakūr. Furthermore, this was passed down from Kyai Mas Arif Jasinga (Bogor), who then passed it on to Kyai Mas Jabin Jasinga (Bogor), and so on.

Measuring 14 x 20 cm, the manuscript is mostly written in black ink on European paper, with only minor use of red ink in certain sections. The manuscript is bilingual, Arabic and Javanese, and the writing style largely follows the *naskh* script. The manuscript has a colophon dated 27th of the month of Hapit (Dhū-l-qa‘dah), of the ‘Ha’ year. The next number is not clearly legible. This dating uses the Javanese-Islamic calendar. The years followed by Arabic letters refer to the dating system known as the Javanese Calendar or Sultan Agung Calendar. This system is a combination of the Hijri (Islamic) and Saka (Hindu) calendars, initiated in 1633 AD by Sultan Agung of Mataram. The year Ha or year Ehe indicates an 8-year cycle (*windu*) which is part of the Long Year (*wuntu*) lasting 355 days (Masruhan, 2017). The manuscript is estimated to have been

produced in the 18th to early 19th centuries, based on its use of European paper with a chainline, shadow and a watermark or countermark cut off at the end (Yahya et al., 2021).

Another manuscript containing the Shāṭṭārīyah genealogy from ‘Abd al-Shakūr al-Bantanī has been discovered in the collection of Keraton Kanoman Cirebon, labeled as KN17. I have recently received a photocopy of this manuscript from Farihin, who serves as the librarian at Keraton Kanoman. Further investigation of this manuscript is necessary because it mentions ‘Hajj ‘Abd al-Qahhār ibn ‘Abdullāh ibn ‘Abd al-Qahhār’ (referring to ‘Abdullāh ibn ‘Abd al-Qahhār, who was also a proponent of the Shāṭṭārīyah in West Java, which will be discussed in the following section), having received the Shāṭṭārīyah from ‘Abd al-Shakūr al-Bantanī.

2. MS B1-MS 4 Mindanao

As a result of ‘Abd al-Shakūr al-Bantanī’s efforts, the Shāṭṭārīyah *ṭarīqah* also spread to Mindanao in the Philippines. ‘Abd al-Shakūr’s name is found in the manuscript collection of Muḥammad Sa‘īd in Mindanao, Philippines, specifically in Bungkos (‘bundle’ in Tagalog) 1 MS 4 (Fathurrahman et al., 2019). This manuscript contains records of the *awrād* and *wird* that were received by ‘Abd al-Mu‘min ibn Shihāb al-Dīn (d. unknown) from ‘Abd al-Shakūr al-Bantanī, a student of Sheikh Mawlānā Ibrāhīm (al-Kūrānī). In the manuscript, ‘Abd al-Mu‘min refers to himself as a student of ‘Abd al-Shakūr al-Bantanī.



Figure 9. The introductory page of MS B1-MS 4 from the Muḥammad Sa'īd collection in Mindanao, Philippines (courtesy of O. Fathurrahman)

Ammā ba'du. Adapun kemudian dari itu, inilah daripada menyatakan awrad [wirid-wirid] ṭariqah daripada sekalian guru yang sempurna yaitu Shaykh 'Abd al-Shakūr Bantan yang keramat awliya besar di dalam negeri Bantan, mengambil daripada Shaykh Mawlānā Ibrāhīm (al-Kūrānī).

After that, this is the chapter declaring the formula of Sufi order practices from the perfect teacher namely Shaykh 'Abd al-Shakūr Bantan who is a great saint in the country of Bantan, taking from

Shaykh Maulānā Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī. (Bungkos 1 MS 4, fol. 3a; cited in Fathurahman, 2019, p. 11).

Another interesting point that can be gleaned from the text (see Figure 9) is that Shaykh ‘Abd al-Shakūr gave ‘Abd al-Mu’ min an *ijāzah* and *talqīn* for reciting prayers and *wird*.

Maka ia muruk ia kepada muridnya ‘Abd al-Mu’ min anaknya Tuan Shaykh Saifuddin Bantan di dalam kampung Angka jua. Maka memeri ijazah Shaykh ‘Abd al-Shakūr itu kepada ‘Abd al-Mu’ min yang hina yang banyak dosanya kepada Allah tetapi mehendaki jua ampun Allah, yang sedikit ilmunya tetapi menghendaki kepada bertambah-tambah ilmunya.

So he taught it to his student ‘Abd al-Mu’ min, the son of Shaykh Saifuddin Bantan, in the village of Angka as well. So he gave the *ijāzah* of Shaykh ‘Abd al-Shakūr to the lowly ‘Abd al-Mu’ min, who had many sins against Allah but wanted Allah's forgiveness, who had little knowledge but wanted to increase his knowledge.

The prayers and *wird* repeated after the five daily prayers were among the recitations of prayers and *wird* that Shaykh ‘Abd al-Shakūr taught ‘Abd al-Mu’ min. These invocations and prayers, as can be seen from the manuscript, were listed as follows:

Yang dibaca di dalam tiap-tiap kemudian selasai daripada sembahyang lima waktu, yang disurahkan oleh Shaykh kita ‘Abd al-Shakūr Bantan inilah adanya. Yang pertama, membaca “Qul huwallāhu ahad” sepuluh kali, dan membaca “Qul a ‘ūdzu bi rabbil falaq” dan “Qul a ‘ūdzu bi rabbīn nās” sekali, dan membaca “Fātiḥah” tuju kali, dan membaca shalawat sepuluh kali. Inilah lafaznya: “allāhumma ṣalli ‘alā sayyidinā Muḥammad ‘abdika wa rasūlika-n nabiyyi-l ummiyyi wa ‘alā ālihi wa ṣaḥbihi wa bārik wa sallim ‘adada khalqallāh bi dawāmillāh”. Maka lalu membaca “astaghfirullāh-al ‘aẓhīm” sepuluh kali, kemudian membaca “subḥānallāh” sepuluh kali, kemudian membaca “alḥamdulillāh”

sepulu kali, kemudian membaca “allāhu akbar” sepulu kali, kemudian membaca dzikir “lā ilāha illallāh Muḥammad-ur rasūlullāh” sepulu kali...

What is recited in each of the five daily prayers that our Shaykh ‘Abd al-Shakūr Bantan ordered is this. First, reciting ‘*Qul huwallāhu aḥad*’ ten times, and reciting ‘*Qul a ‘ūzu bi rabb al-falaq*’ and ‘*Qul a ‘ūzu bi rabb al-nās*’ once each, and reciting *al-Fātiḥah* seven times, and reciting *ṣalawāt* ten times. This is the wording: ‘*Allāhumma ṣalli ‘alā sayyidinā Muḥammad ‘abdika wa rasūlika al-nabī al-ummī wa ‘alā ālihi wa ṣaḥbihi wa bārik wa sallim ‘adada khalqallāh bi-dawāmillāh*. Then recite *astaghfirullāh al-‘aẓīm* ten times, then recite *subḥānallāh* ten times, then recite *al-ḥamdu lillāh* ten times, then recite *Allāhu akbar* ten times, then recite the dhikr “*Lā ilāha illallāh Muḥammad rasūlullāh*” ten times ...

‘Abd al-Shakūr was one of two scholars from Banten who transmitted the Shāṭṭārīyah in Mindanao. Another Banten scholar whose name also appears in the Muḥammad Sa‘īd collection is ‘Abdullāh ibn ‘Abd al-Qahhār (d. 1769) (Fathurrahman et al., 2019), found in MS B1-MS 2. This latter was known for spreading the Shāṭṭārīyah in Cirebon, alongside the Shāṭṭārīyah network of ‘Abd al-Muḥyī Pamijahan. The Shāṭṭārīyah *sanad* connected to ‘Abdullāh ibn ‘Abd al-Qahhār can be found in several manuscripts, including the collection of Hilman on Malabar Street, Gunung Kota, Cirebon, and another in the archives of the Keraton Keprabonan Cirebon. The Malabar source, inscribed on European paper using both Arabic and Pegon scripts, spans 110 pages. His name was also found in MS 211_EPJ005 from the Elang Panji collection, Cirebon (El-Mawa, 2011; Fathurrahman et al., 2019).

Conclusion

This study has provided a hitherto comprehensive examination of the figure and contributions of ‘Abd al-Shakūr ibn ‘Abd al-Karīm al-Bantanī, a prominent disciple of the renowned scholar Burhān al-Dīn Ibrāhīm ibn Ḥasan al-Kūrānī. Despite his importance as a scholar and Sufi *shaykh*

connected to the Shāṭṭārīyah order, ‘Abd al-Shakūr has received relatively little attention compared to other Jāwī students of al-Kūrānī.

This research has drawn on a range of primary sources, including manuscripts copied by ‘Abd al-Shakūr or containing references to him, as well as secondary literature. Key findings include the establishment of ‘Abd al-Shakūr’s family ties to the Banten royal family, his role as a scribe and disseminator of his teacher al-Kūrānī’s works, and his participation in the theological discourse of his time, particularly on the concept of *waḥdat al-wujūd*.

Additionally, this study has explored ‘Abd al-Shakūr’s contribution to the spread of the Shāṭṭārīyah Sufi order in the Malay-Indonesian Archipelago, tracing its transmission from al-Kūrānī through ‘Abd al-Shakūr to his son ‘Abd al-Muḥyī al-Dīn and other disciples. The discovery of manuscripts documenting the Shāṭṭārīyah in Jasinga, Bogor, and Mindanao, Philippines, further highlights ‘Abd al-Shakūr’s significance as a pivotal figure in the dissemination of this Sufi tradition within the region.

This study has employed a multidisciplinary approach, incorporating elements of history, philology, and manuscript studies to provide a nuanced understanding of ‘Abd al-Shakūr’s life, intellectual contributions, and his role in the broader socio-religious context of the Malay-Indonesian world during the 17th and 18th centuries. The findings of this research contribute to the ongoing scholarly efforts to shed light on the complexities and interconnections of Islamic intellectual and spiritual traditions in Southeast Asia.

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