

Sufi of INDONESIA

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FUSTAKA PELAJAR



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SUFI OF INDONESIA

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CONTENT

FOREWORD - 4

CHAPTER ONE - 8
THE EARLY ISLAM OF INDONESIA

CHAPTER TWO - 26
HAMZAH FANSURI : THE *WUJUDIYAH* DOCTRINE CARRIER

CHAPTER THREE - 49
'ABD AL-RAUF AL-SINKILI AND TAREQAT SYATTARIYAH

CHAPTER FOUR - 75
ABD. SHAMAD AL-PALIMBANI AND TAREQAT
SAMMANIYAH

CHAPTER FIVE - 97
AHMAD MUTAMAKIN AND THE POLEMICS OF THE BOOK
OF CEBOLEK

CHAPTER SIX - 114
ABDUL MUHYI PAMIJAHAN:SUFII FROM KARANG VILLAGE

CHAPTER SEVEN - 134
YUSUF AL-MAQASSARI AND HIS INFLUENCE IN MAKASAR

CHAPTER EIGHT - 147
MUHAMMAD AL-NAFIS BANJARI AND THE BOOK OF DURR
AL-NAFIS

BIBLIOGRAPHY - 157

FOREWORD

Indeed, Discussing about Islam Indonesia is still very interesting and relevant up to day. In a relatively long period, Indonesia located in the outermost regions of Islamic world was regarded as Islamic periphery and different from the original form as well as in the Islamic Middle East. This view makes the studies about Indonesian Islam conducted by European scholars become unbalanced. Because, some Western scholars think that Indonesian literature that contains stories, fairy tales, chronicles, history and etc, are not enough to explain about Indonesia. In the opinion of western scholars, the most of Indonesian historiography contain s more about the myths rather tha historical data.

Therefore, it is easy to understand that the researchers who come later, usually prefer to western sources that written by Europeans who came to Indonesia as a nomad, journalists, missionaries, and imperialists. Although, they write about Islam Indonesia in their perspective that might not be objective. These writings, in turn, led to distortions and misconceptions in viewing Islam Indonesia. However, not all of the orientalist have done the same thing. Among of them have done it more objectively. They have explored and used local sources as have been done by De Graff and Peageaud. It thereby raises the emergence of various theories about the Islamization of Indonesia such as theory of Arab, Indian

or Persian theory, and about motivations of spreading of Islam in Indonesia. Drewes describes the process of Islamization of Indonesia's debate in a article entitled "New light on the Coming of Islam to Indonesia which was published in 1968. This article was published back in an anthology entitled "Readings on Islam in Southeast Asia" compiled by Ahmad Ibrahim et al, and published by Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, Singapura" in 1985 together with other articles about Indonesian Islam.

However we must not be lulled by the arguments of the theory of Islamization of Indonesia, or motivation of its spread, whether for the benefit of capitalists and political interests as presented by Van Leur (1955) and Antony Reid (1993), or rather to the race theory between Islam and Christianity (*religious mission*) as submitted by Schrieke (1955). But as a scholar there are still many different sides that can be put forward in seeing the process of Islamization of Indonesia.

In this regard, it's important to pay attention to the arguments presented by AH. John (1961), that individual religious transition process always involves spiritual and emotional problems, as well as the transition of the Indonesian population of the local religion to Islam always involve inner problems. In this case, the Sufis nomads have played a significant role in the conversion of the local people to Islam in a wider scale. In fact, Sufis with its intellectual network are able to maintain the continuity of religious beliefs and practices of local people, so that the new religion

(Islam) is not regarded as something foreign, strange and dangerous. With the ability and authority which possessed by Sufis nomads could easily conquer the elite of society (kings and nobles). They wander into the various places in Indonesia, they have voluntarily come to feel the misery, they teach syncretic theosophy that were very familiar with the people of Indonesia. They are qualified in magic and possessed power of healing. They consciously are ready to keep a continuity with the past and could combines the old elements of pre-Islamic with the new element in islamic context.

These were characteristics of the Sufis which is delivered by AH. John (1961) as follows: "They were Peripatetic preachers ranging over the whole known world, espousing voluntary poverty. They were frequently associated with the trade of craft guilds, According to the order (tarikah) to the which they belonged; they taught a complex syncretism theosophy largely familiar to the Indonesian, but the which is subordinate to, Although an enlargement on the fundamental dogmas in Islam; they were proficient in magic and Possessed power in healing; and not least, consciously or unconsciously; they were prepared to preserve continuity with the past, and to use the terms and elements of pre-Islamic culture in an Islamic context. These men (and their students) who should get a higher place in the intellectual treasures of Islam Indonesia because of their efforts had done.

And the last, I would like to thank IDISCHOW programs which held by The Directorate of Islamic Higher

Education, Ministry of Religious Affairs and the staffs, Mas Anis, Mas Fatur and Mas risky. Specially I would like to thank Mr. Asy'ari for his help in preparing the text.

Jember, March 2018

CHAPTER ONE

THE EARLY ISLAM OF INDONESIA

Indonesia located in the strategic region of the Islamic world in a relatively long period is considered as the Islamic periphery and away from the original form as Islam as in the Middle East. This view makes the Islamic studies in Indonesia conducted by the European scholars became lame. The Study conducted by Snouck¹ on religion and social systems of the Acehnese or the study by Geertz² on social groupings such as *santri*, *abangan* and *priyayi*, clearly represents this phenomenon.

Snouck C. Hurgronje made an ethnographic study of the Acehnese people, which is then written with the title “*De Atjehers*” published by Ej Brill, Leiden, 1893. The book has been translated into Indonesian and published by INIS by the title *Aceh, Rakyat dan Adat Istiadatnya*, in 1996. From the study it did, and then Snouck formulated it which was called “Political Islam Dutch”. Snouck divided aspects of Islam into three variants, which are personal worship, social

¹ See, Snouck C. Hurgronje, *Aceh, Rakyat dan Adat Istiadatnya*, Jakarta:INIS, 1996.

² See Clifford Geertz, 1960, *The Religion of Java*, Illionis: The Free of Glenco or see the summary edition in C. Geertz, “Konflik dan Integrasi Agama dan Masyarakat di Mojokuto”, in Taufik Abdullah (Ed), *Sejarah dan Masyarakat : Lintasan Historis Islam di Indonesia*, Jakarta : Obor, 1987, p. 54 – 84.

worship, and politics. The activities carried out by the Dutch government should be based on these aspects.

Related to the Islamization of Indonesia, Snouck found that the national origin that brought Islam to the Indonesia was India. It is based on several arguments, first; lack of facts which explain the role of the Arabs in the process of Islamization, second; the trade relations between India and Indonesia had been longstanding and third; The oldest inscription on Islam in Sumatra illustrated the relationship between Sumatra and Gujarat.

C. Geertz conducted a research about the traditions and the follower's behavior in Mojokuto, which is presented under the title of *The Religion of Java*, and published by The Free of Glencoe. In this book, it can be seen the social dichotomy between *Santri* (student), *Abangan* (Secular) and *Priyayi* (gentry) in the Java community. All three, he argues, they have their own nature and live in their own nature. *Santri* tried to live with the provisions of Shari'ah, *Priyayi* was busy with the activities that were influenced by the Hindu's culture and *Abangan* was busy with the Javanese rituals (*slametan*). All three variants were a source of tension and integration in the social behavior. Geertz also believes that Islam in Indonesia came from India, so that the development of Islam in Indonesia was strongly influenced by Hinduism, Buddhism and animism in fact, since the dissolution of the relationship among Indonesia, Mecca, and Cairo as the source of Islam which lasted until the 19th century.

In the West's view, the Indonesia's literatures that contain stories, fairy tales, chronicles, history and so forth are not enough to explain Indonesia. Because the majority of Indonesia historiography, were more lists of "myth" than histories. Therefore, it is easy to understand that the researchers usually prefer the Western sources written by the Europeans who came in Indonesia as nomads, journalists, missionaries, and imperialists even their writings have bias. These writings, in turn, led to distortions and misconceptions about the Islamic view of Indonesia. Although not all of the orientalist did the same, because there were also among those who had done it objectively, they explored the local sources as done by De Graff and Peageaud.³

Reid adds that the literatures about the Islamization process that occurs in Indonesia compared with the religious changes that occurred in the world history were treated by the external sources that basically do not sympathize or feel threatened by the process of Islamization that occurs. When Marco Polo reported that *Perlak* people were pagan, as it is continuously in touch with the *Saracen* merchants who constantly anchored their ship then they switched to the Mahomet's law. Tomé Pires and the Iberians of 16th century in this matter tend to follow the Marcopolo's

³ Many papers have been produced by the two Dutch scholar in the use of local resources such as *Kerajaan-Kerajaan Islam di Jawa, Peralihan dari Majapahit ke Mataram, Literature of Java*.

opinion stressed that contacts the Muslim trade of the western region is an adequate explanation of Islamisation.⁴

The Indonesia history actually started to write through the foreigner's views of, either a detailed quote, from the chinese stories that explained the exact date of arrival of their mission to pay tribute or in the form of a simple report on the Arabic stories which contain anecdotes, descriptions, or directly mention an event that is hard to prove the date of occurrence. It had happened for long time, even after the archaeological discoveries and epigrafis and to restore objectivity documentation.⁵ Because it is initially known only through testimonies from the outsiders, then the Southeast Asian region in the long

⁴ See Universal Library, *The Travels of Marco Polo*, New York : Grosset & Dunlap, no year tahun, p. 247 – 255. See also, Reid, Anthony, 2002, *Sejarah Modern Asia Tenggara, Sebuah Pemetaan*, Jakarta:LP3ES, p. 22.

⁵ Since the 18th century, Jesuit priests from Beijing tried to trace back their first contact between China with other countries. Father JJM Amiot (1718-1793) gave an interesting note on the island of Java in volume XIV of an essay entitled *Memoires Concernant Les Chinois*. WP Groenevelt (1880) published a book on the Malay Archipelago and Malacca, Compiled from the Chinese Sources and reprinted with the title "the Historical Notes on Indonesia and Malaya", Compiled from the Chinese Sources.

term only was considered as a meeting area, shelter and colonization.

As a result, the scholars are not able to definitively determine when people in Indonesia had converted to Islam, but it is only a guess that Islam had been entered in Indonesia in the first century AH or 7th century. Such opinion is based on the height of the trade conducted by the Arabs with the East. In the 7th century AD, the trade with China through Ceylon was rampant, so in the 8th century, it was found many Arab merchants in Canton. According to the Chinese stories in 674 AD, there is a story that there was an Arab noble who became a leader of the Arabs on the West coast of Sumatra.⁶

The same opinion was given by Van Leur by stating that apparently the Arab colonies have been established in Canton before the fourth century. The colonies are then mentioned again in 618 AD and 626 AD. In the following years, the colonies brought the Islamic practice and the implementation of Islamic teachings that were under the Muslim supervisions. The Arab group was with other groups such as Persian Jewish, and Catholic merchants. The Arab colonies were also found along the Southeast Asian

⁶ TW, Arnold, *The Preaching of Islam, A History of Propagation of the Muslim Faith*, London: Luzac & Company, 1935, p. 363 – 364.

trade. So there are estimates that in the year 674 AD, it has been found the Arabic colonies in the Sumatra West coast.⁷

It is easy to understand that trade lanes in Southeast Asia in the period was very crowded. The superior products such as cloves, pepper, nutmeg, sandalwood, sapan wood, camphor, and varnishes actually had gained a clear market share since the days of the Roman Empire and the Han Dynasty. It primarily was the spice as a commodity to attract the traders from other parts of the world even though this spice was only in a small volume, because it goods such as rice, salt, and pickled, textiles, metals and other goods gave more sales volume and larger purchases. The spices became an important commodity as it turns out this commodity was able to produce the greatest advantages compared with other commodities.⁸

When it is the mastery of the trade, especially the sea by the Arabs was more advanced than in the West. The Arab nations had been able to control the sea lanes through the Indian ocean which they called the Persian ocean, because since pre-Islamic times to the Persian Gulf with *Siraf* and *Basra* ports as the center of trade between Asia, Africa and

⁷ Van Leur, Indonesian Trade and Society, A. Manteau W. Van Moeve's Gravenhage. 1955. p. 111.

⁸ See Anthony Reid, Dari Ekspansi Hingga Krisis : Jaringan Perdagangan Global Asia Tenggara. Jakarta : OBOR, 1998, p. 120.

the Middle East.⁹ Indeed the Arabs had been able to cruise long distances with the ability and physical and incredible mental readiness to be in China and even in the tenth century AD, their navigation trades had got to Korea and Japan.¹⁰

Furthermore Kramer stated that in his travels to the countries in the Far East, Japan and Korea, they hold trade relations with the countries which he called Zabaj (Sriwijaya).¹¹ Azra describes the details about the Middle East relations with China that will provide the assumption of a relationship between the Middle East to Indonesia as well. It is said that the first contact between the Middle East with Indonesia had many diplomatic relations. The Dynasty Chinese history titled *Chiu T'ang Shu* narrated in the year 31 AH / 651 AD, the *T'ang* palace was visited by the ambassador of *Ta Shih* (Chinese term to refer to Arabs, four years later the ambassador *Tan-mi-nomi* '(Amir al Mu'minin) came to China and told the Chinese authorities that they had set up a state in the Middle East since 34 years

⁹ JH. Kramers, "Geography and Commerce," in *The Legacy of Islam*, by Arnold, et. al, (Ed.) 1952, Oxford University Press, p. 94-95.

¹⁰ *Ibid*, p. 95.

¹¹ *Ibid*.

earlier and had had three rulers. The ambassador came when the administration of Uthman ibn Affan.¹²

When the Islamic ruler of the Umayyad dynasty extended their territory to Persia and the Indian subcontinent, it provided fresh air for the Muslim traders to be more eager to shipping activities to the area even to the Far East. This gave rise to the regular lines cruise from South Arabia to the Far East, which was called by Hourani as the farthest shipping lane before the rise of Europe in the sixteenth century AD.¹³ The intensity of this cruise was not only documented by China but also by the Buddhist pilgrims who visits to the science centers in India. Thus, so there were 17 Muslim ambassadors to China in the future and the Umayyad dynasty in the Abbasid period there were 18 Muslim ambassadors who come to China. The Chinese and Arabic stories from around the 7th and 8th centuries AD provided an evidence of the high intensity of shipping and international trade networks between the Middle East to China through the Strait of Malacca. This in turn encourages the emergence of Muslim coastal towns ranging from Pasai, Aceh, Malacca, Demak, Banten, Cirebon, Ternate-Tidore, Goa Tallo, Banjar, Kutai, Mataram and so on.¹⁴

¹² Azra, *Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah dan Kepulauan Nusantara Abad XVII dan XVIII*, Bandung : Mizan, 1999, p. 37.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ The detailed description of the trading network, it can be read in Tjandrasmita, "Jaringan Perdagangan Kesultanan di

Hamka explained that in 674 AD, the Arabs had reached the land of Java. This story obtained from the Chinese report mentions that King of *Ta Cheh* had sent the emissaries to *Cho 'po* for the coffers of gold spilled into *holing*, who was ruled by Queen Sima. King *Ta Cheh* is meant by Hamka was the Arabian king who was Muawiya ibn Abi Sufyan.¹⁵ But it is revised by Pusponegoro stating that the Chinese news content was not like that, but the *Ta Cheh* (*Ta shih*) thought better to attack the the *holing* empire under the reign of Queen Sima because the government in *Ho ling* was very strong.¹⁶

The scholars have different theories about the motives of Islamization of Indonesia. Van Leur¹⁷ and Schrieke¹⁸ emphasize the relational patterns of trade and

Indonesia Abad XV – XVII” in Nasional Seminar; *Sumbangan Islam terhadap Kebangkitan Bangsa*. Jakarta:UIN Syahid Jarta, 2002.

¹⁵ Ta-Cheh is the name given by the Chinese to the King of Arabia, so in 674 AD, the Arabs had been in Indonesia. See Hamka, 1980, “Dari Hati ke Hati, a comment on the Seminar Introduction of Islamic History in Indonesia, in *PANJIMAS*, no. 291, XXI, March 1980, p. 9.

¹⁶ Marwati Djoened Pusponegoro and Nugroho Notosusanto, *Sejarah Nasional Indonesia III*, Jakarta: Balai Pustaka, 1993. p. 180.

¹⁷ Van Leur, *Indonesia Trade and Society: Essays in Asian Social dan Economic History*, The Hague : Van Hoeve.

¹⁸ B. Schrieke, 1955, *Indonesian Sociological Studies*, I, Vol 2, the Muslim monopoly. They assert that political factors were more crucial than commercial factors as the basic foundation of Islamization in Indonesia. On the other hand, John and Fatimi¹⁹ view a more serious of the evidence and reconstruct the rival explanations about the Islamization of Indonesia. It turns out that the process of Islamisation that occur in Indonesia was also centered on the Sufis who were knowledgeable in the field of mysticism, had spiritual powers and they were able to integrate and use elements of pre-Islamic culture that were wrapped up in the spirit of Islam (syncretism).

These debates²⁰ actually could be debatable, because both of them provided the correct explanation, but in different dimensions and phenomena. The Islamic arrival in Indonesia could not be refuted by the commercial factors of and economic interests, but also often reinforced by the political factors. Without the arrival of Muslim

Bandung: Van Hoeve Ltd - The Hague.

¹⁹ Fatimi, *Islam Comes to Malaysia*, Singapura: Malaysian Sociological Research Institute.

²⁰ Drewes describes the Islamization process in Indonesia and their debates in one article entitled *New light on the Coming of Islam to Indonesia* (1968) and recollects along with other Indonesian articles by Ahmad Ibrahim et al (1985) in *Readings on Islam in Southeast Asia*, Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, p. 1-24. Azra also describes the theories about

the Islamic arrival in Indonesia that were explained by the scholars, see Azra, *Jaringan Ulama*, especially in p. 24 – 36.

merchants, the people in Southeast Asia may be difficult to meet and embrace this religion, but without political power and empire, Islam would be too difficult to be able to conquer territories outside the centers of commerce. Therefore, these two aspects are not supposed to be contested because the two factors actually become complement of each other.

Nevertheless, the transition process of religious individual always involves inner and emotional problems, as well as the transition of Indonesian people, from the local religion to Islam always involves the inner issues. In this regard, the Sufi nomads played a significant role in the conversion of the local population to Islam in a wider scale. Because it turns out the Sufis were able to maintain the continuity of religious beliefs and practices of the local population, so that the new religion was not regarded as something alien, strange and dangerous. With the ability and authority possessed by the Sufis nomads could easily conquer the elite of society (kings and nobles). The Sufi who spread to various places in Indonesia that voluntarily shared in squalor, they taught syncretic theosophy that were very familiar with the Indonesian people, they were

qualified in terms of magical and had healing powers to treat people.¹⁵

Some Sufi recorded a marriage bond with the children of the nobility royal. For example, in the Javanese Chronicle narrated that *Maulana Ishak* married the daughter of *Blambangan* King that produced *Sunan Giri* offspring, *Raden Rahmat* or *Sunan Ampel* married with *Nyi Gede Manila* who was a daughter of *Tumenggung Wilwatikta*, Sheikh Abdurrahman married to *Raden Ayu Teja*. In the chronicle Cirebon narrated Sunan Gunung Jati married the daughter of the Regent of *Kawung Anten*. The Marriage with the nobles gave a positive effects on the Islamic development in Indonesia. As stated by Tome Pires in the *Summa Oriental*²², the marriages performed by the king/nobility made not only the king who converted to Islam but was followed by the people like that happen to Malacca. Such marriages least have formed the core of Muslim community (a community), which became the

order (tarikah) to which they belonged; they taught a complex syncretism theosophy largely familiar to the Indonesian, but which subordinate to, although an enlargement on the fundamental dogmas in Islam; they were proficient in magic and possessed power in healing; and not least, consciously or

¹⁵ They were peripatetic preachers ranging over the whole known world, voluntary espousing poverty. They were frequently associated with trade of craft guild, according to the

unconsciously; they were prepared to preserve continuity with the past, and to use the terms and elements of pre Islamic culture in an Islamic context. See, John, "Sufism as a Category in Indonesian Literature and History", *Journal of Southeast Asian History* 2, II, 1961, p. 61.

²² See Armando Cortesao (ed), *The Summa Oriental of Tome Pires*, Nendels:Kraus Reprint Limited, 1967.

starting point of the Islamic development of Indonesia. ¹⁶ Therefore Johns concludes that Islam will never embedded among Indonesian people before the arrival of the Sufis nomads and became the new dominant religion, that it just happened in the 12th century AD.

We need to read the views expressed by Arnold that at the beginning of 12 century, the Sufism of *wahdat alwujud* had been in Indonesia with the advent of `Abdullah Arif (d. 1214 AD). He has a Sufism book Sufism which is said to be the earliest books that appear in Indonesia that is *Bahr al-Lahat* (the ocean of God) the book content is heavily influenced by the ideas of *Wujudiyah* Ibn `Arabi and the teachings of mystical unity (mortal) al-Hallaj. Sheikh Abdullah Arif is the mysticism leader of Arab and arrived in Sumatra (Perulak, Pasai) in 1177 AD. Thus, according to T.

¹⁶ See, Uka Tjandrasasmita, "Kedatangan dan Penyebaran Islam" in Taufik Abdullah (ed). *Ensiklopedi Tematis Dunia Islam*, Vol V, Jakarta : Ikhtiar Baru Van Hoeve, 2002, p. 9 – 26.

Arnold, Sheikh Abdullah Arif was the earliest Sufis who spread Islam that has Sufism pattern in Sumatra.¹⁷

However it should be realized that the early Islamic figures of Indonesia not only mastered the field of Sufism alone, but almost all of them mastered the myriad of Islamic knowledge; from jurisprudence, theology, exegesis, hadith and Sufism. Sheikh Mohammed Yemen expected to Aceh in 990 AH / 1582 AD, is an expert in the field of fiqh, usul, ulm al-Hadits and ulm al-Qur 'an that came to Aceh to oppose the concept of Sheikh Abul Khair that was said to be a scholar who adopts *wahdat al-wujud* concept.¹⁸

Thus, as described by Bruinessen¹⁹, we must be careful to conclude that the Sufis and *tareqat* play a very important role in the first wave of Islamization, because most of the manuscripts found in Java and Sumatra contain not only the studies of Sufism, and the wonder stories of Persia and India. However, these texts also contain the teaching of the jurisprudence science. These texts explain the harmonization effort between theology, jurisprudence and Sufism. At 16th century AD, the *fiqh* Shafi'i madhab was well known in Indonesia as *al-Nihayat* of al-Ramli, or *Tuhfah*

¹⁷ Arnold, *The Preaching of*, p. 366.

¹⁸ Abdullah, *Perkembangan Ilmu Tasawuf*, p. 32.

¹⁹ Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning*, p. 189 – 190.

of ibn al-Hajar, which also has been translated into Malay Language.²⁰²¹

However, among in these fields, it seems the most favored by the Indonesian people was the study of theology and mysticism. It is as described by *Nur al-Din al-Raniri* in *Bustan al-Salatin*, that his uncle who is Muhammad Jilani bin Hasan Muhammad al-Humaydi came from Gujarat to Aceh in 988/1580 and 991/1583 M. M. to teach fiqh, usul fiqh, ethics, logic, and rhetoric, but it turns out most people prefer to study theology and mysticism. Al-Raniri stated that his uncle was not an expert in mysticism and therefore he was not ready to teach it to the public. Then Muhammad Jilani then delaying his departure to Aceh to teach and instead went to Makkah to learn it. Once they had gained knowledge of mysticism and theology then Muhammad Jilani returned to Aceh (during the reign of Shah Sultan Alaudin Ria'yat).

Nur al-Din al-Raniri is a scholar who wrote many papers on a variety of things such as *Khoirul al-Mustaqim*, *Tibyan fi ma'rifat al-Adyan*, *Durrat al-Faraid fi Syarh al-*

²⁰ See, MB Hooker, *Indonesian Islam, Social Change through Contemporary Fatawa*, Australia : Allen & Unwin, 2003, p. 9. See also Martin van Bruinessen, "Muslim of the Dutch East Indies and the Caliphate Question", *Studia Islamika*, 2, vol 3 , 1995, p. 21 – 140.

Aqid, Hidayat al-'abib fi al-Targhib wa al-Tartib, Bustan al-Salatin, and so forth.²² *Khoirul al-Mustaqim*, in addition to the books of his other works was written in Malay that contains about praying, fasting, charity, pilgrimage and also about the law of sacrifices, hunting, the law of *halal* and *haram* in food.²³

'Abd al-Rauf al-Singkili that came later was not simply a Sufi adherent but also produced various kinds of works related to Islamic sciences. In the jurisprudence field, he wrote *Mir'at al-Thullab fi Tasyil Ma'rifat al-Ahkam al-Syar'iyah li al-Malik al-Wahhab*. This book discusses the Muamalat issues such political, social, economic, and religious issues.²⁴ In the *tafsir* field, 'Abd al-Rauf al-Singkili wrote *Tarjuman al-Mustafid* which is a complete translation of Qur'an in the Malay land and last for approximately three centuries.²⁵ Al-Singkili was also a prolific writer in other scientific fields.

²² the Information about the books written by Nur al-Din al-Raniri can be seen in Daudy, *Allah dan Manusia*, p. 65 – 79, P. Voorhoeve, 1951, "Van en Over Nur al-Din al-Raniri", BKI 107, Tadjimah (ed), 1961, "Asrar al-Insan fi Ma'rifat al-Ruh wa al-Rahman", Jakarta : UI Press.

²³ See, Daudy, *Allah dan Manusia*, p. 48.

²⁴ The manuscript of *Mir'ah al-Thullab* has been a research in a dissertation by Peunoh Daly, *Hukum Nikah, Talak, Rujuk, Hadanah dan Nafkah Kerabat dalam Mir'at al-Tullab of Abd al-Rauf Singkli*, Jakarta : IAIN Syarif Hidayatullah, 1982, p. 923.

²⁵ For a more detailed discussion about *Tarjuman al-Mustafid*, see Salman Harun, *Hakekat Tafsir Tarjuman al-Mustafid of Syekh*

In Java, the early literature was found such editing by Drewes with the title, *An Early of Javaneese Muslim Code of Ethics*,²⁶ as well as the other manuscript entitled *The Admonitions of Skhaich Bari*.²⁷ Both of these texts tell us about not only a matter of Sufism alone but also more talk about aspects of Shariah, such as the obligation to perform prayer, fasting, and so on.

The Sufi scholars of Indonesia early actually played an important role in the spread of Islam in Indonesia, but unfortunately these scholars were still poorly known and or gained an appreciation of Islam in Indonesian society. We often do not know or do not want to know the whereabouts and what has been done by the early scholars of Indonesia, because the writings which contain the biography and thoughts of these scholars have not been widely published in the market or have left. To redisplay in the real Islamic intellectual treasures of Indonesia should be done so that the succeeding generations will never forget their own history.

Abdurrauf Singkel, dissertation, Jakarta:IAIN Syarif Hidayatullah, 1988.

²⁶ GWJ. Drewes, *An Early of Javaneese Code of Muslim Ethics*, The Hague - Martinus Nijhoff, 1978.

²⁷ GWJ. Drewes, *The Admonitions of Seh Bari*, The Hague - Martinus Nijhoff, 1969.

CHAPTER TWO

HAMZAH FANSURI : THE WUJUDIYAH DOCTRINE CARRIER

Neither the date nor place of Hamzah Fansuri birth has been established. The span of the period in which he lived and flourished is still a problematic question. There are no known records, or even chronograms and other such literacy devices that enable us to determine Hamzah's date of birth. As regard the place where he was born, this has been discussed by several scholars in the past, and almost all seem to have taken it for granted that he was born in Barus, a place situated on the west coast of north Sumatra Al-Attas (1970:3)

a. Socio-Historical Background

One of the most important Sufi of Indonesia in the early days of Islam is *Sheikh Hamza Fansuri*. The year of birth and death of Hamza Fansuri could not be known with certainty. Technically it's rather difficult to find information about the Indonesia intellectual biography in the early days of Islam because there are not many written sources in the form of manuscripts that describe about their lives. While they themselves did not tell much about who they were in

the diverse works that had been produced. Included in this context is Hamzah Fansuri.

Although Hamzah Fansuri left many writings that can be read until this day, but his personal life can not be known much. The scholars who study Hamzah Fansuri still engage in difference conclusions either associated with his birth place or his works that produced. In general, the scholars say that Hamzah Fansuri born in Barus, a city located on the western coast of North Sumatra between Singkel and Sibolga. Fansuri is the name given by the sailors and foreign merchants who stopped in the city for trade. However, al-Attas (1967: 46) mentions that Hamzah Fansuri was born in *shahr Nawi* which is Ayuthia, the capital of Siam, built in 1350 AD.

In the Tale of Aceh and *Bustan al-Sultan*, the two books that contain a historical record of the most complete sultanate of Aceh are also not found Fansuri's name and this caused much speculation. Kramer (1921) suggested that Fansuri's name is not mentioned in the two books because he is less well known in Aceh because he often wanders out of Aceh. Kraemer argues that Hamzah Fansuri live up to the year 1636 AD while Braginsky basing on Fansuri's poems and European's notes about Hamzah Fansuri alleged that Hamzah Fansuri live up to 1621 M. Drewes and Brakel found Fansuri Hamzah live until the end 16 century AD. It is based on the fact that in the early 17 th century AD the influence of

Sufism in Aceh is the Dignity Seven teachings brought by *Shams al-Din Pasai* (1630 AD), Fansuri's student.²⁸

Al-Attas suggested that Hamzah Fansuri live at least until the beginning of the 17th century AD. It is based on the fact that first, the emergence of the book *Tufah* at the beginning of the 17th century AD and the vanish of the seven dignity doctrine does not mean that the influence of Fansuri's teachings reduced, let alone indicating that he died. For the seven dignity doctrine derived from Sufism ibn 'Arabi and remain faithful to the original source. Second, Shams al-Din Pasai himself wrote commentary (*Sharh*) on Fansuri's poems and this is proof that the charm Fansuri's teaching still strong in the beginning of the 17th century AD. Third, the spread of the teachings of the dignity seven in Sumatra and Java, at least at the end of the 17th century AD the books of al-Muntahi and *sharab al-Asyiqin* are translated into Java in Banten.²⁹

But Guillot³⁰ found the new evidence in the form of a tombstone inscription in Mecca believed referring to Hamzah Fansuri. It explained this Malay Sufi died and was buried in Mecca on 11 April 1527 AD. The inscription states as follows :

²⁸ See Drewes and Brakel, *The Poems of Hamzah Fansuri*, Dordrecht-Holland : Foris Publication, 1986, p. 2-3.

²⁹ See Drewes and Brakel, *The Poems of Hamzah Fansuri*, hal. 226-277, see also Abdul Hadi, *Tasawuf Tertindas*, p. 119.

³⁰ Guillot, *Batu Nisan*. p. 3-24.

1. بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم هو الحي
2. الا إن أولياء الله لا خوف عليهم و لا هم يحزنون 3. هذا قبر
الفقير الى الله بعالى (=قران , 10 , 26\23) سيدنا 4.
- الشيخ العابد الناسك الزاهد الشيخ المرابط
5. معدن الحقيقة الشيخ حمزة بن عبدالله الفنصوري
6. تغمد الله برحمته وأسكنه فسيح جنته أمين انتقل
7. بالوفاء الى رحمة الله تعالى فجر يوم الخميس المبارك
8. التاسع من شهر الله رجب الفرد الحرام عام ثلاثة
9. و ثلاثين و تسعمائة من الهجرة النبوية على صاحبها 10.
افضل الصلوة و أزكى التحية و أيد)؟

Translation:

1. In the name of Allah, the Most Gracious, the Most Merciful, The Living
2. Unquestionably, [for] the allies of Allah there will be no fear concerning them, nor will they grieve “(AlQur’an, 10:62). This is the grave of man who depends on Allah Ta’ala.

3. Al-Shaykh al-Saleh who serves Allah, the ascetic, alShaykh al-Murabit (those who fought in the border or determined, those who bind themselves)
4. The Mine of divine ilahi, al-Shaykh Hamza bi Abd Allah al-Fansuri
5. May Allah bestowed His mercy and put in his wide heaven, Amen. He was discharged
6. By fidelity (?) To the mercy of Allah Ta'ala on Thursday morning blessed
7. 9th month of Rajab, the special, the Holy year
8. 933 Hijrah of the Prophet (11 April 1527) for the owner
9. Salawat the most important and the most sacred honor, may He strengthen (?)

In the inscription, Hamzah Fansuri's name is clearly mentioned. If it is so, then it is logical if Hamzah Fansuri figure is not mentioned in early Aceh's sources such as *Bustan al-Salatin* or the Aceh's Tale, because it turns out Hamzah Fansuri's life much earlier. However, this evidence is disputed by Vladimir Braginsky –a Russian scholar- who still retains his argument that Hamzah Fansuri estimated life between the years 1550-1630.

But his life journey could be known from the works estimated that Hamzah Fansuri became an orphan as a child and came from ordinary people and therefore he determined to wander looking for living. This is reflected in one of the poems (his prayers) that:

Oh Divine Oh Divine
Make Hamzah get out from the ordinary rank
Keep him from the illicit works To
be able to welfare state³¹

Hamzah Fansuri in one of his poems claims to wander into various countries. For example, Fansuri wanders into Baghdad and becomes a follower of *Qadiriyah Tarekat*, wanders to Kudus, or to the holy land of Mecca. As in the following poem:

Hamzah come from Fansuri
Receiving in the form of *Syahrnawi* land
Obtaining the highest science
Of Abdul Qadir Jilani³²

In another lyric, revealed:
Hamzah Fansur in Makkah
Finding God in Baitul Kaaba
In Barus Holy to be too hard
Finally it's found in the house³³

³¹ See Drewes & Brakel, pl 80.

³² See Drewes & Brakel, *The Poem of Hamzah Fansuri*, p. 92.

³³ see Drewes , *The Poem of Hamzah Fansuri*, p. 108.

Hamzah Fansuri in his works does not mention that he has a relationship with the *Indian* Sufis, but more quoting the words or the Persian Sufis works such as *alBustami*, *al-Hallaj*, *Faridudin Attar*, *al-Junaid*, *Ahmad Ghazal*³, *ibn 'Arabi*, *Jalaluddin Rumi*, *Mahmud Shabistari* and *al-'Iraqi*. It is proved that at least, Fansuri has been in contact with the religious texts from outside the country that makes him as an *ibn 'Arabi* follower. This is reflected in the works identified as the Fansuri works, such as *Asrur al-'rifn*, *sharub al-'syiqn*, and *al-Muntahi*. This fact shows us that Hamzah Fansuri has an influence and an important role in the development of intellectual repertoire of Islam in Indonesia, especially with regard to Sufism, though he is regarded as a heterodox Sufism.

b. The Works

Hamzah Fansuri produces several works that come to us in the form of poetry lyrics and in proses which are as follows :

1. *Syarab al-Asyiqin*;³⁴ this book is also called the book of

³⁴ There is a collection of Snouck manuscripts found in Aceh at the end of the 19th century and a more complete manuscript is found also in Banten. Both texts are stored in the Leiden Library museum (MS. Cod. Or. 7291 and MS. Cod. Or. 2016).

Zinat al-Muwahidin. This book is written in Malay and explained about the *wujud* doctrine. It seems that this book is addressed to those who want to follow the path of Sufism. This book describes the stages in the science of mysticism that starts with the Shari'ah, congregations, nature and gnosis. This book also describes God's *tajalliyat*.

2. *Asrar al-Arifin*; this book is written in the Malay language and describes the issues related to the *Wujudiyah* doctrine perfectly. Although this book uses the foreign terms elusively those are used by the public.
3. *Al-Muntahi*; this book is depicted in prose and in the Malay language which also explains the *wujudiah* doctrine with many citing expressions of ibn Arabi.
4. The Poem boat: The Malay-language treatise contains the basics of Sufism Hamzah Fansuri. He is using the boat as a symbol of life
5. The bird Pinggai poem: This poem describes the mortal and Baqa process and other steps that must be done to the unity of being. In this work, it seems inspired by alThair's Mantiq -Fariduddin Attar works-.

c. The concept of *wahdat al-wujud* of Hamzah Fansuri

As a region that receives Islam earlier than other regions in the Indonesia, the early scientific discourse is experienced by Aceh, despite the polemics of *wahdat alwujud* doctrine, Java case with Sheikh Siti Jenar appears first. This

case is evidenced in the history of Indonesia that is the classic debate between a mysticism group (the philosophical Sufism) and a fiqh and tasawwuf akhlaki group, although it is said that al-Ghazali makes a more harmonious relationship between the two groups. However, the contradictions and conflicts between these two groups still take place. The battle between the two groups not only happenin Java and Aceh but also in other parts of the Muslim world such as the Indian case in the Akbar the Great periode (1560 -1605 AD) and his successor –Jahangir- (1605 - 1627 AD) who was opposed by the orthodox cleric regarding Akbar’s policies as a deviate from the Islamic teachings.

Indeed, the teachings of the unity of being (*wah dat al-wujud / Wujudiyah*) has been there and started by Abu Yazid al-Bustami (d. 874 AD) with the concept of his Ittihad.³⁵ According to al-Bustami, God is a substance -the One-, the only one who actually exists. Then the visible world is the sum and the appearance of the only real there is. The human soul is hampered because its association with the unreal exists; with the practice and seriousness, a man can reach safety, over mortal -the elimination of personal-, people will get to baqa (being in God). There he unites with God. The unity is such that he could say: "I've let myself let go of his skin like a snake, and after that I see the essence of

³⁵ Henry Corbin, *History of Islamic Philosophy*, London:Kegan Paul International, 1993, p. 172-174, see also Margaret Smith, *Studies in Early Mysticism in the Near and Middle East*, London, p. 242.

myself, and I am myself, He". The same idea is conveyed by Husayn ibn Mansur al-Hallaj (858-922 AD). In 922 AD, he was executed in Baghdad because of its mystic union teaching that is considered deviant and destructive religion. Ibn Arabi was regarded as the main drafter philosophy mystic union with the ability to explain this understanding. He is considered as the Doctor Maximus (Shaykh al-Akbar) which is able to formulate the *wahdat al-wujud* doctrine philosophically.³⁶

In Indonesia, Hamzah Fansuri³⁷ is known as one of the many Sufi scholars adopting the concepts of the transformation unity of the Earlier Sufi scholars such as Ibn 'Arabi, al-Qunawi Sadrudin, Fakhruddin al-Iraqi, and' Abdul Karim al-Jil. The *wahdat al-wujud* term is originally introduced by al-Qunawi after an exhaustive review of the

³⁶ Peter, J. Awn, 1993, "Sufism", in Mircea Eliade (ed), *The Encyclopedia of Religion*, New York : Simon & Schuster Macmillan, p. 115.

³⁷ There are local scholars who assess Hamzah Fansuri, among of them are Daudi (1981), or Simuh (1988). See these two dissertations or writing of Baroroh Baried (1985), entitled "Perkembangan Tasawuf di Indonesia, in S. Sutrisno, (ed), Bahasa, Sastra, dan Budaya, Yogyakarta, Gadjah Mada University Press, 1985, p. 290 - 298. See Shams al-Din AlSumatrani through his works tended toward pantheism, see also Baroroh Baried, "Syair Ikan Tongkol, Paham Tasawuf Abad XVI - XVII di Indonesia", in Ibrahim Alpian, *Dari Babad dan Hikayat sampai Sejarah kritis*, Yogyakarta: Gadjah Mada University Press, 1992, p. 1-11.

Ibn 'Arabi works. The *wahdat al-wujud* concept teaches that the unity of God is not opposed to the idea of His knowledge appearance varied in the real world ('alam al-khalq); God is Absolute Substance, the only one in His unity; without allies and comparison to Him; and therefore God is tanzih (transcendent). Because his knowledge manifestations are vary and have sightings and unseen. Then in addition to tanzih (transcendent), He is also tasybih (immanent).

Hamzah Fansuri starts his teaching by arguing that God is a substance that is Glorified and Exalted, who creates a man. In *Asrar al-'Arifin*, he says:

"Know, O all Ye children of Adam who are Muslim, Allaah make us, from nothing into existence and of no named be named and of no form to be given form, complete with ears, with heart, with lives, with favor. We seek our Lord so that we are familiar with our gnosis or solemnly, the perfect teacher to know Him, lest our taqdir".

44

⁴⁴ Hamzah Fansuri, "Asrar al-Arifin," in Johan Doorenbos, 1933, *De Geschriften Van Hamzah Pansoeri*, Leiden : N.V v.h Batteljee & Terpstra, pl. 120.

In this introduction, Hamzah Fansuri clearly told the man to seek his Lord by the mouth of Teachers who are familiar with him, so that we do not make a mistake. A typical method of mysticism in the *tarekat* world is that a

salik should receive guidance from the tarekat sheikh in order not to get lost in the search. In the meantime, Hamzah Fansuri criticizes al-haqq seekers either young and old groups who suddenly become a Sufi and seek his God into the wilderness, while Hamzah Fansuri says that God is close to his slaves of the neck veins, so no need for a man to seek Him into the wilderness, across the seas and oceans. In one of his poems, expressed:

His light is too bright
With our many faces
He is also barbet and wine
Do not seek a far way, Yee son.³⁸

The *Wahdat al-wujud* concept of Hamzah Fansuri can also be seen from the following expression:

Our Lord is called qadim
In all beings too karim
The sign is Qadir and Just
Making the nature of al-Rahman al-Rahim
The Rahman is named of character
There is no divorce with the kunhi Substance
There association and the like
That is the essence of the named ma'lumat

³⁸ See Doorenbos, *De Geschriften*, pl. 60 – 61.

The Rahman is named of form
The God Circumstance who is willing Ma'bud
The reality of Islam, Christianity and Yahud From
the Rahman everything exists³⁹

From this poem, it is understood that Rahman is an association of all like to be the essence of all His creation. Without rahman God, it is impossible to everything has manifestation. Therefore, it is said that his rahman form is the essence of all forms of creation. Rahman's God covers seven main characters; Hay (live), 'Ilm (knowledge), Iradat (the will), Quadrat (power), Sama (hearing), Bashar (see), and Kalam (talk). According Hamzah Fansuri to the seven God's characters are qadim and the perfect isti'dad. The quotation "Bismi Allah al-Rahman al-Rahim" is The God's characters that contain in it.

The *wahdat al-wujud* concept of Hamzah Fansuri can be seen from the illustration of the position of the Lord in the universe. In *Asrur al-arifin*, Hamzah Fansuri explains the relationship between God and the universe by saying the nature is a mirror of God. Although the nature was born tangible, but in fact it is a wahmi form, not the true form. The Intrinsic form is God. ⁴⁰ In another section, Hamzah

³⁹ See Drewes, *The Poems of*, pl. 70 – 72.

⁴⁰ See Hamzah Fansuri "Asrar al-Arifin", p. 128.

describes Allah and the natures are like the ocean and the waves, as follows:

"The Sea is not divorced from the wave; the wave is not divorced from the sea. Likewise Allah; He is not divorced with the nature, but He is not in the nature or outside, not under the nature, not in the right and the left, not in front of and behind the nature. He is not divorced from the nature and does not meet with the nature and not far from the nature."⁴¹

In other part, Hamzah Fanzuri states that if a man is together with his Lord, because he or she is not divorced from his/her Lord, and the Lord is not divorced by His servant.

This expression indicates that the teaching of *wahdat al-wujd* is suitable with the hadith of the Prophet that a man who knows him then he will know his Lord. In his work, Hamza Fanzuri states that the meaning of knowing himself and knowing his Lord is that *kuntu kanzan makhfiyyah* and the all universe in the knowledge of God. As the tree with the seeds; even though there is no visible tree but it is legal in the seed. "....." Hi Thalib! Knowing "*man 'arafa nafsahu*" does not know the heart and lungs and is not familiar with the feet and the hands. The meaning of "*man 'arafa nafsahu*" is that Lord is one with no nevertheless.⁴² While in the poem,

⁴¹ Ibid, p. 153

⁴² See Hamzah Fansuri, "Syarab al-Asyiqin" p. 150.

Hamzah Fansuri describes the meaning of the hadith is as follows:

The word of the prophet: Man 'arafa nafsahu
That recognizing Rabbahu
If indeed thou are 'abdahu
Do not search illa Wajhahu
The face of God that is the origin of the word
In your form, it is complete and average
Our Lord does not eat
His Zahir is real with such beings
Man 'Arafa nafsahu is a burhan
Faqad 'arafa Rabba hu is too bayan⁴³

In his three books, Hamzah Fansuri reveals the words spoken by the Sufis such as al-Rumi, "man khuda am, man khuda am man khuda am," (I am God, I am God, I am God,), and the words of al hallaj, "ana al-haqq" (I am God), then it is the words of the drunken (lust). So let us not indulge in such words. However, if the state of drunk and lust is never sinful. This indicates that the actual phrase is only justified for the people who are experiencing mortal. On the other

⁴³ See Drewes & Brakel, *The Poem of*, p. 46, 60, see also Baginsky, *Yang Indah*, p.494.

hand, Hamzah Fansuri forbids the people to say it if it is not in the state of mortal.⁴⁴

d. Tajalli in Hamzah Fansuri's perspective

In *Asrur al-Arifin*, Fansuri Hamzah explains clearly on the doctrine of the *Wujudiyah* metaphysic and ontology. This book is regarded as one of the best books of the classical Sufism, which is much inspired by the work of Ahmad al-Sawanih Ghazali, Tarjuman al-'Asyw ± q works of ibn 'Arabi, al-'Iraqi Lama'at work, and Law the work of al-Jami. When it is compared with the work of the other Hamzah Fansuri Sufism works (*shar ± b al-²syiq³n* and *alMuntahi*) are the largest of his book and the original.⁴⁵

Hamzah Fansuri starts the discussion by explaining that God has His eternal attributes. In His attributes stored all the potential (*isti'dad*) of God acts that are everlasting in showing His all creation. In the *tajalli* term, it looks that Hamzah does not follow the Ibn Arabi concept or al-Jili. Hamza makes a different concept of the dignity from Ibn Arabi or al-Jili; God *tajalli* in five dignities:

The first dignity is the *la ta'ayun* dignity. Hamzah Fansuri says that the Haqq substance of Allah is called by *la*

⁴⁴ See Hamzah Fansuri "Asrar al-Arifin ,"p, 155. See Hamzah Fansuri "Zinat al-Muwahidin", in Abd. Hadi, *Hamzah Fansuri*, pl. 102.

⁴⁵ See Hadi, *Tasawuf Tertindas*, p. 152.

ta'ayyun, because human reason and knowledge may not be able to reach them. Hamzah Fansuri citing the words of the Prophet Muhammad forbids the people to not think about the substance of Allah.⁵³ Therefore, He is called la Ta'ayyun (not real) and the opposite is ta'ayyun (real).

The second dignity is the first ta'ayyun (awwal), namely *Ilmu*, *Wujud*, *Syuhud* dan *Nur*. With the cause of knowledge, Alim and Ma'lum become real. With the cause of being, the maker and the made become real, with the cause of *Syuhud*, The View and The Seen become real, the cause of *Nur*, The Illuminate and The Illuminated become real. This initial Ta'ayyun is named by *Ahad* and *Wahid*. It is named by *Ahad*, because the God substance is in His unity. However, if it is included the God's attributes, they are named by *Wahid*.

The third dignity is the second *ta'ayyun*, namely *Ma'lum* (the known) which the Sufis are also called *A'yan tsabitah* (the definite thing). It is also called *shuwar alilmiyah* (the painting science), sometimes it is called *iqat al-aq asyy* (the nature of things), and *ruh idhafi* (soul adrift/maintained).

تفكر في خلق الله ولا تفكر في ذات الله⁵³

The fourth dignity is the third *ta'ayun*⁴⁶ which is a reality in the third form of human spirit, the animal spirit and the plant spirit. The Fifth dignity is the fourth and fifth *ta'ayun* which are all physical objects and all *makhluqat*. This stage is the stage of the endless creation, *ila ma la nihayatan lahu*, because if there is no creation, God is not the Creator.

These are the five dignity submitted by Hamzah Fansuri. When it is compared to the concept of God's tajalli delivered by Ibn Arabi and al-Jili then there is a difference though there are also similarities. Hamzah splits *ta'ayun* dignity into five dignities then if the first dignity which is *la ta'ayun* dignity included in the concept of Hamzah thought, then it can also be said as the sixth dignity.

e. The influence of Hamzah Fansuri in Indonesia

The issue of *wahdat al-wujud* doctrine is raised in Aceh around 16th century AD. It turns out Fansuri's doctrine not only known in Aceh and surrounding areas but also it spreads into various parts of Indonesia, and become one of the earliest Malay Sufism books in

⁴⁶ See Hamzah Fansuri, "*Syarab al-Asyiqin*", p. 191-192, compared with *Zinat al-Muwahidin* edited by Abd al-Hadi, 1995, *Hamzah Fansuri, Risalah Tasawuf dan Puisinya*, Bandung: Mizan, p. 84-86.

Indonesia. In Sulawesi precisely in the Sultanate of Buton, Hamzah Fansuri teaching is known by his book “al-Asrar Arifin” that becomes a reference in the debate between the adherents of school of Wujudiyah with their opponents at the end of the 17th century AD. Although according to the research by Yunus that during the Sultan Dayyan Ihsan al-Din (1597 - 1631 AD), the teachings of the seventh dignity have been already well known in Buton and even become the kingdom Laws. This is evident from the existence of an agreement made between the Buton Kingdom and the Dutch, represented by Pieter Both in 1613 AD. It contains that the Buton kingdom freely implements the system of government according to the local custom. The Local custom referred to in the agreement is the only official indigenous regulations that manage the distribution of power that is called the Seventh Dignity Acts.⁴⁷

The writings of Hamzah Fansuri are also very well known in Java, so then it is found the translation of sharab al-Asyiqin and al-Muntahi of Hamzah Fansuri’s work into the Java language. The the Javanese Manuscript of alMuntahi is stored in Cod. Or. Leiden no. 5716 at Leiden University Library. This text was presented by Snouck in 1906 AD, not only it contains a translation of al-Muntahi but also the book of Fusul al-Hikam with the Javanese translation.

Voerhoeve says that this manuscript is estimated to be written in the 17th century, but Pegeaud says that this

⁴⁷ See Yunus, *Tasawuf*, p. 21.

manuscript was most likely written in the 19th century but it is well known that in the 17th century Hamzah Fansuri works are very well known in Banten as recorded in Banten History.⁴⁸ At the time of Sultan Abu Nasr Zainal Abidin (1753 - 1777 AD) there was a scholar who is a follower named Abdullah bin Abd al-Qahhar -a Banten theologian-after he completed his studies in Makkah to Muhammad bin Ali Al-Tabari, al-Husayni, who later appointed as a resident in Cianjur. He is known as a prolific writer, while still in Makkah he collects, writes and copies the books, including a bouquet of 'Abd al-Rauf al-Sinkili completed in 1745 AD.⁴⁹ He wrote a treatise which is *Risala fi Shurut al -Hajj wa Arkanihi* written in Makkah in 1161 AH / 1748 AD. After his returned from Mecca he wrote two treatises they were *Masyahid al-Nasiq fi al-Maqamah al-Salik*, and *Fath al-Mulk* in the year 1183 AH / 1769 AD, as well as copy *sharab al-Asyiqin* into the Javanese language at the request of the Sultan. Abdullah bin Abd al-

⁴⁸ Drewes & Brakel, *The Poems of Hamzah Fansuri*, 251, see also Martin Van Bruinessen, "Shari`a Court, Tarekat and Pesantren: Religious Institutions in the Sultanate of Banten", in *Archipel* 50, (1995), p. 165-200. See also MC, Ricklefs "Islamising Java : The long Shadow of Sultan Agung", in *Archipel*, 56, Paris, 1998, p. 479.

⁴⁹ Martin van Bruinessen, "Shari`a Court, Tarekat and Pesantren: Religious Institutions in the Sultanate of Banten", *Archipel* 50 (1995), 165-200. quoting from Voorhoeve, Bayan Tadjalli, TBG, 85, p. 108.

Qahhar follows Syatariyah and Naqsabandi whose followers are widely spread in the area of Bogor and Cianjur.⁵⁰

The Javanese Manuscript of *Sharab al-Asyiqin* is stored in Cod. Or. Leiden no. 7392 in Leiden University Library collection. This manuscript contains a set of issues of theology, law and mysticism, as well as Arabic treatise with the Javanese notes. The translation of *Sharab al-Asyiqin* in this manuscript collection is not complete, only the first four chapters of the manuscript and does not clearly show the authenticity of texts in Malay.

In addition, the influence of the *wahdat al-wujud* doctrine is also found in a poem^{51,52} that is very similar to the Hamzah Fansuri's poem. It is possible to prove that as a nomad Sufi -Hamza Fanzuri- may have traveled to the Java island, after he visited other places that are considered important. In one poem Hamzah clearly says:

"Hamzah Fanzuri in Makkah,
seeking god in Baitul Kaaba, in

⁵⁰ Drewes & Brakel, *The Poems of Hamzah Fansuri*, p. 226.

⁵¹ This poem is known by the Sukarsa poem (Suluk Sukarsa) the theme is similar to Hamzah Fansuri when seeking and finding God in Him and takes an object ocean. It very probably inspired by the writings of Hamzah Fansuri about the sea and the waves. See Hamzah Fansuri, "Asrar al-Arifin" in Doorenbos, p.

⁵² .

Barus to Kudus⁵³ is too hard,
eventually finding in the house"⁵⁴

In this regard, it is notable that in the 16th century AD, in Java, found a poem that raised the theme poem boat though in different ways. The main character raised is Ki Sukarsa, as a person with good intention, and the person who ultimately reaches the waters of immortality, so that the mysticism is known as *Suluk Sukarsa*.

"Ki Sukarsa wus alayar/ing sakatahing sagara,
margane tekeng ma'rifat/tan aetung urip pejah,
damare murup tan pejah/panganggo mulyo tan rusak,

asangu tan kena telas/angungsi ing desa jimbar

.....

⁵³ The Actual writing is Quds. This word is then connected with Kudus in Central Java, so as if Hamzah had any contact with Sunan Kudus, but according to Guillot, by basing on the tombstone inscriptions, Hamzah concludes that it is even more absurd, the word Quds refers to the place in Baitul Maqdis as one of the places visited by Hamzah Fansuri. See, Guillot, Batu Nisan, p. 10-11.

⁵⁴ Drewes & Brakel, *The Poems of Hamzah Fansuri*, p. 108.

Ki Sukarsa denya layar/perahu sabar darana, Salat
 mangka tiyangira/kinamuden pangawikan,
 Linayaran amangun hak/winelahan niat donga.
 Ki Sukrsa denya layar/wus tekeng sagara rakhmat,
 Kawasa denira layar/wus tekeng sagara ora,"⁶²

This text is as well as a number of other texts of that period. The merging theme is united with the universe (*wahdat al-wujud*). Such these themes inspired largely *suluk* in 16-17 Century in Java. The *Sukarsa* mysticism appeared earlier compared with two other manuscripts of the sixteenth century, namely *Het Boek van Bonang* (the Sunan Bonang book), edited by Schrieke, and the second manuscript is *Een Javaneese Primbon Uit De Zestiende Eeuw* (the Javanese Primbon at Age Sixteenth) which is

⁶² Regarding *Suluk Sukarsa*, see R.M.Ng. Poerbatjaraka, *Java Library*, Jakarta: Djambatan, 1952, p. 100-103. Each stanza contains 8 lines and each line is 8 syllables, all equal assonance.

Ki Sukarsa been exploring all oceans
 Because he has to know the main science
 Life and death for him just the same,
 His Flask always lits; his clothes are never broken
 His stock is never finished; be in a field
 Thus, Ki Sukarsa sails; his boat is named "patience"
 "Prayer" is the pole; the wheel is "knowledge", Sailing
 with the "truth"; the "prayer" is the oar
 Ki Sukarsa has sailed and has reached the ocean's grace

The screen has led him to where it all gone”
already discussed by H. Kraemer and GWJ Drewes. The first manuscript entitled *Het Boek van Bonang* (by Schrieke) was considered inaccurate by Drewes in his research, so he then gave another title is *The Admonition of Seh Bari*.⁵⁵

⁵⁵ See GWJ. Drewes, 1969, *The Admonition of syaikh Bari*, Leiden: The Hague – Martinus Nijhoff.

CHAPTER THREE

'ABD AL-RAUF AL-SINKILI AND TAREQAT SYATTARIYAH

a. The Biography of al-Sinkili

The Full name of 'Abd al-Rauf al-Sinkili is' Abd alRauf bin' Ali al-Jawiyi al-Fansury al-Sinkili. His birthyear can not be known with certainty until today, but according to Rinkes as quoted by Azra, it said that al-Sinkili was born around 1024/1615 and then accepted as the birth of alSinkili. He is also possible to have a family relationship with Hamzah Fansuri because in the majority of his works, his name is always followed by "Hamzah Fansuri's clan".⁵⁶

His early life is not well known with certainty, but it is assumed he got his early education in his own family. As an adult, around 1052/1642 al-Sinkili went to the Middle East and learnt from the scholars in Haramayn. Before his departure, Abd Rauf had witnessed and may be involved in the dispute between the religious ideology of al-Raniri Nurudin's followers and Syamsudin asSumatrani. This affected the Abd al-Rauf worldviews of religious thought to appear more moderate and be able to bridge the conflicts that occurred in the community.

⁵⁶ Azra, *Jaringan Ulama*, p. 189 – 190.

In *Umdat al-Muhtajin*, al-Sinkili explains about his studies in Haramayn. He wrote down a list of 19 teachers and 27 other scholars with whom al-Sinkili gained knowledge from various fields. In his notes, al-Sinkili also states that he had spent 19 years studying in the Middle East. He studied for a number of teachers in a number of areas which follow the route on the pilgrimage to Mecca; from Doha (Qatar), towards Bait al-Faqih and Zabid in Yemen. Both of these places were the knowledge center and the most important city in the Islamic teaching of Yemen.

This is where al-Sinkili learnt to Ibn Ibrahim bin Abdullah bin Ja'man who was from Jam'an's family (d. 1083/1672), related to the field of jurisprudence, hadith and other matters related to the *dhahir* science. In Zabid, al-Sinkili learnt to al-Mizjaji and al-'Adani called by al-Sinkili as the best Qari 'readers in the region, continued to Jeddah and then to Mecca. Although it is not clear how long al-Sinkili was studying in Yemen. In Jeddah, al-Sinkili studied to Abdul Qadir al-Barkhali (a mufti). While in Mecca, he learnt to Abdullah al-Lahuri (d. 1083/1672) who was a al-Qusyasyi's student, Ali ibn Abd al-Qadir al-Tabari (w.1070 / 1660)⁵⁷, as well as other scholars in Mecca.

The last stage of his intellectual journey was in

⁵⁷ Azra, "*Jaringan Ulama*", in Taufik Abdullah (ed). *The Thematic Encyclopedia of the Islamic World*, volume V, New York: New Effort Van Hoeve, 2002, p. 120-121.

Medina. In the city of the Prophet, he was satisfied with his knowledge search after meeting with a number of the scholars. Among the most important al-Sinkili's teachers; al-Ahmad al-Qusyasyi (d. 1071/1660), and Ibrahim alKurani (d. 1101/1690), al-Qusyasyi was apparently the most influential teacher in the knowledge of mysticism and congregations while al-Kurani was more to develop the intellectual insight.⁵⁸ His success of studying mysticism was demonstrated by his appointment as a Syattariyah caliph. But the close relationship between al-Sinkili and alKurani was not indisputable. After al-Sinkili returned to Aceh in 1661 AD, he continued to establish communication with the Middle East scholars, especially with Ibrahim al-Kurani to discuss the arising issues in Java.⁵⁹

After 19 years in Arabia, he decided to return to Aceh around 1661 AD. After al-Qusyasyi had taught for many years in the school in Aceh, and then died, many people from around Indonesia learnt from al-Sinkili. Among his students who became famous scholars were Sheikh Burhanuddin Wafan from Minangkabau, Abd al-Muhyi from West Java, Dawud al-Jawi al-Fansuri and Ismail Agha Mustafa Agha Ali al-Rumi from Turkey. In Aceh, al-Sinkili appointed by the

⁵⁸ See AH. John, "al-Kushashi" dalam dalam CE. Bosworth dkk (Ed), *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Leiden:EJ Brill, 1986, p. 525 – 526.

⁵⁹ Detailed description of the al-Sinkili intellectual network can be seen in Azra, *Jaringan Ulama*, p. 189-211.

Sultan became the kingdom Qadi during the Sultanah Safyat al-Din (1641 - 1675 AD).

Throughout his career, Abdurrauf al-Sinkili received royal patronage. He lived and worked under the four female rulers; Sultanah Safiyatuddin, Sultanah Nurul 'Alam Naqiyatuddin, Sultanah Zakiyatuddin, and Sultanah Kamalatuddin. As a scholar mastered various fields of religious sciences, Abd Rauf had produced various books that were quite famous in the religious field, among others: fiqh, hadith, Sufism, and Qur'anic exegesis. In the time, alSinkili wrote various works in Malay and Arabic.

b. His Works

Abd al-Rauf al-Sinkili was a productive scholar and produced dozens of works in various fields of jurisprudence, interpretation (tafsir) and Sufism. The works were produced either partly in Malay or partly in Arabic. Among the works of al-Sinkili are as follows:

1. *Tarjuman al-Mustafid* (the complete tafsir of 30 Juz) which is said to be the first book of Qur'anic exegesis in Malay.⁶⁰ This *tafsir* is a translation of a *tafsir* Jalalayn and a certain portion utilizing *tafsir* Baydhawi.

⁶⁰ The Tafsir book has been studied by Salman Harun for his dissertation at IAIN Jakarta in 1988 entitled "*Hakekat Tafsir Tarjuman al-Mustafid by the al-Sheikh Abdurrauf Singkel*."

2. *Mir'at al-°ullab fi Tashil Ma'rifah al-Ahkam alSyar'iyah li al-Malik al-Wahhab*; a fiqh book⁶¹ (the Mirror of the knowledge seeker, to facilitate understanding the Shari'ah laws) in Malay. This work was written at the request of the Sultan Safiyyat al-Din, which was completed in 1074 AH / 1663 AD. The contents of this work described about Muamalat, jurisprudence, including social, political, economic, and religious aspects.
3. *Bayan al-Arkan*; this book was written in Malay and discussed about the pillars.
4. *Umdat al-Muhtajin ila Suluk Maslak al-Mujarridin*; the stand for those who follow the path of Sufism, and written in Malay.
5. *Kifayah al-Muhtajin* ; this book confirms the God transcendence over His creation and rejects the God immanence.
6. *Bayan Tajalli*; this book is the tajalli commentary and written in Malay

⁶¹ The Script of *Mir'ah al- Tullab* has been studied for Peunoh Daly's dissertation entitled; *Hukum Nikah, Talak, Rujuk, Hadanah dan Nafkah Kerabat dalam Mir'at al-Tullab karya Abd al-Rauf Singkel*, Jakarta: IAIN Syarif Hidayatullah , 1982, it is 923 pages.

7. *Tanbih al-Masyi*;⁶² This Arabic written Book describes the issue of creed, *Shari'ah*, *tareqat*, *haqeqat* and *ma'rifat*. This book contains the answer related to the ongoing polemical of the *Wujudiyah* doctrine in Aceh.
8. *Syarh* Latif 'ala Arbain Haditsan li al-Imam al-Nawawy; the detailed explanation on the Forty Hadiths book written by Imam Nawawi, in Malay.
9. *Mawaiz al-Badi'ah*; *Mawaiz al-Badi'ah*. This book contains a collection of hadith Qudsi which contains about the relationship between God and His creation, heaven, hell and how to achieve the pleasure of Allah.

c. **Neo Sufisme al-Sinkili**

When 'Abd al-Rauf al-Sinkili left Aceh to study in the Middle East in 1052/1642¹⁰³, the polemics occurred between Nurul al-Din al-Raniri with the followers of Hamzah Fansuri and Shams al-Din al-Sumatrani. It is very

translated into Indonesian by Mohammed Badri, in order to obtain a bachelor's degree in the Faculty of Literature, University of Indonesia. In 1999, it was examined again to be a thesis by Oman Fathurrahman and published by Mizan entitled *Tanbih al-Masyi, Menyoyal Wahdat al-Wujud Kasus Abd al-Rauf Singkel di Aceh Abad 17*. See Fathurrahman, *Tanbih al-Masyi*,

⁶² The Manuscript of *Tanbih al-Masyi* is fully entitled *Tanbih al-Masyi al-Mansub ila Thariq al-Qushashi*, in 1975 had been

Menyoal Wahdat al-Wujud Kasus Abd al-Rauf Singkel di Aceh Abad 17, Bandung: Mizan, 1999.

¹⁰³ According to Rinkes who examines the history of al-Sinkili stated that al-Sinkili left Aceh in 1642. See Azra, *The Ulama Network*, p. 191.

possible for al-Sinkili to see and experience directly to their *takfir* polemics and the death penalty. This certainly gave a strong impression on al-Sinkili, so one of his goals to the Middle East was to learn about these issues. Al-Sinkili found the right people in Medina to discuss the problem which were with Ahmad al-Qusyasyi and Ibrahim alKurani. The Interaction with these clerics in turn bring alSinkili became one of the exponents of neo Sufism in Indonesia and became one of the defenders of madhab ibn Arabi (*wahdat al-wujud*) although his new interpretations were more orthodox.

Before explaining about the issue of *wahdat al-wujud*, 'Abd al-Rauf al-Sinkili first emphasized the importance of the monotheistic God. In his point of view, monotheism is linking actions -such as confirmed or denied word, and instead make. So the meaning of the creed "I witness the Oneness of God" means that I associate with the nature of God Almighty and does not make him one, because the unity of God has been attached to His substance, and not because there is something that created.¹⁰⁴

وحدانية لا جعلته والتوحيد تفعيل للنسبة كالتصديق والتكذيب لا
104 للجعل فمعنى وحدت الله نسبة الى واحد فان وحدانية ذاتية له ليست
يُجعل جاعل.

See al-Sinkili, "Tanbih al-Masyi, ", edited by Fathurrahman, *Tanbih al-Masyi, Menyoyal Wahdat al-Wujud*. Bandung: Mizan,

Departing from the concept of monotheism, 'Abd alRauf al-Sinkili explained the ontological relationship between God and nature, between al-haqq and al-khalq, between the One and the lot, between *wajib al-wujud* and *al-mumkinat*. The nature is the name for anything but alhaqq. The establishment of nature like this because it is a means to determine the existence of God, then the existence of the universe is also evidence of the existence of God. Therefore, the essence of nature is a form that is bound to the *mumkinat* characters. If it is associated with *al-Haqq*, the nature is like a shadow. Then the shadow does not have a form but the form of the reflection owner.

The human form (nature) is a shadow of God's form. So it must be understood that this nature is not really the God substance and different from God. The nature is new because He created from it His radiant form, it is also not a form that accompanies God but the manifestation is created by Him and it stands at a level below Him.¹⁰⁵ In his other work -*Kifayah Muhtajin*-, he also describes the relationship between the nature and God as the shadow and the owner of the shadow. Nature is the shadow of God and the shadows

and the owner of the shadow will never be the same, and forever the shadow is always dependent

1999, p. 90, hereinafter referred to "Tanbih al-Masyi.

¹⁰⁵ Al-Sinkili, *Bayan Tajalli*, Jakarta : Perpustakaan Nasional, ML, No. 115.

on the owner of the shadow (God).¹⁰⁶

This is what is meant by 'Abd al-Rauf al-Sinkili as *Wahdat al-Wujud*, that nature is not the independent second form but Allah and that al-Haqq is the one, no or none that would accompany but He always accompanies good things in the beginning and at the end.¹⁰⁷ In *Daqa'iq al-Huruf*, Abd al-Rauf al-Sinkili explains the doctrine of the creation of the seven stages (the seven dignities) with reference to the book of *Tuhfah al-Burhanpuri* that had become discourse widely known in Indonesia. It is not known exactly when the book is entered in Indonesia. But during the Shams al-Din al-Sumatrani, this book seems to have known well in Aceh so that al-Sumatrani also make this book into a reference, until then the great polemics between al-Raniri and the adherents of the doctrine *Wahdat al-Wujud* occurred in Aceh. The *Tuhfah* Book eventually become the most important reference in explaining the *tajalli al-Haqq* teachings, and the influence quickly spread across the country. The strong influence

¹⁰⁶ See, Fang, Liaw Yock, *Sejarah Kesusasteraan Melayu Klasik, II*, Jakarta: Erlangga, 1993, p. 64.

فنقوه هوذا مرادهم بواحدة الوجود لان مراد لا ان العا ليس ¹⁰⁷ موجودا ثانيا
موع الحق مسوتقيلا وان الحق سوبجانه وتعوالى هوو الواحد

See الاحد الذى ليس معه كل شئى وهو مع كول شويى اولا واخورا.
Tanbih al-Masyi, p. 96.

discourse of this book also had been reached among the *Haramayn* scholars.

In this case, the Al-Kurani and his student -alHamawi-, noted the influence of this book on the Malay scholars. In his account of al-Burhanpuri, as quoted by John ⁶³ and Azra ⁶⁴, al-Hamawi explained that his teacher Ibrahim al-Kurani- told that the *Wahdat al-Wujud* doctrine contained in the *Tuhfah* book became a popular teaching in Java, and even became the essentially lesson. Therefore the *Wahdat*

⁶³ Our Shaikh (Ibrahim) told me that one of our Javanese associates - and he was reading with him the [the work entitled] al-Tuhfa al-Mursala ila ruh al-nabi while we were present - told him that this treatise and the matters it treats of was popular and well-known in Java, and that it is read in their religious schools and that youths study it as a minor treatise on the rudiments of their studies See John, *Sufism in Southeast Asia: reflections & reconsiderations*, See also, AH. John, "Friends in Grace.", p. 477 – 478.

⁶⁴ Azra, *Jaringan Ulama*, p. 120.

al-Wujud theme in *Tuhfah* became popular among the people. This allows for any misinterpretation made by the people who lack of knowledge in the religious field (Sufism) in explaining the *Wahdat al-Wujud* doctrine of the Sufis, because the *Tuhfah* book is very concise. To avoid it, Ibrahim al-Kurani, wrote a treatise as Sharh (explanation) of the *Tuhfah* book to to explain to the Javanese.⁶⁵

The other various writings were written in order to clarify the doctrine of the seven dignities so that are not understood wrongly, because according to John, the *Tuhfah* book is quite succinctly and simply furnished with a brief explanation entitled *Al-haqiqah al-Muwafiqah li alSyari'ah*, al-Burhanpuri tried to control the the exaggerated Sufism and more emphasized on the essential elements of Islam as an absolute existence of God and the Shari'ah,¹¹¹

so Azra believes that the contents of the *Tuhfah alMursalah ila r-h al-Nabi* book about the concept of the seven dignities with a concise explanation is actually philosophical. It is very likely to obscure the intent of the author, especially if this work is read by common people.

lands of "Java": some books on Realities and esoteric teachings by the knowledgeable men because of their study and the

⁶⁵ We have reliable information from a Javanese group that there have become widespread among the inhabitants of the

teaching of others, but who lack any understanding of the Law of (Muhammad) the Chosen, the Elect.They told me that among the best known of the books among them was the compendium entitled *al-Tuhfa al-mursala ila ruh al-nabi* (the work by Muhammad ibn Fadl Allah mentioned by Hamawi in the biographical entry referred to above), and more than one of them has asked to prepare a commentary on it to make clear the conformity of the questions (it discusses) to the basis of the principles of religion, confirmed by the noble Book, and the Sunna of the Messengers..... See John, *Sufism in Southeast Asia: reflections & reconsiderations*, . see also John, "Friend in Grace." p. 479 – 480. See also Azra, *Jaringan Ulama*, p. 120 – 121.

¹¹¹ John, *The Gift*, p. 5-7.

¹¹² ⁶⁶

Although there is controversy about the *Tuhfah* book, but thanks to a clear, logical structure and compact, so the tajalli system in this book became the basis of the theory and practice of Sufi Malay community, starting from Shams al-Din al-Sumatrani and especially after 'Abd alRauf al-Sinkili and his students as the caliph of *tareqat Syatariyah*. The system spreaded in Minangkabau with the main figure *Sheikh Burhanuddin*, in Palembang with the main figure Abd al Shamad al-Palimbani ⁶⁷, this doctrine developed in Banjarmasin with the main figure Muhammad al-Nafis

⁶⁶ Azra, *Jaringan Ulama*, p. 120.

⁶⁷ 'Abd al-Samad al-Palimbani -the author of *al-Salikin Syi'ir*- which also explains the doctrine of the seven dignities.

Banjari⁶⁸, and entered the Patani region with the main figure Daud al-Fatani⁶⁹, went to Java with the main figure *Abdul Muhyi Pamijahan* and with the discovery of the *Tuhfat* book written in Javanese in the form of *sekar Macapat*.⁷⁰

There are a lot of writings produced by the Haramayn scholars in order to explain the *wahdat al-wujud* doctrine and the seven dignities in the *Tuhfat* book among the Javanese. In addition, Al-Kurani wrote about *Îthaf al-Dzaki*, he also wrote *al-Jawabat al-Garawiyah 'an Masail alJawwiyah al-Dahriyah* (the Important Answer to the Problem of the Atheist Javanese People), through this work he tried to straighten the Javanese belief that in his view had been included in the *dahriyah* group (atheist).

The other scholar of Makkah was Tajudin bin Ahmad, known as Ibn Ya'qub also wrote about the Javanese people's problems with the title; *al-Jadah alQawwimah ila Tahqiq Mas'alah al-Wujud wa Ta'alluq alQudrah al-Qadimah fi al-Jawab 'an As'ilah al-Walidah min Bilad Jawah* (the Strong Kindness to Investigate the existence problems and the problem associated with alQudrah al-Qadimah in

⁶⁸ Nafis al-Banjari wrote in the book of *Durr al-Nafis and Majm' al-Asrar*.

⁶⁹ Daud al-Fatani wrote the book *Manhal al-Safi*.

⁷⁰ In Tegal The composition of *Nutfah* appeared in Javanese with *sekar macapat* written around 1680. In 1769 AD at the request of the Sultan of Banten -Abu al-Nasr Muhammad Zain al'Asyiqin-, 'Abdullah ibn' Abd al-Qahhar al-Banteni; one of the Abul Taher al-Kurani students, wrote about the seven dignities

Answering the Javanese People's Questions). It was assumed that Ibn Ya'qub wrote the book on the 'Abd al-Rauf al-Sinkili's demand which had close relationship with him. Al-Sinkili himself wrote a treatise that explains the appearance of God in the universe. In *Daqa 'iq al-Huruf*, Bayan Tajalli and *Umdat al-Muhtajin*, al-Sinkili describes the God's tajalli into the seven dignities. As stated by al-Burhanpuri. This work as well as the influence of the *Tuhfah* content about the use of the dignity

in his book "Fat al-Mulk Liyasila al-Malik al-Mulk 'ala al-Qa'idat ahl al-Sulk.

of seven to explain the appearance of God in the universe. In his work, al-Sinkili explains that the God's tajalli occurred in the seven stages. The first dignity is *martabat ahadiyah*, the second dignity is *Wahdah*, the third dignity is *Wahidiyah*, the fourth is *alam arwah*, the fifth dignity is *alam mitsal*, the sixth is *alam ajsam* and the seventh dignity is *alam insan*.⁷¹ The first three dignity as *anniyat Allah*, is called the divine dignity and also called the inner dignity and the following four dignities are as *anniyat makhluq*, called the dignity of servanthood and the outer dignity.⁷²

⁷¹ See, al-Sinkili, *Bayan Tajalli*, MS, Jakarta : The Public Library, ML, No. 115.

⁷² See, al-Sinkili, *Umdat al-Muhtajin*, Jakarta : The Public Library, ML, No. 301.

Furthermore, al-Sinkili explained that *martabat ahadiyah* is *nuskhah zat*, *martabat wahdah* is *nuskhah sifat*, and *martabat Wahidiyah* is *nuskhah asthma*'. *Martabat alam arwah* is *nuskhah adam*, *alam mitsal* is *nuskhah* all things in the sky and and earth, *alam ajsam* is *nuskhah* all natural human body and *alam insan* is *nuskhah* of all previous dignities.⁷³ The Javanese problem had been persistent at 18th century. During this period, Sulaiman alKurdi wrote a book entitled *al-Durrah al-Bathiyyah fi Jawab al-As'ilah al-Jawiyyah* (the Beautiful Gem in answering the Questions of the Javanese Problems).⁷⁴ This work indicates the closeness and caring of the Haramayn scholars in the Islamic development outside Hijaz especially in Indonesia. The Indonesian scholars corresponded incessantly and did not hesitate to ask the problems that arise in Java if they did not found a solution. The 'Abd al-Rauf al-Sinkili's prudence in translating his mystical doctrine had been seen from the expressions presented in his writings. The sharp dispute between alRaniri and the followers of Shams al-Din al-Sumatrani in

⁷³ Ibid, Compare with concept of *tajalli* issued by the scholars afterward such as al-Palimbani, Nafis al-Banjari, etc.

⁷⁴ See Azyumardi Azra, "*Jaringan Ulama*" p. 111 – 112.

وانما معناه كما قاه ابو الحسن الشاذلي رضي الله عنه من عرف نفسه
 بالفقير¹²¹ عرف ربه بالغنى و من عرف نفسه بالضعف عرف ربه
 بالقوة و من عرف

Aceh made 'Abd al-Rauf al-Sinkili careful in every explanation, especially with regard to the Sufism ideas. For example, when al-Sinkili described the hadith of “*man ‘arafa nafsahu faqad ‘arafa rabbahu*” (who knows himself so he knows his Lord), in *Tanbih al-Masyi*, citing the Abu Hasan al-Sadzili opinion, al -Sinkili said that the definition of the meaning of the hadith is who knows himself as an indigent man, surely he knows his Lord as the substance of the Most Rich, whoever knows him as a weak man, surely he knows his Lord as the substance of the Most Powerful, who knows himself as a helpless man, surely he knows his Lord as the omnipotent; and anyone who knows himself as a despicable man, he knows his Lord as the Exalted.¹²¹ Furthermore, 'Abd al-Rauf al-Sinkili confirmed that the servant would remain as a slave, how he rose at a high level (*taraqqi*), and Allah remains Allah even though He comes down (*tanazzul*). Likewise the essential will not change, the servant nature is a servant and the servant is not going to turn into the nature of God, and vice versa, although at *azali* times. Nevertheless it was confirmed by Sheikh Yusuf al-Maqassari in *Zubdat al-Asrar* to affirm the oneness of God.

The 'Abd al-Rauf al-Sinkili's prudence also was reflected in the book of *Daqa'iq al-'ur-f* explaining the symbols I and he. The phrase “I and He” is actually an expression of Ibn 'Arabi who is seen as a pantheistic expression because it describes the God relationship and the nature which affirms the unity of form in all reality. However, 'Abd al-Rauf al-Sinkili confirms that the expression of Ibn 'Arabi is to be understood that it applies at

the *azali* time. The phrase is quoted by al-Sinkili in *Tanbih al-Masyi* as follows:

كنا حروفاً عاليات نقل متعلقات في ذرى القلل انا انت

نفسه بالعجز عرف ربه بالقدر و من عرف نفسه بالذلة عرف ربه بالعزة
انتهى.

See al-Sinkili, “*Tanbih al-Masyi*,” p. 98 – 100. Compared with the interpretation of Hamzah Fanzuri and al-Raniri in this case.

فيه ونحن انت وانت هو والكل في هو هو فسئل عمن وصل⁷⁵

The ibn 'Arabi's expression is further described by al-Sinkili in the other part; the essence of nature is a form that

⁷⁵ See al-Sinkili, “*Tanbih al-Masyi*, p. 100.

وحقيقة العا و هو وجود المقيد بصفات الممكنات ولهذا ي لق عليه
ب نه ¹²³سوى الحق و هو بالنسبة الى الحق كالظل.....

See al-Sinkili, “*Tanbih al-*. 29. هوذا الظول

Masyi”, p الحقليلس له الوجود الا بوجود الصاحب الظل و وجود

is bound with the *mumkinat* characters. Therefore the nature is referred to a something but *al-haqq*. If it is associated with *al-Haqq*, the nature is like a shadow. Therefore, according to this concept, a man is the shadow of *al-haqq*.¹²³ Furthermore, 'Abd al-Rauf al-Sinkili clarified the concept of this shadow; the shadow does not have a form other than a form of reflection owner. Therefore, the shadow is highly dependent on the form of the owner of the shadow. So because the shadow is determined by another embodiment, the other form is the real substance.¹²⁴

In *Daqa'iq al-Huruf*, al-Sinkili explained the problem of God and nature as a mirror to the mirror. God is the mirror of the wise man, and he was as a mirror for his Lord. The face in the mirror is dependent on the mirror, when the mirror is small, it will appear small, and so on.¹²⁵

¹²⁵ Abd al-Rauf al-Sinkili said as follows: "The Haqq is a mirror for that who is wise, then He see it all tafsil in himself; and he was a mirror for his Lord, the Lord sees Himself and His Asthma and all his characters So sometimes it's small mirror because such a small mirror, and sometimes it causes longlength mirror, and sometimes it moves because the mirror is moving, and sometimes it turned it, if there was a mirror above or below; and

الظل متوقف على وجود *Ibid*,¹²⁴ صاحب الظل فكلمنا لا وجود

له الا بغيره فالوجود لودلك الغوير حقيقوة .p. 29

sometimes it is coincided the right with the right when many mirrors and sometimes it is coincided the right to the left, if there was a mirror in front of him. So it showed such visible in the mirror, instead he occasionally Himself in the mirror and not he other than Him

Some of them said it is small in such a small mirror, a real example of Haqq in all things with as much about selfacceptance nevertheless something; and real long way in the long mirror, the real example on *alam amr* Haqq in the nature and *alam malakut* is his name, it is natural that there is no visible eyes; and such real move in the moving mirror, the real example Haqq on all work that turned and forth and changing in each period and such real turning-back, if there is a mirror below, the real example Haqq on being it is said he is a creature and in such a real turning-back, if there is a mirror on top of that, the real example he is Haqq it is said he is Haqq; and such real coincident it is right with right, real example Haqq in perfect man; and such real is coincident the right to the left, real example Haqq in which no human being kamil ". *Daqa'iq al-Huruf* in John, p. 67, see also Braginski, Yang Indah, p. 475.

The 'Abd al-Rauf al-Sinkili's prudence in explaining the mystical doctrine's ibn' Arabi seems to be influenced by the political and social conditions when he arrived in Aceh in 1661 AD. It is clear that he took a different path to that done by his predecessors -*Nur al-Din al-Raniri* or the followers of *Shams al-Din al-Sumatrani*-who were not able to meet and reconcile. However, it was done by 'Abd alRauf al-Sinkili was trying to ease the tension between these two groups, by interpreting the *wahdat al-wujud* doctrine become more orthodox; emphasizing the difference between God and His servant and his and by always quoting the message of the

great Islamic scholars and make them as a reference in a variety of his works.

d. *Tareqat Syattariyah* in Indonesia

In the deployment of the *Wahdat al-wujud* doctrine in Indonesia, the role of *tareqat Syattariyah* (brought by 'Abd al-Rauf al-Sinkili) after receiving *ijazah* to become a *Syattariyah* caliph from Ahmad al-Qusyasyi who described him as a spiritual guide and teacher. This *tareqat* had a significant role in the development of the Islamic teachings; at least his presence brought new understanding and make the polemic between the orthodox group and the considered heterodox could be reduced.

The influence of 'Abd al-Rauf al-Sinkili spread to Indonesia through various *ijazah tareqat* (not only *syataariyah*). it spread to Java through one of his students Abdul Muhyi Pamijahan- who then immediately spread also to Central Java and East Java. A number of his students whose name could not be identified, they also brought this *tareqat* *Syataariyah* into Bengkulu, which led to the rise of a *tareqat* called *Qusyasyiah*, which as can be expected attributed to al-Qusyasyi who was the teacher of al-Sinkili. Sheikh Burhanuddin became a student of al-Sinkili and was appointed as a *Syattariyah* caliph in Ulakan, West Sumatra, who later founded the mosque (the educational institution)

and shown to be effective in order to spread the teaching of this *tareqat*.⁷⁶

Shaykh Burhanuddin of Ulakan and his teacher' -Abd al-Rauf al-Sinkili- wrote a treatise⁷⁷ that described the arrival of Islam in Ulakan and the teaching of *tarekat Syattariyah* with a base on the small mosque. From the small mosque in Ulakan, the *wahdat al-wujud* teaching in *tarekat Syattariyah* spread in the Minangkabau region in the late 17th century⁷⁸. when the students of the small mosque in Ulakan came back to their villagse, they also brought the doctrine and practices as well as taught the *tarekat Syattariyah* students in the new mosque of the Darek region.⁷⁹ Through the trading routes to the KapasKapas and

⁷⁶ See, Azra, *Islam Nusantara*, p 107-108. Mansour stated that Sheikh Burhanuddin still has family ties with Sultan Alaudin Riyat Shah al-Qahhar. See MD. Mansour et al, *Sejarah Minangkabau*, Jakarta: Barata, 1970, p. 79.

⁷⁷ This paper can be seen in Karel A. Steenbrink *Beberapa Aspek Islam di Indonesia Abad ke -19*, Jakarta: 1984, p. 179-184..

⁷⁸ Fathurrahman has been doing research on this Tareqat Syattariyah particularly in West Sumatra by using the local

⁷⁹ More detail Description, see Azra, *Surau : Pendidikan Islam Tradisional dalam Transisi dan Modernisasi*, Jakarta : Logos Wacana Ilmu, 2003, p. 43-44. See also Christine Dobbin, *Kebangkitan Islam dalam Ekonomi Petani yang Sedang Berubah : Sumatera Tengah, 1784 - 1847*, Jakarta: INIS, 1992, the translation of Islamic Revivalism in a Changing Peasant Economy: Central Sumatra, 1784-184.

Mensiangan villages, which were close to of Padang Panjang to the city of Lawas and to the rich rice fields in southern agam and to the old town near Cangkring. In the villages beside the west of Old Town, the small mosque was prosperous so that there was one of its members was called as the leader of all the creatures in the world and the hereafter in this region. This area became known as the four lift/four “Tuanku” (four revered).⁸⁰

resources and others. See, Oman Fathurrahman, *Tarekat Syattariyyah di Dunia Melayu-Indonesia: Kajian atas Dinamika dan Perkembangannya Melalui Naskah-Naskah di Sumatra Barat* . Disertasi: Program Studi Ilmu Susastra Program Pascasarjana Universitas Indonesia. 2003.

According to Fathurrahman, there were four Sheikh Burhanuddin’s students who were his friends when they studied to 'Abd al-Rauf al-Sinkili. These four are: Datuk Maruhun *Panjang*, Shaykh Tarapang, Shaykh Mutanasir, and Sheikh Buyung *Muda*. Datuk Maruhun Panjang then spread the teachings of this tareqat to Padang Ganting Batu Sangkar, Sheikh Tarapang spread this tareqat to Kubung Tiga Belas Solok, Sheikh Mutanasir spread to Koto Tengah

⁸⁰ It is unclear who is actually the Four “Tuanku”, because in this treatise, Sheikh Burhanuddin not only mentioned four names instead of eight names next to their names. Their names were Sheikh 'Abdul Qussyi, Sheikh Jalaluddin, Sheikh Abdurrahman Sheikh Khairuddin, Sheikh Idris, Sheikh Abdul Muhsin, Sheikh Habibullah, and Sheikh Sultan al-Kisa'i. Shaykh Burhanuddin or

Padang, and Shaykh Buyung Muda to Bayang Pulut-Pulut Bandar Sepuluh.¹³¹

In addition, among the followers of *tareqat Syattariyah* in West Sumatra also spread the *tareqat* pedigree composed by the three old clerics of *tareqat Syattariyah*; Buya Mata Air Pakandangan, Buya Angku Pakandangan, and Buya Tapakis. According to them, Sheikh Burhanuddin had the other students who were Syaikh Janggut Hitam Lubuk Ipuh, Syekh Abdurrahman

'Abd al-Rauf al-Sinkili did not provide an explanation of the Four "Tuanku", see Steenbrink, *Beberapa Aspek*, p. 179-184.

¹³¹ See Fathurrahman 2004, "Tarekat Syattariyah: Memperkuat Ajaran Neo Sufisme, in Sri Mulyati (ed), *Tarekat-Tarekat Mu'tabarah di Indonesia*, Jakarta: Kencana, p 170. See also Fathurrahman," Reinforcing Neo-Sufism in the Malay Indonesian World, *Syattariyah Order in West Sumatra*, in *Studia Islamika*, Vol 10 no. 3, 2003, p 48 - 49. It is unfortunately that local sources are not mentioned the name and year of the scholars, so it's difficult to test and prove the validity of the relationship between the teachers and students.

Ulakan, Syekh Kapih-Kapih Paninjauan Padang Panjang, and Syekh Mula Ibrahim Lunang Pesisir Selatan. Sheikh Janggut Hitam Lubuk Ipuh had a students who is Sheikh Abdurrahman Lubuk Ipuh which then passed the Sheikh *tareqat Syattariyah ijazah* to Sheikh Malalo Lima Puluh. From Sheikh Malalo Lima Puluh was then causing the diverse and complex genealogy of which Sheikh Mata Air

Pakandangan, Sheikh Balindung Pilulang, Sheikh Cubadak Air Pariaman, and Sheikh Aluma Koto Tuo Bukit Tinggi.⁸¹

While the research conducted by Bakri Nasar⁸² and Joseph Tayar⁸³ about the developments of Syattariyah Order in West Sumatra to this day is still pretty good and growing rapidly. They wrote the Syattariyah Order teacher's lineage that connects up with 'Abd al-Rauf alSinkili. The last teacher was Sheikh Ali Umar Tuanku Nan Elok who received *Ijazah* from Sheikh Tuanku Bermawi who received *Ijazah* from Sheikh Bosai who received *Ijazah* from Sheikh Muhammad Sani who received *Ijazah* from Sheikh Jafarin who received *Ijazah* from Sheikh Abdul Muhib who received *Ijazah* from Sheikh Sultan Kusai who received *Ijazah* from Sheikh Tuanku Tibanan who received *Ijazah* from Sheikh Ahmad Qasim who received *Ijazah* from Sheikh Habibullah Sheikh Khalidin who received *Ijazah* from Sheikh Abdul Hasan who received *Ijazah* from Sheikh Abdul Musin who received *Ijazah* from Sheikh Idris Majolela Khatib who received *Ijazah* from Sheikh Jalaluddin who received *Ijazah* from Sheikh Khairul who received *Ijazah* from Sheikh

⁸¹ Fathurrahman, *Tareqat Syattariyah*, p. 170-171.

⁸² See, Bakri, H. Nazar, *Tareqat Syattariyah di Padang Pariaman, Tinjauan dari Segi Dakwah*, Dissertation, Jakarta: IAIN Syarif Hidayatullah, 2002.

⁸³ See, Joseph Tayar, *Kehidupan Tarekat di Sumatera Barat, Studi Kasus tentang Basapa di Ulakan Pariaman*, Dissertation, Jakarta: IAIN Syarif Hidayatullah, 1999.

Abdurrahman who received *Ijazah* from Sheikh Muhammad Idris who received *Ijazah* from Sheikh Burhanuddin Ulakan who received *Ijazah* from 'Abd Rauf bin Ali al-Sinkili.

However, not all Syattariyah Order networks in Indonesia are always associated with 'Abd al-Rauf alSinkili, but there is a statement that explains there are several areas in Indonesia that gained the Syattariyah Order from the other lines, although at the same estuary that is Ahmad al-Qusyasyi through his student -Ibrahim alKurani-, such as the growing *tareqat Syattariyah* in Buntet of Cirebon. According to Muhaimin,⁸⁴ that *tareqat Syattariyah* in Buntet was growing not through Abd al-Rauf al-Sinkili but by Muhammad Tahir ibn Ibrahim al-Kurani who received from his father Ibrahim al-Kurani, and so on.

The same thing applies to the *tareqat Syattariyah* in the Buton kingdom that also received through Muhammad Tahir ibn Ibrahim al-Kurani. This phenomenon is certainly easy to understand because the *Haramayn* position as the science center became dominant so that stimulated and invited the Muslims to seek knowledge in Haramayn.

If it is explored further, actually the core network of the *wahdat al-wujud* doctrine deployment and development

⁸⁴ See, Muhaimin, 1997, "Pesantren and Tareqat in the Modern Era: An Account on the Transmission of Traditional Islam in Java, in *Studia Islamika*, Vol 4 No. 1, Jakarta: PPIM, p. 6 - 9. Compared with Muhaimin, AG, *Islam Dalam Bingkai Budaya Lokal : Potret dari Cirebon*, Jakarta: : Logos Wacana Ilmu, 2002, p.337 -343

was located in Haramayn. As we see that Al-Qusyasyi and Al-Kurani had a clear role in the spread of the dignity of seven in Indonesia through the Syattariyah Order and 'Abd al-Rauf al-Sinkili, but the scholar known in Indonesia as the caliph of the Syattariyah Order precisely in Haramayn itself was better known as a follower of the *Naqsabandiyah* Order. As stated by Bruinessen that the last Kurdish scholar Dictionary biography published by Mudarris in 1983 AD only mentioned al-Kurani as the adherent of the *Naqsabandi* Order, as well as the famous biographical dictionary of Muhammad Khalil titled Silk Durrar also mentioned the same thing.⁸⁵ They taught the exercises of remembrance with a loud voice, and through listening to music that it is not preferred by some Naqsabandi scholars, especially al-Sirhindi. These scholars taught the Syattariyah Order to the Javanese scholars such as ' Abd alRauf al-Sinkili. But the son of al-Kurani, Abul Tahir actually taught Abdullah bin Abd al-Qahhar al-Banteni son of Sultan Agung of Tirtayasa the Naqsabandi Order and appointed him as the caliph of Naqsyabandiyah Order.⁸⁶

⁸⁵ See Bruinessen, *Tareqat Naqsabandi*, p. 59.

⁸⁶ Quoted from Martin van Bruinessen, "shari`a court, Tareqat and Pesantren: religious institutions in the Sultanate of Banten", *Archipel* 50 (1995), 165-200. see Martin van Bruinessen, "Kitab Kuning", *Pesantren dan Tareqat*, Bandung: Mizan, 1990, p. 269-270.

CHAPTER FOUR

ABD. SHAMAD AL-PALIMBANI AND TAREQAT SAMMANIYAH

a. The Palembang Sultanate at 18th Century

One of the Islamic intellectual centers of Indonesia is in the Palembang Sultanate⁸⁷, South Sumatra. After the founding of Palembang Sultanate in 17th century, the massive Islamization in Palembang and the surrounding areas occurred. On the other hand, the Sultan seemed to have a special concern for the Islamic knowledge. According to Azra⁸⁸, it seems the Sultan made a lot ways and means to attract the interest of Islamic scholars, especially from the Middle East to come to Palembang and teach the Islamic knowledge there.

⁸⁷ The Palembang Sultanate is the continuation of the kingdom of Majapahit, Demak and Pajang and Mataram. In the history of Palembang, it said, the Majapahit duke ruling in Palembang is Arya Damar (1455-1486), the son of Prabu Brawijaya Sri Kertawijaya, who was later replaced by the Prince of Sedo ing Lautan. See Husni Rahim, "Kesultanan Palembang Menghadapi Belanda serta Masuk dan Berkembangnya Islam di Daerah Palembang, dalam *Sejarah*, MSI, Jakarta:Gramedia, 1993, p. 3457

⁸⁸ Azra, Jaringan Ulama, p. 244.

As a result, since the seventeenth century, the Arab immigrants mainly from Hadramaut began arriving in Palembang and increasingly growing a lot. Towards the middle of the seventeenth century, there had been several Arabic Islamic scholars who had an important position in the palace. Furthermore, Azra explained that in 1754 - 1755 AD reported Sayyid Aydarus was married to the sister of Sultan Mahmud and some other sayyid became religious leaders, chaired by one of them and was known as *Tuan Besar*.

The sultan's concern to make Palembang as a center of religious sciences made Palembang had a large collection of manuscripts and works of the local Muslim scholars' copies of books written by the Middle East scholars. But it seems this update only within the scope of the palace, not spread out of the palace. As a result, the manuscripts and scientific tradition only became stronger in the surrounding palace. It seems that there are similarities regarding intellectual tradition with the existing tradition in the surrounding Buton kingdom of Sulawesi. However, at least it made the Palembang Sultanate palace became the center of a large collection of Muslim local scholars and international.⁸⁹

⁸⁹ See, GWJ. Drewes, the *Directions on Travelers on the Mystic Path*, the Hague : KITLV, 1977.

Drewes⁹⁰ and also Iskandar¹⁴² provided a list of the manuscript collection in the Palembang palace at 18th century AD which was the works of local and international scholars. There is a manuscript with the title of *al-haqiqah fi takhrij ahadits al-'ariqa* which was the work of Ali ibn Hasan ibn Sadaqa al-Misri written in 1640 AD or the manuscript *Umdat al-Murid li al-Jawharat al-Tawhid* in 1650 AD, and the translation of the book of al-hikam which was the work of Ibn Athaillah in Malay as a collection of Sultan Ahmad Najmudin (1754-1777 AD).

In addition, the books of the Indonesian scholars originating from outside of Palembang were also mentioned in the text list, such as the book of *Asrar alarifin* written by Nur al-Din al-Raniri, *Daqa'iq al-Huruf*, *Umdst al-Muhtajin* by 'Abd al-Rauf al-Sinkili and the Javanese manuscripts; *Serat Wulang Jayalengkara* collected by Sultan Muhammad Baha'udin (1774 - 1803 AD), as well as the works of the scholars and writers from Palembang itself such Shihabuddin bin Abdullah Muhammad, Kemas Fakhrudin, Abd al Shamad alPalimbani, Muhammad Muhyidin bin Syaikh Shihabudin, Kemas Muhammad bin Ahmad and so forth.

The books were circulated in Palembang including

⁹⁰ See, GWJ. Drewes, "the Palembang Manuscripts and Author", in the *Directions on Travelers on the Mystic Path*, the Hague :

KITLV, 1977, p. 198 – 237.

¹⁴² See T. Iskandar, “the Palembang Kraton Manuscripts” in CMS Hekwig & SO. Robson (ed), *A Man of Indonesian Letters, Essays in Honour of Professor A Teew*, Forris Publication, 1986, p. 67 – 72.

the books in the field of hadith, jurisprudence, mysticism, theology, and history. However, in the Drewes’ observation, the books written by Hamzah Fansuri and Shams al-Din al-Sumatrani did not appear and was not found in the collection, which is precisely the book of al- kitab dari Nur al-Din al-Raniri and ‘Abd al-Rauf alSinkili.⁹¹ This shows the scholars in Palembang avoided studying the problematic books.

The scholars existed before Abd al Shamad alPalimbani such as Shihabuddin bin Abdullah Muhammad ⁹² wrote in Malay translation of *Jawharat alTawhid* completed in 1163/1750, the work of Ibrahim alLaqani (d. 1631), a mystical treatise on the issue based on *Risalah fi al-Tawhid* -the work of Shaykh Raslan alDimasqi-, as well as the book of *Aqidat al-Bayan* of the nature of twenty; about a short treatise on the mysticism subject, according to the Drewes’ research, the book was written to prevent the people from the problem of shirk and heretic

⁹¹ Drewes, the *Directions for*, p. 217.

⁹² It is not known his history clearly, but Drewes estimates that he lived in the mid -18th century as seen from the works were initiated to him. See, Drewes, the *Directions for*, p. 219.

that began to spread to the community as a result of the doctrine of the dignity of the seven who began to spread in the community without qualified religious teachers controll. To avoid it, Shihabudin taught the doctrines of Sufism of al-Junaid, al-Qushayri and al-Ghazali more.⁹³

The other scholar is Kemas Fakhrudin. The period of his life can not be known certainly. Azra⁹⁴, Windstedt⁹⁵ stated that the Kemas Fakhrudin life (around 1133 - 1177 AH / 1719 - 1763 AD), had spent his life in India for more than four years, but he apparently chose to settle in Makkah or Madinah until the end. It was there that he wrote his works including The *Mukhtasyar* Book in Malay from the translation of *Risalah al-Tawhid* with the comments of Zakariya al-Ansari (the Egyptian cleric, d. 1520 AD) and Abd al-Ghani bin Isma'il al-Nabulusi (d. 1731 AD), translating part of Futh al-Sya'm of Abu Isma'il al-Basri (died at the end of the second century H), Khawas al-Qur'an al Ashim, and translating Tuhfat al-Zaman fi *'arfahl al-Yaman* -the work of Saddad al-Himyari-. The latest book was written at the request of Pangeran Ratu.⁹⁶

⁹³ Drewes, *Directions for*, p. 219.

⁹⁴ Azra, *Jaringan Ulama..*”, p. 245.

⁹⁵ Winstedt, *A History of*, p. 152.

⁹⁶ Drewes, the *Directions for*, p. 221 – 222.

b. The Biography of Abd al-Shamad al-Palimbani

The attention on *wahdat al-wujud* madhab and the related works was shown by Abd al Shamad al-Palimbani in his landmark work “*Siyar al-Salikin ila ibadat Rabb alalamin*”. His full name is Abd al Shamad bin Abd Allah alJawi al-Palimbani, but the Arab sources call him with Sayyid Abd al Shamad ibn Abd al-Rahman al-Jawi. According to the Kedah Kingdom history, al-Palimbani was born around 1116/1704, his father was Abd al-Jalil bin Abd al-Wahab bin Ahmad al-Madani, a Sufi cleric in San'a and had served as the grand mufti in Kedah kingdom, but then married to a Palembang woman, Raden Ranti.⁹⁷

Despite his lifetime is unknown certainly but Azra⁹⁸ and Cuzwain⁹⁹ estimate that the life span of Abd al Shamad al-Palimbani around 1704 - 1785 AD, when he completed

⁹⁷ Azra, “Jaringan Ulama..” p. 245 - 246. Chatib Cuzwain, 1985, *Mengenal Allah, Suatu Studi Mengenai Ajaran Tasawuf “Syekh Abd al-Samad al-Palimbani Ulama Palembang Abad ke -18*, Jakarta : Bulan Bintang, p 8-11. See also Chatib Cuzwain, 1986, “Syekh Abd al-Samad al-Palimbani, “Suatu Studi Mengenai Perkembangan Islam di Palembang dalam Abad ke -18 Masehi”, dalam Gadjahnata (ed), *Masuk dan Berkembangnya Islam di Sumatera Selatan*, Jakarta : UI Press, p. 178-182.

⁹⁸ Azra, “Jaringan Ulama”, p. 246.

⁹⁹ Cuzwain, *Mengenal Allah*, p. 12.

the book of *Siy'ar al-Shalikin ila Ibadah Rabb al'alamin*.¹⁰⁰ Azra concluded that most of the life of al-Palimbani spent in Arabia, even with regard the Arabic sources, Azra believes that al-Palimbani also died in Arabia, where he wrote and taught. Although, al-Palimbani settled and spread his knowledge in Arabia, he did not forget the Islamic tradition of Indonesia. This is evidenced by the book written in Malay which is certainly destined for the Malay community as we shall see later.

Among the teachers of al-Palimbani, the most famous is Muhammad ibn Abd al-Karim al-Sammani, Muhammad ibn Sulayman al-Kurdi and Abd 'al-Mun'im al-Damanhuri¹⁰¹, Ibrahim al-Ra'is al-Zamzami (1698 - 1780), Muhammad Murad al-Husayni (1759 - 1791 AD),

¹⁰⁰ See Al-Palimbani, *Syi'ar al-Salikin ila Ibadah Rabb al-'alamin*, four volumes, Beirut: Dar al-Fikr, without year. Later it is referred to *Syi'ar al-Salikin*.

¹⁰¹ A later instance of a comparable constellation of elements occurs in the mid-eighteenth century under the aegis of the Palembang Sultanate in South Sumatra. It is possible to document the relationship between 'Abd al-Samad (1703-1788) of Palembang, and the Arab scholars in the Holy Land, including the Egyptian Azharite professor Ahmad b. 'Abd alMun'im al-Damanhuri who visited Mecca in 1763, and Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Karim al-Samman (1719-75) who founded the Sammaniyya tariqa. 'Abd al-Samad was inducted into this tariqa, and through his students in Mecca returning home to Sumatra, it was established in Palembang where it flourished within the founder's life-time. See W.J. Drewes, the *Directions for Travelers on the Mystic Path*, Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut

Muhammad ibn al-Jawhari al-Misri (1720 - 1772 AD),
Atha'illah al-Azhari al-Makki. Al-Palimbani had some
friends from Indonesia where they studied together in
Saudi Arabi; Muhammad Arsyad al-Banjari, Abd al-Wahhab

voor Taal-, Land-, en Volkenkunde (VKI) 81 (The Hague, 1977),
p. 219-20.

al-Bugis, Abd al-Rahman al-Jawi and Dawud al-Fatani. Their contact with the clerics in the Middle East is no doubt giving a great influence on his views on the areas of religion, especially jurisprudence, and Sufism. He could reconcile between the heterodox Sufism and its opponent, as 'Abd al-Rauf al-Sinkili did, so that Bruinessen said Abd al-Shamad al-Palimbani perhaps the most learned scholars in the history of Indonesia.¹⁰²

c. His Intellectual Works

During his life, al-Palimbani was a productive scholar who wrote many works both in Malay and Arabic. The works are related to the issue of monotheism, Sufism and also suggestions for jihad. According to Drewes¹⁰³, al-Palimbani at least wrote seven papers, while Cuzwain¹⁰⁴ said eight pieces. These books are as follows:

1. *Hidayat al-Salikin fi Sul-k Maslak al-Muttaqin* in 1778 AD; this book was written in Malay and a translation of *Bidayat Hidayat* of al-Imam al-Ghazali's work.
2. *Sair al-Saikin ila 'Ibadat Rabb al-'alamin* in 1779 M;

¹⁰² See Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning, Pesantren dan Tarekat*, Bandung: Mizan, 1990. p. 270.

¹⁰³ See Drewes, *Directions for*, p. 222 – 224.

¹⁰⁴ See Cuzwain, *Mengenal Allah*, p. 22.

This book is written in Malay and a translation of *Ihya' Ulumudin of al-Imam al-Ghazali's work*. Al-Palimbani not only translated the book of al-Ghazali, but also he tried to give a new discourse to this book, because in this book, al-Palimbani inserted some sources from the books of Ibn Arabi, al-Jili and Syamsudin as-Sumatrani and even in *Sya'ir al-Salikin*, he also mentioned the seven dignity's teachings of al-Burhanpuri. This shows us that al-Palimbani tried to compromise between Sufism Sufism ghazalian and arabian sufism.

3. *Tuhfat al-Raghibin fi Bayan Haqiqati Iman al-Mu'minin* in 1774 AD; This book is written in Malay so that people do not get lost and misunderstanding. He also wrote *Tuhfat al-Raghibin* that warns the readers to not to get lost from various religious streams and understand the deviant and perverted groups as the *Wujudiyah mulhid* group. According to the Drewes' conclusions the book was written at the request of the Palembang Sultan (Sultan Najamudin or Sultan Bahaudin)
4. *Nasihah al-Muslimin wa ta'kirat al-Mu'minin fi fadhail al-Jihad fi Sabilillah wa Karamat al-mujahidin fi sabilillah*. This book is in Arabic and contains suggestions for jihad fi sabilillah in facing colonialism. This book was written as an answer to the West colonization occurred in Indonesia.

5. *Zuhrat al-Murid fi Bayaan Kalimat al-Tawhid*; this book is written in Malay and contains the monotheism sentences and accomplished in Mecca in 1764 AD.
6. *al-Urwat al-Wusqa wa silsilat al-'ali al-Ittiqa*; this book is written in Arabic and contains *wirid*.
7. Ratib Abd al-Shamad
8. *Zadd al-Muttaqin fi Tawhid Rabb al-'alamin*; this paper is a summary of the monotheism doctrine taught by Sheikh Muhammad al-Saman.¹⁰⁵

d. The Revivalism of Abd al-Shamad al-Palimbani's *Wujudiyah*

(At 18th century AD) in Palembang, the conflict between the *Wujudiyah* followers (the doctrine of the dignity of seven) and the scholars occurred, so Shihabuddin bin Abdullah Muhammad needed to write *Risalah Tawhid* so that people avoid the problem of shirk and zindik.¹⁰⁶ It is not known how and who brought this teaching to Palembang.

In one part of the *al-Risalah* book, Shihabudin wrote about the *wahdat al-wujud* doctrine and the dignity seven teachings that are misrepresented by the public so that they got lost from the right path. This happened because at that time the *wahdat al-wujud* teachings and the dignity seven

¹⁰⁵ See Drewes, the *Directions for*, p. 222 – 224. See also Cuzwain, *Knowing Allah*, p. 22 – 30.

¹⁰⁶ See Drewes, the *Directions for*, p. 219.

had been already well known in the Javanese community (Indonesia), but the scholars who were able to teach the doctrine precisely were very limited, as a result there were a lot misinterpretation of the public. Therefore, in his *Risalah*, Shihabudin states that the books teaching about the *wahdat al-wujud* doctrine should not be disseminated among the public, so that it could only be read by limited people.¹⁰⁷

Unlike the previous Palembang scholars such as Shihabuddin bin Abdullah Muhammad who is more into Ghazalian Sufism, al-Palimbani through his two main works which are *Siy'ar al-Salikin* and *Hidayah al-Salikin*, al-Palimbani tried to do as 'Abd al-Rauf al-Sinkili had done. He compromised and interpreted the heretical doctrines. Although that books of *Siy'ar al-Salikin* and *Hidayah al-Salikin* considered to be the adaptation of the first books which are *Ihya 'Ulum al-Din* and *Bidayah al-Hidayah* of al-Ghazali's works, but in fact al-Palimbani enriched this book (*Siy'ar al-Salikin*) by inserting other works from the book of al-*Hikam* of ibn Ata illah, *Risalah al-Qusyairiyah* of al-Imam al-Qushayri, *Futuhat al-Makkiyah* of ibn 'Arabi, *Insan al-Kamil* of al-Jili, *Tuhfat al-Mursalat* of al-Burhanpuri, *Syarah Hikam* ibn Atha Allah of al-Qusyasyi, *al-Maslak al-Mukhtar* of Ibrahim al-Kurani, *Jawhar al-*

¹⁰⁷ Shihabudin, "Risalah" in GWJ. Drewes, 1977, the *Directions on Travellers on the Mystic Path*, the Hague: KITLV p. 88 – 99.

Haqa'iq of Syams al-Din al-Sumatrani, *Ta'yid al-Bayan Hasyiyah* of 'Abd al-Rauf al-Sinkili and so on.¹⁰⁸

In his point of view about the teachings of Hamzah Fansuri and Shams al-Din al-Sumatrani, al-Palimbani actually considered the books of these two men in the *muntahi* group. It means that this Sufism books are for salik who has reached a high spiritual level. In this case, alPalimbani divided the Sufist followers into three groups; *mubtadi'*, *mutawasit* and *muntahi*¹⁰⁹, accompanied by the standard books that become a guide for each group.

Starting from the first group, the books that became the standard reading of this group are the works of alGhazali, as well *Bidayah al-Nihayah*, *Minhaj al-abidin*, *Arba'in fi Ushul al-Din*, *Ihya' Ulum al-Din*, and so on; and also the book of *Qut al-Qulub* of Abu Thalib al-Makki, *Risalah al-Qusyairiyah* of Abu al-Qasim al-Qusyairi, *alGhunyah* of Abd al-Qadir al-Jailani, *'Awarif al-Ma'arif* of

¹⁰⁸ See, *Syi'ar al-Salikin*, Jus III, p. 176 – 184.

¹⁰⁹ The Mubtadi group 'is a group of people who have passions; the people who are going to learn the Tareqat science, which have not been pure in his heart of *ma'siyat Batini*, possess *riya'* and *ujub*, irritability and so on. The *Mutawasith* class is the class of people who have *ruh* that is, those people who are steeped in the sufist science, and has been pure in heart of inner *maksiyat*. The Muntahi class is the class of people who have a spirit, have a sacred heart of inner *ma'siyat* and is pure in heart from other than Allah, the person who has gnosis of God. See *Siyar al-SalikIn*, III, p. 177 – 178.

Syihabudin Umar al-Suhrawardi, *Adab al-M-ridin* of Muhammad bin Habib al-Suhrawardi, *Miftah al-Falah* of Ibn 'Athallah, *Al-Futuhat al-Ilahiyyah* of Zakariya al-Anshari, *Madarij al-Salikin*, *al-Matan al-Kabir wa al-shaghir* of Abd al-Wahhab al-Sya'rani, *al-Simth al-Majid* of Ahmad al-Qusyasyi, *al-Itqa' li al-Taqqarrub bi al-Nawafil* of Ibrahim al-Kurani, and so on.

There are about 56 works that became the standard reading of this first group.¹¹⁰ The selection of these books was certainly not random but methodologically. It seems that al-Palimbani wanted to suppress the beginners who wanted to follow the Tareqah remains the cornerstone of the Shari'ah that first and foremost to the Sufi path. For the reading of *mutawasith* group among the books are philosophical, and theological like *al-Hikam* dan *Lathaif al-Minan* of Ibn Athallah, and some *Syarah al-Hikam* of Muhammad bin Ibrahim bin Abbad, Ahmad bin Ibrahim bin Allan al-Naqsabandi, Ahmad al-Qusyasyi, and so forth. And also the books of *Futuh al-Ghayb* of Abd al-Qadir al-Jailani, *a-Masabir* of Abd Allah al-Suhrawardi, *Risalah Qawanin al-Ahkam* of Muhammad Abi al-Mawahib al-Sadzili, *Jawahir al-Khamsah* of Muhammad al-Ghawts, *Risalah Asrar al-Ibadat* of Muhammad al-Samman, and so on.¹¹¹

¹¹⁰ Detail, See *Siyar al-Salikin*, III, p. 177 – 181.

¹¹¹ Detail, See *Siyar al-Salikin*, III, p. 181 – 183.

The books are dedicated for *muntahi* group are the philosophical, complicated and sometimes controversial books, such as *utuhut al-Makkiyah, Mawaqi' al-Nujum*, dan *Fushush al-Hikam* of ibn 'Arabi as well its *syarah* by Abd alGhani al-Nabulusi, Ali al-Maha'imi, *al-Insan al-Kamil* of Abd al-Karim al-Jili, *al-Sirr al-Mansun, Miskat al-Anwar* of alGhazali, *Tuhfah al-Mursalat ila ruh al-Naby* of Fadlullah alBurhanpuri, *al-Maslakh al-Mukhtar* of Ibrahim al-Kurani, *Jauhar al-Daqa'iq* and *Tanbih al-Tullab fi Ma'rifah al-Malik al-Wahhab* of Syams al-Din Al-Samatrani, *Ta'yid al-Bayan Hasyiyah and Idhah al-Bayan fi Tahqiq Masail al-A'yan* of 'Abd al-Rauf al-Sinkili, and so on.¹¹²

The sorting and differentiation of these books were done consciously by al-Palimbani to prevent the Sufism followers of intellectual confusion. Therefore, al-Palimbani suggested only the *muntahi* group recommended reading these books because if these books were read by the people who do not have enough knowledge, it is feared that they will fall astray and become the *Wujudiyah Mulhidah* group. Like his predecessor, al-Palimbani tried to compromise the Sufism ibn 'Arabian with the Ghazalian to make interpretations of the controversial concepts, as alQusyasyi, al-Kurani, al-Sinkili and al-Maqassari did. Almost the entire works of al-Palimbani always stressed the importance of compliance with the obligations of the Shari'ah in the mystical path but they refused the uncontrolled speculative

¹¹² Detail. See *Siyar al-Salikin*, III, p. 183 – 184.

mysticism which he called the *Wujudiyah mulhidah* doctrine.

Al-Palimbani called the fake Sufi groups including the *mulhidah Wujudiyah* group. They were *hubbiyah*, *awliyaiyah*, *samrakhiyah*, *khaliyyah*, *waqifiyyah*, *mutakasiliyah*, *hululiyah*, *mujassimah*, *ibahiyah*, *hururiyah*, *mutajahiliyyah*, and *Wujudiyah*. While the *Wujudiyah* group is the people who said *la ila ha illa Allah* is believed to be "my manifestation is God's manifestation". It means that I am a manifestation of God. They stated that *inna al-Haqq subhanahu wa ta'ala laisa bi maujud illa fi Zimni wujud alka'inat*, means that the actual Haqq is no form but in the form of any creature, then they likened the oneness of Almighty Haqq in the form of beings. They also said "we and God are same beings". The Groups that believe it are judged pagan by al-Palimbani. In his opinion, there are two groups of *Wujudiyah*; *Wujudiyah mulhidah* (atheist) and *Wujudiyah muwahidah* (the true one).

To explain the diversity of the universe, al-Palimbani adopted al-Burhanpuri's concept of the seven dignities with some modifications. According to al-Palimbani, the manifestation of the one God could be known with seven stages. The first dignity is *martabat al-ahadiyah* that is also called with *la ta'ayun* and *martabat al-Itlaq* which is the form of the essence; a man looks at the manifestation of God with his heart and without the character of *ikhtibar*, *af'al* and *asthma*. The second dignity is *martabat alwahidah* that is also called *ta'ayun al-awwal*, dan *Haqiqat al-*

muhammadiyah, which is the knowledge of God concerning His essence and nature of the universe as well globally. The third dignity is *martabat al-wahidiyyah* that is also called *Haqiqat al-insaniyah* which is the knowledge of God upon Himself and the universe in detail. The three dignities, according to al-Palimbani, are qadim and azali because at that time, there was no being except God alone, while the universe already existed in the knowledge of God but it had not been in the *outer* form (*kharij*).¹¹³

The fourth dignity is *alam arwah* which is nur Muhammad that is made of his *nur* which is the origin of all spirits in this nature. The fifth dignity is *alam mitsal* which is the separation or differentiation on a single spirit into individual spirits. The sixth dignity is *alam ajsam* which is the objects that consist of four elements; fire, wind, earth and water. The seventh dignity is *martabat insan* which is the unity of the whole dignity of the foregoing. It is also called *martabat al-jami'ah* and also called *martabat ta'ayun akhir* which is the appearance of God's dhahir then once.¹¹⁴

Although al-Palimbani adopted the concept of the seven dignities of al-Burhanpuri, but he interpreted this doctrine in the ghazalian perspective. According to al-

¹¹³ Al-Palimbani, *Siyar al-Salikin*, IV, p 103 – 105. Compared with al-Burhanpuri, *Tuhfah*., p. 130 – 131. See also al-Sumatrani, *Jauhar al-Daqa'iq*, p. 249 – 258.

¹¹⁴ Al-Palimbani, *Siyar al-Salikiin*, IV, p. 104 – 105.

Palimbani, al-Ghazali splited into three levels of man towards *ma'rifah* to his God which is the first dignity called *nafs al-ammarah* which is the soul who always tends to sinner and all evils and no denounce of the crimes. The second dignity is called *nafs al-lawwamah* which is the soul denounces the existence of evil and no pleasure to it, and his heart always wants to do good, but there still is the nature of 'ujub' and *riya'* in his heart. The third dignity is *nafs al-Mutmainnah*, which is the soul that has determination to always do good, and he is not pleasure for all crimes. This is the dignity of the people who have come to the Lord.¹¹⁵

It seems that al-Palimbani was not satisfied with the explanation given by al-Ghazali so then he perfected the human level into seven levels. It seems that he wanted to incorporate the seven dignities concept in achieving *martabat insan kamil* into Ghazalian madhab. According to al-Palimbani, the human soul has seven levels which are *nafs al-ammarah*, *nafs al-lawwamah*, *nafs al-mulhamah*, *nafs al-mutmainnah*, *nafs al-radhiyah*, *nafs al-mardiyah*, and *nafs al-kamilah*.¹¹⁶ The first rank to the seventh rank describe some levels in the seven dignities, but wrapped in the ghazalian perspective. It seems that al-Palimbani tried to combine the Arabian metaphysics with the implementation of Shari'ah in the Ghazali Sufism.

¹¹⁵ Al-Palimbani, *Siyar al-Salikin*, III, p. 6 – 8.

¹¹⁶ Al-Palimbani, *Siyar al-Salikin*, III, p. 9 – 12.

To attain the rank of this perfect man (*insan kamil*), a man must conquer his desires so that he is free from the bonds of lust and soul that are as close as possible with God. This effort is known as *taraqqi* which is a journey to go to God. This trip starts by controlling *nafs al-ammara* which has the characteristics; inclining to evil, ignorant, greedy, miserly, anger, a lot of eating, and forgetful. The journey at this stage is identical to *alam ajsam* and is taken through the shari'ah. The next journey is to conquer *nafs al-lawwamah* which has the characteristics; self proud, fun, and love denied. This journey is identical to *alam mitsal* and reached through *tareqat*. The next journey is to take the stages of *nafs al-mulhamah* by having the characteristics; generous, *qana'ah*, knowledgeable, *tawaddu'*, patience and good deed. This journey is identical with *alam arwah* that is passed by *ma'rifat*. After those stages, the Sufist should be through *nafs al-Mutmainnah* which should have the characteristics; generous and *tawakal*.

According to al-Palimbani, in fact the *wahdat alwujud* concept of ibn Arabi's perspective is the highest level of monotheism which is the Sufist' purpose when it is viewed in the perspective of al-Ghazali. According to alPalimbani by citing al-Ghazali words, he stated that there are four levels of monotheism: the first is those who say *la ila ha illa Allah* but his heart is negligent; the second is the person who uttered the phrase *la ila ha illa Allah* and he believes in the meaning; the third is the faith of the people who are close to God (*muqarrabin*), who look at with their heart and they believe that the universe and its contents as a creation of

God; the fourth is the faith of *siddiqin* people who look at with their heart that there is no god except Allah who must be exist; it is also called by the term *fana* in *tauhid*, then they no longer see themselves, because their mind has been immersed in seeing (*syuhud*) God who is the One truthfully.¹¹⁷

e. *Tareqat Sammaniyah* in Indonesia

This *Tareqat* is founded by Muhammad ibn Abd alKarim al-Samman. He was born in Medina in 1132/1719, which previously studied *Tareqat* Khalwatiyah of Mustafa bin Kamal al-Din al-Bakri (d. 1749). However, he set up a branch of his own *Tareqat*. After Sheikh Mohammed Samman died in 1189/1775, this *Tareqat* continued to spread to various parts of the Muslim countries such as Sudan and Egypt. While, in the East; Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula, this *Tareqat* spread through the pilgrims. The first missionaries who came from Java in Makkah was Abd al Shaamad al-Palimbani who settled in Hijaz and obtained *ijazah* of tarekat Sammaniyah from Mohammed Samman. It is mentioned in the poem of his book *al-Salikin*.

Another Tareqahspreader is Kemas H. Ahmad, who also came from Palembang. Through these two figures, Tareqat of Sammaniyah spread in Palembang.

¹¹⁷ See al-Palimbani, *Siyar al-Salikin*, IV, p. 102 – 103. See also alGhazali, *Ihya Ulum al-Din*, IV, p. 240.

After Abd al Shamad al-Palimbani, there is another figure of Sammaniyah which is Ki Agus Muhammad Akib who was born around 1760 AD in Palembang. At a young age, he went to Mecca and joined the al-Palimbani. When he finished his study there, he returned to Palembang and settled around the Grand Mosque which is directly close to the Palembang palace. It seems there is a fairly close relationship between the palace and *tareqat Sammaniyah*. This is evidenced by the shrine built by Sultan Mahmud Baha'udin in 1776 AD. Another proof is that the palace has various religious texts that show concern for the intellectual development in Palembang.¹¹⁸

After the Palembang palace fell into the Dutch in 1821 AD, it gave the effect to Islam in Palembang. The sultan could no longer provide protection to Islam. But this does not mean the dissolution of *tareqat Sammaniyah* in Palembang, precisely this Tareqat later became alternative patron of the palace society, especially those developed by *Panembahan Bupati*, who was the only brother of Sultan Mahmud Badarudin and Sultan Ahmad Najmudin II, who was allowed to stay in Palembang by the Netherlands. *Panembahan Bupati* later coalesced with Muhammad Akib to develop this Order. In 1840 AD, it was held religious celebrations led by Muhammad Akib and financed by *Panembahan Bupati*, which it raised suspicion on the Dutch colonial government. Because it was feared they would use this momentum to

¹¹⁸ See Drewes, the *Directions for*, p. 219 – 224.

mobilize the masses against the Netherlands. After 1858 AD, *Panembahan Bupati's* role as a protector of religion had not heard again and ends.¹¹⁹

The Moderate interpretation of the *wahdat al-wujud* doctrine certainly gives influences to the development of *wahdat al-wujud* doctrine in Indonesia. Moreover, Abd al Shamad al-Palimbani is one of the caliph of *tareqat Sammaniyah*¹²⁰ in Indonesia that has enough followers. With his influence, al-Palimbani spread the ideas and teachings through various works, including his magnum opus *Siyar al-Salikin*. In a study conducted by Bruinessen in the 1990s, the book *Siyar al-Salikin* still became the public reading, especially in Sumatra and outside Java and there were still many shops that sold the books.

This Tareqat is not only spread in Palembang and the surrounding area but also to other areas in Indonesia, despite its presence in Indonesia was always associated with abd al-Shamad. It is not an exaggeration, because it is said that Abdus Shamad was known as the first person who brought this tareqat into Indonesia, although in the context of the Palembang Sultanate. For this purpose he wrote *Ratib*

¹¹⁹ The Detailed discussion of the socio-religious situation in the 19th century of Palembang See Peeters, Jeroen, "*Kaum Tuo – Kaum Mudo*" the Perubahan Religius di Palembang 1821-1942, Jakarta: INIS, 1997

¹²⁰ See Trimingham, *The Sufi Order*, p. 77.

saman. In Aceh, *Ratib Samman* or the *Samman Tale* became very popular. *Ratib Samman* turned into a kind of game (famous traditional dance) known as *Seudati* (dance). This Saman dance until now is very well known in Indonesia which is from Aceh. In Kalimantan, *tareqat sammaniyah* was brought by Arsyad al-Banjari which seems to be a friend of al-Palimbani, or at least studying together in the Middle East.

CHAPTER FIVE

AHMAD MUTAMAKIN AND THE POLEMICS OF THE BOOK OF CEBOLEK

A. Biography of Ahmad Mutamakin

The Book of Cabolek¹²¹ is one of the sources that reveal much about Ahmad Mutamakin who lived in the time of Sunan Mangkurat (1719 - 1726) and his son Pakubuwana II (1726-1749)¹²²¹²³. While in another source, in the 18th century, it is not found information about this figure. The Other information that could be used as a source is an oral tradition that developed in the local community. According to the local tradition that Ahmad Mutamakin is still a descendant of Raden Fatah, the first ruler of Demak, had a son Sultan Trenggana who had a son in law -Jaka Tingkir-(Sultan Hadiwijaya).

Jaka Tingkir had a son -Candradinigrat-

¹²¹ It had been investigated by Soebardi as a dissertation at the Australian National University (ANU) in 1967 with the original title of The Book of Cabolek. This dissertation was later published by the Royal Tropical Institute voor Taal-Land-En Volkenkunde (KITLV) as serial number 10 Bibliotheca Indonesia in 1975.

¹²² See S. Soebardi, *The Book of Cabolek*, Leiden : KITLV, 1975, p. 123.

(Sumahadinegara or the Prince of Benawa). Ahmad Mutamakin was the son of Prince Benawa II (Sumahadiwijaya) in which there was war between Pajang and Mataram in 1617, Prince Benawa II fled to Giri and requested political asylum to avoid attacks from Mataram. It's told that the Duke of Tuban had a kinship with the Prince of Benawa II¹²⁴. If it's concluded that Mutamakin is the son of the Prince of Benawa II who was born in 1645, the Prince of Benawa's age at that time had reached 55 years.¹²⁵ According to another source, Mutamakin also had a direct descent line of Prophet Muhammad.

He was born in Cabolek,¹²⁶ Tuban where Mutamakin spent his youth. It was later known as Mbah Mbolek. While Mutamakin itself is a title acquired after conducting a study in the Middle East. Mutamakin means a person who

¹²⁴ See Edwin Wieringa, "The Mystical Figure of Haji Ahmad Mutamakin", in *Studia Islamika*, Vol 5, no. 1, 1998, p 33 – 34. See also Bizawie, *Perlawanan Kultural.*, p. 103 – 105.

¹²⁵ For Hajj Mutamakin's genealogy, See Wieringa, *The Mystical*, p. 42.

¹²⁶ There are two versions about the person who was called Ki Cebilek; the first was a student of Sunan Muria in 15th century and the second is Haji Mutamakin who lived three centuries later. In the Javanese story, it is mentioned that Sunan Muria wanted to marry his niece to his student, but she refused to marry him because the student was short and ugly so that his nicknamed was Cebilek. Wieringa, *The Mystical*, p. 37.

strengthens his heart. It does not obtain adequate explanation of the intellectual traditions of Ahmad Mutamakin, it is only in the Book of *Cabolek* mentioned that Mutamakin explained Sheikh Zen of Yemen was his teacher. But it is not known exactly when and how long he studied in Yemen.

However, it is based on the life of Sheikh Zen identified as Sheikh Muhammad Zain al-Mizjaji al-Yamani, a leader of the Sufi Naqshabandiyah who was very influential in Yemen. It is possible that the two met. Because Mutamakin is the generation after 'Abd al-Rauf alSinkili and Yusuf al-Maqassari. While Sheikh Zain mentioned above is the son of Sheikh Muhammad al-Baqi al-Mizjaji who is also known as a teacher of 'Abd al-Rauf alSinkili and Sheikh Yusuf al-Maqassari.

B. Mutamakin and the Deployment of the *Wahdat alWujud* Doctrine

In addition to Sheikh Siti jenar who was executed in the *Giripura* kingdom related to the *union mystic* concept in the Islamic tradition in Java, there are also several other stories that were written in the form of charter, such as *suluk Malang Sumirang* narrating the event of *Sunan Panggung* who died by being burn during the Demak Kingdom, *Ki Bebeluk* by being drowned in the sea at the *Pajang* Kingdom, *Serat Centhini* told the story of Sheikh *Amongraga* who was

drowned in the sea at the Mataram kingdom.¹²⁷ The other deviant mystic figure is Sheikh alMutamakin. His Presence clarified the deployment of the *Wahdat al-Wujud* doctrine (Wujudiyah) especially in Java in 18th century. The polemic raised by the mystics is written in the manuscript, one of which is the Book of Cabolek and also the Book of *Centini*.
128129

It is estimated that al-Mutamakin is contemporaneous with Sheikh Yusuf al-Maqassari even had a teacher-student relationship. It is assumed from his book mentioned about *tareqat Naqshbandi and Khalwatiyah*, which likely Mutamakin met with Maqassari in Banten before al-Maqassari was exiled to *Tanjung*

¹²⁷ Pupuh V (*Sinom*) poem of 5, in Soebardi, *The Book of Cabolek*. p. 55.

¹²⁸ The Cebolek charter has been studied by S. Soebardi and the result of his dissertation at the Faculty of Asian Studies, The Australian National University, Canberra, AGT, Australia. It has been published by Martinus Nijhoff The Hague Leiden, 1975. There are other versions of the Book of Cabolek that has been published by Jakarta: Indonesian Literature Book Publishing Project and Regional, Department of Education and Culture,

¹²⁹ and Indonesian transliteration by Z. Sudibyo Hadisutjipto, translation by TWK Hadisuprpta. In this version, it contains two figures like Soebardi, he also mentions two controversial figures: Haji Ahmad Rifai from Pekalongan and Haji Pinang from Batang who lived after about a century of the event of Mutamakin. See, Soebardi, *The Book of Cebolek*, Leiden: The Hague Martinus Nijhoff, 1975, p. 231.

Harapan in 1694 AD. This is possible to happen because

considering the socio-political relations between Tuban and *Pati* with Banten in 17th century was very intense. The merchants of Banten sailed to the East and stopped at the port of Tuban and *Pati*, because these two ports became an important port for the Mataram kingdom in distributing on agricultural products from the hinterland, especially after the Jepara port was no longer safe by the hijacking problems. Then it can be presumed that Mutamakin went sailing to Banten where he met with Sheikh Yusuf *Maqassari* who then gave inspiration for his intellectual progress by traveling to various Islamic science centers, especially in the Middle East. In the middle of this journey, Mutamakin likely met with the students of al-Sinkili and Sheikh Yusuf al-Maqassari which then could be a teacher or a friend of his studies. in the Book of *Cabolek*, it mentioned when Mutamakin came back from his study, he spread his teachings which tended to ignore *shari'ah* in achieving *ma'rifat*. He openly taught it to his students so that it was disturbing the other scholars. Ahmad Mutamakin in Book of *Cabolek* is described as a negative figure, while Ketib Anom *Kudus* as a leader of the local scholars was described as the ideal type of Javanese Muslim who mastered in *shari'ah* as well *haqeqat*, proficient in *shari'ah* (born) and qualified in the inner knowledge.

This text is inversely proportional to the local tradition in Kajen where Mutamakin buried. In the text which was believed by the Kajen residents as the

Mutamakin text entitled *Arsy al-Muwahidin*¹³⁰ was known that al-Mutamakin was included a cleric of neo Sufism who emphasized in the importance of the Shari'ah practices based on *Quran* and *al-Sunnah* in achieving *ma'rifat*. In *Arsy al-Muwahidin*, it is illustrated clearly how Mutamakin explains the importance of faith, and the Creed, the procedures for ablution and prayer, while explaining the philosophy of prayer times and prayer cycles.

Noon time is depicted alif of the Prophet Ibrahim, his angel is the angel Gabriel, and his friend is Abu Bakr. There are four rakaat because God's tajalli is 4; Wujud, knowlegde, Nur, and the nature of Asthma Af'al. There are also four senses; speak, olfactory, See, and listen. Asr time is portrayed lam of the Prophet Joseph, the angel is Michael, and his friend is Umar. There are Four rakaat because the human origin is four; water, wind, water and soil. There are also the four limbs: two hands and two shoulders. Maghrib

¹³⁰ The manuscript is 300 pages and on the last page is 9 Rabiul Awal 1117 AH (1705 AD) stored in one of the Kajen residents. This book is regarded as one of the Kyai Mutamakin works, which is still owned by the Kajen residents, Central Java, but more research is needed to prove that this book really is the Mutamakin work. Considering the scattered books does not mention explicitly who the author is and has been copied by many people. See, Bizawie, Zainul Milal, *Perlawanan Kultural Agama Rakyat : Pemikiran dan Paham Keagamaan Sekh Ahmad al-Mutamakin dalam Pergumulan Islam dan Tradisi 1645 - 1740*), Yogyakarta : Keris, 2002.

time is portrayed ha' of the prophet Jesus, the angel is Israfil, and his best friend is Usman.

There are three rakaat for three stages; Ahadiyah, Wahdah, and Wahidah/wahdaniyah. There are also the three parts of human; the body, heart, and soul. Isha time is portrayed mim of Moses; the angel is Gabriel and his friend is Ali. There are four rakaat because coming out of human is four; semen, wadi, madi and..... There are also four limbs: two chest and two shoulders. Dawn time is portrayed *dal*, and the angel is spiritual, and his best friend is shorut. There are two rakaat because there are the substance and nature, bodies and soul.¹³¹

After explaining the various issues of Shariah, then proceed to explain the science of mysticism. A believer who is about to undergo mysticism must gather and do the *Shari'ah* and *haqeqat* together. After that a salik should train himself to achieve the highest level through some maqam levels, from the station of penance until the muraqabah (seeing by heart). This is said to be the highest *maqam*, when a man immersed in tajalli *tajalli jalal wa jamal's* God with *syuhud Wahdah*. The influence of ibn 'Arabi, al-Jili and al-Burhanpuri was visible when Mutamakim tried to explain about God by using God's tajalli in three stages of the creation through His nature and

¹³¹ See Bizawie, *Perlawanan Kultural*, p. 153-154.

asthma in *alam batin* as shown in the description of praying maghrib which refers to *ahadiyah, wahdah and wahidiyah*. After that, it appears *alam arwah* or also called *alam jabarut*, spirit being, animals and plants still in the unity. After the classification of spirits, then *alam arwah* becomes *alam mitsal* commonly referred to *alam malakut*, After that, it becomes *alam ajsam* or *alam syahadah*; *alam* of all the bodies which are composed of smooth elements and not observed. Of *alam ajsam*, it becomes *alam insan kamil*. The *tajalli* process of *alam ajsam* to *alam insan kamil* occurred after the spirits and soul of Muhammad vowed to God. it is illustrated by Mutamakin as follows :

"In this realm, God called out to the spirits," Am I the Lord of you all? "The spirit replied," Praise be to Allah the Lord of the universe, "which is followed by the pledge," Yes you are our Lord, "When the spirit heard, he recited; "Subhana rabbiyal azimi wabihamdihi," then he sit cross-legged, remembranced and recited, "Rabbighfirli warhamni," then he turned to the right and he uttered, "Assalamu alaikum warahmatulahi wabarakutuhu, and this is where the origin and source of five prayer times.

The prayer at that time was named eternal or spiritual prayer. Therefore whoever did not do dhahir prayer means an infidel because he had forgotten his God. After the spirit vowed before God, then God called the angel to bring the birds in nature. Then God called the angel to take the smoke from the fires of hell, from the

smoke, He created the jinn in this world. Therefore, the jinn are alike to human such as eating, drinking, sleeping, and doing imitations. And God felt sorry for the earth because of the existence of the jinn, and ordered the angels to move the jinn to the seventh heaven. After the move,

God said, "I created all things for thee, O Muhammad," then the soul of Muhammad immediately replied, "Inni wajahtu wajhiya li al-ladzi fatara al-samawati wa al-ardhi Ashhadu an laa ilaa ha illa Allah wa anna asyahadu muhammadan Rasulullah. After the soul of Muhammad pledged, God called the angel to collect the four elements of earth; soil, fire, wind and water.

The soil was taken from Mecca, the fire was from hell, the wind was from the vacuum, and the water from heaven. After they mixed, the soil turned into skin, the fire became flesh, the wind became blood, and the water became bone. These elements are the basis for a human. This dignity is called *martabat insan kamil* because the object can live if it has been entered by a spirit that had vowed before God. ¹⁸²

¹⁸³ See Bizawir, *the Cultural Resistance*, p. 170, please compare with Al-Burhanpuri, *Tuhfah al-Mursalah ila Ruh al-Nabi*. Please

Based on the *tajalli* concept, Mutamakin avoids the *hulul* terms taught by *al-Hallaj* or *al-Bustami's ittihad*. It is not found the expression that explicitly mentions the unity

of God and man until it makes no difference. Even Mutamakin insists the difference between God and man by citing a hadith Qudsi.¹⁸³

c. Mutamakin and the Polemic of the Book of Cabolek

The Book of Cabolek is a work that describes the Javanese religious mysticism. This work can be equated with other Javanese manuscripts such as *Darmogandul*, *Gatholoco*, and the Book of *Centini*. However, unlike other books, the Book of Cabolek not only explains about religious ideas but also a pioneering work that displays a conflict between the Islamic mysticism (Sufism) that is esoteric and the Islamic orthodox that is exoteric in the Javanese community. Not only that, it also told about the role of government or kingdom, especially during Paku Buwana II, who tried to put himself in a neutral position and he did not do power penetrating.

The Book of Cabolek also illustrates the conflict of

also compare to the teachings of the seven dignities in the Tuhfah Charter in the Javanese Language.

¹⁸³ Hadith Qudsi; "If your form has disappeared, you will find me. Know that man is the place of *tanazzul* and *tarraqi*. For details, see Bizawie, *Perlawanan Kultural*, p. 166-176.

two Islamic groups (esotericism and exoterisme) that became mainstreams during the early Islamic development

in Indonesia, especially Java. However, unlike most existing charters in Java, the Charter Cabolek is a work that describes relatively integral and analytical on the role played by the main actors. As a result, this work can be called the magnum Opos of the entire works of the past which describes the opposition of both the Islamist groups in Java. In the Book of Cabolek , there are two controversial figures: Ahmad Mutamakin and Ketib Anom. Both had lived during Amangkurat IV (1719-1726) and his son, Paku Buwana II (1726-1749). The former is a representation of Islamic mysticism (Sufism), while the second is representation of the Islamic orthodoxy.

According to Azra¹³², *Mbah Mutamakin's* controversy began when he taught people about esotericism or the *haqeqat* science (mysticism), which is centered on the union of man with God. The local Muslim scholars were trying hard to Mutamakin not do anything that could damage the Islamic law, but he refused and was not afraid by the pressure of the clergy and the royal. In fact, Mutamakin had a dog pet¹³³ named such as human beings; *Abdul Kahhar, Kamaruddin, and Ketib*. The coastal scholars reported Mutamakin's behavior to the Kartasura king. They invited the scholars of *Pajang, Mataram, Kedu, Pagelen*, and

¹³² Further information on this topic can be read in Azra's writing in *Kompas*, January 1, 2000, "Mistifikasi Politik Indonesia di Awal Milenium Baru; Gus Dur dan KH Ahmad Mutamakin".

¹³³ In Kuntowijoyo's writing "Serat Cebolek dan Mitos tentang

the *Mancanegara* scholars to sue Mutamakin to the king. With his knowledge background, Ahmad Mutamakin was deemed to be ignored the Islamic law (*Shari'ah*). His behavior is considered as a scandal that made worried the Tuban people. He was not only considered to have violated the teachings of the Prophet, even he was against and not loyal to the king. The scholar's delegation led by Ketib Anom from Kudus headed Kartasura to meet the king (Sunan Mangkurat IV). However, because the king fell ill and died, the Mutamakin's case was postponed until the formal appointment of the crown prince (Pakubuwana II) occurred. He was also known as *Susuhunan Sumare Nglawihan*. On the way to Kartasura, this delegation made a stop at Patih Danureja's home. The regents of *Mancanegara* and *Kartasura* agreed that Mutamakin should be burned in the courtyard.

Unexpectedly, the petition of the clergy was rejected by the king of Pakubuwana II, so they were disappointed. In fact, the king sent *Demang Urawan* to express the king's

Pembangkangan Islam" mentioned that Mutamakin had twelve dogs- the biggest dog's was Abdul Kahar as the prince's name of Tuban, and among the four existing puppies' name; Kamaruddin, the name of the biggest official mosque of Tuban (Ulumul Quran, No. 5 Vol. II Th. 1990 M / 1410 H) p. 63.

anger against the cruel treatment on *Haji Cabolek* (Ahmad Mutamakin). When there was no one in the Patih Danureja's residence to come forward and speak about the king's

decision, suddenly *Ketib Anom Kudus*¹³⁴ stood up to defend their petition. He said that the Mutamakin's teaching was a threat to the public order, the king and the country. The Kingdom, as the heart of the country, should take action against the dissidents. In the debate, he beat *Demang Urawan*, which in his report to the king; he praised the *Ketib Anom Kudus'* courage.

Although he was happy to hear this news, the king persisted to forgive the Cabolek's mystical practices. It caused *Demang Urawan* must return to the district to express the proclamation of Pakubuwana II. In addition, *Ketib Anom* responded that this time he reminded *Demang* about some historical examples of the Javanese mystical defiance who was ever crushed by the previous kingdoms, such as the case of Sheikh Siti jenar who was beheaded in the Giri's kingdom, *Sunan Panggung* who was sentenced to burn under the Sultan of Demak, Ki Bebeluk of Pajang who was sunk into the river, and Sheikh Among Raga who was thrown into the sea under Sultan Agung. Anom Kudus proposed Mutamakin to be burned at the stake, while he gave a detailed description of exemplary punishment that was inflicted upon *Sunan Panggung*. Mutamakin got the death penalty in the hope that his burning flesh wafted up to Yemen where his mystical teacher (Sheikh Zain) lived. But the court in the district ended with the announcement of the

¹³⁴ *Ketib Anom* is one of the eleven best scholars who was selected from 142 scholars proposed in some northern coastal areas, such as Pajang, Panggelen, Mancanagara, and Kudus.

king's forgiveness, either to Ketib Anom or the mystic dissident. The Audiences immediately left the room when *Demang* announced the king's wishes to join the Friday prayer at the mosque. It means that the king recognized the importance of sharia where the scholars greeted with delight and then they prayed for the king safety. The brief overview shows the attitude of Kyai Cabolek in defending his faith without fear of facing pressure and threats of others, even by the king. Moreover, Mutamakin was willing to accept the death penalty if indeed it was the path to be taken. Mutamakin's strong Attitude in defending his faith was the image of a radical and courageous opposition in defending a conviction. The belief despite being in the sphere of Islamic esotericism, remains objective and righteousness that must be maintained.

Mutamakin, such as the leaders of other Islamic esotericism, had managed to put the basic values of the "science of *haqqat*" (Science of Reality) in social, religious, and national lives. As a result, even if he had to meet a tragic punishment (burned alive), he can be called as a representation and the protagonist of Islamic mysticism (Java). Mutamakin, therefore, also managed to preserve the sciences that developed by al-Hallaj, al-Bustami, Rabi-ah al-Adawiyah, and the other leaders of Islamic esotericism.

The Mutamakin existence that was successful to the *haqqat* level (*kasunyatan*) retained in the presence of the local Muslim Scholars, was a picture of an opposition who tried to eliminate the disagreement between himself and the

people. Although this effort was not quite successful with Kyai Cabolek's conviction in the fire, but his stubbornness emphasized the assumption that the Islamic esoteric movement, can not be accepted by the orthodox and the public.

The controversy and polemic of Mutamakin explains a lot of things. Some think that the Cebolek Charter written by Yasadipura I¹³⁵ was "an order" of the ruler (Paku Buwana), to strengthen the position of the ruler as *Panataagama*. In addition, it also explains the polemics of religious phenomenon that constantly occurred between the Shariah groups and the sufi groups in understanding and practicing their teachings until the *Mataram* ruler in the mid-18th. Of course, these stories are not necessarily entirely true, because we do not know the level of objectivity of the writer. The most things happen is that history is the history of the ruler. This means that the story is written always "for the interests of the ruler" while the small groups, the minority, the oppressed always can not show their identity truthfully so that it shows that two versions of the story. The first is the *Cebolek* charter that disfigured Mutamakin and the second is the *Kajen* text that describes the goodness and excellence of *Mbah Mutamakin*.

¹³⁵ Ricklefs is questioning Soebardi's conclusions stating that the Book of Cabolek was written by Yasadipura I (1729-1803 AD). This is based on the lifetime of Yasadipura I when Paku Buwana II had been on charge (1726-1749 AD) he was relatively very young, so it is doubtful for his ability.

CHAPTER SEVEN

ABDUL MUHYI PAMIJAHAN: SUFI FROM KARANG VILLAGE

a. Biography of Abdul Muhyi Pamijahan.

One track of the spread of the *wahdat al-wujud* concept in Indonesia, especially in West Java was through Sheikh Abdul Muhyi after he was given a *ijazah* and were initiated¹⁸⁸ by 'Abd al-Rauf al-Sinkili to be a caliphate of

¹⁸⁸ Trimmingham gave the example of the implementation of the ordinance allegiance in the Qadiri Order as follows: After doing two rak'ats prayer, the students in the state of purity, were sitting cross-legged in front of the sheikh and his right hand was touching sheikh's hand, reciting al-Fatihah and the formulation of praise for the Prophet and also the teachers who are in the family tree of the *Tareqat* teachers and especially in the lineage of the sheikh of the Qadiriyyah followers. The teacher then lead them to recite the readings that are repeated sentence by sentence, a prayer for mercy to God, testified that the spoken agreement is an agreement with Allah and the Prophet, and that the right hand of the teacher is Sheikh Abdul Qadil Jilani and promised that he could undergo remembrance as instructed by the teacher. Then the teacher prays three times in Sirri: "O Allah, ya rabbi, bless us," then recites the mubaya'a (QS. 48:10) and monotheism sentence three times. The student accepts all the circumstances imposed upon him and the teacher accepts by saying: "I also accept you as my own son". After the final prayer,

the teacher gives a drink of a glass of fresh water of sweet or oil and closes the allegiance with

Tareqat Syattariyah and pass it in his hometown. He was known as Abdul Muhyi of *Pamijahan Tasikmalaya*, West Java. It is not known with certainty of his life and death, but Krauss¹⁸⁹ after studying the Dutch sources estimates the lifetime of Sheikh Abdul Muhyi was around 1640 AD to 1715 AD, however, the other sources mentioned that Sheikh Abdul Muhyi derived from Mataram Lombok and he was born in 1071/1650 and buried in the village of *Karang Pamijahan* in 1151/1730.¹⁹⁰ Abdul Muhyi was from a noble family named *Sembah Lebe Warta Kusuma* and the descendant of the Padjadjaran King.

In his youth, 'Abd al-Muhyi studied in Ampel Denta and at the age of 19, he learned around; some said over 6 years with 'Abd al-Rauf al-Sinkili in Aceh, then went for Hajj to Mecca, and he also traveled to Baghdad to visit the tomb of Sheikh Abdul Qadir Jilani. After arriving in Indonesia, Abdul Muhyi traveled to Ampel Surabaya, then to *Darma kuningan*. In *Darma kuningan* West Java, Abdul

mandates of personal remembrance and prayer cover. See Trimingham, *The Sufi Order*, p. 186.

dengan mengamanatkan zikir secara pribadi dan do'a penutup. See Trimingham, *The Sufi Order*, p. 186.

¹⁸⁹ As quoted in Christomy, "Shattariyah Tradition in West Java: The Case of Pamijahan", in *Studia Islamika*, Vol 8 No. 2, Jakarta: PPIM, 2001, p. 79.

¹⁹⁰ See Dahlan, *Ensiklopedi Islam*, Jakarta: Ikhtiar Baru Van Hoeve, 1999, p. 5.

Muhyi had settled for 7 years and taught Islam to the local community. ¹³⁶ Then he went to *Pameungpeuk Garut*, *Batuwangi*, *Lebaksiuh*, and to *Pamijahan* in West Java. At the request of the local Regent (the Sukapura regent) Abdul Muhyi finally settled in Pamijahan¹³⁷ and introduced his *Tareqat*. He became as an Islamic teacher for the Sukapura Regent's families, the Regent *Wiradadaha* IV, and R. Subamanggala.

According to the oral tradition, Sheikh Maulana Mansoor who was a descendant of Sultan Abdul Fatah of the *Banten* Sultanate repeatedly came to Pamijahan to discuss with Abdul Muhyi. His knowledge was well known so that the king of Mataram Sultan *Paku Buwana* II recognized

¹³⁶ There is *Tareqat Syattariyah* in Kuningan, See the following pages.

¹³⁷ There is another version of his decision to settle in the village of Karang Pamijahan. The oral tradition developed in the local area told when Abdul Muhyi went for hajj, he received wangsit of Sheikh Abdul Qadir Jilani in order to find a cave located in the southern region of West Java where originally Abdul Muhyi did seclusion. The other version told that the settlement of Abdul Muhyi in the village of Karang was at the request of the Regent Sukapura to quell black magic. See, Aliefya, M. Rasta, "Martabat Alam Tujuh : Suatu Naskah Mistik Islam dari Desa Karang Pamijahan", in Ahmad Rifa'i Hasan (Ed), *Warisan Intelektual Islam Indonesia : Telaah atas Karya-Karya Klasik*, Bandung:Mizan, 1987, p. 111.

(1727 - 1749 AD) and asked Abdul Muhyi to become a teacher for his children and promising area Pamijahan as a fief. But the sultan's invitation was never implemented until Abdul Muhyi died. One hundred and seventy years later, through the Resident Priangan decision, Pamijahan became an autonomous region.

b. The Seven dignities of Pamijahan

The strong evidence is not found that Abdul Muhyi was written on the *wahdat al-wujud* and the seven dignities concept. Although according to Christomy, there are nearly thirty manuscripts from various places in Java that describes Abdul Muhyi as one of the caliph *Tareqat Syattariyah*, but it is hard to find a writing referring to Abdul Muhyi's thought about the teachings of the seven dignities.

The writing about the seven dignities teachings derived from Pamijahan does not show that the author is Abdul Muhyi. According to Christomy, it is an article of Abdul Muhyi's descendant. However, the text teaches the seven dignities concept adapted from *Tuhfah al-Mursalah* clearly, it is not possible that the script of *Martabat Kang Pitutu* was an original work of Abdul Muhyi, but it was most likely already given annotation, and other interpretations.

According to the teachings of the seven dignities in *Martabat Kang Pitutu*, the ultimate form has seven dignities; *Ahadiyah, wahdat, wahidiyat, alam arwah, alam mitsal, alam*

ajsam and *alam insan kamil*.¹³⁸ In this *martabat ahadiyah*, it explains that the absolute nature of God is not reachable by anything in solitude which is called *uwung-uwung awang-awang*. Therefore it is called by *la ta'ayun* and the manifestation of God can only be termed *wujud haq* (True Form), *wujud mahadh* (form only), *ghaib al-ghuyub* (the Most unseen exceed the supernatural), and *ghaib al-huwiyyat* (unseen just like that). He is *qadim* while a man's state is *muhdats* (new). The *qadim* include *martabat ahadiyah*, *wahdat* and *wahidiyyat*, while the other four are new dignity, and the dignity of the all possible.¹³⁹

The second dignity is *martabat wahdat* when Allah loves His state Himself, he begins wishes above all so that His state is called *isyiq* (love) or *asyiq* (lover), but it remain in His form, so His state that remains (but be prepared) is expressed as *a'yan tsabitah*, which is also called *wujud mumkin*, *adam mumkin*, *haqiqat mumkinat*, *haqiqat muhammadiyah*, *nur muhammad*, *nur*, *nurullah*, *syuhud*, *bahrul hayat*, *ta'ayun awal*, *naqatu ghaib*, *ruh qudus* and *ruh rabbani*.¹⁴⁰

The third dignity is *wahidiyyat* in which the God's state is called *masyuq*, because when it has been evident in the

¹³⁸ Please compare with *Tuhfah al-Mursalat ila ruh al-Nabi* of the al-Burhanpuri's work, or the translation in the Javanese version of *macapat* songs.

¹³⁹ See, Santri, *Martabat*, p. 115 - 116.

¹⁴⁰ See, Santri, *Martabat*, p. 116 - 117.

knowledge of God what is desired. God began to show the state of Himself and began to hold the entire all possible. This may seem obvious in the God knowlege. This situation is called *ta'ayun*, *kunhi Zatullah*, *ma'lumat ilhami*, *wahdatul jami'*, and *wujudul idhafi*. However this entire still remains in *wujudullah*.

The fourth dignity is *martabat alam arwah* that it is when God created the *Rahmani* soul that is the holy light has not received the fate, not burdened with any frills, because the soul is created by God as *jauhar*. When the *Rahmani* soul has been fragmented and burdened with the living conditions, the sould state becomes *jisim* then it is expressed as *alam mitsal* which is the fifth dignity. In this *alam mitsal*, it becomes the vegetable soul, animal soul, the soul of the physical and spiritual souls. Although they are different but they still have relevance. The vegetable soul is prediction, the animal soul is intelligent, the physical soul is courteous, the spiritual soul is an effort and the *Rahmani* soul is alive. When the souls are merged and mixed together, they become the soft body called *Ruhiyah*. But it could happen only after one hundred and fifty thousand years. It occur in *alam ajsam* as the sixth dignity.

Martabat alam ajsam is when *Ruhiyah* already has existed and been ready to bear the outer and inner senses and everything, so that the body is also called as the subtle body that is naked. After the *Ruhiyah* happens, God begins to assert His testimony, "alastu birabbikum?" The *Ruhiyah* becomes upright, and he says *hamdalah* and agreed, "bala

syahidna". Then the Ruhiyah makes prostration and reads tasbih, sit and besg forgiveness and love of God, looks to the right and sees the angel and says a greeting. This is what is called as the inner prayer, so the *dhahir* prayer performed in the real world is a continuation of the inner prayer in this alam ajsam. Therefore, this script considers infidel to those people who do not perform the *dhahir* prayers.¹⁴¹

Furthermore, God commanded the angels to create the poultry bird, after that God created the genie from the hell steam, and then transferred to the seventh heaven because of his behavior that only imitate human. After that God commanded the angels to mix the four elements into one that the earth was taken from the land of Mecca, the element of fire from hell, the element of wind from space, and the element of water from heaven. After the four had mixed, the earth element became the skin, the fire became the flesh, the wind became the blood, and the water element became the bone, so the whole became a physical human that ws perfected in *alam insan kamil*.

The dignity of *alam insan kamil* is when God breathed the soul (the *idhafi* soul) which had been witness to God in the Adam's physical. After that, God inserted Adam's coccyx called *jauhar manikem*, and then God inserted Adam's face called *nurbuwah Rasulullah* that was the pilot of all souls.

¹⁴¹ Aliefya, *Martabat Tujuh*, p. 121 – 122. Please compare with *Arsy al-Muwahidun* in Bizawie about the teaching of the Seven Dignities.

After that God commanded the angels to take *jauhar manikem* and propagated into the sky and later made various nations in various places, that it is also called *A'yan kharijiyah*, whereas when it is grounded called *A'yan durriyah*. After that, *jauhar* is collected and told to go back to Adam's physical and told to see *nurbuwah Rasulallah* that was in front of Adam. This text also tells how *jauhar manikem* differ in looking at *nurbuwah Rasulallah* resulting the difference in the fate that will be received on this earth, which fit with what is written on the leaves of *Sajaratul Muntaha*.¹⁴²

It is said about *jauhar manikem*, for the person who is only able to see the shadow of Adam, he would be shortlived, for the person who is able to see the feet of Adam, he would be the messenger, for the person who is only able to see the hand of Adam, he would be a writer, for the person who is only able to see the back of Adam, he would become apostate, for the person who is only able to see the eyes of Adam, he would be smart, for the person who is only able to see Adam's hair, he would be poor, and so on. After all see in accordance with their respective capabilities, *jauhar manikem* is restored to its original position and waits until the human form exists.¹⁴³

¹⁴² Santri, *the Dignity*, p. 123 – 124.

¹⁴³ Santri, *Martabat*, p. 124. Please compare with the revision of the *Tuhfah Charter* in Javanese edited by AH. Johns.

c. Abdul Muhyi and *Tareqat Syattariyah*.

The development of the seven dignities concept spread rapidly in Java, one of them through *Tareqat Syattariyah*. This Tareqats can be traced through the *Tareqat Syattariyah's* followers and teachers in Indonesia which is Abd al-Rauf al-Sinkili. *Tareqat Syattariyah* emerged and developed in Java brought by Abdul Muhyi of Priyangan who met with Abd al-Rauf al-Sinkili in Aceh after returning from pilgrimage in the holy land, and subsequently became a pupil of Abd al-Rauf al-Sinkili.

Abdul Muhyi spread the teachings of *Tareqat Syattariyah Priangan*, and got many followers, such as *Bagus Nurjadin* of Cirebon (close to Tegal) and his son *Bagus Anom (Mas Pekik Ibrahim)* and Haji Abdullah. *Tareqat Syattariyah* quickly found its momentum and spread to Central Java and East Java. The spread of this Order was assisted by intensified contacts and relations between the Banten Kingdom and Middle East, especially in the beginning of 17th century AD, which immediately neutralized understanding of the *wahdat al-wujud* doctrine of Hamzah Fansuri. At the periode of spreading the seven dignities concept in Sumatra and Java, at least at the end of 17th century AD, it is found the translation of *al-Muntahi* and *Syarab al-asyiqin* into the Javanese language, especially in Banten.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴⁴ See Drewes and Brakel, *The Poems of Hamzah Fansuri*, p. 226277, See also Abdul Hadi, *Tasawuf Tertindas*, p. 119.

The influence of the seven dignities in Java is found by the presence of the translation of *al-Tuhfah al-Mursalaha ila Ruh al-Nabi* by Muhammad ibn Fadlalluh al-Burhanpuri into Javanese in the *Sekar Macapat* form. The *Tuhfah* is one of the most important book influencing the Sufism discourses in Indonesia, especially the *wahdat al-wujud* concept. The concept of the manifestation levels in the *Tuhfah* seems to provide astonishing solution to the contention of the *wahdat al-wujud* doctrine that had been happening. The offered concepts almost entirely were accepted by the followers of the Indonesia Sufi.¹⁴⁵ John concludes that the *Tuhfah* arrangement into Javanese was predicted to appear in Java in 1680.¹⁴⁶ He adds that the *Tuhfah* was written at the request of Punggung Diyah king while the author lived in Martapura Tegalarum.¹⁴⁷ Fathurahman by using the local sources found Abdul Muhyi's students; they are Haji Abdullah, and Haji M.

Hasanuddin, Karang, Saparwadi, Shaykh Abu Hasan, Raja Galuh, Kyai Hasan Maolani, Lengkong; Kyai Nur Muhammad Pasir Astana; Kyai Nur Ali, Purwakarta, and Bagus Muhammad Reja, Sukareja. The Pedigree of Abdul Muhyi's

¹⁴⁵ See, John, *The Gift*, p. 8.

¹⁴⁶ See, John, *The Gift*, p. 12.

¹⁴⁷ Purwakaningwan angripta gending // duk wonten ing Martapura // ing Tegal Arum enggene // ing masjid ageng iku // enggeningsun aminta asih // sihing Hyang kang tineda // gampanga katengsun // anembangaken in Tuhfa // kinen dening sang Prabu ing pakung wati//. See, John, *The Gift*, p. 23

students is clearer with the discovery of genealogical records held by K. Moh. Aaron, BA, who is one of the elderly cleric in *Pasepan Kuningan*. It states that Abdul Muhyi had some students who were Haji M. Hasanuddin, Karang, and Saparwadi, who had a student who was Muh. Soleh Saparwadi who taught *Tareqat Syattariyah* to his student *Kyai Arjain* and *Raja Galuh*, who passed this *Tareqat Syattariyah* to his student *Hasan Maolani Lengkong* who passed to *Kyai Muhammad Absori Lengkong* who passed to *Muhammad Idrus Lengkong* who then passed to *Kyai Junaid Lengkong* who passed to *Kyai Moh. Harun BA*.²⁰³

Meanwhile, Christomy states that the spread of the *Tareqat Syattariyah Pamijahan* was growing and spreading to other parts of Java, among others through Abdul Muhyi Pamijahan who passed to his children from his first wife. According to the local oral tradition that Abdul Muhyi had four wives who were *Sembah Ayu Bakta*, *Sembah Ayu Salamah*, *Sembah Ayu Fatimah*, and *Sembah Ayu Winangun*.

- 30.

²⁰³ See Fathurrahman, *Tareqat*, p. 172 - 173.

From the first wife, he had four children who were *Dalem Bojong*, *Midia Kusumah*, *Syekh Abdullah* and *Fakih Ibrahim* who was also known as *Bagus Anom*.¹⁴⁸

The last name which is Bagus Anom or Pekik Ibrahim is well known along the northern coast of the island of Java and also in Kartasura kingdom Central Java. It is predicted that Tareqat Syattariyah entered in the *Kartasura* Kingdom through Fakih Ibrahim, such as it mentioned in the Centini charter in Chapter XV which tells about Syaich Amongraga taught his wife *Tambangraras* about the doxology of *wirid isbandiyah* (sic, Naqsyabandiyah) Sattariyah.¹⁴⁹ This possibility is supported by Syattariyah's manuscripts of the *Kartasura* palace (Leiden Cod. Or. 7486b, and Cod. Or. 7446) which explains that Faqih Ibrahim initiated *Tareqat Syattariyah* to Sheikh Abdurrahman of Kartasura who passed to Kyai Muar Ibn Shahid (Ki *Mustahal*) who passed to Kyai Muhammad Rajudin of Salakarta (Surakarta) Adiningrat, who then who passed to Bagus Nasari Malang, who then taught Perwamenggolo of Pamukan Surakarta Adiningrat.¹⁵⁰

The other son of Sheikh Abdul Muhyi was Dalem Bojong who became a leader of *Tareqat Syattariyah* in

¹⁴⁸ See Christomy, "Shattariyah Tradition, p. 79, please compare with Santri, Martabat Tujuh, p. 108 – 109.

¹⁴⁹ Chapter XV, about *Ki Seh Amongraga Dzikir Wirid Isbandiyah, Sattariyah, Jalalah Tuwin Barjah, See, the Falsafah Centini*, p. 215.

¹⁵⁰ See, Christomy, *Sattariyah*, p. 73 – 74.

Sukapura. In the manuscript of Karang, it is found the teachings of the seven dignities and it mentioned that the author of the book was Kyai Haji Abdul Muhyidin who was a son of Kyai Haji Abdul Muhyi.¹⁵¹ However, this conclusion is not true if it is associated that Sheikh Abdul Muhyi did not have a son named Kyai Haji Abdul Muhyidin. If the article is true then it is very possible that what is meant by Abdul Muhyidin was Kyai Haji Mas Nida (Muhammad) Abdul Muhyi or Kyai Bagus Muhammad Abdul Muhyidin who is a descendant of Dalem Bojong. So it is known from this pedigree, Kyai Haji Abdul Muhyidin is the grandson of Sheikh Abdul Muhyi Pamijahan.¹⁵²

The teaching of *Tareqat Syattariyah* that was very tolerant especially concerning the *wahdat al-wujud doctrine* (the unity of *kawula gusti*) and under the leadership of Bagus Anom (Pekik Ibrahim) could easily fit in the Kartasura kingdom in 18th century, as Christomy mentioned that Bagus Anom had a student of Kartasura who was Sheikh Abdurrahman. *Babad Tanah Jawi* indicated that there was a headman of Karang who taught Islam in Kartasura. It could be a descendant of Abdul Muhyi who was invited by the king of Mataram Sultan Paku Buwana II (1727 - 1749 AD) but it

¹⁵¹ Basane (?) *the work of Kyai Haji Abdul Muhyidin, kang anak Kyai Haji Abdul Muhyi, ing Karang desane, Wallahu a'lam.* See Santrie, Alifya M, 1987 "Martabat Tujuh, p. 105.

¹⁵² See Christomy, *Sattariyah*, p 75, please compare with Santrie, *the Dignity*, p. 109.

was not yet implemented because Abdul Muhyi died, so it may be continued by his descendants in the later period.

d. Tareqat Syattariyah in Indonesia

Spreading of Tareqat Syattariyah's in Indonesia can not be separated from the figure of al-Singkili after receiving *ijazah* to become Syattariyah's caliph of Ahmad al-Qusyasyi whom he describes as a spiritual guide and teacher in the way of Allah. This Order had a significant role in the development of Islamic teachings or at least his presence brought new understanding and made the polemic between the orthodox and the considered heterodox could be minimized.

The influence of 'Abd al-Rauf al-Singkili soon spread to Indonesia through the various *ijazah* of Tareqat (not just syaththariyah only). It spread to Java through one of his students; Abdul Muhyi Pamijahan who then immediately spread also to Central Java and East Java. A number of his students who can not be identified also brought this Tareqat Syaththariyah into Bengkulu, which led to the rise of a Tareqat called Qusyasyiyah, which as can be predicted to attribute to al-Qusyasyi who was the teacher of al-Singkili. Sheikh Burhanuddin became al-Singkili's student and was appointed to be a Syaththariyah's caliph of Ulakan in West Sumatra, who later founded the mosque

(educational institution) and shown to be effective in order to spread the teachings and this Order.¹⁵³

Shaykh Burhanuddin of Ulakan and his teacher *Abd al-Rauf al-Sinkili* wrote a treatise¹⁵⁴ that described the arrival of Islam in *Ulakan* and the teaching of *Tareqat Syattariyah* with a mosque base. From the Ulakan mosque, the *wahdat al-wujud* teaching brought by *Tareqat Syattariyah* spread in the Minangkabau region in the late 17th century, when the students of the Ulakan mosque returned to their village, they practiced and taught the *Tareqat Syattariyah* doctrines to the students in the new mosque of Darek region.¹⁵⁵ Through the trade routes to the *Kapas-Kapas* village and Mensiangan, close to Padang panjang to the city of Padang Lawas and to the rich rice fields in southern Agam and to the old town near

Cangkring. In the villages west of old Town, the mosque was so prosperous that there was one of his members who was called as the leader of all the creatures in the world and the

¹⁵³ See, Azra, *Islam Nusantara*, p 107-108

¹⁵⁴ This writing could be read in Karel A. Steenbrink, *Beberapa Aspek Islam di Indonesia Abad ke -19*, Jakarta, 1984, 179-184

¹⁵⁵ More details See, Azra, 2003, *Surau : Pendidikan Islam Tradisional dalam Transisi dan Modernisasi*, Jakarta:Logos Wacana Ilmu, p 43-44. See also Christine Dobbin, 1992, *Kebangkitan Islam dalam Ekonomi Petani yang Sedang Berubah : Sumatera Tengah, 1784 - 1847* Jakarta: INIS, translated from *Islamic Revivalism in a Changing Peasant Economy : Central Sumatra, 1784 - 1847*.

hereafter in this region. This area became known as the four lift/four masters (four commended).¹⁵⁶ According to Fathurrahman, the other students of Sheikh Burhanuddin were his four friends who studied together to 'Abd al-Rauf al-Sinkili. These four are: Datuk Maruhun Panjang, Sheikh Tarapang, Sheikh Mutanasir, and Sheikh Buyung Muda. Datuk Maruhun Panjang spread the teachings of this Order to Padang Ganting Batu Sangkar. It was followed by Sheikh Tarapang who spread this Order to *Kubung Tiga Belas Solok*, Sheikh Mutanasir spread to Koto Tangah Padang, and Shaykh Buyung Muda spread it to Bayang Pulut-Pulut Bandar Sepuluh.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁶ It is unclear who is actually a Four lords, because in this treatise, Sheikh Burhanuddin not only mentioned the names of four but eight names beside their name. These names are Shaykh 'Abdul Qussyi, Sheikh Jalaluddin, Sheikh Abdurrahman, Shaykh Said, Sheikh Idris, Sheikh Abdul Muhsin, Sheikh Habibullah, and Shaikh Sultan al-Kisa'i. Sheikh Burhanuddin or 'Abd al-Rauf al-Sinkili did not provide an explanation of who is meant by the four masters, see Steenbrink, *Beberapa Aspek*, 179-184..

¹⁵⁷ See Fathurrahman, 2004, "Tarekat Syattariyah: Memperkuat Ajaran Neosufisme, dalam Sri Mulyati (ed), *Tarekat-Tarekat Mu'tabarah di Indonesia*., Jakarta:Kencana, p 170. See also Fathurrahman, "Reinforcing Neo-Sufism in the MalayIndonesian World, *Syattariyah Order in West Sumatra*, in *Studia Islamika*, Vol 10 no. 3, 2003, p 48 - 49. It is unfortunate

In addition, among the followers of *Tareqat Syattariyah* in West Sumatra also spread the pedigree of the *Tareqat* composed by the three old clerics of *Tareqat Syattariyah*. They are Buya Mata Air Pakandangan, Buya Angku Pakandangan, and Buya Tapakis. According to Sheikh Burhanuddin, they had other students who were Sheikh Janggut Hitam Lubuk Ipuh, Syekh Abdurrahman Ulakan, Syekh Kapih-Kapih Paninjauan Padang Panjang, and Sheikh Mula Ibrahim Lunang Pesisir Selatan. Sheikh Janggut Hitam Lubuk Ipuh had some students who were Sheikh Abdurrahman Lubuk Ipuh who passed *ijazah* of *Tareqat Syattariyah* to Sheikh *Malalo Lima Puluh*. In addition, Sheikh *Malalo Lima Puluh* had diverse and complex genealogy. They were Sheikh Mata Air Pakandangan, Syekh Balindung Pilulang, Sheikh Cubadak Air Pariaman, and Sheikh Aluma Koto Tuo Bukit Tinggi.²¹⁴

Meanwhile in Sulawesi, *Tareqat Syattariyah* of Buton was brought by Faqih Muda Haji Abd al-Rahman alAkhdari as the carrier of *Tareqat Syattariyah* to Buton. He did not receive *Ijazah* of *Tareqat Syattariyah* through 'Abd al-Rauf al-Sinkili as in Aceh but he got it directly from Haramayn. It is stated that Faqih Muda Haji Abd al-Rahman received *Ijazah* of *Tareqat Syattariyah* from Muhammad

that the local sources are not mentioned the name and year of the scholars, so it is difficult to test and prove the validity of the relationship between the teachers and students.

²¹⁴ Fathurrahman, *Tarekat...* p 170-171

Thahir who received this Order from Ibrahim al-Kurani.¹⁵⁸ This case also occurred in other parts of Indonesia such as in Java that is precisely in Buntet Cirebon which explains that *Tareqat Syattariyah* entered Buntet Cirebon also not through 'Abd al-Rauf al-Sinkili but it referred directly to the science center in Haramayn. As we know that Ibrahim alKurani was a student of Ahmad al-Qusyasyi. It is actually the end of the spreading of *Tareqat Syattariyah* not only in Aceh alone but through Hejaz under Ahmad al-Qusyasyi and his student *Ibrahim al-Kurani*. From these both figures, *Tareqat Syattariyah* spread to various parts of the Islamic world, including in Indonesia.¹⁵⁹

Faqih Muda Haji Abd al-Rahman received Ijazah of *Tareqat Syattariyah* from Muhammad Thahir in 17th century during the reign of La Din (Kabumbu) who was had a title of Sultan Saif al-Din (1695-1702) and described in the royal archives that the Sultan himself finally became Syattariyah caliph and received Ijazah from him.¹⁶⁰ According to Yunus's study, that there is a manuscript whis was *al-Risaah al-Syatarriyyah fi Bayan Asrar al-Sa'irin fi Tahriq Ahadiyyah wa al-Wasilin ila Huda al-Samadiyyah*

¹⁵⁸ See, Yunus, *Posisi Tasawuf.....*, p 73

¹⁵⁹ See John, Anthony, H. "Islam in Southeast Asia ; Reflecting and new Directions" in *Indonesia*, No, 19, April Cornell Modern Indonesia Project, 1975

¹⁶⁰ See, Yunus, *Posisi Tasawuf.....*, p. 73

(SBF: 143) the beginning of the written script is the name of the author such as Bahaal-Din bin Ibrahim 'Ata al-Anḥri al-Qadiri. But it can not be known when this script was received and studied in Buton.¹⁶¹

The *Tareqat Syattariyah* development in Buton had not last long, because the Buton's ruler who was Sultan Qaim al-Din (1763 - 1788) became a follower of *Tareqat Qadiriyah*, so that the influence of *Tareqat Syattariyah* in the Buton Sultanate was competed with this situation. Finally, in the period of Sultan al-Qaim Din (1763 - 1788) *Tareqat Qadiriyah* had been able to grow more rapidly, because in addition to be a Qadiriyah follower, the Sultan also built *zawiyah*, where the Tareqat's students learnt about it. The *Qadiriyah* teaching come into Buton through Abd al-Karim al-Samman. The teachings of 'Abd al-Karim al-Samman became increasingly popular with the arrival of his student who was Sheikh Muhammad bin Syais Sumbul al-Makki at the time of Muhammad Aidrus, even the sultan himself got Ijazah of *Tareqat of al-Makki* and became an adherent of this *Tareqat*. The teachings of this Order were enriched with the advent of the work of Abd al-Samad alPalimbani (d. After 1789 AD) who was also a pupil of Abd al-Karim al-Samman. The book is *Hidayah al-Salikin fi Suluk Masalik al-Muttaqin*. With the entry of the book of alPalimbani, all al-Ghazali's books entered Palembang as well, which was strengthened

¹⁶¹ Ibid,

by the arrival of one of the native people who studied in Mecca, who was Haji Abd alGhani.¹⁶²

At the time of Muhammad Aidrus (1824 - 1851 AD), it seems *wahdat al-wujud doctrine* had been completely stripped of from the escatic and philosophical contents. They only used the terms that had become standard discourses and culture in the society such as the seven dignities, *insan al-kamil*, and soon. On the other side, the Sufism tradition could be well controlled in Buton, because it seems the Sufism tradition became limited followers who were only for the social elite. It is understandable if the palace could easily control the tradition of thought that happened in the community.

¹⁶² His birthday is unknown, but he lived as Kenepelu during the Reign of Muhammad Aidrus, (1824 - 1851) See, Yunus, *Posisi Tasawuf,*, p 77

CHAPTER EIGHT

YUSUF AL-MAQASSARI AND HIS INFLUENCE IN MAKASAR

a. Biography of Yusuf al-Maqassari

Muhammad Yusuf bin Abdullah Abu al-Mahasin alTaj al-Khalwati al-Maqassari, also known in Sulawesi with Tuanta Salamaka ri Gowa (our great teacher of Gowa), was born in Gowa in 1037/1627.¹⁶³ His Birth history is shrouded in a mystical story of local tradition¹⁶⁴ that illustrates its merits. But if we look at the background of the Gowa kingdom in the century, it is known that Islam grew very well where the young al-Maqassari's had been living in a strong Islamic tradition.¹⁶⁵

¹⁶³ See Azra, *Jaringan Ulama.....*, p. 214, p. 214. Azra cites the oldest local historiography of Makasar entitled *Lontarak Bilang Raja Gowa dan Tallok*. According to the historians, this work is believed to be the oldest historical sources in the *Gowa and Tallo* kingdom. It was written in Makasar by using the Hijrah calendar. Currently this historiography has been edited and translated into Dutch by A. Ligtvoet.

¹⁶⁴ For example in al-Maqassari's story, it stated that the father of al-Makassari is Prophet Khidr, his mother's pregnancy and childbirth events were covered by the miracle stories. See Hamid, Sheikh Yusuf, P. 80 - 85. In Hamid's book, it is told his story of Sheikh Yusuf which is stated in the *Lontarak*.

¹⁶⁵ See Hamid, *Syekh Yusuf.....*, p. 89 - 93.

At the age of 17 years (1644 AD) al-Maqassari left Makassar to study to Mecca, but before arriving in Makkah, al-Maqassari stopped by the various centers of Islamic schools, such as Banten, Aceh, Gujarat, and Yemen. In every place he visited, he used to learning from the leading scholars. In Aceh, he studied to al-Raniri but there is a doubt that they ever met in Aceh because al-Raniri also left the province in the same year, it is more likely if they met in India. In Yemen, al-Maqassari learnt from Muhammad al-Baqi al-Naqsabandi (d. 1074/1664) who was the most important scholar of Mizjaji family.¹⁶⁶ Al-Baqi was also a teacher of 'Abd al-Rauf al-Sinkili when he was in Yemen.

The most important teachers of al-Maqassari in Haramayn were Ahmad al-Qusyasyi, Ibrahim al-Hasan alKurani and'Ajami in addition to other teachers. Azra¹⁶⁷ explains that the relationship between al-Kurani and alMaqassari was very close. Al-Maqassari was trusted by alKurani to translate the book of *al-Durrat al-Fakhirat* and *Risalah fi al-Wujud*, both are works of Nur al-Din al-Jami (d. 898/1492). Then al-Kurani wrote a commentary on *alDurrat al-Fakhirat* with the title of *al-Tahrihat al-Bahirah Mabahits li al-Durrat al-Fakhirat*. All these works tried to reconcile the contradictions of the theologians with the

¹⁶⁶ See Azra, *Jaringan Ulama*,....., p. 215. Hamid, *Syekh Yusuf*....., p. 90 - 95.

¹⁶⁷ See Azra, *Jaringan Ulama*,....., p. 216.

philosophers on questions of philosophical Sufism in divinity.

After Mecca and Medina, al-Maqassari also continued his intellectual odyssey to Damascus, and studied to Ayyub al-Khalwati (994 - 1071/1586 - 1661) a *muhadits* Sufi in Damascus, and a master of the science of Islamic esoteric and exoteric. His works tried to make the interpretation of the *wahdat al-wujud* and *insan kamil* doctrines that were adapted to the Shari'ah. It is estimated that al-Maqassari had been studying for several years in Damascus, until then he was given the title of *al-Taj al-Khalwati* (the *Khalwati* crown). After Damascus, al-Maqassari returned to Indonesia.

It is not known exactly when al-Maqassari arrived in Indonesia, Bruinessen¹⁶⁸ and Hamid¹⁶⁹ have the different years i.e. 1083/1672 and 1075/1664. When he was in Indonesia, al-Maqassari was more actively in politics, considering at that time Banten was in conflict with the Dutch and the emergence of a split in the Banten Sultanate.

However, the al-Maqassari's influence appeared stronger in Makasar than in other areas like Banten. While Sheikh Yusuf in the beginning was the teacher of Abul Nasr Abd al-Qahhar (Sultan Haji, 1680-1687 AD) Sultan Abul Fatah Abd al-Fattah (known as of Sultan Agung Tirtayasa),

¹⁶⁸ Bruinessen, *Origins and development...*, p. 20.

¹⁶⁹ Hamid, *Syekh Yusuf.....*, p. 111

but after a dispute between Sultan Agung Tirtayasa supported by Sheikh Yusuf and the crown prince assisted by the Dutch, it seems that the relationship between the teacher and the student became stalled, because the teacher became the politic opponent. As a result, the teachings of Sheikh Yusuf came to a standstill in the sultanate of Banten region, which was also due of Sultan Agung Tirtayasa and Sheikh Yusuf were on the losing side.

When al-Maqassari exiled to Srilanka, the Makasar ruler repeatedly asked the Netherlands to restore Sheikh Yusuf to Makasar. But this demand was not met by the Netherlands, because it could cause significant negative effects for the Netherlands. Even looking at the intensity of the relationship between al-Maqassari and Indonesian people who stopped by to Sri Lanka when they wanted to perform the Hajj, the Netherlands decided to move alMaqassari of Sri Lanka to *Tanjung Harapan* where alMaqassari spent the rest of his life and died in 1699 AD, at the age of 73 years.

Although in the Dutch jail, it does not mean that alMaqassari left his followers in Indonesia . Al-Maqassari in this exile produced some works in various scientific fields. His works were sent to Indonesia through the pilgrims who were transiting in Sri Lanka headed to Mecca and of them, al-Maqassari's ideas spread to Indonesia , especially to Makasar.

b. His Intellectual Works

Al-Maqassari was a very prolific writer and produced dozens of works mostly in fluent Arabic. It shows that he was a good master in the Arabic field. Among his works are as follows:

1. *Al-Barakah Al-Saylaniyah*; this book was written in Arabic while in exile in Ceylon. This book contains the teachings of remembrance, how to remembrance and the meaning of each remembrance, also talked about the creed which is also associated with the remembrance of a servant to his God.
2. *Bidayat al-Mubtadi*; this book is in Arabic, explaining about the characters of God accompanied by an explanation of the characters of God.
3. *Al-Fawaih al-Yusufiyya fi Bayan Tahqiq al-Suffiyya*; This book is in Arabic and describes the nature of the Sufi and sufism itself. This book was written in order to answer the issues raised by his friends in regard to the issue of Sufism.
4. *al-Nafiat al-Sailaniyah*; this book explains about Sufism, and how to reach it correctly. It also mentions some words and phrases from the earlier sufis and the sheikh Yusuf's teachers.
5. *Zubdat al-Asrar*; this book talks about the remembrance of God, how to dhikr correctly in accordance with the

levels of remembrance, and explains about *shariat* that must get through before dealing with the Sufi path.

6. *Taj al-Asrar*; this book explains about Shari'ah, haqiqat and ma'rifat in mysticism.
7. *Ma'alib al-Salikin*,
8. *Sirr al-Asrar*; this book talks about how to remembrance and the levels in remembrance.
9. *Tuhfah al-Rabbaniyah*,
10. *Habl al-Warid*.¹⁷⁰

c. The Sufism Reform of al-Maqassari.

Al-Maqassari is one of the most important scholars of Indonesia in the seventeenth century. As other scholars,

¹⁷⁰ Tudjimah translates almost all works of Syekh Yusuf; one of them is "*Syekh Yusuf Makasar : Riwayat Hidup, Karya dan Ajarannya*, Jakarta : UI Press, 1997", after previously published by Departemen P & K in 1987. *Zubdat al-Asrar* has been studied as a dissertation by Nabilah Lubis with the title, "*Suntingan Naskah Zubdat al-Asrar fi Tahqiq Ba'd Masyarib alAkhyar Karya Syekh Yusuf al-Taj*, dissertation, Jakarta : IAIN Syarif Hidayatullah, 1991, while Abu Hamid in his book "*Syekh Yusuf.....*", contains the translation of three works of alMaqassari which are *al-Nafhat al-Sailaniyah*, *Zubdat al-Asrar*, and *Matalib al-Salikin*. See on the page 274–355.

such as al-Sinkili or al-Raniri, the reform ideas of alMaqassari emphasized on *Tawheed* purification of the *wahdat al-wujud* concept that was very popular in Indonesia . As al-Sinkili, al-Maqassari also did not want to be stuck to the interpretation of the *wahdat al-wujud* of ibn al-Arabi doctrine which people wrongly interpreted so they inclined to pantheism. Al-Maqassari tried to correct this misunderstanding and interpret it to the Indonesian community based on Shari'ah.

In many of his works, there was a trend of alMaqassari Sufism. He also quoted the Muslim scholars opinions that had been controversial such as Ibn Arabi, or al-Jilli¹⁷¹. In addition, he also cited a moderate Sufi cleric. It seems that this is done so that it does not get stuck into pantheism. Al-Maqassari in explaining about God used the term of *al-i'annah* (cover) and *al-ma'iyah* (togetherness), that God encompasses all things without mixing and fusion at the same Lord is with everything, and nothing is like

¹⁷¹ See al-Maqassari, "Zubdat al-Asrar" in Nabilah Lubis, *Suntingan Zubdat al-Asrar fi Tahqiq Ba'd Masyarib al-Akhyar karya Syekh Yusuf al-Taj*, Dissertation, Jakarta : IAIN Syarif Hidayatullah, 1991, later called "Zubdat

al-Asrar." *هو غيب الغيوب ولا يعرف حقيقته*

الا هو وهو محيطة بالكل واها و با نا من غير خل ة

ولا الزجة وهو مع الكل غنيا وشهادة من غير مقارنة ولا تشبيه وهو

الاوه بلا بداية ... وهو الاخير بلا

Him.²²⁹ This implies the God immanence because God can mean He exists everywhere. But al-Maqassari did not want to be stuck to the God immanence concept, then further it said that though God covers and He is along with everything but he can not be compared with anything other than Him. God is absolute form, while besides Him is a mere *majazi*. Al-Maqassari also justified the *syatahat's* utterances such as al-Busthami, or al Hallaj, because they say it in a state of mortal. This is the highest station of the Sufi path.²³⁰

In *Zubdat al-Asrar*, it mentions:

"When someone went through the Sufi stations, he could reach the station absolute servitude. At this station, the recall became the remembered, the look became the seen, the witness became the witnessed, the wishes became the desired, the love became the loved, the god was the servant, and the servant is the god because he was mortal in God and he was *baqa* in God's *baqa*.....²³¹

Although he was in the mortal station, his soul was

. نهایة See al-Maqassari, *al-Nafhah al-Saylaniyah*, MS, NA, p.

23.

²³⁰ When in this level, then it is said accidental sentences as it is said by al-Hallaj (I am al-Haqq), Nasim al-Halabi (I am God), Abu Bakr al-Sibli (The one in my robe is Allah), Abu Yazid (Most sacred to me, how great is my situation). See alMaqassari, "Zubdat al-Asrar" p. 206 – 209.

²³¹ See al-Maqassari, “Zubdat al-Asrar” p. 198 – 203.

mortal *fi Allah*, but al-Maqassari explains the difference between Lord and a servant. A servant is still a servant though he has reached a high maqam in sufism, and God is still God even though he comes down. Therefore, as some Sufis say sea remains sea, from the beginning is (qadim) and a new one is just waves and rivers.¹⁷²

In *Mashalib* al-Salikin, al-Maqassari distinguishes two kinds of monotheism, the first is monotheism owned by the Muhaqqiq Sufis who have a deep understanding of divinity and they have reached the highest degree of Sufi, so they experience to witness (kasfy) and they are mortal in the Lord. The second *tawheed* is *tauhid* of ordinary people who believe that God is One, everything depends on God, childless and begotten and no one is equal to Him.¹⁷³

In order to achieve this mystical path through the Shari'ah, al-Maqassari outlines road (maqam) which must be passed by salik; starting of repentance to Allah of all sin which are seen and unseen, ascetic regarding worldly affairs, trust in Allah, qana'ah, solitude that is alienated from the creature with a heart that does not tend to them, *tawajjuh* that is earnestly to God with his all secrets, being patient for all the trials, being pleasure of receiving his

¹⁷² See al-Maqassari, “Zubdat al-Asrar” p. 198 – 203.

¹⁷³ Al-Maqassari quotes Qs. al-Ikhlâs to explain about *tauhid* for the ordinary people. See, *Matalib al-Salikin*, NA, 101, p. 83 – 84.

qadha and qadar, always remembrance inwardly and outwardly without fail each time and affair, and *muraqabah* that is look at Allaah with the heart.¹⁷⁴

Furthermore, al-Maqassari confirms that people who have reached the highest station of the Sufi path will never ever leave the shari'ah, then the person who claimed to have come to the maqam but he leaves the Shari'ah, he is a fake mystic. In his works, al-Maqassari confirms the importance of the Shari'ah to achieve mystical path, and the mystical path can only be passed with full fidelity to the shari'ah. He asserts that people who only rely on the shari'ah is better than the people who practice Sufism but ignore the Shari'ah, and he classifies those who believe can approach God without going through the shari'ah as a heretic and an atheist.¹⁷⁵

c. The influence of Sheikh Yusuf in Makasar

Makasar's name is expected to have existed since -9th century. However, as a kingdom, it was just around -14th century as known as the Gowa kingdom. According to the local history, in the thirteenth king, the Gowa kingdom almost mastered the entire islands of Sulawesi. The Gowa

¹⁷⁴ See al-Maqassari, *al-Nafhah al-Saylaniyah*, MS, NA, p. 25. Please compare with al-Ghazali's concept in his book *Ihya*.

¹⁷⁵ See al-Maqassari, "Zubdat al-Asrar" p. 206 – 209.

kingdom increasingly was known for its expertise in maritime after the fall of Malacca to the Portuguese in 1511 AD. And since Portuguese controlled Malacca, the influence of Christian missionaries had arrived in Sulawesi after the advent of Islam. The Gowa ruler faced with the decision to choose these two alternatives, since both religions had started to influence in the community. So the Gowa king invited the religious teachers from Aceh to introduce Islam in Sulawesi.

Finally in the early 17th century, Islam was accepted as the official religion of the empire. It is narrated that the 14th Gowa king was Manga'rangi Daeng Manrabbia (m. 1593-1639)¹⁷⁶ converted to Islam on Friday, 20 September 1605 M. the Gowa King accepted Islam from *Khatib Tunggal* or Abdul Makmur who was also known as Datuk ri Bandang. Since then the Gowa kingdom became officially the Islamic kingdom and its rulers renamed to Sultan Alaudin, while the Tallo king¹⁷⁷ who was I Malingkaan Daeng Manyori, also accepted Islam who later renamed to Sultan Awwaludin Islam.¹⁷⁸

Datuk ri Bandang came to Makasar with two friends

¹⁷⁶ For the genealogy of the Gowa kings, see in Hamid, Syekh Yusuf....., p. 18 – 20.

¹⁷⁷ The Tallo kingdom was inseparable from the Gowa kingdom; even both were considered two royal twins. It is because both rulers were brothers. See Hamid, *Syekh Yusuf*....., p. 8 – 9.

¹⁷⁸ Hamid, *Syekh Yusuf*....., p. 10

who were Khatib Sulaiman Dato Khatib Pattimang and Khatib Bungsu or Datuk ri Tiro from Minangkabau. Datuk ri Bandang emphasized on the Shari'ah teaching to the people, while Khatib Bungsu tended to the Sufism teaching while Sulaiman Khatib tended to the monotheism teachings. The emphasis of the teaching was based on the local community needs, such the communities in the Khatib bungsu region had a tendency to mysticism issues, while the people under Sulaiman Khatib had a strong local belief that monotheism teaching is preferred.

If it is noticed it estimated the Sufism that had *wahdat al-wujud* pattern had also entered in the Makasar area, because the three scholars who came to Makassar from Aceh which it had a considerable influence, especially Khatib Bungsu.¹⁷⁹ So if at first, the Gowa ruler asked the religious teachers of Aceh, he asked through the Aceh kingdom who should have had diplomatic relations between the two. So then the Aceh king sent the religious teachers to Makasar. The Similar case also occurred in the Buton kingdom region with which the arrival of Aceh scholars on 17th century AD.¹⁸⁰

Mattulada explains that the Sultan of Gowa XV was the Malikussaid who got the title of Sultan Mohammed Said from the Mufti of Mecca. He gave the big influence of the *wahdat al-wujud* doctrine in Makasar. This clue becomes

¹⁷⁹ See Mattulada, *Sistem Pendidikan.....*, p. 356

¹⁸⁰ See Yunus, *Posisi Tasawuf*, p. 21

clearer on the 16th sultan. He was Sultan Hasanuddin who fought against the Dutch in 1666 to 1669 AD. This clue came from Makassar war poem written by the kingdom secretary in the Malay language. In the poem, Sultan Hasanuddin was hailed as the wise and the perfect man and had reached the highest level (*martabat insan kamil?*). In the poem, there are also the quotations and teachings of Hamzah Fansuri. The influence of Sufism became clearer after a student of Sheikh Yusuf al-Maqassari who were Sheikh Nurudin Abdul Fatah and Abdul Kadir teaching *tareqat* in Sulawesi.

CHAPTER NINE

MUHAMMAD AL-NAFIS BANJARI AND THE BOOK OF DURR AL-NAFIS

a. Biography of Muhamad Nafis al-Banjari

The development of Sufism in South Kalimantan reached the golden age in Muhammad al-Nafis Banjari period. He was well known as a Sufi through his work *Durr al-Nafis*, which spread widely in Indonesia . He was born in Martapura in 1735 AD¹⁸¹ in the Duke family, so Nafis alBanjari lived in the more recent period compared with Arsyad al-Banjari. After that al-Nafis Banjari went to Mecca to study, but it is not found who his friends were in Haramayn.

In Makkah, al-Banjari at the request of his friends though it is not mentioned who his friends were- wrote a book of mysticism in Malay entitled *al-Durr al-Nafis fi Bayan wahdat al-Aʿal wa al-Asma' wa al-sifat wa al-ʿat alTaqdis* (the Beautiful Pearl of Explaining the Unity of Deed,

¹⁸¹ The actual year of birth of *al-Nafis Banjari* can not be determined with certainty. In 1735, it was generated from the calculations that in his *book al-Durr al-Nafis* stated that the book was completed in the year 1200 AH / 1785 if it is assumed he finished the book at the age of 50 years, the estimated year of birth is about 1735 AD.

Name, Nature, and the Purified Substance) completed in 1785 AD. In the book, it mentioned some references, among others; *Syarh Dala'il al-Khairat of* Muhammad Sulaiman al-Jazuli, *Syarh al-Wird al-Syahrin* of Abdullah bin Hijazi al-Syarqawi al-Misri, *Jawahir wa al-Durar* of Abd alWahhab al-Sya'rani, *Futuh al-Makkiyah* dan *Fushush alHikam* of ibn Arabi, *Insan al-Kamil* of al-Jili, *Ihya' Ul-m alDin* by al-Ghazali, and so on.

From the lists that are used as references, it could understand that *Durr al-Nafis* is not a regular Sufism book but it combines the works of controversial people such as Ibn Arabi. Nafis al-Banjari was fully aware of this, it is said that this book contains problems that are subtle and profound and secret, which it could only be understood by those who have high knowledge.¹⁸²

In addition to the book, it is not found another work of al-Nafis Banjari, but Abdullah still mentions another work of al-Nafis Banjari which is *Kanz al-Sa'adat fi Istilahat al-Suffiyah* (the Treasury of Happiness; the explanation of Sufi terms). This book has not been found so that it is a doubt its existence.

In *al-Durr al-Nafis*, Nafis al-Banjari mentions a number of his teachers in Haramayn, among of them;

¹⁸² "Know you that all science that faqir mentioned in this treatise is a secret where his words are very smooth and very deep, however no one knows but only the *rasikh* scholars," *Durr al-Nafis*, p. 27.

alsammani, Muhammad al-Jawhari, Abdullah ibn al-Hijazi Syarqawi -a famous Sufi scholar in Mecca who was then on the charge of Sheikh of al-Islam and Sheikh of al-Azhar. Another teacher was Muhammad Siddiq bin Umar Khan, and Abd al-Rahman ibn Abd al-Aziz al-Maghribi.¹⁸³ In this book, it also explains that in the field of jurisprudence, he follows the Shafi'i *madhab*, in theology, he follows the Ash'ari madhab, in the field of Sufism he follows al-Junaid, and in the field of *tareqat*, he claimed to be a follower of *Qadiriyah*, *Syattariyah*, *Naqsyabandiyah*, *Khalwatiyah*, and *Sammaniyah*.¹⁸⁴

¹⁸³ Abdullah, *Perkembangan Ilmu*, p. 109. Please compare to Azra, *Jaringan ulama* p. 256.

¹⁸⁴ Who wrote this treatise is al-Faqir and abject servant, who admits with sin and *taqsir*, who expects to God's forgiveness, who is the first faqir of the servants of God Almighty who made all creatures, he is Muhammad ibn Idris al-Nafis -Husen, Banjar country where this book can be resolved, and the land of Mecca he lived, the Shafi'i school is his jurisprudence, his i'tikad Usul al-Din is Ash'ari, his mystical is *al-Junaidi*, his *tareqat* is *Qadiriyah*, his clothes is *Syattariyah*, his deeds is *Naqsabandiyah*, his food is *Khalwatiyah*, and his drink is *Samaniyah*.... See al-Durr al-Nafis, p 38. It is quoted in Ahmadi Isa, *Ajaran Tasawuf Syekh Muhammad Nafis al-Banjari*, Dissertation: IAIN Jakarta, 1996, p 29. Later it is called *Durr alNafis*.

b. The Mysticism of Muhammad Nafis al-Banjari

In *al-Durr al-Nafis*, al-Nafis Banjari followed his

senior scholars who were concerned over the renewal of Sufism; he always emphasized the absolute transcendence and the unity of God because he believed that no one is able to know the secret of God. Al-Banjari, when he explained about monotheism, he said that no one can know the nature of the substance of God, even the apostles and *muqarrabin* angels.¹⁸⁵

In *al-Durr al-Nafis*, in addition to clarifying the philosophical Sufism that explains about God and Nature, al-Banjari also explains the procedures that should be followed by *salik* (who follows the Sufi path) to reach to the God's *ridlo*. The descriptions of al-Nafis Banjari reminds us of al-Ghazali's concept of in *Ihya' Ulum al-Din* about the book of *muhlikat* and *munjiyat*. The first, *salik* must know all things that can cancel and thwart him compare with *Ihya' Ulm al-Din* especially the *al-muhlikat* part (devastating)¹⁸⁶- to reach to the God's *ridlo*. For that, *salik* must maintain of various immoral both inwardly and outwardly.¹⁸⁷ After *salik* successfully overcomes the problems that could derail him from getting closer to God, then he must do things that can deliver to the next levels.¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁵ Al-Banjari, *Durr al-Nafis*, p. 13

¹⁸⁶ See al-Ghazali, *Ihya' Ulum al-Din*, III, p. 195.

¹⁸⁷ Al-Banjari, *Durr al-Nafis*, p. 3.

¹⁸⁸ Please compare with the discussion about *al-Munjiyat*, see al-

After al-Banjari explains the foundation of the Shari'ah in achieving mystical way in his book, the next discussion is around the *wahdat al-wujud* concept. In this case, al-Banjari adopts the ideas of earlier scholars on the subject of manifestation. It is said that no one who knows the essence of God, then there are no words that can describe Him except to understand the term is *not* and *no*. In *Durr al-Nafis* describes:

“The begining is Allaah form and his substance is not *jisim*, He is not *jauhar*, He is not *aradh*, He is not *ittihad*, He is not *hulul*, and he does not do *jihat*, and there is no for Him *jihat* because there is no for Him *had*, He is no finite, and He is no begining, and He is different from all things.”

249

Al-Banjari's Description about God's absolute substance shows like the Arabian *madhab* in explaining God in *martabat ahadiyah* (la ta'ayun). God is a substance that is not known by anyone, but He wants to be known, so that God can be known, He must show Himself through *tajalli* process.²⁵⁰ Like other scholars of Arabian *madhab*, al-Banjari quotes a very popular hadith of prophet

كنت كنترا مخفيا ف حبيبب أن اعرف فخلقت الخلق في

Ghazali, *Ihya' Ulum al-Din*, III, p. 195.

²⁴⁹ Al-Banjari, *Durr al-Nafis*, p. 16

²⁵⁰ Al-Banjari, *Durr al-Nafis*, p.22

“I am hidden treasury, and I miss to be known, so I create beings so that they know Me”

The *Tajalli al-Haqq* process in the conception of alBanjari adopted the concept of the dignity of seven by *alBurhanpuri*. The first dignity is *martabat ahadiyah*, which is the appearance of the whole nature and His *asma*, but both sank into God’s substance. This dignity is the highest dignity. The second dignity is *martabat wahdat*. In this dignity, every nature and God’s *asma* has appeared in *ijmal*, which is said to be the essence of the Prophet Muhammad which is the essence of nature and essence of everything because according to *al-Nafis Banjari*, everything was created from the Nur Muhammad, then Muhammad is also called *huwwiyat al-alam*. The third dignity is *martabat wahidiyat*, which is the appearance of any nature and His *asma* in *tafsili*, from His all *asma* and nature which is *mujmal* on the previous dignity.

Nafis al-Banjari have been explained as follows, : “The first of the tanzil dignities is *martabat ahadiyah*, then it produces all natures and *asma*, but both are embodied in the substance. *Martabat Ahadiyah* is the highest dignity that is *martabat kunhi zat Allah Ta’ala*.

The second of *Martabat tanazzul* is *martabat Wahdah*. It produces all natures and *asma* generally (organization),

that is the substance of our prophet Muhammad which is the origin of the all the entities and the rest of his life. So it is our prophet Muhammad who is *huwwiyat al-Alam*, it means that the essence of nature and origin of all *asyya'* because that all *asyya'* was made of the our prophet Muhammad *nur*.

The third of *martabat tanzil* is *martabat wahidiyyah sanam* which produces all the nature and *asma* by dividing the existing goods and it becomes *mujmal* on *Hadrat Wahdah* and on this *Hadrat wahidiyyah* produces this book, that is his sentence *inna ana Allah* which means that I am God. It starts because it receives *khitab* with *kalam* that is *qadim* on *Hadrat wahidiyyah* because it is obtained *khitab* with it which is *alam sifat* and *asma'*.¹⁸⁹

These three dignities include in *a'yan tsabitah* (permanent entity) that still has been potential and not produced outwardly. *Al-A'yun al-Khariji* which is the next level, starts with *martabat alam arwah* as the fourth dignity. *Martabat alam arwah* is the essence of all souls (spirits) that are not arranged. The fifth Dignity is *martabat alam misal* that is something subtle and can not be divided, and the sixth dignity is *martabat alam ajsam* that is everything rough and can be divided. The Seventh dignity is *martabat alam insan* that is the dignity collects all the previous six dignities.²⁵²

¹⁸⁹ See Al-Banjari, *Durr al-Nafis*, p. 21 – 22. Please compare with the seven dignities in al-Salikin poem by Abd al-Shamad alPalimbani.

Regarding the relationship between God and nature, al-Banjari used waves, ocean, and froth terminologies. Everything essentially is water. As it is expressed by the following:

"*Mistal* by Arif Billah, because it also emphasizes to the concept not the substance, like sea, wave and foam, and all of them is also water. Nothing is manifested only with water. When the outer is a move, from that, they become the waves and froth. When the place is vast, the water becomes sea but nevertheless it is water. Covering the form of water is ocean, waves and foam, as if water does not move and the place is narrow, and undoubtedly there

²⁵² The fourth of *martabat tanazzul* is *martabat alam arwah* that is silent from the all things arranged, and widely spread, that is the essence of all outer soul. It is on all substance and illustration.

The fifth of *martabat tanazzul* is *martabat alam mitsal*, it means all things become smooth form, and it does not receive the happiness.

The sixth of *martabat tanazzul* is *martabat tanazzul zat* that is *martabat alam ajsam*, it means that all things become more rugged, they receive happiness.

The seventh of *martabat tanazzul zat* is the dignity that covers previous six dignities that are *martabat alam insane Al-Banjari*, *Durr al-Nafis*, p. 22-23. Please compare with the seven dignities in al-Salikin work of Abd al-Samad al-Palimbani.

will never be sea, wave, and foam. Then it returns to water and sea and foam also go to be water, Such as manifestation

of Allah, it covers His form in all of nature, there will never be entity, and everything is *fana* in the manifestation of Allah Ta'ala.”²⁵³

The expression of waves and sea reminds to the expression conveyed by Hamzah Fansuri in his work of *Syarab al-Asyiqin*²⁵⁴ and it also can be found in the book of *al-Jili* which is *al-Insan al-Kamil* about the expression of water with ice.²⁵⁵

Then al-Banjari asserts that human dignity potentially can achieve *martabat insan kamil* if he could get through the dignities as it already mentioned, so that it units in *jamal* and *jalal* as reflected in the Prophet

²⁵³ Al-Banjari, *Durr al-Nafis*, p. 16.

²⁵⁴ See Hamzah Fansuri, “Syarah al-Asyiqin”, in Doorenbos, p. 191-192, please compare with *Zinat al-Muwahidin* edited by Abd al-Hadi, 1995, *Hamzah Fansuri, Risalah Tasawuf dan Puisinya*, Bandung: Mizan, p. 84 – 86.

²⁵⁵ As illustration, a creature is similar to ice

And you are the running water

Ice, actually it comes from water

It is because it has decided to be such

See Al-Jili, *al-Insan al-Kamil*, vol II, Kairo: Syirkah Maktabah wa Mathba'ah Mus'afa al-Bab³ al-Halaj, 1956, p. 46.

Muhammad characters. Actually every action is an act of God, and people do not have the slightest act at all, and all asma is asma God, all nature is the nature of God, and all things that are in creature are only His maṣhar form.¹⁹⁰ This is the highest monotheism in view of al-Nafis Banjari.

In turn, Nafis al-Banjari was well known in spreading the teachings of Islam to the inland region. It made Nafis widely known as the nomad scholar. One of the result of the preaching reached *Kalua* (now included in the *Tabalong* territory), in the 19th century had been transformed into the center of the spread of Islam in the northern part of South Kalimantan. He had very big role in spreading Islam in the region of the Banjar Sultanate. Until then Nafis was given the honorary title of *Maulana alAllamah al-Fakhamah al-Mursyid ila Tariq as-Salamah* (The noble, highly knowledgeable, respected, counselor to the righteous path).

191

¹⁹⁰ Al-Banjari, *Durr al-Nafis*, p. 24. Please compare with the *Abd al-Samad al-Palimbani concept* in al-Salikin's poem.

¹⁹¹ Yusuf Asidiq, "Muhammad Nafis al-Banjari 'Sang Ulama Pengembara'" in *Republika*, Friday, 01 Augusts 2003.

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