Khalwatiah Sammān: A Popular Sufi Islamic Movement in South Sulawesi, Indonesia (1820s-1998)

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Abstract

This dissertation examines the Khalwatiah Sammān Sufi brotherhood (tarekat) in South Sulawesi, Indonesia, and attempts to explain the reason for its continuing success since its origins in the first half of the nineteenth century. A major reason, I contend, is the very close relationship that is maintained between its leaders *(Shaikh, Murshīd, Khalīfah)* and its followers (*sanakmangaji*) through the legitimization of the authority of the former via Islamic spiritual ideas *(taṣawwuf*). The emergence of this tarekat was the result of the confluence in the nineteenth century of two important developments: the expansion of European colonialism in Muslim lands around the world, and the rise of the puritanical Wahabi movement centered in the heartland of Islam.

The links between the Islamic heartland and the Malay-Indonesian archipelago grew stronger in this period, as religious discourses, particularly Sufism, became increasingly influential in the *ummah,* or community of believers, "below the winds." The Khalwatiah Sammān tarekat in South Sulawesi appealed far more to the commoners than the elite. Its eclectic religious perspective, though opposed by the orthodox modernist and traditional streams of Islam, was in fact a reason for its attraction among the ordinary people. One of its appeals is the practice of reciting the zikir *(dzikr al-Jahri)* as a congregation, rather than performing a private silent zikir as is done by other tarekats. Challenged by the two Islamic mainstreams--global Wahabism and local orthodoxy—the Khalawatiah Sammān responded by creating a tarekat that succeeded in demonstrating its legitimacy and orthodoxy through its scholarly leaders and their links to important Islamic teachers in Mecca and Medina, the Ḥaramayn. One of the major conclusions of this study is that Islam is not monolithic, and that groups such as the Khalwatiah Sammān demonstrate the dynamism of Islam in all its different cultural manifestations.

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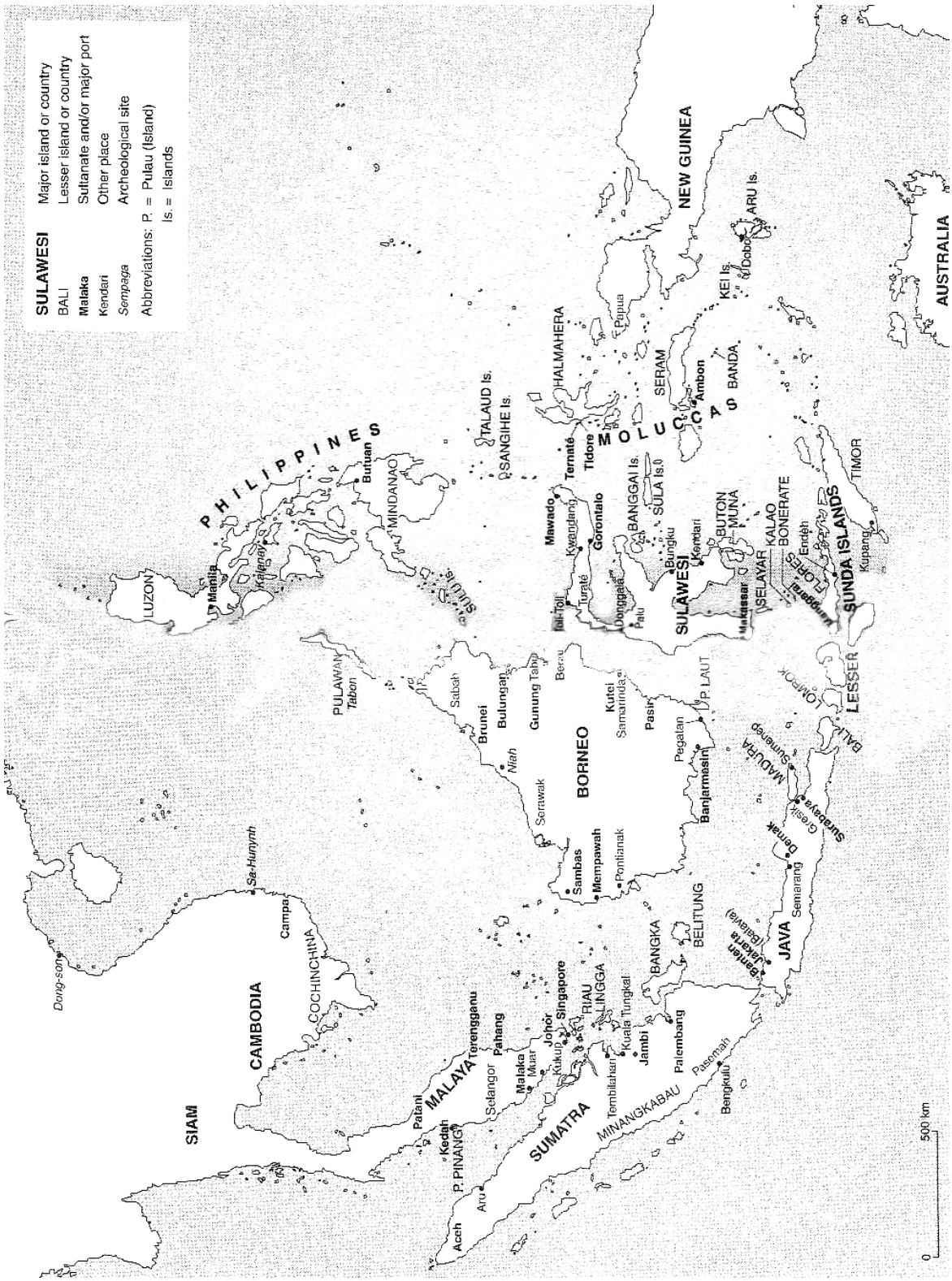
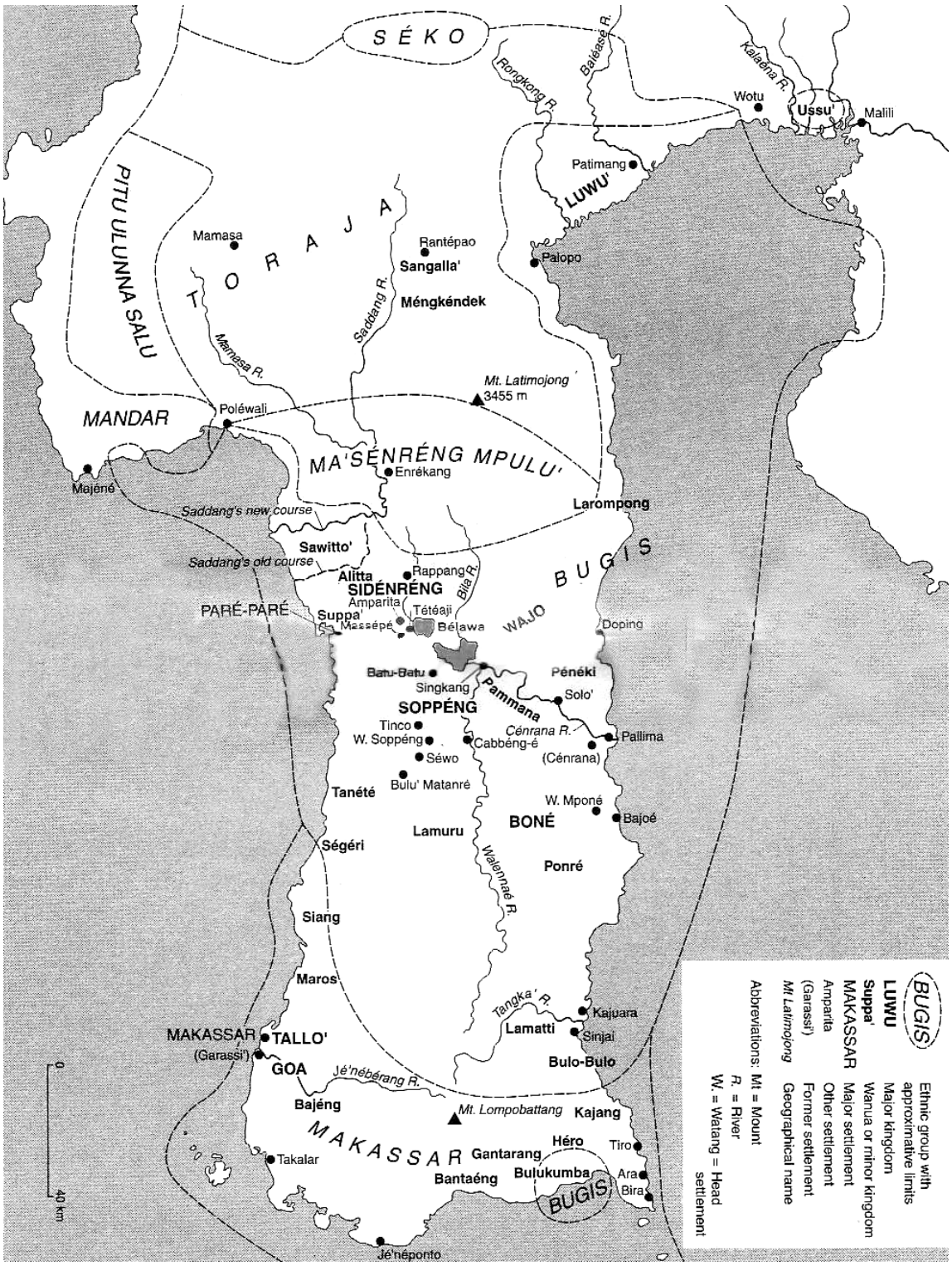


Map 1. Sulawesi in its historical south-east Asian context (courtesy of Pelras, The Bugis, 1996)



Map 2. South Sulawesi ethnic groups and toponyms of the historical period (courtesy of Pelras, The Bugis, 1996)

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ANRI	*Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia*
DI	*Darul Islam*
DPRD	*Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah*
GOLKAR	*Golongan Karya*
KPPSI	*Komite Persiapan Penegakan Syari'at Islam*
NU	*Nahdlatul Ulama*
PBUH	*Peace Be Upon Him*
PERPUSNAS	*Perpustakaan Nasional*
PKI	*Partai Komunis Indonesia*
PPP	*Partai Persatuan Pembangunan*
PPOI	*Persatuan Perkumpulan Umat Islam*
PSI	*Partai Serikat Islam*
SARA	*Suku, Agama dan Ras*
TNI	*Tentara Nasional Indonesia*
VOC	*Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie*

PREFACE: A NOTE ON SPELLING AND TRANSLATION

Except for common terms such as Islam and Muhammad (the prophet), the translation of Arabic words and local names are written in their italicized spellings when they first appear, such as *'Ḥaramayn'*, *'Ratīb'*, and *'Panngadereng'*. Thereafter the words will appear without italics. For certain names of non-Arabic persons I have followed the spellings of local scholars; for example 'al-Makassari' rather than 'al-Maqassari', or 'Abdullah' instead of ''Abd Allah'.

The plural of Arabic and non-English words is simply written by adding 's' to their more familiar singular forms: so, 'dhikrs' instead of 'adhkār' or 'ṭarīqahs' instead of 'ṭuruq' or 'ṭarāiq' (Arabic plural forms). In addition, all dates are mostly written in Gregorian date or Christian/Common Era (CE).

I have used the Bugis words for local terms, rather than giving both the Bugis and Makassarese forms of a term. Although these two languages are related, they are not mutually comprehensible and there are differences in their vocabularies and spelling.

Chapter One

The Khalwatiah Sammān Sufi Order: Popular Islam in South Sulawesi, Indonesia (1820s-1998)

> *"Although such shrines possessed important economic, political, and social ties with the masses of villagers who frequented them, their fundamental raison d'être was religious. For it was through its rituals that a shrine made Islam accessible to non lettered masses, providing them with vivid and concrete manifestation of the divine order, and integrating them into its ritualized drama both as participant and as sponsors". (Richard M. Eaton).*[1]

In the third week of March 2009 (*Rabi' al-Awwāl* 1430 of the Islamic calendar), the village of Pattene in the regency of Maros was crowded with thousands of Muslim Bugis men and women coming from all parts of South Sulawesi province. It was the annual event of the *Khalwatiah Sammān* order *(tarekat)* to celebrate the birthday of the Prophet Muhammad *(maulid al-Nabī)* and the death day *(ḥawl)* of their venerated master. Through this master the followers of the order hoped to be connected to the Prophet. No invitations were issued nor was a formal organizing committee formed to handle this affair. Instead, everything was in the hands of volunteers among the followers of the order *(sanakmangaji),* who were mostly peasants and fishermen. They had come from the cities by car led by their local leaders *(khalīfah)*, and they had brought their food and personal belongings to participate with the other sanakmangaji to share the joy of life. At this event they asked blessings from the order's living masters *(shaikh* or *murshīd)*,

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[1] Richard M. Eaton, "The Political and Religious Authority of the Shrine of Baba Farid," in *Moral Conduct and Authority, the Place of Adab in South Asian Islam*, ed. Barbara Daly Metcalf (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1984).

Puang Rala and Puang Tompo, and visited the venerated graves of their murshīd. The wealthier among them donated cows or goats for meals, while others shared whatever they had: rice, vegetable, cakes, bottled drinks, etc. They slept wherever they could, with family members, teachers, and houses of the sanakmangaji. There was no fear of loss of their belongings. In the evenings they would assemble near the house of the murshīd or in the yard of the mosque to chant (*dhikr*), listen to speeches, and kiss the hand of the murshīd and provide him with an envelope with money for his blessing (*barakka*). On the third day, the followers assembled in the hall near the residence of Puang Tompo to listen to his speech and those delivered by visitors, such as the local bureaucrats and national figures from the Bugis areas. The climax of the festival was the visit of the sanakmangaji to the shrines of the great murshīd, Abdullah bin ʻAbd al-Razzāq, father of Puang Tompo, located near the mosque. Before returning home, the sanakmangaji came to the murshīds for their advice and blessing. They often brought bottled water to be blessed by the murshīd as medicine for their sick family members. For outsiders, such as the politicians for instance, this annual gathering may have provided them with the political opportunity to make a good impression among the followers of the order, particularly those gathered around the houses of the murshīds. The two charismatic murshīds of the order were sufficiently influential that politicians and state officials often came and sought their support and prayers.

This annual event is important in displaying the power and authority of the murshīd of the order through their interpretation of religious texts, a characteristic found in Sufi brotherhoods. Such an Islamic brotherhood is known among the Bugis Muslims as *matarekka* , meaning to practice or follow a spiritual order (Ind. *tarekat*). It was these

Sufi brotherhoods or tarekat (Ar. *ṭarīqat*, means "way") that played a leading role in enabling the wider Muslim world to meet the challenges of European colonialism and Islamic *Wahabi* fundamentalism in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The strength of the tarekat was in its success in incorporating local customs and beliefs that appealed to its followers. But some were more inclined to local influences than others, as was the case of the Khalwatiah Sammān order in the southwest peninsula of the island of Sulawesi. It was a popular order that was noted for its weaker adherence to the *sharī'ah* and its less shari'ah-oriented leaders *('ulamā),* who were usually not as learned than those in the modernist and traditionalist Muslim organizations in Indonesia.

The Khalwatiah Sammān had its religious center in the village of Pattene, Maros, and had its principal strength in the former powerful kingdoms of Gowa and Bone in the peninsula. It gained popularity among the people because the sharī'ah-oriented officials of the religious council *(Parewa Sarak)* did little to accommodate the commonly-held traditional religious ideas and practices. *Taṣawwuf*, or the mystical ideas of Sufism, was monopolized by the Parewa Sarak and the aristocracy. Khalwatiah Sammān, on the other hand, arose and grew quickly because it appealed to the common people and was propagated through public gatherings which invited all to participate in the chanting of the dhikr (remembrance of the name of Allah).

The success of the Khalwatiah Sammān order undermined the authority of the Parewa Sarak, which resulted in slanderous accusations against the order, very likely instigated by those influenced by the fundamentalism of the Wahabi movement that was developing in the Arabian Peninsula. The opposition only strengthened the resolve of the

order and its followers who were exhorted by their leaders through works written in local languages. Since the majority of its members are Bugis, the Khalwatiah Sammān became known as the Sufi order of the Bugis community, even though its membership also extended to the Makassarese and Mandarese, two other large ethnic communities in southwest Sulawesi. In the meantime, the leaders sought to have the Mufti of Mecca issue a *fatwa* or religious opinion to recognize the Khalwatiah Sammān as a legitimate Sufi order.

The Khalwatiah Sammān order can theoretically be considered as part of Neo-Sufism, a term referring to the notion of change in religious orientation among the students of Islam. The term differentiates the Sufi movements, which combine spiritual mystical discipline and the sharī'ah, from the personal philosophy of mystics in the earlier period of Islam. As the sharī'ah becomes the major component of the movement, the role of the Prophet assumes a central place for spiritual seekers. The link to the Prophet grew even more significant during the period of the colonization of the Islamic world in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Shaken by the direct rule of Europeans and their technology, the Muslim community (*ummah)* felt besieged and threatened. Puritanical Wahabism was viewed by many believers as offering a strategy to strengthen Islam by returning to the fundamental teachings and examples of the Prophet. The nineteenth century was also marked by the rapid growth of groups studying the *Ḥadīth,* or the sayings and deeds of the Prophet. The Khalwatiah Sammān order was very much part of the neo-Sufi movement that emerged in the Islamic world and not a heretical mystic organization, as some of its harshest critics alleged.

As authority is central in the practice of Islam, this study will examine how the leaders of the Khalwatiah Sammān interpreted certain Islamic mystical texts as a means to exercise their control over their followers. One of my aims is to determine how the order was able to maintain group solidarity and its traditions, despite the social and political upheavals in Indonesia in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Although tarekats are common in the ummah, more needs to be done to examine the role of the tarekat at the local levels in order to build a picture of the true character of the religion within the diverse world of Islam. The phenomenon of total obedience of the members toward the central leader, which has enabled radical Muslims to maintain a unity and strength of purpose that transcends political borders, is also examined in this study.

Studies of Southeast Asian power and authority have focused principally on the secular power holders: king, raja, sultan, president. Yet another form of power and authority is religion, and in Islam they are centered on the religious teachers or ʻulamā, who have played an important role in the daily life of the community. Islamic Sufi brotherhoods or tarekat have a long tradition of working socially and politically in the service of Islam. Since control and organization are embedded in Sufi tradition, the tarekat has certain commonalities with the state, particularly in following a central power holder, in the case of Sufism the leaders (shaikh, murshīd) and their deputies (khalīfah). Both the state and the tarekat in the Southeast Asian context have similarly shown the ability to achieve various modes of obedience from their respective constituencies. This particular aspect of the Sufi tarekat has shown to have been significant in the ongoing Islamization of Indonesia. Far from being homogeneous and monolithic, as many have suggested, there are differences and even conflicts among those orders, whether within a

tarekat or among those spiritual organizations. What is needed, therefore, are specific studies of the various tarekats in order to obtain a better picture of how Sufism may have operated at the local level.

It has been argued that the early Islamization in Southeast Asia was pioneered by itinerant Sufi teachers, who succeeded in gaining the religious obedience of their converts. Maritime trade across the Indian Ocean was the means by which these Sufi masters from the Middle East and India converted the local communities to Islam between the thirteenth and the eighteenth centuries. According to A.H. Johns, the end of the golden era of the Sufis in the Islamic world began with the emergence of Islamic reformism of the Wahabis centered in Mecca in the eighteenth century, and then by the Islamic modernist movements of the nineteenth century.[2] Similar conclusions were reached by Steenbrink, Federspiel, and a few others, who focused on nineteenth-century Netherlands East Indies, which witnessed rebellions of Muslims against the colonial authority marked by intense religious sentiments.[3] At this point, Islam appeared as a solidarity-maker among its followers, emphasizing the difference between themselves as a community of Muslims (ummah) and the colonials as the infidels *(kāfir)*. European

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[2] A. H. Johns, "Sufism a Category in Indonesian Literature and History," *Journal of Southeast Asian History* 2(1961): 12.

[3] Karel A. Steenbrink, *Beberapa Aspek Tentang Islam Di Indonesia Abad Ke-19* (Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, 1984).; Howard Federspiel, M., *Sultans, Shamans, and Saints* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2007), 128.

technology that accompanied colonialism also played a part in facilitating this unity among Muslims.[4]

At the local level, nineteenth-century South Sulawesi experienced political tensions between the kingdoms of Gowa and Bone and foreign European powers.[5] The unity of the South Sulawesi kingdoms forged by Arung Palakka in the late seventeenth century was undermined,[6] and "the legitimacy of the local rulers collapsed almost completely."[7] In the nineteenth century, the Islamic developments in South Sulawesi mirrored the political situation, where increasing Dutch intervention led to a decline in local authority. What was happening in this region was part of a larger malaise throughout the Islamic world, which came increasingly under the influence of colonial regimes as the Wahabi movement gained momentum. Unfortunately, there is little information on the links between the Islamic heartland and South Sulawesi in this period, despite the advanced printing technology available at the time. One is therefore reliant on the local sources (*lontarak)* in order to examine how the local Muslim communities were interacting with the Islamic metropoles in the Middle East.[8]

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[4] Michael Francis Laffan, *Islamic Nationhood and Colonial Indonesia, the Umma Below the Winds* (London and New York: Routledge Curzon, 2003), 49.

[5] H. A. Mattulada, *Sejarah, Masyarakat, Dan Kebudayaan Sulewesi Selatan* (Ujung Pandang: Hasanuddin University Press, 1998), 320.

[6] For the legacy of Arung Palakka's policy of uniting the South Sulawesi kingdoms through intermarriage, see Leonard Y. Andaya, *The Heritage of Arung Palakka: A History of South Sulawesi(Celebes) in the Seventeenth Century* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1981).

[7] Thomas Gibson, *Islamic Narrative and Authority in Southeast Asia, from the 16th to the 21st Century* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).

[8] See Laffan's study of Islam and the formation of nationalist discourses among Indonesian Muslims residents in the center of the Muslim world *(Bilād al-Jāwī)*. He focuses on the contribution of those learned Muslims through their works written in Malay and Javanese, but does not refer to the Bugis and

The situation in nineteenth-century Indonesia was far more complex than often depicted by scholars.[9] In South Sulawesi, colonialism in the Islamic lands and the rise of Wahabism[10] led to greater Islamization among the commoners by other tarekats, in addition to the prominent order of the *Khalwatiah Yusuf* among the Makassarese.[11] A growing role in this Islamization was the new tarekat of Khalwatiah Sammān among the Bugis, despite strong opposition from orthodox and modernist groups towards its Sufi practices. But this opposition only strengthened the resolve of its members, with the tarekat becoming a far more unified and popular religious fraternity and emerging as the largest Sufi order in the following century. Its works on Islam written in local vernaculars were a factor in the tarekat's popularity, and so both Bugis and Makassarese joined Malay and Javanese as scholarly languages of Islam in the archipelago. The way the leaders of Khalwatiah Sammān taught the Sufi texts can also help to explain the character of the Islamization in the region in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Makassar documents in the period discussed. The absence of information on the Islamization of the ummah in South Sulawesi is also apparent in an earlier work on Islam by Steenbrink. Laffan, *Islamic Nationhood*. 18-30; Karel A. Steenbrink, *Dutch Colonialism and Indonesian Islam, Contacts and Conflicts 1596-1950* (Amsterdam- Atlanta: GA, 1993).

[9] The century was marked by "the age of mission," in which the Muslim world began to experience the intervention of Christian missionaries soon after the end of the Napoleonic wars in 1816. Christian schools, building on the foundations established by the Catholic missions, started to spread across the East Indies. Yudi Latif, *Inteligensia Muslim Dan Kuasa: Genealogi Inteligensia Muslim Indonesia Abad Ke-20* (Bandung: Mizan Pustaka, 2005).

[10] The Wahabis captured Mecca in early 1803, and used it as a base for its puritanical campaign to make Muslims return to the teaching of the Holy Qur'an and the tradition of the prophet. The movement's works were translated and brought to the Malay-Indonesian archipelago, where it was represented by the *Naqshabandiah* Sufi order. Steenbrink, *Dutch Colonialism*.

[11] In the Malay world, European colonial and Islamic fundamentalism were two foreign elements that had an impact on local culture. In response, both the elite and commoners of various Islamic religious inclinations became involved in dealing with this development. The elite were willing to pursue the puritanical Wahabi ideas, while the commoners were more inclined to favor the earlier Islamic practices. A. C. Milner, *Kerajaan: Malay Political Culture on the Eve of Colonial Rule* (Arizona: The University of Arizona Press, 1982), 12.

This study will focus on the formative period of the Khalwatiah Sammān from the first half of the nineteenth century to the end of the Suharto regime in Indonesia (1820s-1998). Its primary aim is to understand why this tarekat became so popular and continued to be successful over this long period, despite strong opposition from other tarekats and from the orthodox Islamic community. A crucial factor in this success is the leadership, and so attention will be centered on the role of the tarekat leaders. In addition to the community-bonding rituals, Sufi texts were part of the tarekat's program for its followers. Understanding the texts selected and how they were being used can reveal the essence of the authority exercised by the Khalwatiah Sammān leadership. In this regard, there is a "political" aspect to this movement in the wider sense of this term.[12]

The Khalwatiah Sammān did not emerge in a vacuum but was affected by the situation in the *Ḥaramayn* (Mecca and Medina). Some of the questions that this study will address regarding this link are: Did religious discourses in the center of Islam have a direct or indirect bearing on the formation of the Khalwatiah Sammān in Maros, South Sulawesi? How did this order respond to the religious and socio-political changes as measured by the types of works written for its followers by the murshīd? How did the murshīd adjust to the vicissitudes of religious and political life in the Ḥaramayn and South Sulawesi so that the order remained influential among the local people well into this century? This study, therefore, is not simply a discussion on the formative development of the Khalwatiah Sammān in South Sulawesi, but also a local study of the

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[12] The cultural notion of political power differs from one society to another, as shown by Jane Drakard for the Minangkabau and Clifford Geertz for the Balinese. Jane. Drakard, *A Kingdom of Words, Language and Power in Sumatra* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 262-3.; Clifford. Geertz, *Negara, the Theatre State in Nineteenth-Century Bali* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1980).

social role of Sufi orders as agents of religious change. Sufi teachers have historically been recognized as the most accommodating of indigenous beliefs among all Islamic groups that brought Islam to maritime Southeast Asia. As a result their teachings have been regarded as eclectic, but their success and popularity among the indigenous communities have made their grave sites local places of veneration. Though they did not enjoy the prestige of Islamic legal scholars, the Sufi masters in general were more revered through the centuries among the local population because of their tolerance of local cultural and religious ideas while transmitting Islamic knowledge. They were indeed, in the words of Bruinessen and Howell, the "cultural translators of Islam."[13]

Studies on Islamization and Localization in Southeast Asia

Islam is a religion with a holistic system of life *(syumūlī)*, in which the religion and the state are intimately interwoven *(al-Dīn wa al-Dawlah).* The importance of politics for Muslims has frequently been expressed in a popular statement: *"an-Nās 'alā dīni mulkihim"* (People's religion relies on their rulers' belief). This observation is particularly relevant for Southeast Asia, where the Islamization process began with the ruling elite. Once they had embraced the religion the conversion of their followers followed quickly. Islam is often also depicted as "a religion of faith and of struggle" *(al-Islām jihādun wa 'aqīdatun)*. These statements reveal the various ways in which Islam has been perceived and the particular importance of the close relationship between Islam

[13] Martin van Bruinessen and Julia Day Howell, "Sufism and the 'Modern' in Islam," in *Sufism and the 'Modern' in Islam*, ed. Martin van Bruinessen and Julia Day Howell (London, New York: I.B.Tauris 2007), 7.

and politics. This is clearly a factor in the process of localizing Islamic ideas in Southeast Asia.

O. W. Wolters was the first to advance the idea of localization as a process by which the local Southeast Asian population adopted and adapted foreign ideas to their own indigenous beliefs to create something new and relevant to the society.[14] The attraction of Wolters' theory lies in the pro-active agency of the "local genius" or the "man of prowess" in the localization process. The result has been innovative cultural achievements that differed both in quality and style from the major cultural influences from China and India and later from the heartland of Islam and Europe. In this study I argue that the successful localization of Islam in Southeast Asia in general and South Sulawesi in particular was due to the role played by Sufi masters or Saints *(walī),* as "men of prowess." Localization is not a single process, but something that is ongoing. What was produced at different times over the centuries was not a syncretic belief system but an entirely new creation. In the case of Islam, the notion of *niat* (Ar. *al-niyyat*), or the religious intention or motivation, was an important factor in enabling the local Muslims to see their own indigenous practices as permissible as long as they were subordinated to the "intention" of performing Islamic orthodox practices. The Sufi teachers were instrumental in promoting niat and thus making Allah the sole motivation of people's actions. For this reason, less concern was expressed at the maintenance of traditional ideas and practices, which were later condemned by fundamentalist Islamic groups in the nineteenth century.

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[14] O. W Wolters, *History, Culture, and Region in Southeast Asian Perspectives* (Ithaca, New York: Southeast Asia Program Publication, Cornell University 1999), 41-57.

Islamic mysticism or Taṣawwuf later becomes a more organized institution centered on a founder and known as *ṭarīqat (*Ind. tarekat), literally meaning way, or spiritual order. The tarekat is an important institution in Islam and has played an important role in the history of Muslim society. The tarekat has a social and collective dimension, with a strong relationship between the leaders or masters *(*Ar. Murshīd or Shaikh) and their disciples (Ar. *Murīd*) or sanakmangaji (Bugis). Islamic scholars have amply discussed this subject in regard to the Islamization in Southeast Asia in which Sufi groups were so influential. A.H. Johns' scholarly works on Sufism are among the most prominent contributions on the subject, and those who study Islam in Southeast Asia always begin by referring to his ideas. As Bruinessen points out, Johns' speculative historical hypotheses on the important role of Sufi teachers in the spread of Islam in the Southeast Asian maritime regions between the thirteenth and the sixteenth centuries have encouraged more recent scholarships on Islamic mysticism in the region.[15]

Among the scholars who have engaged Johns' Sufi theory is Azyumardi Azra. In his study on the transmission of Islam and its scholarly networks in seventeenth and eighteenth century Southeast Asia, Azra discusses various theories on the conversion of Islam. He claims that scholars who have debated this subject tend to provide only one aspect of the conversion or focus on individual conversions. In dealing with this question, Azra states that there are three major questions confronting scholars working on the Islamization in Southeast Asia: its provenance, the first bearer of Islam, and factual information on its introduction. Johns' works are useful in understanding why there was

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[15] Martin van Bruinessen, "Studies of Sufism and the Sufi Orders in Indonesia," *Die Welt des Islams* 38, no. 2 (1998): 200-1.

a mass conversion among the local people, aside from the economic and political factors.[16] Johns' Sufi theory rests on the premise that Sufi success was due to Sufi teachers, whose remarkable spiritual powers and eclectic teachings won the admiration of the local people and thus led to their conversion to Islam.

Since the process of Islamization, or becoming Muslim through localization of Islamic values and tenets, is complex, I focus on the Sufi saints as performing the same role as Wolters' "men of prowess." There is a well-known story of the nine Sufi saints *(Wali Songo)* responsible for the Islamization of Java. What this story suggests is that for most people the accumulation of spiritual power, particularly among power holders, was far more important than the riches that could come through economic activities.[17] Johns has argued that the Islamization of Southeast Asia owes a considerable debt to the itinerant Sufi preachers, particularly in their development of social organizations along the coastal regions of the archipelago. "It is hardly an exaggeration," Johns writes, "to speak of a Sufi period in Islamic history."[18] How it occurred, however, is often misunderstood. The incorporation of indigenous ideas into the universal teaching of Islam was indeed a factor, but this did not mean that they were less Islamic as modernist and fundamentalist groups claimed. As mentioned above, "niat" was an important idea that

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[16] Azyumardi Azra, "The Transmission of Islamic Reformism to Indonesia: Networks of Middle Eastern and Malay-Indonesian 'Ulama' in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries " (PhD Dissertation, Columbia University 1992), 27-42.

[17] Compared to the role of foreign traders, Indonesia's local accounts emphasize the coming of the man of religion or saints from the heartland of Islam. On the nature of accumulation of magical power for political means, see O.W. Wolters' work, Wolters, *History, Culture*. and Benedict Anderson, "The Idea of Power in Javanese Culture," in *Culture and Politics in Indonesia*, ed. Claire Holt (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1972), 7-8.; For a list of works on Sufism in Indonesia and Malaysia, see Bruinessen, "Studies of Sufism."

[18] Johns, "Sufism a Category," 13.

enabled many Sufi orders, including the Khalwatiah Sammān, to regard themselves as true believers of Islam.

Other scholars have addressed Islamization from different angles. A Malay scholar Syed Naguib al-Attas discusses some theoretical considerations regarding the Islamization process in the Malay-Indonesian world. Dismissing the theory that India was the place whence Islam arrived in Southeast Asia, he argues that no single factor can account for Islam's arrival and adoption by the local communities. Instead, the process included many elements: trade, traders, religious rivalry between Islam and Christianity, political convenience, Islamic ideology, and Sufism. In addition to the Sufi teachers, al-Attas also credits the role of the 'ulamā or the "learned Muslims" from various Islamic disciplines in transmitting the religious ideas to the local people.[19]

In discussing the localization of Islam among the Malays, al-Attas applies a "history of ideas" perspective and advances the view that the adoption of Arabic words into Malay languages facilitated Islam's acceptance. The Malay language was enriched by these borrowings and helped it to become an intellectual language from the sixteenth century onward. The flourishing enterprise of works written on various Islamic disciplines, whether in Arabic or Malay, also marked a huge step in the Islamization process in the region. Instead of the nineteenth century as the starting point of the era of progressiveness in the Malay-Indonesian world as has often been claimed by Western scholars, al-Attas considers the seventeenth century as the period when there was a major

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[19] Syed Naguib. Al-Atas, "A General Theory of the Islamization," in *Profiles of Malay Culture; Historiography, Religion and Politics*, ed. Sartono Kartodirdjo (Jakarta: Ministry of Education and Culture, 1976), 73-84.; Mark. Lau-Fong, *Islamization in Southeast Asia* (Taiwan: Asia-Pacific Research Academia Sinica, 2002), 18.

shift in the *weltanschauung* of the Muslims. This century was characterized by the prolific writings of local Muslim thinkers about an Islam that was significantly different from the past.[20] It was the golden age of Southeast Asian Islam that ran parallel to the major economic developments in the so-called "age of commerce" discussed by Anthony Reid.[21]

Accounts of Islamization are also included in Nehemia Levtzion's work, *Conversion to Islam*. This book highlights various processes and agents of Islamization in different regions of the Islamic world by examining a variety of sources: toponyms, chronicles, inscriptions, historical tradition, travelers' notes, archeological sites, administrative data, biographies, individual names, schools of law, interpretations of dream, etc.[22] Because Islamization continued through centuries, Levtzion proposes the use of the term "adhesion" to indicate the earliest stage of conversion when local customs were tolerated and just the basic Islamic practices were encouraged, such as not eating pork, cutting men's hair short, circumcision, and using Arabic names. Another stage was reached once the rulers themselves became the active proselytizers of the religion.[23]

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[20] Al-Atas, "A General Theory." In this work, al-Attas also describes the periodization of Islamization in the Malay-Indonesian region: 1200-1400 as the period of localization of Islam through the introduction of Islamic law *(sharī'ah or fiqh)* , i.e. the conversion of the "body"; 1400-1700 as the further Islamization, where Islamic theology *(kalām)* and metaphysical notions (tasawwuf) were taught and written about; 1700-onwards as the consummation of the second phase of Islamization. This period ended with the increasing involvement of colonialism in the region. Since Islamization embraces multidimensional perspectives, various Islamizations, from institutional, political, educational, economic, knowledge, lifestyle, and technology, have occurred over time. See also Lau-Fong, *Islamization*, 18-20.

[21] Anthony. Reid, *Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce 1450-1680, the Lands Below the Winds* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1988).

[22] Nehemia. Levtzion, "Toward a Comparative Study of Islamization," in *Conversion to Islam*, ed. Nehemia Levtzion (New York: Holmes & Meier Publisher, 1979), 2-15.

[23] Laffan, *Islamic Nationhood*, 12.

Ricklefs provides evidence from Javanese manuscripts, which clearly depict the collaborative role of the rulers in the Islamization of Java led by Sufi teachers. Because of the strength and ubiquity of local Javanese Hindu-Buddhist traditions, Sufi teachers very gradually introduced a moderate and tolerant Islam to the people. They were appointed as religious advisors to rulers and married noble women.[24] The Islamization of Java, according to native chronicles *(babad)* and oral traditions, came at the hands of the nine Sufi saints. The resulting localized Islam may have been syncretic, an amalgam of Islamic and local beliefs and practices.[25] One can also cite cultural evidence in the Islamization of Java, such as the persistence of the practice of *slametan* (commemoration of a person's death after a specific number of days)*, grebeg mulud* (the birthday celebration of the Prophet) or *sekaten* in Yogyakarta, and *wayang kulit* (shadow puppetry) ceremony. These are regarded as representative of Javanese culture *par excellence* with roots in the earliest Islamization of Java by the Wali Songo. As Javanese culture heroes, the wali thus became the instrument for the transmission of Islamic ideas to the Javanese.[26]

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[24] A similar story is found in the conversion of the Melaka ruler, Sultan Iskandar Syah, and the coming of an Islamic teacher from Arabia. Cheah Boon. Kheng, *Sejarah Melayu (the Malay Annals)*, vol. 17 (Kuala Lumpur: The Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1998), 121-2.

[25] M. C. Ricklefs, "Six Centuries of Islamization in Java," in *Conversion to Islam*, ed. Nehemia Levtzion (New York: Holmes & Meier Publisher, 1979), 104-7. Scholars are not in agreement regarding the coming of Islam because of the lack of sufficient evidence. Because of the absence of relevant gravestones, foreign traveler accounts, and local manuscripts, Ricklefs relies guardedly on local Malay and Javanese sources that describe dreams of rulers meeting with the Prophet, magic weapons used to conquer a non-Muslim foe, miraculous powers of saints, and effective methods of foreign religious teachers. Trade, he asserts, made religious conversion possible. See Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia* (California: Stanford University Press, 2001), 3-11.

[26] Kees Van Dijk, "Dakwah and Indigenous Culture: The Dissemination of Islam," *Bijdragen tot Tall-, Land de - en Volkenkunde* (1998).

It would be foolhardy to embark on the study of the religious transformation on Java without reference to Clifford Geertz's seminal work, *The Religion of Java*.[27] While the debates surrounding the work have tended to revolve around his now dubious tripartite division of Javanese society,[28] there are other valuable insights in the book, including the role played by Sufi teachers in the early Islamization of the archipelago. Mainstream Islamic accounts, including the *pesantren* tradition, are closely interwoven with the stories of the Wali Songo.[29] Geertz illustrates this point by citing the case of *santri* (lit. "Muslim students"), who possess Islamic artifacts attributed to the Wali Songo. The santri, in contrast to the *priyayi* and *abangan*,[30] are those pious Muslims

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[27] Clifford Geertz, *The Religion of Java* (Illinois, 1960).

[28] Geertz adopted a Weberian perspective, which views Islam as " a religion of ethical prophecy" whose message is "rationalization and simplification." Any other manifestation of Islam must be less than Islamic and probably remnants of Hindu-Buddhism, hence his conclusion that the priyayi and the abangan were not as Islamic as the Santri. Though Geertz's views have had some influence on other scholars, such as Ricklefs, Noer, and Alfian, there has been a strong response to his characterization of Islam in Java, particularly from Dhofier, Woodward, and Pranowo. According to Dhofier, Geertz's claim that Javanese Islam is 'Hindu-Buddhist' is misleading and distorts the real situation; while Woodward did not find Hindu elements in the allegedly Hindu ceremony of Grebeg Mulud in Yogyakarta. Pranowo says that Geertz's clear-cut categorization of Santri, Abangan and Priyayi was not applicable during his anthropological research among Javanese Muslims in the 1990s. See, Muhaimin AG, *The Islamic Tradition of Cirebon: Ibadat and among Javanese Muslims* (Jakarta: MORA, 2004), 5.; Mark R. Woodward, "Talking across Paradigms: Indonesia, Islam, and Orientalism," in *Toward a New Paradigm: Recent Developments in Indonesian Islamic Thought*, ed. Mark R. Woodward (Tempe: Arizone State University 1996), 29-40.; Zamakhsyari Dhofier, *The Pesantren Tradition: The Role of the Kiyai in the Maintenance of Tradition Islam in Java* (Arizona: Program for Southeast Asian Studies, Arizona State University, 1999).; Bambang Pranowo, *Memahami Islam Jawa* (Tangerang: Pustaka Alvabet dan Indonesian Institute for Society Empowerment (INSEP) 2009).; Bambang Pranowo, *Islam Faktual, Antara Tradisi Dan Relasi Kuasa* (Yogyakarta: Adicita Karya Nusa, 1998).; Mark R. Woodward, *Islam in Java: Normative Piety and Mysticism in the Sultanate of Yogyakarta* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1989).; Ricklefs, "Six Centuries ".; Deliar Noer, *The Modernist Muslim Movement in Indonesia, 1900-1942* (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1973).; Alfian, *Muhammadiyah: The Political Behavior of a Muslim Modernist Organization under Dutch Colonialism* (Yogyakarta: Gadjah Mada University Press, 1989).

[29] Further discussion on the Wali Sanga's Islamic tradition and pesantren in Java can be found in Abdurrahman Mas'ud, *Dari Haramain Ke Nusantara, Jejak Intelektual Arsitek Pesantren* (Bandung: Kencana Prenada Media Group, 2006), 61-70.

[30] Priyayi are the Javanese aristocrats, the heirs of the early Hindu-Javanese courts, who in later centuries formed the administrative service of the Javanese rulers. During the colonial era, they appeared as colonial native officers, the mediators between the peasants and the colonial government, and the link with the old

concerned with the adherence to Islamic rituals, such as performing the five daily prayers, fasting during the month of *ramaḍān*, going to Mecca for the pilgrimage, and especially studying in an Islamic education system *(pondok*, the present pesantren*)*.[31] When Geertz did his ethnographic study in the late 1950s, the academic world was influenced by Jacob van Leur's thesis that many outside ideologies were merely a "thin flaking glaze" over a thriving indigenous belief system.[32] Scholars today are less enamored with van Leur's then iconoclastic views, and more inclined to regard Islam as penetrating far down to the village level. Academic trends and changing times may account for the differences in the account of Javanese Muslims from Geertz's time to the present.

In his recent book, *Mystic Synthesis in Java*, Ricklefs addresses the long process of Islamization in Java, from its beginning in the fourteenth century up to the early nineteenth century. Based on his understanding of early Java's successful adaptation and adoption of Indian ideas, he attributes the success of Islamization to the same "local genius" of selective adoption and synthesizing of foreign cultures with indigenous elements. The result in the pre-Islamic past was the creation of a strongly mixed culture, the so-called Hindu-Javanese amalgam. The coming of Islam brought a further blending

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Javanese realm. Spiritually, they are said to be more attached to Hindu-Buddhist mystical practices, while the Abangan are those considered less rigorous in the performance of Islamic rituals. They continue to believe in local ideas of sources of spiritual and temporal powers by presenting offerings to sacred objects, places, and ancestors. Geertz, *Religion of Java*, 5-6.; Heather Sutherland, *The Making of a Bureaucratic Elite, the Colonial Transformation of the Javanese Priyayi* (Kuala Lumpur, Hong Kong: Heinemann Educational Books (Asia) Ltd., 1979), 1-5.

[31] Geertz, *Religion of Java*.

[32] J. C. van Leur, *Indonesian Trade and Society: Essays in Asian Social and Economic History* (Bandung: W. van Hoeve 1955), 169.

to produce the Indianized Javanese Islamic culture and institutions. In support of this idea, Ricklefs cites a number of Javanese manuscripts which discuss the Islamic Javanese mystic concept of non-duality. This concept was deeply rooted in the society and became an energizing element in the lengthy process of Islamic localization of the region.[33]

One question that arises in considering Ricklefs' work is, how did the Javanese Muslims react to the attempts by the fundamentalist Wahabi movement of the mid-nineteenth century to enforce a stricter adherence to Islamic ideas?[34] Then in the twentieth century, the modernist Muhammadiyah movement in Indonesia responded to the global call of Islamic reformism and applied further pressure to make the Javanese "more Islamic." Since Geertz believed that in the late 1950s there were three streams of Javanese Muslims, the impact of these movements appears to have been uneven on Java. The Javanese cultural-religious synthesis described by Ricklefs appears to have survived to the present, and it is my contention that it is the mystical aspects that have been crucial to the maintenance of this synthesis.

M. B. Hooker discusses the mode of conversion by using the terms "transfer" and "translation". The former is an intellectual exercise to transmit Islamic ideas faithfully in the original Arabic or Persian, while the latter involves making the original comprehensible in a local language.[35] A translation could take the form of a metaphor or

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[33] M. C. Ricklefs, *Mystic Synthesis in Java: A History of Islamization from the Fourteenth to the Early Nineteenth Centuries* (Norwalk: East Bridge, 2006). ; Reid, *Southeast Asia In* 133.

[34] Ricklefs, *Mystic Synthesis*, 6-7.

[35] A Malay-Indo Persian work was available in the eighteenth-century Bugis, namely Book of *Budi Istiharat Ibdra Bustanil Arifin*. See Christian Pelras, *The Bugis* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, USA: Blackwell Publisher, 1996).

an interpretation, a process that has raised objections from those who see this process as opening the door to foreign ideas of Hinduism, Buddhism, and the West. The courts have exercised a significant influence in the translation of Islamic works, particularly *fiqh* (Islamic jurisprudence). With regard to "transfer", there is the unknown question of the extent to which these "original" texts contained accommodations to the local societies in which they were written. In Hooker's view, Islam has constantly showed its character as a religion rooted in revelation.[36] In this edited work by Hooker are also other accounts of Islamization. Of particular interest is Milner's article, which relies on local manuscripts, to demonstrate that orthodox Islam (sharī'ah) and its mystical notions have influenced the politics of the Malay-Indonesian areas.[37]

The commonalities of Sufi orders all over the Muslim world form the theme of a recently edited collection by Frederick de Jong and Bern Radtke, *Islamic Mysticism Contested*. The work emphasizes the shared experience of Sufi masters, whose positions as agents of Islam have been continually contested by the more orthodox Islamic institutions. In their mission as the transmitters of Islam they frequently face religious opposition from the legalist 'ulamā. Four renowned scholars of Southeast Asian Islam—Azyumardi Azra, Karel Steenbrink, Martin van Bruinessen, and Werner Kraus—have

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[36] Variant Islamizations are also examined by other scholars in this edited volume: Roy F. Ellen (sociology), John Bousfiled (Islamic doctrine of *tauhid*, the oneness of God), A. Day (literature of Java), and Deliar Noer (contemporary Islamic politics). See M. B. Hooker, ed. *Islam in South-East Asia* (Leiden: Brill,1983), 12-19.

[37] A. C. Milner, "Islam and the Muslim State," in *Islam in South-East Asia*, ed. M. B. Hooker (Leiden: Brill, 1983), 23-39.

made valuable contributions to this volume in addressing this issue between the eighteenth and twentieth centuries.[38]

According to Azra, the Malay-Indonesian archipelago in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was a site for many polemical debates between the mystico-philosophical thinkers and the sharī'ah-minded 'ulamā. The former group was represented, among others, by the work of Fadl Allah al-Burhanfuri, the *al-Tuḥfat al-Mursalah ilā rūḥ al-Nabī* (The Gift Addressed to the Spirit of the Prophet), which was translated into Javanese and attracted commentaries from both local scholars and those in the Ḥaramayn. Azra believes, based on studies on Javanese literature by the Dutch scholars Pigeaud and Drewes, that Islamic writings on Sufism were found in fifteenth-century Java.[39] If that were the case, then Sufi teachers would have been in Java even before the golden age of intellectual exchange between the Malay-Indonesian world and the center of Islam in the Ḥaramayn in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[40] Local terms for mystical Islam used in these Javanese works indicate the successful localization of mystical ideas by the Sufi masters.[41]

Karel Steenbrink's contribution discusses the Islamization in Java by Sufi teacher as recorded in nineteenth-century Javanese manuscripts: *Serat Centhini, Suluk*

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[38] Frederick De Jong and Bernd Radtke, eds., *Islamic Mysticism Contested: Thirteen Century of Controversies and Polemics* (Leiden, Netherlands ; Boston: Brill,1999).

[39] Azyumardi Azra, "Opposition to Sufism in the East Indies in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries " in *Islamic Mysticism Contested: Thirteen Centuries of Controversies and Polemics* ed. Frederick De Jong and Bernd Radtke (Leiden, Boston, Koln: Brill, 1999), 671.

[40] _____, *The Origin of Islamic Reformism in Southeast Asia: Networks of Malay-Indonesian and Middle Eastern Ulama in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2004).

[41] Other well-known works are al-Raniri's *Bustān al-Salātin* and Muhammad Arsyad al-Banjari's *Sabīl al-Muhtadīn li al-Tafaqquh fi Amr al-Dīn*. Ibid.

Abesi,Wedhatama, and *Suluk Gatoloco*. In these works, Javanese words such as *kaum* (Ar. *qoum*), *makrifat* (Ar. *ma'rifah*), *maujud* (Ar. *mawjūd*) show direct borrowings from Arabic. Steenbrink also detects in these manuscripts the religious tensions between legalist Muslims in the cities and the mystical teachers in the countryside.[42]

The tension continued into the twentieth century, as shown in the study by Martin van Bruinessen in this same volume.[43] He discusses the continued mystical polemics between the teachers of the Sufi order, *tarekat Naqshabandiah*, and the legalist 'ulamā, and he examines the flourishing popular Sufi orders of the *Sammāniah* and the *Qādiriah*, whose founders' supernatural reputation was widely known. But Bruinessen also focuses on the internal struggles within the Sufi orders regarding the authority of the leaders over their followers.[44] Though Bruinessen mentions the Sammāniah as among the popular orders in the twentieth century, he does not discuss the tensions between the Khalwatiah Sammān and the state 'ulamā (parewa sarak) in South Sulawesi.

A similar tone of opposition against the Sufi order in Malaysia is represented by Werner Kraus' contribution. The growing Salafi movement in the country was characterized by its opposition to the *Ahmadiah Idrisiah*, an order that shared the same fate as the *Shaṭṭāriah* order in late nineteenth-century Indonesia and Malaysia. In this regard, the anti-Sufism movement was attributed to a Salafi figure, Muhammad Ṭāhir of

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[42] Karel A. Steenbrink, "Opposition to Islamic Mysticism in Nineteenth-Century Indonesia," in *Islamic Mysticism Contested: Thirteen Century of Controversies and Polemics*, ed. Frederick De Jong & Bernd Radtke (Leiden, Netherlands; Boston: Brill, 1999).

[43] Martin van Bruinessen, "Controversies and Polemics Involving the Sufi Orders in Twentieth-Century Indonesia," in *Islamic Mysticism Contested: Thirteen Century of Controversies and Polemics*, ed. Frederick De Jong & Bernd Radtke (Leiden, Netherlands ; Boston: Brill 1999).

[44] Ibid., 728.

Malaysia. His opposition to the tarekat was published periodically by *al-Imām*, a leading Salafi publication based in Singapore in the early twentieth century. In an article, Ṭāhir asked the state authorities to ban all the Sufi orders and even to kill their followers because of their heretical teachings that contradicted the Salafi movement's mission of purifying Islam.[45] Despite this opposition, the Sufi orders were instrumental in the efforts to localize Islam and make it more acceptable to local populations.

In Bruinessen's *Tarekat Naqshabandiyyah di Indonesia* [46] and Sedgwick's *Saints and Sons: The Making and Remaking of the Rashidi Ahmadi Sufi Order, 1799-2000,*[47] the social and political involvement of the Sufi orders in modern Indonesia and Malaysia is discussed. Bruinessen provides a description of the colonial perception of the Naqshabandiah order, and then discusses the order's development from the pre-seventeenth century period to the twentieth century in different regions across Indonesia and Malaysia. His use of Arabic, Dutch and local sources in describing this order makes it a valuable contribution to an understanding of Sufism in Southeast Asia. The close link between Sufism and secular authority is described by Bruinessen in the concept of *al-insān al-kāmil* (the prefect man), the Islamic mystical term applied to local rulers fulfilling both their religious and secular duties.[48] In discussing the tension between kingship and local tradition *(adat),* Andaya also uses the concept to suggest that it

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[45] Weren. Kraus, "Sufis Und Ihre Widersacher in Kelantan/Malaysia Die Polemik Gegen Die Ahmadiyya Zu Beginn Des 20. Jahrhunderts," in *Islamic Mysticism Contested: Thirteen Century of Controversies and Polemics*, ed. Frederick De Jong & Bernd Radtke (Leiden, Netherlands ; Boston Brill, 1999).

[46] Martin van Bruinessen, *Tarekat Naqsyabandiyah Di Indonesia* (Bandung: Mizan, 1992).

[47] Mark Sedgwick, *Saints and Sons: The Making and Remaking of the Rashidi Ahamdi Sufi Order,1799-2000* (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2005).

[48] Bruinessen, *Tarekat Naqsyabandiyah Di Indonesia*, 16.

appealed to local rulers in South Sulawesi and was one of the reasons for their conversion to Islam.[49] In discussing the social history of the Naqshabandiah order and its affiliated orders in Indonesia and Malaysia, Bruinessen notes the frequent interactions between the modernist movements in the Ḥaramayn and the order in Southeast Asia. Though his study is based on the Naqshabandiah order, his comments on colonial policy toward the whole Sufi movement after the Banten peasant rebellion in Netherlands East Indies are useful in providing a framework for the ongoing debate on the alleged "heretical" orders or tarekats.

Sedgwick's helpful study of the Malay Rashidi Ahmadi order examines its roots, masters, and teachings across the Muslim regions, from Mecca to Southeast Asia, particularly Malaysia and Singapore. It is particularly useful in understanding the formative development of Sufi orders, all of which experienced the classic disputes between Sufi activists and the legalist Muslims and among Sufi masters themselves in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Instead of applying Weber's "routinization" idea in assessing charismatic religious actors in mainstream religions and "denominationalization" for those in Sufi orders,[50] Sedgwick proposes a "cyclical perspective." Through this perspective, he traces the development of a Sufi order from its emergence, to its split, and finally its stabilization over decades, while considering in

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[49] Leonard Y. Andaya, "Kingship-Adat Rivalry and the Role of Islam in South Sulawesi," *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* XV, no. 1 (1984): 34-5.

[50] An emerging religious community may rely on routinization of a prophetic movement centered on religious leaders in order to assure the continuing effectiveness of their preaching, the congregation's role in the distribution of grace, and the practice of appointing those to assume responsibility for religious functions. The notion of denominationalization emphasizes changes of religious groups over long periods of time and the tendency and energies directed toward attaining uniformity in their social environments. Sedgwick, *Saints and Sons*, 1-2.

what sense it can be defined as a "religious order".[51] Though it draws little on the order's Islamized local traditions, his study has enriched our understanding of the continuing transformation of Sufi organizations (tarekat), as well as the Islamization process, in Southeast Asia.

With regard to Sufism in the present-day, Bruinessen and Howell's work, *Sufism and the 'Modern' in Islam,* underscores Sufism's continuing vigor as a religious phenomenon. To study this dynamic movement, Voll believes it important for scholars to adopt new perspectives and approaches and perhaps even adopt some of the new social science theories. He regards the modernist approach to be irrelevant, even misleading, in understanding Sufism since it contains the notion of Sufism as a relic of civilization, backward, rural, and in opposition to secular progress. Instead of retaining this old perspective of modernism with its oppositional paradigm (modern versus traditional, literate versus illiterate, etc.), Voll instead believes that social movement theory would be more in understanding Sufism's cultural endurance and eclectic nature in its recent transformation.[52] By applying this new social theory,[53] perhaps a better more accurate picture could be constructed of Sufi orders and may provide new insights into the popularity of the Khalwatiah Sammān order in South Sulawesi.

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[51] Ibid.

[52] John Obert. Voll, "Contemporary Sufism and Current Social Theory," in *Sufism and the 'Modern' in Islam* ed. Martin van Bruinessen and Julia Day Howell (New York: Martins Press, 2007), 284-5.

[53] Instead of viewing *ṭarīqat* with a modern perspective, which emphasizes its materialist motivations and its social and intellectual parochialism, recent developments in social theories, such as a new religious movement perspective, offer alternative paradigms for understanding the changing ṭarīqats in the post-modern era. Through this perspective, ṭarīqat may be viewed as a social movement that maintains an authentic Islamic identity, which is part popular culture and part global phenomenon in the post-modern era. Ibid., 284-97.

The Nineteenth-Century Sufi Movement: Linking the Center and the Periphery

In the history of Islam, Sufism has often been regarded as contributing most to the spread of the religion.[54] "Sufis", as defined by Fazlur Rahman, "were people who gave up desires of this world and devoted themselves to the moral and spiritual." They have been widely known in their society as inclusive and humble without consideration of race, creed, or sex; indeed, they are often called "ultra humanitarians."[55] The history of Islam, to some extent, is the history of Sufism itself. The metamorphosis of Sufism from personal devotion to a more socially spiritual collective within Islam created the Sufi orders. Once Sufism became a social movement, attention of scholars was focused not only on its teachings and rituals but also on its role as a social institution.

As organized spiritual brotherhoods, the tarekat mushroomed in the nineteenth century in tandem with the growth of Western colonialism and the deterioration of Islamic practices among Muslims in the Ḥaramayn. These latter two factors raised concern in the Muslim world and the desire to reverse the perceived social and moral decay in the society. The rise of Sufi brotherhoods in the Malay-Indonesian archipelago was part of a world-wide phenomenon among Muslims who questioned the ability of the religion to resist Western colonial and Christian incursions. In addition to the Sufi brotherhoods, there was also the emergence of the fundamentalist Wahabi movement in

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[54] I prefer the meaning of Sufism as a spiritual dimension of Islam. Stodart defines it as esoteric Islam. "No Sufism without Islam" he said. It is likely "no Benedictine without being Christian". See William Stoddart, *Sufism* (New York: Paragon House, 1985).

[55] Ebrahim Moosa, ed. *Fazlur Rahman: Revival and Reform in Islam, a Study of Islamic Fundamentalism* (Oxford, England: Oneworld,2000), 109.

the Ḥaramayn. Unlike the eighteenth century,[56] the direct intrusive presence of the colonial powers in the Islamic world in the nineteenth century had led to serious debate on the relevance of Islam with widely divergent views. Despite the differing responses, according to Voll, they all agreed that Western ideas and techniques were incompatible with Islam.[57] In attempting to counter the threat to the survival of Islam, there were calls for the return to the Prophet's traditions (Ḥadīth) that were compatible with Sufi ideas. This was the beginning of the collaboration between Ḥadīth study circles and Sufi schools in the main Muslim countries. The situation in the Malay-Indonesian archipelago was particularly volatile, as Voll explains:

> For the Muslims in Southeast Asia, the nineteenth century was a time of a long series of bitter and hard-fought holy wars, which had the dual purpose of reforming local religious practice and resisting the Dutch. The character of these conflicts shows that Southeast Asian Islam was not isolated from the rest of the Muslim world. As changes took place elsewhere, they were reflected in the developing attitudes in Southeast Asia.[58]

Those who engaged in such holy wars were Muslim leaders affiliated with certain tarekats centered in the heartland of Islam. To understand this development, therefore, requires an understanding of the links established between Sufi teachers and other learned Muslims, and their efforts to restore Islam in accordance with the tradition of the Prophet. From their Ḥadīth study circles in the Ḥaramayn and the neighboring regions of Egypt

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[56] In general Voll describes the general condition of Muslims in the eighteenth century. He explains that local conditions, modern issues and Islamic continuity have provided the general dimensions in the history of Islam in this century. Its interaction with modern elements has resulted in three general themes: decentralization of political control with a realignment of the major politico-economic elements, a reorientation of the Sufi tradition, and the emergence of revivalist movements provoking the need for socio-moral reconstruction of society. See Obert Voll, *Islam Continuity and Change in the Modern World* (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1982), 34.

[57] Ibid.

[58] Ibid., 115-6.

and the Sudan, they propagated the Ḥadīth throughout the Islamic world. The Sufi movement in the archipelago cannot be divorced from this general development in Islam, which was based on the Ḥadīth study circles where neo-Sufism emerged.

The Pakistani Muslim thinker Fazlur Rahman describes neo-Sufism as an intellectual movement that combined Sufism with sharī'ah (Islamic law). This notion may have distinguished them from those learned Muslims, who were more interested in dealing with speculative mystico-religious discourse than sharī'ah in earlier periods of Islam. This reconciliation of taṣawwuf and sharī'ah, which was initiated by earlier Muslim thinkers such as al-Qushayri and al-Ghazāli, regained favor from the seventeenth century onwards. The re-emergence of neo-Sufi ideas was marked by an increase in the number of tarekats and Ḥadīth study circles in the nineteenth century in the Islamic heartland, as well as in the peripheral Islamic world of the Malay-Indonesian archipelago.[59] In addition to the rise in the number of tarekats in the archipelago in this period, Steenbrink also lists a number of wars that were fought under the banner of Islam and the debates that raged among the 'ulamā or religious teachers.[60] The Indonesian-Meccan 'ulamā (the locals and the descendants of the Prophet or Sayyid) in Mecca and in Indonesia were most involved in this Islamic discourse in the nineteenth century.

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[59] Azra, *Origin of Islamic Reformism* 37.

[60] Steenbrink enlists several important social and political events and figures during the nineteenth century-Indonesian Islam such as the Java war, Padri Movement in Minangkabau of West Sumatra, Jihad Cilegon of Banten, Jihad Aceh; Syeikh Muhammad Arsyad al-banjari, Ahmad Ripangi Kalisasak, Syeikh Nawawi of Banten, Sayyid 'Usman bin 'Aqil bin Yahya, Shaikh Khatib Minangkabau. See Steenbrink, *Beberapa Aspek*.

There have been many studies of Sufism and orthodox Islam using a variety of approaches and analyses. One of the most prominent figures in this enterprise was the Dutch scholar official Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje (1857-1936), whose works explored Islam in general and the tarekat in particular in nineteenth and early twentieth century Netherlands East Indies.[61] He and others of the Leiden school were concerned with the political aspects of Islam and its role in the violence against the colonial authority in the East Indies. But these works also contained valuable information on the social history of Sufi teachers both in the East Indies and Mecca. Snouck Hurgronje's personal observation of Sufi practices among Indonesian tarekat masters (shaikh or murshīd) in Mecca contain valuable material on the scholarly and social networks that bound Muslims at the center of Islam with those in the East Indies.[62]

Bruinessen divides studies on Sufi Indonesia into two eras, pre- and post-independence. In the pre-independence period, the studies were written in Dutch by Dutchmen;[63] whereas, most of the post-independence studies have appeared in English and written by non-Dutch scholars, such A.H. Johns and S. N al-Attas. Beginning in the 1960s there were various studies written by Southeast Asians, such as Tudjimah's work on Hamzah al-Fansuri, Ahmad Daudi's on al-Raniri, al-Attas' on al-Fansuri and Syams

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[61] Among his works addressing the practice of Sufism and sainthood is his study of Aceh. C. Snouck. Hurgronje, *The Achehnese*, trans. A. W. S. O'Sullivan, vol. 1 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1906), 154-5,65,212.

[62] Bruinessen, "Studies of Sufism," 195.

[63] Among others are Hurgronje's work on Aceh that consists Sufi orders and Malay Sufi figures (1893-94), P. A. Rinkes' on Abd Rauf al-Sinkili and Hamzah al-Fansuri (1909), B. J. O Schrieke and H. Kraemer's on the 16th Javanese Sufi (1916 and 1921), G. W. J. Drewes' on the late 19th Javanese Sufi Teachers (1925), J. Doorenbos' on Hamzah Fansuri (1933), P. J. Zoetmulder's on non-Dualistic Javanese Mystic (1935), C. A. O. van Niewenhuijze's on Syamsuddin of Pasai (1945) etc,. In the 1960s Dutch scholars started to publish their Islamic studies in English. Ibid.

al-Dīn al-Sumatrani, Abdul Aziz Dahlan's on al-Sumatrani (1992), M. Chatib Quzwain's on the 18th Sufi master 'Abd al-Samad al-Falimbani (1985), Abu Bakar Atjeh's on Sufi practices in Indonesia, and Sartono Kartodirdjo's on Peasants' Rebellion in nineteenth - century Java.[64] Except for Kartodirdjo's work, these studies are predominantly about the ideas of Sufi thinkers in the past, who were divided between the mystico-philosophical groups and the syaria'ah-oriented 'ulamā.

In the 1970s Indonesian Sufism was a popular topic among students enrolled in Indonesian Islamic higher education, such as the State Islamic Institutes (IAIN). Though these studies follow the normative or the sharī'ah-minded position, they also discuss Sufi practices of tarekats in their home villages. Their facility in vernacular and/or Arabic languages, as well as their local connections, made their studies valuable. Such academic efforts were continued through more sophisticated social and political approaches by scholars in the 1980s.[65] These approaches were also used by scholars of more recent studies by Azyumardi Azra, Karel Steenbrink, Martin van Bruinessen,[66] M.C. Ricklefs,[67] and Julia Day Howell.[68]

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[64] Ibid.: 198.

[65] Among others are Djohan Effendi, Zamakshari Dhofier, Muslim Abdurrahman, Werner Kraus and Martin van Bruinessen himself. Ibid.: 199.

[66] Frederick De Jong & Bernd Radtke., ed. *Islamic Mysticism Contested: Thirteen Century of Controversies and Polemics* (Leiden, Netherlands ; Boston: Brill,1999).

[67] Ricklefs, *Mystic Synthesis*.

[68] Bruinessen and Howell, "Sufism and the 'Modern' in Islam."

In comparison to Java,[69] studies on Sufism in South Sulawesi are relatively few. General information on Islam in the region can be found in the various local histories of the major ethnic communities, particular those written in Makassarese and Bugis. Among those scholarly accounts on Islam in South Sulawesi are Noorduyn's *"De Islamisering van Makasar"*[70]*;* Andaya's *Kingship-Adat Rivalry and the Role of Islam in South Sulawesi*;[71] and Pelras' *"Religion, Tradition, and Dynamics of Islamization in South Sulawesi."*[72] Noorduyn examines the indigenous documents to determine the precise day of the conversion of the kings of Gowa and Tallo to Islam, which he dates to 22 September 1605. The conversion date, however, is simply the end result of a long period of contact between South Sulawesi and Islamic lands, including the permanent presence since the early sixteenth century of traders from Melaka, Pahang, Balambangan, Patani, Java, Banjarmasin, etc.[73]

According to Noorduyn, many have presumed that political threats and economic factors played a part in the decision of these Makassarese kingdoms of Gowa and Tallo to convert to Islam. The first to embrace the new religion was the ruler *(Karaeng)* of Tallo, who was senior to the Karaeng Gowa. Local sources indicate that the decision to convert

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[69] The position of Java as a renowned center of spiritual knowledge in earlier times was the reason for its enduring reputation among such non-Javanese polities in Bali, Aceh and Kalimantan, the Malay world, and Thailand. The east Javanese kingdom of Majapahit was well-known as a source of spiritual power. Wolters, *History, Culture*, 34-5.

[70] J Noorduyn, *Islamisasi Makassar* trans. S. Gunawan (Djakarta: Bhratara, 1972).

[71] Andaya, "Kingship-Adat Rivalry."

[72] Christian Pelras, "Religion, Tradition, and the Dynamics of Islamization in South Sulawesi," in *The Propagation of Islam in the Indonesian-Malay Archipelago*, ed. Alijah Gordon (Kuala Lumpur: Malaysian Sociological Research Institute, 2001).

[73] Noorduyn, *Islamisasi*, 12,27.

to Islam was a personal decision of Karaeng Tallo. Having become familiar with Muslims coming to his court and his own theological inquiries, he was convinced of the rightness of his decision. His theological discussion with the Matoa Wajo, the ruler of the kingdom of Wajo, led to an invitation to a Sumatran ‘ulamā, Dato ri Bandang, to come to South Sulawesi. Dato ri Bandang or ‘Abdul Makmur Khatib, according to Javanese sources, was a student of one of the nine wali (Wali Songo) or Javanese Sufi saints, Sunan Giri. The conversion of Karaeng Tallo was followed by that of the Matoa Wajo and members of their aristocracy.[74] The joint Makassarese kingdoms of Gowa-Tallo then sought to bring the rest of the southwest peninsula to Islam in the so-called “Islamic Wars.” By 1611 they had conquered and imposed the religion on all the major Bugis and Makassarese kingdoms, including Bone, Soppeng, and Wajo.[75]

Noorduyn in another article relies on local sources to emphasize the role of the state in the Islamization of Gowa.[76] Dato ri Bandang (Khatib Tunggal) and his fellow Sumatran ‘ulamā, Dato Sulaiman (Dato Pattimang or Khatib Sulung) and Dato ri Tiro (Katib Bungsu), had been invited South Sulawesi by the Karaeng Gowa and were instrumental in the establishment of Islam throughout South Sulawesi. Dato Sulaiman went to Wajo and taught the people basic orthodox Islam, instead of Islamic mysticism. The converts were forbidden to eat pork, drink *tuak* (fermented drink from the *aren* tree)**,**

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[74] Ibid., 30-3.

[75] Martin. Rossler, "Islamization and the Reshaping of Identities in Rural South Sulawesi," in *Islam in an Era of Nation-States*, ed. Robert W. Hefner and Patricia Harvatich (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1997), 276.; R. A. Kern, "The Propagation of Islam in the Indonesian-Malay Archipelgo," in *The Propagation of Islam in the Indonesian-Malay Archipelgo*, ed. Alijah Gordon (Kuala Lumpur: Malaysian Sociological Research Institute, 2001), 78.

[76] J Noorduyn, "Sedjarah Agama Islam Di Sulawesi Selatan," in *Panggilan Kita Di Indonesia Dewasa Ini*, ed. W.B. Sidjabat (Jakarta: Badan Penerbitan Kristen, 1964).

commit adultery, or practice usury *(riba)*. The rich were forced to free their slaves and make them convert to Islam. Instead of mystical Islam, Dato Sulaiman only taught orthodox Islam and basic Islamic theology, such as the nature of God and of hell and heaven. Yet in teaching the attributes of God he disagreed with Sufi ideas and taught instead that that there is no Allah within human beings and that human beings are not within Allah.[77] By the second half of the seventeenth century, Hamzah al-Fansuri in Aceh had introduced a heterodox version of Sufism. Sultan Hasanuddin of Gowa was a follower of this version of Sufism as indicated in the local epic on the Makassar War (1666-9), the *Syair Perang Makassar*. At the same time, a member of Gowa's royalty who had become a celebrated 'ulamā, Yusuf al-Makassari, introduced a more orthodox form of Sufism in the court of Gowa.[78]

Noorduyn's work emphasizes the close link between the state and Islam in the development of the religion in South Sulawesi.[79] If this were the case, and if Noorduyn's view that the traditional social hierarchy was upheld in the Islamization process, then it is possible that the religious divisions may have been muted by the rulers themselves to assure the harmonious implementation of the adat or customary law for all. The state or the ruler made certain that Islam was embedded as an essential part of the adat. The result was the merging of *sarak* (sharī'ah) and *adek* (adat) in the body of customary laws and practices known as *Panngadereng*. In contrast to the Islamization in Java, in South Sulawesi there was a ruler-led localized institutionalization of Islam in public and private

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[77] Ibid., 91.

[78] Azra, *Origin of Islamic Reformism* 106-7.

[79] Noorduyn, "Sedjarah Agama Islam," 93.

life.[80] The religious officers (parewa sarak or *kadi*) were from the aristocracy, providing further evidence of the intimate relationship between Islam and the traditional power holders. Islam, therefore, benefited from state protection, particularly from competing religions, but at the cost of losing some control to the local "man of prowess" and members of the aristocracy.

In Andaya's study, the rivalry between the secular and indigenous religious authorities encouraged an alliance between the rulers and the Islamic establishment. Indigenous manuscripts mention the mystical version of Islam as playing a role in the conversion of rulers, and in one Bugis text the famous Bone ruler, Arung Palakka (1672-96), is called the "Great Sufi Lord."[81] Rulers were attracted by the mystical Islamic idea of the al-insān al-kāmil (the perfect man) and by the prospects of becoming a "Ruler of the Universe," contained in Ibn 'Arabi's mystical doctrine of the *waḥdat al-wujūd* (the Unity of Being or Existence). His ideas were widely circulated in the archipelago in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[82]

The nineteenth century brought major changes in Islam throughout the globe as a result of the imposition of European colonial rule in Islamic countries and the emergence of the puritanical and fundamentalistic Wahabi movement. In South Sulawesi, the close relationship between Islam and the state was disrupted by these two developments. A

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[80] A similar type of "embeddedness" occurred in the Minangkabau areas of Sumatra, where the Minangkabau "king of the world" (Radja Alam) acted as the equilibrium between the potential conflict between the "great tradition" of Islam and the "little tradition" of adat. Taufik Abdullah, "Adat and Islam: An Examination of Conflict in Minangkabau," *Indonesia* II(1966).

[81] Andaya, "Kingship-Adat Rivalry," 35.

[82] Ibid.

Wahabi teacher Shaikh Medina came to Wajo in the 1820s and challenged the Islamic accommodation contained in the kingdom's Panngadereng or body of customary laws and practices. He was appointed as the religious advisor to the Wajo ruler, and encouraged a greater orthodoxy in Islamic practices. This resulted in the ruler supporting greater adherence to mainstream Islamic ideas, such as requiring the women to cover their whole bodies, while implementing measures to discourage unIslamic practices by cutting down large sacred trees and buildings that were the objects of worship among the common people.[83] Not only in Wajo but elsewhere in South Sulawesi and the Malay-Indonesian archipelago a reformed Islam came to challenge the existing localized Islamic ideas and practices.

Pelras` article on South Sulawesi's Islam covers the history of Islamization beginning from the formal conversion of the ruler of Gowa-Tallo in the early seventeenth century to the progressive developments in the 1980s, a tendency that has continued to the present. He argues, based on contemporary Portuguese materials and indigenous documents, that Gowa had contact with Muslim communities prior to the seventeenth century. The reason was that the port of Makassar was an important stapling center in the spice trade to Maluku, and there was a large international community based in Makassar, including many Muslims from the archipelago and beyond. Pelras also mentions the South Sulawesi tradition of the role of the three Sumatran mystics in the earlier Islamization of the area, as well as the strong influence of al-Makassari, a local Muslim

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[83] Noorduyn, "Sedjarah Agama Islam," 95.

figure from the Gowa royal family, on the Makassarese and Bugis nobility.[84] Though al-Makassari did not return to this homeland after studying in Mecca, his students, among whom was the Puang Rappang, introduced his mystical teachings to South Sulawesi. Al-Makassari became the most influential figure in the Gowa court, and his Khalwatia order established by his students counted Gowa noblemen among its elected disciples *(al-Muntahī)*.[85]

Pelras mentions the emergence of the Khalwatiah Sammān in South Sulawesi in the 1820s as a new popular religious trend that attracted the commoners. At the same time the Wahabi movement reached this region and exercised a strong influence on local religious life. Though Perlas tries to link the local Islamic developments to the wider movement of Islam in other regions of Indonesia and the major religious centers, he does not discuss how the Khalwatiah Sammān order developed and responded to the growing inroads made locally by the modernist and orthodox Muslim groups.[86]

One of the most recent accounts on Islam in South Sulawesi is Thomas Gibson's work, *Islamic Narrative and Authority in Southeast Asia*.[87] In this book Gibson examines the conversion of the Bugis and Makassarese using a Weberian perspective of political authority and the three ideal types of symbolic knowledge: Austronesian elements of ritual knowledge and hereditary kingship practices; Islamic knowledge and the

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[84] Pelras, "Religion, Tradition," 228.

[85] Azra, *Origin of Islamic Reformism* 87-8.; Azyumardi Azra, *Islam in the Indonesian World: An Account of Institutional Formation* (Bandung: Mizan Press, 2006).

[86] Pelras, "Religion, Tradition," 231-5.

[87] Gibson, *Islamic Narrative and Authority*.

charismatic shaikh in the modern era; and the documentary knowledge and bureaucratic authority of the modern state.[88] Gibson highlights the importance of the relationship between the shaikh and his followers in establishing authority and transmitting Islamic ideas, as is the case with the Khalwatiah Yusuf and the Khalwatiah Sammān. The process involved the localization of Islam or the adaptation of the foreign to the established local ideas and values. What is evident throughout his book is the ongoing connection between local and global Islam.

On Sufi movements in modern South Sulawesi, Anton Lucas and Chris de Jong studied the Mukhdi Akbar movement in Selayar. Both the Khalwatiah Sammān and Mukhdi Akbar faced the bitter experience of being accused of heresy. Though these authors do not make this comparison, this article is nonetheless useful in providing the religious and social background to the rise of the Mukhdi Akbar movement in the twentieth century. In addition, Abd. Rahman Musa's dissertation on Yusuf Makassari's Sufi ideas addresses the larger context of these ideas in the field of Indonesian Islam.[89]

Two specific studies on Khalwatiah Sammān in South Sulawesi are Bruinessen's article, "Tarekat Khalwatiah in South Sulawesi," and Ahmad Rahman's thesis, "Tarekat Khalwatiah Samman's Spread and Teachings in South Sulawesi." Bruinessen's article contains general information about Khalwatiah Sammān in South Sulawesi: its early development, the movement in the twentieth century, and the opposition its members

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[88] Ibid., 2.

[89] Abd Rahman Musa, "Corak Tasawuf Syeikh Yusuf Al-Makassariy" (Ph.D Dissertation, IAIN Jakarta, 1992).

faced.[90] In a similar vein, Rahman's study of the order in Maros discusses the development and teachings of the Khalwatiah Sammān. He argues that the order is not heretical as has been assumed by many orthodox 'ulamā in South Sulawesi.[91] Though both of these works are valuable in expanding our knowledge of Islam in the region, and in the Khalwatiah Sammān in particular, their limited assessments of this order still leave unanswered how it responded to the wider religious and political context of the Islamic world in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

I am indebted to all of the aforementioned works for providing me with the knowledge and inspiration to undertake this specific study on an unusual Sufi order in South Sulawesi, the Khalwatiah Sammān. The total obedience shown by the followers (sanakmangaji) to their shaikh has made the Khalwatiah Sammān distinct from the rest of the tarekats and other Muslim groups on the island. It has therefore become a target of ongoing opposition from the more orthodox Islamic communities and teachers. Because of this opposition, the order has developed a strong sense of identity and loyalty among its followers. The annual celebration of the *ḥawl* at Pattene, Maros, has been practiced for almost two centuries and contributes to a strong sense of identity and tradition in the community. It is in this event that the spiritual links between the leaders (shaikh and khalīfah) and their sanakmangaji are affirmed.

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[90] Martin van Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning: Pesantren Dan Tarekat, Tradisi-Tradisi Islam Di Indonesia* (Bandung: Mizan, 1999).

[91] Ahmad Rahman, "Tarekat Khalwatiah Samman (Studi Tentang Penyebaran Dan Ajarannya Di Kabupaten Maros, Propinsi Sulawesi Selatan) " (MA Thesis, IAIN Alauddin 1997).

These are some of the features that I will discuss in the subsequent chapters. As Eaton observed in a statement cited at the beginning of this chapter, social and political factors may be important, but it is the religious elements, such as mystical doctrines and practices, that are the crucial determinants in people's adherence to a belief system and its rituals. It is these religious features that I will focus on in discussing this order, even while providing some background of the impact of global developments on the local religious scene. Such a study may, it is hoped, inspire others to study the local understanding and practices of a world-wide phenomenon, such as Islam. One hopes that from such studies the nature of Islam would become better understood.

Primary Sources

Local manuscripts (*lontarak*) written in the Bugis and Makassarese languages using the traditional script are an essential part of this study. Since I am not able to read the relevant lontarak, I have had these translated into Indonesian by a professional translator at Hasanuddin University in Makassar for the most important manuscripts, and by my Bugis and Makassarese colleagues in Jakarta for the less significant ones. I have also consulted Arabic manuscripts written by Murshīd or the Khalīfah of Khalwatiah Sammān. Through these documents I will single out the inner factors of the Khalwatiah Sammān, trying to contextualize their religious interpretation with religious and social changes of the time.

These lontarak can be divided into two types: personal notes (diaries) and teachings. Both provide ample information on the order regarding their teaching methods, rituals, the genealogy of major teachers, and the activities of the khalīfah of ʻAbd al-Razzāq. In addition, Bugis manuscripts using the Arabic script contain the khalīfah's responses to the accusations by the orthodox ʻulamā, as well as explanations to his own followers on the truth of the teaching of the order. As a spiritual brotherhood, these works of the Khalīfah describe the doctrinal elements of the Khalwatiah Sammān, which are often absent in the works of Islamic scholars.

Among the essential documents in the lontarak is the *silsilah*, or the genealogy of knowledge and tradition of the order. The silsilah serves to link the principal spiritual leaders of the order from the most recent khalīfah to the universal teacher of every order in Islam, the Prophet Muhammad, who is believed to have been the student of the angel Gabriel, the messenger of Allah. In addition to its "sacred function", through which the murshīd or khalīfah may attain their spiritual legitimacy to teach their followers, the silsilah provides the khalīfah with spiritual authority to bestow barakka (spiritual blessing). It is the silsilah that links the khalīfah spiritually to the center of Islam, where the Prophet's shrine is located, and therefore makes the khalīfah a person of great respect among his followers.

Furthermore, colonial and Dutch writings on Islam are also employed in this study. Though I did not access the colonial archives in The Hague, I worked with selected colonial records relating to Makassar that are held in the *Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia* (*ANRI*, National Archives of Indonesian Republic) in Jakarta.

Among the documents that I cited in this study are: *Politiek Verslag van Celebes 1855* (Makassar No. 41) No. 1, *Bundel Makasar nomor 189/3, Politiek Verslag van Celebes over de maand Sept. 1937,* and *Politiek Verslag Celebes en Onderhoorigheden over het jaar 1929*, Reel no. 02, serie MvO 4e. Also, there were a few Dutch articles on Islam, though not specifically on Islam in the Peninsula. Of great interest was a Dutch document sent from the colonial officer at Maros, the *Mededeelingen omtrent de Tarequat Hadji Palopo, door Hadji Palopo's zoon Hadji Abdullah bin Abdul Razak, bijgenaam Poeang Lompo* (Report on the Tarekat Haji Palopo by Haji Palopo's son, Haji Abdullah bin Abd al-Razak, nicknamed Puang Lompo).

For recent developments in the order, I interviewed both the shaikh and his khalīfah, their relatives, and the sanakmangaji about the teachings, tradition, and motivations of being the followers of the order. Also, since the order has been opposed by the orthodox Islamic authorities, I interviewed several religious officers working in the Office of Religious Affairs (*Departemen Agama*) in Maros. Since the khalīfah are among the most knowledgeable about the order, I considered them as my major informants. Most of the interviews were done in their homes in a friendly atmosphere. These interviews were essential in providing a direct, personal source of information that ideally complemented the earlier historical documents, many written from the viewpoint of those outside the Khalwatiah Sammān order.

Organization

Chapter one will discuss some accounts of the early Islamization of Southeast Asia, with a principal focus on the Malay-Indonesian archipelago. In this story the role

of itinerant Sufi preachers in "localizing" Islam, or the process of making Islamic ideas more comprehensible and even compatible with local beliefs, is significant in the religion's success in the region. This chapter will also provide a context for understanding the rise of the Khalwatiah Sammān Sufi order in South Sulawesi by examining the global social and religious changes brought about by European colonialism and the Wahabi movement in the nineteenth century.

Chapter Two is intended to demonstrate the close intellectual links between the Sufi teachers in the heartland of Islam in the Middle East and their students in the ummah "below the winds" in archipelagic Southeast Asia, particularly in the Malay-Indonesian areas. It will examine the manner in which some of the more intellectual trends in Sufism were balanced by a new emphasis on ritual practices that began to have greater appeal to the ordinary people. The success of this transition was instrumental in the founding and popularity of Sufi orders in Southeast Asia, including the Khalwatiah Sammān in South Sulawesi.

The character of Islam in South Sulawesi over the centuries will be the subject of chapter three. It will devote space to the Islamization process and the role played by the learned Muslims (ʻulamā), particularly three itinerant preachers (the three *Datuks*) from Sumatera in the early seventeenth century. The discussion on Sufi influences on the development of Islam in the region will be the major theme in this section.

Chapter four will discuss the factors responsible for the emergence of the Khalwatiah Sammān**,** and demonstrate how the distinct social and religious conditions in nineteenth-century South Sulawesi provided the opportunities for the rise and popularity

of this particular order. The ways that the Khalwatiah Sammān murshīd responded to colonialism and the Wahabi influence will form an important part of this chapter. Its appearance, by and large, has challenged the dominant Islamic group led by Yusuf al-Makassari's students. The formative development of the order under its prominent murshīd will be discussed, but greatest attention in this chapter will be focused on 'Abd al-Razzāqk ibn Abdullah, one of the most important leaders that this order has ever had.

Chapter five will continue the story of the Khalwatiah Sammān from the early nineteenth century until the end of the Suharto regime in 1998. Once again the emphasis is on the way that the order has succeeded in refuting accusations that its ideas and practices were heterodox. It maintained contact with the center of the Islamic world to demonstrate its adherence to orthodox Islamic practices of the mystical variety, and it shored up its position by obtaining the patronage of local and national power holders. Representing this successful two-pronged policy of the order was the son and successor of 'Abd al-Razzāq, Abdullah bin 'Abd al-Razzāq.

The study will end with a conclusion which reiterates the main contributions of this dissertation.

Chapter Two
Nineteenth-Century Islam: Scholarly Connections between the Islamic Metropolis and its Periphery

"*Through the nineteenth century, the Haramain continued its role as the incubator for activist neo-Sufi movements. Early in the century, Haramain scholars played a role in the development of the Sammaniyyah tariqah, which spread in Africa; the development of Tijaniyyah; and the education of leaders of the Padri movement in Indonesia. . . . In the second half of the century, a second generation of scholars . . . provided education and inspiration for people who were active in the Pan-Islamic movement as well as the leader of the holy war in Somalia at the beginning of the twentieth century*." (John Obert Voll).[1]

This chapter focuses on the general pattern of Islamic developments in the Malay-Indonesian archipelago between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries. This period established and maintained intellectual connections between the ummah "below the winds" and the Islamic heartlands while simultaneously laying the foundation for further Islamization in the Indonesia-Malay archipelago. The political decline of the Muslim world during the eighteenth century was accentuated by the weakness of Turkey, long renowned as Islam's global leader. However, in the nineteenth century various factors led to a rejuvenation of Islam and a greater sense of purpose that galvanized followers of the faith in a manner very different from any previous period in Islam's history. Foremost among these factors were the tightening grip of colonialism in the non-European world and the rise of Wahabism in the Middle East, with its call for a re-examination of what it meant to be "Muslim." When these factors were combined with new opportunities for travel and communication, notably the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, the Muslim discourse in Southeast Asia began to place greater emphasis on reform and the elimination of unacceptable accretions in popular Islam. Over the next hundred years a virtual army of Muslim scholars extended older networks that brought the entire Islamic world into a

[1] Obert Voll, *Islam Continuity and Change in the Modern World* (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1982), 126-7.

sometimes heated conversation regarding new modes of Islamization and the extent to which they challenged pre-existing practices.

In many respects, of course, these developments in the Muslim World proceeded in tandem with a situation common throughout Southeast Asia and other colonized countries. Though Europeans had been involved in the region since the sixteenth century, and although the depth of European influence still varied across region, the engagement now was much more pervasive. In his overview of the period, the veteran historian Nicholas Tarling has enumerated several reasons that help explain Europe's greater capacity to affect developments in Southeast Asia.[2] In particular, he notes that the forces of colonialism were nurtured by the expansion of European industry, the invention of advanced technology and communications, greater military capacity, and the extension of European control over areas in India and China, countries that had long exercised a major influence in the Southeast Asian region

Tarling goes on to argue, however, that Europeans by no means had the field to themselves, and the political fragmentation they introduced was compounded because of cultural rivalry with other outside forces. The influences stemming from China and India were not lessened by political changes but were articulated in new forms, while the rise of Japan in the latter part of the century provided an inspiration to many Southeast Asian leaders. In Muslim Southeast Asia the most significant development was the enhanced position and increased connections with the Islamic heartlands, especially Mecca and Medina (the Ḥaramayn) and Cairo. As a result, Southeast Asians were presented with a range of different restraints and options with different degrees of relevance to their own situation. There was thus no single

[2] Nicholas Tarling, "The Establishment of the Colonial Regimes," in *The Cambridge History of Southeast Asia, the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, ed. Nicholas Tarling (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 1-5.

pattern that could provide a guideline by which Southeast Asian people could deal with the new challenges that typify this period. As Tarling puts it, Southeast Asians responded in a variety of ways; "fighting, resisting, accommodating, adapting, turning and being turned to account, with greater or less vision, wisdom or acumen, at the popular and elite levels.[3]

In a comparative survey of religious preoccupations in Southeast Asia, Reynaldo Ileto concludes that from the mid-nineteenth to the early twentieth centuries, an increased number of religiously-based uprisings and the emergence of anti-colonial religious leaders were the result of a greater penetration of European control. Indeed, the articulation of grievances and goals in religious/cultural terms can be seen in many forms – in the Samin movement in Java in the 1890s, in the prolonged Aceh war, the Saya San rebellion in Burma, in the Sakdal rebellion in central Luzon, and to some degree in the Can Vuong resistance in Vietnam. Sacred places, traditional symbols, and holy or messianic-type individuals provided the typical fulcrum from which resistance was generated.[4] The developments in Indonesian Islam fit this general pattern as intellectual discourses shifted to a greater emphasis on reform, and where the Sufi brotherhoods, the tarekat, demonstrated a new social activism inspired by learned Muslims (ʻulamā) in the Ḥaramayn. Sufism, the mystical stream of Islam, has had a long history in Muslim society, and its influence was strengthened after the Mongols took Baghdad in 1258 because the authority of the Sufi Shaikh was reinforced as traditional religious structures collapsed. Stretching from the Muslim heartlands to Asia, it was Sufi networks that kept the

[3] Ibid., 6.

[4] Reynaldo Ileto, "Religion and Anti-Colonial Movements," in *The Cambridge History of Southeast Asia, the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* ed. Nicholas Tarling (Cambridge, UK ; New York, NY, USA: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 197-9.

vision of a united Muslim world alive. [5] In this context, an understanding of the major themes influencing Indonesian-Malay Islam will help illuminate the ways in which the Sufi orders have contributed to the region's ongoing Islamization.

Ibn al-'Arabi and Debates about Mystical Islam

In the complex intellectual world in which Sufism developed in the Islamic heartlands, major debates developed around the teachings of the Muslim mystic Ibn al-'Arabi of Spain (1165-1240 CE). Ibn al-'Arabi, mediated by the Iraqi al-Jilī (d. circa 1408), is particularly associated with the mystical-philosophical term, waḥdat al-wujūd (the Unity of Being or Existence),[6] which he invoked to argue that the universe is no more than the shadow of the Reality behind it. This doctrine was the continuation of the earlier mystical thought of al-Hallaj (858?- 922 CE), whose controversial method of reaching heightened spiritual awareness included trance. Ibn al-'Arabi's teaching that human beings were the manifestation of the essence of God's eternal love ultimately led to his execution.[7] The idea of the waḥdat al-wujūd was opposed by orthodox scholars who regarded such notions as heretical, corrupting the purity of Islam. Some orthodox scholars also considered Sufism to be pantheistic, arguing that their rituals and

[5] After the conquest of Baghdad in 1258, Sufism emerged as a medium that helped to cement a sense of Muslim unity. With the decline of Islamic polities and the institution of the Caliphate, patronage links between Sufi masters and their students through Sufi organization became widespread. Political and military collaboration often helped secure their religious authority. See Alexander Knysh, *Islamic Mysticism: A Short History* (Leiden, Boston, Koln: Brill, 2000).; A. H. Johns, "Sufism in Southeast Asia: Reflections and Reconsiderations," *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 1, no. 26 (1995): 170-1.

[6] Johns, "Sufism in Southeast Asia: Reflections and Reconsiderations," 176.

[7] Aqib Suminto, *Politik Islam Hindia Belanda (Het Kantoor Voor Indlandsche Zaken)* (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1984), 68-9.

beliefs contradicted teachings of the Unity of God *(tawḥīd)* and thus denied the importance of sharī'ah guidance.[8]

It is not surprising that the idea that the divine can be manifested in all elements of the universe appealed to societies pervaded by animism. It is likely that the notion of waḥdat al-wujūd had reached Indonesian Muslims through a mystical work known as Tuḥfah al-Mursalah Ilā Rūḥ al-Nabī (The Gift addressed to the Spirit of the Prophet), by an Indian thinker, Muhammad ibn Fadhlullah al-Burhanpuri (d. 1620), which was translated into Malay and Javanese. However, the concept of Islamic pantheism appeared first in indigenous writing in Aceh, North Sumatra, in poetry by a local Sufi known as Hamzah al- Fansuri (d. ca, 1599 CE).[9] Al-Fansuri's ideas were subsequently expanded by his contemporary Shams al-Dīn al-Sumatrani (d.1040/1630). These men may have aroused some rivalry among Aceh's 'ulamā not only because of their views but also because they both had prestigious positions as religious advisors to the ruler of Aceh.[10] Al-Fansuri was known as a spiritual seeker who produced a number of mystical poems. According to reconstructions of his life, al-Fansuri went to Mecca to cure his spiritual thirst with the goal of finding the ultimate realm, Allah. However, he found that this long journey did not result in a "meeting with Allah". His spiritual journey is illustrated in a poem demonstrating his pantheistic belief (waḥdat al-wujūd):

Hamzah Fansuri di dalam Mekah

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[8] The notion of Pantheism has two meanings: a-cosmism and pan-cosmism. The first sees the universe as not likely to exist without God, meaning the universe is only the shadow of Him; on the other hand, the second sees the universe as similar to God and vice versa. Thus, the concept of waḥdat al-wujūd that circulated among Muslim thinkers in Indonesia is similar with the Pantheism with its a-cosmism notion. Ibid., 69.

[9] Another vernacular work of waḥdat al-wujud is the *Hikajat Atjeh*, a partially legendary account in Malay of the ruler of Aceh, Iskandar Muda (1607-1636). See Johns, "Sufism in Southeast Asia: Reflections and Reconsiderations," 176.

[10] Azyumardi Azra, *Islam in the Indonesian World: An Account of Institutional Formation* (Bandung: Mizan Press, 2006), 131.

Mencari Tuhan di Bait al-Ka'bah
Di Barus[11] ke Qudus terlalu payah
Ahirnya dapat di dalam rumah

(Hamzah Fansuri is in Mecca
Seeking God in the holy Kabah
From Barus to Qudus[12] is too tiring
Ultimately He is found at home).

In the Ḥaramayn, however, the scholarly 'ulamā who specialized in Islamic jurisprudence and Ḥadīth were dubious or even antagonistic to the ideas of Ibn al-'Arabi. These debates assumed much wider significance because in these two cities, the center of Islamic intellectual discourse, a resident Indonesian-Malay community had grown up, collectively termed by local Arabs as "the colony of Javanese" (the *Jawi* fellows).[13] A major and influence among this group was the Sufi Shaikh of Medina, Ibrāhīm ibn Hasan al-Kurānī (1615-90), who actually admired much of Ibn 'Arabi's teachings, although he was only a moderate supporter of waḥdat al-wujūd ideas.[14] In Medina al-Kurānī taught Islamic disciplines, including Sufism, to students from Southern India, Kurdistan, Algeria, Persia, Syria, Arabian Peninsula as well as those from Southeast Asia. For Indonesia-Malay students, al-Kurānī was known as a teacher of the

[11] Barus is a village in north Sumatra where Fansuri was born

[12] Qudus is Jerusalem

[13] This term derives from island of Java, but it came to be applied to anyone from the Malay-Indonesian archipelago. According to Azra, the presence of the non-Arabic residents in the Ḥaramayn would have begun at least in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, when economic and diplomatic connections between the center of the Muslim world and the archipelago were established through pilgrimage *(hajj)* and intellectual exchange. As a result, the Jawi students or Indonesian-Malay community came to be known among the residents of Mecca and Medina as *'aṣḥāb al-Jāwiyyīn'* (Malay-Indonesian fellows). Both the terms Jawa and Jawi refer to the same group and are used interchangeably in this dissertation. Azyumardi Azra, *The Origin of Islamic Reformism in Southeast Asia: Networks of Malay-Indonesian and Middle Eastern Ulama in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2004), 2-3.

[14] Martin van Bruinessen, "Bukankah Orang Kurdi Yang Mengislamkan Indonesia?," *Pesantren* IV, no. 4 (1987): 47.

Shaṭṭariah tarekat,[15] and as one who was extremely knowledgeable on fiqh (Islamic jurisprudence) and hermeneutics *(tafsīr)*. He was the khalīfah (deputy) of his Shaṭṭariah master and father-in- law, Aḥmad ibn Muhammad al-Qushāshī (1583-61). He had also accepted some of Ibn al-'Arabi's ideas, although he was more concerned with devotional practices and litanies rather than social associations of the order.[16] In addition, al-Kurānī's influence was evident in other orders such as *Naqshabandiah, Qādiriah, Chistiah*, and the rest. With his master Ahmad al-Qushāshi, he contributed to the spread of Islamic jurisprudence according to the Shāfi'ī school, and *Jawi* followers therefore adopted both individuals as their masters.

In the meantime, however, al-Burhanpuri's *Tuḥfah* had provoked harsh reaction among Muslim scholars, including Indonesia-Malay students both in the Ḥaramayn and in Indonesia. To prevent his Indonesia-Malay students from misunderstanding the waḥdat al-wujūd doctrine, al-Qushāshī asked his student al-Kurānī, as a senior teacher of the Jawi colony, to write an acceptable commentary on the *Tuḥfah*. The resulting *Itḥāf al-Zākī Sharh Tuḥfah al-Mursalah* showed how the connection between the heartland of Islam and the Jawah colony was both intense and productive.[17] This work addressed its author's superb intellectual apologies for the accounts of waḥdat al-wujūd and its compatibility with Islamic orthodoxy.[18] After al-Kurānī's death in 1690, his leadership as a senior Shaikh at Medina was assumed by his Kurdistan colleague, Muhammad Ibn 'Abd ar-Rasūl al-Barzinji.[19]

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[15] Johns, "Sufism in Southeast Asia: Reflections and Reconsiderations," 177.

[16] According to Al-Muhibbi, al-Qushāshī, who was originally from Badris, Jerusalem, was recognized as the "imam of those who believed in 'waḥdat al-wujud'. Basheer M Nafi, "Tasawwuf and Reform in Pre-Modern Islamic Culture: In Search of Ibrahim Al-Kurani " *Die Welt des Islams* 3, no. 42 (2002): 308,13,30.

[17] A. H. Johns, "Islam in Southeast Asia: Reflections and New Directions," *Indonesia* 19(1975): 48-9.

[18] Nafi, "Tasawwuf and Reform," 337.

[19] Bruinessen, "Bukankah Orang Kurdi," 47-8.

Nonetheless, in the Malay-Indonesian archipelago al-Kurānī's efforts had not ended disputes among the 'ulamā regarding waḥdat al-wujūd, especially in Aceh. In particular, this doctrine had triggered opposition from those 'ulamā whose religious orientation was towards close observance of sharī'ah law. The most prominent figure among this group was Nūr al-Dīn Muhammad b.'Ali b. Hasanji al-Humayd al-'Aydarusi, better known as al-Raniri (d. 1068/1658), a leading orthodox 'ulamā of Arab-Indian descent, who had arrived from Gujarat. In terms of his religious genealogy, al-Raniri was a student of the *Riḍā'iyyah* order and its shaikh in Gujarat, Abu Ḥafs 'Umar b 'Abd Allah Ba Shaybān al-Tarīmi al-Hadramī, but had also been initiated into other tarekats like *Aydarusiyyah* and Qādiriah. He considered that al-Fansuri, al-Sumatrani and their followers were pursuing an unacceptable form of wujūdiah mysticism. Though al-Fansuri and al-Sumatrani should by no means be viewed as anti sharī'ah, their pantheistic notions that emphasized the immanence of God in His creation rather than His transcendence may have appeared to the 'ulamā to resemble polytheism. As the polemic escalated further, the ruler began to reconsider al-Fansuri's position as royal religious advisor. Al-Raniri's prestige as a scholar combined with his harsh condemnation resulted in his appointment as a religious advisor in the Aceh palace, replacing al-Fansuri.[20]

It is worth emphasizing that al-Raniri, who was associated with several Sufi orders, was not himself anti Sufi; rather, he disagreed with certain interpretations of mystical doctrine, and especially the views held by al-Fansuri and al-Sumatrani (who were not, as noted above, anti-sharī'ah). The disputes between these two different scholarly orientations were derived from their different perspectives regarding particular terms and interpretations in Sufism. Al-Raniri's

[20] Azra, *Islam in the Indonesian*, 132-3.

stronger sharī'ah orientation considered the philosophy espoused by al- Fansuri and al-Sumatrani regarding the waḥdat al-wujūd to be heretical and thus corrupting the essence of Islamic tenets.

Against this background, it is helpful to take a closer look at al-Raniri's reasons for opposing these 'ulamā, since his actions did attract attention in the Islamic heartlands and serve as a reminder of the international connections at this important stage of Islam's development in Indonesia. In the first place, he did not make sweeping generalizations. Instead, he divided waḥdat al-wujūd into two groups: the *wujūdiah mulhid* (atheistic unity) and the *wujūdiah muwaḥḥid* (unitarianistic unity). The former doctrine, he said, was truly false because of its endorsement of the unity of being, while the second was correct and could be regarded as true Sufism. In the second place, however, al-Raniri constructed a "correct" and "incorrect" category in relation to the still speculative views about waḥdat al-wujūd within Islamic mystical discourse, and to some degrees, his ideas did have an impact on the progress of Islamic intellectual life in the Archipelago.[21] In his book *Tibyān fi Ma'arifat al-Adyān*, al-Raniri discussed seventy-two Muslim groups that he considered heretical and outside mainstream Sunni Islam, including followers of al- Fansuri and al-Sumatrani. His opposition to wujūdiah followers culminated when he claimed that they were polytheistic and should be condemned to death unless they repented. Al-Raniri's position as the religious advisor for the king of Aceh, furthermore, resulted in various reconsideration regarding Islamic understandings of words such as *"muslim",* "kāfir", "tolerance", and so forth.[22]

Al-Raniri's strict pronouncement (fatwa) regarding waḥdat al-wujūd, especially his decision to execute followers of the wujūdiah, attracted serious attention among the learned

[21] Ibid., 136.

[22] Ibid., 134-6. ; Thomas Gibson, *Islamic Narrative and Authority in Southeast Asia, from the 16th to the 21st Century* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 59.

Muslims in Mecca. As noted by Azra, in Mecca an anonymous treatise dated 1086/1675 recounted the debates taking place in Aceh about waḥdat al-wujūd.[23] It was apparently written in response to a question about a crucial problem in the Jawah region *(min ba'd jazāir Jāwah)*. According to the questioner, a learned man *('alīm)* from "above the wind" (i.e. outside Southeast Asia) had accused a wujūdiah Sufi of being kāfir (unbeliever). The case had been brought before the Sultan and the 'ulamā demanded that the Sufi repent. He refused to do so, however, since his views had been misunderstood. But nobody paid any attention to his objections. The ruler issued an order to put him and his followers to death. All of them were put to death by burning. The questioner finally asked, "Was it permissible to do that?"[24]

The author, according to Azra, cites this situation to demonstrate the danger of arguing with people who have little religious understanding. Whatever the details of the case, the author emphasizes, it was terribly wrong to kill this Sufi and his followers. The accusation had been based on a literal understanding of the doctrine of wujūdiah, and such a judgment was not permissible in Islam. It is not surprising to discover that the author of this anonymous tract was al-Kurānī, who had earlier responded to the Tuhfat al-Mursalah. The 'alim from "above the wind" was al-Raniri; the Sultan was Iskandar Thani of Aceh; and the person who had brought the matter to al-Kurānī's attention was his student, 'Abd al-Rauf al-Singkili (1024-1105/1615-93), who did not agree with al-Raniri's harsh condemnation of the wujūdiah mulhid.[25]

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[23] Before this year, a similar treatise arrived in Haramain from an Indian Naqshabandiah reformer, Ahmad Sirhindi (1564-1624). His treatise was written to strongly oppose the idea of waḥdat al-wujud ,dance and music in mystical practices, as well as the religious syncretism practiced by the Mogul Emperor Akbar. Instead, he proposed the idea of *waḥdat al-syuhūd* (Unity of Witness). Al-Qushāshī's student Muhammad al-Barjanzi responded to Sirhindi's treatise. Nafi, "Tasawwuf and Reform," 324-6.

[24] Azra, *Islam in the Indonesian*, 136.

[25] Ibid., 136-7.

This dialogue between scholars in the Islamic heartlands and the Indonesian archipelago directs our attention to the writings of al-Singkili himself. Instead of focusing on the immanence of God in His creation, which preoccupied the wujūdiah Sufis, the writings of al-Singkili, including his Qur'anic commentary, *Tarjumān al-Mustafid*, argued for a combined sharī'ah-mystical orientation that dealt with the transcendence of God in all His creation. In short, like al-Raniri, al-Singkili's mystical thoughts rely on arguments common among the stream now categorized as "neo-Sufism", referring to those who try to harmonize the relationship between orthodoxy (sharī'ah) and Sufism *(ḥaqīqat)*.[26] His intellectual development, especially his esoteric knowledge, was greatly influenced by the two most prominent Ḥaramayn scholars, al-Qushāshī and al-Kurānī, particularly the latter, with whom he had a close personal relationship. This connection between the Jawah student, al-Sinkili, and his Ḥaramayn masters deepened the intellectual connection between the archipelago and the heartland of Islam. This is evident in various works on taṣawwuf (the traditional Islamic science of self-improvement and spirituality) and sharī'ah by al-Sinkili, as well as his correspondence with al-Kurānī on matters related to Islam, especially regarding the debates in Aceh and his questions about the best dhikr.[27]

In the context of this thesis we now turn to another prominent scholar who, like al-Singkili, became a key figure in reconciling Sufism with sharī'ah and is especially important because of his ties with Makassar (in southwest Sulawesi, his birthplace), Java and the Middle East, and his high religious standing. This man was Muhammad Yusuf b. 'Abd Allah Abu al-

[26] In addition, like al-Raniri, al-Sinkili also wrote on fiqh (Islamic law), *Mir'at al-Tullāb fi Tashil al-Ma'rifah al-Ahkām al-Shar'iyyah li Malik al-Wahhāb*. Ibid., 139.

[27] Because of his student al-Sinkili's request, al-Kurāni wrote *Ithāf al-Dhāki*, which deals with the best *dhikr*, and followed his *Masail al-Jāwiyyah* (the question of Jawah people) that discussed the proper relationship between sharī'ah and tasawwuf. Al-Sinkili himself wrote a book on similar matters, entitled *Lubb al-Kashf wa al-Bayān limā Yarāhu al-Muhtadar bi al-'Iyān*. Ibid., 137-8.

Mahāsin al-Tāj al-Khalwatī al-Makassari (1037-111/1627-99),[28] widely known as Tuanta Salamaka ri Gowa (our great master from Gowa). It is probable that early in his intellectual career, al-Makassari became interested in Sufism. Before he traveled to Mecca, al-Makassari was educated in Islamic traditions in his own village. He studied the Qur'an from Daeng ri Tasammeng, then studied Arabic, fiqh, theology and taṣawwuf from a Hadhrami teacher named Sayyid Ba 'Alwi b 'Abd Allah al-'Allāmah al-Tāhir who lived in the Sultan's fort at Bontoala.[29]

When he was fifteen, al-Makassari went to Cikoang and became a student of a wandering Shaikh, Jalal al-Dīn al-'Aydid, originally from Iraq. Previously al-'Aydid had traveled to Hadramaut, from whence he left for Aceh, where he set up a student circle. He then relocated to Banten in 1590s during the reign of Maulana Muhammad (d. 1596). From Banten al-'Aydid went to Banjarmasin, South Kalimantan, where he married an woman of noble birth who had been exiled from Gowa with her family. He also became acquainted with a Sumatran preacher, Dato ri Bandang, who had been unsuccessful in persuading Tunijallo, the king of Gowa, to embrace Islam. Al-'Aydid and his family came to South Sulawesi, but his meeting with Sultan Abdullah (I Malinkaeng) went badly. Consequently, he and his family moved to Cikoang, where al-Makassari arrived in 1641 to study with him. It is relevant to note that al-'Aydid was also a Sufi teacher. His order is known as the *tarekat bahar nur* (the Path of the Ocean of Divine Light), which emphasized the ascetic notion of the original conception of the end of the world with the cult of the prophet's birth.[30]

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[28] Johns, "Sufism in Southeast Asia: Reflections and Reconsiderations," 177.

[29] Gibson, *Islamic Narrative and Authority*, 68. ; Azra, *Origin of Islamic Reformism* 87-8. ; Nabilah Lubis, *Syekh Yusuf Al-Taj Al-Makassari; Menyingkap Intisari Segala Rahasia* (Bandung: Penerbit Mizan, 1996), 18-21.

[30] Gibson, *Islamic Narrative and Authority*, 69.

The process by which the peoples of South Sulawesi, notably the powerful kingdom of Gowa, accepted Islam will be developed in a later chapter, but at this point it is important first to stress that Islam was only accepted at court in the early seventeenth century. The career of al-Makassari coincides with this period, and is thus inseparable from the development of Islam in the region. In the second place, we should remember the influence that various peripatetic Sufi preachers exercised in the Islamization of South Sulawesi, and the appeal of their teachings not only to the populace but especially to al-Makassari.[31]

South Sulawesi was exposed to Islam at a time when, as in Sumatra, the debates about the doctrine of waḥdat al-wujūd were increasingly heated. Al-Makassari, who had traveled around the centers of Islam in the Middle East, had distinct views on this subject. After he left his homeland, al-Makassari had participated in discussions about waḥdat al-wujūd in Java, but he wished to pursue his studies further. In September 1644, al-Makassari embarked on his intellectual journey with the intent of travelling to Mecca via Java. From Makassar he sailed to Banten, one of the most important Muslim kingdoms in Java. In Banten al-Makassari established friendships with the court elite, notably the prince of Banten, Pangerang Surya, son of the Sultan of Banten, Abu al-Mafākhir ʻAbd al-Qādir (1037-63/1625-51). Al-ʻAydid's letter of introduction to the king of Banten may explain why al-Makasari arrival was welcomed by the local elite. He also married one of the Sultan's daughters.[32]

Al-Makassari eventually reached Mecca (travelling via Aceh, India and Yemen) where he undertook several years of study together with other Jawah scholars. He subsequently became known as a teacher of his colleagues from Indonesia. Among his students in Mecca was ʻAbd al-

[31] Lubis, *Syekh Yusuf Al-Taj Al-Makassari*, 69. ; Azra, *Origin of Islamic Reformism* 87-8.

[32] Gibson, *Islamic Narrative and Authority*, 69. ; Azra, *Origin of Islamic Reformism* 88-9.

Bashīr al-Dharir al-Rapani (Puang Rappang of South Sulawesi) who was responsible for the spread of the Naqshabandiah and Khalwatiah Yusuf orders in Gowa of South Sulawesi.[33] However, before dealing further with the role of al-Makassari in the spread of Sufi orders in Indonesia, it is useful to track his growing knowledge of Sufi mysticism as reconstructed by Azra. Based on al-Makassari's own writings in his *Safinat al-Najāh*, he was initiated into the Qādiriah order by his teacher, whom he names as "Nur al-Din b Masanji b Muhammad Hamid al-Quraisy al-Raniri" and who was obviously none other than the teacher of Acehnese fame. From this statement, it seems that al-Makassari followed al-Raniri when he returned to India in 1644.[34] There al-Makassari became a student of al-Raniri's teacher, Abu Hafs 'Umar b 'Abd Allah Ba Shaiban (d. 1656), who, it will be remembered, was Shaikh of the local branch of the Rifa'īyyah order. From India al-Makassari went on to Zabid (Yemen) where he became a student of other well-known scholars, Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Baqi al-Naqshabandī, Sayyid 'Ali al-Zabidi, and Muhammad b. al-Wajīh al-Sa'di al-Yamāni. Al-Makassari also extended his inquiry into mystical Islam by studying taṣawwuf with 'Abd al-Bāqī al-Naqshabandī, who was known for affirming the importance of *sharī'ah* in Sufi practice.[35]

It was not only al-Makassari, however, who exerted an influence on the development of Sufism in South Sulawesi. In fact, there were numerous students from South Sulawesi affiliated with orders approved by al-Raniri. A silsilah (genealogy) left by al-Makassari shows that two of

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[33] Azyumardi Azra, *Jaringan Ulama: Timur Tengah Dan Kepulauan Nusantara Abad Xvii Dan Xviii* (Bandung: Penebit Mizan, 1998), 220.

[34] According to Gibson, when al-Makassari arrived in Banten in 1644, the king of Banten, Abd al-Qadir was sending a mission to the Shaikh of Islam of Aceh, Nur al-Din al-Raniri. The mission was intended to discuss religious matters regarding the teaching of waḥdat al-wujud of Hamzah Fansuri. The mission reached Aceh in 1645 but al-Raniri had left Aceh for India a year before. Since al-Makassari came to Aceh in the same year he may have been among the members of this mission and accompanied it to Gujarat where he studied under al-Raniri's teacher. See Gibson, *Islamic Narrative and Authority*, 69.

[35] Azra, *Jaringan Ulama*, 214-5.

al-Raniri's local students, Ibrahim Barat and Haji Ahmad al-Bugis, were initiated into Shaṭṭariah and Qādiriah as was al-Makassari.[36] Another silsilah of the Qādiriah order of Bira mentions that al-Raniri initiated a Bugis student from Bira: Haji al-Shaikh al-Julaij Ahmad b. 'Abd Allah al-Bugisia (Panre Lohe), and that this chain then generated other Bugis students: al-Shaikh 'Abd al-Rahman bin 'Abd Allah Lamatti (Panre Keke), Shaikh 'Abd al-Jalil b 'Abd Allah Bulo-Bulo (Guru Toaya), Shaikh 'Abd al-Basyir bin 'Abd al-Jalil al-Bira wa al-Bugisia (Tu ri Masigi'na), and Shaikh 'Abd al-Fattah al-Hidayat Allah Sharm Allahu (To Daba).[37]

From these silsilahs we could say that mystical ideas spread in Indonesia from Aceh, where al-Raniri was a leading thinker in an intellectual mood later encapsulated in the term neo-Sufism, and that these ideas had been also circulating in South Sulawesi. As shown in the Bira silsilah, Ibrahim Barat was initiated into the Shaṭṭariah order by al-Kurānī in Mecca after he had undertaken the pilgrimage. However, though some Sulawesi scholars received their inspiration from scholars like al-Raniri and al-Kurānī, their influence in the localization and spread of Sufism is overshadowed by the long intellectual shadow cast by al-Makassari.

Al-Makassari's reputation and influence is linked to his ties to scholarly Ḥadīth circles. Like al-Singkili, al-Makassari was among the Jawah students of prominent 'ulamā in the Ḥaramayn, notably al-Qushāshī , al-Kurānī, and Hasan al-'Ajami (d. 1702), a man who came from one of Egypt's leading scholarly families and had himself studied with the leading 'ulamā of the day. Al-Makassari's engagement with al-Kurānī, Azra concludes, was very close. Their distinct intellectual relationship can be seen when al-Kurānī allowed al-Makassari to copy out Nur al-Din al-Jami's theological works *al-Durrat al-Fakhirah* and *Risalāt fi al-Wujūd*. Al-

[36] Gibson, *Islamic Narrative and Authority*, 60-2.

[37] Ibid.

Kurānī himself had written an interpretation (tafsīr) for the former text, namely *al-Tahrihat al-Bahirah li Mabāhith al-Durrat al-Fakhīrah*. All of these writings are concerned with the reconciliation of differences between Muslim philosophers and theologians on the matters regarding the relationship between mystical religion and God. In addition, al-Makassari also had intellectual networks with those ‘ulamā from India and studied under Indian teachers, among others, ‘Abd al-Karim al-Lahuri and Muhammad Muraz al-Shāmī or Muhammad Mirza b Muhammad al-Dimashqī.[38]

Muhammad Mirza is a significant figure in the ongoing discussions about appropriate ways of worshipping God and the controversies surrounding some Sufi beliefs and practices. Like al-Makassari’s teacher in Zabid (Muhammad b. ‘Abd al-Bāqī al-Naqshabandī), Muhammad Mirza was a student of the Naqshabandiah Shaikh, Tāj al-Dīn al-Hindi al-Naqshabandi. Azra believes that before he left Yemen to go to Mecca, al-Makassari was asked by ‘Abd al-Bāqī to study taṣawwuf with Mirza when they met in the Ḥaramayn. In Mecca Mirza was widely known as a Sufi and interpreter of Ibn ‘Arabi’s doctrine, but he is important because his interpretations of Ibn ‘Arabi were cast in simpler terms that facilitated understanding of these extremely complex ideas. According to Azra,[39] Mirza also suggested that al-Makassari visit Ibn Arabi’s shrine in the Islamic center of Damascus. There al-Makassari met the prominent Sufi thinker Ayyūb b Ahmad b Ayyūb al-Dimashqī al-Khalwatī (994-1071/1586-1661), a friend of al-Qushāshī. In addition to his distinguished reputation as *muḥaddith* (an authority on traditions of the Prophet and Ḥadīth discipline) Ayyūb al-Khalwati was a prolific writer on Sufism, and was known for his sharī’ah-based interpretation of Ibn ‘Arabi’s doctrine regarding the concept of al-

[38] Azra, *Jaringan Ulama*, 216-7.

[39] Ibid., 218.

insān al-kāmil (the perfect man or universal man).[40] Al-Makassari's great enthusiasm in studying both exoteric and esoteric Islam impressed Ayyūb al-Khalwati, who honored him with the title of "Crown of Khalwati *(Tāj al-Khalwati)*. For this, al-Makassari listed Ayyūub al-Khalwati in his tarekat as a khalīfah in the silsilah of Khalwatiah order. From Damascus, al-Makassari continued his intellectual travels to Turkey.[41]

In 1660, al-Makassari's experience in Turkey had convinced him that he should follow this with an implementation of sharī'ah oriented teaching, returning to the sponsorship of his father-in-law in the palace of Banten, instead of Gowa. In 1087/1676 al-Makassari wrote a Sufi treatise dedicated to the sultan of Banten, Abu al-Fath Ibn As-Sultan Abi al-Ma'āli Ibn as-Sultān Abi al-Mafākhir. He named the work *Zubdāt al-Asrār fi Tahqīqi Ba'di Masyārib al-Akhyār*, which is a document kept in Indonesia's national library (code A 45).[42] The work is written in Arabic with a Javanese-Banten translation in Arabic script. In this work al-Makassari stressed his version of the waḥdat al-wujūd, yet included the views on earlier Sufi thinkers such as Ibn 'Arabi, Abu Mansūr al-Hallāj, Abu Yazīd al-Bistāmī, Dzu al-Nūn al-Misrī and other Sufi figures with their often obscure spiritual statements that had become part of the waḥdat al-wujūd

[40] Al-Jili's mystical concept of al-insan al-kamil (the perfect man or universal man) spread by itinerant Sufis had an influence in Southeast Asia and India by attracting local rulers to use it to complement their political legitimacy. From this basis, beginning from the end of the sixteenth century onwards, they may have been led to declare themselves absolute rulers, like the earlier Mataram of Java (1564) and Sultan Iskandar Muda of Aceh (d. 1630). Supported by their shaikh , rulers may also have intended this corrupted interpretation of the concept to affirm their position over the 'ulamā and to allow the sharī'ah to be interpreted according to political interests. "The Perfect Man", which could be reached by divine Sufis through spiritual stages, was interpreted by rulers to declare themselves as friends of Allah *(wali Allah)* or representatives of the Prophet Muhammad. Events in Mataram between 1613 and 1645, which ended with Sultan Agung's killing of *ulama*, reflected a political interpretation of the concept. See Gibson, *Islamic Narrative and Authority*.

[41] Azra, *Jaringan Ulama*, 218-9.

[42] This work has been studied and translated by Nabilah Lubis, entitled *Menyingkap Intisari Segala Rahasia*. See Lubis, *Syekh Yusuf Al-Taj Al-Makassari*.

mainstream.[43] In this work he also took into consideration issues about the relationship between the sharī'ah and haqīqat or taṣawwuf .[44] Rather than trying to debate the various arguments among 'ulamā regarding the waḥdat al-wujūd, al-Makassari was trying to express his own views by arguing that God is all-encompassing *(al-Ahātah)* and omnipresent *(al-Ma'iyyah)* in His creation.[45]

Before developing these ideas further, it is relevant to mention al-Makassari's understanding of the meaning of taṣawwuf . Based on the Sufi views and the sayings attributed to the Prophet,[46] al-Makassari concluded that taṣawwuf refers to an excellent attitude and manner *(akhlāq)*: "Whoever does not have a good attitude does not practice taṣawwuf . Therefore, please understand this." [47] Based on this understanding, al-Makassari confirmed his position as a strong supporter of sharī'ah in spiritual practice, As he has argued in his other works, sharī'ah and haqīqat are two inseparable elements within Sufism. They are like a shell or a cover and its nucleus or core.

In regard to the waḥdat al-wujūd, al-Makassari avoided conceptual debates but instead sought to describe the experiences of earlier Sufis. He argues that they strove for absolute waḥdat al-wujūd that avoided any polytheistic elements or dualisms in referring to the unity of God. A Sufi may see everything as the Absolute One *(al-Haq)*, refuting any distinction between a human being and God as the Creator. Citing Abu Yazīd al-Bistāmī, al-Makassari emphasizes

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[43] In agreement with many Sufis, al-Makassari emphasized the importance of sharī'ah. Accordingly, concern for the sharī'ah is the requirement for sainthood, but the essence (spiritual truth or hakikat) of the sharī'ah must be strongly held. Ibid., 92,99, 115-21.

[44] Ibid.

[45] Azra, *Islam in the Indonesian*, 141.

[46] *"Innamā bui'thtu li utammima Makārim al-Akhlāq"* (I am sent by Allah in order to perfect the remainder excellent attitudes). Lubis, *Syekh Yusuf Al-Taj Al-Makassari*, 89.

[47] *"Al-Tasawwuf huwa husn al-Khulq fa man laisa lahu husn al-Khulq la tasawwuf a lah. Fafham dhālika."* Ibid.

the point further by remarking that, "I am the lover, and the loved is I." In his understanding of the concept, al-Makassari states that there are many Qur'anic verses highlighting the notion of the closeness of God to His creation (human being), namely *al-āyāt al-'ainiyyah*.[48]

Al-Makassari explains that learned Sufis have warned beginners "that your existence is through your full awareness that God is close to you. If this is not so, how can you draw closer to the level of the encompassment (al-ahātah) of God. In the words of the prophet: "If you extend a rope downward absolutely, the rope may go down to God." According to the Qur'anic verse, "He is the First *(al-awwal)* and the Last *(al-ākhir)*, the Evident *(al-zāhir)* and the Immanent *(al-bātin),* and He has full knowledge of all things."[49] If this is not the case, where is He closer to you than you to your selves? As stated before that you are close to the Almighty God through His omnipresence (mā'iyyah) and His encompassment (ahātah) in any state of your being and level, the presence and hereafter.[50]

Though his writings recall those of al-Sinkili, al-Makassari's ideas are expressed in more detail. While emphasizing the importance of dhikr, he also addressed the methods of performing dhikr necessary for a seeker to perform during his spiritual journey. His view of dhikr's central position in Sufism is evident in most of al-Makassari's works on Sufism, where he classified dhikr into three: verbal *(lisan)*, soul *(qalb)* and secret *(sirr)*.[51] Al-Makassari's thoughts on mysticism are key to the basic argument of this thesis because, when in Gowa he asked his

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[48] Ibid., 115.

[49] Abdullah Yusuf Ali, *The Qur'an, Text, Translation and Commentary* (New York: Tahrike Tarsile Qur'an, Inc., 2001), 1497. S.LVII:3.

[50] Lubis, *Syekh Yusuf Al-Taj Al-Makassari*, 117.

[51] There are 23 works of al-Makassari on Sufism compiled by P. Voorhoeve. See Tudjimah, *Syekh Yusuf Makasar, Riwayat Dan Ajarannya* (Jakarta: Universitas Indonesia Press, 1997).

student, ‘Abd al-Basyir *(Tuang Rapang)*, to impart these teachings to a member of the nobility.[52] He himself preferred to live in Banten, since here he not only occupied the position of appointed grand Shaikh, but Banten, unlike Gowa, was still outside the control of the Dutch East Inida Company (VOC). Al-Makassari’s teachings about Sufism, however, were disseminated within Gowa through a tarekat attributed to his name, Khalwatia Yusuf. The teaching of Khalwatia Yusuf became very influential among the nobles of Gowa and learned Muslims in Makassar, as will be discussed in the next chapter.

Nonetheless, through his marriage to the daughter of Banten’s Sultan Ageng, al-Makassari was inevitably caught up in political disputes between Sultan Ageng and his son, Sultan ‘Abd al-Kahar, known as Sultan Haji, who was supported by the Dutch. On the other hand, as the grand Shaikh of Islam, al-Makassari and his patron Sultan Ageng were zealous Muslims who provoked anti-Dutch sentiments through their support of rebellions of Minangkabau Muslims in Melaka in 1677, Ambon in 1680, and West Sumatra in 1681. As the political disturbances in Banten became greater, in 1682 al-Makassari and Sultan Ageng fled into the interior, but finally al-Makassari and his Bugis followers were captured by the VOC forces.[53] After years under Dutch detention, al-Makassari allowed his Khalwatiah disciples to go home to Gowa. In 1683 his son set up a Khalwatiah lodge in Maros, where the nobles of Gowa and Talo became his followers.[54] Though al-Makassari never returned to Gowa, his tarekat teachings were introduced by his students and intellectual heirs, and made him the most prominent figure in

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[52] The physical influence of Turkey, however, can also be seen in Tuan Rapang’s appearance, as noted by a French Jesuit Nicolas Gervaise who saw Tuan Rappang as the lord (tuan) in the Gowa palace. He was dressed in Turkish style with white robes and wore a turban when leading daily prayers. See Gibson, *Islamic Narrative and Authority*, 72.

[53] Abu Hamid, *Syekh Yusuf: Seorang Ulama Sufi Dan Pejuang* (Jakarta: Yayasan Obor Indonesia, 2005).

[54] Gibson, *Islamic Narrative and Authority*, 72-3.

South Sulawesi's Islamic traditions. For more than one century the Khalwatiah Yusuf order attracted the allegiance of Gowa's nobility and learned Muslims of Makassar. It was only overshadowed by the coming of the Khalwatia Sammān in the first half of the nineteenth, which revived the mystical tradition of Ibn Arabi.

In sum, the efforts of both al-Raniri and al-Makassari were significant in the development of mainstream Islam, based on a orientation that combined sharī'ah and Sufism, which came to characterize the practice of Sunni Islam in the archipelago. For example, in eighteenth-century Palembang, an anti-wujūdiah mulhid attitude was obvious in the Sufi works of its prolific scholar, 'Abd al-Samad al-Falimbani (1789), a student of as-Sammān in Medina.[55] In addition to opposing the concept of waḥdat al-wujūd, al-Falimbani's work, *Tuḥfah al-Rāgibīn fi Bayāni Ḥaqīqat Imān al-Mu'minīn*, demonstrated that the author did understand these concepts, which he combined with a mystical account of Abu Hāmid al-Ghazālī (d. 1111). Al-Falimbani's shari'ah-mystical orientation, which was very concerned with the supremacy of orthodoxy over esoteric practices, was also reflected in his two works: *Hidāyat al-Sālikīn* and *Sair al-Sālikīn*.[56] The work primarily addresses al-Ghazālī's Sufistic accounts inscribed in his *Ihyā 'Ulūm al-Dīn* and his *Bidāyat al-Hidāyah* as well as those of other Sunni scholars.[57] It is also possible that al-Ghazālī's moderate Sufism was spreading among Muslims in Kalimantan through al-Falimbani's colleague in the as-Sammān's lodge in Medina, Muhammad Arshad al-Banjari. It is also worth

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[55] In Medina as-Sammān asked al-Falimbani, under the guidance of his senior 'Abd al-Rahman ibn 'Abd Aziz al-Maghribi, to read al-Burhanfuri's work consisting the notion of *waḥdat al-wujūd*, *tuhfah al-Mursalah Ilā Rūh al-Nabī*. See Ahmad Purwadaksi, *Ratib Samman Dan Hikayat Syekh Muhammad Samman* (Jakarta: Penerbit Djambatan, 2004).

[56] Nyimas Umi Kulsum, "Naskah-Naskah Islam Palembang," in *Jati Diri Yang Terlupakan: Naskah-Naskah Palembang* ed. Achadiati Ikram (Jakarta: Yayasan Naskah Nusantara, 2004). 120-2; Martin van Bruinessen, "Kitab Kuning: Books in Arabic Script Used in the Pesantren Milieu," *Bijdragen Tot De Taal, Land en Volkenkunde* 2 and 3, no. 146 (1990): 258.

[57] 'Abd al-Samad Palimbani, al., *Hidayatus Salikin (Mengarungi Samudera Ma'rifat)*, trans. Kms. H. Andi. Syarifuddin (Pustaka Hikmah Perdana, 2006).

noting that in mid-nineteenth century Java Nawawi of Banten, the great teacher of the Jawah colony in Mecca, was affiliated to al-Ghazālī's way.[58] Coupled with the increasing number of traditional Islamic schools (*pondok* or *pesantren*) in the century, the teaching and translation of al-Ghazālī's voluminous work, Ihya 'Ulūm al-Dīn, together with al-Shāfi'ī works, made a major contribution to the influence of Ghazalian "sober Sufism" in Indonesia.[59]

The Nineteenth Century: Sufi Orders and the Java Colony in the Heartland of Islam

In tandem with the purification movement of Wahabism,[60] the nineteenth century witnessed a process by which scholarly Ḥadīth circles and Sufi networks became contributing elements in the formation of revivalist movements in various Muslim societies. Though these movements were different in character, they shared a common goal: how to make the world-wide Muslim community, the ummah, more religiously observant and more obedient to the fundamental teachings of the holy book and the Prophet. To accomplish these goals, the ummah, according to the revivalist leaders, had to return to the tradition of the Prophet *(as-Sunnah)*, while maintaining the practice of Islamic spirituality by making it the center of their religious inquiry. Ḥadīth circle and Sufi orders were in the vanguard of the ummah's response to the changing political environments during the century.

As we have seen, several prominent centers of Islam like Damascus, Cairo, Yemen (Zabid) and the Ḥaramayn were already established as religious metropoles that had played a

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[58] Karel A. Steenbrink, *Beberapa Aspek Tentang Islam Di Indonesia Abad Ke-19* (Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, 1984), 96-121.

[59] Ibid., 154-7.

[60] At the time of the Wahabi movement under Muhammad ibn 'Abd Wahhāb (1703-92) in late eighteenth-century Mecca, there was a similar movement in India under the reformist Wali Allah Dihlawi (1703-62). Nafi, "Tasawwuf and Reform," 308.

significant role in the transformation of Islam for the ummah beyond the Indian Ocean, "the lands below the winds". In this continuing process of Islamization, earlier eighteenth-century Islamic scholarly networks, particularly Ḥadīth and Sufi, had evolved into more popular activist forms. It appears that interpersonal bonds and chains of transmission were the major features that these two streams of Islam shared and developed.[61]

In regard to the continued Islamization of the archipelago in the nineteenth century, we should first consider the growing presence of the colony of Indonesian-Malay community (the Jawah followers) in Ḥaramayn, as a determining factor. At this time the term "Java" (lit. the island of Java) was used by outsiders in the Middle East to refer to anyone coming from maritime Southeast Asia. The most prominent Jawi figures in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (ʻAbd Rauf al-Sinkili , Yusuf al-Makassari and ʻAbd al-Samad al-Falimbani) were widely known as defenders of what has been termed "neo-Sufism," which, as noted in the previous chapter, refers to a form of Sufism that moved away from popular unorthodox Sufism and the ecstatic forms of Sufi devotion.[62]

The intellectual inquiry and debates on the acceptability of many mystical usages was foreshadowed by a new generation of nineteenth-century ʻulamā who came from different parts of the archipelago: ʻAbd al-Ghani Bima of Sumbawa, Ahmad Khatib Sambas of Borneo (1802-72) and Ismail al-Minangkabawi.[63] Still influenced by mystical discourses, this group of ʻulamā

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[61] Nehemia Levtzion and John O. Voll, eds., *Eighteenth-Century Renewal and Reform in Islam* (New York: Syracuse University Press,1987), 8.

[62] Azra, *Origin of Islamic Reformism* 33. Rahman uses "neo-Sufism" to refer to an orthodox reform of Sufism in the eighteenth century, where Sufism was deeply trapped in ecstatic and speculatively metaphysical ideas. To this stream of Sufism were scholars who reconciled Sufism and sharī'ah or ḥadīth studies by stressing the reforms of Ibn Taymiya (d. 1328) in fourteenth-century Mecca. Rahman Fazlur, *Islam* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1979), 195. Gibson, *Islamic Narrative and Authority*, 56.

[63] Michael Francis Laffan, *Islamic Nationhood and Colonial Indonesia, the Umma Below the Winds* (London and New York: Routledge Curzon, 2003), 21.

was nonetheless deeply involved in addressing issues that had been targeted by the Wahabi when they took Mecca in the early nineteenth century and sought to eliminate what they regarded as heterodox Islam. When the Jawah ‘ulamā returned to their home country, they found a similar situation where “corrupt” Islamic practices prevailed, ranging from propitiation of localized Muslim jinn to veneration of saintly tombs. In many cases they argued that their Sufi colleagues must be held responsible for this religious deviance. As the members of Sufi orders, they felt they should use their tarekat networks as a medium for transmitting their reformed vision of Islam. Through these figures the nineteenth century witnessed the percolation of neo-Sufism into the community at large and saw its articulation in social and political life.[64] To understand the background to this movement, we should step back to consider the global development of neo-Sufi tarekat and the spread of an intellectual web.

Foremost among the tarekat sympathetic to neo-Sufi ideas were the Naqshabandiah and Khalwatiah, whose shared orientation towards both Ḥadīth and the Islamic mystic tradition helps explain the growth of these very large Sufi orders. In the ongoing refinement and modification of spiritual techniques, the tarekat Shaikhs fostered increasing popular interest and encouraged a growing affiliation with these orders. Interestingly, the Naqshabandiah in Ottoman Turkey had connections to the most prominent reform figure in India, Ahmad Sirhindi (1564–1624). Through Murād al-Bukhārī (1640-1720), a student of Sirhindi’s son, the Naqshabandiah tarekat became involved in the Islamic discourse in Turkey. Al-Bukhāri’s scholarly reputation and his association with the Ottoman Sultan, Mustafa II (1664-1703), contributed to the admiration with

[64] In his article on the Java colony in the *Haramain*, Snouck Hurgronje identified three figures as the learned because of their spiritual knowledge and charisma: Khatib Sambas of Borneo was known as a master of every order, initiating numbers of People from Southeast Asia to become his followers, while Abd al-Ghani of Bima (Sumbawa) was widely recognized as a divine saint. See C. Snouck. Hurgronje, "Jawah Ulama in Mekka in the Late Nineteenth Century," in *Reading on Islam in Southeast Asia* ed. Ibrahim Ahmad, Sharon Siddique, and Yasmin Hussain (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1985), 72.

which he was regarded and to the affection of many followers. By contrast, the Khalwatiah order enjoyed a growing reputation among ‘ulamā and wealthier groups because of its orientation towards individual asceticism and acceptance of local religious practices. Among its prominent teachers was Mustafa Kamāl al-Dīn al-Bakrī (d. 1748), whose students helped spread his reputation among the global Muslim community. Al-Bakrī himself was a student of the shaikh of the famous Naqshabandiah order in Damascus, ‘Abd al-Ghāni al-Nabulusi (1641-1731) and of the respected Khalwatiah master in Aleppo, ‘Abd al-Latif al-Halabi.[65]

As one of the Ottoman Empire’s provinces that was also home to the renowned al-Azhar university, Egypt played an important role in the development of scholarly networks of Sufi orders in the eighteenth century. Cairo’s reputation as the center of Ḥadīth study was coupled with its status as the icon of Islamic cosmopolitanism where local ‘ulamā and international students interacted. Not only did students from Muslim regions study Islamic disciplines, particularly Ḥadīth, but they were also brought into close association with the neo-Sufism movement and the teachings promoted by the students of al-Bakrī, such as Muhammad ibn Sālim al-Hifnawī (1689-1767), Muhammad Murtadā al-Zabīdī (1732- 1791),[66] and ‘Ali ibn Hijazi ibn Muhammad al-Bayyūmi (1696-1769), whose specific goal was to reach the masses. Egypt thus had a long history of support for the Khalwatiah tradition, which had been introduced by al-Bakrī’s disciples.[67] Al-Hifnawī was especially influential because he was a deputy or khalīfah of

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[65] Voll, *Islam Continuity*, 46-7.

[66] Ibid., 54. ; R. S. O’Fahey, *Enigmatic Saint, Ahmad Ibn Idris and the Idrisi Tradition* (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University of Press, 1990), 35.

[67] Al-Bakrī was known as a wandering Sufi teacher, but aroused controversy because of his innovation of litanies. His *al-Fath al-Qudsi*, coupled with his innovation of recitation towards the end of night *(wird al-Sahar)* and of his loud dhikr, was attacked by some Sufis and ‘ulamā of Egypt, who considered them to be *bid’ah* (heretical). Al-Bakrī argued that his use of oral dhikr was permitted by sharī’ah, and was helpful for the fledging mendicant, leading to better focus and spiritual assistance. Likewise, al-Bakrī’s contemporary al-Bayyumi was opposed by the ‘ulamā and the government when he and his followers performed the dhikr aloud in the graveyard of the shrine of Husayn (the

the *al-Bakrīa-Khalwatiah* order in Egypt. He was famous as a prominent teacher of Ḥadīth and was appointed as the Shaikh of al-Azhar University.[68] His position as a teacher of Ḥadīth and as the khalīfah of the Khalwatiah facilitated the spread of the order among his international colleagues and students.[69]

Al-Zabīdī was also famous as one of Egypt's most reputable scholars of Hadith, his knowledge acquired as a result of many years of study. He had previously studied with an Indian teacher, the renowned reformist Shah Wali Allah al-Dihlawi (1703-92), and later continued his study in his homeland of Yemen in the city of Zabid. Like al-Hifnawī, al-Zabīdī was also known as a Sufi practitioner. His combination of Ḥadīth scholarly traditions of Egypt and India with a strict notion of Islam was evident in the mixture between the neo-Sufism of Indian Naqshabandiah of Wali Allah and the Khalwatiah tradition of the eastern Mediterranean. In addition to both Sufi-Ḥadīth figures, Egypt's old reputation as a place for religious learning had been enhanced by Muhammad al-Babili (d. 1666), whose scholarly work attracted students who prepared the ground for eighteenth-century interest in Ḥadīth study. Prominent among these were Abu al-Muwahhib ibn 'Abd al-Bāqī (d. 1710), the mufti of Damascus, and the neo-Sufi figure of Medina, Ibrāhīm al-Kurānī, to whom Muslim intellectual and Sufi networks in the archipelago can be traced.[70]

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grandchild of the Prophet Muhammad) every Tuesday until daybreak. Finally, having being defended by al-Shubrawi, a prominent Egyptian Sufi, al-Bayyumi was appointed as a lecturer in al-Azhar. Al-Hifnawi was responsible for the institutionalization of al-Bakrī's dhikr in Egypt, including the much-recited dhikr of Divine Names of Allah. See Earle H. Waugh, *Visionaries of Silence: The Reformist Sufi Order of the Demirdashiya Al-Khalwatiya in Cairo* (Cairo-New York: The American University in Cairo Press, 2008), 34-8.

[68] Shaikh al-Azhar is the highest position in the al-Azhar campus in Egypt.

[69] Waugh, *Visionaries of Silence*, 34-8.

[70] Voll, *Islam Continuity*, 52-4.

However, in contrast to Egypt, Sufi practice in Mecca and Medina during this era was far less organized. As the center of Islam and the source of the Prophet's tradition, the Ḥaramayn was a place where the 'ulamā were in many ways able to safeguard Islam from "corrupting" outside influences. Before being overrun by Wahabism, the Ḥaramayn's relative isolation from political upheavals made the Ḥadīth-oriented Sufis feel it was unnecessary to re-organize their tarekat. However, it does not mean that the Ḥaramayn 'ulamā were unconcerned with scholarly discourses on speculative mystical ideas generated by the followers of the Muslim mystic Ibn al-'Arabi. By the eighteenth century, to prevent the ummah from such allegedly less-shari'ah Sufi teaching and practices, the scholars of the Ḥaramayn were more concerned with the teaching of al-Ghazālī (d. 1111), the prolific Sunni thinker, and were particularly interested in the development and organization of large-scale tarekat with his sober practical Sufism *(al-taṣawwuf al-'amalī)*.[71]

It is also important to remember that the Ḥaramayn was far more than just a place of pilgrimage, but had a long intellectual connection with neo-Sufi figures such as al-Bakrī of the Khalwatiah al-Zabidi and the Malay scholar 'Abd al-Rauf al-Sinkili. For instance, having studied Ḥadīth in Ḥaramayn, al-Bakrī initiated Medina scholars, such as Muhammad 'Abd al-Karīm as-Sammān (d. 1775), and their students into his Khalwatiah order. As-Sammān's reputation brought him many Indonesian students and followers, who became part of the new tarekat that he founded. the Sammāniah.[72] It is to this tarekat that the Indonesian Sammāniah orders, including the Khalwatia Samman of South Sulawesi, trace their genealogical roots. These Sufi networks interacted with those of Ḥadīth scholars during the seventeenth century and constituted the

[71] Ibid., 52.

[72] Ibid., 59.

foundation of further connections between the Ḥadīth and Indonesian-Malay Muslims over the next two hundred years

As colonialism in Southeast Asia advanced during the nineteenth-century, the tarekats were theologically and emotionally well placed to stake out a place in various movements, be they radical, accommodative, or conservative. Their different social-religious backgrounds may have led them in different directions in terms of responses to the social and political changes of the century, as well as in opposition to other groups within Islam. It is very common to encounter an order with a strict sharī'ah orientation opposing certain practices of another Sufi order that is more accommodating towards local traditions. Because popular Muslim movements incorporated indigenous customs, including magical or healing practices, the practice of Sufism in the Malay-Indonesian archipelago often deviated from that in the Islamic heartlands. In response to the changing situation caused by the spread of colonialism, the 'ulamā sought to encourage greater coherence among the Islam community. As social grievances escalated, it can be argued that Sufi organizations or tarekats became a means of developing solidarity among Muslims. The nineteenth century in general displayed a greater sense of being Muslim as preoccupations shifted from the religious debates that had characterized the past to a greater stress on social reforms.

The emergence of popular Islam in Indonesia cannot be divorced from the continued religious role of the Ḥaramayn. Though Mecca and Medina were generally isolated from Western influences, they continued to be an important factor in terms of providing religious actors responsible for leading Islamic revivalist movements in nineteenth-century Indonesia. Earlier intellectual networks had grown and been disseminated in the archipelago, and had ramifications in domains where the social functions of tarekats, especially the establishment of

Islamic schools, were evident.[73] Voll has pointed out that during the nineteenth century the Ḥaramayn remained the incubator of neo-Sufism, through in several Islamic areas in the early twentieth century it was expressed in the form of Pan Islam.[74] Early in the century the Ḥaramayn scholars had encouraged the development of more popular forms of tarekat, such as Sammāniah, Sanūsiah, and *Khatmiah,* which all had great influence in revivalist movements across Africa, as well as in Indonesia and India.[75] Advanced transportation and printing technologies obviously played a part in the expansion of these religious movements.

Together with these external elements, the rise of the Wahabi movement and its call for a return to a more pristine form of Islam provides another reason for the emergence of revivalist movements in several parts of Indonesia. The appearance of the Padri movement in West Sumatra, able to invoke a spirit of patriotism among Muslims, can be regarded as the earliest Islamic revivalist movement in the country. Though it was defeated by Dutch military power, it was, as stated by Johns, the starting point of Islamic modernist movement in Indonesia.[76] The role of the Jawah colony was evident within the movement, since it was led by Sumatran *hajjis* influenced by Wahabi Propaganda in Mecca.

As Christine Dobbin has shown, the Padri movement (1803-1819) in Central Sumatra also demonstrated Wahabi influence on local Islam. The return of three Minangkabau Hajjis from the Middle East in the early nineteenth century had encouraged greater awareness of economic and social grievances through the Islamic concept of the difference between the ummah and the infidel or *Dār al-Harb* (abode of war). The term for holy war *(jihād)* in Islam

[73] Azra, *Origin of Islamic Reformism*

[74] Voll, *Islam Continuity*, 126-7.

[75] Azra, *Origin of Islamic Reformism*

[76] Nico J. G. Kaptein, *Kekacauan Dan Kerusuhan: Tiga Tulisan Tentang Pan-Islamisme Di Hindia-Belanda Timur Pada Akhir Abad Kesembilan Belas Dan Awal Abad Kedua Puluh* (Leiden, Jakarta: INIS, 2003), 8-9.

was also invoked to encourage the populace to rebel against the Dutch as well as local elites following unorthodox Islamic practices condoned because they were part of adat, or customs.[77] The Wahabi slogan of "return to sharī'ah" circulated in the Indonesia-Malay world in a dynamic fashion, engaging with Islamic modernism that was also developing at the time. The goal of the Wahabi struggle was to make the practice of Islam as pure as that which the Prophet himself taught and practiced. Practices in which Sufi brotherhoods mixed Islam and local tradition became prime targets of Islamic propaganda.

In a similar manner, increasing Dutch intervention, greater contacts with the Middle East and the Ḥaramayn, and religious changes meant that Java also saw a growth in politico-religious rebellions. The most well-known movements were the peasant rebellions in Banten, West Java, in the late nineteenth century. As Sartono Kartodirdjo points out, though the peasant rebellion of 1888 did not grow out of a purely religious basis, social and religious changes across Java appear to be major factors in the ability of local tarekat leaders to incite peasant unrest. In addition to economic grievances and the decline of traditional institutions destroyed by the colonial administration, various tarekats, notably the Qādiriah, became a social device and an arena of activism by which peasant leaders could show their opposition to the infidel colonial Dutch and their local collaborator agents.[78] In a similar vein, the engagement of religious leaders in rebellion against the colonial authority was also evident in the Java War (1825 – 1830) and

[77] Christine Dobbin, *Islamic Revivalism in a Changing Peasant Economy: Central Sumatra, 1784 – 1847* (London: Curzon Press, 1983), 128.

[78] Sartono Kartodirdjo, "The Peasants' Revolt of Banten in 1888: The Religious Revival," in *Reading on Islam in Southeast Asia*, ed. Sharon Siddique Ahmad Ibrahim, and Yasmin Hussain (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1985), 103-5.

among the Samman followers in the so-called Menteng War *(Perang Menteng)* in Palembang, South Sumatra in 1819,[79] and the Amuntai rebellion (1861) in South Kalimantan.

In addition to its distinct position among Muslim society as the center of Islamic knowledge, Mecca was critical in the shaping of Indonesian Islam because of the increase in numbers of pilgrims during the nineteenth century. Despite Dutch hostility, new points of departures, such as Singapore and Penang, and vastly improved communications transformed what had previously been a desired but remote goal for most Indonesians into a real possibility. A Dutch advisor Snouck Hurgronje, who lived in Mecca and witnessed the daily life of the Jawah colony during the late nineteenth century, reported that the average Indonesia-Malay students (*'awam*) gained not only spiritual status and greater knowledge of Islam, but also acquired social privileges when they returned to their home villages. However, he also reported that a number of learned Hajjis from the archipelago lived in the land of the Prophet and studied with other scholars, and in so doing became part of spiritual networks connecting cities in Arab and those in the archipelago. After they went home, the local population considered them to be religious masters, possessors and now imparters of Islamic expertise that had been obtained in Mecca.[80] In addition to these two groups, there were others who came to Mecca to seek political legitimacy from the *Sharīf* (local rulers) in the Ḥaramayn. They were power holders or members of noble families who came to Mecca to obtain spiritual blessings as a way to enhance their existing social and political privilege when they came back to their home villages.

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[79] Taufik Abdullah, "Beberapa Aspek Perkembangan Islam Di Sumatera Selatan," in *Masuk Dan Perkembangannya Islam Di Sumatera Selatan*, ed. K. H. O. Gadjahnata and Sri-Edi Swasono (Jakarta: Penerbit Universitas Indonesia, 1986), 57-8.

[80] C. Snouck. Hurgronje, *Kumpulan Karangan Snouck Hurgronje Vii*, trans. Soedarso and A.J. Mangkuwinoto Soekarno (Jakarta: INIS, 1993), 106-7.

By the nineteenth century Islam in Southeast Asia and the Indonesia-Malay world in general had established a long tradition of interaction with the metropoles of Islam, with Mecca and Medina as the most prominent, but also including Cairo, Damascus, and Yemen. Through the teacher-student linkages between the center of Islam and Indonesia, as well as that of Southeast Asian Muslim students, ideas of neo-Sufism were transmitted along with Islamic jurisprudences and theology.[81] A major preoccupation in these intellectual and personal exchanges concerned the acceptability of mystical Sufi practices and teachings, especially the concept of the waḥdat al-wujūd. Through the influence of several scholars, including those with strong local roots like al-Raniri and al-Makassari, a compromise had been reached by which most Sufi orders accepted an orientation that combined shar'iah teachings with Sufi traditions. As the Muslim world was swept by a more fervent puritan movement led by the Wahabi, and as the influence of colonialism expanded through the Indonesia archipelago, the collaboration between the Sufi orders and the Ḥadīth circles became central to the consolidation of Islam in the following century. The militancy that resulted from the blending of scholarship and organization is no better illustrated than in the order founded by Muhammad 'Abd al-Karīm as-Sammān al-Madanī (1718-75).

Khalwatiah Sammān Order: From Mecca to the Indonesian-Malay World

The rise of the Khalwatiah Sammān[82] order in South Sulawesi in the nineteenth century cannot be disassociated from the local social and political circumstances, as well as from the earlier Sufi networks in Indonesia. As the Wahabi movement gained influence in the Ḥaramayn

[81] Azra, *Origin of Islamic Reformism*

[82] Several terms of *as-Sammān, Sammāniah, Khalwatiah Sammāan* used in this study may refer to similar meaning of spiritual tradition related to the order founded by 'Abd al-Karīm as-Sammān al-Madanī.

at the turn of the century, students of as-Sammān al-Madani were among those struggling against the anti-Sufi campaign led by the Wahabi. In the Ḥaramayn, as-Sammān was then an important Sufi figure, since he had revitalized the practice of mystical Islam by emphasizing that there was a unity between sharī'ah and haqiqah.[83]

As-Sammān's spiritual prominence had been foretold by Ibn al-'Arabi, the grand master of Islamic pantheism, who had stated that one day Medina would witness a glorious spiritualism through the coming of a saint of the ummah of Muhammad and his dhikr. The saint mentioned by Ibn 'Arabi was 'Abd al-Karīm as-Sammān who would help reverse the decline of Medina in the eighteenth century. When as-Sammān opened his lodge in the Ḥaramayn, Mecca and Medina were under the Turks facing a threat from Europe.[84] The political decline of the Turks had engendered a Muslim revival, among which was as-Sammān's own movement to restore the religion.

Unlike Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahab's call for a purification of Islam through a return to sharī'ah, as-Sammān sought to restore the religion's decline through a spiritual emphasis on the dhikr. In terms of influential Islamic figures who brought change to the religion, Letvzion considers as-Sammān as one such figure in eighteenth-century Islam.[85] His fame as one of the foremost Sufi scholars was established in his renowned mystical treatise, *al-Nafahāt al-Ilāhiyyāt fi Kaifiyati Sulūk al-Ṭarīqat al-Muhammadiyyah*, which establishes the methods to be followed by those taking the Sufi path.

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[83] From his base in the Haramain, as-Sammān made contact with reformist students from the rest of Muslim world and with Meccan students, such as 'Abd Allah al-Mahjub ibn Ibrahim al-Mirghani and Muhammad Murtada al-Zabidi. See O'Fahey, *Enigmatic Saint*, 143.

[84] Purwadaksi, *Ratib Samman*, 320-1.

[85] Frderick De Jong, "Mustafa Kamal Al-Din Al-Bakri (1688-1749)," in *Revival and Reform of the Khalwatiyya Tradition in Eighteenth-Century Renewal and Reform in Islam*, ed. Nehemiah Levtzion and John O. Voll (New York: Syracuse University Press, 1987), 129.

As-Sammān's order was later called Khalwatiah Sammān because of his discipleship with al-Bakrī, who had helped revive the Khalwatiah order in the Middle East.[86] Khalwatiah Sammān reached the archipelago later than other tarekats, following in the wake of the Shaṭṭariah, Qādiriah and Naqshabandiah orders. However, the spiritual reputation of as-Sammān, widely known among Indonesian-Malay Muslims as Shaikh *Muhammad Sammān* or *Shaikh Samman*, made him one of the venerated saints (*wali*, plural *awliyā*) in Islam. Purwadaksi, whose work examines Shaikh Sammān and his reputation among Indonesian Muslims, asserts that Muhammad Sammān's mystical views on the waḥdat al-wujūd are not contradictory to the sharī'ah.[87] His study of fiqh (Islamic jurisprudence) with Muhammad ibn Sulaiman al-Kurdī of Kurdistan, the teacher of Indonesian students in Medina, may have influenced his thinking regarding the compatibility and complementarity of sharī'ah and Sufism. But when the Wahabis began to take extreme measures against the Sufis in Medina in 1772, Sulaimān al-Kurdī urged his Jawi students to return home once they completed their studies.[88]

The situation in the Ḥaramayn as experienced by as-Sammān in the eighteenth century was similar to that found in the archipelago. Corrupt Islamic practices were so ubiquitous that as-Sammān's Jawi student, 'Abd al-Samad al-Falimbani, felt compelled to describe this in his work entitled, *Risālah*. He found Muslims engaging in mystical practices, while neglecting sharī'ah, because of the absence of spiritual guidance from learned Muslims.[89] This condition led him to

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[86] His complete name was Mustafa ibn Kamāl al-Dīn al-Bakrī, a Damascene prolific Sufi writer of the mid-eighteenth century, an innovator of Sufi techniques, a man of charisma and a friend of the prominent political figure, Raghib Pasha. Among al-Bakrī's masters were the Naqshabandi writer, 'Abd al-Ghani al-Nabulusi and the Khalwatiah *Shaikh* from Aleppo. His mystical reputation was marked by his own order, namely al-Bakrīyya. See Muhammad ibn Abd Al-Karim al-Quraisy al-Madani al- Syafi'i, *Al-Nafahāt Al-Ilāhiyyāt Fi Kaifiyati Sulūk Al-Tarīqat Al-Muhammadiyyah* (1362 H), 1. ; Bruinessen, "Bukankah Orang Kurdi," 287-8.

[87] Purwadaksi, *Ratib Samman*, 314.

[88] Bruinessen, "Bukankah Orang Kurdi," 50.

[89] Purwadaksi, *Ratib Samman*, 340.

teach his Sammāniah order to his colleagues in his hometown, Palembang, which became a center in spreading the order throughout the archipelago. Teaching dhikr to the illiterate Muslims in the time of challenge seemed to be more rational and effective than attempting to teach the high tradition of Islamic disciplines. In this respect, Sammānis public dhikr (dhikr al-Jahri) gained the interest of the ummah and was regarded as offering a spiritual panacea for the malaise in the Islam community.

One point should be borne in mind with regard to as-Sammān's version of Sufism. Unlike the majority of Jawah Sufi thinkers mentioned above, as-Sammān's mystical affiliation was closer to the Damascus tradition begun under the leadership of the prominent Sufi, Musṭafā Kamāl al-Dīn al-Bakrī, an itinerant Sufi teacher whose reputation was made in Jerusalem, Istanbul, and Cairo. As noted by Drewes, as-Sammān joined al-Bakrī's order at the early age of thirty but did not become well-known until the death of his teacher, al-Bakrī in 1749. In addition to his disagreement with monist views, as-Sammān's way of reciting dhikr started to be known. The Egyptian writer al-Jabarti (d. 1241/ 1825) claimed that in 1760 as-Sammān was not yet known outside Medina, or even in his own country of Egypt "until his dhikr-meetings had won him certain fame there. Yet about the early sixties his reputation for saintliness and wonder-working must have been well established in his native town." [90] Based on this information, it appears that a new tradition of mass-oriented spiritual practices was introduced by as-Sammān following the methods of his father, a well-known master of taṣawwuf in Medina.[91] The pressure from the Wahabi movement in the heartland of Islam was perhaps an incentive for

[90] G. W. J. Drewes, "A Note on Muhammad Al-Samman, His Writings, and 19th Century Sammaniyya Practices, Chiefly in Batavia, According to Written Data," *Archipel* 43(1992): 74-5.

[91] In 1760 as-Sammān was sent to Egypt where he won respect from his father's former students, when he leading mass-dhikr at the grave of Husayn *(mashhad al-Husayni)*. Ibid.

Muslims to seek a congregational form of Islam, which differed considerably from the more individual-oriented practices of the "high tradition" of the main Sufi orders.

The Jawah students and Indonesian Hajjis participated in as-Sammān's mass dhikr in Medina, and they disseminated the practice once they returned home. As in the Ḥaramayn, in Indonesia the Muslims were also affected by European colonialism and Wahabism, but the teachings of the as-Sammān tradition proved popular. The Dutch Islamic scholar, G.W.J. Drewes, cites two reasons for its popularity:

> The community recital (dhikr) of special litany *(ratīb)* and the lecture of edifying account of the master's miraculous succor in cases of emergency and deadly peril. Both proceedings were in vogue with the inhabitants of 19th century Batavia, and an analogous situation still obtains in some regions of South Sumatra and Sulawesi, but information on this point is scanty and it seems that nowadays such practices are more and more falling into desuetude [laws that are unenforceable by a long habit of non-enforcement or lapse of time]. [92]

In addition to the mass dhikr and the ratīb, the hagiography of as-Sammān written by his students, Ṣiddiq al-Madanī and 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Maghribi,[93] was also instrumental in the spread of as-Sammān's teaching in the archipelago since it had been translated into various languages. There is a short account on the figure of Messiah, which in Sunni Islam is symbolically represented by the persona of the *Imam al-Mahdi*, or in *Shī'ah* Islam, *Imām al-Mahdi al-Muntaẓār* (the Awaiting Leader). The Mahdi will appear to lead the universe before the end of the world *(qiyāmat)*. In this respect, according to both authors, as-Sammān was the "Opener" of Medina, or the one who came to "open the door" or provide the righteous way for the sin-filled, corrupt city of Medina. He is also regarded as the last of the saints and the deputy *(wazīr)* of Imam al-Mahdi. While the Mahdi was similar to the Prophet in his creation

[92] Ibid.: 78.

[93] "Manaqib ", (Jakarta: Perpustakaan Nasional Indonesia, ML. 386).

(kejadiannya) and conduct *(kelakuannya)*, as-Sammān was similar to Abraham in his creation.[94] Such messianic ideas were found in many societies facing major disruptions in their way of life and searching for a way of explaining these changes and redefining their identity. The emergence of the concept of the *Ratu Adil (*The Just King*)* among Javanese in the period of high colonialism was a way of explaining these radical transformations in society.

Because the as-Sammān followers' spiritual tradition was mixed with local ideas, it was regarded by the orthodox 'ulamā as un-Islamic. For example, the Egyptian 'ulamā condemned the practice of reciting the ratīb at sacred (*keramat)* grave sites,[95] or of the regular performance of the *debus* in the archipelago*,* a form of trance dance, where men obtain powers of invulnerability.[96] Various religious decisions (fatwa) objecting to ritual practices among Sammāniah followers were issued by those 'ulamā, mostly of Arab descent *(sayyid)* in Batavia, declaring such practices to be heretical and the order to be forbidden (*ḥarām*).[97]

Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Karīm al-Quraishi al-Madanī al-Shāfi'ī was born in Medina in 1718 CE/1130 H. He grew up in a village and studied Islam with a grand Shaikh originally from Kurdistan, Muhammad Ibn Sulaimān al-Kurdī (1715-1780). Al-Kurdī was a mufti of the Shāfi'ī school in Medina, where students from the archipelago came to study Islamic jurisprudence

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[94] Ibid., 14-6.

[95] Waugh, *Visionaries of Silence*, 34-8.

[96] Debus is a ritual performance done by men, usually the followers of a tarekat. By reciting certain chants (*jampe*, Indonesia) containing a mixture of the local language and Arabic, the performers enter into a trance, whereby they become invulnerable to penetration by any sharp object such as a machete, knife, or glass of shards. During the performance they may also peel coconuts with their teeth or drink boiling water. See J Vredenbregt, "Dabus in West Java," *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 129, no. 2/3 (1973).

[97] Drewes, "A Note on Muhammad Al-Samman," 81-4.; Azyumardi Azra, "A Hadhrami Religious Scholar in Indonesia: Sayyid 'Uthman," in *Hadhrami Traders, Scholars, and Statesmen in the Indian Ocean, 1750s-1960s*, ed. Ulrike Freitag and William Clarence-Smith (Leiden, New York, Koln: Brill, 1997).

(fiqh) with him.[98] Having studied with several Kurdistan teachers, as-Sammān became interested in mystical Islam and was a student of *Shadhilia* and other orders before joining the Khalwatiah order of al-Bakrī. His mystical lodge gained special attention from those beginning the study of Islam, and his Islamic school, *Madrasah al-Sanjāriyyah,* became famous and attracted students from around the world. As-Sammān lived as an ascetic in his lodge, which is believed to be the former house of Abu Bakar as-Ṣiddīq, the companion of the prophet Muhammad. Known as the Sufi of Medina, as-Sammān attracted students from Medina and the surrounding regions, as well as from various corners of the Islamic world, who wished to obtain his blessing and become initiated into his order.[99]

Among his disciples were Jawi students, the most important of whom was ‘Abd al-Ṣamad al-Falimbani, who received his initiation *(ijāzah)* directly from as-Sammān in Medina.[100] During their stay in Medina other Jawah students were also initiated into as-Sammān’s order. It was a common tradition for advanced students to study further with Sufi teachers to master the major disciplines of Islam.[101] According to his colleagues and students, as-Sammān’s excellent mystical knowledge is the reason that he is considered a new *walī Allah* (friend of Allah, i.e. “saint”). He is seen as the fifth major saint in Islam, the other four being ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Jaylānī, Ahmad al-Badawi, Ahmad al-Rifa’iī and Ibrāhīm al-Dasūqi. As-Sammān’s distinguished

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[98] There were ‘Abd al-Ṣamad al-Falimbani, Muhammad Arshad al-Banjari, ‘Abd al-Wahab al-Bugis, and ‘Abd al-Rahmān al Masri. Before they returned to Indonesia, these four Jawah students moved from Mecca to Medina to study fiqh to Shaikh Sulaimān al-Kurdī. His reputation in Indonesian Islam was evident, especially in Banjar. Sulaiman’s fatwa on Islam was collected in his *al-Fatāwā Sulaimān al-Kurdī*. See Bruinessen, "Bukankah Orang Kurdi," 50.

[99] Syafi’i, *Al-Nafahaat Al-Ilahiyyat*, 1.

[100] 'Abd al-Samad Palimbani, al., *Sair Al-Sālikīn*, vol. 3 (Indonesia Dar al-Ihya al-Kutub al-‘Arabiah), 39-40.

[101] In addition to Jawah students above, Daud bin Abdullaa al-Fathani was also student of Shaikh Sulaiman, see Bruinessen, "Bukankah Orang Kurdi," 50.

career was recounted by his student Ṣiddiq bin ‘Umar Khān in his *Manāqib al-Kubrā*. As-Sammān himself has written a number of works, mostly in spiritual matters. [102] Two of as-Sammān’s well-known works on Sufism were attributed to the prophet, which was a common practice at the time: *al-Nafaḥāt al-Ilāhiyyāt fi Kaifiyat al-Sulūk al-Ṭarīqat al-Muḥammadiyyah* and *Mukhtasar al-Ṭarīqat al-Muḥammadiyyah*. The attribution to the prophet of the authorship of these two works may have been intended to direct the ummah, beleaguered by the challenges to Islam at the time, to follow the proper not corrupt practices. In the twentieth century as-Sammān’s Mukhtasar al-Ṭarīqat al-Muhammadiyyah was popular among Muslims in Minangkabau, where its Malay adaptation was published in 1920 in the *Kaum Muda* periodical under the title, *al-Ittifāq wa al-Iftirāq* (Agreement and Dissent). It appears to be as-Sammān’s abridged work from *Ṭarīqat al-Muḥammadiyyah* authored by Mehmed b. Pir ‘Ali Birgewi (d. 1573), whose strict Islamic orientation suited the Kaum Muda’s objective of removing indigenous accretions to Islam in Minangkabau.[103]

As a Sufi master of the city of the prophet, as-Sammān agreed with the spiritual discourse of Ibn Arabi’s waḥdat al-wujūd, but he opposed the idea of wujūdiah mulhid (atheist unity).[104] These long-lasting themes of Sufism are evident in his work, *Risālat al-Sammān fī al-Dhikri wa Kaifiyatih*, which consists of 46 symbolic statements of the waḥdat al-wujūd. In addition, as-Sammān’s student Siddiq ibn ‘Umar Khān also wrote on waḥdat al-wujūd in his *Zād*

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[102] Among as-Sammān’s works are: *al-Nafaḥāt al-Ilāhiyyah fi Kaifiyati Sulūk al-Ṭarīqat al-Muhammadīyyah, ‘Unwān al-khalwah fī Sha’ni al-Khalwah, Ighāsat al-Lahafān, Kashf al-Asrār fī mā yata’allaqu bihi ism al-Qahhār, al-Futūḥāt al-ilāhiyah fī al-Tawajjuḥāta al-Rūḥiyyah li al-Ḥaḍarāt al-Muḥammadīyyah, al-Naṣīḥāt al-‘Alawiyyah li al-S’ādah al-Ahdaliyyah, Asrar al-‘Ibādah, Qaṣīdah al-‘Ainiyyah, Risālah as-Sammān fi al-Dhikri wa Kaifiyati, Ratīb al-Sammān, Aḥwāl al-Murāqabah, al-Nafaḥāt al-Qudsiyyah, Jaliyat al-Qurbi wa Manilat al-Arbi,* and *Manhat al-Muhammadīyyah*. See Kms. H. Andi. Syarifuddin, *Ratib Samman: Riwayat, Fadhilat & Silsilahnya* (Palembang: Penerbit Anggrek, 2010), 55-6. ; Drewes, "A Note on Muhammad Al-Samman," 76-7.

[103] Drewes, "A Note on Muhammad Al-Samman," 77.

[104]Ibid.: 75. ; Purwadaksi, *Ratib Samman*, 315.

al-Muttaqīn fi Tawḥīd Rabb al-'Alamīn. According to al-Falimbani, Khān's work is obviously excellent and meant only for advanced seekers (al-Muntahī).[105] Yet, as-Sammān's sharī'ah-mystical accounts differ slightly from his predecessors in relying on four interwoven elements: *sharī'ah*, *ṭarīqat*, *ma'rifat*, and *ḥaqīqat*. As Purwadaksi explains as-Sammān's ideas, the sharī'ah is the external aspect of Islam; the ṭarīqat (Ind. tarekat) is a spiritual exercise (*mujāhadāt*) involving the recitation of litanies (dhikr or *wird*) under guidance of a spiritual teacher (shaikh); ma'rifat is spiritual abilities of a seeker to see unseen world or spiritual matters such as angels, souls of saints, heaven, hell, etc; haqīqat is the essence or the origin of the world, which is the origin or the light of Muhammad *(Nūr Muḥammad)* and the essence of Muhammad *(al-Haqīqat al-Muḥammadiyyah)*. The ultimate goal of every seeker is to use spiritual means to be united with God, the waḥdat al-wujūd, which as-Sammān explains is the union of the individual with the essence of the world.[106]

In addition to al-Falimbani, many other Jawi students living in the Ḥaramayn were among as-Sammān's students: Ahmad al-Falimbani, Muhammad Muhyi al-Dīn bin Shihāb al-Dīn al-Falimbani, Muhammad Arshad al-Banjari, 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Miṣrī, 'Abd al-Wahab Bugis,[107] and Muhammad Nafis al-Banjari. In addition to his Indonesian students and his own son 'Abd al-Karīm ibn Muḥammad as-Sammān, As-Sammān also had international students who were initiated into his order: Ṣiddiq bin 'Umar Khān, 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Maghribi, Aḥmad al-Bagdadi, Suru al-Dīn al-Qabili, Wahab 'Afifi al-Miṣrī, and Abu al-'Abbās Aḥmad bin

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[105] Ahmad Rahman, "Tarekat Khalwatiah Samman (Studi Tentang Penyebaran Dan Ajarannya Di Kabupaten Maros, Propinsi Sulawesi Selatan) " (MA Thesis, IAIN Alauddin 1997), 153.

[106] Purwadaksi, *Ratib Samman*, 314-5.

[107] I do not find any sources regarding to Abd al-Wahab Bugis. Perhaps he did not come back to his homeland when he finished his study in Mecca. According to Bruinessen, he was taken as son in law by Arshad al- Banjari. See Martin van Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning: Pesantren Dan Tarekat, Tradisi-Tradisi Islam Di Indonesia* (Bandung: Mizan, 1999), 50.

Muḥammad bin Mukhtār al-Tijānī (the founder of the *Tijāniyah* order). Indeed, as-Sammān's engagement with those Jawi followers from Sumatra was special. Two years after as-Sammān's death in 1775, a spiritual lodge (*zawiyyah*) was founded in Jeddah in his honor. Financially funded by the Sultan of Palembang Baha al-Dīn (1774-1804), as-Sammān's student Muhyi al-Dīn bin Syihāb al-Dīn al-Jāwī al-Falimbani directed the building of a spiritual lodge named after his teacher, *Ḥawāshi Sammān (*Ind. *Sanggar Sammān)*. A similar project in memory of as-Sammān was completed by his students in Yemen.[108] His biography (manāqib) was also written by his students several years after his death. The lodges (zawiyyah or sanggar), teaching (dhikr/ratīb), and the manāqib of as-Sammān marked a tribute to his special status in the world of Sufism. These three elements, particularly the latter two, were successful in spreading the as-Sammān order in the archipelago.

The spread of as-Sammān's order in Indonesia cannot be divorced from his Jawi students in Medina, in particular al-Falimbani. When al-Falimbani returned to Palembang in South Sumatra, he introduced his Sammaniah order to his followers—his son-in-law Muhammad Zen, Muhammad Akib, and Muhammad Sholeh—as well as to Palembang royalty, such as Sultan Muhammad Baha al-Dīn (1776-803), Sultan Muhammad Badar al-Dīn II (1803-1821) and Sultan Husin Dhia al-Dīn (1813- 1817). Muhammad Zen was known as the leader of the Menteng War *(Perang Menteng)* of 1819, where the Dutch were defeated by Sultan Mahmud Badar al-Dīn II.[109] As-Sammān's influence was evident in this war in an episode prior to the outbreak of

[108] Purwadaksi, *Ratib Samman*, 322-3. ; Syarifuddin, *Ratib Samman*, 57.

[109] Syarifuddin, *Ratib Samman*, 58.

hostilities, when Muhammad Zen led the chanting of the Ratīb Sammān in front of the sultan's mosque.[110]

The tradition of reciting the Ratīb Sammān still continues today in Palembang's grand mosque. The Sammāniah order in Palembang is headed by the khalīfah Kiyai Zen Shukri, who was initiated by his grandfather, Muhammad Azhari. Azhari was a student of Muhammad bin Ma'ruf, who was initiated by Muhammad Akib, student of 'Abd al-Ṣamad . Kiyai Zen Shukri administers a pesantren in the city and has thousands of Sammāniah followers spread across Palembang,[111]

In Kalimantan as-Sammān's order was propagated by his student Muhammad Arshad al-Banjari and Muhammad Nafis al-Banjari. The former is the author of the Sufi work, *Kanz al-Ma'rifat,* and the latter the author of *al-Durar al-Nafs fi Bayān Waḥdat al-Af'al wa al-Asma wa al-Ṣifāt wa al-Dhāt*. This last work is a popular version of the waḥdat al-wujūd. As in Palembang, the reputation of the Sammāniah order grew in Kalimantan, particularly when its members 'Abd al-Rashīd, Dato Aling, and prince Antasari became leaders of the rebellion against the Dutch in Amuntai in 1861. Ratīb Sammān and Manāqib Sammān remain popular today among Muslims in Banjarmasin, South Kalimantan. The present Sammāniah khalīfah in Kalimantan is under the leadership of descendants of Arshad al-Banjari. A popular leader was Muhammad Zaini 'Abd al-Ghani, known as Guru Sekumpul or Guru Ijay (1942-2005).

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[110] As early as 1781, only six years after as-Sammān's death, a Malay adaptation of the Manāqib was completed by Muhy al-Din b Shaikh Shihab al-Din of Palembang. Drewes, "A Note on Muhammad Al-Samman," 74. ; "Manaqib," 112-3.

[111] Syarifuddin, *Ratib Samman*, 58. ; Zulkifli, "Tarekat Sammaniyyah Di Palembang: Sejarah Dan Perkembangannya," in *Islam Dalam Sejarah Dan Budaya Masyarakat Sumatera Selatan*, ed. Zulkifli and Abdul Karim Nasution (Palembang: Penerbit Universitas Sriwijaya, 2001), 81-2.

Thousands of Sammāniah followers used to attend his weekly lessons in Martapura during the Shaikh Sammān anniversary celebrations.[112]

In Batavia (present-day Jakarta) the order was introduced by the Egyptian, ‘Abd al-Rahmān al-Miṣrī, one of as-Sammān’s students in Medina. Because of his lengthy period working with Batavian Muslims, he came to be known as a Batavian ‘ulamā with the name, ‘Abd al-Rahmān al-Miṣrī al-Batawī (d 1847). He was the grandfather of Mufti Batavia, ‘Usman bin Yahya bin ‘Āqil, whose works harshly criticized mystical practices by pseudo khalīfah, including Khalwatiah Sammān. Further spread of the Sammāniah order was carried out by a Batavian figure, ‘Abd al-Mughni Kuningan or Guru Mughni (1860-1935), a student of al-Falimbani and al-Banjari in Mecca. Having returned from Mecca in 1892, Mughni resided in Jakarta to teach Islamic disciplines and was responsible for the growth of the Sammāniah tradition of reading the founder’s ratīb and manāqib. His descendants then continued Mughni’s mission as religious teacher and Sufi in Jakarta. Today, Muslims, especially in Mughni’s village, now in the modern Kuningan Street in South Jakarta, read the Ratīb Sammān and his Manāqib on as-Sammān’s birthday on 27 Dhulhijjah.[113] A similar practice is still found in Bogor, Banten, and Bekasi near Jakarta.

Madura, Sumbawa, and Lombok were also sites of the Sammāniah order. As-Sammān’s student ‘Abd al-Ghafūr bin ‘Abbās was responsible for the spread of the order in Madura and Java. His Indian student, Ṣiddīq ibn ‘Umar Khān (friend of al-Falimbani in Ḥaramayn), established the order in Sumbawa and asked a student from Palembang, Idris bin ‘Usmān, to

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[112] Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning: Pesantren Dan Tarekat*, 257. ; Ahmad Taufiq Rahmat, *Mengungkap Kisah Wali Kutub Syeikh Muhammad Samman* (Jakarta: Penerbit Sinar Dewasa, 2008), 13-5.

[113] Rahmat, *Mengungkap Kisah*, 17-9.

become his khalīfah.[114] Idris bin ‘Usmān in turn initiated his Bugis student, Abdullah al-Munir, who then came to play a role in the Khalwatiah Sammān order in South Sulawesi in the nineteenth century. The Bugis lontarak on as-Sammān’s teachings written by the shaikhs of the order are widely found among the sanakmangaji (followers) of today’s Khalwatiah Sammān.

The links among as-Sammān’s students from the archipelago are clear in the nineteenth century. A work attributed to the Bugis al-Hajj Mahmud bin Abdillah contains evidence that the author was living in Mecca with a great learned *(tuan besar)* religious teacher from Mempawah in South Kalimantan, and that he was the servant of the Jawah community in the heartland of Islam. He writes, “Abdillah from Timurung and the guardian of a mosque in Jeddah is the servant of those Jawah, for the sake of Muhammad Sammān at Medina and Shaikh Amr Allah at Yemen”.[115] The person from Mempawah was perhaps as-Sammān’s student, Muhammad Arshad al-Banjari. His teaching of dhikr and *istigfār* (prayers of repentance) shows that Abdillah followed the practices of the as-Sammān’s order, though he does not explicitly say he was initiated by as-Sammān.[116]

The reputation of as-Sammān was equally evident in the nineteenth-century kingdom of Buton. As noted by Yunus, at least five of his works on mystical Islam are found in the palace of Buton. There, as-Sammān’s teaching was spread by the king of Buton Muhammad ‘Aidrus, who gained initiation into the Khalwatiah Sammān from his Meccan master, Muhammad ibn Syais Sumbul al-Makki when he lived in Buton. Muhammad ‘Aidrus had mystical works both in local

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[114] Ibid., 20.

[115] This work was written in the Bugis language and kept in Indonesia’s national archive (Arsipnas) in Ujung Pandang. It has been translated into Indonesia by Abd Rahim Yunus Muhammad Salim, and Zainal Abidin, entitled *Al-Haj Mahmud Ibn Abdullah, Pembuka Jalan Menuju Pangkuan Ilahi.* See Abd Rahim Yunus, Muhammad Salim, and Zainal Abidin, eds., *Al-Haj Mahmud Ibn Abdillah: Pembuka Jalan Menuju Pangkuan Ilahi* (Ujung Pandang: Yayasan al-Ahkam,1999).

[116] Ibid., 37-9.

and Arabic writings: *Juharana Manikamu* (local language), *Mu'nisah al-Qulūb fī al-Dhikr wa Mushāhadat al-'ālam al-Ghuyūb, Ḍyā al-Anwār fi Tasfiyat al-Akdar, Kashf al-Ḥijāb fī Murāqabat al-Wahhāb*.[117] Though they attracted the Muslim elites, the Sammāniah followers in Buton and South Sulawesi were unlike their colleagues in Palembang and Kalimantan, who rebelled against the colonial state in the nineteenth century.

The Ratīb and Manāqib of Sammān: Reasons for Their Popularity

The reputation of as-Sammān's teachings was evident in nineteenth century Indonesian Islam. The increasing number of its followers made the order among the most popular and largest tarekats in the country. As-Sammān's winning combination of chanting (dhikr) and dance was perhaps the greatest asset in convincing particularly the common people to join the order.[118] The dhikr later became known among the followers as Ratīb Sammān. In addition to the ratīb, as-Sammān's dedicated students composed his biography, namely Manāqib as-Sammān, noting his "extraordinary spiritual excellences" *(*Ar. *karāmah)*. The Manāqib of as-Sammān is a work that would have reached many Indonesian Muslims since it was written in various local languages. These two elements of ratīb and Manāqib are very important elements in the history of the Samania order in Indonesia, particularly from the nineteenth century onward.

Ratīb (from Arabic: *rataba-yartubu-rutūban*) means "constant" or "in order," while in Sufism ratīb may refer to remembrance (dhikr/ wird), or the obligation of a seeker after daily

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[117] Abd Rahim Yunus, *Posisi Tasawwuf Dalam Sistem Pemerintahan Di Kesultanan Buton Pada Abad Ke-19* (Jakarta: INIS, 1995), 75-6.

[118] Various lontaraks found among the members of Khalwatiah Sammān in South Sulawesi discuss as-Sammān's dhikr and technical matters dealing with breath, concentration, and body movement during the dhikr. The Sammāniah's dhikr is classified into two types: ten dhikr *(zikir sepuluh)* and three hundred dhikr *(zikir tiga ratus)*. Anonymous, "Zikir Khalwatiah Samman," in *Rahman's Collection* ; Anonymous, "Tarekat Halwatiah Muhammad Sammani," in *Andi Seniman's collection* (Watampone).

prayers to remember Allah. Ratīb Sammān, therefore, is a series of dhikr composed by ‘Abd al-Karīm as-Sammān. According to Syarifuddin, a follower of Sammāniah in Palembang,[119] reading the ratīb will bring blessings and virtues in one’s life. In Palembang, reading ratīb is regularly done on Thursday after the evening prayer *(‘ishā)*. The dhikr is performed with a soft and slow voice and movement, then it becomes faster and louder, especially when the assembled readers repeat the dhikr statement, *Lā Ilā ha Illa Allah* (There is no god but Allah).[120]

The ratīb begins with the reading of the first verse of the Qur’an (*al-Fātiḥah*) dedicated to the Prophet and his companions and family. It is followed by the *ṣalawāt* (statement of pray and remembrance to the Prophet) and repentance (istighfār), then by reading the dhikr three hundred times. The 300 dhikr is considered a ritual that is distinctive of the Khalwatiah Sammān order.[121] The second part consists of the leader reading the genealogy (silsilah) of the ratīb as-Sammān, beginning with the al-Fātihah for the Prophet Muhammad and his companions and family and all of God’s prophets from Adam and Eve to Khidr, Ilyās and Ibn ‘Abbās, the cousins of the Prophet Muhammad PBUH. Then, the fātiḥah is read for the following prominent Sufi masters: ‘Abd al-Qādir Jaylānī, Aḥmad al-Badawi, Aḥmad al-Rifā’ī, Ibrāhīm al-Dasūqī, Muhy al-Dīn Ibn ‘Arabi, Junaid al-Baghdadi, etc.[122]

The third part is reading the al-Fātiḥah dedicated to the founder of Khalwatiah Sammān (Muhammad as-Sammān), followed by his teacher Musṭafā al-Bakrī, al-Ghazālī, and then the

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[119]Kms H. Andi Syarifuddin is a follower of Shaṭṭariah order who comes from a tarekat family. Accompanied by Shaṭṭariah Shaikh Tuanku Mudo Palembang, Salmi Hamidi, he leads a weekly reading of *ratīb Sammān* in Masjid Agung Palembang.

[120] *Interview* in Palembang, March 2010.

[121] In Khalwatiah Sammān of South Sulawesi, this dhikr is known as *Sikkiiri Tellu Ratu (the three hundred dhikr)* as also taught by Haji Mahmud ibn Abdillah, see Yunus, Salim, and Abidin, eds., *Al-Haj Mahmud* 39. ; Rahman, "Tarekat Khalwatiah", 142.

[122] Syarifuddin, *Ratib Samman*, 19-22.

prominent ‘ulamā of the schools of theology, such as Abu al-Ḥasan al-‘Ash’arī, Abu Mansūr al-Matūridī and Zakaria al-Anṣārī. The fourth part is the reading of the silsilah, which ends with the mention of the local shaikhs of Palembang, who are linked to the founder of the order (‘Abd al-Karīm as-Sammān). It begins with Muhammad Azhari bin ‘Abd Allah, ‘Abd Allah bin Muhammad Azhari, ‘Abd Allah bin Ma’ruf, ‘Abd al-Ṣamad al-Falimbani, ‘Abd al-Karīm (as-Sammān), Shaikh Ṣiddīq, ‘Abd al-Rahmān, ‘Abd al-Latīf, Aḥmad ibn ‘Abd al-Rahmān, Muḥammad Akib bin Ḥasan al-Dīn and ends with Haji Ibrahim ‘Umari bin Kemas Haji ‘Umar. Fifthly, the reading fātiḥah is sent to ‘Abd as-Ṣamad al-Falimbani, Shaikh Ṣiddīq, followed by local shaikhs of the order. The ratīb goes on with the closing *(do’a)*, accompanied by *tawaṣṣul* of Sammān (statement of connectivity with as-Sammān) and *muṣāfahah (*shaking hands with the readers).[123]

In every Sufi order the reading of the hagiography of the Shaikh (Manāqib) is as common as doing the daily dhikr or wird. Like the dhikr, the Manāqib of Sammān is another important factor that contributed to the popularity of the as-Sammān order among Muslims, especially in Indonesia. The Manāqib not only contains the story of Shaikh Sammān, but also describes his karāmat and spiritual reputation both during and after his life. As-Sammān’s student, ‘Umar Khān, wrote his master’s biography under the title, “Manāqib al-Kubrā” (the great biography), consisting of about 72 of as-Sammān’s karāmat (“extraordinary spiritual excellences”).[124] The

[123] Ibid., 21-30.

[124] *Karomah* (*Keramat*, Indonesia) is term used in tarekat world to show remarkably spiritual excellences or, in Drewes’s term, miraculous succor given by Allah to His saints *(wali)*.

people believe that when they call upon the name of Shaikh Sammān or touch his grave, their sickness or troubles will be ameliorated.[125]

Like the Manāqib of ‘Abd al-Qādir Jaylānī of the Naqshabandiah order, the Sammān Manāqib is widely read by Muslims in South Sumatra and South Kalimantan.[126] Accompanying *barjanzi* (poems in praise of the Prophet), the Manāqib Sammān are mostly read in Islamic ceremonies, such as maulid, giving baby names *(potong rambut)*, moving to a new home, etc. Two of as-Sammān’s students, ‘Abd al-Ṣamad al-Falimbani and Muhammad Arshad al-Banjari, were responsible for introducing the practice of reading as-Sammān’s manāqib to their Muslim colleagues in their home villages. In Aceh, the Sammān dance has also proved popular. Like the barjanzi and other works on the prophet, such as *Hikayat nur Muhammad*, *Nabi bercukur* (the Prophet Shaves), the Manāqib Sammān has been translated into various local languages.[127]

Conclusion

In the nineteenth century the ‘ulamā of the Sufi orders conducted a high level of discourse, but more importantly they succeeded in making Sufism much more accessible and popular to the ordinary Muslim. In this way, Sufi spiritual practices were no longer limited to the Muslim elite or the ‘ulamā , but were equally relevant and popular among the ordinary Muslim individual. The translation of the Manāqib into the Malay language, for example, further contributed to the ability of the common people to appreciate Sufi practices. The Sammāniah order gained many adherents because of the successful combination of its loud dhikr or wird and bodily movements that were performed within a congregation of believers. The strong influence

[125] Syarifuddin, *Ratib Samman*, 59-60.

[126] Bruinessen, "Bukankah Orang Kurdi," 49.

[127] Drewes, "A Note on Muhammad Al-Samman," 80-1.

of the as-Sammān tradition among its followers is evident in Palembang in 1816 and Banjarmasin in 1860, where the Sammāniah order participated in holy wars against the Dutch. By successfully accommodating local traditions, the as-Sammān Sufi order became one of the most influential orders in the nineteenth century, despite its being attacked as heretical by orthodox Islamic groups.

The Khalwatiah Sammān order has spread across the archipelago and continues to have a strong following in Palembang, Banjarmasin, and particularly in South Sulawesi, which is the largest of the three. The following chapter will first provide a background to the Islamization in South Sulawesi before examining how this particular Sufi order achieved such great success. One of the major reasons for its success, I contend, is its localization of the teachings of the Khalwatiah Sammān order, which made them comprehensible and hence more attractive to local Muslims.

Chapter Three

Islam in South Sulawesi from the Seventeenth to the Twentieth Centuries

In tracing the development of Islam in South Sulawesi in these three centuries, particular emphasis is placed on how the Muslim teachers or ‘ulamā were able to reinforce the traditional power structure and hence assure their acceptability. In this regard, the Islamization differed somewhat from the process elsewhere in the archipelago. The leading role taken by the rulers and local elite in the different streams of Islam in South Sulawesi is detailed in this chapter.[1]

Although one of the last areas in Indonesia to be Islamized, South Sulawesi underwent rapid Islamization because of the active role played by power holders, i.e. the rulers and the elite of the various kingdoms. The local government continues to this day to be an important force in promoting Islamization in South Sulawesi. The formation of the *Komite Persiapan Penegakan Syariat Islam* (KPPSI/ the Preparatory Committee for the Implementation of sharī’ah) in Makassar early this century is a clear indication of the continuing struggle among the Muslims of elite background to establish an Islamic state. Today, formal leaders and Muslim scholars in several important campuses in Makassar, the capital of the province of South Sulawesi, participate in the committee, either as advisory board members or as activists. The involvement of Abdul Aziz Kahar Muzakkar, son of the legendary leader of Islamic state movement Kahar Muzakkar, among others further contributed to the impression of the re-awakening of the old struggle of making South Sulawesi the vanguard in establishing Islamic law (sharī’ah). This movement has its historical roots in the early Islamization of the region.

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[1] J Noorduyn, "Sedjarah Agama Islam Di Sulawesi Selatan," in *Panggilan Kita Di Indonesia Dewasa Ini*, ed. W.B. Sidjabat (Jakarta: Badan Penerbitan Kristen, 1964), 90-1.

Islamization from Above: The Role of Mystical Islam

As mentioned, South Sulawesi only converted to Islam in the early years of the seventeenth century, in stark contrast to its neighbor Ternate in Maluku which embraced the religion in the fifteenth century. In addition to the usual economic and political reasons given by scholars for decisions by rulers to adopt a new religion, in South Sulawesi there was a rivalry between the traditional religion and the leaders of the realm that encouraged the latter to seek the support of Islam and its ʻulamā.[2] But material and political benefits were not the only factors that encouraged rulers in Aceh, Melaka, Sulu and elsewhere in the archipelago to convert to Islam.[3] Ideas of monism may have also played a role. The concept of the Perfect Man (al-insān al-kāmil)[4] brought by the wujūdiah ʻulamā, such as Hamzah Fansuri of Aceh, conveyed in translations into the Malay language, would have been especially appealing to the Southeast Asian rulers, including the rulers of Gowa-Tallo in South Sulawesi. Islam provided the rulers an alternative to the local traditions as an organizing principle in society. The Sufi doctrine of waḥdat al-wujūd of Ibn ʻArabi (the union of man with the Divine One), which produced the perfect man notion, extends an invitation to a local potentate to become a "Ruler of the Universe" or *"khalīfat Allah fī al-arḍ"* (The representative of Allah on the earth), an invitation which proved difficult to reject.[5]

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[2] Leonard Y. Andaya, "Kingship-Adat Rivalry and the Role of Islam in South Sulawesi," *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* XV, no. 1 (1984).

[3] Thomas Gibson, *Islamic Narrative and Authority in Southeast Asia, from the 16th to the 21st Century* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 39.

[4] *Insān al-Kāmil* (the Perfect Man). According to Ibn Arabi, man is created in the divine image. He is the most excellent creation of Allah on the earth. See Muhy al-Din bin ʻArabi, Kitab al-Insan al-Kamil "Kitab Al-Insan Al-Kamil," 7. ;Andaya, "Kingship-Adat Rivalry," 34.

[5] Andaya, "Kingship-Adat Rivalry," 31-7.

Once the rulers of Gowa and Tallo decided to become good servants of Allah, they sought to extend the religion throughout their joint kingdoms. They did this by melding state and religious goals in the promotion of the religion and the transmission of Islamic ideas.[6] The mystical Islamic concept of the Perfect Man and local political ambitions were conjoined to convert the land while enabling Gowa to be the dominant kingdom in the whole of South Sulawesi. But the conversion of the peninsula did not proceed as smoothly or as rapidly as initially believed. Instead, war had to be fought to impose the religion on the other kingdoms in what is known in local sources as the "Islamic Wars." Leading the opposition to Islamization were the local adat and political leaders. The adat leaders, under their *bissu* priests,[7] reinforced the rulers in opposing the adoption of a religion dominated by their arch-enemy and rival ethnic community. While the bissu feared the growing influence of the Muslim 'ulamā, the Bugis rulers resented the Makassar kingdom of Gowa, a traditional rival to the Bugis kingdoms.[8] The *Tellumpoccoe* alliance of the Bugis kingdoms of Bone, Soppeng and Wajo regarded Gowa's Islamization effort as a thinly-disguised political move in the guise of a religious campaign.[9] They therefore rejected Gowa's call for their conversion.[10]

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[6] Robert W. Hefner, "Islam in an Era of Nation-States: Politics and Religious Renewal in Muslim Southeast Asia " in *Islam in an Era of Nation-States: Politics and Religious Renewal in Muslim Southeast Asia* ed. Robert W. Hefner and Patricia Horvatich (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1997), 10.

[7] The bissu have been defined as the third gender, neither male or female. Like the arajang, the bissu are believed to be sacred beings who descended to earth with the Tomanurung or god-rulers. In addition to their role in the courts, they also are prominent in the reading of sacred texts in the bissu language ("language of the gods") and of the ancient Bugis epic, La Galigo. Leonard Y. Andaya, "The Bissu: Study of a Third Gender in Indonesia," in *Other Pasts: Women, Gender and History in Early Modern Southeast Asia*, ed. Barbara Watson Andaya (Honolulu: Center for Southeast Asian Studies University of Hawaii, 2000), 35.

[8] Andaya, "Kingship-Adat Rivalry," 32.

[9] Mustari Bosra, *Tuang Guru, Anrong Guru Dan Daeng Guru: Gerakan Islam Di Sulawesi Selatan 1914 – 1942* (Makassar: La Galigo Press, 2008), 60.

[10] Abdurrazak Daeng Patunru et al., *Sejarah Bone* (Ujung Pandang: Percetakan Walanae, 1989), 97-9.

According to local traditions, Gowa attempted to convince Bone to adhere to an earlier agreement that, in the search for the ultimate truth, whoever should find it first would share it with the others. But this approach did not succeed in dividing the Tellumpoccoe. Gowa therefore used force to make the others adopt Islam in a four-year struggle called the "Islamic Wars." Sidenreng and Soppeng both submitted and became Muslim in 1609, Wajo in 1610, and finally Bone in 1611. All others in South Sulawesi soon followed, with the exception of the Toraja in the highlands.[11]

The belief that a Muslim was the representative of Allah (khalīfah) and therefore should bring others into the community of believers (ummah) may have provided the impetus and even religious legitimacy for these so-called Islamic wars. On the other hand, the concept of khalīfah may have been used by a newly converted king as a justification for the propagation of Islam *(da'wah)*, while imposing his political ambition upon the others. The Gowa ruler would have been aware that his conversion to Islam may have imposed a religious obligation upon him both as a Muslim king and as a "slave of Allah" *('abd Allah)*. As the slave of Allah, he was the caliph of Allah on the earth (khalīfat Allah fī al-arḍ), where his existence was like the shadow of God on earth. For this notion, an Islamic mystical concept of the Perfect Man, which was circulating around the Muslim world at the time, was also introduced by Muslim missionaries to the power holders of South Sulawesi. The two concepts of the caliph of Allah and the secular ruler were intertwined and influenced the development of Islam in South Sulawesi.

The motivation for an Islamic war, however, may have been linked to the Sufi teaching of the Perfect Man introduced by itinerant Sufi teachers. This concept was consistent with the

[11] Bosra, *Tuang Guru*, 60.

local idea of royalty as descendants of the *Tomanurung*.[12] Despite Gowa's earlier commitment to share with the others if it found the truth, the "truth" of Islam became an expansionist project of the kingdom of Gowa. The Sufi concept of the Perfect Man reached Southeast Asia at the end of the sixteenth century, and when it arrived in South Sulawesi the local Gowa-Tallo rulers were quick to exploit it. They saw that embracing Islam with the Sufi concept of the Perfect Man reinforced the spiritual benefits already accruing to them because of their supernatural links to the tomanurung and to the sacred objects known as the *gaukeng.* They then became the bearers of the Sufi idea of the Perfect Man to other polities in the area.[13] This Sufi concept provided legitimacy to the Gowa-Tallo rulers in expanding the religion throughout the region, which had the consequence of also extending Gowa-Tallo's political control in and beyond South Sulawesi.

Furthermore, as a caliph a king is responsible for the future of Islam. It is therefore religiously mandatory for every Muslim king to propagate Islam because he is "the shadow of Allah" on earth. It is this doctrine that scholars attribute the history of the struggle of the followers of Islam to create a state that makes no distinction between religion and secular matters but regard them as one (al-dīn wa al-dawlah). While force may be used to propagate the religion, once victorious the Muslim king must extend his protection over the vanquished and make them his allies. The vanquished then pays regular tribute (*jizyah*) in return for this protection. It is clear that both the religious and political motivations were present in Gowa's

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[12] *Tomanurung* means literally, "S/He who descended [from the upper world]", i.e. someone sent to earth by the gods to govern the chaotic and violent human world. These Tomanurungs were the progenitors of the royal families in South Sulawesi, and their descendants were regarded as people of the "white blood." Andaya, "Kingship-Adat Rivalry.", 24.; Christian Pelras, "Religion, Tradition, and the Dynamics of Islamization in South Sulawesi," in *The Propagation of Islam in the Indonesian-Malay Archipelago*, ed. Alijah Gordon (Kuala Lumpur: Malaysian Sociological Research Institute, 2001), 222. ; H. A. Mattulada, *Latoa: Satu Lukisan Analisis Terhadap Antropologi Politik Orang Bugis* (Yogyakarta: Gadjah Mada University Press, 1985), 413.

[13] Gibson, *Islamic Narrative and Authority*, 52-3.

campaigns in the Islamic Wars.[14] Unlike the general practice in the Muslim world, however, the ruler of Gowa did not impose war compensation on the defeated kingdoms, an act which reflected perhaps the strong religious motivation of the newly-converted monarch.

A local Makassarese source *(Lontarak Tallo)* mentions that Bone's conversion in 1611 was sincere, which is the reason that Gowa did not implement the jizyah principle:

> *…nabettana Bugisika ri Tallumbocco-boccoa, tama'rappai tamangngalae sa'bu kati, tamappalakkai ra'ba-bae, teami natea*….(When Gowa defeated the Bugis kingdoms of the *Tellumpoccoe*, it did not impose war compensation or indemnity upon the vanquished.)[15]

As was the case in Melaka in the fifteenth century, the conversion of Gowa was characterized by miracles associated with the ruler and a shift in religious perspective. Many local sources acknowledge the role of Gowa and Tallo in the conversion in South Sulawesi, and scholars regard this an important watershed in the history of the region.

Soon after the king of Tallo converted to Islam in 1605, the king of Gowa followed suit.[16] The conversion to Islam brought a spiritual transformation in the land, where the concept of the Perfect Man became interwoven with the local myth of the tomanurung. As the guardian of customary laws (*pangngadakkang),* the king of Gowa regarded Islam as being complementary to local tradition. The melding of the new Islamic tradition with the local one provided the rulers of Gowa-Tallo, and later those of other Muslim kingdoms in South Sulawesi, with the legitimation to extend the religion, by force if necessary.

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[14] Patunru et al., *Sejarah Bone*, 113.

[15] Ahmad M. Sewang, *Islamisasi Kerajaan Gowa (Abad Xvi Sampai Abad Xvii)* (Jakarta: Yayasan Obor Indonesia, 2005), 122.

[16] Abd Razak Daeng Patunru, *Sedjarah Gowa* (Makassar: Jajasan Kebudayaan Sulawesi Selatan dan Tenggara, 1967), 19.

Having control over the largest entrepot in eastern Indonesia in the seventeenth century, the king of Gowa now had two legal identities—as a servant of Allah and as the major Muslim ruler in the region. As a Muslim, the king was responsible for the spread of Islam as a way to convert non-believers so they would become part of the world-wide Muslim community (ummah); whereas, as secular ruler of a superior polity he had to retain control of maritime trade in the region. The rulers transformed the port of Makassar into a major stapling center for the highly coveted spices from Maluku, the "Spice Islands." In order to achieve this status, Gowa gave primacy to international trade led by its twin kingdom, Tallo, and subordinated its own agricultural production to supply the needs of those involved in the far more lucrative maritime commerce. [17]

To do this, the king of Gowa conquered many of the smaller states in the interior and also closely organized the twin kingdoms to provide all the needs of traders in Makassar. As Muslim traders were among the most prominent in the port, the decision by the Gowa-Tallo rulers to convert made both economic and religious sense.

After the fall of Melaka to the Portuguese in 1511, there was an exodus of Malay merchants and their families to all parts of maritime Southeast Asia, including South Sulawesi.[18] According to a Portuguese source, the bulk of the Muslim traders in Siang were from Ujung Tanah (Johor), Patani, and Pahang.[19] Both Portuguese and local chronicles indicate that the conversion of Gowa to Islam should be understood within the context of the presence of a Muslim community in South Sulawesi. Under the Karaeng (ruler of) Gowa, Tumapa'risi'kalona

[17] Gibson, *Islamic Narrative and Authority*, 52.

[18] Andaya, "Kingship-Adat Rivalry," 31.

[19] Noorduyn, "Sedjarah Agama Islam," 88.

(d. 1547), a Javanese Muslim, I Galassi', who may have come from somewhere in Sumatra or Melaka, was welcomed to Makassar.[20] This Karaeng Gowa also welcomed the arrival of a Javanese community led by the Javanese merchant Anakhoda Bonang and gave permission in 1532 for them to reside in Sombaopu, the royal fortified settlement in Makassar.[21] The foreign traders already established in Makassar were joined by Malay traders who had earlier been based in Siang but moved to Makassar when Siang was converted to Christianity by the Portuguese.[22] Among the "Malays" were traders from Campa, Minangkabau and Java. They were welcomed by the Karaeng Gowa, Tunipalangga (1546-1565) and given a place to live with the promise that the Malays would be faithful to the ruler as long as certain conditions were met. The special position of the Malay Muslims in Gowa in this era is recorded in local chronicles.[23] To show his sincere intentions, the Karaeng Gowa built a mosque in Mangallekkana, a small city located in the southern part of Gowa.[24]

Based on Wessels' *De Katholieke Missie in Zuid-Celebes 1525-1668* and Antonio Pinto da Franca's *Portuguese Influence in Indonesia*,[25] the trader-missionary, Antonio de Paiva, visited South Sulawesi in 1542 and again in 1544. Paiva was a prolific translator of Catholic tracts into

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[20] J Noorduyn, *Islamisasi Makassar* trans. S. Gunawan (Djakarta: Bhratara, 1972), 11.

[21] Mukhlis Paeni, Edward Poelinggomang, and et al, eds., *Sejarah Kebudayaan Sulawesi* (Jakarta: Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, Direktorat Jenderal Kebudayaan, Direktorat Sejarah dan Nilai Tradisional, Proyek Inventarisasi dan Dokumentasi Sejarah Nasional,1995), 89. ; G. J. Wolhoff and Abdurrahim, *Sedjarah Goa* (Ujung Pandang: Jajasan Kebudayaan Sulawesi Selatan dan Tenggara, 1959), 25-6.

[22] Leonard Y. Andaya, "Eastern Indonesia: A Study of the Intersection of Global, Regional, and Local Networks in the 'Extended' Indian Ocean " in *Reinterpreting Indian Ocean Worlds, Festschrift for K.N. Chaudhuri*, ed. Stephan Halikowski-Smith (Forthcoming), 2. ; Andaya, *The Heritage of Arung Palakka: A History of South Sulawesi(Celebes) in the Seventeenth Century* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1981), 26-7.

[23] Andaya, "Eastern Indonesia," 3. ; See Wolhoff and Abdurrahim, *Sedjarah Goa*, 25-6. ; Noorduyn, *Islamisasi*, 11. ; Leonard Y. Andaya, *The Heritage of Arung Palakka: A History of South Sulawesi(Celebes) in the Seventeenth Century* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1981), 27. ; Pelras, "Religion, Tradition," 214.

[24] Noorduyn, *Islamisasi*, 12.

[25] Both works are cited in Sewang, *Islamisasi Kerajaan*, 197.

local languages, and his efforts resulted in the conversion of the king of Suppa. The conversion was welcomed by the governor of Melaka, who sent the missionary Vicente Viegas and Manoel Pinto to Makassar to continue the evangelization. In 1545 Father Vicente Viegas arrived in a second Portuguese expedition to the area, and the rulers of Bacukiki and Alitta were soon baptized as Christians. Portuguese sources mention that Viegas then went to Tallo, where he baptized the ruler I Mappatangkangtana Daeng Padulung (c. 1545-77).[26] A Bugis source entitled, *Lontarak Sukkuna Wajo,* states that the Portuguese were successful in converting the Datu (king of) Suppa Makeraiye, the king of Bacukiki, and the king of Siang, and they built a church in the village of Maena.[27]

These successes were hailed by the Portuguese settlements in South Asia, and they convinced the Jesuit Franciscus Xavier to come to South Sulawesi, as is indicated in his letter written in Melaka dated 10 of November 1545.[28] The religious situation in South Sulawesi is described in a letter from Manoel Pinto to the archbishop of Goa (India) dated 7 December 1548:

> " … in Suppa I was warmly welcomed by a Christian king. The king of Suppa, his family and the majority of his people were among the first followers of Christianity. The king was disappointed because until recently no missionary had come to Suppa. From Suppa I came to a larger kingdom, ruled by the father-in-law of King of Suppa, namely Sidenre (Sidenreng). Its population seemed around 300,000 people….I resided there for eight months. During my stay in Sidenreng, I was luxuriously served by the king, while discussing about the coming of Catholic priests to his kingdom. Then, on my way to Makassar, I went to Siang at Pangkajene. The king of Siang was already a Christian and was very friendly. This king has since died and has been succeeded by his brother who

[26] Christian Pelras, "Religion, Tradition," 219; Christian Pelras, "Patron-Client Ties among the Bugis and Makassar of South Sulawesi," in *Authority and Enterprise among the People of South Sulawesi*, ed. Roger Tol, Kee van Dijk, and Greg Acciaioli (Leiden: KITLV Press, 2000), 219.; Sewang, *Islamisasi Kerajaan*, 54.

[27] The *Lontarak Sukkuna Wajo* is owned by Datuk Sangaji and is listed as Lontarak, Rol:02, No.08, 176 as part of Hasanuddin University's manuscript project.

[28] Sewang, *Islamisasi Kerajaan*, 55.; See also Christian Pelras, "Sumber-Sumber Kepustakaan Eropa Barat Tentang Sulawesi Selatan," in *Pidato Dies Natalis XXI Fakultas Hukum Universitas Hasanuddin* (Ujung Pandang: Panitia Dies Natalis XXI, 1973), 46.

had not yet converted to Christianity. I asked him whether he wanted to become a Christian, to which he replied "yes" as was his brother. He then expressed his wish that the Portuguese and Christian missionaries would come and stay in his palace …"[29]

There is very little other information on missionary activities in South Sulawesi in the sixteenth century. Pelras mentions an incident toward the end of the century, where a Portuguese officer abducted a Suppa princess, thus undermining the good relationship between the Portuguese and the Christian rulers in South Sulawesi. Between 1580 and 1590 only four Franciscan missionaries were sent to South Sulawesi.[30] Yet at that time there were around 500 Portuguese living in Makassar under the protection of the Muslim rulers of Gowa-Tallo. This suggests that the religion of a kingdom did little to discourage the Christian Portuguese traders in their search for profits, particularly in the spice trade. Makassar had become one of the major redistribution centers for spices from Maluku, and therefore attracted a large number of foreign traders of all different religious persuasions. In 1614, Sultan 'Ala al-Dīn sent a letter to Manila, inviting the Franciscans to build a house in Makassar, and in 1621 the king wrote to the Portuguese governor of Ternate to ask for Christian missionaries. At that time, there were three churches in Makassar and 3,000 Christians.[31] The desire to encourage a Christian presence in Makassar must be seen in light of the Portuguese traders' ability to bring cloves, nutmeg, and mace from Maluku and sandalwood from Timor and the Solor archipelago.

The arrival of the Dutch added another twist in the religious picture since the Dutch and Portuguese were rivals and belonged to different sects of Christianity. As most of the Dutch were Protestants, once they became dominant in Makassar, they transformed the Portuguese Catholic

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[29] This letter is in the possession of the Wali Gereja Indonesia (The Indonesian Church Mission), see Sewang, *Islamisasi Kerajaan*, 56-7.

[30] Pelras, "Religion, Tradition," 219-20.

[31] Ibid., 220.

churches into Protestant ones. In the period 1600-1800 there were 254 Catholic priests and around 800 health counselors under the auspices of the Dutch East India Company (VOC).[32] But the Christian rivalry did not matter much to the Gowa rulers, as long as trade continued and was profitable. In this regard, the large numbers of Muslim traders from the archipelago and the Indian Ocean regions were of greater consequence and would have had a great influence on the decision of the Gowa and Tallo rulers to adopt Islam over Christianity.[33] Perhaps the reason for the lateness of the conversion may be due to the desire of the Gowa-Tallo rulers to be seen as welcoming to all traders, whatever their political and religious affiliation. What they consistently promoted was the idea that the sea was open to all, much to the disappointment of the monopoly-minded Dutch.[34] Once the Gowa-Tallo rulers took the fateful step of selecting Islam over Christianity, they became part of the ummah and would respond positively when called upon to stand together with other Muslim rulers in face of economic and political challenges from the Christian Europeans.

The conversion to Islam in 1605 of the king of Gowa, I Manga'rangi Daeng Manrabia, who later took the title of Sultan 'Ala al-Dīn (Tumenanga ri Gaukanna, 1593-1639), had important consequences for the history of the region.[35] While scholars such as Noorduyn and Pelras have examined the Islamization process in South Sulawesi based on European and local

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[32] Sewang, *Islamisasi Kerajaan*, 59.

[33] Pelras, "Religion, Tradition," 214-5. ; Leonard Y. Andaya, *The World of Maluku* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1993).; Andaya, "Kingship-Adat Rivalry," 39. ; Thomas Gibson, *And the Sun Pursued the Moon: Symbolic Knowledge and Traditional Authority among the Makassar* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2005), 231.

[34] Free trade was a prominent feature in Makassar. The king of Gowa held strongly to the doctrine of open seas and maintained the principle that his state remained "open to all nations." Patunru, *Sedjarah Gowa*, 22.

[35] Andaya, *Heritage of Arung Palakka*, 32-3.

Bugis and Makassar lontarak sources,[36] this study will focus more on the role of Islamic mystical ideas and the itinerant Sufi teachers in the conversion of the people to Islam.

In 1607 the VOC envoy, Abraham Matelieff, proposed to the king of Gowa that they enter into a trade alliance and together attack the nutmeg-producing islands of Banda, which had opposed VOC monopoly intentions. The Gowa ruler agreed to a trade alliance but rejected the proposal that they join in attacking Banda. The relationship between Gowa and the VOC was not good, and in 1615 the Dutch official in Makassar, Abraham Sterck, reported to his superior aboard a Dutch fleet anchored before Sombaopu that his mission was not going well. He blamed the Spaniards and Portuguese for placing obstacles in the way of the Dutch, and complained of the Gowa ruler's refusal to take action to protect the Dutch. The latter thus decided to take stronger measures in attempting to establish a spice monopoly. They demanded that the Gowa ruler prevent his traders from going and fetching spices from Maluku since this area was considered to be under the control of the Dutch. Sultan 'Ala al-Dīn replied:

> God created the oceans and the earth for the benefit of all. I am not aware that navigating across the ocean is prohibited to anyone. If the Dutch were to prevent one from sailing

[36] There are different types of Lontarak in local South Sulawesi languages. They are classified according to content. The following is a list of Makassarese lontarak, but similar lontarak and categories are found in Bugis. *Lontarak Patturioloang* is literally "Story of the Ancestors" and is a genealogy (silsilah) of the local kings; *Lontarak Pitika* refers to a calendar of auspicious days and was compiled by local scholars *(tupanrita)*; *Lontarak Pitika Pacciniq Allo* is a classification of time—full time (waktu penuh), empty time (waktu kosong), blood time (waktu darah), and death time (waktu kematian); *Lontarak Pitika Pacciniq Sare* is information on good fortune and bad luck; *Lontarak Pitika Lanung* or *Pitika Buang Batu* consists of information such as avoiding unseen threats (such as theft, losing goods, and marriage matters); *Lonatarak Tabbeq* contains types of medication, illness, and prayers *(do'a)*; *Lontarak Jarang, Lontarak Jangang* and *Lontarak Kongkong* contain information on the characteristics of animals (horses, chickens, dogs); *Lontarak Rapang* is stories of proper rule of former and present kings. In addition to these lontarak, there are also "Islamic Lontaraks" written in Makassarese and Bugis consisting of stories of the prophet Muhammad and legendary figures: *Lontarak Sureq Makkattereqna Naqbita* (story of the shaven prophet Muhammad), *Lontarak Pabbuntinganna Sitti Fatima* (story of the marriage of Sitti Fatimah), *Lontarak Nabbi Yusufu* (story of the prophet Yusuf), *Lontarak Sultan Injilai* (story of king Injilai), *Lontarak Syarak* (Islamic teaching), *Lontarak Sinliriqna I Datu Musseng* (story of Datu Musseng), and the most popular *Lontaraq Shaikh Yusuf* in its various versions, including *Lontarak Riwayaqna Tuanta Salamaka ri Gowa* (story of our blessed lord from Gowa). See Abd. Kadir Manyambeang, "Lontaraq Riwayaqna Tuanta Salamaka Ri Gowa (Rtsg): Suatu Analisis Rintisan Filolinguistik" (Ph.D Dissertation, Universitas Hasanuddin, 1997), 73-8. ; Gibson, *Islamic Narrative and Authority*, 76-80.

on this ocean, they would be taking rice from the mouth of that individual. This is our concern.[37]

Once the Gowa ruler argued for the principle of the open seas, there was increased tension between Gowa and the VOC, leading initially to outbreaks of fighting between the Dutch sailors and Gowa's port officials. The threat from the VOC may have been a reason for Gowa extending its conquests to neighboring kingdoms in order to strengthen itself against a future confrontation with the Dutch. Goa conquered Bima in 1616, Sumbawa in 1618, Buton and other small polities scattered in the Sula islands in 1626; it also sent troops to help Banda defend itself against the Dutch. It also established good diplomatic relations with the powerful Muslim polities in the archipelago, such as Aceh, Banten and Mataram.[38]

In its expansion in the first half of the seventeenth century, Gowa became the most powerful kingdom in eastern Indonesia, and Islam grew in strength within the kingdom. This century was marked by the arrival of Sufi teachers to the archipelago from the centers of Islam and the Ḥaramayn. The teachings that they brought were a fusion of mystical Islamic ideas and the legalist teaching of north African and Egyptian scholars on the Hadīth. These ideas melded from two different sources found favor across Southeast Asia and sparked the formation of socio-mystical movements.[39] In South Sulawesi the Sufi movement was the dominant form of Islam in the seventeenth century, and one of the famous rulers of this period, Arung Palakka

[37] Patunru, *Sedjarah Gowa*, 22-3.

[38] Sewang, *Islamisasi Kerajaan*, 65-6.

[39] Gibson, *Islamic Narrative and Authority*, 56. For the process of how such Islamic mystical accounts was evident in the conversion of local rulers in South Sulawesi, see Andaya, "Kingship-Adat Rivalry."

(1672-1696), was praised in a Bugis lontarak "The Heroic Ruler of the Sufi".[40] It appears that Sufism played an important role in the Islamization of South Sulawesi.

The Story of Three Datos

A Tallo source mentions that prior to the conversion of the ruler of Gowa, his Chief Minister, the ruler of Tallo, I Mallingkaang Daeng Nyonri, was undecided whether to adopt the religion of the Portuguese or that of the Muslim traders. Despite visiting and seeking the advice of the ruler of Wajo (Arung Matoa Wajo), La Mangkatye, he was unconvinced by the Arung Matoa Wajo's arguments. The king of Tallo therefore invited the itinerant Muslim preacher from West Sumatra, Dato ri Bandang, to teach him about Islam.[41] Although the Dato ri Bandang may not have been a historical figure, he symbolically represents the role of the itinerant Sufi teachers from Sumatra in the Islamization of South Sulawesi.[42]

On 22 September 1605 the king of Tallo, I Mallingkaang Daeng Njonri Karaeng Katangka, converted to Islam. As the first king in South Sulawesi to embrace Islam, he earned the title of Sultan Abdullah Awwal al-Islām (the first Muslim king). Soon thereafter Tallo's ruler adopted Islam and took the Arabic title, Sultan 'Ala al-Dīn. But it took two years before the people from Gowa-Tallo embraced the religion. This milestone was marked by holding Friday prayers in Tallo on November 9, 1607.[43]

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[40] Andaya, "Kingship-Adat Rivalry," 35.

[41] Paeni, Poelinggomang, and al, eds., *Sejarah Kebudayaan*, 90.

[42] Noorduyn, "Sedjarah Agama Islam," 90. ; Noorduyn, *Islamisasi*, 18. Matthes compiled those local legends in his *Boegineesche en Makassaarsche legenden* (1885), see Gibson, *Islamic Narrative and Authority*, 47, 228.

[43] Patunru, *Sedjarah Gowa*, 19-20.

As mentioned earlier, Dato ri Bandang, the learned Sumatran responsible for the conversion of the kings of Tallo and Gowa, was ‘Abd al-Makmur Khatib Tunggal. He was an itinerant preacher from the Minangkabau settlement of Kota Tengah in West Sumatra, a was a student of a *Ḥadhrami* (from the Hadhramaut in Yemen) preacher Jalāl al-Dīn al-‘Aydid, when they both lived in South Kalimantan.[44] With his colleagues, Khatib Sulaiman (Dato ri Pattimang) and Khatib Bungsu (Dato ri Tiro), Dato ri Bandang spread Islam throughout South Sulawesi.[45] These three preachers came to represent the three different Islamic methods and practices followed in the region. A local source claims that before Dato ri Bandang came to Tallo and Gowa he introduced Islam to the king of Luwu in 1603. After having accepted Islam, the Luwu king (Datu Luwu) suggested that the three preachers continue their mission to Gowa and Tallo. The specific *lontarak* source does not explain what the motivation of the Datu Luwu may have beein in embracing the new religion. It only says that it was the Almighty God who was responsible for the conversion of the Datu Luwu and his entourage. The Datu Luwu was given an Arabic name, Sultan Muhammad Wali Muzahir al-Dīn.[46] Because of the respected position that the Datu Luwu had among the local rulers, his recommendation proved very useful in the work of the to the three itinerant preachers. The Datu Luwu then suggested that the three missionaries go to Gowa, known for its formidable strength, while saying *“Allebbiremmani*

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[44]Al-‘Aydid was Yusuf al-Makassari’s teacher at Cikoang. As an itinerant preacher Al-‘Aydid visited places in Indonesia such as Aceh and Banten. From Banten al-‘Aydid went to Banjarmasin, South Kalimantan, where he married the daughter of an exiled Gowa noble. There he met Dato ri Bandang who had failed to convince the king of Gowa Tunijallo to embrace Islam. Al-‘Aydid and his family came to South Sulawesi, but his meeting with Sultan Abdullah (I Malinkaeng) did not go well. He and his family then went to Cikoang, where al-Makassari came to study with him in 1641. Al-‘Aydid was the Sufi teacher known for his *Tarekat Bahar Nur* (The Light of the Ocean). See Gibson, *Islamic Narrative and Authority*, 69.

[45] Before coming to Gowa the three Dato visited Luwu and met its king, Datu Luwu, to introduce him to Islam. Datu Luwu was a respected king in South Sulawesi and considered the forefather of all kings in South Sulawesi. According to *Lontara Wajo*, Dato Luwu converted to Islam on February 4, 1603 (15 Ramadhan 1013 H). Sewang, *Islamisasi Kerajaan*, 91-3.

[46] Ibid., 93-4.

engka ri Luwu', awatangeng engka ri Gowa" (The glory is in Luwu, and the power in Gowa).[47] Learning from their previous failure of their mission in Makassar, the three preachers worked out what they believed should be the proper strategy in introducing Islam in such a diverse and hierarchical community as Gowa.

One aspect of the Islamization that is apparent in local sources is the role of mystical Islam in the conversion process. While one must be aware of the mixture of historical events, legends, and dreams in the story of Islam in the area, one must be sensitive to the role of dreams in the mystical tradition, especially in the Islamic countries of Southeast Asia, including South Sulawesi.[48] The mention of the Prophet in the Gowa-Tallo conversion myth suggests how important Gowa-Tallo was in the Islamization of the area:

> "On September 22 a great ship was seen approaching Tallo. But as it came closer, it appeared to be only a brig, and then it shrank in size to an ocean-going sloop to a two-masted cargo ship, to a small fishing boat and finally to a map of the world. On it was seated a Minangkabau from Kota-Tenga called Dato ri Bandang. As soon as he came ashore, he began to pray in the Muslim manner, making use of a rosary, and to recite the Koran. The people of Tallo informed the king, I Malinkaeng. The latter set off at dusk to see the visitor for himself. As he entered the port at the Fort of Tallo, he saw five men standing together. The middle one was standing on a flat white stone, and asked the king in an imposing tone where he was going. When the ruler told him he was going to see Dato ri Bandang, the man told him to give him his greetings and said that he was the

[47] H. A. Mattulada, *Sejarah, Masyarakat, Dan Kebudayaan Sulewesi Selatan* (Ujung Pandang: Hasanuddin University Press, 1998), 154. ;Sewang, *Islamisasi Kerajaan*, 94. ;Christian Pelras, *The Bugis* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, USA: Blackwell Publisher, 1996), 136.

[48] Humphrey J. Fisher, "Dreams and Conversion in Black Africa," in *Conversion to Islam*, ed. Nehemia Levtzion (New York, London: Holmes & Meier Publishers, 1979). Though many question the quality of the local sources because of their inclusion of legendary sources and purported lack of accuracy, Jones argues that local sources are an important contribution in providing clues to what was considered significant among the local people, or in Johns' term, their religious mentality. He explains, "the conversion was naturally not ignored by the indigenous chroniclers and it was thought worthwhile to gather together some of the material which these chronicles have to offer, and to present it as far as possible in their own words; the value of these accounts lies in the fact that they are indigenous, that they are the product of the same cultural tradition, not so much in their worth as "history" in the Western sense." See Russell Jones, "Ten Conversion Myths from Indonesia," in *Conversion to Islam*, ed. Nehemia Levtzion (New York, London: Holmes & Meier Publishers, 1979), 130. ; A. H. Johns, "Tentang Kaum Mistik Islam Dan Penulisan Sejarah," in *Sejarah Dan Masyarakat, Lintasan Historis Islam Di Indonesia*, ed. Taufik Abdullah (Jakarta: Pustaka Firdaus, 1987), 86.

prophet Muhammad. The king had never yet heard of Muhammad, and had difficulty understanding his foreign name. To help him remember, the prophet wrote on his hand the Arabic words, *"bismillahir-rahmanir-rahim,"* in the name of Allah the All-Merciful, as well as *"assalamu'alaikum, wa rahmatullahi wa barakatuh,"* i.e. "Peace be upon you, Allah's mercy and blessing upon you!" The prophet used neither ink or pen, but only the spittle from his mouth on his right index finger to write these words. And yet the light of the letters was brighter than a full moon. And a wonderful aroma, which far surpassed all the perfume and incense of Sulawesi, spread through the whole area. Then the five exalted ones disappeared and the king of Tallo continued on his way….The king immediately requested instruction. It required only a few hours for him to learn not only the Muslim profession of faith, that there is no God but Allah and that Muhammad is his prophet, but also the Muslim manner of prayer with all the accompanying gestures, as well as the proper recitation of the Qur'an. When the instruction was completed, Dato ri Bandang placed one hand upon the head of the king, and the other under his chin, and turned his gaze up to Heaven. And when Dato ri Bandang asked him what he now saw, he answered: " I see the throne of Allah, as well as the table of lou-l-mahapul,[49] on which the deeds of men both good and evil are noted down. And Allah asks of me that I embrace Islam, and also bring the others to it, and wage war on those who oppose me in this." Thereupon Dato-ri-Bandang who still held fast to the head of the ruler turned his gaze downwards and asked him again what he now saw. " I see," said the ruler, "to the furthest depths of the Earth and there I see Hell, in which Allah wills that I and others shall be placed if they show themselves reluctant to accept your teaching."…When Dato-ri-Bandang observed the radiance from the king's hands, he realized the king was far above him, in spite of his own high mission, since he had himself never received an appearance from the prophet. Soon all Tallo and Gowa had embraced Islam, which also spread quickly from there still further in Celebes.[50]

This quotation suggests the extraordinary spiritual position of the Tallo ruler, which was even greater than that of the Dato ri Bandang himself as the central figure in the conversion of Gowa-Tallo.[51] The king's spiritual superiority was demonstrated in his ability to see the throne of Allah, an extraordinary experience in Sufi tradition. Though Islam was brought by the foreign

[49] This phrase in Arabic is *al-Lauh al-Maḥfūdh*, which in Islam is the ideal primeval world of God prior to the creation of the world by Allah.

[50] Gibson quoted this legend from Matthes' collection, *Boegineesche en Makassaarsche legenden* (1885), see Gibson, *Islamic Narrative and Authority*, 45-6.

[51] According to Skinner, it is common among Malay (and Makassarese) writers in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to depict rulers as being extraordinary beings without blame. In the case of Malay literature, this form of depicting rulers would have been due to the influence of Middle Eastern Islam, where a king (*khalīfah* or *sultān*) is regarded as an extraordinary person unlike the general population. For this pattern, see C. Skinner, ed. *Enci' Amin: Syair Perang Mengkasar* (Jakarta: KTILV,2008), 28-34.

agent, Dato ri Bandang, the Tallo ruler is depicted as spiritually greater as shown in the radiance of the prophet's writing on the ruler's hand. These were two extraordinary experiences only reserved for the spiritually potent, which in this case was the king of Tallo, despite the success of the Dato ri Bandang in introducing Islam in South Sulawesi. At a deeper level, the entire episode may have been intended to explain that the ruler of Gowa-Tallo had been given the mandate to dedicate his life to the service of Islam. The "Islamic Wars" should therefore be understood in this context.

Other than the ruler of Gowa, the three different Sufi missionaries symbolically represented (as indicated above) the three major domains of the religion: law *(fiqh)*, theology *(tawhīd)* and taṣawwuf *(haqīqat)*. Each of these three normally interwoven dimensions of Islam may have been emphasized at different times with different constituents in order to profit most from specific social circumstances within the diverse population of Gowa. As Dato ri Bandang was sharī'ah-minded *(faqīh)*, for instance, from the beginning of his mission he may have focused on making Gowa an Islamic state by appointing a religious advisor to the king. As a result, the formalization of Islam was obvious, whether through the implementation of sharī'ah within the Gowa palace or through forcing its neighboring states to adopt Islam. The Dato ri Bandang was appointed as the religious teacher in the Gowa palace, living in the village of Pammatoang and teaching Islamic jurisprudence (fiqh) and theology (tawhīd).[52] Part of his sharī'ah mission was to make the state of Gowa more Islamic by having the Gowa noblemen become religious officers (parewa sarak). As protectors of the *hadat*[53] and their people,[54] Gowa's

[52] Mattulada, *Sejarah, Masyarakat*, 194.

[53] *Hadat, Adat, Adek*: custom or tradition.

[54] Andaya, "Kingship-Adat Rivalry," 28-9.

royal offspring *(anakaraeng)* made a considerable contribution in institutionalizing Islam within the state bureaucracy. The success of Islamization in the kingdom occurred when Islam became an integral component of local tradition, hence a vital part of customary law or Panngadereng.[55]

The importance of Islam in local Bugis-Makassarese tradition is expressed in the Bugis Lontarak *Latoa*,[56] which was re-written between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries: "Thus said the ancestors, four elements are able to make the land good but the fifth, which is Islam, makes it complete. They are: adek, rapeng, wari, bicara and sarak *(makkadatopi to-riolo eppa'mui uangenna padecengie tana, iami nagenna limampuangeng, narapi' mani assellengen naripattama 'tona sara'e, seuani ade'e, maduanna rapenge, amtelunna wari'e, maeppa'na bicaree, malimanna sara'e)*."[57] The first four elements—*adek, rapang, wari,* and *bicara*—are pre-Islamic elements that together form the Panngadereng or the customary laws. Once the ruler converted to Islam, Islamic law *(*sharī'ah*)* became incorporated into the Bugis Panngadereng, the basis of all social and political interactions in the society.[58]

Adek *(ade'e)* in fact has a wider meaning than just customary laws. According to a Makassarese lontarak, "When adat is broken, it means that the human being is also broken. Therefore, its effect is not only for the doer, but also for the whole community." *(Iyya nanigesara' ada' 'biyasanna buttaya tammattikamo balloka, tanaikatongangngamo jukuka,*

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[55] Mattulada, *Sejarah, Masyarakat*, 147.

[56] Latoa is a Bugis collection from the royal court consisting of old stories and sayings, admonishments and instructions of rulers and wisemen, and sumptuary laws. It has been Romanized by Mattulada in his study, *Latoa: Satu Lukisan Analisis terhadap Antropologi Politik Orang Bugis.* See also Andaya, "Kingship-Adat Rivalry," 27.; Mattulada, *Latoa*.

[57] Mattulada, *Sejarah, Masyarakat*, 114.

[58] A. Rahman Rahim, *Nilai-Nilai Utama Kebudayaan Bugis* (Ujung Pandang: Lembaga Penerbitan Universitas Hasanuddin, 1985), 123.

annyalatongi aseya")[59] Therefore, according to Mattulada, *adek* provides the supreme norms from which the character of society, civilization, and its supporters are formed.[60] Another saying, "It is *adek* that makes a human being," emphasizes the fact that one who does not know *adek* does not deserve to be considered a human being.[61]

Rapang *(rapenge)* literally means equality before the law. In its wider meaning, it refers to a balance between law, customs, and continuity. Rapang is therefore an ideal set of rules that is consulted by the king in combining his skill in statecraft and his divine attributes as a Tomanurung in order to conform to adek.[62] Through Rapang, one compares one event to another in order to gain a wider perspective to form a wise decision. Therefore, the *Latoa* describes Rapang as the greatest source of support for the palace *(naia rapange, iana peutangiwi arajange)*.[63]

Wari (*wari'e*) or social stratification, according to the Latoa, refers to the ability to differentiate between the obligations and rights of the community in social life. Friedericy interprets wari as the division of statuses *(de indeeling in standen)*, meaning that wari may function as the regulator of descent lines and family relationships. Wari can also serve as a state protocol that regulates state power and government administration, such as how a king should appear in the public or how a person should act in appearing before the king.[64]

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[59] Ibid., 124.

[60] Ibid.

[61] Ibid.

[62] Andaya, "Kingship-Adat Rivalry," 31.

[63] Mattulada, *Latoa*, 114,378. ; Sewang, *Islamisasi Kerajaan*, 140-1.

[64] Mattulada, *Latoa*, 380. ; Sewang, *Islamisasi Kerajaan*, 143.

Bicara (*bicaree)* is jurisprudence, or the obligations and rights of an individual in social interactions. In the Latoa, the Arung Bila says: "Bicara is paying attention to what is said and witnessed by each side" (*naia riasengnge bicara, ritannga'i tuttue wali-wali, sabbie wali-wali*).[65] Three of the largest kingdoms in South Sulawesi had reached an agreement regarding bicara, namely that there was a single root of justice (*ure karajana bicarae*). In administering the law, it is necessary to (1) receive a statement from the two conflicting sides; (2) obtain witnesses from both sides; (3) determine the social position of each side; and (4) consider the attitude of the two sides. But the anakarung or royal offspring were exempt from these four rules.[66]

These four pre-Islamic elements were "Islamized" by the Dato ri Bandang, and a fifth component was added to the Panngadereng, namely *sarak* (*sara'e*, from Arabic shara' or sharī'ah).[67] What is clear is that the Gowa elite was essential in the Islamization process (as was the case in Wajo when it adopted Islam at the insistence of the Dato ri Bandang) and accounts for the distinctive elitist character of Islam in South Sulawesi.

Once the king of Gowa *(Sombaya ri Gowa)* became Muslim, he was given the title of "Sultan," (Ar. Sultān, a Muslim king).[68] Both the Sultan of Gowa and Bugis sultans had Islamic religious advisors known as *Daengta Kaliya* (Makassar) or *Petta Kalie* (Bugis), (from the Arabic *Qāḍī*), who were heads of the Sarak. The Daeng Ta Kaliya was in charge of sharī'ah matters

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[65] Mattulada, *Latoa*, 128.

[66] Ibid., 378.; Sewang, *Islamisasi Kerajaan*, 141-2.

[67]The Dato ri Bandang adhered to two principles in his mission of Islamization: First, he avoided any contradiction from arising between Islam *(sarak)* and hadat (local tradition); and second, he appointed members of the aristocracy as religious officers *(parewa sarak)*. Sewang, *Islamisasi Kerajaan*, 145.

[68] Ibid., 127,34-7.

dealing with the coronation,[69] marriages, death and inheritance within the palace. In the coronation ceremony of the king, for instance, there was a pledge taken on the Qur'an.[70] Both religious advisors (Kaliya/Kalie) were assisted by the parewa sarak: *Daeng Imang* (Imām) responsible for daily prays), *Guruwu* (teachers), *Katte* (from Arabic *khatīb*, preacher), *Bidala* (from the Arabic *bilāl*, muezzin/ the official responsible for calling the people to prayer), and *Doya* or *Jannang Masigi* (mosque keepers). While Daeng Ta Kaliya receives a regular salary from the kingdom, his assistants are given donations *(sadaqah)* from the people, as well as regular obligatory Muslim *zakāt* (alms) and *infāq*.[71]

As briefly described earlier, the Dato ri Pattimang targeted Luwu as his mission field, though it was not as powerful as the kingdom of Gowa. In Luwu there was a strong belief in the pre-Islamic deity known as the *Dewata Seuwae (Dewata Yang Tunggal*, the One God). The Dato Pattimang promoted Islam by integrating the pre-Islamic belief into the concept of the Oneness of Allah (Tawhīd).[72] According to lontarak sources, a Sufi teacher Dato ri Tiro used tasawwuf to preach Islam. His preference for Islamic mystical ideas appeared also to be attractive to those in Tiro and Bulukumba, where the people believed strongly in magical practices, belief in spirits, and in shamanism *(sanro)*. The people of Tiro were renowned for their ability to use black magic *(doti)* against their enemies. The Dato ri Tiro's emphasis on Sufi

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[69] In the past, the *bissu* had an important role in the coronation of the ruler and as the guardians of his regalia *(arajang)*. Andaya, "The Bissu," 35. ; Andaya, "Kingship-Adat Rivalry," 25-6.

[70]The King of Tallo Sultan Abdullah Awwal al-Islam (Sombaya ri Tallo) held the Qur'an during his coronation, as described in the lontarak of Tallo: *Iaminne Karaenga uru ampareki koroangan* (This is the first king who took pledge under the Qur'an). Sewang, *Islamisasi Kerajaan*, 135.

[71] Ibid., 135-7.

[72] Gibson, *And the Sun Pursued the Moon*, 53.; Sewang, *Islamisasi Kerajaan*, 96. ; Mattulada, *Sejarah, Masyarakat*, 150-4.

practices was obviously the right decision in convincing the people in these two places to convert to Islam.[73]

Since Islamization in South Sulawesi occurred with the cooperation of the traditional elite, there was a continuity of authority. In traditional society, commoners followed their leaders because they were regarded as both their spiritual and political heads. When the Dato ri Bandang made the local elite the vanguard of Islam in South Sulawesi, they were also able to some extent to bring their followers into the religion, which was incorporated as part of their traditional Panngadereng.[74] Nevertheless, the transition was not always smooth. In Bone, for example, it took two years after the ruler embraced Islam before the people converted. The reason was the continuing strength of indigenous beliefs under the local bissu, who opposed their displacement by the new Islamic ‘ulamā.[75]The institutionalization of Islam within the Gowa kingdom was marked by the implementation of Islamic jurisprudence under the Kadi (Kali) in the following centuries.

The success of the Islamization of Gowa had important repercussions in other parts of South Sulawesi. There was a strict adherence to certain Islamic laws, such as the implementation of the practice of inheritance (*waris*) in Balanipa in Mandar, and the harsh punishment of cutting off the hands of a burglar in Wajo. But in all the areas that underwent conversion through the work of Dato ri Bandang, a common characteristic was the prominence of the *sarak (*sharī’ah*)* and its incorporation of customary laws (Panngadereng). Any conflict

[73] Sewang, *Islamisasi Kerajaan*, 97.

[74] H. A. Mattulada, "Islam Di Sulawesi Selatan," in *Agama Dan Perubahan Sosial*, ed. Taufik Abdullah (Jakarta: Yayasan Ilmu-ilmu Sosia, 1983), 314.

[75]Andaya, "Kingship-Adat Rivalry," 27.

between the Islamic and traditional practices was to be resolved with sarak as the final arbiter.[76] Islam was thus made more sacred and superior to local tradition, despite its incorporation of many traditional ideas and practices. In a study of Islamic law and local adek, Umar Shihab, now the chairman of the Indonesian ʻulamā Council (*Majelis* ʻulamā *Indonesia*, MUI) cites a lontarak source which says:

> "Narekko moloiko roppo-roppo, mamutabbuttu'lesuko ri ade'e. Narekko tabbuttu'mupo lesuko ri sara'e. Nasaba' apettunna sara'e apettung Puang." (When you have a problem in your daily life and are unable to resolve it, you may rely on *adat*. If the problem persists, then you may rely on *sarak*, because it is God's consideration."[77]

In the ongoing Islamization of the area, pre-Islamic rituals dealing with birth, marriage, and death were Islamized by the parewa sarak or even by ʻulamā living among lesser noblemen and commoners. Slaughtering a goat as required by Islam, namely *ʻaqikah*, now accompanied the pre-Islamic offerings known as *garu-garu*, which was usually celebrated a week after the birth of a child. Giving a dowry in Arabic currency *(real)* was now also acceptable in addition to the presents given in the pre-Islamic tradition of the *sunrang* (the proposal for marriage). Accompanying the sunrang was also the reciting of the *barzanji* (the praise of the prophet) and Qur'an. Recitation of the Qur'an *(yasinan)*[78] has now replaced the pre-Islamic burial ceremony and is accompanied by giving part of property of the deceased to the parewa sarak, instead of placing it in the grave.[79]

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[76] Sewang, *Islamisasi Kerajaan*, 147.

[77] Ibid.

[78] *Yasinan* means reading *Yāsin*, a verse name in the holy Qur'an.

[79] Sewang, *Islamisasi Kerajaan*, 148-53.

Though the Parewa Sarak had determined that the sarak would be the ultimate arbiter in any conflict with the adek, this did not prevent some nobles from opposing the inroads that Islam had made into the society. The root of the early dispute between Gowa and Bone was traced to this difference in the understanding of Islam. In 1631, Sultan ‘Ala al-Dīn of Gowa forbade the practice of interest payments on debts in order to reduce those who were in debt-bondage. It was a policy that was opposed by many in the royal family because of the loss of those who could become part of their retinue through debt bondage. The Bugis king of Bone La Madaremmeng (1631-1644) was also unhappy with the developments in Islam and wanted a stricter imposition of sharī’ah law. Stricter than Sultan ‘Ala al-Dīn of Gowa, La Madaremmeng abolished the practice of slavery and un-Islamic traditions, while demanding that the neighboring kings implement a stricter form of Islam.[80] A refusal was met with force. Peneki, a part of the Wajo kingdom, was seized by Bone in 1643, which resulted in a war. Gowa and Sidenreng came to Wajo’s assistance and defeated Bone, and so the uncle of the Gowa ruler, Karaeng Sumana, was appointed as *Jennang* (governor) of Bone acting on behalf of the ruler of Gowa, Sultan Malikussaid. On 23 July 1644 La Madaremmeng was brought a captive to Gowa.[81]

The appointment of Karaeng Sumana as Jennang was resented by the Bone nobles. La Tenriaji To Sanrima, La Madaremmeng’s brother, rallied the Bone people in a revolt against Gowa’s representative and declared himself Arumpone (ruler of Bone) in 1646. This act incurred the wrath of Gowa, which sent a punitive expedition to Passempe, the headquarters of

[80] According to Daeng Patunru, La Maderemmeng’s strict form of Islamization caused the Bone noblemen and his mother, We Tenri Selorang Datu Pattiro, to move to Gowa. Patunru, *Sedjarah Gowa*, 32-3. ; Paeni, Poelinggomang, and al, eds., *Sejarah Kebudayaan*, 91-2.

[81] Patunru, *Sedjarah Gowa*, 33.

the Arumpone, where they put down the rebellion.[82] According to local sources, Bone remained under Gowa for seventeen years (*naripoatana Bone seppulo pitu taung ittana*),[83] until it was liberated by Arung Palakka in 1667 after the victorious alliance of the Bugis and the VOC against Gowa-Tallo.[84]

Islam continued to spread in Bone, despite the wars. Among those who promoted Islam was Daeng ri Tasammeng or Kare Nyampa, who was the teacher of Yusuf al-Makassari before he went to Mecca.[85] Kare Nyampa was known as one of the propagators of the sharī'ah in South Sulawesi. Unlike his colleague 'Abd al-Bashīr, Kare Nyampe opposed the local traditions that he considered un-Islamic. He sought to prevent the presentation of offerings to the spirits of the river, and he encouraged the shaving of the hair of the indigenous priests or bissus, and the burning down of *saukang* or spirit houses. Al-Makassari was proud of his teacher's actions and sought to have Gowa follow the example of his teacher.[86]

But the Gowa ruler did not respond positively to his suggestion, and so al-Makassari himself showed his displeasure by rejecting the king's proposal to remain in Gowa. Sultan Amir Hamzah (1669-1674) asked al-Makassari to return to Gowa from Banten in order to be appointed as state religious advisor. Although Gowa had declared itself an Islamic state, al-Makassari

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[82] Mattulada, *Sejarah, Masyarakat*, 208.

[83] Patunru, *Sedjarah Gowa*, 33.

[84] H. A. Mattulada, *Agama Islam Di Sulawesi Selatan, Laporan Proyek Penelitian Peranan Ulama Dan Pengajaran Agama Islam Di Sulawesi Selatan* (Ujung Pandang: Fakultas Sastra Universitas Hasanuddin, 1976), 55-6. ; Paeni, Poelinggomang, and al, eds., *Sejarah Kebudayaan*, 91-2.

[85] A lontara attributed to Shaikh Yusuf al-Makassari, as shown in Manyambeang's philological study, informs al-Makassari's teacher, *"Nisuromi mange anngaji ri guru niarenga I Daeng Ritasammeng"* (he (al-Makassari) was asked to learn Koran from his teacher, I Daeng Ritasammeng). See Manyambeang, "Lontaraq Riawayaqna", 172.

[86] Ahmad Rahman, "Tarekat Khalwatiah Samman (Studi Tentang Penyebaran Dan Ajarannya Di Kabupaten Maros, Propinsi Sulawesi Selatan) " (MA Thesis, IAIN Alauddin 1997), 45.

found Gowa continuing many former indigenous un-Islamic practices, such as gambling, drinking *tuak* (fermented palm wine), smoking opium, and worshiping sacred places.[87] These practices were condemned by al-Makassari, and so he is noted as saying to the ruler of Gowa:

> *"…Kupandallekangngangi ri Sombanta angkanaya tabbayang-bayangmi karuntunganna Butta Gowa napassabakki limaya passalak. Uru-uruna gaukanga, maka ruanga saukannga, maka talluna madaka ri Batesalapanga, maka appanna kabotoranga ri tunggak-tunggalak pasaraka, maka limana balloka ri Tu Bajenga. Namaka antaraiyai karuntungang niserokanaya iyami antu punna nappattaena Sombangta limaya passalak…"*(I come before you, most worshipful and highly respected lord of Gowa. I recall that the decline of Gowa was due to five matters: First, *gaukang* or sacred heirlooms of Gowa; second, *saukang* or sacred places; third, opium smoking among the nobles, especially members of the Bate Salapang (Council of the Nine Banners); fourth, gambling in the markets; and fifth, drinking tuak among the Bajeng people. The only way to prevent further disintegration of Gowa is to fight against these five social illnesses under your command.[88]

Though al-Makassari did not return to Gowa,[89] he delegated his students, among whom was Abd al-Bashīr, to continue his Islamic mission there. Through Abd al-Bashīr, al-Makassari's mystical tradition was taught to the Bugis and Makassarese people. He had his students spread the teachings of the Khalwatiah of his master, the Khalwatiah Yusuf.[90] Other students of al-

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[87] According to another lontarak, I Daeng Kare Nyampe and I Daeng Mallolongang were Gowa envoys to Banten to request that al-Makassari return to his homeland. Though al-Makassari refused to go to Gowa, he entrusted the envoys with a message to the king of Gowa to fight against un-Islamic customs in Gowa. See Sahib Sultan, *Allah Dan Jalan Mendekatkan Diri Kepada-Nya Dalam Konsepsi Syeikh Yusuf* (Makassar Penerbit Yapma, 2006), 36. ; Manyambeang, "Lontaraq Riawayaqna", 186.

[88] Quoted by Bachrum Sibali from one of the lontarak attributed to Shaikh Yusuf. Muhammad Bachrum Sibali, *Syekh Yusuf Tuanta Salamaka Ulama Pejuang Abad Ke-17* (Jakarta: Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, 1989), 14-5. See also Suriadi Mappangara and Irwan Abbas, *Sejarah Islam Di Sulawesi Selatan* (Makassar: Biro KAPP Propinsi Sulawesi Selatan and Lamacca Press, 2003), 169.

[89] The notion of becoming a spiritual master was strong among the Bugis and Makassar people, as demonstrated by al-Makassari's spiritual aim. Before al-Makassari left Gowa, he uttered an oath that he would never come back to his homeland before he became a Sufi. *"Na napatuqduqmo bangkenna naung ri butayya pintallung na nakana, "kupassapattangi anne kuonjok butayya ri Mangkasaraq punna tasopiaq"* (Then he (al-Makassari) said, "I will never again set foot in this land (Makassar) until I become a Sufi", while stamping his foot on the ground three times. Manyambeang, "Lontaraq Riawayaqna", 163.

[90] *"Apaji nammonoqmo siagang karaenga naiq ri ballaq lompoa…..Apaji na Seheta Abdulubasiru uru assungkei tarekaqna Tuanta Salamaka ri Gowa"* (Then the king went up to the palace accompanied by Tuan Rappang. Therefore, Abd al-Basyir was considered the first who taught the tarekat of Tuanta Salamaka in Gowa), see Ibid., 185.

Makassari who helped propagate his Sufi order were Jami'al-Dīn bin Thālib and 'Abd al-Qādir Karaeng Majannang (*Mangkubumi* or Chief Minister of Gowa under Sultan 'Abd al-Khair (1735-1742). Karaeng Majannang, as the khalīfah of Abd al-Basyir (d. 1733), helped to bring the Khalwatiah Yusuf to the Gowa noblemen.[91] In addition to Puang Rappang's students, al-Makassari's writings on Sufism were also obviously influential in the further development of Islam, especially in Gowa and South Sulawesi in general.[92] These two components, texts and people, promoted the development of Sufism in South Sulawesi in the eighteenth century.

Though the sharī'ah orientation was very evident in Dato ri Bandang and Dato Pattimang's preaching of Islam, it did not mean that the conversion of Gowa was freed of the mystical form of Islam. Many of the local sources, in addition to those mentioned above, contain stories of the encounter between Sufi teachers and the king of Gowa. But evidence of the presence of Sufi orders can also be found elsewhere in South Sulawesi.[93]

Sufi Orders of the Seventeenth Century: Qādiriah, Shattariah, and *Naqshabandiah*

Islam's success in becoming integrated into the traditional power structure and into the body of customary law and customs (Panngadereng) cannot be separated from the activities of the more mystical strain of the religion, or Sufism. A local source in Bira found by Gibson in

[91] Sultan, *Allah Dan Jalan*, 37.

[92] Alwi Shihab, *Akar Tasawuf Di Indonesia, Antara Tasawuf Sunni & Tasawuf Falsafi* (Depok: Pustaka Iiman, 2009), 193.

[93] Among the local stories regarding the conversion of Gowa to Islam is a famous legend of a saint who defeated a local shaman or *sanro*. When the saint Abd al-Rahman Kamaluddin came to Tammangalle at Balanipa, he saw a sanro demonstrating his magical powers by placing a number of eggs atop each other without breaking a single one. Kamaluddin then placed even-numbered eggs vertically, while the uneven numbers floated in the air. Thus the sanro acknowledge Kamaluddin's superior spiritual powers. Sewang, *Islamisasi Kerajaan*, 97-8.

2000, for example, provides evidence of the influence of the mystical Islam of al-Raniri of Aceh in the region.[94] Al-Raniri was a prominent seventeenth century Sufi teacher from Aceh, who initiated the Bugis Haji Ahmad al-Bugisi into his *Qādiriah* order.[95] Perhaps the initiation took place in Mecca during the Hajj season or in Aceh. From this source it is possible to study the spiritual networks in the seventeenth century and how they contributed to the successful spread of Islam in the archipelago.

The major influence of the Qādiriah Sufi order upon Ahmad al-Bugis reveals the strength of the global spiritual brotherhood among the Sufi followers. This was true not only for those who had studied in the heartland of Islam but also for those who later became Sufi masters in the archipelago, such as the three itinerant Sufi preachers that local traditions attribute with the Islamization of South Sulawesi. Gibson mentions a genealogy that shows that al-Raniri's master in Mecca, Ibrāhīm al-Kurānī, had initiated Ibrahim Barat of the Bugis kingdom of Bulo-Bulo into his Shattariah order at about the same time.[96] As al-Kurānī was widely known as the major Shaikh of Islam in the Ḥaramayn, it is possible to assert that, other than al-Makassari, students from South Sulawesi were directly linked to the Sufi scholars in the center of Islam in the seventeenth century.

Al-Raniri's sharī'ah-minded order reached Gowa and was instrumental in banning the wujūdiah mystical form of Islam promoted by Hamzah Fansuri of Aceh. Fansuri's initiation into the Qādiriah order is known from his personal statement that he received his highest knowledge

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[94] Gibson, *Islamic Narrative and Authority*, 55.

[95] Ibid.

[96] Ibid., 55.

(*makrifat*) from the master of the Qādiriah order, ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Jailānī.[97] His mystico-philosophical ideas disrupted the established Islamic order in the Aceh court, and in a struggle for power, Fansuri lost and was forced by al-Raniri’s followers to leave the kingdom. However, Fansuri’s works, such as the *asrār al-‘Arifīn* and *Sharb al-‘Asiqīn,* were found in the court of Buton in Southeast Sulawesi, suggesting that his ideas were being spread throughout the archipelago.[98]

Fansuri’s pantheistic ideas were prevalent in the Gowa court and was especially strong under Sultan Malik al-Sa’īd I Manuntungi Daeng Matolla Karaeng Lakiung (d. 1655), father of Hasanuddin.[99] In addition to his Islamization effort, which was marked by the building of a mosque in Lakiung and the appointment of religious officers (parewa sarak), Sufi practices were well-known in his palace. Fansuri’s waḥdat al-wujūd was also present in Sultan Hasan al-Dīn (r.1653-1669)’s court, as is evident in the contemporary epic poem written by one of Hasan al-Dīn’s Malay followers, the *Syair Perang Makassar.* In this epic, Sultan Hasan al-Dīn is depicted as a devoted leader *(arif)* and perfect man *(al-Mukammil),* who had reached the highest level of spirituality.[100]

There were various mystical Islamic brotherhoods in the peninsula in addition to the Qādiriah and Khalwatiah Yusuf: Shattariah, Naqshabandiah, Shadhiliah, Khalwatiah Sammān and Muhammadiyah. An anonymous work attributed to al-Haj Mahmud ibn Abdillah shows the

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[97] M. Solihin, *Melacak Pemikiran Tasawuf Di Nusantara* (Jakarta: Raja Grafindo, 2005), 32-3.

[98] Ibid.

[99] Skinner, ed. *Enci’ Amin*, 145.

[100] Mattulada, *Sejarah, Masyarakat*, 195. ; Skinner, ed. *Enci’ Amin*, 25-6. ; Andaya, "Kingship-Adat Rivalry," 34.

practice of dhikr, which is commonly performed by Shattariah followers.[101] The presence of the Naqshabandiah order is attributed to the local Makassarese royal prince, better known among Muslim circles as al-Makassari, whose followers were scattered throughout the archipelago. Before becoming the central figure of his Khalwatiah, al-Makassari was considered to have been the first Naqshabandiah follower in Southeast Asia and wrote the *al-Risālat al-Naqsyhabandiah* as a type of manual for the followers of this order. In his mystical work, *Safīnat al-Najāh*, al-Makassari said that his link with Naqshabandiah came from his teacher Muhammad ʻAbd al-Bāqi in Yemen who initiated him into the order, while learning spiritual discipline from Ibrāhīm al-Kurānī, the master of Jawah followers in Medina. Al-Kurānī himself was an admirer of Ibn ʻArabi. Among the prominent Naqshabandiah figures was al-Makassari's colleague, ʻAbd al-Rauf al-Singkili (1615-1693) of Aceh. Al-Singkili was also noted as a follower of Shattariah order as its mystical accounts are discussed in his work, *ʻUmdat al-Muhtājīn*.[102]

Though al-Makassari was known as a sharī'ah-oriented Sufi, he was a strong supporter of those who followed wujūdiah Sufi ideas. He expressed an appreciation of the wahdah al-wujūd in his work *Zubdat al-Asrār*, which addresses Muhammad Fadlulllah al-Burhanpuri's thoughts on the mystical idea of the seven levels of existence *(martabat tujuh)*. Quoting al-Burhanpuri, al-

[101] This lontarak was translated by Abd Rahim Yunus *et al* under the title, "Pembuka Jalan Menuju Pangkuan Ilahi". In this lontarak Abdillah describes the Shattariah order in a section on the ways the Syatari followers practiced their daily rituals (*paslun pannassainngi gaukanna syattariyah).* Abd Rahim Yunus, Muhammad Salim, and Zainal Abidin, eds., *Al-Haj Mahmud Ibn Abdillah: Pembuka Jalan Menuju Pangkuan Ilahi* (Ujung Pandang: Yayasan al-Ahkam,1999), 105.

[102] Rahman, "Tarekat Khalwatiah", 19-20. ; Solihin, *Melacak Pemikiran*, 290. ; Shihab, *Akar Tasawuf*, 205. ; Aksin Wijaya, *Tuhfatul Abrar Dan Tajul Asrar: Karya Syaikh Yusuf Al-Maqassari* (Jakarta: Puslitbang Lektur Keagamaan Badan Litbang dan Diklat Departemen Agama RI, 2009), 48.

Makassari asserts that concerning their beings (wujūd), all existences are the existence of Allah *('ain al-Haq)*, but their presence cannot be equated with Him *(al-Haq)*.[103]

The internal political upheaval in South Sulawesi in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries hardly hindered the progress of Islam. As the most powerful kingdom in eastern Indonesia in the first half of the century, Gowa intervened in Maluku to gain control over the lucrative spice trade. Gowa's efforts came into conflict with the VOC, whose policy was to monopolize the spice trade. Much of the spices were being brought to the port of Makassar, where foreign traders, including the other European powers, had settled in order to trade directly for spices with Gowa. Eventually the VOC decided that its monopoly policy could only work if Gowa were prevented from going to Maluku. The refusal of Gowa to relinquish its support of the open seas led to hostilities with the VOC, culminating in the defeat of the kingdom of Gowa at the hands of the Dutch and their Bugis allies and the signing of the Bungaya Treaty in 1667. Although Gowa and its allies started another conflict soon thereafter, their power was spent, and the Dutch and Bugis reasserted full control in 1669. In place of Gowa, the Bugis kingdom of Bone under Arung Palakka (1672-96) became the pre-eminent power in South Sulawesi with the support of the VOC.[104]

During the era of Arung Palakka, South Sulawesi was united under his leadership. He used marriage in order to unite the royal houses in South Sulawesi, thus creating a "family bond," and he himself moved his residence to Bontualak, in the vicinity of the Dutch

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[103] The concept of *waḥdat al-wujūd* was circulating beyond the archipelago in this century. For instance, a Javanese mystical notion *"la dudu iku iya iki, sejatine iku iya"* (that is not but this, in existence that is this) and a Sundanese pantheistic word of Hasan Mustafa *"disebut aing da itu, disebut itu da aing"* (if it is identified as me, (in fact) it is that; yet, if it is identified that, (in fact) it is me) is essentially similar to what al-Makassari's idea. Solihin, *Melacak Pemikiran*, 195-6.; Manyambeang, "Lontaraq Riawayaqna", 181.

[104] Andaya, *Heritage of Arung Palakka*.

headquarters in Fort Rotterdam.[105] When he died, he was buried in the grounds of the Gowa royalty and was given a funeral ceremony that was befitting his lofty status in the region.[106] In subsequent elegies to Arung Palakka, one in particular is of interest to those interested in Islam. It is a Bugis poem in praise of Arung Palakka entitled, *La Menruranana Petta Malampee Gemme'na,* in which he is referred to as "The Heroic Sufi Ruler."[107]

The Eighteenth Century: The Influence of al-Makassari's Teaching

At the death of Arung Palakka in 1696, a unified South Sulawesi was bequeathed to his nephew and successor, La Patau. When the latter died in 1714, the unity that had been temporarily forged under these two rulers began to unravel. Each of the kingdoms now sought to strength its position by seeking direct relations with the VOC, something that had not been allowed by Arung Palakka or La Patau.[108] These kingdoms argued that they could undertake their own trade missions without seeking the consent of Bone or the Dutch. Trade increased among all the kingdoms, much to the dismay of the Dutch, who continued to seek to limit any challenge to their spice monopoly. They regarded any of these trading ventures conducted without Dutch approval as being under the control of pirates *(zeerovers)*. This contributed

[105] Arung Palakka married his successor La Patau to the daughters of Luwu, Gowa and Bone. Ibid., 270,94.; Gibson, *Islamic Narrative and Authority*, 92.

[106] Andaya, *Heritage of Arung Palakka*, 296.

[107] ———, "Kingship-Adat Rivalry," 35.

[108] Mattulada, *Sejarah, Masyarakat*, 187-8.

further to the outflow of people from South Sulawesi, which had begun in a large way during the period of Arung Palakka's reign.[109]

Throughout these upheavals, Islam continued to strengthen as a result of the aristocratic connection. Some of the descendants of al-Makassari, who would have come from the Gowa royal family, married with Gowa and Bone noble and royal families. It was they who embraced al-Makassari's teachings and helped spread his ideas throughout South Sulawesi. Among these were Sitti Habibah and Sitti Aisyah (grandchildren of al-Makassari), who married Sultan 'Abd al-Razzāq Jalāl al-Dīn (1749 – 1775), the fourth successor to Arung Palakka.[110] Their marriages contributed to the spread of al-Makassari's teachings in the courts of Gowa, and other strategic marriages of al-Makassari's descendants helped to spread his ideas to the other courts in the region.[111] The reputation of al-Makassari's students became so well-known that the Khalwatiah Yusuf became the Sufi order of choice among the religious officials (parewa sarak).[112] Compared with the Naqshabandiah order, which flourished in Galesong and Sanrabone and was also supported by al-Makassari's descendants, Khalwatiah Yusuf proved even more popular because it was practiced by the aristocracy.[113]

Al-Makassari's works on the Naqshabandiah order are found in Serang-Banten characters but in the Makassarese language.[114] Mukhlis argues that the Naqshabandiah order was popular among those Makassarese who were distraught after Gowa's defeat at the hands of Arung

[109] Ibid., 288.

[110] Patunru et al., *Sejarah Bone*, 214.

[111] Manyambeang, "Lontaraq Riawayaqna", 159.

[112] The remarkable influence of al-Makassari's teaching in South Sulawesi is noted in many local writings *(lontarak)* depicting his distinct spirituality and intellectual achievements. Ibid., 97.

[113] Rahman, "Tarekat Khalwatiah", 20. ; Manyambeang, "Lontaraq Riawayaqna", 125.

[114] Rahman, "Tarekat Khalwatiah", 20.

Palakka and the VOC.[115] The Sufi silent dhikr *(dhikr al-Qalbi)* proved attractive to the Makassarese as a way of dealing with their anger and frustration after the defeat. Through the Naqshabandiah dhikr, they obtained spiritual serenity by emulating the Prophet's modest lifestyle and rejecting material desires. The order also emerged as a social movement to protest against conditions in Makassar. Nevertheless, because of its inclusiveness and suspicion toward the outside world, the Naqshabandiah became increasingly syncretic, mixing Islam with local un-Islamic traditions. The worship of Shaikh Yusuf or al-Makassari continues to occur in different ways among various groups found in Gowa and its environs.[116]

Not only the Makassarese but also the Bugis belonged to the Naqshabandiah order. A lontarak from Wajo discusses the founder of the order, Bahā al-Din al-Naqshabandī (d. 1389), and his method of performing dhikr by reflection *(tafakkur)*, breathing *(nafas)*, and spiritual exercise *(muraqabah)*. The Naqshabandiah dhikr consists of *dhikr al-muqarabah, dhikr al-dāim* and *dhikr al-qalb*. In Bugis the dhikr al-dāim is known as *zikkiri temmapettu* or uninterrupted dhikr. It refers to the practice of remembering Allah continually by mentioning the name of Allah while exhaling and intoning the sound *"hu"* when inhaling. The dhikr al-Qalbi (silent dhikr) is done to clean one's heart and remember the name of Allah in seeking His help against one's enemies.

The same *lontarak* mentions a follower of Naqshabandiah, who was initiated into the order by Muhammad Yahya bin Muhammad 'Umar Raīs Imam Shafi'ī in Corawali, Wajo. In addition to Muhammad Yahya, the lontarak also mentions other teachers of the order, such as a

[115] Paeni, Poelinggomang, and al, eds., *Sejarah Kebudayaan*, 94.

[116] Manyambeang, "Lontaraq Riawayaqna", 167-70.

Meccan teacher for the Jawah students in Ḥaramayn, Muhammad Sa'id Sunbul. In South Sulawesi, the teacher of Muhammad Fudail of the Khalwatiah Sammān is listed as a follower of Naqshabandiah [117] before he initiated his students, including his son Abd Al-Ghani Singkeru Rukka alias Ahmad Idris (the ruler of Bone, 1860-1871), into the Khalawtia Sammān order. The Naqshabandiah order continues to have followers in South Sulawesi. There are many khalīfah (deputies) and murshīd (masters) of the order in South Sulawesi with hundred of followers in Makassar, Bulukumba, Sinjai, Bone, Soppeng, Majene, Polmas, Maros etc.[118]

Unlike the Naqshabandiah, the Khalwatiah Yusuf was ubiquitous among Gowa noblemen.[119] Among its followers was Daeng Sahe, who was known as the Mufti, a religious advisor, of Gowa *(mufti Gowa yang bijaksana)*. According to the silsilah or genealogy of the Khalwatiah Yusuf, Daeng Sahe was initiated into the order by his father, Abd al-Kadir Majennang, a student of 'Abd al-Bashir (Puang Rappang).[120] One of Puang Rapang's khalīfah was 'Abd al-Wahid bin 'Abd al-Gaffār, the kadi (a member of the parewa sarak) at Bontoala and Maros.[121]

As intermarriages among the nobility were common in South Sulawesi, the spread of the Khalwatiah Yusuf was also apparent in the eighteenth century. Al-Makassari wanted to have his teachings of mystical Islam limited only to the advanced students of Islam. His student 'Abd al-Bashir therefore taught al-Makassari's idea to the aristocracy and religious official who were

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[117] Rahman, "Tarekat Khalwatiah", 22-32.

[118] Ibid.

[119] According to Mukhlis, the followers of Naqshabandiah order were predominantly peasants. See Paeni, Poelinggomang, and al, eds., *Sejarah Kebudayaan*.

[120] Rahman, "Tarekat Khalwatiah", 46.

[121] Sultan, *Allah Dan Jalan*, 37.

religiously literate. The exclusiveness of the Khalwatiah Yusuf order was in stark contrast to the Naqshabandiah, who counted many ordinary Makassarese among its adherents.[122] But both orders benefited from the political upheaval in South Sulawesi as the people sought to find some social anchor in religion.[123]

When Wahabism and Dutch colonialism arrived in the area in the second half of the nineteenth century, Islam turned to more social concerns, a tendency that continued in the following century with the emergence of the Indonesian nationalist movement. Even with the increasing strength and unity of the Muslims, the various Sufi spiritual orders continued to thrive in South Sulawesi. The egalitarian tenets of Islam, however, could not replace the stable social structure based on the patron-client system in Bugis-Makassarese societies. The success of the Khalwatiah Yusuf order, to a certain extent, was based on its ability to tap into South Sulawesi's strong social system.

From the Nineteenth Century Onwards: High Colonialism, Wahabism, Modernism, and Nationalism

Unlike the earlier period of Islamization, which had been characterized initially by tensions between kingship and Panngadereng, Islam in the nineteenth century exhibited more a division between orthodoxy and heterodoxy, as well as between elitist and popular Islam. Wahabism and high colonialism affected the development of Islam in the archipelago. The

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[122] The reputation of both tarekats among the Makassarese is depicted in the lontarak of Shaikh Yusuf, as shown in Manyambeang's study, *"Nakana Rasulullahi, paqsabakkang Maulana Qasabandia siagang hurumaq kasalamakkanna halwatia Mangkasaraq* (the Prophet said, this is (regarding those blessed people) because of the lord of Qasabandia *(Naqshabandiah)* and the glory of *Khalwatiah* in Makassar)." Manyambeang, "Lontaraq Riawayaqna", 124-5.

[123] According to Mattulada, though political tensions that led to wars were evident among the local rulers, the wars mostly occurred as a result of the desire to escape the yoke of colonialism. Mattulada, *Agama Islam*, 73-4.

political situation in the previous two centuries had embittered many people in South Sulawesi to the Dutch.[124]

The collapse of the VOC at the end of the eighteenth century merely replaced a private Dutch company with a more pervasive and intrusive Dutch state. Although Gowa in particular tried to take advantage of the transitional period, including the English interregnum (1812-16), to gain supremacy over Bone, the return of the Dutch in 1816 denied any advantage to Gowa.[125] Based on the *Staatblaad* of 1825 many areas in South Sulawesi were brought under the direct rule of the Dutch *(gouvernementslanden)* and divided into six major districts *(afdeelingen)*.[126] Then in 1903 the Dutch restructured their colonial dependencies by dividing the six districts into smaller districts *(onderafdeelingen)*, while appointing a governor responsible for the whole of Dutch-administered South Sulawesi *(goueverneur van Celebes en Onderhoorigheden)*. He was assisted by an assistant resident appointed to each district. In 1905 the Dutch incorporated the major kingdoms in South Sulawesi, thus completing their take-over of the peninsula. This move aroused the opposition of the kingdoms, which was led by Bone and Gowa. The Arumpone Karaeng Segeri Sultan Abdulhamid, defied the Dutch, but Bone was easily defeated and incorporated into the Dutch colonial administration in Makassar.[127]

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[124] ———, *Sejarah, Masyarakat*, 320.

[125] Ibid., 324.

[126] 1) *Afdeeling* Makassar consisting of Fort Rotterdam and the city of Makassar and regions under the earlier Tallo; 2) Northern districts *(Noorderdisticten)* that encompassed Maros, Pangkajene, Segeri, Tanralili, Labakkang, Mandalle, and Balocci; 3) *Afdeeling* Takalar embracingTopejawa, Sanrabone, Polombangkeng, Lengkese, Laikang, and Bangkala; 4) *Afdeeling Zuider districten* (Southern districts) including Bantaeng, Binamu, and Bulukumba; 5) Afdeeling Oosterdistricten comprising Balangnipa, Bikeru, and Kajang; 6) *Afdeeling* Saleier referring to all Selayar Islands. Bosra, *Tuang Guru*, 66.

[127] Ibid., 69.

Having defeated Bone in 1905, the Dutch fought wars against Gowa, Luwu, Sawitto, Duri, and Tana Toraja and by 1906 had subdued the entire peninsula.

To help govern this greatly expanded colonial state in South Sulawesi, the colonial government in Batavia appointed from among the local elites a resident assistant and a controller for each district, and regent for each district leader. These retained the traditional names of *gallarrang, karaeng,* and *punggawa*. The entire South Sulawesi was thus brought under the Governor of Celebes and Dependencies and remained so until the Japanese invasion in 1942.[128]

Nineteenth-century South Sulawesi also witnessed a new Islamic movement in the form of Wahabism. The increasing tension between the colonial authorities and local rulers in South Sulawesi occurred at a time of upheaval in the Islamic world with the growing strength in the Ḥaramayn of the Wahabi movement led by the followers of Muhammad ibn ʻAbd al-Wahhāb. The Wahabi's primary goal was the purification of Islam from un-Islamic practices.[129] Large numbers of returning pilgrims from Mecca brought not only closer links between the archipelago and the heartland of Islam, but also a gradual increase in the influence of Wahabism. South Sulawesi was no exception to this general phenomenon. In Wajo, the appointment of the Wahabi Shaikh Medina as the advisor to the king indicated an acceptance of the movement in the kingdom. Through the ruler of Wajo, La Mamang Toappamadeng Tuanta Raden Gallo (r. ca 1821-1825), Shaikh Medina was at the forefront in the campaign to implement a stricter form of Islam. He introduced a policy that all women had to wear the *kerudung* or veil, that buildings or

[128] Ibid., 70-1.

[129] Wahabism was born in central Arabia in 1744 when Muhammad ibn ʻAbd al-Wahhāb propagated a radical and militant form of Islam. He called for the return to the tradition of the Prophet Muhammad and the Qur'an. James L Peacock, *Purifying the Faith: The Muhammadijah Movement in Indonesian Islam* (Arizona: Arizona State University, Program for Southeast Asian Studies, 1992), 3.

trees that were a source of worship were to be destroyed, and thieves would have their hands amputated.[130]

Like the Padri movement in West Sumatra at the turn of the nineteenth century, the rise of the modernist movement in South Sulawesi at the same time posed a threat to the Sufi brotherhoods (tarekat) and conservative Islamic groups. As noted by Dobbin the Indonesian students in the Ḥaramayn in 1803 faced an uncertain political situation because of the Wahabi. Not only did the Wahabi subjugate the city of the prophet, but they also advocated that the sharī'ah return to the fundamental teachings of the prophet and his companion.[131] Since many of the Jawah colony, including Bugis and Makassarese, resided in the Ḥaramayn, they were influenced by the Wahabi movement and brought some of these ideas back with them to their respective homelands.

At the time of the emergence of the Wahabis, Islamization in South Sulawesi was in the hands of Sufi teachers acting also in the capacity as religious officials. They continued to maintain strong contact with the Ḥaramayn and therefore were aware of the growing influence of the Wahabi puritan version of Islam both in the heartland as well as in the archipelago. The tensions between the hierarchical state-supported Islam and the puritan Wahabi variety of the religion resembled an earlier period when there was a confrontation between orthodox and heterodox Islamic groups. Dutch policy to support moderate Islam, the growth of the Islamic publishing houses, and the influence of modernist Egyptian Muslim thinkers may have

[130] Mattulada, *Sejarah, Masyarakat*, 206.

[131] Christine Dobbin, *Islamic Revivalism in a Changing Peasant Economy: Central Sumatra, 1784 – 1847* (London: Curzon Press, 1983), 128.

encouraged the birth of the modernist Muslim organization, Muhammadiyah.[132] In this respect, Sufism has been viewed by those puritan ‘ulamā as a distinct discipline in Islam, and there was opposition to it and the fear of similar problems as occurred in Aceh with the wujūdiah followers in the seventeenth century. The opposition to Sufism did not wane, and in the nineteenth century, there were religious works by Sayyid ‘Usman that insulted the mystical Sufi teachers and their practices in the archipelago.[133]

Muhammadiyah was founded in Java in November 1912, representing the Islamic modernist movement centered in Egypt and the Ḥaramayn.[134] A year before, Haji Samanhudi founded a modernist association, the Sarekat Dagang Islam (SDI, Islamic Commercial League), which was soon called simply Sarekat Islam (SI, Islamic League or Union) to reflect a less commercial orientation. Preceding the foundation of these Islamic organizations, in 1908 a Javanese doctor Wahidin Sudirohusodo founded Budi Utomo (Noble Endeavour), which was noted as the first nationalist organization in modern Indonesia. In addition, Western schools run by the Dutch colonial administration graduated scholars who would later lead the Indonesian nationalist movement. [135]

In South Sulawesi, there was an embryo modernist Islamic organization called *Jam’iyat al-Mardhiyah*, which was begun in 1914 by a Muslim of Arab descent. Though its leaders were obscure, this organization of mainly members of Arab descent contributed to the further

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[132] Gibson, *And the Sun Pursued the Moon*, 233.

[133] Azyumardi Azra, "A Hadhrami Religious Scholar in Indonesia: Sayyid ‘Uthman," in *Hadhrami Traders, Scholars, and Statesmen in the Indian Ocean, 1750s-1960s*, ed. Ulrike Freitag and William Clarence-Smith (Leiden, New York, Koln: Brill, 1997), 256-7.

[134] Peacock, *Purifying the Faith*, 3,23.

[135] Alfian, *Muhammadiyah: The Political Behavior of a Muslim Modernist Organization under Dutch Colonialism* (Yogyakarta: Gadjah Mada University Press, 1989).

Islamization of the region. From this school went local Arab students, among whom was Sayid Mahmud Abd al-Rahmān Shihāb, to the Arab school in Batavia, *Jami'yat al-Khair*. When Sarekat Islam (SI) was founded in Makassar in 1914, some of Jami'yat al-Mardhiyah's leaders became its major leaders.[136] The foundation of SI in Makassar was viewed by both Dutch and local rulers as a threat to the colonial government and as an organization that may have initiated a non-cooperative policy against the Dutch. In time, this non-cooperative policy was adopted by the Partai Serikat Islam (PSI) toward both the Dutch and the local rulers. The modernist Muslim organizations propagated their ideas through their Islamic schools known as *madrasah* with modern methods of teaching to replace traditional methods or *mangaji kitta*.[137]

As its political activities developed in the 1920s, PSI was challenged by some 'ulamā who wanted it to move away from politics and more toward a religious and social direction. Their disappointment with the PSI led them to found a new organization, *al-Shirāt al-Mustaqīm*, led by Haji Abd al-Razāq, Haji Abdullah, and Muhammad Kasim. Abdullah's religious scholarly background attracted many to his organization. As a Meccan graduate, Abdullah (born in Maros in 1887) was noted as a strict teacher who advocated the emulation of the prophet in adopting a puritan attitude in practicing Islam. Abdullah's puritan teaching was viewed as radical by Abd al-Razāq, who was accused by the former of tolerating local traditions that were unrelated to Islamic ritual *(ibadah)*. Once Manshūr al-Yamāni introduced Muhammadiyah's mission to Abdullah, he decided to affiliate his group to this organization, leaving 'Abd al-Razāq to lead al-Shirāth al-Mustaqīm. Many had joined al-Shirāth al-Mustaqīm because of Abdullah's reputation, and so when he left, many also brought their groups into Muhammadiyah.

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[136] Bosra, *Tuang Guru*, 94-6.

[137] Ibid., 104-6.

The Muhammadiyah was founded in Makassar on April 27, 1926.[138] Since then the organization has become popular throughout the region with its education and religious programs. It has built mosques, *langgars*, and schools for its followers in every regency in South Sulawesi, while sending its graduates to distant areas to spread its beliefs *(dakwah/tabligh)*.[139]

The 1920s also witnessed the progress of Islam among the traditionalist groups, namely *Ahl al-Sunnah*, the predecessor of *Nahdlatul* 'ulamā (NU), the traditionalist movement centered in East Java. As the group had long and lasting links with the Ḥaramayn, it called Bugis students in Mecca to return home to develop Islamic education. Among those who heeded the call was Haji Muhammad As'ad, son of the Bugis 'ulamā in Mecca, Haji 'Abd al-Rashīd of Wajo. With his uncle, Haji Ambo Emme, Muhammad As'ad, widely known as Anregurutta Haji Sade, founded an Arabic school, *Madrasah 'Arabiyyah Islāmiah*, in Wajo in 1932.[140] Three years before, an Islamic school, *Madrasah 'Amiriyyah*, was founded in Bone by Bone-Meccan graduates and fellow students from the Ḥaramayn, such as 'Abd al-Azīz al-Hāsyimi al-Murabbī and 'Abd al-Hamid al-Misrī.[141] Islamic formal education was temporarily disrupted by the Japanese occupation of Indonesia, including South Sulawesi from 1942 to 1945. Muhammadiyah shifted more to an informal socio-religious agenda to avoid Japanese suspicion. Many of its schools were closed by the Japanese, and so there was a restoration of the traditional teaching

[138] Ibid., 109-18.

[139] Paeni, Poelinggomang, and al, eds., *Sejarah Kebudayaan*.

[140] Ibid.

[141] Mattulada, *Sejarah, Masyarakat*, 405.

(mangaji kita) in Wajo, Bone, Sinjai, and Salemo Island.[142] Makassar could no longer promote modernist Islamic education.

Apart from this upheaval in Islamic education, the orthodox ‘ulamā continued to attack the Sufi’s allegedly heretical teachings. The Khalwatiah Sammān was among the Sufi orders that were attacked. The orthodox ‘ulamā were particularly hostile to Khalwatiah Sammān’s indigenous ritual and its perpetuation of the traditional noble ranking system in its religious practices.[143] The three interwoven missions of the Muhammadiyah—anti-superstition, anti-religious innovation and anti-magical practices (Ind. *tahayul, bid’ah, hurafat*)—opposed every religious practice among the traditionalist and mystical groups alike. Inspired by the Wahabism in the Ḥaramayn and the movements in Java and Sumatra, the anti-heterodox *Daeng Guru* movement was formed in South Sulawesi. Up until the Japanese occupation in Indonesia, the Khalwatiah Sammān suffered attacks by Muslim reformers.

During the occupation the situation of the Khalwatiah Sammān did not improve, and after Indonesian independence this order was among the groups that suffered at the hands of Kahar Muzakkar, who led a popular movement in South Sulawesi that joined the separatist Darul Islam (DI) movement that lasted from 1950 to 1965.[144] The history of persecution finally convinced the leaders of the Khalwatiah Sammān to seek an alliance with the state. It was not a new survival strategy, but it was successful. In the New Order regime of Suharto, this order became one of the supporters of Suharto and thus was in line with the major modernist and traditionalist

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[142] Paeni, Poelinggomang, and al, eds., *Sejarah Kebudayaan*, 127.

[143] Gibson, *And the Sun Pursued the Moon*, 233.

[144] Anhar Gonggong, *Abdul Qahhar Mudzakkar, Dari Patriot Hingga Pemberontak* (Jakarta: Gramedia Widiasarana Indonesia, 1992), 6-7.

organizations in the country. The Suharto era (1965-1998) was marked by political stability and strong economic growth under the banner of *Pembangunan* (development). Religious tensions were eased considerably by Suharto's policy of SARA (*suku, agama, dan ras* [ethnicity, religion and race]).

The Spiritual Legacy of Maros

The importance of Maros in the story of the Khalwatiah Sammān order deserves some comment. Maros was the beneficiary of al-Makassari's mystical legacy that supported the involvement of the traditional elite in South Sulawesi. Among the order's royal followers was Ahmad Shaleh (La Tenritappu), the ruler of Bone (r. 1775 – 1812), from whom the reputation of Maros as a mystical lodge in the Peninsula may have its roots. La Tenritappu was attracted to al-Makassari's mystical teaching, as is seen in his mystical work, *Nūr al-Hādī* (the light of guidance), written on May 21, 1788 in the village of Pattene in Maros, when the author was 32 years of age.[145]

In this work, the author showed the importance of al-Makassari. Accordingly, al-Makassari is considered among the important Sufi figures in South Sulawesi, though he did not remain ruler of Gowa as long as was expected. His student 'Abd al-Bashir (Puang Rappang), a nobleman from Bone, continued al-Makassari's Sufi teachings among the Bugis and Makassarese. Puang Rappang wrote his own mystical treatise, *daqāiq al-Asrār*, a work written in

[145] I received the translated manuscript of *Nur al-Hadi* from Muhlis Hadrawi in Makassar in April 2010. In this work the author's name is written as Ahmad Saleh Syamsu al-Millat wa al-Din. See Ahmad Shaleh Syams al-Millat wa al-Din, "Nur Al-Hadi."

a friendly tone for his nephew, Sultan Idris al-Mudarris al-Buni.[146] He also wrote other works on Sufism: *al-Risalat al-Mubārakah* and *Bahjat al-Tanwīr*. According to one source, he died in Rappang on 5 May 1723, and was buried alongside other prominent Gowa figures: al-Makassari, Daeng ri Tasammeng and the king of Gowa Sultan ‘Abd al-Jalīl.[147]

Maros lies between the two great kingdoms, Gowa and Bone, and as a major rice-producer it was an important source of rice for both. During Arung Palakka’s reign (1672-96), many Bugis moved into this Makassarese-speaking land with the encouragement of Arung Palakka. To prevent Maros from supporting any Gowa uprising against them, the Dutch built a military post in the province. Both local and colonial records provide extensive accounts on Maros.[148] As a result of Arung Palakka’s policy of encouraging Bugis to settle in Maros, the population became bilingual in both Bugis and Makassarese. In addition to being a valuable source of food, Maros became known as the home of Sufi orders, which then spread their teaching to other parts of Sulawesi and to neighboring lands.[149]

Before the reign of Ahmad Shaleh, Maros was already well-known as a base of mystical Islamic traditions. A Sufi order was established by Arumpone (1631-44) La Madarammeng Muhammad Shaleh in 1643. As a sharī’ah-minded ruler La Madarammeng was known as a

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[146] Hawash Abdullah, *Perkembangan Ilmu Tasawuf Dan Tokoh-Tokohnya Di Nusantara* (Surabaya Penerbit Ikhlas, 1930), 81-2.

[147] Rahman puts his death in 1723, but Sultan claims that it was 1733. Rahman, "Tarekat Khalwatiah", 45. ; Sultan, *Allah Dan Jalan*, 37.

[148] The VOC gave Maros and Bantaeng to Arung Palakka as “fiefs” for his loyalty to the company. Andaya, *Heritage of Arung Palakka*, 151.

[149] According to Puang Hidayah, a Khalwatiahh Sammān khalīfah in Turikale, Maros has been recognized as a sacred place to both Gowa and Bone, due to the location of a sacred shrine attributed to a venerated saint from Gowa. When a lesser Bugis noblemen Abd al-Razak, the syaikh of Khalwatiahh Sammān, came to Pattene in Maros, the Gowa ruler consented to allow him to stay and teach there. *Interview* with Puang Hidayah, Turikale Maros, April 2010.

zealous Muslim ruler who imposed strict Islamic law in his and neighboring courts. Forty years later, al-Makassari's son also joined the Khalwatiah Yusuf lodge in Maros.[150]

Gowa noblemen, disgruntled with their restricted spiritual privileges, were instrumental in the formation of the Khalwatiah Sammān in Maros in the first half of the nineteenth century.[151] It proved popular among the commoners, but it continued to be opposed by the orthodox 'ulamā from both the modernist and traditionalist camp, represented in the twentieth century by the Muhammadiyah and Nadhlatul 'ulamā (NU) organizations, respectively. Only in the Suharto regime did the Khalwatiah Sammān avoid persecution because its leaders gave their political support to Suharto.

Conclusion

Differing slightly from other parts of the archipelago, Islam in South Sulawesi was characterized by cooperation between religion and the state. The rulers of the twin kingdoms of Gowa-Tallo continued their political and economic domination in South Sulawesi and eastern Indonesia in the first half of the seventeenth century. The concept of the perfect man (al-insān al-kāmil) taught by itinerant Sufi teachers was considered by the local rulers as an appropriate spiritual model that would replace in name but not in belief in the sacred origins of rulers through the tomanurung concept. As Islamization met resistance and political prejudice, Muslim leaders relied on the concept of Islamic brotherhood *(ukhuwwah Islāmiah)* or the *ummah*, and the

[150] Gibson, *Islamic Narrative and Authority*, 123.

[151] The *Khalwatiah Yusuf* has been dominated by descendants of al-Makassari and Sayyids (those of Arab descent), and the Khalwatiahh Sammān by local Bugis teachers *(khalīfah or Murshīd).*

earlier commitment among the major kingdoms to share the "truth" when one of them found it, in order to advance the religion.

The cooperation between the three Dato from Sumatra and the local rulers contributed to the success of Islamization in South Sulawesi and the institutionalization of Islam within the state. Islam became embedded in the state system and local customs of the Panngadereng, and the appointment of the traditional elite as religious officers (parewa sarak) contributed greatly toward the success of Islamization in South Sulawesi in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The Sufi tradition co-existed with mainstream Islam and remained strong among both the elite and the commoners. Al-Makassari's teachings were influential in South Sulawesi, especially among the Gowa aristocracy, and the formation of the Khalwatiah Yusuf—Yusuf being his native name—was his legacy to the region.

Nineteenth-century South Sulawesi was marked by Wahabism and European high colonialism in the heartland of Islam, as well as in archipelagic Southeast Asia. Despite the repressive atmosphere, Islam continued to gain adherents and created a stronger sense of solidarity among Muslims around the world. In South Sulawesi there was a greater feeling of Islamic identity and solidarity in face of the intrusive presence of European colonists. The puritanical Wahabism was also a factor in the nineteenth century and was promoted by the coming of Shaikh Medina to Wajo. Ironically, it was the emphasis on returning to the fundamentals of Islam that caused many to join the Khalwatiah Sammān in the second half of the century. As with other Sufi orders, the Khalwatiah Sammān was also opposed by orthodox 'ulamā and those representing the Wahabi stream of Islam. What is clear is that the success of

this order is due to the intimate links between the traditional elite and the teachings of the order that reinforce the position of this elite.

The remarkable strength of the Khalwatiah Sammān movement in the twentieth century in South Sulawesi may be due to this partnership of the order and the elite. Opposition and even violence was directed at the order by the more orthodox puritan elements in the religion, and this only stopped when the order supported President Suharto during his long tenure as president of the Republic of Indonesia.

Chapter Four

The Rise of Khalwatiah Sammān: Encountering the Local, Escaping the Global

"Al-shaikh fī qaumihi ka al-Nabī li ummatihi (The Shaikh is to his followers as the prophet is to his ummah)."('Abd al-Razzāq, February 1876)[1]

This chapter emphasizes external factors that contributed to the rise and development of the Khalwatiah Sammān order in South Sulawesi. Its emergence was more than just a response to the dominant form of Islam; it was also an adaptation to the intrusion of Dutch colonialism and the influence of the puritanical Wahabi movement. As Wahabism spread across the Indian Ocean, many Jawah students began returning home to the archipelago. At the same time there was an increasing migration to Indonesia of Wahabi 'ulamā from Mecca, expanding Wahabi's reach across the globe. In South Sulawesi, the Wahabi influence became noticeable with the arrival of Shaikh Medina to Wajo and his teaching of the new fundamentalism.

With the new religious phenomenon causing an upheaval in the Islamic world, there was a corresponding reawakening of alternate forms of worship. In South Sulawesi the rise of the Khalwatiah Sammān with its simple but effective ritual appealed to the ordinary Muslim, who would have been concerned at the turmoil caused by Wahabism in the heartland of Islam and increasingly within their own shores. The founder of this Sufi tradition that began in Medina was Muhammad 'Abd al-Karīm as-Sammān al-Madanī (1717-1776), widely known among Indonesian Muslims as as-Sammān or shaikh Sammān. His teachings were a refuge for those seeking to escape the aggressive Wahabi tactics in removing what they regarded as heterodox practices. Among the Sufis were those who opposed the Wahabi movement, and others who

[1] 'Abd al- Razzāq, "The Diary ".

simply sought to escape it. In South Sulawesi, the Khalwatiah Sammān was unlike other Sufi orders in the archipelago by surviving and prospering because of its links to the orthodox parewa sarak, or the orthodox religious council that counted many noble supporters of the Khalwatiah in its ranks.

Unlike Steenbrink's description of the decline of the less sharī'ah-oriented Shaṭṭariah order in the archipelago in the mid-nineteenth century, the Khalwatiah Sammān proved to be resilient and successful.[2] Although the more sharī'ah-minded order of Naqshabandiah-Qādiriah gained the support of the returning Meccan-Jawi students,[3] the Khalwatiah Sammān was able to challenge the religious hegemony that had been created through the collaboration between the nobles and the religious council (parewa sarak), consistenting mainly of Makassarese descendants of al-Makassari and those of Arab descent.[4]

In light of the Wahabi pressure to return to the modest fundamental teachings of the prophet, the exclusive noble class membership of the Khalwatiah Yusuf stood in sharp contrast. Perhaps to deflect such criticism the noblemen of this order saw the need to impart Islamic knowledge to commoners. The Khalwatiah Sammān's appeal as an order with a strong following among the ordinary people may have also struck a responsive chord, particularly in Makassarese society where the aristocracy had lost some of its luster as a result of the humiliation of the Bungaya Treaty after Gowa was defeated by the combined Bugis-VOC forces

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[2] Karel A. Steenbrink, *Beberapa Aspek Tentang Islam Di Indonesia Abad Ke-19* (Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, 1984), 174-5.

[3] The term "Jawi" or "Jawah" was commonly used for those Muslims coming from island Southeast Asia: the present Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, and Brunei. Michael Francis Laffan, *Islamic Nationhood and Colonial Indonesia, the Umma Below the Winds* (London and New York: Routledge Curzon, 2003).; Azyumardi Azra, *The Origin of Islamic Reformism in Southeast Asia: Networks of Malay-Indonesian and Middle Eastern Ulama in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2004), 2-3.

[4] Leonard Y. Andaya, "Kingship-Adat Rivalry and the Role of Islam in South Sulawesi," *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* XV, no. 1 (1984): 40.

in 1667. Although the event had occurred two centuries before, the memory remained strong because of the ceremony surrounding the intermittent renewal of the treaty. As a result of the reputation of al-Makassari, Bone's aristocracy joined the Khalwatiah Yusuf and became more receptive to the Khalwatiah Sammān. The Islamic situation in South Sulawesi was a complex one, in which the traditional class structure was bound up with the Sufi orders.

Tarekat and the Noblemen in South Sulawesi: Two Khalwatiahs

There were two exclusive practices among the noblemen of South Sulawesi in its Islamic era: Sufi spiritual discipline and sexuality. The former is evident in the noblemen's tarekat (Sufi order) practices, and the latter in their adoption of the more restrained Sufi-prescribed sexual intercourse. The latter can be likened to the *Kamasutra*, a sexual tradition linked to Hindu ideas. Both the Islamic and Hindu traditions are similar in depicting these sexual practices as part of a greater conception of the unity of man and his lord (waḥdat al-wujūd). Two prominent masters of tarekat, al-Makassari of Khalwatiah Yusuf and Abdullah bin 'Abd al-Razzāq of Khalwatiah Sammān, were responsible for the Islamization of sexual practices among the noblemen, which is the subject of a lontarak entitled, *Assikalaibineng* (The Book of Islamized Sexuality).[5] The fact that a document was written to assist noblemen to become more Islamic in their sexual practices may have been part of the appeal to the aristocracy, in the same way that belonging to

[5] There is a close relationship between spiritual ideas and sexual intercourse in the sense that a couple must continue to think of Allah while making love. This is explained in the *Assikalaibineng* attributed to Abdullah: *Mupe'de'(ce')ngi tanna nappase'mu/Muinappa ppajajiwa gau'mu aja' lalo [mualupaiwi]/Allahu Taala mabbarattemmummu/Mupattettekiwi pakkita laleng Isemu Jalale/Yanae' ALLAHU ri lalena ati SANUBARI ri lalenna usota' ri yabe'o*...(Control your breath while having intercourse, but do not forget Allah/Keep your mind on the great name of Allah…He is Allah within your inner soul…). Muhlis Hadrawi, *Assikalaibineng (Kitab Persetubuhan Bugis)* (Makassar: Ininnawa, 2009), 38-9.

the Khalwatiah Yusuf was regarded as a special privilege reserved for this class.[6] It is interesting to note that the khalīfah of Khalwatiah Sammān, Abdullah bin ‘Abd al-Razzāq, links sexual conduct to the dhikr (repetition of Allah), which is at the heart of the Khalwatiah Sammān rituals.

Historically, Khalwatiah Order is a mixed mystical tradition of Mesopotamian and Iranian origins traced back through Junaid al-Baghdadī (d. 298/910) to Ma’ruf al-Karkhī (d. 200/815) and Sari as-Saqaṭī (d.251/865), to whom the prominent Sufi figure Abu Yazīd al-Bistāmī is linked, as shown in Khalwatiah’s genealogy (silsilah).[7] Though the mystical character of the Iranian tradition tended to be more individual and heterodox, the Khalwatiah Sammān in South Sulawesi exhibited greater local features and to some extent was more amenable to aspects of Sunni orthodoxy. On the other hand, the Sunni ‘ulamās—in Sulawesi they were the parewa sarak—representing the majority of Muslims were very critical of the mystical practices of the order. They regarded the Khalwatiah Sammān’s shaikhs as not being in accordance with acceptable mystical practices in Islam, especially the blind fanaticism of the followers towards their shaikhs.[8] In answer to their critics, the Khalwatiah Sammān Shaikhs published a number of works arguing that their mystical activities have a strong legitimacy in the world of esoteric Islam.

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[6] Ibid., 3.; Martin van Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning: Pesantren Dan Tarekat, Tradisi-Tradisi Islam Di Indonesia* (Bandung: Mizan, 1999), 295.

[7] J. Spencer Trimingham, *The Sufi Orders in Islam* (London, Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 1971), 32-51.; Alexander Knysh, *Islamic Mysticism: A Short History* (Leiden, Boston, Koln: Brill, 2000), 175.; A. J. Arberry, *The Doctrine of the Sufis (Kitab Al-Ta'arruf Li-Madhhab Ahl Al-Tasawwuf)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), 12.

[8] According to an anonymous source, a sayid (person of Arab descent) member of the Khalwatiah Yusuf explained that the Khalwatiah Sammān differed from his own order. The Khalwatiah Sammān had a reputation among Muslims for its lax requirements in the appointment of its *khalīfah* or the district representative. Spiritual maturity and Islamic knowledge were not regarded as the most important requirements for a khalīfah, unlike the practice in his own Khalwatiah Yusuf. *Interview*, Maros, March 2010.

The religious controversy in South Sulawesi occurred in the midst of a deteriorating political situation. As a result of the ongoing impact of the Bungaya treaty, the Makassarese people remained fragmented. The Bugis kingdom of Bone continued to assert its pre-eminence among the South Sulawesi kingdoms, thus incurring the displeasure of many of the smaller states.[9]

The political decline and hence legitimacy of the local elites *(anakkaraeng/anakarung)* as traditional leaders was accompanied by an increasing tendency of the people to seek new leaders and patrons among the religious elite by receiving guidance and divine blessings (barakka). The informal ‘ulamā or the khalīfahs of the Khalwatiah Sammān were therefore able to gain the affection of the people.[10] The order’s simpler dhikr and mass-based congregation inspired commoners to join the order. In short, it was the unfavorable political conditions in South Sulawesi that enabled the Khalwatiah Sammān’s leaders to gain a large following and help bridge the social gap between the sharī’ah-oriented Muslim elites and the less-Islamized and more mystical-oriented common people.

Both the Khalwatiah Yusuf and Khalwatiah Sammān are loyal patrons of the rulers. Like its predecessor in the eighteenth century, Khalwatiah Sammān developed a firm relationship with the ruler of the small state of Maros, which was marked by intermarriages between the descendants of the khalīfah and the aristocracy. This blood relationship contributed significantly to the spread of the order among local government officials.[11] In Bone the influence of the

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[9] ANRI, "Secret Brieven Aan De Hooge Indische Regering Sedert 20 August A. 1800 Tot Den 18 October A. 1803," in *Bundel Makasar nomor 189/3*

[10] *Khalifah* can be the grand masters *(shaikh)* or their deputies.

[11]The reason Yusuf’s khalwatiyyah order merely circulated among the nobility is because of his view that tasawwuf should only be for the elected among the noblemen *(khās al-Khawwās)*. The mystical way, he believed, could only

Khalwatiah Yusuf is evident also in a marriage between a member of the order and the ruler of Bone, Sultan Ahmad Ṣālih Matinroe ri Rompegading (La Tenritappu) (r. Bone 1775-1812).[12] The latter's interest in Sufi spiritual ideas led him to write the *Nūr al-Hādi* on al-Makassari's Sufism[13] and to support the translation of Arabic and Malay writing on Islam into local languages. He also maintained a scholarly circle in his court to study the Sufi masters. Yusuf Bogor, a jurist from Bogor, West Java, was among his invited scholars who became the Kali of Bone (Kadi Bone) and the teacher of Islamic mysticism to the sultan. He was a member of the Shaṭṭariah order founded by Muhammad Ṭāhir al-Kurānī (1670-1733), who was accepted as master by Indian scholars such as Shah Walī Allah and Muḥammad Ḥayya al-Sind.[14] Unfortunately, there is no source that shows that it was Yusuf Bogor who initiated the sultan into either the Khalwatiah Yusuf or the Khalwatiah Sammān order since his name is not mentioned in the silsilah of the two tarekats. Moreover, Yusuf Bogor did not explicitly describe his intellectual genealogy to justify his qualifications for teaching mystical Islam. But whether Sultan Ahmad Ṣālih was ever initiated in either Sufi order, his work is clear evidence that Sufism was practiced in the court of Bone, which became a center of Islamic learning.

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be trod through a total commitment both outwardly and inwardly to the legal doctrine of Islam. See Azyumardi Azra, *Islam in the Indonesian World: An Account of Institutional Formation* (Bandung: Mizan Press, 2006), 141. Gibson, citing Ligtvoet and Cense, noted that in 1706 Sultan Ismail (r. Gowa 1709-1712, r. Bone 1720-1724) married Shaikh Yusuf's daughter Labiba, and a generation later Shaikh Yusuf's granddaughter married Sultan 'Abd al-Razzāq Jalāl al-Dīn (La Temmasonge' Arung Baringeng) (r. Bone 1749-1775). See Thomas Gibson, *Islamic Narrative and Authority in Southeast Asia, from the 16th to the 21st Century* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 117.

[12] La Tenritappu was a grandchild of the king of Gowa, La Temmassonge' Arung Baringeng (Sultan 'Abd al-Razzāq Jalāl al-Dīn) (1749-1775). La Tenritappu was of the royal line in both Gowa and Bone. His grandfather, La Massellomo, was the Punggawa of Bone. He was the son of the ruler of Gowa, La To Sappewali Sultan Ismā'īl Matinroe ri Somba Opu, who married I Sitti Amīnah, grandchild of Shaikh Yusuf Petta To Salamae ri Gowa. Abdurrazak Daeng Patunru et al., *Sejarah Bone* (Ujung Pandang: Percetakan Walanae, 1989), 215.

[13] The book was written in the village of Pattene, Maros, when he was 32 years of age. He explains in the beginning of his *Nur al-Hadi* that he studied many mystical books, including those of Syaikh Yusuf and his teacher, the Kali Bone Peki Yusuf. *Nur Al-Hadi* consists of seven chapters with considerable coverage of Islamic theology. See Ahmad Shaleh Syams al-Millat wa al- Din, "Nur Al-Hadi," 1-12.

[14] Gibson, *Islamic Narrative and Authority*, 118-9. See also Roger Tol, "A Royal Collection of Bugis Manuscripts," *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, Manuscripts of Indonesia* 149, no. 3 (1993): 622.

During Sultan Ahmad Ṣālih's reign, there was a rebellion in Gowa led by a mysterious figure known as I Sangkilang. He claimed to be the long-awaited Batara Guru who would restore Gowa to its former glory. I Sangkilang Batara Gowa appeared for the first time in 1776, and he drew thousands of followers especially in the uplands who believed in the legend of the return of Batara Guru. In 1777 he was sufficiently confident and powerful to seize the Dutch post in Maros.

This messianic movement threatened both the Dutch and the traditional leadership in Gowa, and Sultan Zainuddin was forced to relinquish his throne to I Sangkilang. The latter held power till his death in 1785 in the upland region of Karena.[15] Like the exiled al-Makassari of the seventeenth century, I Sangkilang Batara Gowa's death inspired the people to continue to work to recover Gowa's former power and prosperity. Similar phenomena appeared elsewhere, where messianic figures arose to provide a source of hope at a time when the traditional social structure was being undermined by European colonialism.

These messianic hopes expressed by the people of Gowa were shared by many in South Sulawesi and became fertile grounds for the growth of mystical movements in the nineteenth century. After the death of Sultan Ahmad Ṣālih of Bone, there was a reaction among the common folk against the noble-dominated parewa sarak and the exclusive aristocratic Khalwatiah Yusuf. Many ordinary people therefore sought solace and support in the Khalwatiah Sammān.[16] The teaching of the chanted dhikr *(dhikr al-Jahri)* was one of the most successful measures suggested

[15] Abd Razak Daeng Patunru, *Sedjarah Gowa* (Makassar: Jajasan Kebudayaan Sulawesi Selatan dan Tenggara, 1967), 89-93.

[16] A similar thing happened in Java, but there the commoners sought membership in the Qadiria wa Naqshabandia. Gibson, *Islamic Narrative and Authority*, 118.

by the leaders of the order or khalīfah as a way to unburden the people of all complexities of the Islamic religion.[17]

Another successful measure adopted by the Khalwatiah Sammān was the practice of the khalīfah regularly visiting their followers to promote a sense of brotherhood and of a congregation of believers.[18] For the commoners, to participate as a group in a public dhikr with chanting led by the leader of the order or Shaikh was more satisfying than performing the silent, personal dhikr as practiced by the Khalwatiah Yusuf tarekat. Adding to the appeal of the public dhikr was the participation of noblemen leading the chants, thus allowing the commoners to view their traditional leaders also as their religious mentors. The patron-client relationship in Bugis-Makassar society was thus extended into the Khalwatiah Sammān order. The notion of matarekka or becoming a follower of a tarekat therefore incorporated both traditional patron-client concepts in Bugis-Makassar society and new Islamic ideas. In Sufism the strength of the order lies with its masters (shaikh, murshīd, khalīfah),[19] and so the presence of the traditional elite as masters of Khalwatiah Sammān would account for its great popularity among the people of South Sulawesi.

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[17] Divisions within the Islamic world followed a predictable pattern. In China, for example, the eighteenth-century Naqshabandiah order split into the so-called "Old Teaching" and "New Teaching". The latter introduced the vocal dhikr, while the former kept the silent dhikr. In Egypt, Mustafā al-Bakrī of Khalwatiah also challenged the old mode of dhikr by introducing an oral one. See Nehemia. Levtzion, "Eighteenth Century Sufi Brotherhoods: Structure, Organization and Ritual Changes," in *Islam: Essay on Scripture, Thought and Society*, ed. Peter G. Riddel and Tony Street (Leiden-New York-Koln: Brill, 1997), 152.

[18] The importance of dhikr in the Khalwatiah Sammān order can be seen in 'Abd al-Razzāq 's scattered comments in his diary. According to him, *"Whoever follows tarekat, yet ignores the chanting (tasbiḥ) is an infidel. And whoever does the chanting without following tarekat is truly infidel. And whoever follows these two is a not at all pious."* Abd al- Razak, "The Diary ".

[19] In this study the terms *khalifah, syaikh*, and *mursyid* are used interchangeably to mean the leaders of the order.

The Founders: Abdullah al-Munir and Muhammad Fudhail

Unlike the Khalwatiah Sammān orders in other part of Indonesia (Palembang, Kalimantan and Batavia), the order in South Sulawesi in the first half of the nineteenth was not through direct initiation of its local khalīfah by the grand khalīfah, Muhammad ʻAbd al-Karīm as-Sammān al-Madanī in the Hijāz (Medina); but rather through his Indian student, Ṣiddiq ibn ʻUmar Khān al-Madanī, who had gone to Sumbawa to teach Islamic knowledge.[20] The order was brought to South Sulawesi by a minor Bone nobleman Abdullah al-Munir Shams al-ʻArifin in 1820.[21] He was a student of Idris ibn Uthmān, the deputy of ʻUmar Khān.[22] In the silsilah of the current Khalīfah, Haji Andi Syadjaruddin (Puang Tompo), at Pattene, Maros, ʻUmar Khān is mentioned as Shaikh al-Ṣiddiq, who was initiated into the order by the founder of the Khalwatiah Sammān, Muhammad ʻAbd al-Karīm as-Sammān al-Madanī.[23] As discussed earlier, ʻUmar Khān was a friend of ʻAbd al-Ṣamad al-Falimbani (ca.1704-1828) in the Ḥaramain. Both, together with Arshād al-Banjari (1710-1812) and Dawud ibn ʻAbd Allah al-Fatani (d. circa.1847), were among

[20] Since the early seventeenth century, Bima and Sumbawa maintained political and religious connections with Gowa. Both were forcefully converted to Islam by Gowa and brought under its political protection. The links between these kingdoms were reinforced through intermarriages among their ruling families. J Noorduyn, "Makasar and the Islamization of Bima " *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 143, no. 2/3 (1987): 324-34.; Anhar Gonggong, "Sulawesi Selatan & Komunikasi: Dalam Rangka Proses Integrasi Bangsa," in *Dinamika Bugis-Makassar*, ed. Mukhlis (Makassar: Pusat Latihan Penelitian Ilmu-Ilmu Sosial, 1986), 97.

[21] Hereafter Abdullah al-Munir.

[22] Christian Pelras, "Religion, Tradition, and the Dynamics of Islamization in South Sulawesi," in *The Propagation of Islam in the Indonesian-Malay Archipelago*, ed. Alijah Gordon (Kuala Lumpur: Malaysian Sociological Research Institute, 2001), 232.; Abu Hamid, *Syekh Yusuf: Seorang Ulama Sufi Dan Pejuang* (Jakarta: Yayasan Obor Indonesia, 2005), 51.

[23]Haji Andi Syajaruddin Puang Tompo, grandson of Haji Abdullah Puang Lompo, presented me with the original version of the silsilah at Patenne, Maros, in March 2010. In Syarifuddin's book, *Ratib Samman*, his complete name is given as Shaikh Shiddiq bin ʻUmar Khan, the writer of *Manāqib al-Kubra* that deals with the biography of as-Sammān and his spiritual career. See Kms. H. Andi. Syarifuddin, *Ratib Samman: Riwayat, Fadhilat & Silsilahnya* (Palembang: Penerbit Anggrek, 2010), 55. A lontarak I obtained from a *Khalwatiah Sammān* fellow contains the genealogy of the order, which lists Abdullah al-Munir's masters as Shaikh Shiddiq, Shaikh Idris, and Shaikh Khashibi. The last was a student of Muhammad as-Sammān, who was responsible for the spread of the *Khalwtiah Sammān* order in India. The lontarak also amphasizes the position of Abdullah al-Munir, who brought the order to South Sulawesi in circa 1825. He was said to be a respected elder *(mangkutana)* in Bone and was buried in Sumbawa. Anonymous, "Zikir Khalwatiah Samman," in *Rahman's Collection*

the prominent ‘ulamās in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.[24] ‘Umar Khān was famous for his work on his teacher’s life, namely the Manāqib al-Kubrā (the great hagiography of as-Sammān).[25] Among ‘Umar Khān’s students was a Sumatran Idris ibn Uthmān, from whom a lesser Bone noble Abdullah al-Munir was initiated as a khalīfah of the Khalwatiah Sammān.

Local sources provide names of the prominent shaikhs or khalīfah in a genealogy (silsilah) stretching back to the prophet Muhammad. As the role of Shaikhs is central to the history of every order, the silsilah, which is still held by the shaikhs, is the first important source that scholars need to consult in studying the history of mystical traditions in Islam. Such silsilah can also be found in the writings of the Shaikhs. The silsilah held by recent murshid Haji Andi Sadjaruddin Puang Tompo in Maros lists the prominent Shaikhs responsible for the development of the order in South Sulawesi. It mentions Abdullah al-Munir, Muhammad Fudhail, ‘Abd al-Razzāq, and Abdullah’s three sons who were important figures in the history of the order in the twentieth century.

The silsilah mentions Abdullah al-Munir and his initiation into the order by his khalīfah Idris ibn ‘Uthmān, who himself is listed in the first page of the founder’s book, *‘Urwat al-Wuthqā*.[26] ‘Umar Khān and his student ‘Uthmān lived on the island of Sumbawa, which had close links to Gowa and was a destination for Muslim travelers. Like his masters in Medina, ‘Umar Khān was responsible for introducing among his students in Sumbawa the practice of performing the dhikr recitation out loud. The arrival of these foreign learned Muslims or ‘ulamā

[24] Azra, *Origin of Islamic Reformism* 111-23.

[25] Syarifuddin, *Ratib Samman*.

[26] I received a hand-written copy of the‘Urwat al- Wuhtqā’ from Ahmad Rahman. According to him, the book was written by Zain al-Dīn bin ‘Abd Rahmān bin ‘Abd al-Razzāq. On the cover are the words: “This book belongs to A.M. Syattar.” I found the Arabic version of the book in Palembang, instead of Maros, where I expected a copy to have been kept.

to the lands "below the wind" was always welcomed by the local populations, and 'Umar Khān presumably was no exception. The warm reception accorded these foreign scholars may be due, as it was in the case of 'Umar Khān, to the religious authority contained in their genealogy and the religious and political connections they maintained in the Ḥaramain. These foreign 'ulamā taught orthodox Islamic knowledge as well as the mystical knowledge of Islam to the local students.

'Umar Khān was one of the senior students of as-Sammān (d 1777), and was the mentor of a prominent Jawah student responsible for the spread of the Khalwatiah Sammān in South Sumatra: 'Abd al-Ṣamad al-Falimbani. Al-Falimbani lived in Mecca and received direct initiation into the order by as-Sammān. According to Kiyai Zen Syukri, the current khalīfah of the Khalwatiah Sammān of Palembang, it was 'Umar Khān who persuaded al-Falimbani, a renowned Sumatran student in Mecca and an excellent Islamic scholar, to go to Egypt to study Islam as taught by as-Shāfi'ī, the founder of Shafi'ī school *(madhhab shāfi'ī)*. When al-Falimbani was about to travel to Egypt, he again met 'Umar Khān, who advised him to go first to his teacher, 'Abd al-Karīm as-Sammān in his sanctuary in Madina.[27] In Medina al-Falimbani was initiated into as-Samman's order. His direct spiritual allegiance *(bay'at)* into the order is described in his magnum opus, *Sair al-Sālikīn*:

> The poor *(faqr)* [al-Falimbani] of Almighty Allah who has translated this book *(Sair al-Sālikīn)* is 'Abd as-Samad al-Jāawī al-Falimbani, may Allah forgive him and his parents, who obtained direct teaching *(talqīn al-dhikr)* and allegiance (bay'at) from my excellent master (murshīd), my lord Shaikh Muhammad ibn Shaikh 'Abd al-Karīm al-Sammāni al-Qādiri al-Khalwatī al-Madanī, may Allah purify his soul, who took the bay'at of the order from his enlightened master Shaikh al-Bakri who took initiation from his master Shaikh 'Abd al-Latīf who took initiation from Shaikh Mustafā Afandī al-Adranawī…Habīb al-'Uzmā took initiation from my Shaikh al-Hasan al-Basrī who took initiation from the leader of Ummah (Amīr al-Mu'minīn) 'Ali ibn Abī Tālib may Allah bless him, who took

[27] *Interview* with K.H. Zen Syukri in Palembang, Mei 2010

> initiation from our prophet Muhammad (PBUH) who took initiation from the angel Gabriel who took initiation from the Almighty Allah.[28]

Perhaps after his initiation into the order, ‘Umar Khān travelled to Sumbawa to teach Islam and spread his master’s order. In Sumbawa ‘Umar Khān initiated Idris ibn ‘Uthmān into his tarekat, and Idris in turn initiated his Bugis students, among whom was the minor Bone nobleman, Abdullah al-Munir. His father was the son of the Bone ruler La Temmassonge Arung Banringeng (Sultan ‘Abd al-Razzāq Jalāl al-Dīn) or La Kasik Petta Ponggawae (r. 1749-1775).[29] After Abdullah al-Munir completed his studies in Sumbawa in 1820, he brought the tarekat to South Sulawesi. While in Sumbawa he married a daughter of the Sumbawa ruler, Lalau Datuk Neloa.[30]

Unfortunately, very little is known of al-Munir’s activities once he returned home, but in a Bugis source written in the Arabic script, the *Ikhtiṣāran fi Faḍīlat al-Dhikri wa Adābihi wa Kaifiyatihi ‘ala Ṭarīqat al-Sammān* (The precise excellences of Samman order‘s chant, its attitude and methods), he is recognized as “our grand Shaikh” *(Pangulutta),* who spread the teachings of Khalwatiah Sammān in South Sulawesi. He lived in Barru, Maros, where his son Muhammad Fudhail or Pananrang Daeng Massese (ca. 1790-1860) was initiated as a khalīfah of the order.[31] He helped to spread the teachings of the Khalwatiah throughout South Sulawesi

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[28] 'Abd al-Samad Palimbani, al., *Sair Al-Sālikīn*, vol. 3 (Indonesia Dar al-Ihya al-Kutub al-‘Arabiah), 39-40.

[29] Patunru *et al*., *Sejarah Bone*, 213-4. According to Patunru, Sultan ‘Abd al-Razzāk had many wives, among whom were two of al-Makassari’s granddaughters, Habibah and Aisyah, which may have given him direct genealogical links to some of the prominent shaikhs in the Khalwatiah Sammān.

[30] Gibson, *Islamic Narrative and Authority*, 123.; Hamid, *Syekh Yusuf: Seorang Ulama Sufi Dan Pejuang*, 218.

[31] This manuscript is in the possession of Abdusomad Daeng Parani in Maros. In this unnamed source are prominent names within the Khalwatiah Sammān order, such as Syaikh al-Khasib, the khalīfah of the order in India, ‘Abd al-Samad al-Falimbani in Palembang, and Abdullah al-Munir in South Sulawesi. Anonymous, "Ikhtisāran Fi Fadhīlat Al-Dhikri Wa Adābihi Wa Kaifiyatihi ‘Ala Tarīqat Al-Sammān ". See also Gibson, *Islamic Narrative and Authority*, 123.

up to the northern regions of Sidenreng and Rappang. He was particularly successful among the aristocracy because of his own noble lineage, though at the time the dominant order among the noblemen was the Khalwatiah Yusuf. Before his death at the end of the nineteenth century, Fudhail initiated his son ‘Abd al-Ghānī as-Sammānia[32]Andi Mangaweang Petta Rani as his khalīfah in Barru to continue the teachings of the tarekat in the 1850s.[33] From both figures the mystical accounts of waḥdat al-wujūd (Unity of Being) of Ibn ‘Arabi were transmitted to their noble followers in both Gowa and Bone.

Among those who became followers of the Khalwatiah Sammān were the Bone ruler Ahmad Singkeru Rukka Sultan Ahmad Idris (r. 1860-1871), the father of La Pawawoi Karaeng Segeri (r. 1896-1905).[34] Sultan Ahmad Idris was initiated into the order by his teacher the khalifah ‘Abd al-Ghānī in Barru. Other aristocratic followers of the order were I Mallingkaang Daeng Nyonri Karaeng Katangka or Sultan Muhammad Idris Ibn ‘Abd al-Qādir Muhammad ‘Aydid, Tumenanga ri Kalabbiranna of Gowa (1893-1895); Petta Watang Lipue (Ambokna La Massalengke), the chief minister of Soppeng; Ishak Manggabarani Karaeng Mangeppe or Arung Matoa Wajo (1900-1916); and from the lesser noble family of Bone, Haji ‘Abd al-Razzāq bin ‘Abdullah al-Bugis, who became the Grand Shaikh of Khalwatiah Samman known as Haji Palopo (d. 1910) from Bone.[35] According to a local source, ‘Abd al-Razzāq ’s family were

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[32] Putting *as-Sammānia* after the name of his son may indicate a tendency to identify more strongly with the tarekat, which became more common among the khalīfahs of the order. This also was a way of having spiritual affiliation to the founder of Khalwatiah Sammān, ‘Abd al-Karīm as-Sammān al-Madanī.

[33] Hamid, *Syekh Yusuf: Seorang Ulama Sufi Dan Pejuang*, 219.

[34] According to the Genealogy of Bone rulers made by Lembaga Kajian dan Pengembangan Budaya Bugis (the foundation for studies and development of Bugis culture) the 28th Bone ruler was a woman, We Tenri Aawaru Pacai’tana Besse Kajuara (1857-1860), while Singkeru Rukka (Ahmad Idris) (r. 1860-1871) was the 29th. See H. A. Mattulada, *Sejarah, Masyarakat, Dan Kebudayaan Sulewesi Selatan* (Ujung Pandang: Hasanuddin University Press, 1998), 366.; Tol, "A Royal Collection," 617.

[35] Hamid, *Syekh Yusuf: Seorang Ulama Sufi Dan Pejuang*, 219-20.; Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning: Pesantren Dan Tarekat*, 296.; Gibson, *Islamic Narrative and Authority*, 123.

descendants of La Temmassonge Arung Baringen or Sultan ʻAbd al-Razzāq Jalāl al-Dīn of Gowa.[36]

ʻAbd al-Razzāq and Tarekat Haji Palopo: The Appearance of Opposition

ʻAbd al-Razzāq (Puang Ngatta) was born in 1766. As a young man he lived in Mecca for about seven years, where he studied with Fudhail. When he returned home he joined Fudhail's lodge in Maros, where he was initiated as a khalīfah in the Khalwatiah Sammān order and was given the responsibility of disseminating its teachings to the Bugis and Makassarese people. Many of Fudhails's other students were South Sulawesi noblemen who also joined the order upon returning home, but they like ʻAbd al-Razzāq believed that presenting speculative ideas to the common people would only destroy their belief. Fudhail's concern with this problem made him decide to introduce a simpler practice of Sufism for commoners, which became the modest chant or *zikir* (dhikr al-Jahri) of the Khalwatiah Samman. As an admirer of waḥdat al-wujūd, however, Fudhail did not devote much time to attracting the support of the commoners. After Fudhail's death, ʻAbd al-Razzāq moved to Paccelekang, Maros. At one stage he visited his teacher al-Munir in Sumbawa, but he then returned and resided at Bontopadingin, a small village in Turikale, Maros. There, he taught both the nobility and the commoners the tenets and practices of his tarekat.[37]

According to Hamzah, a Khalwatiah Sammān follower, many local sources show that Fudhail and ʻAbd al-Ghānī and their student Sultan Ahmad Idris were the principal teachers of

[36] Patunru et al., *Sejarah Bone*, 214.

[37] H. M. Ruslan, *Meluruskan Pemahaman Makna Tarekat* (Makassar: Pustaka al-Zikra, 2008), 23-5.

waḥdat al-wujūd in South Sulawesi.[38] ‘Abd al-Ghānī gained a good reputation as a Sufi teacher and was a venerated saint whose blessings were eagerly sought by the people.[39] His strong spirituality made him closer to the common people, whom he nurtured and drew into the order through his simple and modest way of teaching about the tarekat. He proved to be successful with all levels of society, thus adding considerably to the fame and influence of the Khalwatiah Sammān.

Another of the Khalwatiah Sammān’s leaders who had a strong appeal among the ordinary people was Fudhail’s khalīfah, ‘Abd al-Razzāq, better known in the region as Haji Palopo. We are fortunate in having a Dutch colonial political report *(politiek verslag)* on Sulawesi in 1855, at the time that ‘Abd al-Razzāq was active in the area. It provides a context for understanding his success among the local population. The report documents manipulations among the local officers (regents). For instance, in February 1855 a regent of Lombo in Maros, Mapalewa Daeng Matajang, was fired from his position as the local chief and brought to trial for fraudulent tax practices. As a tax collector, Matajang failed to maintain records of the taxes that he collected from the people. He was subsequently found guilty of fraud and sent to exile in Banda for 15 years.[40]

The tax fraud case was just one of a number of incidents that were symptoms of a general malaise among ‘Abd al-Razzāq’s generation. Another of a far more serious nature was the failure of the Arumpone, or ruler of Bone, La Tenritappu, to defeat the British and retake Gowa’s

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[38] A. Najamuddin Hamzah, *Tarekat Khalwatiyyah Samman: Ajaran & Strategi Dakwah Para Khalifahnya* (Ujung Pandang: La Macca Press, 2007), 76-7.

[39] A diary attributed to ‘Abd al-Razzāk calls Abd Ghani “the light of Islam” and the guide for the *Khalwatiah Sammān*. Razak, "Diary ".

[40] ANRI, "Politiek Verslag Van Celebes 1855 " in *Inventaris Arsip Makassar No. 41/1* (Jakarta: Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia (ANRI), 1855).

regalia *(Kalompoang)*.[41] The return of the Dutch after a short British interregnum (1810-1817) did not change the situation.[42] There were still tensions between Gowa and Bone, as well as among the smaller polities. Then on February 13, 1860 the ruler of Bone Sultan Ahmad Idris was forced to sign a treaty with the Dutch that changed Bone's status from ally (*bondgenoot)*, as recorded in the original 1667 Bungaya Treaty, to "vassal kingdom" *(leenvorstendom)*. Several regions under Bone, such as Kajang, Sinjai, and Bulukumba, were placed directly under the control of a Dutch governor and became government lands *(Gouvernementsgebieden)*. As one scholar put it, the new treaty became "a permanent reminder of the victory of the Dutch over Bone."[43] In this period of political ferment, a new political and religious center arose in Maros, that of the Khalwatiah Sammān.

A local Maros source provides important information on Khalwatiah Sammān and its major teachers.[44] One of the most successful of the teachers was 'Abd al-Razzāq, who was originally from Bone. In addition to his writings on Sufism, 'Abd al-Razzāq's diary records his travels, persons he met, events, and the spiritual ideas of Ibn 'Arabi.[45] His introduction of a

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[41] Mattulada, *Sejarah, Masyarakat*, 316-21.

[42] Christian Pelras, *The Bugis* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, USA: Blackwell Publisher, 1996), 271-74.

[43] Mattulada, *Sejarah, Masyarakat*, 366.

[44] This source is Andi Fakhri Makkasau of noble descent with the title of Karaeng Simbang. He married the daughter of Khalwatiah Sammān khalīfah, living in Pattene, Maros, where the sacred graves of the order's syaikhs are the focus of visits by its followers in observance of the anniversary of the death of the grand khalīfah *(puang lompo)* Muhammad Shālih. Makassau is also recognized as a member of the conservation of lontarak project under the auspices of the Indonesian Archive Office (ANRI) and University of Hasanuddin, Makassar. During my visit to his home in Pattene we had a fruitful discussion about his own book on the history of Islam in Maros. The book contains information from lontarak, which is a priceless legacy to his family, and will be published with the title,*"Bunga Rampai Sejarah dan Budaya Maros"*.

[45]'Abd al-Razzāq's diary follows the Bugis and Makassarese tradition of members of the nobility and royalty writing diaries with notations on daily occurrences and events. These were known as *lontarak bilang*. Some of the royal Bone manuscripts obtained by Roger Tol have a similar format. 'Abd al-Razzāq's diary, which was written in Bugis using the Arabic script, consists of Islamic matters and local knowledge. There are mystical formulas, excerpts of Arabic texts, as well as prescriptions for curing disease, making love charms, traditional medication and herbs. He was a respected learned individual (tupanrita) or murshīd of the order, whose responsibility was to nurture and service his followers by giving them Islamic guidance in their daily lives. Tol, "A Royal Collection," 618-23.;

public recitation of the dhikr (dhikr al-Jahr or *dhikr al-jāli*) proved popular among the common people and contributed to the development of congregational worship. The emphasis on a public dhikr and of a congregation of believers worshipping together contrasted with the more aristocratic-dominated Khalwatiah Yusuf.[46] To meet the needs of the tarekat followers in the lodge, ʻAbd al-Razzāq opened rice fields when he moved to Leppakomai, Maros. He was believed to possess charisma as a healer and saint, to whom people came to seek his blessings and advice. As a result of all these factors, he is attributed with helping to make the order more "down to earth." Moreover, the new form of dhikr enabled him to develop a strong bond with the common people, despite his being a nobleman.[47]

ʻAbd al-Razzāq was the son-in-law of La Baso Daeng Ngitung (Karaeng Cidu of Simbang, r. 1778-1792).[48] He began to propagate the teachings of his tarekat during the time of his brother-in-law, La Sulaeman Daeng Masikki Karaeng Simbang (r. 1792-1815), known as a devout Khalwatiah Sammān follower. The latter's admiration of ʻAbd al-Razzāq 's mystical teaching led Masiki to spend so much time in religion that he abdicated responsibility for governing to Kare Daeng Sitorom. In a similar manner Karaeng Simbang Patahuddin Daeng Parumpa (Sultan Iskandar Muda Matinroe ri Massigi'na (r. 1892-1923) relinquished his rule to

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Abd. Kadir Manyambeang, "Lontaraq Riwayaqna Tuanta Salamaka Ri Gowa (Rtsg): Suatu Analisis Rintisan Filolinguistik" (Ph.D Dissertation, Universitas Hasanuddin, 1997), 75.

[46] Nineteenth century Malaysia also witnessed a similar religious experience with Tuan Tabal of Kelantan with his scholarly-oriented Sufism, and that of Wan Musa and al-Rasyid with their modest tarekat among the common people. See Mark Sedgwick, *Saints and Sons: The Making and Remaking of the Rashidi Ahamdi Sufi Order,1799-2000* (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2005), 127.; Hamdan Hassan, *Tarekat Ahmadiyah Di Malaysia: Suatu Analisis Fakta Secara Ilmiah* (Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, Kementerian Pendidikan Malaysia, 1990).

[47] Achmad Rahman gave me this report, which was written on May 24, 1924 by a Dutch controller at Maros with the title, *Mededeelingen omtrent de Tarequat Hadji Palopo, door Hadji Palopo's zoon Hadji Abdullah bin Abdul Razak, bijgenaam Poeang Lompo.* Though there are some inaccurate names and terms, this report gives information related to Khalwatiyyah Samman's khalīfah and the situation faced by ʻAbd al-Razzāq and his son Abdullah. Abdullah, "Mededeelingen Omtrent De Tarequat Hadji Palopo, Door Hadji Palopo's Zoon Hadji Abdullah Bin Abdul Razak, Bijgenaam Poeang Lompo.," (Maros1924).

[48] There were several minor courts in Maros such as Simbang, Turikale, and Bontoa, all led by their own royal families.

his son Andi Lempong Daeng Pasolong to pursue the spiritual life in the Khalwatiah Sammān order. ‘Abd al-Razzāq’s marriage with noblewomen also contributed to the spread of Khalwatiah Sammān among the aristocracy from Simbang, Bonto and Turikale in Maros.[49]

Turikale played an important role in ‘Abd al-Razzāq’s spiritual career. It was here that he gained spiritual legitimacy from his noblemen followers. For instance, before La Umma Daeng Manrapi became the regent (karaeng) of Turikale, he was the karaeng of Simbang since 1834. He was known as a devout follower of Khalwatiah Sammān and was appointed as the khalīfah of the order by his Shaikh, ‘Abd al-Razzāq. When the Dutch appointed Manrapi as the regent of Turikale, he united Turikale and the Simbang region under his regency in Redaberu. When he died in 1872 Manrapi’s son, Patahuddin Daeng Parumpa, was a child, and the board of Adat appointed Manrapi’s nephew, La Sanrima Daeng Parukka as the Karaeng Turikale (r.1872-1892). Manrapi’s spiritual guidance made Parukka, an important karaeng in strengthening the reputation of the Khalwatiah Sammān among both nobles and commoners. He was initiated as khalīfah of the order by ‘Abd al-Razzāq, from whom he received permission to spread the tarekat among the commoners. ‘Abd al-Razzāk gave him an Arabic name, Shaikh al-Ḥājj ‘Abd al-Qādir Jaylānī Tāj al-‘Ārifīn.[50] He became popular and better know as a devout ‘ulamā rather than as an administrator or regent.

There was further development of the order under Parukka’s daughter, Gulmania Daeng Baji, who was married to ‘Abd al-Razzāq’s son, Abdullah. The latter also relinquished his

[49] Andi Fakhri Makkasau, "Bunga Rampai Sejarah Dan Budaya Maros," 34-40, 59.

[50] ‘Abd al-Qādir Jaelānī was the founder of the Qādiriah order. There was a practice of bestowing the title “at-Tāj” (lit. prince) upon a person with a distinguished spiritual reputation. This may account for the fact that al-Makassari was given this title by his Khalwatiah teacher in Damascus and thus came to be called *Yusuf Tāj al-Khalwati al-Makassari*, as discussed earlier.

secular duties as regent in 1892 to his son, Palaguna Daeng Marowa Karaeng Mengento (Syeikh Muhammad Ṣalāh al-Dīn), in order to dedicate his life as the khalīfah of ʻAbd al-Razzāq.[51]

Like his father, Karaeng Mangento was also known as a pious leader. Apart from his position as regent, he was intent on teaching about the Khalwatiah Sammān. He was initiated into the order as khalīfah by his father and received the title of Shaikh from ʻAbd al-Razzāq, becoming known as Shaikh Ṣalāh al-Dīn ibn Shaikh ʻAbd al-Qādir Jaylānī. In 1917 Karaneg Mangento transferred his regency to his son Abd al-Hamid Daeng Manessa in order to devote his life to the order and to continue his spiritual journey. Among his memorable deeds was donating his own fertile lands in Mangento to his followers for wet-rice agriculture. His devotion to mystical practice led him to implement more Islamic-oriented practices in his administration. Under his command the sacred regalia (kalompoang) of Turikale was moved to another district because of his concern that the people would make it the center of a cult. Such cults were in contravention of the Islamic principle of the Oneness of Allah (tawhīd). Thus in incorporating adat ideas into Islam, the kalompoang was omitted.[52] Karaeng Simbang Patuhuddin Daeng Parumpa acted in the same fashion for the same reason by entrusting the Simbang regalia to the Karaeng Cenrana.[53]

These are a few examples of how ʻAbd al-Razzāq's aristocratic students were so influenced by his teachings that they relinquished their traditional secular leadership and undertook to spread the word of the Khalwatiah Sammān. As leaders of their communities, they sought to incorporate Islamic ideas into the local customary laws to make them more appealing

[51] Makkasau, "Bunga Rampai Sejarah," 71-9.

[52] Mangento's brother Andi Page Daeng Paranreng also contributed to the propagation of *Khalwatiah Sammān* among the commoners. Ibid., 79-80. 81-3.

[53] Ibid., 165-6.

to their subjects. But they were adamantly opposed to the inclusion of the regalia because of its powerful hold on the people and the necessity of avoiding anything that challenged the unity of Allah. One of the appeals of the order was its attention to bringing about social benefits to their followers. It was a policy that was promoted by ʻAbd al-Razzāq and further implemented by his aristocratic students. The latter's natural and accepted traditional leadership among their subjects made the transition to Islamic leadership smooth and effective, thus greatly contributing to the popularity of the order among both noblemen and commoners. In this regard, the history of the Khalwatiah Sammān mirrors that of the early Islamization of South Sulawesi, when the rulers were instrumental in helping in the conversion of their subjects.

ʻAbd al-Razzāq's successes with the various rulers of petty states in Maros aroused harsh criticism and even hatred from the orthodox ʻulamā. One morning a corpse was found in the front yard of his home, and ʻAbd al-Razzāq was immediately accused of the murder and brought to trial. This accusation brought *sirik* (shame)[54] to ʻAbd al-Razzāq, which forced him to leave Maros. He was later exonerated and then went to visit his master al-Munir's sacred grave in Sumbawa.[55] Because he remained in Sumbawa far longer than was expected, his students in Maros asked the Karaeng Sumbawa to send him back home. Mangento finally sent his envoys to Sumbawa in order to bring his teacher back, and so ʻAbd al-Razzāq returned and lived in the village of Salojirang, Turikale, on a piece of land donated to him by the local karaeng.[56]

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[54] *Sirik* is a cultural concept among the Makassar and Bugis, meaning both "shame" and "self-worth". See Leonard Y. Andaya, *The Heritage of Arung Palakka: A History of South Sulawesi(Celebes) in the Seventeenth Century* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1981), 6.

[55] Visiting the dead saints is a common tradition in Sufi brotherhoods. A seeker may spiritually communicate to the saint in order to attain spiritual insight or blessing from his venerated teacher. In his diary, in addition to his writing on Arabic prayers regarding how to avoid any disaster and attain victory against the infidels and hypocrites, ʻAbd al-Razzāq noted that he arrived on the evening of 2nd of Dzul Hijah, 1293 (around December 1876 or January 1877). Razak, "Diary ".; Ernest Gellner, *Saints of the Atlas* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1969).

[56] Hamzah, *Tarekat Khalwatiyyah Samman*, 112-3.; Ruslan, *Meluruskan Pemahaman*, 24-5.

From Turikale ʻAbd al-Razzāq moved and opened the new village Leppakomai, which was near a river. Accompanied by his students ʻAbd al-Razzāq then provided not only spiritual but also economic leadership in the new village. He promoted economic self-sufficiency, which contrasted sharply with those noblemen (anakkaraeng/anakarung) who received financial support from the Dutch government or the religious hierarchy (parewa sarak) who received donations from the people. Seeking financial independence was very common in the history of Muslim mystics in the Islamic world, where most Sufi masters had achieved this goal. In Leppakomai, ʻAbd al-Razzāq opened ricefields and fisheries to assist his students support themselves without outside help. Working in the ricefields was only one aspect of their life; the other was learning about Islamic mysticism from their master, ʻAbd al-Razzāq.[57]

As a charismatic khalīfah, ʻAbd al-Razzāq played a significant role in making the order popular among the commoners. As the master of the order, he gave both material and spiritual advice to his followers in their daily lives, as is described in excerpts of prayers written in local languages in both Arabic and Bugis script. These prayers were used by his followers for various purposes: healing, business, resolving family matters, moving home, etc.[58] Leppakomai quickly became the center for the teachings of the Khalwatiah Sammān and the base from which the order spread to other parts of South Sulawesi. People from all over the region began coming to the village to seek the blessings (barakka) of its saint, ʻAbd al-Razzāq.

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[57] ʻAbd al-Razzāq ʼs economic efforts were part of the implementation of the tenets of his tasawwuf. Therefore, the cultural concept of sirik was combined with the Islamic teaching that requires each of its followers to increase his material prosperity, for whoever is not responsible for his prosperity may be called a person without integrity. Therefore, ʻAbd al-Razzāq ʼs son Abdullah said, "Keep your faith *(īmān)* and fear Allah *(taqwā)*, for he who has no *īmān* and *taqwā* is a person without integrity." Ruslan, *Meluruskan Pemahaman*, 30.

[58] One of his Arabic prayers written about the 1870s is used for those moving home. According to this source, whoever writes this prayer on a white Chinese washbasin and drinks water from it will not face any disaster for the whole year. Razak, "Diary ".

‘Abd al-Razzāq ’s method of combining economic activities with spiritual teaching was unique compared to earlier mystical teachers. It was an attractive approach that directly addressed the twin concerns of the people: the introduction of an intrusive Dutch colonial government and the deteriorating economic circumstances.[59] The order thus became popular with both the aristocracy and the commoners. With the growing numbers joining the Khalwatiah Sammān, there was concern expressed by the traditional orthodox Islamic hierarchy, the parewa sarak. The increasing membership meant a greater amount of income to the order, particularly to the khalīfah, which became a source of resentment among the parewa sarak.

To respond to such criticisms, ‘Abd al-Razzāq compiled several collections consisting of Muslim thinkers’ accounts on taṣawwuf, theology *(kalām/tawhīd)* and fiqh (Islamic law) for his followers. ‘Abd al-Razzāq’s works were taught after the ‘isyā and *subh* prayers by himself, his son, and their khalīfah, who in turn were assisted by their *pakkajara*.[60] They preached what every Muslim should know and practice on a daily basis, such as the five daily prayers, ablution *(wuḍu)* and other simple matters in Islamic law *(fiqh ‘ibādah)*, theology (tawhīd), and dhikr of

[59] Compare the limited social-religious activities of the two tarekats in Java: Naqshabandiah and Qādiriah wa Naqshabandiah. See Ricklefs for a discussion on the social impact and the participation of both elites and common people in these two orders in nineteenth-century-Java. Ricklefs argues that both should be seen as part of the Islamic reformist movement due to their similar mission of having their followers perform their Islamic obligation as originally conceptualized in the center of Islam, the Haramain. See M. C. Ricklefs, "The Middle East Connection and Reform and Revival Movements among the Putihan in 19th-Century Java," in *Southeast Asia and the Middle East: Islam, Movement, and the Longue Dure’e*, ed. Eric Tagliacozzo (Singapore: National University of Singapore, 2009).

[60] *Pakkajara* are the assistants to the khalīfah. When the khalīfah are unable to perform their tasks, the pakkajara may lead the followers of the order in making regular visits *(ziarah)* to the the shrines of their saints in Maros or in the annual celebration (*haul*) held in Pattene. Ahmad Rahman, "Tarekat Khalwatiah Samman (Studi Tentang Penyebaran Dan Ajarannya Di Kabupaten Maros, Propinsi Sulawesi Selatan) " (MA Thesis, IAIN Alauddin 1997), 130-1. According to Haji Sa’diah, when the murshid delivers his speech no one should question him directly but refer the problem to the *pakkajara*, the assistant to the local deputy (khalīfah) or the higher khalīfah. Then the khalīfah, if necessary, may bring the problem to the shaikh in Pattene to attain his advice.

mystical Islam (taṣawwuf).[61] The dhikr provided the khalīfah with the opportunity to transmit Islamic knowledge in a way that was appealing.[62]

'Abd al-Razzāq's dhikr was especially effective in increasing religious solidarity among his followers (sanakmangaji).[63] It was performed daily in the mosques or prayer houses (langgar),[64] and was led by the khalīfah, whose Islamic knowledge was commonly obtained from their murshīd, whether in Pattene or in their regions. For this reason, the role of the shaikh and his khalīfah was especially important in the order because it was their own personal teaching, their personal understanding and authority, which were essential in conveying the uniqueness of the message of that particular order. Thus instead of the pesantren or *pondok*,[65] the shaikh was the central teaching institution in himself. The situation described is reminiscent of the story of the Islamization process in the archipelago, particularly among Bugis commoners. Many of the legends regarding the Islamization involve feats of spiritual prowess by individual Sufi saints.

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[61] Organization or structure and mass-chanting rituals were among the characteristics of Neo Sufism world-wide in the eighteenth century. Levtzion, "Eighteenth Century Sufi," 147-51. I found many lontarak held by ordinary followers of the Khalwatiah Sammān, which consist of prayers, litanies, and simply Islamic teachings relating to daily rituals. These followers explained that they received the lontarak from their khalīfah during their lessons after the dhikr is performed following *'isyā* (evening prayer) or subh (morning prayer). The types of dhikrs are the ten dhikr (*zikir sepulu*) and the 300 dhikr (*zikir tellu rattu* [three hundred dhikr). There is also information on ways of performing each dhikr, such as breath, body movement and concentration. Anonymous, "Tarekat Halwatiah Muhammad Sammani," in *Andi Seniman's collection* (Watampone).; Anonymous, "Zikir Khalawatiah Samman," in *Rahman's Collection.*

[62] In this sense, conversion to Islam can be understood as a process in which the explicit truths contained in a sacred text of zikr are integrated into the implicit symbolic system of the local congregation. Zikr texts are therefore translated into implicit ritials. Thomas Gibson, *And the Sun Pursued the Moon: Symbolic Knowledge and Traditional Authority among the Makassar* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2005), 33.

[63] The works are categorized into three elements of Islamic teachings: fiqh, theology and Sufism. The first consists of simple teachings of fiqh regarding daily rituals such as praying, ablution (wudhu), treatment of the dead, etc.; the second addresses Islamic theology; and the third involves a deep discussion of Sufism intended for advanced followers of Khalwatiah Sammān.

[64] Langgar is a place for prayer, but is smaller than the mosque *(masjid).*

[65] Islamic institution were founded in the nineteenth century by the learned Muslims (ulama) to teach Islam to their students (santri). The role of the pesantren was to transfer orthodox Islamic and Sufi practices *(tasawwuf 'amali)* taught by a prominent Sunni thinker Muhammad al-Ghazalī, as shown by Steenbrink in the previous chapter. For a particular case of Java, see Zamakhsyari Dhofier, *The Pesantren Tradition: The Role of the Kiyai in the Maintenance of Tradition Islam in Java* (Arizona: Program for Southeast Asian Studies, Arizona State University, 1999), 137-56.

The message of Islam as delivered by the various Sufi teachers/saints proved most effective in converting the local people to the religion. In this regard, the prominent role of the Shaikh of the Khalwatiah Sammān order and of the recitation of the dhikr in a congregation is in keeping with the earlier historical trends of Islamization in the region.

In this method of teaching the Shaikh and their khalīfah develop a very close relationship with each other, and their religious authority is maintained through the teachings of certain mystical doctrines. As a study of the religious practices of the Khalwatiah Sammān members in the 1980s shows, the daily presence of the khalīfah has made the relationship between the teacher and his sanakmangaji so intense that transferring the traditions of the order, as well as Islamic teachings, has proved to be smooth and effective. Additionally, this combination of teaching Islam and the dhikr and events sponsored by the order have created a strong sense of solidarity among the members of the Khalwatiah Sammān.[66]

As the leader of his tarekat, ‘Abd al-Razzāq was familiar with the mystical works of the founder of Khalwatiah Sammān, the mentioned *al-Nafaḥāt al-ilāhiyyah*. In 1853/1269, ‘Abd al-Razzāq copied the *al-Nafahāt*. In his mystical teaching for his advanced students, ‘Abd al-Razzāq used as-Sammān’s mystical treatise which bears the title, *Ighāthat al-lahafān*, which he simply copied. Other works of interest were Zakariyya al-Ansāri’s mystical treatise, *al-Futuḥāt al-Ilāhiyyah*, Abu al-Fath Abi Yahya ‘Abd al-Bashir al-Dhariri (Puang Rappang)’s *Bayān al-‘amal al-Bāṭinah*, and Baha al-Dīn al-Naqsahabandi’s *Khatm al-Khaujah*. Last but not least, is ‘Abd al-Razzāq’s ode to as-Samman that was translated into Bugis, perhaps as part of the

[66] Nurhayati. Djamas, *Agama Orang Bugis* (Jakarta: Badan Penelitian dan Pengembangan Agama, Departemen Agama RI, 1998), 111.

Manāqib al-Kubra of Shiddiq ‘Umar Khān.[67] The manāqib is usually read by the followers of the Khalwatiah Sammān at their public dhikr and after each assembled weekly prayer (*sholat jama’ah*). The sholat jamā’ah and dhikr are the major teachings of the Khalwatiah Sammān. The followers and the the shaikh or khalīfah also visit one another *(*Ar. *ṣilat al-raḥmi)* as part of the practices of the order. These three interwoven activities distinguish the Khalwatiah Sammān religious practices from the majority of Muslims in South Sulawesi. As one khalīfah explained, “Even if we are traveling, we have to perform sholat jamā’ah, though with other Muslims.”[68]

The notion of Bugisness is strong in each of ‘Abd al-Razzāq’s works. For example, at the end of the first and the second treatises, ‘Abd al-Razzāq identifies himself clearly with the words *al-Marusi Baladan al-Būnī Nasaban al-Shāfi’ī Madhhaban*, meaning that the author was from Maros, born in Bone and affiliated to the Shāfi’ī school.[69] By presenting his personal attributes in this way, ‘Abd al-Razzāq emphasizes his religious identity as being based on ethnic origin and the world-wide Islamic school of Shāfi’ī (madhhab Imām Shāfi’ī), the predominant school of Islamic jurisprudence in Southeast Asian Islam. He may have wanted religious respect and recognition from the majority of the orthodox ‘ulamā. This form of identity may also have been intended to demonstrate a link between the local (Maros and Bone/*al-Marusi Baladan al-Būni Nasaban*) and the global, represented by the Shāfi’ī school and the prominent Sufi thinkers.

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[67] A bundle of works on Sufism attributed to ‘Abd al-Razzāq consists of the *Qasīdah Burdah*, *al-Tasawwuf*, *al-Fiqh*, *Mukhatabah Ilahiah (Ya Ghauts)*, *al-Nafahāt al-Ilāhiyyāt,* and *silsilaht Thariqat al-Sanusiah*. The last was initially written by his son, Abdullah. Instead of *Qasīdah Burdah* being a poetic narration of the character of the Prophet Muhammad written by an Egyptian Sufi Imam al-Bushīri, I find that is more a poetic description on the distinct position of as-Samman as the saint of Allah. Commonly, this work is read at the celebration of the Prophet’s birthday (Maulid al-Nabi), along with the Barjanzi (the narration on the life of Prophet). I obtained the bundle from Ahmad Rahman, a researcher at the Ministry of Religious Affair of the Republic of Indonesia.

[68] Interviews in Pattene, Maros. 2009.

[69] Abd al. Razak, "Ighatsat Al-Lahfan ". I was given this work by a descendant of ‘Abd al-Razzāq in Maros, Andi Makmur AB on March 2009

‘Abd al-Razzāq’s works on mystical Islam, despite his efforts to demonstrate the ties with the mainstream Islamic ideas, did not remove the criticism of the order from the orthodox ‘ulamā (parewa sarak). What he and his order were witnessing was a global movement against mystical Islam led by the Wahabi in Mecca.[70] An article written by von de Wall, an apprenticed officer for Arab affairs in Netherlands Indies, describes the situation of mystical teachers and practices at the end of the nineteenth century. According to von de Wall, Meccan ‘ulamās and their colleagues in Netherlands Indies had threatened those who practiced mystical Islam. But the Sufi followers were not intimidated and even fought back. He mentions the *anak murid* (disciples), who showed their respect to these teachers by giving them prizes.[71] Teachers of the Sufi order *(guru tarekat)* were not suppressed but obtained material and social prestige from the local population. Thirty-seven years before, a Minangkabau Haji Ismail returned from Mecca and made Singapore his destination. There, he taught the people his mysticism and convinced them to become members of his tarekat. At that time also residing in Singapore was Shaikh Salim ibn Sumair, a learned ‘ulamā from Haḍramaut (in present-day Yemen), who opposed Haji Ismail’s mystical practices and declared the latter’s tarekat as being contrary to Islam.[72]

Similar anti-tarekat sentiments were fostered by Arab-descended Shaikhs in Batavia, among whom were Sayyid ‘Usman and ‘Usman bin ‘Abdallah ‘Alawī.[73] Their publications were circulated across the archipelago, condemning the “deviant” orders. Unfortunately, not much

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[70] Levtzion, "Eighteenth Century Sufi," 147.

[71] See also Azra’s work on Sayyid ‘Uthmān’s harsh opposition against heretic-mystical practices among the Sufi teachers and their followers in Netherlands Indies from the late eighteenth to the early twentieth centuries. Azra, *Islam in the Indonesian*, 268-78.

[72] A.F. von de Wall, "Kort Begrip Der Beteekenis Van De Tarekat," in *Tijdschrift voor het Binnenlandsch Bestuur* (Perpustakaan Nasional Jakarta, 1892).

[73]Usman bin Abdallah ‘Alawi wrote a book criticizing the deviant mystical practices, *Taftih al-‘Uyun ‘alā Fasād al-Dzunūn* (lit. “opening one’s eyes to destructive understanding or knowledge”). Sayyid Usman also published books on a similar subject. "Eene Verhandeling Van Een Arabisch Geleerde," in *Medeedelingen van wege Nederlandsch Zendelinggenootschap, XXXVI,1892* (Jakarta: Perpustakaan Nasional Jakarta, 1892).

information is available from colonial sources on the situation of Islam in Sulawesi, unlike Java and Sumatra. What is clear is that ʻAbd al-Razzāq and his son, Abdullah, did suffer strong opposition against their mystical practices. The total obedience required of the followers toward their shaikhs was one of the principal criticisms made by the orthodox ʻulamā, such as those of Arab descents (sayyid). The shaikhs were accused of maintaining their spiritual authority by demanding complete obedience from their followers. But the shaikhs of the Khalwatiah Sammān in Maros defended themselves by citing certain mystical doctrines in Islam that confirmed their religious legitimacy and practices. The full obedience of their sanakmangaji, they argue, creates strong spiritual bonds between themselves and their followers.

Believing that his mystical practices were in accord with orthodox Islamic tradition, ʻAbd al-Razzāq answered his critics and his followers in February 1876 on the relationship between a murshīd and his students (murīd or sanakmangaji). Quoting al-Makassari's views on the subject of murshīd and his followers (murīd), ʻAbd al-Razzāq wrote:

> "Whoever disobeys and disrespects the Shaikh and saints of Allah will be rejected, and there is no grace for those who hurt their Shaikhs. And those who say no to their teachers will not be happy forever…As is known in the tradition of the prophet (khabar) that the shaikh is to his followers as the prophet is to his ummah. In a similar fashion the attitude of the followers (murid) towards the shaikh is like the attitude of the followers towards the prophet. Thus, as the bearer of inspiration *(ilhām),* a Shaikh is to his followers as the angel of Gabriel as the bearer of revelation *(waḥy)* is to the prophet..."[74]

What ʻAbd al-Razzāq is attempting to do in this quote is to explain to his followers that they are to trust and follow their leaders completely. He goes on:

> "…the prophet (PBUH)[75] says whoever looks down on a scholar (ʻalim) has already insulted me, and whoever insults me has already insulted God, and who insults God is an

[74] Razzāq, "Diary ". The last sentence in the quote is from Al-Ghazālī's *Ihyā ʻUlūm al-Dīn.* See Abu Hamid Muhammad. Al-Ghazālī, *Ihyā ʻUlūm Al-Dīn*, 4 vols. (Semarang: Karya Toha Putra), 255.

[75] PBUH (Peace Be Upon Him)

> infidel (kāfir). Therefore, a disciple has to maintain trust in his Shaikh and whatever he does, though the evil ones may contravene the law, one must believe that Shaikh is more knowledgeable of the secrets. Thus, it is mandatory for a disciple to have positive thinking towards his Shaikh … According to ʻAbd al-Ghāni Tāj al-ʻĀrifīn, Allah is pleased with a slave; but, when his Shaikh is angry with him, so is Allah. Likewise, though Allah is displeased with his slave while his Shaikh is happy with him, so will Allah be pleased with him. Thus, the sincerity of Allah depends on the sincerity of the Shaikh towards his disciple, because the anger of the Shaikh is a calamity for a disciple in his present life and in the hereafter. Allah will not accept his righteousness, though it is greater. So be alert with the devoted Shaikh. If not, Allah will take his belief (īmān) away, and he may die an infidel (unbeliever). Allah will punish whoever changes the heart of the Shaikh, by transforming his belief (īmān) into infidelity *(kufr)*.This is the greatest calamity of a sinner disciple...Therefore, being a disciple of the Shaikh is like being a corpse in the hands of his washer…"[76]

Before his death in 1910, ʻAbd al-Razzāq appointed his son Abdullah as his khalīfah. Like his father, Abdullah received anonymous letters in opposition to his father's order, initially the tarekat Haji Palopo. The major contentious issues raised by the letters were the recitation of the dhikr out loud and the allegedly immoral activities of the followers of the Khalwatiah Sammān during their dhikr. The letters were also sent to both local and Dutch authorities. Since the accusation had circulated widely in the society and could lead to social disorder, the Dutch governor wrote to request that Abdullah make any clarifications necessary regarding his father's tarekat. On 24 May 1924, Abdullah came to the governor at Maros to present a report on his tarekat, which was then translated into Dutch and approved by Abdullah.

In this report Abdullah tried to convince his opponents that Tarekat Haji Palopo was not a strange order, but part of a long tradition of Islamic mysticism. Moreover, it had a strong social and political reputation in Sulawesi as with earlier tarekats.[77] To demonstrate the links of this tarekat with the earlier Sufi orders of Khalwatiah [Yusuf] *Qādiriah,* and *Aflawiah*, Abdullah wrote:

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[76] Razzāq, "Diary ".

[77] Abdullah, "Mededeelingen Omtrent."

> "Haji Palopo won disciples in Maros and in the capital of the district *(onderafdeling)*, which is Kampong Surajirang. After several years he moved to Leppakomai, where his grave lies. During his lifetime, my father traveled beyond Sulawesi. He did not intend to spread his tarekat, but he was frequently invited by rulers in southwest Sulawesi, such as the kings of Bone, Gowa, Soppeng, Pare-Pare etc. He found followers everywhere, especially among anakaraeng [nobility]. Those rulers and noble families were my father's students. They were interested in tarekat because they wanted to purify themselves before they died, and it was a pathway they believed would lead them toward the Lord with their purified heart.…Regarding the name of this tarekat, in Sulawesi it was known as Tarekat Haji Palopo. My father had a great number of followers because of his knowledge and religious acts. It was common practice that whoever has large numbers of students, whether temporarily or permanently, would lend an authoritative name to his tarekat. In this way, our tarekat has also been called Khalwatiah, Qādiriah or Aflawiah."[78]

Abdullah also describes the enormous reputation of Khalwatiah Sammāan:

> "I cannot describe the number of my father followers. In the era of governor Bakkers my father started his position as the khalīfah of the order, taking over the position from his teacher, Muhammad Fudhail. During his teacher's era the order had only followers among the anakaraeng. Now the number of followers among anakaraeng is greater, around hundreds…My father Haji Palopo was known across Sulawesi, where under his leadership the order spread from Poleiyan and Bumbia (Buton)[79] to Mandar and Luwu."[80]

Based on this report, it appears that the number of followers of the new Khalwatiah Sammān in its earlier development was high, due to its leaders' spiritual reputation among the noblemen. Their social prestige as the leaders of community in their region may have contributed to the increasing reputation of the order among the common people. However, this success was tempered by the ongoing opposition of the Khalwatiah Sammān by the orthodox Islamic authorities. To bolster the loyalty of his followers 'Abd al-Razzāq increased his regular visits to his khalīfah (deputies) across the island. During his visits 'Abd al-Razzāq delivered his teaching, while inaugurating the new khalīfahs. He also visited and initiated various Bugis and

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[78] Ibid.

[79] The political influence of Khalwatiah Sammān on local statecraft is discussed in Abd Rahim Yunus' study on Sufism in the court of Buton. This study mentions that several works of the founder of Khalwatiah Sammān, Muhammad 'Abd al-Karīm as-Sammān, have been found in the library of the sultan of Buton, and that three sultans of Buton were noted as khalīfah of Khalwatiah Sammān. See Abd Rahim Yunus, *Posisi Tasawwuf Dalam Sistem Pemerintahan Di Kesultanan Buton Pada Abad Ke-19* (Jakarta: INIS, 1995).

[80] Abdullah, "Mededeelingen Omtrent."

Makassarese rulers and nobles as his disciples and khalīfahs. His work extended even to areas that had not been strongly Islamized, such as Sidendreng and Rappang.[81] Among his disciples were a few who had joined in order to obtain magical powers from Haji Palopo (‘Abd al-Razzāq). He did not discourage such beliefs but seemed to have manipulated them in order to increase the number of his followers. ‘Abd al-Razzāq was willing to meet the needs of the people, whether in instructing them in mystical practices or in obtaining magical powers, the latter being especially desired by both the elite and the ordinary people.

According to Bruinessen, Andi Mambolong, a nobleman well-known for his magical prowess and knowledge of martial arts, came to Haji Palopo to learn more about acquiring magical powers. In time Mambolong was appointed by Haji Palopo as his khalīfah. In addition to maintaining his reputation in mystical matters, Haji Palopo emphasized the dhikr as a way for a warrior to gain invulnerability *(towarani tokebbeng)*, rather than teaching tarekat as a way toward spiritual purification.[82] Since healing is one of the principal aims of a Sufi community,[83] he practiced healing by writing prayers *(do’a)* and making amulets *(wafaq* or *jimat)* from Qur’anic verses for his followers to use in trading, traveling, fishing, building houses, war, protecting infants, voyaging and so forth.[84] After gaining qualified students, Haji Palopo taught his tarekat’s doctrines, combining elements of orthodoxy and Sufism. For this reason he even became popular among orthodox ‘ulamā, who did not view him as a heretical practitioner of mysticism as much as the leader of the Khalwatiah Sammān. His later alias, Haji Palopo (the great teacher), was given to him by the people in recognition of his knowledge and teaching.

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[81] Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning: Pesantren Dan Tarekat*, 296-7.

[82] Ibid.

[83] Pnina Werbner, *Pilgrims of Love: The Anthroplogy of a Global Sufi Cult* (Bloomington, Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2003), 27.

[84] Razak, "Diary ".

According to Abdullah, his father was a respected spiritual master with many of his khalīfah spread throughout South Sulawesi. After his father returned from Mecca, he became entitled to use the honorific Haji before his name, and thus he became Haji Palopo. In his genealogy (silsilah) there are 42 names preceding him as bearers of the Khalwatiah Sammān. At the very beginning of the silsilah was Allah, followed by the angel Gabriel and the Prophet Muhammad and finally 'Abd al-Razzāq's initiator, Muhammad Fudhail. In addition to his grandfather, Abdullah was trying to link his order to the prominent orthodox figure of the Sumatran Khalīfah of 'Abd al-Karīm as-Sammān, 'Abd al-Ṣamad al-Falimbani.[85] According to Abdullah, his father was initiated into the Khalwatiah Sammān by al-Falimbani.[86] Although there are similarities between 'Abd al-Razzāk 's and al-Falimbani's spiritual ideas, no local sources provide significant evidence that these two teachers ever met.[87] But it was a general practice for Shaikh to seek to link the order to prominent Islamic masters to add legitimacy to the order and attract more followers.

Abdullah also mentioned that his father did not want to spread the teaching of his tarekat, but it was the rulers of Gowa, Bone, Soppeng, Pare-Pare, and other kingdoms who wished to gain initiation into the order through him:

> "Their motivation was to seek spiritual purification, and that was the reason they were interested in the order. Unfortunately, because his father traveled extensively to teach, many of his teachings are no longer available and remain undocumented. As a result, many people assume that the dhikr within Khalwatiah Sammān is its major component,

[85] Abdullah himself is in the rank of the 46, followed by his sons, Andi Amiruddin (d. 1979) and Andi Hamzah. See Rahman, "Tarekat Khalwatiah", 132.

[86] Abdullah, "Mededeelingen Omtrent." In his magnum opus, *Sair al-Sālikīn*, al-Falimbani mentions the silsilah or the listed names of syaikhs of the Khalwatiah Sammān. Al-Falimbani himself said that he was directly initiated into the order by the founder, Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Karīm as-Sammān al-Qādiri al-Khalwati al- Madanī when he was in Medina. Palimbani, *Sair Al-Sālikīn*, 212.

[87] Alwi Shihab, *Akar Tasawuf Di Indonesia, Antara Tasawuf Sunni & Tasawuf Falsafi* (Depok: Pustaka Iiman, 2009), 212.

> and so they continue to do evil….His father went to Mecca twice, and because of his spiritual reputation he had a great number of followers. As the khalīfah, his father was also known for his divine grace."[88]

As the popularity of Haji Palopo's tarekat grew, critics and opposition to the Khalwatiah Sammān became stronger among the orthodox 'ulamā. Their most common criticisms were directed against the order's dhikr and the waḥdat al-wujūd. They alleged that both 'Abd al-Razzāq and Abdullah practiced waḥdat al-wujūd and were therefore heretics. Yet through 'Abd al-Razzāq's writings, whose ideas were disseminated by khalīfahs in public discussions sponsored by the rulers, the criticism became less but never disappeared. In fact, the opposition to the order became greater as modernist Muslims organizations mushroomed in the first quarter of the twentieth century.

Conclusion

The story of the Khalwatiah Sammān order in South Sulawesi is an interesting study of the intersection of global and local Islamic conditions. At the time of the inception of the order, the homeland of Islam in the Middle East was succumbing to European imperialism that was encircling the globe. The intrusive hand of "Christian" colonization aroused strong opposition among the subjugated Islamic populations, which took the popular form of a greater emphasis on Islamic identity. One of the direct results of the political situation was the rise of the Wahabi movement, which sought answers to the failure of Islam by undertaking a strong fundamental approach to the religion. One of the central tenets of the Wahabis was the elimination of all accretions to the religion and the restoration of the purity of Islam as in the time of the prophet Muhammad and his deputies. The main targets of the Wahabis, therefore, were the Islamic

[88] Abdullah, "Mededeelingen Omtrent."

beliefs in many parts of the world, including Southeast Asia, where Islam had become localized and an integral part of traditional customs and practices.

In South Sulawesi, Islam had only arrived in the early years of the seventeenth century and had to contend with a strong indigenous belief system involving the bissu, or native priests, and the traditional rulers. These traditions were reinforced by the strength of the stories of the tomanurung, or beings who descended from the upper world, who were the progenitors of the royal families. Yet the rulers found the mystical version of Islam attractive because of the promise of becoming a Perfect Man, which would reinforce their position as sacred upperworldly beings. Moreover, the entire Islamic apparatus could be added to their loyal supporters who could counterbalance the power of the bissu. In time it was the aristocracy's strong involvement in Islam that formed the basis of the expansion of the religion in South Sulawesi.

The Khalwatiah Yusuf was initially the Sufi order of preference among the aristocracy because of its association with al-Makassari, a Gowa prince who had become a renowned Sufi teacher. Its success benefited the Khalwatiah Sammān, which also began to acquire members from the elite class. But the strength and longevity of the order in the nineteenth century can be attributed directly to 'Abd al-Razzāq, popularly known as Haji Palopo. It was he who introduced the innovation of the dhikr, from one that was a personal silent ritual to one that was recited aloud and in a congregation. It proved to be popular among the common people, not only because it appealed to the sense of community but also because these dhikr recitations were often led by the elite. The dhikr thus became a unifying ritual among its members and a reinforcement of a well-understood and accepted social order.

This dhikr practice contributed to an increased spirituality among the followers of the Khalwatiah Sammān and became the focus of unfounded accusations by the orthodox ʻulamā of sexual license among its members and of other heterodox practices. Through his writings ʻAbd al-Razzāq sought to demonstrate that the order was part of the orthodox tradition, and by directly remonstrating with the traditional rulers he succeeded in partially deflecting criticisms. He created the foundations for the success of the Khalwatiah Sammān, upon which his son and successor, Abdullah, was able to build in the twentieth century.

Chapter 5

An "Age in Motion": The Development of the Khalwatiah Sammān in the Twentieth Century

"Say there is no god but Allah (laa ilaaha illa Allah) until those hypocrites (munāfiq) say this is crazy or meaningless." (Abdullah bin 'Abd al-Razzāq).[1]

"Having praised Allah and greeted the prophet, Abdullah ibn Abd al-Razak al-Bugisi al-Maarisi said, I collected this account from the garden of the Tasawwuf as the argument between those who oppose me and I (hujjatan baini wa baina man khasamani) in regard to these following statements..." (Abdullah bin 'Abd al-Razzāq).[2]

As the previous chapter has shown, opposition to the Khalwatiah Sammān and its leadership was strongest among the orthodox 'ulamā, mostly Meccan graduates and people of Arab descent. Because of their claims to particular expertise in Islamic jurisprudence *(fiqh)*, they commonly labeled as anti-sharī'ah those tarekat that appeared to challenge their position by attracting large numbers of followers.[3] This dissertation has demonstrated that the tension between Islamic practices that can be characterized as more sharī'ah-oriented and those that were less so (often considered to be heretical), has been part of the history of Islam in Indonesian-Malay world at least since the era of al-Raniri of Aceh and al-Makassari of the seventeenth century. Indeed, in Banten, the tension between the two was more than a religious squabble, and may have involved competition concerning the *zakat fitrah*, a tithe in rice or money that was paid on the last day of *Ramaḍān* (the fasting month) and was regularly collected from the population by the 'ulamā.[4]What is expressed above by Abdullah, the grand shaikh of Khalwatiah Sammān

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[1] Abdullah, "Hujjat Al-Maftūnīn," 19.

[2] Quoted from the opening remark of Abdullah's work, *Riyād al-Tasawwuf.* Abdullah, "Riyād Al-Tassawwuf ", 1.

[3]In his article, Berg notes that most Arab descendants *(sayyid)* in Batavia disliked the spread of *tarekat* activities, and condemned the teachers of *tarekat* as liars who only aimed to obtain money from the illiterate. L.W.C. van den Berg, "Over de Devotie der Naqsjibendijah in den Indischen Archipel," *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* XXVIII(1883).

[4]*Zakat fitrah* is a tithe, whether rice or money, paid on the last day of the fasting month of Ramadhan. In addition, there is another kind of religious obligation in Islam, *zakat mal*, which a trader has to pay on a yearly base. This

in Maros, demonstrates the existence of religious tensions among the learned ummah (‘ulamā). His decision to select the saying of the prophet that uses the word “hypocrites” (munāfiq) above may have been deliberately intended for those opponents of his order.

As the twentieth century advanced, several factors infused these long-standing debates with new pressures, and the history of the Khalwatiah Sammān should be considered against this background.[5] The ferment of the local modernist Islam movement coincided with rising political agitation in Netherlands Indies, and to this was added religious tension developing between the Wahabi and Shāfi’ī scholars in the Ḥaramayn.[6]A colonial report *(politiek verslag)*, dated 1929 documented the political situation in Sulawesi at that time.[7] In Makassar public gatherings organized by Partai Serikat Islam (PSI) activists promoted modernist ideas regarding marriage affairs and women rights. At the end of 1928 PSI’s registered membership was said to amount to 1793 followers, but by November 1929 this had grown to around six thousand. These people came from Wajo, Mandar, Enrekang and Barru (Maros). Not only did they hold meetings in Makassar and other cities such as Sengkang, Pare-Pare, Enrekang, and Barru, but they also campaigned in smaller villages to recruit members. During these campaigns they frequently encountered opposition from the local adat (hadat) council, whose members thought that they

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comprises a 2.5 percent tax on the whole capital, which has to be donated to the poor, but in reality the actual income of religious teachers may have derived from both *zakat*. Martin van Bruinessen, "Shari’a Court, *Tarekat* and Pesantren: Religion Institutions in the Banten Sultanate," *Archipel* 50(1995).

[5]Karel A. Steenbrink, *Beberapa Aspek Tentang Islam Di Indonesia Abad Ke-19* (Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, 1984).

[6] As a result of the political success of the Wahabi movement in Ḥaramayn, the new ruler, Ibn Saud of Mecca, told the‘*ulamā* of the Shāfi’ī school teaching their Jawi community around the holy Ka’bah to end their teaching. In consequence, there was a continuing exodus of Meccan Shāfi’ī to the Indonesian-Malay archipelago. Among those scholars was a student of Bugis origin, Muhammad Asad of Bugis (1907-1952) from Wajo. He returned to Wajo in 1928 and is known as the father of the pesantren in South Sulawesi. Mustari Bosra, *Tuang Guru, Anrong Guru Dan Daeng Guru: Gerakan Islam Di Sulawesi Selatan 1914 – 1942* (Makassar: La Galigo Press, 2008), 160.; Syamsuddin Arif, *Jaringan Pesantren Di Sulawesi Selatan (1928-2005)* (Jakarta: Badan Litbang dan Diklat Departemen Agama RI, 2008), 103-8.

[7]ANRI, "Politiek Verslag Celebes En Onderhoorigheden over Het Jaar 1929," (Jakarta: Arsip Nasional Repulik Indonesia (ANRI), 1929).

would be displaced, especially given the rumors that the PSI would take over from the Dutch government. The importance of South Sulawesi for the Islamic political movement is seen in the PSI's decision to make Pare-Pare the host for the party's national congress in 1930. In addition to PSI, the reformist Muslim movement Muhammadiyah had been so strong in Makassar that its influence reached the northern regions from Maros, Pangkajene (Labakkang), Sengkang, and Pare-Pare to Rappang and Mandar in the northwest corner of South Sulawesi. From its center in Makassar in the south, the Muhammadiyah established a strong presence from Takalar to Sinjai in the east to Bulukumba (Kajang) in the southeast and across to the Selayar islands. The printing and preaching (dakwah) programs, coupled with the social welfare and education agendas such as building schools, libraries, mosques and sending its preachers (*dā'ī*), help explain why the Muhammadiyah attracted so much interest among the ummah and attracted them to become engaged in the organization.[8]

Opposition and suspicion among local leaders were frequently expressed towards the ideas aggressively promoted by puritan Islamic organizations, especially when they tried to oppose traditions such as the veneration of sacred heirlooms and giving offerings at sacred places. In addition to PSI and Muhammadiyah, criticism of these practices was also expressed by a right wing Muslim organization, namely al-ṣirāṭ al-Mustaqīm, which was founded in 1924. This political organization initially operated in the space between Muhammadiyah and PSI, but then these three modernist organizations fused themselves into a wider organization, *Persatuan Perkumpulan Umat Islam* (PPOI/ the Association of Muslim Organizations). Supported by PPOI, al-ṣirāṭ al-Mustaqīm led the propagators of a hard-line approach to Islamic purification, with branches in Makassar, Maros and Bantaeng. Among the most provocative issues was when al-

[8] Bosra, *Tuang Guru*. ; James L Peacock, *Purifying the Faith: The Muhammadijah Movement in Indonesian Islam* (Arizona: Arizona State University, Program for Southeast Asian Studies, 1992), 37.

ṣirāṭ al-Mustaqīm announced its opposition against the practice of the noon prayer *(ẓuhūr)* after the weekly Friday prayer *(jum'ah)* practiced by the followers of Khalwatiah Sammān.[9] In addition, the al-ṣirāṭ al-Mustaqīm also affirmed freedom of worship for Muslims in any mosque, since groups of traditional 'ulamā in certain regions had forbidden Muslims other than their own followers from performing daily prayers in their mosques.[10]

In the mean time, a modernist organization also emerged among Muslim students, known as the Jong Islamieten Bond (Muslim Youth Association), which put out a monthly publication addressing religious issues. PPOI was concerned about the revival of orthodox 'ulamā *(aliran tua)*, who represented the old Muslim mainstream led by traditional 'ulamā and tarekat leaders. Through its Dutch publications, PPOI demonstrated its harsh hostility towards both the orthodox 'ulamā and the organizations with which they were associated, especially the institution of a khalīfah within the tarekats. In its public gatherings, the PPOI campaigned for the dissolution of the institution of the khalīfah.[11]

Abdullah's Family: Tarekat Haji Abdullah and Its Modernist Encounters

During the 1920s the Indonesian-Malay archipelago was strongly affected by modernist Islam movements and in the preaching of the orthodox Meccan shāf'ī 'ulamā, and the followers of the Khalwatiah Sammān were a common target. During this era the khalīfah of Abdullah ibn 'Abd al-Razzāq witnessed the continuation of opposition against his order and his sanakmanagji.

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[9] Performing prayer zuhūr after jum'ah has been a distinct religious weekly ritual among the members of Khalwatiah Sammān in South Sulawesi; whereas most Muslims, especially the Muhammadiyahh and Nahdlatul Ulama, do not. According to the majority of 'ulamā, because the Friday prayer has already been performed, there is no need for Muslims to pray zuhūr, since it is the substitute of the former. Arguments on this issue were presented by modernist groups in the early 1920s.

[10] ANRI, "Politiek Verslag Celebes 1929."

[11] Ibid.

In this respect, the traditional groups that later became the Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), and modernist groups of ‘ulamā in Muhammadiyah, Partai Serikat Islam and Jam’iyat al-Marḍiyyah (the organization of Arab descendants) were all opposed to mystical practices, including Abdullah’s tarekat, widely known as Tarekat Haji Abdullah.[12] It was a time of intellectual debates in the Islamic world with Wahabism of the Ḥaramayn and the modernist movement of Egyptian Muhammad Abduh competing for adherents in Southeast Asia.[13] In the archipelago they led the attack on the mystical religious practices such as visiting the graves of saints. Even the traditionalist orthodox Islamic authorities, the parewa sarak, came under criticism, and so there was some accommodation to the new Islamic discourse entering the region.[14] They both had an aversion to syncretism that characterized the practices of the Sufi orders and the methods of their teachers. In Java and Sumatra, the struggle between the modernists and traditionalists was represented by the Kaum Muda (younger faction) and the Kaum Tua (elderly faction), respectively.[15] The latter group included the Sufi practitioners and, in the case of Java, the ‘ulamā of the Nahdlatul ‘Ulamā (NU) organization.

In South Sulawesi, the Khalwatiah Sammān of Abdullah faced opposition from both the modernist Muslims and the traditional group of *Aḥl al-Sunnah wa al-Jamā’ah*. In this regard, the long-standing patronage, whether based on marriages or discipleship, between Khalwatiah Sammān’s shaikhs and the local noblemen, who were mostly Bugis, was clearly a source of envy and resentment among the orthodox Islamic groups. Due to their formal scholarly links to

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[12]Alfian, *Muhammadiyah: The Political Behavior of a Muslim Modernist Organization under Dutch Colonialism* (Yogyakarta: Gadjah Mada University Press, 1989).; Bosra, *Tuang Guru*.

[13] Peacock, *Purifying the Faith*.

[14] The foundation of more formal Islamic-learning institutions, pesantren or madrasah, was among modernist initiatives of the orthodox Muslims.

[15] Peacock, *Purifying the Faith*, 19-20.

Islamic institutions in both Indonesia and Mecca, the latter group claimed to be more authoritative on matters of interpretation and understanding of Islam and Muslim leadership.

Opposition to the order came also from the new Dutch colonial regime that was established in South Sulawesi early in the twentieth century. Unlike the period under ‘Abd al-Razzāq’s leadership, the situation in Abdullah’s stewardship was characterized by more politically-motivated ‘ulamā, who forced both the Indonesian nationalists and the Dutch colonial government to become involved in religious affairs.

Abdullah attempted to defuse a potentially difficult situation by first admitting to some of his followers’ uncontrolled activities in implementing the teachings of the Khalwatiah Sammān and in misrepresenting those of the order’s opponents. But he defended the order by saying that many critics have misinterpreted the intention of the order by wrongly assuming that the remembrance of Allah (dhikr) is the very essence of its teachings. According to Abdullah, more than the dhikr, the tarekat teaches people to unite with God after death and to deepen their religious awareness beyond the daily religious routines (‘ibādat). Dhikr is just one of the means by which the adherents of this tarekat may achieve this unity with God. Unfortunately, there are those who view the dhikr as the ultimate goal and not the means towards the achievement of the unity with God. Abdullah explains this simply: “Dhikr has been likened to the tarekat itself, yet it should be viewed as the way to understand the Almighty Allah.” This goal, according to Abdullah, cannot be attained unless one abandons evil ways and pursues a virtuous life. Unfortunately, rather than attempt to improve one’s spiritual life, one may proclaim, “I am God”. This is heresy and deserves punishment.[16]

[16]Abdullah, "Mededeelingen Omtrent De Tarequat Hadji Palopo, Door Hadji Palopo’s Zoon Hadji Abdullah Bin Abdul Razak, Bijgenaam Poeang Lompo.," (Maros1924).

Apart from his arguments dealing with the misunderstood dhikr, we should look more closely at Abdullah's non-tarekat activity. Like his father 'Abd al-Razzāq, Abdullah was not only a spiritual teacher, but also an entrepreneur. He is recorded as having gone to Bone to collect debts owed to him in order to invest the money in a coconut orchard in Maros, a venture approved by the governor of Maros. Upon arrival in Bone, however, he was thwarted by those who opposed his order. The debtors themselves may have wished to prevent the collection by raising the issue of the controversial Sufi order. Although he tried to explain the teachings of the order, his opponents accused him of taking money from people while providing them with false teachings. The situation was not helped by rumors of seduction and disorderly behavior among his followers in Maros.[17] On this unpleasant experience in Bone, Abdullah writes:

> Though I brought the letter from the governor, in Bone I failed to meet my debtors because the assistant resident of Bone at Pompanua asked me to return to Maros. People there accused me of being a beggar asking people to surrender their almsgivings and cheating them, and that I had no right to teach them because I was not a learned teacher ('ālim). They said that my Father was a big evildoer and I was no better than he. I simply replied that I was not a learned teacher, and even if I were, I would not be teaching them. My purpose in coming to Bone was merely to collect my money from my debtors. However, the assistant resident of Bone did not trust me but instead heeded his advisors who accused me of being a troublemaker. I asked the assistant resident, who told him about me and what was said about me, but he became angry and asked me to leave Bone right away. When I returned to Maros, the governor informed me that he had received a cable from the assistant resident of Bone that I was the cause of the social disorder in Bone and so the people of Bone would not allow his visit. I did not agree with his explanation because during my time there he never asked me and did not research my financial situation nor asked me the purpose of my visit. After showing the approval letter to the [Maros] governor, he said that he would handle the matter and promised to get my money back soon. After such an accusation [in Bone], I decided not to travel anymore but to stay in Leppakemae (present Leppakomai) at Maros for several years.[18]

[17]Ibid.

[18]Ibid.

From Leppakomai Abdullah moved to Pattene, Maros, where he acted as the khalīfah to his followers. As the number of his followers[19] increased, criticisms against the order and Abdullah persisted. An anonymous letter was sent to the governor asking him to investigate Abdullah and his tarekat, which was flourishing in Maros, Pangkajene, Bone and the rest of South Sulawesi. Finally, Abdullah decided to go to the king of Bone to answer the criticisms regarding the tarekat's activities. Abdullah explains his situation in this manner:

> Such accusations towards the Khalwatiah Sammān as illustrated in the letter thus far have not been proven by evidence. These people say that we are crazy because we force them to pay for a little teaching while mocking our tarekat as teaching false ideas. Also, they say that we are doing evil and our recitation (dhikr) occurs in dark places where the younger members are assembled together, leading to pregnancies. This is shameful slander which needs to be proven through investigation.[20]

According to Abdullah, it was Aru Panjali who reported to the king that Abdullah's disciples were performing nightly dhikr by rocking their bodies in ugly motion, and that men and women were sitting together in one place. Then, he claimed, the men raped the women and they became pregnant. These women then gave their babies to God.[21] Abdullah's report to the king of Bone tried to refute these accusations by listing those who were spreading these rumors. He then named the various places where the order congregated for their dhikr. Abdullah denied the accusations of sexual misconduct and condemned such behavior as being worse than that of animals. Abdullah also brought this matter to the Dutch governor, but the latter failed to muffle the issue.[22] The same accusations reappeared in subsequent years, particularly when the modernist Muslim organizations reached South Sulawesi with their campaign against

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[19] As reported by Abdullah, the followers of his order consisted of both men and women, but women were not allowed to recite dhikr out loud, or to shake their bodies during the dhikr. Ahmad Rahman, "Tarekat Khalwatiah Samman (Studi Tentang Penyebaran Dan Ajarannya Di Kabupaten Maros, Propinsi Sulawesi Selatan) " (MA Thesis, IAIN Alauddin 1997), 115.

[20]Abdullah, "Mededeelingen Omtrent."

[21]Ibid.

[22]Ibid.

unacceptable innovations *(bid'ah)*, heresy *(khurafat)*, superstition *(takhyul),*[23]and, to some extent, the practice of feudalism.[24]

Yet despite opposition and even slander by orthodox[25] and modernist groups, Abdullah's commitment to making people understand the teachings of his tarekat never wavered. He continued his mission of extending the order beyond South Sulawesi by appointing his khalīfah and maintained his personal credentials by remaining connected with the center of Islam, Mecca. Among his appointed khalīfah was La Hussaini Dg. Pawawo or Puang Madello at Soppeng.[26] To ensure the future of his order and make it acceptable to his opponents, Abdullah felt he had to seek Islamic legitimacy from learned Muslims in Mecca. For this purpose, Abdullah sent his three sons -- Muhammad Ṣālih (b.1862, Puang Turu), Muhammad Amin (Puang Naba) and Ibrahim (Puang Solong) -- to study Islam in Mecca. All three lived in Mecca for several years, but like their father and grandfather, after finished their studies in the Ḥaramayn, they were more known as spiritual teachers rather than as learned 'ulamā graduating from Mecca with a shared specializations in fiqh (Islamic jurisprudence). Yet, this does not mean that they were not knowledgeable in the subject. Their commoner followers, perhaps, encouraged them to become more engaged in ritual practices among the sanakmangaji. Among his sons, however, Muhammd

[23]Siti Salmiah, "Manajemen Pendidikan Agh. Muhammad As'ad Dalam Membina Madrasah Arabiyah Islamiyah Wajo Sengkang Sulawesi Selatan (1928-1952)" (Ph.D Dissertation, UIN Jakarta, 2008), 133.

[24] Bosra, *Tuang Guru*.

[25] Included in this group was that of the Meccan teachers who were essentially compelled to return to South Sulawesi because of the victory of Wahabism in Mecca. The coming of Haji Muhammad 'Asad and his anti-syncretic teachings in Wajo was strongly supported by Muhammadiyah and its affiliated modernist organizations. See Ibid., 160.

[26] According to Ruslan, La Hussaini Dg. Pawawo was the grandfather of Ruslan, the current assistant of Syadjaruddin Malik, the present shaikh in Pattene. Ruslan knows and practices the teaching of the order following the teaching of his father, Haji Abd al-Wahab who in turn learned it from his father, La Hussaini Dg. Pawawo. Though he comes from the Khalwatiah Sammān khalīfah at Soppeng, Ruslan took his initiation as the khalīfah of the order from Andi Hamzah Puang Nippi at Pattene, Maros. During the *Darul Islam* (DI) rebellion to establish an Islamic state in Indonesia, his father Haji Abd al-Wahab was captured by Muzakkar's troops *(gerombolan)* in order to force him to collaborate with their movement and support DI. *Interview* with Ruslan,Makassar, August 15, 2009.

Ṣālih was noted as Abdullah's most distinguished khalīfah. Because of his great reputation, and the fact that he followed on from his father and grandfather, Muhammad Ṣālih was known as *Puang Lompo* (the grand shaikh) of the Khalwatiah Sammān in South Sulawesi.[27]

Like his father 'Abd al-Razzāq, Abdullah and his son Muhammad Ṣālih moved and opened a new village, namely Pattene at Maros. Its location between the old Gowa and Bone kingdoms facilitated the ability of the followers of the order to come to their shaikh in order to obtain his blessing and guidance. As a result, Pattene emerged as the center of the Khalwatiah Sammān for all of South Sulawesi. It was here that his followers (sanakmangaji), who were mostly Bugis, came annually from other parts of Indonesia and Southeast Asia come to celebrate the order's yearly celebration *(ḥaul ghauth)*.

Facing strong opposition towards his tarekat, Abdullah followed his father in using his writings on Sufism to respond and, at the same time, to enhance his hold among followers of the order. One of his works, entitled *Ḥujjat al-Maftūnīn* (Arguments of the Accused), is a collection of mystical accounts of prominent Muslims who were both learned and popular in the archipelago, and thus demonstrates the writer's efforts to stake his position in relation to his critics. In the beginning of the collection he identifies himself as Abdullah ibn 'Abd Al-Razzāq al-Marusi Leppakemae (to show that he wrote this collection in Leppakemae at Marus, before he and his son Muhammad Ṣālih moved to Pattene) and explains his reason for naming the collection "Ḥujjat al-Maftūnīn". He says that this compilation is based on a work named *Riyāḍ al-Taṣawwuf* (the garden of Tasawwuf), a response to those who oppose the *taṣawwuf* he is practicing. Quoting various works of prominent scholars in mystical Islam such as al-Ghazālī, al-Qushairī, Ibn 'Athoillah al-Iskandarī and 'Abd al-Karīm as-Sammān, Abdullah aims to convince

[27]H. M. Ruslan, *Meluruskan Pemahaman Makna Tarekat* (Makassar: Pustaka al-Zikra, 2008), 27.

his followers and his opponents of the validity of his tarekat. In regard to the importance of the public congregation *(jamā'ah)* and the ongoing debate about the Khalwatiah Sammān's public remembrance (dhikr al-jahr), Abdullah, quotes al-Qushairī': "Whoever has no sect is not among the pious; similarly, whoever has no religious congregation is not among those with mystical knowledge (Sufism)."[28] This statement emphasizes the importance of the doctrine of belonging to a tarekat in order to be valued among the pious. Without being affiliated to a tarekat, one cannot gain the mystical knowledge of Sufism. In addition, he argues that "the public recitation and remembrance (al-dhikr al-Jahr) is absolutely recommended in order for one to know the existence of Islam *(shī'ār al-Islām)*, obtain the blessing of the dhikr, and, in the hereafter, because of the chanting of the dhikr during one's life, to witness and listen to one's voice, as one's heart is enlightened in submitting to Allah so that one's faith may also grow." [29] This is based on the teaching that the public dhikr is very important for the ummah since it might benefit the shi'ar Islam (Ind. Syi'ar Islam), i.e. show the glory of Islam to outsiders. It is also believed that the chanter of the dhikr will listen to his voice even after death. The heart is enlightened due to its submission to God, and so his faith (Īmān) may increase. In other words. the dhikr will bring benefits for the chanter both in this world and the next. To counter critics of his tarekat, Abdullah simply recommends to his followers: "Say there is no god, but Allah *(laa ilaaha illa Allah*) until those hypocrites (munāfiq) say this is crazy or meaningless."[30]

Abdullah's works on Sufism hardly succeeded in lessening accusations regarding the unacceptability of his tarekat. On the other hand, it is evident that they contributed to the

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[28] "*man lā firqata lah lā i'bādata lah, wa man lā jam'a lah lā ma'rifata lah"*. Abdullah, "Hujjat Al-Maftūnīn," 26.

[29]Ibid., 89.

[30]Ibid.

reputation of his order among commoners, as shown by the concern expressed by the orthodox ’ulamā about popular participation in the dhikr led by Abdullah and his deputies. Abdullah’s general tolerance as a leader, notably in regard to local tradition, explains why so many people could accommodate the Khalwatiah Sammān to their syncretic practices of Islam. Yet his very appeal also began to cause concern among the parewa sarak.

As the accusations against the Khalwatiah Sammān intensified, leadership in the campaign to explain and justify its teachings was taken up by Abdullah’s eldest son, Muhammad Ṣālih. Though he too failed to discount the rumors completely, during his pilgrimage Ṣālih was successful in convincing the mufti of Mecca, Sayyid ‘Abd Allah bin Muhammad Ṣālih al-Zawawi (1850-1924), a man personally known in the archipelago,[31] to pronounce judgment in the debated tarekat issue and to issue his recommendation (fatwa). Zawawi eventually responded to this request by issuing a written acknowledgment of the validity of Khalwatiah Sammān order, dated August 8th1922.[32]Although Zawawi’s approval still did not persuade the ‘ulamā to abandon their critical position and accept the Khalwatiah Sammān order, it did help to enhance religious solidarity among the members, while affirming that Zawawi’s letter also may have strengthened Muhammad Ṣālih’s effort. Already known as a charismatic shaikh, Muhammad Sālih traveled

[31] Zawawi himself was known as a proponent of old groups of ‘ulamā, especially by his colleagues in Minangkabau in West Sumatra. During his career as a learned teacher, Zawawi was forced by the ruler of Mecca, Sharīf ‘Awn al-Rafīq, to leave his own country. He then went to Pontianak in west Borneo, where he served as a mufti to the sultan before returning to Mecca in 1908 to become a mufti. As the Meccan mufti, Zawawi remained an important figure among the Muslim leaders, including Muhammad Sālih, to whom he requested his fatwa regarding religious debates in the archipelago. There is a compilation of Zawawi’s religious decisions in *Fatāwā al-saniyya fi al-Maza’im al-Ābadiyya* (The Sublime Fatawa Dealing with the Marvelous Allegation). Nico J. G. Kaptein, "Southeast Asian Debates and Middle Eastern Inspiration: European Dress in Minangkabau at the Beginning of the 20th Century," in *Southeast Asia and the Middle East: Islam, Movement, and the Longue Dure’e*, ed. Eric Tagliacozzo (Singapore: National University of Singapore, 2009), 187-9.

[32] Zawawi’s letter is still kept by Muhammad Sālih ’s son, H. Andi Sadjaruddin Malik, the current khalīfah of the Khalwatiah Sammān in Pattene, Maros.

across Sulawesi to visit his followers, deliver advice and remind them that they should continue to observe the tarekat teaching or dhikr *(*Ind. *wirid).*[33]

In 1928, in a climate of rising tension and criticisms towards his tarekat as allegedly less concerned with the sharī'ah, Abdullah returned to the fray by composing a small treatise in Bugis, using the Arabic script, entitled *Malqūṭ min Riyāḍ al-Taṣawwuf* (Articles from the Garden of Tasawwuf). Abdullah opens his account with a statement stressing the interweaving of the exoteric (sharī'ah) and the esoteric (haqīqah) Islam, and arguing that neither could be separated from the other. Quoting from the Prophet, Abdullah argues that "The sharī'ah without haqīqah is idle, while the haqīqah without the sharī'ah is void."[34] In his concluding remarks, Abdullah emphasizes the necessity for the tarekat student to remain united with the thinking of his shaikh.[35] This firm reminder to his followers seems to indicate that opposition to his order was growing, and indeed the Dutch authorities in South Sulawesi even intervened in response to condemnations by the orthodox 'ulamā. Accordingly, it is evident that the problem was not primarily concerned with the doctrine on which Abdullah relied, but with the mystical practices conducted by his followers, especially the way they performed the dhikr (dhikr al-Jahri) and their body motion, in addition to their total obedience to their shaikhs. Abdullah felt that what his fellows had been doing regarding dhikr was not a manipulation of Islamic teaching. Therefore, to allay the fears of his followers and to maintain their performance of the dhikr, Abdullah used the word of the Prophet, particularly "…until those hypocrites (munāfiq) say this is crazy or

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[33]Ruslan, *Meluruskan Pemahaman*, 28-30.

[34]As the Prophet says *"al-Sharī'atu bilā haqīqatin 'ātilatun wa al-Haqīqatu bilā sharī'atun baathilatun"*.Abdullah, "Malqūt Min Riyād Al-Tasawwuf," (1928), 1.

[35]*"wa aḍarru al-Ashyā 'alā al-Murīd taghyīru qalb al-Shaikh 'alihi, fa law ijtama'a 'alā iṣlāhihi ba'da dhālika Mashāyikhi al-Mashriqi wa al-Maghribi lam yastatī'u illā an yardā shaikhuhu"* (The worst thing that could happen to a seeker (murīd) is a change in the view of the teacher toward him. If this happens, even if he managed to gather all the shaikhs from east and west, he would not succeed in shifting that stance until the teacher so desires it.)

meaningless," perhaps intended as a direct reference to orthodox groups. These assertions by Abdullah regarding his religious practices also appeared in various other works, such as his *Riyāḍ al-Taṣawwuf*, as mentioned earlier.

Increased Opposition: The 1930s and a New Generation of Leadership

The 1930s witnessed an era of political transformation when Indonesian Islam was challenged by various imported ideas---nationalism, capitalism, socialism and Islamic modernism, South Sulawesi was no exception. As a leader of a tarekat with remarkable number of members, Abdullah and his sons were confronted with the need to think about the future of their community in an era of rapid social and intellectual change. On the one hand there were the followers of Khalwatiah Sammān led by its khalīfah with their local religious orientation, and on the other, its opponents, represented by the formal religious officers of Kadi (*kali*, Bugis), which under the colonial regime represented a continuance of the older institution of the parewa sarak, who were closely connected with elite groups in Gowa and Bone.

From 1929 the influence of this group was strengthened following the founding of an educational institution in Bone, *"Madrasah 'Amiriyyah"* in 1929, where the teachers included Meccan-graduates from Bone, as well as Meccan colleagues from the Ḥaramayn and Egypt.[36]These men were primarily concerned with the integration of Islam into the global ummah, while the Khalwatiah Sammān, consistently asserted the need for Islam's accommodation with tradition if it was to retain its appeal to the community, and argued that this type of adjustment was completely in accord with the teachings of the Prophet himself.

[36]Among others were 'Abd al-Azīz al-Hāshīmī al-Murabbī and 'Abd al-Hāmid al-Misrī. Similarly, in Sengkang there were also local Meccan graduates conducting lessons on Islam, such as H. Makkatu who taught Islam in Tosora, Wajo. H. A. Mattulada, *Agama Islam Di Sulawesi Selatan, Laporan Proyek Penelitian Peranan Ulama Dan Pengajaran Agama Islam Di Sulawesi Selatan* (Ujung Pandang: Fakultas Sastra Universitas Hasanuddin, 1976), 75-6.

In what Takashi Shiraishi has termed "an age in motion,"[37]maintaining tradition seemed to many people to be the surest way of preserving communal identity from external challenges. To the concept that Muslims all share a spiritual fraternity in Islam was added the conviction that the relationship between the master and his students was the closest and that the proper way to maintain the continuity of the tradition of the order was to intensify this commitment among the followers. A natural extension of this conviction was the deployment of the doctrine of the spiritual obedience by the khalīfah in order to control his followers. This mechanism, in fact, also functioned to protect the followers from the kind of religious confusion and self-doubt that might have been engendered by modernist and orthodox accusations. In particular, it was believed that a follower may incur bad luck or even a curse should he or she break the connection established by spiritual allegiance (bay'at) with the master. Should the shaikh cease to view him or her with favor, unhappiness would almost certainly result. At the same time, remaining true to this spiritual commitment by avoiding any disloyalty to the shaikh in behavior or speech could guarantee future happiness in the hereafter.

In this context, the spiritual doctrines of the Islamic mystic to some extent helped to preserve tarekat followers from the social and religious turmoil that marked this period. Among ordinary people the desire to attain initiation into the order was still high, reaffirming the view that the entrenched loyalty of Khalwatiah Sammān followers can be traced to the spiritual ties that developed between the shaikh and his followers, and the emphasis given to these ties in the order's teachings. The depth of these real and fictive kinship links between the shaikh and the Khalwatiah Sammān sanamangaji were the essential core of the order. Quoting al-Bistāmī, in his Ḥujjat al-Mafṭūnīn, Abdullah says, "Whoever has no teacher *(ustādh)* the devil is his leader

[37]Takashi Shiraishi, *An Age in Motion: Popular Radicalism in Java,1912-9126* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1990).

(imām), and whoever has no shaikh the devil *(satan)* is his shaikh".[38] According to Abdullah, reasserting the teaching of his father (ʻAbd al-Razzāq), the relationship of a shaikh to the tarekat followers resembled the position of a prophet among his followers (ummat).[39] The central role of the khalīfah among the community of the Khalwatiah Sammān lessened the need to establish Islamic educational institution (pesantren or pondok) like those organized by orthodox and modernist groups. But while their teachings were highly effective among commoners, they only served to arouse further opposition among the more formally educated religious elite.

On the other hand, as in other Sufi orders, the relationship between a murshid and his followers is constituted through spiritual allegiance *(bay'at)*, from which a "deep intimacy" *(rabīṭah)* between both parties is embedded in the concept of a disciple merging into his murshīd *(fanaā fī al-shaikh)*. The most extreme and intense relationship between two human being is thus represented by a master of an order and his followers. It is a critical stage of a seeker before he may spiritually connect with Allah, namely the point of annihilation of a seeker into God *(fanā fī Allah)*. For certain Sufi thinkers, the fanā fī al-shaik, as emphasized by the Khalwatiah Samman's shaikh, is not essential, compared to the fanā fī Allah. In the murid's spiritual journey, the fanā fī al-shaik is simply complementary to the more essential and important fanā fī Allah. The goal is to be *fanā* (annihilated) into God, and so the fanā fī al-shaikh may be regarded as being antithetical to the ultimate goal of Sufism.[40] In other words, one should not stop at the stage of fanā fī al-shaikh because it is merely a "bridge" toward "unity" with Allah.

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[38] M*an lam yakun lahū ustādhun fa imāmuhū al-shayṭān, man lam yakun lahū shaikhun fa al-shayṭānu shaikhuhu.* See Abdullah, "Hujjat Al-Maftūnīn," 133.

[39] A saying of the Prophet illustrates the position of a syaikh in relation to his followers: *As-shaikh fi qaumihi ka al-Nabī li ummatihi.*Ibid., 134.

[40] Indeed, Knysh noted that earlier Sufi thinkers like Al-Junaid saw the path of mystical Islam leading from the annihilation of one's mystical self (fanā) to one's existence in God *(baqā),* and thus regarded the former as

Fanā fi shaikh might be obtained through regular dhikr, but it is not enough if one wants to be closer to Allah. However, Abdullah added, neither the essential spiritual allegiance (bay'at) nor the special intimacy can be accomplished with merely reciting the regular dhikr. Before coming to the station fanā fī Allah, a seeker has to develop a spiritual connection with his shaikh who has advanced spiritual connectivity with the higher khalīfahs, living or dead. It is believed they have a spiritual connection with the Prophet of Allah and the Lord. For this notion, Abdullah said:

> The connection (rabīṭah) creates a situation by which to connect a seeker to his teacher, whether by making his teacher exist in his heart or by imagining his teacher's face. Whenever such connection fades, he has to see his teacher in order to see anything. This is what is called the merging of student into the teacher (fanā fī al-shaikh). The way to this connection is the closest way to Allah in order to attain miracles and an extraordinary divine blessing (karāmah). Thus, mere remembrance (dhikr) without rabītah and fanā' fi al-shaikh may result in nothing. Nevertheless, in regard to connections to God, it is enough for a seeker to keep his connection with the shaikh through his concern to maintain closeness to his shaikh.[41]

Abdullah's mystical point of view was sufficiently influential to maintain spiritual allegiance among his followers, and it was this close relationship that generated opposition among his opponents. As the number of followers of the Khalwatiah Sammān increased, opposition became louder, and the colonial government appeared unable to reach a decision about the policy that should be adopted. Meanwhile, the protagonists took matters into their own hands. By 1930 actions against his tarekat had reached a point that Abdullah sent a letter to the Dutch authority to complain that the Kadi of Palopo (Luwu) Haji Muhammad Ramli, an Arab sayyid (an individual descended from the Prophet), had forbidden a thousand people from being

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complementary and antithetical to the latter. See Alexander Knysh, *Islamic Mysticism: A Short History* (Leiden, Boston, Koln: Brill, 2000), 309.

[41] Abdullah, "Hujjat Al-Maftūnīn," 148.

initiated into the Khalwatiah Sammān, which was banned without giving any reason.[42] The ruler of Bone, Sultan Ibrahim Andi Mappanyuki Arung Mangkaue ri Bone, son of the ruler of Gowa, also became involved in these disputes through his friendship with another Arab-descended sayyid, Abdullah bin Ṣadaqah Dahlan (1874-1941), who lived in Garut, West Java. Dahlan was a nephew of the grand mufti of Mecca, Ahmad Zaini Dahlan (d. 1886), and had previously been a mufti in the Malay state of Kedah. Mappanyuki invited Dahlan to come to Bone, and because of his Arab descent and position as mufti, Dahlan was accorded a special place among the local ʻulamā. During his visit to Bone Mappanyuki talked to Dahlan about the tarekat led by Haji Abdullah and its practices among the Bugis, stressing that Abdullah's father (ʻAbd al-Razzāq) had also written on the condemned waḥdat al-wujūd (the Unity of Existence).[43] Dahlan then declared that the Khalwatiah Sammān propagated invalid teaching *(bātil)*. However, during a trip to Pare-Pare Dahlan personally saw the extent of the appeal of Abdullah's tarekat among the people. He therefore sent a letter to his colleague, the Imam of Gowa, ʻAbd as-Ṣamad, so that Andi Mappanyuki could be informed of the influence of the Khalwatiah Sammān. Following the suggestion that there should be a personal meeting with the tarekat leader, Andi Mappanyuki asked Abdullah to come to his place to meet Dahlan. However, Abdullah did not respond to the invitation until Dahlan went back to Java, presumably because he knew that Dahlan had already condemned his tarekat.[44]As in other parts of Indonesia, sharī'ah-oriented ʻulamā were always hostile to the practices of tarekat affiliated to Ibn Arabi's waḥdat al-wujūd, and it is worth

[42]Rahman, "Tarekat Khalwatiah", 105.

[43] Abdullah, "Lā Qitah Min Riyād Al-Tasawwuf," 24-6.; Abdullah, "Malqūt Min Riyād Al-Tasawwuf," 19.; Abdullah, "Qūt Qulūb Al-ʻĀrifīn."

[44]A. Najamuddin Hamzah, *Tarekat Khalwatiyyah Samman: Ajaran & Strategi Dakwah Para Khalifahnya* (Ujung Pandang: La Macca Press, 2007), 114.; Rahman, "Tarekat Khalwatiah", 87.

mentioning that in later years Dahlan was known as the founder of the reformist Muhammadiyah in Makassar.[45]

Meanwhile, opposition towards the Khalwatiah Sammān became more intense in 1931, when the ruler of Bone, Andi Mappanyuki, hosted a meeting attended by many prominent ʻulamā in South Sulawesi.[46]Included in its agenda was the problem of the doctrine of waḥdat al-wujūd of Haji Abdullah bin ʻAbd al-Razzāq and questions about the appropriate education system for the ummah in South Sulawesi.[47] Andi Mappanyuki also asked Dahlan and the other 26 ʻulamās who attended to come to a decision regarding the position of Khalwatiah Sammān.[48] Eventually, repeating his earlier views, Dahlan and the other ʻulamā[49] agreed that Haji Abdullah's tarekat, the Khalwatiah Sammān order, was invalid (bātil) due to his belief in the notion of waḥdat al-wujūd.[50] Dahlan's fatwa was supported by his sayyid colleague Abd as-Ṣamad, who said that if Abdullah had come to the meeting, he would certainly abandon his

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[45]Salmiah, "Manajemen Pendidikan ", 133.

[46] Before the meeting Dahlan was extremely critical of the silsilah of the khalwatiah Sammān, mocking the order as heretical. This was followed by an accusation by Andi Mappanyuki, who sent his letter to the governor of Celebes Tuang Marajae in Maricayya, Makassar. Muhammad Sālih (Abdullah's son) then went to the governor's office to clarify the lineage and teachings of his tarekat and showed him the silsilah of the order, which had been approved by the Mufti of Mecca, Muhammad Sālih Zawawi. In addition, the silsilah was sent to Batavia to be investigated by its religious officer (mufti Betawi), Sayyid ʻUsman bin ʻĀqil Yahya. The recommendation was that the Khalwatiah Sammān was valid and its doctrine could be taught and practiced by Muslims. The silsilah was then sent back to Sālih. Ruslan, *Meluruskan Pemahaman*, 32.

[47]Salmiah, "Manajemen Pendidikan ", 99-100.; Mattulada, *Agama Islam*, 87.

[48] According to Mattulada, the meeting was inspired by the increasing numbers of Islamic teachers, whether institutional or individual, and the need to exercise more supervision over the ways in which the ummah were taught. Since Andi Mapanyuki was known to be opposed to the Muhammadiyah movement, Dahlan was very careful in his leadership of the meeting. Mattulada, *Agama Islam*, 88.

[49] According to Rahman, four of them were of Arab descent: Shaikh ʻAbdullah Dahlan, Muhammad Ramli of Madinah, the Arab captain of Pare-Pare Hasan Amudi and Muhammad Yafie. The others, as noted by Salmiah, were Shaikh Muhammad Rauf, Haji Abd al-Hādī Kadi Bone, Haji Bustaming Imam Kajuara, Haji Mekka Imam Cenrana Bone, Haji Muhammad Said BajoE Bone, Haji Muhib al-Dīn Wajo, Haji Surur Imam Pompanua Bone, Haji ʻAbbās Imam Maroanging Wajo, Haji Badawi Imam Salomekko Bone, Haji Muhammad Tāhir Kadi Balannipa, Haji Asan Kadi Sinjai, Haji ʻUmar Imam Langkero Bone, Haji ʻAbd al-Wahīd Imam Tanete Rilau Barru, Haji ʻUsman Kadi Soppeng, Haji Jamāl Kadi Rappang. See Rahman, "Tarekat Khalwatiah", 103.; Salmiah, "Manajemen Pendidikan ", 99.

[50]Rahman, "Tarekat Khalwatiah", 103.

tarekat and return to the straight path as it had been presented to the forum by Dahlan.[51] To this end ‘Abd as-Ṣamad even sent a letter to Abdullah, calling on him to quit his tarekat. Supported by Andi Mappanyuki, ‘Abd as-Ṣamad also issued the fatwa in three languages (Arab, Bugis and Makassarese), calling on Muslims and Abdullah’s followers in particular to leave and refute the Khalwatiah Sammān order. To some degree the issue of the fatwa shook the members of Khalwatiah Sammān, but Abdullah was able to convince his followers to remain loyal and practice the teaching of the order.

The situation began to change after Abdullah died in 1931, the influence of the fatwa, officially pronounced in February 15th 1932 became more evident among the Khalwatiah Sammān members. As news of the fatwa spread through South Sulawesi, it was viewed by orthodox Muslims as legitimizing their opposition and even oppression of the followers of Haji Abdullah’s tarekat. As noted by Hamzah, a descendent of Abdullah, the fatwa resulted in intimidation of the sanakmangaji and the family members of the khalīfah. In Barru and Bone, for instance, the descendants of khalīfah Muhammad Fudhail were forced to leave the order.[52]It thus appears that the death of Abdullah was viewed by the formal leaders as a new opportunity to fundamentally undermine the reputation of the Kahlwatiah Sammān. The spirit of Puritanism evident in the views of the ruler of Bone, Andi Mappanyuki, and Dahlan’s colleagues can still be discerned in orthodox attitudes to the order.

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[51] As noted by Mattulada, the charismatic ulama of Wajo, Muhammad As’ad, also came to the meeting. He was very concerned about the education system. He argued that 1) madrasah should be able to supplement its financial need from zakat fitrah and zakat mal; 2) that madrasah had to be free from specific schools of Islamic jurisprudence schools *(madhāb)* and politics; 3) ‘ulamā should avoid religious disagreements *(khilāfiah)*. In addition to this agenda, the meeting also included a talk on the Khalwatiah Sammān. As well as discussing the wahdat al-wujūd teaching of Abdullah’s tarekat, the meeting may also have dealt with the economic benefits from both kinds of zakat received by the khalīfah of Khalwatiah Sammān from their followers. In this case, As’ad may have been arguing that the zakat obtained by the khalīfah of Khalwtiah Sammān could support the development of Islamic schools. Mattulada, *Agama Islam*, 88.

[52]Hamzah, *Tarekat Khalwatiyyah Samman*, 115-6.; Rahman, "Tarekat Khalwatiah", 103-5.

Nonetheless, with the passing of time, the fatwa resulting from the Bone meeting had little lasting impact on the reputation of the order, even though Abdullah was no longer with his followers. Before he died, Abdullah named his three sons as leaders of the order.[53] His son Muhammad Ṣālih, acting as his khalīfah, and his minor khalīfah continued to spread their order across the peninsula. The sanakmangaj continued to receive teachings based on the works of Abdullah and ‘Abd al-Razzāq. There were other issues concerned with popular responses to the fatwa. The meeting of the ‘ulamā was dominated by men of Arab descent who held formal positions as religious officers (kadi), while an ’ulamā, named Haji Ahmad Bone, who had a reputation as a Sufi scholar, did not attend or was overshadowed. The absence of the respected Haji Ahmad Bone in the meeting also raised questions about the degree of consensus behind the issue of the fatwa.

It appears that Haji Ahmad Bone was less sympathetic to Dahlan’s sharī’ah-minded position, and that this was the reason for his absence from the meeting. It may be that Ahmad Bone considered that Dahlan’s reputation as the mufti and as a modernist key figure meant he might not be able to judge Abdullah’s tarekat fairly. The long antagonism from the orthodox groups towards ’ulamā associated with waḥdat al-wujūd *w*as certainly reflected during the meeting.[54]Yet the greater the opposition from the orthodox and modernist groups of ‘ulamā, the more the followers of Khalwatiah Sammān felt a sense of religious solidarity. Works by their shaikhs illuminating the mystical views of prominent Muslim thinkers within the Sunni tradition, such as al-Ghazālī, al-Qushairi, ‘Athoillah al-Iskandarī and so forth, made their followers convinced that their tradition was fundamentally in keeping with Islamic principles. The combination of oral-based teaching of the minor khalīfah and this scholarly heritage of the major

[53]Ruslan, *Meluruskan Pemahaman*, 27.

[54]Rahman, "Tarekat Khalwatiah", 103.

khalīfah was a significant factor in developing a feeling of Bugis cohesion during an era of change when criticisms of long-standing traditions were being attacked by men whose ideas were inspired by outside influences. This cohesion was also fostered by intermarriage among the members of the order, which also helped maintain the tradition. Intermarriage was advocated by the khalīfah, and was also practiced by the major shaikhs, so that leadership was passed through Abdullah to his descendants.

After Abdullah's death, his son Muhammad Ṣālih emerged as the primary defender of the Khalwatiah Sammān. In 1934, for instance, a Meccan graduate, Muhammad As'ad[55] from Wajo, a close friend of Dahlan's, repeatedly echoed negative impression on the Khalwatiah Sammān. As usual among modernist 'ulamā, As'ad was criticizing the public dhikr and custom of evening prayer (zuhūr) after the weekly Friday prayer. For this regard, As'ad invited Muhammad Ṣālih to come to Wajo to discuss some issues relating to the Khalwatiah Sammān. On this occasion Khalīfah Muhammad Ṣālih of Pattene sent his khalīfah, Muhammad Yasin and Petta Okeng, to Wajo's meeting with As'ad. The meeting concluding by affirming the legitimacy of the Khalwatiah Sammān tarekat.[56]This is the more noteworthy since As'ad was known as a modernist figure and a supporter of ideas of Islamic purification promoted by his friend, Dahlan.

[55] Muhammad As'ad (1907-1952) was a son of Shaikh 'Abd al-Rashīd bin Shaikh 'Abd al-Rahman, of Bugis descent, who resided in Mecca. As'ad was born in Mecca, and his father was a teacher in his own madrasah, *Dār al-Falāh,*which included students from his homeland and Arabia. As'ad himself studied Islamic disciplines from ulamas of Bugis origin and shaikhs in both holy cities, Mecca and Medina. After studying hadīth in Medina, As'ad was asked by his teacher Sayyid Ahmad al-Syarīf al-Sanūsi to return to Mecca as its mufti (religious advisor). In December 1928 As'ad visited his father's home village in Wajo. Though Wajo had been Muslim since 1610, when he arrived he found the people practicing "un-Islamic" customs. As'ad's reformist policies for Wajo were supported by the Arung Matowa, and in 1929 As'ad conducted his teaching in a mosque in Sengkang, the capital city of Wajo. He introduced new methods of teaching Islam that were inspired by the Muhammadiyah's modern mission. In 1930 As'ad founded *Madrasah 'Arabiyyah Islāmiyah*, more recently known as *Pesantren As'adiyah*. Salmiah, "Manajemen Pendidikan ", 74-6.; Mattulada, *Agama Islam*, 87.

[56]Ruslan, *Meluruskan Pemahaman*, 33.

Despite As'ad's guarded approval of Muhammad Ṣālih's teaching of Sufism, religious accusations continued as the modernist movements gathered strength in South Sulawesi peninsula. Indeed, the annual colonial report from September 1937 specifically mentions the charged atmosphere generated by criticism of modernist Islam movements and their anti-mystical opposition. Muhammadiyah, for instance, held weekly public gatherings (dakwah or tablīgh) in Maros, the center of the Khalwatiah Sammān, in Jeneponto and in the district of Bua (Palopo). The administrator *(gezaghebber)* of Palopo reported that a conspiracy against the mystical movement of Khalwatiah Sammān was thought to be emerging in his district. Despite an investigation, the government could not confirm this, and the matter was not pursued.[57] This indicates that the central government in Batavia was less concerned with mystical practices in Sulawesi especially in comparison with Java and Sumatra. Indeed, Snouck Hurgronje, the Dutch government's religious advisor for the Netherlands East Indies, hardly mentioned South Sulawesi Islam in his writings during his duty as the religious advisor in Indonesia. Though he listed prominent orders that spread widely in the archipelago at the end of the nineteenth century, such as the Qādiriah, Naqshabandiah, Shaṭṭariah and Khalwatiah, Hurgronje showed no interested in the development of tarekat in Sulawesi.[58]This may be because since the Bungaya Treaty, the Bugis and Makassar areas were politically under Dutch so that Muslims in this region were not among those accorded serious attention. In contrast to South Sulawesi, the Dutch were much more suspicious about political Islam and the influence of Pan Islamism of Turkey among Javanese and Sumatran Muslims, regardless of whether they were modernist, traditionalist, or heterodox. Though South Sulawesi had various groups of Muslims, in general, they were not

[57]ANRI, "Politiek Verslag Van Celebes over De Maand Sept. 1937," (Jakarta: Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia (ANRI), 1937).

[58]C. Snouck. Hurgronje, "Islam Di Hindia Belanda," (Jakarta: Bhratara Karya Aksara, 1983).

regarded as a serious threat to the colonial administration, since there was no history of religiously-inspired rebellions like those that had occurred in Banten and Minangkabau in the previous century.

Despite the lack of Dutch attention, the debates on Khalwatiah Sammān in South Sulawesi continued. In 1937 Muhammad Ṣālih, for instance, received a letter from ‘Abd al-Rahman Ambo Dalle, a student of Muhammad As’ad of Wajo.[59] Dalle was regarded as one of Wajo’s charismatic ‘ulamā, and was also a friend of Kahar Muzakkar, who later led a rebellion inspired by jihadist Islam in West Java led by Karto Suwiryo. Ambo Dalle himself had composed a work entitled *al-Aqwāl al-Ṣādiq fī Ma’rifat al-Khāliq* (The True Account of the Knowledge of God), which could be regarded as a critical account of Muhammad Ṣālih’s spiritual practices. According to Ambo Dalle, in contrast to the teachings of the Khalwatiah Sammān, the seeker’s remembrance of Allah (dhikr) should be recited internally, in his heart, rather than audibly and loudly. Even if a dhikr was recited orally, a seeker should lower his voice, whether it was night or day, and not simply repeat apparently meaningless words such as “Ah”, “Ih” and so on.[60]Ambo Dalle’s letter expressed doubts about Muhammad Ṣālih’s tarekat and asked him to affirm its validity according to recognized practices in the Sunni Islam tradition *(al-Ṭarīqat al-Mu’tabarah)*. A day after Ṣālih received the letter, he answered Dalle’s request

[59] ‘Abd al-Rahman Ambo Dalle (1900-1996), was born in Tanah Sitolo, Wajo, seven kilometers from the city of Sengkang, where he studied Islam from ‘ulamās from Mecca: Shaikh Mahmūd al-Jawwād, Sayyid ‘Abd Allah Dahlan, Sayyid Hasan al-Yamāni. M. Yusri Abady, "Corak Pemikiran Pendidikan Keagamaan K.H. Abdur Rahman Ambo Dalle Dalam Mengelola Darud Dakwah Wal Irsyad (Ddi) Pare-Pare Sulawesi Selatan" (MA Thesis, Universitas Islam Negeri (UIN) Jakarta, 2004), 67.; Arif, *Jaringan Pesantren* 119-22.

[60] According to Ambo Dalle, this way of performing dhikr is not in accordance with the teaching of the Qur’ān (7: 205). In understanding the meaning of waḥdat al-wujūd, it is necessary to emphasize that the seeker may not imagine himself to be united with God at the point when he sees a certain color in his mind while performing the dhikr. It is a common in mystical tradition for a seeker to become so deeply involved in chanting that he will see colors flying through his mind, which have certain spiritual meanings. For example, if the color is green, it is from God, but if it is red, it is from the devil. This “colorful imagination” during dhikr, according to ulama Ambo Dalle, is not true and is forbidden in Islam. See Abady, "Corak Pemikiran Pendidikan Keagamaan K.H. Abdur Rahman Ambo Dalle Dalam Mengelola Darud Dakwah Wal Irsyad (Ddi) Pare-Pare Sulawesi Selatan", 67, 106-7.

and he himself brought the letter to Ambo Dalle's residence in Mangkoso, Barru. After reading Ṣālih 's letter, Ambo Dalle acknowledged the validity of the Khalwatiah Sammān. Another prominent 'ulamā converted to the same view was Kadi Sofyan, from Mangkoso. In 1939 he came to Muhammad Ṣālih in Pattene to pursue spiritual advancement. Instead of opposing the order, before he returned Sofyan asked Muhammad Ṣālih if he could be initiated into the tarekat.[61]

When the Japanese invaded Indonesia in January 1942 the controversies regarding the acceptability of Khalwatiah Sammān practices still festered, and questions as to the implications of Dahlan's fatwa were by no means resolved. The campaign of criticism and intimidation by people supported by anti-tarekat'ulamā continued, and the incoming Japanese administration thus encountered a situation of growing social disorder. The Japanese policy of working with the established religious elite worked against the tarekat, and in 1943 the Japanese authority supported a move by 'Umar Faisal, a leading religious figure, who sent a letter asking Muhammad Ṣālih to resign from his tarekat. When Muhammad Ṣālih refused, he and nine followers were imprisoned for nine months in Soppeng.[62] At the same time, Faisal forbade the followers of Khalwatiah Sammān from performing doing public dhikr in their mosques, while their khalīfah were prohibited from receiving zakat fitrah from their followers and some, Hamzah alleges, were tortured.[63]And yet the tarekat survived, despite a history religious persecution by modernist and orthodox Muslim groups that stretched back over a generation.

[61]Ruslan, *Meluruskan Pemahaman*, 35-6.

[62]Ruslan notes that Syaikh Muhsin (Kadi of Soppeng) and his colleagues were among those who spread lies about Muhammad Sālih 's tarekat. Ibid., 36.

[63]Hamzah, *Tarekat Khalwatiyyah Samman*, 116.; see also Rahman, "Tarekat Khalwatiah", 105-6.

Khalwatiah Sammān in the Era of the Nation-state: From Repression to Patronage

After the Japanese occupation, the entire nation of Indonesia faced a new era in which it emerged as an independent state. Prior to its birth on August 17, 1945, the issue of the future ideology for the new nation state of the Indonesian Republic was hotly debated by nationalist leaders, both secular *(kaum kebangsaan)* and religious *(kalangan agama)*. In this context, Muslim leaders, mostly modernist groups, publicly confronted those leaders who pressed for a secular ideology.[64]While Islam was proposed as the state's ideology, since the majority of Indonesians were Muslims, President Sukarno proposed a compromise ideology, which he called *Pancasila*, by which Indonesia would be neither a religious nor a secular state. Though preceded by ferocious debates between the two groups, Pancasila (affirming five principles of belief in one God, humanity, the unity of Indonesia, social justice and democratic unanimity) was finally accepted as the ideology of the new Indonesia and religious freedom guaranteed by the constitution.

Nevertheless, as Indonesia was to assume independent status, the threat of a Dutch return and a re-imposition of some form of Dutch control became a real possibility. The deployment of Dutch military forces meant that the national leaders of Indonesia were now forced to fight for their freedom. Between 1945-1950 Sukarno and the new nationalist leaders from different parts of the country were united in their struggle to maintain independence. During this period, Khalwatiah Sammān was still weakened by religious persecution experienced during the Japanese occupation. Although to some extent this period also saw an end to religious debates in the country, the trauma of the past was still deeply felt among the sanakmangaji.

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[64]Bahtiar Effendy, *Islam and the State in Indonesia* (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2003). ;Robert W. Hefner, "Islam in an Era of Nation-States: Politics and Religious Renewal in Muslim Southeast Asia " in *Islam in an Era of Nation-States: Politics and Religious Renewal in Muslim Southeast Asia* ed. Robert W. Hefner and Patricia Horvatich (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1997), 21-2.

By 1950, with the end of the revolutionary war and global recognition of Indonesia's independence, Islamic politics moved to the foreground once more, especially in Java. The period is notable because Muslim leaders, such as Muhammad Natsir, Kasman Singodimejo and Agus Salim, founded an Islamic political party, *Masyumi* (Partai Majelis Syura Muslimin Indonesia [Council of Indonesian Muslim Associations]), to unite Muslims so that their political aspiration could be achieved through the constitution. From 1950 to 1959 Indonesia was run under the so called "Laws of 1950" (Undang-Undang 1950), but the central government was unable to retain the loyalty of local leaders, especially the military. As a result, armed insurgencies sprang up all over Indonesia. The most successful local rebellions occurred in Aceh, in South Sulawesi under Kahar Muzakkar, and West Java under Kartosuwiryo, each of which rallied under the banner of Islam and called for an end to Sukarno's secular state. These three armed resistance movements threatened the central government by calling for an Islamic state, which would have effectively divided the country because of the significant non-Muslim minorities.[65] Thought they were politically disappointed, the two local rebellions in West Java and South Sulawesi – known as Darul Islam (Ar. *Dār al-Islām*, means House of Islam or DI) – exploited the idea of Islamic solidarity in pursuing their demands for an Islamic state. Muzakkar's DI movement (1950-1965) was ideologically puritan, and all traditionalist Islamic practices and those associated with "feudalism" became targets for elimination. Aware that the majority of the population was Muslim, Muzakkar used religious language, images and examples to exhort Muslims to support his movement.[66]

[65]Effendy, *Islam and the State in Indonesia*, 35-7.

[66]C. Van. Dijk, *Rebellion under the Banner of Islam: The Darul Islam in Indonesia* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1981).

Kahar Muzakkar and the Anti-Tarekat Movement: Repression Continued

Recruited by Muzakkar, many Muslim leaders in South Sulawesi now became engaged in a guerilla war not only against the central government but against all practices that were deemed contradictory to pure Islam. In this climate, the khalīfah of the Khalwatiah Sammān was an obvious target. Following a purist form of Islam, educated in a Muhammadiyah school in central Java, Muzakkar made no secret of his distaste for the order's religious practices. However, his attack on the Khalwatiah Sammān was not simply due to its allegedly heretical Islam, but may also have reflected a desire to obtain control over economic resources favorable for DI's movement (1953-1965). Total obedience of the followers of the order toward their khalīfah and their regular donations of zakat fitrah *(zakāt al-Fiṭr)* and zakat mal *(zakāt al-Māl)* might explain why Muzakkar hoped that Ṣālih would support his movement. Muzakkar specifically asked the khalīfah Muhammad Ṣālih to join his struggle and live in the jungle with his recruited 'ulamā. Ṣālih's refusal to do so may have resulted in trouble for his lodge in Pattene, and the burning of Pattene by Muzakkar's troops.

After Pattene was burned, Muhammad Ṣālih moved to a nearby village, Kampung Kading, Bulu-Bulu. Nevertheless, Muzakkar apparently still hoped to attract Khalwatiah Sammān followers to his cause, through approaches to their khalīfah, and he continued his efforts to draw in Ṣālih and his followers as DI supporters. For this purpose, Muzakkar invited Muhammad Ṣālih to participate in a conference held by DI in Camba, Maros, in 1955. Though Muhammad Ṣālih did not come to the conference, he sent his nephew Andi Muhammad Shattar, as well as his deputies Muhammad Amin and Petta Raga. In addition to the prominent 'ulamā affiliated with DI, Muzakkar also invited his colleague from Aceh, Daud Beureuh.[67] The

[67] Among the DI's ulama in the conference were 'Abd al-Rahman Ambo Dalle, Junaid Sulaiman, Muhammad Rafi Sulaiman, Abd al-Mu'in Yusuf, and Abd Rahman Matammang. See Rahman, "Tarekat Khalwatiah", 106-7.

conference appeared to be a forum to assess the acceptability of the Khalwatiah Sammān as DI associates, since most DI ‘ulamā were among the Meccan-graduates critical of the order’s Islamic practices. Before the conference, ‘Abd al-Rahmān Matammang, a Meccan graduate who acted as general attorney, presented a leaflet listing the usual controversial issues regarding the Khalwatiah Sammān. Two days before the conference was due to begin, however, the gathering was broken up by an attack from Indonesian government troops (*Tentara Nasional Indonesia*, TNI).[68]

However, like his uncle and master Muhammad Ṣālih, Shattar had responded to the ‘ulamās by writing a small work, called *Wanua Waru* (the New Land). Through the Wanua Waru, Shattar tried to answer the points that had made people misunderstand the Khalwatiah Sammān, particularly those made by modernists. He argued that the Khalwatiah Sammān order is part of *aḥl al-Sunnah wa al-Jamā’ah* (the people of the way and of the community) of Sunni Islam and has always depended on four sources of Islam: *Qur’an, Sunnah*[69]*, Qiyas*[70] *and Ijma’*[71]. Responding to the modernist Muslims, Shattar said: “A few people who consider themselves to be modern Muslims say the tarekat is unnecessary, and people can learn about the tarekat simply by purchasing a book in the market and reading it. But they do not understand the importance of the tarekat and its aim.”[72]

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[68]Ibid., 107.

[69] Sunnah is the tradition of the prophet Muhammad (Hadīth)

[70] Qiyās: analogies between religious matters and similar cases in the past.

[71] Ijma’ is an agreement of ‘ulamā on religious matters.

[72]*Pole risiajing sellekki modereng’e makkeda iro tareka’e dekna parellu sudah mamadai narekko tolao melli bakira saraesso ritoko’e (ripasa’e) naianaro ritellongi modoka padani nareko tomatareka).* See H. A. Muh. Syattar, "Wanua Waru " (1955), 1.

According to Shattar, people also misunderstood the notion of *khalwat* (seclusion) in regard to his tarekat, Khalwatiah Sammān. Emphasizing the importance of sharī'ah such as five daily prayers and other matters,[73] Shattar said:

> The notion of khalwat may consist of two meanings: exoteric and esoteric. The former refers to an individual moving from crowded places to a quiet place far from people, while the second is the state of the unity of soul with the secret of Allah, even when he or she lives with the people. This is among the crucial matters people may have misunderstood in regard to the Khalwatiah Sammān order's spiritual teaching…therefore, to become a seeker, a person has to have a teacher *(anregurutta)* who will guide him to implement the tenets of the order, exoterically and esoterically... [74]

In addition, Shattar was also known among the other khalīfah as a writer. Among his works is the book of *Tahdhīb al-Qulūb*, addressing the benefit of the dhikr.[75] In addition, he issued simple stenciled works on daily fiqh (Islamic ritual: *ṣalāt*, *wudu*,[76] fasting and so on) for the followers of the Khalwatiah Sammān. His knowledge of fiqh equaled his knowledge of tasawwuf. In contrast to his predecessors, Shattar quoted much of the work of the Turkish scholar, Muhammad Amin al-Kurdi (d. 1914), *Tanwīr al-Qulūb*, which is widely used by Muslims in Indonesia. Muhammad Amin al-Kurdi was also known as the teacher of students from Southeast Asia, as discussed earlier.[77]

Unfortunately, although Muhammad Ṣālih is known to have been a prolific writer and although many books on Sufism and Sharī'ah have been attributed to him, relatively few of these have survived. After the burning of his residence in Patttene, he moved around beyond the reach of Muzakkar's movement, which was increasing in strength, which meant that many manuscripts

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[73]Ibid., 9.

[74]Ibid., 2.

[75]*Kitāb Tahdīb al-Qulūb fī al-Dhikri wa Fadāiluhu wa Fawāiduhu wa Thamratuhu* (The Book of *Tahdīb al-Qulūb* on the dhikr, its excellence, its benefit and its fruits).

[76] Wudu is performing the ablutions before the daily prayers.

[77]Rahman, "Tarekat Khalwatiah", 95.; Martin van Bruinessen, "Bukankah Orang Kurdi Yang Mengislamkan Indonesia?," *Pesantren* IV, no. 4 (1987).

were lost. One important work, however, has been saved. It consists of an abridged history of the order, the chain of shaikh (silsilah), the dhikr and ways of performing the dhikr.[78] In addition, his reputation among the elite was still evident. For example, in 1954 a ruler of Gowa, Andi Idjo Karaeng Lalolang Sombaya ri Gowa, came to Ṣālih and asked to be included in his sanakmangaji. Similarly, in 1958, the head of the Police Department, Muhammad Audang was initiated into the Khalwatiah Sammān tarekat.[79]As noted earlier, his spiritual reputation among his followers was such that he was known as Puang Lompo (the grand shaikh).

Despite the continued reputation of the Khalwatiah Sammān as a popular order with down-to-earth teaching of Islam, prejudice among the formal ‘ulamā, who dominated the positions of religious authority, did not decline. This religious anxiety led the central government in Jakarta to set up an investigation team under the auspices of the Department of Religious Affairs (Departemen Agama), led by Wachid Hasyim, a traditionalist ‘ulamā from Nahdlatul ‘Ulamā (NU), in order to scrutinize the validity of Khalwatiah Samman under Puang Lompo. Accompanied by the local attorney-general, the team visited Muhammad Ṣālih’s lodge at Pattene, where he had just returned after the end of the DI rebellion in 1965. During the investigation, around 1966 or 1967, Muhammad Ṣālih showed documentation regarding the practices of his tarekat and the silsilah signed by the ninth Shafi’i Mufti of Mecca. Finally, the team was reassured of the validity of Khalwatiah Sammān and its compliance with the orders in Islam. Surprisingly, though the department of Religious Affairs acknowledged the validity of Shālih’s tarekat, the NU’s tarekat organization, where Wachid Hasyim organizationally came from, did not include the Khalwatiah Sammān among its members *(at-Ṭarīqat al-Mu’tabarah al-*

[78] This manuscript is preserved in the University of Hasanuddin’s Project of Research on Manuscripts, coded as no. 1, rol 23/5. See Rahman, "Tarekat Khalwatiah", 90.

[79]Ruslan, *Meluruskan Pemahaman*, 40.

Nahdliyyah). By contrast, the organization included the Khalwatia Yusuf of al-Makassari among those orders considered to lie within Sunni Islam (al-Tarīqat al-Mu'tabarah).[80].But Muhammad Ṣālih did not have long to enjoy this reaffirmation of his order. On Wednesday 28 July1967 (20th of Rabi' al-Awwal, 1387 H), after celebrating the birthday of the Prophet, Muhammad Ṣālih died in Pattene.[81] Furthermore, this date is regarded by his sanakmangaji as the annual celebration of Khalwatiah Sammān (ḥaul), in addition to regular celebrations of the Prophet's birthday (mawlid). Ever since, thousands of sanakmangaji around the archipelago, especially from Sulawesi, assemble in Pattene to celebrate both the birth of the Prophet and the death of their grand khalīfah, Muhammad Ṣālih. In addition to the dhikr, during the three days of the ritual celebration, attendants may visit both their living syaikhs and the graves of the deceased.

Before he died, Muhammad Ṣālih appointed his elder son, Andi Amiruddin Puang Baso (1900-1979) as the leader (khalīfah) of the tarekat. During his mission as the khalīfah, Amiruddin worked hand in hand with his brothers, Andi Hamzah Puang Nipi and Andi Syadjaruddin Malik Puang Tompo. After Amiruddin died, the authority to lead the Khalwatiah Sammān was given to Andi Hamzah, who died in 2006; Andi Syadjaruddin Malik continued the leadership until recently.[82]

The central government's approval of the Khalwatiah Sammān did not satisfy the modernist 'ulamā in South Sulawesi, and opposition did not come to an end. In 1968, a year after Muhammad Ṣālih's death, the modernists again mounted an anti-Khalwatiah Sammān campaign

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[80] See Jami'yyah Ahlith Thoriqoh Al-Mu'tabaroh an-Nahdliyyah, *Mu'tamar Viii Jami'yyah Ahlith Thoriqoh Al-Mu'tabaroh an-Nahdliyyah* (Pasuruan1995), 161.; A. Aziz. Mashuri, *Permasalahan Thariqah (Hasil Kesepakatan Muktamar Dan Musyawarah Besar Jam'iyyah Ahl Al-Thariqoh Al-Mu'tabarah Nahdlatul Ulama, 1957 – 2005* (Surabaya: Khalista, 2006).

[81] According to my informants, including Ruslan, before his death, right after the end of maulid, Muhammad Sālih told his sanakmangaji not to return home unless there was some urgency. It was as if he already knew the end of his life was near, for at noon of the same day he passed way surrounded by his family and his students. *Interview* with Ruslan, Makassar, August 2009.

[82]Ruslan, *Meluruskan Pemahaman*, 40-1.

and repeated accusations against the followers of Puang Lompo (Muhammad Ṣālih). A respected ’ulamā of Bone, Junaid Sulaeman, re-issued Dahlan’s earlier fatwa and translated it into Indonesian. Indeed, in his regular teaching Sulaiman even declared that the members of the Khalwatiah Sammaan were infidel (kāfir). Sulaiman’s categorization of the Khalwatiah Sammān followers as kafir so enraged them that they almost killed him.[83]

Despite recurring and persistent opposition to the community of Khalwatia Sammān, the reputation of the order, particularly that of its khalīfah, remained strong among his followers. The traditions of the community were retained not merely by the leadership of the khalīfah but by the kinship networks and intermarriage not only among the sanakmangaji, but among the khalīfah themselves, providing a cohesion that was remarkably resistant to criticism and outside opposition. For example, khalīfah Muhammad Ṣālih married more than twenty times. In addition to Maros, his wives came from various places in South Sulawesi such as Bone, Soppeng, Wajo, Sidrap, and Bantaeng. Ṣālih’s brother Muhammad Amin also had more than one wife, and the children of these khalīfah helped propagate Khalwatiah Sammān, together with its khalīfah, scattered throughout their respective regions. Although the precise number of members at this point is not exactly known, formal data issued by the local government in 1974 indicates that it could be around of 157.417, and still in 1995-1996 Rahman noted about 100.000 Khalwatiah Sammān members participating in the Haul in Pattene.[84] Though not the dominant reason, the

[83]Rahman, "Tarekat Khalwatiah", 108.

[84]According to the data in the local attorney-general’s office and Religious Affairs Department, in 1974 there were 28 tarekats in South Sulawesi. The most popular was Khalwatiah Sammān centered in Maros with its branches all over the Peninsula, followed by Muhammadiyah tarekat (42.270 members) centered in Mecca, and Naqshabandiah (9.746) centered in Jakarta. Maros itself had around 8 spiritual organizations, either based in Islam or yet un-identified doctrine. See Mattulada, *Agama Islam*, 44. 44; Rahman, "*Tarekat* Khalwatiah". 117 . When I sought to confirm figures with Sunusi, an officer in the department of religious affairs at Maros, he did not give me a specific number for the Khalwatiah Sammān. He just said that most of the population of Maros were members of tarekat (*mattareka*), but the largest group was the Khalwatiah Sammān in Pattene. *Interview* with Sunusi, Maros, August, 2009.

tradition of intermarriage among the followers and of having more than one wife among the shaikh may have been a significant contributory factor, at least, to the constant number of Khalwatiah Sammān followers over decades.[85] Women who became wives of khalīfah, frequently noblewomen, not only gained in social prestige, but also became the conduits by which the blessing (barakka) of the khalīfah was bestowed on both them and their family. As widows or divorcees, they retained their social prestige among the community. According to Khalwatiah Sammān they resemble the widows of the Prophet, and because their standing is so high none of the sanakmangaji would dare to propose remarriage. To marry the widow of the khalīfah would show a kind of disrespect to their murshīd, and could result in misfortune or catastrophe *(kualat)*.[86]

Khalwatiah Sammān in the Era of Suharto: Threat and Patronage

When General Suharto assumed power after the military coup of 1965 and instituted a regime known as the New Oder *(Orde Baru)*, his political reforms centered on economic development. He gave particular emphasis to the function of the military apparatus and the dominance of the government political party, Golkar. In pursuit of this aim, Suharto was very concerned to make the nation less political, through his "floating mass policy" (*kebijakan massa mengambang*). Because of his attitude of anti-communism,[87]each Indonesian citizen was required to adopt one of the five state- approved religions (Islam, Protestantism, Catholicism, Hinduism and Buddhism) as his or her formal religion as part of their three-fold identity of

[85]Rahman, "Tarekat Khalwatiah", 115.

[86]Ibid., 116.

[87] In the modern history of Indonesia, communism was perceived, particularly among Muslims, as anti-religion. For this reason, Muslims collaborating with the military force were vehemently opposed to the PKI (Indonesian Communist Party, Partai Komunis Indonesia), especially before Suharto seized power from Sukarno, who was allegedly close to the PKI.

ethnicity, religion, and race (*SARA = suku, agama, dan ras*). This new religious policy under Suharto introduced a new mood of uncertainty for those allegedly heretical groups like Khawatiah Sammān of Maros and others, and provided political ammunition for modernist Muslims to resume the campaign to eliminate them.

As the New Order was very concerned to obtain political support from the Muslim majority, Suharto sought through Golkar to incorporate Muslim components and leaders who would assist the party to win in the general election. Though the New Order initially looked down on Islam, the social and educational improvements of Muslims made the state aware that Islam could be a potential threat if it was not politically accommodated.[88]As early as the 1970s Suharto therefore showed his accommodation towards Islam, and this policy opened up a political opportunity for Khalwatiah Sammān to obtain government patronage. In return for Khalwatiah Sammān support from followers all through South Sulawesi, the state was willing to ensure that its tradition and future alike would survive. This implicit bargain was an excellent opportunity for the khalīfah of Khalwatiah Sammān in an era where there was still great potential for political prejudice between state and Islam. For the Khalwatiah Sammān leaders the coming of the New Order regime provided opportunities for the consolidation of its tradition.

Key to these developments was the fact that the military task force led by Suharto had been stationed in the Makassar district bear Maros during the Sukarno era, resulting in personal connections between Suharto and the khalīfah of tarekat Khalwatiah Sammān. This personal relationship between the shaikh and Suharto, according to Puang Tompo, was the reason why the order became a supporter of Golkar. Indeed, according to him, Suharto was also initiated as a

[88]Effendy, *Islam and the State in Indonesia*, 150-1.

member of the order.[89] These connections enabled Khalwatiah Sammān leaders to obtain patronage from Golkar, rather than from the Islamic parties like the Partai Persatuan Pembangunan (PPP). Since PPP was the home for those modernist and traditionalist Muslim groups (Muhammadiyah and NU), the patronage of Golkar was deemed far more appropriate by the Khalwatiah Sammān leaders. This political patronage led to mutual cooperation between the state and the Khalwatiah Sammān, and resuscitated the tradition of political patronage in the previous century between the khalīfah of ʻAbd al-Razzāq and the local rulers, who were his students. As in the past, the khalīfah of Khalwatiah Sammān tarekat felt it was necessary to collaborate with the government of Suharto for the safety of his followers.

The results of this political partnership between Khalwatiah Sammān and the New Order state of Suharto became evident in the 1971 general election, when Haji Ibrahim Puang Solong, Muhammad Ṣālih's brother, appeared as a major vote getter for Golkar.[90] As the khalīfah, Puang Solong's political choice received the votes of thousands of Khalwatiah Sammān followers and helped Golkar to victory.[91] Under the patronage of the New Order, the khalīfah enjoyed wider opportunities to expand the members of the order across Sulawesi. In addition, the khalīfahs of Khalwatiah Sammān were now included among the members of the parliament (DPRD, *Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah*).[92] Among those Khalwatiah Sammaan's shaikhs acting as parliament members was Puang Tompo (Andi Syadjaruddin Malik), a retired civil officer at

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[89]*Interview*, Maros, October 15, 2009

[90]Martin van Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning: Pesantren Dan Tarekat, Tradisi-Tradisi Islam Di Indonesia* (Bandung: Mizan, 1999), 302.

[91] According to Rusli Karim's study, in the 1980s almost one hundred percent of the Khalwatiah Sammān members in the region of his research were Golkar supporters. Nurhayati. Djamas, *Agama Orang Bugis* (Jakarta: Badan Penelitian dan Pengembangan Agama, Departemen Agama RI, 1998), 122.

[92]Rahman, "Tarekat Khalwatiah", 109.

home affair department.[93] For several periods during his political career in Golkar Puang Tompo acted as a representative of the order in the government and served as a mediator between the Khalwatiah Sammān and the government.[94]

Supported by the Suharto government, the Khalwatiah Sammān, centered in Pattene, Maros, now encountered few obstacles. Although the leaders of this period, all descendants of ʻAbd al-Razzāq and his son Abdullah do not have the intellectual qualifications of their forebears, for the most part did not study in the Ḥaramayn, and have produced no works of major scholarship, they still enjoy considerable prestige because of the reputation of their forebears and because the writings of these former shaikhs still circulate among the tarekat followers. During this period the history of the Khalwatiah Sammān was marked by expansion and consolidation of its tradition, led by the offspring of the major khalīfah. In Leppakomai for example, Ṣālih's brother Muhammad Amin Puang Naba (d. 1970) acted as the khalīfah of the order. Amin transferred his leadership to his son, ʻAbd al-Rauf Puang Lallo (d. 1987), who was in turn replaced by his son Andi Muhammad Ali (Puang Turu). During his leadership, Ali initiated about two thousand followers into the tarekat, while the number of his khalīfah now numbering forty, were responsible for the spread of the order in South Sulawesi. From 1982 Muhammad Ṣālih's youngest brother Ibrahin Puang Solong, also resident in Pattene had appointed his own khalīfah, including his son Andi Abdullah Puang Rala. In addition, in Parengki the Khalwatiah Sammān was continued by ʻAbd al-Wahhāb, the khalīfah of ʻAbd al-Razzāq. Wahab's leadership was continued by his sons: Mahmud Puang Giling who married ʻAbd al-Razzāq's daughter; ʻAbd al-Razzāq Puang Tara; and Abd Kadir Puang Tawang. Puang Tara's son, Abd Rahman (d. 1978) also emerged as a prominent khalīfah in Parengki, Maros. He stands out because he

[93]*Interview*, Maros, October 15, 2009.

[94]*Interview*, Maros, October 15, 2009

studied in Mecca for several years and had many khalīfahs in other regions. His leadership was continued by his brother Haji ‘Usman Puang Rewa, who initiated about two thousand followers from many areas of South Sulawesi. Until recently, the regency of Maros had three places considered to be the reservoirs of Khalwatiah Sammān teachings: Maros Baru (Leppakomai, Pattene, and Pekkasalo); Bantimurung (Parengki, Bantimurung, Bontosunggu and Samangki); and Camba.[95] Now, the Khalwatiah Sammān followers are ubiquitous not only in South Sulwesi, where the khalīfah, mostly Bugis, act as leaders in their mosques, but also among the Bugis migrant communities throughout Indonesia[96] and in the neighboring countries of Malaysia, Singapore, and Thailand.

It is thus evident that the leadership of the Khalwatiah Sammān is still dominated by descendants of the Murshid and their khalīfahs, and that the spread of the order and the allegiance of its followers has been fostered through intermarriage.[97] This network of family connections are not limited to one location, but can be found among the members in other locations under different khalīfahs. It is also common for the sanankmangaj to participate in public congregation held in other villages, which also contributes to this feeling of solidarity, especially during periods when the order faced opposition. According to Djamas, these family connections based on blood and marriage, allow husbands, wives and offspring of the sanakmangaji to teach the tenets of the order to their family members, as the leaders do.

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[95]Rahman, "Tarekat Khalwatiah", 117-21.; Ahmad. Saransi, *Tradisi Masyarakat Islam Di Sulawesi Selatan* (Ujung Pandang: Biro KAPP Setda Sulsel dan Lembaga Pengkajian dan Pengembangan Tradisi Masyarakat Sulawesi Selatan, 2003), 73-4.

[96] The capital city of Gowa, the present-day Makassar, is predominantly Makassarese. There are several mosques in the city that are led by the Khalwatiah Sammān khalīfah. See Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning: Pesantren Dan Tarekat*, 302.

[97]Andi Fakhri Makkasau, "Bunga Rampai Sejarah Dan Budaya Maros.". Similar impressions about the way the descendants of Abdullah monopolize leadership were echoed by some of my informants, both within and without the order, who were critical toward the practice of Islam within the order.

Accordingly, if a non-Khalwatiah Sammān woman marries a man who is a member of the order she will normally follow the religious tradition of her husband.[98]

Such kinship networks, however, would not be sufficient to account for the remarkable spread of the Khalwatiah Sammān order in South Sulawesi if its teachings did not have a basic appeal. In addition to doctrinal factors emphasized by the shaikhs and their khalīfahs during their teachings, and their submission to Islam's service, the domestication or localization of Islam and the incorporation of pre-Islamic customs demonstrates the significance of Sufism in the Islamization of South Sulawesi and other regions in the Indonesian-Malay world, and even the rest of the Islamic world, as suggested by many scholars. The eclectic nature of Islam as taught by the khalīfah of the Khalwatiah Sammān helps account for its continuing popularity among the ummah of the peninsula, despite the continued opposition of more orthodox 'ulamā. The 1980 study by Djamas on the Khalwatiah Sammān in South Sulawesi demonstrates the processes by which this localization took place, and thus illuminates the reasons for its continued attraction to common people.

According to Djamas, the belief among the common people that not every problem in life can be resolved by rationality predisposes them to become engaged with tarekat. Perhaps, she argues, such beliefs provide an explanation that applies to most followers of the order. According to a middle school student in the capital city of Makassar, "if we deepen our understanding of the tasawwuf, we may enter the haqīqat (the essence). The more we enter, the more we know the truth." For many followers, attaining the life of the haqīqat appeared to be motivation that might enable them, to some degree at least, to move beyond the materialism of worldly life. From this inner perspective, it would appear that there is little tension between Sufi teaching and the local

[98]Djamas, *Agama Orang Bugis*, 103-4.

customs. The mystical elements taught by the Sufi teachers functioned as a bridge connecting Islam and the local population with their strong spiritual beliefs in the sacred power or magical practices of the *sanro* (local healers or shaman). Slowly but surely, many of their spiritual tradition and rituals have been absorbed into Islam via the teachings and ritual of the Khalwatiah Sammān teachers. Because the khalīfah won the mandate from their shaikhs to appoint new followers (*annarima barakka* or bay'at), they also have the religious authority to lead the daily congregation in the five daily prayers and the large public dhikr *(zikir lompo).*[99]

The mystical inclination is intrinsic to the character of the Khalwatiah Sammān, and it seems that it has been an informal requirement that khalīfah candidates should have had some mystical experience that will enhance their spiritual prestige and charisma among their followers. One of the respondents of Djamas said that at one time his grandfather was summoned by the khalīfah of Pattene to be inaugurated as the new khalīfah in his own village of Tumbusseng. Before he reached the khalīfah's door, however, he felt as if he was being pushed down by a magical power, and he felt unable to enter. "It was supposedly a test for his grandpa, whether he had the mental strength to encounter any challenges after he was appointed as khalīfah. However, since he was not able to enter the house of the khalīfah, he was disqualified from his candidacy."[100]Similar claims to spiritual power obtained through the khalīfah are encountered among the common followers to the present day.[101]This shows how distinctive is the position of

[99]Ibid., 99-101.

[100]Ibid., 103.

[101] My informants in Barandasi, Maros, Abd Shomad Daeng Parani and Haji Sa'diah, shared their spiritual experiences as the followers of Khalwatiah Sammān. The former is a veteran of the Indonesian National Army (TNI) and the latter is a housewife. Daeng Parani (around seventy years old) said that his father was the khalīfah of Khalwatiah Sammān in Palopo, where he was given an amulet (*jimat*), namely *Makelle' Nabita* (the Prophet shaves). As a soldier who fought in the Indonesian Revolution (1945-50), he was never harmed by any bullet because he wore the jimat. If you believe, it works and may protect you. Likewise, Haji Sa'diah (around fifty-five) who obtained the jimat from Daeng Parani, has a similar experience. She feels secure whenever she brings the jimat of Makelle' Nabita. During her pilgrimage to Mecca she took the jimat, and her children also received spiritual

the shaikh and their khalīfahs in relation to their followers. Because the shaikh and khalīfahs are elevated so far above common people any command or order is perceived as representing the voice of the heaven which each sanakmangaji has to obey. So, when a fellow of the order meets his shaikh or khalīfah he or she is not allowed to make eye contact and speak, unless asked to do so.[102]

The spiritual subservience of the followers towards their shaikh is also strengthened through regular visits to their living khalīfah and the shrines of those deceased. During these visits the sanakmangaji may obtain advice from their khalīfah. The visits are conducted after Idul Fitri or in observance of the annual haul *(ḥaul ghauth)* in Pattene. Before they leave, the devotees usually give money (*passiddaka*, Ar. *ṣadaqah*), meaning charity, to their khalīfah or shaikh. Similar charitable acts are also conducted by the khalīfahs during their visits to the shaikh in Pattene. Since thousands of members of the order offer these charitable donations, the economic benefit of the ziarah can also affect the economic status of individual khalīfah. On the other hand, for the followers by offering passiddaka they will receive happiness in the hereafter and their shaikh will ensure their salvation. The spiritual bond between the sanakmangaji and their shaikhs is reinforced in the symbolism of the water used for washing the corpse of the shaikh. For the sanakamangai, this is holy water that is able to abolish their sins and bestow blessings (barakka) from the deceased sheikh.[103] Here, the radiation of the mystical doctrine and communion (jamā'ah) shows the deep expression of total obedience and love of the sanakmangaji towards their shaikhs.

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benefits from the jimat. Daeng Parani and Haji Sa'diah and their family members used to come to Pattene during the *haul* to visit their shaikh and khalīfah, both living and dead, to obtain their blessing and pray. *Interview*, Maros, January, 2010.

[102]Djamas, *Agama Orang Bugis*, 102.

[103]Ibid., 113.

The elevated position of the khalīfah can also be recognized in several religious occasions. In addition to reading barjanzi,[104] which blurs local practice and Islam, there are *Maudu',* a ceremony observing the birth of the Prophet Muhammad, *Miraja* (Isra Mi'raj, the nightly journey of the Prophet to receive the tenet of daily prayers in Islam), *Sura* (first day of the new year of Islam), and *ajene-ajene sappara* (mass-bathing in observance of the Islamic month of *Saffar*). All these occasions imbue the khalīfah and their assistants with ritual importance for the members of the order. In the maudu', for example, the food *(ka'do maudu')* is divided into two portions: one is brought to the mosque as the gift to the Prophet Muhammad, while another is offered to deceased family members. The former is brought to the mosque and prayers are read over it by the imām (prayer leader), in addition to reading the barjanzi. At the same time, at home the *sanro pabaca* (local shaman) will pray and burn incense over the second portion of food.[105]

In *Sura*, too, the local tradition of providing red-white porridge in the mosque or langgara to be prayed over by the imam or the khalīfah cannot be separated from the influence of Islam. The sanctified porridge *(bubur songka bala)* is thought to ensure that the followers who consume it will not encounter bad luck. On the first day of Muharam, considered a bad luck day, every one is forbidden to go outside or purchase clothing, because of their belief that the month of Muharam is dangerous (*bulan panas*). In another connection to the *songka bala*, the ceremony for avoiding bad luck, in the Ajene-ajene Sappara the khalīfah may lead their followers to bath together in a designated place or river. The mass bathing is held before the midday prayer

[104] Reading barjanzi is the most popular component in celebrating maulid (the birthday of Muhammad PBUH) of the prophet in South Sulawesi. Barjanzi is a text written by Ja'far al-Barjanzi, a Kurdish mufti of the Shāfi'ī school. The barjanzi, according to Gibson, has been incorporated into almost every life cycle ritual in South Sulawesi associated with the life of the prophet. Thomas Gibson, *And the Sun Pursued the Moon: Symbolic Knowledge and Traditional Authority among the Makassar* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2005), 232.

[105]Djamas, *Agama Orang Bugis*, 115.

(zuhur). Before jumping into the river or pool, the khalīfah may write certain prayers (do'a) on a paper, which is tied by thread, then thrown into the upper river or the pool, brining blessings to everybody participating in the event. Before they perform the zuhur prayer and listen to the khalīfah's speech, participants in the mass bathing may have also eaten food together, which also contributes to a sense of solidarity. These modes of relationship between the followers and their khalīfah, Djamas writes, are distinct features within the community of the Khalwatiah Sammān, mostly Bugis, differentiating them from the rest of the ummah in South Sulawesi.[106]

The Haul at Pattene: A New Site of Religious Identity of the Khalwatiah Sammān

As noted earlier, the day of the death of Puang Lompo (Muhammad Ṣālih) in Rabi' al-Awwal coincided with the day dedicated to honoring the birth of the prophet Muhammad PBUH, As political patronage developed during the Suharto era, the Khalwatiah Sammān followers made this day the occasion for an annual assembly at the center of the order at Pattene, Maros, about 19 km from the capital city of Makassar. To my knowledge, there is no equivalent and voluntary religious event in South Sulawesi. The haul has become widely known over decades,[107]and it now has political ramifications, since local and national leaders come to the village to attain political support from the shaikh or, at least, to pay attention to the sanakmangaji. The haul is also an occasion when the varied nature of the tarekat's followers and their different social and political backgrounds are particularly evident. In addition to traditional professions (fishermen, farmers, and small traders),[108] the haul now attracts a new generation of

[106]Ibid., 115-21.

[107]Saransi, *Tradisi Masyarakat*, 67.

[108] According to Ruslan, the members of Khalwatiah Sammān are predominantly from the commoner class. For example, almost all traders in Pasar Butung (presently the largest traditional market in Makassar) are members of the Khalwatiah Sammān. *Interview*, Makassar, August 15th, 2009.

bureaucrats, politicians, businessmen, soldiers, academicians, and so forth. They flock to Pattene to perform dhikr with their shaikhs and visit the shrine of their saints, regardless of their social status. Because of the haul, the shrines and the presence of its living shaikh, Pattene has become a new spiritual center for the members of the Khalwatiah Sammān.

During the three days of these rituals the role of the khalīfah as regional deputies is essential. As in the daily dhikr, they lead their followers in the journey to Pattene. There, they and their followers participate in the dhikr after Isya and Subuh prayers, led by the grand syaikhs, Puang Tompo and Puang Lara. While the former, because of his age and health, leads the dhikr in his lodge near his home, Puang Tompo heads the dhikr from the stage erected on the flat land near the mosque where the grave of his father is located. Before the dhikr, he delivers his speech on the importance of dhikr for the ummah. On this occasion he resembles a king with his entourage; surrounded by his high-ranking khalīfahs. Puang Tompo leads the large dhikr (zikir lompo), followed by thousands of sanakmangaji.

At this moment of reciting the zikir lompo, outsiders can see how spiritual power materializes in the sense of unity between the leader and his followers. When Puang Tompo starts the dhikr, his followers appear to be spiritually connected to their shaikh, following this chant almost unconsciously. The teaching they obtained from the grand shaikh and their khalīfahs in their own localities infuses them with a sense of group unity. Now they are immersed in the pleasures of remembering the names of Allah, under the guidance of their highly respected shaikh. Teachers and students are joined together in a spiritual journey toward God, the ultimate goal of being a sanakmangaji. For a while, the allegations of their opponents are completely irrelevant as shaikh, the khalīfah and sanakmangaji become three components in one unity. If any one of these elements is lacking, the notion of religious solidarity within the

Khalwatiah Sammān in South Sulawesi will lose its primary meaning. In consequence, the tarekat may appear to be no more than an individual spiritual journey like those that flourished in earlier periods of Islam. But it is the recitation of the dhikr (al-Dhikr al-Jahri) that has provided the major shaiks and their khalīfah with spiritual connections to the center and within their ummah. It is the dhikr that has ensured the reaffirmation of traditional hierarchy among the lesser noblemen of Bone in modern times. Now religion and locality is embodied in the religious tradition of the Khalwatiah Sammān in Maros. Because of the silsilah, those shaikh-noblemen appear as the holders of spiritual authenticity connecting them to the founder of the order, Shaikh as-Sammān, buried in Medina, the holy city of the prophet, the center of Islam.

As the dhikr becomes louder and intense, some of the male chanters go into trance; they keep reciting the dhikr, while unconsciously rocking their heads back and forth. At the same time, behind the male rows the female followers also shake their heads, but in a smoother motion. When the dhikr ends, the sanakmangaji quickly go forward to the stage to reach the shaikh, kiss his hand and give him their passidakka, in order to obtain barakka of the grand shaikh. Meanwhile, near the mass-dhikr in a small building where the grave is located, adjacent to the mosque, a mother comes to the tomb of the saint. Kissing the tombstone, she utters words that for her are full of meaning.

Having performed the dhikr, the shaikh goes back to his home to welcome his guests, whether khalīfah, their followers, or non-members of the order, who may be local or national state officers. During periods of political activity, such as prior to an election, whether national of regional, the visits of political or local leaders can be more frequent. Meanwhile, having visited the shaikhs, the sanakmangaji, led by their khalīfah, come to the grave of their saint, Muhammad Ṣālih, the father of Puang Tompo.

The downfall of the Suharto government in 1998 has had a significant impact on the pattern of political behavior among the Khalwatiah Sammān followers. The resignation of the khalīfah from politics has allowed their followers freedom to affiliate with parties other than Golkar. Nevertheless, despite political change, the character of the Khalwatiah Sammān tarekat as a spiritual brotherhood remains apparent. The democratization brought by the reformation movement (*gerakan reformasi*) was not sufficient to weaken the spiritual solidarity among the sanakmangaji, as I saw during the haul in Pattene in 2009 and 2010. But the khalīfah are fully aware that the situation in the country has changed.[109]

Concerned to prevent the decline of the tarekat tradition in the era of rapid democratization, the khalīfah have been reluctant to modernize their order in the style of an Islamic organization. According to Puang Tompo, since the Khalwatiah Sammān appeared as a spiritual brotherhood among the Bugis, the order should not transform itself into a religious organization because of the danger of emulating corrupt conduct like those that have surfaced among those Muslim activists in Muslim organizations and in the political arena. He feels that his father Muhammad Ṣālih gave him a kind of mandate to protect the spiritual and religious tradition of the order. As time went on, the khalīfah, the lodge and the shrines in Pattene remain the spiritual center for Khalwatiah Sammān followers, whence their practice of Islam has radiated. The freedom of a truly spiritual world can be felt in the Khalwatiah Sammān, which has become a microcosm, where there is no obstacle preventing people of different social and political status from coming to Pattene.

[109] According to Ruslan, since the end of the Suharto era, which was marked by the mushrooming of political parties, the khalīfah at Pattene issued no specific instruction (fatwa) enjoining followers to support a particular party. Everyone is free to use his/her political right in regard to parties. This toleration for different political affiliations may account for the increased followers of the order, as is obvious during the haul at Pattene. He himself has appointed thousands of people as his murid, or followers of the order. *Interview* with Ruslan, Makassar, August 15th, 2009.

As a new spiritual site for the Khalwatiah Sammān followers, the kind of Islam that radiates from Pattene is a relatively conservative and localized Islam, yet is at the same time both organized and human. Moving back and forth from Pattene, the sanakmangaji of the Khalwatiah Sammān from all over the archipelago come to connect with the owner of the order's silsilah (genealogy). In addition to shared religious and ethnic identities--- language (Bugis and Makassarese) and Islamic rituals, Islamic tenets of the sholat jamā'ah (assembled prayers) led by the khalīfah, chanting of the dhikr, regular visits of shaikh to his students *(*Ind. *Silaturahmi,* Ar. *ṣilat al-raḥm)*,[110] total obedience towards the shaikhs and the khalīfahs, and the distinctive appearance of the khalīfah with their turbans, help to identify the community and differentiate them from the rest of the Muslims in South Sulawesi.[111] The politics and religious discourses may have changed, but the spiritual obedience towards the khalīfah and the continuing solidarity among the sanakmangaji has shaped their religious identity. While considerable scholarly attention has been given to the role of education institutions like pesantren and madrasah as a medium for spreading religious teachings, in the case of the Khalwatiah Sammān the shaikh and his deputies became the major transmitter of Islamic teachings to the common sanakmangaji. Last but not least, the institution of the haul has also provided economic opportunities for the local community, for it provides smaller traders and the sanakmangaji with opportunities to buy and sell religious items such as rosaries, prayer carpets *(sajadah)*, sarongs, caps *(songkok)*, turbans *(sorban)*, food, drink and so on. It is like a "sudden market" *(pasar kaget)* that appears

[110] According to Puang Tompo, these three major and interwoven traditions—*sholat jama'ah*, *zikr* recited out loud after the Isya and Shubuh prayers led by the khalīfah, and regular visits (*massairah*, Bugis or *silat al-rahmi*, Arabic) of the khalīfah, are still practiced by Khalwatiah Sammān followers. These three components differentiate the order from other tarekats in South Sulawesi. *Interview* with Puang Tompo, Maros, October 15, 2009

[111] During my interview with the sanakmangaji of Khalwatiah Sammān, I found a picture of the khalīfah of Pattene (Abdullah and his two brothers) hanging on the wall, together with amulets with texts mostly in Arabic script attached to the doors of houses.

occasionally, but it played an important role during the economic crises that swept the country after 1997.

Conclusion

The twentieth century has been termed "an age in motion", and South Sulawesi, like the rest of Indonesia, was affected by the political ferment and the rise of a nationalist movement. Simultaneously, however, the religious domain was also divided by the debates that now intensified because of the widening distance between sharī'ah-oriented 'ulamā and modernist Muslim efforts to remove what they saw as unacceptable practices from local Islam. The power and influence of these people and their ties to the colonial authority mak the ability of the Khalwatiah Sammān tarekat to survive and expand especially intriguing.

This chapter has traced the leadership provided by its shaikh and his khalīfah, the successive generations of Abdullah bin 'Abd al-Razāq, his son Muhammad Ṣālih and his sons, especially Andi Syadjaruddin Malik Puang Tompo. For two centuries, the khalīfah can be seen to operate in various functions: as advisor to the ruler, educator, supernaturally-powerful teacher, martial art teacher, healer, entrepreneur, and politician. The charisma of these leaders and the spiritual knowledge attributed to them make them all "men of prowess" in the style described by O.W. Wolters. Insisting that they follow the law of Allah, these men were able to incorporate practices that maintained continuities with pre-Islamic traditions and created a sense of group solidarity. This feeling of cohesion, no doubt strengthened in the face of 'ulamā opposition, was reaffirmed through rituals such as the public and audible chanting of dhikr and participation in pilgrimages and occasions special to the tarekat. Since the 1970s the annual haul at Pattene has appeared as a new site for maintaining the identity of the order as a joint commemoration of the

death of Muhammad Ṣālih and the birthday of the Prophet. Intermarriage between members has also helped ensure that the traditions survive, and has assisted in the spread of the Khalwatiah Sammān tarekat throughout South Sulawesi and among Bugis communities in the rest of the archipelago.

The tarekat's relationship to the state has also been a factor in its development. Khalwatiah Sammān leaders refused to give support to the Kahar Muzakkar rebellion, and demonstrated their loyalty to the Suharto regime. The fact that the tarekat has continued to attract followers after the fall of Suharto in 1998 is a comment on its appeal. While Islamic teaching considers spiritual as well as intellectual achievements to be the major requirements for leadership of the ummah, the cumulative authority of earlier shaikh has enabled contemporary khalīfah who do not have the same scholarly qualifications as their predecessors to retain the loyalty of their followers. In this they have been aided by the doctrine of total obedience of the followers towards the master, and by traditional Bugis-Makassar attitudes towards genealogical descent. Like their fathers in the past, the sanakmangaji continue coming to Pattene, asking for advice and prayers, hoping for blessings in their life and in the hereafter. At the same time, the silsilah of the Khalwatiah Sammān still serves the vital role of connecting the order with the center of Islam, the Ḥaramayn, where the roots of all tarekat stem from the shrine of the Prophet Muhammad.

Chapter Six
Conclusion

This study has attempted to emphasize the role played by the tarekat or Sufi brotherhood in the consolidation of Islam in South Sulawesi at a time of religious and political change. In the nineteenth century there was the emergence of the puritan movement of Wahabism in the heartland of Islam in the Middle East, which began to have an impact in its attacks against accretions to the fundamental Islamic ideas. Many societies in the Islamic world, including those in South Sulawesi, had localized Islam to make it more comprehensible and therefore more acceptable to the local population. These localized Islams thus became the target of the Wahabi movement, and Southeast Asia did not escape its attention.

The Wahabi puritanism occurred in the midst of growing Western intrusions throughout the world in the nineteenth century, which resulted in the imposition of European colonial rule in the Middle East and in Southeast Asia. South Sulawesi was one of the last places in the archipelago to succumb to Dutch colonialism, but the presence of the colonial administration clearly limited the freedom in which Islam could act. The religious links between South Sulawesi and the Ḥaramayn were particularly affected since the colonial Dutch administration was always wary of Islam as a source of anti-Dutch activity. Nevertheless, personal links between the teachers in Sufi orders and the authority of their silsilah or genealogies of teachers assured the survival and effectiveness of these orders, including the Khalwatiah Sammān in South Sulawesi.

South Sulawesi was not immune to the nineteenth-century Islamic and political trends in the Middle East. The founder of the Khalwatiah Sammān order, Muhammad ʻAbd al-Karīm as-Sammān, combined Islamic orthodoxy of the sharī'ah with Islamic mysticism (Sufism) as a solution for the moral crisis facing the ummah. As his Jawi students returned to their homelands, they became the bearers of as-Samman's message. His follower ʻAbd al-Razzāq introduced the recitation of the dhikr al-Jahri, or the dhikr that was chanted out loud within a congregation of believers. It proved very popular among the people and was a major reason for its continuing success with the local population. Another factor in the ability of the Khalwatiah Sammān to propagate its message successfully was the coming of advanced printing technology from the West. But a critical ingredient in the order's longevity was the support of the traditional South Sulawesi elite. Many came to serve as Islamic religious officers (parewa sarak) in the various kingdoms. Their presence in the religious councils and in the order provided a sympathetic group that helped the Khalwatiah Sammān to survive. By the 1820s the order with its localized Islamic ideas and the public dhikr attracted followers among both the elites and the commoners in South Sulawesi.

The emergence of the Khalwatiah Sammān in South Sulawesi in the nineteenth century was part of a global development of neo-Sufism in the Islamic world. Its emphasis on the importance of sharī'ah and the central position of the Prophet Muhammad within mystical practices distinguished it from the speculative-mystico religious practices of earlier Muslim thinkers. Its organizational structure with followers under deputies (khalīfah) and the concept of congregations are characteristic of neo-Sufis orders in Islam. Like the Hadīth study circles in the Ḥaramayn, the Khalwatiah Sammān

saw its responsibility as nurturing the ummah at a time of increasing pressures on Islam from the West. The maintenance of religious and spiritual authority among the followers became the task of the khalīfah, whose dedication to the service of Islam is documented in both indigenous and European colonial records.

The shaikh of the tarekat would have taught certain mystical Islamic doctrines, such as the doctrine of Islamic prophethood, discipleship, spiritual allegiance or initiation (bay'ah) and the merging of a seeker to his shaikh (fanā fī al-shaikh). These would have been the most influential teachings that produced an unquestioning obedience among the followers of the Khalwatiah Sammān, more than was the case with other tarekats or with mainstream Islamic schools. The spiritual power exercised by the Sufi teachers can be likened to the political power exercised by leaders of secular governments, such as kings in an earlier period and presidents of more modern times. Apart from the existence of the state coercive apparatus, such as the police and the army, theoretically both the Sufi teachers and the power holders in the early modern era shared similarities in monopolizing spiritual legitimacy to control people's loyalty. While the Sufi teachers dominated spirituality through the accentuation of certain mystical doctrines, the secular leader may have accumulated spiritual power, whether through Islam or local deities, for the similar aim of gaining people's loyalty.

In the case of the Khalwatiah Sammān, such loyalty is manifested in total obedience to the teachers and concurrence with their teachings. The shaikh thus appears as a savior to his followers. Under the banner of Islamic prophethood, the shaikh and his followers (qaum) are seen in the same relationship as the prophet and the ummah. The

Khalwatiah Sammān shaikh and their khalīfah acted as the local prophets for their sanakmangaji. Furthermore, through the practice of the dhikr al-Jahri which is the public recitation of the dhikr out loud in a gathering of followers, the leaders and the members of the order were brought closer together in a spiritual bond. The close relationship of the Khalwatiah Sammān leaders and the secular rulers, whether as teacher-student or advisor-ruler, contributed to the expansion of the order. Both the writings of their leaders and the common rituals supplemented the advanced study of mystical ideas that was always a characteristic of the leaders of this movement. Dhikr, sholat jamāah, and visits (ṣilat al-raḥmi or ziarah) to the shaikhs, living and dead, all contributed to the strengthening of the order's sense of community and identity.

The use of the Makassarese but particularly the Bugis language in the transmission of Islamic knowledge places these South Sulawesi languages on par with Malay and Javanese as most effective in the Islamization of the archipelago. The Khalwatiah Sammān made a major contribution to this process through the prolific writings of its shaikh and khalīfah on the mystical ideas of the waḥdat al-wujūd. Their writings, mainly in Bugis, benefited the largest ethnic community in South Sulawesi and the numerous expatriate Bugis living scattered throughout the archipelago, especially in the Malay world. Through such written materials and various common practices, such as visits to the graves of Sufi saints, the people have continued to be exposed to ideas of Islam. While the Sufi tradition may emphasize the mystical elements of the religion, the history of Islam in South Sulawesi is proof that adhering to mystical Islamic traditions do

not contradict but apparently assists in strengthening people's belief in the orthodox Islamic concept of the unity of God (tawḥīd).

The claim of the present khalīfah at Pattene that the Khalwatiah Sammān is a Bugis order is indisputable. According to Andi Sadjaruddin Malik Puang Tompo, one of the charismatic leaders of the Khalwatiah Sammān, the origins of the order may have been in the Ḥaramayn, but only the Bugis remained steadfast in upholding its traditions. This particular claim may also reflect the ongoing rivalry between the Makassarese and Bugis ethnic groups. The Khalwatiah Yusuf was principally a Makassarese order founded by a royal Makassarese prince and Islamic scholar, al-Makassari; whereas, the Khalwatiah Sammān was founded and located in Maros among the Bugis population living in that province. Despite, or perhaps because of, the persistent opposition to the order from the orthodox 'ulamā and religious authorities, the bonds between the murshīd and khalīfah and their sanakmangaji have remained strong.

The long-standing intellectual and spiritual connections between the Islamic center and the Southeast Asian periphery were apparent, especially during the Islamic modernist movements of the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The emergence of these modernist movements was in response to the puritanism of the Wahabi and the colonial intrusions. In addition to attempting to demonstrate that Islam continued to be relevant to the modern world and could form a challenge to Christian European colonialism, the modernist movement contributed to the formation of an identity based on the ummah, or the community of Muslim believers. In South Sulawesi the modernist organizations, together with the orthodox 'ulamā, attacked the Khalwatiah Sammān,

whose amalgam of indigenous and Islamic practices were condemned as syncretic, less-sharī'ah-minded, and propagated by false teachings of its leaders (shaikh, murshīd, and khalīfah). The local Wahabis and the orthodox Islamic religious officials made slanderous remarks about the order and its leaders, attacking their mystical teachings written in local languages that seduced the commoners to become followers. Despite the efforts of the leaders of the Khalwatiah Sammān to answer their accusers, the slander continued into the twentieth century forcing the khalīfah of the order to seek a fatwa or religious decision from the mufti of Ḥaramayn to confirm the order's legitimacy and orthodoxy.

With the leaders of the Khalwatiah Sammān able to demonstrate through their silsilah or genealogy of teachers in the transmission of Islamic knowledge, they had the legitimacy and hence the trust of their followers. Moreover, their links to the Ḥaramayn enabled them to counter accusations of heterodoxy and to seek support in their ongoing struggle to justify their order as being within the orthodox mystical Islamic tradition. For two centuries, as this study has shown, the shaikhs and their deputies have appeared as multi-talented charismatic leaders. In addition to being educators in reinforcing the ideas of the order through their writings and rituals, they also are preachers, spiritual advisors to rulers, healers, martial art specialists, entrepreneurs, and politicians. In other words, the leaders of the Khalwatiah Sammān, like their counterparts in Sufi orders in other parts of the Islamic world, are the cultural translators of Islam par excellence. In this role they have exhibited a religious vigor in their writings, teachings, and in helping the people to practice Islam while maintaining their indigenous traditions. Despite arguments advanced

by orthodox Islamic groups, the Khalwatiah Sammān shows no evidence of heterodox practices or philosophy but is within the mystical Islamic tradition of taṣawwuf.

The persistence of the Sufi orders continues a tradition that began in the golden era of Sufism in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in archipelagic Southeast Asia. In this earlier period, it was the success of the Sufi saints in demonstrating their spiritual prowess that was recorded in the indigenous documents. This legendary depiction of the Sufi involvement in the Islamization in the archipelago reflected the attraction of mystical Islam, whose doctrine of the Perfect Man found resonance among local rulers. But it also reflected the tolerance of the Sufi teachers who were ready to explain the religion in a way that was both comprehensible and acceptable to the people. This of necessity involved the incorporation of certain aspects of strongly-held traditional beliefs codified into a set of flexible customary laws. The strength of the localized Islam, therefore, was based on links both with the customary sources of authority, as well as with the center of Islam in the Ḥaramayn. South Sulawesi underwent a similar process, and it was the ability of the Khalwatiah Sammān order to reaffirm the traditional social order, while amalgamating Islamic ideas with local customary laws (panngadereng), which assured its continuing popularity among the people.

There are those who have the impression that Sufism is a backward, passive, illiterate, and very local form of Islam. This study argues, however, that the Khalwatiah Sammān, which may be considered a peripheral part of the Sufi movement, has contributed intellectually to an understanding of mystical Islam and has maintained a link to the general stream of Sufism in the major centers of Islam. One of its strengths has

been the patronage that it has received from both the secular local and the national power holders. In this regard, it continues a Sufi tradition that characterized the early Islamization of Southeast Asia, including that of South Sulawesi. The findings of this study of the Khalwatiah Sammān confirms earlier scholars' conclusion that the Sufi orders were instrumental in the spread of Islam in the archipelago. But what is remarkable about this particular South Sulawesi order is that it arose in the nineteenth century and continued to maintain its popularity into the following century and up to the present day. Its methods and eclectic teachings of Islam provide some insights into the manner in which the earlier Sufi preachers may have operated. It may explain why Sufism was so successful in introducing Islam to the local people in the past, even though earlier it may have been principally limited to the elite in society.

The order has maintained a conservative approach in the selection of its leaders and has been particularly blessed with active, flexible, and intellectual shaikh and khalīfah who have been responsible for the Khalwatiah Sammān's continuing popularity in South Sulawesi. The annual gathering *(ḥawl ghauth)* of the order at Pattene in Maros has served to reinforce the identity and community among the leaders and their deputies and their followers or sanakmangaji. Pattene has now become the new spiritual axis for the Khalwatiah Sammān, where the living and the dead shaikh with their shrines are the focus of pilgrimage. In addition to traditional sanakmangaji (peasants, vendors, and fisherman), the Pattene gathering also attracts the modern generation of sanakmangaji, some of whom arrive with luxury cars and signs of social success in the outside world. They flock to Pattene to kiss their shaikh and visit the graves of former shaikh in order to

obtain the barakka or blessing from these saints for the life today and in the hereafter. Whatever their social or economic status, the sanakmangaji are united by the spiritual brotherhood of the Khalwatiah Sammān tarekat, where spiritual authority radiates from the shaikh past and present. The story of this order is confirmation that Islam survives today because of its ability to maintain believers belonging to various groups who may differ widely in character and expression from their co-religionists in other parts of the world.

Finally, this study has attempted to depict the world of mystical Islam (taṣawwuf) not as a monolithic movement but one with a number of different manifestations. The history of the Khalwatiah Sammān and its opponents in South Sulawesi is one striking example of the differences of Islamic expression of the ummah. By examining the Khalwatiah Sammān's way of teaching and style of leadership, it is possible to see the interplay of Islamic ideas and local cultural practices that enabled Islam to take root and flourish in this corner of the Islamic world.

Glossary

Ade', Adek, Adak, or Hadat:
customs, traditions, common practices.

Al-Dīn wa al-Dawlah:
lit., "religion and state" as one, meaning there is no division between secular and profane worlds in Islam.

Akhlāq:
good attitudes and behavior.

Al-Ḥaq:
The Absolute One, Allah.

'Aīn al-Ḥaq:
the existence of Allah.

'Aqiqah (Ind. Akekah):
slaughtering a goat for the ceremony marking a baby's first week.

'Ālim:
a learned Muslim (pl.'Ulamā).

Al-Mukammil:
the perfect being.

Al-Muntahī (Ar.):
the advanced person.

Anakkaraeng (Mak.)/anakarung (Bug.):
lit., offspring of a ruler, used to refer to nobility.

Assikalaibineng:
the book of Islamized Bugis sexuality.

'Awām:
Muslim commoners.

Babad:
Javanese chronicles.

Bay'at:
spiritual allegiance or initiation to become a fellow or deputy of a tarekat.

Barakka:
divine blessing.

Barjanzi:
the narration on the life of the Prophet Muhammad.

Bidala:
the caller to prayer.

Bicara:
process of law.

Bid'ah:
unacceptable innovation in Islam.

Bissu:
pre-Islamic holy men and women in Bugis-Makassar community, who serve as intermediaries between the spirit world and the world of man.

Bunduk Kasallangnga (Mak.):
Islamic wars, or the war for the expansion of Islam; war conducted by Gowa-Tallo to force Islam on their neighboring kingdoms.

Daeng Imang:
a leader of five daily prayers in Islam.

Daengta Kaliya:
religious advisor in Gowa; leader of Parewa Sarak.

Dār al-Harb:
abode of war.

Dewata Seuwae:
The one god.

Debus:
a mystical performance mostly by men who enter into a trance and become invulnerable to sharp blades.

Dhikr or Wird:
chanting in remembrance of the name of Allah.

Dhikr al-Jahri:
performing the dhikr aloud together in a congregation of believers.

Dhikr al-Qalbi :
a silent dhikr done individually.

Doti:
black magic.

Doya:
mosque keeper.

Dzuhur:
mid-day prayer in Islam.

Fātiḥah:
the beginning verse of the holy Qur'an, representing the core of the book

Fatwa:
religious opinion issued by religious council or kadi regarding problems.

Fiqh:
law or Islamic jurisprudence.

Garu-garu:
slaughtering a goat in observance of the first week of a baby's birth

Grebeg Mulud:
a celebration of the birthday of the Prophet Muhammad in the palace of the Sultan of Yogyakarta

Guru tarekat:
Sufi order's teachers.

Guruwa:
religious teachers.

Ḥadīth:
sayings and deeds of the Prophet Muhammad.

Hakikat (AR. Ḥaqīqat):
esoteric dimension of Islam or Sufism.

Ḥaqiqat al-Muhammadiyah:
the essence of Muhammad.

Ḥaramayn:
holy cities of Islam, i.e. Mecca and Medina.

Ḥawl:
celebration on the anniversary of the death of a person.

Ḥawl Ghauth:
annual commemoration of the death of a shaikh in Khalwatiah Sammān.

Hawashi Sammān:
a lodge of the Samman order.

Hikayat (Mal.):
tale, story.

Iḥātah:
mystical concept of the encompassment of Allah in His creation introduced by Yusuf al-Makassari.

Ijma':
agreement of 'ulamā on religious matters.

I La Galigo:
a Bugis epic of the origins of the god-kings of South Sulawesi, and a major source of cultural knowledge.

Imām:
a leader of the congregation in the performance of dzikr, prayers, and religious events.

Infāq:
charity.

Insān al-Kāmil:
literally, "The Perfect Man"; a mystical concept in Islam introduced by an Iraqi Sufi, al-Jīlī.

'Ishā:
the evening prayer.

Istigfār:
a prayer of repentance.

Jannang Masigi:
mosque keeper.

Jawi or Jawah:
colony of Southeast Asian Muslims in the Ḥaramayn.

Jennang:
governor.

Jihād:
literally "to expend all effort"; commonly used to refer to "holy wars" in Islam.

Jizyah:
war compensation in Islam.

Jumu'ah Prayer:
a weekly prayer in Islam.

Kadi:
chief Islamic official in a kingdom or state; leading religious officers (Parewa Sarak) in Bugis and Makassar kingdoms (Ar. Muftī).

Kāfir:
"unbelievers (in the faith of Islam)" or the infidels.

Karāmah:
miraculous succor specially given by Allah to His saints.

Katte:
preacher; presenter of religious sermons.

Karaeng:
Makassarese term for rulers or noblemen.

Khalīfah:
a deputy of a shaikh or murshīd.

Khalifat Allah fi al-Ard:
"The representative of Allah on earth" or the ruler of the universe.

Khurafat:
heretics.

Kalompoang:
sacred regalia of the Gowa kingdom.

Lisān:
verbal utterances.

Lontarak:
chronicles and other documents written in the local South Sulawesi languages using the Bugis or Makassarese script.

Madrasah:
Islamic schools.

Ma'iyyah:
a mystical concept introduced by Yusuf al-Makassari on the omnipresence of Allah in His creation.

Manāqib (Ar.):
works of Hagiography or a biography of shaikhs.

Mangaji Kitta:
traditional ways of teaching Islam.

Martabat Tujuh:
literally, "seven levels"; a notion in Islamic mystical discourse in early Indonesian-Malay world, introduced by an Indian Sufi, Muhammad Fadlullah al-Burhanpuri.

Mufti (Ar.):
a religious officer in the Islamic world.

Murāqabah:
spiritual exercises.

Murīd:
disciple or followers of a tarekat.

Murshīd:
grand teacher of a tarekat, similar to a shaikh.

Mushāfahah:
shaking hands among the readers of the ratib as-Sammān.

Musuk seajing:
Bugis for a war among those considered family.

Nūr Muhammad:
the light of Muhammad.

Pakkajara:
assistants of the khalīfah in Khalwatiah Sammān.

Pangulutta:
"our grand shaikh or master"

Panngadereng (Bugis)/Pangngadakkang (Makassar):
Pre-Islamic customs or traditions. It consists of four components: Adek, Bicara, Rappang, and Warik. After Islam came in South Sulawesi, it was added with the Sara' (Islamic law or Sharī'ah).

Parewa Sarak:
religious officers in Bugis-Makassar states led by the Petta Kali or Daengta Kaliya (religious advisor).

Passadakka:
donation or charity (from Arabic, ṣadaqah).

Pondok/Pesantren:
traditional Islamic educational institutions.

Puang Lompo:
the great teacher.

Qalb:
soul.

Qiyas:
analogies in religious matters.

Ratīb Sammān:
a chanting composed by Abd al-Karim as-Sammān, the founder of Khalwatiah Sammān.

Ramaḍān:
fasting month in Islam.

Rappang:
customs and traditions which have been commonly recognized by the people in South Sulawesi.

Ratu Adil:
"a Just King", a Javanese millenarian concept of the just ruler who will come and restore peace and prosperity to the community.

Ribā:
practice of usury.

Salafi Movement:
religious movements led by the orthodox 'ulamā.

Sanakmangaji:
students or disciples of Khalwatiah Sammān.

Sanro:
a shaman in Bugis-Makassar society.

Saukang:
special places of worship of the spirits and ancestors.

Sirr (Ar.):
secrets.

Santri:
Muslim students living in a Pesantren/Pondok.

Sayyid:
title given to those descended from the Prophet Muhammad.

Salawat (Ar.Ṣalawat):
a statement of prayer and remembrance to the Prophet.

Sekaten:
similar to grebeg mulud in Javanese Islam.

Sharī'ah:
Islamic tenets, yet commonly used for Islamic legal forms, or the exoteric domain in Islam.

Subuh:
a morning prayer performed by Muslims before sun rises.

Shumūlī:
comprehensive system.

Silsilah:
genealogical chain of the order, the bearers of the tarekat.

Sirik:
a concept in Bugis-Makassar society embracing the idea of both self-worth and shame.

Slametan:
generally means celebration, specifically a commemoration of the death of a person after a specific number of days in Javanese tradition.

Sunnah:
the tradition of the prophet Muhammad (Ḥadīth).

Tafakkur:
reflection.

Tahayul:
superstitions.

Tawḥīd (Ind. Tauhid):
the concept of the Oneness of God in Islam.

Tarekat (Ind.):
Islamic spiritual brotherhood or spiritual order (Ar. ţarīqat).

Ṭarīqat al-Mu'tabarah:
recognized Sufi orders, a tarekat association within Indonesian traditional Muslims organization (Nahdlatul Ulama, NU)

Taṣawwuf (Ar.):
Islamic mysticism.

Tawassul as-Sammān:
a statement of connectivity with as-Sammān.

Tellumpoccoe:
the alliance of the three Bugis states of Bone, Wajo, and Soppeng.

Three Datos:
Three itinerant Sufi teachers from West Sumatra who were responsible for helping to spread Islam in South Sulawesi: Dato ri Bandang, Dato ri Tiro and Dato ri Patimmang.

Tomanurung:
"He/She who descended (from the Upperworld)". Upperworldly figures who descended to earth and became the progenitors of the South Sulawesi royal houses.

Tuak:
fermented palm wine.

Ukhuwwah Islamiah:
Islamic brotherhood.

Ummah (Ind. Ummat):
Muslim community.

Wafaq:
amulets (Ind. Jimat).

Waḥdat al-Wujūd (Ar.):
"the union of man and the Divine One, Allah," or "Unity of the Existence", a pantheistic mystical concept introduced by the Andalusian Sufi, Ibn 'Arabi (1165-1240).

Walī (Ar.) Auliā (Pl.):
an Islamic saint.

Wali Songo (Java):
nine saints in Javanese Islam, whose legendary powers helped to defeat the Hindu Javanese kingdom of Majapahit and introduce Islam to Java.

Wari':
regulations dealing with relationshis between family members, social stratification, and official positions within Bugis-Makassar society and government.

Wudu:
performing the ablutions before the daily prayers.

Wujud (Ar. Wujūd):
literally, "being", but refers to the existence of God.

Wujūdiah:
mystical groups who believe in the concept of waḥdat al-wujūd (the Unity of the Existence).

Wujūdiah mulhid:
atheistic unity.

Wujūdiah Muwaḥḥid:
unitarian unity.

Wayang Kulit:
puppet shadow plays.

Zakat:
alms.

Zakat Fitrah:
personal alms paid by Muslims at the end of the fasting month of Ramadhan.

Ziarah:
visits to the grave of saints or living saints.

Zawiyyah:
a spiritual lodge.

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