

Ibn ‘Arabī’s Students in Indonesia: Works and Teachings of Khalwatiyah Sammān in South Sulawesi, Indonesia

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Abstract

The nineteenth century showed the era of high colonialism in Muslim countries, Indonesia was not exceptional. The impact of industrial revolution in the West had impacted economic competition among the Europeans and caused the relationship between the colonial and the local power holders in direct confrontation and war. The era found many polities in the colonized regions suffered political and economic declines. However, amid the power decline were religious-political movements challenging the old model of religious life of the people.

The religious movement of the century in Indonesia led by a local mystical order (*tariqa*) led by students of Ibn ‘Arabī, the Sufi of Spain. It was Khalwatiyah Sammān of South Sulawesi, the peninsular region in eastern Indonesia. Different from the rest of Sufi orders, which were practicing Ghazalian sober-Sunni teaching, Khalwatiyah Sammān held Ibn ‘Arabī’s mystical teaching. As individual mystical practice among the specialized, the khalifahs of the order had succeeded to make Ibn ‘Arabī’s abstract thought workable for the people and their elites. Of course, opposition and accusation towards the order were apparent, thrown by the orthodox learned Muslims. However, such controversies were responded by the khalifah of Khalwatiyah Sammān through their works addressing Ibn ‘Arabī’s mystical teachings. The rise of Khalwatiyah Sammān can be viewed as an exemplary religious movement of the century where the students of Ibn ‘Arabī played key role in the continuity of the spread of Islam in a remote area.

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Introduction

Ibn 'Arabī of Spain (1165-1240 CE) was known a distinguished sufi figure in Islam. His mystical teaching has been categorized by many scholars of Islam as uncommon. Compared to the rest of Sufi figures' teachings, Ibn 'Arabī's mystical treatise are not simply to be understood by many. His mystical teachings have been the focus of those learned Muslims to practice, however. In many places in Indonesia are truly little learned Muslims or Sufi practitioners committed to practice and teach Ibn 'Arabī's mystical tenets to their fellows, particularly those less learned ones.

Therefore, once Ibn 'Arabī's teachings have been practiced by a community of order (*tarekat*) in recent Indonesia, it would be helpful to draw the mystical practice in modern Indonesia so far. In doing so, this work will draw Ibn 'Arabī's mystical teaching as translated into local language by his students who lead a local order of Khalwatiyah Sammān or Sammania order (*tariqa/tarekat*). Thus, Ibn 'Arabī's teaching became popular among the commoners in South Sulawesi where Khawatiah Sammān tarekat was the most responsible mystical brotherhood for the reputation of Ibn 'Arabī's in the region. Though the order masters (*murshid* = *mursyid*) claim that they have similar source of teaching and teacher, Abdul Karim al-Sammān of Medina as the founder of the order, Khlawatiah Sammān's teaching and mystical practices are different from the rest mystical orders such as Khalwatiah Yusuf in South Sulawesi and of Samaniah Qodiriyah in Palembang of South Sumatera and Samaniah Naqshabandiah in Banjar Masin of South Kalimantan.¹ While those three orders avoid Ibn 'Arabī's teaching of *Wahdat al-Wujūd*, Khalwatiah Sammān's leaders firmly acknowledge that they deal much with it, as many written in their vernacular works. The concept of Islamic pantheism, however, appeared first in indigenous writing in Aceh, North Sumatra, in poetry by a local Sufi known as Hamzah al-Fansuri (d. ca, 1599 CE).² Al-Fansuri's ideas were subsequently expanded by his contemporary Shams al-Dīn al-Sumatrani (d.1040/1630).³

South Sulawesi Islam: Social landscape

To begin with, a patron-client society and fanatic Muslims has been the portrait of the population of South Sulawesi over centuries. There are three major group of population in the region: Buginese (people of Bugis), Makassar and Mandar. No less important than the history of Islam in the region, such an embedded-patron client social system has influenced much the life of the Buginess-Makassar, including their spiritual practices.⁴ The Bugis also are known for their eagerness in spiritual engagement, namely *matareka*, a local word derivative from Arabic, *ṭarīqa*.

Makassar and Bugis are two dominantly ethnic groups representing social-political dynamic in the region in the past. Where the Gowa kingdom was politically the Makassar, the Bone kingdom was the Buginese. Regarding the history of Islam, the impact of the patron client social system was apparently viable for the spread of Islam in the region so far. The conversion of the king of Gowa of Makassar to become a Muslim in the 17th, for instance, had made Islam embraced by his entourage and widely spread across the island.

In regard to the forced conversion in the seventeenth century of Gowa upon the Bone the notion of mystical concept of the perfect man (*al-insān al-kāmil* = *insan al-Kaamil*) was so inevitable that the king enforced the rest of smaller polities in the region —Bone, Soppeng and Wajo---, to convert to Islam regarded Gowa's Islamization effort as a thinly-disguised political move in the guise of a religious campaign.⁵ They therefore rejected Gowa's call for their conversion.⁶ The Sufi doctrine of Waḥdat al-Wujūd of Ibn 'Arabī (the union of man with the Divine One), which produced the perfect man (*insaan al-Kaamil*) notion, extends an invitation to a local potentate to become a "Ruler of the Universe" or "khalifat Allah fī al-arḍ" (The representative of Allah on the earth), an invitation which proved difficult to reject.⁷

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 failed, and 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 1611.⁸

Ibn ‘Arabī’s in Khalwatiah Sammān’s works

Among earlier teachers of Khalwatiyah Sammān who taught Ibn ‘Arabī’s teaching were Muhammad Fudhail and Abd al-Ghani, together with their students Ahmad Idris. They were known as the wanderers of Waḥdat al-Wujūd.⁹ His spiritual reputation brought ‘Abd Al-Ghani to become a reputable Sufi teacher in his territory. He was recognized as a venerated saint to whom his blessing was sought by the people in his region.¹⁰ However, because of limited sources dealing with ‘Abd al-Ghani, I will only discuss Muhammad Fudhail’s prominent student, ‘Abd al-Razak bin Haji ‘Abdullah al-Bugis who lead the order to be a leading tarekat in his own era, ‘Abd al-Razak bin Haji ‘Abdullah al-Bugis and his son ‘Abdullah bin ‘Abd al-Razak al-Marusi al-Buni (Bone).¹¹ ‘Abd al-Razak was a lesser noble of Bone Haji ‘Abd Al-Razak bin ‘Abdullah Al-Bugis, further he was recognized as the Grand Shaikh of Khalwatiah Sammān known as Haji Palopo from Bone.¹² As Karaeng members, Khalwatiah Sammān leaders were also known as local entrepreneurs dealing with forestry, rice cultivation, and fishery, through which they nurture their followers.¹³ Among the teachings of Ibn ‘Arabī quoted much in Khalwatiah Sammān’s vernacular works are:

1. Waḥdat al-Wujūd and the true religion

There are many local sources (*lontarak*) that show the notion of Waḥdat al-Wujūd taught by Khalwatiah Sammān Shaikhs in the second half of the nineteenth century. A *lontarak* indicates that the king of Bone (1860-1871) Singkeru Rukkan Sultan Ahmad bin Idris and his Sammānia teachers Muhammad Fudhail and ‘Abd al-Ghani were the lovers of Waḥdat al-Wujūd. In this *lontarak*, ‘Abd al-Ghani (son of Muhammad Fudhail) illustrates the unity of God and its creation:

“This world and its contain are not able to see Allah, because both cannot be separated at all one from another. So, there is not any form for souls, unless it manifests in a form of body. In similar vein, God does not have any form, yet He manifests in the form of world (*‘ālam = alam*). The world and its contain is the form of Allah. Each body and soul can see one and another, to face each and another when they are separate. But, in case of human being, the two cannot be separated because they are one, which is named as a human being. It is similar

with God who covers entire the world, which cannot be separated each from another.”¹⁴

In addition, the notion of *Waḥdat al-Wujūd* was also apparent in Ahmad bin Idris' personal utterance:

“In regard to my current belief, I used night and day, morning, and afternoon, I never disconnect from Him, even one moment. My body, soul, heart, secret, hear, eye, word, inner (*bāṭin* = *batin*), external (*zāhir* = *lahir*) and all my existence is the manifestation of Muhammad, while Muhammad himself physically is my Lord. The body of my Lord manifests in my body night and day. This is what I am feeling.”¹⁵

Though I do not have suffice documents telling mystical debates in the second part of the century as the Khalwatiah Order came into being, accounts on the *Waḥdat al-Wujūd* written by 'Abd al-Razak, the *Murshid* of the Khalwatiah Sammān order, may have indicated the continuation of earlier mystical discourse in his time. Suffice to say that his views on religious matters showed the living debates among the 'ulamā, among other was that of the classic *Waḥdat al-Wujūd* of Ibn 'Arabī's thoughts. In this regard, his perspective of the manyness (*kathra*) of the One, meaning that all physical appearances are the reflection of the absolute oneness of God, was responded by 'Abd al-Razak through his pantheistic notion expressed in his personal diary:

“In regard to diversity, a divine saint (*wali qutb*) may see such variant appearances in one existence or one existence in variant entities.”¹⁶

Such a view of manyness of the One is among the core mystical thought introduced by Ibn 'Arabī, as ascribed by William Chittick. Accordingly, the doctrine of Ibn 'Arabī's *Waḥdat al-Wujūd* affirms that the *Wujūd* (being) of Allah in its truest sense is a single reality and that it cannot be two *Wujūds*, thus, to some degrees, this quit similar with a Sunni thinker al-Ghazali who declares the unity of God (*tawhid*) in regard to the statement of “there is no God but God” to be meant “there is nothing in *Wujūd* but God”. Nevertheless, Chittick emphasizes, Ibn 'Arabī's writings devote much on the reality of manyness (*kathra*) within the concept of a divine oneness.¹⁷ In regard to this oneness of God through manyness of reality, 'Abd al-Razak, one day in March of 1881, perhaps responding to critics sounded by the 'ulamā towards his order, said the notion of merging

into the oneness of God (*fānā fi at-Tauhid*), which was very heavy pantheistic in tone. Indeed, through his statement, Abd al-Razak seemed to argue that his order was not that far from the tradition of the prophet: Accordingly,

“Merging into tauhid (*fānā*’ = *fana*) is not to see those realities and himself unless the One for his merging into the oneness of God. Too, he himself avoids his existence because he merges into Him, meaning he is being annihilated (*fana*) of perceiving himself as said by the prophet (PBUH) “who sees one thing but not Allah, so it is a false”.¹⁸

In similar notion, in his *Laqīṭah min Riyāḍ Al-Taṣawwuf* Abdullah ibn ‘Abd al-Razak continued his father’s admiration of the Waḥdat al-Wujūd:

“As said by those devote masters, I see my lord with His eye, the He asks: Who are you? I say: I am You. Everything exists in Allah while Allah exist in everything, and both are one existence... most the truly seekers agree to state that there is no existence within the abstract (*al-Ghaib wa al-Bathin*) and the appearance (*ash-shahādah wa-l-Wujūd*) in both physics and existence, but One Being (*Wujūdun wāhidun*) and one existent (*ḥaqīqahwāhidah*).¹⁹

Following Ibn ‘Arabī’s account on the relationship between ritual and the seeker, in his *Malqūt min Riyadh al-Taṣawwuf*, Abdullah illustrates Ibn ‘Arabī’s view on the unity of being:

“So, your ritual may end through your fading of your existence until it becomes between the worshiper and the worshiped united no one else (*fā tantahī ‘ibadatuka bi inqida’i Wujūdika fayakūnu huwa al- ‘ābid wa al-Ma’būd jamī’an la ghayruh*).”²⁰

In addition, Abdullah’s notion of Waḥdat al-Wujūd was also obvious in his consideration on the essence of all religions (*millat*):

“The true religion (*al-Millat al-Ḥaqīqat al-Ḥanifiyya*) is one beginning from Adam to our presence: it is the true *tauhid* and a just way.”²¹

Amid mystical accounts of Waḥdat al-Wujūd, Abd al-Razak was also recognized as a respected head with his spiritual reputation and number of students among local rulers. This position may have engendered social

jealousness among the formal 'ulamā from high rankings class. Nevertheless, it was quite impossible for Abd al-Razak and his fellows, mostly Bugis, to show his spiritual identity and his admiration with Ibn 'Arabī's Waḥdat al-Wujūd without social and political back up from his noble students. In Bugis society where hierarchically family ties of aristocracy (*Kakaraengan*) were apparent, it may have had positive social and political implication for Abd al-Razak and his fellows. Subsequently, from affiliated doctrine of Ibn 'Arabī's teaching held by the Sufi teacher (*Murshid* or *Shaikh*) of the Khalawtiyah Sammān order, as commonly happen in the world of Sufism, such a spiritual obedience may prevail among the followers through the notion of discipleship.²²

2. Works of Khalifah: Genealogy and Teaching

Opposition and accusation towards the Khalwatiah Sammān have made the khalifah the most productive writers in the region. Interestingly, making clarification on accusation echoed by those orthodox Ulama upon their pantheistic notion, 'Abd al-Razak and his son 'Abdullah preferred to deal with Ibn 'Arabī's mystical teaching, as drawn in the following abridged versions of their works.

A. Arabic Works:

1. Qūt Qulūb al-'Ārifīn (Spiritual Nutrition of the seekers):

This work of 'Abdullah, son of 'Abd al-Razak, is the collection of mystical thought of Muslim Sufis like Ibn 'Arabī, Rābi'ah al-'Adawiyah, Junaid al-Baghdadi, al-Ghazali, Burhanfuri, Yusuf al-Makassari and others.²³ Mainly, at least four important subjects in Sufism are addressed in this thick compilation: Sharī'ah and ḥaqīqat, being (*Wujūd*), love (*maḥabbah*), dhikr, and the importance of shaikh (master) in spiritual journey.

In the beginning of the page, the writer introduces himself as 'Abdullah, son of 'Abd al-Razak Bugis al-Marusi who already collected the meaningful accounts, namely *Qūt Qulūb al-'Ārifīn*, from *Riyadh al-Taṣawwuf* (the gardens of Taṣawwuf). Since the beginning the work shows the writer's concern to the danger of disclosing the secrets of divine knowledge, pointing out that his work is dedicated for those learned, instead of the common. As the prophet said to learn the people regarding to their knowledge, while stating that uncovering the secrets of His divineness

may consider an infidelity.²⁴ From such consideration of the prophet we may understand reasons why Ibn Manṣūr al-Ḥallāj, a Persian Sufi master (c.858/c.244-309H), was killed because of his disclosure of the secrets of divine knowledge when he said “there is nothing within my robe but Allah.”²⁵ The statement means that the people of Allah may witness the essence of God through His creations, from which He created and appeared. Such a condition may have named the goal impossible to be obtained unless through spiritual sensation (*dhawq* = *dzauq*) of a seeker.

The notion of Islamic pantheism is obvious in this book, so far. In addition to al-Ḥallāj case, quotations from Ibn ‘Arabī’s work, namely *tafsir ibn ‘Arabī*, highlight the writer’s admiration with the father of Islamic pantheism (Waḥdat al-Wujūd).

The pantheistic point of view can be shown in ‘Abdullah’s quotation of Ibn ‘Arabī’s interpretation on the verse of the Koran (QS: CVIII). According to Ibn ‘Arabī, the word of *al-Kauthar* that means the knowledge of many with the One (*Waḥdat*) and the knowledge of Oneness (*tawhid*) with the particularities and the appearance of the One through the essence of the many by the manifestation of the One (God) and The Many (*al-Wahid al-Kathīr*) and the Many and the One (al-Kathīr al-Wahid) (Abdullah, nd: 28). Regarding the state of being (Wujūd), the writer means it with the nothingness of human being, instead of God’s existence. To be nothing, a seeker must believe in all created, including his self, as nothing. As appointed in Ibn ‘Arabī’s book, a seeker has to worship Allah with his annihilation into the essence of Him (*fānā’ fī al-Dhar*) until the true believe brings him to a condition that his existence is nothing, but between him and his God are united as One no else (Abdullah, nd: 42).²⁶ From this notion, the writer goes on with the term of pledge or the declaration of intent (*bay’a* = *bay’at*), which was practiced by the prophet of Muhammad and Allah. His pledge to God was named as the pledge of Allah (*mubāya’atu Allah*) due to his annihilation of his existence while believing in His existence, character, and acts. Allah, in other words, is the only source of everything in the world. Furthermore, the existing religions from the era of Adam to present, namely the true religions (al-millah al-ḥaqīqat al-hanifiyyah)²⁷ is one that considers to the oneness of Allah (tawhid) and building up the justice (Abdullah, nd: 50).

As a work made for those specialists, the book tries to give understanding to its readers how controversies Sufi figures, such as Abu Yazid and Al-

Hallāj. They unconsciously were expressing their divine words due to their drunkenness with the love with Allah. They were true lovers (*al-Maḥabbah al-Ḥaқиқiyyah*) with Allah due to their divine connection to the Lord. As the true lovers they were also could be attributed as true believers (*al-mu'min al-ḥaқиқī = Mukmin al-Haқиқи*). Their love or drunkenness with Allah has brought them to pronounce strange words (Abdullah, nd: 54).

Regarding the difference between *Sharī'ah* and *Ḥaқиqah*, an esoteric interpretation is so obvious in the work that the former was through the messengers (*rusul*) while, on the other hand, the second was the closeness (*taqrīb*) without those messengers. Indeed, the former is about to worship, while the second is about to witness. From this notion, therefore, to obtain the knowledge of soul (*nafs*) will not be favorable through reading both those jurisprudence and mystical works, but through doing pieties (Abdullah, nd: 234-5).

In addition to Ibn 'Arabī's thought, in this work Abdullah also addresses the notion of the seven stages with it is perfect man (*al-Insān al-kāmil*) introduced by an Indian Sufi Al-Burhanfuri in his *Tuhfah al-Mursalah*.

2. **Ḥujjat al-Maftūnīn (reasons of the accused)**

The book was written by 'Abdullah, son of 'Abd al-Razak. In its beginning the writer says that the book's content is quoted from a taṣawwuf collection, namely *Riyād al-Taṣawwuf*, in respond to who are opposing the taṣawwuf tradition. For this purpose, 'Abdullah names this work *Ḥujjat al-Maftūnīn* (arguments of the slandered).²⁸

In its very beginning, the writer opens with quotations that emphasize on the essential of taṣawwuf for Muslims. Several quotations he took from Abu Yazid al-Bisṭāmi who had said, "I saw Allah during my dream. The he said: How do I find You? Then Allah said: separate yourself!". Then the book goes on with the quotation from Al-Qushayrī: "Whoever does not have any communion (*firqah*) there is no worship for him, while whoever has never shown the Truth there is no ultimate knowledge (*ma'rifa*) for him" (*man lā firqata lahu lā 'ibādata lahu, man lā jam'a lahu lā ma'rifa lahu*). Furthermore, the book continues with the classification of *ṭariqah* (taṣawwuf) in Islam. Accordingly, the spiritual ways in Islam are countless. As a work that countered those who opposed the Khalawatiyah Sammān, it contains various thought of great Sufi figures such as Yazid al-Bisṭāmi, Al-

Ghazali (Iḥyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn), Ibn 'Atā' Allah al-Iskandarānī of the al-Ḥikam, Al-Qushayrī of al-Risālah al-Qushairiyyah.

3. *Malqūt Min Riyād al-Taṣawwuf* (The Collected from the garden of Taṣawwuf)

The work was written on 19th of June 1928 by Abdullah, son of Abd Al-Razak. It is an Arabic text with Bugis translation. It contains several themes on Sufism. The work emphasizes more on the interconnection of spirituality (*Ḥaqīqah*) and jurisprudence (*Sharī'ah*) in Islam. From the beginning the sense of the unity between esoteric Islam and Islamic law profoundly appears. The writer's emphasis on the impossibility of the separation of each from the other is added with the prophet's notion on it that the Sharī'ah without the ḥaqīqat is idle and the ḥaqīqat without Sharī'ah is false. The Sharī'ah is the shell and the ḥaqīqat is the pith, the first without the second may never grow, while the latter without the former may not constitute but damage²⁹.

According to the writer, this work is named with *Malqūt min Riyād al-Taṣawwuf* (the collected from the garden of Taṣawwuf) as the easiest way to understand the world of *ḥaqīqat*. To understand it is difficult one, except for those who are graced. Overall, the work concern to the importance of knowing of the knowledge of ḥaqīqat (essence) within Islam. Quoting the prophet's statement "whoever knows his self (nafs), certainly he knows his Lord (*man 'arafā nafsahu fā-qad 'arafā rabbahu*)." The knowledge of self, 'Abdullah says, may not obtain through reason (*'aql*), but through the light (*nūr*) given by Allah upon the soul (*qalb*) of His slave. In so doing, the knowledge of self may not obtain through reading of Sharī'ah works and examining taṣawwuf books; but through self-spiritual exercises (*mujāhadah*) and doing pieties.

The second part of the book consists of types of dhikrs, followed by the ways of their dhikr and the excellences of the dhikr. Finally, the work draws the genealogical chain of Khalwatiah Sammān (silsilah), beginning from the father of the writer 'Abd Al-Razak who took initiation from Muhammad Fudhail who initiated into the order through his teacher 'Abd Allah al-Munir, the student of Shaikh Al-Shiddiq (Al-Ṣiddīq). The latest was the student of Muhammad Al-Sammaan, the founder of the order in Medina. Having finished with the silsilah, ended at the prophet Muhammad who transferred the order through the angel Gabriel from Allah, the writer,

as in his other works, emphasizes the role of shaikh within his fellows is the position of the prophet among his followers (*ummah*). Therefore, to respect the shaikh is the most important matter for every seeker (*sanakmangaji*), due to his happiness in the present and the days after life. Furthermore, he illustrates, a student (*murid*) towards his master (Shaikh) is like a corpse on the hand of the washer or like a baby with his mother.

4. Lāqīṭah min Riyāḍ al-Taṣawwuf (the collected from the garden of Taṣawwuf)

‘Abdullah authored this book to make Taṣawwuf easier to understand by many. Different from the earlier works, the book was written in Arabic with Bugis translation. Having introduced his goal of writing, ‘Abdullah opens the book with discussion about the being (*Wujūd*) by quoting Ibn ‘Arabī’s interpretation on the notion of knowledge (*‘ilm*) as stated in the Koran.³⁰ According to Ibn ‘Arabī, the knowledge in this verse is esoteric knowledge (*‘ulūm al-Ḥaqīqah*), instead of those words and alphabets uttered by tongue. Therefore, when Allah wish to appear the substance (*Ḥaqīqah*) of the prophet Muhammad from nothing to the being (*wujūd*), His full of yearning came up in the forms of his creation. In such situation, according to the esoteric discipline, Allah creates everything from the light of the prophet (*Nūr Muhammad*). Furthermore, as said by the prophet, the series of God knowledge is that I am from Allah and the knowledge from me, while the prophet is from Him. About his physical wellbeing is the appearance of Allah (*zāhir = ḡāhir*), while his secret is His substance (*bāṭin = bāṭin*).

From this notion, the prophet is superior to the believers due to his position as the very source of their beings. Therefore, the prophet is the father of the substance for the believers, the mediator between them and God in their primordial time, the reference for their perfectness, through with they may never come to the ultimate true without him. The prophet, in this regard, is the divine cover (*al-Ḥijāb al-Aqdas*), the prime belief, the prime opener, the source of both every physical and mysterious thing, which is the oneness of His essence (*Aḥadiyyat al-Dhāt*). It is like a tree and its seed, which is namely the original alphabet (*al-Ḥurūf al-aṣliyyah*) (Abdullah, nd: 2- 8).

In this work ‘Abdullah quotes the statement of four companion of the prophet regarding to the notion of pantheism (*Waḥdat al-Wujūd*), as drawn

in *al-Risālah al-Qushairiyya*. Abu Bakar Al-Ṣiddīq said, “I never see anything but my Lord before it” as well as ‘Umar said “I never see anything but my Lord after it”. In the same vein, ‘Uthmān said, “I never see anything but my Lord with it”, while Ali said, “I never see anything but my Lord in it”.³¹ This shared statement sound congruent with the prophet’s statement, “whoever sees one thing while he does not witness Allah in it, he is wrong”.³² Indeed, ‘Abdullah shows a strange conclusion of the most mystical figures that every worshiped out of Allah is Allah, not those idols (Abdullah, nd: 110-12).³³

5. Al-‘Urwah al-Wuthqā

Among important works produced by Khalwatiah Sammān order is namely ‘Urwah al-Wuthqā.³⁴ As written in its cover, the work shows its writer was Muhammad ibn ‘Abd al-Karim al-Sammān al-Madanī, the founder of the order. The work consists of the chain of shaikh of the order (silsilah) of the founder as shown in his book, *Risālat al-Nafāḥāt al-Ilāhiyyat fī Kaifiyati Sulūk al-Ṭarīqat al-Muhammadiyah*.³⁵ Unfortunately, the writer of the work is unanimous.³⁶ In regard to the silsilah, the writer only says that his master, ‘Abd al-Razak, has taken initiation into the order from his master Muhammad Fudhail who was initiated into the order from his father, ‘Abdullah Al-Munir. Al-Munir took initiation of the order from Idris ibn ‘Usman, the student of Shaikh Siddiq who was directly initiated into the order by Muhammad ibn ‘Abd al-Karim Al-Sammaan al-Madanī. Al-Sammaan himself got initiation into the order from Mustafa al-Bakri, student of ‘Abd al-Latif. The chain ends with the prophet Muhammad who took initiation of his companion Ali his son in law. The prophet obtained the tradition of the order from the angel Gabriel, the messenger of Allah.

Secondly, the work addresses the mechanism of the pledge (Bay‘ah wa Talqīn) every Muslim willing to engage in spiritual brotherhood (tariqah). The pledge is led by a shaikh. The student follows what his shaikh says and asks his student to do so.³⁷ The founder of the order, Muhammad ibn ‘Abd Al-Karim Al-Sammān al-Madanī, is very central in this work, whether as the source of all daily readings (*awrād and ḥizb*) or as the mediator (tawassul) for the followers of the order. Among those daily reading is what called as the ten-seven daily readings (*al-Musabbi‘āt al-‘Ashr*). This daily reading was taken by Abd Al-Shamad Al-Falimbani Al-Jawi from his teacher, Muhammad ibn Abd Al-Karim, who took the readings from

Shaikh 'Athiyat Allah from the prophet Hidr (Al-Khidr) from the prophet Muhammad.

B. Vernacular Works

1. The Diary of 'Abd al-Razak: Bugis-Arabic Notes

It is a handwriting of the grand master of Khalwatiyah Sammān, 'Abd Al-Razak in Bugis and Arabic scripts. It consists of daily notes of the owner on certain events (born, death, marriage), people, places and personal notes regarding to spiritual accounts and his own journey. The diary was continued by 'Abd Al-Razak's son, 'Abd Al-Rahman. The diary shows author's mystical notes. He says "anybody engages in tarekat, while avoiding tasbih or vice versa, he will be considered an infidel at all. Yet, whoever practices both, he is a truly believer". Quoting Ibn 'Arabī's, the writer says "I see my Lord with His eyes, then He asks me: who are you? I said: You". In addition, the diary also consists of amulets, list of good and bad days and various prays for avoiding epidemic disease, healing, traveling, facing typhoon, moving houses, etc.

2. Tarekat Halwatiah (Khalwatiyah) Muhammad Sammāni: Wirid and Dhikr

This manuscript or *lontara* was written in Bugis and Arabic.³⁸ In general, its content seems similar with what has been written in above mentioned works. Before dealing with wirid (*wird*), the manuscript opens with the silsilah of Shaikhs of the order, began from Muhammad Fudhail, as shown in the following translation:

Bismillāhi rahmāni rrahīm. Alhamdulillah hakkahana wasallallahu 'alaihi sayyidina Muhammad nabiyyihi wa ala alihi wasahbihi wahsbahū baide. Naiya rimunri pappuji makkedai Panrita matunaé na madodong tellengngé ri tasiq dosaé enrengngé bongngorengngé iyana ritu Puwattaq Mauhammad Padailu anaqni Abdul Ganiya Taba Allahu 'alaihi wagafallahu watandālahu bilgufāni.

(In the name of God, Most Gracious and Most Merciful, Praise to be to God and peace be upon our lord Muhammad, the prophet, his family, and companions. The lowly, weak, and sinful priest, our lord Muhammad

Padailu,³⁹ father or ‘Abdul Ganiya,⁴⁰ may Allah forgive his forgetfulness and sin).

Iyanaé puada adaengngi gauqna enrengngé wariqna tarekaqna puatta Saeheqta akkatening masseqta oddungetta ri lino ri aheraq Kutuubul Akwani Muhammadu Sammānie rahasiana ritu ri Allah Taala. Iya natarima nariputtamaqna halifah romai ‘Abdullah Ibnu Kasim. Naiya marala tosisia ri Sayyidina Ushuruna Wamaulana Syaihi ‘Abdul Gani.

(These are story, mechanism and wirid⁴¹ of the tarekat of our guidance in the present day and hereafter, Kutub Al-Akwan Muhammadu Sammāni,⁴² the khalifah of Abdullah ibn Kasim, who obtained this wirid from our lord Abdul Ghani).

Naiya marala tosisia ri anregurunna Asyaihul Hajji Idris. Naiya marala tosisia ri anregurunna Asyaihu Shiddiq Ibnu Marhana. Naiya marala tosisia ri anregurunna ri Sayyidina Asyaihu Muhammad Ibnu ‘Abdul Karim Sammāni. Naiya marala tosisia ri anregurunna Assayidi Mustafā Bakri Ibnu Kamaluddin. Naiya marala tosisia ri anregurunna Asyaihul ‘Abdul Latifu. Naiya marala tosisia ri anregurunna Asyaihu Mustafā Afandiyyul Hadraanawiyyu. Naiya marala tosisia ri anregurunna Asyaihu Aliyyi Afandiyyu Qurbaa.

(He [’Abd Al-Ghani] inherited the wirid from our lord Shaikh Hajji Idris who inherited from his master Shaikh Shiddiq ibnu Marhana, who took it from our lord Shaikh Muhammad ibnu ’Abd Al-Karim Sammāni. Sammāni obtained the wirid from his master Sayyid Mustafa Bakri Ibnu Kamaluddin, who inherited it from his master Shaikh ‘Abdulatifu, from his master, Shaikh Mustafa Afandiyyu Hadraanawiyyu. He took it from his master, Shaikh ‘Aliyyi Affandiyyu Qurbaa).

Naiya marala tosisia ri anregurunna Asyaihu Ismaila Majeruumiyyu. Naiya marala tosisia ri anregurunna Assayyidi Umaral Gufudiyyu. Naiya marala tosisia ri anregurunna Assayyidi Muhyiddinal Qustha Buniyyu. Naiya marala tosisia anregurunna Asyaihu Syuqbaanu Afandiyyul Qustha Muniyyu. Naiya marala tosisia ri anregurunna Asyaihu Kahairuddini Tafaqaaniyyu. Naiya marala tosisia ri anregurunna Asyaihu Jalla Sulaimanul Aqiraaniyyu Syahiiri Bijamuli Halwatiya.

(Affandiyyu Qurba obtained the wirid from his master Shaikh Ismaila Majeruumiyyu, who took it from his master, Sayyid ’Umar Al-Gufudiyyu

from Sayyid Muhyiddin Al-Qustha Buniyyu, from his master Shaikh Syukbaanu Afandiyyu Al-Qustha Muniyyu. He transferred from his master Shaikh Kahairuddin Tafaqaaniyyu, from his master Shaikh Jalla Sulaiman Al-Aqiraaniyyu Syahiri Bijamuli Halwatia).

Naiya marala tosisā ri anregurunna Binairi Muhammadul Anjaaniyyu. Naiya marala tosisā ri anregurunna Ibnu Zakariyyah Syarwaniyyul Bakuuliyyu. Naiya marala tosisā ri anregurunna Binairi Saderuddin. Naiya marala tosisā ri anregurunna Asyāihu Miiraamul Balwatiya. Naiya marala tosisā ri anregurunna Asyāihu Issuddin. Naiya marala tosisā ri anregurunna Asyāihu Maniira Mulhalwatiya. Naiya marala tosisā ri anregurunna Asyāihu Issuddin. Naiya marala to. Sisa ri anregurunna Binairi Umaril Halwatiya.

(He [Jalla Sulaiman Al-Aqiraaniyyu Syahiri Bijamuli Halwatia] inherited the wirid from his master Shaikh Binairi Muhammad Al-Anjāni, from his master, Ibnu Zakariyyah Syarwaniyyul Bakuuliyyu, who took it from his master Binairi Saderuddin, from his master Shaikh Mīrāmūl Balwatiya. Mīrāmūl Balwatiya inherited the wirid from Shaikh Issuddin, from his master Maniira Mulhalwatiya, from his teacher Shaikh Issuddin, from his mater Binairi 'Umaril Halwatiya).

Naiya marala tosisā ri anregurunna Asyāihu Muhammadul Baaliyyu. Naiya marala tosisā ri anregurunna Asyāihu Jumaluddinil Ahwariyyu. Naiya marala tosisā ri anregurunna Asyāihu Ruknuddini Muhammadunna Jasyiyyu. Naiya marala tosisā ri anregurunna Asyāihu Qutubuddinil Abuhariyyu. Naiya marala tosisā ri anregurunna Asyāihu Umaral Bukriyyu. Naiya marala tosisā ri anregurunna Asyāihu Daudu Thaa'ini.

(Umaril Halwatiya took the wirid from his teacher Shaikh Muhammad Baaliyyu, from his master Shaikh Jumaluddinil Ahwariyyu, from his master Shaikh Ruknuddini Muhammadunna Jasyiyyu, from his master Shaikh Qutubuddinil Abuhariyyu, from his master Shaikh Umar Al-Bukriyyu, who took it from his master Shaikh Daudu Thaa'ini).

Naiya marala tosisā ri anregurunna Asyāihu Janiibu Ajmain. Naiya marala tosisā ri anregurunna Asyāihu Hānil Bāriyyu. Naiya marala tosisā ri anregurunna Amīril Muqminina Sayyidina 'Aliyabni Abi Thalib Karramallahu Wajhu Waradiallahu anhu topakalebbiq-é rupanna ritu. Torianrioi. Naiya marala tosisā ri anregurunna ri pangulunna sininna toriolo enrenggé torimunrie. Naiya na ritu nabitta enrenggé Puatta

Muhammad Sallallahu Alaihi Wasallama. Naiya marala tosisia ri pangulutta Ajiberailu Alaissalamu. Naiya marala tosisia ri puatta Malebbiq-é na maraja Jallajalāluhu. Makkuniro attaretteqna pangulutta iyamaneng punnaengngi sila-silana Attarikatu Ilmu Halwadiyah...

(Daudu Thaa'ini inherited from his master Shaikh Janību Ajma'īn, from his teacher Shaikh Hānil Bāriyyu, from his teacher our lord, the leader of believers Ali ibn Abi Thalib, may God honor his face, who inherited from the most adorable one, the most longing one, our prophet Muhammad [peace be upon him], who took from angel Gabriel, from Allah, the greatest. This is the genealogy (silsilah) of the masters (shaikhs) of the knowledge of Khalwatiah order...).

Having addressed the silsilah of the order, the work goes on the wirid and ways of practicing it:

...Iyanaé pannessai bicaranna enrengnge gaukanna narekko maeloq-no pogauq-i sikkiriq-é ri munrinna isae enrengnge subue. Tudanno pada tudang natomattahiya ri oloe, muinappa massahadaq sibawa bettuanna muinappa baca salawaq ciceng, minappa Na isetimeddade ri anregurummu.

(This is a section that explains ways and attitudes when you will do dhikr (repeating divine words) after night prayer ('Ishā') and morning prayers (*Subh*). You should sit together as you sit in the first two terms within the prayers (Tahiyāt)⁴³, then you pronounce shahadat⁴⁴ while reflect its meaning before you utter salawat⁴⁵ one time. Then you should do *istimdād*⁴⁶ to your master).

...Naiya riasengnge isetimeddade riaggangka ulleangngi patelleng sokuq-i, pasabuq sokkuq-i englamu ri engkattu. Anregurummunagauq musingkeruang masseq ri atimmu makkedae pajangeng mata tu Nabikku Mauhammad Sallallahu Alaihi Wasallama Padduppa alenai anregurukku. Makkedana atimmu deq engkaku enrengnge alangnge lollong liseq sangadinna i rilaleng engkanai anregurukku.

(Istimdad, is you must make your mind focus to your shaikh at all. You must tie your mind with the prophet as if you see the prophet Muhammad in person due to his position as my master, while saying in your heart that I would never be born as well as this world without him).

Muinappa baca patiha lattu ri cappaqna. Musarakangngi appalanna lattu ri nyawa malebbiqna Nabitta Muhammad Sallallahu Alaihi wasallama, enrengnge nyawa malebbiqna iyamaneng sininna pangulutta punnaengngi

*sila-silana Attarikatul Halwatiya nasangadina deq muattai massalawaq-é
enrengnge iyamani makkedamaniko ri laleng atimmu é Puang Allah Taala
naiya appalang na patihaé puraé ciceng...*

(Then you should read al-Fātihah, while grabbing blessing and sublime soul of the prophet (PBUH) as well as lofty souls of those shaikhs of the silsilah of the Khalwatiah order. Yet, if you are not able to pronounce the (Arabic words of) Salawat, you may say in your heart “Ye my Lord, the Greatest”, wishing that the reward of the reading Fātihah...)

*Ngewe palettu laloi ri nyawa malebbiqna pangulukku Muhammad
Sallallahu Alaihi Wasallama enrengnge nyawa malebbiqna pangulukku
punnaengngi sila-silana Attarikatul Halwiyatya iyamaneng muinappana
bacai iaye qulyaa Ayyuhal Kafiruuna lattuq ri cappaqna muinappasi bacai
iyae: Qulyaa ibadiya ladzina asrafuu alaa ampusihim...*

(Maybe sent to the soul of our lord, the prophet Muhammad (PBUH) and all souls of the shaikhs within the mentioned silsilah of the Khalwatiah order. Then you may read “*qul yā ayyuha l-Kāfirūn*” until the end of the verse. Then you may go on reading “*Qul yā 'ibādiy a-ladhīna asrafū 'alā anfusihim...*”).

*...Narekko maeloqno massikkiriq tudanno mangolo ri kibelaqé mubaca
salawaq wekka tellu. Makkuniro ripekennaé iya temmakkulle ritettang
sangadinna engka mui masagena. Salawaq lampeqé masero lebbiq. Ciceng
mani ribaca narekko purani mubaca salawaq lampeqé baca mutoi
tobawekka tellu.*

(Once you begin the dhikr, make your body facing to the Qiblat (ka'bah in Makkah), while pronouncing salawat for the prophet three times. This is a necessary to be accomplished when you have chance, yet it is better to pronounce longer salawat one time. When you finish with the longer salawat, you should read istighfār (repentance) three times).

*Iyanaé lapalenna salawaqé narekko purai iseeimeddade iyanaé salawaqna :
Allahumma shalli wasallim alaa sayyidinaa muhammadin filawwaliina
wasalli wasallim alaa sayyidinaa muhammadin fikulli wagetin wahiini
wasallim alaa jamii i anbiyaa'i walmursaliina waalaa jamii i ibadillahi
Shalihiina min ahli samaawaati walil ardiinaa waradiyallahu
tabaarakawataalaa ansadatinaa dzuiyal qadril jaliyyi abi bakaring waumara
wausmmaana waaliyyi waansaairi ashaabi rasuuli Ilahi ajmaiina
wantaabiina lahum bihsaani ila yaumiddini...*

(This is the text of *salawat* when one finishes doing *istimdād*: *Allāhumma ṣalli wa-sallim ‘alā sayyidinā Muḥammadin fi-l-awwalīna wa-ṣalli wa-sallim ‘alā sayyidinā Muḥammadin fi-kulli waqtin wa-hīnin wa-sallim ‘alā jamī‘ anbiyā’ik wa-l-mursalīna wālā jamī‘ ‘ibadillahi ṣalihīna min ahli s-samāwāti wa-l-araḍīn wa-raḍiya Allahu tabāraka wa-ta‘ālā ‘an sadātinā dhawi al-qadri l-jaliy Abī Bakarīn wa-‘Umara wa-‘Uthmāna wā-‘liy wa-Ansāiri aṣḥābi rasūli Llahi ajma’īna wa-‘an at-Tābi’īna lahum bi-ḥsānin ilā yawmi d-dīn*).

Wa-ḥshurnā wa-rḥamnā ma‘ahum bi-rahmatika yā arḥam ar-rāḥmīn yā Allah yā hayyu yā qayyūm yā lā ilāha illā anta yā Allah yā rabbanā yā waṣi‘ almagfirati yā arḥama rāḥimīn Allāhumma āmin... Nainappana bacai iyaé tobaqé wekka tellu makkuling “Astagfirullahal adzīm”...

Then do read this *istigfār* three times, “*astagfir ullāh al-‘aẓīm*”)...

Regarding pronouncing *dhikr* of “*Lā ilāha illā Allah*”, the *Khalwatiyah Sammān* order considers itself as similar with the rest of *tarekat*, as shown in the manuscript:

Muatutuiwi bettuanna enrengnge lapalenna Laailaaha Illallahu ajaq nadirai lapalenna ajaq tona dikurangi lapalenna enrengnge barisiqna apaq iya muto riaseng tarekaq sammeng iyamoto riaseng halawatia, iya muto riaseng kadaria iyamoto riaseng apenawia iya muto riaseng cajila, iya muto riaseng muhammania. Iya muto riaseng kasabadia. Narekko ripawawaieng bettuanna riasenni halawatia.

(In case of *lā ilāha illā Allahu*, do not add and reduce whether its words or sentences, due to the similarity of *Tarekat Sammān* with *Khalwatiah*, *Kaderiyah*, *Apanawiya*, *Cajiliyah*, *Muhammadiyah*, *Naqshabandiya*. If you unite its meaning, it is called as *Khalwatiah*).

C. The Sources

1. *Al-Nafahāt Al-Ilāhiyyah*: The Source of Doctrine and Ritual

This is the heritage of the Founder Muhammad ibn ‘Abd al-Karim al-Sammān of Medina. For the *murshid* of the *Khalwatiah Sammān* in South Sulawesi the work is considered as the very source of its tradition: the *silsilah*, doctrine and ritual. As shown in its preface, the writer accomplished his work, *Risālāt Al-Nafahāt Al-Ilāhiyyah fi Kaifiyati Sulūk*

Al-Tariqah Al-Muhammadiyah, as a guidance for those who interested in mystical disciplines, through which, he addressed ways and prays a seeker must do in daily manner. He himself was student of Mustafa al-Bakri ibn Kamaluddin al-Bakri al-Khalwati.

The book contains eight subjects: repentance (*taubah*), pledge (*bay'ah*), dhikr and its procedures, seclusion (*khalwat*), desires of heart, devotion to the Masters (*ṣuḥbah*), attitude towards teachers, and the sovereignty of God's guardians. In addition, the book shows the writer's teachers, beginning from Allah and ending with the writer, the collector of the treatise (Al-Sammān: 17).⁴⁷ The chain of names of the shaikhs, the silsilah, is mentioned in chapter two that discusses the section of pledge (*bay'ah*), through with the connection (*ta'alluq*) between a new fellow of his shaikh and the rest of shaikhs, thought they are not present, is very central within tarikat community. Taking a pledge is considered as the first crucial step a seeker must go through. Regarding Sufism, it is accounted as the first transaction as well as the most important matter for every order, though he would have many orders to follow. The first pledge, in other words, is a spiritual reference for him before taking the pledge with the rest of orders.

According to Al-Sammān, whoever intends to engage in the tarekat brotherhood he or she must be connecting with a master or shaikh. The connection is divided into two: physical and non-physical. The former can be shown when a new seeker may become a student of a shaikh (*murshid*) through stating a pledge (*bay'ah*) and learning (*talqīn*), due to follow his order and advise without violation. On the other hand, the latter can be done when a new seeker will take a pledge and learning or one of them coupled with dedication of his devotion (*ṣuḥbah* and *khidmah*) toward the murshid, due to obtaining the position as the true heir of the murshid. Different from the former, in this stage the seeker's position is murshid's own child. If there is another student, the position between the two is like the older and the younger. The position of murshid for the community of seekers is like water that may clean their dirty, by which they could perform religious matters. Spiritually, the murshid is a cleaner of his student from invisible dirtiness. Therefore, once a seeker chooses a murshid for him to take a pledge, he never be allowed to repute it back. Such a mystical compulsory, accordingly, is based on what happened during the prophet period: a group of Arabs was on the way to Medina and asked a pledge to the prophet. However, when they arrived at Medina, they were eager to break the pledge. They came forth to the prophet to break the

pledge; but the prophet did not respond their request. Al-Sammān ends this section with a statement “a shaikh for his fellows is like a prophet for his followers (ummah)”, due to his guidance, leadership, and responsibility for the future of his disciples.

Also, the writer illustrates ways of the pledge process, through transaction and prays. Among those ways is the simpler one: Symbolically, a seeker sticks his hands out straight in front of his *murshid*, who makes his hands upper, while asking the student to ask forgiveness from God. Having accepts his pledge, the shaikh guide him “*lā ilāha illā Allah*”, three times to be followed intensely. Later, he dresses his student with cap or something else from clothes like turban, as a symbol of change from his previous situation and asks him to shake hand with the attendances as the symbol of becoming member of fellowship of the order. Finally, the shaikh delivers his advice to the accepted member.

The chapter ends with mentioning all shaikhs of the writer, dealing with the words of tauhid, *Lā ilāha illā Allah* (there is no god but Allah), from which the silsilah of his order obviously reveals. Quoting Mustafa al-Bakri’s account on the importance of mentioning the silsilah, due to make the readers spiritually connected with those formers shaikhs. In addition to these essential elements in the world of *taṣawwuf*, Al-Sammān also addressed the notion of *khalwat* (seclusion) or social withdrawal for spiritual devotion. Accordingly, as said by the prophet, “whoever knows himself, certainly he knows his God”, therefore, the best way to obtain the knowledge of self (*ma’rifat al-Nafs*) is to make a seeker practical with spiritual disciplines (*mujāhadah*), imitating God’s character (*taṣfiyah*) and seclusion (*takhliyah*). According to the seeker community, the seclusion (*khalwat*) is divided into three categories: the seclusion of the seeker (*khalwat al-Sālik*), of learned (*khalwat al- ‘ārif*), and of advanced (*khalwat al-Muḥaqqiq*).

The seclusion of the learned is a state of being with God in every breath. This level of seclusion may not be taken except among those who are able to witness the manyness (*kathrah*) in oneness (*waḥdah*) and oneness in the manyness. On the other hand, the seclusion of advanced is a state of being with Allah. Such a spiritual situation only occurs for a specially- elected guardian of God, namely Qutb al-Ghawths, in each period. Neither are these two kinds of the seclusion considered as the seclusion of the seeker in common.

2. Tafsir Ibn 'Arabī: The Source of Waḥdat al-Wujūd

Ibn 'Arabī had various works on Sufism: *Fuṣūṣ al-Hikam*, *al-Futuḥāt al-Makkiyyah*, Quran hermeneutic, namely tafsir Ibn 'Arabī, and so forth. This work has been the most quoted reference in Khalwatiyah Sammān's works of South Sulawesi. As the prominent figure in Islamic mysticism, Ibn 'Arabī has been widely known as an esoteric interpreter of the holy Koran, through which spiritual meanings are evident in his work. Different from the rest of works on Islamic hermeneutics, his major works are based on Islamic pantheism (*Waḥdat al-Wujūd*) point of view that places God as the very source of everything. The notion of that oneness is from the oneness of God, while the oneness embraces through oneness obviously reveals in most of his works. As every verse of the Koran has two meanings (utter and inner), Ibn 'Arabī has concerned much in disclosing the inner meanings of the Book.

Conclusion

Different from the rest of Sufi orders in the world of Islam, the presence of Khalwatiyah Sammān in South Sulawesi has succeeded to make Ibn 'Arabī's mystical teaching working and popular among the commoners. Though many were not familiar with his abstract spiritual treatise, the teachers of the order kept deepening and practicing the teaching of Ibn 'Arabī while facing opposition, contestation, and accusation from those more oriented Shari'ah Ulama.

To defend their teaching, Khalwatiyah Sammān teachers produced many works consisting the major teaching of him, arguing the close correlation between the substance (*bathin* = *bāṭin* or *ḥaqīqat*) and the Shari'ah (*lahir* = *ẓāhir*) through varied symbolization and comparison based on Ibn 'Arabī's perspective as addressed in his works. Khalwatiyah Sammān is the best example for how such a highly mystical teaching viable to, at least, maintain Islamic tenet among the commoners, using modest ways of practicing Sufi teaching in the era of political decline and religious dispute in the center of the power. The loudly dhikr and public congregation may have attracted the people, both the elites and their commoner people, to practice Sufism (*matareka*). In such unstable circumstances, Khalwatiyah Sammān can be noted as one of neo-Sufism movement with its distinct character of the combination between religious and social activism where the spiritual lodge or *tariqa* was the center generating the movement. Like

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Idrisi order of Africa as showed by Fahey,⁴⁸ Khalwadiyah shared new pattern of loyalty of its fellows toward the khalifah as it can also accounted as a religiously ethnic identity of the Buginese.

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Endnotes

¹ The majority of tarekats in Indonesia practice most Sunni-sober Sufism of al-Ghazali, the most influential Sunni mystical figure of Persia.

² Another vernacular work of Waḥdat al-Wujūd 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," in *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* (1995), 1, 26, pp. 176.

³ Azyumardi Azra, *Islam in the Indonesian World: An Account of Institutional Formation* (Bandung: Mizan Press, 2006), 131.

⁴ According to Pelras, based on his concluding accounts on earlier works on Bugis-Makassar's patron client by Chabot (1950), P. J. Kooreman (1883), Jacqueline Lineton (1975) and Hasan Walinono (1979), that since the seventeenth, event earlier, the patron clients' practices among the people of South Sulawesi, with their different social and political circumstances, remained exist up to recent era. See Christian Pelras, "Patron-client ties among the Bugis and Makassar of South Sulawesi" in Roger Tol, Kess van Dijk, Bgeg Acciaiolli (Eds.) *Authority and Enterprise*, pp. 20 - 22

⁵ Mustari Bosra, *Tuang Guru, Anrong Guru Dan Daeng Guru: Gerakan Islam Di Sulawesi Selatan 1914 – 1942* (Makassar: La Galigo Press, 2008), 60.

⁶ Abdurrazak Daeng Patunru et al., *Sejarah Bone* (Ujung Pandang: Percetakan Walanae, 1989), 97-9.

⁷ Leonard Y. Andaya, "Kingship-Adat Rivalry and the Role of Islam in South Sulawesi," *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* XV, no. 1 (1984).

⁸ Bosra, *Tuang Guru, Anrong Guru*, 60.

⁹ A. Najmuddin Hamzah, *Tarekat Khalwatiyyah Samman: Ajaran & Strategi Dakwah Para Khalifahnya*, Ujung Pandang: La Macca Press, 2007, pp. 76 – 7.

¹⁰ A diary attributed to Abd Al-Razak notes Abd Ghani as "the light of Islam" and the guidance for Khalwatiah Sammān. He also had writings on Sufism, entitled *Ighāthat al-Lahafān*. It is a collection of his hand writings on several works of Taṣawwuf by prominent figures like al-Burhanpuri, Baha al-Din al-Naqshbandi, Zakaria al-Anshari (al-Anṣārī), 'Abd al-Bashir al-Dhariri, al-Makassari's student of Khalwatiah Yusuf, Muhammad al-Sammān, etc. I received both writings of 'Abd al-Razak from Andi Makmur, a descent of 'Abd

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al-Razak in Turikale, Maros, March 7th, 2010. Later, I will refer the former as *The Diary* and the later as *Igatsat al-Lahafan*.

¹¹ Such a personal identification is revealed in his closing remark of his writing, 'Abd al-Razak al-Marusi Baladiyan al-Buni Nasaban al-Shafi'i Madhhaban ('Abd al-Razak of Marus, originally from Bone, and the follower of Shafi'i school), see 'Abd al-Razak, *Ighathat al-Lahafān*, p. 43; 76

¹² Abu Hamid, *Shaikh Yusuf: Seorang Ulama Sufi dan Pejuang*, Jakarta: Yayasan Obor Indonesia, 2005, pp. 219 – 20.

¹³ As showed by a writing attributed to the present Khalifah of the order in Pattene, Maros, H. Andi Sjadjaruddin Malik, entitled *Sekilas Tentang Tarekat Khalwatiah Sammān*, Pattene, 1999, pp. 5 - 6. Later, I will refer to it as *Sekilas Tentang Tarekat*.

¹⁴ "Alanng lollong lise tennaullena mitai Allataala saba tennaullei masserang sikedde mata ia yamua nade tappana, bettuwanna rupanna nyawae sabana tubuena naporupa napotappa, makkotoniro ibarana seuwae nade rupanna nasaba alanng lollong lise naporupa, iyapa nakkulle sita tubue nanyawae mallaiseppi, nakkulle siolong sitaita natemakkullei mallaiseng sabana seuwamoi, iayana riaseng tau, makkotoniro seuwae mallebbang temmakkulleni mallaiseng alanng lolong lise ". See Ahmad Rahman, *Tarekat Khalwatiah Samman*, p. 157

¹⁵ "Iya tentuwaku makkokkoe, upake esso wenni, ele araweng, temmappettu sikede mata, uwasenngi aleku temmasserannga puwaku, esso wenni tetassala sikede mata. Iya tubukku enrennge atikku, enrennge nyawaku, enrennge rahasiaku, enrennge parengkalingakku, enrennge pakkitakku, enrennge ada-adakku, enrennge batekku, enrennge laherekku, enrennge sininna engka riyya, alena maneng Muhamma, laherenna maneng puwaku. Watakalena maneng puwaku iyana talle riyya esso wenni, makkoniro peneddikku ri aleku". See Ahmad Rahman, *Tarekat Khalwatiah Samman*, p. 159.

¹⁶ 'Abd al-Razak, *The Diary*

¹⁷ William C. Chittick, *Imaginal Worlds; Ibn al- 'Arabī and the Problem of Religious Diversity*, Albany: State University of New York Press, 1994, p. 16.

¹⁸ 'Abd al-Razak, *The Diary*

¹⁹ 'Abdullah ibn Abd al-Razak, *Laqithah min Riyadh Al-Tashawwuf*(nd), pp. 24 - 5

²⁰ This small work was finished by ‘Abdullah on June 19th, 1928. It describes ritual of praying (*salat*) in advanced meaning and *zikr*. See ‘Abdullah ibn ‘Abd al-Razak, *Malqut min Riyadh al-Taṣawwuf*, 1928, p. 19

²¹ ‘Abdullah ibn ‘Abd al-Razak, *Laqithah*, pp. 25 – 6.

²² Knysh describes two types of master-student (*murid*) relationship in Sufi order: first, a permanent connection where a student gives all of his spiritual education to his master (*Shaikh*) through a formal pledge, commonly named as “robe of discipleship” (*khirqat al-Irādah*) and the second, a less formal type relationship through a temporary affiliation of a disciple to a Sufi master due to obtaining his blessing and charisma through what is named as “robe of blessing” (*khirqat al-Tabarruk*), where having treated by short period of instruction he may join with another order. See Alexander Knysh, *Islamic Mysticism*, p. 177.

²³ As indicated in the book, there are more than 30 references used by the writer in this thick compilation, where four of them are al-Makassari’s works.

²⁴ *Ifshā’ sirri al-Rubūbiyyati kufrun.*

²⁵ *Maa fī jubbati illā Allahu*

²⁶ *Wa ‘bud rabbaka bi t-tasbīh wa t-tahmīd wa s-sujūd bi al-fanā’i fī dhatihī ḥattā ya’tika haqq al-yaqīn fa-tunhi ‘ibadatuka bi-inqīdā’i Wujūdika fayakūnu huwa al- ‘ābid w-al-ma ‘būd jamī’an lā ghayruh.*

²⁷ *Al-millat al-Ḥaqīqat al-Hanifiyyah* (the true-straight religion)

²⁸ The work was translated by Muh. Asad Madello Soppeng. I find the work some inaccuracies in Arabic writing.

²⁹ “*Al-Sharī’atu bi-l-ḥaqīqati ‘āṭilatun, wa-l-Ḥaqīqatu bilā shrī’atin bāṭilatun. Wa al-Sharī’atu qishrun, wa-l-Ḥaqīqatu lubābun. Wa l-Qishru bilā lubābin lā yanbutu abadan, wa al-lubābu bilā qishrin lā yalzamuhu illā halākun*”.

³⁰ QS:

³¹ Abū Bakar said, “*mā ra’aytu shay’an illā wa rai’aytu rabbī qablahu*”; ‘Umar said, “*mā ra’aytu shay’an illā wa rai’aytu rabbī ba’dahu*”; ‘Uthmān said “*mā ra’aytu shay’an illā wa rai’aytu rabbī ma’ahu*”; ‘Ali said “*“mā ra’aytu shay’an illā wa rai’aytu rabbī fīhi*”

³² The prophet Muhammad said “*Man nazara ilā shay’in wa lam yarā Allāha fa-huwa bāṭilun*”, but it is not in any of the unauthentic sources of Hadith.

³³ Many seekers said “*Kullu ma ‘būdīn siwā Allāhi huwa Allāhu lā al-Aṣnām*”. This statement causes always contradicting points with the Quran and Sunnah.

³⁴ I found this book from Achmad Rahman from Muhammad Sattar’s collection. Sattar was the khalifah of Khalwatiah Sammān. As far as I know the writer of *Urwah Al-Wutsqa* = *al-‘urwat al-wuthqā* al-was not Muhammad ibn ‘Abd Al-Karim Al-Sammān Al-Al-Madanī, as said by the unanimous writer. The book was written by student of Al-Samman, ‘Abd Al-Shamad Al-Falimbani, namely *‘Urwah Al-Wustqa wa Salsalat al-Wali al-Atqa Sayyidi Muhammad Al-Sammān*. As appointed out in his work, *Sair al-Salikin*, the title initially shows that Al-Falimbani wrote it as his dedication to his shaikh, through with he collected daily reading (*awrād*) of Al-Sammān for everyone engaging in the Khalwatiah order. See ‘Abd al-Shamad al-Falimbani, *Sair al-Salikin* (nd), p.180

³⁵ See Muhammad Ibn ‘Abd Al-Karim Al-Sammaan, *Risalat Al-Nafahaat al-Ilahiyat fi Kaifiyati Suluk al-Thariqat al-Muhammadiyah*, 1326 H, pp. 16-18.

³⁶ According to Rahman (2009), Abd Al-Razak re-wrote As-Sammaan’s work of *Risalat al-Nafahat*, while his grandchild Zainuddin bin Abdurrahman bin Abdurrazak al-Bone re-wrote *Urwah Al-Wutsqa*. Ahmad Rahman, “*Quut Quluub Al-Arifin: Suntingan Teks karya Abdullah al-Buqis al-Marus, Khalifah Sammaniyah*”, paper presented in Conference held by Pusat Lektur Keagamaan Badan Litbang dan Diklat Departemen Agama in Jakarta, October 12th, 2009.

³⁷ *Ahl al-Silsilah al-Khalwatiyyah*

³⁸ I got the manuscript from a philologist Muhlis Hadrawi in University of Hasanuddin (UNHAS), Makassar. He was responsible for its transliteration and translation into Indonesian version, which were conducted in March 2010.

³⁹ Means Muhammad Fudhail

⁴⁰ Means Abd Al-Ghani

⁴¹ *Wird* (pl. *awrād*) is daily readings (dhikr) for tarekat members

⁴² *Qutb al-Akwān* Muhammad Al-Sammaan

⁴³ *Tahīyyāt* is a type of sitting in daily prayer

⁴⁴ *Shahadat* is a declaration that he/she witnesses that there is no god, but Allah and that Muhammad is His prophet.

⁴⁵ *Ṣalawāt* is a pray for the prophet Muhammad and his family and companions to be blessed by God.

⁴⁶ *Istimdad* is to express of obtaining help from the shaikh (master).

⁴⁷ See the appendix

⁴⁸ For comparison commonality, see R. S. O'Fahey. *Enigmatic Saint*, pp. 7 – 8