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Valina Singka Subekti

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Achmad Ubaedillah

The Rise of the Khalwatiyah Sammān Sufi Order in South Sulawesi: Encountering the Local, Escaping the Global

Abstract: *The rise of the Khalwatiyah Sammān Sufi Order (tarekat) in South Sulawesi in the second half of the nineteenth century should not be seen as just another local religious phenomenon. The rapid growth of its reputation among commoners occurred in conjunction with the influence of global Islam brought to the area in the form of Wahabism from the Haramayn (Mecca and Medina), the center of Islam, and the local political consequences of the Bongaya Treaty between the ruler of Gowa and the Dutch in 1667. The political and social grievances the Treaty caused on the one hand and the religious elitism of formal religious leaders (parewa sarak) on the other also contributed to the impact the order was to have. The commoners widely accepted the order because of its uncomplicated way of the performance of its ritual (dhikr), while the patronage of its leaders with the royal members offered local power holders added to the order's popularity among the elites.*

Keywords: Sufism, *Dhikr*, Patron-Client, *Tarekat Khalwatiyah Sammān*, South Sulawesi.

Abstrak: *Kemunculan tarekat Khalwatīyah Sammān di Sulawesi Selatan pada paruh kedua abad 19 tidak bisa dipandang sekadar sebuah gejala keagamaan yang bersifat lokal. Reputasi tarekat ini yang begitu cepat dikalangan masyarakat kebanyakan terjadi bersamaan dengan pengaruh global gerakan Wahabi di pusat Islam (Mekkah dan Madinah) dan akibat langsung dari Perjanjian Bongaya antara Belanda dan penguasa Gowa pada 1667. Paduan antara kekecewaan sosial dan politik di tengah masyarakat dan, pada sisi yang lain, elitisme keagamaan dikalangan pemimpin formal agama (parewa sarak) yang diakibatkan oleh perjanjian ini telah ikut menaikkan reputasi Khalwatīyah Sammān sebagai tarekat publik. Tata cara zikir yang sederhana yang diajarkan oleh para guru tarekat ini menjadi alasan umum ketertarikan masyarakat untuk menjadi pengikutnya, sementara patron-klien keagamaan yang dijalin oleh para mursyid tarekat dengan kalangan penguasa lokal telah menjadikan tarekat Khalwatīyah Sammān juga begitu populer di kalangan elit saat itu.*

Kata kunci: Sufisme, Zikir, Patron-Klien, Tarekat Khalwatīyah Sammān, Sulawesi Selatan.

ملخص: إن ظهور الطريقة السمانية الخلوتية في سولاويسي الجنوبية في النصف الثاني من القرن التاسع عشر لا يمكن أن ينظر إليه بأنه مجرد ظاهرة دينية محلية، وقد حدث التطور السريع لسمعتها بين عامة الناس مترامنا مع النفوذ العالمي للحركة الوهابية في مركز الإسلام (مكة المكرمة والمدينة المنورة)، إضافة إلى نتيجة مباشرة لمعاهدة بونغايا بين حاكم غوا والهولنديين عام ١٦٦٧، كما أسهمت المظالم السياسية والاجتماعية في المجتمع من جهة، والنخبوية الدينية بين القادة الدينيين الرسميين التي تسببها هذه المعاهدة من جهة أخرى، أسهمت في رفع سمعتها باعتبارها طريقة عمومية. وقد حظيت بقبول الجماهير بسبب إجراءاتها غير المعقدة في أداء طقوسها (الأذكار). وبالإضافة إلى ذلك فإن علاقة الراعي-العميل التي أقامها شيوخ الطريقة مع السلطات المحلية جعلت الطريقة السمانية الخلوتية ذات شعبية كبيرة في أوساط النخبة في ذلك الوقت.

الكلمات المفتاحية: الصوفية، الأذكار، الراعي-العميل، الطريقة السمانية الخلوتية، سولاويسي الجنوبية.

The history of Islam in South Sulawesi in Indonesia, as in other places all over the world, is characterized by the interlinked contributions of local and global influences that influenced each other under the banner of Islamization (Turner 2003, 91). In addition to trade and political factors, the role of the Sufi masters from the centers of Islam was instrumental for the spread of Islam in Southeast Asia (Bruinessen 1994; Johns 1993). In the nineteenth century, Islam in South Sulawesi showed how both local and global circumstances contributed to the rise of the Khalwatīyah Sammān spiritual brotherhood (*tarekat*). This *tarekat* is well known compared to other Sufi orders in the region, as it is the largest popular *tarekat* in South Sulawesi and beyond with thousands of aspirants (*sanakmangaji*), and hundreds of local leaders (*khalīfah*) and grand masters (*murshīd*). The center of the *tarekat* is in the region of Maros, a regency near Makassar, the capital of South Sulawesi.

Nineteenth-century Indonesia in general was constituted by the strong hold of European direct rule. Particularly after the 1667 Bongaya Treaty between the local ruler of Gowa, the most prominent kingdom of the region, and the Dutch had been signed, in South Sulawesi this situation caused the social and political fragmentation of the population among whom patron-client relations were the main patterns of social networks that pervaded all of Bugis-Makassarese society.¹ At the same time, Muslims faced the global challenge the Islamic Wahhabi movement posed to the local practice of Islam (Esposito 1984, 102–3; Meijer 2009, 4–5).² In this condition of merged global and local intercourse, an account of the rise of the Tarekat Khalwatīyah Sammān in South Sulawesi may be helpful to understand the dynamics of local Islam at the time, which was marked by ever increasing mass-affiliation with the *tarekat*.³

It is of interest to note that in South Sulawesi, *matarekka*, the practice of *tarekat* or Islamic spiritual activities was popular among Muslims. Therefore, although the people in South Sulawesi count among the most fanatic Muslims in the Indonesian archipelago, as France anthropologist Christian Pelras (1985, 107) suggests, the region deserves to be called the land of many *tarekats*. It is relevant to state this because this region has been the center of Islam in the Eastern parts of Indonesia for centuries.

In the nineteenth-century, South Sulawesi saw the decline of the political power and the prestige of its ruling kings. A contemporary

colonial report illustrates the social consequences the Bongaya Treaty had, particularly among Makassarese society where the aristocracy had already lost some of its luster because of the humiliation it had to endure after Gowa was defeated by the combined Bugis-VOC (*Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie* or Dutch East India Company) forces in 1667 and it was forced to sign the Bongaya Treaty. Accordingly, although the event had occurred two centuries before, its memory remained strong because of a ceremony surrounding the intermittent renewal of the treaty. The lasting impact of the Bongaya treaty was that the Makassarese people remained fragmented ever since it was signed and 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.⁴

In this patron-client society where the behavior and the norms of elite or local lords (*karaeng*) were the focus of everyday life (Cummings 2010, 6–7), the decline of the elite caused the social fragmentation of the population in South Sulawesi in general. Facing these unfavorable conditions, the *shaykhs* of the Sufi orders abandoned the royal courts and chose to live far away from the center (Gibson 2007, 111). Here, as in the rest of the Islamic world in the past, Sufism was used as a form of identity to deal with the traumatic experiences caused by the colonial oppression upon the Muslims (Ernst 2005, 205).

This paper aims to shed light on the inner dynamics of Islam. The rise of the Khalwatīyah Sammān order should not be disassociated from the decline of the dominant Khalwatīyah Yūsuf order founded in the region by the seventeenth-century prominent figure Yūsuf al-Makassarī, which was noted as a *sharī'ah* oriented *tarekat*.⁵ Many of its members were students, mostly belonging to the *parewa sarak* of the Goa palace (Azra 2006, 235; Feener 2015, 268). On the other hand, the arrival in the Wajo region of the Wahhabi Shaykh Medina and his subsequent appointment as religious advisor to the Wajo ruler La Mamang Toappamadeng, Tuanta Raden Galla (r. about 1821-1825), was proof of the Wahhabi's global reputation in this remote area of Islam. According to local sources, Shaykh Medina was very keen to enforce strict Islam. Among his religious advice were the compulsory wearing of the veil (*kerudung*) for all women in the region, the destruction of buildings and trees that were sources of worship, and the amputation of thieves' hands (Gibson 2007; Mappangara 2003, 115–16; Mattulada 1998, 206).

The literally teaching of Islam Shaykh Medina introduced to Wajo to some extent was a new form of the way Islam should be practiced in the region, though it failed to ensure that the people obeyed it. As the mode of Islam initially became more Arabized, the arrival of the Tarekat Khalwatīyah Sammān propagated by the lesser Bugis nobleman, ‘Abdullāh ibn ‘Abd al-Razzāq, was by and large a reaction against both imported Islam and the remaining mystical practice of the Tarekat Khalwatīyah Yūsuf among royal circles and the religious apparatus (*parewa sarak*). In light of the Wahhabis’ anti-superstitious and anti-Sufi practices while promoting the purest teachings of Islam and the religious exclusiveness of the *parewa sarak* and the royal elites, ‘Abdullāh ibn ‘Abd al-Razzāq rose and called for the need to impart Islamic knowledge to commoners employing the Tarekat Khalwatīyah Sammān as his preaching instrument. His accommodation to local tradition by his uncomplicated *dhikr* and mass-based congregations inspired commoners to join his order which enabled the Khalwatīyah Sammān’s leaders to gain a large following and help bridge the social gap between the elite and their fragmented society.

In a wider context, the position of ‘Abdullāh ibn ‘Abd al-Razzāq’s *tarekat*, however, was historically taken by the Rifā‘īyah and Qādirīyah orders that used to be the most populous *tarekats* among lower class society in the second half of the 18th century. Until that time, as noted by Bruinessen (1999b, 162), they were practiced exclusively among court circles. In South Sulawesi, the Tarekat Khalwatīyah Yūsuf had also gained a limited spiritual preference among the elite. However, the political impact of the Bongaya Treaty, to some extent, contributed to its fading reputation as the *tarekat* of the elites in the Gowa kingdom.

***Tarekat* and the Noblemen in South Sulawesi: Two Khalwatīyahs**

In the past, the practice of Islam, in particular *tarekat*, and the role of the local nobility, both men in power and their family members, were apparent in South Sulawesi society. When the local polities embraced Islam, the earlier position of the nobility as the instruments of tradition (*parewa ade*) was transformed into that of a religious apparatus (*parewa sarak* or *pegawai syarat*), giving them a significant role in the development of Islam in general and of *tarekat* in particular. The pre-Islamic myth of the white blood (*dara puti*) of the local noblemen gave them social, religious and political privileges that contributed to the

dynamic of Islam in the region, and from which we may understand how social mobility centered in patron-client relationships (Cummings 1999).

As noted by Lucas and De Jong (2000, 563–64) in their work on mystical movements in Selayar Island in South Sulawesi, the *pegawai syarat* were chaired by a *kadi* who was appointed by the ruling leader. Usually, *kadis* were relatives of the ruler. Therefore, because they were members of the nobility, sometimes their appointment as members of the religious bureaucracy was not based on their religious piety or their expertise in Islamic knowledge. Furthermore, they were paid for the services they offered during weddings, circumcisions, funerals and so on. Thus, being a *parewa sarak* was not only a religious position, but also economic and ancestral. However, replacing these religious administrators were Muslim teachers or *kiyai* who taught the population how to chant the holy *Quran* and, sometimes, mystical knowledge (*ilmu*).

From its earlier development onwards, the Tarekat Khalwatīyah Sammān owed much to the role of the noblemen. Like the earlier Khalwatīyah Yūsuf Order that had taken hold in the Makassarese Gowa kingdom (Bruinessen 1994, 8), to expand its fellowship, the Khalwatīyah Sammān Order developed a strong relationship with the ruler of the minor state of Maros, which was marked by intermarriages between the descendants of the *khalīfah* and the mostly Bugis aristocracy. Furthermore, these blood relationships contributed significantly to the expansion of the order among local government officials,⁶ as well as among the common people. Before this time, it was in Bone where the influence of the Khalwatīyah Yūsuf Order became apparent through a marriage between a member of the order and the ruler of Bone, Sultan Aḥmad Ṣāliḥ Matinro ri Rompegading (La Tenritappu) (r. Bone 1775–1812).⁷ His interest in Sufi spiritual ideas led him to write the *Nūr al-ḥādī* on al-Makassari's Sufism⁸ and to support the translation of Arabic and Malay works on Islam into local languages. He also maintained a scholarly circle at his court to study the Sufi masters. Yusuf Bogor, a jurist from Bogor, West Java, was among the scholars he invited to his palace after which he was appointed *Kali* of Bone (*Kadi Bone*) and teacher of Islamic mysticism to the sultan. In mystical circles, Yusuf Bogor was known as a member of the Shaṭṭarīyah Order that was transmitted by Muḥammad Ṭāhir al-Kurānī (1670–1733), the well-

known Sufi teacher of Indian scholars such as Shah Walī Allah and Muhammad Hayya al-Sindī (Gibson 2007, 118–19; Tol 1993, 622).

After the death of Sultan Aḥmad Sālīh of Bone (r. 1775-1812), the common people reacted against the nobility-dominated *parewa sarak* and the exclusive aristocratic Khalwatīyah Yūsuf Order. Many ordinary people therefore sought solace in and made the Khalwatīyah Sammān their way of spiritual practice (*matareka*).⁹ The teaching of the chanted *dhikr* (*dhikr al-jahr*) Khalwatīyah Sammān taught was one of the most successful measures the leaders of the order or *khalīfah* suggested as a means to relieve the people of their social and political burdens and of the religious exclusivism of the local leaders who practiced silent *dhikr* (*dhikr al-qalbi*) as taught by the Tarekat Khalwatīyah Yūsuf (Manyambeang 1997, 167–70).

Historically, the Khalwatīyah Sammān manner of chanting *dhikr* started either in its very center in Medina where the sanctuary of the founder stood, or in this peripheral corner in South Sulawesi. A polemic on vocalized *dhikr* came up in the Haramayn and the rest of the Muslim world in the 18th century.¹⁰ In his recent work on ‘Abd al-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī’s intellectual life in Yemen, historian Michael Feener (2015, 269) reveals the scholarly debates on the permissibility of loud *dhikr* among Sufi masters in the centers of learned Muslims of his day, and of Zabid of Yemen and this Sumatran scholar’s engagement in the matter. Relying on ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Sulaymān al-Ahdal’s biographical work (*ṭabaqat*) *al-Nafās al-Yamāni*, Feener draws a picture of al-Falimbānī’s devotional practice of the vocal *dhikr* he learned from his teacher, Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Karīm al-Sammān.

The regular visits of the *khalīfah* also contributed to the increasing number of the order’s aspirants. In this patron-client society, the *khalīfah*’s presence among his followers (*sanakmangaji*) not only contributed to deepen a sense of brotherhood among the *tarekat* members, as generally taught by most orders, but also to strengthen a sense of familiarity and ethnic solidarity.¹¹ For the commoners, to participate as a group in public *dhikr* sessions with chanting guided by the leader of the order (*khalīfah* or *shaykh*) was more satisfying than performing the silent, individual *dhikr* as practiced by the followers of the Khalwatīyah Yūsuf Order. Adding to the appeal of public *dhikr* was the participation of noblemen leading the chants, thus allowing commoners to view their traditional leaders also as their religious mentors. The public *dhikr* led

by the local elites within this living patron-client relationship in Bugis-Makassar society, to some extent, enhanced the spiritual fraternity among the adherents of the Khalwatīyah Sammān Order. In other words, the traditional institution of the patronage system co-existed instrumentally with the Sufi *dhikr* tradition and strengthened the spiritual connection between the followers and their masters (*shaykh*, *murshīd*, *khalīfah*).¹²

The Founders: ‘Abdullāh al-Munīr and Muḥammad Fuḍayl

Different from the *tarekats* affiliated with Shaykh Sammān in other parts of Indonesia (like Palembang in South Sumatra, Banjarmasin in South Kalimantan and Batavia [now Jakarta]), the Khalwatīyah Sammān Order in South Sulawesi in the first half of the nineteenth century was not established through the direct initiation of a local *khalīfah* by the grand *khalīfah*, Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Karīm al-Sammān al-Madanī in the Hijāz (Medina) (Bruinessen 1994, 10). According to the current *khalīfah*, Haji Andi Syadjaruddin (Puang Tompo), the initiation was done in Medina when ‘Abdullāh al-Munīr Shams al-‘Ārifīn met Idrīs ibn ‘Uthmān, the *khalīfah* of ‘Abd al-Karīm al-Sammān.¹³ However, according to an Arabic work that initially belonged to Muḥammad Shaṭṭar, the *khalīfah* of the order in the 1950s, Idrīs ibn ‘Uthmān was a student of Shaykh Ṣiddīq, the *khalīfah* of ‘Abd al-Karīm al-Sammān in Medina.¹⁴ More information regarding Shaykh Ṣiddīq can be found in the Arabic work *Qatf azhār al-mawāhib al-rabbānīyah*, a commentary (*sharḥ*) on the work of Ṣiddīq al-Madanī ibn ‘Umar Khān, *Nafḥah al-qudsīyah*. According to this work, he was a *khalīfah* of the founder of the Khalwatīyah Sammān Order, ‘Abd al-Karīm al-Qādirī al-Madanī who was widely known as al-Sammān.¹⁵ The inclusion of al-Qādirī in his name implies that al-Sammān was also affiliated with the Tarekat Qādirīyah. In 1820 al-Munīr introduced and spread the order among the Bugis in South Sulawesi.¹⁶

In addition to the Khalwatīyah Sammān Order’s earlier networks in the Haramayn, Ṣiddīq’s father, ‘Umar Khān, was a friend of ‘Abd al-Ṣamad al-Falimbanī (ca. 1704-1828) in the Haramayn. With Arshād al-Banjari (1710-1812) and Dawud ibn ‘Abdillāh al-Faṭānī (d. circa.1847), they were among the prominent *‘ulamās* in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries (Azra 2004, 111–23). Also, ‘Umar Khān was popular because of the work he wrote on his teacher’s

life, namely the *Manāqib al-kubrā* (the great hagiography of al-Sammān) (Syarifuddin 2010). ‘Umar Khān was one of the senior students of ‘al-Sammān (d. 1777), and the mentor of a prominent *Jawah* student who was responsible for the spread of the Khalwatīyah Sammān Order in South Sumatra: ‘Abd al-Šamad al-Falimbānī. Al-Falimbānī received his initiation into the Khalwatīyah Order directly from al-Sammān himself in Medina (Feener 2015, 269).¹⁷

Al-Falimbānī’s direct spiritual allegiance (*bay’ah*) into the order is described in his magnum opus, *Sayr al-sālikīn*:

The poor (*faqr*) [al-Falimbānī] of Almighty Allah who translated this book (*Siyar al-šālikīn*) is ‘Abd al-Šamad al-Jāwī al-Falimbānī, may Allah forgive him and his parents, who received his teachings (*talqīn al-dhikr*) and his oath of allegiance (*bay’ah*) directly from my excellent master (*murshīd*), my lord Shaykh Muḥammad ibn Shaykh ‘Abd al-Karīm al-Sammānī al-Qādirī al-Khalwatī al-Madanī, may Allah purify his soul, who took the *bay’ah* of the order from his enlightened master Shaykh al-Bakrī who took his initiation from his master Shaykh ‘Abd al-Laṭīf who took his initiation from Shaykh Mustafā Afandī al-Adranawī...Habīb al-‘Uzmā took his initiation from Shaykh al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī who took his initiation from the leader of the Ummah (Amīr al-Mu’minīn) ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib may Allah bless him, who took his initiation from our Prophet Muḥammad (Pbuh) who took his initiation from the angel Gabriel who took his initiation from the Almighty Allah (al-Falimbānī n.d., 39–40).

The Khalwatīyah Sammān Order’s hold in South Sulawesi is evident in many local sources both in Bugis and in Arabic. They provide the names of the prominent *khalīfah* in a genealogy (*silsilah*) stretching back to the Prophet Muhammad. The *silsilah* held by Andi Sadjaruddin, for example, lists the prominent sheikhs responsible for the development of the order in South Sulawesi. They were ‘Abdullāh al-Munīr, Muḥammad Fuḍayl, ‘Abd al-Razzāq, and ‘Abdullah’s three sons (Malik 1999). The latter three sheikhs were instrumental in the further development of the order in the twentieth century.¹⁸

An Arabic work written by al-Sammān, *‘Urwat al-wuthqā* begins with the *silsilah* mentioning ‘Abdullāh al-Munīr and his initiation into the order by his *khalīfah* Idris ibn ‘Uthmān. Another source states that ‘Umar Khān and his Sumatran student Idris ibn ‘Uthmān were living in the island of Sumbawa which was closely linked with the palace of Gowa in South Sulawesi. The latter was responsible for the spread of the order among his Bugis disciplines in Sumbawa and Abdullāh al-Munīr was one of them. Al-Munīr’s son, Muḥammad Fuḍayl (ca.

1790-1860) founded the center of the Sammānīyah in Barru and initiated the future leader of Bone, Ahmad Idris into his *tarekat* in the 1850s (Gibson 2007, 123).

There is no convincing source informing us of ‘Umar Khān’s stay in Sumbawa, though his name is mentioned in the *silsilah* of the order with regard to his initiation from his *khalīfah*, Idris ibn ‘Uthman from Palembang; through him the Bugis lesser noblemen became his students in the order (Rahmat 2008, 13–15). One of the Bugis noblemen who were living in Sumbawa was ‘Abdullāh al-Munīr, a lesser Bone aristocrat. Al-Munīr’s 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).¹⁹ After ‘Abdullāh al-Munīr had completed his studies in Sumbawa in 1820, he introduced the *tarekat* into South Sulawesi. While in Sumbawa he married the daughter of the Sumbawa ruler, Lalau Datuk Nelo (Gibson 2007, 123; Hamid 2005, 218).

Unfortunately, very little is known of al-Munīr’s activities after he returned home, but in a Bugis source written in Arabic script, *Ikhtisāran fi fadhilat al-dhikr wa adābihi wa kaifiyatihī ‘ala ṭariqat al-Sammān* (The precise excellences of Sammān order’s chant, its attitude and methods), he is recognized as “our grand Shaykh” (*Pangulutta*), who spread the teachings of the Khalwatīyah Sammān Order in South Sulawesi. He lived in Barru, Maros, where his son, Muḥammad Fuḍayl or Pananrang Daeng Massese (ca. 1790-1860), was initiated as a *khalīfah* of the order.²⁰ He helped to spread the Khalwatīyah teachings throughout South Sulawesi 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 Khalwatīyah Yūsuf was the dominant order among the noblemen. Long before his death at the end of the nineteenth century, Muḥammad Fuḍayl initiated his son ‘Abd al-Ghānī al-Sammānīyah²¹ Andi Mangaweang Petta Rani as his *khalīfah* in Barru to continue the *tarekat*’s teachings in the 1850s (Hamid 2005, 219). From both figures the mystical accounts of Ibn ‘Arabi’s *wahdat al-wujūd* (Unity of Being) were transmitted to their noble followers in both Gowa and Bone.

Among those who became followers of the Khalwatīyah Sammān Order were the Bone ruler Ahmad Singkeru Rukka Sultan Ahmad Idris (r. 1860-1871), the father of La Pawawoi Karaneg Segiri (r. 1896-

1905).²² Sultan Ahmad Idris was initiated into the order by his teacher, the *khalīfah* ‘Abd al-Ghānī in Barru. Other aristocratic followers of the order were I Mallingkaang Daeng Nyonri Karaeng Katangka or Sultan Muḥammad Idrīs ibn ‘Abd al-Qādir Muhammad ‘Aydid, Tumenangari 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 ibn ‘Abdullāh al-Bugis, who became the Grand Sheikh of the Khalwatīyah Sammān Order known as Haji Palopo (d. 1910) (Bruinessen 1995, 296; Gibson 2007, 123; Hamid 2005, 219–20). According to a local source, ‘Abd al-Razzāq’s family were descendants of La Temmassongé’ Arung Baringen or Sultan ‘Abd al-Razzāq Jalāl al-Dīn from Gowa (Patunru et al. 1989, 214).

‘Abd al-Razzāq and *Tarekat* Haji Palopo: The Emergence of Opposition

‘Abd al-Razzāq (Puang Ngatta) was born in 1766. He was the son-in-law of La Baso Daeng Ngitung (Karaeng Cidu of Simbang, r. 1778-1792).²³ ‘Abd al-Razzāq lived in Mecca for about seven years, where he studied with Muḥammad Fuḍayl. When he returned home he joined Fuḍayl’s lodge in Maros, where he was initiated as a *khalīfah* in the Khalwatīyah Sammān Order and was given the responsibility of disseminating its teachings among the Bugis and Makassarese people. After Fuḍayl’s death, ‘Abd al-Razzāq moved to Paccelekang, Maros, where he taught the tenets and practices of his *tarekat* to both the nobility and commoners (Ruslan 2008, 23–25).

According to the Khalwatīyah Sammān member, Hamzah, many local sources show the reputation of Khalwatīyah Sammān’s *khalīfahs* such as Muhammad Fuḍayl, ‘Abd al-Ghānī and their student Sultan Ahmad Idrīs. They were known as the principal teachers of the *wahdat al-wujūd* in South Sulawesi (Hamzah 2007, 76–77). Indeed, ‘Abd al-Ghānī was reputed to be a Sufi teacher and he was a venerated saint whose blessings the people eagerly sought.²⁴ His strong spirituality made him closer to the common people whom he nurtured and drew into the order through his unassuming and modest way of teaching about the *tarekat*. He proved to be successful in all levels of society, thus adding considerably to the fame and influence of the Khalwatīyah Sammān Order.

However, with regard to the development of the Khalwatīyah Sammān Order, the reputation of ‘Abd al-Razzāq (Puang Ngatta), better known as Haji Palopo, was critical in understanding the existence of his order in the colonial era. We are fortunate in having a Dutch colonial political report (*politiek verslag*) on Sulawesi from 1855, when ‘Abd al-Razzāq was active in the area. The report provides a context for understanding his success among the local population and it documents manipulations by the local officers (regents). For instance, in February 1855 Mapalewa Daeng Matajang, the regent of Lombo in Maros, was dismissed from his position as local chief and brought to trial for fraudulent tax practices. As a tax collector, Matajang failed to keep records of the taxes he collected from the people. He was subsequently found guilty of fraud and exiled to Banda for 15 years.²⁵

The tax fraud case was just one of a number of incidents that were symptomatic of the general malaise among the members of ‘Abd al-Razzāq’s generation. Another incident, 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 regalia (*Kalompoang*) (Mattulada 1998, 316–21). The return of the Dutch after the short British interregnum (1810–1817) did not change the situation (Pelras 1996, 271–74). There were still tensions between Gowa and Bone, and 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 Bongaya 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 treaty became “a permanent reminder of the victory of the Dutch over Bone” (Mattulada 1998, 366). In this period of political ferment, a new political and religious center emerged in Maros, that of the Khalwatīyah Sammān Order.

A local source from Maros gives important information on the Khalwatīyah Sammān Order and its main teachers.²⁶ In addition to his writings on Sufism, ‘Abd al-Razzāq’s diary records his travels, the people he met, events, and Ibn ‘Arabi’s spiritual ideas.²⁷ His introduction of a public recitation of the *dhikr* (*al-dhikr al-jahri* or *zikir jāli*) proved popular among the common people and contributed to the expansion

of congregational worship. The emphasis on public *dhikr* and of a congregation of believers worshipping together contrasted with the more aristocratic-dominated Khalwatīyah Yūsuf Order.²⁸ To meet the needs of the *tarekat* followers in the lodge, ‘Abd al-Razzāq opened rice fields when he moved to Leppakomai, Maros. He was believed to have had the charisma of a healer and a saint people turned to for blessing 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, even though he was a nobleman.²⁹

Turikale played an important role in the development of the Khalwatīyah Sammān Order. It was here that ‘Abd al-Razzāq’ gained the spiritual legitimacy of his noble students. For instance, the *karaeng* of Simbang, La Umma Daeng Manrapi (1834) was known to be a devout fellow of Khalwatīyah Sammān Order. When he moved to Turikale, ‘Abd al-Razzāq appointed him as his *khalīfah*. After his death, Manrapi’s successor, La Sanrima Daeng Parukka (r.1872-1892), was the pious *karaeng* responsible for keeping the Khalwatīyah Sammān Order’s hold on both the nobility and commoners. For this effort, ‘Abd al-Razzāq initiated Parukka as his *khalīfah* and gave him permission to spread the *tarekat* among the commoners. ‘Abd al-Razzāq gave Parukka the Arabic name, Shaykh al-Ḥājj ‘Abd al-Qādir Jaylāni Tāj al-‘Ārifin.³⁰ As time went by, Parukka became popular and he became well-known as a devout *‘ulamā* rather than as administrator or regent.

Intermarriages between family members of the *murshīd* and the local leaders also contributed to the expansion of the order in South Sulawesi. In the case of Turikale, for example, the marriage of Parukka’s daughter, Gulmania Daeng Baji and ‘Abdullah (‘Abd al-Razzāq’s son) prepared him to become the regent of Turikale. However, in 1892, ‘Abdullah handed his secular duties as regent over to his son, Palaguna Daeng Marowa Karaeng Mengento (Shaykh Muḥammad Ṣalāh al-Dīn), in order to spend his life as the *khalīfah* of his father, ‘Abd al-Razzāq (Makkasau n.d., 71–79).

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 Khalwatīyah Sammān Order. His father initiated him into the order as *khalīfah* and his grandfather, ‘Abd al-Razzāq, gave him the title of sheikh, and he became known as Shaykh Ṣalāh al-Dīn ibn Shaykh ‘Abd

al-Qādir Jaylānī. In 1917, Karaeng Mangento handed over his regency to his son ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd Daeng Manessa in order to devote his life to the order and to continue his spiritual journey. Among his memorable deeds was his donation of his own fertile land in Mangento to his followers to be used for wet-rice agriculture. His devotion to mystical practices led him to implement more Islamic-oriented practices in his reign. For example, on Mangento’s order the sacred regalia (*kalompoang*) of Turikale were moved to another district because of his concern with the Islamic teaching of *tawḥīd* (Oneness of Allah) and, thus denying his people’s request of turning it into the center of a cult. The *kalompoang* cult was seen to be in violation of the Islamic principle of the Oneness of Allah (*tawḥīd*), and discontinued.³¹ Likewise, Karaeng Simbang Patuhuddin Daeng Parumpa, another fellow of the Khalwatīyah Sammān Order also acted in the same fashion and for the same reason by entrusting the Simbang regalia to the Karaeng Cenrana (Makkasau n.d., 165–66).

‘Abd al-Razzāq’s aristocratic students undertook to spread the word of the Khalwatīyah Sammān Order among the general population. As leaders of their communities, they sought to incorporate Islamic ideas into local customary law to make them more appealing to their subjects. But they were adamantly opposed to the inclusion of the regalia because the powerful hold it had on the people and because they needed to avoid anything that challenged Allah’s Oneness. One of the appeals of the order was its attention to bring about social benefits for its followers. It was a policy ‘Abd al-Razzāq promoted and his aristocratic students further implemented. 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 Khalwatīyah Sammān Order mirrors that of the early Islamization of South Sulawesi, when the rulers were instrumental in assisting in the conversion of their subjects.

Among the population, ‘Abd al-Razzāq’s successes with the various rulers of the petty states in Maros district drew harsh criticism and even caused hatred against his order’s reputation. This antipathy became very evident when one morning a corpse was found in the front yard of his home, and ‘Abd al-Razzāq was immediately accused of murder and brought to trial. Being a Bugis, the accusation brought *siri*’ (shame)³²

to ‘Abd al-Razzāq, forcing him to leave Maros. He was later exonerated and went to visit his master al-Munīr’s sacred grave in Sumbawa.³³ Because he remained in Sumbawa far longer than was expected, his students in Maros asked the Karaeng of Sumbawa to send him home. Mangento finally sent his envoys to Sumbawa to bring his teacher back and so ‘Abd al-Razzāq returned and lived in the village of Salojirang, Turikale, on a piece of land given to him by the local *karaeng* (Hamzah 2007, 112–213; Ruslan 2008, 24–25).

‘Abd al-Razzāq left Turikale and relocated and to the new village of Leppakomai he had established near a river, namely. There ‘Abd al-Razzāq and his students provided not only spiritual teaching but also economic self-reliance. He promoted economic self-sufficiency, which contrasted sharply with the noblemen (*anakaraeng/anakarung*) who received financial support from the Dutch government and with the religious hierarchy (*parewa sarak*) who received donations from the people. In the history of the Islamic world, seeking financial independence was very common for Muslim mystics, and most Sufi masters achieved this goal. In Leppakomai, for instance, ‘Abd al-Razzāq opened rice fields and fisheries to help his students support themselves without outside help. Working in the rice fields was only one aspect of their life; the other was studying Islamic mysticism with their master, ‘Abd al-Razzāq.³⁴

As the master of the order, *khalīfah*, ‘Abd al-Razzāq gave both material assistance and spiritual advice to his followers in their daily lives, as described in excerpts of prayers written in local languages in both Arabic and Bugis script. His followers used these prayers for various purposes: healing, doing business, resolving family matters, moving home, et cetera.³⁵ Leppakomai quickly became the center for the teachings of the Khalwatīyah Sammān Order and the base from which the order spread to other parts in South Sulawesi. People from all over the region started to visit the village to seek the blessings (*barakāt*) of its saint, ‘Abd al-Razzāq.

Compared to earlier mystical teachers, ‘Abd al-Razzāq’s way of combining economic activities with spiritual teaching was unique. It was an attractive approach that directly addressed the twin concerns of the people in his era: how to deal with the introduction of the administration of the intrusive Dutch colonial government and how to address the deteriorating economic circumstances.³⁶ As the order

became popular both among the aristocracy and the commoners, marked by the growing numbers joining the Khalwatīyah Sammān Order, the *parewa sarak* expressed their concern as, apparently, this meant more income to the order, particularly to the *khalīfah*, which became a source of resentment among the *parewa sarak* who began to criticize the validity of the order's teachings.

In response to this criticism, 'Abd al-Razzāq compiled several collections for his followers of accounts of Muslim thinkers on *taṣawwuf*, theology (*kalām/tawhīd*) and *fiqh* (Islamic law). These works were taught after the '*ishā*' and *ṣubḥ* prayers by himself, his son, and their *khalīfah*, who in turn were assisted by their *pakkajara*.³⁷ They taught what every Muslim should know and practice on a daily basis, such as the five daily prayers, ablution (*wuḍū'*) and other simple matters in Islamic law (*fiqh 'ibādah*), theology (*tawhīd*), and the *dhikr* of mystical Islam (*taṣawwuf*).³⁸ The *dhikr* provided the *khalīfah* with the opportunity to transmit Islamic knowledge in an appealing way.³⁹ It was this critical role of '*ulamā*' or Sufi master as the transmitters of Islam, whether through using their own works in the local vernacular or from Islamic sources written in Arabic, that the area shared with the mass-Islamization in the rest of Indonesia (Burhanudin 2012, 134–38).

'Abd al-Razzāq's *dhikr* is especially effective in enhancing the religious solidarity among his followers (*sanakmangaji*).⁴⁰ It is performed daily in mosques and prayer houses (*langgar*)⁴¹ and led by the *khalīfahs* who commonly received their Islamic knowledge from their *murshīd*, whether in Pattene or in their own regions. For this reason, the role of the *shaykhs* and their *khalīfahs* in the order are particularly important because their own personal teaching, their personal understanding and authority are essential in delivering the uniqueness of that particular order's message. Thus rather than the *pesantren* or *pondok*,⁴² the *shaykh* himself is the central teaching institution. The situation described here is reminiscent of the story of the Islamization process in the rest of the archipelago, particularly among common Bugis.⁴³ Many legends regarding the Islamization process involve feats of the spiritual prowess of individual Sufi saints. The message of Islam as delivered by the various Sufi teachers/saints proved most effective in converting the local people to Islam. In this regard, the prominent role of the *shaykh* of the Khalwatīyah Sammān Order and of the vocal recitation of the *dhikr* in a congregation is in keeping with the earlier historical Islamization trends in the region.

This method of teaching ensured that the sheikhs and their *khalīfahs* developed very close relationships and their religious authority was maintained through the teachings of specific mystical doctrines. As a study of the religious practices of the Khalwatiyah Sammān Order's members in the 1980s shows, the daily presence of the *khalīfah* made the relationship between the teacher and his *sanakmangaji* so intense that transferring the traditions of the order, as well as Islamic teachings, proved to run smooth and very effective. Additionally, the combination of teaching Islam and *dhikr*, and the organization of order-sponsored events create a strong sense of solidarity among the fellows Khalwatiyah Sammān Order (Djamas 1998, 111).

As the leader of his *tarekat*, 'Abd al-Razzāq was familiar with the mystical work written by the founder of the Tarekat Khalwatiyah Sammān, *al-Nafahāt al-ilāhīyah*. In 1853/1269, 'Abd al-Razzāq copied the *al-Nafahāt*. In the mystical teachings he presented to his advanced students, 'Abd al-Razzāq used al-Sammān's mystical treatise entitled *Ighāthat al-lahfān*, which he simply copied. Other works of interest are Zakariyā' al-Ansārī's mystical treatise, *al-Futūḥāt al-ilāhīyah*, Abū al-Faṭḥ Abi Yahyā 'Abd al-Bashīr al-Ḍarīrī (Puang Rappang)'s *Bayan al-'amal al-bāṭinah*, and Baha' al-Dīn al-Naqshabandī's *Khatm al-khawjah*. Last but not least, 'Abd al-Razzāq translated an ode, perhaps part of the *Manāqib al-kubrā* by Ṣiddiq 'Umar Khān, into Bugis.⁴⁴ *The manāqib* is usually read by the followers of the Khalwatiyah Sammān Order during their public *dhikr* and after each collective weekly prayer (*salat jamā'ah*). *Salat jamā'ah* and *dhikr* are the Khalwatiyah Sammān Order's main teachings. As part of the practices of the order, the followers and the *shaykhs* and *khalīfahs* also visit one another (*ṣilat al-raḥm*). These three interconnected activities distinguish the Khalwatiyah Sammān Order's religious practices from those of common Muslims in South Sulawesi. As a current *khalīfah* in Maros explained to the author, "Even if we are traveling, we have to perform *salat jamā'ah*, though with other Muslims."⁴⁵

Each of 'Abd al-Razzāq's works emanates a strong notion of Bugisness. For example, at the end of the first and the second treatises, 'Abd al-Razzāq identified 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 was affiliated to the Shāfi'ī school.⁴⁶ By presenting his personal attributes in this way, 'Abd al-Razzāq emphasized

that his religious identity as based on ethnic origin and the world-wide Islamic Shāfi'ī school (*madhhab Imām Shāfi'ī*), the predominant school of Islamic jurisprudence in Southeast Asia. He may have wanted to obtain the religious respect and recognition from the majority of the orthodox *'ulamā'*. This form of identity may also have been intended to demonstrate the link between the local as represented by Maros and Bone/*al-Marusi baladan al-Būni nasaban* and the global, as denoted by the Shāfi'ī school and the prominent Sufi thinkers.

Notwithstanding his efforts to demonstrate their ties with mainstream Islamic ideas, 'Abd al-Razzāq's works on mystical Islam did not end the criticism against the order by the orthodox *'ulamā'* (*parewa sarak*). What he and his order were witnessing was a global movement against mystical Islam led by the Wahhabi in Mecca (Levtzion 1997, 147). An article written by Von de Wall, an apprentice officer for Arab affairs in Netherlands Indies, describes the situation of the mystical teachers and practices at the end of the nineteenth century.

According to Von de Wall, Meccan *'ulamā's* and their colleagues in the Netherlands Indies strongly warned those who practiced mystical Islam. But the Sufi followers were not intimidated but rather, they fought back.⁴⁷ Von de Wall mentions the *anak murid* (disciples), who showed their respect to their teachers by giving them presents.⁴⁸ The local population did not suppress the teachers of the Sufi order (*guru tarekat*) but offered them material assistance and social prestige. Thirty-seven years earlier the Minangkabau Haji Ismail had returned from Mecca and went to Singapore where he taught the people about his mysticism and convinced them to join his *tarekat*. At that time also residing in Singapore was Shaykh Salīm ibn Sumayr, a learned *'ulamā'* from the Hadhramaut (present-day Yemen), who opposed Haji Ismail's mystical practices and declared the latter's *tarekat* as being contrary to Islam (Wall 1892, 223–27).

As *tarekat* became the central issue of religious controversy within the *ummah* at the time, a similar antipathy marked the development of the Khalwatīyah Sammān Order in South Sulawesi. 'Abd al-Razzāq and his son, 'Abdullah, suffered ferocious opposition against their mystical practices. The dogma of the followers' total obedience to their sheikhs, for instance, was one of the learned Muslims' most targeted points of criticism. The order's sheikhs were accused of sustaining their spiritual authority by demanding their follower's total submission. But

the sheikhs of the Khalwatīyah Sammān Order in Maros defended themselves by citing several mystical doctrines in Islam that confirmed their religious legitimacy and practices. The unreserved obedience of their *sanakmangaji*, they argued, created strong spiritual bonds between them and their followers.

Believing that his mystical practices accorded with the orthodox Islamic tradition, ‘Abd 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 ‘Abd al-Razzāq wrote:

“Whoever disobeys and disrespects the sheikh and the saints of Allah will be rejected, and there is no grace for those who hurt their sheikh. And those who say no to their teachers will be unhappy forever... It is known in the tradition of the prophet (*khobar*) that the sheikh is to his followers as the prophet is to his *ummah*. In a similar fashion the attitude of the followers (*murīd*) towards their sheikh is like the attitude of the followers towards the prophet. Thus, as the bearer of inspiration (*ilhām*), a sheikh is to his followers as the angel of Gabriel, as the bearer of the revelation (*wahyū*), is to the prophet...”⁴⁹

What ‘Abd al-Razzāq attempted to do in this quote is explain to his followers that they are to trust and follow their leaders unreservedly. He continues:

“...the prophet (Pbuh) says that whoever looks down on a scholar (*‘ālim*) has already insulted me, and whoever insults me has already insulted God, and who insults God is an infidel (*kāfir*). Therefore, a disciple has to maintain trust in his *shaykh* in whatever he does. Though evil ones may contravene the law, one must believe that a *shaykh* is more knowledgeable of the secrets. Thus, it is mandatory for a disciple to maintain an attitude of positive thinking towards his *shaykh* ... According to Abd Ghāni Tāj al-‘Ārifīn (perhaps he was the son of Fudhail as mentioned before who was reputed to have been a teacher of *wahdat al-wujūd* in South Sulawesi), Allah is pleased with a slave; but, when his *shaykh* is angry with him, so is Allah. Likewise, though Allah is displeased with his slave while his *shaykh* is happy with him, so will Allah be pleased with him. Thus, the sincerity of Allah depends on the sincerity of the *shaykh* towards his disciple, because the anger of the *shaykh* 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 *shaykh*. 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 *shaykh*, by transforming his belief (*īmān*) into infidelity (*kufīr*). This is the greatest calamity that may befall a sinner disciple... Therefore, being a disciple of the *shaykh* is like being a corpse in the hands of his washer...” (al-Razzāq n.d.).

Before his death in 1910, ‘Abd al-Razzāq appointed his son ‘Abdullāh as his *khalīfah*. Like his father, ‘Abdullāh received anonymous letters that opposed his father’s order, initially called Tarekat Haji Palopo. The major contentious issues the letters raised were the vocal recitation of the *dhikr* and the allegedly immoral activities of the followers of the Khalwatīyah Sammān Order during their *dhikr*. The letters were also sent to both local and Dutch authorities. Since the accusation circulated widely among society and could lead to social disorder, the Dutch governor wrote to demand that ‘Abdullah make any necessary clarifications regarding his father’s *tarekat*. On May 24 1924, ‘Abdullah came to the governor at Maros to present his report on his *tarekat*, which was then translated into Dutch and approved by ‘Abdullāh.

In this report ‘Abdullah tried to convince his opponents that the Tarekat Haji Palopo was not an eccentric order, but part of a long tradition of Islamic mysticism. Moreover, it had a strong social and political reputation in Sulawesi just like earlier *tarekats* (*Mededeelingen Omtrent De Tarequat Hadji Palopo, Door Hadji Palopo’s Zoon Hadji ‘Abdullah Bin Abdul Razak, Bijgenaamd Poeang Lompo* 1924). To demonstrate the links of his *tarekat* with the earlier Khalwatīyah [Yūsuf] Qādirīyah and Aflawīyah⁵⁰ Sufi orders, ‘Abdullah wrote:

“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 to visit the rulers in southwest Sulawesi, such as the kings of Bone, Gowa, Soppeng, Pare-Pare et cetera. He found followers everywhere, especially among the *anakaraeng* [nobility]. These rulers and noble families were my father’s students. They were interested in the *tarekat* because they wanted to purify themselves before they died, and it was a pathway they believed would lead them toward the Lord with a pure heart... Regarding the name of this *tarekat*, in Sulawesi it was known as Tarekat Haji Palopo. My father had many followers because of his extensive knowledge and the religious acts he performed. It was common practice that whoever has large numbers of students, whether temporarily or permanently, would lend his authoritative name to his *tarekat*. In this way, *tarekats* have also been called Khalwatīyah, Qādirīyah, and Aflawīyah.” (*Mededeelingen Omtrent De Tarequat Hadji Palopo, Door Hadji Palopo’s Zoon Hadji ‘Abdullah Bin Abdul Razak, Bijgenaamd Poeang Lompo* 1924)

‘Abdullāh also describes the awe-inspiring reputation of the Tarekat Khalwatīyah Sammān:

“I cannot describe the number of my father followers. In the era of Governor Bakker my father started to take up his position as the *khalīfah* of the order, taking over the position from his teacher, Muhammad Fuḍayl. During his teacher’s era the order had only followers among the *anakaraeng*. Now the number of *anakaraeng* followers is larger, around the hundreds...My father Haji Palopo was known all over Sulawesi, where under his leadership the order spread from Poleiyan and Bumbia (Buton)⁵¹ to Mandar and Luwu.” (*Mededeelingen Omtrent De Tarequat Hadji Palopo, Door Hadji Palopo’s Zoon Hadji ‘Abdullah Bin Abdul Razak, Bijgenaamd Poeang Lompo* 1924)

Based on this report, it appears that in several regions the reputation of the Khalwatīyah Sammān Order was obviously due to its leaders’ spiritual reputation among the noblemen. Their social prestige as the leaders of the community in their regions may have contributed to the increasing reputation of the order among the common people. However, this success was tempered by the ongoing opposition against the Khalwatīyah Sammān Order which was probably as fierce as that in other regions in Indonesia in the 19th century where mystical practices were the main points of critique from reformist learned Muslims. In the case of Java, for instance, harsh opposition against the mystical practices *tarekat* teachers conducted came from Sayyid ‘Uthmān, a learned scholar of Hadhrami descent, who accused Sufi leaders of being the sources of heretical Islam (*bid‘ah*). His critique of the mystical and local practices among Muslims, and jihad as well, matched the Dutch’s interest in Muslims in Indonesia. Eventually, in 1889 he was appointed religious advisor to the Dutch authorities in Batavia (now Jakarta). In support of this position, the colonial administration supported his writings and disseminated his works on Islam across the archipelago (Burhanudin 2012, 180–83; Steenbrink 1999, 701–3).

One of the criticisms against the Khalwatīyah Sammān Order in ‘Abd al-Razzāq’s days was the fellows of his order’s extreme loyalty to their *murshīd*. To bolster his followers’ loyalty, however, ‘Abd al-Razzāq increased the visits he regularly made to his *khalīfah* (deputies) across the island during which he delivered his teaching, while inaugurating new *khalīfahs*. He also visited and initiated several Bugis and Makassarese rulers and nobles as his disciples and *khalīfahs*. His work extended even to areas that had not yet been deeply Islamized, such Sidendreng and Rappang (Bruinessen 1995, 296–97). Some of his disciples had joined the order to acquire magical powers from Haji Palopo (‘Abd al-

Razzāq). He did not discourage these beliefs but rather 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.

One of his disciples was Andi Mambolong, a nobleman well-known for his magical prowess and his knowledge of the martial arts who had come to Haji Palopo to learn more about acquiring magical powers. In time Haji Palopo appointed Mambolong as his *khalīfah*. In addition to maintaining his reputation in mystical matters, Haji Palopo emphasized *dhikr* as a way for a warrior to gain invulnerability (*to warani to kebbeng*), rather than teaching the *tarekat* as a way toward spiritual purification (Bruinessen 1995, 297). Since healing is one of a Sufi community’s principal aims (Werbner 2003, 27), he practiced healing by writing prayers (*doa*) and making amulets (*wafaq* or *jimat*) for his followers inspired by Quranic verses to use in trading, traveling, fishing, building houses, war, protecting infants, voyaging and so forth (al-Razzāq n.d.). After he had attracted 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 but as the leader of the Khalwatīyah Sammān Order. His later alias, Haji Palopo (the great teacher), was given to him by the people in recognition of his knowledge and way of teaching.

According to ‘Abdullah, his father was a respected spiritual master who had many *khalīfah* all over South Sulawesi. After he had returned from Mecca, his father was entitled to use the honorific Haji before his name, and thus he became Haji Palopo. In his genealogy (*silsilah*) 42 names preceded him as Khalwatīyah Sammān Order’s leaders. At the very beginning of the *silsilah* is Allah, followed by the angel Gabriel and the Prophet Muhammad and finally ‘Abd al-Razzāq’s initiator, Muhammad Fuḍayl. In addition to his father, ‘Abdullah tried to link his order to the prominent orthodox figure of the Sumatran *khalīfah* of ‘Abd al-Karīm al-Sammān, ‘Abd al-Ṣamad al-Falimbani.⁵² According to ‘Abdullah, al-Falimbani had initiated his father into the Khalwatīyah Sammān Order.⁵³ Although there are similarities between ‘Abd al-Razzāq’s and al-Falimbani’s spiritual ideas, no local sources contain

significant evidence that these two teachers had ever met (Shihab 2009, 212). But it was a general practice for *shaykhs* to seek to link their order to prominent Islamic masters to add legitimacy to their order and attract more followers.

‘Abdullāh also mentioned that his father did not want to spread the teaching of his *tarekat*, but it was rather the rulers of Gowa, Bone, Soppeng, Pare-Pare, and other kingdoms who wished to be initiated into the order by 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* in the Khalwatīyah Sammān Order is its major component, 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.” (*Mededeelingen Omtrent De Tarequat Hadji Palopo, Door Hadji Palopo’s Zoon Hadji ‘Abdullah Bin Abdul Razak, Bijgenaamd Poeang Lompo* 1924)

As the popularity of Haji Palopo’s *tarekat* grew, the criticism and opposition to the Khalwatīyah Sammān Order increased among the orthodox *‘ulamā’*. Usually, they directed their criticized the order’s *dhikr* and the *wahdat al-wujūd*. They alleged that both ‘Abd al-Razzāq and his son ‘Abdullah practiced *wahdat al-wujūd* and were therefore heretics. Yet, through the writings of ‘Abd al-Razzāq, whose ideas were disseminated by *khalīfahs* in ruler-sponsored public discussions, criticism abated but never quite disappeared.

Conclusion

Nineteenth century South Sulawesi Islam has shown us another shared feature of locally dynamic Islam in Indonesia, which was apparently marked by acceptance and controversy corresponding to global and local interaction within a very local mystical order in the era of European imperialism. The Khalwatīyah Sammān Order has also proven its important role in the further Islamization of Muslims, especially among the lower class, through which Islam became localized and became an integral part of traditional customs and practices.

In respect to what Fazlur Rahman theoretically discussed on the modes of Islamic mystical development, the Khalwatīyah Sammān Order falls under his notion of Neo-Sufism (Bruinessen 1999a, 706;

O'Fahey and Radtke 2003, 51). Accordingly, any mystical order in Islam that combines a *sharī'ah* orientation and social activism can be categorized as part of the Neo-Sufism movement. The Khalwatīyah Sammān Order is not exceptional. Despite its monistic character which is rooted in Ibn 'Arābī's teachings, during their leadership, the order's masters showed that they wished their fellows to remain actively engaged in daily social life. This combination of *sharī'ah* and social activism continued in the next century when the further grip of the colonial government and continued confrontation with revivalist movements were obvious.

As the twentieth century began with the continuation of revivalist movements and ideological disputes, the Khalwatīyah Sammān Order continued to suffer from opposition by those reformist groups such as the Muhammadiyah and orthodox *'ulamā'* intend on the implementation of the *sharī'ah*, while they were very critical of any heretical practices especially the extreme obedience of the fellows of Khalwatīyah Sammān Order to their *murshīds*. However, the loud *dhikr* (*dhikr al-jahri*) of the order has proven to be a viable device the *murshīds* used to turn their aspirants into fellows faithful to their masters and to the Order's tradition. The spiritual loyalty of the *sanakmangaji* was the reason the order became famous also outside South Sulawesi. For this development, 'Abd al-Razzāq, its founder, has laid the foundations for the success of the Khalwatīyah Sammān Order upon which his son and successor, 'Abdullah, was able to build in the twentieth century. In this respect, the more it was opposed, the more it continued to exist.

Endnotes

1. As noted by Pelras (2000, 400), the patron-client system represents a social hierarchy based on take and give relations between lords or masters (*karaeng*) and their subordinates (*anagna*) within Bugis and Makassar society. The latter are obliged to follow and obey their masters' wishes in order to gain social-economic benefit and protection. Studies on this patronage system, which has been in evidence before the era of Islam from the seventeenth century onwards, in different eras has been done by many scholars. It is still present in modern Bugis-Makassar society.
2. For a more extensive exploration on the important role of the *Haramayn* in the history of Islam, see Burhanuddin (2012).
3. As suggested by Bruinessen (1994, 3), Islamization continued from the late 18th century onward, the phenomenon of massive followings of *tarekat* orders was common in Southeast Asia.
4. See ANRI (1803).
5. Rahman (1997) made a study of the Khalwatīyah Sammān but it focuses only on the order's teachings and its expansion.
6. The reason the Khalwatīyah Yūsuf Order merely circulated among the nobility cannot be separated from its conception of *taṣawwuf* that only served the elected among the noblemen, because the mystical way can only be trod through total commitment both outwardly and inwardly to the legal doctrine of Islam (Azra 2006, 141). Thomas Gibson (2007, 117), citing Ligvoet and Cense, noted that in 1706 Sultan Ismail (r. Gowa 1709-1712, r. Bone 1720-1724) married Shaykh Yusuf's daughter Labiba, and a generation later Shaykh Yusuf's granddaughter married Sultan 'Abd al-Razzāq Jalāl al-Dīn (La Temmassongé' Arung Baringeng) (r. Bone 1749-1775).
7. La Tenritappu was the grandson of the king of Gowa, La Temmassongé' Arung Baringeng (Sultan 'Abd al-Razzāq Jalāl al-Dīn) (1749-1775). La Tenritappu was of the royal lineage 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'il Matinroe ri Somba Opu, who married I Sitti Amīnah, granddaughter of Shaykh Yusuf Petta To Salamae ri Gowa (Patunru et al. 1989, 215)
8. He wrote the book in the village of Pattene, Maros, when he was 32. He explains in the beginning of his *Nūr al-hādi* that he studied many mystical books, including those written by Shaykh Yūsuf and his teacher, the Kali Bone Peki Yusuf. *Nūr al-hādi* consists of seven chapters with a considerable coverage of Islamic theology (al-Dīn n.d., 1–12).
9. A similar thing happened in Java, but there the commoners sought membership in the Qādirīyah wa Naqshabandīyah (Gibson 2007, 118).
10. Divisions within the Islamic world followed a predictable pattern. In China, for example, the eighteenth-century Naqshabandīyah 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 Khalwatīyah also challenged the old mode of *dhikr* by introducing a vocal one. See Levtzion (1997, 152).
11. The importance of *dhikr* in the Khalwatīyah 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 (*tasbīh*) is an infidel. And whoever does the chanting without following *tarekat* is truly an infidel. And whoever follows these two is not at all pious." See al-Razzāq (n.d.).
12. In this study the terms *khalīfah*, *shaykh*, and *murshīd* are used interchangeably

- to mean the leaders of the order.
13. Andi Sjadjaruddin Malik, “Sekilas Tentang Tarekat Khalwatiyah Samman”, an unpublished work signed by Sjadjaruddin Malik in Pattenne, Maros (1999). Likewise, an Arabic work attributed to Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Karīm al-Sammān al-Madanī, namely *‘Urwat al-Wuthqā*, written by an anonymous fellow of the Khalwatiyah Order mentions the chain of all the local *khalīfahs* of the order (*silsilah*), beginning with the *khalīfahs* of ‘Abd al-Razāq who took the initiation (*bay‘ah*) from Muḥammad Fuḍayl from his father, ‘Abdullāh al-Munīr. Initially the work belonged to Muḥammad Shaṭṭar, the *khalīfah* of the order in the 1950s. Hereafter, Muḥammad Shaṭṭar, *‘Urwat al-Wuthqā*. In Palembang, I found the translation of Muhammad ‘Abd al-Karīm al-Sammān al-Madanī’s *‘Urwat al-Wuthqā* made by his Sumatran student, ‘Abd al-Ṣamad al-Falimbanī.
 14. Muhammad Sattar, *‘Urwat al-Wutsqā*.
 15. See: *Qatf azhār al-mawāhib al-rabbānīyah sharḥ nafḥat al-qudsīyah* by Sīdīq al-Madanī ibn ‘Umar Khān. Much of this work deals contains a mystical treatise and is kept in the Indonesian National Library in Jakarta, code A 450.
 16. Hereafter ‘Abdullāh al-Munīr.
 17. According to Kiyai Zen Syukri, the *khalīfah* of the Khalwatiyah Sammān in Palembang, it was ‘Umar Khān who persuaded al-Falimbanī, a renowned Sumatran student in Mecca and an excellent Islamic scholar, to go to Egypt to study Islam as taught by al-Shāfi‘ī, the founder of Shafi‘ī school (*Madhhab Shāfi‘ī*). When al-Falimbanī was about to travel to Egypt, he again met ‘Umar Khān, who advised him to see his teacher first, ‘Abd al-Karīm al-Sammān in his sanctuary in Medina. Field notes, interview with K.H. Zen Syukri in Palembang, May 2010.
 18. Rahman (1997) explores the development of the Khalwatiyah Sammān Order in 20th–century South Sulawesi where Abdullah and his sons (Muhammad Shalih, Muhammad Amin and Ibrahim) faced opposition to their mystical practices from both modernist movements and prominent ‘*ulamā*’ in the region. See also Ubaedillah (2014, 624).
 19. See Patunru et.al (1989, 213–14). According to him, Sultan ‘Abd al-Razzāq 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 *shaykhs* in the Khalwatiyah Sammān.
 20. This manuscript is in the possession of Abdusomad Daeng Parani in Maros. This anonymous source contains the names of prominent figures in the Khalwatiyah Sammān Order, such as Shaykh al-Khasib, the *khalīfah* of the order in India, ‘Abd al-Ṣamad al-Falimbanī in Palembang, and ‘Abdullāh al-Munīr in South Sulawesi (Gibson 2007, 123; *Ikhtisāran fi fadhilat al-dhīker wa adābīhi wa kaifiyatīhi ‘ala tariqat al-Sammān* n.d.).
 21. Putting *al-Sammānīyah* 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 was also a way of establishing spiritual affiliation to the founder of Khalwatiyah Sammān, ‘Abd al-Karīm al-Sammān al-Madanī.
 22. According to the Genealogy of the Bone rulers made by the Lembaga Kajian dan Pengembangan Budaya Bugis (Foundation for the Study 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 (Mattulada 1998, 366; Tol 1993, 617).
 23. There were several minor courts in Maros such as Simbang, Turikale, and Bontoa, all ruled by their own royal families
 24. A diary attributed to ‘Abd al-Razzāq calls Abd Ghani “the light of Islam” and the guide

- for the *Khalwatiyah Sammān*. See al-Razzāq (n.d.).
25. See ANRI (1855).
 26. This source belongs to Andi Fakhri Makkasau who is of noble descent and carries the title Karaeng Simbang. He married the daughter of Khalwatiyah Sammān *khalīfah* who lived in Pattene, Maros, where the sacred graves of the order's *shaykhs* are the focus of its followers' visits, especially when celebrating the annual birthday festival (*mawlid*) of the Prophet Muhammad, which is in observance of the anniversary of the death of the grand *khalīfah* (*puang lombo*) Muḥammad Ṣālih. Makassau is also recognized as a member of the *lontarak* conservation project under the auspices of the Indonesian Archive Office (ANRI) and University Hasanuddin, Makassar. During my visit to his home in Pattene we had a fruitful discussion about his own writing on the history of Islam in Maros. The unpublished book, namely *Bunga Rampai Sejarah dan Budaya Maros*, contains information from *lontarak*, which is a priceless legacy to his family.
 27. 'Abd al-Razzāq's diary follows the Bugis and Makassarese diaries' writing traditions of members of the nobility and royalty on daily occurrences and events. These were known as *lontarak bilang*. Some of the royal Bone manuscripts Roger Tol obtained have a similar format. 'Abd al-Razzāq's diary, which was written in Bugis using Arabic script, consists of Islamic matters and local knowledge. There are mystical formulas, excerpts of Arabic texts, as well as prescriptions for curing ailments, making love charms, traditional medication and herbs. 'Abd al-Razzāq 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. See Tol (1993, 618–23), Manyambeang (1997, 75), and Cense (1972, 12–13).
 28. Nineteenth-century Malaysia also witnessed a similar religious experience with Tuan Tabal of Kelantan and his scholarly-oriented Sufism and that of Wan Musa and al-Rasyid with their modest *tarekat* among the common people. See Sedgwick (2005, 127) and Hassan (1990).
 29. Ahmad Rahman kindly gave me this report, which was written on 24 May 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, bijgenaamd Poeang Lombo* (1924). Though some names and terms are inaccurate, this report gives information about Khalwatiyah Sammān's *khalīfah* and the conditions 'Abd al-Razzāq and his son 'Abdullah faced.
 30. 'Abd al-Qādir Jaelānī was the founder of the Qādiriyah Order. There was a practice of bestowing the title "at-Tāj" (lit. prince) upon a person who had a distinguished spiritual reputation. This may account for the fact that al-Makassari was given this title by his Khalwatiyah teacher in Damascus and thus came to be called Yusuf Tāj al-Khalwatī al-Makassarī, as discussed earlier.
 31. Mangento's brother Andi Page Daeng Paranreng also contributed to the propagation of Khalwatiyah Sammān Order among commoners (Makkasau n.d., 79–83).
 32. *Siri* is a cultural concept among the Makassarese and Bugis, meaning both "shame" and "self-worth" (Andaya 1981, 6).
 33. Visiting dead saints is a common tradition in Sufi brotherhoods. A seeker may spiritually communicate with a 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 disasters of any kind and attain victory against the infidels and hypocrites, 'Abd al-Razzāq noted that he arrived on the evening of 2nd of Dhū al-ḥijjah, 1293 (around December 1876 or January 1877). See al-Razzāq (n.d.) and Gellner (1969).
 34. 'Abd al-Razzāq's economic efforts were part of the implementation of the tenets of

- his *tasawwuf*. Therefore, the cultural concept of *shirk* 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, 'Abd al-Razzāq's son 'Abdullāh said, "Keep your faith (*īmān*) and fear Allah (*taqwā*), for he who has no *īmān* and *taqwā* is a person without integrity" (Ruslan 2008, 30).
35. One of the Arabic prayers he wrote around 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 (al-Razzāq n.d.).
 36. Compare the limited social-religious activities of the two *tarekats* in Java: Naqshabandiyah and Qādiriyah wa Naqshabandiyah. See M.C. Ricklefs (2009) for a discussion of the social impact and the participation of both elite 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 Haramayn.
 37. *Pakkajaras* are the assistants of *khalīfah*. When the *khalīfahs* are unable to perform their tasks, the *pakkajaras* may lead the followers of the order in making regular visits (*ziarah*) to the shrines of their saints in Maros or in the annual celebration (*haul*) held in Pattene. According to Rahman's respondent, Haji Sa'diah, when the *murshīd* 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 take up the problem with the *sheikh* in Pattene to obtain his advice (Rahman 1997, 130–31).
 38. In the eighteenth century, the characteristics of Neo Sufism world-wide were their organization and structure, and their mass communal chanting rituals (Levtzion 1997, 147–51). I found many *lontarak* kept by ordinary followers of the Khalwatiyah Sammān Order that consist of prayers, litanies, and simple Islamic teachings relating to daily rituals. These followers explained that their *khalīfah* gave them these *lontarak* during their lessons after they had performed their *dhikr* following '*ishā'* (evening) or *ṣubḥ* (morning) prayers. The *dhikr*s consisted of ten *dhikr* (*zikir sepulu*) and 300 *dhikr* (*zikir telu ratus*). There is also information on the way each *dhikr* had to be performed, such as how to breathe, body movements and concentration. See *Tarekat Halwatiyah Muhammad Sammani* (n.d.).
 39. In this sense, conversion to Islam may be understood as a process in which the explicit truths contained in the sacred *dhikr* texts are integrated into the implicit symbolic system of the local congregation. *Dhikr* texts are therefore translated into implicit rituals (Gibson 2005, 33).
 40. The works are categorized into three elements of Islamic teachings: *fiqh*, theology and Sufism. The first element consists of simple teachings on *fiqh* regarding daily rituals such as praying, ablution (*wuḍū'*), treatment of the dead, et cetera; the second element addresses Islamic theology; and the third involves a profound discussion of Sufism meant for advanced followers of the Khalwatiyah Sammān Order.
 41. A *langgar* is a place for prayer, but smaller than a mosque (*masjid*).
 42. In the nineteenth century, the learned Muslims (*'ulamā'*) founded Islamic institutions to teach Islam to their students (*santri*). The role of the *pesantren* was to transfer the orthodox Islamic and Sufi practices (*tasawwuf 'amali*) as taught by the prominent Sunni thinker, Muḥammad al-Ghazālī. For a particular case in Java see Dhofier (1999, 137–56).
 43. I found various manuscripts on Islamic knowledge, both in local languages and in

- Arabic kept by Khalwatiyah Sammān followers. One of them is a local manuscript that contains a Khalwatiyah Sammān *tarekat* daily guide, entitled *Wirid dan Tata Cara Zikir Tarekat Khalwatia Zamman* (n.d.), that shows the ways how to perform *dhikr* and explains the daily prayers in very simple language. It means that the elite members of the Khalwatiyah Sammān Order were responsible for disseminating Islamic tenets among their fellows through works written in their own spoken language (Bugis), in addition to their main concern with mystical practices. This manuscript was translated into Indonesian by Muhlis Hadrawi of Hasanuddin University in Makassar.
44. A bundle of works on Sufism attributed to 'Abd al-Razzāq consists of the *Qasīdah Burdah*, *al-Tasawwuf*, *al-Fiqh*, *Mukhatabah Ilabiah (Ya Ghauts)*, *al-Nafahāt al-Ilāhiyyāt*, and *silsilah Thariqat al-Sanusiah*. The last was initially written by his son, 'Abdullāh. Rather than being a poetic narration of the character of the Prophet Muhammad written by the Egyptian Sufi, Imam al-Bushiri, I found that the *Qasīdah Burdah* is more a poetic description of al-Sammān's distinct position as one of Allah's saints. Commonly, this work is read during the celebration of the Prophet's birthday (*Mawlid al-Nabī*), along with the *Barzanji* (the narration on the life of the Prophet). I obtained the bundle from Ahmad Rahman.
 45. Field notes, interview with Haji Andi Syadjaruddin in Pattene, Maros, 2009.
 46. See al-Razzāq, *Ighāthat al-lahfān*, (n.d.). I was given this work in March 2009 in Maros by Andi Makmur AB, one of 'Abd al-Razzāq's descendants.
 47. This religious situation in South Sulawesi seems to have been a reflection of the opposition to Sufi teachers in the Haramayn by reformist '*ulamā'*' who were against the popular religious practices initially conducted by *tarekats* in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. See Bruinessen (1999a, 705).
 48. See Azra's work on Sayyid 'Uthmān's fierce opposition against the heretic-mystical practices of the Sufi teachers and their followers in the Netherlands Indies from the late eighteenth to the early twentieth centuries (2006, 268–78).
 49. See al-Razzāq (n.d.). The last sentence in the quote is from Al-Ghazālī's *Ihyā' 'ulūm al-dīn* (n.d., 255)
 50. Perhaps he meant the Alawiyah Order, a sufi order followed by many people of Arab descent.
 51. The political influence of the Khalwatiyah Sammān Order on local statecraft is discussed in Abd Rahim Yunus's study on Sufism in the court of Buton. This study states that several works of the founder of the Khalwatiyah Sammān Order, Muhammad 'Abd al-Karīm al-Sammān, were found in the library of the Sultan of Buton and that three of Buton's sultans were noted as *khalīfah* of the Khalwatiyah Sammān Order (Yunus 1995).
 52. 'Abdullah himself ranks number 46, followed by his sons, Andi Amiruddin (d. 1979) and Andi Hamzah (Rahman 1997, 132).
 53. 'Abdullah, "Mededeelingen Omtrent." In his magnum opus, *Sair al-Sālikīn*, al-Falimbānī mentions the *silsilah* or the listed names of the shaykhs of the Khalwatiyah Sammān Order. Al-Falimbānī himself said that he was directly initiated into the order by its founder, Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Karīm al-Sammān al-Qādiri al-Khalwati al-Madanī when he was in Medina (al-Falimbānī n.d., 212).

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2. Booth, Anne. 1988. "Living Standards and the Distribution of Income in Colonial Indonesia: A Review of the Evidence." *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 19(2): 310–34.
3. Feener, Michael R., and Mark E. Cammack, eds. 2007. *Islamic Law in Contemporary Indonesia: Ideas and Institutions*. Cambridge: Islamic Legal Studies Program.
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5. Utriza, Ayang. 2008. "Mencari Model Kerukunan Antaragama." *Kompas*. March 19: 59.
6. Ms. *Undhang-Undhang Banten*, L.Or.5598, Leiden University.
7. Interview with K.H. Sahal Mahfudz, Kajen, Pati, June 11th, 2007.

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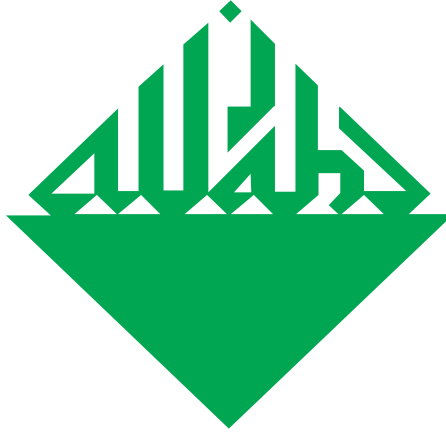
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السنة الرابعة والعشرون، العدد ٢، ٢٠١٧



الحركات المناهضة للمشايخ
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