

STUDIA ISLAMIKA

INDONESIAN JOURNAL FOR ISLAMIC STUDIES

Volume 10, Number 3, 2003



MAPPING RADICAL ISLAM
IN INDONESIA

Jamhari

REINFORCING NEO-SUFISM IN THE MALAY-INDONESIAN WORLD:
SHAṬṬĀRIYYAH ORDER IN WEST SUMATRA

Oman Fathurahman

THE PENYENGAT SCHOOL:
A REVIEW OF THE INTELLECTUAL TRADITION
IN THE MALAY-RIAU KINGDOM

Alimuddin Hassan Palawa

STUDIA ISLAMIKA

Indonesian Journal for Islamic Studies

Vol. 10, no. 3, 2003

EDITORIAL BOARD:

M. Quraish Shihab (UIN Jakarta)

Taufik Abdullah (LIPI Jakarta)

Nur A. Fadhil Lubis (IAIN Sumatra Utara)

M.C. Ricklefs (Melbourne University)

Martin van Bruinessen (Utrecht University)

John R. Bowen (Washington University, St. Louis)

M. Atho Mudzhar (IAIN Yogyakarta)

M. Kamal Hasan (International Islamic University, Kuala Lumpur)

EDITOR-IN-CHIEF

Azyumardi Azra

EDITORS

Saiful Mujani

Jamhari

Jujat Burhanuddin

Fu'ad Jabali

Oman Fathurahman

ASSISTANT TO THE EDITORS

Heni Nuroni

ENGLISH LANGUAGE ADVISOR

Lucy Rhydwen-Marett

ARABIC LANGUAGE ADVISOR

Nursamad

COVER DESIGNER

S. Prinka

STUDIA ISLAMIKA (ISSN 0215-0492) is a journal published by the Center for the Study of Islam and Society (PPIM) UIN Syarif Hidayatullah, Jakarta (STT DEPPEN No. 129/SK/DITJEN/PPG/STT/1976) and sponsored by the Australia-Indonesia Institute (AII). It specializes in Indonesian Islamic studies in particular, and South-east Asian Islamic Studies in general, and is intended to communicate original researches and current issues on the subject. This journal warmly welcomes contributions from scholars of related disciplines.

All articles published do not necessarily represent the views of the journal, or other institutions to which it is affiliated. They are solely the views of the authors. The articles contained in this journal have been refereed by the Board of Editors.

STUDIA ISLAMIKA has been accredited by The Ministry of National Education, Republic of Indonesia as an academic journal (SK Dirjen Dikti No. 69/DIKTI/2000).

Oman Fathurahman

Reinforcing Neo-Sufism in the Malay-Indonesian World: Shaṭṭāriyyah Order in West Sumatra

Abstraksi: *Tarekat, sebagai organisasi dalam dunia tasawuf, telah memainkan peran yang sangat penting dalam perkembangan Islam di dunia Melayu-Indonesia. Hal ini terutama terkait dengan kenyataan bahwa Islam yang masuk pada masa awal ke wilayah ini bercorak tasawuf.*

Artikel ini mendiskusikan salah satu jenis tarekat terpenting dalam proses islamisasi di dunia Melayu-Indonesia, yakni Shaṭṭāriyyah, dengan secara khusus menyoroti dinamika dan perkembangannya di Sumatra Barat. Pembahasan ajaran tarekat Shaṭṭāriyyah di Sumatra Barat ini diletakkan dalam kerangka penguatan ajaran neo-Sufisme di dunia Melayu-Indonesia.

Seperti dikemukakan sejumlah sarjana, perkembangan tarekat Shaṭṭāriyyah di dunia Melayu-Indonesia tidak dapat dilepaskan dari khalifah utamanya, Abdurrauf al-Sinkili (1615-1693). Melalui sejumlah murid yang berguru kepadanya, seperti Shaikh Burhanuddin Ulakan dari Sumatra Barat, dan Shaikh Abdul Muhyi dari Pamijahan Jawa Barat, ajaran tarekat Shaṭṭāriyyah tersebar ke berbagai wilayah di dunia Melayu-Indonesia.

Bersama-sama dengan tarekat lain, seperti tarekat Naqshbandiyyah misalnya, tarekat Shaṭṭāriyyah yang dikembangkan oleh al-Sinkili dan murid-muridnya ini kemudian mengembangkan ajaran neo-Sufism, yang salah satu karakter utama ajarannya adalah melakukan rekonsiliasi antara ajaran tasawuf dan syariat (fiqh). Dalam konteks tradisi intelektual Islam di dunia Melayu-Indonesia, ajaran tasawuf dengan corak neo-Sufis ini telah menjadi wacana dominan sejak awal abad ke-17, sehingga mempengaruhi hampir semua karya-karya keislaman yang muncul, khususnya di bidang tasawuf.

Selain akan melihat persebaran tarekat Shaṭṭāriyyah di Sumatra Barat melalui tokoh utamanya, Syaikh Burhanuddin Ulakan, yang akan menjadi

fokus utama pembahasan artikel ini juga adalah mengenai bagaimana tarekat Shaṭṭāriyyah berkembang di Sumatra Barat? Perubahan seperti apa yang terjadi menyangkut sifat dan kecenderungan ajaran neo-Sufismenya, khususnya pada periode belakangan (abad ke-19 dan 20)? Dan bagaimana pula gambaran silsilah guru-murid tarekat Shaṭṭāriyyah di Sumatra Barat tersebut?

Penting dikemukakan bahwa perkembangan tarekat Shaṭṭāriyyah di Sumatra Barat hingga abad ke-20 ini telah memperlihatkan satu kecenderungan penting menyangkut rumusan ajaran tasawuf filosofisnya, yakni "lebih lunak" dibanding rumusan sebelumnya. Hal ini menunjukkan betapa ajaran neo-Sufisme semakin mengakar kuat di kalangan muslim di dunia Melayu-Indonesia, khususnya pada periode abad ke-19 dan 20.

Indikasi semakin kuatnya ajaran neo-Sufisme di Sumatra Barat ini, antara lain, tampak dalam kenyataan bahwa jika al-Sinkili di Aceh pada abad ke-17 misalnya, masih mengajarkan doktrin waḥdat al-wujūd, di Sumatra Barat, ajaran waḥdat al-wujūd tersebut ternyata bukan saja diperlunak, lebih dari itu bahkan dilucuti dari keseluruhan ajaran tarekat Shaṭṭāriyyah, karena dianggap bertentangan dengan ajaran dan praktek sharī'at. Pada gilirannya, sepanjang menyangkut tarekat Shaṭṭāriyyah di Sumatra Barat, ajaran tarekat Shaṭṭāriyyah tanpa doktrin waḥdat al-wujūd ini menjadi salah satu sifat dan kecenderungannya yang khas.

Perkembangan ini relatif berbeda dengan gambaran sebelumnya yang dikemukakan oleh sejumlah sarjana, seperti B. J. O. Schrieke, Karel A. Steenbrink, Martin van Bruinessen, dan beberapa sarjana lainnya, bahwa tarekat Shaṭṭāriyyah di Sumatra Barat, khususnya pada masa-masa awal, merupakan kelompok tarekat yang paling giat mengembangkan ajaran waḥdat al-wujūd, dan berhadap-hadapan dengan tarekat Naqsybandiyyah yang disebut sebagai pengembang doktrin waḥdat al-shuhūd.

Kemudian, sejak mulai berkembangnya pada abad ke-17, hingga kini, tarekat Shaṭṭāriyyah telah tersebar ke berbagai pelosok di Sumatra Barat, mulai dari daerah Padang Pariaman dan Tanah Datar, menyusul kemudian daerah Agam, Solok, Sawah Lunto Sijunjung, Pasaman, dan Pesisir Selatan. Dengan demikian, tarekat Shaṭṭāriyyah yang dikembangkan oleh para ulamanya di Sumatra Barat telah melalui jalur persebarannya mulai dari daerah pantai pesisir sampai ke darek atau luhak nan tigo, yaitu: Luhak Tanah Datar, Luhak Agam, dan Luhak Lima Puluh Kota. Perkembangan jalur penyebaran tarekat Shaṭṭāriyyah ini umumnya diikuti pula oleh persebaran naskah-naskah bercorak neo-Sufis yang selalu menjadi pegangan para anggotanya, sehingga naskah-naskah tersebut semakin bertambah jumlahnya dari waktu ke waktu.

Reinforcing Neo-Sufism in the Malay-Indonesian World: Shattāriyyah Order in West Sumatra

خلاصة: كانت الطرق الصوفية تلعب دورا هاما في عالم الملايو-إندونيسيا منذ وقت مبكر وخاصة لأن الإسلام الذي انتشر في المنطقة كان له طبيعته الصوفية، وهذا يعني أن الطريفة من حيث جماعة منظمة لا بد أن توجد في المناطق التي انتشر فيها الإسلام في عالم الملايو-إندونيسيا. وهذه المقالة تناقش إحدى أهم الطرق الصوفية التي أسهمت في نشر الإسلام في عالم الملايو-إندونيسيا متمثلة في الطريقة الشطارية بسومطرة الغربية، وهذا البحث الذي تتخذ هذه الطريقة موضوعا له قد وضع في إطار التأكيد على المذهب الصوفي الجديد (neo-Sufism) في عالم الملايو-إندونيسيا.

ولقد كان تطور الطريقة الشطارية في ملايو-إندونيسيا متركزا حول شخص رئيسي واحد هو الشيخ عبد الرؤوف السنكلي بآتشيه، فبفضل عدد من تلاميذه انتشرت الطريقة في مختلف المناطق بعالم الملايو-إندونيسيا، وبالسير جنباً إلى جنب مع الطرق الصوفية الأخرى قامت الطريقة الشطارية التي طورها الشيخ السنكلي بنشر تعاليم المذهب الصوفي الجديد في عالم الملايو-إندونيسيا. وكان من بين تعاليم المذهب الصوفي الجديد التي تكتسب أهمية خاصة هي التقارب (*rapprochement*) بين التصوف والشريعة.

وطبقا للتراث الفكري الإسلامي بعالم الملايو-إندونيسيا كانت تعاليم المذهب الصوفي الجديد سائدة منذ أوائل القرن السابع عشر الميلادي وفرض تأثيره على الكتابات الصوفية، وبالإضافة إلى متابعة انتشار الطريقة الشطارية في سومطرة الغربية من خلال الشيخ برهان الدين أولاكن (Shaikh Burhanuddin Ulakan) أحد الرموز الهامة لهذه الطريقة تقوم هذه المقالة أيضا بإلقاء الضوء على الكيفية التي انتشرت بها الطريقة بالمنطقة، وما هي التغيرات التي حدثت لها من وجهة نظر المذهب الصوفي الجديد

وبالأخص خلال أواخر القرن التاسع عشر والقرن العشرين الميلادي، وكذلك طبيعة العلاقة بين الشيخ ومريديه في سومطرة الغربية.

ويشير تطور الطريقة الشطارية بسومطرة الغربية قبل القرن العشرين الميلادي إلى سمة هامة تتمثل في ابتداء فلسفة صوفية أكثر تفتحا من ذي قبل، وهذا يعني أن تعاليم المذهب الصوفي الجديد كانت قوية طوال القرنين التاسع عشر والعشرين الميلاديين في عالم الملايو-إندونيسيا عامة وفي سومطرة الغربية خاصة.

وكان تعزيز مكانة المذهب الصوفي الجديد بسومطرة الغربية يبدل عليه هذه الحقيقة وهي أنه في الوقت الذي روج فيه السنكيلي — من خلال آرائه المختلفة — عقيدة وحدة الوجود في آتشي في القرن السابع عشر الميلادي، كانت وحدة الوجود في سومطرة الغربية قد عانت من الضعف بل فوق ذلك تم في الحقيقة إزالتها من الطريقة الشطارية باعتبارها عقيدة مخالفة لعقيدة أهل السنة والجماعة ومناقضة للشريعة، وطبقا للمخطوطات التي ترجع إليها هذه الدراسة فإن تحرير عقيدة وحدة الوجود من الطريقة الشطارية يعد إحدى السمات البارزة التي تميزت بها الطريقة الشطارية في سومطرة الغربية.

وهذه النتيجة مخالفة لما انتهى إليه الدراسات التي أجراها كل من شريك (B.J.O. Schrieke) و ستينرنك (Karel A. Steenbrink) و برينسان (Martin van Bruinessen) وعدد من الباحثين الآخرين إذ يذهبون إلى أن الطريقة الشطارية بسومطرة الغربية وخاصة في مرحلتها المبكرة كانت أكثر الطرق نشاطا في ترويج عقيدة وحدة الوجود وكانت في صراع مع الطريقة التقشيدية التي روجت فكرة وحدة الشهود.

ولقد كانت الطريقة الشطارية منذ ظهورها في القرن السابع عشر الميلادي حتى الآن تستمر في الانتشار إلى مختلف مناطق سومطرة الغربية ابتداء من بادانج (Padang Pasaman) وتناه داتر (Tanah Datar) ومرورا بأجام (Agam) وسولوك (Solok) حتى سواه لونتو سجونجونج (Sawah Lunto Sijunjung) وباسامن (Pasaman) والساحل الجنوبي، وهكذا انتشرت تعاليم المذهب الصوفي الجديد الذي روجه شيوخ الطريقة الشطارية بشكل واسع ابتداء من المناطق الساحلية إلى المدن والقرى فكان هناك مركز تناه داتر وأجام وليما بوله كوتا (Lima Puluh Kota)، وكانت القنوات التي انتشر منها وبها الطريقة الشطارية وتطورها مصحوبة بانتشار النصوص لأصحاب المذهب الصوفي الجديد التي تمثل دليلا هاما لأعضائها مما نتج عنه زيادة في عدد المخطوطات الشطارية.

Introduction

Tarīqah (Sūfī orders) have played an important role in the Malay-Indonesian world since early times, particularly because the Islam that came to this region was originally of a mystical nature (*taṣawwuf*).² This meant that *tarīqah*, as organisations within the world of *taṣawwuf*, could soon be found in all the regions of Malay-Indonesian world where Islam was spreading. In several specific areas, *tarīqah* became a palace phenomenon, when followers and some *tarīqah murshids* (teachers) became part of the family or became officials in the palace.

In Aceh for example, Nuruddin al-Raniri (d. 1658 A.D.), who was one of the prime teachers in the *Rifā'iyyah* order, became the *Shaikh al-Islām*—one of the most senior positions in the Sultanate under the Sultan himself—during the reign of Sultan Iskandar Tsani (1637-1641 A.D.) and the early reign of Sultanah Safiatuddin (1641-1675 A.D.). Similarly, Abdurrauf al-Sinkili (1615-1690 A.D.), who was the prime caliph of the Shaṭṭāriyyah order in the Malay-Indonesian world, was trusted by Sultanah Safiatuddin for his entire career to hold the position of *Qāḍī Malik al-ʿĀdil* or religious law adviser for the Kingdom, with responsibility for various social-religious issues.³

A similar situation also took place in other regions, such as Cirebon and Banten, in subsequent periods. Several sources explain that a number of senior kingdom officials in the Sultanate of Cirebon and Banten were students of *tarīqah* and directly related to *murshids* in Mecca (Bruinessen 1994a: 13). In the Kraton Cirebon (Cirebon Palace), for example, several followers became *murshids*, specifically in Shaṭṭāriyyah, such as P.S. Suledinigrat, who was also a descendant of Sunan Gunung Djati. Other Shaṭṭāriyyah *murshid* included Mbah Muqayyim, a Kraton Muslim leader, who later established an Islamic boarding school (*pesantren*) in Buntet, which has now become one of the most important bases for the Shaṭṭāriyyah order in the Cirebon region (Muhaimin 1997: 10). In the Banten Sultanate, *tarīqah*, aside from becoming a means of obtaining spiritual strength, was also trusted in palace circles as a medium for attaining support, legitimising and increasingly strengthening their position as rulers (Bruinessen 1994b).

The development of Shaṭṭāriyyah—which was one of the most important types of Sūfī orders in the process of Islamisation in the Malay-Indonesian world—was centered on one main figure, Abdurrauf al-Sinkili in Aceh. By way of a number of his students, the

teachings of the Shaṭṭāriyyah order then spread to various regions in the Malay-Indonesian world. Together with other *Ṣūfī* orders, the Shaṭṭāriyyah order, which was developed by al-Sinkili and his students, disseminated the teachings of neo-Sufism in the Malay-Indonesian world. Amongst the most noteworthy characteristics of neo-Sufism is the reconciliation of *taṣawwuf* and aspects of *sharī'ah* (Azra 1994: 109).

In the context of Islamic intellectual traditions in the Malay-Indonesian world, the teaching of *taṣawwuf* with Neo-Sufist qualities has dominated discourse since the early 17th century, and thus influences most Islamic manuscripts.

The article looks at the dynamics and developments in Neo-Sufist teachings from the 19th century until the mid-20th century, using the Shaṭṭāriyyah order in West Sumatra as a case study. Along with looking at the spread of the Shaṭṭāriyyah order in West Sumatra by way of Shaikh Burhanuddin Ulakan, a key figure in the order, this discussion will also focus on how Shaṭṭāriyyah spread in this region, what changes took place in terms of the teachings of neo-Sufism, especially during the later period (19th and 20th centuries), and the nature of the Shaṭṭāriyyah teacher-student *silsilah*⁴ (genealogy) in West Sumatra.

It is important to point out that the main sources for the discussion in this article are both historical and didactic manuscripts related to Shaṭṭāriyyah.

The Shaṭṭāriyyah Order:

Tracing the Roots of its History and Teachings

Tarīqah was basically unknown as an institution in Islam until the 8th century Hijriah or the 14th century A.D. This means that, as an organisation in the world of *taṣawwuf*, it can be considered something new and previously unfound in early Islamic tradition, including at the time of the Prophet. It is not surprising then that nearly all known types of *tarīqah* are related to the names of later groups of religious leaders or scholars, who lived centuries after the time of the Prophet (Bruinessen 1996: 47).

Qādiriyyah for example, is related to Shaikh 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jailānī (1079-1166 A.D.), Suhrāwardiyyah is related to Shihāb al-Dīn Abū Ḥafs al-Suhrāwardī (1145-1235 A.D.), Rifā'iyyah is related to Aḥmad ibn 'Alī Abū al-'Abbās al-Rifā'ī (.....-1182 A.D.), Shādhiliyyah is related to Abū al-Ḥasan Aḥmad ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Shādhilī (1197-1258 A.D.), and Naqshbandiyyah is related to Bahā'

al-Dīn al-Naqshband (1317-1389 A.D.) (see Trimmingham 1998: 14; Rivzi 1983, I: 84-88).

This is also the case for Shaṭṭāriyyah; the name Shaṭṭāriyyah comes from Shāh ‘Abd Allāh al-Shaṭṭārī (d. 1485 A.D.), a scholar who has familial connections to Syihāb al-Dīn Abū Ḥafs ‘Umar Suhrāwardī⁵ (1145-1234 A.D.), a *Ṣūfī* scholar who popularised Suhrāwardiyyah, a *Ṣūfī* order that had earlier been established by his uncle, Ḍiyā’ al-Dīn Abū Najīb al-Suhrāwardī (1097-1168 A.D.) (Trimingham 1998: 33-34). If traced even further back, Shaṭṭāriyyah actually has its roots in the Transoxiana tradition, because its *silsilah* relates to Abū Yazīd al-‘Ishqī, who is related to Abū Yazīd al-Bustāmī (d. 873 A.D.) and Imām Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq (d. 763 A.D.). It is not surprising then that this Shaṭṭāriyyah is known as ‘Ishqiyyah in Iran, or Bistāmiyyah in Turkey Uthmani (Trimingham 1998: 97-98), and was fairly popular in the Middle East in around the 15th Century, before it faded and its influence was replaced by Naqshbandiyyah (Rivzi 1983, II: 152).

‘Ishqiyyah, or Bistāmiyyah, experienced a resurgence after Shāh ‘Abd Allāh al-Shaṭṭār developed it in India, and called it Shaṭṭāriyyah. After that, Shaṭṭāriyyah was always linked to Indian forms of *taṣawwuf*, although the names Abū Yazīd al-‘Ishqī and Abū Yazīd al-Bustāmī continued to be the basis of its *silsilah*, with the connection to Imām Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq, and finally to the Prophet Muhammad.

In the Indian context, Shaṭṭāriyyah –and also other *Ṣūfī* orders that had their roots in India, such as Chishtiyyah, Suhrāwardiyyah, Firdausiyyah, and Qādiriyyah– appeared when various religious movements focused on Islamic proselytising toward non-Muslim groups. In India, this religious expansion constituted the first stage of religious movements, which according to scholars can generally be divided into four categories:

First, religious and social expansion, which occurred around the 6th century H/12th century A.D. until the 10th century H/16th century A.D.; *secondly*, religious and social reformation, which occurred around the 11th century H/17th century A.D.; *thirdly*, the period of regeneration which occurred in the 12th century H/18th century A.D.; and *fourth*, the period of reorientation which occurred in the 19th century (Nizami, *Shaṭṭārī*, 1999).

As it was in a process of religious expansion during this period, Shaṭṭāriyyah was concerned the struggle to raise spiritual and moral values through the spread of various Islamic teachings. Shāh

‘Abd Allāh al-Shaṭṭār, along with his followers, developed an attitude of adaptation and self-adjustment towards local community rituals and traditions, which were still greatly influenced by Hindu teachings and rituals.⁶ On one hand, this accommodating attitude by the followers of the Shaṭṭāriyyah order made it easier to encourage non-Muslims to embrace Islamic teachings, and this was even considered to be the key to the successful development of *ṭarīqah* teachings. On the other hand, it also produced a plurality of *taṣawwuf* concepts synchronised with and having much in common with Hindu concepts and rituals.

Shāh ‘Abd Allāh, as a founder of the Shaṭṭāriyyah order, settled in Mandu, a village in central India, where he established the first *khanqah*⁷ for the followers of Shaṭṭāriyyah. He wrote a religious text entitled *Laṭā’if al-Gaibiyah*, about the fundamental principles of Shaṭṭāriyyah teachings, which are described as the fastest way to achieve the highest level of mystical knowledge (Rivzi 1983, II: 153-154). This work was then perfected by two of his prominent students, Shaikh Muḥammad A‘lā, who was known as Shaikh Qāḍī Bengal (Qazan Syaṭṭārī), and Shaikh Ḥafīz Jawnpur. The latter was noted as a student of Shāh ‘Abd Allāh, who continued to develop the Shaṭṭāriyyah genealogy in northern India through his student, Shaikh Budhdhan. Later, a spiritual student of Shaikh Budhdhan, whose name was Shaikh Bahā’ al-Dīn, also wrote a religious text entitled *Risālah Shaṭṭāriyyah*, which is also filled with the principles of Shaṭṭāriyyah teachings.

It is important to note that while the Shaṭṭāriyyah *silsilah* was developing, the names of the two students of Shāh ‘Abd Allāh mentioned above, that is Shaikh Qāḍī Bengal and Shaikh Ḥafīz Jawnpur, were unknown, especially in the Malay-Indonesia world. The names that filled the position of caliph of Shaṭṭāriyyah following Shāh ‘Abd Allāh were Imām Qāḍī al-Shaṭṭārī, Shaikh Ḥidayat Allāh al-Sarmastī, Shaikh Ḥāji Ḥuḍūrī, and Shaikh Muḥammad Gauth.⁸

Among these caliphs, Shaikh Muḥammad Gauth (d. 1563 A.D.) was the Shaṭṭāriyyah caliph who, through his various compositions, was most successful in establishing the doctrine and teachings of Shaṭṭāriyyah (Trimingham 1998: 98). He wrote a number of works containing the fundamentals of Shaṭṭāriyyah teachings, among them: *Jawāhir al-Khamsah*, *Kilāh Makhzan*, *Damā’ir*, *Basāyir*, and *Kanz al-Tauḥīd*. However, it is important to note that among the works concerning Shaṭṭāriyyah that appeared in India, only *Jawāhir al-Khamsah* was passed on to the following generation of

Shaṭṭāriyyah leaders. This text contained a number of important doctrines and formulations relating to Shaṭṭāriyyah in the early period of its growth in India. Unfortunately, until recently the existence of this text was unknown, with the result that knowledge of its varied content is only found through other sources in which it is quoted.⁹

Shaikh Muḥammad Gauth was an 'ulamā' of Shaṭṭāriyyah who was relatively close to eminent Hindu figures, and thus strengthened the relationship with them. He wrote *Baḥr al-Ḥayāt*, consisting of translations from the *Amrita Kunda*, which discusses, amongst other things, several similarities between Islam, especially *taṣawwuf* aspects, and the concepts and rituals of Hinduism. Through this work Shaikh Muḥammad Gauth also adopted the techniques and practices of Yoga as part of the formulation of *dhikr*¹⁰ in the Shaṭṭāriyyah order (Rizvi 1983, II: 158-159). Indeed, the *taṣawwuf* traditions in India and these practices of Yoga had influenced each other since the 11th century, long before Shaṭṭāriyyah was developed in India (Rizvi 1983, I: 323).

A discussion about the human organism as micro cosmos (small world), related to the larger world (macro cosmos) is included in *Baḥr al-Ḥayāt*. This work also explains the exercises that must be performed by those who wish to attain one of the objectives of Yoga, that is, the unity of the external body with the internal soul (Rizvi 1983, I; 335-336). Certain phases must be observed in the practice of Yoga before attaining perfection, and it is therefore not surprising that these practices have many similarities with *ṣarīqah* practices in the mystical Islamic world (*taṣawwuf*). In *astanga-yoga*, for example, there are five elements related to the exercises for the external body (*kaya-samskaras*): *Yama* (self restraint), *Niyama* (loyalty/devotion), *Asana* (sitting in a certain position), *Pranayama* (controlling desire), and *Pratyahara* (closing the five senses) (Pott 1966: 4-5).

There are three elements related to spiritual perfection (*citta-samskaras*), following on from the five external stages above: *Dharaṇa* (concentration of thoughts on one particular focus), *Dhyana* (meditation), and *Samadhi*. This final stage consists of a condition rather difficult to describe with words. A person who is in the condition of *samadhi* experiences a state of bliss. Furthermore, their consciousness as a human being is lost (*sunya*) (Pott 1966: 6). *Samadhi* is similar to the concept of *fanā* in *taṣawwuf*, which is the highest stage of spiritual attainment for a *sālik*.

Shaikh Muḥammad Gauth was thus considered to be the '*ulamā*' in Shaṭṭāriyyah most influential in developing the characteristics and inclinations of the teachings of Shaṭṭāriyyah order in India, which was syncretic with Hindu teachings and the practices of Yoga.

Shaikh Muḥammad Gauth also wrote *Kitāb Mi'rāj*, which tells the story of his own spiritual experiences. As a result of this work, which is considered to use too many pantheistic idioms, Shaikh Muḥammad Gauth was accused by many of the Gujarat '*ulamā*' of being extreme, and was considered to be a heretic (Trimingham 1998: 98).

Amongst the most well known students of Shaikh Muḥammad Gauth is Shaikh Wajīh al-Dīn 'Alawī (d. 1609 A.D.), who lived in Ahmadābād, India. Shaikh Wajīh al-Dīn persevered in defending his teacher against the various accusations from the '*ulamā*' in Gujarat. Along with Shaṭṭāriyyah, Shaikh Wajīh al-Dīn also affiliated to other *ṭarīqahs*, such as Khishtiyyah, Suhrāwardiyyah, Mādariyyah, Khalwātiyyah, Hamadāniyyah, Naqshbandiyyah and Firdausiyyah (Rizvi 1983, II: 130).

It is important to note that the development of Shaṭṭāriyyah in India cannot be separated from the support of the authorities towards the activities of Shaikhs and followers. The prominent figures in Shaṭṭāriyyah were cooperative, and had a close relationship with the sultans who were in power. Several of the followers of Shaṭṭāriyyah were active in the state political activities. Shāh 'Abd al-Shaṭṭār dedicated his work, *Laṭā'if al-Gaibiyyah*, to Sulṭān Giyath al-Dīn Khaljī, while Shaikh Muḥammad Gauth also helped Sulṭān Bābur to pacify the area of Gwalīyar. Shaikh Muḥammad Gauth's brother, Shaikh Bahlūl, maintained a close relationship with Raja Humayun (Nizami 1999).

The development of the Shaṭṭāriyyah order began to diminish after the death of Shaikh Muḥammad Gauth and Shaikh Wajīh al-Dīn 'Alawī. In the following period, the popularity of Shaṭṭāriyyah was replaced with enthusiasm for Naqshbandiyyah and Qādiriyyah. However, Shaikh Wajīh al-Dīn 'Alawī apparently "left behind" a student called Sayyid Şibgat Allāh ibn Rūḥ Allāh Jamāl al-Barwajī (d. 1606 A.D.), who was born in India to Persian parents. Şibgat Allāh was a close friend of Faḍl Allāh al-Burhānpūrī al-Hindī (d. 1620 A.D.), whose work *Tuḥfat al-Mursalāh ilā Rūḥ al-Nabī* caused heated discussions in the '*ulamā*' community, and which caused uproar amongst Malay-Indonesian Muslims from the early to mid-17th century (Azra 1994: 85).

For several years, under the protection of local authorities, Şibgat Allāh taught the Shaṭṭāriyyah doctrine in his place of birth, before finally travelling to Mecca in 999 II/1591 A.D. in order to fulfil the pilgrimage (*ḥajj*). Şibgat Allāh then returned to his homeland, and lived in Ahmadābād for a year. He also had the opportunity to visit Bijapur, a *ṣūfīs* centre in India, where he won over Sulṭān Ibrāhīm 'ndil Shāh, who then helped him to continue his journey to Mecca in the *ḥajj* season of 1005 II/1596 A.D. Şibgat Allāh felt more able to develop the Shaṭṭāriyyah order in Mecca and Medina (Ḥaramayn). After finishing his *ḥajj*, he decided to stay in Medina, where he built a house and *ribāt* (a building used by *ṣūfīs* for various activities, including teaching, retreats, *dhikr* etc) , which was quite possibly a religious donation (*waqf*) or gift from the Sulṭān in Ahmadābād, Bijapur and the Uthmani officials in Medina (Azra 1994: 85).

Sayyid Şibgat Allāh had brought about a new era in the development of the Shaṭṭāriyyah order. This was a good example of how interaction between different knowledges caused an exchange of ideas and the transmission of Islamic "small traditions" from India. Moreover, Sayyid Şibgat Allāh, who died in Medina, was a nomadic '*ulamā*', and played a key role in the dissemination of Islamic ideas in Ḥaramayn (Azra 1994: 84). He was then known as the foremost Shaikh in Shaṭṭāriyyah, and considered the person most responsible for the introduction of *Jawāhir al-Khamsah*, written by Shaikh Muḥammad Gauth, to the '*ulamā*'s in Ḥaramayn.

The scholarly career of Sayyid Şibgat Allāh in Ḥaramayn was not hindered any further. He actively taught in the Nabawī mosque and in his own *ribāt*. He also wrote a number of works on Islamic mysticism (*taṣawwuf*), theology and exegesis (*tafsīr*). His students came from various regions and the most prominent of these, who then went on to continue developing the Shaṭṭāriyyah order, were Aḥmad al-Shināwī (1567 A.D.-.....) and Aḥmad al-Qushāshī (1583-1660 A.D.). These two men were largely responsible for the dissemination of Şibgat Allāh's teachings in Ḥaramayn. The relationship between al-Shināwī and al-Qushāshī was unique. Al-Shināwī was a school friend of al-Qushāshī when they studied under Sayyid Şibgat Allāh, but al-Shināwī was also a teacher and the father-in-law of al-Qushāshī. He taught al-Qushāshī about various areas of Islamic knowledge, such as *ḥadīth*, *fiqh*, *kalām* and *taṣawwuf*. Al-Shināwī also initiated al-Qushāshī as the next caliph of Shaṭṭāriyyah (Azra 1994: 88).

Following the death of al-Shināwī, responsibility for the dissemination of Shaṭṭāriyyah in Ḥaramayn was taken on by al-Qushāshī. Thus the integration of the scholarship of al-Qushāshī does not need to be doubted. He was a prolific writer during his time. He wrote tens of works, in several fields of knowledge, such as *taṣawwuf*, *ḥadīth*, *fiqh*, *uṣūl al-fiqh*, and *tafsīr*. From all of these works, only *al-Simʿ al-Majīd* was published (Azra 1994: 88-89).

Under al-Qushāshī, the influence of the Shaṭṭāriyyah order in Ḥaramayn was placed on a solid ground. Furthermore, in the hands of al-Qushāshī – who had already had his path cleared by al-Shināwī – Shaṭṭāriyyah experienced a reorientation in terms of its earlier characteristics, which tended to emphasise mystical aspects, and became a *Ṣūfī* order that taught a blend of *taṣawwuf* and *sharīʿah*, and became known as neo-Sufism.

Among the prominent features and characteristics of the teachings of neo-Sufism during the period of al-Qushāshī and al-Shināwī was a desire to reconcile the *taṣawwuf* traditions and the traditions of *sharīʿah*. As shown in a study by Azra (1994), this reconciliation was indeed the most evident tendency of the 'ulamā' involved in the intellectual network of Ḥaramayn in the 17th and 18th centuries. This tendency can be considered to be a reaction to the long-running conflict between the *ṣūfīs* (*ahl al-ḥaqīqah*) and the *fuqahā'* (*ahl al-sharīʿah*). Shaṭṭāriyyah also instigated a meeting of several scholarly traditions, in particular the *ḥadīth* tradition, which then further strengthened the desire to justify various *taṣawwuf* and *ṭarīqah* teachings, and to clarify that *taṣawwuf* and *ṭarīqah* do not have to be considered to be in conflict with the teachings of the Qur'ān and the Sunnah. This reminded the 'ulamā' involved in the 'ulamā' network of Ḥaramayn, including eminent figures in Shaṭṭāriyyah, that they played a role in the *silsilah* of the *ḥadīth* (Azra 1994: 110-117).

During the following period, al-Qushāshī was also considered to be responsible for the transmission of neo-Sufism through Shaṭṭāriyyah teachings to various corners of the world, including Malay-Indonesia, as a result of teaching students from a number of different areas. The most important students to mention in this context are Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī (1614-1690 A.D.) and Shaikh Abdur-*rauf* al-Sinkili (1615-1693 A.D.).¹¹

Although better known as a caliph of the Naqshbandiyyah order, al-Kūrānī played an important role in the dissemination of Shaṭṭāriyyah in the Malay-Indonesian region because of his rela-

tionship with al-Sinkili. Al-Kūrānī did not pass his caliphate onto anyone –including al-Sinkili– in Shaṭṭāriyyah, but he was al-Sinkili’s main teacher after the death of al-Qushāshī, especially in the area of knowledge about the various mystic-philosophic doctrines studied by al-Sinkili.

Al-Sinkili himself –who can be considered the most authoritative ‘*ulamā*’ in the dissemination of the Shaṭṭāriyyah order in the Malay-Indonesian world– had already clearly demonstrated his position as a powerful ‘*ulamā*’, who was able to equate himself with the important ‘*ulamā*’ from the rest of the world. Coming from an outlying area of the Muslim World, al-Sinkili was able to enter the core ‘*ulamā*’ network and win over the majority of the ‘*ulamā*’ in Ḥaramayn and then establish himself as a prominent student (Azra 1994: 198). As will be demonstrated in the following discussion, as far as the dissemination of neo-Sufism through Shaṭṭāriyyah teachings in Malay-Indonesian is concerned, al-Sinkili was a key figure, as almost all the *silsilah* of Shaṭṭāriyyah can be traced to him.

The Shaṭṭāriyyah Order in the Malay-Indonesian World

The early development of the Shaṭṭāriyyah order in the Malay-Indonesian world cannot be separated from Abdurrauf al-Sinkili’s return from Ḥaramayn early in the second half of the 17th century, in 1661 A.D., one year after the death of his teacher, al-Qushāshī.¹² As explained in one of his manuscripts, *‘Umdat al-Muḥtājīn ilā Sulūk Maslak al-Mufradīn*, al-Sinkili spent approximately 19 years in Ḥaramayn in order to study various areas of Islamic knowledge, such as *tafsīr*, *ḥadīth*, *fiqh*, *taṣawwuf*, *kalām* and so on. He studied these topics under no fewer than 15 teachers, 27 famous ‘*ulamā*’s, and prominent mystics, well-known in Jeddah, Mecca, Medina, Mokha, Bait al-Faqīh etc.¹³ Al-Sinkili’s return from Ḥaramayn can be considered as the early entrance of Shaṭṭāriyyah into the Malay-Indonesian world. Thus far there have been no works that mention the arrival of this *ṭarīqah* earlier.

In Aceh, al-Sinkili soon became a point of interest, both for the general community and for the palace, due to the depth of his knowledge. Sultanah Safiyatuddin entrusted him with the position of *Qāḍī Malik al-‘Ādil*, a religious leader with responsibility over socio-religious issues. Under the patronage of the Sultanah, al-Sinkili more easily disseminated his religious ideas. Moreover,

al-Sinkili was also available in Aceh as a moderator in the long-standing religious conflict between Nuruddin al-Raniri and the followers of *waḥdat al-wujūd* or *wujūdiyyah* doctrine of Hamzah Fansuri and Shamsuddin al-Sumatrani.

The socio-religious situation in Aceh strongly influenced religious thoughts and practices, including the formulation of reconciliatory Shattāriyyah teachings, which were constantly trying to unite two conflicting opinions. Amongst the most noticeable examples of this characteristic of al-Sinkili was his personal approach to the *waḥdat al-wujūd* doctrine. Al-Sinkili indicated his difference of opinion in relation to the *wujūdiyyah* doctrine of Hamzah Fansuri and al-Sumatrani, which was considered to emphasise the immanence of God in the world (*tashbīh*) too strongly, and often ignored His transcendental nature (*tanzīh*). However, al-Sinkili did not approve of the attitude of al-Raniri either, who opposed this teaching through radical means (see Azra 1994: 191, see also Fathurahman 1999).

The character of al-Sinkili, as shown in the religious matters above, indicated that he was a well-mannered and highly respected '*ulamā*'. His charisma attracted not only the Acehnese community, but also Muslim communities in other areas. This is evident from the number of students who came to Aceh to study Islamic knowledge with him.

The most well-known students of al-Sinkili are Shaikh Burhanuddin from Ulakan, Pariaman, West Sumatra, and Shaikh Abdul Muhyi from Pamijahan, Tasikmalaya, West Java. Both these students of al-Sinkili continued and developed the *silsilah* of Shattāriyyah, and became central figures in several areas. Shaikh Burhanuddin became the main '*ulamā*' out of all the Shattāriyyah caliphs in West Sumatra in the following period, whilst Shaikh Abdul Muhyi became one of the key links in the *silsilah* of Shattāriyyah in the West Java region in particular, and in Java in general.¹⁴

Al-Sinkili took on several other students from West Sumatra aside from Shaikh Burhanuddin.¹⁵ Several other sources also mention that al-Sinkili had another famous student in the region of Semenanjung Malaysia, Abdul Malik ibn Abdullah (1678-1736 A.D.), who was better known as Tok Pulau Manis from Trengganu.¹⁶ Azra (1994: 211) also mentions the name Tengku Dawud al-Jawi al-Fansuri al-Rumi as the student closest to al-Sinkili. With an excerpt from Hasjmi, Azra explains that Dawud al-Jawi al-Rumi was al-

Sinkili's prime caliph in Shaṭṭāriyyah. He, together with al-Sinkili, founded a *dayah*, a traditional religious educational institution, in Aceh. He also wrote a number of works (Azra 1994: 211).

A more detailed explanation about Tengku Dawud al-Jawi is offered by Imam Maulana Abdul Manaf Amin. According to him, when he, along with Buya Angku Salif and two of his students, made a devotional visit to the grave of Shaikh Abdurrauf al-Sinkili in Aceh, he was given an explanation from Shaikh Ibrahim, caretaker of the grave (*kuncen*), that Tengku Dawud al-Jawi came from Aceh, specifically from Peunayong. Aside from being his student in Shaṭṭāriyyah, because of his beautiful writing, Tengku Dawud al-Jawi was entrusted by al-Sinkili to become his personal secretary, with the duty of being the scribe for the works of al-Sinkili. As a result of this duty, Tengku Dawud al-Jawi was given the nickname Baba Dawud. The word "Baba" was taken from the Arabic *bāb*, which means "door". Thus Tengku Dawud al-Jawi was "the door" to knowledge, whilst his source of knowledge was Shaikh Abdurrauf al-Sinkili himself (Amin 2002: 93-96). After his death, Tengku Dawud al-Jawi was not buried with al-Sinkili in Kuala, but in his hometown, Peunayong.

Along with Tengku Dawud al-Jawi, al-Sinkili chose another student, Shaikh Abdul Wahid, who came from Arabia and who was adopted by al-Sinkili, to help write down several works. If Tengku Dawud al-Jawi was unavailable, then Shaikh Abdul Wahid would take on the responsibilities of being al-Sinkili's secretary. Shaikh Abdul Wahid was also employed by al-Sinkili to protect and take care of his *surau* (traditional Islamic educational institution, similar to *pesantren* in Java) (Amin 2002: 93). The next student and caliph of al-Sinkili, according to Imam Maulana Abdul Manaf Amin (2002: 98), was a man whose name is inscribed on his gravestone as "Orang Kaya Maharaja Lela" (d. 1702 A.D.).¹⁷ Based on historical notes, in the Islamic kingdom of Aceh since the reign of Sultan Iskandar Muda a position with the title "Orang Kaya Maharaja Srimaharaja", meaning Prime Minister, existed.¹⁸ The writing on the gravestone mentioned above therefore means that this student of al-Sinkili was an official of the Islamic kingdom of Aceh during that time.

Apparently, this student also had a close and special relationship with al-Sinkili - his grave is in the same *gubah* (building) as al-Sinkili's, along with Shaikh Abdul Wahid's, and that of another person mentioned as Fakih Ibrahim. According to Imam Maulana

Abdul Manaf Amin, Fakih Ibrahim was a close friend of al-Sinkili who was sentenced to death by the kingdom because he released a *fatwā* opposing the coronation of Safiatuddin as Sultanah in the kingdom of Aceh. Fakih Ibrahim believed that women had no right to become rulers in an Islamic government (Amin 2002: 92).

Next, Imam Maulana Abdul Manaf Amin mentions a student of al-Sinkili, called Shaikh Da'im ibn Shaikh Abdullah al-Malik al-Amin, who came from the region of Bugis, South Sulawesi. Apparently, Shaikh Da'im was also a *qāḍī* in the Acehnese kingdom (Amin 2002: 109).

Considering the scholarly reputation of al-Sinkili, and remembering that he had a relatively long life-span, up until the end of the 17th century (1693), it is a fair estimation that, apart from the students of his of whom we are aware, al-Sinkili probably had many other students that were not documented. In *Inilah Sejarah Ringkas Auliyaullah al-Salihin Shaikh Burhanuddin Ullakan yang Mengembangkan Agama Islam di Daerah Minangkabau*, for example, it says:

“... at the time it was very crowded with students from the entire land of Java (Indonesia) who demanded knowledge from al-Sinkili. There were also those who came from Melayu (Malaysia)...” (Amin 1993: 21).

One certainty is that from all the students of al-Sinkili, Shaikh Burhanuddin and Shaikh Abdul Muhyi were given authority to continue the *silsilah* of Shaṭṭāriyyah, and to develop various teachings, particularly in their homelands – West Sumatra and West Java.

According to Muhaimin (2001), it appears that there was another *silsilah* of Shaṭṭāriyyah in West Java aside from the one of Shaikh Abdul Muhyi, one which did not come from the *silsilah* of Shaikh Abdurrauf al-Sinkili. Muhaimin, for example, offers a *silsilah* that mentions that the caliph after al-Qushāshī was Mullā Ibrāhīm al-Mu'allā – possibly meaning Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī. After that, the next caliph is Thahir, then Ibrahim, next was Thahir Madani, then Muhammad Sayyid Madani, and Kyai Asy'ari, and finally Muhammad Anwaruddin Kriyani (Ki Buyut Kriyan). Unfortunately, Muhaimin doesn't mention the sources to support the “Cirebon version” of the *silsilah*. In a different section Muhaimin mentions that Shaṭṭāriyyah was brought to the Malay-Indonesian region by Shaikh Abdurrauf al-Sinkili, who taught the prominent

student Shaikh Abdul Muhyi Pamijahan (Muhaimin 2001: 339-341). In most Shaṭṭāriyyah manuscripts in Javanese and Sundanese, the *silsilah* that mention him always relate Shaikh Abdul Muhyi to Abdurrauf al-Sinkili, whilst the names mentioned in the Cirebon version of the *silsilah* never appear.¹⁹

Abdurrauf al-Sinkili emerges as the central figure in this Malay-Indonesian context, although he did not diminish the influence of al-Qushāshī. Al-Sinkili himself was strongly influenced by al-Qushāshī, and thus in one of his works, *Tanbīh al-Māshī*, Shaṭṭāriyyah order is also called Qushāshīyyah order. The complete title of this work is *Tanbīh al-Māshī al-Mansūb ilā Ṭarīq al-Qushāshī* (*Manual for Those Who Follow the al-Qushāshī Order*).

Azra (1994: 209) points out that the name “al-Qushāshī”, or “Qushāshīyyah”, was different from the name of the Shaṭṭāriyyah order that had been revived. It was a unique phenomenon in Malay-Indonesia, as it was probably an effort of al-Sinkili to separate it from the image of the earlier Shaṭṭāriyyah order (in particular the one developed in India, which was often considered to be too syncretic) and more closely identify this *ṭarīqah* with al-Qushāshī.²⁰

Al-Sinkili was apparently convinced that al-Qushāshī – along with al-Shināwī in Ḥaramayn – had already provided a re-orientation for Shaṭṭāriyyah, and it’s renewal meant it became an “orthodox *ṭarīqah*” that could more easily be accepted in various circles, including those who often opposed the beliefs and rituals of *ṭarīqah* (Archer 1937: 90-93).

The Development and Silsilah of the Shaṭṭāriyyah Order in West Sumatra

Some academics believe that Islam was first introduced to West Sumatra by Shaikh Burhanuddin (see, amongst others, Arnold 1913: 366; al-Attas 1969: 11). According to Arnold and al-Attas, Shaikh Burhanuddin, as well as being a student of Shaikh Abdurrauf al-Sinkili, was a student of ‘Abd Allāh ‘Ārif, an Arabic nomad who brought Islam to North Sumatra in approximately 506 H/1112 A.D. However, as argued by Azra (1988: 12), this opinion is difficult to accept, not only because there is no historical data to support it, but also because Shaikh Burhanuddin is thought to have lived from the mid 17th century until the early 18th century, a period quite different from that of Shaikh ‘Abd Allāh ‘Ārif (Daya 1990: 35).

Other sources argue that Islam arrived in West Sumatra in the first century Hijriyah (7th and 8th centuries A.D), well before the birth of Shaikh Burhanuddin, by means of unknown Muslim traders, and that Shaikh Burhanuddin was "only" a prominent preacher in the seventeenth century, not the person responsible for the emergence of Islam in West Java (Boestami et al, 1981: 3).

It is important to note that the name Shaikh Burhanuddin appears to refer not only to the prominent '*ulamā*' of Shaṭṭāriyyah, who was a student of Shaikh Abdurrauf al-Sinkili and who later became the central figure in Ulakan. According to Mahmud Yunus (1979:20-21), in West Sumatra there were at least two people called Shaikh Burhanuddin: the first is considered to be the first person to bring Islam to the area. Early on he taught at Batu Hampar, then he moved to Kumpulan, near Bonjol, later teaching again at Ulakan, Pariaman and finally settling at Kuntu, Kampar Kiri, until his death in approximately 1411 A.D. He was known as Shaikh Burhanuddin Kuntu (see also Abdulah 1999: 36-37).

Imam Maulana Abdul Manaf Amin notes in *Risālat Mīzān al-Qalb* that Shaikh Burhanuddin was in fact a merchant who arrived with a group of traders in 814 H/1411 A.D. From early on he developed Islam in the Siak area, before settling in Kuntu, Kampar Kiri, where he taught until his death in 839 H/1435 A.D., and is thus known as Shaikh Burhanuddin Kuntu. His proselytizing apparently reached Indragiri, Riau, and he also preached at the Pagaruyung palace (Amin 1989: 153-154). However, according to information in several manuscripts, the dates provided by Imam Maulana Abdul Manaf Amin are often far earlier than those given by other historians. It is important to note in this instance that Islam had already spread to Minangkabau in around the early fifteenth century.

The second person with the name Shaikh Burhanuddin was a Minangkabau '*ulamā*', who later became an eminent Shaṭṭāriyyah caliph in Ulakan, Pariaman, and thus went by the name Shaikh Burhanuddin Ulakan. The work *Inilah Sejarah Ringkas...* states that when he was young, Shaikh Burhanuddin Ulakan, who is believed to have been born in approximately 1056 H/1646 A.D., was known as Pono. He was born in Priangan, Padang Panjang, believed to be the original Minangkabau area, before moving to Sintuk, Lubuk Alung, Pariaman, with his family. His father, Pampak, was of Koto descent, whereas his mother, Nili, was a Guci. Before studying

under Shaikh Abdurrauf al-Sinkili in Aceh, Pono apparently studied under Shaikh ‘Abd Allāh ‘Ārif in the village of Tapakis. Shaikh ‘Abd Allāh ‘Ārif was an Arabic nomad who was also a student of Shaikh Ahmad al-Qushāshī in Medina, and as a result was known as Shaikh Madinah (Amin 1993: 10; Hamka 1974: 149; see also Daya 1990:179). After Shaikh ‘Abd Allāh ‘Ārif passed away, Pono, in accordance with his teacher’s suggestion, left for Aceh to study with Shaikh Abdurrauf al-Sinkili. From al-Sinkili Pono took his new name, Burhanuddin (Amin 1993: 19).

Local sources depict a special relationship between Burhanuddin Ulakan and al-Sinkili. Burhanuddin was loyal and respectful towards al-Sinkili in exactly the same way that al-Sinkili was loyal towards his teacher, al-Qushāshī:

“the behaviour and courtesy of Burhanuddin towards his teacher Shaikh Abdurrauf in his pursuit of knowledge was no different from the behaviour of Shaikh Abdurrauf towards his teacher, Shaikh Ahmad al-Qushāshī. This behaviour was carried from the house to the classroom, and then into the mosque. Aside from supporting his teacher, Burhanuddin also tended to Shaikh Abdurrauf’s cattle and goats everyday, and dug fish ponds around the mosque...” (Amin 1993; Ronkel 1914).

It is not clear how long Shaikh Burhanuddin Ulakan studied under Shaikh Abdurrauf al-Sinkili. Several sources mention that Shaikh Burhanuddin Ulakan studied in Aceh for 13 years.²² However, local sources indicate that he studied there for 30 years.²³

Thus, it is not easy to confirm which is closest to the correct figure, particularly because several dates mentioned in the local documents do not agree with other historical sources. *Inilah Sejarah Ringkas...*, tells the story of the arrival of Shaikh Burhanuddin and four of his friends:

“...after a safe journey they arrived in Sinkil. After arriving in Sinkil they received information that Shaikh Abdurrauf was already teaching in Sinkil and had been for a year, that is, from the year 1039 H...” (Amin 1993: 19).

The above excerpt indicates that al-Sinkili returned from Ḥaramayn in 1039 H/1629 A.D., although other sources mention that he returned in 1072 H /1661 A.D., one year after the death of his teacher al-Qushāshī (Rinkes 1909; Voorhoeve 1980; Azra 1994). It is also doubtful that Shaikh Burhanuddin returned to Minangkabau in 1070 H/1659 A.D. (Amin 1993: 37). This information can

clearly be questioned if it is confirmed that al-Sinkili returned in 1072 H/1661 A.D., as mentioned above.

In fact, if we disregard the mention of the year 1039 H/1629 A.D. in the extract above, and instead pay attention to the sentence "...they received information that Shaikh Abdurrauf was already teaching in Sinkil and had been for a year...", then – assuming that al-Sinkili arrived in Aceh from Haramayn in 1072 H/1661 A.D. – Shaikh Burhanuddin started studying with al-Sinkili in 1073 H/1662 A.D.. We should probably take into account that Burhanuddin Daya mentions that Shaikh Burhanuddin founded his first *surau* in 1680 A.D. (Daya 1990: 79). This leaves a stretch of 18 years from Shaikh Burhanuddin's departure to Aceh. As mentioned previously, it is not easy to verify the exact time period that Shaikh Burhanuddin studied with al-Sinkili, but we can make a good estimate that it was for less than 30 years.

Although there are a few uncertainties in the story of his life and education, it is undoubtable that Shaikh Burhanuddin Ulakan played an central role in the process of Islamisation in Minangkabau. Soon after returning to his birthplace, Shaikh Burhanuddin founded the Shaṭṭāriyyah *surau*, a traditional *ribāṭ* educational institution, in Tanjung Medan, which soon became famous as one of, if not the only, centre of Islamic knowledge in the region.²⁴ This *surau* of Shaikh Burhanuddin was originally named "*Surau Batang Jelatang*" and is nowadays known as "*Surau Gadang*" (Yafas et al. 1984: 129).

Shaikh Burhanuddin Ulakan's students came from all over the region. Many of them became caliphs of Shaṭṭāriyyah, and spread its teachings in a number of villages where they established their own *suraus*.

Amongst Shaikh Burhanuddin Ulakan's students were four people with whom he had become friends whilst studying under Shaikh Abdurrauf al-Sinkili in Aceh. When Shaikh Burhanuddin was given permission by al-Sinkili to return home, his four friends also asked for permission from al-Sinkili to accompany Shaikh Burhanuddin. Al-Sinkili denied them permission because they were not yet considered to have "graduated", and had yet to finish their studies. However, the four friends insisted on leaving, and they departed without receiving the blessings of al-Sinkili.

Next, these four friends of Shaikh Burhanuddin Ulakan tried to disseminate Islamic teachings to people in various villages: Datuk Maruhun Panjang tried in Padang Ganting Batusangkar, Shaikh

Tarapang in Kubung Tiga Belas Solok, Shaikh Mutanasir in Koto Tangah Padang, and Shaikh Buyung Muda in Bayang Pulut-pulut Bandar Sepuluh. They were not welcomed in the manner in which they should have been as *murshid*, and they were in fact hated by a large proportion of the communities. In *Inilah Sejarah Ringkas...*, it says:

“...before they had completed their studies they returned home and then tried to spread Islam in their respective villages. They did not like to be accompanied, so most people hated listening to what they had to say, and hated the sight of them...” (Amin 1993: 54; see also Amin, *Sejarah Ringkas Shaikh Surau Baru*, p. 13).

At the same time, these four people, witnessed Shaikh Burhanuddin Ulakan got a large and respectable reception from the community at Tanjung Medan and from several other communities in Minangkabau:

“it was crowded with people who kept coming from villages throughout Minangkabau. It was not just young people who came, there were also older people and women...” (Amin 1993: 53-54).

The four friends of Shaikh Burhanuddin eventually decided to return to Aceh in order to complete their studies with Shaikh Abdurrauf al-Sinkili. However, on arrival in Aceh, al-Sinkili asked that they continue their studies as students of Shaikh Burhanuddin at *Surau* Tanjung Medan. Shaikh Burhanuddin Ulakan then received them as students and also as assistants to teach the Shaṭṭāriyyah style of Islam (Amin, *Sejarah Ringkas*, p. 15).

Because Shaikh Burhanuddin was already there, these four friends did not stay in Tanjung Medan, but were given a separate place to stay and teach. This place became known as Ulakan, and was where Shaikh Burhanuddin was buried in 1111 H/1699 A.D., a few years after the death of Shaikh Abdurrauf al-Sinkili in Aceh (Abdullah 1980: 57).

Due to his important role in teaching Islam, Shaikh Burhanuddin Ulakan was widely considered to be the most important ‘*ulamā*’ in Minangkabau towards the end of the seventeenth century. Almost all the ‘*ulamā*’ in Minangkabau, including those of different opinions, those who chose a different *ṭarīqah* from Shaṭṭāriyyah, and those from subsequent generations, all studied under Shaikh Burhanuddin.

Amongst Shaikh Burhanuddin Ulakan's students was an '*ulamā*' in Padang Darat called Tuanku Nan Tuo Mansiangan. He was a teacher of Tuanku Nan Tuo in Cangking, Ampek Angkek, who chose to develop Naqshbandiyyah and became a rival of Shaṭṭāriyyah in Ulakan.²⁵ As far as the history of Islam in Minangkabau is concerned, "*Tarekat Ulakan*" (Shaṭṭāriyyah) and "*Tarekat Cangking*" (Naqshbandiyyah) were involved in violent conflict, vehement enough to give the impression that there were two types of Islam in Minangkabau: "Islam Ulakan" and "Islam Cangking".²⁶ However, whatever the background of this conflict, both sides developed from the knowledge provided by Shaikh Burhanuddin.

Although Tuanku Nan Tuo chose to develop Naqshbandiyyah in Cangking, he, along with other '*ulamā*' from Shaṭṭāriyyah, was active in campaigning for a reconciliation between the teachings of *taṣawwuf* and *sharī'ah*. As a result of his *surau* in Cangking, Ampat Angkat, Tuanku Nan Tuo became famous as an '*ulamā*' of *taṣawwuf* and *sharī'ah*. Due to his expertise in these two aspects of Islam, Tuanku Nan Tuo is described in *Hikayat Jalaluddin* as "*Sultan Alim Auliya Allah*", who became a leader for all of Minangkabau '*ulamā*'s affiliated to *ahl al-sunnah wa al-jamā'ah*.²⁷ Furthermore, Tuanku Nan Tuo's struggle was continued by one of his students, Fakhir Shagir Jalaluddin, who wrote the text *Hikayat Jalaluddin*.

Shaikh Burhanuddin Ulakan's Islamic teachings, through his *Ṣūfī* order, Shaṭṭāriyyah, appeared to be easily received by a large section of Minangkabau society. This is highly possible because the preaching of Sufism emphasised the importance of spiritual purification (*tahdhīb al-nafs*), rather than focusing on the practices and rituals of *sharī'ah*. Therefore, in regions where Sufism emerged it was not usually strongly rejected by the communities.²⁸ Furthermore, in *Ṣūfī* orders like Shaṭṭāriyyah, there are *silsilah* traditions reaching back to the Prophet Muhammad, with various teachings believed to have been passed down through a succession of trust-worthy students and teachers.

In West Sumatra during this time—in the same manner as with *Ṣūfī* order in other regions—*silsilah* binds became just one of the conditions if someone wished to be acknowledged as a *murshid*. Other conditions included: being given permission (*ijāzah*) by their caliphs, obedience towards Allah in both the internal and external aspects of life, as well as patience and diligence in reciting the Qur'ān.³⁰ This *silsilah* linking members of the Shaṭṭāriyyah order in

West Sumatra with their teachers, right back to the Prophet, reassured people that the Islamic teachings of Shaikh Burhanuddin were authentic. People in Minangkabau were convinced that because Shaṭṭāriyyah came from the Prophet, to deny it would be to deny the Prophet himself (Daya 1990: 177).

The development of Shaṭṭāriyyah in West Sumatra needs to be considered in relation to the *surau*, which played an important role in the process of transmitting Islamic knowledge.³¹ Shaikh Burhanuddin—and the caliphs who came after him—made use of the local *surau* institutions, which functioned as a place to stay for young men from Minangkabau who had come of age. These *surau* institutions were built away from their family homes, which in turn became place for women and children to live (Dobbin 1992: 142). Although they no longer function as centres of Islamic knowledge as they did during the period of their development, hundreds of *surau* can still be found in West Sumatra. A large number of religious books, both handwritten manuscripts and printed copies, can be found there, particularly at the old *surau* that were the foundation of *ṭarīqah*.

The caliphs of Shaṭṭāriyyah that came from these *suraus*, starting with Shaikh Burhanuddin Ulakan and followed by his students from throughout West Sumatra, developed a network of teachers and students who created a complex interrelationship of knowledge, involving many local 'ulamā'. I have tried to reconstruct the *silsilah* of Shaṭṭāriyyah in West Sumatra based on several manuscript and lists of the *silsilah* written by local 'ulamā'. It is important for me to point out that unfortunately a large number of the sources do not mention the year of life of the names of the 'ulamā', and it is thus quite difficult to test the validity of these student-teacher relationships.

There were many caliphs of Shaṭṭāriyyah after Shaikh Burhanuddin Ulakan, and it is thus not surprising that the *silsilah* developed by various different means. As well as this, local sources refer to several consecutive caliphs that are quite different from one another (Yafas et al. 1984: 130). Several of the caliphs of Shaikh Burhanuddin Ulakan—as mentioned in the text *Muballigul Islam* (p. 216-218)—continued in his style of leadership at the *Surau Tanjung Medan* in Ulakan. They were:

1. Shaikh Abdurrahman as the first caliph, then followed in succession by:
2. Shaikh Khairuddin;

3. Shaikh Jalaluddin;
4. Shaikh Idris, who was also a close friend of Shaikh Burhanuddin himself when studying with Shaikh Madinah in Air Sirah Tapakis;
5. Shaikh Abdul Muhsin, also known as Tuanku Tapi Pasang who lived in *Surau* Tengah Padang;
6. Shaikh Habibullah. During this period in Tanjung Medan Ulakan there were three caliphs who became leaders at *Surau* Tanjung Medan, namely Shaikh Habibullah; Shaikh Khalidin, who was known as Tuanku nan Hitam; and Tuanku Fakih Mansur. These three '*ulamā*' were direct students of Shaikh Abdul Muhsin;
7. Shaikh Ahmad Qasim;
8. Tuanku Tibaru nan Tuo;
9. Shaikh Abdul Jalil, grandson of Tuanku Tibaru nan Tuo.

The selection and sequence of the caliphs of Shaikh Burhanuddin Ulakan above is slightly different from the list given in a small book titled *Petunjuk Ziarah ke Maqam Shaikh Burhanuddin Ulakan (Guide to the Pilgrimage to Shaikh Burhanuddin Ulakan's Grave)*, compiled by Yayasan Raudhatul Hikmah Jakarta. The book—which also contains information about the leadership period of various caliphs—presents the Shaikh Burhanuddin caliphate leadership in Ulakan as:

1. Shaikh Muhammad Idris bin Salim, a caliph from 1699 A.D. until 1714 A.D.;
2. Shaikh Abdurrahman bin Abdurrahim (1714 A.D.- 1724 A.D.);
3. Shaikh Kaharuddin (1724 A.D.-1733 A.D.) (written as Shaikh Khairuddin in the list above);
4. Shaikh Jalaluddin (1733 A.D.- 1748 A.D.);
5. Shaikh Abdul Muhsin Tuanku Faqih (1748 A.D.- 1766 A.D.);
6. Shaikh Abdul Hasan bin Husin (1766 A.D.- 1780 A.D.);
7. Shaikh Khaliluddin bin Khalid (1780 A.D.- 1796 A.D.);
8. Shaikh Habibullah bin Alif (1796 A.D.- 1815 A.D.);
9. Shaikh Tuanku Qusha'i (1815 A.D.- 1832 A.D.)
10. Shaikh Tuanku Ja'far bin Muhammad (1832 A.D.-1863 A.D.);
11. Shaikh Tuanku Muhammad Sani (1863 A.D.-1893 A.D.);
12. Shaikh Tuanku Busai (1893 A.D.-1948 A.D.);
13. Shaikh Tuanku Barmawi (from 1948 A.D.).

Aside from the sources above, there is also a list of followers of Shaṭṭāriyyah in West Sumatra compiled by three *'ulamā'*s of Shaṭṭāriyyah: Buya Mata Air Pakandangan, Buya Angku Pakandangan and Buya Tapakis. In this list it becomes clear that amongst the students of Shaikh Burhanuddin Ulakan credited with the development of Shaṭṭāriyyah in West Sumatra are four caliphs: Shaikh Janggut hitam Lubuk Ipuh, Shaikh Abdurrahman Ulakan, Shaikh Kapih-Kapih Paninjauan Padang Panjang, and Shaikh Mula Ibrahim Lunang Pesisir Selatan.³²

Thanks to the first caliph mentioned above, Shaikh Janggut Hitam, another caliph of Shaṭṭāriyyah called Shaikh Abdurrahman Lubuk Ipuh emerged, and halted the relay of the caliphate with Shaikh Malalo Lima Puluh.³³ Starting from Shaikh Malalo Lima Puluh, the *silsilah* of Shaṭṭāriyyah became complex with the opinions of, amongst others, four caliphs called Shaikh Mata Air Pakandangan, Shaikh Balindung Pilubang, Shaikh Cubadak Air Pariaman, and Shaikh Aluma Koto Tuo Bukit Tinggi.

The first student of Shaikh Malalo Lima Puluh, Shaikh Mata Air Pakandangan, taught a student called Shaikh Kamumuwan, a teacher of Buya Angku Pakandangan, one of the *'ulamā'* that compiled this list. Shaikh Malalo Lima Puluh's second student, Shaikh Balindung Pilubang, also produced a caliph called Shaikh Talang Koto Bangku, who in turn taught Shaikh Kubung Sungai Ranti. In one of the copies of the *silsilah* that is different to this one, the relationship between Shaikh Talang Koto Bangku and Shaikh Kubung Sungai Ranti is not a student-teacher relationship, instead they were said to be friends who were both taught by Shaikh Balindung Pilubang. This is a possibility, as it was not uncommon for friends to be taught at the one institution. Shaikh Malalo's third student, Shaikh Cubadak Air Pariaman, is not known to have chosen a replacement caliph.

Shaikh Malalo's fourth student, Shaikh Aluma Koto Tuo Bukit Tinggi, also played an important role in the development of Shaṭṭāriyyah in West Sumatra. He was the caliph considered responsible for the area of Koto Tuo Bukit Tinggi becoming one of the most important centres of Shaṭṭāriyyah in West Sumatra. The known students of Shaikh Aluma Koto Tuo include Shaikh H. Ismail Kiambang (d. 1965), Buya Angku Panjang Sungai Sarik, Angku Paingan Sungai Limo, and Angku Talawi. As well as studying at the same institution, Shaikh H. Ismail Kiambang and Angku

Talawu had a family connection, as Angku Talawi married Shaikh H. Ismail Kiambang's daughter.

In the early 1950s Angku Talawi was asked by followers of Shaṭṭāriyyah in Batang Kabung to help teach at several of their *suraus*. At the time Imam Maulana Abdul Manaf Amin was teaching at Batang Kabung and surrounding *suraus*. Around the time of the general election in 1955—when various parties were campaigning incessantly in order to build support—tension emerged between students of Angku Talawi and students of Imam Maulana Abdul Manaf Amin as a result of their choosing different parties (Amin 2002: 47-57).³⁴ Angku Talawi joined the Partai Islam Indonesia (PII—Indonesian Islamic Party), whilst Imam Maulana Abdul Manaf Amin became a member of the opposing PERTI. Aside from the issues resulting from them choosing different parties, the tension was also apparently because Imam Maulana Abdul Manaf Amin would not accept the accusation by Angku Talawi that he was a Muhammadiyah (one of the biggest Islamic organisations in Indonesia) supporter, even though his father was one of the leaders of the group.

Shaikh H. Ismail Kiambang, aside from being a student of Shaikh Aluma Koto Tuo, also studied Sufism under Tuanku Bintungan Tinggi. Amongst the students of Shaikh H. Ismail Kiambang was Buya Abdurrazak Mata Air Pakandangan, one of the compilers of the *silsilah*, Buya Surau Yubadak Sungai Asam, and Tuanku Ali Umar Kiambang. The latter is an *'ālim* who developed Shaṭṭāriyyah in the Bungus region.

Buya Abdurrazak Mata Air Pakandangan had a son called Haji Tuanku Sinaro Paneh Pakandangan who later – along with Buya Ansaruddin – became a leader of the Pesantren Darul Ulum Kampung Panas Pakandangan, Kecamatan 2 x 11 Enam Lingkung Kabupaten Padang Pariaman (Viviani 1990/1991). Although his father had already attained the position of a Shaṭṭāriyyah caliph, Haji Tuanku Sinaro decided to study Sufism under a different teacher, Tuanku Haji Musa (a student of Shaikh Aluma Koto Tuo), at *Surau* Kabun Tapakis Ulakan. At the Pesantren Darul Ulum where he was a leader, Haji Tuanku Sinaro also had several students, including Tuanku Basril Pakih Batuah and Akhalis Malin Saidi, who in around 1989 began to expand Shaṭṭāriyyah in Kenegerian Surian, Pantai Cermin, Solok (Amiruddin 1994: 58-59).

Another student of Shaikh Koto Tuo Bukit Tinggi, called Angku Panjang Sungai Sarik, oversaw the emergence of two caliphs,

Buya Tapakis, one of the authors of this *silsilah*, and Buya Angku Sidi Batang Cino. Thus the *silsilah* of the Shattāriyyah caliphate in West Sumatra occurred by means of a caliph of Shaikh Burhanuddin Ulakan, known as Shaikh Janggut Hitam Lubuk Ipuh.

The *silsilah* of Shattāriyyah via another caliphate of Shaikh Burhanuddin Ulakan is no less complex. Shaikh Abdurrahman Ulakan, for example, produced two caliphs, Shaikh Abdul Muhsin Ulakan and Shaikh Sultan al-Kisai ibn I Habibullah Ulakan. Later, Shaikh Sultan al-Kisai ibn I Habibullah Ulakan played an important role in the dissemination of Shattāriyyah in West Sumatra, as several of his students developed Shattāriyyah in various corners of Minangkabau.

According to the texts consulted, Shaikh Sultan al-Kisai ibn Habibullah Ulakan had at least five eminent students: the first was Shaikh Abdul Wahab Calu Sijunjung, the teacher of Shaikh Supayang Solok. In the text *Risālat Mīzān al-Qalb*, Imam Maulana Abdul Manaf Amin provides some information about the identity of Shaikh Abdul Wahab Calu Sijunjung. He apparently came from the Awur region, and as well as being a student of Shaikh Sultan al-Kisai ibn Habibullah Ulakan was also at one stage a student of Shaikh Abdul Muhsin Ulakan, the teacher of Shaikh Sultan al-Kisai ibn Habibullah Ulakan himself. On completion of his studies, Shaikh Abdul Wahab was assigned a task by his teacher to develop Shattāriyyah in Desa Calu, Sijunjung, and is recognized as Angku Shaikh Calu, or Inyak Calu. Shaikh Abdul Wahab died and was buried in Calu. His grave is still often visited, particularly by groups of followers of Shattāriyyah from throughout Minangkabau (Amin 1989:70-71).

Shaikh Sultan al-Kisai ibn Habibullah Ulakan's second student was Shaikh Talawi Padang Ganting, who then produced two important students: Angku Koto Tujoh and Angku Ampalu Tinggi. Angku Koto Tujoh handed down the Shattāriyyah caliphate to Angku Lubuk Puar.

Angku Ampalu Tinggi—whose original name was Shaikh Haji Ibrahim—produced no fewer than four prominent students: Buya Sasak, Angku Sidi Talawi Sampan, Buya Angku Salif Kramat, and Shaikh Muhammad Nur, who was known as Shaikh Tuanku Kalumbuk (1894-1979 A.D.).³⁵ Imam Maulana Abdul Manaf Amin is also reported to have studied under Shaikh Haji Ibrahim in the early 1940s, when Shaikh Haji Ibrahim was teaching in Batang Kabung, before he came a caliph of Shattāriyyah in Ampalu Tinggi (Amin 2002:3). It is important to note that in around 1955, thanks

to a request from Imam Maulana Abdul Manaf Amin and the blessings of Angku Ampalu Tinggi, Buya Angku Salif – often called Tuanku Sutan Guru Besar – who was teaching at *Surau* Batang Kabung, became an '*ulamā*' of Shaṭṭāriyyah in the aforementioned area, and in 1966 founded the PERTI school with Imam Maulana Abdul Manaf Amin (Amin 2002: 45-47).

Whilst on the subject of Shaikh Sultan al-Kisai ibn Habibullah Ulakan, it is important to point out that in *Sejarah Ringkas Shaikh Paseban al-Shattari (A Short History of Shaikh Paseban al-Shattari)* (p. 5), written by Maulana Abdul Manaf Amin, Shaikh Paseban (an eminent figure in Shaṭṭāriyyah from Koto Panjang, Koto Tengah, Padang, who was teacher of Imam Maulana Abdul Manaf Amin) is mentioned as first studying Shaṭṭāriyyah from a teacher called Shaikh Habibullah, the sixth caliph of Shaikh Burhanuddin Ulakan.

Based on the available data and the inclusion of "Habibullah" in the surname of Shaikh Sultan al-Kisai above, I assume that the Shaikh Habibullah who became the teacher of Shaikh Paseban was a descendant of Shaikh Sultan al-Kisai ibn Habibullah Ulakan.³⁶ Aside from studying under Shaikh Habibullah, Shaikh Paseban (d. 1356 H/1937 A.D.) also studied, though only briefly, under Shaikh Malalo Lima Puluh, whose *silsilah* is noted below. Shaikh Paseban did not received his *ijāzah* to teach Shaṭṭāriyyah from these two teachers, but from his next teacher, Angku Shaikh Padang Ganting, the teacher of Angku Surau Gadang Pakadangan (Amin 2001: 7-9).

Shaikh Paseban is known to have had several students who took their oath from him, such as Angku Fakih Lutan and Angku Inyik Adam from Koto Tengah, Angku Haji Abdul Majid from Paseban, Imam Maulana Abdul Manaf Amin from Batang Kabung, Angku Qadi Talang from Solok, Angku Shaikh Datuk from Lumindai, Angku Surau Gadang from Tanjung Medan Ulakan, Angku Ibrahim from Mudik Padang, and others (Amin 2001: 45). Amongst the students mentioned, three were appointed as caliphs, namely Angku Fakih Lutan, Angku Inyik Adam, and Angku Haji Abdul Majid.³⁷ Imam Maulana Abdul Manaf Amin explains in his autobiography that apart from being his classmate, Angku Fakih Lutan was also his teacher, especially in the field of *Qirā'ah* (recitation of the Qur'ān). Apart from studying under Fakih Lutan, Imam Maulana Abdul Manaf Amin also claims to have studied

under a female teacher, Sari Makkah, for six months in Muara Penjalinan (Amin 2002: 2).³⁸

Shaikh Sultan al-Kisai ibn Habibullah Ulakan's third student was Shaikh Surau Panjang Kaman Gadang, his fourth student was Shaikh Joro Limo Purut, and his fifth student was Shaikh Muhammad Sani Tanjung Medan. Shaikh Sultan al-Kisai ibn Habibullah Ulakan's fifth student in turn produced three eminent students, Shaikh Surau Gadang Koto Tinggi, Shaikh Bintungan Tinggi, and Shaikh Kapal Koto.

On account of Shaikh Bintungan Tinggi, Shattāriyyah was also disseminated in the area of Bungus Taluk Kabung from the end of the 19th century because one of his students, Tuanku Khatib Simpang Tigo (d. 1961) came from this region, from Koto Hilalang, Bungus to be exact. Therefore, Tuanku Khatib Simpang Tigo is noted for developing Shattāriyyah in Bungus, along with Tuanku Ali Umar Kiambang. Apart from being a student of Shaikh Bintungan Tinggi in Pariaman, Tuanku Khatib Simpang Tigo also studied in Sumpur Malalo Padang Panjang.

In Bungus, Tuanku Khatib Simpang Tigo also produced two caliphs of Shattāriyyah, Tuanku M. Husin and Tuanku Khatib Tamar, along with several other students who were not allowed to take the title of "caliph", such as Buya Malin Putih, Buya Mamad, Imam Burhan, Angku Khariman, and Tuanku Siaruddin. Although they never took the title of caliph, these students played an important role in the development of Shattāriyyah because they owned *surau* in various regions (Firdaus et al. 1999/2000: 20-31). This is how the *silsilah* of Shattāriyyah took place via Shaikh Abdurrahman Ulakan.

In the *silsilah* of Shaikh Kapih-Kapih Paninjauan Padang Panjang four students are known: Shaikh Pamansiangan Koto Lawas, who also had a student called Shaikh Usman from Panyalaian, Lubuk Puar Pariaman who spread Shattāriyyah in Ampalu Tinggi, Padang Pariaman (Nur 1995: 4); Shaikh Nan Tuo Koto Tuo, a Shattāriyyah '*ulamā*' who was known as an expert in the field of *naḥw* (Arabic grammar); Tuanku di Lembah; and Tuanku di Puar.³⁹ In the *silsilah* of Shaikh Mula Ibrahim Lunang Pesisir Selatan, none of the students listed in the *silsilah* of Buya Mata Air Pakandangan and the two other '*ulamā*' are mentioned. A local source indicates that an '*ālim*' other than Shaikh Mula Ibrahim developed Shattāriyyah in the Pesisir Selatan region. Hermarosrita (1994: 45-46)

notes that in Dusun Lereng Bukit, Shaṭṭāriyyah flourished thanks to Tuanku Labai Kunud, who once studied under Sidi Jaul in Batang Kabung. Sidi Jaul is purportedly a direct student of Shaikh Burhanuddin Ulakan. From Tuanku Labai Kunud, the *silsilah* of Shaṭṭāriyyah is linked to Baharuddin Imam Mandaro, then Imam Suar, and finally with Khatib Nusi.

Aside from being passed down via the four students of Shaikh Burhanuddin Ulakan as mentioned in the genealogy above, the Shaṭṭāriyyah order was also developed in West Sumatra by four students of Shaikh Burhanuddin who became friends when they studied with Shaikh Abdurrauf al-Sinkili in Aceh. These students were Datuk Maruhun Panjang from Padang Ganting Batusangkar; Shaikh Tarapang from Kubung Tiga Belas Solok; Shaikh Mutanasir from Koto Tangah Padang; and Shaikh Buyung Muda from Bayang Pulut-Pulut Bandar Sepuluh.

Unfortunately, there is little information in any manuscripts relating to the *silsilah* of Shaṭṭāriyyah through these four students. We do know, however, that Shaikh Mutanasir, after returning to his village in Koto Panjang, Koto Tangah, Padang, was known as Shaikh Surau Baru, due to his building the first *surau* in this area (Amin, *Sejarah Ringkas*, p. 16). He was very productive in spreading Islam in Koto Tangah, Pauh, Lubuk Bagalung, and Padang. Shaikh Surau Baru owned a large collection of manuscripts and proportion of these manuscripts were copied by Imam Maulana Abdul Manaf Amin, a Shaṭṭāriyyah teacher who was a prolific writer and copied many books by hand.

One of Shaikh Surau Baru's students was Fakih Muda from Kampung Jambak Koto Panjang, Koto Tengah. After finishing his studies under Shaikh Surau Baru, Fakih Muda oversaw the development of Shaṭṭāriyyah in the Pauh region, more precisely in Kampung Gua Balimbing Pauh Sembilan, in Negeri Nan Dua Puluh (Lubuk Bagalung), and in the town of Padang.

Apart from being known as a teacher of Shaṭṭāriyyah, Fakih Muda is also renowned as a leader of a resistance movement against Dutch colonisers in Pauh in the early 18th century that eventually resulted in his death. At the time Fakih Muda was assisted by three friends, Datuk Rajo Basari from the Caniago tribe, Kampung Kurung Gadang; Datuk Raja Putih from the Malayu tribe, Pauh Lima; and Datuk Rajo Bugaga from the Jambak tribe, Kampung Kuranji.⁴⁰

The activities of Fakhir Muda whilst he was a leader in the struggle against Dutch colonialism eventually resulted in the arrest of Shaikh Surau Baru by the Dutch colonial government. They reasoned that his arrest would result in his militant students, such as Fakhir Muda, putting themselves at risk. Initially Shaikh Surau Baru was detained in Muara Penjalinan, before eventually being moved to a Dutch jail in Padang, where he died (Amin, *Sejarah Ringkas*: pp. 47-48).

Another student of Shaikh Surau Baru called Shaikh Bawah Asam also became a caliph of Shattāriyyah. Apparently, around the time of his death Shaikh Bawah Asam indicated that Shaikh Paseban al-Syattari should become a caliph of Shattāriyyah. However, because Shaikh Paseban was still very young, only around 4 years old, the caliphate was instead given to Angku Mirad (Amin 2001: 24).

Shaikh Paseban was given his *ijāzah* of Shattāriyyah by Angku Shaikh Padang Ganting. Despite of this, Shaikh Paseban had a huge respect for Shaikh Bawah Asam and his teacher, Shaikh Surau Baru, and thus maintained a routine of devotional visits to both their graves in Batusangka.

Thus, via a complex series of student-teacher relationships (see chart of *silsilah*), the Shattāriyyah order was spread to various corners of West Sumatra, and was then further developed with the emergence of hundreds, or possibly thousands, of *surau* as the foundation of studying Islam, in particular Sufism. I am sure that the names recorded in the above *silsilah* only constitute a small part of the total number of students and teachers, as it is more a bibliography and “only” the basis for manuscripts. The Shattāriyyah order has now developed further, and thus the teacher-student relationships are even more complex. Several research papers prepared by academics at IAIN Imam Bonjol Padang, including Arief (1982/1983), Yafas (1990), Bakry (2000) etc., often contain the names of current Shattāriyyah teachers in particular areas that have become objects of study. However, the *silsilah* is rarely fully investigated back to the early Shattāriyyah teachers, as not all of the teachers are listed and possibly because it was too long ago.

It is important to note that alongside the spread of Islam via the *surau*, a tradition of writing religious manuscripts, inseparable from the process of studying and teaching, thrived. In contrast with other regions, the tradition of writing religious manuscripts

is still being continued in West Sumatra, and often uses the *Jawi* script (writing Malay with Arabic letters) as its medium. A large number of the manuscripts that were important sources for this article were written in early 2000.

The process of Islamisation, and in particular the increase in the intensity of the development of Islam in West Sumatra, cannot be separated from *Šūfi* orders (*tarīqah*), in this case The Shaṭṭāriyyah order, which was established as an institution in the early 17th century. It is not surprising that most regions in West Sumatra still have a basis in some *Šūfi* orders, such as Shaṭṭāriyyah, Naqshbandiyyah and Sammāniyyah. In a table created by Martin van Bruinessen (1996: 133), it appears that the strongest sites of Shaṭṭāriyyah in West Sumatra are in Padang Pariaman and Tanah Datar, followed by Agam, Solok, Sawah Lunto Sijunjung, Pasaman and Pesisir Selatan.⁴¹ Thus, the spread of Shaṭṭāriyyah in West Sumatra starts at the coast and continues to the districts (“Luhak nan Tigo”) of Luhak Tanah Datar, Luhak Agam and Luhak Lima Puluh Koto.

Shaṭṭāriyyah, Naqshbandiyyah and the Kaum Mudo Movement in West Sumatra

Several academics are convinced that Shaṭṭāriyyah was not the first *Šūfi* order to enter West Sumatra, as Naqshbandiyyah was possibly brought to the region in the first half of the 17th century (Dobbin 1992: 146). However, Schrieke (1973: 28) indicates that Naqshbandiyyah only entered West Sumatra in the 1850s. This is backed up by other academics such as Martin van Bruinessen (1996: 124) and Karel A. Steenbrink (1984: 178).

If the opinion of the academics mentioned above is correct, then Shaṭṭāriyyah certainly arrived in West Sumatra far earlier, as several local sources mention that Shaṭṭāriyyah had already arrived in West Sumatra by the end of the 17th century, when Shaikh Burhanuddin returned from Aceh after having studied with Abdurrauf al-Sinkili (see, amongst others, Amin 1993: 37).

Local manuscripts argue that Shaṭṭāriyyah was the first type of *Šūfi* order in West Sumatra. The manuscript *Kitab Menerangkan Agama Islam di Minangkabau* (*Kitab Explaining Islam in Minangkabau*), for example, argues that Shaikh Burhanuddin brought Shaṭṭāriyyah to the region in 1070 H/1659 A.D. At the time, as explained in this document, there was only one type of Islam in Minangkabau:

"...the Islamic school of thought of Imām Shāfi'ī, and the conviction and faith *aḥl al-sunnah wa al-jamā'ah*, was based on the mysticism of Shaṭṭāriyyah ..." (p. 73).

Naqshbandiyyah only arrived approximately 127 years later. If the calculation starts with the arrival of Shaikh Burhanuddin as mentioned above, then this means that Naqshbandiyyah entered West Sumatra in around 1786. In *Kitab Menerangkan...* it states that:

"...one hundred and twenty-seven years later Naqshbandi arrived. It involved chanting *Allāh Allāh* as a profession of faith, having a charitable nature, and there were students who turned their faces to God (*bertawajjuh*) after sunset prayer and retreated from society for four days. It was brought there by an 'ālimi who taught at kampung Cangking Koto Candung Ampat Angkat, which was made famous by Tuan Shaikh Cangking (Shaikh Koto Tuo) (Amin 2001: 73)

Although we do not know the exact year, we can assume that Shaṭṭāriyyah arrived in West Sumatra earlier than Naqshbandiyyah. This can be seen from the local sources written by the Shaṭṭāriyyah 'ulamā' in West Sumatra who take on the character of being the "enduring" side in the face of the introduction of views and rituals of Naqshbandiyyah, which was considered to be quite different from those of Shaṭṭāriyyah and was seen to threaten the influence of the Shaṭṭāriyyah 'ulamā' over the local population.

As argued by Schrieke (1973: 25), in the early 19th century the tension between Shaṭṭāriyyah and Naqshbandiyyah was unavoidable. In fact, tension between the two sides was a factor in the emergence of conflict in West Sumatra, alongside other factors such as the disagreement between the young 'ulamā' (Kaum Mudo) and old 'ulamā' (Kaum Tuo). Dobbin (1992: 148) argues that the violent conflict caused by public hostility between the Shaṭṭāriyyah office in Ulakan, and Taram and Talawi was oriented towards the Naqshbandiyyah.

However, it appears that the prime cause of the conflict was related to a struggle for influence and respect (Dobbin 1992: 148). Several sources argue that Shaikh Jalaluddin, an influential Shaikh from Cangking who adhered to Naqshbandiyyah, attracted the attention of several followers of Shaṭṭāriyyah in Ulakan and persuaded them to move to Naqshbandiyyah. This no doubt resulted in fighting between the teachers of Naqshbandiyyah and Shaṭṭāriyyah (Bruinessen 1996: 125).

Of course, the differing views and teachings were also a trigger for the tension. In the data consulted it appears that the issues faced were not related to the mystic doctrines themselves, but were more related to *sharī'ah*.

The followers of Naqshbandiyyah apparently did not like the *martabat tujuh* (the 'Seven Stages') teachings from the *Tuhfah al-Mursalah* written by al-Burhānpūrī. This style of teaching was developed by Abdurrauf al-Sinkili, a caliph of Shaṭṭāriyyah, and in his writings he explained and interpreted the *waḥdat al-wujūd* (unity of being) doctrine, which caused uproar in the Indonesian-Malay world.

It is important to note that in the context of West Sumatra the teaching of *waḥdat al-wujūd* was not continued and developed by the followers of Shaṭṭāriyyah. In fact, they removed this doctrine from all the Shaṭṭāriyyah teachings, as they believed it was in conflict with the principles of *sharī'ah* (see *Kitab Menerangkan*, p. 70). Thus, in relation to the teaching of *waḥdat al-wujūd*, the style of Shaṭṭāriyyah in West Sumatra, especially after second half of 19th century, became relatively different from the style of Shaṭṭāriyyah that was developed, for example, by al-Sinkili in Aceh (Dobbin 1992: 144). Apart from a few other disparities, such as the recitation of *dhikr* and the emphasis on aspects of *sharī'ah*, there were not too many major differences between the two.

A regular topic of debate between Naqshbandiyyah and Shaṭṭāriyyah was the decision about the start and finish of the fasting month of Ramadan. Schrieke reports that for several years there were violent conflicts around this subject between the two groups in Padang Panjang. It then became an issue in Pariaman, and there is still a difference of opinion between the followers of Shaṭṭāriyyah in Ulakan and the followers of Naqshbandiyyah in Cangking about the start and finish of the fasting month. Usually, the adherents of Shaṭṭāriyyah celebrate Ramadan two or three days after the followers of Naqshbandiyyah celebrate it. Thus, they are called "the people who fast later" ("*orang puasa kemudian*"), whilst the Naqshbandiyyah are called "the people who fast first" ("*orang puasa dahulu*").⁴² This is exactly what is described about Naqshbandiyyah, "...whose calculations were two days earlier than the calculations according to the calendar brought by Shaikh Burhannuddin..." (Amin 2001: 73)

It is also noteworthy that a more serious conflict involving followers of Shaṭṭāriyyah in West Sumatra occurred in 1804, when

three Minangkabau "Haji" returned from Mecca after having studied there for several years. These three Haji were Haji Miskin from Pandai Sikat Padang Panjang, Haji Abdurrahman from Piyobang Payakumbuh, and Haji Sumanik from Batusangkar. Apparently the opinions of these three Haji were strongly influenced by thoughts about the renewal of Wahhābī in Mecca, as taught by Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb (1703-1792 A.D.), an *'ālim* from Nejd in East Arabia. The religious views of Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb were similar to the religious views of a previous reformist *'ālim*, Taqī al-Dīn ibn Taimiyyah (1263-1328 A.D.), who argued that Islam should return to the Qur'ān and follow the Prophet.⁴³

From early on the Wahhābī in Mecca urged the Islamic community to return to pure Islamic teachings, not mixed with superstition, heresy or myth. But this turned into a radical movement, with the duty of differentiating between the faithful and the unfaithful, and a proposal for *jihād* (holy war) against those who did not follow the call (Rahman 1997: 286-294).

The Wahhābī started from the assumption that the majority of the Islamic community already performed and developed religious practices that deviated from the teachings of Islam, and which must be destroyed by whatever means necessary. Amongst the groups that became the "proselytising targets" of the Wahhābī were followers of *Ṣūfī* orders, who were considered by the Wahhābī to already be excessive in the intensity of their relationship with God. They rejected steps to consecrate the graves of *Ṣūfī* mystics who were considered to be pure. They also forbade the Islamic community to smoke tobacco or wear silk, and prohibited the use of certain practices during worship.

Wahhābī views such as this were brought to Minangkabau by the three Haji mentioned above. They believed that in the Minangkabau community, and especially amongst the followers of Shaṭṭāriyyah, many of the religious practices which encompassed superstition, heresy and myth were in conflict with the basic principles of Islam and needed to be "straightened out", or fought with violence if required.

However, the views of the three Haji met with strong opposition from the *'ulamā'* of Shaṭṭāriyyah, and the process did not go as smoothly as they had hoped. Haji Miskin, for example, had to move house from one village to another, as he always met hostility from the followers of Shaṭṭāriyyah who had not yet accepted these reformist views. Haji Miskin eventually ended up in Bukit

Kamang, and in 1811 he carried on the movement in Aie Tabik, in Luhak Lima Puluh Kota (Chatib & Erman 2002: 191).

The reformation movement is addressed in the writings of Imam Maulana Abdul Manaf Amin, one of the members of Shaṭṭāriyyah in West Sumatra who produced many manuscripts. Amongst the manuscripts mentioned are *Risālat Mīzān al-Qalb*, *Kitab Menerangkan...* and *Kitāb al-Taqwīm wa al-Ṣiyām*. In *Risālat Mīzān al-Qalb*, Imam Maulana Abdul Manaf Amin explains:

“The motivation for writing this series of books is to explain about the two views of worshipping God, namely the Kaum Tuo (Old Group) and Kaum Muda (Young Group) and why we common people are wary of following them. Only because we have read many history books and *hadīths* can we grant the wishes of our brothers” (p. 3).

The *Kitāb Menerangkan...* also explains that the reason for writing this document was that after the arrival of Naqshbandiyyah, and the subsequent emergence of Wahhābī as brought by the three Haji, the style of religious rituals of the people of Minangkabau became varied, and caused confusion amongst the masses:

“...there were people who recited *uṣallī* (the intention given at the beginning of prayer) and those who did not, there were also those who marked the beginning of the fasting month by observing the moon (*ru'yat al-hilāl*) and there were those who just looked at the calendar, there were those who observed the non-compulsory prayers during the fasting month and there were those who only observed the compulsory prayers...” (p. 3).

It is therefore not surprising that the discussion in *Risālat Mīzān al-Qalb*, *Kitāb Menerangkan...* and *Kitāb al-Taqwīm wa al-Ṣiyām* try to explain in detail, and reveal the truth - from the perspective of a follower of Shaṭṭāriyyah of course — about the issues that became the centre of debate and conflict, not only with the Naqshbandiyyah and the three Haji, but which were also an extension of the Wahhābī movement.

Kitāb al-Taqwīm wa al-Ṣiyām explains that according to the teachings of the Prophet the beginning of the month was calculated according to the moon, and for Ramadan the Prophet gave separate advice about the method of *ru'yat al-hilāl*. In the context of West Sumatra, this is indicated by the opposing opinions of the followers of Naqshbandiyyah, who used the method of *hisāb taqwīm* (calculation of the appearance of the moon, rather than actual citing) to decide on the beginning of the month according to

the moon, including the beginning of the fasting month of Ramadan. This is still a point of difference between the two groups today.

Risālat Mīzān al-Qalb, Kitab Menerangkan... and *Kitāb al-Taqwīm wa al-Šiyām* explain that for several decades the style of ritual and devotion that was developed by the Shaṭṭāriyyah 'ulamā' was the one eventually accepted by the Minangkabau population. *Risālat Mīzān al-Qalb* says:

"...during that period, from 1840 to 1908, the entire Archipelago (Indonesia) had just one style of performing its rituals. They prayed with the same intention (*uṣallī*), they held funerals and death rituals in exactly the same way, they saw in Rabiul Awwal month at the same, celebrated the Prophet Muhammad's birthday with a feast... if there was a death in someone's house teachers came with members of the community, they read the Qur'ān, and performed other activities. At fasting time they celebrated together, used *ru'yat* (citing of the moon), and performed twenty *rakā'at* (prayer cycles) of the *tarāwīḥ* prayer (special prayer performed in the evening during the month of Ramadan), nobody performed eight *rakā'at*..." (Amin 1989: 80).

This is supported by Imam Maulna Abdul Manaf Amin in *Kitab Menerangkan...*, when he finishes with the sentence "...at that time the state was safe and worshipped as one..." (Amin 2001: 62).

However, the religious turbulence involving Shaṭṭāriyyah flared up again in the early 20th century, in particular in around 1906 when four Minangkabau 'ulamā' returned from Mecca after several years of studying religion with Shaikh Ahmad Khatib al-Minangkabawi. These four 'ulamā' were Haji Muhammad Jamil Jambek Bukittinggi, Haji Muhammad Taib Umar Sungayang Batusangkar, Haji Abdullah Ahmad Padang Panjang, and Haji Abdul Karim Amrullah Maninjau.

These four reformist 'ulamā' shed new light on the *Šūfī* order practices, especially those of Shaṭṭāriyyah, that were followed by much of the Minangkabau population. They believed that the practices were in conflict with Islam. As explained in *Risālat Mīzān al-Qalb*: "...the *Šūfī* order had already become a discussion point with their teachers, that *Šūfī* order was wrong..." (Amin 1989: 84). As a result, these four 'ulamā' were very proactive in inviting the followers of Shaṭṭāriyyah to abandon their religious practices.

In 1907 Haji Muhammad Jamil Jambek held a meeting to which he invited respected 'ulamā' from Shaṭṭāriyyah to come to his house and discuss any different views and practices. Amongst the

Shaṭṭāriyyah 'ulamā' present, all older men, were: Shaikh Khatib Muhammad Ali al-Padani, Shaikh Muhammad Dalil (Tuanku Shaikh Bayang), Tuanku Shaikh Khatib Sayyidina Shaikh Muhammad Taib Sibarang Padang, and Tuanku Imam Masjid Ganting Padang. The group of new 'ulamā', who were all young, included amongst others, Haji Abbas Daud Balingka, who was known as Inyiek Balingka, Haji Abdullah Ahmad Padang Panjang, and Haji Abdul Karim Amrullah Maninjau, who was known as Inyiek Rasul.

Apparently, during this meeting a heated discussion took place between the two groups of 'ulamā' about whether or not Shaṭṭāriyyah practices were in accordance with Islam. Although they continued into the night, the two groups did not reach an agreement, and the different opinions and conflict between the 'ulamā' of Shaṭṭāriyyah and the reformist 'ulamā' continued. This is mentioned in *Risālat Mīzān al-Qalb* as the point where the terms Kaum Tuo and Kaum Mudo appeared:

“...this is the beginning of the term Kaum Tuo, because the 'ulamā' defending *Ṣūfī* order practices were already old, all of them more than fifty years. The 'ulamā' who were renouncing it were all young, under thirty. They were given the name Kaum Mudo and from that point onwards they were known as Kaum Kuno and Kaum Mudo. This is the origin of these terms...” (Amin 1989: 85-86).

From the explanation above it is clear that the three manuscripts, *Risālat Mīzān al-Qalb*, *Kitab Menerangkan...* and *Kitāb al-Taqwīm wa al-Ṣiyām*, were written to explain the religious upheaval that took place in the Minangkabau community. From the perspective of the author of these manuscripts, the turbulence was the result of two things: first, the difference of opinion between the followers of Shaṭṭāriyyah and Naqshbandiyyah, and secondly, an “attack” from the Kaum Tuo on the religious rituals and practices of the *Ṣūfī* order group.

Characteristics and Teaching Style of Shaṭṭāriyyah in West Sumatra: Reinforcing Neo-Sufism

It appears that since its early emergence in India, its reformulation in Ḥaramayn, and its development in other various parts of the Islamic world, including the Malay-Indonesian world, Shaṭṭāriyyah has experienced a dynamic process of development and expansion. It has been strong in each period, in terms of both ritual and teaching doctrines. The dynamic process shows that Shaṭ-

ṭāriyyah teachings ensured the reinforcement of neo-Sufism in the Malay-Indonesian world by continuously emphasizing reconciliation between *taṣawwuf* and *sharī'ah*.

In West Sumatra, the area that has become the focus of this article, Shaṭṭāriyyah has become an important pillar in the dissemination neo-Sufism, and then played a significant role in the formation of the structure of Islamic society. The 'ulamā' involved in developing Shaṭṭāriyyah in this region, starting with Shaikh Burhanuddin Ulakan and followed by the caliphs and students, experienced intense struggles with various local elements and cultural characteristics. As a result there has been a shift towards characteristics and teaching styles which are quite unique and different from the those of Shaṭṭāriyyah in other regions.

Following are the characteristics and teaching styles of Shaṭṭāriyyah in West Sumatra, which show the reinforcement of neo-Sufism.

Removal of the Waḥdat al-Wujūd Doctrine

An interesting development amongst the followers of Shaṭṭāriyyah in West Sumatra was the rejection of the *waḥdat al-wujūd* doctrine. This is noteworthy because previously the important figures in this *Ṣūfī* order, both the ones in Iḥaramayn, notably Aḥmad al-Qushāshī and Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī, and the 'ulamā' in the Malay-Indonesian world in the early period, such as Abdurrauf al-Sinkili, did not mention the struggle around the doctrine in their works, but instead indicated that there was a reinterpretation and explanation that was relatively easily received by the 'ulamā'.⁴⁴

It is important to briefly explain that the doctrine of *waḥdat al-wujūd* is a concept concerning the achievement of oneness with Allah, and Ibn 'Arabī (1240 A.D.), a *Ṣūfī* from Andalusia, is often mentioned as its founder. Academics agree that Ibn 'Arabī never uses the terms *waḥdat al-wujūd* or *wujūdiyyah*, even in his two prominent works, *Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam* and *Futūḥāt al-Makkiyyah*. However, several areas explored by Ibn 'Arabī are explained with the intent of *waḥdat al-wujūd*.

In *Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam* for example, Ibn 'Arabī says:

كان الكل لله وبالله، بل هو الله

"All (*wujūd* – being) is owned by Allah, and created by Him, thus all is Allah himself." (Ibn 'Arabī, *Fuṣūṣ*, p. 73).

Or expressed differently:

سبحان من خلق الأشياء وهو عندها

“A pure being creates all, and He is the essence of everything.” (Ibn ‘Arabī, *Fuṣūṣ*, p. 25).

In *Futūḥāt al-Makkiyyah* Ibn ‘Arabī states:

فما في الوجود إلا الله، ولا يعرف الله إلا الله

“There is nothing in *wujūd* (being) except Allah, and there is none who knows Allah except Allah.” (Ibn ‘Arabī, *Futūḥāt*, IV, 1975: 224).

Examples such as these prompted a number of other *Ṣūfīs* to realise that Ibn ‘Arabī was the person most responsible for teaching the doctrines that became known as *waḥdat al-wujūd* or *wujūdīyyah*. Other *Ṣūfīs* offered an explanation that these expressions did not necessarily mean that Ibn ‘Arabī unconditionally equated God with the world (*tashbīḥ*), because in other sections of his work Ibn ‘Arabī also emphasises the transcendental nature of God (*tanzīḥ*).

In *Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam*, for example, Ibn ‘Arabī writes:

من شبه وما نزهه فقد قيده وحدده وما عرفه

“Whoever *tashbīḥ* God and does not *tanzīḥ* Him restrains and limits Him, and doesn’t truly know Him.” (Ibn ‘Arabī *Fuṣūṣ*, p. 69).

Several centuries later the *waḥdat al-wujūd* doctrine still triggers debate amongst the *Ṣūfī* and is the cause of their conflict with the *fiqh ‘ulamā’* (*fuqahā’*), who tend to emphasise Islamic teachings that are exoteric (*zāhir*) rather than those that are esoteric (*bāṭin*) (for further discussion about Ibn ‘Arabī’s thought concerning this theme, see Noer 1995).

There have been debates about the *waḥdat al-wujūd* doctrine in Aceh, particularly during the period of government of Sultan Iskandar Tsani (1637-1641 A.D.). This debate took place between Nuruddin al-Raniri and followers of the teachings of *wujūdīyyah* of Hamzah Fansuri and Syamsuddin al-Sumatrani. As an orthodox ‘*ālim* who prioritised the implementation of *sharī‘ah*, al-Raniri released a *fatwā* that *wujūdīyyah* was heterodox and deviated from

the Islamic faith, thus those who did not repent and forswear would be arrested as infidels and sentenced to death (Azra 1994: 182).

According to a number of sources, the debate about *waḥdat al-wujūd* in Aceh was triggered early on, in particular in relation to a work by Faḍl Allāh al-Hindī al-Burhānpūrī, *Tuḥfat al-Mursalāh*. This situation is discussed by Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī in *Ithāf al-Dhakī*:

‘We have been reliably informed by a group (*jamā’ah*) of *Jāwīyyīn* that some books on *ḥaqīqah* (divine realities) and esoteric knowledge (*‘ulūm al-asrār*) have spread among the population of the lands of *Jawa* being passed from hand to hand by those endowed with knowledge based on their studies and the teaching of others, but who have neither understanding of the *‘ilm al-sharī‘ah* of the Prophet, the Chosen, the Elect of God, peace be upon him, nor the *‘ilm al-ḥaqā’iq* conferred on those who follow the path of God the Exalted, those who are close to Him, those admirable ones, or those who have set their foot on any path of their paths based on the Qur’ān and the Sunnah through perfect obedience both outwardly (*al-zāhir*) and inwardly (*al-bāṭin*), as rendered by the devout and pure. This is the reason why many of them (the *Jāwīyyīn*) have deviated from the right path and why impure belief has arisen; in fact they have entered into the crooked camp of atheism (*al-zandaqah*) and heresy (*al-ilhād*)...We are protected by Allah from errors and from evil, both visible and invisible. These students from *Jāwī* have said that amongst the most popular books dealing with these concepts is *Tuḥfat al-Mursalāh Ilā Rūḥ al-Nabī*, composed by al-‘Arif bi Allāh Shaikh Muḥammad ibn Shaikh Faḍl Allāh al-Hindī al-Burhānpūrī...” (Al-Kūrānī, *Ithāf al Dhakī*, p. 2).

As a result of this news al-Kūrānī offered a long explanation of how *waḥdat al-wujūd* —or as al-Kūrānī called it, *tauḥīd al-wujūd*— could be understood. Primarily, according to al-Kūrānī, acknowledgement of unity with God (*tauḥīd al-wujūd*) could only be achieved by *Ṣūfīs* who had already reached a certain spiritual level, and it may not be done in conflict with the Qur’ān or the Sunnah.

It is important to acknowledge that al-Kūrānī, as one of the *‘ulamā’* who strongly influenced the thoughts of Abdurrauf al-Sinkili, did not completely reject the teachings of *waḥdat al-wujūd*, apart from offering the interpretation above. As the caliph most responsible for the dissemination of *Shaṭṭāriyyah* in Malay world, al-Sinkili continued what had been started by his teacher, al-Kūrānī, by writing some works, in Malay and Arabic, to explain the *waḥdat al-wujūd* doctrine.

In order to understand *waḥdat al-wujūd* “properly”, al-Sinkili argues in his two works, *Tanbīh al-Māshī* and *Shaṭṭāriyyah*, that the

universe (*'ālam*) is not a being (*wujūd*) separated from *al-Ḥaqq* (God—“The Truth”), because it flows from His essence. In this explanation al-Sinkili aims to show the oneness of *al-Ḥaqq* and *'ālam* (*tashbīh*). However, *'ālam* is not unconditionally the essence (*dhāt*) of *al-Ḥaqq* but is just a reflection (*al-zill*) of Him, or a reflection of a reflection of Him. This is because God is the only One (*Aḥad*), there are none who accompany Him (*lā sharīka lah*), though He always accompanies everything (*al-Muḥīṭ*). In arguing this, al-Sinkili aims to defend the concept of the transcendental nature of God over His creations (*tanzīh*) (*Tanbīh al-Māshī*, p. 7; *Shaṭṭāriyyah*, p. 5).

According to al-Sinkili, if someone (*aḥadun*) says that *'ālam* is the essence of *al-Ḥaqq* himself, then they are wrong (*Tanbīh al-Māshī*, p. 8). In Aceh, although not mentioned explicitly by name, but by only as “*aḥadun*”, this expression seems addressed towards Hamzah Fansuri or Syamsuddin al-Sumatrani, with the intention of criticising their views about *waḥdat al-wujūd*. According to al-Sinkili, although they held extremist views, Hamzah Fansuri or Syamsuddin al-Sumatrani were not judged as infidels. Al-Sinkili writes:

“...protect your tongue from *gībah* (gossip) and from considering others as infidels, because both are great sins in the eyes of Almighty God; do not condemn your fellow Muslim brothers, as this will cause you to be equated with the sinners on judgment day...” (*Tanbīh al-Māshī*, p. 44).

Reinterpretations like the ones offered by al-Kūrānī in *Ithāf al-Dhakī* previously and by al-Sinkili in *Tanbīh al-Māshī* and *Shaṭṭāriyyah* appear not to have developed in the community of Shaṭṭāriyyah followers in West Sumatra, at least in manuscripts found recently. They explicitly rejected an understanding of *waḥdat al-wujūd* without compromise (see also Bahri 1988: 36, 57). When describing the character of Islamic teaching as developed by Shaikh Burhanuddin Ulakan, for example, in *Kitāb al-Taqwīm wa al-Ṣiyām* explains that:

“...the ‘*ulamā*’ who accuses the Shaṭṭāriyyah of Shaikh Burhanuddin following *waḥdat al-wujūd* knows little of the history of Shaikh Burhanuddin... this is a clarification so that we do not make the same mistake as these ‘*ulamā*’ with their uninformed history...” (Amin 1986: 74).

A more detailed explanation is given in *Kitab Menerangkan...*:

"...the Islam that he developed indeed... concerned external aspects that brought about the inner aspects of God... his teachings were not about the *wahdat al-wujūd* faith..." (Amin 2001: 117).

The rejection of the *wahdat al-wujūd* doctrine in the Shaṭṭāriyyah manuscripts came about because this doctrine was considered to be in conflict with the principles of *sharī'ah* in Islam. The *Kitab* explains that those who follow the teachings of *wahdat al-wujūd* believe that:

"...Allah is everything, there is not the universe, only Allah, which means that there is not self, only Allah. As a result they do not feel obliged to pray, they feel that Allah envelopes all of things, and that is eternal prayer (*sālat dā'im*), always praying..." (p. 70).

It appears that the removal of *wahdat al-wujūd* from Shaṭṭāriyyah teachings in West Sumatra was the result of the teachings and doctrines of Shaikh Burhanuddin Ulakan which were far more "easy-going" than those during the periods of al-Qushāshī and al-Sinkili. al-Qushāshī in *al-Sinṭ al-Majūd*, and also al-Sinkili in *Tanbīh al-Māshī*, for example, explain that the final objective of *dhikr* (recitation of the names of God) is *fanā* (the extinction of the "soul" of the mystic into God), and even *fanā* from *fanā* itself (*fanā 'an al-fanā*); while the Malay Shaṭṭāriyyah manuscripts in West Sumatra "only" explain that reality and the final objective of *dhikr* is to clean the external body and purify the heart (*tahdhīb al-nafs*).

As far as I know, the term *fanā* itself never appeared in the manuscripts from West Sumatra mentioned above. The most extreme expression in relation to *ḥaqīqah* and the aims of the recitation of *dhikr* appears in *Kitab Menerangkan...*: "deny one's own wujūd (being) and validate the wujūd of Allah," a translation from the *dhikr* sentence *lā ilāha illā Allāh* (see also Amin 1993: 118-119).

In spite of what has been shown from the data in the manuscripts consulted, apparently not all 'ulamā' of Shaṭṭāriyyah in West Sumatra rejected *wahdat al-wujūd* during its development; several amongst them are documented. Buya Abdurrazak Mata Air Pakandangan, for example, is included in the caliphs of Shaṭṭāriyyah in West Sumatra who accepted *wahdat al-wujūd*. According to him, in order to understand the problem of *wahdat al-wujūd*, one must first understand that *wujūd* is divided into two: *wujūd ḥaqīqī* and

wujūd i'tibārī; *wujūd ḥaqīqī* (real Being) is God, whilst *wujūd i'tibārī* (imaginary being) is the world or mankind.

There are four points that cannot be separated from the relationship between God and the world or humanity, and these are that they are: not *ittiṣāl* (related), not *infiṣāl* (separate), not *ḥulūl* (restricted to the body), and not *ittiḥād* (united). With these “four nots”, the reality of God and the world or humankind cannot unconditionally become one, but neither can they be separated from each other.⁴⁵ According to Buya Abdurrazak Mata Air Pakandangan, the issue of *wahdat al-wujūd* is a matter of *dhauiq* (feelings), not a matter of thoughts, nor of law. As a result, not everyone can experience the feeling of *wujūd*; those who say that they have felt it cannot be judged (Bahri 1988: 50-51).

Confirmation and Actualisation of the Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jamā'ah Doctrine

Another matter that is very prominent in the teachings of neo-Sufism developed by Shaṭṭāriyyah ‘ulamā’ in West Sumatra, as they are reflected in the manuscripts, is the confirmation that the theological teachings delivered by Shaikh Burhanuddin Ulakan have the characteristic of *ahl al-sunnah wa al-jamā'ah*. This matter, among others, is found in *Kitab Menerangkan...*:

“...the Islam that he developed is an Islam that derives from the Shāfi'ī school of thought and the conviction of *ahl al-sunnah wa al-jamā'ah* ...” (Amin 2001: 117).

Ahl al-sunnah wa al-jamā'ah generally means “a group that holds firmly on to *Sunnah* and *jamā'ah*”. In accordance with its name, those who follow the understanding of *ahl al-sunnah wa al-jamā'ah* use the *Sunnah*, or *ḥadīth* of the Prophet, and *ijmā'*⁴⁶ as a guide to religious life. As such, there are at least three religious reference sources guiding the lives of Muslims who adopt the understanding of *ahl al-sunnah wa al-jamā'ah*: the Qur'ān, *ḥadīth* and *ijmā'*. Although *ijmā'* “only” occupies third position, in reality *ijmā'* often becomes the determining factor in justifying a particular religious matter, especially if no specific answer can be found in the Qur'ān or *ḥadīth*.⁴⁷

Regardless, after the death of the Prophet, an understanding of the Qur'ān and also *ḥadīth*—which were written in a highly formal Arabic—could not be achieved by everyone, with the re-

sult that the Companions of the Prophet, who were later joined by *tābi'īn* (followers of the Companions of the Prophet), and *tābi' al-tābi'īn* (followers of the *tābi'īn*), together with the '*ulamā'* who joined them, were considered to be a kind of translator who could more accurately understand the intention of the Qur'ān and *ḥadīth*, with the consequence that the results, it was considered, could be better relied upon (Dhofier 1994: 151). As such, for those who followed *ahl al-sunnah wa al-jamā'ah, ijmā'*—who hoped for a majority agreement among the *ummah* or *jamā'ah* in making legal decisions—became a type of 'keyword' that differentiated this group from others.

In the literature of Islam, the *ahl al-sunnah wa al-jamā'ah* doctrine is a type of theological understanding the principles of which are often connected with the theological teachings of Abū Ḥasan al-Ash'arī (260-326 H/873-935 A.D.), an '*ālim* of Baṣrah, considered originator of the theology of Ash'ariyyah. Before that, Abū Ḥasan al-Ash'arī was an adherent of Mu'tazilah, a type of theological understanding that placed great emphasis on the strength of the mind, that later became a critical target of al-Ash'arī himself (Watt 1999). Among his theological teachings, Abū Ḥasan al-Ash'arī considered that God could not possibly understand with His being. God must know with His attributes. Additionally, Abū Ḥasan al-Ash'arī also opined that the Qur'ān was not something created and therefore new (*muḥdath*), but rather was eternal (*qadīm*), because God has decreed since the dawn of time. Abū Ḥasan al-Ash'arī considered that humans did not create themselves because there is no creator other than God (Nasution 1985: 40).

In the context of Indonesia, the theology of *ahl al-sunnah wa al-jamā'ah* is often connected with the religious understanding of orthodox Islamic groups, like those which assemble under the NU (Nahdhatul Ulama), the largest socio-religious organisation along with Muhammadiyah. In fact, a number of NU figures have created a kind of definition that could be called *ahl al-sunnah wa al-jamā'ah* (Aswaja). This understanding, apart from being guided by the Qur'ān, *ḥadīth* and *ijmā'*, also holds firmly to three traditions, namely: following the theology of Al-Ash'arī and al-Māturidī on theological issues (*tauḥīd*), following one of the four schools of law on jurisprudence (*fiqh*), namely the Ḥanafī, Mālikī, Shāfi'ī or Ḥambalī schools, and following the teachings of al-Junaid al-Bagdadī in practicing Sufism.⁴⁸

It is religious features such as this that are put forth by followers of Shaṭṭāriyyah in West Sumatra as a characteristic of the teachings of Islam that they received from Shaikh Burhanuddin Ula-kan. Furthermore, and more specifically, the religious characteristics and tendencies of the followers of Shaṭṭāriyyah in West Sumatra are further increased by the obligation to use *ḥisāb taqwīm* (calculation) when determining the beginning of the month, and *ru'yat al-hilāl* (observing the moon) when determining the beginning of the month of Ramadan and Idul Fitri. This can be found in *Kitāb al-Taqwīm wa al-Ṣiyām*:

“...those of the Shāfi‘ī school of thought, having the conviction of *ahl al-sunnah wa al-jamā‘ah* and following the mystical path of *Shaṭṭārī*, count the months using *ḥisāb taqwīm*, and enter the fasting month with *ru'yat al-hilāl* ...” (p. 72).

The tendency to follow the Shāfi‘ī school of thought as found in the quotation above should be emphasised because it is indeed practiced by followers of Shaṭṭāriyyah. The following quotation from one of the figures of the Shaṭṭāriyyah order in Padang Pariaman, A Razak Tuanku Mudo, quoted in the research of Nazar Bakry (2000: 42), creates a picture of the rigidity of the followers of Shaṭṭāriyyah toward Shāfi‘ī up until now:

“...to speak about the implementation of proselytising in Shaṭṭāriyyah, the Shaṭṭāriyyah ‘*ulamā*’ must have followed the ideology of the Shāfi‘ī school of thought...”

It is important also to note that amongst the characteristics and tendencies of the Shāfi‘ī school of thought—acknowledged as the one and only school of belief of the followers of Shaṭṭāriyyah in West Sumatra (Bakry 2000: 49)—is a response that is relatively flexible in its attitude towards the various religious dynamics of the community, together with local traditions and cultures. In arranging legal considerations, Imām Shāfi‘ī developed legal maxims (*qawā‘id al-fiqh*) that could determine the final form of a legal decision if there was a change in the conditions and facts underlying an issue that had previously been decided. The aforementioned principles were systemised by Imām Shāfi‘ī himself more than twelve centuries ago through a branch of knowledge that was then known as *uṣūl al-fiqh*. Based on the “merit” of principles in *uṣūl al-fiqh*, the religious rituals of the followers of the Shāfi‘ī school, including followers of Shaṭṭāriyyah in West Sumatra, became richer

and more dynamic while adhering to the established limits (Wahid 1989: 198).

It is not surprising then that in *Risālat Mīzān al-Qalb* the religious characteristics of the followers of Shaṭṭāriyyah are “defined” through various rituals and religious understandings:

1. Pronouncing *uṣallī* in the intention of ritual prayer;
2. Compulsory reading of *basmalah* in the *Sūrah* of *al-Fātiḥah*;
3. Reading the *qūnut* and lifting the hands during the *Ṣubḥ* prayer;
4. Determining the beginning of the month Ramadan and Idul Fitr through *ru'yat al-hilāl*;
5. Undertaking *tarāwīḥ* prayer 20 *rakā'at* (cycles) and *witr* 3 *rakā'at* during the month of Ramadan;
6. Whispering of instructions in the ear of the dead or dying (*talqīm al-mayyit*);
7. Suggesting the presentation of the rewards received from readings to people who have just died;
8. Visiting the resting place of the Prophet and other pious people is optional but meritorious;
9. Celebrating the birth of the Prophet Muhammad during Rabi al-Awwal (third month of the Islamic calendar) through, amongst other things, reading *Barjanzī*;
10. Standing during the reading of *Barjanzī* (*ashraḡal*);
11. Adding the words “*wa bi ḥamdih*” after reading *ṣubḥāna rabī al-'azīm* when bowing from the waist during prayer (*rukū'*) and *subḥāna rabī al-'alā* when bowing from a kneeling position during prayer (*sūjud*);
12. Voluntary (but meritorious) addition of the words “*sayyidinā*” before mentioning the name of Muhammad;
13. Commemorating someone's death (*tahlīl*) on the third, seventh and one hundredth day;
14. God has attributes, and carefully studying the 20 attributes of God is compulsory;
15. Compulsory replacement (*qaḍā'*) of those prayers (*ṣalāt*) that were left unperformed whether intentionally or unintentionally;
16. Recommended careful study of *taṣawwuf*;
17. Compulsory reading of *dhiḡr lā ilāha illā Allāh* in unison after compulsory prayer;
18. *Tawaṣṣul*⁵² when praying is not included among polytheistic acts;
19. Touching the Qur'ān before ritual ablution (*berwudu*) is forbidden;

20. It is compulsory to wash all things touched by a dog by splashing with water seven times and once with earth;
21. Touching of the skin of men and women who are not *maḥram* nullifies ritual ablution;
22. People who are ritually impure (*junūb*) may not perform night ritual prayers (*ṣalāh*) before washing;
23. Reciting the call to prayer (*ādhān*) for the Friday prayer at the mosque is voluntary but meritorious;
24. Performing the *sunnat* prayer before the Friday prayer is voluntary but meritorious;
25. Divorcing one's wife when she is menstruating is permissible;
26. Writing a verse of the Qur'ān using Latin figures is forbidden;
27. Heaven and hell are both eternal;
28. The Qur'ān has the attribute of *qadīm* (eternal);
29. The universe (*'ālam*) is created (*muḥdath*);
30. The third divorce (*talāq*) at once means the implementation of the third divorce.

A number of the beliefs and rituals of the followers of Shaṭṭāriyyah above take the form of theological beliefs developed by Abū Ḥasan al-Ash'arī, namely: God has attributes, and it is compulsory to carefully study these 20 attributes that were formulated by al-Ash'arī, the Qur'ān is not created (*qadīm*), heaven and hell are eternal, whilst the earth is created (*muḥdath*).

It is important to point out that several rituals of the Shaṭṭāriyyah in West Sumatra that are outlined above, such as pronunciation of *uṣallī* in ritual prayer, undertaking *tarāwīḥ* prayer 20 *rakā'at* and *witr* 3 *rakā'at* during the month of Ramadan, celebrating the birth of the Prophet Muhammad during Rabī' al-Awwal through, amongst other things, reading *Barjanzī*, commemorating someone's death (*tahlīl*) on the third, seventh and one hundredth day, and a number of others, have been challenged by another Muslim group in West Sumatra, identified as Kaum Mudo (modernists), because they are not considered to possess a strong basis in *ḥadīth*, let alone in the Qur'ān. Historically, rituals of this kind — according to this Kaum Mudo — are “only” justified by decrees from the '*ulamā'*' in the period after the Prophet's death by way of the institution of *ijmā'*.

However, because the followers of Shaṭṭāriyyah in West Sumatra, who are identified as the Kaum Tuo (traditionalists), declare themselves as followers of *aḥl al-sunnah wa al-jamā'ah*, rit-

uals of this type are not a problem. In fact they have already become united in recognising their social religious identity, because the beliefs of *ahl al-sunnah wa al-jamā'ah* consider *ijmā'* to be one of the authoritative sources in making legal judgements.

In a number of other sources, the religious identity of the followers of Shaṭṭāriyyah in West Sumatra is equated with what they call the "twenty one instructions", or a number of teachings and rituals that are considered binding and which may not be changed. Material concerning the "twenty one instructions" – which is actually included in the basic considerations and household arrangements of the Shaṭṭāriyyah community (*jamā'ah*) in West Sumatra – is always included by teachers of Shaṭṭāriyyah in various recitations of the Qur'ān.⁵³ The twenty-one instructions are as follows:

1. Fasting must take place according to the *ru'yat al-hilāl*;
2. *Tarāwīḥ* prayer 20 *rakā'at* and *witr* 3 *rakā'at*;
3. Read *uṣallī* in the intention of the prayer;
4. Read *Basmalah* to the *Sūrah* of *al-Fātiḥah* and in the beginning of other *Sūrahs* of the Qur'ān;
5. Reading *qūnut* in the *Ṣubḥ* prayer;
6. Determine the beginning of the months by *ḥisāb taqwīm*, except for the months of Ramadan and Idul Fitri, which are determined by *ru'yat al-hilāl*;
7. Hold to the Imām Shāfi'ī school of thought;
8. Be faithful to the beliefs of *ahl al-sunnah wa al-jamā'ah*;
9. Add the words "*wa bi ḥamdih*" after reading *ṣubḥāna rabbī al-'azīm* when bowing from the waist during prayer (*rukū'*) and *subḥāna rabbī al-'alā* when bowing from a kneeling position during prayer (*sūjud*);
10. Chant the 'remembrance of God' (*dhikr*);
11. Friday sermon (*khuṭbah*) should only be in Arabic;
12. Perform religious rituals/readings (*tahlīl*) at every death;
13. Whisper instructions in the ear of the dead or dying (*talqīn al-mayyit*);
14. Visit the resting place of the Prophet and other pious people;
15. Follow the Shaṭṭāriyyah order;
16. Swear an oath (*bai'ah*) to the *murshid* of Shaṭṭāriyyah;
17. Undertake *tawaṣṣul* toward the teacher during praying;
18. Go to Ulakan (*basapa*) during the second month of the Arabic calendar (*Ṣafar*);

19. Commemorate the birth of the Prophet by reading *Sharf al-Anām*;
20. Stand when reading *ashraḡal* in *Barjanzī*;⁵⁴
21. Wear a rimless cap (*kopiah*) at time of praying.

From the points above, it is clear that the formulation of the religious identity of the followers of Shaṭṭāriyyah in West Sumatra had very specific local nuances, although several rituals among them are also found in the religious traditions of other Muslim communities, such as in the traditions of the NU community in Java.

Pengajian Tubuh (*Personal Recitations*)

The substance of “*Pengajian Tubuh*” (personal recitations) in West Sumatra does not represent a new discourse in the context of mysticism itself, because what is being explored is the ontological connection between God and the world, or more specifically in this instance, humanity. Themes such as this have always been topics of conversation for *Ṣūfīs*, including *Ṣūfī* figures in Shaṭṭāriyyah. In *Tanbīh al-Māshī* and also *Shaṭṭāriyyah*, Abdurrauf al-Sinkili before explaining *waḥdat al-wujūd*, discusses the aforementioned ontological connection between God and the universe, between *al-Ḥaqq* (the Creator, God) and *al-khalq* (His creations), between the One and Only and the many, between *al-wujūd* and *al-mawjūdāt*, between *wājib al-wujūd* and *al-mumkināt*.

Pengajian Tubuh can be considered to be a characteristic that is specific to Shaṭṭāriyyah in West Sumatra. It became a basic lesson in all the Shaṭṭāriyyah teachings of Shaikh Burhanuddin Ulakan. This is made clear from information found in the manuscripts which adds weight to considerations about the essence of creation and the desires of humanity, together with the relationship between the essence of God (*Dhāt*) and the wishes of God. This is in addition to instructions about the methods of recitation that we have already discussed. In addition, *Pengajian Tubuh* is also one of the basic materials that is always taught by teachers of Shaṭṭāriyyah in West Sumatra in their own special recitations, aside from the other mystical materials.

For the followers of Shaṭṭāriyyah in West Sumatra, *Pengajian Tubuh* is needed as a base and exercise (*riyāḍ al-naḡs*) before arriving at what they refer to as “*kurrah*”, which is a particular endeavor

or with the purpose of returning the unrefined/external body (*a'yān khārijīyyah*) to the refined/spiritual self (*a'yān thābitah*).⁵⁵ *Pengajian Tubuh* is also a medium for followers of Shaṭṭāriyyah to know themselves (their bodies), so that he or she will be capable of repelling all satanic temptations and desires (Yafas 1990:7).

Material on *Pengajian Tubuh* teaches that the humanity consist of two parts: an unrefined part (*zāhir*) and a refined part (*bātin*). In its essence, the external body does not have capability or desire, because it is the internal body that moves it (Deram 1992: 1-3). The external body, which in the concept of *taṣawwuf* is called *a'yān khārijīyyah*, consists of four elements, namely fire, wind, water and earth.

An example of an expression of *Pengajian Tubuh* from the followers of Shaṭṭāriyyah in West Sumatra is similar to one found in the manuscript *Pengajian Tarekat* (pp. 1-3):

Hidup tubuh nan kasar di hidup tubuh nan batin
 Tahu tubuh nan kasar di tahu tubuh nan batin
 Kuasa tubuh nan kasar di kuasa tubuh nan batin
 Barkahandak tubuh nan kasar di barkahandak tubuh nan batin
 Mandangar tubuh nan kasar di mandangar tubuh nan batin
 Malihat tubuh nan kasar di malihat tubuh nan batin
 Barkata tubuh nan kasar di barkata tubuh nan batin

"The life of the unrefined self is lived by the spiritual self
 The knowledge of the unrefined self is known by the spiritual self
 The power of the unrefined self is empowered by the spiritual self
 The desires of the unrefined self are desired by the spiritual self
 The hearing of the unrefined self is heard by the spiritual self
 The seeing of the unrefined self is seen by the spiritual self
 The words of the unrefined self are spoken by the spiritual self"

It is explained also in another part of the *Pengajian Tarekat* (p. 6):

"...*a'yān khārijīyyah* tubuh nan kasar samangat yang tahu di sakit, padih, haus, dan lapar; *a'yān thābitah* tubuh yang halus, si ujud 'ām nan sabanar-banar diri; ujud *maḥad* Tuhan yang barnama Allah...

"...*a'yān khārijīyyah*, the unrefined self, experiences sickness, pain, thirst and hunger; *a'yān thābitah* the refined self, 'ām is the real being; *maḥad* is the real God whose name is Allah ...".

Conclusion

The development of the Shaṭṭāriyyah order in West Sumatra until the 20th century displayed one important characteristic, involving the creation of a mystical philosophy that is “more tractable” than previous formulations. This indicates that Neo-Sufist teachings strengthened throughout the 19th and 20th centuries, in the Malay-Indonesian world generally, and particularly in West Sumatra.

The reinforcement of neo-Sufism in West Sumatra was indicated by the fact that whilst al-Sinkili taught—through his various works—the doctrine of *waḥdat al-wujūd* in Aceh in the 17th century, in West Sumatra, *waḥdat al-wujūd* was not just weakened, but was in fact removed from all Shaṭṭāriyyah teachings, because it was considered to be inconsistent with the teachings of *ahl al-sunnah wa al-jamā’ah*, and a deviation from *sharī’ah* practices. According to the manuscripts consulted, the removal of *waḥdat al-wujūd* from the teachings of Shaṭṭāriyyah was one of the local attributes and characteristics of the order in West Sumatra. This finding is quite different from earlier views put forth by B. J. O. Schrieke, Karel A. Steenbrink, Martin van Bruinessen, and several other scholars, that the Shaṭṭāriyyah order in West Sumatra, particularly early on, was the order most active in developing the teachings of *waḥdat al-wujūd*, and was in conflict with Naqsybandiyyah, referred to as the developer of the doctrine of *waḥdat al-shuhūd*.

From its first appearance in the 17th century up until now, Shaṭṭāriyyah has spread to various corners of West Sumatra, starting in Padang Pariaman and Tanah Datar, followed by Agam, Solok, Sawah Lunto Sijunjung, Pasaman, and Pesisir Selatan. As such, the Neo-Sufist doctrines developed by Shaṭṭāriyyah *‘ulamā’* spread widely, starting from the coastal areas and reaching to the *darek* or *luhak*, namely: Luhak Tanah Datar, Luhak Agam, and Luhak Lima Puluh Kota. The development of distribution channels for Shaṭṭāriyyah was generally accompanied by the spread of the manuscripts containing neo-Sufist teachings that were a crucial guide for its members, resulting in an increase in the number of Shaṭṭāriyyah manuscripts.

Endnotes

1. This article is part of my dissertation at the University of Indonesia. I would like to sincerely thank my supervisors, Prof. Dr. Azyumardi Azra and Prof. Dr. Achadiati Ikram, for their invaluable advice and for their constructive comments on the draft of my dissertation. Thanks also to Lucy Rhydwen-Marett for translating it from the original Bahasa Indonesia into English.
2. See Johns 1961b: 10-23; Azra 1994: 32-33.
3. Hasjmi 1980: 375; van Langen 1986: 42-44.
4. In this context "*silsilah*" doesn't refer to family relationships, but is instead about the scholarly relationship between students and teachers.
5. An important figure in *tasawwuf 'amali*, founder of Suhrawardiyyah order. One of his works is titled '*Awārif al-Ma'ārif*. Aside from explaining various teaching of Suhrawardiyyah, this work also describes the practical spiritual exercises, stages (*maqāmāt*), personal behaviour (*ahwāl*), *makrifat* (knowledge) etc. The '*Awārif al-Ma'ārif* played a very important role in the dissemination of Suhrawardiyyah in the Islamic World (Taftazani 1985: 238; Nasution et al. 1992: 868-869; for an Indonesian version of this work, see Ismail 1998).
6. Nizami, *Hind* 1999; Trimmingham 1998: 98.
7. *Khanqah* comes from Persian, and means a building that is used by *Ṣūfis* for various uses, such as teaching and learning, *dhiḥr*, and so on (Chabbi, *khankah*, 1999).
8. See, among others, *Tanbīh al-Māshī*, pp. 65-69.
9. Among the texts that provide valuable information relating to the doctrine and teaching of Shaṭṭāriyyah contained in *Jawāhir al-Khamsah* is *Tanbīh al-Māshī*, a work by Abdurrauf al-Sinkili. In this Arabic text, al-Sinkili explicitly mentions and refers to the *Kitāb Jawāhir al-Khamsah* at least four times. In addition to proposing the teaching formula of Shaṭṭāriyyah, which he did not find in the works composed by his two principal teachers, al-Qushāshī and al-Kūrānī, al-Sinkili usually quoted *Jawāhir al-Khamsah* to supplement his explanations, which originated with these two teachers. One of the Shaṭṭāriyyah teachings that was copied by al-Sinkili from *Jawāhir al-Khamsah*, and which was not in the works of al-Qushāshī and al-Kūrānī, was concerned with what was called *al-ashgāl al-shaṭṭārī* (charity by the Shaṭṭārī group); various special deeds that had to be performed by followers of Shaṭṭāriyyah. In *Tanbīh al-Māshī*, these deeds are presented in secret codes of formulas that can only be understood by way of teachers (*murshid*'s) explanation (*Tanbīh al-Māshī*, p. 26-27).
10. *Dhiḥr*—"Repetition of the names of Allah and certain religious formulae as a means of demonstrating piety" (Federspiel, 1995: 295).
11. For a complete list of al-Qushāshī's students see Azra 1994: 91.
12. See Rinkes 1909: 25; Hurgronje, II 1997: 14, Voorhoeve 1952: 87.
13. For a complete discussion of the network of al-Sinkili's teachers and the areas where he studied, see Azra 1994: 189-198; in relation to the writings often linked to al-Sinkili, see Voorhoeve 1957, see also Fathurahman 1999.
14. Christomy 2001 and 2003.
15. Amin 1993: 18, Abdullah 1980: 54.
16. See Abdullah 1985: 16, 46-49; Azra 1994: 210.
17. This gravestone can be found at Kompleks Makam Maharaja Lela in the village of Lam garut, Ingin Jaya, Aceh Besar. In the graveyard complex, which is categorised as a graveyard for nobility and officials from the Aceh Darussalam kingdom, contains 18 graves (Herwandi 2003: 238-240).

18. van Langen 1888: 420; Azra 1994: 177.
19. Christomy 2003, especially chapter 3.
20. See also Snouck Hurgronje 1997: 14
22. Hamka 1974: 148; Abdullah 1980: 54; Abdullah 1999: 37; Suryadi 2001: 74.
23. See, amongst others, Ronkel 1914: 287; Amin 1993: 36 and 1996: 160.
24. Azra 1988: 25-26; Mulyani 1997: 179; Bahri 1988: 35.
25. Schrieke 1973: Daya 1990: 180.
26. Schrieke 1973: 25-26; Hamka 1982: 4; Steenbrink 1984: 177-178.
27. *Hikāyat Jalāl al-Dīn*, p. 6-7 in Hollander 1857.
28. In relation to this, see Gilsenan 1973: 10.
30. For complete conditions see Amin 1993: 127-128; Syarifuddin 1989: 81.
31. For a complete discussion on *surau* and their role in the process of Islamisation in Minangkabau, see Azra 1988 and 2003; Mulyani 1997; for discussions on *surau* in relation to economic activities in Minangkabau, see Dobbin 1992: 144.
32. The sequence of the names of the caliphs and of the students in this section does not indicate a hierarchy in the caliphate. In the following section I am going to present the student-teacher relationships in Shaṭṭāriyyah in West Sumatra, based on names in the version of the three '*ulamā*'s mentioned, combined with information from various manuscripts and other local sources.
33. In Viviani 1990/1991: 39-40, the student-teacher relationship between Shaikh Janggut Hitam with Shaikh Abdurrahman Lubuk Ipuh is reversed. Indeed, it is quite difficult to confirm which one is correct, as there is no data about the lives of these two '*ulamā*'. However, most sources—especially those in the form of manuscripts—consulted during this research are more inclined to assert the first relationship, with Shaikh Janggut Hitam as the teacher of Shaikh Abdurrahman Lubuk Ipuh (see also Amiruddin 1994: 61). Although he does not mention his source, Viviani apparently bases his composition on an interview with one of the followers of Shaṭṭāriyyah, which is possibly more valid, but also possibly mistaken due to errors.
34. The inter-'*ulamā*' conflict in Shaṭṭāriyyah—and perhaps also between other Islamic leaders—in West Sumatra caused by different choices in political parties is reported as frequently taking place. Aside from Angku Talawi, Imam Maulana Abdul Manaf Amin also tells that he had a conflict of opinion with Angku Inyik Adam, a caliph of Shaṭṭāriyyah from Shaikh Paseban, who was in fact a friend of Imam Maulana Abdul Manaf Amin when they studied with Shaikh Paseban. At that time, Angku Inyik Adam invited him to join the Golkar party so that they could receive help from the government in order to renovate the grave of Shaikh Surau Baru in Batusangka. However, this invitation was refused by Imam Maulana Abdul Manaf Amin (Amin 2002: 63).
35. Apart from studying under Shaikh Ampalu Tinggi, Tuanku Kalumbuk had previously studied Islamic knowledge at several other *surau*, such as: *Surau* Simaung in Sijunjung, *Surau* Calu in Muara Sijunjung, *Surau* Talawi, and *Surau* Tanjung Bungo in Padang Ganting. In 1929, Tuanku Kalumbuk returned to his hometown in Taluk, Lintau Buo, Tanah Datar, and founded a *pesantren*, which then became known as *Pesantren* Tuanku Kalumbuk, before finally changing its name to *Pesantren* Sumur Darek (Yafas 1988: 37). After the death of Tuanku Kalumbuk, *Pesantren* Surau Sumur Darek was continued by Buya Azra'i (born circa 1935), a caliph of Shaṭṭāriyyah and also the nephew of Tuanku Kalumbuk. He was helped by several

- other students of Tuanku Kalumbuk, such as Buya Engku Mudo Sa'id (born circa 1918), Hamzah (born circa 1936), the son of Tuanku Kalumbuk himself (Yafas 1988: 35-39).
36. The names Shaikh Sultan al-Kisai ibn Habibullah Ulakan and Shaikh Habibullah Ulakan are often mentioned in the prayer readings of the followers of Shaṭṭāriyyah in West Sumatra, alongside the names of other caliphs such as Shaikh Abdurrahman, Shaikh Khairuddin, Syaikh Jalaluddin Ulakan, Shaikh Idris, Shaikh Abdul Muhsin, Shaikh Abdul Hasan Ulakan, Shaikh Khalidin, Shaikh Masyruddin, and of course Shaikh Burhanuddin Ulakan himself (see manuscript *Doa* 2). I have not provided information about the student-teacher relationships of several of the caliphs of Shaṭṭāriyyah mentioned, such as Shaikh Khairuddin, Shaikh Jalaluddin Ulakan, Shaikh Idris, Shaikh Abdul Hasan Ulakan, Shaikh Khalidin, and Shaikh Mashruddin.
 37. In the notes of Imam Maulana Abdul Manaf Amin, he mentions the appointment of three caliphs of Shaikh Paseban in 1356 H/ 1937 A.D., not long before the departure of Shaikh Paseban to the Holy Land of Mecca to complete the pilgrimage, where he eventually died (see Amin 2001: 56-57).
 38. The information that there was a female *Ṣūfī* order teacher—though unfortunately unaccompanied by a detailed explanation—is very interesting because *Ṣūfī* order teachers were generally male.
 39. See also Deram 1997: 219.
 40. For a more detailed description of the conflict with the Dutch colonial government that took place in Pauh, see Amin, *Sejarah Ringkas*, pp. 37-48.
 41. See also Arief et al., 1983: 23-32; Pirdaus et al., 1999/2000.
 42. Schrieke 1973: 26; see also Suryadi 2001: 96.
 43. For more on the ideas of Ibn Taimiyyah see, amongst others, Rahman 1997: 154-164.
 44. Azra 1994; Fathurahman 1999.
 45. Compared with the concepts of *al-faiḍ* (emanation) and *al-zill* (shadow) put forth by al-Sinkili when presenting discussions about the ontological relationship between God and '*ālam*'. According to al-Sinkili, although '*ālam* is not the absolute essence of God, '*ālam* is not unconditionally different from Him, because '*ālam* is not a second being that can be separated from Him, except for emissions (*al-faiḍ*) from the essence of God itself. However, the inseparability of God and '*ālam* doesn't mean that God and '*ālam* are the same, because '*ālam* is only a shadow (*al-zill*) of God, or a shadow of the shadow of God (Fathurahman 1999: 50).
 46. *Ijmā'* is an agreement reached between a number '*ulamā'* (*jamā'ah*) who have a broad capability and knowledge, and are trusted to make decisions in relation to religious laws (see, amongst others, Bernand, "idjma", 1999).
 47. For a more detailed discussion of this matter see, amongst others, Saleh 2001: 49-52.
 48. Bisryi 1967: 19; Wahid 1989: 198, see also Dhofier 1994: 149.
 52. *Tawaṣṣul* – "Practice by which members of a mystic brotherhood remember their teachers before beginning the recitation of God's name(s)" (Federspiel, 1995: 268).
 - 53 Syarifuddin 1989: 73, Yafas 1988: 52.
 - 54 *Barjanzi* is usually read on the commemoration of the Prophet's birthday.
 - 55 See Nasrul 1987/1988: 2; Yafas 1990: 45; Bakry 2000: 38 and 71.

Bibliography

Books and Articles

- Abbas, Siradjuddin, 1984, *Itiqad Ahlussunnah Wal-jamaah*, Jakarta: Pustaka Tarbiyah.
- Abdullah, H. W. M. Shagir, 1980, *Perkembangan Ilmu Tasawuf dan Tokoh-tokohnya di Nusantara*, Surabaya: Al-Ikhlâs.
- Abdullah, H. W. M. Shagir, 1985, *Perkembangan Ilmu Fiqh dan Tokoh-tokohnya di Asia Tenggara*, I, Solo: Ramadhani.
- _____, 1991, *Khazanah Karya Pusaka Asia Tenggara*, Kuala Lumpur: Khazanah Fathaniyah, vol. 1.
- _____, 1999, *Penyebaran Islam dan Silsilah Ulama Sejagat Dunia Melayu Jilid 5*, 6th series. Kuala Lumpur: Persatuan Pengkajian Khazanah Klasik Nusantara & Khazanah Fathaniyah. [This has been published up until the 11th series].
- _____, 1421 H/2000 M, *Penyebaran Thariqat-thariqat Shufiyah Mu'tabarah di Dunia Melayu*, Kuala Lumpur: Khazanah Fathaniyah.
- Abdullah, Taufik, 1966, "Adat and Islam: An Examination of Conflict in Minangkabau", *Indonesia*, 2, p. 1-23, Ithaca: Cornell Modern Indonesia Project.
- _____, 1971, *Schools and Politics: The Kaum Muda Movement in West Sumatra (1927-1933)*, Monograph Series, Ithaca, New York: Cornell University.
- Abdullah, Taufik & Sharon Siddique (eds.), 1989, *Tradisi dan Kebangkitan Islam di Asia Tenggara*, Jakarta: LP3ES.
- Amir, Adriyetti, 1996, "Salawat Dulang: Sastra Berangka yang Dihapalkan." *Warta ATL*, No.2 (July): 5-24.
- Amir, Adriyetti & E.U. Kratz, 1991, *Surat Keterangan Syekh Jalaluddin*, London-Padang.
- Andaya, Barbara Watson, 1993, *To Live as Brothers: Southeast Sumatra in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
- Archer, R. Leroy, 1937, "Muhammadan Mysticism in Sumatra", *JMBRAS*, 15, II.
- Armstrong, Amatullah, 1996, *Kunci Memasuki Dunia Tasawuf*, Bandung: Mizan.
- Atjeh, Aboebakar, 1979, *Tarekat dalam Tasawuf*, Kota Bharu: Pustaka Aman.
- al-Attas, Muhammad Naquib, 1966, *Raniri and the Wujudiyah of the 17th Century Aceh*, Singapore, Malaysian Branch, Royal Asiatic Society.
- _____, 1969, *Preliminary Statement on a General Theory of Islamization of the Malay-Indonesian Archipelago*, Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka.
- _____, 1970, *The Mysticism of Hamzah Fansuri*, Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya Press.
- Azra, Azyumardi (ed. & transl.) 1989, *Perspektif Islam di Asia Tenggara*, Jakarta: Yayasan Obor Indonesia.
- _____, 1994, *Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah dan Kepulauan Nusantara Abad XVII dan XVIII*, Bandung: Penerbit Mizan, edition II
- _____, 2002, *Jaringan Global dan Lokal Islam Nusantara*, Bandung: Mizan; translated by Iding Rosyidin Hasan from the original, *Historical Islam: Indonesian Islam in Global and Local Perspective*.
- _____, 2003, *Surau: Pendidikan Islam Tradisional dalam Transisi dan Modernisasi*, Jakarta: Logos Wacana Ilmu. Translated from the original by Iding Rasyidin.
- _____, 2004, *The Origins of Islamic Reformism in Southeast Asia: Networks of Malay-Indonesian and Middle Eastern 'Ulama' in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Cen-*

- turey, Australia & Honolulu: Allen & Unwin and University of Hawai'i Press.
- Bahar, Mahdi, 1997, "Pertunjukan Salawat Talam untuk Pembangunan Mesjid." *Jurnal SENI*, V/02-03 (Juli): 225-234.
- Bernard, M., 1999, "idjma", in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, CD Room edition v. 1.0., Leiden: Koninklijke Brill NV.
- Bisyri, Musthafa, 1967, *Risalah Ahlussunnah wal-Jama'ah*, Yayasan Al-Ibriz.
- Boestami dkk. 1981, *Aspek Arkeologi Islam: tentang Makam dan Sunan Syekh Burhanuddin Ullakan*, Padang: Proyek Pemugaran dan Peninggalan Sejarah dan Purbakala, P & K Sumatra Barat.
- Braginsky, V.I., 1998, *Yang Indah, Berfaedah dan Kamal; Sejarah Sastra Melayu dalam Abad 7-19*, Jakarta: INIS.
- Bruinissen, Martin van, 1994a, "The Origins and Development of Sufi Orders (Tarekat)", *Studia Islamika*, I, 1.
- , 1994b, "Shari'a Court, Tarekat and Pesantren: Religious Institutions in the Banten Sultanate", *Archipel* 47.
- , 1995, *Kitab Kuning, Pesantren dan Tarekat*, Bandung: Mizan.
- , 1996, *Tarekat Naqsyabandiyah di Indonesia*, fourth edition, Bandung: Mizan.
- Chabbi, J., 1999, "khankah", in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, CD Room edition v. 1.0., Leiden: Koninklijke Brill NV.
- Chambert-Loir, Henri & Fathurahman, Oman, 1999, *Khazanah Naskah: Panduan Koleksi Naskah Indonesia Sedunia*, Jakarta: Yayasan Obor Indonesia, in cooperation with EFEO.
- Chatib, Adrianus & Erwiza Erman, 2002, "Gerakan Reformis Paderi" dalam Taufik Abdullah (ed.) *Ensiklopedi Tematis Dunia Islam jilid 5*, Jakarta: PT Ichtiar Baru van Hoeve, p. 185-197.
- Christomy, Tommy, 2001, "Shattariyyah Order in West Java: The Case of Pamijahan", *Studia Islamika*, vol. 8, no. 2, p. 55-82.
- Daya Burhanuddin, 1990, *Gerakan Pembaharuan Pemikiran Islam: Kasus Sumatera Thawalib*, Yogyakarta: Penerbit Tiara Wacana.
- Dhofier, Zamakhsyari, 1994, *Tradisi Pesantren: Studi tentang Pandangan Hidup Kyai*, Jakarta: LP3ES.
- Djaja, Tamar. 1965. *Pusaka Indonesia: Riwayat Hidup Orang-orang Besar Tanah Air* (Jilid I), Djakarta: Bulan Bintang (4th edition).
- Dobbin, Christine, 1992, *Kebangkitan Islam dan Ekonomi Petani yang Sedang Berubah: Sumatra Tengah, 1784-1847* (translator: Lillian D. Tedjasudhana). Jakarta: INIS.
- Drewes, G. W. J., 1925, *Drie Javaansche Goeroe's IIun Leven, Onderricht en Messiasprediking*, Leiden: Drukkerij A. Vros.
- , 1959, "A.H. Johns PhD Malay Sufism". BKI, 115, III.
- , 1977, *Directions for Travellers on the Mystic Path: Zakariyya al-Ansari's Kitab Fath al-Rahman and Its Indonesian Adaptations*, The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff.
- Effendy, Moenawar, 1980, "Mengenal Jalan dan Cita-cita Bertemu Tuhan sebagai Pedoman dan Tuntunan Mencapai Derajat Marifat kepada Allah Swt", a guide for Syathoriyah members, stencil, Tanjunganom.
- , 1987, "Kwalitas Iman: Harapan, Hambatan, Tantangan", stencil, Tanjunganom.

- Fathurahman, Oman, 1999, *Tanbih Al-Masyi, Menyoal Wahdatul Wujud: Kasus Abdurrauf Singkel di Aceh Abad 17*. Bandung: EFEO & Penerbit Mizan.
- , 2001, "Naskah dan Rekonstruksi Islam Lokal: Iḥâf al-Zakî bi Sharḥ al-Tuhfah al-Mursalâh Ilâ Rûḥ al-Nabî (Karya Ibrâhîm al-Kûrânî)," dalam: M. Yusuf et al. (eds.), *Penelitian Naskah Nusantara dari Sudut Pandang Kebudayaan Nusantara (Collection of papers from Simposium Internasional Masyarakat Pernaskahan Nusantara [Manassa] V, Padang, 28-31 Juli 2001)*. Padang: Fakultas Sastra UNAND (pp.153-175).
- Federspiel, Howard, M., 1995, *A Dictionary of Indonesian Islami*, Athens: Center for International Studies Ohio University.
- Gilsenan, Michael, 1973, *Saints and Sufi in Modern Egypt: An Essay in the Sociology of Religion*, Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- I Hamka, 1965, *Di bawah Lindungan Kabah*. Bukittinggi & Djakarta: NV. Nusantara (tenth edition).
- , 1974, *Antara Fakta dan Khayal Tuanku Rao*, Jakarta: Bulan Bintang.
- , 1974, *Kenang-Kenangan Hidup*, third edition, Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, 4 jilid.
- , 1982, *Ayahku*, Jakarta: Umminda.
- , 1984, *Islam dan adat Minangkabau*. Jakarta: Pustaka Panjimas.
- Hasan, Ahmad Rifa'i (ed.), 1987, *Warisan Intelektual Islam Indonesia: Telaah atas Karya-karya Klasik*, Bandung: Mizan, in cooperation with LSAF.
- Hasjmi, A., 1980, "Syekh Abdurrauf Syiah Kuala, Ulama Negarawan yang Bijaksana", in *Universitas Kuala Menjelang 20 Tahun*, Medan: Waspada.
- , (ed.) 1993, *Sejarah Masuk dan Berkembangnya Islam di Indonesia*, Bandung: al-Ma'arif.
- Hollander, J.J. (ed.), 1857, *Verhaal van den aanvang der Padri-Onhusten op Sumatra door Sjech Djilal Eddin*, Leiden: E.J. Brill.
- Hooker, M.B., 1983, "Introduction: The Translation of Islam into South-East Asia", in Hooker, M.B. (ed.), *Islam in South-East Asia*, Leiden: E.J. Brill.
- Huurgronje, Snouck, 1997, *Aceh, Rakyat dan Adat Istiadatnya*, vol. II, translated from *De Atjehers* by Sutan Maimoen, Jakarta, INIS.
- Ibn, 'Arabî, i.t., *Fuṣūṣ al-Hikam*, Beirut: Dâr al-Kitâb al-'Arabî.
- , 1972 (I-II), 1974 (III), 1975 (IV), *al-Futūḥât al-Makkiyyah*, vol. I-IV, edition Uḥmân Yahyâ, Mesir: al-Hayât al-Miṣriyyah al-'nmmah li al-Kuttâb.
- Ikram, Achadiati, 1980, "Kegiatan Filologi di Indonesia: Suatu Tinjauan Sejarah" in *Bahasa dan Sastra*, year VI, no. 6.
- , 1997, *Filologia Nusantara*, edited by Titik Pudjiastuti et al., Jakarta: Pustaka Jaya.
- Iskandar, Teuku, 1995, *Kesusasteraan Klasik Melayu Sepanjang Abad*, Brunei: Jabatan Kesusasteraan Melayu, Universiti Brunei Darussalam.
- Ismail, Ilma Nugrahani, 1998, *'Awârif al-Ma'arif; Sebuah Buku Daras Klasik Tasawuf*, Jakarta; Pustaka Hidayah.
- Johns, A. H., 1955a, "Aspects of Sufi Thought in Indonesia 1600-1650", in *JMBRAS*, volume XXVII, no. 169
- , 1955b, "Dakha'ikh al-Huruf by 'Abd al-Ra'uf of Singkel", *JRAS*, 1, II.
- , 1961a, "Muslim Mystics and Historical Writings", in D.G.E. Hall (peny.), *Historian of South East Asia*, London: Oxford University Press.
- , 1961b, "Sufism as a Category in Indonesian Literature and History", *JSEAH*, 2, II, 10-23.

- _____, 1976, "Islam in Southeast Asia: Reflections and New Directions", *Indonesia*, 19.
- _____, 1978, "Friends in Grace: Ibrahim al-Kurani and Abd al-Rauf al-Singkel" in S. Udin (ed.), *Spectrum: Essays Presented to Sutan Takdir Alisjahbana*, Jakarta: Dian Rakyat.
- _____, 1998, "The Qur'an in The Malay World: Reflections on 'Abd al-Ra'ûf of Singkel (1615-1693), in *Journal of Islamic Studies* 9: 2, p. 120-145.
- _____, A.H., 1996, "In the Language of the Divine: The Contribution of Arabic", in Ann Kumar & John H. McGlynn (eds.), *Illuminations: The Writing Traditions of Indonesia*, Jakarta: Lontar, p. 33-48.
- Kratz, E.U. and Adriyetti Amir (eds.), 2002, *Surat Keterangan Syekh Jalaluddin karangan Fakih Saghir*. Kuala Lumpur: Dewan bahasa dan Pustaka.
- Laffan, Michael Francis, 2003, *Islamic Nationhood and Colonial Indonesia*, London & New York: RoutledgeCurzon.
- van Langen, K.F.II., 1888, "De inrichting van het Atjehsche Staatbestuur onder het Sultanaat", *BKI*, 5, III; translated by Aboe Bakar as *Susunan Pemerintahan Aceh semasa Kesultanan*, Banda Aceh: PDIA, 1986.
- Lubis, Nabilah, 1996, *Syekh Yusuf al-Taj al-Makasari; Menyingkap Intisari Segala Rahasia*, Bandung: Mizan in cooperation with FSUI and EFEO Jakarta.
- Muhaimin, 1997, "Pesantren and Tarekat in the Modern Era: An Account on the Transmission of Traditional Islam in Java", *Studia Islamika*, 4, 1: 6-28
- _____, 2001, *Islam dalam Bingkai Budaya Lokal: Potret dari Cirebon*, Jakarta: Logos Wacana Ilmu dan Pemikiran.
- Mulyani, 1997, "Ta'awwur al-Tarbiyyah al-Islâmiyyah fi Mînanjġabau" in *Studia Islamika*, volume 4, no 1, p. 173-209.
- Mujizah & Maria Indra Rukmi, 1998, *Penelusuran Penyalinan Naskah-naskah Riau Abad XIX: Sebuah Kajian Kodikologi*, Jakarta: Program Penggalakan Kajian Sumber-sumber Tertulis Nusantara, Fakultas Sastra UI.
- Murodi, 1999, *Melacak Asal-usul Gerakan Paderi di Sumatera Barat*, Jakarta: PT Logos Wacana Ilmu.
- Mu'thi, Wahib, 1987, "Tarekat Shattariyyah: dari Gujarat sampai Caruban", in *Pesantren* 4, II, p. 75-81.
- Naim, Mochtar, 2001, "Filosofi Budaya Minangkabau: Mengembangkan Identitas Keislaman Keminangan sebagai Jati Diri", dalam Taib, Gusnawirta & Abrar Yusra, *Tantangan Sumatera Barat: Mengembalikan Keunggulan Pendidikan Berbasis Budaya Minangkabau*, Padang: Citra Pendidikan.
- _____, 1984, *Merantau: Pola Migrasi Suku Minangkabau*, Yogyakarta: Gadjah Mada University Press.
- Navis, A.A., 1986, *Alam Terkembang jadi Guru*, Jakarta: Grafiti Press.
- Nasution, Harun, 1985, *Islam Ditinjau dari Berbagai Aspeknya*, Jakarta: UI Press, edition V.
- Nasution, Harun et al., 1992, *Ensiklopedi Islam Indonesia*, Jakarta: Penerbit Djambatan.
- Nicholson, R.A., 1975, *The Mystics of Islam*, London.
- Nizami, 1999, "Hind", in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, CD Room edition v. 1.0., Leiden: Koninklijke Brill NV.
- Noer, Deliar, 1996, *Gerakan Moderen Islam di Indonesia 1900-1942*, Jakarta: LP3ES, eighth edition.
- Noer, Kautsar Azhari, 1995, *Ibn Al-'Arabi; Wahdat al-Wujûd dalam Perdebatan*, Jakarta: Paramadina.

- Pigeaud, Th., 1989, *Javaans-Nederlands Woordenboek*, Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal, Land en Volkenkunde, Foris Publications.
- Pott, P.H., 1966, *Yoga and Yantra: Their Relation and Their Significance for Indian Archaeology*, translated from Dutch by Rodney Needham, The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff.
- Radjab, Muhamad, 1974, *Semasa Kecil di Kampung 1913-1928: Autobiografi seorang Anak Minangkabau*, Jakarta: Balai Pustaka.
- Rahman, Fazlur, 1997, *Islam*, third edition, Bandung: Pustaka, translated from *Islam* by Ahsin Mohammad.
- Ricklefs, Merle Calvin, 1979, "Six Centuries of Islamization in Java", in *Conversion to Islam*. N. Levtzion, (peny.) London: Oxford University Press.
- Riddell, Peter Gregory, 1989, "Earliest Quranic Exegetical Activity in the Malay-Speaking States", *Archipel*, 38.
- , 1990, *Transferring a Tradition: 'Abd al-Ra'uf al-Singkili's Rendering into Malay of the Jalalayn Commentary*, Berkeley: Monograph no. 31, Centers for South and Southeast Asia Studies, University of California, 1990.
- , 2001, *Islam and the Malay-Indonesian World: Transmission and Responses*, Singapore: Horizon Books.
- Rinkes, D. A., 1909, *Abdoerraof van Singkel; Bijdrage tot de kennis van de mystiek op Sumatra en Java*, Heerenven: Iepkema
- , 1910, "De Heiligen van Java" *Tijdschrift voor Indische Tall, Land-, en Volkenkunde* 53: 431-581.
- Rizvi, S.A.A., 1983, *A History of Sufism in India*, vol. 2, New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal.
- Ronkel, Ph. S. van, 1914, [Silsilah 'Abd. Al-Rauf Al-Singkili], *Pasal pada Menyatakan Silsilah Tuan Syekh Abdul Ra'uf[sic] Tatkala Menuntut Ilmu Kepada Syekh Abdul[sic] Qusyasyi*, in "Heit Heiligdom te Oelakan", *TBG*, 56: 281-316.
- , 1916, *Rapport Betreffende de Godsdienstige Verschijnselen ter Sumatra's Westkust*, Batavia: Landsdukkerij.
- Schimmel, Annemarie, 1986, *Dimensi Mistik dalam Islam*, translated from *Mystical Dimension of Islam*, by Sapardi Djoko Damono et al., Jakarta: Pustaka Firdaus.
- Schrieke, B.J.O., 1955, *Indonesian Sociological Studies*, 2 parts, The Hague & Bandung: van Hoeve.
- , 1973, *Pergolakan Agama di Sumatera Barat: Sebuah Sumbangan Bibliografi* (translated by Soegarda Poerbakawatja), Jakarta: Bhratara.
- Steenbrink, Karel A., 1984, *Beberapa Aspek Tentang Islam di Indonesia Abad Ke-19*, Jakarta: Bulan Bintang.
- Suryadi, 2001, "Shaikh Daud of Sunur: Conflict between Reformists and The Shattāriyyah *Ṣūfī* Order in Rantau Pariaman in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century," *Studia Islamika*, Vol. 8, No. 3: 57-124.
- Trimingham, J.S., 1998, *The Sufi Orders in Islam*, second edition, London: Oxford University Press.
- Underhill, Evelyn, 1962, *Mysticism: A Study in the Nature and Development of Man's Spiritual Consciousness*, 13th edition, Methuen & CO Ltd. This book can be considered to be a classic text in mystic studies in general; the first edition (1911) was printed 10 times, the second edition (1930) 8 times, and the final edition was printed in 1962.
- Voorhoeve, P., 1952, *Bajan Tajalli: gegevens voor een nadere studie over Abdur-rauf van Singkel*, *TBG* 85; translated by Aboe Bakar (1980) into *Bayan Tajalli*:

- Bahan-bahan untuk Mengadakan Penyelidikan lebih Mendalam tentang Abdur-rauf Singkel*, Banda Aceh: PDIA.
- , 1980, *Handlist of Arabic Manuscripts in the Library of the University of Leiden and Other Collection in the Netherlands*, (Codices Manuscripti), Leiden University Press/The Hague/Boston/London [First edition printed in 1957].
- Wahid, Abdurrahman, 1988, "Nahdlatul Ulama dan Islam di Indonesia Dewasa ini", in Abdullah, Taufik & Sharon Siddique (eds.), 1989.
- Wibisono, Sonny et al., 1989, "Laporan Penelitian Situs-situs Masa Silam Islam di Sumatera Barat", *Berita Penelitian Arkeologi*, no. 39, p. 14, Jakarta: Puslit Arkenas.
- Winstedt, Sir Richard. 1969. *A History of Classical Malay Literature*. Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press.
- Yunus, Mahmud, 1979, *Sejarah Pendidikan Islam di Indonesia*, Jakarta: Mutiara.
- Yusuf, M. et al., 2001, *Penelitian Naskah Nusantara dari Sudut Pandang Kebudayaan Nusantara*, collection of papers from Simposium Internasional Masyarakat Pemsakahan Nusantara (Manassa) V, Padang, 28-31 July 2001.
- Research Reports, Skripsi, Thesis, and Dissertation*
- Abdullah, M, 1995, "Paham Wahdat al-Wujud dalam Naskah Syatariyah Karya Syeikh Abdurrauf Singkel; Suntingan Teks dan Pengungkapan Isinya", Thesis at the Faculty of Arts, University of Indonesia; has been published as *Paham Wahdah al-Wujud, Mistik Islam Syeiki Abdurrauf As-Singkili*, Semarang: Penerbit Bendera, 1999.
- Amiruddin, 1994, "Ajaran Tarikat Syatariyah dan Pengaruhnya terhadap Aqidah dan Syariah Masyarakat Kenagarian Surian Kecamatan Pantai Cermin Kabupaten Solok", skripsi at the Faculty of Ushuluddin, IAIN Imam Bonjol, Padang.
- Amir, Adriyetti, 1990, "Salawat Dulang: Sastra Sufi di Minangkabau", research report, Padang: Pusat Penelitian Universitas Andalas.
- Arief, Abbas dkk., 1982/1983, "Variasi Ajaran Thariqat di Sumatera Barat", research report, Padang: IAIN Imam Bonjol.
- Azra, Azyumardi, 1988, "The Rise and Decline of the Minangkabau Surau: A Traditional Islamic Educational Institution in West Sumatra during the Dutch Colonial Government", thesis M.A. Columbia University.
- Badri, Muhammad, 1975, "Tanbīh al-Māshī", skripsi at the University of Indonesia.
- Bahri, Syamsul, 1988, "Paham Wahdatul Wujud di Kabupaten Padang Pariaman", research report, IAIN Imam Bonjol Padang.
- Bakry, Nazar, 2000, "Tarekat Syattariyah di Padang Pariaman: Tinjauan dari Segi Dakwah", research report, Pusat Penelitian IAIN Imam Bonjol Padang.
- Christomy, Tommy, 2003, "Signs of the Wali: Narratives at the Sacred Sites in Pamijahan, West Java", dissertation at the Australian National University.
- Fathurahman, Oman, 1998, "Tanbīh al-Māsiyy al-Mansūb Ilā Ṭarīq Al-Qusyāsiyy, Tanggapan As-Singkili Terhadap Doktrin Wujudiyah di Aceh Abad XVII: Suntingan Teks dan Analisis Isi", thesis at the Faculty of Arts, University of Indonesia (has been published as Fathurahman 1999).
- Firdaus et al., 1999/2000, "Sentra-sentra Tarekat di Minangkabau", research report, Faculty of Arts, IAIN Imam Bonjol Padang.
- Harun, Salman, 1988, "Hakikat Tafsir *Tarjuman Al-Mustafid* Karya Syeikh Abdur Rauf Singkel", dissertation at the UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta.

- Hermarosrita, 1994, "Suatu Tinjauan terhadap Tarikat Syathariyah di Desa Gurun Panjang Kecamatan Bayang Kabupaten Pesisir Selatan", skripsi at the Faculty of Ushuluddin, IAIN Imam Bonjol, Padang.
- IHerwandi, 2003, "Kaligrafi Islam pada Makam-makam di Aceh Darussalam: Telaah Sejarah Seni (Abad XVI M-XVIII M)", dissertation at the University of Indonesia.
- Istadiyantha, 1989, *Syattariyah: Suntingan Naskah dan Analisis Fungsi*, Thesis at the University of Gadjah Mada.
- Mardius, 1995, "Nilai-nilai Sufistik dalam Kesenian Selawat Dulang di Kecamatan Rambatan Kabupaten Tanah Datar", research report, Padang: IAIN Imam Bonjol.
- Nasrul, 1987/1988, "Hubungan Selawat Talam dengan Tarekat di Kecamatan Pariangan Kabupaten Tanah Datar", research report, Padang: IAIN Imam Bonjol.
- Nur, Muhammad, 1995, "Studi terhadap Ubudiyah Pengikut Tharekat Syathariyah di Ampalu Tinggi Kecamatan VII Koto Sel. Sarik Kabupaten Padang Pariaman", skripsi at the Faculty of Ushuluddin, IAIN Imam Bonjol Padang.
- Rais, Zaim, 1994, "The Minangkabau Traditionalists' Response to the Modernist Movement", thesis at McGill University, Montreal, Canada.
- Riddell, Peter Gregory, 1984, "Abd al-Rauf al-Singkili's Tarjumân al-Mustafid: A Critical Study of His Treatment of Juz 16", dissertation, The Australian National University.
- Samad, Dasuki, 2003, "Tradisionalisme Islam di Tengah Modernisme", dissertation at the UIN Syarif Hidayatullah, Jakarta.
- Syarifuddin, 1989, "Suatu Tinjauan terhadap Thariqat Syathariyah di Kenegerian Sikucur Kecamatan Limo-Koto Kampung Dalam Kabupaten Padang Pariaman", skripsi at the Faculty of Ushuluddin, IAIN Imam Bonjol, Padang.
- Viviani, Nefisra, 1990/1991, "Interaksi Sosial Kiyai dan Santri di Pesantren Darul Ulum Kampung Panas Pakandangan Kecamatan 2 x 11 Enam Lingkung Kabupaten Padang Pariaman", skripsi at the Faculty of Arts and Literature, University of Andalas, Padang.
- Yafas, M. dkk, 1984, "Bersafar di Ulakan ditinjau dari Sudut 'Aqidah Islamiyah dan Pengaruhnya di Sumatera Barat", research report, Padang: IAIN Imam Bonjol.
- Yafas, M., 1990, "Perkembangan Thariqat Syathariyah dan Pengaruhnya dalam Pengamalan Ajaran Islam di Kecamatan Lintau Buo", research report, Padang: IAIN Imam Bonjol.
- Yusuf, M., dkk. 2001, "Manuskrip & Kitab Kuno di Minangkabau: Menelusuri Jejak Para Sufi", research report, Universitas Andalas Padang.

Kitab and Manuscripts

- Abbas, Tuanku Bagindo (copyist), 2000, *Inilah Buku Sejarah Auliyaullah yang Salih Syaikh Burhanuddin Ulakan Pengembang Agama Islam di Alam Minangkabau Sumatra Barat*, Yusriwan's collection, Unand Padang, Sumatra Barat.
- al-Kurānī, Ibrāhīm, *Ithāf al-Dhākī bi Syarḥ al-Tuḥfat al-Mursalah ilā Rūḥ al-Nabī*, collection of Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyyah, Kairo, MS 2578, microfilm 27651, and MS 2954, microfilm 10200.
- Amin, Imam Maulana Abdul Manaf, 1986, *Kitāb al-Taqwīm wa al-Ṣiyām*, Imam Maulana Abdul Manaf Amin's collection, Batang Kabung, Koto Tangah, Padang Sumatra Barat.

- , t.t., *Ziarah Kubur: Menerangkan Ziarah ke Makam Syaikh Abdurrauf di Kampung Kuala Darussalam Aceh*, Imam Maulana Abdul Manaf Amin's collection, Batang Kabung, Koto Tangah, Padang Sumatra Barat.
- , 1989, *Risālat Mīzān al-Qalb*, Imam Maulana Abdul Manaf Amin's collection, Batang Kabung, Koto Tangah, Padang Sumatra Barat.
- , (copyist), t.t., *Inilah Sejarah Ringkas Auliyaullah al-Salihin Syaikh Abdurrauf (Syaikh Kuala) Pengembang Agama Islam di Aceh*, Imam Maulana Abdul Manaf Amin's collection, Batang Kabung, Koto Tangah, Padang Sumatra Barat.
- , (copyist), 1993, *Inilah Sejarah Ringkas Auliyaullah al-Salihin Syaikh Burhanuddin Ulakan yang Mengembangkan Agama Islam di Daerah Minangkabau*, Imam Maulana Abdul Manaf Amin's collection, Batang Kabung, Koto Tangah, Padang Sumatra Barat.
- , (copyist), t.t., *Sejarah Ringkas Syaikh Muhammad Nasir (Syaikh Surau Baru)*, Imam Maulana Abdul Manaf Amin's collection, Batang Kabung, Koto Tangah, Padang Sumatra Barat.
- , 2001, *Kitab Menerangkan Agama Islam di Minangkabau Semenjak Dahulu dari Syaikh Burhanuddin sampai Ke Zaman Kita Sekarang*, Imam Maulana Abdul Manaf Amin's collection, Batang Kabung, Koto Tangah, Padang, Sumatra Barat.
- , (copyist), 2001, *Sejarah Ringkas Syaikh Paseban al-Syattari*, Imam Maulana Abdul Manaf Amin's collection, Batang Kabung, Koto Tangah, Padang Sumatra Barat.
- , 2002, *Kitab Riwayat Hidup Imam Maulana Abdul Manaf Amin*, Imam Maulana Abdul Manaf Amin's collection.
- Deram, H.K. (copyist), 1992, *Pengajian Tarekat*, Adriyetti Amir's collection, Unand Padang, Sumatra Barat.
- , (copyist), 1997, *Muballighul Islam*, Ustaz Agus Salim's collection, Tandikat, Pariaman, Sumatra Barat.
- , *Doa 1*, Ustaz Agus Salim's collection.
- , *Doa 2*, Ustaz Agus Salim's collection.
- al-Sinkili, Abdurrauf, *Tanbīh al-Māshī al-Mansūb ilā Tariq al-Qushāshī*, collection of National Library (PNRI) A 655 and A 101, collections of Universitas Leiden Library, Cod. Or. 7031 & Cod. Or. 7030, and Imam Maulana Abdul Manaf Amin al-Khatib Sumatra Barat.
- , *Shaḥḥāriyyah*, collections of National Library, MI 349 and MI 336.
- Silsilah Ulama Shaḥḥāriyyah*, written by Buya Mata Air Pakandangan, Buya Angku Pakandangan, and Buya Tapakis, t.t.
- Al-Qushāshī, 1327/1909, Ahmad, *al-Simḥ al-Majīd fī Sha'n al-Bai'ah wa al-Dhikr wa Talqīnih wa Salāsīl Ahl al-Tauḥīd*, Hayderabad: Dā'irat al-Ma'ārif al-Nizāmiyyah.

Oman Fathurahman, researcher at the PPIM, is lecturer at the Faculty of Adab, UIN Syarif Hidayatullah, Jakarta.

Table
Silsilah of Shaikh Burhanuddin Ulakan
and his Students in West Sumatra



