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The Thoughts and Religious Understanding of Shaikh Ahmad al-Mutamakkin: The Struggle of Javanese Islam 1645-1740[*1]

Abstraksi: *Dalam literatur Islam Jawa, Shaikh Ahmad al-Mutamakkin dikenal sebagai seorang tokoh mistik yang dianggap kontroversial, baik menyangkut keberadaannya sebagai tokoh historis atau fiktif belaka, maupun menyangkut ajaran-ajaran sufistik yang sering dinisbatkan kepadanya.*

Hingga kini, para sarjana yang terlibat dalam perbincangan tentang ketokohan dan pemikiran keagamaan Shaikh Ahmad al-Mutamakkin selalu menyandarkan penjelasannya pada Serat Cabolek, *sebuah kitab yang sering dinisbatkan —meskipun beberapa sarjana meragukannya— kepada Yasadipura I sebagai pengarangnya. Dalam kitab tersebut, Shaikh Ahmad al-Mutamakkin —yang diyakini berasal dari Desa Kajen, sebuah desa di sebelah barat desa Cabolek, wilayah Jawa Timur— digambarkan sebagai seorang mistikus Jawa yang sesat, berperilaku buruk, membuat ajaran bid'ah, dan mengabaikan aspek syariat dalam Islam. Posisi al-Mutamakkin dalam kitab ini disejajarkan dengan para "tokoh sesat" lainnya seperti Sunan Panggung, Shaikh Siti Jenar, Shaikh Among Raga, dan lain-lain.*

Artikel ini mencoba menampilkan perspektif lain tentang Shaikh Ahmad al-Mutamakkin, baik menyangkut historisitas kehidupannya maupun berbagai pemikiran keagamaan yang dinisbatkan kepadanya. Berbeda dengan tulisan-tulisan sebelumnya yang hanya merujuk pada Serat Cabolek, *penulis artikel ini menghadirkan dua referensi lain, yakni* Teks Kajen *dan kitab* 'Arsh al-Muwaḥḥidîn, *yang, menurut analisisnya, banyak memberikan perspektif lain tentang ketokohan Shaikh Ahmad al-Mutamakkin.*

Hal penting yang menjadi temuan penulis dari Teks Kajen *adalah cerita tentang al-Mutamakkin yang tidak terdapat dalam, atau berbeda alur ceritanya dengan,* Serat Cabolek. *Jika* Serat Cabolek *tidak banyak menceritakan identitas al-Mutamakkin, dan cenderung mendiskreditkannya sebagai seorang ulama mistik yang menyimpang (heretic), maka sebaliknya* Teks Kajen *banyak mengemukakan ketokohan al-Mutamakkin sebagai seorang ulama besar bahkan seorang waliyullah "yang lurus".*

Kitab 'Arsh al-Muwaḥḥidîn *sendiri, yang di kalangan masyarakat Desa Kajen diyakini sebagai karangan asli al-Mutamakkin, menggambarkan corak pemikiran keagamaan al-Mutamakkin yang bersifat neo-sufis dan sangat menekankan pentingnya aspek syariat. Ini tentu saja berbeda dengan corak pemikiran al-Mutamakkin dalam* Serat Cabolek *yang digambarkan sebagai heretis, menyimpang dari arus utama, dan tidak mempedulikan aspek syariat dalam Islam.*

Dalam 'Arsh al-Muwaḥḥidîn, *al-Mutamakkin menekankan tentang Keesaan Tuhan (*tawhîd*) yang bersifat tak terbatas dan mutlak. Dalam hal ini, al-Mutamakkin berusaha mendamaikan seluruh Asma atau Sifat Tuhan. Menurutnya, semua sifat Tuhan yang tampaknya saling bertentangan hendaknya dipahami sesuai dengan Keesaan Tuhan. Dari konsep ini dapat dipahami bahwa al-Mutamakkin sangat mematuhi doktrin teologisnya Asy'ariyyah.*

Konsep tawhîd *al-Mutamakkin ini menjadi sangat penting, terutama jika dikaitkan dengan pembahasan dalam* Serat Cabolek *yang "menghakimi" al-Mutamakkin sebagai seorang sufi yang telah menghina golongan ortodoks Islam. Melalui telaah atas teks* 'Arsh al-Muwaḥḥidîn, *penulis artikel ini menegaskan bahwa apa yang terdapat dalam* Serat Cabolek *itu tidak benar-benar menggambarkan corak pemikiran keagamaan al-Mutamakkin, melainkan lebih sebagai upaya pihak kraton untuk mendiskreditkan posisinya, yang dianggap dapat menjadi saingan, baik bagi penguasa maupun para ulamanya.*

Dengan selalu menyandarkan argumen-argumennya kepada dalil al-Quran dan hadis Nabi, al-Mutamakkin dalam 'Arsh al-Muwaḥḥidîn *menegaskan bahwa seorang mukmin yang ingin menjalani suluk harus memahami dan mengamalkan terlebih dahulu aspek syariat, dan baru kemudian menggabungkannya secara bersamaan. Menurut al-Mutamakkin, seorang mukmin yang hanya melakukan ritual syariat, tidak akan bisa menghayati makna ritual yang dilakukannya. Demikian pula sebaliknya, mereka yang hanya menjalani suluk makrifat, tidak akan memiliki wadah untuk menghayati makna-makna hakikinya.*

Afiliasi al-Mutamakkin terhadap ajaran neo-sufi seperti ini juga dipertegas melalui silsilah intelektual yang menghubungkan al-Mutamakkin dengan para ulama neo-sufi terkemuka lain semisal Ibrâhîm al-Kûrânî, serta Shaikh Yusuf al-Makassari dan Shaikh Abdurrauf al-Singkili sebagai murid-muridnya. Dengan demikian, melalui telaah geneologis, penulis artikel ini ingin menegaskan pula bahwa al-Mutamakkin bukanlah tokoh fiktif dan rekaan belaka, melainkan seorang tokoh historis yang pernah "meramaikan" diskursus tentang Islam, khususnya di Tanah Jawa.

The Thoughts and Religious Understanding of Shaikh Ahmad al-Mutamakkin: The Struggle of Javanese Islam 1645-1740[*1]

خلاصة: يعد الشيخ أحمد المتمكن في التراث الصوفي الجاوي صوفيا مثيرا للجدل سـواء فيما يتعلق بوجوده كشخصية تاريخية أم أنه مجرد خيال أو فيما يتعلق بالآراء والأفكــار الصوفية المنسوبة إليه.

وقد استند الباحثون والدارسون في كلامهم حتى الوقت الراهن حول شـــخصية الشيخ أحمد المتمكن وأفكاره الدينية على كتاب *سيرات شيبوليك* (Serat Cabolek) وهـو كتاب نسبه عدد من الباحثين ——على الرغم من تشكك الآخرين—— إلى ياسـاديبورا الأول (Yasadipura I)، وفيه ورد ذكر الشيخ أحمد المتمكن ——الذي يعتقد أنه جاء من قرية كاجين (Kajen) على الجانب الغربي من قرية شيبوليك (Cabolek) من أعمال جاوه الشرقية—— كصوفي جاوي ضال سوء الخلق مبتدع يعتقد في سقوط التكاليف، وقــد وضع في هذا الكتاب ضمن "زعماء الضلال" من أمثال سـونان بـاجنونج (Sunan Panggung) والشيخ سيتي جينار (Syekh Siti Jenar) والشــيخ آمونـج راغـا (Syekh Among Raga) وآخرين.

ويحاول هذا المقال إبراز جانب آخر من شخصية الشيخ أحمد المتمكن سواء مــن الناحية التاريخية أم من حيث الأفكار والآراء الدينية المنسوبة إليه، فخلافـا لمـا عليـه البحوث السابقة من الرجوع إلى كتاب *سيرات شيبوليك* فحسب فإن الكاتب هنا يأتي بمرجعين آخرين وهما *نصوص كاجين* (Teks Kajen) و كتاب عرش *الموحدين* اللذين طبقا للتحليلات يعطيان وجهة نظر أخرى حول شخصية الشيخ أحمد المتمكن.

والأمر الهام الذي اكتشفه الكاتب في *نصوص كاجين* قصة المتمكن التي لم توجـد أو تختلف تماما عما هي في *سيرات شيبوليك*، فإذا لم تكن *سيرات شيبوليك* تتعــرض

لتفصيل حياة الشيخ المتمكن بل تميل إلى عد نقائصه واعتباره صوفيا منحرفا فإنــــه في
نصوص كاجين تأتي مكانته ضمن كبار العلماء بل من أولياء الله المستقيمين.

وأما كتاب *عرش الموحدين* فقد اعتقد المجتمع بقرية كاجين بأنه من مؤلفات الشيخ
المتمكن أصلا، وقد صورت نصوص هذا الكتاب أفكار الشيخ المتمكن على أها مـــن
الأفكار الصوفية المحدثة التي تمتم بالدرجة الأولى بتقديم مكانة الشريعة، وهذا يختلــف
تماما عما صورته نصوص *سيرات شيبوليك* الذي اعتبر الشيخ المتمكن ضالا ومنحرفا
عن الجادة ولا يهتم بتطبيق مقتضيات الشريعة الإسلامية.

وفي كتاب *عرش الموحدين* يذهب الشيخ المتمكن إلى الكلام عن ضرورة توحيــد
الله توحيدا مطلقا، وفي هذا الصدد يحاول الشيخ أن يوفق بين أسماء الله وصفاته، إذ يرى
أن جميع الصفات الإلهية وإن كان الظاهر منها أها يتعارض بعضها بعضا فلا بد أن تفهم
طبقا لوحدانية الله المطلقة، وهذا يعني أن الشيخ المتمكن كان ملتزما بمذهب الأشاعرة.

وهذا الفهم على جانب كبير من الأهمية وخاصة فيما يتعلق بما ورد في نصــوص
سيرات شيبوليك من أحكام تدين الشيخ المتمكن بأنه قد أهان أهل السنة والجماعــة،
وقد توصل كاتب المقال بناء على ما ورد في كتاب *عرش الموحدين* إلى إنكار نسبــة
الأفكار الواردة في *سيرات شيبوليك* إلى الشيخ المتمكن وإنما هي كانت محاولة من الملك
الجاوي أن يحط من قدره لأنه كان في شعبيته منافسا للحكام وعلماء القصر.

وعلى العكس من ذلك وطبقا لكتاب *عرش الموحدين* فإن آراء الشيخ المتمكن تعبر
عن التصوف المحدث الذي كان من مميزاته التوفيق بين التصوف والشريعة، فقــد أورد
المؤلف الشيخ المتمكن آيات من القرآن وأحاديث نبوية للتأكيد على أن كـل مؤمـن
يرغب سلوك التجربة الصوفية فإن عليه أن يتمكن من علوم الشريعة وتطبيق مقتضياهـا
ثم يقوم بالتوفيق بينها وبين التجربة الروحية، ويرى الشيخ أنه من ذا الذي يلتزم بممارسة
العبادات ويهتم بجانب الشريعة فحسب فإنه لن يدرك معنى ما يقوم به وبالعكس من ذا
الذي يذهب إلى سلوك المعرفة فقط دون أن يضع في حسابه مقتضيات الشريعة فلـــن
يكون لديه قوالب لمعايشة معانيها الحقيقية.

إن انتماء الشيخ المتوكل إلى مذهب التصوف المحدث يدل عليه أيضا سلسلته الــتي
تمر بشيوخ المذهب من أمثال إبراهيم الكوراني وتلميذيه الشيخ يوسف المكاسـاري
(Syekh Yusuf al-Makasar) والشيخ عبد الرؤوف الســنكيلي (Syekh Abdurrauf al-
Sinkili)، وهكذا فإنه من خلال البحث في خلفيته النسبية يصرح كاتب هذا المقـال أن
الشيخ المتمكن لم يكن شخصية خيالية وإنما كان شخصية تاريخية أثرى الحياة الفكريــة
الإسلامية في أرض جاوه خاصة.

Introduction

Of all the writers about Shaikh Ahmad al-Mutamakkin, most begin with the question of who he really is in *Serat Cabolek* (manuscript of Cabolek). This is of course caused by the fact that there has not yet been a comprehensive study of this *Serat*, or of the true religious understanding behind it. Why has this been problematic to date? This is of course because there are no other texts that can be used as references for or to compare with besides *Serat Cabolek* and local histories. Soebardi, in his dissertation *"The Book of Cabolek"*, carried out an examination of *Serat Cabolek*. Soebardi provides discourse on the polemics that feature in *Serat Cabolek*. However, he does not clarify whom al-Mutamakkin follows or is a contemporary of in terms of his thinking.

The same thing can be said of Edwin Wieringa[2] and Kuntowijoyo,[3] who discuss the framework of al-Mutamakkin with direct reference to local histories, and elucidate on the local stories version of history. However, they also experience difficulty in investigating whose thinking can be traced in the work, and what their thoughts are. The problem for Edwin and Kuntowijoyo is maybe more due to the fact that they do not find texts that form al-Mutamakkin's work. Many more texts that they study only cite limited portions of al-Mutamakkin's work, which leads to the final conclusion of classifying it as a conflict between the 'big tradition' of the Keraton (Palace) and the 'small tradition' of the community.

This paper will assist in filling a gap in the knowledge, as well as invite historians to trace it further. This study is therefore important because it contains an approach that is different, but is the result of studies of Islam in South East Asia, especially of the network of ulama in the 17th and 18th centuries. This study concentrates on textual analysis of the work of al-Mutamakkin, *Arsh al Muwaḥḥidîn*. This work of course is not systematically kept, as it obviously was not intended as a holy book. To produce a map of the thinking and religious understanding of al-Mutamakkin, in this study the author uses an approach that has been offered by Muhammad Abed al Jâbirî, namely a structuralist method, historical analysis (the socio-political setting), and critical ideology enhanced by anthropological analysis.[4]

Life History and Genealogy
(*Silsilah*) of al-Mutamakkin

Who is Shaikh Ahmad al-Mutamakkin? Al-Mutamakkin is the third most important protagonist in *Serat Cabolek*. *Serat Cabolek* is the only source we have regarding al-Mutamakkin. He is not mentioned in any other sources written in the 18th century, nor in any Dutch East Indies Company sources. Because of this, we are fully dependent on *Serat Cabolek* and local histories such as those related by the surrounding community. As a result, reflections on the influence and thoughts of al-Mutamakkin, which are indeed currently inspiring the next generation, provide a valuable framework for answering whether he was opposed to *sharî'ah* (Islamic jurisprudence) in the manner that he is accused of, or more precisely, whether he was a saint (*waliyullah*) in that he was known in the community as a famous holy Sufi who struggled for the religious community.

According to K. H. Abdurrahman Wahid (Gus Dur), al-Mutamakkin originates from Persia (Zabul) in Krasan Province, southern Iran.[5] However, according to the genealogy (*silsilah*), which is commonly accepted and asserted by the surrounding community, he was of Javanese origins. According to current manuscripts from local histories, al-Mutamakkin's father was a descendant of a king from Demak, originating from Sultan Trenggono. On his mother's side, he is believed to be descendent from Sayyid Aly Bejagung, Tuban in East Java. Sayyid had a son named Raden Tanu, and Raden Tanu had a daughter who was the mother of al-Mutamakkin. It is believed that al-Mutamakkin is a descendent of the Muslim king of Java Jaka Tingkir, the great-grandchild of the last Majapahit king, Brawijaya V. al-Mutamakkin's father (Sumohadiwijaya) was Pangeran Benawa II (R. Sumohadinegara) bin Pangeran Benawa I (R. Hadiningrat) bin Jaka Tingkir (Sultan Hadiwijaya) bin Ki Ageng Pengging bin Ratu Pambayun binti Prabu Brawijaya V, the last Majapahit king. Queen Pambayun has a sister named Raden Patah. The wife of Jaka Tingkir was the Princess Sultan Trenggono bin Raden Fatah, King of Demak (see the genealogy chart for more details).

According to other sources, al-Mutamakkin is directly descendent from the Prophet Muhammad (Saw). The genealogy of al-Mutamakkin points to a meeting with the Prophet through the line: Al–Mutamakkin ibn Sumahadinegara ibn Sunan Benawa ibn Abdurrahman Basyiyan ibn Sayyid 'Umar ibn Sayyid Muḥammad ibn Sayyid Aḥmad ibn Sayyid Abû Bakr Bâsyiyan ibn Sayyid Muḥammad 'Asadullâh ibn

Sayyid Ḥusain al-Turabî ibn Sayyid 'Alî ibn Sayyid Muḥammad al-Faqîh al-Muqaddam ibn Sayyid 'Alî ibn Sayyid Muḥammad Ṣâhib al-Murbath ibn Sayyid 'Alî Khâli' Qâsim ibn Sayyid 'Alwî ibn Sayyid Muḥammad ibn Sayyid 'Alwî ibn Imâm 'Ubaidullâh ibn Imâm Aḥmad al-Muhâjir ilâ Allâh[6] ibn Imâm 'Îsâ dari Naqîb ibn Imâm Muḥammad dari Naqîb ibn Imâm 'Alwî al-Uraidî ibn Imâm Ja'far Ṣâdiq ibn Imâm Muḥammad al-Bâqir ibn Imâm 'Alî Zain al-'Âbidîn ibn Sayyidinâ Ḥusain ibn Fâṭimah al-Zahrâ binti Sayyidinâ Muḥammad Saw. (See the genealogy chart for more details).[7]

When the Commander in Chief of the Mataram Empire completely crushed the kingdom of Pajang in 1617, Pangeran Benawa II (the grandchild of Sultan Hadiwijaya) fled to Giri to seek political asylum from the Mataram attacks. De Graff describes the wish of Adipati Tuban to strengthen the family or kinship relationship with Pangeran Benawa II.[8] Thus it is assumed that Sumahadiwijaya (the aristocratic name of al-Mutamakkin) was a product of the ensuing marriage. It is not known exactly when he was born, but if his estimated age was into the 90s, thus he must have been born around 1645. However, if it is true that he is the son of Pangeran Benawa II, in 1645 the age of his father was already 55. Obviously it is necessary to trace more accurately the dates and genealogy of al-Mutamakkin.

Al-Mutamakkin was born in the village of Cabolek, 10 km from the city of Tuban, where he was known by the name *Mbah mBolek*. The name al-Mutamakkin actually is a sufi title that he received when he returned from his intellectual journey (*riḥlah 'ilmiah*) in the Middle East. *Al-Mutamakkin* is taken from Arabic and means a person that is very focussed on or very sure of the sacred.[9]

Al-Mutamakkin spent his youth in the village of Cabolek-Tuban. H. M. Imam Sanusi, who wrote *Perjuangan Shaikh KH. Al-Mutamakkin (The Struggle of K.H. Al-Mutamakkin)* once checked and discovered that there was a village of Cabolek in Tuban, which is now called Winong. There he accessed the relics of the Winong Mosque. This mosque is situated on the banks of the river. Tracing the details of this mosque is difficult because it has been restored many times as a result of being often destroyed by floods. In this mosque there is a *klebut* (which is oval in shape and was used to dry a cap (*kopiyah*) in the sun), and a small stone, which is like ash. In front of the mosque is a *sawo kecik* tree, which is sufficiently big to convince us of the possibility of al-Mutamakkin getting his *keris* (Javanese sword) from it.[10]

At the end of the 17th century, the relationship between Tuban and Pati in the area of Banten in West Java could be viewed through the frequency with which groups of serviceman from Banten called into the harbour of Tuban and Juana (Pati). Both harbours were important parts of the Mataram Empire in terms of the distribution of farm produce from the hinterland. In fact, Mataram was cleverly divided into four coastal areas, and these two ports were capable of competing with the harbours of Semarang and Jepara, particularly when Jepara was unsafe due of the many pirates operating in that area.[11]

The importance of this relationship for al-Mutamakkin is in regards to his intellectual journey. It is assumed that al-Mutamakkin joined a ship service to Banten, where he met with the prominent *Ulama* (Religious leader) Shaikh Muhammad Yusuf al-Makassari, with whom he then continued on to the Middle East. On returning from the Middle East, al-Mutamakkin may not have directly returned to Tuban, but alternatively have returned to a village in Pati in the north.

The district of Tayu, in which is also found the village of Cabolek, borders the northern part of Pati. Of course, this village has it's own history. The community there relates the story that the village of Cabolek got its name from al-Mutamakkin, taken from his condition when he was dumped ashore. He was brought by his people from evil spirits, and then placed in a *mladang* fish in which he suddenly woke up ("cebul-cebul melek"). This happened when he returned home from the Holy Land of Mecca. We also assume that he was dumped ashore on the east coast of Cabolek village because his boat that overtaken by a group of pirates from Jepara that were operating in the northern Java sea at that time. He was left at Kajen village on the eastern side of the village of Cabolek. In this village, he came across several descendents and relics.[12]

In the middle of Kajen village, about 50 meters east of the cemetery, there is a mosque that is part of the estate of al-Mutamakkin, which is in the same design as the mosque at Demak. This mosque has also been restored several times, but still looks like the original in that it has two posts situated at the very front, previously referred to as *Saka Nganten*, and doors on the northern and southern sides. There is a *mimbar* in the mosque, *papan bersurat* (three woods side by side), and *dairoh*[13] (one wood inscribed with circles taken from the roof of the mosque) that evidently has much philosophical and Sufi content.

The *mimbar* is made from wood, and there is evidence that the

community produced it. The *mimbar* is covered with highly artistic motifs. At the same time, the *mihrab* of the Kajen mosque appears to contain the head of Aji Saka's dragon (a famous figure in the historical legend regarding the arrival of Islam to Java, who was considered to be the founder of the Saka calendar). Meanwhile, *papan bersurat* and *dairoh* are replete with Arabic script of high-level calligraphy, which has a form or structure that is heavy with deep Sufi values.

Like those in front of the Cabolek Tuban mosque, on the western side of the *pesarean* (grave) there are also two *sawo kecik* trees that are quite big. What is significant here is al-Mutamakkin's grave (or *Pesarean*). His grave can be seen in the middle of Kajen village, and has been restored by his descendants to the point where it is very obvious and magnificent. Many pilgrims visit the grave every day. Some wish to achieve a spiritual connection, while others attempt to memorize the Qur'ân.

The year of al-Mutamakkin's death is not exactly known, but it is assumed that he died sometime around 1740 (several years after the meeting took place). It is generally known his *haul* (yearly wish) was carried out every 10th of the month of Suro (Muharrom). Many pilgrims arrived from numerous places for this event. However, the area of Kajen village is only about 63 hectares, and almost all of the land is used as yard. There are absolutely no rice paddies in this village, and the entirely dry area available between the houses of the inhabitants is about 4 hectares. There is no farming land, and as a result, the vast majority of the population of Kajen village depend on trade activities, delivery services and work as farm or factory labourers outside their village. This village has around 30 Islamic schools (*pesantren*), ranging form small to big.

Current Ulama who are a descended of this village are K.H. M. A. Sahal Mahfud, leader of the Majelis Ulama Indonesia (The Indonesian Ulama's Council), and Rais Am, leader of Nahdlatul Ulama (The Awakening of Ulama). Further, Gus Dur is also a descendent of this village.

The Intellectual Genealogy of Shaikh Ahmad al-Mutamakkin: The Neo-Sufi Network

Interestingly, it is recorded in *Serat Cabolek* that an important teacher of al-Mutamakkin was 'Seh Jen' from Yemen. He is also much celebrated by the community surrounding al-Mutamakkin's grave. 'Seh Jen' is an historical figure, known also as Shaikh Muhammad Zayn al-Mizjâjî al-Yamânî, who was famous in the very influential *Naqshbandiyah* Sufi Order.[14] Although it is not certain when Shaikh Zayn lived, his father, Shaikh Muhammad Al-Bâqî al-Mizjâjî (teacher of Yusuf al-Makassari and Abdurrauf al-Singkili) died in 1663, and his son, 'Abd al-Khâliq Ibn Zayn al-Mizjâjî, died in 1740.

It is not exactly certain when al-Mutamakkin was taught by Shaikh Muhammad Zayn al-Yamânî. In *Serat Cabolek* as well as in the local community histories, his location was not revealed, and neither was that of his other teachers. However, we can reflect from the introduction of the historical stories of Javanese students in their academic strivings in Arabia, namely those of Abdurrauf al-Sinkili and Yusuf al-Makassari, that they travelled around the coast of eastern and southern Arabia (including Yemen), before getting to Haramayn (Mecca and Medina). It is assumed that al-Mutamakkin followed this travel route before finally arriving at Mecca, and thus also undertook the pilgrimage to Mecca.

Looking at the possible travel route taken by al-Mutamakkin, who also made a *rihlah 'ilmiyyah* to the Middle East, it is estimated that this writer produced his manuscript sometime between 1685 and 1705. In particular, the travel to Yemen demonstrates that he was younger that Muhammad Yusuf al-Makassari and thus could have a teacher-student relationship with him.

Rihlah 'ilmiyyah and the academic network of al-Mutamakkin are important considerations in discussing his work. If it is true that he followed the route of his teachers, al-Sinkili and al-Makassari, then he must have called into several places along the way, including Dhuha (Doha) in the Persian Gulf, Yemen, Jeddah, and finally Mecca and Medina. But before he arrived in the Middle East, there is a significant possibility of a meeting between al-Mutamakkin and Muhammad Yusuf al-Makassari in Banten in around 1691 (al-Makassari embarked from Tanjung Harapan in 1694). The possibility of this meeting is established based on the notes in the composition of al-Mutamakkin, which mention the *Naqshbandiyah* and *Khalwatiyah* Sufi Orders, which it is assumed were initiated or made famous by al-Makassari.

Thanks to al-Makassari, al-Mutamakkin was given the means to continue his studies in the Middle East, taking the route that was once taken by al-Makassari. From the places that he visited along this route, it is presumed that he studied with several teachers and was introduced to several Sufi Order gurus of that era, besides being taught by Shaikh Zayn al-Yamânî.

Several students of al-Sinkili (d. 1693) of the same vintage as al-Mutamakkin, and who perhaps met with al-Mutamakkin, include, amongst others, Abdul Muhyi, from West Java; Abdul Malik bin Abdullah (1089-1149/1678-1736), from Semenanjung Melayu (otherwise know as Tok Pulau Manis), from Trengganu; and Dawûd al-Jâwî Fanṣûrî b 'Ismâ'îl b. Aghâ Muṣṭafâ b. Aghâ 'Alî al-Rûmî. Perhaps al-Sinkili initiated (or spread knowledge of) al-Mutamakkin within the *Shaṭṭâriyyah* Sufi Order. Although the sources that we have do not give the year of the meeting, it is estimated based on the Arab-Melayu language (*Jawa Pegon*) *Kitab* composition of al-Mutamakkin, which discusses the *Shaṭṭâriyyah* Sufi Order.

When al-Mutamakkin arrived in Yemen, Muḥammad 'Abd. al-Bâqî al-Mizjâjî had already passed away and had been replaced by his son Shaikh Zayn b. Muḥammad Abd. al-Bâqî al-Mizjâjî. Besides al-Mutamakkin, Fletcher explains that a Muslim from China, Ma Mingxin also studied with Shaikh Zayn b. Muḥammad 'Abd al-Bâqî al-Mizjâjî (1053-1138 /1643-1726)[15] and his son, 'Abd al-Khâliq (d. 1152 /1740).[16] When arriving at Mecca and Medina, al-Mutamakkin did not meet with either al-Sinkili's teachers or al-Makassari, because he had already passed away. Perhaps he only met with the next generation, who gave him notes and references written by colleagues of al-Sinkili and al-Makassari.

Compared to the other students of al-Makassari, al-Mutamakkin progressed very quickly. This is due to the fact that the other students of al-Makassari lived and progressed in the 18th Century, while al-Mutamakkin lived at the turn of the 18th Century.

Because we don't have enough data regarding the network of Ulama and teachers of al-Mutamakkin, there is only a supposition that he met with Ulama in the Middle East. In the same way, it is known that Ibrahim al Kurani was very famous in the 17th Century, although unfortunately, from the several existing sources, it is not clear how many students al-Kûrânî had. But as with al-Kattânî, in practice, his students are evidence of his almost continual intellectual strivings during his lifetime. His intellectual network was extraordinarily ex-

tensive.[17] The most famous of his students, who played important roles in the Ulama network, include Ibn 'Abd al-Rasûl al-Barzanjî, Aḥmad al-Nakhlî (1044-1130 /1639-1701), Muḥammad 'Abd al-Hâdî al-Sindî (or Abû Ḥasan al-Sindî al-Kabîr, d. 1138 /1726)[18] 'Abd Allâh b. Sa'd Allâh al-Lâhûrî (died in Medina in 1038 /1673), 'Abd Allâh b. Salîm al-Baṣrî (1048-1134 /1638-1722), Abû Ṭâhir b. Ibrâhîm al-Kûrânî (1081-1145/1670-1732), 'Alî al-Shaibanî al-Zâbidî (d. 1072 /1662), Isḥâq b Muḥammad b. Ja'man al-Yamânî (d. 1069 /1685), al-Sinkili and al-Makassari.

These Ulama and other famous Sufi's were also known as *muhaddith*, classified as 'trusted'. This also indicates that *neo-Sufism* was already growing increasingly strong and was consolidated in this decade. Evidently, the group of Ulama from Haramayn raised the awareness of the increasing importance of the esoteric way (*haqîqah*). This resulted from the arrival of Sufi Orders brought with the Ulama, for example from India, and from the more intensive interaction, rapprochement, and reconciliation between Sufi and *fiqh* Ulama, which emphasize the exoteric way (*sharî'ah*).

It can be seen from the outline of this Ulama network that they are almost of the same era as al-Mutamakkin. These Ulama of the turn of the Century could have been friends of teachers, or even teachers of al-Mutamakkin. Although there is only a limited possibility that this occurred, and there is no data resulting from this, it at least gives a picture of the context of the Ulama network that he was surrounded by.

With this brings the assumption that the development of al-Mutamakkin also included *neo-Sufi* characteristics. This is strengthened by his writings, which cite many Hadîth in a bid to clarify his religious understanding. While we can see from its title, that is *al-Mutamakkin*, that the status of this person is prominent, has strong conviction, as he is believed to be the saint of saints (*sayyid al-auliyâ*), who has the rank of a *wali* (religious leader) known as *wali Qutb*. The surrounding community ensures this. However, I cannot argue this in a scholarly manner due to the absence of evidences explaining his position among the saints of his time.[19]

Actually, there are several famous Indonesian Ulama of the 18th century that are noted by Azyumardi, but they mostly lived after the time of al-Mutamakkin. It is very unfortunate that Azyumardi does not pay attention to the Ulama from the island of Java (Central and Eastern Java). He only records those that are from, amongst

others, Palembang in South Sumatra, including: Shihabuddin b. Abdullah Muhammad, Kemas Fakhruddin (113-77/1719-63), Abdussamad al-Palimbani (1116-1203 /1704-1789), Kemas Muhammad b. Ahmad, and Muhammad Muhyiddin b. Syihabuddin. Continuing to South Kalimantan, Azyumardi includes Muhammad Arshad al-Banjari (1122-1227 /1710-1812) and Muhammad Nafis al-Banjari (born 1148 /1735). Other Ulama include Abdul Wahhab al-Bugisi from Sulawesi, Abdurrahman al-Mashri al-Batawi from Batavia, and Dawud b. Abdullah al-Fatani (1769-1847) from the Patani area (Southern Thailand). As such, it can be said that al-Mutamakkin can be placed in the Ulama network of Java in the transition between the 17th and 18th centuries.

The same issue arises in regards to Alwi Shihab. He obviously did not find sufficient references to map the Ulama network. His mapping is categorizes into Sunni Sufism and mystical philosophy, which is questioned by Abdurrahman Wahid. According to Gus Dur, leaders of these mystical groups made equally significant contributions in the development of Islam in Indonesia, but this does not negate the renowned possibility that Alwi Shihab was a member of Sunni Sufism, and was also occasionally involved in mystical philosophy.[20]

While the research of Azyumardi Azra and Alwi Shihab provide information regarding al-Mutamakkin, they both reach a different conclusion. This is because al-Mutamakkin is part of a generation that is considered a product of, and totally in sync with the mystical aspect of the Javanese community. al-Mutamakkin brought about the practice of philosophical Sufism and Sunni Sufism in one action through *amaly Sufism*. Besides this, he also took a dialectical approach to local tradition. This work is of course truly arduous, but the efforts of al-Mutamakkin purified Javanese Islam to produce true monotheism. Those who do not understand his religious thoughts will accuse him of being a heretic. And this is what forms the background to his polemics as portrayed in *Serat Cabolek*.

Critique of *Serat Cabolek* and the *Teks Kajen*

What remains important is the significance of al-Mutamakkin in the dynamics of Islam in Java, especially his use of *Serat Dewaruci* as a methodology for pursuing *dakwah* or Islamic missionary work. We can be sure that al-Mutamakkin was well-known Ulama who developed controversial Islamic traditions in Java. The level of controversy surrounding al-Mutamakkin is almost the same as that surround-

ing the likes of Shaikh Siti Jenar, Hamzah Fansuri, Sunan Panggung and Shaikh Among Raga. They are all prominent early disseminators of Islam in Java and Melayu. Shaikh Siti Jenar, Hamzah Fanshuri (Aceh), Sunan Panggung (both from Demak), and Shaikh Among Raga (from Mataram), as well as al-Mutamakkin constitute renown but controversial figures representing the same religio-intellectual inclinations. They represent esoteric Islam and the development of philosophical Sufism. As such, and they came into confrontation with the Ulama who embraced *sharî'ah* and who represented exoteric Islam and the development of *Sunni Sufism*. This latter group declared the former to be 'deviants'.

The controversy surrounding al-Mutamakkin is the central theme of *Serat Cabolek*. *Serat Cabolek* is problematic in terms of who actually produced it —the year of its writing and the origins of its contents— as expressed by S. Soebardi in his book entitled *The Book of Cabolek* (1975), but it is generally known to be the work of R. Ng. Yasadipura I (1729-1803).[21] Ricklefs doubts Soebardi's conclusion that Yasadipura I was its composer. This is because of the era in which Yasadipura I lived as he was born in 1729, and was still a youth when Paku Buwono II ruled (1726-1749).[22]

Yasadipura I is the son of Raden Tumenggung Padmanegara, who became Regent in Pengging in the time of Pakubuwana I (1704-19). He was born in Pengging on *pahing* Friday (the second day of the week in the Javanese calendar), in the month of Sapar in the year Jim Akhir (1729). When he was young he was called Bagus Banjar, and his other name was Jaka Subuh as a result of his having being born during Subuh (morning prayers). As a youth, from the age of 8, he studied Islam and mysticism in Kedu with Kiyai Anggamaya.[23]

If of course Yasadipura I is the composer, he could not tell the story accurately as he was a child of about 2 or 4 years of age at the time. This is indicative of other figures included in *Serat Cabolek*. It is difficult to prove the existence of most of them. And if the composer is not Yasadipura I, then it is assumed that Queen Pakubuwana, who was of course diligent in developing literature in the era of her grandchild, Pakubuwana II, was the composer. Many of the works created by the queen were used as a means for strengthening the position of the monarchy as *panatagama* (managers of the religious life of the community). If this is so, the position of Yasadipura I is as a narrator of this narrative, making it possible that he was involved in the selection and editing of the happenings and affairs included in it.

For this reason, *Serat Cabolek* is better understood as a creative process in the production of a symbol of the importance of the position of the monarch, aristocracy and Ulama at that time. Certain preparations were being made to orchestrate the position of the monarchy as a centre for managing socio-cultural, political, and religious issues. As such, the monarchy was beginning to establish its hegemony over the "religion of the people". The Palace was starting to shape the character of religiosity, which has been referred to as "the religion of the Palace".

From the review of al-Mutamakkin's genealogy and intellectual descent, he can be read as: firstly, a 'deviant', descendent from the King of Pangeran Benawa, who had the rights to the sultanate of Pajang; secondly, a prominent Ulama, an alumni of the Middle East with deep philosophical understanding; and thirdly, someone who lived in the area of Pesisir Utara bordering the area of Tuban and Pati, which according to their local history, was an area plagued with rebellions. These three things serve as a framework in understanding the contents of the story in *Serat Cabolek*, a story that has been used to discredit al-Mutamakkin. The fact that al-Mutamakkin was welcomed by the people, combined with his lineage and intellectualism, made the ruler and the affiliated ulama afraid of him.

Thus, it can be assumed that the writing of *Serat Cabolek* contains the symbolisation of the palace project to shape the cultural and religious construct of Javanese Islam. Because of this, it is necessary to create a famous martyr who is considered to be a heretic that must be eliminated. This is demonstrated towards the end of the story in *Serat Cabolek*, which quotes from *Serat Suluk Sumirang*, and relates the existence of Sunan Panggung, a famous heretic in the era of the Sultanate of Demak, who was finally executed. It also mentions the cases of Shaikh Siti Jenar, Among Raga, and Ki Bebeluk and the arguments of Ki Katib Anom Kudus. These arguments lead al-Mutamakkin to be considered a deviant who continued from his heretic predecessors, and who must be killed. Moreover, the expression and use of language, which contains traces of emotion, shows signs of being more to al-Mutamakkin.

Besides this, in *Serat Cabolek* it is not mentioned in detail who al-Mutamakkin really is. This leads to the assumption that the composition conceals the identity of al-Mutamakkin as this results in the perception of the reader (community) that this case was more political than intellectual, and seems to be about succession competition.

The court process in which the King himself was never directly involved (he sent his confidant, Demang Urawan), supported this assumption.

This is different from the *Teks Kajen* (Kajen text), which explicitly explains the assembly process between al-Mutamakkin and Sang Raja on the King's front porch. From this meeting it is demonstrated that the King wished to know directly the religious understanding of al-Mutamakkin. However, *Teks Kajen* has several weaknesses in terms of validity. Firstly, it was initiated from an oral story that was handed down orally, and contains traces of myth, to the point where its intellectual history becomes suspect. Secondly, the era of *Teks Kajen* comes a long time afterwards, after about three centuries, to the point that there possibly exists selection, combination and disorientation in this text. Thirdly, *Teks Kajen* is not as complete as *Serat Cabolek*, particularly regarding the meeting session and debate referred to in *Serat Cabolek*, and thus could consist of a duplication of parts of *Serat Cabolek*, modified for contextual reasons.

As a result, *Teks Kajen* could consist of a reaction in the form of cultural resistance to the history of palace, which discredits al-Mutamakkin. The Kajen community, his descendants, believe in the authenticity and the validity of their ancestors' discourse. To date, they still believe that al-Mutamakkin was one of the great Ulama, and even a holy saint. They demonstrate this by displaying his divine dignity, which continues to be used as an intermediary.

The most significant difference between the two texts lies in the last part of the story. *Serat Cabolek* tells of al-Mutamakkin's defeat by Ki Anom Kudus in the debate on the contents of *Serat Dewaruci*. Al-Mutamakkin was abused for his foolishness and instructed to study further. On the contrary, according to *Teks Kajen*, al-Mutamakkin was described as the winner in the debate on the contents of the *Serat Dewaruci*, especially when Bima meets Dewaruci. Further, *Teks Kajen* says that the King realized his inabilities and finally decided to dedicate himself to becoming the follower of al-Mutamakkin.

Serat Dewaruci was very popular and was used by religious leaders to explain Islamic mystical teachings. The debate was not concerned with its reliability, but rather focused on different ways of understanding and interpretation. It is difficult to assume what really happened. However, by examining the thought of al-Mutamakkin we can understand his thinking. It is preferable to examine the epistemological framework of the era in order to understand the ideas of al-Mutamakkin.

What I mean by epistemological framework is the way of think-
ing prevalent in Javanese culture. This is the process that forms the
construction of knowledge in the culture. This construction is un-
conscious, consisting of concepts, perfection, and intellectual activi-
ties that influence the perceptions of people who affiliate and identify
themselves with Javanese culture. It is concerned with nature, man-
kind, society, power, and history.[24]

A text or a literary work is really dependent on the informa-
tion and interpretation of the author, including the author's so-
cial setting, educational background, experience, personality, and
the social and political changes that occurred during his/her life-
time. In this context *Serat Cabolek* cannot be released from the
epistemology of its author. In the Javanese worldview, a poet ex-
plains his/her work for the sake of history, and thus advocates
the power of king. For this reason, the work is more complete and
more meaningful in the context of prevailing religious concepts. It
is understandable that such works tend to be symbolic and facts
appear to be neglected. However, the Javanese believe that this is
factual.[25]

Symbolism is intentionally manipulated. The composition of a
literary work tends to be regarded as a reconstruction of knowledge
and an interpretation by the community of reality. Evocation is made
of abstract principles of mythology to idealize a king or sultan, who
is also a religious leader. It is therefore obvious that the epistemologi-
cal project of the author, as an expert on palace, was to produce a
concept of a Sufi-king. Ethnographical investigation on the schema
of the palace shows that its construction is a form of epistemology
that cannot escape this concept.

It is not an exaggeration to say that the story narrated in the *Serat
Cabolek* shows the religious and cultural problems, which occurred
in the past, happened precisely during the reign of Pakubuwana II. It
shows how political domination and centralized power led to the
disruption of religious and cultural polemics. Besides managing so-
cial and political affairs, the king also controlled the religious affairs
of the community (*panatagama*, the director of religious affairs). The
King's wisdom and justice is expressed by his mercy upon al-
Mutamakkin, while his willingness to perform Friday prayer together
with the Ulama can be interpreted as his concern with the application
of *sharî'ah*.

Teks Kajen gives a different story. Rather than looking at the King's

mercy upon al-Mutamakkin, it relates how the king realized his mis-interpretation of the teachings of al-Mutamakkin. The King's will-ingness to perform Friday prayers is interpreted as his consciousness of practicing *sharî'ah*. In this context, it is understood that there are different ways of practicing Sufism and *sharî'ah*. Examining the reli-gious thought of al-Mutamakkin can help us understand his way of practicing Sufism and *sharî'ah*. In this light, we need to examine whether it is true that al-Mutamakkin disregards the traditions of the Prophet as accused by Ki Anom Kudus. Also, does al-Mutamakkin abandon the *sharî'ah* requirements as the Ulama and the palace al-leged?

If we read carefully on the religious thought of al-Mutamakkin, the facts show otherwise, and the accusations and allegations against him do not make sense. It does raise the question as to whether al-Mutamakkin epistemological critiques the application of Sufism used to support the rulers? In other words, does the Palace politicise Sufism? Does he put forward any cultural resistance against political domina-tion by the Palace, which control strictly the religious life of the community? Or is it true that he is really a religious leader who had much *karamah* (spiritual power)?

The other book of al-Mutamakkin, *Arsh al-Muwaḥḥidîn*, helps us to understand his religious thought. At least it tells us about the brand of Sufism and *sharî'ah* that he advocates. By examining this book, we can discover al-Mutamakkin's understanding and interpreting of the *Serat Dewaruci*, the very contents of which is concerned with the achievement of the perfect man.

Transformative Correlation of *Arsh al-Muwaḥḥidîn* and *Serat Dewaruci*

In exploring the religious thought and beliefs of al-Mutamakkin, I will draw some inter-textual analysis between *Serat Dewaruci* and *Arsh al-Muwaḥḥidîn*. As is explained in the last part of the book, this three hundred-page text is dated the 9th of the month of Rabî' al-Awal, 1117 H (1705 CE). This book is in the possession of a villager of Kajen. To avoid destruction, I made a copy of it. For those inter-ested in examining this text, you can make direct contact with the villager. The villagers believe that this text is an original of al-Mutamakkin.[26]

There are some difficulties in examining this book due to the fact that the book is not composed in a systematic way. Furthermore, the

information in it is sometimes incomplete. To overcome this problem, I adopted the continuity approach, using a transformative correlation within several texts that still exist. Besides this, I also cross-reference it with the various works by other Sufis of the period just before and just after his death, such as those of Yusuf al-Makassari, and Muhyiddin al-Jawi's work focusing on the concept of the seven stages, as well as with Javanese literature in order to explain and compare the text of *Arsh al-Muwahhidîn*. This study is made because of some correlations between the concepts explained by Sufis of the same period.

As a devout Muslim, al-Mutamakkin does not abandon the regulations imposed by the holy text, either related to the *sharî'ah* or to his complete understanding, as guidance for his religious practices. He understands very well the Holy Qur'ân and the Hadîth. He even produced extracts of each passage of the Koran. Unfortunately, he does not mention where he obtained such knowledge. However, in my understanding, this effort is inspired by his teachers. There are a number of great Ulama in his *hadroh* who seem to have inspired him, such as Shaikh Muhyi al-Dîn 'Abd al-Qâdir al-Jaelânî, Shaikh Muhammad Ashahy bi al-Saman, Sayyed Shaikh Abû Yazîd al-Bustâmî, Abû Qâsim Junaid al-Baghdâdî, Tâj 'Ârifin al-Hindî, Shaikh Bahâ al-Dîn al-Naqshbandî and four other authoritative Ulama.

His understanding of the Qur'ân as seen by his extensive knowledge in the extracts of the holy book, is also evidence that he was very careful in elaborating on the divine sciences and in practicing *sharî'ah*. Besides making extracts of the Qur'ân, he also quotes a number of sura in his elaboration. He pays full attention to the sura of Yâsîn, and recommends the repetition of particular verses in reading this sura. This sura is believed to have spiritual influence for many Sufis. He wrote this together with its *doa* (prayer), followed by the *Kanz al-Arsh*, a kind of prayers that is well known for its effectiveness. He also relates some interpretations of sura al-Fâtihah in pages 286-288. In other places there are quotations from verses of which the names of the sura are not given. There are also found maxims and words or *doa* believed to be those of prominent religious thinkers.

In the *Arsh al-Muwahhidîn*, he quotes some traditions of the Prophet while explaining a particular problem. Even though most of the quotations are related to theology which is used by Sufis, this by no means reduces his conviction of the importance of the hadîth that are concerned with *sharî'ah* in practicing Sufi teachings. His concern

for the *sharî'ah* is not explicitly written through elaborations on the legal maxims of Islamic jurisprudence. He is much more concerned with the meaning of purification in religious life. Self-purification through practicing *sharî'ah* is emphasized in embracing Islam, in trying to become a good Muslim, and as a way to achieve the highest achievement of life.

To understand the book easily, I divide its contents into two parts. The first part deals with al-Mutamakkin's notion of self-purification as the way to understanding *sharî'ah*. The second part deals with his spiritual endeavour to understand the truth (*haqîqah*). The first part consists of the elaboration of Islam, Iman (Belief), and Shahadat (Confession); Ablution and Purification (*Mandi Janabat*); Praying (Shalat); The Affirmation of the Heart (*Tasdîq al-Qalbi*); gender discourse; and Guidance (*hidayah*). The second part consists of the concept of The Path toward the Truth, the concept of God, Man and Spirit, and the Perfect Man (*Insân Kâmil*). It is in this section that the so-called the Unity of Man and God is dealt with.

One important aspect of Sufi teaching, which becomes the ultimate goal of Sufism, is how to achieve a relationship with God without any barriers (*kashf*). To achieve this union, Sufis have their own methods, which are sometimes different from others. This difference is caused by their different knowledge about God and human beings, and thus their varied interpretations and understandings of the Qur'ân and Hadîth.

The paths of God are as many as human beings. However, the ultimate goal of human beings is the same, which is to achieve approximate nearness to God, or even achieve unity with God. By purifying the heart and soul, humans can obtain the path toward God. The human heart is in fact a reflection or manifestation of the essence of God. The human heart should be purified to be able to do achieve union. Mental training and knowledge are necessary to undertake this.

The first thing imposed upon practicing Sufis is the task of purifying their beliefs. One of these beliefs is that nothing resembles God (*laisa kamithlihi shaiun*). In any theory of Sufism in particular, when putting into practice the theory of descendancy (*tanazzul*) and ascension (*taraqqî*), the Sufi should practice to the belief that there is nothing resembling God in his/her heart. As is in the following text:[27]

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

يا وحدنية * يا صمدنية * يا فرد صمد * يا فرد وأحد * يا احد وأحد*

الله جلالة ما في قلبي غير الله * الله باق وكل فان*

الله دائم * الله احيي حي دائم * دائم احيي * حيي الله حيي الله يا حي يا قيوم

Believers that want to practice *sulûk* should accumulate knowledge in and practice *sharî'ah* and *haqîqah* together. If they favour *sharî'ah*, they will never obtain any meaning from what they do. And conversely, if they emphasize *haqîqah*, they will not have any vehicle to understand the meanings.

Through his initiation into Naqshbandiyyah, Qâdiriyyah, Khalwatiyyah, Sattâriyyah, Ahmadiyyah, and other Sufi Orders, al-Mutamakkin believed and argued that *sharî'ah* and *haqîqah* should be implemented together in unity. The intensification and implementation of this spiritual aspect is made without neglecting the material aspect. In other words, the spiritual experience is obtained through the *sharî'ah* experience.

The first step for *sâlik* (practicing Sufis) is to empty themselves of any behaviour or attitudes that demonstrate the glamour of material life. Passion should be controlled to obtain purity of spirit. This abstinence of passion sometimes means that Sufis leave the material life behind. But al-Mutamakkin wanted to demonstrate that the worldly life has benefits and should be used in the service of God. Passion can be controlled by habit, discipline, and self-control based on a divine orientation that embraces all aspects of human life. This creates a balance between feelings and thinking in order to allow the Sufi to pass into the transcendental spiritual sphere. Al-Mutamakkin achieved control of his passion and desire through fasting. This state was achieved by al-Mutamakkin while he was fasting, to the point where he was able to overcome his appetite and achieve his escape, which was symbolized in the form of a dog.[28]

A *sâlik* trains to achieve the correct attitudes and behaviour in stages, these being: a) seeking repentance from God for any spiritual and material sins, b) abstinence from worldly life, c) submission to God, d) satisfaction in the generosity of God, e) genuinely leaving behind the glamorous life, f) confess his secrets to God, g) patience in pain, h) acceptance of bad and good in destiny, i) spiritual and material recollection in all places and time, and j) caution (seeing with the heart).

The spiritual attitude experienced by a Sufi is measured by the mental stations he/she achieves, these being God-fearing (*khauf*) and expectation (*rajâ'*). God-fearing is achieved as a consequence of the consciousness of the almighty of God, while expectation is created as the consequence of the consciousness of the beauty of God. The combination of both appears in the station of the taste of God (*dhauq*), which should accompany a *sâlik*'s spiritual attitude. Concerning *khauf* and *rajâ,* there are some stations that should be compatible with the levels of *sâlik*. These are: 1) the basic station (*maqâm bidâyah*) for laymen in which *rajâ'* is emphasized more than *khauf,* 2) the intermediate station (*maqâm tawassut*) for the so-called *abrâr* (good men), in which *khauf* is stressed more than *rajâ'* 3) The highest station (*maqâm nihâyah*) is for the most special persons, the nearest people of God (*muqarrabîn*), in which a balance is achieved between *rajâ'* and *khauf.* They then achieve the station of *'ubûdiyyah* (the station of worship). This is the highest station that a human can ever achieve. A slave is immersed in the manifestation of God's beauty and almighty through the unity of confession (*shuhûd wahdah*).

To clean one's spiritual condition, a *sâlik* should have good thoughts (*husn al-zann*) towards people and God. A *sâlik* should also pursue good conduct (*husn al-khulq*) and good behaviour (*husn al-âdâb*), and have no intention to receiving a reward from men or God for these actions. This process will lead the *sâlik* to a well ending-life (*husn al-khâtimah*).

After negating the spirit and affirming it with good conduct, the next step for a *sâlik* is to perform spiritual training to improve their quality. Together with this, a *sâlik* should enhance his/her knowledge and consciousness of the ultimate meaning of life. The peak of this achievement is the achievement of total submission (*islâm*) towards Allah and obtaining His guidance so that the *sâlik* could achieve the station of love (*mahabbah*).

In travelling this path, there are three directions that can be followed, that is the *tarekat akhyâr* (the path of good) by practicing the legal stipulation of the *sharî'ah*, the *tarekat mujahadah* (the path of struggle), by purifying the heart, soul, and secret of self (*sirr*), and the path of the people of recollection (*tarekat ahli zikir*) and the love of God until he or she experiences gnosticism (*ma'rifatullah*) and disclosure (*kashf*), and the barriers between God and humans are dropped.

The essence of Gnosticism is the negation of the concealment to witnessing God. The essence of the unity of God (*tauhîd*) is feeling

annihilated in the *tauḥîd* itself. The meaning of *tauḥîd* is to witness the essence of God and the negligence of others. When humans witness God they are then called a witness (*mushâhid*). Humans witness God by their heart. God's existence is in fact the curtain itself. If humans can remove this curtain from their heart, they experience the illumination of God. This is the real encounter.

In the love of God (*ḥubbullâh*), a *sâlik* should imitate the path of the Prophet Muhammad and not contradict the *sharî'ah* and *ḥaqîqah*. The concept of love is the love of God, which is rooted in the five pillars of Islam, through giving and accepting its secret meaning, which exists in the human heart.

The requirements of the love of God are 1) following the tradition of the Prophet Muhammad, 2) repenting and feeling regret, 3) practicing good thoughts and accepting (*riḍâ'*) destiny, 4) recollection and humbleness (*tawâḍu'*), and 5) following the principle of unity referring to the Sura *al-Ikhlâṣ* and *al-Shûrâ* 11. The love of God is also realized by intensifying either verbal or spiritual recollection. The love of God should be based on true belief as a consequence of the love of the Prophet.

Recollection (*dhikr*) is an important method in approaching God. There are three methods of *dhikr*. Laymen at the elementary station, who are still *maqâm bidâyah*, can use *lâ ilâha illâ Allâh* (there is no god but Allah) to recollect. Special persons at the intermediate station or *mujarrad*, can use *Allâh Allâh* (single word) to recollect. The very special persons at the highest station or motion can use *hû hû*. This *dhikr* should be understood completely in that there is nothing being worshipped, looked for, intended, wanted, loved, or missed, and nothing exists except Allah, and Allah has no resemblance. All the creatures are the shades of Allah.

In his forms of *dhikr*, al-Mutamakkin categorizes the level of a *sâlik* into various *maqâms*, the first being *Maqâm Faraq*, achieved by a person following the devotional direction of *sharî'ah*, that is the *Ka'batullâh*. Such achievement is earned through studying *'ilm al-yaqîn*, and *dhikr* is practiced through *lâ ilâha illâ Allâh* (there is no god but Allah). The second is *Maqâm Jama'*, which follows from the first, and is directed by *ṭarîqah* is the *munâjah* in the quality of *'ain al-yaqîn*. Its *dhikr* is *lâ ḥayya illâ Allâh* (there is no life but Allah). The final and highest *maqâm* is *Maqâm Jam' al-Jama'*, where devotional direction is achieved at the level of *ḥaqîqah*, and everything but Allah is left behind. This *maqâm* has the quality of *ḥaqq al-yaqîn*

and its *dhikr* is *lâ maujûda illâ Allah* (there is no reality but Allah).[29]

Al-Mutamakkin was influenced by Shaikh Yusuf in his concept of devotional direction (*kiblat*), as Shaikh Yusuf classifies this into four. First, the direction of *kiblat amal* or *kiblat awam*, which is uttered in the words of Allah, "then direct your face is to Masjid al-Harâm." (Q.S. Al-Baqarah: 144). The second, the direction of knowledge or special knowledge, is the direction mentioned in Q.S. Al Baqarah (115): "…thus, wherever you face, there you will find the face of Allah," because sometimes when one faces the direction he or she aims to, he or she will feel near and far at the same time. Nevertheless, occasionally the person is the center, and no one really knows except the *khawâs*.

The third is the devotional direction of *al-sirr* or *khawâs al-khawâs*, and is intended in: "…He is the First and the Last, the External and the Internal, He (Allah) Knows everything.. (Q.S. al-Ḥadîd: 3); …And, He will be with you wherever you reside... (Q.S. al-Ḥadîd: 4); …and, Allah Transcends everything… (Q.S. al-Nisâ': 126). This is also related to the saying of Muhammad, "the faith of a believer means that he or she has to know that Allah is with him or her wherever their whereabouts." This devotional direction is not known by many people and is exclusive to a select few. This is why it is called *khawâs al-khawâs*.

Fourth, the devotional direction of *al-tawajjuh* or the heart, as mentioned in the hadîth, "the hearts of believers are the *'Arsh of Allâh*." This is the 'mirror' reflecting all phases of the manifestation of Allah's greatness, and therefore some people of wisdom say: "heart is inscrutable, and Allah is the Most Inscrutable; thus, the inscrutable for the Inscrutable is much more appropriate." Therefore, a servant of God must imagine that Allah is present in all situations when facing the devotional direction.[30]

There are various types of knowing discussed by al-Mutamakkin. Someone may become knowledgeable about something through *'ilm al-yaqîn* (*kashf al-nafs*) as a result of thoughts and argumentation. It is like knowing that fire exists because smoke exists, or like knowing that Allah exists because nature exists and is non-eternal. *'Ain al-yaqîn* is knowledge acquired through witnessing and clarification, such as when someone witnesses fire from a distance. *Ḥaqq al-yaqîn* is the knowledge acquired from immediate experience such as when someone enters the burning fire and feels its everlasting blaze. It is also similar to know the existence of Allah by recalling all of Allah's external and internal aspects.[31]

Al-Mutamakkin emphasizes the life experience of every level of expression of *dhikr*, not just what the tongue utters, but what is felt and thought in serving God. At the highest level, one can achieve the *fanâ* and *baqâ*, or even the level of *murâqabah*, which is to see Allah by the heart in all Allah's manifestations. This a condition mentioned in the ḥadîth, "worship Allah as if you see Him, and if you do not see Him, please remember that He sees you." *Murâqabah* is a state of mind in which the heart always sees Allah, everywhere and at all times, because of the Sufi knowledge that God will always see, know, and listen to every single thing committed by His servants. *Murâqabah* is the result of knowing and recognizing the attributes, law and threats of Allah, so that the borderline is disclosed (*kashf*) for the direct connection between humans and God. The attitude of *Murâqabah* through meditation is not only acquired through perfect *ḥaqq al-yaqîn* but also a burning love of God through a wholeheartedly made statement of His greatness and beauty.

The transformative correlation of *'Arsh al-Muwaḥḥidîn* as an accumulation of the Qur'ân and ḥadîth used by al-Mutamakkin in *Serat Dewaruci* must be read in the context of a manifestation of cosmic and religious consciousness's development rooted in indigenous culture and stimulated by various problems of other cultures. Hence Javanese religious-humanistic views have to be positively considered from the acculturation process prevailing in Java.[32] Therefore, there are several things to consider in interpreting *Serat Dewaruci* in a transformative ways. *Firstly*, the richness of local religiosity is brought to life once more, meaning that the true life is actually the evaporation of the external body into the internal body. Because of this, the body is viewed as important, and one must not think that the perfect of life can be achieved when somebody can release himself or herself from the material body.

Secondly, there is a clear concept in mainstream social discourse that Javanese culture is against changed. It is clearly demonstrated that local culture possesses enough references for the transformative process. *Thirdly*, there is the denial of every form of deterministic thoughts in social transformation. Here, both structural determination as well as cultural or conscious determination is denied. *Finally*, the folklore that developed in Java such as that in *Serat Dewaruci*, disseminated Islamic knowledge, particularly spiritual and Gnostic knowledge, was the most appropriate method of the time in terms

of methods of dissemination into the community. Without pushing aside its substance, we will meet a paradigm of life that is realistic and contextual.

These four factors are a form the praxis of the time that has a particularly critical attitude in terms of the concepts of the relations between Islam and Kejawen. In this respect, the social patterns and cultural images are explicitly understood as meaningful actions only through the ways in which they are understood and applied personally by the holder of that faith.

The process of transformation used by al-Mutamakkin was of course supported by Qur'ânic verses and the Ḥadîth. Moreover, al-Mutamakkin can be classified as a Sufi reformer in Java focusing in neo-Sufism.

In this context, *Suluk Linglung Shaikh Malaya* is a form of Islam in this story. The correlation between the two includes a more abstract level that is regarded as a symbolic-analogical level, as suggested by Ahimsa Putra.[33]

For many Javanese, the writing of the Dewaruci story is regarded as a strategy of Dakwah (or missionary activities) as well as the symbolization of the personal experience of Sunan Kalijaga when he gained knowledge from a spiritual figure, the Prophet Khidir whose existence is believed in by Muslims.[34]

It was related that Sunan Kalijaga was once a student of the Prophet Khidir near "Bar' al-Akbar", in the land of "Lulmat Agaib". In this meeting, the Prophet Khidir transformed himself into a *rare bajang* (child) who gave advice on the essence of *nafsu lawwâmah, ammârah, sufiyah,* and *mutmainnah.* These four natural desires are believed to exist in the human self. Other than that, Sunan Kalijaga also received the knowledge necessary to know about the human self, the concept of the macrocosm (*jagad gedhe*) and microcosm (*jagad cilik*) of the universe, the presence of God, the light of prophecy (*nurbuat*), the first substance (*jauhar awwal*), the last substance (*jauhar akhîr*), additional soul (*rûḥ iẓâfî*), and the origin of all creations and other inscrutable things.

The story of Bimasuci in *Serat Dewaruci* is one of many manuscripts indicating the accumulation of the struggle in fostering Islam as a path to God.[35] Dr. Simuh has concluded that Islamic Sufism indeed assumes a form of compromise between Islam and Javanese mysticism.[36] Sufism or mysticism is the philosophy of the inner self and its core activity is to meditate and acquire the experience of *kashf,*

which is the spiritual comprehension of all inscrutable knowledge and spiritual disclosure (*makrifat*) of the essence of the True (*ḥaqq*).

In his dissertation, *Mistik Islam Kejawen*, Simuh analyzes the *Wirid Hidayat Jati* of Raden Ngabehi Ranggawarsita, which also elaborates on the idea of the unity between humans and God. He also asserts that Ranggawarsita accommodated various developing ideas in many *Suluk* books previously introduced by the religious leaders of Java, including *Serat Dewaruci*. Therefore, the bold elaboration in the *Wirid Hidayat Jati* will be of significant assistance in making sense of the content of *Serat Dewaruci*, especially in discussing ideas in Islamic mysticism.[37]

In his explanation, he asserts that Allah is the Most Inscrutable and there is no one who knows His essence, except He himself. With His secret, He is everywhere that exists, and is always there in the beginning and the end, without entering or uniting. He transcends every single existing thing internally and externally, without blending or unifying. He witnesses perfectly without adjusting, and nothing resembles Him. He is the earliest without a beginning in another existence, and He is the end without conclusion in the early existence.[38]

This view is clearly influenced by the *imminence* theory, which states that God is present everywhere reflecting His light. Some verses supporting this view are al-Baqarah (115), al-Ḥadîd (3) and al-Ṭalâq (12). Understanding *iḥâṭah* and *ma'iyyah* in practice and in theory is like experiencing *fanâ'* and *baqâ'* with God, a condition in which a servant of God has no more consciousness of himself or herself. The only thing that exists is Allah. Although Allah transcends and is being with His servant who is experiencing *tajallî*[39] and *ta'ayyun*, God is God and a servant is constantly a servant.

In his efforts to explain Absolute Being, al-Mutamakkin uses the methods of God's *tajallî* in three different phases of creation through the attributes and names of God in the spiritual realm. This is exactly what he describes in three cycles of sunset (*maghrib*) prayers indicating *Aḥadiyyah*, *Waḥdah* and *Wâḥidiyah*.[40]

The concept of *Aḥadiyyah*, *waḥdah* and *wâḥidiyah* can be found in the concept of *al-marâtib al-sab'ah*. This concept of *al-marâtib al-sab'ah* is closely related to the emanation process, asserting that when everything is created Allah is not knowledge (*'ilm*), *qalam*, or even *'Arsh*. The existence is at the level of *Aḥadiyyah*, which is the indeterminate stage. Therefore, from the perspective of abstraction (*mujarrad*) from the attributes, it is called *wujûd al-aḥad*. In the sense that God

has not yet created anything, it is called the Absolute Being. In the sense that God has not created anybody who thanks God for God's bliss and appreciates Him, it is called *ghaib al-ghuyûb* or *ghaib al-huwiyyah* (the non-detected identity). At this level, it is resembled by the *dhikr* of *hû hû*. In this stage, the Absolute Being is constantly in the Beginning and is eternal. It is One without pollution by other elements, self-proclaimed, not *jauhar*, *jisim*, and *arad* (accidental), and cannot be sensed by thought or even imagination.

Besides this, the manuscript of *Arsh al-Muwaḥḥidîn* also quotes some views of Sunni scholars such as al-Ash'arî, al-Ghazâlî, al-Sanûsî and others. Yet, al-Mutamakkin cannot conceal the influence of Ibn 'Arabî scattered through *al-Tuḥfah al Mursalah ilâ Rûḥ al-Nabî*, written by al-Burhanpûrî. It is this that invites us indirectly to make the correction that he indeed provides a fresh wind of Mystical Philosophy for followers in this country.

The main concept of al-Mutamakkin's mysticism is the purification of faith (*'aqîdah*) in the oneness of God. This consists of his tireless efforts to explain God and His creations. While quoting the al-Ikhlâṣ and other verses in the Qur'ân that state that there is nothing that can be compared to Him (Q.S. 42: 11), al-Mutamakkin stresses that the Oneness of God is not limited and absolute. The belief in the Oneness of God (*Tawḥîd*) is critically important in Islam. One of the most striking views in al-Mutamakkin's theology on the Oneness of God is that he tries to resolve the issue of all the Names or Attributes of God peacefully. According to him, all the attributes of God that seem to be contradictory to each other must be understood in the context of, and in agreement with the Oneness of God.

As for the theology of al-Mutamakkin, he is obedient to the Asy'arite doctrines. He is rather optimistic that if humans wholeheartedly try to serve God, he or she can build a beautiful world and thus achieve the level of universal human being (*insân kâmil*). Al-Mutamakkin firmly believes that human beings basically maintain the belief in God, but that their quality differs from one to another. Nevertheless, this quality can be advanced, and thus one cannot blemish another's religiosity. At this point, al-Mutamakkin was very careful in passing his knowledge to his disciples.

Al-Mutamakkin clearly shows that mysticism is indeed only for a select few people. Like any other figures of Muslim scholarship in the 17th Century, his Sufism can be classified as Neo-Sufism. In his works, he asserts that the mystical path can only be achieved through full de-

he asserts that the mystical path can only be achieved through full devotion, externally and internally, to Islamic legal doctrine. It appears that al-Mutamakkin was too enthusiastic in his efforts to resolve peacefully the various aspects of Islamic exotericism and esotericism through synchronizing Islamic religious traditions. Nevertheless, al-Mutamakkin prohibits the true seekers of the spiritual path (*sâlik*) from accomplishing this on their own if they wish to find the truth, and requires them to find an acclaimed *murshid* or credible *shaikh*.

The Thoughts and Religious Understanding of al-Mutamakkin

From the general overview briefly outlined above, it is shown that the accusations of deviation from the *sharî'ah* directed at al-Mutamakkin are unfounded. This is because his real thought and religious understanding is in line with *sharî'ah*, and indeed uses it as a vehicle for achieving heightened mystical knowledge. The core of his religious understanding is *tawhîd* (the Oneness of God), which he claims as the source of understanding the relationship between God and humans. He consistently balances the concepts of *tanzîh* and *tashbîh*, as well as asserts that human existence is different from that of God. This religious understanding is expressed in *Serat Dewaruci* as the concept of *al-marâtib al-sab'ah*.

The accusation that al-Mutamakkin deviates from the *sharî'ah* is exaggerated and unfounded. Moreover, the accusations that he claims to be the prophet Muhammad (Saw) are not particularly systematic. In his composition *Arsh al-Muwahhidîn*, al-Mutamakkin obviously highly respects the Ḥadîth.

Thus, the attitude and appearance of al-Mutamakkin in the process of the meeting session as painted in *Serat Cabolek*, especially at the time of the debate, affects the intent of the lesson in *Serat Dewaruci*, pointing to his focus in the discourse on mysticism in the eyes of the many people that attended at that time. He persisted in making respectable and orderly the *bai'at* tradition which is performed before receiving the teaching of mysticism.

Aside from this, what must also be seen is the genealogy of al-Mutamakkin, which shows that he is an aristocrat descendent from Sultan Pajang, and a 28th generation descendent of the Prophet Muhammad, and an Ulama with deep scientific knowledge and part of the network of Ulama in the Middle East. On the other hand, he lived on the north coast area bordering Tuban and Pati, which expe-

rienced rebellion and revolt.

Thus this problem is better viewed as an issue of traditional dialectics, namely of the pre-Islamic traditions, Arab Islamic tradition (pure) and the tradition brought in by colonialism, and in particular influenced by the mysticism that became a Javanese ideology and *neo-Sufism*: hence between religion and myth.

From this perspective, the religious thought and understanding of al-Mutamakkin consists of *firstly*, critical epistemology, and *secondly*, the dialectical relationship between Islam and local tradition (relationship between Religion and Culture). In this framework, it is not too much to suppose that al-Mutamakkin became and developed the shape of cultural opposition, indeed the critical epistemology of culture and religion as applied by the Palace.

Al-Mutamakkin's criticism is clearly as follows: *Firstly*, the area of belief and understanding developed by the Palace was superficial and thus narrows the religion. Secondly, that which the Palace tried to develop failed to produce an ethical system that was rational and productive. *Thirdly*, the concept of *Sharî'ah* and Sunni mysticism was intellectually manipulated by the Palace for political motives that were not important to the majority of the *ummah*.

As such, al-Mutamakkin's religious thought and understanding has a religio-traditional form that is logic-transformative. It is clear that al-Mutamakkin consciously participates in spreading doctrine and intellectual inclinations and practices in the Ulama network to strengthen the Islamic tradition on the island of Java in Indonesia.

Al-Mutamakkin' religious thought and understanding can be included in the most basic discourse of religious thought and philosophy, namely in *metaphysical-theology*. Besides this, it is also full of 're-ligious language', which arises when the cultural language such as that found in *Serat Dewaruci* is used in expressing the environment, life, commitment and concepts of religion of a metaphysical transcendental dimension.

The nature of al-Mutamakkin's demonstrated efforts to reinterpret and further reconstruct the understanding of the study of religious learning is arduous, even though it comes from Muslims themselves. However, this effort is certainly needed to ensure its survival. For this, al-Mutamakkin plays a significant role as a critical and passionate rationalist, as well as an opponent of hegemonic power and suppression. His bravery and tenacity is evident in a number of ways.

Firstly, it is evident in the shift from verbal obedience to authority (*qaulî madhhab*) to methodological obedience (*manhajî madhhab*) with critical inspiration. *Secondly*, this effort to reconstruct Palace religious understanding is carried out through critical epistemological, that is, with a method that creates clear understanding in religious texts that become standard in the community. *Thirdly*, there is a synergetic process whereby precise meaning utilizes reference (*marâjî*) by balancing universal humanistic religious values, which is well expressed in the maxim: *al-muḥâfaẓah 'alâ al-qâdim al-ṣâliḥ, wa al-akhdhu bi al-jadîd al-aṣlaḥ* (protect the old things that are good, and take the new things that are better).

One thing that should be made clear is that the struggle of al-Mutamakkin is as a cultural opponent of a culture that does not give room for the people to understand their own life and religion. Briefly, al-Mutamakkin tries to explain that between Islam and other thoughts or cultures, there is a direct process of taking from each and studying each other. The logical consequence from openness like this is the necessity to place Islam only as a related factor as part of the local culture. By supplying to each other, these will develop new universal views without uprooting each other's historical roots. This is thus a means of reducing the tension between 'religious norms' and 'cultural manifestation'.

It is already clear that what is criticized by al-Mutamakkin is the thought used by the Palace *fuqahâ* and Sufis that shaped the cultural construction and ideology of power of the Mataram Kartasura royalty. Al-Mutamakkin initiated the critical energy and rationalism that began to be hurled at the Mataram Kartasura royalty by presenting an alternative view to overcoming problematic social thinking and reality, which was to have an appropriate religious attitude when confronted with the mystical tradition.

The final analysis of this research shows that the actions in this writing not only provide a strategic post for the future, but also tracks the 'program' of our traditions of the past as they were realized in their context. In other words, they are situated in their history and temporality. These traditions also become contextual with the present readers, who are rational and critical, through reconstructing and reformulating the permanent and relevant relationship with the reality of the present.

Because of this, much more research is needed, and it is necessary for writers to return to our cultural history and thought with a critical, rational and historical spirit. This is not only to frame and strengthen our traditions and liberate them from the whole burden of its authority, but also to preparing for a formulation that is productive in the process of contextualising modern ideas in our culture and thinking.

This research can be regarded as an exercise in epistemological reflection in an anthropological framework. I'd like to invite the reader to understand this piece as a critical epistemology of our traditions and us. Further, the writer is aware that this study remains dependent for validity and authenticity in particularly on *Arsh al-Muwaḥḥidîn*, however, at least this piece makes a contribution as well as invited historians to research more about al-Mutamakkin as a figure that existed in history, not as an entirely created figure.

From here it is the obligation of our era to draw inspiration and enthusiasm from the intellectual heritage founded by al-Mutamakkin, and to strive to utilize it and continue to relate it to what is relevant and contextual in our present. In this appropriate way, we can create a human heritage that is universal and eternal.

Endnotes

* This paper originally was written in Bahasa Indonesia, and translated into English by Chloe J. Olliver, Jajang Jahroni and Dadi Darmadi.

1. This paper is an abstract of the results of the author's research. I would like to extend sincere thanks to Prof. MC. Ricklefs who has contributed greatly to this work and who wrote the introduction to the book edition of this research. The book is entitled *Perlawanan Kultural Agama Rakyat: Pemikiran dan Paham Kegamaan Syekh Ahmad Al Mutamakkin dalam Pergumulan Islam Jawa 165-1740,* (Yogyakarta: Samha, 2002). For more details of the discourse of this article, please refer to this book.

2. See Edwin Wieringa, "The Mystical Figure of Haji Ahmad Mutamakin from the village of Cabolek (Java)", in *Studia Islamika*, Vol 5, No. 1, 1998, pp. 25 - 40.

3. Kuntowijoyo, *Paradigma Islam, Interpretasi dan Aksi*, (Bandung: Mizan, 1997).

4. Mohammad Abed al-Jâbirî, *al-Turâth wa al-Hadâthah: Dirâsah wa Munâqashah,* (Beirut: Markaz al-Thaqâfî al-'Arabî, 1991), pp. 21-33 entitled *Mâ al-Turâth wa Ayy Manhaj?*, (trans.) Ahmad Baso in *Post Tradisionalisme Islam*, (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 200), pp. 10-21.

5. Speech of KH. Abdurrahman Wahid at MUNAS RMI IV, in *Keputusan Munas IV RMI*, p. 80.

6. About this famous person, who was born in 273 H see Muhammad Diyâ' Shihâb, *Al-Imâm al-Muhâjir Ahmad ibn 'Isâ ibn Muhammad 'Alî al-Uraidhî*, Arab Saudi: Dâr al-Shurûq, 1980.

7. This *silsilah* is referenced from a kiyai from Kajen named KH. Abdullah Zain Salam, who also owns the Walisanga group. Dr. Alwi Shihab sourced this authentic history data that demonstrates that Islam was brought to Java, there was a descendent of Imam Ahmad al-Muhâjir ibn 'Isâ al-Naqîb ibn Muhammad ibn 'Alî al-Uraidhî ibn Imâm Ja'far al-Sadîq that fled from Basra to Hadramaut and introduced the Shâfi'î madhhab for the first time to this area, then the following generation that finally brought this madhhab to South East. See, Dr. Alwi Shihab, *Islam Sufistik.*, (Bandung: Mizan, 2001), p. 263

8. Regarding the socio-political situation in this decade, see de Graff, *Puncak Kekuasaan Mataram: Politik Ekpansi Sultan Agung*, (Jakarta: Graffiti Press, 1987), pp. 25-30. And compare with *Sartono Kartodirejo, Pengantar Sejarah Indonesia Baru 1500-1900: Dari Emporium Sampai Imperium,* Vol. I, (Jakarta: Gramedia, 1992), especially Chapters 5 and 6.

9. This is sources from an interview with several prominent members of the Kajen community. In fact, K.H. M.A. Sahal Mahfudz, mentions Shaikh Ahmad al-Mutamakkin in his books in the Middle East, known as Ki Bolek. Investigations on this book have not yet been traced in Indonesia.

10. See HM. Sanusi, *Mengenang Perjuangan KH. Ahmad Mutamakkin*, (Pati: HSM, 1999), p. 10

11. de Graff, *Op. Cit*. He elaborates on the socio-political condition of Mataram, especially the north coast area that was attacked by Trunajaya troops from Madura that aided the Makasarese troops.

12. A study on the development of Islam in this area was undertaken by Pradjarta Dirdjosanjoto, *Memelihara Umat, Kiai Pesantren – Kiai Langgar di Jawa*, (Yogyakarta: LkiS, 1999). He writes the name of people and place with other name corresponding to the will of local figures. Kedungsantri is used to refer to Kajen

village, a village that became a centre for the development of Islam in Tayu village, Pati to the north, and around Mount Muria to the east.

13. This *Dâ'irah* mirrors the picture on the wall of the grave of Kanjeng Tumenggung Puspanegara, Bupati Gresik (1133 H/1720-1721 M). Seen from the era, it is almost the same era as al-Mutamakkin, and perhaps there is an historical relationship that needs to be investigated. This *Dâ'irah* consists of an 8-pointed star in a circle and each point is written in Arabic: Allâh, Muḥammad, Âdam, Ma'rifat, Asmâ, Ṣifât, Dhât, Tawḥîd. The centre of the circle contains a *banaspati* (devil) form with just one eye. Different from the one at Masjid Kajen, in the centre is written *lâ ilâha illâ Allâh.*

14. See MC. Ricklefs, *The Seen and the Unseen Worlds in Java: History, Literature and Islam in Court of Pakubuwana II 1726-1749, (Honolulu: Asian Studies Association of Australia in association with Allen & Uniwin and University of Hawaii Press, 1989),* which was reviewed by Jajat Burhanudin in Book Review "Wacana Baru Islam-Jawa", *Studia Islamika,* Vol. 5 No. 2 1998, p. 195. And see the writing of Azyumardi Azra, *Mistifikasi Politik,* in *KOMPAS* Millennium lux edition, 1 January 2000.

15. For the biography of al-Zayn al-Mîzjâjî, see Zabarah, *Nashr al-'Ârif li Nubalâ' al-Yamân ba'd al-Alf,* Cairo; al-Maṭba'ah al-Salafiyah, 1359/1940, pp. 723-5.

16. Fletcher, "*Les (Voies),*" 18-9; J.F. Ford, "*Some Chinese Muslims of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries,*" of the Central Royal Society, 61 (New Series 5), 2 (1974), pp. 153-5; Gladney, Muslim Nationalism, pp. 45-8; "*Muslim Tombs,*" p. 504, as cited in Azyumardi Azra, *Jaringan Ulama,* (Bandung: Mizan, 1995), p. 61

17. Al-Kattânî, *Fahras,* I, 494, as quoted by Azyumardi, *Op. Cit.* , p. 65

18. Abû al-Ḥasan al-Sindî al-Kabîr was a *Muḥaddith,* who once studied with al-Bâbilî and al-Barzanjî. His most famous student was Muḥammad Ḥayyat al-Sindî, important in the Ulama network of the 18th century. For a biography of his works, see al-Murâdî, *Silk al-Durar,* III, 66; al-Jabartî, *'Ajâ'ib al-Âthâr,* I, 135; al-Baghdâdî, *Hadiyyat al-'Ârifîn,*II, 318. One of his works has an overview of *al-Kutub al-Sittah.* See also al-Kattânî, *Fahras,* I, p. 148.

19. Interview with a prominent member of the community of Kajen Pati, Central Java, K.H. M. Muhibbi Hamzawie in July 2001

20. Abdurrahman Wahid, *Kata Pengantar,* in Dr. Alwi Shihab, *Op. Cit.* p. vii

21. Soebardi, *The Book of Cabolek, A Critical Edition with Introduction, Translation and Notes; a Contribution to Study of the Javanese Mystical Tradition,* The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1975, p. 38

22. Ricklefs' argument regarding Soebardi's opinion can be read in pp. 127-129.

23. *Ibid,* p. 40

24. This unconsciousness is similar to what al-Jâbiri refers to as "Cognitive unconsciousness" in "cultural epistemology". See Mohammed Abed al-Jabiri, *Op. Cit.* p. xxvii.

25. Mark R Woodward, *Islam Jawa: Kesalehan Normatif versus Kebatinan,* (Yogyakarta: LKiS), 1999, pp. 63-64

26. This writing can be directly traced to several sources, especially those well known in this community.

27. Shaikh Ahmad al-Mutamakkin, *Arsh al-Muwaḥḥidîn,* p. 267

28. This dog also becomes a theme of debate because the dog has the form and name like the name of a group of royal ancestors from Tuban. See Soebardi, *Op. Cit.* p. 45 and see also Sanusi, *Op. Cit.* p. 10

29. *Ibid.* p. 156

30. Shaikh Yusuf al-Makassari, *Risâlah al-Nafḥah al-Sailâniyyah*, 101, p. 23, like the research of Abu Hamid in his dissertation *Syekh Yusuf: Seorang Ulama, Sufi dan Pejuang*, (Jakarta: Yayasan Obor Indonesia, 1994)

31. Shihabuddin from Palembang clarifies this in his *Risalah.* See GWJ. Drewes, *Directions for Travellers on the Mystic Path.* (Leiden: The Haque Martinus Nijhaff, 1977), p. 95

32. Soejatmiko, *Etika Pembebasan*, (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1988), p. 45

33. See Pujangga Imam Anom, *Suluk Linglung Syekh Malaya Sunan Kalijaga*, (Transl.) Drs. Muhammad Khafidh, (Demak:Yayasan Subulussalam, 200); and see also Heddy Shri Ahimsa-Puitra, *Strukturalisme Levi Strauss: Mitos dan Karya Sastra*, (Yogyakarta: Galang Press, 2001), p. 361.

34. In the Qur'ân and Ḥadîth, the well known Prophet Khidir is of course also talked about. According to this story, Prophet Khidir a.s is a teacher of Prophet Musa a.s.. Prophet Musa wishes to teach, but all resist, with the result that Nabi Khidir knows that Nabi Musa will not be patient with him. However, Nabi Musa also resists, and in the end Nabi Khidir offers to take Nabi Musa as his student. However, Nabi Musa in the end must finally split with Nabi Khidir as well, because he promised Nabi Musa that if he was impatient more than 3 times, it was better that they separated. This narrative is very popular in the Islamic community is often repeated; especially by those who enter Sufi orders, or that follow Sufism.

35. The contents and philosophy of Serat Dewaruci are quoted in Ki Siswoharojo, *Tafsir Dewarutji*, (Yogyakarta: PY Jaker Lodjiketil, 1956)

36. From Simuh, *Sufisme Jawa: Transformasi Tasawuf Islam ke Mistik Jawa*, (Yogyakarta: Bentang), 1995, p. 13. However, Alwi Shihab evaluation distorts the meaning and understanding of Ranggawarsita's teaching of *al-marâtib al-sab'ah*. Because of this, we must be careful in understanding his teachings.

37. See Dr. Simuh, *Mistik Islam Kejawen: Studi terhadap serat Wirid Hidayat Jati*, (Jakarta: UI Press, 1988)

38. Shaikh Yusuf al-Makassari, *Op. Cit.* p. 24

39. See R. A Nicholson, *Studies in Islamic Mysticism*, New York: Cambridge, 1912, p. 125. It is clear that the word that is commonly used to denote *Self-manifestation of God in His essence attributes, and names*, is *tajallî*. The *Tajallî* of God towards people who God wishes can be called *illumination*.

40. It is clear that al-Mutamakkin also quotes from *Tuḥfah al-Mursalah*, the work of Shaikh al-Burhanpûrî al-Hindî that accommodates the thoughts of Ibnu 'Arabî. In the era of Shaikh Muhyiddin al-Jawi (D. 1821, a Sufi Ulama after al-Mutamakkin), manuscript translation of the book mentioned contains 60 pages, every line containing 26. This manuscript contains two important problems, namely clarity of the meaning of *al-marâtib al-sab'ah* and clarity of the early obligation to pray 5 times.

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Genealogy of Shaikh Ahmad al-Mutamakkin
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