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## *From the Editor*

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**T**he fact that Indonesia is now the largest Muslim nation has become wellknown internationally in the last few years. Despite this, it must be admitted that Islam in Indonesia has only recently entered global discussion. There has been a tendency among scholars to exclude Islam in Indonesia from any discussion of Islam or Muslim society. Islam in Indonesia has been regarded by many Western scholars as "peripheral", not only in terms of its geographic location –vis-a-vis the centers of Islam in the Middle East– but also in terms of the kind of Islam that exists in this area.

Indonesian Muslims has long complained about this. But after all, who is to be blamed? Blaming Western scholars for misperceptions and misrepresentations of Islam in Indonesia is no longer very productive. It is time for Indonesian Muslim scholars to provide a more accurate picture of Islam in their region.

One of the most effective ways to present Islam in Indonesia is through publication, such as books and journals, using international languages, mainly English and Arabic. *Studia Islamika* is intended to fill the lack of credible journals, aimed at disseminating information and academic works on various aspects of Islam in Indonesia.

Publishing a journal in international languages in Indonesia is not an easy task. The hardest challenge in this respect is the relative lack of availability of articles or reports written in either English or Arabic. We have to be honest and admit that not many Indonesian Muslim scholars are accustomed to writing in either language. This is one of the chief factors responsible for the obscurity of the development of Islam and Islamic thought in this country.

Indonesian Muslim scholars have long claimed that there were (and are) several outstanding Indonesian Muslim thinkers whose Islamic thought deserve international attention. Again, the problem is that they have published their thoughts in the national language,

Bahasa Indonesia. So far there has been no serious effort to translate their works into English or Arabic. In this respect, our journal is a humble beginning to tread the path in that direction.

*Studia Islamika* itself has been published by the State Institute for Islamic Studies (IAIN) in Jakarta for several years in Bahasa Indonesia. However, Dr. Tarmizi Taher, the newly-appointed Minister of Religious Affairs, wishes the IAIN in Jakarta to publish the journal in a new format, mainly using two international languages, English and Arabic, and partly in Indonesian.

It is our pleasure that in this first edition of the new *Studia Islamika*, we are able to present articles by several noted scholars, among others, Dr. Nurcholish Madjid, Dr. Quraish Shihab, Dr. Martin van Bruinessen and Dr. Azyumardi Azra. All of their articles are written in either English or Arabic.

In addition, we publish other articles and reports by own staff which, we hope, should give readers a more comprehensive view of the current developments of Islam in Indonesia. These articles and report are: first, an intellectual biography of Professor Harun Nasution, one of the most prominent figures in the discourse of Islamic reforms in today's Indonesia; second, a long and deep interview with Professor Munawir Sjadzali, a former Minister of Religious Affairs, who completed his term of office last year; third, a report about the rise and development of ICMI (the Association of Indonesian Muslim Intellectuals) and about the Indonesian Intellectuals' responses to the provoking idea of "Clash of Civilization" written by Professor Samuel Huntington in *Foreign Affairs* (Summer 1993).

With all these articles and reports we are seriously attempting to present Islam in Indonesia in the many aspects of its development throughout history. We hope to maintain this variety of contents of *Studia Islamika* in the future editions whilst, of course, doing our best to improve it in all other possible ways.

Given this we invite all scholars of Islam in Indonesia to contribute to our journal. Your contribution is crucial not only for the continuing existence of this journal, but also for a better understanding of Islam in Indonesia.

## The Origins and Development of Sûfi Orders (*Tarekat*) in Southeast Asia

**Abstraksi:** Saat Islam datang ke Indonesia, sufisme sedang mengalami masa kejayaan. Akibatnya, Islam yang kemudian datang ke Indonesia juga tidak dapat lepas dari pengaruhnya. Hal itu terbukti dari perkembangan pemikiran Islam di Indonesia yang lekat dengan warna sufinya.

Dalam konteks Indonesia, Islam sufistik ini mempunyai nilai tersendiri. Komunitas Nusantara yang sudah terbiasa dengan tradisi mistik Hindu-Budha relatif lebih mudah mengadopsi Islam sufistik ini dibanding dengan Islam puritan. Banyak kemiripan antara tradisi mistik Hindu-Budha dan sûfi; kedekatan ini pada akhirnya mempermudah kalangan istana untuk mengadopsi Islam dan mengolahnya dengan tradisi lama.

Pada saat sufisme menjadi fenomena masal dan dipraktekkan melalui perkumpulan-perkumpulan atau tarekat (*tarîqah*), ia tidak lagi hanya berfungsi keagamaan. Keberadaan tarekat memungkinkan persoalan kemasyarakatan untuk turut menjadi bagian dari gerakan keagamaan. Pada zaman kolonial umpamanya, gerakan perlawanan dan pemberontakan banyak difasilitasi oleh tarekat-tarekat. Ia tidak hanya menyediakan ajaran-ajaran kontemplatif-keagamaan, melainkan juga sarana bagi kegiatan sosial-politik.

Ketika modernisasi merambah masyarakat, sufisme juga mengalami perubahan. Sifat rural pengikut tarekat mulai diimbangi oleh pengikut yang urban. Masalah yang ditangani oleh kalangan sûfi juga semakin banyak berkaitan dengan persoalan yang muncul dari proses besar modernisasi. Sûfi tidak lagi menyediakan seperangkat ajaran keagamaan, tetapi juga turut berkecimpung dalam persoalan lain, seperti narkoba atau persoalan psikologis lain yang banyak muncul dalam masyarakat modern.

مارتين فان بروينيسين .

## خلاصة

حينما جاء الاسلام الى اندونيسيا كان التصوف فى عصره الذهبى . فقد سجل التاريخ أسماء بارزة من رجاله امثال الغزالى والجيلانى والسهروردي وابن العربى . وكانت لافكارهم الصوفية آثار كبيرة فى الاتجاهات الاسلامية لدى المجتمع الاسلامى فى أنحاء العالم . ولذلك فالاسلام الذى قدم الى اندونيسيا تآثر الى حد كبير بهذه الافكار الصوفية ، كما يبدو واضحا فى تطور الافكار الاسلامية فى اندونيسيا ، بل ان زعماء الاسلام الاوائل كانوا من الصوفيين ، امثال نور الدين الرانيرى، وعبد الرؤوف السينكىلى ، وعبد الصمد الفاليمبانى .

واما الاسلام الصوفى بالنسبة للمجتمع الاندويسى فله مدلول خاص، لانه يشبه كثيرا التقاليد الهندوكية والبوذية التى يتمسك بها المجتمع حتى يمكنهم قبوله بسهولة ، الامر الذى لا يحدث فى الاسلام البوريتانى وهذا هو الذى دفع سكان القصور الملكية الى اعتناق الدين السلامى ، وتكيفه بالتقاليد القديمة . ولم يكن التصوف فى مراحلها الاولى الا تعليما يمارسه قليل من الناس .

ولكن بعد ما اصبح التصوف مظهرا اجتماعيا يمارسه الناس فى جماعات ، لم تكن وظيفته مقتصرة على المسائل الدينية ، بل اشتملت على المسائل الاجتماعية التى كان الصوفيون يعدونها جزءا من الحركات الدينية . ولعل اوضح مثال لذلك ما حدث فى عصر الاستعمار من مقاومات وثورات ضد المستعمرين ، حيث كانوا يلعبون دورا فعلا . فظهرت التقاليد الصوفية على شكل يختلف عما كانت عليه ، بمعنى ان التصوف لاتقتصر تعاليمه على التأمل الدينى ، بل كان يقدم وسائل لوجه نشاط اجتماعية وسياسية .

وبعد ان اعلنت اندونيسيا استقلالها ، وانتشر التحديث بين المجتمع تغير مفهوم التصوف من طبيعته الريفية الى الطبيعة المدنية تمشيا مع مسيرة التمدن فى اندونيسيا . فالامور التى كان يقوم بها الصوفيون لها ارتباط بالمشاكل التى احدثتها عملية التعصير، مثل سوء استخدام المخدرات او القضايا السيكوجية الاخرى التى ظهرت بين المجتمع العصري . وهكذا قدم مارتين بروينيسون عرضه لمسيرة التصوف فى اندونيسيا .

## Sufism and the Islamization of the Archipelago

Any theory of the Islamization of the Malay Archipelago will have to at least explain why the process began when it did, instead of some centuries earlier or later. Foreign Muslims had probably been resident in the trading ports of Sumatra and Java for many centuries, but it is only towards the end of the 13th century that we find traces of apparently indigenous Muslims. The first evidence is from the north coast of Sumatra, where a few tiny Muslim kingdoms, or rather harbour states, arose; Perlak and the twin kingdoms of Samudra and Pasai. During the 14th and 15th centuries, Islam gradually spread across the coasts of Sumatra and the Malay peninsula, to the northern coast of Java and to the spice islands in the east.

The modalities of conversion are not well documented, leading to much speculation by scholars and sometimes to passionate debate.<sup>1</sup> The process is unlikely to have been uniform across the archipelago. Trade and the political alliances of trader-kings no doubt played their parts, as did intermarriage between rich foreign Muslim traders with the daughters of local aristocracies. In some regions, as local sources suggest, Islam may have been spread by the sword, but as a rule the process appears to have been a peaceful one. It is widely assumed that Sufism and the *sûfî* orders played crucial parts in the process.

The first centuries of the Islamization of Southeast Asia coincided with the period of flourishing of medieval Sufism and the growth of the *sufi* orders (*tarekat*). Abu Hamid al-Ghazâlî, who made moderate, devotional sufism acceptable to the scholars of the law, died in 1111; Ibn 'Arabî, whose works deeply influenced almost all later *sûfis*, died in 1240. 'Abd al-Qâdir al-Jilânî, around whose teaching the *tarekat* Qâdiriyyah was organised, died in 1166 and 'Abd al-Qâhir al-Suhrâwardiyyah, for whom the Suhrâwardiyyah is named, died a year later (but it is not clear from when exactly we can speak of the *tarekat* in these cases). Najm al-Dîn al-Kubrâ, one

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<sup>1</sup>Two articles surveying, from different perspectives, the debate and various theories proposed are: G.W.J. Drewes, "New Light on the Coming of Islam?", *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land-en Volkenkunde* 124 (1968), pp. 433-459, and Syed Farid Alatas, "Notes on Various Theories Regarding the Islamization of the Malay Archipelago", *The Muslim World* 75 (1985), pp. 162-175.

of the most seminal figures of Central Asian sufism, founder of the Kubrâwiyyah order and a major influence on the later Naqshbandiyyah, died in 1221. The North African Abû al-Hasan al-Shâdhilî, founder of the Shâdhiliyyah, died in 1258. The Rifâ'iyyah was definitely an order by 1320, when Ibn Battûtah gave us his description of its rituals; the Khalwatiyyah crystallized into a tarekat (tarîqah) between 1300 and 1450. The Naqshbandiyyah was a distinct order in the lifetime of the mystic who gave it its name, Bahâ' al-Dîn Naqshband (d. 1389), and the eponymous founder of the Shattâriyyah, 'Abd Allâh al-Shattâr, died in 1428-9.<sup>2</sup>

Islam as taught to the first Southeast Asian converts was probably strongly coloured by sûfî doctrines and practices. It has been suggested by various scholars that this was precisely what made Islam attractive to them or, in other words, that the development of sufism was one of the factors making the Islamization of Southeast Asia possible. The cosmological and metaphysical doctrines of Ibn 'Arabî's sufism could easily be assimilated to Indic and autochthonous mystical ideas prevalent in the region. The concepts of sainthood (*wilâyah*) and Perfect Man (*insân kâmil*), as noted by A.C. Milner, offered local rulers a rich potential for mystical legitimation such as they would not have found in earlier, more egalitarian Islam.<sup>3</sup> In the tiny sultanate of Buton (in Southeast Celebes), the sufi doctrine of divine emanation in seven stages was put to use as an explanation of a highly stratified society consisting of seven caste-like strata.<sup>4</sup>

The Australian scholar Anthony Johns has suggested that Islamization was due to active proselytization by sufi missionaries accompanying the foreign merchants. Sûfî-type preachers are in fact mentioned in various indigenous accounts. Johns has further speculated that there was a close connection between trade guilds, sûfî orders and these preachers, which provided the moving force

<sup>2</sup>The best overview of the emergence and development of the sûfî orders is still J. Spencer Trimingham's *The Sufi Orders in Islam* (Oxford University Press, 1971).

<sup>3</sup>A.C. Milner, "Islam and the Muslim state", in M.B. Hooker (ed), *Islam in Southeast Asia* (Leiden: Brill, 1983), pp. 23-49.

<sup>4</sup>Pim Schoorl, "Islam, Macht en Ontwikkeling in het Sultanaat Buton", in L.B. Venema (ed.), *Islam en Macht* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1987), pp. 52-65.



behind Islamization.<sup>5</sup> Some may find this an attractive hypothesis but there is, however, no evidence to support it. It is highly doubtful whether the foreign Muslims trading with Southeast Asia were ever organized in anything resembling guilds, and the earliest sources mentioning sûfi orders date from the late 16th century.

Indonesian Islam is, to date, pervaded by a mystical attitude and a fascination with the miraculous. Several of the great international orders have respectable followings - some orders have hundreds of thousands of practicing followers - and there are numerous local Muslim orders, besides various syncretistic mystical sects. The past century has seen many, partially successful, reformist attempts to purge Islam of its mystical and magical dimensions. It is tempting to project present trends back into the past and to assume that Islam reached Indonesia in its sûfi garb, that the early centuries were, if anything, more mystically inclined than the more recent past of which we have more knowledge, and that only in a much later stage did a more "precision" approach associated with the study of Islamic law emerge. The fact is that we do not know. No indigenous sources from before the late 16th century have survived even in later copies, and contemporary foreign sources remain silent on the subject.

Two observations should make us cautious about attributing too prominent a role to the sûfi orders in the first wave of Islamization. Among the oldest surviving Islamic manuscripts from Java and Sumatra (brought to Europe around 1600) we find not only mystical tracts and miraculous tales of Persian and Indian origins but also standard manuals of Islamic law.<sup>6</sup> The oldest extant religious treatises in Javanese appear to seek a balance between doctrine, law and tasawwuf.<sup>7</sup> It is only in later Javanese writings

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<sup>5</sup>Anthony H. Johns, "The Role of Sufism in the Spread of Islam to Malaya and Indonesia", *Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society* 9 (1961), pp. 143-161; idem, "Islam in Southeast Asia: Reflections and New Directions", *Indonesia* 19 (1975), pp. 33-55.

<sup>6</sup>Ph.S. van Ronkel, "Account of Six Malay Manuscripts of the Cambridge University Library", *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land-en Volkenkunde* 6e volgreeks, 2 (1896), 1-53.

<sup>7</sup>These texts have been edited with translations by G.W.J. Drewes: *Een Javaanse Primbon uit de Zestiende Eeuw* (Leiden: Brill, 1954); *The Admonitions of Seh Bari* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1969); *An Early Javanese Code of Muslim Ethics* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1978).

that we encounter a much stronger presence of mystical teachings. As for the *sûfî* orders, it appears that these did not find a mass following before the late 18th and 19th centuries.

### The Sumatran Mystics

The earliest Muslim authors whom we know by name, Hamzah al-Fansûrî, Shams al-Dîn of Pasai, Nûr al-Dîn al-Rânîrî and 'Abd al-Ra'ûf of Singkel, all flourished in Aceh in the 16th and 17th centuries. Aceh, located on the very tip of Sumatra, was a major pepperproducing area and became, due to international trade, one of the most splendid kingdoms of the period. Its rulers patronized the arts and sciences, and made it into the region's chief centre of Islamic knowledge.

Hamzah al-Fansûrî was the first of the *sûfî* authors and the greatest poet among them. His name indicates that he hailed from Fansur (also called Baros) on Sumatra's west coast; he was active in the second half of the 16th century but the precise dates of his life are unknown. He expressed sophisticated mystical ideas in prose and subtle poetry. He may have been the first to employ the poetic form of the *syâ'ir* (quatrains with a fixed number of syllables and a fixed rhyme pattern) in Malay, and his mastery of the form has never been surpassed. The mystical ideas he expressed are of the *wahdat al-wujûd* kind and easily lend themselves to a pantheistic interpretation. Hamzah was well-travelled; in his poems he refers to visits to Mecca, Jerusalem, Baghdad (where he visited the shrine of 'Abd al-Qâdir al-Jilânî) and the Thai capital of Ayuthia, which he mentions by its Persian name of Shahr-i Naw. In the latter city he was apparently in contact with the substantial Persian community, and he attributes his profoundest mystical insights to an experience he had there. Several passages in his poems appear to imply that he was affiliated with, and possibly even a *khalîfah* of, the Qâdiriyyah order. However nowhere does he expound concepts or techniques relevant to this or any other order, and there are no indications that he ever taught it (for instance, his name does not occur in any known Qâdiriyyah *silsilah* from the Archipelago).<sup>8</sup>

<sup>8</sup>Syed M. Naquib Al-Attas, *The Mysticism of Hamzah Fansuri* (Kuala Lumpur: Malaya University Press, 1970); G.W.J. Drewes & L.F. Brakel, *The Poems of*

The second famous mystic was Hamzah's disciple Shamsal-Dîn (d. 1630), who wrote in Arabic as well as Malay. In a less poetic but more systematic way than his teacher, he formulated similar metaphysical doctrines. He was the first Indonesian to expound the doctrine of the "seven stages", *martabat tujuh*, an adaptation of Ibn 'Arabi's theory of emanation that was to become popular throughout the Archipelago.<sup>9</sup> In this he may have been emulating the Gujarati author Muhammad b. Fadl Allah al-Burhânî, who expounded the same doctrine in his *Al-Tuhfat al-Mursalah ilâ al-Rûh al-Nabî*, which was completed in 1590 and soon became popular among Indonesian Muslims.<sup>10</sup>

It is not known whether Shams al-Dîn himself travelled to India and Arabia (though it is likely that he did, like all the other sûfî authors); he may have become acquainted with al-Burhânî's work at Aceh as well as in Arabia or Gujarat. Al-Burhânî was affiliated with the Shattâriyyah order; again, there are no indications in Shams al-Dîn's works or other sources as to whether he joined this or any other order. Not long after his death, however, the Shattâriyyah was quite popular among Indonesians returning from Arabia.

Nûr al-Dîn al-Rânîrî was born into an Arab family established in Ranir (Rander) in Gujarat. He stayed in Aceh during the years 1637-44 and became very politically influential as the sultan's adviser. His family appears to have had previous Acehnese connections; an uncle, Muhammad al-Jilânî al-Rânîrî, had earlier established himself as a teacher in Aceh. Nûr al-Dîn makes the interesting observation that his uncle had come to teach law but was forced to engage in debate on sûfî doctrines; he had to go to Mecca to acquire the requisite learning and only after his return as a sûfî teacher did he make many disciples in Aceh. Nûr al-Dîn himself was a prolific writer but he became especially well known for his fierce polemics against Shams al-Dîn's disciples, whom he accused of pantheism and some of whom, he claims, he had burned

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*Hamzah Fansuri* (Dordrecht-Holland: Foris, 1986).

<sup>9</sup>C.A.O. van Nieuwenhuijze, *Samsu'l-Dîn van Pasai* (Leiden: Brill, 1945).

<sup>10</sup>Anthony H. Johns, *The Gift Addressed to the Spirit of the Prophet* (Canberra: ANU, 1965).

at the stake. It may have been due to a backlash created by his own high-handedness that he later had to flee from Aceh.<sup>11</sup> al-Rânîrî himself adhered to a more moderate variety of *wahdat al-wujûd*, according to which the world has no real existence and is but an illusory mirror image of Reality.<sup>12</sup> He was an adept of the Rifâ'iyah order, and the *silsilah* he provides in one of his books shows that the branch to which he belonged had been present in Gujarat for several generations, with Hadrami Arabs of the al-'Aydarûs family as its shaykhs. In the 19th century, the Rifâ'iyah was still present in Aceh but it remains unclear whether this was due to al-Rânîrî's teaching or to a later incursion of the same order.<sup>13</sup>

Al-Rânîrî represents the last documented instance of a direct Indian influence upon the development of the orders in the Archipelago. During the following centuries several other Indian branches of the great orders reached Indonesia, but they did this by way of Mecca or Medina, where Indonesians were initiated into them. This is how the originally Indian Shattâriyyah order became firmly established throughout Java and Sumatra. 'Abd al-Ra'ûf of Singkel, the last of the great Acehnese sûfis, exemplifies this process. He spent no less than 19 years in Mecca and Medina, studying the various Islamic sciences under the greatest teachers of his day. Upon his return in 1661, he became Aceh's leading expert of the Law as well as a recognized authority on sûfî doctrine, striking a balance between the views of his predecessors and teaching the *dhikr* and *wird* of the Shattâriyyah. His disciples spread the order from Aceh to West Sumatra and Java, where it has

<sup>11</sup>Takeshi Ito, "Why did Nuruddin ar-Raniri leave Aceh in 1054 A.H.?", *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land-en Volkenkunde* 134 (1978), pp. 489-491.

<sup>12</sup>Al-Rânîrî's mystical views are analyzed in: Ahmad Daudy, *Allah dan Manusia dalam Konsepsi Syaikh Nuruddin Ar-Raniry* (Jakarta: Rajawali, 1983); Syed Muhammad Naquib Al-Attas, *A Commentary on the Hujjat al-Siddiq of Nûr al-Dîn al-Rânîrî* (Kuala Lumpur: Ministry of Culture, 1986).

<sup>13</sup>C. Snouck Hurgronje, *De Atjehers* (Batavia: Landsdrukkerij & Leiden: Brill, 1894), vol. II, pp. 256-264, describes Rifâ'iyah-related practices (*debus*) in late 19th-century Aceh which may belong to a second incursion of the order, well after al-Rânîrî's time. The same practices became popular in Banten (West Java) in the mid-18th century, see Martin van Bruinessen, "Shari'a Court, Tarekat and Pesantren: Religious Institutions in the Banten Sultanate", *Archipel* 47 (1994).

remained rooted in rural society until the present day.<sup>14</sup>

### Arabia as the Centre of the Southeast Asian Orders

Visits to sacred places - mountain tops, caves, beaches and graves - in order to acquire spiritual power have long constituted an important part of religious life in the region. With the advent of Islam, Mecca and Medina were added to these sacred power centres; for the self-conscious Muslims these holy cities soon overshadowed all other centres. This may explain why quite early on the number of people from Southeast Asia making the pilgrimage to Mecca was already surprisingly high compared with that from other regions, especially when taking account of the greater distance. Many of those performing the *hajj* stayed in Arabia for several years, in order to obtain prestigious knowledge (or, in certain cases, for the more mundane reason that they could not afford the passage back).

Southeast Asians, or *Jâwah* as they were indiscriminately called in Mecca and Medina, consisted of a cohesive community, somewhat isolated from their surroundings by the fact that most knew only rudimentary Arabic. The most learned among them studied with the greatest scholars of the day and passed on the knowledge and sufi affiliations which they acquired to the larger Jawah community, whence it spread to the home countries. Due to this process, a relatively small number of ulama in Mecca and Medina had a disproportionate influence in Southeast Asia. In the 17th century these were Ahmad al-Qushâshî, Ibrâhîm al-Kûrânî and Ibrâhîm's son Muhammad Tâhir in Medina, who were indeed among the most prominent scholars and sûfis of their time. In the 18th century, the Medinan Muhammad al-Sammân acquired the same meaning for Indonesians. By the mid-19th century a scholar and sufi of Indonesian origin, Ahmad Khatîb Sambas in Mecca, was the chief focus of the attention of the Jawah, and in the second half of the century the shaikhs of the Naqshbandiyyah *zâwiyah* on Mount Abû Qubaysh in Mecca overshadowed all others in popu-

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<sup>14</sup>D.A. Rinkes, *Abdoerraef van Singkel. Bijdrage tot de Kennis van de Mystiek op Sumatra en Java* (Dissertation Leiden, 1909).

larity.<sup>15</sup>

Al-Qushâshî (d. 1660) and al-Kûrânî (d. 1691) represented a synthesis of Indian and Egyptian sufi intellectual traditions. They were heirs to the legal and sufi scholarship of Zakariya al-Ansari and 'Abd al-Wahhâb al-Sha'rânî on the one hand, and had been initiated into a number of Indian orders, most prominently the Shattâriyyah and the Naqshbandiyyah, on the other. These orders had first been introduced in Medina by the Indian shaykh Sibghat Allâh, who settled there in 1605. Al-Kûrânî, being a Kurd, probably also had access to Persian language literature from India; besides, he was an expert in hadîth studies and took a deep interest in metaphysics. In serious controversies, it was to him that the 'ulamâ' of India turned for an authoritative opinion, as did the Indonesians; it was at their request that he wrote a commentary on al-Burhânpûrî's *Tuhfab*, interpreting it in an orthodox vein.

Of the various orders that al-Qushâshî and al-Kûrânî taught, their Indonesian disciples had a strong preference for the Shattâriyyah, perhaps because the appealing ideas of the *Tuhfab* were associated with this order. (In the Middle East, on the other hand, these shaykhs were primarily known as Naqshbandis). The said 'Abd al-Râ'uf of Singkel, who studied with both and was sent back to Sumatra as a khalîfah, was the best known among their Indonesian students, but there must have been at least dozens of others.<sup>16</sup> For several generations, Indonesian seekers of knowledge in Arabia were to study with al-Kûrânî's successors and seek initiation into the Shattâriyyah, sometimes in combination with other orders. Thus we find a number of mutually unrelated branches of this order in Java and Sumatra. The Shattâriyyah accommodated itself relatively easily with local traditions; it became the most "indigenized" of the orders. On the other hand, it was through the Shattâriyyah that sûfî metaphysical ideas and symbolic classifications based on the *martabat tujuh* doctrine

<sup>15</sup>Snouck Hurgronje's observations in the second volume of his *Mekka* (The Hague, 1889) still constitute the most detailed and valuable source on the social and intellectual life of the Jâwah community in Mecca.

<sup>16</sup>See Anthony H. Johns, "Friends in Grace: Ibrâhîm Al-Kûrânî and 'Abd Ar-Râ'uf Al-Singkelî", in: S. Udin (ed.), *Spectrum: Essays Presented to Sutan Takdir Alisjabbana* (Jakarta: Dian Rakyat, 1978), pp. 469-85, and the same author's articles "al-Kurani" and "al-Kushashi" in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*.

became part of Javanese popular beliefs.

One of 'Abd al-Râ'uf's contemporaries was Yûsuf of Makassar, who is still venerated as the major saint of South Celebes. He too spent around two decades in Arabia studying under Ibrâhîm al-Kûrânî and others, and travelling as far as Damascus. He was initiated into numerous orders. He acquired authorizations to teach (*ijâzah*) the Naqshbandiyyah, Qâdiriyyah, Shattâriyyah, Bâ-'Alawiyyah and Khalwatiyyah (he gives his silsila for all of these), and claims also to have entered the Dasuqîyyah, Shâdhiliyyah, Chishtiyyah, 'Aydarûsiyyah, Ahmadiyyah, Madâriyyah, Kubrâwiyyah and several lesser known orders. After his return to Indonesia around 1670, he taught a spiritual discipline that he called Khalwatiyyah but which in fact combined the techniques of the Khalwatiyyah with a selection from those of other orders. This Khalwatiyyah-Yûsuf took root only in South Celebes, especially among the Makassarese aristocracy.<sup>17</sup>

Almost a century later, the Jâwah in Arabia were strongly attracted to the teachings of the highly charismatic Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Karîm al-Sammân (d. 1775) in Medina. Al-Sammân was the guardian of the Prophet's grave and the author of several works on sûfî metaphysics but it was as the founder of a new order that he became particularly influential. He combined the Khalwatiyyah, the Qâdiriyyah and the Naqshbandiyyah with the North African Shâdhiliyyah (in all of which he had *ijâzah*), developed a new ecstatic way of *dhikr* and composed a *râtib*, a litany consisting of invocations and Qur'anic verses. This combination became known as the Sammâniyyah. Formally a branch of the Khalwatiyyah (in the sense that al-Sammân's *silsilah* only acknowledges his Khalwatiyyah affiliation, through his teacher Mustafâ al-Bakrî), it had already become a separate order with its own lodges and local groups of followers during the master's lifetime. Moreover al-Sammân enjoyed a great reputation as a miracle-worker, which no doubt contributed to the rapid spread of the order to Indonesia. A large collection of miracle tales (*manâqib*) was translated into Malay not long after the master's death and became very popular

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<sup>17</sup>Martin van Bruinessen, "The Tariqa Khalwatiyya in South Celebes", in: Harry A. Poeze & Pim Schoorl (eds.), *Excursies in Celebes* (Leiden: KITLV Press, 1991), pp. 251-270.

throughout the Archipelago.<sup>18</sup>

Al-Sammân's best known, and possibly most influential, Indonesian disciple was 'Abd al-Samad of Palembang (South Sumatra), a prominent member of the Jawah community in Arabia and the author of a number of important works in Malay. Several other 'ulamâ' from Palembang were affiliated with the al-Sammâniyyah, and the order appears to have found favour early on in high places in the Palembang sultanate. Within a few years of al-Sammân's death the sultan of Palembang paid for the construction of a al-Sammâni lodge (*zâwiyah*) in Jeddah.<sup>19</sup> After al-Sammân's death, numerous Jâwah studied with his khalifah Siddîq b. 'Umar Khân. They spread the order to South Borneo, Batavia, Sumbawa, South Celebes and the Malay peninsula. Nafîs al-Banjarî (of South Borneo) is the only one among them who wrote (in Malay) a substantial work on Sufism; he was probably also the person responsible for the propagation of the order in this island. In South Celebes, where the Sammâniyyah encountered the earlier Khalwatiyyah-Yûsuf, the two orders became rivals but also influenced one another. The Khalwatiyyah-Sammân, as this branch of the Sammâniyyah is locally known, has developed somewhat differently in its rituals compared to the other branches in Indonesia. Its membership is practically restricted to the Bugis ethnic group.<sup>20</sup>

The Qâdiriyyah wa Naqshbandiyyah is a composite order not unlike the Sammâniyyah, of which the techniques of the two tarekats in its name are the chief but not the only ingredients. It is the only one of the orthodox orders that was founded by an Indonesian, Ahmad Khatîb of Sambas (West Borneo). Ahmad Khatîb, who spent most of his adult life in Mecca, had a reputation well beyond the Jâwah community as an all-round scholar. He was well versed in the law and doctrine as well as in sûfî practice. He

<sup>18</sup>The Arabic original of this work, *Al-Manâqib al-Kubrâ*, may be lost, but numerous manuscript copies of the Malay version are extant. This Malay text is edited in Ahmad Purwadaksi's dissertation, *Ratib Samman dan Hikayat Syekh Muhammad Samman* (Jakarta: Fakultas Sastra UI, 1992).

<sup>19</sup>Thus the Malay *Hikayat Syekh Muhammad Samman*, see Purwadaksi, *op. cit.*, pp. 335-6.

<sup>20</sup>See van Bruinessen, "The Tariqa Khalwatiyya ...".



acquired a large following as a teacher of his own tarekat, which soon replaced the Sammâniyyah as the most popular one in Indonesia. Upon his death in 1873 or 1875, his khalîfah 'Abd al-Karîm of Banten succeeded him as the supreme shaykh of the order. Significantly, 'Abd al-Karîm had to return from Banten to Mecca in order to occupy his master's place. Two other important khalîfah were Kiai Tolha in Cirebon and the Madurese Kiai Ahmad Hasb Allâh. 'Abd al-Karîm was the last central leader of this tarekat; since his death it has consisted of a number of mutually independent branches, deriving from the three said khalîfah of the founder. The Qâdiriyyah wa Naqshbandiyyah is presently one of the two orders with the largest followings in the archipelago. The other is the Naqshbandiyyah Khâlidiyyah, which owes its propagation across Indonesia to the *zâwiyah* established by Mawlânâ Khâlîd's khalîfah 'Abd Allâh al-Arzinjâni on Mount Abû Qubaysh in Mecca. 'Abd Allâh's successors, Sulaymân al-Qarîmî, Sulaymân al-Zuhdî and 'Alî Ridâ, directed their missionary efforts especially at the Jâwah, who were visiting the Holy Cities in ever greater numbers during the last decades of the 19th century. Thousands were initiated into the order and underwent training during a period of retreat in this *zâwiyah*; dozens of Indonesians received here an *ijâzah* to teach the tarekat at home.<sup>21</sup>

## The Orders and Indonesian Society

The few indigenous sources that we have, strongly suggest that the orders found their followings in court circles and only at a much later stage did this filter down to the population at large. The Sumatran sūfî authors mentioned above worked under royal patronage. Javanese chronicles from Cirebon and Banten relate how the founder of the ruling dynasty himself visited Arabia and was initiated into several orders (Shattâriyyah, Naqshbandiyyah, Kubrâwiyyah, Shadhiliyyah). The tarekat was perceived as a source

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<sup>21</sup>The Meccan teachers of the Naqshbandiyya and the Qadiriyya wa Naqshbandiyya receive extensive coverage in my book *Tarekat Naqsyabandiyah di Indonesia* (Bandung: Mizan, 1992, English edition forthcoming at KITLV Press, Leiden).

of spiritual power, at once legitimating and supporting the ruler's position. It was obviously not in the rulers' interests to make the same supernatural power available to all their subjects.<sup>22</sup>

By the 18th century, various tarekat had acquired a dispersed following in the archipelago. New returnees from Mecca and Medina spread the Shattâriyyah, often in combination with the Naqshbandiyyah or Khalwatiyyah. Adherence to these orders may have entailed little more than the private recitation of their *dhikr* and *wird*; there are no indications as to whether these orders at this stage also functioned as social associations. In the course of the century, the Rifâ'iyyah and Qâdiriyyah also definitely spread. The former was associated with the invulnerability cult named *debus*, of which remnants are still to be found in Aceh, the peninsular states of Kedah and Perak, Minangkabau, Banten, Cirebon and the Moluccas, and even among the Malay community of Cape Town in South Africa. The latter may in some places also have been associated with *debus*, but its most conspicuous impact was the emergence of a cult around its founding saint, 'Abd al-Qâdir al-Jilânî. Communal readings of the saint's *manâqib* in several regions became an important expression of popular religiosity.

The first tarekat to find a mass following in Southeast Asia that could actually be mobilized was perhaps the Sammâniyyah. Though patronized by the sultan of Palembang (who, as observed above, even paid for the construction of a *zâwiyah* in Jeddah), the tarekat appears to have found numerous followers among the common people. A local written account relates how it played a part in the resistance against the occupation of the town by Dutch forces in 1819: groups of men dressed in white worked themselves into a frantic trance with the loud Sammâni *dhikr* before fearlessly attacking the enemy, apparently believing in their own invulnerability.<sup>23</sup> In South Borneo in the 1860s the Dutch met similar resistance from a strong popular movement called *beratip beamal* which engaged in sûfî-type exercises, and in which we may

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<sup>22</sup>This argument is presented in a more elaborate form in Martin van Bruinessen, "Shari'a Court, Tarekat and Pesantren: Religious Institutions in the Banten Sultanate", *Archipel* 47 (1994).

<sup>23</sup>The said local text, *Sya'ir Perang Mèntèng*, is edited in: M.O. Woelders, *Het Sultanaat Palembang, 1811-1825* ('s Gravenhage: Nijhoff, 1975), pp. 194-222.

also recognize a local adaptation of the Sammâniyyah.<sup>24</sup>

We encounter several other cases of sûfi orders taking part in anti-colonial rebellions during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. One of the largest popular rebellions against Dutch rule took place in Banten (West Java) in 1888; here it was the Qâdiriyyah wa Naqshbandiyyah that was involved, even if only indirectly.<sup>25</sup> The same order played a part in a large-scale and violent popular movement on the island of Lombok in 1891, directed against the (Hindu) Balinese who then occupied a large section of the island. We find it mentioned again in connection with a peasant rebellion with messianistic overtones in East Java in 1903. Another large rebellion, triggered by a new tobacco tax, broke out in West Sumatra in 1908. This time it was the Shattâriyyah order, long since influential in this region, that played a prominent part in the events.<sup>26</sup>

These tarekat-related rebellions span a period of around a century, from the early 19th to the early 20th century. Some of them were movements resisting the establishment of colonial authority, others were revolts against specific government measures or responses to general economic deterioration and oppression. In the case of Lombok the rebellion predated, and in fact gave occasion to, the first Dutch military intervention in the island. In none of these cases did the initiative for rebellion come from the tarekat; but once the rebellions broke out, the tarekat

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<sup>24</sup>Described in Heliuss Samsuddin, "Islam and Resistance in South and Central Kalimantan in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries", in: M.C. Ricklefs (ed.), *Islam in the Indonesian Social Context* (Clayton: Centre for Southeast Asian Studies, Monash University, 1991), pp. 7-17. The text of the *râtib* used is translated in P.J. Veth, "Het Beratip Beamal in Bandjermasin", *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch-Indië* 3 (1) (1869), pp. 331-349.

<sup>25</sup>Sartono Kartodirdjo, *The Peasants' Revolt of Banten in 1888* ('s Gravenhage: Nijhoff, 1966).

<sup>26</sup>Kenneth Robert Young, *The 1908 Anti-Tax Rebellion in Minangkabau (West Sumatra): A Socio-Economic Study of an Historical Case of Political Activism Among Indonesian Peasants* (Ph.D. thesis, University College, London, 1983); Werner Kraus, *Zwischen Reform und Rebellion: ber die Entwicklung des Islams in Minangkabau (Westsumatra) Zwischen den Beiden Reformbewegungen der Padri (1837) und der Modernisten (1908)* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1984), pp. 170-200.

provided them with supra-local networks of communication and mobilisation, as well as spiritual techniques believed to provide magical protection and effectiveness. It appears - but this may simply be due to the absence of reliable historical evidence - that before the said period there existed as yet no tarekat networks that could be utilised. In the so-called Java war, the largest anti-Dutch rebellion of the 19th century, led by Prince Diponegoro (1825-30), no tarekat appears to have been involved in spite of the religious motivation of many participants. One gathers that at that time no tarekat network was available in Central Java that could have been put to use by Diponegoro and his ulama advisers.

The growth of the tarekat during the 19th century is related to the increase in the number of pilgrims performing the hajj, facilitated by the invention of the steamboat and the opening of the Suez canal. Many returning hajis had been initiated into a tarekat during their stay in Mecca, and some of them had authorization to teach the techniques of their order. The voyage to Mecca had also given them some knowledge of the wider world, and many were acutely aware of the threat to Islam posed by colonial expansion. Thus anti-colonial sentiment and the tarekat often spread in combination, which no doubt contributed to tarékats occasionally becoming vehicles of economic and political protest movements.

The two orders that experienced the most rapid growth during the late 19th and early 20th centuries were the Qâdiriyyah wa Naqshbandiyyah and the Naqshbandiyyah Khâlidiyyah. The former found its strongest support in Madura and West Java (Banten and Cirebon), due to the fact that a few highly charismatic ulama from these regions became khalifah of the founder in Mecca. The Naqshbandiyyah Khâlidiyyah spread more evenly across the archipelago but became particularly prominent among the Minangkabau of West Sumatra.<sup>27</sup> Another tarekat that found numerous Southeast Asian adherents during this period, mostly in the Malay Peninsula, was the Ahmadiyyah, one of the orders deriving from the Moroccan mystic Ahmad ibn Idrîs, as described below.

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<sup>27</sup>The propagation of these tarekat throughout the Archipelago is discussed in detail in van Bruinessen, *Tarekat Naqsyabandiyah*. Cf. Martin van Bruinessen, "The Origins and Development of the Naqshbandi Order in Indonesia", *Der Islam* 67 (1990), pp. 150-179.

With the emergence of modern nationalist organisations in the 1910s and 1920s, the tarekat gradually lost this political function and one gets the impression that the overall membership of the orders declined. However a period of increased political repression beginning in the late 1920s appears to have caused many Indonesians to turn away from politics to mysticism - a process that was to repeat itself several times during this century. The late 1920s saw the emergence of two new Muslim orders in Java, the Tijâniyyah and the Idrîsiyyah, as well as the rise of a number of syncretic mystical sects known as *kebatinan* movements.

### "Neo-Sûfî" Orders: the Tijâniyyah, Ahmadiyyah and Idrîsiyyah

Two key figures in what has been called "Neo-Sufism" - a movement said to be characterized by a rejection of the ecstatic and metaphysical side of Sufism in favour of strict adherence to the *shari'ah*, and by a striving for union with the spirit of the Prophet instead of union with God - are the North African mystics Ahmad al-Tijânî (1737-1815) and Ahmad ibn Idrîs (1760-1837). It is a matter of debate whether it is appropriate to speak of Neo-Sufism as a distinct movement,<sup>28</sup> but these two sûfis had a few things in common - as well as many differences - that distinguished them from most earlier founders of orders. Both were opposed to the saint veneration of their days and were sympathetic to the reformism of the Wahhâbis. Both were deeply influenced by the writings of Ibn 'Arabî and nurtured ambivalent attitudes towards the great master. Finally, both claimed to have actually met the Prophet himself and received instruction from him - directly in the case of al-Tijânî and through the intermediary of al-Khidir in that of Ahmad ibn Idrîs.<sup>29</sup> The orders derived from them have

<sup>28</sup>See the extensive critique of the concept in R.S. O'Fahey & Bernd Radtke, "Neo-Sufism Reconsidered", *Der Islam* (forthcoming), and the discussion in R.S. O'Fahey, *Enigmatic Saint: Ahmad ibn Idris and the Idrisi Tradition* (Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press, 1990), pp. 1-9.

<sup>29</sup>Jamil M. Abun-Nasr, *The Tijaniyya: A Sufi Order in the Modern World* (London: Oxford University Press, 1965); O'Fahey, *Enigmatic Saint*; Trimmingham, *Sufi Orders*, pp. 107-116. Ibn Idris was taught one brief prayer by al-Khidir, in the presence of the Prophet; he took other prayers and techniques from his human teacher 'Abd al-Wahhâb al-Tâzi, whose teacher 'Abd al-'Azîz al-Dabbâgh had similarly received them from al-Khidir.

correspondingly short *silsilah*, no names intervening between the Prophet and al-Tijânî, and only those of al-Khidir, al-Dabbâgh and al-Tâzî in the case of Ibn Idrîs.

Al-Tijânî organized his own order, which soon spread from the Maghrib to West Africa, Egypt and Sudan. It did not reach Indonesia until the late 1920s, when it was propagated in West Java by the Medina-born wandering scholar, 'Alî ibn 'Abd Allâh al-Tayyîb al-Azharî, who had received *ijâzah* to teach the tarekat from two different masters.<sup>30</sup> In the following years, several Indonesians studying in Mecca received initiations and *ijâzah* into the Tijâniyyah from teachers still active there. This was after the second Wahhâbi conquest of Mecca in 1924, and most other orders could no longer function publicly. The Tijâniyyah, being more reformist and opposed to the cult of saints, was apparently still tolerated. In Indonesia, the Tijâniyyah met with strong opposition from other orders but went on growing, with Cirebon and Garut in West Java and Madura with Java's eastern salient as its centres of gravity. During the 1980s it experienced a period of rapid growth, especially in East Java, leading again to conflicts with teachers of other tarekat.<sup>31</sup>

Ahmad ibn Idrîs' teachings lived on in a number of related but distinct orders, of which the Sanûsiyyah, established by his student Muhammad ibn 'Alî al-Sanûsî, became the most renowned. Other lines of affiliation use the names of Ahmadiyyah, Idrîsiyyah or Khidriyyah. Through Ibn Idrîs' Meccan khalifah, Ibrâhîm al-Rashîd (d. 1874) and his successor, Muhammad ibn 'Ali al-Dandarawi (d. 1909), this sûfi tradition first spread to Southeast Asia. It gained a substantial following in various parts of the Malay Peninsula. Tuan Tabal, a scholar from Kelantan, was the first to introduce the Ahmadiyyah upon his return from Mecca in the 1870s. In the following decades, Tuk Shâfi'î of Kedah and Muhammad Sa'îd al-Linggi of Negeri Sembilan followed suit. Since then, the Ahmadiyyah has retained a presence in various parts of

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<sup>30</sup>G.F. Pijper, "De Opkomst der Tidjaniyyah op Java", in Pijper, *Fragmenta Islamica* (Leiden: Brill, 1934), pp. 97-121.

<sup>31</sup>Moeslim Abdurrahman, "Tijaniyah, Tarekat Yang Dipersoalkan?" *Pesantren* V (4) (1988), 80-89.

the peninsula.<sup>32</sup> The various Ahmadiyyah branches in present day Malaysia and Singapore have retained contact with the mother lodge in Dandara in Upper Egypt.

The sûfi method of Ahmad ibn Idrîs later reached Indonesia by another channel. In the early 1930s, the Sundanese kiai 'Abd al-Fattâh returned from Mecca, where he had met Ahmad al-Sharîf al-Sanûsî, the grandson of the founder of the Sanûsiyyah. Ahmad al-Sharîf had given him an *ijâzah* to teach this order in Indonesia, and told him that he had earlier dispatched another khalîfah to South Celebes.<sup>33</sup> In order to avoid problems with the colonial authorities, who were likely to associate the Sanûsiyyah with the anti-Italian resistance in Cyrenaica, Kiai 'Abd al-Fattâh named his tarekat Idrîsiyyah. It has remained a relatively small order, now led by 'Abd al-Fattâh's son Kiai Dahlân, with its centre in Pagendingan, Tasikmalaya (West Java) and a few local branches, where the followers also appear to be mostly to be of Tasikmalaya origin.<sup>34</sup>

The *dhikr* of the Idrîsiyyah is performed standing, with a loud voice and violent bodily movements, and it is common for participants to enter trance states. This is quite unlike the Egyptian Sanûsiyyah, which frowns upon ecstasy and where the *dhikr* is serene and controlled, but it strongly resembles the Malaysian (and Egyptian) Ahmadiyyah, which has an equally ecstatic *dhikr*. (The prayers of both orders are, of course, identical, being composed by Ahmad ibn Idrîs). This is probably due to contacts between Kiai 'Abd al-Fattâh or Kiai Dahlân and their Malaysian colleagues after the Idrîsiyya was established in West Java. Kiai Dahlân acknowledges that he introduced various other reforms in the

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<sup>32</sup>Hamdan Hassan, *Tarekat Ahmadiyah di Malaysia. Suatu Analisis Fakta Secara Ilmiah* (Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 1990).

<sup>33</sup>I have tried in vain to find remnants of the Sanûsiyyah or Idrîsiyyah in South Sulawesi. The well-known Bugis 'alim Muhammad As'ad (d. 1953) did meet Ahmad al-Sharîf and even became his secretary for a brief period before returning to Sulawesi in 1928; he does not appear to have taught the tarekat, however. See Muh. Hatta Walinga, *Kiyai Haji Muhammad As'ad: hidup dan perjuangannya* (Skripsi Sarjana, Fakultas Adab, IAIN Alauddin, Ujung Pandang, 1401/1980).

<sup>34</sup>Mustafsirah Marcoes, *Perkembangan Tarekat Idrisiyyah di Pesantren Fat-hiyyah Pagendingan Tasikmalaya* (Skripsi Sarjana, Fakultas Ushuluddin, IAIN Syarif Hidayatullah, 1984).

order, such as the prescription of distinctive dress and a ban on smoking.

### Local Tarekat

Besides the large, "international" orders, several orders of a purely local character have emerged, some of them syncretic in doctrine and practices. It is not possible to draw a distinct boundary between local tarekat and *kebatinan* movements, apart from the former's explicit attachment to the Islamic tradition. Most of the local orders are considered unorthodox by the other tarekat, either because their teachings are believed to deviate from the *shari'ah* or because they lack a sound *silsilah*. In order to disassociate themselves from local sects of suspect orthodoxy, a number of large orders have united themselves in an association of "respectable" (*mu'tabar*) tarekat, with *silsilah* and *shari'ah*-adherence as the major criteria for membership.

One local tarekat apparently influential in the late 19th century was the Akmaliiyyah (or Haqmaliiyyah), which had its following mostly in the Cirebon-Banyumas zone, where the Sundanese and Javanese cultures meet. The Dutch suspected it of anti-colonial agitation and it is repeatedly mentioned in intelligence reports. Three leading teachers were arrested and exiled; after that, it was not heard of for some time.<sup>35</sup> It resurfaced in Garut, where it was taught by Kiai Kahfi and his son Asep Martawidjaja, who expounded the teachings of the order in a long didactic text in Sundanese, *Layang Muslimin jeung Muslimat*. From Garut it spread to various parts of Java where it survives in a number of small groups. The Akmaliiyyah firmly adheres to *wahdat al-wujūd* metaphysics and considers 'Abd al-Karīm al-Jīlī's *Al-Insān al-Kāmil* to be the most authoritative doctrinal text. It also has a distinctive meditational technique, not found in the other orders.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>35</sup>The writings of these three teachers, Hasan Maulani of Lengkong, Malangyuda of Rajawana Kidul and Nurhakim of Pasir Wetan, which were confiscated, are analyzed in G.W.J. Drewes, *Drie Javaansche Goeroe's. Hun Leven, Onderricht en Messiasprediking* (Dissertation, Leiden, 1925).

<sup>36</sup>For more detailed information on the Akmaliiyyah and possible origins of its technique of meditation, see my "Najmuddin al-Kubra, Jumadil Kubra and Jamaluddin al-Akbar: Traces of a Kubrawiyya Influence in Early Indonesian Islam", *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land-en Volkenkunde*, (forthcoming).



A number of new local orders emerged in East Java after independence, the best known among them the Siddîqiyyah and the Wâhidiyyah. Both seem in part to reflect a move away from active politics towards quietist mysticism and from confrontation between strict and nominal Muslims to more accommodating methods of gradually incorporating the latter into the *ummah*. The Siddîqiyyah is led by Kiai Mukhtâr Mu'tî of Ploso, Jombang (East Java), who had previously studied various tarekat and acquired a reputation as a magical healer. He claims that the Siddîqiyyah is based on teachings he received in the mid-1950s from a certain Shu'ayb Jamâlî, who hailed from Banten and was a descendant of Yûsuf Makassar. The Siddîqiyyah therefore allegedly continues Yûsuf's tarekat practices, but Kiai Mukhtâr also quotes a Qâdiriyyah wa Naqshbandiyyah *silsilah* as his teacher. The doctrinal teachings are presented in a form much adapted to Javanese folk culture, and the mystical exercises taught consist of long litanies to be recited, followed by breathing exercises.<sup>37</sup>

The Wâhidiyyah was "founded" by Kiai 'Abd al-Majîd Ma'rûf the *pesantren* (Islamic school) Kedunglo in Kediri in the early 1960s. Its major devotion consists of the recitation of a long prayer (*salawât*) composed by Kiai 'Abd al-Majîd, allegedly under divine inspiration. The collective recitations of this *salawât* generate an intensely emotional atmosphere, causing the devotees to weep loudly and seemingly uncontrollably. In spite of strong reservations on the part of other ulama, the Wâhidiyyah rapidly gained adherents among the common folk of Kediri and spread all over East Java.<sup>38</sup>

It is, of course, not only in Java that local tarekat have emerged. They are to be found throughout the country, in various gradations of orthodoxy and incorporating varying amounts of local pre-

<sup>37</sup>The mystical exercises are described in Syafi'ah, *Tarekat Khalwatiyyah Shiddiqiyyah di Desa Losari Kecamatan Ploso Kabupaten Jombang* (Skripsi Sarjana, Fakultas Ushuluddin, IAIN Sunan Kalijaga, Yogyakarta, 1989). See also Qowa'id, "Tarekat Shiddiqiyyah: Antara Kekhusyukan dan Gerakan", *Pesantren IX*, (1) (1992), 89-96.

<sup>38</sup>Abdurrahman Wahid, "Penelitian Pesantren Kedunglo, Kodya Kediri", *Bulletin Proyek Agama dan Perubahan Sosial* no.4 (Jakarta: LEKNAS-LIPI, 1977), 1826; Moeslim Abdurrahman, "Sufisme di Kediri", in: *Sufisme di Indonesia [=Dialog, edisi khusus]* (Jakarta: Badan Penelitian dan Pengembangan Agama, Departemen Agama R.I., 1978), pp. 23-40.

Islamic tradition.<sup>39</sup> *Wahdat al-wujûd* mysticism is condemned by most current ulama as heretical, but it is still very much alive among the rural population that has not been so influenced by reformist Muslim teaching. Time and again mystical sects teaching a variety of *wahdat al-wujûd* emerge. Many are shortlived and disappear under the pressure of the orthodox, only to re-emerge years later under the same or another name. South Kalimantan is one region that appears to be particularly fertile ground for the emergence of such sects. M. Nafis al-Banjari's *Al-Durr al-Nafis* constitutes the scriptural basis for a number of these sects, of which the currently best-known is the tarekat Junaidiyyah, previously known as Aliran Zauq, which was introduced a generation ago by Haji Kashf al-Anwâr Firdaus.<sup>40</sup>

### Do the Tarekat Have a Future?

Tarekat with a mass following used to be a rural phenomenon, and the numbers of followers appear to have reached peaks in times of crisis. In recent years, the introduction of electricity, television, metalled roads and cheap motorized transport in villages appears to have significantly weakened the following of previously popular tarekat in certain regions, though by no means everywhere.

On the other hand, some of the tarekat have found a new following among the urban population, and not only among its most traditional segments. Certain tarekat teachers appeal to an educated public and have found disciples among the highest social circles. The curing of problems such as drug addiction and healing of psychosomatic disorders constitute two of the activities through which they attract numerous new disciples to their tarekat. Partially overlapping this group, there are people of Muslim

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<sup>39</sup>A number of these local tarekat are described in Djohan Effendi, "über Nichtorthodoxe und Synkretistische Bruderschaften im gegenwärtigen Indonesien", in: Werner Kraus (ed.), *Islamische Mystische Bruderschaften im heutigen Indonesien* (Hamburg: Institut für Asienkunde, 1990), pp. 100-130.

<sup>40</sup>Ahmad Zaini H.M., *Aliran Zauq di Kabupaten Hulu Sungai Utara* (Risalah Sarjana Muda, Fakultas Ushuluddin, IAIN Antasari, Banjarmasin, 1975); H.D. Mirhan, *Tarekat Junaidy di Halong dalam Agung Harnai. Sebuah Studi Perbandingan* (Skripsi Sarjana, Fakultas Ushuluddin, IAIN Antasari, Banjarmasin, 1983).

modernist or secular backgrounds who, feeling dissatisfied with the rational but unemotional religious atmosphere in which they grew up, seek direct, emotional religious experience in a tarekat.

Some tarekat also fulfill a number of functions that are not religious even in the loosest sense. Each tarekat is also a social network, and membership in a tarekat yields a number of potentially useful social contacts. Especially for recent migrants to the city, the tarekat network may prove useful for finding work, a place to live, help with difficulties, etc. The tarekat for some members is also a replacement of the family, offering the warmth and protection they do not find elsewhere. The gradual demise of traditional society appears not, as has at times been assumed, to be causing the inevitable decline of the tarekat but rather to give them new social functions and entire new categories of followers.

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# ستوديا اسلاميكا

مجلة أندونيسية للدراسات الاسلامية  
السنة : ١ ، العدد : ١ (ابريل-يونيو) ١٩٩٤ م

هيئة الاشراف على التحرير:

عبدالعزیز دحلان  
محمد ساتريا افندي  
قمرالدين هدايات  
مسطوحوه

واهب معطى  
هارون ناسوتيون  
مسلم ناسوتيون  
محمد قريش شهاب  
دين شمس الدين

محمد يونان يوسف

رئيس التحرير:

ازيوماردي ازرا

المحررون:

نور الفجر  
يوهان هيندريك موليمان  
سيقول مزانى  
هيندرو براسيتير  
بدري يتيم

سكرتير التحرير:

عارف سبحان

مخلص عين الرفيق

تصميم الغلاف:

س. برينكا

على اكبر

ستوديا اسلاميكا (ISSN : ٠٢١٥-٤٩٢) مجلة دورية تصدر اربع مرات فى العام عن جامعة شريف هداية الله الاسلامية الحكومية جاكرتا (STT/DEPPEN No. 129/DITJEN/PPG/STT/1976) برعاية وزارة الشؤون الدينية بجمهورية اندونيسيا ، وتخصص للدراسات الاسلامية فى اندونيسيا ، بقصد التبليغ عن نتائج البحوث والمقالات التى تبحث فى القضايا الاخيرة المتعلقة بالموضوع . وتدعو المجلة العلماء والمثقفين الى ان يبعثوا اليها مقالاتهم العلمية التى تتعلق برسالة المجلة .

تصدر المجلة بجاكرتا ، اندونيسيا .

عنوان المراسلات : ستوديا اسلاميكا ، جامعة شريف هداية الله الاسلامية الحكومية بجاكرتا ، شارع جواندا رقم ٩٥ ، تشيوتات ، جاكرتا الجنوبية ، الرمز البريدى ١٥٤١٢ ، الهاتف : ٠٠٢٧٧٩٣٠٠١ . بنك نيجارا اندونيسيا ١٩٤٦ كبايوران بارو/جامعة شريف هداية الله الاسلامية الحكومية ، جاكرتا قيمة الاشتراك السنوى فى اندونيسيا : لسنة واحدة (٤ اعداد) : ٤٠٠٠ روبية ( ٢٠ دولارا امريكيا) ، لسنتين (٨ اعداد) : ٧٠٠٠ روبية (٣٥ دولارا امريكيا) ، قيمة العدد الواحد : ١٠٠٠ روبية (٥ دولارات امريكيا) وتسدد القيمة مقدما . وفى البلدان الاخرى يضاف الى قيمة العدد مبلغ ٤٠٠ روبية (دولاران امريكيا) للارسال بالبريد العادى . اما الارسال بوسائل خاصة فيرجى قبل ذلك الاتصال بالمجلة .