

## CONTINUITY AND CHANGE OF THE ISLAMIC INTELLECTUAL DISCOURSE IN INDONESIA MALAY WORLD

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### Abstract

*In its history, there has been a strong difference between the doctrine of Sufism and the philosophical Sufism, including Indonesia. In the period of the end of the 16th century until the end of the 19th century even the emergence of the beginning of Islamic intellectualism in Indonesia was brilliantly marked by monumental works. Then, in the era of the 1970s, the discourse of renewing Islamic thought was increasingly being studied. The young generation of educated Muslims in this decade has shown a tendency towards thinking that is no longer normative in view of religion. Very different in the era of mystical and sufistic Islam. So, they tend to be more interested in Islamic understanding based on empirical and historical approaches in the formation of their religious vision. In this paper, a philosophical historical approach will be discussed on the issue of continuity and change in Islamic intellectual discourse in the Malay world of Indonesia and at the same time analyzing broader mystical and philosophical mysticism in Indonesia, friction in it, and efforts to reconcile it.*

**Keywords:** *Discourse Malay Indonesia, Islamic Intellectual, Indonesian Sufism, Philosophical Sufism*

### Introduction

The process of transmitting Islamic intellectuals from the center of Islamic science, especially Makkah and Madinah, to the world of Malay-Archipelago in the 17th and 18th centuries, became very significant, in addition to the lack of studies related to the social history of Islamic intellectuals this period, also because of the general assumption that along with the global decline of Islamic politics, this period is also considered a "dark age" in Islamic history. In fact, as far as the social history of Islamic intellectuals is concerned, the 17th and 18th centuries are one of the most dynamic important periods. The root of the strengthening of the dynamics of Islamic history in the two periods above is nothing but the intellectual network of scholars who are based in Mecca and Medina (Fathurahman 2016).

In the history of Islamic intellectuals, differences in the flow between the doctrine of mystical sufism and philosophical sufism have been colored by fierce opposition to bloodshed. The territory of Indonesia, as part of the Islamic world, does not escape the development of this kind of discourse. The development of philosophical Sufism discourse that developed earlier has received strong reactions from some Amali-based Sufism followers. Not infrequently this conflict is related to the political aspects of a government. As a result, bloodshed cannot be avoided. This section analyzes more broadly the mystical and mystical-philosophical discourse in Indonesia, the friction in it, and efforts to reconcile it.

### Emergence of Philosophical Sufistic Thought in Islam

Historically, Sufism has developed since the beginning of the birth of Islam (around the first and second centuries of the eighth century AD Hijri). In this period there were a number of people who concentrated on worship life to get a more eternal life in the hereafter.

Sufism in this period is still in the form of ascetic life (*zuhd*). Figures of Salman al-Farisi, Abu Dzarr al-Ghifari, Ammar bin Yasir, and Hudzaifah ibn Yemen. From among the followers of the Companions of the Prophet (*tabi'in*), among others, Hasan al-Basri (22-110H / 642-728M), Malik bin Dinar (d. 130H / 747M), Ibrahim bin Adham (d. 161H / 777M), Rabi'ah al-Adawiyah (w. 185H / 801M), Abu Hasyim al-Sufi (w.161H / 777M), Sufyan bin Sa'id al-Tsauri (97-161H), and so on.

The next period lasted around the 9th century until the beginning of X AD. In this period Sufism began to develop where the Sufis had paid attention, at least, to three things: (a) soul, namely Sufism which talks about the treatment and concentration of the human soul to humans, so mental tension can be treated. (b) morals, namely Sufism which contains moral theories, how to have good morals and avoid bad morals. (c) metaphysics, namely Sufism which contains theories about the unity of the divine essence or God's absolutes. At this time theories have been born about the possibility of "union" of God with humans. (Jamil 2004)

At this time also for the first time Sufism was taught in the form of *jama'ah* (*tarekat*) by figures such as Surri al-Saqti (d. 253H / 867M) and Junaid al-Baghdadi (d. 297H / 910M). Other figures from this period were Ma'ruf al-Karkhi (d. 200H / 815M), Abu Sulaiman al-Darani (d. 215H / 830M), Ahmad bin al-Hawari al-Damsyiqi (d.230H), Haris al- Muhasibi (d. 243H / 857M), Abu Faidh Dzun Nun bin Ibrahim al-Mishri (d. 245H / 860M), Abu Yazid al-Busthami (d.261H / 921M), Husain bin Manshur al-Hallaj (d. 309H / 921M), Abu Bakar al-Syibli (d. 334H / 946M), Abu Talib al-Makki (d. 386H), and so on.

In this period Muhasibi taught the importance of fear and sincerity in practicing religion. The main teaching is *muhasabah* (examining and controlling lust) in sufism. He also analyzed important terms in Sufism, *riya'*- showing off in pretending piety (Baldick 2002). Dzun Nun al-Mishri initiated the important concept of the Sufi Way, such as *ma'rifat*, *maqamat* and *ahwal* (plural of things), although this was rejected by Baldic. Abu Yazid talked a lot about the Sufi doctrine of mortals'. It was with this mortal that Abu Yazid came to understand *ittihad* (Jamil 2004) . Al-Tustari uses the key concept of *tajalli*. Junayd pays much attention to the concept of continuous *ahwal* and sees the peak stage of Baqa as commensurate with what makes him famous in Sufism.

While this al-Hallaj is famous for his words: "Leave the nature of beings so that you become Him, and He becomes you, from the point of view of nature", "ana al-haqq" (I am the Mahabenaar or I am the Mahasijati), and "ara al- haqq "(I see the Glorious), and so on. This is all related to the understanding of the *hulul*. For al-Hallaj, God and humans have the nature of *lahut* (divinity) and *nasut* (humanity). Therefore, God and humans may be able to unite in the form of a *hulul*. When a Sufi has diminished his nasutic qualities through mortal', what remains is only the nature of the *lahut*; and it was at this time that God took place (*hulul*) in the Sufi. Finally, there is a union between God's spirit and the human spirit in the human body. (Jamil 2004)

The "unique" or even odd ideas or notions put forward by Abu Yazid al-Busthami and al-Hallaj about the "unity" of *khaliq* and *makhluq* had a great influence on the next period, in the fifth century of the Hijriya. In this period, philosophical Sufism was very dominant. The conflict between Sufism and fiqh has also grown at this time. This raises concerns for Sufi figures, such as al-Qusyairi (d. 465H / 1074) and al-Harawi (born 396). Al-Qusyairi has sought to compromise between Sufism and Shafi'ah. According to Qusyairi, the Shari'at is an order to carry out worship, while the essence (*tasawuf*) is to live the greatness of God (in worship). Therefore, every shari'ah which is not strengthened by nature is not accepted; and every essence that is not related to the Shari'ah, certainly produces nothing. In addition, the Shari'ah

comes with obligations to servants, and the essence of proclaiming the provisions of God.(Simuh 1996)

Other Sufi figures in this period were Abu Hamid al-Ghazali (505H / 1111M). Al-Ghazali, looking at philosophical Sufism has deviated from the basics of the Qur'an and Hadith. Through his writings, such as *al-Munqiz min al-Dhalal*, *Tahafut al-Falasifah* and *Ihya 'Ulum al-Din*, al-Ghazali put forward some sharp criticisms of the various "deviations" of Sufism and sought to return Sufism to the teachings of Alqur ' and Hadith. Later, this mysticism was given the name *Sunni tasawuf*, which basically made Sufism closer to Sufism (*akhlaqi tasawuf*). (Jamil 2004)

In the hands of al-Ghazali successfully formulated a building of harmony between Sufism and Shari'ah. Al-Ghazali's conception that compromised the experience of Sufism with Shari'a was compiled in his *Ihya 'Ulum al-Din*. This book consists of four thick volumes. Volumes I and II are discussed regarding the implementation of Islamic religious obligations on the principles of Islamic faith relating to the Shari'a. Volume III, just started discussing the tarekat, makrifat or sufism in detail. Then in volume IV (last) are described about various liver diseases, their ugliness, and how to cure them.

For al-Ghazali, the strengthening of the knowledge of Shari'ah and aqeedah is very necessary before practicing Sufism. After carrying out the Shari'a properly, it is only beginning to study tarekat science, such as introspection, controlling various passions, then carrying out the dhikr, until finally succeeding in achieving the knowledge of *kasf* or the understanding of the science of *ma'rifat*. Thus, between the Shari'ah and the nature of relationship and each other. Each Shari'ah is a right, and vice versa, every essence is a Shari'ah. The Shari'ah embodies charity, and the essence embodies the matter. (Aboebakar Aceh 1990). Shari'a acts with knowledge, while the essence takes wisdom from experience. Therefore, a person who undergoes mysticism remains within the framework of Shari'ah science.

The compromise of Sufism and Shari'ah carried out by al-Ghazali had a tremendous impact. Sufism finally gained a place in the hearts of the Shari'ah experts as part of the Islamic religious system that Muslims are very proud of. In fact, Sufism then spread and developed in almost all Islamic regions, especially since the decline of Islam, in the 13th century, to this day.

The harmonization efforts are seen as quite constructive and positive, but have not been fully satisfying. One side of the conflict between the Shari'ah and Sufism can be minimized, but on the other hand it creates internal conflict between the more orthodox groups with pure heterodox sufism (pantheism). In addition, the fundamental weakness of this compromise system, generally, lies in the appreciation of Sufism (essence) is always seen as higher than the Shari'ah (Simuh 1996). This can be seen in al-Ghazali's own thoughts which divide one's faith in three levels: (i) lay faith based on *taklid* solely,, (II) the faith of the *mutakallimin* (theologians), on the basis of taklid and a kind of postulate, (III ) the faith of the *'arifin* (Sufis) who are based on direct testimony through the mediation of *Nurul Yaqin*. This third level is the highest faith.(Simuh 1996)

The emergence of *Sunni Sufism* by al-Ghazali and his friends in the fifth century of the Hijrah did not necessarily kill the development of philosophical Sufism (*tasawuf falsafi*). In fact, in the period of the sixth and seventh centuries the Hijrians still appeared, many figures who tried to integrate Sufism with philosophy. In this genre *pantheism* developed which directed Sufism at *manunggaling kawula-gusti* (unification of creatures and *khaliq* [monism]). Among the characters are Shihab al-Din Yahya al-Suhrawardi (549-587H / 1154-1191), Muhammad bin 'Ali bin Ahmad bin ' Abdullah al-Tha'i al-Haitami, known as ' Arabi (560-638H / 1165-1240; do not

confuse Abu Bakr ibn al-'Arabi [d. 543] - a *qadhi* in Seville), 'Umar ibn Faridh (d. 632H), Ibn Sab'in (d. 667H), and others- other.

Ibn 'Arabi has combined sufism from classical Sufism with neo-Platonism and Islamic theology (Baldick 2002). He got the title of *Syaikh al-Akbar* (Professor) because of his high intellectual power. The famous Sufism theory is *wahdat al-wujud*, which is to understand that humans and God are, in essence, a unit of being (*mystical union*). The concept of the teachings of *wahdat al-wujud* has determined and inspired the mystical union understanding afterwards (Simuh 1996). Ibn 'Arabi and Al-Suhrawardi developed the philosophy of illuminationist (*israra*), which symbolized another attempt to unite sufism with the neo-Platonime. He described the understanding of his unitary unity in his idol verses: *Hikmat al-Isyra>q*, *Haya>kil al-Nu>r*, and *Gharbat al-Gharbah*.

A number of Sufi poets who have *union-mystical* tendencies with symbolic expressions and imagery, among others, are: Abu Sa'id ibn Abu al-Khair with his *Rubayat*; Abdullah al-Ansari with his *Thabaqat*; Majduddin al-Sinai al-Ghaznawi (d. 545H / 1151) with his book *H}adiqat al-H}ada>iq* ; Farid al-Din al-Thar with his *Mant>iq al-T}a>ir-*; Jalal al-Din Rumi with its *Matsnawi*; Abdurrahman al-Jami (d. 898H / 1493) with *Nafahat al-Uns*, and so on.

In addition, at the beginning of the 10th century above, the basic teachings of Sufism have been formulated, but not yet known as a tradition or scientific discipline (Baldick 2002). It was only until the XIII century, it was the time of the emergence of many Sufi orders and systematization of Sufi theory. During this time many prominent Sufi figures emerged who became very powerful because of their cooperation with secular rulers. The Sufis considered themselves God's representatives after the fall of the Abbasid Caliphate in Baghdad in 1250.

The development of Sufism began to retreat since the VIII century Hijri. In this century those who were involved in the world of Sufism only commented on or summarized earlier Sufism books. There is no new thought in the field of Sufism. The activity also focuses on aspects of ritual practice that are more in the form of formality that increasingly distances the substance of Sufism itself (Baldick 2002). In this period there were only a few Sufism thinkers who emerged, such as al-Kisani (d. 739H) and Abdul Karim al-Jilli (760-820H / 1365-1417M).

Al-Jilli was a great Sufi, born near Baghdad, who followed Ibn 'Arabi's understanding. His famous book, *al-Insa>n al-Ka>mil fi Ma'rifat al-Awa>khair wa al-Awa>il*, which is a text about the teachings of self awareness and truth (Cyril Glasse; transl. Ghufron A. Mas'adi 1999). Through his writings, such as the book *al-Kahf wa al-raqi>m fi Syarh} Bismilla>hi al-Rah}ma>n al-Ra>hi>m* and 20 manuscripts of his handwriting, he defends the concept of *wah}da>t al-wuju>d* nya Ibn 'Arabi is Ibn 'Arabi (Jamil 2004). Al-Jilli belongs to a Sufi group that holds that what exists is single. All differences are merely modes, phenomenal aspects and manifestations of that single reality. Allah is the substance - by al-Jilli it is called the Absolute Substance - from this one.(Jamil 2004)

In India (Gujarat) there was also the name Muhammad ibn Faddlillah al-Burhanpuri. He has compiled a small book entitled *al-Tuh}fat al-Mursalat ila> Ru>h} al-Nabi>y* which describes his teachings which are called the dignity of seven which is the development of Ibn 'Arabi's understanding. The highest dignity is called *Ah}a>diyah* (pure unity, ie Substance) (Simuh 1996). In India (Gujarat) there was also the name Muhammad ibn Faddlillah al-Burhanpuri. He has compiled a small book entitled *al-Tuh}fat al-Mursalat ila> Ru>h} al-Nabi>y* which describes his teachings which are called the dignity of seven which is the development of Ibn 'Arabi's understanding. The highest dignity is called *Ah}a>diyah* (pure unity, ie Substance)

Under the three dignity above is the dignity of the spirit realm, which is like everything from what is in this nature in a pure state and is the wholeness of the atomic substance. One level below is the dignity of nature, for example, which is like all material things arranged in a subtle arrangement so that it cannot be separated from the others. Below is the dignity of natural jisim "alam jisim" (material), which is like a material that is arranged that looks thick thin, so that it can be cut into pieces or separated parts. The lowest dignity is the dignity of human nature "alam insan". This dignity encompasses all the dignity above, both spiritual (conscience) and physical, *Wahdah* and *Wahidiyah*, which is divine and which appears in various clothing.

The seventh dignity above the first dignity of the appearance comes out, and the remaining six dignity as a whole appearance (*kulliyat*). As for the dignity of human nature "alam insan", if it is successful in increasing its spirit and radiating all of the dignity mentioned above and its subtlety, it is called *insan kamil* (a perfect human being), which is tiered. The most perfect level (peak) is the Prophet Muhammad, therefore he became the closing of the Prophets.

It should be explained here that there is a difference in pressure between the teachings of *h}ulu>l* from al-Hallaj with the development of the teachings of *wah}da>t al-wuju>d* from Ibn 'Arabi. This difference lies only in graduation. In the concept of *h}ulu>l*, al-Hallaj still distinguishes between spirit and "spirit" of God. However, both of them can be united in humans. As for the concept of *wah}da>t al-wuju>d*, Ibn 'Arabi views the essence of the Substance of God as an inner aspect in the universe and in humans. So, God is not different from humans because humans are expressions born of the nature of God which is the ultimate manifestation of everything. Thus, human unity with God is more firm in the theory of *wah}da>t al-wuju>d* than in theory *h}ulu>l*. However, these two theories both say that God is immanent in humans and the universe.

In the social history of Islamic intellectuals, the emergence of Sufism discourse on *h}ulu>l* or *wah}dat al-wuju>d* has caused polemics and controversy. Ibn 'Arabi himself was seen by Ibn Taymiyah, al-Taftazani, and Ibrahim bin' Umar al-Biqai as a polytheist (H.A.R. Gibb and J.H. Kramers 1961). In addition, challenges have come from defenders of Sunni (orthodox) Sufism. Sunni Sufism is a flow of Sufism that is large and firmly rooted in Islamic society. Orthodox Sufism followers are guards who actively attack and condemn every notion that tends towards union-mysticism. Therefore, to avoid criticisms from the supporters of the purity of the Shari'ah and from the side of Sunni Sufi scholars, famous Sufi poets who express union-mysticism in sentences or symbolic words are sometimes quite complex to be understood by those outside them. Such debates also color the discourse of Islamic religious intellectuals in Indonesia. The doctrine of the seven dignity derived from the *Tuhfah* book above, which eventually became the core of the thinking of 17th-century Acehese Sufi scholars, also invited debate. In turn, this teaching also spread into Javanese literature in the nineteenth century, such as *Wirid Hidayat Jati*, *Centini*, and others.

### **Sufistic and Mystical-Philosophical Discourse in Indonesia**

Many scholars who study the history of the development of Islam in Indonesia argue that Sufis play a major role in Islamization in the Indonesian archipelago. In fact, Victor Tanja wrote, that Islam which first developed in the Indonesian archipelago was Sufism (Tanja 1982). Anthony H. John also argued that sufism was directly involved in the spread of Islam in Indonesia. From the XIII-XVIII century, according to John further, the activities of Sufi preachers acted as a motorbike besides the spread of Islam in Indonesia. This is in accordance

with the dominant influence of the Sufi order in the Islamic world after the fall of Baghdad in 1258 (Zulkifli 2002). Sufi leaders, then, moved to leave Baghdad and look for peaceful areas in the East where they could continue their teachings and attract new members.

The first centuries of Islamization in Indonesia coincided with the period of the outbreak of medieval Sufism and the growth of the tarekat. Abu Hamid al-Ghazali who has outlined the moderate concept of Sufism "*tasawuf akhlaqi*" and accepted the *fuqaha* - fiqh expert, died in 1111. Abd al-Qadir al-Jilani, whose teachings formed the basis of the Qadiriyyah order, died 1166. Ibn 'Arabi, whose works greatly influenced the teachings of almost all Sufis that emerged later, died in 1240. Also, Abu al-Najib al-Suhrawardi, from whom the name Suhrawardiyah was taken, died a year later.

The role of Sufis in the process of Islamization in Indonesia, it seems, is not denied by many scholars or scholars in Indonesia, although John's opinion is still speculative. The importance of the role of the Sufis in Islamization of Indonesia is supported by the fact that there are similarities between Sufism and pre-Islamic Indonesian culture. One of the main reasons behind the conversion process into Islam is the ability of Sufi teachers to present Islam in an attractive form primarily by emphasizing continuity rather than changes in the beliefs and practices of local religious traditions. Therefore, the model of Islam that spread throughout the region during the early period of Islam in Indonesia was a syncretic model of Sufism which in some cases was not in accordance with the Shari'ah teachings (Azyumardi Azra 2002). The cosmological and metaphysical teachings of Sufism Ibn 'Arabi can easily be combined with Indian Sufistic ideas and indigenous Sufistic ideas adopted by the local community. The concept of human beings, as stated by A.C. Milner, is very potential as a religious legitimacy for kings, which is not found in Islam that developed in the past, which is more egalitarian (Martin van Bruinessen 1995a). Meanwhile, according to Pim Schoorl, in the very small Buton Sultanate (Southeast Sulawesi), Sufi teachings about divine emanation through the concept of *seven dignity* (seven levels), were used as an explanation for *stratified* society, which consisted of seven social strata which resembles caste. (Martin van Bruinessen 1995a)

In addition, Sufism has also been subjected to public discussion and debate by several scholars, as has happened in Aceh. Nuruddin al-Ranniri, in his book, *Bustan al-Salatin*, mentions that there was a deadlock in the public debate between the two scholars who came from Makkah in Aceh on 947H / 1540 concerning philosophical sufic issues, especially those relating with a permanent archetype (*al-a'yan al-tasawwuf*). (Azyumardi Azra 2002). The first cleric was Abu al-Khair bin Syaikh bin Hajar, a writer of *Saif al-Qathi'*. Apparently, this book discusses convoluted philosophical issues that are related to the nature of the third metaphysical category between existence and nothingness: firm essence or permanent archetype. This teaching is very difficult to be understood and absorbed by ordinary people, beside he himself teaches fiqh. Other scholars are Muhammad al-Yamani, an expert on *fiqh, ushul al-fiqh, 'ulum al-hadits*, and *'ulum al-qur'an*.. These two scholars engaged in warm discussions on the mystical-philosophical topic. No one is superior in that discussion in explaining these complex problems satisfactorily. Instead, people are allowed to explore these topics with confusion and intellectual curiosity.

The impact of it all is that people are less interested in studying *fiqh, ushul al-fiqh, akhlak, mantiq, and balaghah*. This was experienced by al-Ranniri's uncle, Muhammad al-Jaylani bin Hasan Muhammad al-Humaidi - coming from Gujarat to Aceh between 988H / 1580 and 991H / 1583, who would teach the sciences to the public. Instead, the community asked him to teach tasawuf and kalam. However, Muhammad al-Jaylani himself refused because he felt he had

not mastered Sufism and kalam perfectly. Therefore, he postponed teaching and returning to Mecca to explore Sufism and kalam and other related sciences. Al-Jaylani returned to Aceh during the Sultan 'Ala al-Din Ri'ayat Syah to fulfill his promise, teaching the community about the problems they wanted to learn.

Interest in sufism in the Malay-Indonesian Islands is not limited to Muslim clerics and laypeople. The Malay rulers in this region were also interested in the Sufic concept of Islam, especially about *al-insān al-kāmil* (perfect human). They often think of themselves as perfect humans by using famous Sufic terms "guardian of Allah" or "quthb".

The spread of these Sufic concepts and teachings, in one way, was also stimulated by the circulation of sufistic literature in Indonesia. Some of the mystical-philosophical thoughts of Hamzah Fansuri have been used in Java (Andi Faisal Bakti 2000). The Book of *Muntahi* by Hamzah Fansuri has also been translated into Javanese. This allows a sufistic influence on some philosophical (*suluk*) mysticism in Java. Apparently, *Serat Suluk Sukarsa*, the oldest *suluk* on Java, was influenced by Fansuri (Perbatjaraka dan Raden Mas Ngabehi 1957). Since the seventeenth century, according to Pigeaud, mystic literature has circulated in Java. This kind of literature is most attractive to Javanese because it contains sufistic teachings that have many similarities or affinities with beliefs and practices that prevailed in pre-Islamic times. These mystical works, which are considered to be part of Muslims, were opposed by many Shari'ah-oriented scholars.

One of the mystical literature with its various influences on Islamic life in the Malay-Indonesian Archipelago is *al-Tuhfat al-Mursalah ila Ruḥ al-Nabiyy*, written by Fadl Allah al-Burhanpuri. This book is complemented by a brief explanation entitled *Hijaqat al-Muwaḥiqat li Ahl al-Syari'ah*. In this book al-Burhanpuri basically tries to limit the extraordinary type of sufism by emphasizing the essential elements of Islam such as the manifestation of God and the importance of the Shari'ah on the Sufi path. However, according to Azra, the basic concept of the writer, such as "dignity of seven" and the argument to explain it is very philosophical. This is what causes the writer's escape from good wishes if the book is read by the layman.

The strong tendency of the community towards mystical-philosophical concepts does not mean that Muslims in the Malay-Indonesian region of the teachings of the Shari'ah are unknown among them. Many of the archipelago's early traditional literature mentions and incorporates certain Shari'ah teachings into their discourse. But apparently, the concept of the Shari'ah is only practiced by a minority of Muslims in this region who have a better understanding of the teachings of Islam. The application of Islamic law also varies from region to region in the Malay-Indonesian archipelago. Before the 17th century, there were no fiqh books in Malay, which were very much needed as a guide in the religious and social life of Muslims in this region. Nevertheless, the understanding of Islam with the Sufistic-syncretic concept received strong opposition from the strict Islamic Shari'ah practicing circles.

The earliest opposition to mystic-syncretic Islam was found on the island of Java. Pigeaud has shown that in the XV century there was Islamic literature which produced a limited number of Javanese who orientated to syncretic mysticism. Such works are strongly opposed by other groups of work which emphasize the interpretation of Islam which emphasizes the shari'ah aspect more. The strongest opposition to Sufistic-philosophical teachings on Java may be represented by Wali Sanga in the XV century who sentenced Syaikh Siti Jenar to death, or Shaykh Lemah Abang. The saints here are described as conservative, shari'ah-oriented scholars. (Mark R. Woodward: terj. Hairus Salim H.S 1999)

Syaikh Siti Jenar is seen as adhering to the Sufistic doctrine of heresy centered on *wah}dat al-wuju>d* (unity of human form with God). In fact, by Syaikh Siti Jenar, this doctrine is taught to people who do not have sufficient sufistic abilities. This case of Syaikh Siti Jenar reminds us of the al-Hallaj case in Baghdad with the famous expression *Ana al-Haq*, which made it executed at 922H. Therefore, Soebardi stated that Syaikh Siti Jenar was a Javanese al-Hallaj. However, the Wali's hatred of Syaikh Siti Jenar was not because of his teachings, but because of his rejection of normative godliness. The attention of the Guardians is directed at normative piety and Islamic institutional structure.

The case in the history of opposition to things considered as the Sufistic concepts, teachings and practices of Islam that "deviated" was not only experienced by Syaikh Siti Jenar during the early period of Islam in Java. Sunan Panggung, associated with the Kingdom of Demak (living in the sixteenth century), was burned alive because it was considered to have abused the Shari'ah. Likewise with Shaykh Among Raga who was sentenced to death by Sultan Agung of Mataram because "proven" guilty of spreading heretical mysticism and destroying the Shari'ah in the wider community. Likewise with the case of Haji Mutamakkin (1645-1740) who lived during the reign of Amangkurat IV (1719-1726) and his son, Pakubuwana II (1726-1749). He declared himself to have reached "kasunyatan" (essence), namely "to become Muhammad". In his sermons, he advocated leaving the Shari'ah (Islamic law) (Kuntowijoyo 1998). Of course this has shaken the foundations of established religion and the state. Therefore, there was an open debate and trial against Mutamakkin in the capital of Kartasura. "The villain" is Haji Mutamakkin and his hero is Ketib Anom from Kudus. However, in the end Mutamakkin was forgiven by the king.

Actually, the problem is not their knowledge about mysticism, but the teaching of the teachings as public consumption. This is what al-Ghazali said when punishing al-Hallaj, as revealed by Hodgson, that "because it discloses it openly so that it confuses the public. He must be punished so that the general public does not assume the insult (*blasphemy*) is left (Marshall G.S. Hodgson; terj. Mulyadhi Kartanegara 1999) In this perspective, it should be used to look at the cases of Syaikh Siti Jenar, Syaikh Amongraga, Sunan Panggung, or Syaikh Haji Mutamakkin, perhaps this is the background of the "guardian council" in dealing with the problems of a sufistic-philosophical concept. (Zainul Milal Bizawie 2002) Punishments are made against them so that the knowledge they have is not delivered publicly and openly.

Basically, Wali Sanga is also a member of the Sufi order, besides teaching orthodox Islam. They are more engaged in *sunni* or *syar'i* Sufism that are different from philosophical Sufism. According to Zarkasyi, that one of the Sufism teachings that most impressed the Wali Sanga is the book *Ih}ya>' Ulu>m al-Di<n* by al-Ghazali. (Zulkifli 2002). The influence of al-Ghazali's teachings on the Wali Sanga is greater than the teachings Ibn 'Arabi or other developing Islamic thinkers. Steenbrink said that al-Ghazali's teachings were longer and stronger than pantheist teachings in Indonesia (Steenbrink 1984). What needs to be emphasized here is that to become a scholar as well as an accomplished mystic is difficult, to say impossible. A scholar must direct his attention to the development of normative piety and his people. Meanwhile, a mystic - on the other hand - devotes his attention solely to God. (Stadtman and Markova 2017)

The emergence of the philosophical sufism in the archipelago was more articulate in the seventeenth century by two great scholars, Hamzah Fansuri (born and unknown death) (Syed Muhammad Naguib al-Attas 1970) and, his student, Syamsuddin al-Sumaterani (d. 1040 H / 1630 AD). Both lived in the Sultanate of Aceh by occupying the highest religious office under the authority of the sultan himself. Hamzah lived during the reign of Sultan 'Alauddin



Ri'ayat Syah (1588-1604) until the beginning of Sultan Iskandar Muda's administration (1607-1636).

Al-Fansuri and al-Sumaterani are categorized in the same flow of religious mysticism. Both are the main figures of interpretation of Sufism *wahdat al-wujud*, which are mystical-philosophical. Both were particularly influenced by Ibn 'Arabi and al-Jilli. (Azyumardi Azra 1999). The monistic notion of Hamzah Fansuri was expanded and formed the core of the teachings and writings of Syamsuddin al-Sumaterani, who became *syaikh al-Islam*, during the reign Sultan Iskandar Muda. Hamzah himself was originally a member of the Qadiriyyah Order in Arabia and was established in an established manner, or perhaps continued, a tradition which was later followed by many scholars in Indonesian-Malay. (Peter Riddell 2001)

In addition, Hamzah Fansuri immediately linked himself to the teachings of other Arab and Persian Sufis, especially Bayazid al-Bisthami, Mansur al-Hallaj, Fariduddin 'Attar, Junayd al-Baghdadi, Ahmad Ghazali, Jalal al-Din Rumi, al-Maghribi, Mahmud Shabistari, al-'Iraqi and al-Jami. Meanwhile, al-Bisthami and al-Hallaj were idol figures of Hamzah Fansuri in terms of love (*'isyq*) and *ma'rifat*. In addition, he also cited many statements and verses of Ibn 'Arabi and al-'Iraqi to support his kesufian thinking. (Abdul Hadi W.M 1995). According to al-Attas, Hamzah Fansuri did not show in his works that he had a connection with evolving Sufism in India in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The monistic idea of Hamzah Fansuri was expanded and formed the core of the teachings and writings of Syamsuddin al-Sumaterani, who became *syaikh al-Islam*, during the reign of Sultan Iskandar Muda.

These two figures, in general, are seen as Sufi "wujudiyah" (pantheistic ideas about God) that are different from orthodox Sufis and Sufic practices of Muslims in general. Their Sufistic ideas emphasize the nature of God's immanence in His creatures rather than His transient nature. Most of his writings often speak of philosophical sufism, not with fiqh or shari'ah. For this reason, they were familiar with these two figures as prominent supporters of the Wujudiyah branch of Sufism.

The teachings of *Wujudiyah* Hamzah Fansuri can be summarized as follows: (T. Ibrahim Alfian 1992) ) First, that in essence the essence and form of God are the same as the essence and form of nature. Second, the *tajalli* of nature from the essence and the form of God at the initial level is *Nur Muhammad*, who in his essence is the Lord *Nur*. Third, *Nur Muhammad* is the source of all the *khalq* of Allah, which is in essence the *khalq* of Allah or the creation of God is also the essence and form of Allah. Fourth, humans as a microcosm, must try to achieve togetherness with God by way of *tark al-dunya* - eliminating their attachment to the world and increasing longing for death. Fifth, the human effort must be led by a teacher with perfect knowledge. Sixth, human beings who have succeeded in achieving togetherness with God are human beings who have truly achieved *ma'rifat*, who have succeeded in reaching the level of selflessness (*fana' fi Allah*).

Such concepts make their "opponents" accuse them and their followers of being *pantheists* and therefore have deviated from the true Islam. Therefore, the teachings and doctrines of both are often seen as sufistic teachings of heresy or *heterodox* which are contrary to the orthodox teachings and doctrines of *Sunni Sufis*. However, this kind of accusation needs to be reviewed, since both also state the link between Sufism and Shari'ah in various stages of Sufism experience. This is reflected in Syarh} al-'A <syiqi <n the writing of Syamsuddin al-Sumaterani, (Soebardi n.d.) as follows:

Whoever fences himself with the Shari'ah, he will never be disturbed by Satan. Anyone who leaves the teachings of the Shari'ah, he will definitely be disturbed by Satan. Anyone who thinks that the Shari'ah is not too important or whoever belittles it, he

becomes an infidel - we take refuge in Allah from him, because the Shari'ah cannot be separated from the *tariqat*; *tariqat* cannot be separated from *ma'rifat*. Like a boat, *syari'at* is the frame, *tariqat* is the deck, *hlaqi'at* is the charge, and *ma'rifat* is the advantage. If the frame is damaged, of course the boat will sink. If the boat sinks, merchandise and capital will be destroyed. By law, this is very dangerous.

In general, there is an assumption that sufistic Islam, especially *wujudiyah* Hamzah Fansuri and Syamsuddin al-Sumaterani are not only spread in the Aceh Palace, but also developed in various regions in the archipelago. The doctrine and practice of philosophical Sufism seems to continue to enjoy supremacy towards the Shari'ah, despite efforts to apply the Shari'ah concept in the lives of Muslims.

The doctrine and practice of mystical-philosophical teachings of *wujudiyah* Hamzah Fansuri and Syamsyuddin al-Sumaterani received strong opposition from Nur al-Din Muhammad ibn 'Ali ibn Hasanji al-Humaidi al-'Aidarusi, better known as al-Raniri (d. 1068 H / 1658). His father was of Hadramaut descent and his mother was a Malay woman. Even though he was born in Ranir, India, but he is generally considered a 'Malay-Indonesian alim, rather than Indian or Arabic. He also reached his peak career in the Malay-Indonesian Archipelago, precisely in Aceh.

Nur al-Din al-Raniri came in Aceh in 1407 H / 1631, in the reign of Sultan Iskandar Tsani (1637-1641). Then he was appointed by the Sultan to occupy the highest religious position, perhaps *syikh al-Islam*, under the authority of the Sultan himself. To establish his position in the Palace of the Aceh Sultanate, he immediately began to express his strong resistance to what was called *Wujudiyah sufism*. In the view of al-Raniri, Islam in this region has been damaged by the understanding of the doctrine of *Wujudiyah* Sufism. In fact, he often argued with adherents of the teachings of Hamzah and Syamsuddin in the presence of the Sultan. The debate was fierce and occurred for several days, but failed to resolve the differences between them. Under the influence of al-Raniri, the Sultan repeatedly ordered *wujudiyah* followers to change their views and repent to God for their mistaken beliefs. However, the Sultan's efforts did not bring results.

Al-Raniri rejected Hamzah Fansuri's teachings and ideas, which he considered heretical or heretic. He put forward some evidence to label Hamzah as heretical or deviant based on several things, which can be summarized as follows: (1) That Hamzah's ideas that considered God, Nature, Man and the relationship between the three, in a nutshell, Reality, were identical - to name a few - with the thoughts of philosophers, the Zoaroaster people, the teachings of the Incarnation, and Hindu Brahmins. (2) The teaching of Hamzah is pantheist in the sense that God's essence is perfectly immanent in Nature; that God merges into something that appears. (3) Like philosophers, Hamzah believes that *being* is *simple*. (4) Hamzah, like the Qadariyah and Mu'tazilah, was convinced that the Qur'an was created (*beings*). (5) Hamzah also believed, like the philosophers, of the eternity of Nature.

A number of important writings by al-Raniri were devoted entirely to this polemic and rejected what he saw as the shirk writings of Hamzah Fansuri and Syamsuddin and their constituents. Among these works is *Jawa>hir al-'Ulu>m fi Kash al-Ma'lu>m*, in which the position of al-Raniri is clearly emphasized and a sharp criticism of the teachings of its predecessor. Al-Raniri introduced one source in collecting his writings, such as *Lawa>ih} fi> Baya>n Ma'ani> 'Urfaniyah* by the great Sufi' Abd al-Rahman Jami (d. 1492). Al-Raniri focuses on establishing a reference frame in his writing which can be seen as orthodox.

One of the reasons that al-Raniri's writings were so valuable was their identification with important written sources used by Hamzah Fansuri and Syamsuddin. The dismantling and elimination of the writings of Hamzah and Syamsuddin during the time of al-Raniri in Aceh could be gathered more or less about the external influences on Hamzah and Syamsuddin's thoughts reflected in al-Raniri's writings. Among the works affecting the thoughts of Hamzah and Syamsuddin are: *Fus}u>s} al-H}ikam*, the work of Muhyi al-Din ibn 'Arabi, *Syarh} al-Miska>t al-Futuh}a>t* work' Abd al-Karim al-Jili, and the writings of Muhammad Fadl Allah al-Burhanpuri. In addition, al-Raniri also methodologically told some of the core statements made in their sources, and showed how Hamzah and Syamsuddin misdirected these sources. Al-Raniri's response itself was based on his opinion that his predecessors had disrupted the problem of diversity in unity by reducing monism which saw all existence as God, and something that appeared to be God.

It is important to note, that al-Raniri actually did not clearly oppose all forms of wah doctrinal interpretation *wah}dat al-wuju>d..* He distinguishes this doctrine into two types. The first, is *wujudiyah mulh}id,,* which is an atheistic entity which in his view is a genuine Sufism *bathil*. The second, is *wujudiyah muwah}h}id*, a unitrianistic entity which according to him is a good and true Sufism. In some of his works, al-Raniri frankly accused the *wujudiyah mulh}id* of being shirked. Furthermore, al-Raniri also suggested to the Sultan that the followers of *Wujudiyah* Sufism be punished and his books burnt. (Tudjimah n.d.). Al-Raniri remained in the circle of power for about seven years when the followers of the *wujudiyah mulh}id* received various forms of punishment weight. He was able to maintain the support of the Aceh Palace until 1054 H / 1644, and returned to his hometown in Ranir, suddenly.

Quoting Drewes, Azyumardi said that al-Raniri's radical reaction to al-Fansuri's teachings and al-Sumaterani and his followers was not limited to the problem of orthodox reaction to unorthodox philosophical sufism. Moreover, the *Wujudiyah* doctrine received reactions from many scholars in the Middle East in a more rigorous manner so that it was more in line with the Shari'ah view. Al-Raniri's radical tendency was strongly influenced by his affiliates with the 'Aidarusiyah order. The 'Aidarusiyah congregation was supported mainly by 'Aidarus' scholars who were generally very oriented towards the Shari'ah. This tarekat, with its strong Arab roots, is known as one of the most orthodox orders. This tarekat insists on the harmony between the teachings and practices of Sufism and total submission to the Shari'ah. In addition, this tarekat is also known for its non-ascetic attitude and activists.

Considering the intellectual and spiritual environment of al-Raniri, he can be said to be an orthodox Sufi. He strongly emphasized the importance of the Shari'ah in Sufic practices. In the context of this goal, al-Raniri wrote a book of religious jurisprudence entitled *S}ira>t} al-Mustaqi>m* in Malay. This is the first complete fiqh devotional book in Malay so that it becomes a kind of grip and standard in various basic obligations of Muslims. (Azyumardi Azra 1999). Although it only explains simple fiqh, this book has an important contribution for Indonesian Malay Muslims, especially in an atmosphere syncretic tendencies of philosophical sufism that flourish. Indeed, the concept of Shari'ah or fiqh is to some extent known and practiced by Muslims in this region. However, until the release of the al-Raniri book there was no single language-language work that could become a reference.

Al-Raniri plays an important role not only in explaining the main points of Islamic faith and worship to Indonesian Malay Muslims, but also in expressing the truth of Islam in a comparative perspective. He was the first person in the archipelago to present various differences between correct interpretation and understanding of Sufism's teachings and practices. In his work entitled *al-T}ibya>n fi> Ma'rifat al-Adya>n,,* for example, al-Raniri

mentions 72 Muslim groups which according to him have been shirk or out of the true Sunni tradition. As can be guessed, he included the followers of Hamzah Fansuri and Syamsuddin al-Sumaterani among the "heretical" groups. In the book *Hujjat al-Siddiq li Daf' al-Zindiq*, al-Raniri groups *wujudiyah mulhid* with Jews and Christians, who eliminate Jewish teachings and Christian teachings by stating "such words and teachings are a rejection of the truth". (Peter Riddell 2001)

Another cleric who dominated the Aceh Sultanate during the last half of the seventeenth century was 'Abd al-Rauf bin 'Ali al-Fansuri al-Singkili (1024-1105 H / 1615-93), better known as 'Abdur Rauf Singkel or al-Singkili. He is one of the ulama figures who continues to connect Islam in the Malay-Indonesian Archipelago with Islam in the Middle East. The essence of al-Singkili's teachings is the harmony between the Shari'ah and the mystical aspects of Islam. Sufism must join hands with the Shari'ah. He believed that only with complete obedience to the Shari'ah, the adherents of the Sufistic path could gain true experience of *haqiqat*.

In connection with Sufism, al-Singkili in his book *Kifayat al-Muhtajin ila Masyrab al-Muwahhidin al-Qa'ilin bi al-Wahdat al-Wujud*, emphasizing God's transcendence towards His creatures. He rejected the *wujudiyah* idea which emphasized the immanent side of God in his creatures. Al-Singkili clung to his view, that before God created nature, He always thought of Himself which gave rise to the creation of Nur Muhammad (Light of Muhammad). From this Nur Muhammad, God then creates a permanent basic pattern (*al-A'yan al-Tsabitah*), namely the potential of nature which is the source of the outer basic pattern (*al-A'yan al-Kharijiyah*), namely creation in its concrete form. Al-Singkili concluded, even though "outer archetypes" are emanations of Absolute Being, they are different from God itself. The relationship between the two is like a body with its shadow. Although the body cannot be separated from its shadow, the shadow itself is not identical to the body. Thus al-Singkili affirms the transcendence of His creation.

It should be explained here, that al-Singkili is different from al-Raniri in establishing harmony between *haqiqat* and shari'at. Al-Raniri tends to be radical in dealing with the teachings and doctrines of Wujudiyah Hamzah Fansuri and Syamsuddin al-Sumaterani. On the contrary, al-Singkili is a type of scholar who is moderate, reconciled, and steers clear of radical attitudes. Therefore, he prefers to reconcile different views rather than fight them. This can be seen in his views on wujudiyah which are more implied than express. Likewise the attitude of his dislike of al-Raniri's radical attitude in a way that is not too explicit. Without mentioning the name al-Raniri, al-Singkili wisely reminds Muslims in his book, *Daqa'iq al-Huruuf*, it would be dangerous to accuse other people of infidelity by mentioning a Hadith of the Prophet Muhammad, which states that, "May not a Muslim accuses other Muslims of being infidels, because the accusation can turn to him if it is not true." (Azyumardi Azra 1999)

The same style of Sufism, essentially, was taught by the third leading ulama in the Malay-Indonesian world in the 17th century. He is Muhammad Yusuf bin Abdullah Abu Mahasin Taj Khalwati al-Maqassari (1037-1111 AH / 1627-99) who was born in Gowa, South Sulawesi. In his time, he was known in five countries: Makassar, Middle East, Banten, Sri Lanka, and South Africa. In this latter country Muhammad Yusuf al-Maqassari is considered the father of communities in South Africa in his struggle to oppose politics of color discoloration (*apartheid*). (Abu Hamid 1994). Islamic historians in South Africa claim Muhammad Yusuf as a developer or spreader Islam in this region.

Al-Maqassari, in relation to his career and teachings, was one of the most important *mujaddids* in the history of Islam in the archipelago. His life experience shows that Sufism does

not keep him away from worldly affairs. All expressions of al-Maqassari's teachings and practices show wide-reaching activism. This is different from the tendency of practicing Sufi teachings which shows a strong tendency to circumvent worldly life. Like al-Raniri and al-Sinkili, in developing and explaining the teachings of Sufism, al-Maqassari often quoted the teachings of al-Ghazali, Junayd al-Baghdadi and Ibn 'Atha' Allah, besides Abu Yazid al-Bisthami, Abdul Karim al-Jili, Abu Manshur al-Hallaj, Muhammad Fadlullah al-Burhanpuri. (Abdullah 1980)

The teachings of Sufism al-Maqassari, like al-Sinkili, emphasize the transcendence of God over His creatures; there is nothing that can be compared with God. Nevertheless, al-Maqassari believed that God also included and shared with His creatures. He was very careful not to involve himself in the pantheistic-Sufism teachings which held that God was present or revealed Himself in beings even though beings were not identical with God. All beings are *maja* beings *maja>zi*, not true beings. Thus, he believed that beings were only images of God not God himself. According to al-Maqassari, "the expression" God in His creations is not the presence of "physical" God in them.

By holding the concept *al-ahatlah* (God covers everything) and *al-ma'iyah* (God is everywhere), according to al-Maqassari, God descends (*tanazzul*) while humans rise (*taraqqi*), a spiritual process bring both of them closer. According to him, the process will not take its form in the final unity between man and God. Both of them only become close to the relationship, and in the end, humans are still humans and God remains God. Here it appears that al-Maqassari rejected the concept of *wahdat al-wujud* ("form unity" or ontological monism), which was developed by Ibn 'Arabi, and *hjulul* ('inkarnasi Ilahi')-of Manshur al-Hallaj. For him, God cannot be compared to anything (*laysa kamitslihi syai'* - Q.S: al-Syura, 11). On the contrary, he takes the concept *wahdat al-syuhu* ("unitary consciousness" or phenomenological monism), which developed by Ahmad Sirhindi and Syah Waliyullah. (Azyumardi Azra 1999)

Al-Maqassari allowed Sufism for the typical people  *khas } al-kha>was* only, those who were elected on the basis of the complete knowledge of the Shari'ah and Sufism. He calls sufism with *T}ari>qat al-Muh}ammadiyah* or *T}ari>qat al-Ah}madiyah* *madiyah* which is *S}ira>t} al-Mustaqi>m*. In the total of 29 pieces, he explained that the Sufistic path can only be reached with total commitment to the teachings of Islamic law, both physically and mentally. In his opinion, a person's commitment to Islamic law is better than practicing sufism by ignoring the Shari'ah. Against people who believe that they will be able to draw closer to God without practicing worship and rituals that are *syar'i* in nature, al-Maqassari classifies them to *zindiq* and *mulhid*. Thus, he is one of the leaders who pioneered the harmonization of Sufism and Shari'a as initiated by his predecessors, al-Raniri and al-Sinkili in the 17th century in the Malay-Indonesian region.

### Harmonization of Sufism and Shari'ah

The religious tendency towards harmonization of Sufism and Shari'ah above continues and has begun to gain momentum since the 18th century. According to Drewes, since this century local religious literature has shown the supremacy of Sufi Sufism. Towards the end of the eighteenth century, for example, in Palembang local religious literature no longer included the works of Hamzah al-Fansuri or Syamsuddin al-Sumaterani, as well as other works considered "deviant" or even containing the teachings of "shirk". On the contrary, the works of al-Raniri or al-Sinkili circulated widely.

A number of ulama in Palembang such as Syihabuddin bin Abdullah Muhammad spread Sufism which was more oriented towards Shari'ah as taught by Junayd al-Baghdadi, al-Qusyairi, and al-Ghazali. His concern for mystical-philosophical teachings that could mislead Muslims, then Syihabuddin forbade, even forbid, Muslims to read works about dignity seven "*martabat tujuh*". He assumed that they would misunderstand him because he did not have a strong foundation in Islamic knowledge, especially the Shari'ah. The same thing happened to Kemas Fakhrudin (1133-77H / 1716-63), another Palembang ulama, whose works mostly talked about al-Ghazali's sufism.

The most prominent and most influential among the scholars in Palembang were Sayyid 'Abd al-Shamad bin' Abdullah ('Abdurrahman) al-Jawi al-Palimbani (d. 1203 H / 1789). Al-Palimbani is a keturunan Hadrami who was born in Palembang. He got his tertiary education in Haramayn, where he finally settled. Nevertheless, he has a great attention to the development of Islam and Muslims in the archipelago. One proof is that his writings were mostly in Malay and were widespread in the archipelago.

Al-Palimbani, in particular, was an expert in al-Ghazali's field of sufism. In Haramayn, he was very prominent in the book of *Ihya' 'Ulu>m al-Di>n* by al-Ghazali. Al-Palimbani's two important works are *Hida>yat al-Sa>li>ki>n* and *Sa>ir al-Sa>li>ki>n*, which, according to Azyumardi Azra, is an adaptation of al-Ghazali's writings. *Kitab Hida>yat al-Sa>li>ki>n* comes from the book *Bida>yat al-Hida>yat, Minha>j al-'A<bidi>n, Ihya' Ulum al-Din, and Arba'>i>na fi> Us>jul al-Di>n*, all of which are Sufism books by al-Ghazali. (29) In addition, this book also refers to other books, such as *Yawa>qi>tu wa al-Jawa>hir* Abd al-Wahhab al-Sya'rani, *Syarh} al-H}ikam* the words of Shaykh Ibn 'Abbad, and *al-Durruts al-Durruts al-Tsami>n* the work of Sayyid' Abd al-Qadir al-Alaydarus. (Abdullah 1980)

Among al-Palimbani's Sufism thoughts, is about the division of Sufism into three levels. (I) Mubtadi level (Sufism) *mubtadi'* Sufism, namely Sufism which is run by beginners. They have not been pure from the nature of *maksiyat*, *riya'*, *'ujub*, *ghadzab* and so on. (II) Mutawassitic level of Sufism}, namely the middle level people who run the tarekat. They have been pure in heart from being immoral in the above. (III) Sufism in the level of *muntahi*, ie people who have reached a high level in tarekat science. They have been pure in heart, from immorality, the inner and sacred, and their hearts from those other than Allah. This is what 'wise' people say that has come to *ma'rifat* Allah Ta'ala. (Martin van Bruinessen 1995b)

For the practicing beginners (*mubtadi'*), al-Palimbani recommends that the books of Sufism be studied. Among the standard books which are seen as representing traditions which are usually referred to as tasawuf akhlaqi are *Qut al-Qulu>b*, the work of Abu Talib al-Makki, Minutes of the *Risalah Qusyairiyah* by Abu al-Qasim 'Abd al-Karim bin Hawazin al-Qusyairi,' *'Awa>rif al-Ma'a>rif* by 'Umar al-Suhrawardi and popular works of al-Ghazali (all 50 titles). In the middle stage (*mutawassit*), he advocated the book of hizib (prayer from the tradition of North African Sufism) and so on (30 titles), such as Abu Madyan, Abu al-Hasan al-Syadzili, Ibn 'Athallah, and so on. Meanwhile, for people who have reached the highest stage (*muntahi*), he calls the books *wah}dat al-wuju>d* (20 titles).

What is interesting from al-Palimbani's thinking is his attitude towards Sufistic-philosophical doctrines and teachings. Indeed al-Palimbani is an "interpreter" of experts on al-Ghazali's thoughts with his tasawuf akhlaqi / syar'i / sunni. However, this does not mean that al-Palimbani opposes philosophical Sufism, such as understanding *wah}dat al-wuju>d*. al-Palimbani actually advocated the *muntahi* to study the books of Ibn 'Arabi and his students. In addition, *al-Insa>n al-Ka>mil*-of 'Abd al-Karim al-Jili and *al-Tuhfat al-Mursalat ila> Ru>h} al-Nabi>y* written by Muhammad bin Fadlullah Burhanpuri and sharah-syarah need to be read

by the *muntahi*. Al-Palimbani also mentions two works of Syamsuddin al-Sumaterani as useful reading for those who have achieved the dignity of *muntahi* in the way of Sufism. For him, the works of the scholars are very important for people who want to achieve a more complete understanding of Islam. It's just that al-Palimbani did not recommend these works for those at the middle level (*mutawassit*), especially at the beginner level (*muftadi*). For these two levels, al-Palimbani advised them to read Sufism works oriented to fiqh or shari'ah. Because al-Palimbani's reading is all-round, Bruinessen calls al-Palimbani the most educated figure of Sufism in history.

It is important to note, as al-Raniri, al-Palimbani divides the *wujudiyah* teachings into two types, namely *wujudiyah mulh* and *wujudiyah muwah*. The followers of Wujudiyah belong to the first group, which he calls *pseudosufi* (those who agree with him). Other *pseudosufi* groups, according to al-Palimbani are followers of *hulu* (teachings about the incarnation of God). On the contrary, al-Palimbani called the followers of Wujudiyah *muwah* as true Sufis. They are called Wujudiyah *muwah* because "belief" and intellectual disposition are centered on the absolute oneness of God. Thus, for al-Palimbani, true Sufis put more emphasis on God's transcendence than His immanence. They accept the idea that God is to some extent immanent in beings, but it is forbidden for them to hear any statement that says that God is identical with beings. (Azyumardi Azra 2002)

The tendency to teach more orthodox sufism, or sufism that is practiced according to the Shari'ah is also carried out by Salih bin 'Umar al-Samarani or better known as Kyai Saleh Darat (1820-1903) (Huda 2003). He is an alumni of Haramain who productive. According to information, the books written by Kyai Saleh Darat reached dozens of books. In fact, according to Saifuddin Zuhri, books written by Kyai Saleh Darat are more than 90 books, including written in Arabic, but most of them are written in Javanese. Bas(Saifuddi Zuhri 1981)ed on the data collected, the books of Kyai Saleh The land that can be tracked reaches twelve books, (H.M. Danuwijoto n.d.) which include kalam knowledge, jurisprudence, interpretation, and Sufism. He was the "spokesman" of al-Ghazali's thoughts on Java at the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Al-Ghazali's influence on Kyai Saleh Darat was not only in his response to philosophers, but also in the field of Sufism. As al-Ghazali, Kyai Saleh Darat seeks to harmonize the relationship between the Shari'ah and Sufism while the parties are always disputed. For Kyai Saleh Darat, between the knowledge of the Shari'ah, tarekat and the science of essence are interrelated. The three are the phases that one must pass in reaching the level of conception.

Kyai Saleh Darat, then explained that the science of shari'at was likened to a ship sailing. In order for the ship to not sink or sink, the passengers inside must maintain and maintain the condition of the ship and its contents. While tarekat is likened to a vast ocean. People who want to cross the vast ocean must use a ship. Thus, someone who wants to undergo tarekat science must carry out the Shari'ah knowledge as well as possible. The science of essence is likened to diamond gems in the vast ocean floor. To take diamond gems that are at the bottom of the ocean must be done by diving. When diving to the bottom of the ocean to get the diamonds, the ship is left in its entirety. When diving or at the bottom of the ocean, don't think about the ocean itself. However, what must be considered is the diamonds of gems that are on the ocean floor so that they can be achieved properly. (al-Syaikh Haji Muhammad Shaleh bin 'Umar al-Samarani n.d.)

That is what is meant by the relationship between the science of shari'ah, the science of tarekat and the science of essence. If all three are associated with the command to worship,

then it is compulsory for us to intend to pray before the prayer time arrives. After the prayer time arrives, then we are obliged to do the *bi al-fi'li* prayer (with the pillars that have been determined) along with the tarekat law. When you have *takbirat al-ihram*, you must "leave" the prayer with the law of essence. That is, we must leave the feeling that we are doing prayer, but concentrate our mind that we are on the side of Allah. Thus, prayer can be carried out specifically 'so that it can be achieved what is the purpose of the prayer service. So, the science of Shari'ah is the act of a physical body, the science of tarekat is an inner act of the heart and the science of essence is the act of spirit Rabbani "*ruh rabbani*," which is called *sirr*. Therefore, Kyai Saleh Darat strongly opposed a tarekat teacher who left the science of shari'ah, such as abandoning his obligation to pray or other syar'i obligations because he felt he had reached the degree of essence or *ma'rifat*. The tarekat teachers who argue that they are not obliged to work on the science of shari'a if they already know the nature of essence, according to Kyai Saleh Darat, have been considered kufr and more despicable than an infidel of the Majus.

The relationship between the three sciences must be revealed by Kyai Saleh Darat so that those who take the path of Sufism (*shalik*) get lost. In order for people who practice tasawuf to avoid this misunderstanding, the Kyai Saleh Darat has warned:

"Lan poma-poma just freaked out and cheated the cleric ilmune wongkang padha claiming the essence of the science of sartane padha to stay praying lan padha staying pira-pira fardlu lan padha nglakoni maksiyat is really exciting ', then let the devil rupee stare ..."

That is, so that we are always aware of people who claim to have the science of essence (*pseudosufi*) but do not do the prayer or leave other religious obligations or, even, that do evil according to shari'a rules though. Such people are a form of devil who appears.

In addition, to avoid lay Muslims mired in mysticism that deviates from the guidance of Islam, the Kyai Saleh Darat forbids ordinary people and has not yet studied Shari'ah and the science of essence studies the books of Sufism, such as the suluk of the saints Javanese who teach that leaving prayer is "obligatory" because ordinary people do not know the true intentions of the teachings. The obligation to leave the prayer meant by that teaching is that we do not ever feel that we are doing prayer and performing prayer movements, but all of that is solely because of God's will.

Kyai Saleh Darat also forbids ordinary people to learn about wahdat al-wujud and ilm al-martabat, such as studying the book of *wahdat al-wujud* and *ilm al-martabat*, and *Tuhfat al-Mursalat* the book of Insan al-Kamil and other similar books. In fact, Kyai Saleh Darat stressed that the layman would be better off stealing or committing adultery than knowing or learning a science that is "not upright in reason". The layman is "only" obliged to know and work on orders and stay away from religious prohibitions and must not follow his knowledge of the *khawash al-mu'minin*, namely the believer of choice whose mind is sharp and can think deeply.

The statement of the Saleh Darat Kyai, contextually, can be seen as a form of criticism of Sufi practitioners who are more philosophical. This condition is very possible in Javanese society where mystical-philosophical thinking is still deeply rooted in areas where Islam is not so dominant. This can also be seen as a form of caution of Kyai Saleh Darat towards Sufism. A good teaching, such as Sufism, will be able to mislead someone if it is not well understood and comprehensive.



## **Conclusion**

Some of the descriptions above show that opposition to Sufism in the Malay-Indonesian Archipelago until the 19th century generally focused on a branch of Sufism that was more philosophical. On the contrary, there is no opposition to Sufism that is practiced according to the Shari'ah. Since the 18th century and beyond, harmonization between Sufism and the Shari'ah has gained momentum, so that it has become supremacy among Muslims. This condition continues to be maintained until contemporary times, where the practices of Sufism continue to co-exist with syar'i rituals.

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CONTINUITY AND CHANGE OF THE ISLAMIC INTELLECTUAL DISCOURSE  
IN INDONESIA MALAY WORLD

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