

**FATWA SHEIKH AḤMAD KHAṬĪB
AL-MINANGKABĀWĪ (DS 0003 00018):
A Jāwī Ulama's Response to The Heterodoxy of
Sufism**

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Abstract: *This article discusses the fatwa of a Jāwī or Malay-Indonesian archipelago ulama who taught in Mecca in the early twentieth century, Sheikh Ahmad Khatib Minangkabau (1860-1916). He was issuing a fatwa on heterodox Sufism in the archipelago. His fatwa is written in a manuscript from Ogan Komering Ilir entitled Fatwa Sheikh Aḥmad Khaṭīb al-Minangkabāwī (DS 0003 00018). The manuscript has been digitised by DREAMSEA in 2019. This manuscript was probably written when he became a lecturer in Mecca between 1887-1914. It contains questions and answers about the existence of the name Muhammad and rūḥ al-Quds (holy spirit) in the human heart that commands the body. Using a social history approach, this study shows that the Fatwa manuscript shows the response of Jāwī ulama, who was increasingly influenced by the teachings of Islamic reformism. Ahmad Khatib stated that the spirit of Muhammad and rūḥ al-Quds couldn't exist in the body. For him, Muhammad is a human being, and the holy spirit is Gabriel, an angel. He stated that whoever believes that both Muhammad and Gabriel are in their body is wrong and misguided, and if they think that they are eternal, then they are a disbeliever. Ahmad Khatib's fatwa indicates an attempt to purge the heterodoxy of Sufism continually by Sunnī ulama in the early twentieth century.*

المخلص: يناقش هذا المقال حول فتوى العالم الجاوي (الملايو-نوسانتارا) الذي كان مدرساً في مكة في بداية القرن العشرين، وهو الشيخ أحمد خطيب المنكباوي (١٨٦٠-١٩١٦)، فيما يتعلق بتعاليم الصوفية البدعية في الأرخبيل. كانت الفتوى موجودة في مخطوطة بعنوان

”فتوى الشيخ أحمد خطيب المنكباوي ”من أوغان كومرينج إير في سومترة وتمت رقمنتها بواسطة SD AESMAERD ٣٠٠٠ ٨١٠٠٠, ومن المرجح أن هذه المخطوطة كتبت عندما كان أحمد خطيب مدرساً في المسجد الحرام بين عامي ٧٨٨١-٤١٩١ تحتوي أسئلة وأجوبة تتعلق بوجود اسم محمد وروح القدس في قلب الإنسان الذي يعطي الأوامر للجسد. ومن خلال منهج التاريخ الاجتماعي، تبين هذه الدراسة أن المخطوط الفتوى يظهر استجابة العالم الجاوي الذي يتأثر بشكل متزايد بتعاليم الإصلاحية الإسلامية. وذكر أحمد الخطيب أنه من المستحيل أن يكون روح محمد والروح القدس موجودين في الجسد. فمحمد عنده البشر وروح القدس هو الملك جبريل. وذكر أن من اعتقد وجودهما في الجسد فهو مخطئ ومضل، وإن اعتقد أنهما قديمان فهو كافر. وتُظهر الفتوى استمرار الجهود الرامية إلى تطهير الصوفية من البدع بين علماء أهل السنة في القرن العشرين.

Abstrak: *Artikel ini membahas tentang fatwa ulama Jāwī (Melayu-Nusantara) yang menjadi pengajar di Mekah pada awal abad ke-20, Syekh Ahmad Khatib Minangkabau (1860-1916), tentang ajaran tasawuf heterodoks di Nusantara. Fatwanya dimuat dalam naskah berjudul Fatwa Syekh Ahmad Khaṭīb al-Minangkabāwī (DS 0003 00018) dari Ogan Komering Ilir dan sudah didigitalisasi oleh DREAMSEA. Naskah ini kemungkinan ditulis saat ia menjadi pengajar di Masjidil Haram antara 1887-1914. Isinya memuat tentang tanya jawab seputar keberadaan nama Muhammad dan rūḥ al-quḍs dalam hati manusia yang memerintahkan pada badan. Melalui pendekatan sejarah sosial, kajian ini menunjukkan bahwa naskah Fatwa memperlihatkan respons ulama Jāwī yang semakin dipengaruhi ajaran reformisme Islam. Ahmad Khatib menyatakan bahwa mustahil terdapat ruh Muhammad dan ruhul quḍus dalam tubuh. Baginya, Muhammad itu manusia dan rūḥ al-quḍs adalah malaikat Jibril. Ia menyatakan bahwa siapa yang meyakini keduanya ada dalam tubuh, maka salah dan sesat, bahkan jika meyakini sebagai kadim (terdahulu), maka ia kafir. Fatwanya menunjukkan kelanjutan upaya pembersihan heterodoksi tasawuf di kalangan ulama Sunnī abad ke-20.*

Keywords: fatwa, spirit, Sufism, Malay-Indonesia archipelago, Mecca.

INTRODUCTION

Malay-Indonesia archipelago has long been known to have a close relationship with *Haramain* (Mecca-Medina). The closeness is not only based on the position of the two holy cities as places of pilgrimage and sources of seeking knowledge but also on political legitimacy and religious fatwas.¹ The ulama of Mecca and Medina were considered to have great authority in the religious field. They were believed to be able to answer spiritual problems in the Malay-Indonesia archipelago.

One of the manuscripts that records the fatwa requests of Malay-Indonesian Muslims to Meccan ulama is the manuscript of *Fatwa Sheikh Ahmad Khaṭīb al-Minangkabāwī* (DS 0003 00018).² This is a collection of Ibrahim from Ogan Komering Ilir, South Sumatra, digitised by the Digital Repository of Endangered and Affected Manuscripts in Southeast Asia (DREAMSEA) project in 2019. This manuscript contains questions and answers written by Ahmad Khatib ibn ‘Abd al-Laṭīf Minangkabau (1860-1916), a *Jāwī* or Malay-Indonesian ulama who became a teacher, *imām* and *khaṭīb* (preacher in the Grand Mosque) in Mecca between 1887-1914. He was the second line of reformist ulama after Muhammad ‘Abduh, who spread the issue of Islamic reform from Egypt to Mecca.³ Although he never served as mufti of Islamic law school, as held by Sheikh Ahmad Zainī Daḥlān (1816-1886), Ahmad Khatib received many fatwa requests in the form of questions related to religious issues in the Malay-Indonesia archipelago. It is unclear who applied for a fatwa to Ahmad Khatib in the manuscript. The question was about the *Jāwī* people who believe that there is the name of Muhammad and *rūḥ al-Quds* (holy spirit) in their hearts. Ahmad Khatib responded to the inquiry with harsh words.

¹ Martin van Bruinessen, ‘Mencari Ilmu Dan Pahala Di Tanah Suci, Orang Nusantara Naik Haji’, in Indonesia Dan Haji, ed. by Dick Douwes, Soedarso Soekarno, and Theresia Slamet, 1997; Nico Kaptein, ‘Meccan Fatwas from the End of the Nineteenth Century on Indonesian Affairs’, *Studia Islamika*, 2.4 (1995), 141–59 <https://doi.org/http://dx.doi.org/10.15408/sdi.v2i4.824>.

² Ahmad Khatib al-Minangkabāwī, *Fatwa Syekh Ahmad Khaṭīb Al-Minangkabāwī*. DS 0003 00018. (Digital Repository of Endangered and Affected Manuscripts in Southeast Asia (DREAMSEA). <https://w3id.org/vhml/readingRoom/view/537689> (accessed 27/03/2022).

³ Jajat Burhanudin, ‘The Triumph of the Second Leaders: Ahmad Khatib and Rashid Rida in Islamic Reform in Indonesia’, *Afkaruna*, 17.2 (2021), 170. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.18196/afkaruna.v17i2.12554>.

According to Laffan, Ahmad Khatib was known as a prominent *Jāwī* scholar whose star shone in Mecca and often gave fatwas and engaged in polemics with other ulamas, as seen in the case of Friday prayers and Sufi orders or *tarekat* (*tarīqa*) in Minangkabau, West Sumatera.⁴ He was one of the ulama who most strongly condemned the practices of the Sufi order of Naqshabandiyya.⁵ Several writings have also described his response to the teachings of Sufism, such as the seven grades of being (*martabat tujuh*) and the Sufi order of Ahmadiyya in his books (*kitābs*) and his polemic with Sayyid ‘Uthman on the issue of Friday prayers.⁶ Other scholars have also discussed Ahmad Khatib’s criticism of the division of inheritance based on the matrilineal customs of his tribe.⁷ However, the fatwa that Ahmad Khatib conveyed in the Fatwa manuscript on the teachings of Sufism has not been widely studied. He mentioned that many questions he posed were scattered and poorly monitored.⁸ Hence, the manuscript of *Fatwa* is one of the documentations of his scattered fatwas.

This study discusses Ahmad Khatib’s response in his *Fatwa* manuscript to the teachings of Sufism, which he considered deviant and condemned as heretical because it could lead to disbelief. The significance of the study on the *Fatwa* manuscript is based on several arguments: First, Malay-Indonesian ulamas in Mecca, at least since the nineteenth century, have increasingly shown an essential role in

⁴ Michael Laffan, *The Makings of Indonesian Islam: Orientalism and the Narration of a Sufi Past* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2011), 189; Karel A. Steenbrink, *Beberapa Aspek Tentang Islam Di Indonesia Abad Ke-19* (Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, 1984).

⁵ Martin van Bruinessen, *Tarekat Naqsyabandiyah Di Indonesia: Survei Historis, Geografis Dan Sosiologis* (Bandung: Mizan, 1992), 111.

⁶ Ahmad Fauzi Ilyas, ‘Syekh Ahmad Khatib Minangkabau Dan Polemik Tarekat Naqsyabandiyah Di Nusantara’, *Journal of Contemporary Islam and Muslim Societies*, 1.1 (2017), 86–112. <https://doi.org/http://dx.doi.org/10.30821/jcims.v1i1.1008>; Ahmad Fauzi Ilyas, ‘Polemik Sayyid Usman Betawi Dan Syekh Ahmad Khatib Minangkabau Tentang Salat Jumat’, *Journal of Contemporary Islam and Muslim Societies*, 2.2 (2018), 239–63. <https://doi.org/http://dx.doi.org/10.30821/jcims.v2i2.3194>; Ahmad Fauzi Ilyas, *Syaikh Ahmad Khatib Minangkabau Dan Islam Di Nusantara: Sebuah Biografi Intelektual (1860-1916)* (Yogyakarta: Selfitera Indonesia, 2023).

⁷ Mohammad Ahsin, ‘Studi Pemikiran Syekh Ahmad Khatib Al-Minangkabāwī Tentang Pembagian Harta Warisan Di Minangkabau Dalam Kitab Al-Dā’ī Al-Masmū’ (UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta, 2020).

⁸ Ahmad Khatib al-Minkabāwī, *Al-Qawl Al-Taḥīf Fī Tarjamah Tārīkh Ḥayāh Al-Shaykh Aḥmad Al-Khaṭīb Bin ‘Abd Al-Laṭīf* (MS Makkah al-Mukarramah, No. 116), 84.

responding to the religious discourse faced by the Malay-Indonesian people. It is not only seen in the response of Sheikh Mukhtār ‘Aṭārid Bogor as a great teacher at the Grand Mosque (*Masjid al-Ḥarām*) who responded to several religious issues such as the prohibition of eels but also appeared in Ahmad Khatib’s *kitābs*. The *Fatwa* manuscript shows his essential position as a fatwa giver (*muftī*) who was heavily relied upon by the *Jāwī* colony in Mecca in answering religious issues in the archipelago. He responded strongly to the heterodoxy of Sufism that was considered incorrect. He instead sided with the orthodoxy of Sufism that was believed to be correct by the majority of Sunnī ulamas.⁹

Secondly, the *Fatwa* manuscript shows the atmosphere of religious life in Mecca in the early twentieth century, which was increasingly marked by various controversial issues. This may have been influenced by the development of the ideas of reformism and modernism brought by Egyptian ulama such as Muhammad ‘Abduh (1849-1905) and Rashīd Riḍā’ (1865-1935), which influenced religious discourse not only in the Middle East but also in the Malay-Indonesia archipelago.¹⁰ Many Southeast Asian Muslims also submitted fatwas to Rashīd Riḍā’ in *al-Manār* magazine.¹¹ The *Fatwa* manuscript shows how the *Jāwī* ulama in Mecca tried to strengthen the Islamic reform efforts. Ahmad Khatib had close ties with Egypt, as his teachers came from Egypt, and his students and children studied in that city. Ahmad Khatib’s name was also mentioned in *Al-Manār* magazine.¹² Hence, he tended to be open to the idea of Islamic modernism, responding to questions from the Malay-Indonesian people based on efforts to cleanse elements of Sufism and its orders from deviation. Laffan has shown how Ahmad Khatib’s fatwa caused a storm among the followers of the Sufi orders of Naqshabandiyya Khālidīyya in Minangkabau. He asserted an attack

⁹ Oman Fathurahman, ‘Sejarah Pengkafiran Dan Marginalisasi Paham Keagamaan Di Melayu Dan Jawa,’ *Analisis*, *Analisis*, 11.2 (2011), 448. <https://doi.org/http://dx.doi.org/10.24042/ajsk.v11i2.624>.

¹⁰ Azyumardi Azra, ‘The Transmission of Al-Manār’s Reformism to the Malay-Indonesian World: The Cases of Al-Imam and Al-Munir’, *Studia Islamika*, 6.3 (1999), 75–100. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.15408/sdi.v6i3.723>.

¹¹ Jajat Burhanudin, ‘Aspiring for Islamic Reform: Southeast Asian Request for Fatwās in Al-Manār’, *Islamic Law and Society*, 12 (2005), 10. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1163/1568519053123858>.

¹² Ilyas, Syaikh Ahmad Khatib Minangkabau Dan Islam Di Nusantara: Sebuah Biografi Intelektual (1860-1916), 191.

on the various heresies of the Sufi order teachers in ritual practice. He criticised the shaykh of Sufi orders in Mecca, who collected profits from purchasing licenses (*ijāza*) of Sufi candidates from *Jāwī*.¹³

Thirdly, the *Fatwa* manuscript also shows a shift in the position of Malay-Indonesian ulamas in Mecca, from religious learners and fatwa applicants (*mustafī*) at least from the seventeenth century to fatwa givers (*mufī*) in the early twentieth century. Through this *Fatwa* manuscript, Ahmad Khatib, a Malay-Indonesian ulama who became a teacher in Mecca, delivered a fatwa on the *Jāwī* colony's questions. Ahmad Khatib is known as the teacher of Malay-Indonesian ulamas, such as Hasyim Asy'ari, founder of the Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) and Ahmad Dahlan, founder of the Muhammadiyah. He showed his critical power on various issues that were raised to him until the end of his life.¹⁴ Therefore, this study is essential to explain his role as a controversial scholar during his career as a teacher in Mecca.

This study uses a social history approach to show the socio-intellectual factors that influence the occurrence of historical events in which the (manuscript) text contributes to historical explanation.¹⁵ The text of Ahmad Khatib's *Fatwa* manuscript as the primary data source is believed to have an essential role in explaining the intersection of the reformist *Jāwī* ulama in Mecca with the issue of the heterodoxy of Sufism and Sufi orders in the archipelago in the early twentieth century. A philological study of the *Fatwa* manuscript was conducted by compiling a critical edition and translation before providing an analysis. The analysis was performed using an intellectual, social history approach to understand the historical context and various factors that influenced the emergence of Ahmad Khatib's fatwa.

Although manuscripts on Sufism and Sufi orders in various languages and scripts are found in several manuscript catalogues and printed books, for instance, stored in the National Library of Jakarta, Leiden, and Japan,¹⁶ manuscripts of the fatwa on heterodoxy of Sufism

¹³ Laffan, *The Makings*, 206-207; Bruinessen, *Tarekat Naqsyabandiyah Di Indonesia: Survei Historis, Geografis Dan Sosiologis*, 111.

¹⁴ Khatib al-Minkabāwī, *Al-Qawl Al-Taḥīf Fi Tarjamah Tārīkh Ḥayāh Al-Shaykh Aḥmad Al-Khaṭīb Bin 'Abd Al-Laṭīf*.

¹⁵ Avram MacRaild, Donald M. and Taylor, *Social Theory and Social History* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2004), 119.

¹⁶ T.E. Behrend, *Katalog Induk Naskah-Naskah Nusantara Jilid 4 Perpustakaan Nasional Republik Indonesia* (Jakarta: YOI-EFEO, 1998); Jan Just Witkam, *Inventory*

in the Malay-Indonesia archipelago, as in the *Fatwa* manuscript, have not been found in many ancient manuscript catalogues. Many works on Ahmad Khatib's polemical fatwas have been published and printed in Mecca, Egypt, and Indonesia. However, it does not contain the *Fatwa* manuscript of this Ogan Komering Ilir collection. It can be seen from the manuscript Cod. Or. 7088 kept in Leiden, the Netherlands, which contains Ahmad Khatib's fatwa on the prohibition of selling chickens to the Chinese, which is very different from this *Fatwa* manuscript.¹⁷

ON SHAYKH AHMAD KHATIB MINANGKABAU AND HIS WORKS

Many scholars explain the life and works of Ahmad Khatib. This is, for instance, described by 'Abd al-Jabbār, Steenbrink, and Ahsin.¹⁸ Even Ahmad Khatib has compiled his autobiography in his book, *al-Qawl al-Taḥīf*.¹⁹ However, as seen in his works, not many scholars have reviewed his polemics on Sufism and Sufi orders. Ilyas has discussed Ahmad Khatib's polemics with Shaykh Mukhtār 'Aṭārid Bogor, Shaykh Muhammad Sa'id Mungka and ulamas of Minangkabau and Aceh on the issue of the sufi order of Naqsyabandiyah in Minangkabau in four of his books: *Faṭḥ al-Mubīn*, *Izhār Zaghl al-Kādhibīn*, *al-Āyāt al-Bayyināt and al-Sayf al-Battār*.²⁰ Ilyas has also discussed Ahmad Khatib's refutation of the seven grades teaching in his *al-Shumūs*

of the Oriental Manuscripts of the Library of the University of Leiden, Volume 6 (Cod. Or. 5001-6000) (Leiden: Ter Lugt Press, 2007); Nicholas Heer, *A Concise Handlist of Jāwī Authors and Their Works Version 2.3* (Seattle Washington, 2012); Kawashima Midori et.al., *A Provisional Catalogue of Southeast Asian Kitabs of Sophia University (Second Version)* (Tokyo: Institute of Asian Cultures – Center for Islamic Area Studies, Sophia University, 2015).

¹⁷ Jan Jušt Witkam, *Inventory of the Oriental Manuscripts of the Library of the University of Leiden, Volume 8 (Cod. Or. 7001-8000)* (Leiden: Ter Lugt Press, 2019), 67.

¹⁸ 'Umar 'Abd Al-Jabbār, *Siyar Wa Tarājim Ba'd 'Ulamā'Inā Fī Al-Qarn Al-Rābi'* 'Ashr Li Al-Hijrah (Jeddah: Ṭuhāmah, 1982); Steenbrink; Ahsin.

¹⁹ Khatib al-Minkabāwī, *Al-Qawl Al-Taḥīf Fī Tarjamah Tārīkh Ḥayāh Al-Shaykh Ahmad Al-Khaṭīb Bin 'Abd Al-Laṭīf*; 'Abd al-Wahhāb Ibrāhīm Abu Sulaiman et al., *Fahras Makhtūṭāt Maktabah Makkah Al-Mukarramah* (Riyad: Maktabah al-Malik Fahd al-Waṭaniyyah, 1997).

²⁰ Ilyas, 'Syekh Ahmad Khatib Minangkabau Dan Polemik Tarekat Naqsyabandiyah Di Nusantara'.

al-Lāmi'a fi Radd Bida' Ahl al-Sab'a.²¹ Unfortunately, Ilyas has not discussed how Ahmad Khatib responded in other treatises, such as the Fatwa manuscript that explains the issue of Sufism heterodoxy in the archipelago regarding the spirit of Muhammad (*rūḥ Muḥammad*).

Ahmad Khatib's full name is Ahmad ibn 'Abd al-Laṭīf al-Khaṭīb ibn Kalan al-Minkabāwī al-Makkī al-Shāfi'ī. He was born on Monday (Tuesday?), 6 Dhūlhijja 1276 AH/26 June 1860 in Koto Tua, Minangkabau, West Sumatra.²² He grew up with his parents' upbringing. Ahmad Khatib studied the Qur'ān and religious knowledge with his father since childhood. He then went to the Hijaz to perform the *hajj* and study with his family in 1870. After staying for about five years (1870-1875), he returned to the Malay-Indonesia archipelago and studied with Indonesian ulama. In 1877, Ahmad Khatib went to Mecca for the second time to study. He learned to memorise the Qur'ān from Shaykh 'Abd al-Hādī and studied Islamic knowledge from Shaykh Sayyid 'Umar Shaṭā', Shaykh Sayyid 'Uthmān Shaṭā', Shaykh Sayyid Bakrī Shaṭā' and Shaykh Aḥmad Zaynī Daḥlān. As a result of his studies, Ahmad Khatib could master various knowledge such as mathematics, astronomy, inheritance, etc.

In 1879, Ahmad Khatib married the daughter of Sheikh Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ al-Kurdī, a book printing entrepreneur in Mecca. However, his wife passed away. Ahmad Khatib was then married to his dead wife's brother and had several children: 'Abd al-Ḥamīd Khaṭīb, 'Abd al-Malik Khaṭīb and others.

Ahmad Khatib then taught, became an *imām* and gave sermons at the Grand Mosque during the time of Sharīf 'Awn al-Rafīq (1787-1847), who ruled in Mecca from 1882-1905 under Ottoman Turkish rule. Ahmad Khatib became a teacher and *imām* probably in 1887. Some sources mention the possibility of 1881 when he was 22 years old.²³ This is a very early estimate. This is based on Snouck Hurgronje's account of coming to Mecca in 1885 and not mentioning

²¹ Ilyas, Syaikh Ahmad Khatib Minangkabau Dan Islam Di Nusantara: Sebuah Biografi Intelektual (1860-1916), 370.

²² Zakariyyā bin 'Abdillāh Bīlā, Al-Jawāhir Al-Ḥisān Fī Tarājīm Al-Fuḍalā' Wa Al-A'yān Min Asātidhah Wa Khallān (Mekah: Mu'assasah al-Furqān li al-Turāth al-Islāmī, 2006), 231.

²³ Ilyas, Syaikh Ahmad Khatib Minangkabau Dan Islam Di Nusantara: Sebuah Biografi Intelektual (1860-1916), 79.

Ahmad Khatib in his famous book, *Mecca*.²⁴ Ahmad Khatib's teaching place was in Bāb al-Ziyādah. His students who attended his teaching reached hundreds of people, mainly from Indonesia. His daily life could not be separated from teaching and writing books. Likely, the manuscript of the Ibrahim collection from Ogan Komering Ilir with the code DS 0003 00018 was written when Ahmad Khatib was a teacher at the Grand Mosque from the end of the nineteenth century to the beginning of the twentieth century.

Ahmad Khatib passed away on Monday 9 Jumādī al-ūlā 1334 AH or 13 March 1916 in Mecca. He left behind about 47 *kitābs* mentioned in his autobiography that he wrote in the span of time between 1887-1914: *al-Nafaḥāt Hāshiyah al-Waraqāt*, *al-Jawāhir al-Naqiyah*, *al-Dā'ir al-Masmū'*, *Rawḍah al-Husāb fī A'māl al-Hisāb*, *'Ālam al-Ḥusāb fī 'Ilm al-Hisāb*, *al-Nakhhah al-Bahiyyah*, *al-Riyād al-Wardiyyah*, *al-Manhaj al-Mashrū'*, *Ḍaw' al-Sirāj*, *Sulḥ al-Jamā'atayn fī Jawāz Ta'addud al-Jum'atayn*, *al-Radd 'ala Taftīḥ al-Maqlatayn fī al-Radd 'alā Sulḥ al-Jamā'atayn*, *Nūr al-Sham'ah fī Aḥkām al-Jum'ah*, and many others.²⁵

ON THE MANUSCRIPT *FATWA SHAYKH AḤMAD KHAṬĪB AL-MINANGKABĀWĪ*

This manuscript is in the collection of Ibrahim, who lives in Ogan Komering Ilir, South Sumatra. There is no Ibrahim biography in the note metadata. The manuscript has now been digitised through the DREAMSEA project in 2019. It can be accessed online in the Ogan Komering Ilir manuscript section with the code DS 0003 00018. This manuscript is believed to be the handwriting of Ahmad Khatib. This can be seen from the colophon of the manuscript, which lists the name Aḥmad Khaṭīb bin 'Abd al-Laṭīf Khaṭīb. There is no dating in the text of the manuscript. However, the metadata note of the digitisation team mentions that the manuscript was written between 1925-1935 (*sic!*) while in Mecca. However, the estimated year may be inaccurate because Ahmad Khatib died on March 13, 1916. If the note of metadata

²⁴ C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka in the Latter Part of the 19th Century*, ed. by translated by J.H. Monahan with an introduction by Jan Just Witkam (Leiden: Brill, 2007).

²⁵ Khatib al-Minkabāwī, *Al-Qawl Al-Taḥīf Fī Tarjamah Tārīkh Ḥayāh Al-Shaykh Aḥmad Al-Khaṭīb Bin 'Abd Al-Laṭīf*, 11-13.

is considered correct, this may be a copy of the manuscript his student wrote several years after Ahmad Khatib died. However, based on the form of Arabic script used in some of the other manuscripts, this manuscript is most likely Ahmad Khatib's handwriting. I assume that the year estimate in the metadata is incorrect. For instance, the form of Ahmad Khatib's script can be compared with other writings of Ahmad Khatib. Judging from the period of the authorship of all Ahmad Khatib's works as told in his autobiography, it is likely that this work was written between 1887-1914.

This manuscript DS 0003 00018 consists of only two pages (1r-1v), but only one page contains text; the remaining page contains no (1v). It is written on lined European paper. The paper size is 26 x 20 cm, while the text block size is 16 x 15 cm. The text uses Malay and *Jāwī* alphabets with the *khat riq'ah* form and uses black ink. The number of lines of text is 14 lines. The condition of the manuscript is still good, and the text can be read (see Figure 1).

This *Fatwa* manuscript is only one page of text. Its content is very brief. Ahmad Khatib explains the question that was asked him at the beginning. A *Jāwī* probably asked this question in Mecca. This cannot be separated from Ahmad Khatib's position as a teacher, *imām* and *khaṭīb* at the Grand Mosque, who taught many students, especially the *Jāwī* community. The questioner asked Ahmad Khatib's opinion about the *Jāwī*'s belief that there is the name Muhammad in their hearts called *rūḥ al-quḍs* (holy spirit) and commands their bodies. The question was whether this was obtained by the will of (God) or not. The questioner pleaded, "Give us a fatwa. May God reward it."

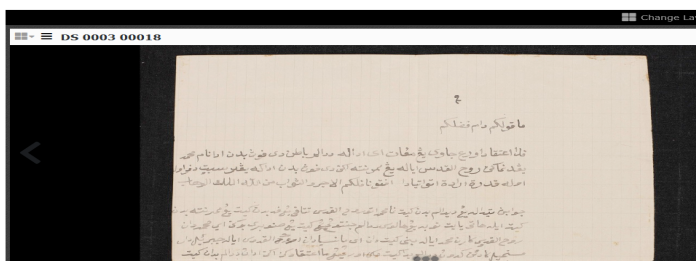


Figure 1: Manuscript of *Fatwa Shaykh Aḥmad Khaṭīb al-Minangkabāwī* (DS 0003 00018)

Ahmad Khatib then gave his answer to the question. He explained that having the name Muhammad and the holy spirit in the human

body was impossible. According to him, the heart governs the body, which is something subtle in the heart, not Muhammad and the holy spirit. Muhammad is a prophet and a human being, while the holy spirit is the angel of Gabriel (*sic!*). Both Muhammad and Gabriel can't be in the human body.

He then gave a fatwa that anyone who believes that the name Muhammad and the holy spirit are present in the body is wrong and misguided. If they say that this teaching is found in Islam, then they are *kufir* (infidel). Suppose they believe that the name Muhammad and the holy spirit in the body are eternal (*qadīm*, uncreated). In that case, they are certainly infidels because they already believe that the eternal is multiple. Ahmad Khatib then concluded his fatwa by calling himself a poor servant with the name "Aḥmad Khaṭīb ibn 'Abd al-Latīf Khaṭīb."

FATWA OF AHMAD KHATIB AND THE HETERODOXY OF SUFISM IN THE MALAY-INDONESIA ARCHIPELAGO

The *Fatwa* manuscript is Ahmad Khatib's work, which contains a fatwa on the issue of the spirit of Muhammad (*rūh Muḥammad*) and the holy spirit (*rūh al-Quds*). Both concepts cannot be separated from the teaching of light Muhammad (*nūr Muḥammad*) or the essence of Muhammad (*al-ḥaqīqah al-Muḥammadiyyah*) in Islamic mysticism (Sufism). This is a philosophically inclined concept of Sufism, as it combines the achievement of mystical enlightenment with philosophical rational explanation.

The teaching of the light of Muhammad was first introduced by Muqātil, a sixth-century theologian, when interpreting the light verse in QS. al-Nur :35. The word *al-miṣbāh* (lamp) was considered an appropriate symbol for Muhammad. This interpretation was later developed by al-Tustārī (d. 896), a ninth-century Iraqi Sufi, who based his entire teaching on the light of Muhammad and the verse of light. According to him, the essence of the light of Muhammad originated from God's emanation one million years before the creation of beings.²⁶ The light of Muhammad was then increasingly adopted by other Sufis in the Islamic world. At the time, this teaching was considered part of the orthodoxy of *Sunnī* Sufism, which was

²⁶ Annemarie Schimmel, *And Muhammad Is His Messenger, The Veneration of the Prophet in Islamic Piety* (Pakistan: Vanguard Books Ltd, 1987), 124-125.

commonly found in the writings of the great sufi ulamas, both from the Middle East and Malay-Indonesia archipelago such as al-Ḥallāj (858-922), Shaykh ‘Abd al-Qadīr al-Jīlānī (1075-1166), Ibn ‘Arabī (1165-1240), al-Jīlī (1365-1323), al-Burhānfūrī (1545-1620), Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī (1615-1690), Shamsuddīn al-Sumatrā’ī (w. 1630), Yūsuf al-Maqassarī (1626-1699), Abdul Muḥyi Pamijahan (1650-1730) and others. Al-Burhānfūrī, in his book *Tuḥfah al-Mursalāh ilā Rūḥ al-Nabī*, for instance, developed the teaching of light of Muhammad into the teaching of the seven grades (*marātib al-sab’a*) derived from the teaching of *waḥdat al-wujūd* of Ibn ‘Arabī and al-Jīlī. The teachings of the light of Muhammad and the seven grades then developed among the practitioners of Sufism and Sufi orders in the archipelago.

However, the teachings of the light of Muhammad and the seven grades did not escape from the attacks of other *Sunnī* ulamas, especially in the seventeenth century. This can be seen in Nūruddīn al-Rānīrī’s criticism of the *waḥdat al-wujūd* teaching developed by Ḥamzah Faṣṣūrī and Shamsuddīn al-Sumatrā’ī. Al-Rānīrī’s criticism is inseparable from the efforts to reform Sufism (neo-Sufism) that developed after the period of al-Ghazālī. Al-Rānīrī is known as an ulama who tried to reconcile the teachings of *Sunnī* Sufism, which emphasised harmony between sharia and Sufism.²⁷ As a result, the teachings of philosophical Sufism, such as the light of Muhammad, *waḥdat al-wujūd* and the seven grades, were increasingly marginalised. They were then considered heterodox and no longer embraced by the majority of *Sunnī* orthodoxy. This continued to strengthen until the early twentieth century when *Jāwī* ulamas in Mecca began to reject philosophical Sufism, such as the seven grades, which included the teachings of light of Muhammad, as seen in Ahmad Khatib’s response in the *Fatwa* manuscript.

This section will explain Ahmad Khatib’s fatwa in more depth. The explanation will be divided according to the questions and answers given in sequence on the spirit of Muhammad and *rūḥ al-quds* residing in the human body, the status of their Eternals and the fatwa of heresy and infidel for those who believe in it.

²⁷ Azyumardi Azra, *The Origins of Islamic Reformism in Southeast Asia: Networks of Malay-Indonesian and Middle Eastern ‘Ulama’ in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Honolulu: ASAA-Allen & Unwin and University of Hawai’i Press, 2004), 3.

1) Spirit of Muhammad and *rūḥ al-quds* in the human body

The concept of the spirit of Muhammad (*rūḥ Muḥammad*) and the holy spirit (*rūḥ al-Quds*) cannot be separated from the teachings of the light of Muhammad (*nūr Muḥammad*) or the essence of Muhammad (*al-ḥaqīqah al-Muḥammadiyah*). Sufism practitioners and followers of Sufi orders generally believe that God first created a being called the light of Muhammad. This term refers to the highest, noblest, first and foremost being of God. He is the source of life of all spirits and the instrument of all creation. All creatures originate, pass through him, and emanate from him. He is eternal in terms of God's knowledge (*qadīm al-ḥukmī*) but new (*ḥādīth*) in terms of Essence (*qadīm al-dhātī*). The term light of Muhammad is also known as the essence of Muhammad, the supreme pen (*al-qalam al-a'lā*), the first intellect (*al'aql al-awwal*), *al-rūḥ al-a'zam*, *al-malak*, *al-rūḥ al-Ilāhī* (divine spirit) and *al-rūḥ al-quds* (holy spirit). Therefore, the term spirit of Muhammad and *rūḥ al-Quds* refer to the concept of the light of Muhammad.

According to al-Hallāj, the founder of the light of Muhammad doctrine, Muhammad has two natures: the nature of the original light (*nūr azalī*) that existed before everything and the new nature in his position as a prophet in a specific time and space.²⁸ The light of Muhammad is not identical to the person of the Prophet Muhammad. It is not the human persona known as the last prophet and apostle, although it cannot be separated from him. The representation of Muhammad's light is in the Prophet Muhammad's person as a perfect human (*insān al-kāmil*) who became the most perfect embodiment (*tajaliyyāt*) of God in the universe. Ibn 'Arabī, as well as Muqātil, says that the light of Muhammad is the lamp (*al-miṣbāḥ*) of the niche of being (*mishkāt al-wujūd*), as in QS. al-Nur: 35.²⁹ The light of Muhammad, according to al-Jīlī, is the source of everything that exists. There would be no nature without the light of Muhammad. He is seen as the universal reality from which Adam, heaven, hell,

²⁸ A. Nicholson, *Studies in Islamic Mysticism* (New Delhi: Idarah Adabiyat Delhi, 1975), 51.

²⁹ Ibn 'Arabī, *Shajarat Al-Kawn Li Mu'allifih Al-Shaikh Al-Akbar Muḥyiddīn Ibn 'Arabī* (Beirut: Dār al-Qalam, 1985), 86.

angels, devils, the sky, earth and all the planets with their contents were created.³⁰

The same thing is conveyed by ‘Abd al-Qadīr al-Jīlānī in his *Sirr al-Asrār*. Al-Jīlānī has been regarded as an adherent of moral sufism (*taṣawwuf al-akhlāqī*), which emphasises moral perfection. Still, his *Sirr al-Asrār* shows the influence of al-Ḥallāj’s philosophical teachings regarding the light of Muhammad. He states that the spirit of Muhammad was created from the light of God’s beauty (*nūrullāh*). Light and spirit are essentially one. The essence, light and spirit of Muhammad are clear of all darkness. Muhammad’s spirit is the purest spirit and the origin of the spirit of all creatures. Through the spirit of Muhammad, all human spirits were created in the Realm of *Lāhūt*, a place where all spirits gather in the best and proper form with all the same name, Muhammad. Likewise, other creatures were also created from Muhammad’s essence, light, and spirit.

After completing the process of creating the human spirit in the Realm of *Lāhūt*, God sends down all the spirits to the lowest realm, namely the human body. The soul’s descent from the realm of *Lāhūt* to the human body goes through several phases. In the first phase, Allah creates the spirit in the Realm of *Lāhūt*, which is named *rūḥ al-qudsī* (the holy spirit, distinguish it from the term *rūḥ al-quds* which means the angel Gabriel) or also called *thifl al-ma’ānī* (meaning baby) or the ultimate person (*al-insān al-ḥaqīqī*); The second phase, the spirit is lowered to the Realm of *Jabarūt* which is equipped with the seeds of *tawḥīd* and wrapped in the light of *Jabarūt*. The spirit in this second layer is called *rūḥ sulṭānī*. In The third phase, the spirit is lowered back to the Realm of *Malakūt* and is named *rūḥ sīrānī* or *rūḥ rawwānī*, which is devoted to various spirits and souls. In the fourth phase, Allah descends the spirit to the Realm of *Mulkī* or the realm of *shahāda* or *ajsām*, the lowest realm and is named the physical spirit. In the process of the descent of the *rūḥ al-qudsī* to the lowest place in the Realm of *Mulkī*, Allah commands each layer of the spirit to enter the human body.³¹

³⁰ Yunasril Ali, *Manusia Citra Ilahi, Pengembangan Konsep Insan Kamil Ibn ‘Arabi Oleh Al-Jili* (Jakarta: Paramadina, 1997), 140.

³¹ Syekh ‘Abd al-Qādir Al-Jīlānī, *Sirr Al-Asrār* (Damaskus: Dār al-Anṣārī and Dār al-Sanābil, 1993), 45.

The teachings of the spirit of Muhammad and the light of Muhammad were widely adopted by the great ulama of Sufism, such as al-Ḥallāj, Ibn ‘Arabī, al-Jīlī, al-Jīlānī and others. The influence of these teachings then spread into the Malay-Indonesian archipelago, especially among the adherents of Sufi orders. They believe that the spirit of Muhammad and the holy spirit reside in the human body. The teaching of the light of Muhammad also developed in the teaching of the seven grades that originated in the archipelago. Although initially the light of Muhammad’s teaching was considered part of *Sunnī* orthodoxy doctrine and was adopted by the majority of *Sunnī* ulamas in medieval times, after the period of al-Ghazālī, this teaching was then regarded as heterodox because it was suspected of being widely misunderstood. It has received a lot of criticism from Malay-Indonesian ulamas since the seventeenth century. This teaching became the main point of the question submitted by a Jāwī to Malay-Indonesian ulama, such as Ahmad Khatib, around the beginning of the twentieth century, as found in this manuscript DS 0003 00018. The following is the full text of the fatwa manuscript of Sheikh Ahmad Khatib:

- | | | | |
|------|---|--|--|
| /1r/ | 1 | / ما قولكم دام فضلكم / | What do you think of your virtue, / |
| | 2 | فدا اعتقاد اورغ جاوي مغات اي اداله ددالم باطن دي فوٹ بدن ادا نام محمد / | on the belief (<i>i’itiqād</i>) of the <i>Jāwī</i> people, who say that in the heart of him having a body, there is the name Muhammad/ |
| | 3 | يغدماكن روح القدس اباله يغ مرتنه اكن دي فوٹ بدن اداكه يعتر سبت دفراوله / | which is called <i>rūḥ al-Quds</i> , is the one who commands him to have a body. Is that obtained/ |
| | 4 | اوله قدرة ارادة اتوا تيادا افنوننا فلکم الاجر والتواب من الله الملك الوهاب / | by the will of God or not? Please give us a fatwa. May you be rewarded by Allah, the Majestic, the Giver of Grace. / |
| | 5 | جوابث تيداله يغ ديدالم بدن كيت نما محمد اتو روح القدس تتايي يغ فد بدن كيت يغ مرتنه بدن / | The answer is not that which is in our body the name of Muhammad or <i>rūḥ al-Quds</i> , but that which is in our body that commands our body/ |
| | 6 | كيت ابله هاتي يابت توبه يغ هالوس ددالم جتنوغ كيت يغ صنهوري بوكن اي محمد دان / | is the heart, which is the subtle body in our heart that is our inner self (<i>sanubari</i>), not Muhammad and/ |

7	روح القدس کارن محمد ایاله نبی کیت دان ای مانسیا دان روح القدس ایاله ای جبریل دان /	<i>rūḥ al-Quds</i> , because Muhammad is our prophet, and he is human and <i>rūḥ al-Quds</i> is Gabriel and/
8	مستحیل کادتن کدوٹ ددالم بدان کیت مکی اورغیغ ماعتقادکن اکن ادات ددالم بدان کیت /	It is impossible to have both in our bodies. So, anyone who assumes that they are in our bodies/
9	ایله اورغ ساله دان ساست دان جکی دکناٹ کادتن دمکین ایت درفد اکام اسلام مکی اداله /	is wrong and misguided, and if it is said that such a state is from the religion of Islam, then it/
10	دمکین ایت میمیکن کنفا کفر دان جکی داعتقدکن کادتن دمکین ایت قدیم مکی نسجای /	leads to <i>kufṛ</i> (infidel), and if it is assumed that such a state is eternal, then surely/
11	اداله ای کافر کارن ماعتقدکن ای اکن بریلغ قدیم دیایت کفر والله أعلم /	he is an infidel because if it is assumed that it will be eternal, he is an infidel. God knows.
12	همب یغ فقیر احمد خطیب /	The poor servant, Ahmad Khatib/
13	بن عبد اللطیف /	bin ‘Abd al-Laṭīf/
14	خطیب /	Khaṭīb. /

/1v/

Table 1. The question and answer in the *Fatwa* manuscript

The manuscript DS 0003 00018 shows Ahmad Khatib did not understand the concept of spirit, considering Muhammad’s teachings above. He understands it with the view of the orthodox Puritans by stating that what commands the human body is the heart, not Muhammad and *rūḥ al-Quds* or the angel of Gabriel. According to him, Muhammad and the holy spirit can’t exist in the human body. His viewpoint is that Muhammad was a human being who became a prophet. The spirit of a human being can’t be in another human body. Likewise, the holy spirit or Gabriel cannot be in a human body.

Ahmad Khatib’s viewpoint shows his rejection of the teachings of light of Muhammad taught by philosophical Sufism ulamas. He used a textual and rational approach to understanding the Islamic doctrine of the human spirit and body. However, Ahmad Khatib may also appear to misunderstand the concept of *rūḥ al-Quds*. According to him, *rūḥ al-Quds* is understood as the angel of Gabriel, as stated in the Qur’an. Whereas *rūḥ al-quds*, as understood in the philosophical Sufism tradition, is the holy spirit that resides in the Realm of *Lāhūt*,

the realm of the source of all spirits called the spirit of Muhammad, before descending to the Realm of *Jabarūt*. The *rūḥ al-Quds* is not the angel of Gabriel in the Realm of *Malakūt*.

This shows that Ahmad Khatib's understanding of the teachings of Sufi orders such as the Qadiriyya, Naqshabandiyya, Ahmadiyya and others was very harsh. He did not hesitate to condemn the teachings and practices of these Sufi orders as false and misguided, leading to infidels, heresy, and polytheism. Some works of Ahmad Khatib show his criticism of the Sufi order's teachings and his rejection of the teaching of the seven grades, for instance, his *al-Shumūs al-Lāmi'ah fi Radd Bida' Ahl al-Sab'ah*.³² This is strong evidence of his inclination towards Islamic renewal that originated in Egypt. His thinking has similarities with the salafiyah teaching of Rashid Rida' and tends to be puritanical in viewing religious matters.³³

2) The status of the eternal of the spirit of Muhammad and the holy spirit

It is not only the issue of the existence of the spirit of Muhammad and the holy spirit in the human body. Ahmad Khatib also denied the nature of eternal in the two spirits. Ahmad Khatib states, "If it is assumed that such a state is eternal, then surely it is infidel because assuming it will be multiple eternals. He is an infidel."³⁴

The spirit of Muhammad and *rūḥ al-Quds*, as explained above, refers to the creation of the light of Muhammad in the Realm of *Lāhūt*. This concept is popular among Sufism ulamas. Sufism practitioners and followers of Sufi orders generally believe that Allah first created the being called the light of Muhammad. It is the highest, noblest, first and foremost being of Allah. It is the source of life of all the spirits that are the instruments of all creation. All creatures originate through it and emanate from the light of Muhammad.

Therefore, the spirit of Muhammad and *rūḥ al-quds*, which refers to the light of Muhammad, is eternal in terms of God's knowledge (*qadīm al-ḥukmī*) because it is in divinity between *Aḥadiyya* and

³² Ahmad Khatib al-Minkabāwī, *al-Qawl al-Taḥīf*.

³³ Burhanudin, 'The Triumph of the Second Leaders: Ahmad Khatib and Rashid Rida in Islamic Reform in Indonesia', 172.

³⁴ Khatib al-Minkabāwī, *Fatwa Syekh Ahmad Khaṭīb Al-Minangkabāwī*. DS 0003 00018.

Wāḥidiyya. However, the spirit of Muhammad and *rūḥ al-quds* are also new (*ḥādīth*) in terms of substance (*qadīm al-dhātī*) because they are manifestations that emanate from God.

3) Fatwa of heresy and infidel against Sufism heterodoxy

Ahmad Khatib's salafiyah and puritanism are also reflected in his condemnation of those who believe in the existence of the two spirits as wrong, misguided and infidel. He states, "So, anyone who believes in the existence of the two spirits in our bodies is wrong and misguided, and if it is said that such a state is from the religion of Islam, then it is that it leads to an infidel, and if it is believed that such a state is eternal, then surely he is an infidel because if it is believed that it is eternal, he is an infidel. God knows."

The terms "wrong, misguided, and infidel (*kufir* and *kāfir*)" are terms that are typically used by the ulama, who are literal and puritanical. This hardline fatwa was delivered because of Ahmad Khatib's belief that the nature of eternal belongs only to Allah, not other than Him. Therefore, if something else is considered eternal, then that teaching is seen as associating partners with Allah, and thus, it can become infidel. As explained, this is reminiscent of the same term used by polemical ulamas in Sufism much earlier in Indonesia, from the seventeenth to the early twentieth century.

FATWA MANUSCRIPT, REFORMISM, AND STRAIGHTENING THE HETERODOXY OF SUFISM IN MECCA

The explanation above shows that the manuscript of *Fatwa Sheikh Ahmad Khaṭīb al-Minangkabawī* (DS 0003 00018) is another evidence of the influence of Islamic reform ideas on Ahmad Khatib's fatwa. His thinking represents the ideas of the second line of reformist-modernist ulamas after Muḥammad 'Abduh, a leading reformist ulama in Egypt. He is presumably in the same line as the salafīyyah ideas of Rashīd Riḍā'.³⁵ Islamic reformism refers to the idea of renewing Islamic

³⁵ Itzhak Weissmann, 'Between Sufi Reformism and Modernist Rationalism—A Reappraisal of the Origins of the Salafīyya from the Damascene Angle', *Die Welt Des Islams*, 41.2 (2001), 206. <https://doi.org/>. <https://doi.org/10.1163/1570060011201286>; Burhanudin, 'The Triumph of the Second Leaders: Ahmad Khatib and Rashid Rida in Islamic Reform in Indonesia'.

beliefs that developed in medieval times through efforts to purify Islamic beliefs and practices from various deviations in the form of polytheism, heresy and superstition to conform to the teachings of the *Salaf* generation.³⁶ Meanwhile, Islamic modernism is the efforts of educated Muslim intellectuals influenced by the West to adapt to modern civilisation while maintaining loyalty to Islamic teachings.³⁷

As a reformist-modernist, Ahmad Khatib accepted the teachings of the Sufism and Sufi orders if they followed valid practice and specific attributes of God that were not attributed to Muhammad or the saints. He accepted the doctrine of the Sufis but only sought to answer the questions and explain which acts and lineages reached Muhammad. He even denied having any objection to the Sufi orders being fully compliant with *Sharia*. Therefore, Ahmad Khatib's approach must be seen as an elite criticism that respects the great names of the past. He was also by no means a Wahhabi. He can be aligned with Baghdad and Damascus ulama, who also bridged the gap between the reformism of Sufis and the rationalist "modernism" retrospectively labelled as Wahhabism.³⁸

Heretical and deviant beliefs were against philosophical, mystical teachings in the archipelago, which have historically been going on for a long time. The teachings of Sufism are considered heterodox and deviate from the teachings of *Sharia*. This can be seen in the fatwa of Nūruddīn al-Rānīrī in the seventeenth century, who viewed the Sufism of Ḥamzah Fanṣūrī and Shamsuddīn al-Sumatrā'ī as infidel.³⁹ This heretical fatwa became one of the earliest harsh fatwas in the history of the Malay-Indonesian ulamas' thought of Sufism. The stigma of heresy and misleading also occurred in Java in the mid-eighteenth century, as seen in the cases of Sheikh Siti Jenar, Sunan Panggung, Ki Bebeluk, Sheikh Amongraga, and Sheikh Ahmad al-Mutamakkin who were condemned as heretics and infidels for embracing the teachings

³⁶ B. Lewis et al. eds., *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, New Edition, Vol. 3 (London-Leiden: E.J. Brill-Luzac & Co., 1986), 953.

³⁷ Yudi Latif, *Intelegensia Muslim Dan Kuasa: Genealogi Intelegensia Muslim Indonesia Abad Ke-20* (Jakarta: Democracy Project, 2012), 124.

³⁸ Laffan, *The Makings*, 207.

³⁹ Syed Muhammad Naguib Al-Attas, *The Mysticism of Hamzah Fansuri* (Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya Press, 1970); Azra, *The Origins of Islamic Reformism in Southeast Asia: Networks of Malay-Indonesian and Middle Eastern 'Ulama' in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, 53.

of unity of being (*Manunggaling Kawula Gusti*).⁴⁰ In addition, there is also a Banjar version of the story in which Haji Abdul Hamid was also put to death for adhering to the same beliefs.⁴¹

A polemical cleric from Betawi, Sayyid ‘Uthman, similarly accused Shaykh Ismāil Minangkabau (1125-1180 AH) of heresy for spreading the teachings of the Sufi orders of Khalidiyah Naqshabandiyah in Minangkabau in the late nineteenth century.⁴² The same thing happened to Haji Hasan Mustapa, Chief *Penghulu* of Bandung, who was convicted of heresy by his attackers through anonymous letters in the early twentieth century. This shows that the issue of attacks on the teachings of Sufism and Sufi orders that are considered heterodox has occurred since the seventeenth century and continues to increase along with the increase in renewal and the political interests that underlie it in the twentieth century. This can be regarded as the dark side of history for philosophical Sufism in what is often called the periphery.⁴³

However, the response to heterodox Sufism in the archipelago was not always a harsh and hardline fatwa. This can be seen in the fatwa of Ibrāhīm al-Kurānī (1615-1690), a great ulama in *Haramain* in the seventeenth century, who responded to the teaching of *wahdat al-wujūd* in the Malay-Indonesia archipelago. Al-Kurānī tried to straighten out the doctrine of *wahdat al-wujūd* from the viewpoint of *Sunnī* orthodoxy.⁴⁴ The same case can be seen in the response of Sundanese ulama, Mukhtār ‘Aṭārid Bogor (1862-1930), who became a great teacher at the Grand Mosque in Mecca in the early twentieth century, long after al-Kurānī’s response in the seventeenth century.

⁴⁰ Zainul Milal Bizawie, *Perlawanan Kultural Agama Rakyat* (Yogyakarta: Sahma-Yayasan Keris, 2002), 216.

⁴¹ Steenbrink, *Beberapa Aspek*, 95-96.

⁴² Muhamad Shoheh, ‘Cerita Perbantahan Dahulu Kala: Pembelaan Dan Sanggahan Tuanku Nan Garang Atas Kritik Sayyid ‘Uthman Bin Yahya Bin ‘Aqil Tahun 1885’, *Jumantara*, 4.1 (2013).

⁴³ Fathurahman, ‘Sejarah Pengkafiran Dan Marginalisasi Paham Keagamaan Di Melayu Dan Jawa,’ *Analisis*, 459.

⁴⁴ Oman Fathurahman, ‘Ithāf Al-Dhakī by Ibrāhīm Al-Kūrānī: A Commentary of Wahdat Al-Wujūd for Jāwī Audiences’, *Archipel*, 81 (2011), 177–98. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.3406/arch.2011.4274>; Asep Nahrul Musaddad, ‘Ayat-Ayat Wahdatul Wujud Dalam Kitab Tanbih Al-Mashi Karya ‘Abdurra’Uf Al-Sinkili’, *Al-Tahrir*, 15.1 (2015), 139–58. <https://doi.org/http://dx.doi.org/10.21154/al-tahrir.v15i1.169>.

Mukhtār ‘Aṭārid responded to the seven grades of teaching that developed in the archipelago.⁴⁵

Unlike Mukhtār ‘Aṭārid, who tended to uphold *Sunnī* orthodoxy with a wise fatwa, Ahmad Khatib’s fatwa of rejection against the teachings of the Naqshabandiyya, Shattariyya, the doctrine of the seven grades and other heterodox Sufism teachings in the Malay-Indonesia archipelago tended to use harsh statement.⁴⁶ Ahmad Khatib, an ulama who lived during the transition of political power in Mecca from the Ottoman Turks to the Salafi/Wahhabi of the Saudi dynasty,⁴⁷ does not show support for these teachings.⁴⁸ Although Ahmad Khatib criticised many Sufi orders teachings that were considered deviant in the archipelago, especially the Naqshabandiyya, it did not mean he rejected them. He emphasised Sufi orders and teachings that were following *Sharia*.⁴⁹

Ahmad Khatib’s stance differed significantly from the Salafi/Wahhabi teachings that were dominant in Mecca when the Saudi Kingdom gained control of the Hijaz, which the Ottoman Turkish sultanate had ruled for four centuries. The Hijaz under the Ottoman Turks was inhabited by Muslims from various schools of Islamic jurisprudence, Sufi order groups and Shia adherents before being marginalised under Saudi rule.⁵⁰ The Salafi/Wahhabi doctrines led to accusations of heresy and polytheism directed at traditional local Muslim religious practices in Mecca and Medina, such as the practice of pilgrimage, *tawassul*, *istigātha*, Muhammad’s birthday and the veneration of objects around the Kaaba, facing Muhammad’s tomb when praying, seeking blessings from the former pious and others.⁵¹

⁴⁵ Jajang A. Rohmana, ‘Diskursus Tasawuf Nusantara Di Mekah: Respons Mukhtār ‘Aṭārid Al-Bughūrī Terhadap Ajaran Martabat Tujuh’, *Jurnal Lektur Keagamaan*, 19.1 (2021), 1-36. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.31291/jlka.v19i1.923>.

⁴⁶ Mohammad Redzuan Othman, ‘The Middle Eastern Influence on the Development of Religious and Political Thought in Malay Society, 1880-1940’ (The University of Edinburgh, 1994), 133.

⁴⁷ David Commins, *The Wahhabi Mission and Saudi Arabia* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2006), 72.

⁴⁸ Laffan, *The Makings*, 207.

⁴⁹ Ilyas, ‘Syekh Ahmad Khatib Minangkabau Dan Polemik Tarekat Naqsyabandiyah Di Nusantara’, 101.

⁵⁰ William Ochsenwald, *Religion, Society and the State in Arabia: The Jijaz under Ottoman Control, 1840-1908* (Ohio: Ohio State University Press, 1984), 42.

⁵¹ al-Sayyid Ahmad bin al-Sayyid Zaynī Daḥlān, *Al-Durrah Al-Saniyyah Fī Al-Radd ‘alā Al-Wahhābiyyah* (Damaskus: Maktabah al-Aḥbāb, 2003).

The sacred graves, Khadijah's house, Abu Bakr's birthplace and the *zawiyya* where the Sufi orders practitioners gathered were destroyed. The practice of various groups of Sufi orders was eliminated.⁵²

Therefore, Ahmad Khatib's critical attitude towards the teachings of Sufi orders that deviated from the *sharia* and his openness to the reform ideas of 'Abduh and Rashīd Riḍā' indicate the closeness of his thinking to the views of the Egyptian reformers.⁵³ Understandably, Ahmad Khatib was critical of heterodox Sufism, which he considered to be incompatible with the *sharia*, as seen in the text of the *Fatwa* manuscript. He represents a traditional ulama who rowed between two reefs. On the one hand, he is the heir of conventional ulama, who was educated in Islamic scholarly tradition. However, on the other hand, he was also unable to avoid the winds of renewal that hit the Hijaz. Therefore, he did not close himself off from the influence of the Islamic reformist-modernist ideas of 'Abduh and Riḍā'.

However, this does not mean that Ahmad Khatib's viewpoints are diametrically different from the attitude of other *Jāwī* ulamas in maintaining the tradition of *Sunnī* orthodoxy in Mecca, such as Sheikh Nawawi Banten, Maḥfūz al-Tarmasī, Mukhtār 'Aṭārid Bogor, and others. Ahmad Khatib, like other *Jāwī* ulamas in Mecca, tried to purify elements of Sufism among Malay-Indonesian Muslims that were considered incompatible with *sharia*. This can be seen, for instance, in the prohibition of teachings of the seven grades in Mecca, which tended to be considered deviant in the nineteenth century.⁵⁴ The ulama of Mecca-Madinah, Egypt, and Kufa agreed upon the prohibition. However, the harsh fatwa with its choice of words, such as the terms heretic and infidel, shows a more puritanical attitude influenced by the reform movement of Rashīd Riḍā' in Egypt, compared to the Salafi/Wahhabi teachings that demolished the sacred tombs and *zawiyyas* of Sufis in Mecca. This was Ahmad Khatib's point of commonality with

⁵² Joseph Kostiner, *The Making of Saudi Arabia 1916–1936: From Chieftaincy to Monarchical State* (New York-Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 103; F.E. Peters, *The Hajj, The Muslim Pilgrimage to Mecca and the Holy Places* (Princeton New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1994), 359.

⁵³ Deliar Noer, *Gerakan Modern Islam Di Indonesia 1900-1942* (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1996), 39; Burhanudin, 'The Triumph of the Second Leaders: Ahmad Khatib and Rashid Rida in Islamic Reform in Indonesia', 172.

⁵⁴ Suryadi, 'Syair Sunur: Autobiografi Seorang Dagang Minangkabau', Sari, 23 (2005), 91. <http://www.sarionline.ukm.my/index.html>.

other *Jāwī* ulamas in Mecca and his closeness to the line of Islamic renewal in Egypt while distinguishing his position from that of the Salafis/Wahhabis.

In addition, Ahmad Khatib's *Fatwa* shows the significance of its position in the context of the response of *Jāwī* ulamas in Mecca to the discourse of Sufistic heterodoxy in the Malay-Indonesia archipelago, which did not only occur in the seventeenth century but continued until the early twentieth century. The response of Meccan ulamas was no longer dominated by Middle Eastern ulamas but also involved Malay-Indonesian ulamas, who became teachers in Mecca. This shows that Malay-Indonesian ulamas are recognised as having the authority to provide religious fatwas on religious issues faced by Malay-Indonesian Muslims to be brought back to their homeland upon their return from the holy land.

CONCLUSION

The above explanation in the *Fatwa* manuscript shows the response of *Jāwī* ulamas in Mecca at the beginning of the twentieth century, who were increasingly influenced by the teachings of Islamic renewal of 'Abduh and Rida' in Egypt. Ahmad Khatib's viewpoints are similar in affirming teachings that tend to be puritanical. This can be seen from his response to the problem of the spirit of Muhammad and the holy spirit, which resides in the human heart and controls the human body. Ahmad Khatib responded that the spirit of Muhammad and the holy spirit couldn't be in the body because Muhammad was a human being, and the holy spirit was the angel of Gabriel. This is Ahmad Khatib's misunderstanding that perceives the holy spirit as Gabriel, whereas what is meant is the sacred spirit that refers to the light of Muhammad in the Realm of *Lāhūt* as found in the teachings of Sufism ulamas such as al-Ḥallāj, Ibn 'Arabī, al-Jīlī, and al-Jīlānī. Ahmad Khatib's puritanical thought is also evident from his hard stance that whoever believes that the two spirits exist in the human body is wrong and misguided. Even if anyone thinks that two spirits are eternal, they are infidel. His fatwa strongly responds to the heterodoxy of Sufism and Sufi orders in the Malay-Indonesia archipelago. He attempted to purge the heterodox elements of Sufism by straightening it out and returning it to the orthodox doctrines of *Sunnī* influenced by reformist teachings. This issue of religious reform emerged from the second line of reform

ulamas, after ‘Abduh, who pioneered Islamic reform in Mecca and was connected to the issue of Islamic reform in Indonesia in the early twentieth century.

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