

***BAḤR AL-LĀHŪT* MANUSCRIPTS IN EAST JAVA: Study of Philology and Reconstruction of *Tarekat* Networks**

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Abstract:

This research discusses the Javanese text of Baḥr al-Lāhūt following a philological, epistemological, and historical approach. The aim is to study the content and history of the Baḥr al-Lāhūt and trace the Aceh–Makassar–East Java tarekat network based on the circulation of the manuscripts in East Java. The study found that the original manuscripts are in the possession of Pondok Pesantren Sumber Anyar and two other collections in Sidoarjo and Pare Kediri. The textual study of the Baḥr al-Lāhūt is based on the Sumber Anyar version. The other surviving manuscripts are listed in the Dayah Tano Abee and the Yusuf Makassar collection. The text of the Baḥr al-Lāhūt describes the nature of God and the creation of the universe as a manifestation of Nūr Muḥammad and strongly influenced by Ibn ‘Arabi’s concepts of unity of being and emanation. The distribution of the Baḥr al-Lāhūt in East Java allowed the researcher to reconstruct a network of tarekat ulama who transmitted the text through the chain of Abdurra’uf Singkili and Yusuf Makassar.

Keywords: *Baḥr al-Lāhūt; East Java; Manuscript; Reconstruction; Tarekat Network*

A. Introduction

Although the *Baḥr al-Lāhūt (Ocean of Divinity)* is a famous esoteric work and part of the heritage of Islam in Southeast Asia, it has yet to be subjected to serious scientific study and analysis. In the historical study of Islam, the transmitted works of Muslim scholars are very important. In this respect, the *Baḥr al-Lāhūt* is counted not only among the oldest texts on Islam in the Malay Archipelago (Nusantara),¹ as described by Abdullah² and Syam,³ but is also evidence of the existence and nature of Muslim intellectual networks in the region. Other equally important religious texts related to Sufism and its development in this region have

¹ It includes Brunei, East Timor, East Malaysia, Indonesia, Papua New Guinea, and the Philippines

² Hawash Abdullah, *Perkembangan Ilmu Tasawuf Dan Tokoh-Tokohnya Di Nusantara* (Surabaya: Al-Ikhlās, 1980), 5.

³ Nur Syam, “Tasawuf Dan Pemikiran Islam Indonesia,” accessed March 4, 2018, <http://nursyam.uinsby.ac.id/?p=3020>.

been already studied, yet with the exclusion of *Baḥr al-Lāhūt*. The existing research includes several *tarekat* (*ṭarīqa*, Sufi order) studies⁴ as well as historical studies on Aceh⁵ and *pesantren* traditions.⁶ Some information related to the *Baḥr al-Lāhūt* text can be found in Abdullah,⁷ Hamid,⁸ Fathurahman,⁹ Masfiah and Adzfar,¹⁰ and Bahwi.¹¹ Additional information can also be found in reputable magazines and newspaper articles.¹² This study discusses the history of the text in East Java, including the distribution, content, and history of the *ulama* network in East Java.

Abdullah¹³ explains that *Baḥr al-Lāhūt* was written by ‘Abdullah ‘Arif, an Acehese scholar living during the Samudera Pasai period in the 12th and 13th centuries. It is one of the oldest primary sources on Islam in the region. However, the existent copies are not codified in the available catalogs on ancient Indonesian manuscripts.¹⁴ Only one manuscript is properly identified in the catalog of Dayah Tanoh Abec Aceh Besar.¹⁵ Other major institutions which house Indonesian ancient manuscript

⁴ Martin Van Bruinessen, *Tarekat Naqshabandiyah Di Indonesia* (Bandung: Mizan, 1996); Sangidu, *Wahdat Al-Wujud, Polemik Pemikiran Sufistik Antara Hamzah Fansuri Dan Syamsuddin as-Sumatrani Dengan Nurrudin Ar-Raniri* (Yogyakarta: Gama Media, 2008); Tommy Christomy, *Signs of the Wali: Narratives at the Sacred Sites in Pamijahan, West Java* (Canberra: ANU E Press, 2008); Oman Fathurahman, *Tarekat Satariyah Di Minangkabau* (Jakarta: KPG, 2012).

⁵ Such as Snouck Hurgronje, *Acch Di Mata Kolonialis* (Jakarta: Yayasan Soko Guru, 1995); Denny Lombard, *Kerajaan Aceh, Jaman Sultan Iskandar Muda 1607-1636* (Jakarta: Balai Pustaka, 1986); R.H. Hoesein Djayadinigrat, *Kesultanan Aceh* (Banda Aceh: Departemen P&K, 1983).

⁶ Such as Zamakhsyari Dhofier, *Tradisi Pesantren: Studi Tentang Pandang Hidup Kiai* (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1983); Iik Arifin Mansurnoor, *Islam in an Indonesian Word, Ulama of Madura* (Yogyakarta: Gajah Mada University Press, 1990); Azyumardi Azra, *Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah Dan Kepulauan Nusantara Abad XVII Dan XVIII* (Bandung: Mizan, 1994); Mastuhu, *Dinamika Sistem Pendidikan Pesantren* (Jakarta: INIS, 1994); Abdurrahman Mas’ud, *Dari Haramain Ke Nusantara, Jejak Intelektual Arsitek Pesantren* (Jakarta: Prenada Media Group, 2006); Martin Van Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning, Pesantren Dan Tarekat (Edisi Revisi)* (Yogyakarta: Gading Publishing, 2012).

⁷ Abdullah, *Perkembangan Ilmu Tasawuf Dan Tokoh-Tokohnya Di Nusantara...* 4–5.

⁸ Abu Hamid, *Syekh Yusuf: Seorang Ulama, Sufi Dan Pejuang* (Jakarta: YOI, 2005).

⁹ Oman Fathurahman, ed., *Katalog Naskah Tanah Abec Aceh Besar* (Jakarta: Gramedia, 2010).

¹⁰ Umi Masfiah and Zainul Adzfar, *Inventerisasi Dan Digitalisasi Naskah Klasik Keagamaan Di Madura* (Semarang: Kementrian Agama Balai Litbang Agama Semarang, 2011). (Not published).

¹¹ Abdullah Bahwi, *Catatan Hasil Penelitian Terhadap Kitab-Kitab Tulisan Tangan Peninggalan Para Sesepeuh Pondok Pesantren Langer Raje Sumber Anyar Larangan Tokol Tlanakan Pamekasan* (Pamekasan: Perpustakaan Raden Umro PP Sumber Anyar, 2017). (Not published)

¹² Djibril Muhammad, “Naskah Kitab Abad 17 ‘Bahrul Lahut’ Ditemukan Di Pamekasan,” *Republika.co.id*, accessed March 1, 2018, <https://www.republika.co.id/berita/dunia-islam/islam-nusantara/11/03/09/168246-naskah-kitab-abad-17-bahrul-lahut-ditemukan-di-pamekasan/>.

¹³ Abdullah, *Perkembangan Ilmu Tasawuf Dan Tokoh-Tokohnya Di Nusantara...* 4.

¹⁴ *Bahrul Lāhūt* not found in some catalogues, such as in Pigeaud (1967, 1968, and 1970), Florida (1981), Behrend, (1990 and 1998), Behrend and Pudjiastuti (1997a and 1997b), Ricklefs, Voorhoeve and Gallop (2014), and several manuscript catalogs in East Java such as Rukhani (2011) and Mashuri & Santosa (2014).

¹⁵ Fathurahman, *Katalog Naskah Tanah Abec Aceh Besar...* 224.

collections, whether in Indonesia or abroad, do not keep any copies of the *Baḥr al-Lāhūt*.

The original text is known under the title *Baḥr al-Lāhūt* as well as *Baḥrun Lāhūt*. This paper refers to it as *Baḥr al-Lāhūt*, which is the grammatically correct form, while Hamid¹⁶ refers to it as *Baḥrun Lāhūt*.¹⁷ He adopted this spelling from the first textual study of the work by Abdullah¹⁸ and other recent publications.¹⁹ Both names, however, refer to the same text. Furthermore, the original Arabic script does not include short vowels and is thus of no further relevance.

The more notable difference among the surviving manuscripts is the name of the original author of *Baḥr al-Lāhūt*. Abdullah²⁰ mentions the name of ‘Abdullah ‘Arif, while the manuscript copy preserved in Aceh states ‘Abd ‘Arifin.²¹ Further, the manuscript in Kediri identifies the author as ‘Abdullah ‘Arifin, and the copy held in the Shaykh Yusuf Makassar collection in Pontianak as ‘Abdullah ‘Arif. The manuscript copies preserved in the Traditional Islamic Boarding School or Pondok Pesantren Sumber Anyar in Pamekasan and the EDR Collection in Sidoarjo refer to the writer as ‘Abdul ‘Arifin. Further, ‘Abdullah ‘Arif also appears in the manuscript list of the Dayah Tanoh Abee collection, while the name of ‘Abdul ‘Arifin is stated in the Shattari Order (Tarekat Syattariyah) collection in Kediri.

The Arabic title *Baḥr al-Lāhūt* meaning ‘ocean of divinity’ discusses the relationship between God and creation. In the cultural context, such an Islamic text or treatise is identified as *kitāb*.²² Although the literary reach of the *kitāb* is wide, it is explained by Roolvink²³ as Islamic books on the Qur’an, recitation (*tajwīd*), commentary (*tafsīr*), Islamic law (*fiqh*), Sufism (*taṣawwuf*), meditation (*dhikr*), additional prayers (*rawāṭib*), amulets (*ta‘wīdh*), and traditional medicine (*ṭibb*). As observed by Baroroh-Baried,²⁴ the *kitāb* literature on Sufism originated in Aceh in the 17th century. This dating is not fixed but roughly indicates the emergence of a local Sufi tradition. Some scholars have suggested that the *kitāb* genre is part of the early development of Malay literature and known for the beauty, usefulness, and

¹⁶ Hamid, *Syekh Yusuf: Seorang Ulama, Sufi Dan Pejuang*,... 142–43.

¹⁷ In Arabic, the correct title is *Baḥr al-Lāhūt* meaning ‘ocean of divinity’. This is the original and grammatically correct form. The indefinite *Baḥrun* followed by *Lāhūt* is grammatically incorrect because *baḥr* is part of the genitive construct.

¹⁸ Abdullah, *Perkembangan Ilmu Tasawuf Dan Tokoh-Tokohnya Di Nusantara*,... 5.

¹⁹ Djibril Muhammad, “Naskah Kitab Abad 17 ‘Bahrul Lahut’ Ditemukan Di Pamekasan”.

²⁰ Abdullah, *Perkembangan Ilmu Tasawuf Dan Tokoh-Tokohnya Di Nusantara*,... 11.

²¹ Fathurahman, *Katalog Naskah Tanah Abee Aceh Besar*,... 224.

²² The term *kitab* refers to *books in Arabic script used in the pesantren milieu* that is used by Asian Muslims to denote important religious works and is derived from the Arabic *kitāb*.

²³ Roolvink in Liaw Yock Fang, *Sejarah Kesusasteraan Melayu Klasik* (Jakarta: YOI, 2011), 380.

²⁴ Siti Baroroh-Baried et al., *Pengantar Teori Filologi* (Yogyakarta: Universitas Gadjah Mada, 1994), 291.

perfection (*kamāl*) reflected in those works. Furthermore, Braginsky²⁵ explains that since the arrival of Islam in the Malay world, religious and contemplative works played a major role in the localization of Malay literature. He differentiates between two types of Sufi works: standard treatises on Sufi principles and practices and Sufi poetry replete with symbolic imagery.²⁶ In general, *kitāb* literature, and Sufi works in particular, are related to religious instruction given in the *tarekat* and *pondok pesantren* or *dayah* (Islamic school) in Nusantara.

Having discussed its scope and position in the local literature, we can now focus our attention on the text of *Baḥr al-Lāhūt* itself. Its prose text is written in Arabic script. It can be safely included in the *kitāb* literature because it discusses mystical and philosophical concepts from the Islamic perspective. Bahwi²⁷ mentions more specifically that the treatise discusses divine philosophy, whereas Abdullah²⁸ identifies it as distinctively Shi'ite theosophy. Abdullah²⁹ considers it an Islamic treatise that discusses the matter of the beginning of the creation of the world, heavily leaning on the thought of Ibn 'Arabī. Similarly, Masfiah and Adzfar³⁰ describe *Baḥr al-Lāhūt* as a religious work on *gnosis* (knowledge of God) and the cosmological nature of the universe created through emanation. Furthermore, some find that the text reflects a form of philosophical Sufism inspired by Ibn 'Arabī and his concept of the unity of being (*waḥdat al-wujūd*).³¹

This assumption is not without foundation because the author, 'Abdullah 'Arif or 'Abd 'Arifin, appears in the connection with eminent *tarekat* figures, such as Ahmad Qushashi (1583–1661), 'Abdurra'uf Singkel or Singkili (1615-1693), and Burhanuddin Ulakan (1646–1704).³² Indeed, there are certain theosophical similarities between Abdurra'uf Singkili and 'Abdullah 'Arif, especially regarding their acceptance of *waḥdat al-wujūd*. In the history of Islamic thought in Aceh,

²⁵ Vladimir I. Braginsky, *Yang Indah, Berfaedah Dan Kamal; Sejarah Sastra Melayu Dalam Abad 7-19* (Jakarta: INIS, 1998), 435.

²⁶ Braginsky, *Yang Indah, Berfaedah Dan Kamal; Sejarah Sastra Melayu Dalam Abad 7-19*,... 435–36.

²⁷ Bahwi, *Catatan Hasil Penelitian Terhadap Kitab-Kitab Tulisan Tangan Peninggalan Para Sesepeuh Pondok Pesantren Langger Raje Sumber Anyar Larangan Tokol Tlanakan Pamekasan*,... 15.

²⁸ Abdullah, *Perkembangan Ilmu Tasawuf Dan Tokoh-Tokohnya Di Nusantara*,... 5.

²⁹ Abdullah, *Perkembangan Ilmu Tasawuf Dan Tokoh-Tokohnya Di Nusantara*,... 5.

³⁰ Masfiah and Adzfar, *Inventerisasi Dan Digitalisasi Naskah Klasik Keagamaan Di Madura*,... 14.

³¹ Djibril Muhammad, "Naskah Kitab Abad 17 'Bahrul Lahut' Ditemukan Di Pamekasan," See also F.R. Halligan, "The Creative Imagination of the Sufi Mystic, Ibn 'Arabi," *Journal of Religion and Health* 40, (2001): 275–287. <https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1012557708145>

³² See I.M.A.M. Amin, "Muballigul Islam," Manuscript, 1997; Boestami, Sjafnir Abu Naim, and Zaiful Anwar, *Aspek Arkeologi Islam Tentang Makam Dan Surau Syekh Burhanuddin Ulakan* (Padang: PPPSP Sumatera Barat, 1981); Duski Samad, *Syekh Burhanuddin Dan Islamisasi Minangkabau* (Jakarta: The Minangkabau Foundation, 2003); Fathurahman, *Tarekat Satariyah Di Minangkabau*.

Singkili is known as the synthesizer of the *wujūdīya* and *shuhūdīya* schools.³³ The historical identity of ‘Abdullah ‘Arif requires further research. The existent manuscript copies of *Baḥr al-Lāhūt* ascribe its authorship to either ‘Abdullah ‘Arif or ‘Abd ‘Arifin who are both equally important in the history of the intellectual Islam of Indonesia and were circulated in East Java, Aceh, and Makassar.

Considering the historical positioning of *Baḥr al-Lāhūt* in the intellectual network of the archipelago, its content and ideological leanings, and the distribution of manuscript copies in East Java, several observations of note can be made that invite further discussion. By considering the legibility aspect of the text and the historical teachings it contains as part of a wider discourse, it can be used as a tool to trace the *tarekat* network of East Java and Nusantara. This is because this Acehnese text is taught in traditional centers of Islamic learning that have *tarekat* representation and a system of transmitting knowledge from teacher to student.

According to Baroroh-Baried,³⁴ the main purpose of philology is to edit, discuss and analyze manuscripts and texts, or both. Robson³⁵ explains that the study of philology is more than just ‘text criticism’ and differs from linguistics and literature, although it is related to it. The philologist’s job is to bridge the gap between past writers and modern readers, or in other words to ‘read the text as it was read or understood.’³⁶

The text of *Baḥr al-Lāhūt* can be approached by applying the Foucauldian method, both in terms of its marginality, power relations, discourse, and aspects of archiving and historical discontinuities that suggest archaeological and genealogical tendencies.

“Moreover, knowledge archeology is an appropriate method for analyzing local discourse.³⁷ The genealogy of knowledge is used to examine power relations as well as the continuity and fracture of discourse that plays out in certain historical conditions.³⁸ The historical paradigm is in line with the total or mental conception of history, as reflected in the writing of history that includes all aspects of public life, including the ‘symptoms of humanity’ that are most resistant to change, namely mentality in the realm of the collective imaginary or the collective subconscious.³⁹ The historical paradigm is oriented towards a

³³ See Azra, *Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah Dan Kepulauan Nusantara Abad XVII Dan XVIII.*, and Abdul Hadi Wiji Muthari, *Tasawuf Yang Tertindas, Kajian Hermeneutik Terhadap Karya-Karya Hamzah Fansuri* (Jakarta: Paramadina, 2001).

³⁴ Baroroh-Baried et al., *Pengantar Teori Filolog*,... 47.

³⁵ Stuart O. Robson, *Prinsip-Prinsip Filologi Indonesia* (Jakarta: Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa, 1994), 12.

³⁶ Robson, *Prinsip-Prinsip Filologi Indonesia*,... 12.

³⁷ Chris Barker, *Kamus Kajian Budaya* (Yogyakarta: Kanisius, 2014), 11.

³⁸ Barker, *Kamus Kajian Budaya*,... 106.

³⁹ Nina Herlina Lubis, *Historiografi Barat* (Bandung: Satya Historika, 2003), 120.

cultural or era view and deals with the process of change through the ages, divided into three levels of duration.”⁴⁰

The research process of this study includes several stages. Because the text of *Baḥr al-Lāhūt* is available in several manuscript copies held in three locations in East Java, the textual analysis was limited to the copy preserved in Pondok Pesantren Sumber Anyar. It is the most complete manuscript copy and the most legible, complemented by the other collections that were used for comparison. A standard or a critical edition of a manuscript text is produced by comparing all variants, correcting minor errors and inconsistencies, and adjusting its style to suit modern lithographical standards. Further, “all efforts to improve the original text must be accounted for and in accordance to the correct reference method”.⁴¹ In this study, the Jawi script was transcribed into modern Latin script (Indonesian) and analyzed. These methodological steps were taken for discourse analysis following Foucault’s methodology through solving discourse structures and applying historical criticism.⁴² The processes of archaeological and genealogical study are highly complementary. Archeology focuses on existing historical conditions, while genealogy is more concerned with historical processes.⁴³

B. *Baḥr al-Lāhūt* as Nusantara *Kitāb Literature*

The text of *Baḥr al-Lāhūt* was not circulated as one single manuscript; rather, it belonged to a collection of similar treatises that were usually read together. As was common practice at the time, it was included in a larger collection of Islamic texts. Fathurahman⁴⁴ found the *Baḥr al-Lāhūt* in the *Mujārabāt* manuscript bundle at Dayah Tanoh Abec. The Dayah is one of the oldest Islamic boarding schools in Aceh, founded during the reign of Iskandar Muda in the Sultanate of Aceh Darussalam in 1625. The composition and condition of the text are described in Abdullah,⁴⁵ Hamid,⁴⁶ Masfiah, and Adzfar.⁴⁷ Masfiah and Adzfar confirm that *Baḥr al-Lāhūt* and similar Sufi works are commonly found together with treatises on Burhanpur’s seven

⁴⁰ Kuntowijoyo, *Penjelasan Sejarah (Historical Explanation)* (Yogyakarta: Tiara Wacana, 2008), 60–61.

⁴¹ Baroroh-Baried et al., *Pengantar Teori Filolog...* 68.

⁴² Faruk, *Pascastrukturalisme: Teori, Implikasi Metodologi, Dan Contoh Analisis* (Jakarta: Pusat Bahasa, 2008), 78.

⁴³ George Ritzer, *Teori Sosial Postmodern* (Yogyakarta: Kreasi Wacana, 2003), 67.

⁴⁴ Fathurahman, *Katalog Naskah Tanah Abec Aceh Besar...* 348.

⁴⁵ Abdullah, *Perkembangan Ilmu Tasawuf Dan Tokoh-Tokohnya Di Nusantara...* 5.

⁴⁶ Hamid, *Syekh Yusuf: Seorang Ulama, Sufi Dan Pejuang...* 142-43.

⁴⁷ Masfiah and Adzfar, *Inventerisasi Dan Digitalisasi Naskah Klasik Keagamaan Di Madura, Republika*, 2019.

grades of being (*martabat tujuh*), Ibn 'Arabi's unity of being (*waḥdat al-wujūd*), and similar works.⁴⁸

The popularity of these books among the *pesantren* and *tarekat* students in Indonesia is confirmed by Bruinessen.⁴⁹ The *Tuḥfa al-Mursala ila Rūḥ al-Nabī* (Gift Addressed to the Spirit of the Prophet) written by Fadlullah al-Burhanpuri (1545–1620) is a standard reference for many Sufi orders in Indonesia and beyond.⁵⁰ The system of the seven dignities is widely taught and firmly rooted in the concept of the unity of being. Its popularity varied over time and was often questioned, culminating in the famous dispute between the followers of Hamzah Fansuri (d. 1527), Shamsuddin al-Sumatrani, and Nurrudin al-Raniri (d. 1658) in the kingdom of Aceh.⁵¹ This dispute illustrated the tensions between Sunni Sufism and philosophical Sufism.

1. East Java

In East Java, there are three known centers of transmission of the *Baḥr al-Lāhūt*. There was an old rivalry between the northern coastal areas of East Java and Madura, which were renowned centers of Islamic learning. It is assumed that Islam was introduced on the north coast of Java and Madura through Sufi orders. However, the text was also carried into the interior and spread to the Mataraman area, from Sumber Anyar to Larangan Tokol, Tlanakan, Pamekasan, and Madura. The Pondok Pesantren Sumber Anyar keeps three manuscript copies, while another copy is kept in the EDR Collection in Sidoarjo, and a third copy is in the hands of the *murshid* of the *Jamaah Tarekat Syattariyah*. Syam mentions *Baḥr al-Lāhūt* as being one of the oldest primary sources of Islam in the region, yet without identifying any specific manuscript copy.⁵²

In this study, the researcher accessed the *Baḥr al-Lāhūt* manuscript in the collection of the Pondok Pesantren Sumber Anyar. The manuscript is a bundle manuscript consisting of nine different texts. The manuscript is covered in brown leather, and the European paper is watermarked C.H.K. and embellished with a pictogram featuring a crown surrounded by flowers. The number of manuscript pages is 87 recto-verso, the *Baḥr al-Lāhūt* text covering eight folios written in Naskhi

⁴⁸ Masfiah and Adzfar, *Inventarisasi Dan Digitalisasi Naskah Klasik Keagamaan Di Madura...* 14. See also Oludamini Gunnaike, "Inception and Ibn 'Arabi," *Journal of Religion & Film*, 17, no. 2, (2013): 1-50, <https://digitalcommons.unomaha.edu/jrf/vol17/iss2/10>

⁴⁹ Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning, Pesantren Dan Tarekat...* 234.

⁵⁰ See Azra, *Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah Dan Kepulauan Nusantara Abad XVII Dan XVIII*; Fathurahman, *Tarekat Satariyah Di Minangkabau*.

⁵¹ Azra, *Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah Dan Kepulauan Nusantara Abad XVII Dan XVIII*; Muthari, *Tasawuf Yang Tertindas, Kajian Hermeneutik Terhadap Karya-Karya Hamzah Fansuri*.

⁵² See Syam, "Tasawuf Dan Pemikiran Islam Indonesia," ...

style. The color of the ink is black and a mixture of smoke and the sap of the Mambo tree, also known as the Sukarno tree.

The main text (*matan*) is written in Arabic script, the Javanese subtext (*sharḥ*) is written in *Pegon* or Jawi script, in addition to the marginal notes. Page 1 contains 11 lines including the *Basmalah*; page 2 contains 14 lines; pages 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7 contain 13 lines; and page 8 contains three lines. *Baḥr al-Lāḥūt* ranks first in the order of the text and is followed by *Ṭarīqat al-‘Ilm* (Path to Knowledge), *Ḥarakāt al-‘Ilm* (Transformations of Knowledge), *‘Ulūm al-Dīn* (Religious Sciences), *Inzāl al-Rūḥ* (Descension of the Spirit), *Fath al-Raḥmān* (Opening of the Beneficent), *Al-Aqwāl al-Jalīlah bi-Sharḥ al-Waṣīlah* (Lofty Words on the Commentary of the *Waṣīlah*), *Kanz al-‘Arifīn* (Treasure of the Knowers), and *Al-Murattib li-l-‘Ibāda* (Prayer Companion) or *Martabāt li-Ibn ‘Arabī* (The Perfections of Ibn ‘Arabī). There is no colophon on the manuscript, so the copyist and the date are unknown. However, based on the watermark, it was made probably produced in the 17th century.

As mentioned above, the Pondok Pesantren Sumber Anyar owns three copies of the *Baḥr al-Lāḥūt* manuscript.⁵³ The most complete, coherent, and legible copy was used in this study because the other two copies included in other bundles are incomplete. It is slightly damaged and has not been included in the collection of the Raden Umro Library which specializes in preserving historical manuscripts. Over the centuries, the *pesantren* appointed caregivers, and the careful preservation and storage of the manuscripts are entrusted to family. As detailed in a study by Adrisijanti,⁵⁴ the descendants of Kyai Umro⁵⁵, also well-known as Kyai Rato, founded several Islamic boarding schools in the area, the first school being Langgar Rajha (Big Surau), and there are at least 16 more *pesantren* established by the descendants of Zubair Awal that are still in operation today.

The Pondok Pesantren Sumber Anyar is one of the oldest Islamic boarding schools in Madura, founded in 1515 by Zubair Awal.⁵⁶ There are many historical versions related to this figure. Other important figures include Agung Raba in Pamekasan and Abdul Manan from Prajjan, Sampang. The school was founded by Umro, son of Zubair Tsani. Even during the time of Raden Umro, those who came to study at Sumber Anyar were not only from Java and Madura.⁵⁷ The former was also

⁵³ Interview with the pesantren script manager, Habibullah Bahwi, “Bahrul Lahut.” in March 2018.

⁵⁴ Inajati Adrisijanti, ed., *Ensiklopedi Pamekasan: Alam, Masyarakat, Dan Budaya* (Yogyakarta: Pemkab Pamekasan & FIB UGM, 2010), 281.

⁵⁵ *Kyai* is an honorific title given to Muslim clergy.

⁵⁶ Adrisijanti, *Ensiklopedi Pamekasan: Alam, Masyarakat, Dan Budaya*, from research result of the STAIN Pamekasan Team in 2002; Abdullah Bahwi, *Sejarah Pondok Pesantren Sumber Anyar Larangan Tokol Tlanakan Madura Dan Silsilah Keluarga* (Pamekasan: Pondok Pesantren Sumber Anyar, 2017).

⁵⁷ Mansurnoor, *Islam in an Indonesian Word, Ulama of Madura...*

known to be very close with the Madurese rulers, both in Pamekasan and Sumenep. In fact, he was given the title of Ke' Rato or *kiai rato*, teacher of the king.

According to the traditional narrative, Ke' Rato was called Umro because he was a Qur'an teacher to King Ronggosukowati. After he died, he was buried in the village of Sumber Anyar.⁵⁸ According to Adrisijanti, the term Ke' Rato may go all the way back to Zubair Awal, the original founder.⁵⁹ Sumber Anyar is originally named after Langgar Rajha, who lived during the reign of Pangeran Bonorogo, the father of Ronggosukowati. However, at the time of Umro, Sumber Anyar was a recognized center of learning, as evidenced by the fact that it owned a collection of 1,000 manuscripts, 538 of them preserved.⁶⁰

The same situation we find regarding the collection of manuscripts owned by the Shattari Order in Kediri. The *Baḥr al-Lāhūt* is the second last of a bundle of 18 separate manuscripts containing the texts of *Fath al-Raḥmān* (Opening of the Beneficent), *Bayān al-Alif* (Exposition on the Letter Alif), *Daqāiq al-Ḥurūf* (Subtleties of the Letters), *Mi'rāj al-'Ishq* (Ascension of Love), *Marāṭib al-Ma'lūmāt* (Perfections of the Known), *Shifā' al-Rūḥ* (Healing of the Soul), an unknown title (beginning with *amma al-shahāda an yu'raf al-alf*), unknown title (beginning with *i'lām anna al-ḥaqq*), *Marāṭib al-'Ibādah* (The Perfections of Prayer), *Kitāb al-Ma'rifa* (Book of Gnosis), *Khāṭima fī al-Dhikr wa-l-Ma'rifah* (Epilogue on Meditation and Gnosis), *Sakārat al-Mawt* (The Agony of Death), *Fath al-Manān* (Opening of the Benefactor), *Mizān Bayāni-Ilāh* (Balance of the Signs of Allah), *Bayān al-Ṭawḥīd* (Exposition on Oneness), and *Majnūnu-Ilāh* (The Enraptured with Allah). The manuscript of the *Baḥr al-Lāhūt* consists of 13 pages written in Arabic script, with the author's name, 'Abdullah 'Arifin, on European paper, folio size. Each page consists of nine lines, except for the last page consisting of five lines, immediately followed by another text. This manuscript bundle also lacks a colophon to indicate the date. The back matter contains several years of birth (1903, 1904, and 1909).

Today, the *Baḥr al-Lāhūt* collection is in the hands of the *murshid* of the Shattari Sufi order, Darma al-Idrus. This manuscript follows the chain or lineage of the *tarekat* and is written in a typical Shattari script. According to Darma's personal testimony, he inherited this manuscript from his father who received it from his grandfather, a *murshid* of the local *tarekat* in the early 1900s. He traces the lineage of his *tarekat* back to 'Abdul Muhyi Pamijahan and 'Abdurra'uf Singkili and is the 24th *murshid* in succession and is also recognized in other areas.

⁵⁸ Adrisijanti, *Ensiklopedi Pamekasan: Alam, Masyarakat, Dan Budaya*, 59.

⁵⁹ Adrisijanti, ed., *Ensiklopedi Pamekasan: Alam, Masyarakat, Dan Budaya*,... 60.

⁶⁰ Interview with Bahwi, "Bahrul Lahut." in March 2018.

To map the presence of the Shattari Order in the coastal areas, several manuscript collectors in Gresik and Lamongan, East Java, confirm that there exist manuscripts directly referring to the *tarekat*, either called *Dedalan Syattariyah* or simply *Syattariyah*.⁶¹ The network supporting this distribution is still unknown although it can be traced along the northern coast of Java. Recent research suggests that several *tarekat* appeared in the Mataraman areas of Jombang, Kediri, and Tulungagung, mainly due to the proliferation of Islamic boarding schools in the 19th century. Some of the older *pesantren*, such as Termas Pacitan, Tegalsari Ponorogo, and Sidogiri Pasuruan, had their own networks. However, the chain of transmission of the *Baḥr al-Lāhūt* manuscript from Aceh has yet to be determined. So far, it can be confirmed that the Shattari order has developed rapidly in several areas of Mataraman in East Java, including Nganjuk, Madiun, and Magetan.⁶²

A manuscript copy of the *Baḥr al-Lāhūt* is also listed in a collection of manuscripts held by EDR and originated from Pamekasan. The information contained in the colophon ascribes the manuscript to is one Abu ‘Abdurrahman residing in Alur Inggil Wono Hamlet, Alor Village, Wedono Negerigung Pamekasan, signed Sunday, 2 Jumadil Akhir of the year ‘Jim Akhir.’ The initial assumption was that it refers to the person who copied the manuscript. It is plausible that this manuscript copy is based on the manuscript kept in Pondok Pesantren Sumber Anyar, because the arrangement of the texts is the same, although the number of pages is less. In the old days, the *pesantren* complex included a scriptorium for producing and storing manuscripts and other written materials. Modern research has yet to trace the inheritance process of the manuscript’s caretakers, whose institution had come into its possession through a network of *tarekat* leaders and their followers. However, considering the history of Pondok Pesantren Sumber Anyar, it is plausible that this text shares the same *locus* considering that its early caretakers descended from Ke’ Rato and had settled close to the Sumenep Palace in Madura.

2. Outside East Java

Tracing the origin of the *Baḥr al-Lāhūt* manuscripts, the initial research revealed that certain areas were highly reputed centers of Islamic learning in the past. The *Baḥr al-Lāhūt* text, along with other Islamic texts, was carried to other parts of Indonesia by religious teachers and *tarekat* leaders. Outside East Java, there exist two additional manuscript copies of the *Baḥr al-Lāhūt*; one copy in the Shaykh Yusuf Makassar collection and another copy in the Dayah Tanoh Abee collection in

⁶¹ Toha Machsum et al., *Khasanah Naskah-Naskah Jawa Pesisiran Di Jawa Timur* (Surabaya: Balai Bahasa Surabaya, 2008).

⁶² Mambaul Ngadimah, “Dinamika Jamaah Lil Muqarrabin: Tarekat Sathariyah Tanjunganom, Nganjuk Jawa Timur” (Yogyakarta: UIN Sunan Kalijaga, 2007).

Aceh. It was Abdullah⁶³ who found the manuscript in Mempawah Pontianak included in the collection of Yusuf Makassar. Abdullah does not specify the condition of the manuscript but ascribes its authorship to a certain Shaykh ‘Abdullah ‘Arif and comments briefly on its content. Regarding his identity, the rare historical sources referred to by Abdullah cannot be verified today. He also does not state whether he found the manuscript as a separate text or as part of a bundle of similar text, as the case with the copies found in other collections.⁶⁴

Regarding this specific *Baḥr al-Lāhūt* manuscript, Hamid⁶⁵ describes a bundle of manuscripts bequeathed by Yusuf Makassar’s family which is in the possession of the National Museum in Jakarta. It contains texts written by Yusuf Makassar, other authors, and the *Baḥr al-Lāhūt*, codified as Arabic Manuscript No. A-108 (NA-108). According to Hamid, the text was copied from a bundle of manuscripts dating back to 1678 by Arab Harun, the 3rd cadre in Bone at the request of the 23rd King of Bone, La Tenritappu Sultan Ahmad Shaleh Syamsuddin (1775–1812). All the manuscripts in the NA-108 bundle are written in Arabic and are associated with other bundles of the Yusuf Makassar collection coded NA-101. The total bundle contains 576 pages and consists of 30 separate texts, with *Baḥr al-Lāhūt* ranking 20th.⁶⁶ Besides texts written by Yusuf Makassar, it contains other Sufi treatises written by Fadlullah al-Burhanpuri, Ibn ‘Arabī, and others. However, Hamid’s description did not further elaborate on the text of *Baḥr al-Lāhūt*. The manuscripts were copied between 1775 and 1812.⁶⁷

Yusuf Makassar (1626–1699) is an eminent historical figure in Indonesia. He was born in Makassar and educated in Banten. In his role as an Islamic scholar who had traveled widely and visited other parts of the Muslim world, he is considered as an important link in the 17th-century network of scholars covering the Malay Archipelago and the Middle East. He visited other Islamic centers of learning in Gujarat, Aden, Damascus, Mecca, Medina and exchanged knowledge with other Muslim scholars.⁶⁸ Shaykh Yusuf authored several Islamic works that became standard references in the Muslim archipelago. He was also the *murshid* of several Sufi orders, first among them being the Khalwati order, and organized the local resistance against the Dutch colonizers before being exiled to the Cape of Good Hope in South Africa where he died. His influence is still very large in Sulawesi and several other Islamic centers such as Pontianak, Banten, and Madura. His position as

⁶³ Abdullah, *Perkembangan Ilmu Tasawuf Dan Tokoh-Tokohnya Di Nusantara*,... 4–5.

⁶⁴ Abdullah, *Perkembangan Ilmu Tasawuf Dan Tokoh-Tokohnya Di Nusantara*,... 4-5.

⁶⁵ Hamid, *Syekh Yusuf: Seorang Ulama, Sufi Dan Pejuang*,... 142–43.

⁶⁶ Hamid, *Syekh Yusuf: Seorang Ulama, Sufi Dan Pejuang*... 142-43. Hamid calls it *Bahrūn Lahūt*.

⁶⁷ Hamid, *Syekh Yusuf: Seorang Ulama, Sufi Dan Pejuang*... 142-43.

⁶⁸ Hamid, *Syekh Yusuf: Seorang Ulama, Sufi Dan Pejuang*... 142-43. See Azyumardi Azra, *Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah Dan Kepulauan Nusantara Abad XVII Dan XVIII* (Bandung: Mizan, 1999), 254.

a religious leader is thus of considerable relevance regarding the transmission of the *Baḥr al-Lāhūt* text.

As well established, Yusuf Makassar was the author of several works on Islamic spirituality and an important link in the chain of Sufi leaders who transmitted esoteric Islamic knowledge. In addition to the Khalwati order, he was a leading member of the Qadiri, Naqshbandi, and Shattari orders, and had established connections with other parts of the Muslim world.⁶⁹ This is supported by the fact that a manuscript linking back to Yusuf Makassar was recently found in a library in Tehran, Iran. It contains a chain of transmission (*sanad*) linking Yusuf Makassar to the Ibn ‘Arabī school and is dated from the 17th century.⁷⁰ His lineage in Aceh is linked to Nurrudin al-Raniri.⁷¹

Meanwhile, the *Baḥr al-Lāhūt* copy part of the Dayah Tanoh Abec Aceh collection is listed in the Tanoh Abec Aceh Besar Manuscript Catalogue⁷² as 15E/151E/Ts-30/TA/2006. The condition and content of the text have yet to be examined in detail. The manuscript is part of a bundle of nine texts and occupies fourth place. It bears no colophon or watermark, and the author is identified as ‘Abd. ‘Arifin. The brief description of the manuscript mentions that the text was written in Arabic prose on European paper on five pages, each page consisting of 17 lines.⁷³

Dayah Tanoh Abec⁷⁴ is a very renowned institution in Aceh and keeps a large collection of historical manuscripts, including Sufi literature. The *tarekat* lineage of the former head of the *dayah*, Teuku Dahlan Tanoh Abec (d. 2007) goes back to Muhammad As‘ad (d. 1705) in Medina, and not to ‘Abdurra‘uf Singkili, as most Acehnese Sufis.⁷⁵

C. The *Wujūdīya* Version of *Baḥr al-Lāhūt*

According to the existent descriptions, the content of the *Baḥr al-Lāhūt* reminds of the seven dignities or echelons, a Sufi concept popularized by Fadlullah al-Burhanpuri within the framework of Ibn ‘Arabī’s thought.⁷⁶ However, the assumption that there is a connection between the *Baḥr al-Lāhūt* and the work of

⁶⁹ Shaykh Ibrahim Kurani, who taught alongside Shaykh Abdurrouf Singkel Shaykh in Medina, Arabia

⁷⁰ Ahmad Ginanjar Sya‘ban, *Mahakarya Islam Nusantara; Kitab, Naskah, Manuskrip Dan Korespondensi Ulama Nusantara* (Tangerang: Pustaka Compass, 2017), 67–69.

⁷¹ Azra, *Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah Dan Kepulauan Nusantara Abad XVII Dan XVIII*; Hamid, *Syekh Yusuf: Seorang Ulama, Sufi Dan Pejuang*.

⁷² Fathurahman, *Katalog Naskah Tanah Abec Aceh Besar*,... 224–25.

⁷³ Fathurahman, *Katalog Naskah Tanah Abec Aceh Besar*,... 224–25.

⁷⁴ It was founded by Fairus Al-Bagdadi, an Arab scholar from Iraq, during the reign of Sultan Iskandar Muda of Aceh Darussalam (1625).

⁷⁵ Fakhriati in Fathurahman, *Tarekat Satariyah Di Minangkabau*,... 36.

⁷⁶ Masfiah and Adzfar, *Inventerisasi Dan Digitalisasi Naskah Klasik Keagamaan Di Madura, Republika*, March 11, 2009.

Burhanpuri is doubtful. The *Baḥr al-Lāhūt* does not discuss the different stations achieved through Sufi practice and is limited to the concept of divinity and the divine origin of creation. Reference to Ibn ‘Arabī, however, is justified because some of its concepts are similar to his principle of emanation.

The cosmological concept of Ibn ‘Arabī relates to the manifestation of nature and the beginning of creation. According to his theory, all things in nature are divine manifestations of God and cannot exist without Him.⁷⁷ Schimmel⁷⁸ emphasizes the strong relationship between God’s names and nature. The idea of naming as the process of creating the universe is also found in the *Baḥr al-Lāhūt* text. In fact, some of its concepts refer to several Islamic terms widely used by Muslim scholars in the archipelago that are related to the philosophy of *wujūdīya* as represented by Hamzah Fansuri and ‘Abdurra’uf Singkili. This might explain the inclusion of the *Baḥr al-Lāhūt* in the curriculum of the *pondok pesantren* or *langgar* in Java and Madura, the *dayah* in Aceh, and the *surau* in Minangkabau; all of them were connected through the *tarekat* community networks in the region.

According to the Islamic theosophy described in the *Baḥr al-Lāhūt*, Allah is not part of His creation. He is transcendent and an independent and separate entity. As for the process of creating the universe, it rests on the Light of Muhammad (*nūr Muḥammad*) that is likened to the Light of Guardianship (*nur al-wilāya*) which comes from Allah. In the words of Shaykh ‘Abdullah, the true slave and knower of God (*al-‘ārif bi-llāh*) has embarked upon the path of *gnosis* (*ma‘rifā*). He understands that the first manifestation of Allah was in the form of speech (*kalām*), before taking the form of the unseen (*nukat al-ghayb*), and then the light of Muhammad (*nūr Muḥammad*).⁷⁹

The creation of the *nūr Muḥammad* was followed by the creation of the throne (*al-‘arsh*), the footstool (*al-kursī*), the seven heavens (*al-samāwāt al-sab‘*), earth (*al-‘arḍ*) and everything else in the span of 50,000 years. The *nūr Muḥammad* is the cause of the first emanation (*al-tajallī al-awwal*) that gathered the spirits of all creatures. The first essence (*jawāhir awwal*) or the macro cosmos (*al-‘ālam al-kabīr*) is the hidden spirit (*al-rūḥ al-khafī*) of the substance of God. The heavens are inhabited by angels, while the earth is home to humans and *jinn* (spirits and demons), all created from the attributed spirit (*al-rūḥ al-idāfī*).

The path of spiritual knowledge (*ma‘rifā*) to see Allah manifested in creation emanates from the *nūr Muḥammad*. All spirits and all creation are gathered in this light.⁸⁰

⁷⁷ Mulyadi Kartanegara, *Gerbang Kearifan, Sebuah Pengantar Filsafat Islam* (Jakarta: Lentera Hati, 2006), 65–67.

⁷⁸ Annemarie Schimmel, *Dimensi Mistik Dalam Islam* (Jakarta: Pustaka Firdaus, 2000), 342.

⁷⁹ *Baḥr al-Lāhūt*,...folio 1.

⁸⁰ *Baḥr al-Lāhūt*, folio 2.

This interpretation is certainly related to Ibn ‘Arabī’s concept of emanation. It explains creation as a reflection of the existence of God. The human soul is likened to a mirror, manifesting God’s form in its glass, with its own colorful reflections created by inner human vision. Although the different stages of creation as described in the *Baḥr al-Lāhūt* are very similar to the stages of emanation as described by Ibn ‘Arabī, borrowing several of his terms, it also reflects a tendency to re-interpret the unity of being (*wujūdīya*), with an emphasis on the unity of appearance (*shuhūdīya*).⁸¹

The text contains many concepts similar to those put forward by the 16th-century scholar Hamzah Fansuri in his *Asrār al-‘Ārifīn (Secrets of the Gnostics)*, especially the notion that the essence of Muhammad or *nūr Muḥammad* is the principle of all creation. From it, the realm of immutable identities (*al-a‘yān al-thābita*) was created, which contains the essence of everything in the universe.⁸² However, there is a difference between the ideas of Hamzah Fansuri, al-Burhanpuri, and Ibn ‘Arabī’s original *wujūdīya* doctrine. The notion of the seven grades of being, introduced by al-Burhanpuri in his 16th-century treatise, was adopted by Shaykh Shamsuddin al-Sumatrani, but not by Hamzah Fansuri, as observed by Anshori.⁸³ So there is a chain of teachings based on similar *wujūdīya* views. Further, the phrase ‘ocean of divinity’ is also found in the works of Hamzah Fansuri who likened the infinite form of God to the infinite depths of the ocean.⁸⁴ He symbolized the traveler of the divine path with a boat traveling over the seas, as in his collection of Malay poems, *Syair Perahu*.⁸⁵

The 17th-century *tarekat* leader and scholar ‘Abdurra’uf Singkili also came originally from Fansur (modern Barus in North Sumatra) and was possibly related to Hamzah Fansuri⁸⁶ His works share certain ideas with the *Baḥr al-Lāhūt*. In his *Kifāyat al-Muḥtājīn (Contentment of the Needy)*, Singkili maintains the concept of God’s transcendence in creation. Before God created the universe, His thought resided in himself, followed by the creation of *nūr Muḥammad*, and then the archetypes representing the potential and not yet actualized universe. The function of the outward modes of existence (*al-a‘yān al-khārija*) was to manifest creation in its

⁸¹ *Baḥr al-Lāhūt*, folio 5.

⁸² Vladimir I. Braginsky, *Tasawuf Dan Sastra Melayu, Kajian Dan Teks-Teks* (Jakarta: RUL, 1993), 173; Muthari, *Tasawuf Yang Tertindas, Kajian Hermeneutik Terhadap Karya-Karya Hamzah Fansuri*, 153.

⁸³ M. Afif Anshori, *Tasawuf Falsafi Syaikh Hamzah Fansuri* (Yogyakarta: Gelombang Pasang, 2004), xxv.

⁸⁴ Muthari, *Tasawuf Yang Tertindas, Kajian Hermeneutik Terhadap Karya-Karya Hamzah Fansuri*,... 153.

⁸⁵ Hamzah Fansuri, *Hamzah Fansuri: Penyair Sufi Aceh*, ed. Abdul Hadi W.M. (Jakarta: Lotkalla, 1984), 31- 41.

⁸⁶ Azra, *Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah Dan Kepulauan Nusantara Abad XVII Dan XVIII*,... 206.

concrete form. Singkili emphasized that these modes or identities were absolute forms created by God and not part of Him.⁸⁷ His *Daqā'iq al-Ḥurūf* (Subtleties of the Letters) is an interpretation of Ibn 'Arabī's four stages of emanation, yet with emphasis on God's transcendence. In fact, he also seems to have adopted similar ideas developed by Shamsuddin al-Sumatrani, a student and associate of Hamzah Fansuri, while carefully avoiding misinterpretations.⁸⁸ As mentioned earlier, 'Abdurra'uf Singkili resolved the ideological conflict in the *wujūdīya* school in Aceh, represented by the followers of Hamzah Fansuri, Shamsuddin al-Sumatrani, and Nuruddin al-Raniri.⁸⁹

Thus, from a genealogical perspective of knowledge, there is a continuity between the ideas presented in the *Baḥr al-Lāhūt* and the works of Hamzah Fansuri and Abdurra'uf Singkili. Hamzah Fansuri was a member of the Qadiri order,⁹⁰ while 'Abdurra'uf Singkili belonged to the Shattari order. Both Sufi orders propagated the idea that the *nūr Muḥammad* preceded the creation of the universe, and that the process of creation included several stages of emanation, as established by Ibn 'Arabī. Not all Sufi orders in the region supported these ideas, and ideological conflicts were bound to happen. For example, Bruinessen noted that at the time the Naqshbandi order was gaining a foothold in West Sumatra which was dominated by the Shattari order.⁹¹

It seems plausible that the two Sufi orders eventually came together and decided to adjust and revise their ideological differences to accommodate both camps.⁹² Thus, the *Baḥr al-Lāhūt* can be regarded as an attempt to revise certain *wujūdīya* ideas, with emphasis on God's transcendence, in order to arrive at a workable spiritual synthesis. Increased importance is also given to matters of Islamic law, as summarized in a popular Sufi narration where the obligation to recite the *shahāda* and perform the five obligatory daily prayers is linked to the creation of the *nūr Muḥammad* 50,000 years before the creation of the archetypes and the creation of the universe in its physical form.

D. Reconstructing the Aceh–Makassar–East Java *Tarekat* Network

One theory related to the '*ulamā*' network connecting the Middle East with the archipelago is based on the increasing importance of the Islamic pilgrimage ritual.

⁸⁷ Azra, *Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah Dan Kepulauan Nusantara Abad XVII Dan XVIII*,... 206; Samad, *Syekh Burhanuddin Dan Islamisasi Minangkabau*,... 49.

⁸⁸ Azra, *Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah Dan Kepulauan Nusantara Abad XVII Dan XVIII*,... 206–7.

⁸⁹ See Azra, *Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah Dan Kepulauan Nusantara Abad XVII Dan XVIII*; Fathurahman, *Tarekat Satariyah Di Minangkabau*.

⁹⁰ See Muthari, *Tasawuf Yang Tertindas, Kajian Hermeneutik Terhadap Karya-Karya Hamzah Fansuri*... 153.

⁹¹ See Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning, Pesantren Dan Tarekat*... 234.

⁹² Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning, Pesantren Dan Tarekat*... 3.

More and more Muslims living in Nusantara decided to go on pilgrimage in Mecca, and their efforts were often hindered by restrictive colonial policy.⁹³ Bruinessen notes that the two motives for the native Muslims were seeking knowledge and reward.⁹⁴ Djauhari explains that in Madura, the capability to perform the pilgrimage and visit Mecca and Medina was also an opportunity to study with eminent Muslim scholars who resided there. The Holy City in Arabia was home to a large number of *émigré* 'ulamā' from all over the Muslim world, including Indonesia.⁹⁵ There was a Jawi or Jawa community of East Javanese 'ulamā' living in the vicinity of the *Haramayn*. He notes that according to records, there were 2,130 Islamic scholars living in Sumenep of whom 896 went on *haji* in 1880, and 1,364 more in 1890.⁹⁶ Bruinessen adds there were Madurese scholars who were living in Mecca and teaching at the Grand Mosque, with their own circle of followers and students. In addition, the lineage of the *tarekat* in Indonesia continued with Shaykh Kholil and soon gained legitimacy back home, especially for members of the Qadiri and Naqshbandi orders.⁹⁷

Mastuhu⁹⁸ explains that from the 13th to 17th century, Sumenep was the traditional center of power and Islamic learning in the region.⁹⁹ As an institution closely affiliated with the Sumenep sultanate, its scholars taught the members of the royal household from the palace.¹⁰⁰ Within this framework, Sumber Anyar facilitated the Islamization of Madura. Johns confirms this assumption in his study of Islamic *pondok pesantren* in Indonesia when stating that these traditional centers of learning largely determined the Islamic character of the kingdoms and spread Islam to more remote areas.¹⁰¹

⁹³ Suminto H. Aqib, *Politik Islam Hindia Belanda* (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1996), 93–94.

⁹⁴ Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning, Pesantren Dan Tarekat*... 3.

⁹⁵ M. Tidjani Djauhari, "Peran Islam Dalam Pembentukan Etos Masyarakat Madura," in *Ruh Islam Dalam Budaya Bangsa*, ed. Aswab Mahasin (Jakarta: Yayasan Festival Istiqlal, 1996), 252.

⁹⁶ Djauhari, 253; Huub de Jonge, *Madura Dalam Empat Zaman: Pedagang, Perkembangan Ekonomi, Dan Islam; Suatu Studi Antropologi Ekonomi* (Jakarta: Gramedia, 1989), 240–41.

⁹⁷ Bruinessen, *Tarekat Naqshabandiyah Di Indonesia*,... 186. See also Yalda Azarmi, Najaf Jowkar. "Mīr Ahmad Kashshī : His Biography and Sufi path According to the Manuscript of his 'Tuhfa al-Rasūl and Farīd al-Maktūbāt'". *Literature History* 9, no. 1, (2016): 72-90, https://hlit.sbu.ac.ir/article_98863.html?lang=en

⁹⁸ See Mastuhu, *Dinamika Sistem Pendidikan Pesantren* (Jakarta: INIS, 1994).

⁹⁹ See Adrisijanti, *Ensiklopedi Pamekasan: Alam, Masyarakat, Dan Budaya*; Masfiah and Adzfar, *Inventarisasi Dan Digitalisasi Naskah Klasik Keagamaan Di Madura*; Bahwi, *Sejarah Pondok Pesantren Sumber Anyar Larangan Tokol Tlanakan Madura Dan Silsilah Keluarga*.

¹⁰⁰ Bahwi, *Sejarah Pondok Pesantren Sumber Anyar Larangan Tokol Tlanakan Madura Dan Silsilah Keluarga*,... 27.

¹⁰¹ Anthony H. Johns, "Islam in Southeast Asia: Reflections and New Directions," *Indonesia* 19 (1975): 40. See also Peter G. Riddell, "The Makings of Indonesian Islam: Orientalism and the Narration of a Sufi Past By Michael Laffan", *Journal of Islamic Studies*, 24, no. 3, (2013), Pages 408–411, <https://doi.org/10.1093/jis/ett045>.

Regarding the distribution of the *Baḥr al-Lāhūt* text, its movement during the 17th and 18th centuries has yet to be determined and historically reconstructed. As established above, a community of Madurese scholars lived and taught in the *Haramayn* before the 19th century. One of the links in the Naqshbandi chain of transmission was the figure of ‘Abdul ‘Azim who died in Bangkalan in 1916.¹⁰² An earlier link might have been the figure of Umro or Raden Umro, the second caretaker of the Pesantren Sumber Anyar, whose actual name is unknown.¹⁰³ Already before the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, the descendants of Kiai Nuri were known to visit and study with renowned scholars in Mecca and Medina. It is plausible that the *Baḥr al-Lāhūt* was brought from Aceh to East Java, including Madura, by scholars and *tarekat* members on their extended pilgrimage travels. This was, for example, the case of Yusuf Makassar and his contemporaries, who frequently made a stop in Aceh to visit its famous centers of learning.

The preserved *Baḥr al-Lāhūt* manuscripts were copied on European paper watermarked M.L.M., thus suggesting that the paper was produced in the 16th or 17th century. This coincides with the establishment of the *pesantren* Sumber Anyar in 1515.¹⁰⁴ The other manuscripts were written on wood pulp or *dluwang* and probably produced in the 16th century. This is in accordance with the findings of Bahwi¹⁰⁵ and Musfiah and Adzfar¹⁰⁶ who stated that the activities of the Sumber Anyar scriptorium peaked in the 16th century when the pesantren was managed by the third generation of caretakers led by Sukriya who had inherited the texts from the *kiai*. According to Musfiah and Adzfar,¹⁰⁷ the *Baḥr al-Lāhūt* manuscript dates from the 17th century, as identified by the year in which it was copied.

Mas’ud¹⁰⁸ discusses the role of certain *pesantren* which specialize in Sufi knowledge and *tarekat* practices of the Qadiri, Naqshbandi, and Shattari orders. In this context, the Sumber Anyar network and its scientific genealogy, especially the abundance of historical manuscripts, suggest that during the 13th–18th centuries, it was indeed the institution of the *pesantren* which was mostly involved in transmitting and distributing Islamic knowledge in the archipelago.

Meanwhile, the Shattari order has its own centers and line of scholars in East Java, from its beginnings until today. The quarters of the order in Kediri, where one

¹⁰² Bruinessen, *Tarekat Naqsabandiyah Di Indonesia*,... 187.

¹⁰³ Interview with Hibullah Bahwi, March, 2018.

¹⁰⁴ See Masfiah and Adzfar, *Inventerisasi Dan Digitalisasi Naskah Klasik Keagamaan Di Madura*... 14.

¹⁰⁵ See Bahwi, *Sejarah Pondok Pesantren Sumber Anyar Larangan Tokol Tlanakan Madura Dan Silsilah Keluarga*... 27.

¹⁰⁶ See Masfiah and Adzfar, *Inventerisasi Dan Digitalisasi Naskah Klasik Keagamaan Di Madura*... 14.

¹⁰⁷ Masfiah and Adzfar, *Inventerisasi Dan Digitalisasi Naskah Klasik Keagamaan Di Madura*... 14.

¹⁰⁸ Mas’ud, *Dari Haramain Ke Nusantara, Jejak Intelektual Arsitek Pesantren*,... 93.

manuscript of the *Baḥr al-Lāhūt* is located, lie outside the *pesantren*.¹⁰⁹ However, in the Mataraman area, the Shattari order is well integrated into the community and has its own *pesantren* in Tegalsari since the 17th century. It is considered the oldest *pesantren* in Indonesia and closely affiliated with the Javanese center of power in Surakarta.¹¹⁰ Among its members were members of the royal court and poets but also common village farmers from Magetan, Madiun, Caruban, and Nganjuk. Today, Pesantren Tanjunganom in Nganjuk is a center of the *tarekat*,¹¹¹ although Darma al-Idrus shared that its numbers are diminishing.¹¹² The same development can be observed along the coast of East Java, such as in Gresik, Tuban, and Lamongan, where the Qadiri and Naqshbandi orders dominate Sufi culture. Despite its smaller numbers, in some areas of Java, the Shattari order remains popular and is considered the *tarekat* most indigenous to the area.¹¹³

However, it does not seem that *Baḥr al-Lāhūt* followed the Shattari network. The literature¹¹⁴ describes such a network linking ‘Abdurra’uf Singkili to ‘Abdul Muhyi Pamijahan and Burhanudin Ulakan, but the description does not include any mention of the treatise among the books taught in the *tarekat*.¹¹⁵ In Banten, the congregation in Kediri relied on their chain of transmission (*sanad*) through ‘Abdul Muhyi Pamijahan, a contemporary of Yusuf Makassar. However, based on the information gained from personal interviews and the manuscript collections, a text on the Qadiri and Naqshbandi orders mentions Ahmad Khatib Sambas. Thus, it is plausible that the Shattari network in Kediri relied not only on ‘Abdul Muhyi but also other figures. Even though the manuscript is part of the *Babone Tarekat Syattariyah* collection. According to local sources, this manuscript is reserved for the *murshid* and is not accessible to students and outsiders. The transmission chain of the Shattari order in Kediri included ‘Abdurra’uf Singkili and Hamzah Fansuri.¹¹⁶ Regarding the practices of unified *tarekat*, this is a common phenomenon.¹¹⁷

Since one manuscript of the *Baḥr al-Lāhūt* is kept in Tanoh Abee, and there was someone with the right credentials not connected with ‘Abdurra’uf Singkili in

¹⁰⁹ Interview with Darma Al-Idrus, “Bahrul Lahut” (2018). in Kediri.

¹¹⁰ Wahyu Widodo, *Mantra Kidung Jawa, Mengurai Yang Lingual Hingga Yang Transendental* (Malang: UB Press, 2018), 108.

¹¹¹ See Ngadimah, “Dinamika Jamaah Lil Muqarrabin: Tarekat Sathariyah Tanjunganom, Nganjuk Jawa Timur.”

¹¹² Interview with Al-Idrus, “Bahrul Lahut.”

¹¹³ Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning, Pesantren Dan Tarekat...* 234.

¹¹⁴ See Azra, *Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah Dan Kepulauan Nusantara Abad XVII Dan XVIII*; Christomy, *Signs of the Wali: Narratives at the Sacred Sites in Pamijahan, West Java*; Fathurahman, *Tarekat Satariyah Di Minangkabau*.

¹¹⁵ Interview with Tommy Christomy, “*Baḥr al-Lāhūt*, 2018.

¹¹⁶ Interview with Al-Idrus, “*Baḥr al-Lāhūt*”.

¹¹⁷ See Abdul Aziz Masyhuri, *Ensiklopedi 22 Aliran Tarekat Dalam Tasawuf* (Surabaya: Imtiyaz, 2014).

the person of Tengku Dahlan Tanoh Abec, it is possible that the text was in this case not transmitted through Abdurra'uf Singkili. Here, the absence of the *Baḥr al-Lāhūt* in his chain of transmission chain might be explained by his critical views on the concept of *wahdat al-wujūd*. Ibrahim al-Kurani, a student of Ahmad Qushashi, explains that the former clarified his position in relation to the *Tuhfah al-Mursalāh* (Gift Addressed to the Spirit of the Prophet) with direct reference to Ibn 'Arabī's cosmology in his *Ithāf al-Dhaki* (Bestowal to One of Discriminating Intelligence). On the other hand, the *Tuhfah* has become a standard *tarekat* reference, foremost in the Naqshbandi order. As already established earlier, the Shattari and Naqshbandi orders do not necessarily share the same views on *wahdat al-wujūd*.¹¹⁸

Some of the *Baḥr al-Lāhūt* manuscripts referring to Yusuf Makassar were found with the locus in Pontianak and Jakarta. Yusuf Makassar had received a certificate from the Qadiri order in Aceh, in addition to several other *tarekat* including the Shattari, Naqshbandi, and Khalwati orders. He had studied under the Acehnese cleric, Nurrudin Arraniri from 1641 to 1645 during the reign of Sultana Tajul Alam.¹¹⁹ Yusuf Makassar constitutes one of the links between the Shattari order in Sumatera and Ibrahim Kurani in Medina.¹²⁰ Another scholar who studied with Ibrahim Kurani was 'Abdurra'uf Singkili,¹²¹ who spread the order through several of his students, including Burhadunudin Ulakan and Abdul Muhyi Pamijahan.¹²² Unlike him, Sheikh Yusuf is always identified with the Khalwati order.¹²³ The order later branched into Khalwatiyah Yusuf and Khalwatiyah Samman.¹²⁴

There are several *tarekat* in Madura, among them the Naqshbandi order, which strongly identifies with Shaykh Yusuf Makassar. For instance, in 1975, Al Falah Mosque in Sungai Jawi, Pontianak, commemorated the death of Yusuf Makassar organized by the Naqshbandiyah Muzhariyah Congregation.¹²⁵ Several of his works are still being studied today together with the *Baḥr al-Lāhūt*, including *Fath al-Rahman* (Opening of the Beneficent), *Safinat al-Najāt* (Vessel of Success),¹²⁶ and *Tāj al-Ārifīn* (Crown of the Knowers).

¹¹⁸ See Fathurahman, *Tarekat Satariyah Di Minangkabau...* 36.

¹¹⁹ Hamid, *Syekh Yusuf: Seorang Ulama, Sufi Dan Pejuang...* 91.

¹²⁰ Hamid, *Syekh Yusuf: Seorang Ulama, Sufi Dan Pejuang...* 92, 362.

¹²¹ Michael Laffan, *Sejarah Islam Di Nusantara* (Bandung: Bentang, 2015), 31–32.

¹²² See Christomy, *Signs of the Wali: Narratives at the Sacred Sites in Pamijahan, West Java...*

¹²³ Hamid, *Syekh Yusuf: Seorang Ulama, Sufi Dan Pejuang...* 142-43.

¹²⁴ Masyhuri, *Ensiklopedi 22 Aliran Tarekat Dalam Tasawuf...* 135.

¹²⁵ Abdullah, *Perkembangan Ilmu Tasawuf Dan Tokoh-Tokohnya Di Nusantara...* 77.

¹²⁶ Separate manuscript in Bahwi, *Catatan Hasil Penelitian Terhadap Kitab-Kitab Tulisan Tangan Peninggalan Para Sesepeuh Pondok Pesantren Langger Raje Sumber Anyar Larangan Tokol Tlanakan Pamekasan*.

Meanwhile, the *Baḥr al-Lāhūt* manuscript copies kept in Sumber Anyar and Sidoarjo originated from Pamekasan. The Naqshbandi order is represented in Pakong, Pamekasan, by Hasan Basuni in the late 1920s, and Sumber Anyar by Shamsuddin al-Sumatrani in the 1960s.¹²⁷ Interviews with *tarekat* experts suggest that the Sufi orders entertained close ties with the royal palace¹²⁸ *kitāb kuning* and were respected among the common people.¹²⁹

E. Conclusion

Baḥr al-Lāhūt is an important Sufi treatise authored by ‘Abdullah ‘Arif or ‘Abdul ‘Arifin in the 16th century circulated Aceh, Makassar and East Java. The text reflects the ideas of ‘Abdurra’uf Singkili who revised Ibn ‘Arabī’s theory of emanation and distanced himself from the more extreme *wujūdīya* school.

The dissemination of religious knowledge through the existing *tarekat* networks suggests that the *Baḥr al-Lāhūt* was not only transmitted by the Shattari order but via other *tarekat* networks linked to Yusuf Makassar. Examining the circulation of the *Baḥr al-Lāhūt* manuscripts in East Java, it shows that the intellectual network between East Java and the archipelago was formed by brotherhoods of *tarekat* and *pesantren*. In addition, there existed other single and multi-dimensional *tarekat* lines in East Java, both inside and outside the *pesantren*.

¹²⁷ Bruinessen, *Tarekat Naqshabandiyah Di Indonesia*,... 187.

¹²⁸ Interview with Al-Idrus, “Bahrul Lāhūt.”

¹²⁹ See Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning, Pesantren Dan Tarekat*... 234.

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