

Discourse of Fiqh and Sufism Scholars: a Story of Indonesian Islamic Intellectual History

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ABSTRACT

Indonesia is one of the countries with the largest Muslims in the world, which has a long history of developing religious discourse, both in the studies of kalam, Islamic law and even in Sufism which is epistemologically included as part of the study of philosophy. One of the things that are very interesting from the whole piece of history is the controversy between fiqh scholars and sufism scholars, with two different bases of view. Fiqh scholars look more at the dimensions of sharia truths, which are regulated indefinite and measurable legal rules, while tasawuf scholars look at the dimensions of essence that have exceeded the limits of sharia truth. The academic discourse between Sufi scholars and Fiqh scholars occurred during the Islamic era of Demak, mainly due to two interrelated factors, firstly, regarding the different parameters of truth between the philosophical Sufism embraced by Syaekh Siti Jenar, and the shari'ah views adopted by The Nine Saints, represented by Sunan Bonang, Sunan Kalijogo, and Sunan Kudus, as well as two other Demak figures, namely Prince Modang and Sunan Geseng. It is feared that it will cause internal divisions within the palace. The history of Islamic intellectuality in Indonesia has been going on for a very long time, since civilization developed in the days of the Islamic kingdoms in the Middle Ages, both the work of Aceh Darussalam which was centered in Aceh, and the kingdoms of Demak and Pajang which were centered in Java. The same phenomenon also occurred in Aceh, with the emergence of Hamzah Fansuri, a great scholar in the 15th century AD.

A. Background

Indonesia is one of the countries with the largest Muslims in the world (Van Bruinessen, 2012), which has a long history of developing religious discourse, both in the studies of kalam, Islamic law and even in Sufism which is epistemologically included as part of the study of philosophy. (Haryanto, 2020) In the science of kalam which is a reference in fostering a system of religious beliefs, the Indonesian Muslim community, although the majority are Asy'ariyah adherents, in it is mixed with khawarij and murjiah. (Rubini, 2018) And now, anthropocentric rational thoughts have developed, and have expanded the area of religious discourse with wider issues. (Bukhari et al., 2019)

Likewise, religious practices are regulated in Islamic fiqh thoughts, which are hierarchically adherents of the al-Shafi'i school of thought.

(Aprilianto & Zahidi, 2020) It's just that the literature used by the intellectuals is different, even though they come from the same madzhab environment, so their practice is different. Then, in the modern generation, Muslims expanded their intellectual network, by opening access not only through traditional Indonesian-Egyptian channels but also by opening access to Wahhabism sources in Saudi Arabia. (Jahroni et al., 2016; Kenney & Moosa, 2014) These academic contacts have given birth to puristic movements for practicing Islam, according to the spirit developed by Wahhabis in Saudi Arabia, thus giving birth to new movements in the 20th century. (Kenney & Moosa, 2014)

One of the things that are very interesting from the whole piece of history is the controversy between fiqh scholars and sufism scholars (Karim, 2020), with two different bases of view. Fiqh scholars

look more at the dimensions of sharia truths, which are regulated indefinite and measurable legal rules, (Siregar, 2021) while tasawuf scholars look at the dimensions of essence that have exceeded the limits of sharia truth. (Karim, 2020) It's just that, in general, the shari'ah scholars get the support of power, because the religion they bring can be implemented by the whole community, at all social levels, and its implementation and violations have clear parameter boundaries. Meanwhile, Sufism scholars who do not use shari'ah measures are always far from power, because not only do they not have clear parameters, but further than that, they are often controversial with the government itself, as an implication of their contradictions with shari'ah scholars. (Karim, 2020)

That is what happened to Sheikh Siti Jenar, in the 9th century AD, in the kingdom of Demak. Sheikh Siti Jenar teaches religion to his students and practices Sufism that are difficult for ordinary people to understand. (Afrianti, 2016) The amaliah Sufism movement which has transcended the truths of shari'ah is what made Sheikh Siti popularly seen by the Islamic kingdom of Demak, as an Ulama who taught heretical science, and because of this action, Sheikh Siti Jenar was sentenced to death based on the decision of the trial of the Shari'ah scholars from the Nine Saints. (Abdurahman, 2018)

Similarly, the phenomenon that occurred in Aceh, in the 17th century. Hamzah Fansuri is a Sufi who teaches the theory of Nur Muhammad. (Syukri et al., 2022) Hamzah Fansuri brought the concept of Nur Muhammad into the concept of al-Hulu, wihdah al-Wujud, and al-Ittihad, namely Allah takes a place in one's soul in every person who has reached perfection, from the ideals brought by Nur Muhammad. (Kau, 2011) The criticism of Hamzah Fansuri was conveyed by Nuruddin al-Raniri, an Arab cleric born in Gijarat, India, who lived in Aceh during the reign of Iskandar Tsani. One of al-Raniri's tasks is to criticize Hamzah Fansuri's philosophical Sufism theory so that the Acehnese Islamic community does not get lost in these works. (Afrianti, 2016)vv

These two discourses that occur in different timescales as well as different geographical and demographic locations will be the focus of this paper, namely the discourse of fiqh scholars with Sufism scholars on the themes of al-hulul and/or manunggaling kawula gusti.

B. Fiqh and Sufism as Teachings in Islam

Fiqh, shari'ah, Islamic law are terms that the Indonesian Muslim community understands the same way. However, in religious terms, the scholars distinguish them. Fiqh as stated by Faruq Nabhan is the science of Islamic law that regulates the actions of mukallaf as a result of the study of tafshil arguments (the arguments governing specific actions). Mahmoud Syaltout conveys the same definition, and both of them tend to only divide Islamic teachings into two major parts, Aqidah and Shari'ah. Faruq Nabhan and Syaltout both hold the view that Islam is only two Aqidah and Shari'ah. Aqidah regulates the belief system, while Shari'ah is a system of behavior and actions. It's just that classical scholars see that there are sharia rules that already have clear legal provisions, mandatory, ibahah, karahah and haram, and there are also mukallaf actions whose parameters are good and bad, without a definite position. law. All of that, regulated in the rules of morality. (Rosyada, 2018)

Shari'ah in essence, as stated by Muhammad Abu Zahrah is a path, namely the path to God, which in terms means the various provisions of God that are conveyed through revelation in the Qur'an and the explanations given by the Prophet Muhammad, which have been compiled in al-Sunnah Nabawiyah. Nevertheless, substantively Fiqh also includes Shari'ah, because it comes from both, however, Shari'ah which has been stated in the Qur'an and al-Sunnah, cannot be criticized, and applies universally, while fiqh is the result of human thought, can be criticized and applied locally and temporally. (Nashir, 2017)

On the way to God, all humans must use shari'ah, because if they don't use shari'ah, they must have been lost from the start. However, when it comes to God, one no longer needs the Shari'ah. That is the science of nature, that is, when a person has reached the circle of God, has entered the real world, that is, he can let go of all his limitations in space and time, he has damaged his humanity (fana) and has entered the realm of immortality (baqa). When he has entered the realm of immortality, every Sufi no longer needs the Shari'ah. This is the origin of the controversy between fiqh scholars and Sufism scholars, because essentially they are also human, have a human form, and still live in the natural world, he sits, stands, and walks, just like other humans. (Alkilidar & Khafaji, 2020)

Sufism itself comes from Arabic which means holy. However, the writers of Sufism have given birth to many arguments about the use of the word to symbolize the behavior of someone who has reached that essence, and or steps towards the truth. The word Sufism comes from the word Safa in the meaning of holy and Sufi is a person who is purified. And indeed, many Sufis try to purify themselves through performing a lot of worship, especially prayer and fasting, doing a lot of taubah, and being ascetic in their worldly life. However, referring to the traditions of the Sufis, the word Sufism is associated with various connotations as follows: (Bilqies, 2014)

- a. Saf (row). What is meant by saf here is the first line of prayer in the mosque. The first row is occupied by people who come quickly to the mosque and read a lot of verses from the Qur'an and make dhikr before the time for prayer comes. People like this are those who are trying to purify themselves and be close to God.
- b. Ahl al-Suffah, namely the companions who emigrated with the Prophet to Medina by leaving their wealth in Mecca. In Medina they lived as poor people, living in the Prophet's Mosque and sleeping on stone benches using the suffah, (saddle) as a pillow. Ahl al-Suffah, even though they have nothing, are kind and noble and don't care about the world. This is also the nature of the Sufis.
- c. Sophos (Greek which entered into Islamic philosophy) which means wisdom, and the Sufis also know wisdom. This opinion is indeed many who reject it because the word sophos has entered the Arabic word for philosophy, and is written with sin and not with shad as contained in the word Sufism.
- d. Suf (wool). In the history of Sufism, if someone wants to enter the path of Sufism, he leaves the luxurious clothes he usually wears and is replaced with coarse woolen cloth woven simply from sheep's wool. This outfit symbolizes simplicity as well as poverty and distance from the world.

Among all these opinions, this last opinion is widely accepted as the origin of the word Sufi. So, a Sufi is a person who wears coarse wool to distance himself from the material world and focus on the spiritual realm. The first person to use the word Sufi seems to be Abu Hashim al-Kufi in Iraq. (Bilqies, 2014)

Sufis, in everyday life outside of their time in their ma'rifah position, or after turan from the nature of nature enter ordinary human life and carry out sharia again, still maintain their asceticism, so as not to disturb the quality of their holiness with their love for the world, because the love of the world, is a sin for them, and will disturb their closeness to God so that it will also slow down their journey towards God to reach the realm of nature. Therefore, they dress simply, wearing sheep's wool, just to protect themselves from the cold, but not to beautify themselves and the glitter of the life of the world. (Ihsan et al., 2021)

C. Academic Discourse of Sufi Scholars with Shari'ah Scholars; Case Studies of Shaykh Siti Jenar in Java and Hamzah Fansuri in Aceh

Sufi history is the history of the Islamic world. Sufistic life has begun to develop since the time of the Prophet, even when he was still around, many friends, who became members of Sufah, lived in the Prophet's mosque and did not live a life like the other companions. This tradition continued to develop in the next generation so that during the time of Amawy and Abbasy the big names appeared Hasan al-Bishri, Rabi'ah al-Adawiyah, al-Hallaj, Ibn Araby and Abu Yazid al-Busthami, Dzunun al-Mishri, as Sufism scholars who have surpassed the Shari'ah in their Sufistic tradition, in academic studies are commonly referred to as philosophical Sufism. And later also appeared Imam al-Ghazali, as a Fiqh scholar who entered the world of Sufism, and then gave birth to tariqah, which uses fiqh parameters in assessing the truth of its practice, so it is commonly referred to as tariqah al-mu'tabarah. (Cassiem, 2014)

The transformation of the Sufistic tradition continues to be carried over to Indonesia, not only because of their intellectual network with foreign scholars, but also the literature they read. The scholars who developed Islam in Indonesia, are generally Sufistic scholars. All The are Sufi scholars. However, in the midst of that, there were also figures of Sufism scholars whose Sufi traditions transcended the boundaries of shari'ah, such as Sheikh Siti Jenar with the Sufism teachings "Manungaling Kawula Gusti". (Wahyuni, 2017)

Syekh Siti Jenar is a Sufi born in 1426 AD, with a place of birth that is still disputed until now between Cirebon, precisely in Lemah Abang. For this reason, he is also commonly referred to as sheikh Lemah Abang, whose name is attributed to his place

of residence. However, some chroniclers conclude that he came from Java, to be precise in Desa Kresdasawa, Jepara, and contributed greatly to the spread of Islam in Java, and was his favorite student of Sunan Bonang. He learned a lot from his teacher, it's just that at the end of his life he tragically died and was sentenced to death by Demak Bintoro's work, because he was considered to be teaching misguided Sufism, and politically, disturbing the stability of power. (Fauzan, 2012)

Sheikh Siti Jenar's scientific network is indeed different from other Nine Saints. According to Hasan Simon, as a teenager, Sheikh Siti Jenar studied and lived in Baghdad, and learned many lessons about Islam in the city, then, moved to Gujarat, even had a family in Gujarat, returned to Baghdad, and recently returned to Java. and spread Islam in Java. He was able to influence the community, so that his followers grew more and more powerful, even among them were the court of Demak Bintoro, thus worrying the rulers who were accompanied by sharia scholars from The Nine Saints. (Afrianti, 2016)

In his teachings, it is emphasized that in humans there is a spirit that comes from the spirit of God following the verse of the Qur'an which explains the creation of humans. The human spirit will unite with the spirit of God when the worship of God occurs. (Maguid & Halim, 2015) This difference in the interpretation of the Qur'anic verses from Sheikh Siti's students has led to a polemic that in the human body resides the spirit of God, namely the polemic of 'Manunggaling Kawula Gusti'.

This verse became the basis for the development of the Sufism teachings of Manunggaling Kawula Gusti, namely that God is integrated into man, God takes place in Man. (Wachid, 2021) That is the essence of human happiness, namely the union of God with humans, which is no longer hindered by the fight by the body. The love of the body for the world must be killed so that God can take a place in every human soul. Then, at the same time, Sheikh Siti Jenar also criticized the practice of sharia which was developed by The Nine Saints in the Islamic Kingdom of Demak, Bintoro, under the leadership of Raden Fatah. According to him, Shari'ah has become very formalistic and has lost its essence dimension. (Fawaid et al., 2022)

Sheikh Siti Jenar said that the Shari'a taught by The Nine Saints was "nonsense". Of course, this term is very, very different from the opinion of people who state that Sheikh Siti Jenar rejects Islamic law. It

is not a rejection of Islamic Shari'ah, but he places great emphasis on the spiritual dimension of Shari'ah. Worshipping prayer is not in bowing and prostration, but the essence of the encounter with God to where. Therefore, when Sheikh Siti Jenar, has arrived in a position of union with God, she no longer needs sharia, because she has arrived at the goal, the essence of union with God. This is what caused controversy with the shari'ah scholars, who were around the palace of power, namely the other saints. (Fawaid et al., 2022)

Thus, the academic discourse between Sufi scholars and Fiqh scholars occurred during the Islamic era of Demak, mainly due to two interrelated factors, firstly, regarding the different parameters of truth between the philosophical Sufism embraced by Syaekh Siti Jenar, and the shari'ah views adopted by The Nine Saints, represented by Sunan Bonang, Sunan Kalijogo, and Sunan Kudus, as well as two other Demak figures, namely Prince Modang and Sunan Geseng. It is feared that it will cause internal divisions within the palace. (Kasdi, 2017)

Meanwhile, Hamzah Fansuri was a medieval Acehnese poet. Although until now no data has been obtained on when and where he was born, historical research concludes that Hamzah Fansuri is of Persian descent. Naquib Allatas concludes he was born in the 16th century in Barus, or fansur. The history of the entry of Persians into Aceh began with the policy of Sulthan Alaidin Malikussaleh (1261-1289), to open doors for Persians both for business purposes, da'wah, and also teaching in Dayah education centers. During the reign of Sultan Alaidin Riayat Syah saidil Mukammil (1589-1604), Hamzah Fansuri established the Obloh Dayah at the left junction of Rundeng. At the same time, his passion for literature was very strong, and he expressed his Sufistic ideas in poetic works so that he was dubbed as a Sufi writer who was unrivaled in his time and after. (Kurniati, 2021)

The thought of Sufism raised and put forward by Hamzah Fansuri in his poems, as stated by A. Hasymi, is Wihdatu al-Wujud Sufism, namely the union of man to God who is loved by a Sufi in his Sufistic rituals. A Sufi after passing through all maqamat, and reaching ma'rifat, continues to increase the intensity of his remembrance, thus destroying his human form, and enters the realm of kebaqaan. This is where humans enter the realm of eternity, and unite in the eternity of God. This is what Hamzah Fansuri articulated in his poems. (Harahap, 2021)

There are many more of his Sufism thoughts that are raised in his works. Meanwhile, Hamzah Fansuri, is a 17th-century Sufi figure who developed in Aceh. Hamzah Fansuri developed the teachings of Sufism with the concept of Nur Muhammad. Nur Muhammad is knowledge ('ilm) that looks at ma'lum or ideas. Its place originates between the knower and the known (between the Absolute Substance and the world). Therefore, elsewhere it is stated that the Light of Muhammad shone from the Essence of Allah and that the entire universe was created from the light of Muhammad. On the other hand, Nur Muhammad was created from the Essence of Allah, and if there were no light of Muhammad, this universe would not exist. (Afrianti, 2016)

Then, Hamzah Fansuri also raised the idea of the unification between the absolute and the visible, which was put forward with the concept of incarnation. That there are two existences, namely the incarnation that occurs within the Absolute Substance which is intelligent, and the incarnation that occurs outside the Absolute Substance, its nature can be seen. The relationship between the two is the same as the relationship between manifestation and reflected image, or as outer and inner, in such a way that the Absolute Substance appears in the world of phenomena. Wachda is a mirror that reflects the image of the Absolute or the shadow of the Absolute. Wachda is the self-monitoring rank of the Absolute Substance, by which the Absolute knows Himself, and then it is as if the Absolute has awakened from His reverie. Wachda is a logo. He is also called "Nur Muhammad". (Afrianti, 2016)

Hamzah Fansuri's teachings made Iskandar Tsani's authority worried that society would be divided by conflicts over religious teachings. Therefore, he asked Nuruddin ar-Raniri to try to criticize Hamzah Fansuri's teachings. Nuruddin Ar-Raniri as a Fiqh expert from Gujarat who has lived in Pahang Malacca for a long time was asked to come to the kingdom of Aceh Darussalam by Iskandar Tsani to give fatwas and explanations to the community about the true teachings of Islam that can be used and guided together so that people do not divide by religious differences. (Huda, 2018)

Nuruddin al-Raniri's original name is Nuruddin Muhammad ibn Ali Hamid ar-Raniri: Nuruddin Muhamamd bin Ali bin Hasan bin Muhammad Hamid ar-Raniri al-Quraisyi Ash-Syafii he was born in Ranir (now Render) located near Surat, Gujarat, India. He began to study religion in this

place. It is estimated that Nuruddin Ar-Raniri came to Aceh on 6 Muharram 1047 H. (31 May 1658) during the reign of Sultan Iskandar Thani. Because of the trust and protection of Sultan Iskandar Thani, Nuruddin Ar-Raniri had the opportunity to eradicate the manifestiyyah teachings spread by Hamzah Fansuri and Syamsuddin Sumatrani. Before going to Aceh, Nuruddin Ar-Raniri studied religion in various places, among others, in Tarim, southern Arabia (the center of Islamic studies at that time). Then he went to Mecca to perform the pilgrimage and to Medina. It is estimated that Nuruddin Ar-Raniri had previously been to Aceh (1637) during the reign of Sultan Iskandar Muda. Because it doesn't get the response it deserves. he then continued his journey to the Malay Peninsula and settled in Pahang. He died in Ranir on 22 Zulhijah 1069 (21 September 1658 M). (Huda, 2018)

According to Sheikh Nuruddin, the nature of this nature was made by Allah through tajalli. All phenomena and events that occur in nature are caused by Allah's tajalli which always occurs at all times and times. He rejected Al-Farabi's theory of emanation or faidh, because it would lead to the recognition that this world is qadim so that it falls into shirk. The theory also denies the power of God because nature, according to the theory, abounds by itself without His pleasure, like abundant light from the sun. However, he who is also a follower of the tajalli theory has said that the existence of a'yan tsabitah is something that is qadim, which is essentially the same as the theory of emanation from al-Farabi. Apparently, he was not aware of this. (Huda, 2018)

Sheikh Nuruddin in his writings also said that what was first made by God was the "first intellect" which is also called the essence of Muhammad or the Spirit of A'dzam. He is one in essence (nature), but many in terms of understanding the mind. Therefore, it functions as a cause and a relation. Furthermore, from the multiplicity of intelligence in its essence, "second sense" and astronomy abound (compare with Al-Farabi's concept). The sum of all senses is ten and the number of celestials is nine. The order of the stars is Throne, Kursy, Zuhul (Saturn), Mustari (Jupiter), Mirrih (Mars), Sham (Sun), Zuhara (Venus), Utharid (Mercurius), and Qamar (moon). The Nine Saints are called Aba '(father). Underneath it is the Ummah (mother) which consists of four elements, namely air, water, fire, and earth. Due to the influence of the Aba celestial sphere on the four elements (Ummahat), the Imadat, Nabatat, and Hayawanat were born,

respectively. The latter is man, with the birth of man, the creation of the whole world is complete. (Mudin & Desnafitri, 2019)

Nuruddin's stance on the origin of the human soul is closely related to his theory of nur or Muhammad's spirit. He based his opinion on a hadith of the Prophet which means: "The first thing Allah made was my nur" (in another narration, ruhy)". And another hadith: "If it weren't for you (Muhammad), I wouldn't have made this world." So, Nuruddin argues that nature and its contents, including all the spirits of these creatures were made from Nur Muhammad. (Huda, 2018)

Then, he explained the process of the occurrence of Nur Muhammad. It is said that Nur Muhammad was created as a result of Allah's longing for His Essence. Because of that longing, the image of longing (shuratul-ma'syuuq) arose in His knowledge, then Allah spoke to him with the word of creation "Kun", so Nur Muhammad was born. The appearance of all the spirits of Nur Muhammad does not mean that Nur Muhammad consists of parts that can be transferred to other creatures. According to Nuruddin, the appearance of spirit of Nur Muhammad's spirit is like a (silent) lamp from which thousands of other lamps can be lit. So what moves is not the light but the trace (atsar) that can light many lamps. (Mudin & Desnafitri, 2019)

According to Nuruddin, Nur Muhammad / Muhammad's spirit is the first essence that was first born in the knowledge of Allah (ta'ayyun awal) which was born from tajalli dzat on dzat. Therefore the nature or nur Muhammad is the "nature of jami" which collects all that is right. This is because the nature of the shahadah is merely a container of reality for the name of Allah Al-Achir, Adz-'Dzahir, while a'yan tsabitah is a container of reality from Allah: Al-awwal, Al-Bathin. So if some parts of this world are only a place for tajalli for some of Allah's names and attributes, then the reality for tajalli of Allah's name which collects all names and attributes is only in "Insan Kamil". "Insan Kamil" is a mirror for Allah to see His perfection. Furthermore, "Insan Kamil" is also the binder of the universe. So in "Insan Kamil" everything that is divine is gathered. From that "Insan Kamil" is a microcosm (alam saghir) while this universe is a macrocosm (alam kabir). (Ahmat et al., 2017)

Regarding the teachings of embodiment, Sheikh Nuruddin Ar-Raniri strongly opposed the teachings of Wujudiyyah Hamzah Fansuri. He said

that the Wujudiyyah teachings were heretical teachings that contradicted the teachings of Islam. Among other things, Nuruddin Ar-Raniri's stance was written in a book *Ma'al-hayat li ahl al-mamat*. In this book, he refutes the teachings of Wujudiyyah as follows. The position of the adherents of Wujudiyyah Hamzah Fansuri who stated the unity of God's form with nature and humans (the first problem), he opposed for the following reasons: (Huda, 2018)

1. If it is true that God and creatures are essentially one, then all hayawanat, nabatat, and the najasat of all of them are Allah. This means that what is eaten, drunk, and burned it is God. Thus, all human actions, such as killing and stealing, are acts of Allah as well.
2. If it is true that God and creatures are essentially one, then humans have the attributes of God, thus, humans will know and be able to do everything that is in the heavens and on earth. The two points of reason put forward by Nuruddin Ar-Raniri are very precise and make sense to abort the Wujudiyyah teachings. Regarding the statement, in the teachings of Wujudiyyah.

D. Conclusion

The description above shows that the history of Islamic intellectuality in Indonesia has been going on for a very long time, since civilization developed in the days of the Islamic kingdoms in the Middle Ages, both the work of Aceh Darussalam which was centered in Aceh, and the kingdoms of Demak and Pajang which were centered in Java. One that had become a rising issue was the tradition of philosophical Sufism that had entered the Indonesian Islamic world since the 15th century in the Demak Bintoro kingdom, with the birth of Sheikh Siti Jenar who practiced Sufism practice beyond the truths within the parameters of shari'ah. Therefore, Syekh Siti has faced challenges and resistance from other groups of guardians based in the kingdom of Demak, who are still sticking to shari'ah standards. However, historians see a political dimension in the resistance, because the power of the palace was divided with the development of the Sufism school, and its increasing number of followers, which would threaten the stability and sustainability of power.

The same phenomenon also occurred in Aceh, with the emergence of Hamzah Fansuri, a great scholar in the 15th century AD. However, if Sheikh Siti Jenar developed it in the form of wirid and

remembrance, Hamzah poured it into poetry and works of Malay literature. The public's admiration for Hamzah's works was worried about the work that at that time had turned to Iskandar Tsani. For this reason, the sultan asked Nuruddin Ar-Raniri, a scientist and scholar from Persia to attend and help him, especially in trying to minimize the influence of Hamzah Fansuri on society.

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