

Tracing The Khalwatiyah Order in The Tolitoli Regency Central Sulawesi

Saude¹
Hamka²
Kasmiati³

Institut Agama Islam Negeri Palu^{1,2,3}
saude@iainpalu.ac.id¹, hamkaxaid@gmail.com²,
Kasmiatiridha78@gmail.com³

Abstract: This article discusses the history and process of transmitting the Khalwatiyah's teachings in the Tolitoli Regency, Central Sulawesi. Researchers will examine problems with a socio-cultural-historical approach. The results indicate that The Khalwatiyah order that developed in Tolitoli is the Khalwatiyah Samman Order. This tariqa has entered Tolitoli since 1954, brought for the first time by Ambo Eko, a member of The Khalwatiyah order from South Sulawesi. This tariqa first spread in the village Bangkir located at The southernmost Tolitoli Regency. In the following period until the 1990s, this tariqa experienced significant development in the two districts, Galang and Lampasio, and then declined.

Keywords: Tariqa, the Trace of Khalwatiyah, Central Sulawesi

A. INTRODUCTION

One of the tariqas which are quite popular in Indonesia is the Sammaniyah order. Another name for this tariqa is the Khalwatiyah Order. In Sulawesi, this second name, the Khalwatiyah Order, is more popular. The founder of this tariqa was Sheikh Muhammad bin Abdul Karim as-Samani al-Hasani al-Madani (1718-1775 AD). In the past, this tariqa developed in Medina. Subsequently, the followers spread the tariqa outside the Arabian Peninsula, such as Africa till Asia. In Africa, the tariqa spread in Sudan and

Nigeria. In Asia, the Sammaniyah Order is quite popular in Indonesia, especially Aceh, South Sumatra, and South Kalimantan.

In Indonesia, this tariqa first entered through Aceh, the porch of Mecca. Sheikh Abdussamad bin Abdullah al-Palimbani (1704-1789) brought this tariqa at the end of the 18th century. Then, along with his students, Sheikh Abdussamad spread it to South Sumatra. This tariqa spread widely to Kalimantan and Sulawesi. The most meritorious figures who spread this tariqa in Kalimantan are Sheikh Muhammad Arsyad bin Abdullah al-Banjari, Syekh Muhammad Abdul Wahab Bugis, and Sheikh Muhammad Nafis bin Idris al-Banjari.

In the development of the tariqa in Sulawesi, the Khalwatiyah order branches into two schools. The first is the Khalwatiyah Yusuf order founded by Shaykh Yusuf al-Makasari (1627-1699) and Abdul Bashir Tuang Rappang (d. 1723). This Order has existed since the 17th century. The second is the Khalwatiyah Samman Order brought by Abdullah al-Munir, a Bugis aristocrat from Bone, to the South Sulawesi in the early 19th century (Mulyati, 2004).

When the Khalwatiyah Yusuf Order experienced a setback, the Khalwatiyah Samman Order appeared. The al-Sammaniyah order received a good response from the Bugis and Makassar aristocrats and local rulers. The tariqa's leader used a socio-religious approach while maintaining the traditional rites that have previously existed. One of the strategies used in spreading the tariqa was marriage. The followers of the tariqa generally came from the Bugis and Makassar communities. They lived in South Sulawesi, East Kalimantan, Riau, Ambon, Papua, and Malaysia. They always practiced the teachings of this tariqa, whose center is in South Sulawesi. (Mulyati, 2004).

Since decades ago, many Muslims in Central Sulawesi has practiced the Khalwatiyah order, especially in Tolitoli Regency. However, in the last few decades, the number of tariqa followers has decreased because of the decline in tariqa figures. The center of its activities was only in remote areas. This condition is interesting to observe. It is related to the development of this tariqa that is relatively stagnant, its spread tends to be slow and shrinking, and there is no regeneration among its followers. The problems raise the question about the actual process of transmitting tariqa teachings, of course, that has implications for the number of followers, either vertically (from generation to

generation) and horizontally in the form of increasing the number of followers. Furthermore, it is also necessary to trace when this tariqa started in the Tolitoli regency.

There are several theories about the Khalwatiyah order that developed in Indonesia. According to Alwi Shihab, the Khalwatiyah order is a branch of the Suhrawardiyah order according to the Khalwatiyah genealogy. Syekh Muhammad Abd. Karim al-Samman al-Madani was a Sheikh Ibn Kamal Bakri al-Dimasyqi's student, and Sheikh al-Samman received *ijazah* from him. Shaykh al-Samman went to Egypt and then to Medina. He studied the tariqa until it was known as the Sammaniyah order. Al-Palimbani follows this tariqa and sometimes mentions Khalwatiyah, even though what it means is al-Sammaniyah or vice versa. However, he introduced this tariqa in Indonesia under the name al-Sammaniyah (Shihab, n.d.).

The above statement shows that Khalwatiyah and Sammaniyah are two different orders. There is an opinion that the Khalwatiyah is a tariqa founded by Sheikh Muhammad al-Khalwati and brought to Egypt by Musthafa bin Kamaluddin bin Ali al-Bakri as-Siddiqi, a Sufi poet from Damascus, Syria. He took the order from his teacher named Sheikh Abdul Latif bin Syekh Husamuddin al-Halabi. Due to the rapid development of this tariqa in Egypt, it is not surprising that Mustafa al-Bakri's followers consider him a Khalwatiyah thinker. Apart from actively spreading the teachings of Khalwatiyah, he also produced many Sufistic literary works. Among his most famous works is *Tasliyat Al-Ahzan*. Genealogically, the Khalwatiyah Order is a branch of the Al-Zahidiyah Order, a branch of al-Abhariyah Order, and a branch of As-Suhrawardiyah Order founded by Syekh Syihabuddin Abi Hafs Umar as-Suhrawardi al-Baghdadi (539-632 H) (Wikipedia, 2011).

Al-Palimbani spread the Sammaniyah Order to Indonesia. In subsequent developments, this tariqa entered South Sulawesi. It was more popularly known as the Khalwatiyah Sammaniyah Order pioneered by Shaykh Yusuf al-Makasari (1627-1699) and Abdul Bashir Tuang Rappang (d. 1723). People call this tariqa Khalwatiyah Yusuf Order, which has emerged since the 17th century. In the 19th century, Abdullah al-Munir, a Bugis aristocrat from Bone, spread Khalwatiyah Samman to South Sulawesi (Mulyati, 2004). Martin van Bruinessen prefers to mention the Khalwatiyah Order to refer to the Sammaniyyah order spread rapidly in South Sulawesi. However, He divided

this tariqa into two branches: Khalwatiyah Yusuf and Khalwatiyah Samman (Bruinessen, 1991).

Even though they use the same name, the two tariqas have differences: In doing dhikr, Khalwatiyah-Yusuf does it without raising voice (*sir*), whereas Khalwatiyah-Samman does it aloud and together. Khalwatiyah-Samman is very centralized. All murshid is subject to the primary leader based in the Maros regency. On the other hand, Khalwatiyah-Yusuf has no central authority, and even Syekh Yusuf's descendants do not have authority over his followers.

The local Khalwatiyah-Samman branches generally have their particular places of worship (*langgar* or *musalla*), and their members tend to isolate themselves from others (including Muslims who are not members of the sect). Meanwhile, Khalwatiyah-Yusuf does not have a special place of worship but instead socializes with other Muslims who are not members of the sect (Bruinessen, 1991). Based on the above characteristics, we can understand that Khalwatiyah-Yusuf tends to be more inclusive, while Khalwatiyah-Samman tends to be exclusive.

B. METHODS

This research is qualitative. It seeks to collect, process, and analyze data qualitatively and define it qualitatively (Bachtiar, 1997). Qualitative research generally focuses less on data collection instruments and focuses more on the process than on the object (Muhadjir, 2000). Therefore, the researchers conducted qualitative research based on accurate data collection (Bodgan, 1975). The researchers conducted this research in the Tolitoli district, covering ten regencies, eight districts, and seventy-six villages. The communities of Khalwatiyah Order generally live in Galang district, Lampasio district, and Dampal Selatan district. Even so, there may be a small number of communities in other districts. The tariqa activity centers are currently in two districts. The first is Lampasio district (precisely in Lampasio village where is 20 km south of Tolitoli city) and Galang district (where is 8 km north of Tolitoli city).

The researchers collected the data needed in this study through the interview method. The researchers do it in the form of questions and answers with primary sources related to the problem researched. The researchers conducted interviews in the Buginese language because most of the

informants were Buginese, and they were more open to providing data using their language.

Observation is direct observation of the object researched. It includes the location of the Khalwatiyah order activities, the congregations' behavior, its rituals, and everything related to the research. It includes observing historical evidence in physical forms, such as the places of worship, graves, and other matters related to the research.

Documentation is the collection of information in the form of personal records from the congregation, books, and manuscripts. Researchers use this method mainly to find data related to this historical aspect.

Researchers use these three methods simultaneously, and they must complement each other. Researches will analyze the collected data by using historical socio-cultural analysis methods. The researchers will perceive objects as socio-cultural phenomena whose each variable is related to one another. Meanwhile, in the data analysis process, the researchers will fulfill several requirements — as Noeng Muhadjir said — objective, systematic, and generalization. The generalization means that the research results must have theoretical contributions (Muhadjir, 2000).

Researchers use historical, cultural, and sociological approaches. By the historical approach, researchers can study the history of the Khalwatiyah order in the Tolitoli regency. By the cultural approach, researchers can understand the tariqa as an entity related to culture, and thus the tariqa is considered a unique entity. Even though the same tariqas exist in other places, it does not mean that they are the same. By the sociological approach, researchers can understand the congregation of the tariqa as a dynamic social phenomenon. They interact with one another, both among its members (insiders) and people outside the members (outsiders).

C. THE CHARACTERISTICS OF KHALWATIYAH ORDER IN THE TOLITOLI REGENCY

Before discussing the history of the Khalwatiah order in the Tolitoli regency, researchers will identify the features of its teachings. The researchers have previously explained that the Khalwatiyah order branches into two schools. The first is the Khalwatiyah Yusuf order founded by Shaykh Yusuf al-Makasari (1627-1699) and Abdul Bashir Tuang Rappang (d. 1723). This Order has existed since the 17th century. The second is the Khalwatiyah

Samman Order brought by Abdullah al-Munir, a Bugis aristocrat from Bone, to the South Sulawesi in the early 19th century.

In the practice of teachings, Martin van Bruinessen (1991) said that there are several indicators. We can use them to identify the differences between the two schools of the Khalwatiyah order. In doing dhikr, Khalwatiyah-Yusuf does it without raising voice (*sir*), whereas Khalwatiyah-Samman does it aloud and together.

Khalwatiyah-Samman is very centralized. All murshid is subject to the primary leader based in the Maros regency. On the other hand, Khalwatiyah-Yusuf has no central authority, and even Syekh Yusuf's descendants do not have authority over his followers.

The local Khalwatiyah-Samman branches generally have their particular places of worship (*langgar* or *musalla*), and their members tend to isolate themselves from others (including Muslims who are not members of the sect). Meanwhile, Khalwatiyah-Yusuf does not have a special place of worship but instead socializes with other Muslims who are not members of the sect (Bruinessen, 1991). Based on observations in the field, the researchers found the practice of congregational dhikr that was carried out by members of the Khalwatiyah order. They perform the dhikr practice by raising their voices in a sitting position while shaking their bodies to the head.

The leadership system in the Khalwatiyah order in the Tolitoli regency is very centralized. All the Khalwatiyah caliphs submit to the primary leader. They call the primary leader *Ipuang* who is in Patte'ne, Maros District, South Sulawesi. According to Abdul Karim, one of the Khalwatiyah caliphs in Tolitoli regency, the appointment of a caliph is an absolute Ipuang's right. Ipuang determines the appointment entirely based on his assessment of the members who are deemed righteous. The main task of a Caliph is to guide its members. Ipuang has permission to give *baiat* or *talqin* to new members. The Researchers examined the method of dhikr and the leadership system. They conclude that the Khalawatiyah order that develops in Tolitoli is the Khalwatiyah Samman. The Researchers found the evidence of the document "Information on the Silsilah of the Khalwatiyah Order" (*Keterangan Silsilah Tarekat Khalwatiyah*) owned by the members of the first generation Khalwatiyah order (for the Tolitoli region). It explains the genealogy of this tariqa.

In the document, there is a circular stamp that reads "Khalwatiyah

Samman - Patte'ne Maros." In the center of the circle, there is an Arabic inscription "شيخ حج محمد صالح." It indicates that the document was written at a time when Muhammad Salih was the primary leader of the Khalwatiyah order in Patte'ne Maros. The document contains the genealogy of the Khalwatiyah order:

Allah 'Azza wa Jalla, Jibril a.s., Muhammad saw., 'Ali ibn Abi Talib, Hasan al-Basri, Habib al-'Ajami, Dawud al-Ta'i, Ma'ruf al-Karkhi, Sirr al-Saqati, Junaid al-Baghdadi, Mumsyad al-Dainuri, Muhammad al-Dainuri, Muhammad al-Bakri Wajih al-Din al-Qadi, Umar al-Bakri, Abu Najib al-Syuhrawardi, Qutb al-Din Muhammad al-Abhari, Rukn al-Din Muhammad al-Najas, Syihab al-Din al-Tibrizi, Jamal al-Din al-Lahuri (al-Ahwari, pen.), Abu Ishaq Ibrahim al-Kailani Muhammad al-Balisi, Bir 'Umar al-Khalwati, Muhammad Miram al-Khalwati 'Izz al-Din, Bir Sadr al-Din, Abu Zakariyah al-Syirwan al-Bakuli, Bir Muhammad al-Anja'i, Jaili Salman al-Aqra'i yang populer dengan nama Jamal al-Khalwati, Khair al-Din al-Tuqa'i, Sya'ban Affandi al-Qastamuni Umar al-Fu'adi, Muhy al-Din al-Qastamuni, Isma'il al-Jarumi, Affandi Qurabasy, Mustafa Affandi, 'Abd al-Latif, Mustafa al-Bakri, Muhammad ibn 'Abd alKarim al-Sammani, al-Siddiq, Idris ibn 'Usman, 'Abdullah al-Munir, Muhammad Fudail, 'Abd al-Razzaq, 'Abdullah, Muhammad Salih.

Apart from explaining the Khalwatiyah genealogy, this document also explains that the person who brought the Khalwatiyah Samman order to South Sulawesi was Sheikh Abdullahmunir. It is the genealogy: Syekh Abdullahilmunir from Syekh Idris Ibn Osman, Syekh Idris Ibn Osman from Syekh Siddik, Syekh Siddik from Muhammad Samman. Muhammad Samman is the grandson of Rasulullah Muhammad s.a.w. he was born and died in Madina. His grave is in the first Islamic cemetery of Medina, the Baqi.

Khalwatiyah Samman entered South Sulawesi around 1240 AH. or 1820 AD. The person who first received the order in South Sulawesi was Muhammad Fudael Dg. Manessa in Barru. The order spread, and many leading figures accepted the order, the King of Gowa I Lingka, the King of Bone Akhmad Ibnu Idris whose grave was in Tengngana Topaccing Bone, Watang Lipue in Soppeng, and Sheikh H. Abdurrazak in Leppakkomai Maros.

H. Abdurrazak spread the Khalwatiyah Order. Hereafter, his son Hajj Abdullah received recognition from Shafi'i Mufti IX in Mecca and continued Hajj Abdurrazak's efforts. His three sons also continued his efforts in spreading the Khalwatiyah Order. They are Hajj Muh. Saleh Puang Turu, Hajj Muh.

Amin Puang Naba, and Hajj Ibrahim Puang Solong. Hajj Muh. Saleh Puang Turu continued the spread of Khalwatiyah Samman, and he also received recognition from Shafi'i Mufti IX in Mecca and the Indonesian Government. His sons Hajj Andi Amiruddin and Andi Hamzah Dg. Mannippi also continued his efforts in spreading the Khalwatiyah Order.

In another document that is older and still uses the old spelling, there is additional information:

“Adapun tarekat yang bernama Chalwatijah, hanya 3 negeri yang tinggal di bawah angin yang ditempati. Tanah Palembang, jang menjiarkan disitu jaitu Sjech Abdussamad (chalifah dari Sjech Siddik) Sjech Siddik adalah khalifah dari Muhammad Samman. Tanah Bombai Hindi, jang menjiarkan ke situ, Sjech Alhasib, Chalifah dari Muhammad Samman. Tanah Selebes, jang menjiarkan di tanah selebes ini jaitu Sjech Abdullahilmunir, Chalifah dari Sjech Idris ibnu Osman, Chalifah dari Sjech Siddik, Chalifah dari Muhammad Samman”.

The document explains that the Khalwatiyyah order spread over three regions, *Tanah Palembang*, *Tanah Bombai Hindi*, and *Tanah Selebes*. The man who spread the tariqa in *Tanah Palembang* was Sheikh Abdussamad, a student of Syeikh Siddik. Syeikh Siddik was a student of Sheikh Muhammad Samman. The man who spread the tariqa in *Tanah Bombai Hindi* was Sheikh Alhasib. Sheikh Alhasib was a student of Sheikh Muhammad Samman. The man who spread the tariqa in *Tanah Selebes* was Sheikh Abdullahilmunir, a student of Idris ibn Osman, and Sheikh Idris ibn Osman was a student of Syeikh Siddik.

D. THE HISTORY OF KHALWATIYAH ORDER IN TOLITOLI REGENCY

1. Early Period: The Entry of Khalwatiyah Order in Tolitoli

There are no written records about when the teachings of the Khalwatiyah order first entered the Tolitoli regency. However, by looking at the origins of this tariqa, South Sulawesi, we can surmise that the presence of the Khalwatiyah order coincided with the immigration of the Bugis people to the regency, and it has been going on for decades. Some facts show that the members of this tariqa are almost entirely Bugis.

The entry of the Bugis to Tolitoli did not automatically become the benchmark for the entry of the Khalwatiyah order. According to Andi Nurdin,

the Khalwatiyah members who first entered the Tolitoli were Ambo Eko, Hajj Andi Guna, and Hajj Badawi. They first settled in Bangkir Village, Dampal Selatan district. This region is at the southern Tolitoli regency and the border area with Donggala regency, Central Sulawesi.

Ambo Eko's daughter Indo Bennu said that her parents lived in Belawa, Wajo Regency, South Sulawesi. Hereafter, they moved to Dongi hamlet (now Dongi village), Dua Pitue district, Sidenreng Rappang regency, South Sulawesi. After that, they moved to Bangkir village, Tolitoli. There is an allegation that Ambo Eko moved to Bangkir in 1954. It is based on calculating the birth year of his grandson I Soda in 1953 when Ambo Eko left Dongi. Researchers got this information from Sultani, Ambo Eko's grandson from his eldest daughter Indo Tellong, who accompanied his grandfather's trip to Tolitoli. I Soda was only one year old at that time.

After Ambo Eko moved to Tolitoli, his son-in-law H.A. Guna with his family from Dongi followed to Tolitoli in the next year, 1955. Not long after that, H. Badawi, H.A. Guna's father, also moved to Tolitoli. The three people, Ambo Eko, H.A. Guna, and H. Badawi, are suspected of being the first Khalwatiyah members to enter Tolitoli because the three of them have been followers of this *tariqa* since they were in Dongi. Even then, H. Badawi had already become a *Pangngajara* in the Khalwatiyah community in Dongi.

According to Andi Nabe, the three men received *baiat* from the Petta Otting and became members of the Khalwatiyah order. Petta Otting was an influential aristocrat in Dongi and also one of the Khalwatiyah Caliphs. The three members of the Khalwatiyah order moved to Tolitoli because of the socio-political conditions of South Sulawesi. At that time, there was an upheaval by the DI/TII movement. Many civilians feel threatened and choose to move to other regions that are considered safe. DI/TII prohibits all types of *tariqa*, including Khalwatiyah. It forced Ambo Eko, H. Andi Guna, and H. Badawi to leave Dongi to Tolitoli and choose Bangkir Village as their first residence in Tolitoli. Not long after they and their families were in Bangkir, around the middle of 1955, one of the Khalifah Khalwatiyah Hajj Ummareng from Pare-Pare South Sulawesi came and joined them. In this new region, they decided to start a new life by clearing agricultural land together, so they named the village where they lived with the name Padaelo (Bugis language). Padaelo means collective desire. This name still exists today as the name of

one of the hamlets in Bangkir village.

In the first years of the Khalwatiyah order in Tolitoli, the number of tariqa members was not large. The tariqa members only consisted of members of their nuclear family. They work in agricultural land during the day, and at night they perform congregational prayers in the houses in rotation and perform dhikr (*rate* ') after the Isha' and Fajr prayers. This condition continued until they left Bangkir to go to Kalangkangan Village, Galang District, Tolitoli. The region is approximately 150 km from Bangkir. They had to move because DI/TII members from South Sulawesi at that time had arrived in the Bangkir area while Indonesian National Armed Forces (TNI) continued to hunt them. The experience in Dongi made members of the tariqa realize the risks that threaten them if they remain in the middle of the battle between DI/TII and the TNI. It is what forced them to leave Bangkir in 1962.

2. Second Period: The Development of the Khalwatiyah in Tolitoli

After leaving Bangkir, the Khalwatiyah members mostly lived in the Galang districts, Tolitoli, especially in this villages; Kalangkangan, Lantapan, Kinapasang, and Ogomoli. In this region, the Khalwatiyah developed rapidly with the arrival of Hajj Ummareng, the first Caliph Khalwatiyah, to Tolitoli. According to Andi Nurdin, Khalwatiyah's existence in Tolitoli was only apparent after they left Bangkir and settled in the Galang district. Previously, when they were in Bangkir, they didn't show their activities. However, they did their activities openly in the Galang district. Almost every night, everyone can hear dhikr activities from the houses of the tariqa members. They take turns performing congregational prayers at their homes in Kalangkangan village, and most of them are in Lantapan, Lakatan, Kinapasang, and Ogomoli.

When H. Ummareng was in Tolitoli, many Bugis peasants joined the Khalwatiyah order. He returned to Pare-pare In 1964, but his son Puang Sama still visited Tolitoli frequently. Then, Iskandar, a caliph of the Khalwatiyah order from Makassar, came to Tolitoli around 1964. Iskandar is a very articulate person, and he has extensive knowledge in the issues of tariqa so that more and more people are joining, especially from the older generation. On his initiative in 1967, members of the Khalwatiyah order built a mosque in Lantapan where he lived. Most of the people in Lantapan village at that time were members of the Khalwatiyah order.

There is an interesting one. Although members of the Khalwatiyah order

built a mosque, they never claimed it to be a Khalwatiyah mosque, and Tariqa activities in people's homes continue. Regarding this fact, one of the people who contributed to the construction of the mosque, Andi Nurdin, said: "We built the mosque for all Muslims, and we do not think we built a special mosque for the Khalwatiyah community. It is because members of the Khalwatiyah did not mind praying with non-Khalwatiyah-Muslims. We used to be the congregation behind the Imam who was not from the Khalwatiyah circles. On the contrary, we do not mind if there is a non-Khalwatiyah-Muslims behind Khalwatiyah Imam."

In subsequent periods, Khalwatiyah's activities increased with the arrival of Hajj Saleng from Anabanua, Wajo, South Sulawesi, around 1968/1969. And in the same year, another Khalwatiyah caliph Puang Amiruddin came. According to Haji Muhammad Saleh, Haji Saleng had given baiat approximately 400 new members from the Lantapan village, Kinapasang, and Ogomoli. Hajj Saleng and Puang Amiruddin lived in the Lampasio region. The Lampasio region at that time was still part of the Baolan district, Tolitoli. With their presence, the Khalwatiyah order developed in Lampasio. Therefore, the Khalwatiyah tariqa activities were no longer only in the Galang district but also in the Lampasio district. In the next period, the two caliphs strengthened their relationship through marriage. Haji Saleng married his son to Puang Amiruddin's daughter.

In 1990, Iskandar, one of the Caliphs of the Khalwatiyah Tolitoli, died. However, in the same year, Hajj Andi Guna, who was one of the first generation Khalwatiyah figures in Tolitoli, won the trust of the Khalwatiyah central leader in Patte'ne Maros to become a Khalifah. Furthermore, Puang Baco in Kinapasang Galang district and also Puang Sudding from Kinapasang won the same trust.

Thus, in the early 1990s, there were five Caliphs in Tolitoli, namely: Hajj Saleng and Puang Amiruddin in Lampasio, H. Andi Guna in Anggola, Ogomoli, and Puang Baco and Puang Sudding in Kinapasang. Researchers consider this period as the best development of the Khalwatiyah Order in Tolitoli. The recitation of dhikr always reverberates after Isha prayer and Fajr prayer, and many people from afar can hear it because the members recite dhikr with loud voices. Hajj Aras, a community leader who lives in Togaso hamlet Kalangkangan, said that "the people in Togaso could hear the sound of the

dhikr from the *Paddates*" in Lantapan. Even though a large river separates these two places (Togaso and Lantapan).

3. Third Period: The Decline of Khalwatiyah

The Khalwatiyah figures in Tolitoli who were the most active and influential in conducting congregational dhikr activities, especially after Hajj Ummareng's return to Pare-pare, were Iskandar and Hajj Andi Guna in the Galang district and Haji Saleng in Lampasi district. Iskandar died in 1990, and Hajj Andi Guna in 1999. Meanwhile, Puang Baco and Puang Sudding, the two Caliphs in Kinapasang, had died several years before H. Andi Guna died. Since 1999, there practically has been a decrease in the activity of collective dhikr among members of the Khalwatiyah tariqa in the Galang district. The death of the Caliphs greatly influenced the activities of the Khalwatiyah congregation in Tolitoli, especially in the Galang district. Not long after that, The Caliph in Lampasio, Hajj Saleng, returned to his hometown of Anabanua Wajo and died there in 2002.

When Khalwatiyah in Tolitoli was in a vacuum condition, Abdul Karim, son of Hajj Saleng, won the trust of *Ipuang* in Patte'ne Maros to hold the mandate as Caliph in 2003. He and Puang Amiruddin were able to consolidate the members of Khalwatiyah, especially in the Lampasio district where they lived. Members of the Khalwatiyah in Lampasio gathered in two hamlets, namely Salusu hamlet and Lanang hamlet. The members are still compact and working together, so they can build mosques in the two hamlets. Like the first mosque they built in the Lantapan village in 1967, they not only dedicated both mosques to Jama'ah Khalwatiyah, and they never claimed it to be a Khalwatiyah mosque. Both mosques are open to the public as centers of religious activities in the two hamlets, congregational prayers, and especially Friday prayers. They carry out the dhikr (*rate'*) together, and if there are a large number of members, they carry out their activities in the house of the Caliph or a member.

Meanwhile, in the Galang district, there was a Caliphate vacuum, making the activities of the tariqa less and less conducted. Those who want to do congregational dhikr had to go to Lampasio, and it is generally only during the celebrations of Islamic holidays such as The Birth of the Prophet and The Isra' and Mi'raj. Meanwhile, congregational dhikr (*rate'*) after the Isha and Fajr prayers usually performed in members' houses are less frequent.

Perhaps for this consideration, Puang Amiruddin recommended Hajj Muhammad Saleh, in Kinapasang, Galang district, to *Ipuang* (the primary leader of the Khalwatiyah in Patte'ne) to become Khalifah. Finally, in 2006, Ipuang appointed Hajj Muhammad Saleh to become Caliph so that there was already a Khalifah in the Galang district who led the members of Khalwatiyah.

It seems that the inauguration of Haji Muhammad Saleh as the Caliph has not been able to restore the condition of the Khalwatiyah congregation as in the days of H. Andi Guna and Iskandar. According to Hajj Muhammad Saleh, the current number of members, if it includes the number of people who have accepted baiat, is still large. The number of members in the entire Tolitoli region is likely to reach a thousand. The members are in Kalangkangan, Sandana, Lantapan, Kinapasang, Ogomoli, Lampasio, Soni, and Bangkir. However, the number of active members is only tens of people. Many members never do zikr (*rate'*) anymore. Prayers and congregational dhikr in Lantapan, Kinapasan, and Anggola Hamlets are rare. Many had accepted baiat, but they were no longer actively participating in the activities of tariqa. They do dhikr in congregation only at The Birth of the Prophet, The Isra³/₄ and Mi[□]raj, or a celebration event, such as a marriage, *aqiqah*, or thanksgiving conducted by a member of the tariqa.

Andi Nabe, Hajj Andi Guna's younger sister, emphasized that since her brother died, congregational prayer and dhikr activities have become very rare. When his older brother was still alive, his house was a center for congregational dhikr. He was very active in inviting the members, especially from his family, to do dhikr together. He has prepared enough space to accommodate dozens of members in his house. The death of Puang Amiruddin, one of the Caliphs of the Khalwatiyah in Lampasio, in 2009 made the activity of the Khalwatiyah congregation in Tolitoli decline. Puang Amiruddin is one of the senior caliphs. With his death, the remaining Caliph would be the second generation of the Khalwatiyah Tolitoli. Abd. Karim, the Caliph at Lampasio, was very young. At that time, he was still 35 years old. However, he was considered to be the successor of his father, H. Saleng. Meanwhile, H. Muhammad Saleh, the Caliph in Kinapasang, Galang, is still around 50 years old.

E. THE TRANSMISSION PROCESS OF THE KHALWATIYAH TEACHINGS IN TOLITOLI REGENCY

1. Oral Transmission

The members of *tariqa* most often use oral transmission in spreading the Khalwatiyah teaching. The members of the Khalwatiyah Order in Tolitoli receive guidance on the *tariqa* from the caliphs. They always receive it individually or in groups. Andi Nurdin, a member of the Khalwatiyah order, explained that teaching the truth to others is an obligation for *Alim*, a knowledgeable person. It is the principle that the members of Khalwatiyah hold. He quoted the Hadith of the Prophet Muhammad: "Whoever is asked about some knowledge that he knows, then he conceals it, he will be bridled with a bridle of fire."

However, the above principles only apply to people who have officially entered or professed to become members of the Khalwatiyah. Meanwhile, outsiders tend to be closed off when asked about the essence of Khalwatiyah teachings. A caliph or his companion, usually called a *panggajara*, generally conveys Khalwatiyah teachings orally. Not all caliphs have companions, and indeed most of them do not. In Tolitoli, *panggajara* is Haji Badawi, but he left Tolitoli before the 1970s and returned to South Sulawesi. Consequently, there was no *panggajara*. Therefore, caliphs generally conveyed the teachings directly, without *panggajara*.

They often carry out the process of oral transmission individually. It is for people who ask questions privately to a caliph in his spare time or if a caliph thinks it is necessary to give individual guidance to one of his *tariqa* members. It happens if one of the members is negligent in practicing *dhikr*, or vice versa. a Caliph usually knows that one of the members has a better potential understanding of the *tariqa* than the other members. Then the caliph usually taught the member individually and specifically.

2. Written Transmission

Apart from the oral transmission process, there is also evidence about a written transmission process, although this is very limited. There is a manuscript from a member of the first generation Khalwatiyah members in Tolitoli, Hajjah Andi Halifah. It contains the teachings of the *tariqa*. This manuscript uses Bugis language and script. The author is unknown because

the first sheets (pages 1 and 2) have been lost, and the owner does not know the author. The manuscript consists of 139 pages with writing that is mostly legible. This manuscript uses an unlined paper. This manuscript discusses the tariqa, especially on dhikr. There is the concept of □□□(a-i-u) on page 16 to page 37.

Besides, there is a handwritten document that is younger because it already uses folio paper. It consists of 20 pages, and the writing is still easy to read. The manuscript discusses the virtues and procedures of dhikr used in the Khalwatiyah Order. There is no information about who the author is. However, on the last page, there is the inscription. There are allegations that this document came from Andi Laesan Petta Lolo, and Andi Laesan Petta Lolo submitted it to his brother, Hajj Andi Guna (H.A. Guna Petta Lolo). Hajj Andi Guna was one of the Khalwatiyah caliphs in Tolitoli. Before he died, H. Andi Guna submitted the document to Patiroi, a member of the Khalwatiyah, and he has kept it until now.

F. THE SOCIALIZATION OF THE KHALWATIYAH TARIQA TEACHING IN TOLITOLI REGENCY

1. Family Approach

The family approach in socializing the teachings of the Khalwatiyah order has been very prominent among members of the Khalwatiyah order since this order first appeared in Tolitoli. Researchers can observe this approach by exploring members of tariqa from the time they first entered the region. As previously explained, Ambo Eko, Hajj Andi Guna, and Hajj Badawi brought this tariqa to Tolitoli. These three people are related to each other. Ambo Eko is related to Hajj Badawi as the father of his son (*bacsan*), while H. Andi Guna is Ambo Eko's son-in-law. Although the members of Khalwatiyah do not spread their teachings to the public openly, they always try to invite their families to join. At least, they invite their family members to participate in congregational prayers without requiring them to do dhikr according to the Khalwatiyah method (*rate*). It is at the time of attending the congregational prayer that people who are not members of the tariqa have the opportunity to listen to the teachings of the tariqa conveyed by the Caliph. Furthermore, some of them became interested and expressed their readiness to accept *baiat* (allegiance).

In the view of followers of the Khalwatiyah order, family members who do not follow the Khalwatiyah tariqa will not unite with them in the afterlife. Therefore, parents will try to get their children to join this tariqa. Thus, the family approach is one of the approaches they use in spreading the teachings of the Khalwatiyah order in Tolitoli. This approach seems to have worked quite well, especially in the early days of the Khalwatiyah development in Tolitoli. In the Galang district, most of the Khalwatiyah members, especially in Sandana, Kalangkangan, Lantapan, and Anggola are the family of Hajj Andi Guna and Ambo Eko. Whereas in Lampasio, most of the Khalwatiyah members were the family of Hajj Saleng and Puang Amiruddin.

However, there was no regeneration of the Khalwatiyah teachings in the families of the Khalwatiyah members after the 1990s. Generally, their children who continue their education to university, or even just graduated from high school, are no longer interested in deepening and practicing the teachings of Khalwatiyah like their parents.

2. The Tribal Approach

We can consider the tribal approach as one of the approaches used by the members of the Khalwatiyah order in Tolitoli in spreading its teachings. The Khalwatiyah Order in Tolitoli is identical to the Bugis. This tariqa is often called *tarekat arung* (Bugis language), which means tariqa for Bugis aristocrats, because basically in its place of origin - South Sulawesi - many aristocrats adhere to this tariqa.

Some things interest to observe. The activities of the tariqa are more lively in situations and conditions of a humble society. In the 1960s and 1980s, the traditions of congregational prayer and dhikr were means of gathering. It strengthened the social solidarity of the Bugis community in Tolitoli. This tradition is also a means of calming the peasant community's mind because, at that time, television was still scarce, and electricity was not available in rural areas such as Lantapan, Kinapas, Anggola, and Lampasio. In this kind of society, the value of meeting in a joint dhikr activity becomes very meaningful. The dhikr together they do in turns in the homes of tariqa members is a very precious moment. The host will prepare food and cakes for the guests. It is like doing a small party. This joint dhikr activity will be even more lively at commemorating the birthday of Prophet Muhammad SAW and Isra and Mi'raj, or when a member of the tariqa performs a celebration event,

a wedding, moving to a new house, or aqiqah. In these conditions, all members of tariqa will gather from various villages to do dhikr together. This opportunity is also a means of hospitality.

At these moments, many people who were not members of the Khalwatiyah, especially the Bugis, joined in performing congregational prayers and listened to Caliph's advice in the Bugis language. From here, "outsiders" began to recognize the teachings of the Khalwatiyah, and subsequently, some of them entered this tariqa.

Thus, in the early development of the Khalwatiyah order in Tolitoli, the dhikr was a means for the Bugis people to be more connected. This activity is not limited to people who want to pray, hear the Caliph's advice, and even follow the *rate'* even though they are not members of this tariqa. On this side, according to Bruneissen, the fact that the Khalwatiyah order tends to be closed and isolates himself from others is wrong. Khalawatiyah Samman in Tolitoli mingled with the surrounding society.

During the congregational prayer, there was a process of socializing the teachings of the Khalwatiyah to the community. Although this activity is open to anyone, because the communication used among members of the tariqa, including the caliph, is the Bugis language, it is not surprising that only Bugis people enter the tariqa. The socialization of the Khalwatiyah teachings in Tolitoli is not by visiting and inviting others to join this tariqa. However, the atmosphere that the members create makes other people come and get to know its teachings. It has also caused in the last few years the development of this tariqa in Tolitoli to relatively stagnant and even experienced a decline. The situation and conditions have changed. Bugis people have scattered and become the majority group in the region that were formerly the basis of Khalwatiyah activities. This condition seems to make the tribal solidarity ties no longer as strong as they used to be. So that, the enthusiasm for gathering created through collective dhikr activities begins to decline.

G. CONCLUSIONS

Based on the previous explanation, there are several conclusions from the results of this study, which are also answers to the problems that are the focus of the research, namely:

First, the Khalwatiyah order developing in Tolitoli Central Sulawesi is

the Khalwatiyah Samman order known as Sammaniyah. In Tolitoli, this tariqa is more popular with the name Khalwatiyah, and its followers are, usually called, Pa'date'. A follower of the Khalwatiyah order from Dongi Sidenreng Rappang South Sulawesi Ambo Eko was the person who first spread this tariqa to Tolitoli around 1954. In the following year, two of Ambo Eko's relatives who were also members of the Khalwatiyah order, H. Andi Guna Petta Lolo and H. Badawi, followed him to Tolitoli. They left Dongi because of an upheaval caused by the DI/TII movement in South Sulawesi. The region they first visited in Tolitoli was Bangkir Village, Dampal Selatan District. In the village Bangkir, the Khalwatiyah order did not yet develop optimally, even though there was already a Caliph in Bangkir, H. Ummareng, the first Khalwatiyah Caliph in Tolitoli. He comes from Parepare, South Sulawesi. In 1962, the DI/TII movement in South Sulawesi had entered Bangkir, so the Khalwatiyah members, most of whom were Ambo Eko's family, left Bangkir to Kalangkangan village, Galang district, Tolitoli. In this region, Khalwatiyah began to develop, and it gained many members from the Bugis community, especially in Lantapan, Lakatan, Kinapasang, Ogomoli, and Lampasio. There are Several caliphs of the Khalwatiyah in Tolitoli; Hajj Ummareng, Hajj Saleng, Puang Amiruddin, Iskandar, Hajj Andi Guna, Puang Baco, Puang Sudding, Hajj Muhammad Saleh, and Abdul Karim. Hajj Muhammad Saleh and Abdul Karim are still alive today. However, Khalwatiyah's activities declined, and many of its followers had become inactive after the death of Iskandar in 1990 and Hajj Andi Guna in 1999.

Second, the transmission process of the khalwatiyah teachings among the Khalwatiyah members in Tolitoli is generally oral transmission through the caliphs. The caliphs taught after the congregational prayer, in the form of halaqah in a non-formal atmosphere. Thus, the caliph became a central figure who became a source of knowledge. There is also a written transmission process that is very limited, manuscripts. The manuscripts use Bugis script and language. It contains the teachings of the tariqa and the procedures for Khalwatiyah dhikr. The manuscripts are generally owned by the Caliphs.

Third, the socialization of the teachings of the Khalwatiyah order in Tolitoli using two approaches, namely the family approach and the tribal approach. These two approaches were successful, especially in the early days of the tariqa's development in the Galang and Lampasio districts. Most of the Khalwatiyah members in the Galang district are Hajj Andi Guna and

Iskandar's family (even these two figures are still close relatives). Meanwhile, most of the Khalwatiyah members in Lampasio are the families of H. Saleng and Puang Amiruddin (these two figures have a family relationship by marrying off their children). In terms of tribality, almost all members of this tariqa are from the Bugis tribe. Therefore, Khalwatiyah's activities during its heyday in Tolitoli were more like a kinship platform for the overseas Bugis people.

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