BAHRUL LAHUT MANUSCRIPTS IN EAST JAVA: Study of Philology and Reconstruction of Tarekat Networks

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Abstract:
This research discusses the manuscript of Bahrul Lahut with the approach of philology, geneo-archeology of knowledge, and history. The aim was to study the text of Bahrul Lahut, its contents, and trace the Aceh-Makassar-East Java tarekat network based on the distribution of the manuscripts. As the result, (1) there are three existences of Bahrul Lahut in East Java, namely the Traditional Islamic Boarding School (Pondok Pesantren) of Sumber Anyar, Pamekasan, Madura, the EDR’s collection in Sidoarjo, and Jamaah Tarekat Satariyah in Pare Kediri, (2) Text edition is selected from the collection of Pondok Pesantren Sumber Anyar with philology consideration, (3) The Bahrul Lahut manuscript is only available in the manuscript catalog of Dayah Tano Abee, Aceh, and the collection of the family of Yusuf Makassar, (4) The text content of Bahrul Lahut describes and re-reads the conception of the nature of God and the creation of the universe as a manifestation of Nur Muhammad, influenced by wahdat al-wujud and emanation of Ibn Arabi, (5) From the Bahrul Lahut manuscript, a network of tarekat ulama in East Java can be reconstructed, through the paths of Abdurrouf Singkel and Yusuf Makassar.

Keywords: Bahrul Lahut, East Java manuscript, reconstruction of the tarekat network

A. Introduction
Scientific studies on Bahrul Lahut have yet to be found, though in the history of Islam the book is very important, not only as one of the oldest sources of Islamic religion in the archipelago as the landmark of Abdullah\(^1\) and Syam\(^2\), but it is evidence of the existence of Islamic intellectual networks in the archipelago in the past to several remote areas. Several religious texts related to Sufism and its development in the archipelago have been studied by many experts, but their studies do not include

\(^1\) Hawash Abdullah, *Perkembangan Ilmu Tasawuf Dan Tokoh-Tokohnya Di Nusantara* (Surabaya: Al-Ikhlas, 1980), 5.

\(^2\) Nur Syam, “Tasawuf Dan Pemikiran Islam Indonesia,” accessed March 4, 2018, http://nursyam.uinsby.ac.id/?p=3020.
Bahrul Lahut, starting from several tarekat studies\(^3\), as well as the history of Aceh\(^4\) and pesantren traditions\(^5\). The author only gets brief information related to the Bahrul Lahut manuscript from Abdullah\(^6\), Hamid\(^7\), Fathurahman\(^8\), Masfiah & Adzfar\(^9\), and Bahwi\(^10\), and a number of Bahrul Lahut news stories from pages and newspapers, including Republika.\(^{11}\) This study discusses the Bahrul Lahut manuscript in East Java, including the distribution, content, and history of the archipelago ulama network involving the East Java locus.

Abdullah\(^12\) explains that Bahrul Lahut is the creation of Abdullah Arif, an Acehnese scholar during the Samudera Pasai Kingdom, which was composed in the 12th-13th century. Bahrul Lahut is considered to be one of the oldest sources in the Islamic treasures of the archipelago. However, the manuscripts are not codified in a number of catalogs of Indonesian ancient manuscripts.\(^{13}\) The Bahrul Lahut codification is only found in a catalog, namely the Dayah Tanoh Abee Aceh Besar Manuscript Catalog.\(^{14}\) Several major institutions for storing Indonesian ancient manuscripts, both

\(^3\) Martin Van Bruineessen, Tarekat Naqsabandiyah 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 Christosmy, Signs of the Wall: Narratives at the Sacred Sites in Pameijahan, West Java (Canberra: ANU E Press, 2008); Oman Fathurahman, Tarekat Satariyah Di Minangkabau (Jakarta: KPG, 2012).

\(^4\) Such as Snouck Hurgronje, Aceh Di Mata Kolonialis (Jakarta: Yayasan Soko Guru, 1995); Dennys Lombard, Kerajaan Aceh, Jaman Sultan Iskandar Muda 1607-1636 (Jakarta: Balai Pustaka, 1986); R.H. Hoessein Djayadiningrat, Kesultanan Aceh (Bandung: Departemen P&K, 1983).

\(^5\) Such as Zamakhsyari Dhofier, Tradisi Pesantren: Studi Tentang Pandang Hidup Kiai (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1983); Ilk Arifin Mansur, Islam in an Indonesian Word, Ulama of Madura (Yogyakarta: Gajah Mada University Press, 1990); Azymardi 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 Bruineessen, Kitab Kuning, Pesantren Dan Tarekat (Edisi Revisi) (Yogyakarta: Gading Publishing, 2012).

\(^6\) Abdullah, Perkembangan Ilmu Tasawuf Dan Tokoh-Tokohnya Di Nusantara, 4–5.

\(^7\) Abu Hamid, Syekh Yusuf: Seorang Ulama, Sufi Dan Pejuang (Jakarta: YOI, 2005).

\(^8\) Oman Fathurahman, ed., Katalog Naskah Tanah Abee Aceh Besar (Jakarta: Gramedia, 2010).

\(^9\) Umi Masfiah and Zainul Adzfar, Inventarisasi Dan Digitalisasi Naskah Klasik Keagamaan Di Madura (Semarang: Kementrian Agama Balai Litbang Agama Semarang, 2011). (Not published).

\(^10\) Abdullah Bahwi, Catatan Hasil Penelitian Terhadap Kitab-Kitab Tulisan Tangan Masyarakat Madura (Pamekasan: Perpustakaan Raden Umro PPM Pamekasan, 2017). (Not published)

\(^11\) 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/.

\(^12\) Abdullah, Perkembangan Ilmu Tasawuf Dan Tokoh-Tokohnya Di Nusantara, 4.

\(^13\) Bahrul Laut not found in some catalogs, 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).

\(^14\) Fathurahman, Katalog Naskah Tanah Abee Aceh Besar, 224.
domestically and abroad, do not keep these manuscripts. Actually, the mention of this manuscript consists of two writings, namely Bahrul Lahut and Bahrun Lahut. In this paper, the name referred to is Bahrul Lahut, although Hamid\textsuperscript{15} refers to him as Bahrun Lahut. This refers to the first source discussing the manuscript in Abdullah,\textsuperscript{16} as well as the most recent publications related to the manuscript.\textsuperscript{17} In addition, the meaning of the two designations is the same, which distinguishes only in the transcript in the Latin script.

Indeed, there is a difference in the name of the author Bahrul Lahut. Abdullah\textsuperscript{18} mentions that the author is Abdullah Arif. The manuscript in Aceh mentions Abd Arifin.\textsuperscript{19} The manuscript in Kediri calls him Abdullah Arifin, which is similar to the collection of manuscripts inherited by Syekh Yusuf Makassar in Pontianak, namely Abdullah Arif. The manuscripts of the Traditional Islamic Boarding School or Pondok Pesantren of Sumber Anyar Pamekasan (is further mentioned PP. Sumber Anyar) and the EDR’s Collection (Sidoarjo), call the author Abdul Arifin. The initial name was similar to the Dayah Tanoh Abee collection, but the final name was similar to the Satariyah Kediri collection.

Bahrul Lahut means ocean of divinity, discussing the relationship between God and the created nature, so that it is identified as literary kitab. Although the literary reach of the kitab is wide, it is within the limits of Roolvink\textsuperscript{20}, the study of the Koran, tafsir, teach al-Islam, tajwid, fiqh, Sufi science, Sufism, tarekat, zikir, rawatib, prayer, amulets, treatises, wills, and tib books, all of which can be classified into literary kitab. Especially within the boundaries of Baroroh-Baried\textsuperscript{21}, what is meant by kitab literature is Sufism that developed in Aceh in the 17th century. Of course, the year boundary is flexible and is related to the Sufism tradition in the archipelago text. There are also those who say that kitab literature is a trend in the development of literature in Malay, by prioritizing the aspects of being beautiful, useful, and kamal. Furthermore, Braginsky\textsuperscript{22} explains, since the time of the arrival of Islam, tasawuf kitab and kitab literature have made a big contribution in the environment of the transformation of Malay literature. However, in Sufism literature, Braginsky differentiates into two kinds of Sufi essays. First, Sufism, which is a more scientific way of expressing ideas and is more adhering to the notions of akliah, reason and

\textsuperscript{15} Hamid, Syekh Yusuf: Seorang Ulama, Sufi Dan Pejuang, 142–43.
\textsuperscript{16} Abdullah, Perkembangan Ilmu Tasawuf Dan Tokoh-Tokohnya Di Nusantara, 5.
\textsuperscript{17} Republika, March 11, 2009.
\textsuperscript{18} Abdullah, Perkembangan Ilmu Tasawuf Dan Tokoh-Tokohnya Di Nusantara, 11.
\textsuperscript{19} Fathurahman, Katalog Naskah Tanah Abee Aceh Besar, 224.
\textsuperscript{20} Roolvink in Liaw Yock Fang, Sejarah Kesusastraan Melayu Klasik (Jakarta: YOI, 2011), 380.
\textsuperscript{21} Siti Baroroh-Baried et al., Pengantar Teori Filolog (Yogyakarta: Universitas Gadjah Mada, 1994), 291.
\textsuperscript{22} Vladimir I. Braginsky, Yang Indah, Berfaedah Dan Kamal; Sejarah Sastra Melayu Dalam Abad 7-19 (Jakarta: INIS, 1998), 435.
terms. Second, poetic Sufism, which in expressing ideas such as Sufism is more emotional in nature, first and foremost holding on to a symbolic image or a series of symbolic and symbolic images.\(^{23}\) In general, \textit{kitab} literature, especially \textit{tasawuf} manuscripts, is related to references to religious and kufic teaching in the \textit{tarekat} and \textit{pondok pesantren} or dayah communities in the Nusantara.

With reference to these various limitations, \textit{Bahrul Lahut}, which is in the form of prose, is written in the Arabic alphabet and including literary books or \textit{tasawuf} in the Braginsky sense. Moreover, \textit{Bahrul Lahut} is very close to several references related to religious and Sufism issues in the archipelago. Bahwi\(^{24}\) mentions more specifically that \textit{Bahrul Lahut} is related to divine philosophy, even though Abdullah\(^{25}\) calls it a syi'ah theosophy. Abdullah\(^{26}\) further explains that \textit{Bahrul Lahut} is a treatise that discusses the matter of the beginning of the creation of the world which is close to Ibn Arabi's conception. In line with that, it is emphasized by Masfiah & Adzfar\(^{27}\) that \textit{Bahrul Lahut} is a literary book with specificity in knowing God and the process of creating the universe known as the emanation process. Furthermore, the Semarang Ministry of Religion Balitbang Team assumed that the manuscript was related to philosophical Sufism, namely \textit{wahdat al-wujud}.

This assumption is not without foundation because the author \textit{Bahrul Lahut}, namely Abdullah Arif or Abd Arifin, is present in several versions, but is always related to tarekat figures, such as Ahmad Qushashi, Abdurrouf Singkel, and some even call Burhanuddin Ulakan the first teacher.\(^{29}\) In one sense, there are theosophical similarities between Singkel and Abdullah Arif, especially their views regarding the reinterpretation of \textit{wahdat al-wujud}. In history, it is stated that Singkel was known as the peace between \textit{wujudiyah} and \textit{syuhudiyah} in Aceh which had heated up in the previous era.\(^{30}\) The historical issue of Abdullah Arif needs separate research because there are two versions which are equally important in the history of the intellectual Islam of the archipelago. This is because the manuscript is in several regions in East Java, Aceh, and Makassar.

\(^{23}\) Braginsky, 435–36.
\(^{24}\) Bahwi, \textit{Catatan Hasil Penelitian Terhadap Kitab-Kitab Tulisan Tangan Peninggalan Para Sesepuh Pondok Pesantren Langger Raje Sumber Anyar Larangan Tokol Tlanakan Pamekasan}, 15.
\(^{25}\) Abdullah, \textit{Perkembangan Ilmu Tasawuf Dan Tokoh-Tokohnya Di Nusantara}, 5.
\(^{26}\) Abdullah, \textit{Perkembangan Ilmu Tasawuf Dan Tokoh-Tokohnya Di Nusantara}.
\(^{27}\) Masfiah and Adzfar, \textit{Inventerisasi Dan Digitalisasi Naskah Klasik Keagamaan Di Madura}, 14.
\(^{28}\) Republika, March 11, 2009.
\(^{29}\) See I.M.A.M. Amin, “Muballigul Islam,” Manuscript, 1997; Boestami, Sjafnir Abu Naim, and Zaiful Anwar, \textit{Aspek Arkeologi Islam Tentang Makam Dan Surau Syekh Burhanuddin Ulakan} (Padang: PPPSP Sumatera Barat, 1981); Duski Samad, \textit{Syekh Burhanuddin Dan Islamisasi Minangkabau} (Jakarta: The Minangkabau Foundation, 2003); Fathurahman, \textit{Tarekat Saturiyyah Di Minangkabau}.
\(^{30}\) See Azra, \textit{Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah Dan Kepulauan Nusantara Abad XVII Dan XVIII}, and Abdul Hadi Wiji Muthari, \textit{Tasawuf Yang Tertindas}, \textit{Kajian Hermeneutik Terhadap Karya-Karya Hamzah Fansuri} (Jakarta: Paramadina, 2001).
With the constellation of the Bahrul Lahut manuscript in the intellectual network of the archipelago of the past, its contents, and the distribution of manuscripts in East Java, as well as references to its ideological understanding, there are several interesting things that need to be explored further in this research. The research question is how is the distribution, genealogy of knowledge, and the history of the network. By considering the legibility aspect of the text and the historical teachings in it as an ‘archive’ that holds certain discourses, it can be used as a reference in viewing the tarekat network of East Java and Nusantara. This is because the manuscripts written by the Acehnese cleric are scattered in several regions, as well as in several subcultural areas of East Java, which have a history of Islam and an assumed pattern of Islamic education, as well as sequences of intellectual lineages and tarekat.

Therefore, to answer the research question, the theory triangulation is used in this research, namely philology, archeo-genealogy of knowledge, and history. Baroroh-Baried\(^{31}\) explains that the work goal of philology is to edit, discuss and analyze manuscripts and texts, or both. According to Robson\(^{32}\), the study of philology is more than just 'text criticism' and is different 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, therefore there is much that needs to be done. Of all the philologist's work can be summarized into a phrase 'read the text read or understood'.\(^ {33}\)

The potential of the Bahrul Lahut manuscript is very appropriate to be approached by the Foucauldian method, both in terms of its marginal, power relations, discourse, and aspects of archives and historical discontinuities that suggest archaeological and genealogical tendencies. Moreover, knowledge archeology is an appropriate method for analyzing local discourse.\(^ {34}\) 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.\(^ {35}\) The historical paradigm is in line with the total or mental conception of history. This conception is the writing of history that includes all aspects of people's life, including the symptoms of humanity that are most resistant to changing times, namely mentality in the realm of the collective imaginary or the collective subconscious.\(^ {36}\) The historical paradigm is oriented towards a cultural

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\(^{31}\) Baroroh-Baried et al., *Pengantar Teori Filolog*, 47.

\(^{32}\) Stuart O. Robson, *Prinsip-Prinsip Filologi Indonesia* (Jakarta: Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa, 1994), 12.

\(^{33}\) Robson, *Prinsip-Prinsip Filologi Indonesia*.

\(^{34}\) Chris Barker, *Kamus Kajian Budaya* (Yogyakarta: Kanisius, 2014), 11.

\(^{35}\) Barker, 106.

\(^{36}\) Nina Herlina Lubis, *Historiografi Barat* (Bandung: Satya Historika, 2003), 120.
or era view and deals with the process of change through the ages which is divided into three levels of duration.\(^{37}\)

The research method of this study goes through several stages. Because the *Bahrul Lahut* manuscripts in East Java are available in three places, the manuscripts were chosen at the PP. Sumber Anyar because they were the most complete and most readable. Other manuscripts were used as a comparison, especially the collection of other PP. Sumber Anyar which had a different text composition. The standard edition or the critical edition is done by publishing a manuscript by correcting minor errors and inconsistencies, while the spelling is adjusted to the prevailing regulations, because "all efforts to improving must be accompanied by accountability with the right reference method".\(^{38}\) After the philology work, translation of the Arabic text into Indonesian was carried out, then analyzed discursively. This refers to the methodological steps that need to be taken for discourse analysis which is the implication of using Foucault's theoretical tools, which include the stages of solving discourse structures and ideological-historical criticism, from archeology to genealogy of knowledge.\(^{39}\) The processes of archeological and genealogical studies are not different from each other in their studies because they are complementary. Archeology focuses on existing historical conditions, while genealogy is more concerned with historical processes.\(^{40}\)

### B. As a Literature of the Nusantara Kitab

Textually, *Bahrul Lahut* spread across Indonesia is not a separate manuscript. Generally, the *Bahrul Lahut* texts are in a bundle with other texts. Fathurahman\(^{41}\) found *Bahrul Lahut* in the *Mujarobat Manuscript* bundle at Dayah Tanoh Abee. The *dayah* is one of the old Islamic boarding schools in Aceh, which was founded during the reign of Iskandar Muda in the Sultanate of Aceh Darussalam (1625 AD). The condition of the *Bahrul Lahut* text which is part of another bundle of texts is also stated by Abdullah,\(^{42}\) Hamid,\(^{43}\) and Masfiah & Adzfar\(^{44}\). In fact, Masfiah & Adzfar mentions that *Bahrul Lahut* and several tarekat books are commonly found together with books about the dignity of the seven works of Fadlullah Burhanpuri, \textit{wahdat al-

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\(^{37}\) Kuntowijoyo, *Penjelasan Sejarah* (Historical Explanation) (Yogyakarta: Tiara Wacana, 2008), 60–61.

\(^{38}\) Baroroh-Baried et al., *Pengantar Teori Filolog*, 68.

\(^{39}\) Faruk, *Pascastrukturalisme: Teori, Implikasi Metodologi, Dan Contoh Analisis* (Jakarta: Pusat Bahasa, 2008), 78.

\(^{40}\) George Ritzer, *Teori Sosial Postmodern* (Yogyakarta: Kreasi Wacana, 2003), 67.

\(^{41}\) Fathurahman, *Katalog Naskah Tanah Abee Aceh Besar*, 348.

\(^{42}\) Abdullah, *Perkembangan Ilmu Tasawuf Dan Tokoh-Tokohnya Di Nusantara*.

\(^{43}\) Hamid, *Syekh Yusuf: Seorang Ulama, Sufi Dan Pejuang*.

\(^{44}\) Masfiah and Adzfar, *Inventerisasi Dan Digitalisasi Naskah Klasik Keagamaan Di Madura*, 14.
wujud treatises originating from Ibn Arabi, and other religious or Sufi books. The existence of these books among pesantren and adherents of tarekat in Indonesia is confirmed by Bruinessen. The Tuhfah al-Mursalah by Fadlullah al-Burhanpuri has indeed become a reference for several tarekat in the archipelago and has caused several differences of opinion and disputes. As is well known, the seven dignity is a teaching held by the tarekat which is rooted in the concept of wahdat al-wujud. This teaching has experienced ups and downs in the history of Islam in Indonesia, including in the dispute between the camp of Hamzah Fansuri and Syamsuddin as-Sumatrani versus Nurrudin ar-Raniri during the Kingdom of Aceh Darussalam, which is often perceived as a way intersection between Sunni Sufism and philosophical Sufism. In addition, these teachings have undergone repeated recitation in Sufism in Indonesia and have become the basis for the practice of several tarekat in Indonesia.

1. In East Java

In East Java, it is known that there are three locations of the Bahrul Lahut. The rivalry is not only in the northern coastal areas of East Java and Madura, which are 'gifted' as Islamic areas, which in common view it is stated that the first development of Islam on the north coast of Java and Madura was through Sufism. However, Bahrul Lahut is also in the interior and includes the Mataraman subculture area. First, at the PP. Sumber Anyar, Larangan Tokol, Tanakan, Pamekasan, Madura. In the pesantren, there are three Bahrul Lahut texts. Second, in the EDR’s Collection in Sidoarjo. Third, in the hands of the mursyid Jamaah Tarekat Satariyah in Kecik, Keling, Kepung, Kediri. As for Syam, called Bahrul Lahut as the oldest source of Islam in the archipelago without mentioning the existence of the manuscript he was referred to.

In this study, researchers used the Bahrul Lahut collection of the PP. Sumber Anyar. The manuscript is a bundle manuscript consisting of 9 different texts. The manuscript covered in brown leather. The paper used is European paper with a watermark in the form of C, H, K codes, and a picture of a person with a crown and a garden around it. The number of manuscript pages is 87 rekto verso, while Bahrul Lahut has 8 pages with Naskhi’s type of writing. The color of the ink is black, with the type of ink from langes or dian smoke that is collected and mixed with the sap of the Mambo tree (in Maduranese) or commonly called the Sukarno tree.

45 Masfiah and Adzfar, Inventerisasi Dan Digitalisasi Naskah Klasik Keagamaan Di Madura.; Republika, 2019.
46 Bruinessen, Kitab Kuning, Pesantren Dan Tarekat (Edisi Revisi).
47 See Azra, Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah Dan Kepulauan Nusantara Abad XVII Dan XVIII; Fathurahman, Tarekat Satariyah Di Minangkabau.
48 Azra, Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah Dan Kepulauan Nusantara Abad XVII Dan XVIII; Muthari, Tasawuf Yang Tertindas, Kajian Hermeneutik Terhadap Karya-Karya Hamzah Fansuri.
49 See Syam, “Tasawuf Dan Pemikiran Islam Indonesia.”
The main text of Bahrul Lahut is written in Arabic script. As for the meaning of the beard or under the main text, it is written in pegon script and in Javanese. With the marginal notes written in the pegon script and in Javanese, page 1 totaling 11 lines, including bismillah, page 2 totaling 14 lines, pages 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7 totaling 13 lines, and page 8 totaling 3 lines. Bahrul Lahut ranks first in the order of the text. The order is as follows: Bahrul Lahut, Thariqat al-Ilm, Harakat al-Ilm, Ulum ad-Din, Anzal ar-Ruh, Fathu ar-Rahman, Al Aqwal Jalilah bi Syarh al-Washilah, Kanz al-Arifin, and Al- Murattib al-Ibadah or Martabat li Ibn 'Arabi. However, there is no colophon in the manuscript, so it is not known the copyist and the time of copying. However, based on the watermark on paper, it was made around the 17th century.

The PP Sumber Anyar has three Bahrul Lahut manuscripts. However, what is used in this study is the most complete, coherent, and legible. According to Bahwi, the other two manuscripts, including different bundles, are incomplete. His condition is somewhat damaged and has not been collected in the Raden Umro library, which is specifically for maintaining ancient manuscripts. This is because the pesantren is composed of several caregivers which initially were in the form of langgar or surau which were established by children who descended from Zubair Awal. As stated by Adrisijanti, after the death of Umro, his descendants founded many Islamic boarding schools, which started with Langgar Rajha (Big Surau). In the PP. Sumber Anyar complex alone, there are several caregivers, which come from children from Zubeir Awal, Zubair Tsani, Umro, and Sukriwa. Outside the pesantren, there are at least 16 pesantren developed by the descendants of Zubair Awal who are scattered in various places and still exist today.

The PP. Sumber Anyar is one of the oldest Islamic boarding schools in Madura. A version calls it founded in 1515 by Zubair Awal. There are many historical versions related to the figure of Zubair. However, several sources refer to several figures in their contemporaries who are still considered large families, namely Agung Raba in Pamekasan and Abdul Manan from Prajjan, Sampang. This pesantren developed during Umro, son of Zubair Tsani. Even during the time of Raden Umro, Mansurnoor said that those who came to study at Sumber Anyar were not only from Java and Madura. He is also known to be very close to the Madurese rulers, both in Pamekasan and Sumenep. In fact, he is called Ke’ Rato, which is the term of the kiai who becomes the teacher of the rato or king.

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50 Interview with the pesantren script manager, Habibullah Bahwi, “Bahrul Lahut.” in March 2018.
51 Inajati Adrisijanti, ed., Ensiklopedi Pamekasan: Alam, Masyarakat, Dan Budaya (Yogyakarta: Pemkab Pamekasan & FIB UGM, 2010), 281.
52 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 Tianakan Madura Dan Silsilah Keluarga (Pamekasan: Pondok Pesantren Sumber Anyar, 2017).
53 Mansurnoor, Islam in an Indonesian Word, Ulama of Madura.
In Adrisijantti, it is explained that based on the narrative, Ke’ Rato was called Umro during the King Ronggosukowati administration, because he was a Koran teacher in the Mandhilaras Palace, and one of the Umro students was Ronggosukowati. After he died, he was buried in Sumber Anyar Village and his grave complex was called Bhuju' Ke’ Rato. His brother Sukriwa was replaced him as a reciting teacher, Sukriwa, who also earned the title Ke’ Rato. Umro is the first Ke’ Rato, while Sukriwa is called the second Ke’ Rato. Therefore, when he died, he was buried in the Bhuju' Ke’ Rato complex. According to Adrisijantti, actually the term Ke’ Rato has roots far back, namely to Zubeir Awal, the founder of the PP. Sumber Anyar, which was originally named Langgar Rajha, who lived during the reign of Pangeran Bonorogo, the father of Ronggosukowati. It's just that, Umro's scientific genealogy has no historical record. However, according to Bahwi, at the time of Umro, the PP. Sumber Anyar was a 'university' which accommodated various scientific developments, as evidenced by the collection of manuscripts that reached more than 1000, although only 538 could be saved. The number of collections is almost the same as Dayah Tanoh Abee, Aceh.

The same thing happens to the collection manuscripts of Satariyah in Kediri, which are a bundle with other manuscripts. In one manuscript bundle there are 18 texts. Meanwhile, Bahrul Lahut is in 17th place. The manuscript bundle includes Fathu ar-Rahman, Bayan al-Alif, Daqa’, Mi’raj al-‘Isyq, Maratib al-Ma’lumat, Shifat ar-Ruh, an unknown title (preceded by amma asyahadat an yu’rof al alf), unknown title (beginning with i’am anna al haq), Maratib al ‘Ibadah, Kitab al Ma’rifah, Khatimat fi al-Dzikr wal-Ma’rifah, Sakarat al Maut, Fathu al Manan, Mizan, Bayan Allah, Bayan at Tauhid, Bahrul Lahut, and Majnun Allah. Bahrul Lahut consists of 13 pages. Written in Arabic script, with the author Abdullah Arifin. Scribbled text on European paper, folio size. Each page consists of 9 lines, except for the last line consisting of 5 lines, because it is connected to another text, namely Majnun Allah. In the manuscript bundle there is no colophon indicating the year of writing or copying. Behind the bundle of manuscripts, there are only records of a person's birth years in the years 1903, 1904, and 1909.

The Bahrul Lahut collection is in the hands of the murshid of Satariyah named Darma al-Idrus. This manuscript follows the chain or lineage of the tarekat, and according to Darma al-Idrus, Bahrul Lahut is the script of the Satariyah, even though he himself claims to be a practitioner of another tarekat. This claim question will be compared with other data. However, from an interview with Darma al-Idrus, it is known that this manuscript is inherited from his father, who came from his grandfather who was a murshid of the local tarekat in the early 1900s. Darma Al-Idrus

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54 Adrisijantti, Ensiklopedi Pamekasan: Alam, Masyarakat, Dan Budaya, 59.
55 Adrisijantti, 60.
56 Interview with Bahwi, “Bahrul Lahut.” in March 2018.
relied on the lineage of his tarekat through Abdul Muhyi Pamijahan and Abdurrouf Singkel. He is among the 24th murshid and is recognized by the Satariyah congregation in other places, as in the Kanoman Palace in Cirebon and others.

For the map of the distribution of the Satariyah on the coast, it is known that several collectors in Gresik and Lamongan, East Java, there are manuscripts that directly refer to the name of the tarekat, namely Dedalan Satariyah and Satariyah.57 It’s just not known which network is the background, but the existence of tarekat traces on the north coast of Java in the form of manuscripts is a natural thing, although in recent developments several tarekat appeared in the Mataraman subculture area, such as Jombang, Kediri, and Tulungagung, because in the century 19th-20th, there has been a growth and development of Islamic boarding schools in the region. Even some of the older pesantren, such as Termas Pacitan, Tegalsari Ponorogo, Sidogiri Pasuruan, have their own networks. However, the distribution of the Bahrul Lahut manuscript from Aceh is not yet known in some of these places, except in the three places that have been mentioned. However, the Satariyah has developed rapidly in several areas of the Mataraman subculture of East Java, such as Nganjuk, Madiun, Magetan, and its surroundings.58

There is also a collection of manuscripts by EDR which comes from Pamekasan. Described in the colophon, the author is Abu Abdurrahman in Alur Inggil Wono Hamlet, Alor Village, Wedono Negerigung Pamekasan, Sunday, 2 Jumadil Akhir of the year Jim Akhir. The initial assumption was that the information was contained in the colophon and the author in question was the copyist. It is possible that this manuscript is based on the same manuscript as the PP. Sumber Anyar, because the arrangement of the book bundles is the same, although the number of pages is different. In its time, the cottage was a place of demonic transformation and a place for storing manuscripts and scripts. As has been revealed, the santri caretakers of the PP. Sumber Anyar were not only the lower class people but also the priyayi, aristocrats and dignitaries of the past. Unfortunately, researchers were unable to trace the inheritance process of the manuscript, so a network of intellectuals did follow. However, looking at the history of the PP. Sumber Anyar, it is possible that this text is still in the same locus as the pesantren, considering that the kiai caretakers of the PP. Sumber Anyar are titled Ke’ Rato, and are close to the Keraton Pamekasan, Sumenep, and their wedana.

2. Outside East Java

From tracing several Bahrul Lahut manuscripts, there are several points that in the past were the key to Islamic civilization in Indonesia. This is because Bahrul

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

58 Mambaul Ngadimah, “Dinamika Jamaah Lil Muqarrabin: Tarekat Sathariyah Tanjunganom, Nganjuk Jawa Timur” (Yogyakarta: UIN Sunan Kalijaga, 2007).
Lahut that was spread to several regions relied on intellectual movements which in the past were considered important figures of his time. Outside East Java, there are two Bahrul Lahut manuscripts, namely Syekh Yusuf Makassar collection and the Dayah Tanoh Abe collection, Aceh. Abdullah alluded to Bahrul Lahut when he found the manuscript in Mempawah Pontianak, it was in the collection of the descendants of Yusuf Makassar's family and still a relative of the Pontianak Sultanate. He did not specify the condition of the manuscript, but he did reveal the figure of Sheikh Abdullah Arif and commented a little on the content of Bahrul Lahut. Regarding the author, He referred to several rare sources that cannot be found anymore. Unfortunately, he did not explain in detail whether the manuscript stood alone or became a bundle in one manuscript with another, because several other Bahrul Lahut became a bundle with other scriptures.

Meanwhile, Hamid stated that at the Central Jakarta Museum, there is a bundle of manuscripts inherited by Yusuf Makassar, in which there are manuscripts by Yusuf Makassar, works of other authors, and Bahrul Lahut. The bundle was codified as Arabic Manuscript No. A-108 (NA-108). Hamid continued, the manuscript 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 Tenitappu Sultan Ahmad Shaleh Syamsuddin (1775-1812 AD). The manuscripts in the NA-108 bundle are in Arabic and have different societies from the other legacy bundles of Yusuf Makassar which are coded with the Arabic Manuscript NA-101 which are without vowels or bald letters. The total bundle is 576 pages and consists of 30 texts, while Bahrul Lahut is the 20th manuscript. Other manuscripts are the works of the book of Sufism which refer to Fadlullah al-Burhanpuri, Ibn Arabi, and others, as well as the works of Yusuf Makassar himself. However, Hamid did not elaborate on the text of Bahrul Lahut. The age of the Bahrul Lahut manuscripts together with Yusuf Makassar's bundle may be copied between 1775-1812 from the previous manuscript which is dated 1678.

Yusuf Makassar is an Indonesian Islamic intellectual who was born in Makassar and developed his intellectuality in Banten. He is considered as one of the links in the network of archipelago and Middle Eastern scholars in the 17th and 18th centuries because of his scientific interest in several centers of Islamic civilization, such as in Gujarat, Aden, Damascus, Mecca, Medina, and others. He produced several works which became references to the Muslim archipelago. In the world of tarekat, he is one

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59 Abdullah, *Perkembangan Ilmu Tasawuf Dan Tokoh-Tokohnya Di Nusantara*, 4–5.
60 Abdullah, *Perkembangan Ilmu Tasawuf Dan Tokoh-Tokohnya Di Nusantara*.
61 Hamid, *Syekh Yusuf: Seorang Ulama, Sufi Dan Pejuang*, 142–43.
62 Hamid, *Syekh Yusuf: Seorang Ulama, Sufi Dan Pejuang*. Hamid calls it Bahrun Lahut.
63 Hamid.
64 Hamid. See Azizmardzi Azra, *Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah Dan Kepulaan Nusantara Abad XVII Dan XVIII* (Bandung: Mizan, 1999), 254.
of the world’s tenants of attraction. Apart from being productive in writing works, the murshid of several tarekat and the most well-known is Khalwatiyah, he is also a fighter. He was exiled by the Dutch and ended up in the Cape of Good Hope, South Africa. His influence is still very large in his homeland and in several other Islamic centers of the archipelago, such as Pontianak, Banten, and even Madura. His position is important because Bahrul Lahut is combined with several other manuscripts containing Sufism and his own work.

As is well known, Yusuf Makassar was an intellectual whose works were very close to Sufism and he himself was known as a leading tarekat teacher and had many tarekat lineages. So far, he is known as the carrier of several tarekat to Indonesia, starting from Qadiriyah, Naqsabandiyah, Saturiyah, Khalwatiyah, and other tarekat, when he traveled in several Arabian Peninsulas. In fact, a manuscript of the lineage of the Yusuf Makassar order was recently found in a library in Tehran, Iran, which contained Yusuf Makassar’s sanad with the Ibn Arabi order, written in the 17th century AD. He has lived in Aceh because he has a lineage of the tarekat to be connected with Nurrudin Ar-Raniri, a scholar during the Kingdom of Aceh Darussalam.

Meanwhile, Bahrul Lahut, which is part of the Dayah Tanoh Abee Aceh collection, has only been inventoried one so far, namely in the Tanoh Abee Aceh Besar Manuscript Catalog. The catalog codified Bahrul Lahut with manuscript number 15E/151E/Ts-30/TA/2006. The details of the text are still vague because the manuscript is part of another bundle of manuscripts which consists of nine texts and this manuscript is in fourth place, so that some textual and textual data are not detailed, including the absence of a colophon and paper stamp. In fact, the author's name is Abd. Arifin, who is different from the name other sources. However, there is a brief description that the manuscript was written on European paper, in Arabic, in prose form, totaling 5 pages, and each page consists of 17 lines.

Dayah Tanoh Abee is one of the traditional educational institutions in Aceh which has an abundance of old manuscripts. In fact, the tradition of the tarekat has also become one of its religious tendencies. Teuku Dahlan Tanoh Abee (d. 2007), a dayah holder, has a direct lineage of the tarekat with the scientific authority in the Holy Land, namely Muhammad As’ad in Medina (d. 1705), which is different from the usual tarekat sanad passing through Acehnese scholars Abdurrouf Singkel. Thus,

65 One teacher with Sheikh Abdurrouf Singkel, namely Syeikh Ibrahim Kurani in Medina.
66 Ahmad Ginanjar Sya’ban, Mahakarya Islam Nusantara: Kitab, Naskah, Manuskrp Dan Korespodensi Ulama Nusantara (Tangerang: Pustaka Compass, 2017), 67–69.
67 Azra, Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah Dan Kepulauan Nusantara Abad XVII Dan XVIII; Hamid, Syekh Yusuf: Seorang Ulama, Sufi Dan Pejuang.
68 Fathurahman, Katalog Naskah Tanah Abee Aceh Besar, 224–25.
69 Fathurahman, Katalog Naskah Tanah Abee Aceh Besar.
70 Fakhirati in Fathurahman, Tarekat Saturiyah Di Minangkabau, 36.
the existence of the manuscript in the Dayah Tanoo Abee is understandable, especially since the dayah has a very abundant collection of manuscripts and has become a scriptorium in the past, because the dayah has a long history, which was founded by Fairus Al-Bagdadi, a scholar from Baghdad Iraq, during the reign of Sultan Iskandar Muda, the Kingdom of Aceh Darussalam (1625 AD).

C. Revision of Wujudiyah Version of Bahrul Lahut
Some sources say that Bahrul Lahut’s reference points to the conception of the dignity of seven Fadlullah Al-Burhanpuri, who elaborated it from Ibn Arabi. However, the landmark that there is a connection between Bahrul Lahut and the concept of seven dignities is refuted because the content of Bahrul Lahut does not talk about spiritual steps in tarekat practice, but talks about the concept of divinity and the origin of the creation of the universe. However, the connection with Ibn Arabi is still possible because some of the concepts in it lead to the teachings of Ibn Arabi’s cosmology and emanation.

The cosmological concept of Ibn Arabi is related to the manifestation of nature and the beginning of the creation of universe. In this theory, it is stated that whatever exists in nature are only divine manifestations that cannot exist without the existence of God as true being. Schimmel notes that the most amazing aspect of Ibn Arabi’s theory is that there is a strong relationship between these names and those that are given names. The naming of the process of creating the universe is also found in the Bahrul Lahut manuscript. In fact, some of its concepts refer to several Islamic intellectual terms in the archipelago, which are affiliated with wujudiyah in different degrees, such as Hamzah Fansuri and Abdurrouf Singkel. It could be because of that, Bahrul Lahut was found in several scripts, such as pondok pesantren or langgar (Java and Madura), dayah (Aceh), surau (Minangkabau) and tarekat community networks in the archipelago.

The essence of Bahrul Lahut’s theosophical doctrine states that Allah is different from creatures. As for the process of creating the universe, it rests on Nur Muhammad, who is likened to the Nur Wilayah which comes from Allah. Shaikh Abdullah said that the person who understands the true Allah or the servant of Allah who has penetrated the path of makrifat that the beginning of the clarity of Allah’s substance or the manifestation of Allah the Most High is located in Kalam. Starting from Kalam then took the form of Nukat Gaib, and starting from Nukat Gaib then became Nur Muhammad (Bahrul Lahut, p. 1)

71 Masfiah and Adzfar, Inverterisasi Dan Digitalisasi Naskah Klasik Keagamaan Di Madura.; Republika, March 11, 2009.
72 Mulyadi Kartanegara, Gerbang Kearifan, Sebuah Pengantar Filsafat Islam (Jakarta: Lentera Hati, 2006), 65–67.
73 Annemarie Schimmel, Dimensi Mistik Dalam Islam (Jakarta: Pustaka Firdaus, 2000), 342.
From there, it is emphasized that arsy, chairs, 7 heavens and earth and everything was created from Nur Muhammad in the span of 50,000 years. Nur Muhammad is Tajalli Awal, there gathered all the spirits of creatures. Jawahir Awal, aka Alam Kabir is the Ruh Khafi of the Substance of Allah (God). Each of the throne, Kursi, and Luh Mahfud, sky-earth, heaven-hell and various miracles from the sun, moon, stars whose inhabitants are from angels, earth whose inhabitants are humans, animals, jin, and demons are all created from the Ruh Idhofi. As explained in Bahrul Lahut as follows.

The path of makrifat or the beginning of the manifestation of the form of Allah, means the beginning of the form of Allah the Most High, in the beginning or the beginning of the real takjil in the form of Nur Muhammad. That is, after Nur Muhammad is perfect, in that Nur Muhammad all spirits, all creatures, all angels, and all creation are gathered. You know, actually what is called Jauhar Awal is Alam Kabir, namely the Idofi Spirit, from the Substance of Allah. It means, you know, verily Allah, which means appearance is Jalal, Allah made Jauhar Awal a great nature, that is the Idofi Spirit of Allah's Substance. That is, from the will of Allah the One. (Bahrul Lahut, p. 2)

Seeing this conception will certainly lead to the concept of Ibn Arabi's emanation. However, there is an interesting explanation, which is an improvement from this view that calls humans a mirror for the existence of God ala Ibn Arabi. Bahrul Lahut said that the manifestation of God's form is in the glass, and the color that appears is a new creation, so it differs between God and the new creation. In addition, although in stages the creation of the world leads to the stages of emanation of Ibn Arabi, with the use of several of his terms, there is a strong desire to reread wujudiyah, with an emphasis on witnessing or syuhudiyah.

Indeed, Allah resides in Luh Mahfud and does not come out outside Luh Mahfud. On the other hand, the real form in the mirror and the introduction of that form remain in the reality of God's taste (Bahrul Lahut, p. 5). In that context there are similarities with the principles put forward by Hamzah Fansuri in Asrarul Arifin that the essence of Muhammad or Nur Muhammad is called the principle of all creation. From Nur Muhammad, a'yan tsabithah was created, which is the essence of everything in the universe. However, what needs to be observed is that there is a difference between the interpretation of Hamzah Fansuri and al-Burhanpuri on Ibn Arabi's wujudiyah doctrine, as Streenbrink's landmark in Anshori states that the teachings of the seven dignity which probably first appeared in al-Burhanpuri's essay (d.1590) at length it is described in Syamsuddin's treatise, but not yet in the work of

74 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.

75 M. Afif Anshori, Tasawuf Falsafi Syeikh Hamzah Fansuri (Yogyakarta: Gelombang Pasang, 2004), xxv.
Hamzah Fansuri. From here, there are lineages of teachings that are based on a common view of *wujudiyah*. Moreover, the phrase 'bahrul lahut' is also found in the 9th stanza in the fifteenth verse of Hamzah Fansuri's work which likens the infinite form of God as the sea or *al-bahr*. Therefore, Hamzah Fansuri symbolized the travelers of the divine path by boating, so that he also wrote poems in Malay entitled *Syair Perahu*. In addition, another work attributed to Hamzah Fansuri who uses the diction of *bahrun* or sea is *Bahrun Nisa*. 

Meanwhile, in one of Abdurrouf Singkel's works, who came from Fansur, the same area as Hamzah Fansuri, some even called it a family, there is the same conception as *Bahrul Lahut*. In *Kifayat Al-Muhtajin*, Singkel maintains the concept of God's transcendence with his creation. Singkel said, before God created the universe, He always thought of himself, then resulted in the creation of *Nur Muhammad*, and from *Nur Muhammad*, God created the archetypes or *a'yan tsabithah*, namely the potential of all the universe, which is the source of the archetypes. Outside namely *a'yan kharijah*, namely creation in its concrete form. Singkel emphasized that *a'yan kharijah* is an absolute form and it is different from God Himself. In fact, in *Daqaiq al-Huruf*, it is an interpretation of the four phrases that are considered pantheistic from Ibn Arabi, by saying that God and the universe are not the same. In fact, he also took advantage of the emanation system associated with Sheikh Syamsuddin As-Sumatrani, a student and friend of Hamzah Fansuri, by keeping his distance from distorted interpretations. As is well known, Abdurrouf Singkel was a conciliator between the *wujudiyah* sect in Aceh after the ideological conflict in the 17th century Aceh Darussalam Kingdom between Hamzah Fansuri-Syamsuddin as-Sumatrani and Nuruddin ar-Raniri.

Thus, from a genealogy of knowledge, there is a continuity between *Bahrul Lahut* and the works of Hamzah Fansuri and Abdurrouf Singkel. Hamzah Fansuri is a follower of the Qadiriyah, while Abdurrouf Singkel is a follower of the Sattariyah, which both place *Nur Muhammad* as the beginning of the creation of the universe with several stages of emanation which was indeed adapted from Ibn Arabi. Even though in its development, there were conflicts related to the tarekat, for example in West Sumatra, Bruinessen noted that the Naqsabandiyyah is the seat of the Sattariyah.

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76 Muthari, *Tasawuf Yang Tertindas, Kajian Hermeneutik Terhadap Karya-Karya Hamzah Fansuri*, 153.
77 Azra, *Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah Dan Kepulauan Nusantara Abad XVII Dan XVIII*.
78 Azra, 206; Samad, *Syekh Burhanuddin Dan Islamisasi Minangkabau*, 49.
79 Azra, *Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah Dan Kepulauan Nusantara Abad XVII Dan XVIII*, 206–7.
80 See Azra, *Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah Dan Kepulauan Nusantara Abad XVII Dan XVIII*; Fathurahman, *Tarekat Sattariyah Di Minangkabau*.
81 See Muthari, *Tasawuf Yang Tertindas, Kajian Hermeneutik Terhadap Karya-Karya Hamzah Fansuri*.
82 See Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning, Pesantren Dan Tarekat (Edisi Revisi)*.
This is because in several places in the archipelago, as well as with roots in the Middle East, there has been a union of the two tarekat. Thus, Bahrul Lahut can be said to be a revision of wujudiyah ideas that had surfaced in Indonesian Islamic intellectual circles, with the emphasis that between God and the new creation are different, with some emphasis that is more towards spiritual conclusions, although by returning to four stages known in wujudiyah philosophy, with an emphasis on differences, witnessing, and matters of sharia, because in it there is a story that shows that Muslims must perform shahada and show prayers five times a day, as a result of Nur Muhammad's 50,000 years before going to a'yan tsabitah or permanent form, in the form of the universe.

D. Reconstruction of the Aceh-Makassar-East Java Tarekat Network

One of the major theories related to the archipelago-Middle East ulama network is the increasing awareness of Islam in the Nusantara to carry out the pilgrimage and the colonial policy of natives leaving for pilgrims. Bruinessen noted that during the colonial period, there were two motives for the pilgrimage of the Nusantara people, namely seeking knowledge and reward. Djauhari explained that in Madura, the opportunity to perform the pilgrimage was indeed used to study knowledge from scholars from the Arabian Peninsula, coupled with the large number of immigrants from ulama circles to Indonesia. In fact, he noted that in the mid-19th century in Sumenep there were 2130 Islamic scholars, in 1880 there were 896 hajj, and in 1890, the hadj had reached 1364. Thus, the generation of Madurese scholars who studied in Mecca can be traced before R. Moh. Khalil Bangkalan (d. 1925). This is emphasized by Bruinessen, there are Madurese scholars who have long lived and have become teachers at the Grand Mosque. In addition, the lineage of the tarekat in Indonesia 'continued' with the Madurese cleric and immediately gained legitimacy while studying in Mecca, especially for Qadiriyah and Naqsabandiyyah, namely Abdul Azim, from which the charismatic Madurese scholar Kholil Bangkalan got his link in the chain. In the previous era, there had also been Madura or East Java ulama who lived there, because of the existence of the Jawi or Jawah community in Haramain.

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83 Bruinessen.
84 Suminto H. Aqib, Politik Islam Hindia Belanda (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1996), 93–94.
85 Bruinessen, Kitab Kuning, Pesantren Dan Tarekat (Edisi Revisi), 3.
86 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.
87 Djauhari, 253; Huub de Jonge, Madura Dalam Empat Zaman: Pedagang, Perkembangan Ekonomi, Dan Islam; Suatu Studi Antropologi Ekonomi (Jakarta: Gramedia, 1989), 240–41.
88 Bruinessen, Tarekat Naqsabandiyyah Di Indonesia, 186.
Mastuhu\textsuperscript{89} explains, in the 13th-17th centuries, there were centers of power studies and Islamic studies, this applies in Madura, as in the history of the PP. Sumber Anyar which was founded in 1515 AD.\textsuperscript{90} As an institution that stood alongside Sumenep Regency and served as a place to recite kings and sons of kings in the past, even from the Keraton Sumenep,\textsuperscript{91} PP. Sumber Anyar determines the direction of Islamization in Madura. Johns also noted this historical fact in his study of Islamic boarding schools or pondok pesantren in Indonesia, that the pesantren institutions were the ones that most determined the Islamic character of the Islamic kingdoms, and which played an important role in the spread of Islam to remote areas.\textsuperscript{92}

In the context of the distribution of \textit{Bahrul Lahut}, it is possible that the time was between the 17th-18th centuries, which had not been historically constructed. However, before the 19th century, there were already Madurese scholars who lived and taught in Haramain, and became one of the Naqsabandiyah chain links, namely Abdul Azim, and died in Bangkalan in 1916.\textsuperscript{93} In addition, the title of Umro or Raden Umro, the second caretaker of the PP. Sumber Anyar (approximately 18th century), because of his penchant for going to Mecca for Umrah, so that his real name is not recognized.\textsuperscript{94} The cosmopolitanism of the pesantren before the opening of the Suez Canal, especially their descendants in the 19th century from the Kiai Nuri’s line, also studied, even lived in Makkah and occurred after the Suez Canal. It is possible that Bahrul Lahut's transformation from Aceh-East Java, including Madura, occurred during the trip to Haramain and the kiai transited in Aceh Darussalam, as happened to Yusuf Makassar and others because Aceh at that time was an intellectual center in the archipelago.

In the case of \textit{Bahrul Lahut}'s own manuscripts copied on European paper with a watermark or MLM watermark in MLM letters and a crown with flower gardens, it shows that the paper was produced in Europe in the 16\textsuperscript{th} and 17\textsuperscript{th} centuries. Moreover, the establishment of the Sumberanyar pesantren in 1515.\textsuperscript{95} The other manuscripts were written on wood pulp or dluwang, which were probably produced in the 16th century. This is in accordance with the landmark Bahwi\textsuperscript{96} and Musfiah & Adzfar\textsuperscript{97}

\textsuperscript{89} See Mastuhu, \textit{Dinamika Sistem Pendidikan Pesantren}.
\textsuperscript{90} See Adrisijanti, \textit{Ensiiklopedi Pamekasan: Alam, Masyarakat, Dan Budaya}; Masfiah and Adzfar, \textit{Inventerisasi Dan Digitalisasi Naskah Klasik Keagamaan Di Madura}; Bahwi, \textit{Sejarah Pondok Pesantren Sumber Anyar Larangan Tokol Tlanakan Madura Dan Silsilah Keluarga}.
\textsuperscript{91} Bahwi, \textit{Sejarah Pondok Pesantren Sumber Anyar Larangan Tokol Tlanakan Madura Dan Silsilah Keluarga}, 27.
\textsuperscript{92} Anthony H. Johns, “Islam in Southeast Asia: Reflections and New Directions,” \textit{Indonesia} 19 (1975): 40.
\textsuperscript{93} Bruinessen, \textit{Tarekat Naqsabandiyah Di Indonesia}, 187.
\textsuperscript{94} Interview with Hibullah Bahwi, March, 2018.
\textsuperscript{95} See Masfiah and Adzfar, \textit{Inventerisasi Dan Digitalisasi Naskah Klasik Keagamaan Di Madura}.
\textsuperscript{96} See Bahwi, \textit{Sejarah Pondok Pesantren Sumber Anyar Larangan Tokol Tlanakan Madura Dan Silsilah Keluarga}.
that the activities of the PP. Sumber Anyar scriptorium peaked in the 16th century, when the pesantren was managed by the third generation, namely Sukriya, and it is stated that these texts are inherited in period of the kiai. Therefore, in Republika⁹⁸ and Musfiah & Adzfar⁹⁹, it is stated that Bahrul Lahut is the manuscript of the 17th century based on the year it was copied.

Mas’ud¹⁰⁰ mentions the Takhassus Pesantren with specifications on Islamic knowledge and tarekat, with specific and in-depth lessons and learning certain tarekat such as Qadiriyah, Naqsabandiyah, and Satariyah, and are called the highest level pesantren. Meanwhile, from the Sumber Anyar pesantren network and its scientific genealogy, especially those that can still be found from the abundance of manuscripts and scripts in the past, it was possible that in the 13-18th century, pesantren was a university providing various disciplines, because of the heritage collection of Sumber Anyar manuscripts, very diverse.

Meanwhile, the Satariyah has its own centers and lineages in East Java in the 21st century. The Satariyah in Kediri, where Bahrul Lahut is located, is outside the pesantren. The reason is that it is Darma al-Idrus’s grandfather and now the pesantren has receded.¹⁰¹ However, in the Mataraman area, the Satariyah has been accepted by the community and pesantren since the 17th century. The Pesantren of Tegalsari, identified as the oldest pesantren in Indonesia by the Dutch, and having relations with the Javanese center of power in Surakarta, is a follower of the Satariyah.¹⁰² In fact, not only court circles and poets adhered to this tarekat, because among village farmers such as in Magetan, Madiun, Caruban, and Nganjuk. In fact, a pesantren in Nganjuk, Pesantren Tanjunganom, is one of the centers of the tarekat, although according to Darma al-Idrus, there is a vacuum in some areas of discipleship.¹⁰³ The same thing happened on the coast of East Java, such as Gresik, Tuban and Lamongan, although the followers were not as massive as other tarekat such as Qadiriyah wan Naqsabandiyah. It could be that in some areas of Java the Satariyah has developed because this tarekat is considered the most indigenous of the existing tarekat.¹⁰⁴

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⁹⁷ See Masfiah and Adzfar, Inverterisasi Dan Digitalisasi Naskah Klasik Keagamaan Di Madura.
⁹⁸ In March 11, 2009.
⁹⁹ Masfiah and Adzfar, Inverterisasi Dan Digitalisasi Naskah Klasik Keagamaan Di Madura.
¹⁰⁰ Mas’ud, Dari Haramain Ke Nusantara, Jejak Intelektual Arsitek Pesantren, 93.
¹⁰¹ Interview with Darma Al-Idrus, “Bahrul Lahut” (2018). in Kediri.
¹⁰² Wahyu Widodo, Mantra Kidung Jawa, Mengurai Yang Lingual Hingga Yang Transendental (Malang: UB Press, 2018), 108.
¹⁰³ See Ngadimah, “Dinamika Jamaah Lil Muqarrabin: Tarekat Sathariyah Tanjunganom, Nganjuk Jawa Timur.”
¹⁰⁴ Interview with Al-Idrus, “Bahrul Lahut.”
¹⁰⁵ Bruinessen, Kitab Kuning, Pesantren Dan Tarekat (Edisi Revisi), 234.
There are several facts which indicate that Bahrul Lahut's existence did not follow the Satariyah network. In many literature, there is a network of the Satariyah order from Abdurrouf Singkel to Abdul Muhyi Pamijahan and Burhanudin Ulakan, in the form of the Satariyah order. In fact, in the Satariyah from this route, the existence of the Bahrul Lahut was not found as one of the books in the tarekat, including through the Abdul Muhyi Pamijahan route. The Satariyah congregation in Kediri relied on their sanad on the path of Abdul Muhyi Pamijahan, a contemporary of Yusuf Makassar when he was in Banten. However, based on interviews and manuscript collections, it is not only the Satariyah order. In fact, there is also a text on the Qadiriyyah wan Naqsabandiyah order which refers to the lineage of Ahmad Khatib Sambas. On the other hand, there is also the Serat Siti Jenar script in pegon, as well as Javanese. Thus, it is very possible that the Satariyah network in Kediri is not single as a Satariyah and only refers to Abdul Muhyi but also relies on other lineages of the tarekat, although the Satariyah manuscript is also in their collection, namely the Babone Tarekat Satariyah, and according to local sources This manuscript is only for Satariyah Murshid and should not be accessed by students, especially those who are not from the Satariyah Order. In addition, the Satariyah Order in Kediri mentions Abdurrouf Singkel and Hamzah Fansuri in the lineage of the tarekat. Regarding the practice of non-single tarekat, it is common in the world of attraction.

Based on the existence of Bahrul Lahut in Tanoh Abee, and the existence of a figure who has a pedigree without passing through Abdurrouf Singkel, namely Tengku Dahlan Tanoh Abee, it is possible that Bahrul Lahut is a book of Sufism which is not only labeled the Satariyah, the path of Abdurrouf Singkel, although several other loci rely on the Abdurrouf. In this context, the absence of Bahrul Lahut in the lineage of Abdurrouf is due to the position of Abdurrouf in wahdat al-wujud. Abdurrouf is known as a post-conflict syncretic figure Hamzah Fansuri-Syamsuddin and Nuruddin Ar-Raniri. Ibrahim Kurani, a student of Ahmad Qushashi, also needs to straighten out this understanding which is misunderstood in Indonesia with the book that is considered to be the initiator, namely Tuhfah Al Mursalah, by composing the Ithaf Dhaki with direct reference to Ibn Arabi's works. On the other hand, the Tuhfah book has become one of the mandatory books among tarekat experts, that there is a tarekat which makes it the main reference, including the Naqshabandiyah. As is well known, there are different views between the Satariyah and Naqsabandiyah regarding the

106 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.

107 Interview with Tommy Christomy, “Bahrul Lahut” (2018).

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

109 See Abdul Aziz Masyhuri, Ensiklopedi 22 Aliran Tarekat Dalam Tasawuf (Surabaya: Intiyaz, 2014).
views of *wahdat al-wujud*. In fact, the contradiction between the two has emerged in Minangkabau.¹¹⁰

Some of the *Bahrul Lahut* manuscripts referring to Yusuf Makassar were found with the locus in Pontianak and Jakarta. Yusuf Makassar, who had received a certificate from the Qadiriyah order in Aceh, in addition to several other tarekat including Satariyah, Naqshabandiyah, and Khalwatiyah, because he was a student of Acehnese cleric, Nurrudin Arraniri around 1641-1645 when Sultanah Tajul Alam ruled the kingdom of Aceh.¹¹¹ Yusuf Makassar is one of the figures who brought the Satariyah order to the homeland from his teacher, Ibrahim Kurani in Medina.¹¹² Another figure who studied with Ibrahim Kurani was Abdurrouf Singkel,¹¹³ who spread the Satariyah order through several of his students, including Burhadununudin Ulakan and Abdul Muhyi Pamijahan.¹¹⁴ On the other hand, Sheikh Yusuf is always identified with the Khalwatiyah Order.¹¹⁵ Khalwatiyah developed into Khalwatiyah Yusuf and Khalwatiyah Samman.¹¹⁶

There are several tarekat in Madura, especially the Naqshabandiyah, which is based on Yusuf Makassar. In fact, in 1975, at Al Falah Mosque, Sungai Jawi, Pontianak, there was a haul or memorial of the death of Yusuf Makassar which was held by the Naqshabandiyah Muzhariyah Congregation, led by Muhsin Ali al-Hinduan, based in Sumenep, Madura.¹¹⁷ In addition, several of Yusuf Makassar's works have become material for study at the PP. Sumber Anyar, even among them being a bundle of manuscripts with *Bahrul Lahut*, including *Fathur Rahman (Bahrul Lahut bundle)*, *Safinatun Najaat*,¹¹⁸ and *Tajul Arifin*, as well as other books.

Meanwhile, the *Bahrul Lahut* manuscript at the PP. Sumber Anyar and at collector in Sidoarjo) originates at the locus in Pamekasan, because in intellectual and tarekat lineages, it is possible that relations have been established with the outside world. For example, in the Naqshabandiyah tarekat, Pamekasan is included, especially Pakong in the figure of Hasan Basuni in the late 1920s, and PP. Sumber Anyar in the figure of Syamsudin in the 1960s.¹¹⁹ However, it is not clear yet, the tarekat that has developed in this pesantren in the past, but based on interviews with Satariyah tarekat

¹¹⁰ See Fathurahman, *Tarekat Satariyah Di Minangkabau*.
¹¹¹ Hamid, *Syekh Yusuf: Seorang Ulama, Sufi Dan Pejuang*, 91.
¹¹² Hamid, 92, 362.
¹¹³ Michael Laffan, *Sejarah Islam Di Nusantara* (Bandung: Bentang, 2015), 31–32.
¹¹⁴ See Christomy, *Signs of the Wali: Narratives at the Sacred Sites in Pamijahan, West Java*.
¹¹⁵ Hamid, *Syekh Yusuf: Seorang Ulama, Sufi Dan Pejuang*.
¹¹⁶ Masyhuri, *Ensiklopedi 22 Aliran Tarekat Dalam Tasawuf*, 135.
¹¹⁷ Abdullah, *Perkembangan Ilmu Tasawuf Dan Tokoh-Tokohnya Di Nusantara*, 77.
¹¹⁸ Separate manuscript in Bahwi, *Catatan Hasil Penelitian Terhadap Kitab-Kitab Tulisan Tangan Peninggalan Para Sesepuh Pondok Pesantren Langger Raje Sumber Anyar Larangan Tokol Tlanakan Pamekasan*.
¹¹⁹ Bruinessen, *Tarekat Naqshabandiyah Di Indonesia*, 187.
experts, that this tarekat is indeed close to the rulers or kings,\textsuperscript{120} while Bruinessen\textsuperscript{121} considered the tarekat to be acceptable among the common people.

E. Conclusion

*Bahrul Lahut* is the work of Abdullah Arif, another version calls it Abdul Arifin. In the Indonesian Sufi literature, *Bahrul Lahut* is spread over several regions, namely Aceh, Makassar and East Java. The content of *Bahrul Lahut* is analogous to the idea of Abdurrof Singkel, who relies on Ibn Arabi's theosophy with an interpretation that does not fall into extreme wujudiyah. In it there is a rereading of the conception of divinity which leads to the theosophy of *wahdat al-wujud*.

On the other hand, the dissemination of religious knowledge through the tarekat that follows the *Bahrul Lahut* has several possibilities that this book is not solely the property of the Satariyah, although genealogically the knowledge is based on the idea of Abdurrof Singkel. The reason is, among the Satariyah congregation who passed the route of Abdurrof Singkel, there was no *Bahrul Lahut* manuscript as one of the references. On a different side, it was found that several Yusuf Makassar were found gathered in the same bundle as *Bahrul Lahut*.

By relying on the distribution of the *Bahrul Lahut* 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 are quite a number of tarekat lines in East Java, both inside and outside the pesantren. Some do specialize in one tarekat, but some are multi-dimensional.

\textsuperscript{120} Interview with Al-Idrus, “Bahrul Lahut.”
\textsuperscript{121} See Bruinessen, Kitab Kuning, Pesantren Dan Tarekat (Edisi Revisi).
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