

Sufism On the Buginese Kutika Manuscripts: Tracing the Influence Of Sufi Order In South Sulawesi XIX Century

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Abstract. Kutika is a heritage of Buginese knowledge since the beginning of their civilization. In general, kutika is defined as a collection of good and bad time records for carried out activity. The method of the Kutika has been integrated with Islamic science which was followed by the influence of several Sufi Order that developed at that time. This paper describes the contents of the manuscript entitled Kutika Ugi 'Sakke Rupa (KUSR) which provides information regarding the method of calculating the time of Buginese which is adapted from the books of Middle Eastern Sufism. This article analyzes the influence between the Sufi Order and Kutika's method, particularly in the 19th century. Therefore, a philological approach is used to textual analysis and historical methods to understand the background of the influence of Islam on KUSR manuscripts. That is an important thing to do in this study. This study aims to reveal the form of Islamic influence contained in the KUSR text and the development of Islam in South Sulawesi. Also, this research can introduce the treasures of calculation manuscripts owned by the Buginese.

Keywords: Kutika, manuscript, sufim, sufi order, 19th century

1 Introduction

Islam has entered the Sulawesi since the era of the king of Gowa X (1546-1565) by permitting Malay traders to settle in Mangalekana (Somba Opu) through his letter to Nakhoda Bonang [1]. However, according to Noorduyt [2], there were no Bugis-Makassarese converts to Islam at that time. Islam became the official religion of the kingdom and embraced by all the people of Gowa on November 9, 1607, through the first Friday prayer at the Masjid of Tallo [1]. After that, slowly Islam spread in all corners of South Sulawesi and become the majority religion embraced by the people of Bugis and Makassar.

At this time, the Buginese local script, Aksara Lontara', was also influenced by the Arabic and Malay language systems, resulting in the creation of the sérang script. This is indicated by the variety of sérang or Arabic characters are written together with the Lontara' script in various kinds of Lontara' books, including in Lontara' Kutika.

In general, Lontara' Kutika is interpreted as a collection of good and bad time records for carried out activity. However, Lontara' Kutika does not only contain various good and bad days or astrology but also weather forecasts in agriculture or shipping [3]. Mattulada [4] added that the use of pau kotika covers a wide aspect of the calculation of time, which includes instructions for farming, entering a new house, and also dream interpretation.

Research on Kutika began in 1868 by B.F. Matthes [5], he is searching for Lontara' Kutika and described the tables method of counting days. The tables are called kutika tiliq, kutika Djohore', kutika perang, kutika naga, bilang tellu , kutikana Patima, bintang kappala and there is one kutika called kutika lima belonging to an imam named Abd 'al-Wahhab. This is in line with the source of the manuscript from this research, namely Kutika Ugi 'Sakke Rupa (Potpourri Buginese Kutika) from the 19th century.

On the first page of the manuscript, Kutika Ugi 'Sakke Rupa (hereinafter KUSR) also contains the name of Abd' al-Wahhab as a Kapitan who came to Muara Jawi Kutai. Abdul Wahhab's name can be associated with the name of a scholar of Bugis descent who studied at Haramayn (Makkah), namely Syekh Abdul Wahhab al-Bugisi. His name has been known since before the 19th century in South Sulawesi, especially in the various collection of Lontara' Kutika. Hadwari [6] mentions a similar thing that there is Katte Ummareng's Lontara' which adopted the method of Sheikh Abdul Wahhab.

Abdul Wahhab al-Bugisi is closely related to Syekh Muhammad 'Arsyad al-Banjari in Kalimantan because of both relationships as a son-in-law and fathers-in-law. Syekh Muhammad 'Arsyad al-Banjari is the most famous scholar in Kalimantan who received the Sammaniyah Sufi order from Ibn Abdul Karim al-Samani. He is considered an influential person in the spread of the Sammaniyah Sufi order in Kalimantan [7].

The Kutika method in the KUSR manuscript is a combination of science and Sufism which is closely related to the mystic-philosophical wahdah al-wujud of Ibn Arabi. This is similar to the influence of Hamzah Fansuri and Syams al-Din who are supporters of Wahdah al-wujud too [7]. The KUSR manuscript is in a different domain as the Hamzah Fansuri topic. However, this wujudiyah understanding illustrates that mystics order had a strong influence in the Malay-Sulawesi Islamic period at this time. Research on Sufism in South Sulawesi has been studied by several researchers, that is Rajab [8], Ridhwan [9], and Ubaedillah [10]. These three studies generally only describe certain Sufi order networks in several regions in South Sulawesi. This research examines more deeply the influence of the Sufi order specifically on the ancient manuscript. This is an important point in this research to introduce the treasures of the Buginese writing tradition that have been integrated with Islamic influences.

2 Research Methods

This study uses a philological and historical approach to explain the context that is Sufism's influence in the method of counting days in the KUSR text. The philological approach is used to present the manuscript in easier ways to read. Philology is a field of science that makes manuscripts and texts the object of study and has the aim of finding the original text which is called textual criticism [11]. Based on the aim of editing to open access to the manuscript and to make the text easy to read, the critical edition was chosen as the editing method in the KUSR manuscript.

The main source in this study is the manuscript Kutika Ugi 'Sakke Rupa (KUSR) collection of the Mulawarman Museum, East Kalimantan. This KUSR manuscript with the code PRI/15/MMK/KKT is a digitalized manuscript in 2019 [12]. This 138-page manuscript has a colophon at the end of the text which states that the time for the completion of this text was written on Wednesday, 11 Jumadil Akhir 1311 AH or 20 December 1893 AD.

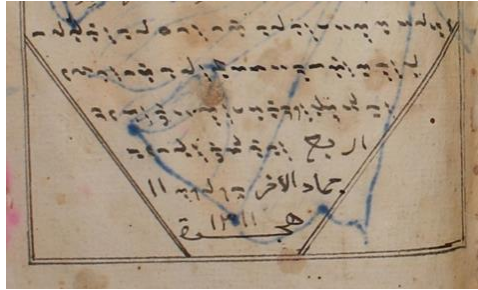


Fig 1. Colophon of KUSR text [12]

At the text analysis, a historical approach was used to trace the development of Kutika in South Sulawesi in the 19th century. This search can be used to analyse the influence of Sufism in the form of Sufi order from the KUSR manuscript. The Sufi order that developed in South Sulawesi and Nusantara could not be separated from the influence of the Middle Eastern ulama network. These figures are the main transmitters of the Islamic intellectual-religious tradition from the center of Islamic scholarship in the Middle East to Nusantara, which harmonizes sharia and Sufism [7].

3 Results and Discussion

3.1 *Kutika's journey in South Sulawesi in the 19th century*

The Kutika method in the 19th century has been fused with the spirit of Islam. It was influenced by some Sufi orders during the period. However, the Buginese traditional counting method has been known around the 14th century or much earlier. This period was related to the Hindu-Buddhist kingdom expansion and Sanskrit and Malay language growth in the Indonesian archipelago. It shows in the use of the *Kutika Lima* method.

Matthes [5] explains that this method contains five names, namely *Masoéwara*, *Kala*, *Siri*, *Barahama*, and *Bisinong*. Each day has good and bad qualities for various kinds of activities. That day's name has a similar name as the gods in Hindu beliefs, such as *Maheswara*, *Kala*, *Sri*, and *Brahma*. The count of years in South Sulawesi also has eight years system like one windu called *separiyama* [13].

Enre [14] explains the reasons for using two religions (Hinduism and Buddhism) terms because they found from another area, specifically from the Majapahit kingdom, which then made contact with the people of South Sulawesi through trade routes. Secondly, this knowledge is limited to language terms without any philosophical meaning. It shows that Hindu-Buddhist influence in South Sulawesi is only used to enrich vocabulary that has no equivalent in the Bugis language. The process of adopting and engrafting Sanskrit words as well as a small number of Indo-Aryan words generally does not undergo a phonetic change [15]. Sanskrit words are adapted into Bugis pronounce, such as *Wisnu* becoming *Bisinong*, *Maheswara* being *Masuwara*, and so on.

Kutika which is known as a local counting day from South Sulawesi is not entirely original from there. Kutika comes from the Sanskrit language that is *krittika*. Then it is absorbed by the Malay language into *Ketika*, *Kutika*, or *Rejang* which means knowledge or *widya* regarding divination and observations that are not based on the zodiac [16].

Kutika in the Buginese has many variant languages based on each region or ethnicity, for example, the Makassarese calls kutika as pitika, the Konjoesse calls it patikai, and the Buginese calls it putika. However, in general, it is known as kutika which means good and bad times. Lontara' Kutika is always written based on experiences and repeated observations over a period of 50 to 100 years. The manuscript is used at a dynamic level, mainly to determine the time for farming in the agrarian tradition or set sail in the maritime tradition [3].

In the same concept, Malays also believe in good and bad days for activity, and also mystical powers that are symbols, rituals, and amulets for self-strength [17]. It show that kutika as a concept is not only owned by the Bugis but also spreads in various areas that intersect with Malay and Sanskrit languages. The difference lies in the application or calculation guidelines that adapt to geographical conditions and social conditions.

The growth of Kutika has progressed quickly with Islamic life in South Sulawesi. The traditional science of calculation day turned into the Hijri calendar system. The number of days consisting of 30 or 29 days in a month begins to follow Islamic conventions but is still adjusted to the Bugis character system. Likewise, the numbering in the Bugis language, which does not have a number symbol, then follows the rules of Arabic number symbol.

Since accepting Islam in the 17th century, the Bugis are known as faithful followers of Islam [18]. This is reinforced by Islamic elements which become an integral part of the life system of the Bugis community with the term *Sara'* (sharia). Reid quotes Bazar [19], there is a *papaseng* (message) which states that "*Pura taro maranang, tepura taro Sara'*" (people's decisions can be changed, but not by sharia decisions). Moreover, the social life of the Bugis people is also influenced by the pedagogy of Malay or Middle Eastern ulama which is called anreguru. One of them is Sheikh Abdul Wahhab al-Bugisi. The calculation of time Sheikh Abdul Wahhab al-Bugisi methods is divided into five times each day which have their respective qualities. This calculation method is called *Kutika Pakkita Esso* [6].

Table 1: Kutika Pakkita Esso table own by Kate' Umareng [6]

<i>Esso</i>	<i>Elé</i>	<i>Abbuéng</i>	<i>Tangngasso</i>	<i>Loro</i>	<i>Asara'</i>
<i>Juma'</i>	<i>Lobbang</i>	<i>Uju</i>	<i>Maddara</i>	<i>Pollebola</i>	<i>Malise</i>
<i>Sattu</i>	<i>Lobbang</i>	<i>pollebola</i>	<i>Malise</i>	<i>Uju</i>	<i>Maddara</i>
<i>Aha'</i>	<i>Malise</i>	<i>pollebola</i>	<i>Uju</i>	<i>Lobbang</i>	<i>Maddara</i>
<i>Sineng</i>	<i>Malise</i>	<i>pollebola</i>	<i>Uju</i>	<i>Maddara</i>	<i>Lobbang</i>
<i>Salasa</i>	<i>lobbang</i>	<i>Uju</i>	<i>Pollebola</i>	<i>Malise</i>	<i>Maddara</i>
<i>Araba</i>	<i>Malise</i>	<i>pollebola</i>	<i>Uju</i>	<i>Lobbang</i>	<i>Maddara</i>
<i>Kamisi</i>	<i>Lobbang</i>	<i>Uju</i>	<i>maddara</i>	<i>Pollebola</i>	<i>Malise</i>

The good and bad times in one day are divided into five, namely *Elé* (morning), *Abbuéng* (dhuha), *Tangngasso* (noon), *Loro* (Zuhur), and *Assara'* (Asar). *Mallise* time is a filled day which means very good. *Pollebola* time is neutral day and still has good quality. The *lobbang* time is empty which means a bad day. *Maddara* time is bloody which means bad days. *Uju'* time is a body which means bad days.

The influence of Islam on traditional science in this term cannot be separated from one another. The names of the days used in the table above still have local influences which are believed to have a certain impact on all activities, especially in working for a living. Choosing the right times to start or do work for the Bugis community can determine the success of their business so that to get a good time hunted a *mallise* (filled) day. Besides, there is also a count of *nahase' tabbékka* pitué nasiuleng which shows the unlucky times that appear in each month. Bad days are often correlated with Muharram hijri month which is considered to have a hot

element (*esso mapella*) [6]. It shows that the spirit of Islam has been integrated into Buginese intellection.

Taking Akhmar term, regarding the process of Bugis Islamization which has become one with the roots of Bugis believed, does not necessarily erase pre-Islamic Bugis local values [20]. In this case, there is a cross-relationship between Islam and Bugis so that there is the term Bugisisasi Islam, specifically Islamic growth in South Sulawesi still maintains local Bugis values. One form of Islamic Bugisization seen in the KUSR text is the *Kutika Lima* count table which converts three methods, i.e Bugis, Sanskrit, and Islam.

3.2 The influence of Sufi order in the *Kutika Ugi 'Sakke Rupa (KUSR) text*

The Spirit of Islam in the *Kutika* method increases in the 19th century. In the context of KUSR, the calculation method used a combination of science and Sufism. This is closely related to the mystic-philosophical *wahdah al-wujud* of Ibn Arabi [7] and the science of tamsil (sign) described by the thirteenth century's scholar, Sayyid Ahmad al-Buni. Ahmad al-Buni's full name is Abu al-'Abbas Ahmad bin Ali bin Yusuf al-Qurashi al-Buni. The name al-Buni was pinned because he came from Bunnah, North Africa which is now known as Anabah, Algeria [22].

Al-Buni lived in the 13th century (around 1155-1224) same as of Muhyiddin Ibn al-'Arabi lifetime. Therefore, his monumental work entitled *Shams al Ma'arif al-Kubra*, has a common thread with Ibn al-Arabi's ideas. In the KUSR text, there are citations from the book *Shams al-Ma'arif (Syamsul Ma'arif)* related to the circulation of *Naga Lompo* in one year.

The Sufi order's pedagogy in KUSR cannot be separated from several influences from Middle Eastern and Bugis *ulama*'. Through the knowledge of the KUSR writer, this manuscript became a transmitter between science and Sufism. There are several names of Muslim scholars both from the Middle East and local Bugis *ulama*' are cited as guidelines for the calculation system in the KUSR, that is Abd al-Wahhab and Ibnu Abdul Karim, Ja'far Şadiq, Syekh Ali Mulawi, Saehata I Belawa, Petta Pakie I Sawito, Sayyidī Muḥyiddīn Ibn al-'Arabī, Shaykh Muhammad Ibn Ali al-Hindi, and the book *Syamsul Ma'arif* by Sayyid Ahmad al-Buni.

Mapping the influence of the Sufi order in KUSR can be started from the names of the *ulama*' cited in the text. There are three important names that are related to each other, namely Abd 'al-Wahhab al-Bugisi, Ibn Abdul Karim al-Sammani, and Sayyidī Muḥyiddīn Ibn al-'Arabī. The name Abd 'al Wahhab is found in the opening of the KUSR text which states that Kapitan Abd al-Wahhab was in Muara Jawa Kutai so that he could build a friendship.

In the Indonesian archipelago *ulama*' network, the name of Kapitan Abd al Wahhab is better known as Abd 'al-Wahab al-Bugisi [7]. The title al-Bugisi was pinned to him because Abd 'al-Wahab was a scholar from South Sulawesi who was commonly referred to as a Bugis. Abd 'al-Wahhab al-Bugisi came from a respected aristocratic family in South Sulawesi. He is the son of a king from the land of Bugis, South Sulawesi, who has the privilege name *Sadenreng Daeng Bunga Wardiyah* [23].

In his career as *ulama*', Syekh Abdul Wahhab al-Bugisi dedicated his knowledge to the Islamic education center growth which he founded with his parents-in-law and friend, Syekh Muhammad Arsyad in Kalimantan [7]. Syekh Abdul Wahhab al-Bugisi had friendly relations with three Malay *ulama* while studying at Haramayn, namely Syekh Muhammad Arsyad al-Banjari, Syekh Abdussamad al-Palimbani, and Sheikh Abdurrahman al-Mashri al-Batawi. The marriage relationship between Syekh Abdul Wahhab al-Bugisi and Syarifah, daughter of Syekh Muhammad 'Arsyad, further strengthened the kinship and scientific relations between South Sulawesi and Kalimantan.

Muhammad bin 'Abd al-Karim al-Sammani's name is found on the cover of a letter in the KUSR text which states that “*Mubari' Ibnu Abdul Karim*” (created from Ibnu Abdul Karim). The name Ibnu Abdul Karim is strongly assumed to the founder of the Sammaniyah Sufi order, that is Muhammad bin 'Abd al-Karim al-Sammani [7]. He was also the teacher of Shaykh Muhammad 'Arsyad al-Banjari and Abd' al-Wahhab al-Bugisi when they were studying at Haramayn. Muhammad bin 'Abd al-Karim al-Qadiri as-Sammani who is better known as Sheikh Muhammad Samman [24].

The Sammaniyah Sufi order is a combination of various methods and expressions from other Sufi orders, i.e. Khalwatiyah, Qadiriyah, Naqsyabandiyah, and Syaziliyah [25]. In the Indonesian archipelago, this Sufi order once gained a mass following, whose spread began in the late eighteenth century [24]. Sammaniyah Sufi order is very popular in West Sumatra and South Kalimantan. One of the influential figures of the Sammaniyah in Kalimantan is Muhammad 'Arsyad bin' Abd Allah al-Banjari, Abdul Wahhab al-Bugisi's friend and father-in-law [7].

The concept of *wahdah al-wujud* Ibn 'Arabi in the Sammaniyah Sufi order formed by Muhammad Samman does not contradict Islamic law. In the KUSR text, Ibn 'Arabi's name is also mentioned in full, Syaikhul Ma'arif Sayyidī Muhyiddīn Ibn Al-'Arabī. His method described in the 23 tables that contain various issues and classification the good or bad things through the instructions from the Al-Qur'an verses beside the table [21].

Through the essential reality of heliocentricism in constructions in his cosmology, Ibn 'Arabi defined the sun as compared to *Qutb* (Pole) and *Qalb al-alam* (world center) [26]. This is in line with the Pole Mudāwī al-Kulūm's explanation of the secrets orbital movements related to the *ma'rifah* of Allah's character and the existence of *al-Abdal* (the guardians of the poles) in the book *Al-Futūḥāt Al-Makkiyah* [27]. The concept of *al-Abdal* is mentioned in the KUSR text as *Rijāl al-Gaib* [21].

The links between these several Sufi orders can be identified through the recital prayers and zikr in the KUSR text. The zikr sentence like *laillahailallāhu* is the entirety of Islamic instructions, which is recognition of the oneness of God (*tauhid*). For ordinary Muslims, this *tauhid* is a clear and simple axis of the Islamic religion, while for Sufism, the affirmation sentence is an open door to understand and enter into essential reality [28]. Also, zikr symbols, such as *'huwa'*, *'ah'*, and *'a'* in the Sufi order world are very necessary [25].

Symbolism in the world of Sufism is important because the universe speaks to them in the language of symbols, and everything also has symbolic significance besides its external value [29]. The recitation of the *Huwa* and *Ah* symbols implies the zikr of a particular order. According to Nurhatta [25], *Huwa* remembrance is a feature of the Qadiriyah order, and zikr *Ah* is a characteristic of the Khalwatiyah order. Both of these symbolic recitations are also found in the KUSR text, which is on page 66 which reads "*mupowadasi weka tellu laillahailallāhu muḥammadarrasulullāhi 3 Allāhu 3 huwa huwa 3*" (then you say this three times *laillahailallāhu muḥammadarrasulullāhi*, *Allāhu* three times, and *huwa huwa* three times) and zikr *Ah Ah Ah* are in the table on page 99 of KUSR text which is explaining the method of time.

Symbolic recitation can also be found on page 109 of the KUSR text in writing amulets in Arabic characters *ا ا ا* (a, i, u). In Bugis mysticism, this script is *sadda telu'é* (three voices) [20]. *Sadda telu'é* was also called *sahada' simula-mulanna lino* or the first shahada in the creation of the earth. In Bugis mysticism, this sound is understood as a sound that is not uttered by the tongue and is not blown by the wind or *tennaleppa' lila*, *tennairi' anging*. Vowels /a/, /i/, and /u/ are sounds uttered by babies when they first emerge from their mother's womb [30].

The use of the *Sadda telu'é* vowel is a symbol that shows the relationship between God through the vowel /a/, person through the vowel /i/, and Muhammad through the vowel /u/ [20].

In this context, mysticism is understood as a belief that humans can communicate, even unite with God through the mind in meditation [31]. This seems to be the same as Ibn 'Arabi's *wahdat al-wujud*. A prominent *wujudiyah* adherent who is one of the main links in the network of ulama' in the Indonesian archipelago is Nur al-Din al-Raniri. Through al-Raniri who guided Shaykh Yusuf al-Maqasari while in Aceh [32]. *Wujudiyah* entered South Sulawesi along with the development of the Khalwatiyah order in that region. Therefore, the Khalwatiyah Sammaniyah order is the Sufi order that has the most followers in South Sulawesi.

4 Conclusion

The KUSR method is more influenced by Islamic science. In mapping the influence of the Sufi order in KUSR, it can be started from the names of the ulama mentioned in the text. There are three important names that are related to each other, namely Abd 'al-Wahhab al-Bugisi, Ibn Abdul Karim al-Sammani, and Sayyidī Muḥyiddīn Ibn al-'Arabī. The text of KUSR is not only based on the method of the Sammaniyah Sufi order. But also, influenced by the Khalwatiyah and Qadiriyyah orders. This further strengthens the conclusion that the KUSR text was influenced by several Sufi orders that developed in the 19th century in Sulawesi and Kalimantan.

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