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ILMU SABUKU, A LOCAL TAREKAT PRACTICED FOR CENTURIES BY THE BANJAR SOCIETY, SOUTHERN KALIMANTAN

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Abstrak

Kata Kunci:

*Ilmu Sabuku,
Praktik sosial-
keagamaan,
Sufism*

Ilmu Sabuku adalah sebuah tarekat Sufi bernuansa spiritual dari masyarakat Banjar, Kalimantan Selatan, Indonesia. Ilmu Sabuku telah menjadi bagian integral dari praktik keagamaan, hingga berperan dalam membentuk keyakinan dan cara hidup masyarakat Muslim Banjar. Ilmu Sabuku menjadi bentuk sufisme lokal yang menekankan pada pentingnya pemurnian spiritual dan pencapaian pengetahuan batin. Ajarannya menawarkan pemahaman mendalam tentang hubungan antara diri dengan Sang Ilahi dan menawarkan cara kerja mencapai pencerahan dan pertumbuhan spiritual. Melalui pendekatan etnografis, di mana data diperoleh melalui proses participant observation, in-depth interview, dan dokumen-dokumen terkait, hasil studi menunjukkan bahwa Ilmu Sabuku memiliki peran penting dalam praktik keagamaan, sosial, dan praktik hidup sehari-hari masyarakat Banjar. Meski oleh sebagian masyarakat dianggap sebagai praktik 'sesat', Ilmu Sabuku tetap bertahan hingga hari ini. Beberapa kelompok masyarakat bahkan dengan secara terbuka tetap mengajarkannya melalui pertemuan keagamaan, melalui pembelajaran lisan maupun tertulis, serta melalui audio visual. Kelompok yang mengajarkannya secara, antara lain melalui praktik pengobatan tradisional dan eksorsisme.

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Abstract

Keywords:

Ilmu Sabuku,
Socio-
religious
practice,
Sufism

Ilmu Sabuku is a spiritually nuanced Sufist from the Banjar community in southern Kalimantan, Indonesia. *Ilmu Sabuku* has become an integral part of religious practice, playing a role in shaping Banjar Muslim society's beliefs and way of life. *Ilmu Sabuku* has become a form of local Sufism that emphasises the importance of spiritual purification and achieving inner knowledge. *Ilmu Sabuku* teachings offer a deep understanding of the relationship between the self and the divine, as well as ways to work towards enlightenment and spiritual growth. Based on an ethnographic approach and data gathered through participant observation, in-depth interviews, and related documents, the result highlights the significant role of *Ilmu Sabuku* in the religious, social, and daily life practices of the Banjar community. Even some people consider *Ilmu Sabuku* a "deviated" practice, but it has survived to this day. Some groups even openly keep teaching through religious meetings, through oral and written learning, as well as through visual audio, while others promote it secretly through traditional medicine and exorcism.

Introduction

The Banjar tribe, also known as Urang Banjar, is a prominent ethnic group in Indonesia. The tribe is not native to South Kalimantan, unlike the Dayak tribe, which has resided in the region for centuries. One of the most notable distinctions between the two tribes is their language. The Banjar people use the Banjar language, which is considered a dialect of Malay. Various ethnic groups reside in Sumatra and the Malay peninsula, particularly in West Malaysia, and widely use the Malay language. The Banjar people continue to speak and use the Banjar language today, as it is an integral part of their cultural heritage and identity.¹ According to historical estimates, the Urang Banjar community's ancestors had their roots in a Malay tribe that settled in the area over a millennium ago. These brave migrants are believed to have journeyed from Sumatra or its neighboring regions, braving the vast expanse of the Java Sea before landing in the south. This region was characterized by extensive swamplands, which eventually gave way to the province of South

¹ Wahyudin Wahyudin, "Merajut Dunia Islam Melayu : Sosok Orang Melayu Banjar di Tanah Leluhur," 2016, 48, <https://idr.uin-Antasari.ac.id/6412/>.

Kalimantan. Interestingly, the eastern coast of this province, once a vast bay, nestled at the base of the majestic Meratus Mountain. The region's rich history and diverse cultural heritage fascinate researchers and tourists alike.² Islam is the predominant religion in the Urang Banjar community of South Kalimantan, Indonesia. We are still determining the exact time when Islam entered the Banjar area. Nonetheless, scholars believe the introduction of Islam around 1250 A.D. led to its gradual adoption, culminating in significant development around 1295 A.D. Banjarmasin, the capital city of South Kalimantan, is believed to have embraced Islam before the rest of the region. Religion has played a significant role in shaping the Banjar people's cultural, social, and political identity.³

Scholars and muballigs propagate and teach Sufism, a mystical Islamic belief, emphasizing moral and ethical values in their practice. They use a range of approaches, techniques, and teachings to help people connect with the divine and develop a deeper understanding of Islam. According to Renard, an expert on Sufism, the study and practice of this spiritual path are vital to one's Islamic heritage and history.⁴ Many experts have acknowledged Sufism, a mystical branch of Islam, as a way to address spiritual crises experienced by Muslims. The teachings of Sufism, which emphasize the importance of self-reflection, meditation, and the pursuit of spiritual knowledge, are believed to help individuals deepen their understanding of Islam and ultimately lead to greater fulfillment and peace in their lives.⁵ Moreover, Sufism has become an integral part of social life worldwide. It also promotes the connection between people and the

² Alfani Daud, *Islam dan Masyarakat Banjar: Deskripsi dan Analisa Kebudayaan Banjar*, Cet. 1 (Jakarta: Rajagrafindo Persada, 1997), 2–3; Irfan Noor, “Visi Spiritual Masyarakat Banjar,” *Al-Banjari Jurnal Ilmiah Ilmu-Ilmu Keislaman* 12 (14 Agustus 2015): 151, <https://doi.org/10.18592/Al-Banjari.V12i2.443>.

³ Ahmad Basuni, *Nur Islam di Kalimantan Selatan: Sejarah Masuknya Islam di Kalimantan* (Bina Ilmu, 1986), 6–9; Ita Syamtasyah Ahyat, “Perkembangan Islam di Kesultanan Banjarmasin,” *Sosiohumanika* 8, No. 1 (2015): 12, <https://doi.org/10.31291/jlk.v10i2.181>.

⁴ John Renard, *Seven Doors to Islam: Spirituality and the Religious Life of Muslims*, 1996, 307.

⁵ Amin Syukur, *Tasawuf dan Krisis* (Pustaka Pelajar, 2001), 15; Wiwi Siti Sajaroh, “Wahdah Al-Wujud dan Pelestarian Alam: Kajian Tasawuf tentang Lingkungan Hidup,” 24 Mei 2016, 70, <https://repository.uinjkt.ac.id/dspace/handle/123456789/31289>.

environment worldwide. Islamic education, in the form of a ma'had, has been instrumental in practically strengthening this relationship, reflecting the teachings of Islam, including Sufism, in social life.⁶

Throughout history, Sufism has been a topic of immense interest and significance for different communities and religious groups. Even long before scholars forecasted the rise of Sufism as a preferred spiritual path in the 21st century, people were fascinated by its teachings, practices, and beliefs. From its origins in the Middle East to its spread worldwide, Sufism has captured the attention and imagination of countless individuals seeking to deepen their understanding of God, humanity, and the universe.⁷ In the latter half of the 20th century, Indonesia witnessed a noticeable surge in the popularity of Sufism, a mystical Islamic belief system. This trend was particularly evident in several regions across the country, where the teachings of Sufi saints and scholars gained a sizable following among the local population. The rise of Sufism in Indonesia marked a significant departure from mainstream Islamic orthodoxy, as it emphasized a more personal and experiential approach to spirituality.⁸ Banjar Land is located in South Kalimantan, Indonesia. The Banjar people have a rich cultural heritage that dates back to around 500 years ago, when the Banjar sultanate was established.⁹ They have a strong foundation in religious sciences such as tawhid, *fiqh*, and Sufism. Sufism among the Banjar community began with the emergence of philosophical Sufism.

In the early 17th century, Sufism underwent significant developments and gained popularity in the archipelago. This period saw the emergence of philosophical Sufism, which competed with Sunni Sufism in the mid-17th Century. The works of Hamzah Fansuri, a

⁶ Marshall G. S. Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam: Conscience and History in a World Civilization* (The University Of Chicago Press, 1974), 220.

⁷ Hozomi, *Wacana Spiritualitas Timur dan Barat*: (Yogyakarta: Qalam, 2000).

⁸ Rosihon Anwar dan Mukhtar Solihin, *Ilmu Tasawuf* (Bandung: Pustaka Setia, 2000), 241.

⁹ Sri Maulida, Sukarni Sukarni, dan Muhammad Hanafiah, "Analisis C3 Framework Kitab Parukunan Melayu Besar Bab Haji Karya Haji Abdurrasyid Banjar," *Cakrawala: Jurnal Studi Islam* 14, No. 2 (2019): 81, <https://doi.org/10.31603/Cakrawala.V14i2.3061>.

prominent Sufi poet and philosopher, profoundly impacted the Sufi community and contributed to the spread of Sufism teachings during this period¹⁰. With his eloquent and insightful works, Fansuri played a crucial role in disseminating Sufi teachings and helped shape the course of Sufism in the region. During the development of Sufism, some notable scholars held divergent beliefs. Among them were Ibn Arabi and Shams al-Din al-Sumatarani, who believed that Sufism was not just a spiritual but a philosophical practice. They knew that it involved a sharp critique of Shari'at's teachings, particularly *fiqh*. This perspective significantly influenced the evolution of philosophical Sufism in the archipelago, including the Banjar kingdom, which was then under the rule of the Banjar Sultanate. Historical evidence is the existence of a Sufi cleric from the Banjar kingdom in the 17th century A.D. named Sheik Shams al-Din al-Banjari, who wrote a manuscript about *Hikayat Nur Muhammad* to be presented to the Queen of Aceh.¹¹ Rahmadi disclosed: "The Banjar community incorporates numerous Sufism ideas from scholars from Aceh, including Hamzah Fansuri and al-Raniri."¹²

In the 18th century A.D., the philosophical tenets of Sufism, including the doctrines of *fana'*, *baqa'*, *bulul*, *wujudiyah*,¹³ and *insan kamil*, wielded significant influence within the Banjar community.¹⁴ The

¹⁰ Syamsun Ni'am, "Hamzah Fansuri: Pelopor Tasawuf Wujudiyah dan Pengaruhnya hingga Kini di Nusantara," *Epistemé: Jurnal Pengembangan Ilmu Keislaman* 12, No. 1 (29 Juni 2017): 261, <https://doi.org/10.21274/Epis.2017.12.1.261-286>.

¹¹ Mohd Roslan Mohd Nor dan Noor Syahidah Mohamad Akhir, "Sumbangan Ulama Tasawuf Kalimantan Selatan Abad Ke-18: Contribution of Sufi Scholars in South Kalimantan in the 18th Century," *Borneo Research Journal* 5 (22 Desember 2011): 89.

¹² Rahmadi Rahmadi, "Dinamika Intelektual Islam di Kalimantan Selatan: Studi Genealogi, Referensi, dan Produk Pemikiran," *Jurnal Ilmiah Ilmu Ushuluddin* 11, No. 1 (2012): 1–19, <https://doi.org/10.18592/Jiu.V11i1.730>.

¹³ *Wujudiyah* is a Sufism Derived from *Wabdat Al-Wujud*, which Views that the Universe is the Appearance of God, Meaning That There is only One Form, Namely the Form of God. Read Firdaus Firdaus, "Meretas Jejak Sufisme di Nusantara," *Al-Adyan: Jurnal Studi Lintas Agama* 13, No. 2 (15 April 2023): 306–7, <https://doi.org/10.24042/Ajsla.V13i2.3854>.

¹⁴ Nur Kolis, "Nur Muhammad dalam Pemikiran Sufistik Datu Abulung di Kalimantan Selatan," *Al-Banjari: Jurnal Ilmiah Ilmu-Ilmu Keislaman* 11, No. 2 (14 Agustus 2012): 175, <https://doi.org/10.18592/Al-Banjari.V11i2.425>; "Sinkretisme dalam Naskah Sastra Mistik | Aris Hidayat | Jurnal Smart (Studi Masyarakat, Religi, dan Tradisi)," 82, diakses 2 April

teachings of Sheikh Muhammad Arshad al-Banjari left an indelible mark on the community during this period. However, far from waning, the sway of philosophical Sufism persisted and evolved. The development of wujudiyah teachings was especially interesting. These teachings got even better when Ibn 'Arabi's *wahdat al-wujud*, or *wujudiyah* doctrines, were mixed with al-Ghazali's Sufism. The veneration of Sufi luminaries through ritualistic recitations of *manakib*, along with the emergence of diverse Sufi schools, accompanied this amalgamation. These advancements not only broadened but also enriched the philosophical and spiritual tapestry of the Banjar community.¹⁵

Furthermore, Banjar scholars who are known to write texts or books in the field of Sufism include Sheikh Shams al-Din al-Banjari with his Nur Muhammad manuscript, Sheikh Muhammad Arshad al-Banjari with his work *Fath al-Rahman bi Sharh Risalah Wali al-Ruslan* and *Kanz al-Ma'rifah*, Shiekh Muhammad Nafis al-Banjari with his *Ad-Durr al-Nafis fi Bayan wahdat al-Af'al wa Asma' wa al-Sifat Dhat al-Taqdis*,¹⁶ Shekh 'Abd al-Rahman¹⁷ Siddiq al-Banjari by *Risalah 'Amal ma'rifah* and *Risalah al-Tadhkirat li Nafs wa li al-Qabirin*, Datu Sanggul by *Kitab Barincung*, and Sarni bin Jarmani by *Mabady Ilmu Tasawuf*¹⁸, Bahjah al-Mardiyah and *Tuhfab al-Raghibin fi Bayani Tarik al-Salikin*, Irawan ibn Ibrahim¹⁹ *Insan Kamil fi Bayan Allah*, 'Abd al-Manan and 'Abd al-Shukur wrote *Risalah Usul Baginda Ali*, others.

2024, <https://journal.blasemarang.id/index.php/smart/article/view/585>.

¹⁵ Mujiburrahman, "Tasawuf di Masyarakat Banjar: Kesenambungan dan Perubahan Tradisi Keagamaan," *Kanz Philosophia: A Journal For Islamic Philosophy and Mysticism* 3 (25 Desember 2013): 153, <https://doi.org/10.20871/Kpiipm.V3i2.46>.

¹⁶ Zafry Zamzam, *Syekh Muhammad Aryad Al-Banjary sebagai Ulama Juru Da'wah dalam Sejarah Penyiaran Islam di Kalimantan Abad Ke-13 H./18 M. dan Pengaruhnya di Asia Tenggara* (Zamzam, 1976), 18; M. Asywadie Syukur, *Pemikiran-Pemikiran Syekh Muhammad Aryad Al Banjari dalam Bidang Taubid dan Tasawuf* (Comdes) Kalimantan, 2009), 165–219.

¹⁷ Nor dan Akhir, "Sumbangan Ulama Tasawuf Kalimantan Selatan Abad Ke-18," 359.

¹⁸ Ahmad Barjie, B, *Tokoh Banjar dalam Sejarah: Antara Legenda dan Kisah Nyata* (Banjarmasin: Tahmat Hafiz Al-Mubaraq, 2013), 80; Rahmadi, "Dinamika Intelektual Islam di Kalimantan Selatan," 50.

¹⁹ Wahyuddin, *Nomenklatur Keagamaan di Kalimantan Selatan* (Banjarmasin: Antasari Press, 2013), 98.

The Urang Banjar diligently explore disciplines such as *tafsir*, *hadith*, *tawhid*, *fiqh*, and Sufism in a variety of venues, including Islamic boarding schools, *ta'lim* assemblies, mosques, prayer rooms, private residences, and other centers dedicated to Islamic studies. This fascination transcends regional boundaries, attracting adherents from both within and beyond South Kalimantan. This scholarly enthusiasm finds expression in the vibrant gatherings of *ta'lim* assemblies, where renowned figures like K.H. M. Zaini bin 'Abd al-Ghani (*Guru Sekumpul*) led a recitation at²⁰ *Ar-Raudhab Martapura*, K.H. Muhammad Shukri Unus at the *ta'lim* assembly *Sabil al-Anwar al-Mubarak*, K.H. Munawwar at the *ta'lim* assembly Raudat al-Anwar,²¹ K.H. Muhammad Bahit in Barabai and Balangan, K.H. Asmuni (*Guru Danau*) in Hulu Sungai Utara and Tabalong, K.H. Ahmad Zuhdiannor in Banjarmasin, and K.H.²² Muhammad Riduan (*Guru Kapuh*) in Kandangan.²³

Despite the Indonesian Ulema Council and scholars affiliated with various Islamic Universities in South Kalimantan dedicating significant attention to Sufism, a mystical facet of Islam, scholarly investigations have primarily concentrated on canonical Sufi texts authored by eminent luminaries, largely ignoring unpublished works and the teachings of lesser-known Sufi scholars. Consequently, a vast expanse of unexplored territory

²⁰ Muhammad Zaini Ghani is a Charismatic Cleric in South Kalimantan and is One of the Descendants of Sheikh Muhammad Arsyad Al-Banjari. Ahdiyatul Hidayah, "KH.Zaini Bin Abdul Ghani Haul's Tradition and Its Implication on Promoting Alms in Banjar, South Kalimantan," *Islah: Journal of Islamic Literature and History* 1, No. 1 (6 Juli 2020): 75, <https://doi.org/10.18326/islah.v1i1.75-94>.

²¹ Ahdi Makmur, "Peranan Ulama dalam Membina Masyarakat Banjar di Kalimantan Selatan," *Miqot: Jurnal Ilmu-Ilmu Keislaman* 36, No. 1 (2 Juni 2012): 181, <https://doi.org/10.30821/miqot.v36i1.114>.

²² Mujiburrahman dan Muhammad Zainal Abidin, "Ulama Banjar Kharismatik Masa Kini di Kalimantan Selatan: Studi terhadap Figur Guru Bachiet, Guru Danau, dan Guru Zuhdi," *Al-Banjari: Jurnal Ilmiah Ilmu-Ilmu Keislaman* 11, No. 2 (14 Agustus 2012): 107–36, <https://doi.org/10.18592/Al-Banjari.V11i2.421>.

²³ Zulkifli, "Pengajian Tasawuf K.H.Muhammad Ridwan Baseri di Majelis Taklim Al-Hidayah Desa Kapuh Kecamatan Simpur Kabupaten Hulu Sungai Selatan (Telaah Karisma dan Tasawuf Modern)" (Masters, Pascasarjana, 2016), 15–26, <https://Idr.Uin-Antasari.Ac.Id/5453/>.

persists within this mystical tradition, underscoring fertile ground for future research endeavors. The *Urang Banjar* community uses a vernacular term, the *Ilmu Sabuku*, to refer to the study of Sufism, which is particularly noteworthy as it encapsulates a distinctive approach to contemplation and embodiment of Sufi teachings. This phenomenon underscores the need for a more comprehensive exploration of diverse Sufi discourses, both canonical and localized, to enrich our understanding of the multifaceted dimensions of Islamic mysticism.²⁴

Previous studies on *Ilmu Sabuku* are still limited, one of which is my dissertation discussing its development, attraction, and influence among the Banjar people.²⁵ Other studies do not specifically describe *Ilmu Sabuku* and relate it to the socio-religious phenomena in Banjar society, such as Syarif Hidayatullah's writing that mentions *Ilmu Sabuku* in his work on the Sufistic-philosophical interpretations proposed by *Guru Sekumpul* in his *Risalah Wasilah*.²⁶ Then, in their writings, Muhammad Iqbal and Wardatun Nadirah, both discussing the Banjar people's Islamic reasoning, only briefly touch on *Ilmu Sabuku*, linking it to the category of mystical reasoning.²⁷ Other writings focus on figures connected to *Ilmu Sabuku*, such as Faisal Ridho Abdillah's discussion of Tasawuf Datu Abulung's teachings²⁸ and Alamsyah et al.'s discussion of Kh. Mochjar

²⁴ Bahrannoor Haira, *Pengajian Tasawuf di Kalimantan Selatan* (Banjarmasin: Fakultas Ushuluddin IAIN Antasari, 1985), 1–50.

²⁵ Ahmad, “*Ilmu Sabuku* di Kalangan Urang Banjar: Studi tentang Perkembangan, Daya Tarik, dan Pengaruhnya” (Doctoral-Thesis, Sekolah Pascasarjana UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta, 2022), <https://repository.uinjkt.ac.id/dspace/handle/123456789/71146>.

²⁶ Syarif Hidayatullah, “Dimensi Tafsir Sufistik-Falsafi Guru Sekumpul dalam Risalah Wasilah,” *Mutawatir: Jurnal Keilmuan Tafsir Hadith* 13, no. 1 (20 Juni 2023): 96–125, <https://doi.org/10.15642/mutawatir.2023.13.1.96-125>.

²⁷ Muhammad Iqbal, “Nalar Keislaman Urang Banjar,” *AL-Banjari Jurnal Ilmiah Ilmu-ilmu Keislaman* 12 (14 Agustus 2015), <https://doi.org/10.18592/al-banjari.v12i1.455>; Wardatun Nadhiroh, “Nalar Keberagaman Masyarakat Banjar: Dari Mistis-Realis Hingga Tradisionalis-Kritis,” *AL-Banjari: Jurnal Ilmiah Ilmu-Ilmu Keislaman* 18 (28 Desember 2019): 246, <https://doi.org/10.18592/al-banjari.v18i2.3003>.

²⁸ Faisal Ridho Abdillah, “Tasawuf Wujudiyah: Hakikat Wujud dalam Ajaran Tasawuf Datu Abulung,” *TAJIDID: Jurnal Ilmu Ushuluddin* 21, no. 2 (30 Desember 2022): 327–55, <https://doi.org/10.30631/tjd.v21i2.256>.

Dahri's Tasawuf.²⁹ Meanwhile, some other writings discuss manuscripts containing teachings of *Ilmu Sabuku*, such as the tasawuf teachings in the manuscript *Sirr Al-Lathif* written by Sulaiman,³⁰ and Roch Aris Hidayat's writing on Syncretism in Mystical Literature. This writing will focus on *Ilmu Sabuku* as a social phenomenon of religious diversity in Banjar society.³¹

This study employed field research using a case study approach to comprehensively explore the topic of Ilmu Sabuku within the Banjar community. The chosen qualitative research method allowed for a deeper understanding of the natural conditions of the object of study, with the researcher acting as the key instrument. The researcher used triangulation in data collection, involving observation, interviews, and documentation. This method allowed for a detailed and insightful analysis. This research utilizes inductive data analysis to understand the meaning and construct of a particular phenomenon. We conducted it in various locations throughout the South Kalimantan Province, with a specific focus on the Banjar community. The study specifically looked at the Ilmu Sabuku teachers, figures, communities, followers, and gatherings within this community.

These areas encompass several regencies and cities in South Kalimantan Province, particularly Banjarmasin City, Hulu Sungai Selatan Regency, Barito Kuala Regency, and Balangan Regency. This research focuses on four key subjects: 1) Educators who disseminate and develop Ilmu Sabuku's teachings. 2) Students who have received Ilmu Sabuku lessons, whether actively participating or not. 3) The community resides

²⁹ Alamsyah Alamsyah, Irfan Noor, dan Dzikri Nirwana, "Pemikiran Tasawuf Kh. Mochjar Dahri dalam Kitab Mursyid Al-'Ibad Ila Sabil Ar-Rasyad Dan Atsar At-Tashawwuf fi Hayat Al-Muslim," *Jurnal Ilmiah Ilmu Ushuluddin* 20, no. 2 (30 Desember 2021): 129–44, <https://doi.org/10.18592/jiu.v20i2.5646>.

³⁰ Sulaiman, "Ajaran Tasawuf dalam Naskah *Sirr Al-Lathif*," *Analisa Journal of Social Science and Religion* 21, no. 1 (2014): 41927, <https://doi.org/10.18784/analisa.v21i1.29>.

³¹ Roch Aris Hidayat, "Sinkretisme dalam Naskah Sastra Mistik," *Jurnal SMART (Studi Masyarakat, Religi, dan Tradisi)* 4, no. 1 (28 Juni 2018): 79–92, <https://doi.org/10.18784/smart.v4i1.585>.

near the Ilmu Sabuku gathering locations. 4) Ilmu Sabuku followers' immediate family members and close friends. The research aims to study and analyze these subjects in detail to understand the impact of Ilmu Sabuku teachings on its followers and the surrounding community. The subject selection techniques employed in this research are purposive sampling, commonly used in qualitative research, and snowball sampling. For data collection, the author utilized the ethnographic method, which involves direct observation of human activities within social and cultural contexts. This research method's main goal is to understand a worldview from the perspective of those who practice it. Using this method, the author provides an overview of Ilmu Sabuku as understood by its followers, particularly among the Banjar people who adhere to this teaching.

The Origin of the Term *Sabuku*

The term "Ilmu Sabuku" is commonly linked within the Banjar Urang community to the teachings of Sufism attributed to Sheik 'Abd al-Hamid Abulung. This doctrinal framework predominantly encompasses philosophical Sufism, which accentuates the concept of the unity of servants with the Divine. Across diverse locales in South Kalimantan, dedicated spaces serve as hubs for the dissemination of *Ilmu Sabuku*, facilitated by instructors who impart knowledge on the subject clandestinely. Typically, instructors restrict these instructional gatherings to a select cohort, which may include individuals from the community itself or those specially permitted by their mentors. This covert dissemination underscores the esoteric nature of *Ilmu Sabuku* and its perceived significance within the Banjar Urang community's spiritual and cultural ethos.

According to the Banjar lexicon, the term "sabuku" means "a seed." Nevertheless, within the specialized domain of *Ilmu Sabuku*, which has evolved since the 18th Century, "Sabuku" assumes a distinct meaning. This framework underscores the significance of spiritual purification, inner

illumination, and the cultivation of a heightened communion with the Divine. Intergenerational transmission of the tenets and rituals of *Ilmu Sabuku* has identified its adherents as members of the *Sabuku* tariqa. Interestingly, outside the boundaries of *Ilmu Sabuku*, external observers also use the term "Sabuku" to identify followers of Sheikh Abulung's teachings, a key figure in the *Sabuku* lineage. This semantic adaptation highlights the multifaceted semantic evolution and cultural resonance of the term "Sabuku" within the broader socio-religious landscape of the Banjar community.

The followers of *Ilmu Sabuku* firmly adhere to the conviction that the knowledge they acquire and implement constitutes a profoundly intricate science of spiritual refinement. The central tenet of their belief system is the assertion that practitioners of this knowledge will attain ma'rifat, or intimate knowledge, of the Divine, thereby fostering a direct connection with Allah Almighty. Moreover, they espouse the steadfast belief that adherence to Ilmu Sabuku guarantees them a coveted place in paradise. People who follow *Ilmu Sabuku* always talk about these feelings in their everyday conversations, whether they are in a formal setting like an *Ilmu Sabuku* class, a casual get-together, a market, or their own household. This widespread use of language shows how deeply important *Ilmu Sabuku* is to the Banjar community's social and religious life. It shows how its cultural and spiritual significance lasts.

Ilmu Sabuku emerges as a focal point of contention within Banjar society, particularly within the realm of religious discourse. Sufism has a long history that goes back before it was popularised by the Urang Banjar. *Ilmu Sabuku's* teachings come from times before great thinkers like Ibn 'Arabi came up with important ideas like "*baqa*," "*ittihad*," "*hulul*," "*wahdat al-wujud*," and "*insan kamil*," which were explained by people like Abu Yazid al-Bustami, Abu Mansur al-Hallaj, and al-Jilli. This antagonism persists across epochs, manifesting in scholarly repudiations of its teachings and critiques of the attitudes espoused by its followers. So, *Ilmu Sabuku's* history in Banjar society is marked by a dialectic of differing

doctrines and social and religious conflict, which shows that it has always been a place where people argue about religion and culture.

The discipline of *Sabuku* is a distinct facet of Sufism, intricately woven with teachings that elucidate the profound unity between servants and the Divine. *Ilmu Sabuku* exerts a significant influence on the philosophical landscape of Sufism, rooted in foundational concepts such as "*mortal*," "*baqa*," "*ittihad*," "*bulul*," and "*wahdat al-wujud*." In particular, it brings together different types of Sufi teachings, including moral (*akhlaki*), practical (*amali*), and philosophical (*falsafi*) ones, into a single framework. Moreover, Ilmu Sabuku expounds upon a spectrum of worship modalities, such as *Batamat Sembahyang*, meticulously designed to cultivate a profound and meaningful rapport between servants and the Divine. This integrative approach underscores *Sabuku's* distinctive position within the pantheon of Sufi disciplines, embodying a comprehensive system aimed at facilitating spiritual elevation and fostering a transcendent connection with the Divine.

Among Urang Banjar, the *Ilmu Sabuku* has variations in teachings, dissemination methods, and teaching styles. Some refer to it as the *Science of Sirr* (secret), which involves learning about God's hidden and mystical aspects. Others call it the Science of the *Saraba* (all) of God, which teaches about the universality of God's existence. Lastly, there is the *Science of Batin* (in), which focuses on the inner, spiritual dimension of worship and the connection between the servant and God. The group describes it as the "Science of Knowing Self" and the "Science of Perfection." The term "Ilmu Sabuku" is well-known among the Urang Banjar community. It is prevalent among both scholars and ordinary people. This science is known not only in South Kalimantan's cities and villages, but also in various regions outside the province. Those outside the Mother's Science followers group introduced the term "Ilmu Sabuku" to followers of the *Ilmu Sabuku* teachings. It is unclear exactly who first mentioned the term *Ilmu Sabuku* in the literature the author read. However, Shekh Abulung's Sufism teachings about the unity of God with the servant closely align with

the *Ilmu Sabuku*. The *Ilmu Sabuku* comes from the teachings and concepts of philosophical Sufism, which deals with the unity and union of servants with God, or the unity of God and servants. This concept is also referred to as Sufism activism, which incorporates *Wujudiyah* teachings. Among the Urang Banjar, the term *Wujudiyah* is not well-known, especially among ordinary people. They are more familiar with this teaching with the term *Ilmu Sabuku*.³²

The Practice of *Ilmu Sabuku's* Teachings in Banjar Society

The material taught in *Ilmu Sabuku* includes *shari'at*, *tarekat*, *hakikat*, *ma'rifat*, *fana'* and *baqa'*, *ittibaad*, *hulul*, *wahdat al-wujud*, *insan al-kamil*, knowing themselves.³³ *Ilmu Sabuku* is a body of teachings that elaborates on Nur Muhammad's beliefs about faith and worship. While some scholars consider these teachings heretical, they have managed to take hold and develop within the Urang Banjar community. The followers of *Ilmu Sabuku* perceive it as the Science of Perfection, providing a path to spiritual transcendence that mainstream Islamic practices do not offer. The teachings of *Ilmu Sabuku* are known to contradict the *shari'at*, the Islamic legal framework that outlines the rules and regulations governing worship and daily life. Some of these deviations include rejecting the five daily prayers, abandoning the Hajj pilgrimage to Mecca, and using a non-standard method for calculating the Islamic calendar. It is worth noting, however, that the followers of *Ilmu Sabuku* do not view these deviations as a rejection of Islam but rather as a deeper understanding of its underlying principles. The Urang Banjar community continues to embrace *Ilmu Sabuku* despite its label as heretical. Its teachings have spread and developed secretly, with teachers and practitioners of the *Ilmu Sabuku* found in various locations. This is a testament to the appeal of *Ilmu*

³² Sahriansyah, *Pemikiran Ilmu Sabuku Syekh Abdul Hamid Ambulung* (Banjarmasin: IAIN Antasari Press, 2012), 5.

³³Rahmi Damis, "Al-Ittihad dalam Tasawuf," *Aqidah-Ta: Jurnal Ilmu Aqidah* 3, No. 1 (2017): 1, <https://doi.org/10.24252/aqidahra.v3i1.3409>.

Sabuku, which has managed to offer a different perspective on Islam that resonates with a significant portion of the Urang Banjar community.³⁴

The followers of *Ilmu Sabuku* conducted the recitations with great care and in secret. These recitations occurred at various times, including in the morning, afternoon, evening, and even midnight. The custom of meeting and reciting at the teacher's home was filled with discussions, talks, and dialogues centred around the teachings of Ilmu Sabuku, stories of the spiritual experiences of their teachers, and practices to introduce people to God. Some followers attended alone; some came with their families; and others brought their friends. Attending recitations or visiting the teacher's home often introduced new people to the group. In addition, some teachers traveled to designated places, such as someone's home, to teach and spread *Ilmu Sabuku's* teachings.

Ilmu Sabuku is a prestigious institution with a diverse faculty of teachers, each of whom possesses a unique style and set of characteristics. The origin of their teachings and the methods by which they acquire knowledge shape these traits. While some teachings may lack clear sources or a rational basis, the charisma of certain teachers may still attract students. However, it is worth noting that some of the teachings are considered misleading, unstructured, and even sinful, and have no basis in the Qur'an or hadith. The Indonesian Ulama Council (MUI) has issued a letter of termination for certain teachings. It is critical to ensure that the teachings offered align with academic and professional integrity values.³⁵ "The phenomenon is quite the opposite. The recitation continues to run discreetly, moving around as some students still come to learn, even under the disguise of friendship. *Ilmu Sabuku* is spreading daily, and the number of people interested in learning and knowing this knowledge is increasing. Many questions arise, such as why they are interested in learning this knowledge and what its attractions and advantages are. What actions does

³⁴ Ahmad Nor Faisal, *Pengajian Tasawuf Sabuku di Kotabaru (Sebuah Pendekatan Fenominologi)* (Banjarasin: Fakultas Ushuluddin, 2009), 145.

³⁵ From the Copy Numbered 004/Dok-Mui/Bjm/I/2018, The Indonesian Ulama Council (MUI) Banjarasin has Banned Mardiansyah's Teachings or Splinter Movements.

the teacher take to ensure that students consistently seek his guidance? Some students no longer wish to study with other teachers or scholars." The phenomenon at hand is quite noteworthy. Despite attempts to maintain a low profile, *Ilmu Sabuku's* instruction persists and garners interest from a growing number of students. This raises several questions, such as why there is a burgeoning interest in this subject, what its benefits and attractions are, and how the teacher cultivates such a loyal following. Some students have even chosen to forgo instruction from other teachers or scholars altogether. This trend highlights the need for further exploration into the appeal of *Ilmu Sabuku*. By examining the underlying factors that contribute to its popularity, we can gain valuable insights into how to effectively engage and educate students. As such, we must continue to study this phenomenon and uncover new ways to foster academic curiosity and enthusiasm.³⁶ According to Sri Mulyati,³⁷ Sufism serve as the cooling water.

During the reign of Sultan Tahmid Allah II, Sheikh 'Abd al-Hamid Abulung was subjected to a trial that culminated in a death sentence. The verdict was carried out on 12 Dhulhijjah in the year 1203 H./1788 A.D. While the case and trial details remain unclear, the outcome serves as a stark reminder of the harsh punishments meted out during this period.³⁸ The use of *fatwas*, raids, dispersals, arrests, the presentation of evidence in court, the withdrawal of books and recordings on the subject, and even the closure of recitations have all contributed to the spread of *Ilmu Sabuku* to this day. However, despite these circumstances, Ilmu Sabuku continues to be in demand and has a significant influence on some Urang Banjar in both urban and rural areas. People come willingly and happily, with no forceful persuasion.

³⁶ Kautsar Azhari Noer, "Kebutuhan untuk Mempromosikan Irfan dalam Sufisme Perkotaan," *Ushuluna: Jurnal Ilmu Ushuluddin* 1, No. 1 (12 April 2020): 89.

³⁷ Sri Mulyati dan Amsal Bakhtiar, *Mengenal & Memahami Tarekat-Tarekat Muktabarah di Indonesia* (Kencana, 2005), 3.

³⁸ Akhmad Khairuddin, *Perkembangan Pemikiran Tasawuf di Kalimantan Selatan* (Banjarmasin: Antasari Press, 2014), 23; Barjie, B, *Tokoh Banjar dalam Sejarah*, 74.

Over an extended period of time, researchers have studied and interacted with the followers of *Ilmu Sabuku*. These researchers attest to the effectiveness of the teachers affiliated with this practice in resolving various life problems ranging from economic, family, environmental, physical, and mental issues. In addition, these teachers have been known to instill a renewed zest for life and a passion for work in their students. Furthermore, students have noted the teachers' amiable approach, accepting everyone without discrimination or any hindrances to their access. They even welcome philanthropists without any obstacles. Many people come to learn Ilmu Sabuku due to its unique offerings, which include expertise in fortune-telling, *batatamba* (traditional medicine), and *rukyah*. They not only acquire knowledge that is difficult to find elsewhere, but they also experience the fulfillment of their physical and mental needs.

Sufism's teachings heavily influence Islamic practices in South Kalimantan, specifically in Banjar. Salafi scholars such as Khatib Dayyan and Mufti Jamal al-Din, also known as Surgi Mufti, introduced and popularized this spiritual tradition in Banjarmasin. In this regard, Shekh Muammad Arshad al-Banjarî is another prominent figure. His teachings have played a significant role in shaping the Islamic practices of the region, making Sufism an integral part of the local culture.³⁹ And Sheikh ‘Abd al-Hamid Abulung in Martapura. Sheikh Muhammad Nafis al-Banjari in Tabalong, Datu Kandang Haji in Balangan, Datu Suban, Sheikh Abd al-Samad (*Datu Sanggul*),⁴⁰ and Sheikh 'Abd al-Razak (*Datu Nuraya*) in Tapin. Sheikh Muammad Nafis al-Banjari in Tabalong, Datu Taniran and Datu

³⁹ Muhammad Arshad Bin Abd Allah Al-Banjari , Born in 1710 Ad And Died 1812 Ad, while his Work in the Field of Sufism is *Fath Al-Rahman bi Sharb Risalah Wali Al-Ruslan* and *Kanz Al-Ma'rifah*, Read, Nuraida Nuraida, “Konsep Tasawuf Syekh Muhammad Arsyad Al-Banjari,” *Wardah* 16, No. 2 (2015): 143–53, <https://doi.org/10.19109/wardah.V16i2.367>.

⁴⁰ Muḥammad Nafis bin Idris bin Husayn Al-Banjari (1735 - 1812 Ce) he Stared for a Long Time in Mecca and Wrote the Book *Al-Durr Al-Nafis fi Bayani Wabdāt Al-A'wāl Wa Al-Asma' Al-Sifat wa Al-Dhat Al-Tadris*, then Returned to Banjar in 1210 AH/1795 AD. Mubin, “Telaah Kritis terhadap Kitab Al-Durr Al-Nafis Karya Shekh Muḥammad Nafis Al-Banjari” 9 (Januari 2010); Maimunah Zarkasyi, “Dakwah Tauhid Muhammad Nafis Al-Banjari (1150 H/1735 M),” *Tsaqafah* 15 (30 April 2019): 155, <https://doi.org/10.21111/Tsaqafah.V15i1.2978>.

Ahmad Balimau in Kandangan, Shekh Muammad Thaher and Shekh Muammad Ghazali in Negara, Shekh ⁴¹ 'Abd al-'amad (*Datu Bakumpai*) in Marabahan, and other scholars up to this day.

In Islam, the imperative for both men and women to pursue religious knowledge is unequivocal. However, this pursuit must adhere to the foundational precepts established in the two primary sources of Islamic doctrine: the Qur'an and the Sunnah. The Urang Banjar community, renowned for their profound spiritual insight, has historically engendered diverse teachings that diverge from strict adherence to Qur'anic and Sunnah-based principles. Among these teachings, *Ilmu Sabuku* stands out as a prime example, perceived by some scholars as straying from the authentic doctrinal roots of Islam.

This *Ilmu Sabuku* has a uniqueness that combines all of Sufism's teachings into one, but tends towards Sufism. The philosophy of each teacher has different variations. This knowledge can only be followed by certain people, so the study is also believed to be able to present previous scholars or guardians who have died through incarnation by entering the body of the teacher or one of the people close to the teacher. Some teachers claim to gain knowledge in *laduni* or to intertwine directly with God. There is also a *Sabuku* teacher, who says that he goes on Hajj every year in the realm of *malakut*. People have followed the study of *Ilmu Sabuku* or studied this knowledge, and some no longer want to learn Islamic religious knowledge with other scholars. There are even some of them who no longer do worship, such as praying five times, Friday prayers, and fasting.

The proliferation of religious teachers in various locales within the Urang Banjar community, committed to the propagation and advancement of *Ilmu Sabuku*, highlights a diverse array of backgrounds among these educators. Notably, several among them possess unclear or

⁴¹ Yusliani Noor, "Sejarah Perkembangan Islam di Banjarmasin dan Peran Kesultanan Banjar (Abad Xv-Xix)," *Al-Banjari Jurnal Ilmiah Ilmu-Ilmu Keislaman* 11 (14 Agustus 2015): 251, <https://doi.org/10.18592/Al-Banjari.V11i2.458>.

opaque religious educational trajectories, prompting inquiries into their sources of instruction and the ideological underpinnings of their teachings. Questions arise about the provenance of their scholastic formation: Where did they receive their knowledge, and from whom did they acquire it? Furthermore, a critical examination of the teachings disseminated by these teachers reveals a spectrum of perspectives, some of which diverge from orthodox Islamic tenets rooted in the Qur'an and al-Sunnah. The established doctrinal foundations of Islam perceive certain scholars' interpretations as contentious and straying from them.

The Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI), across various administrative levels in South Kalimantan, has issued fatwas denouncing certain teachings associated with *Ilmu Sabuku* among the Urang Banjar community as deviant. Fatwas have identified specific teachings deemed sinful and misleading, prompting calls for the cessation or dissolution of related studies. Despite such prohibitions, the proliferation of these teachings continues unabated, remaining an enduring phenomenon in both research and dissemination efforts surrounding *Ilmu Sabuku*. This enduring presence is evident in ongoing participation in study sessions, consultations with instructors, and the establishment of new instructional venues, reflecting a trend towards the proliferation and perpetuation of these teachings among both students and educators within the community.

The teaching of *Ilmu Sabuku* is the main factor that attracts people who want to participate in the *Bubuhan Ilmu Sabuku* community. The teachings are attractive for the following reasons:

Higher Science

Some respondents considered that the teaching of *Ilmu Sabuku* was a very high science because it talked about divine issues, and not everyone could master it except their teachers. Allah Almighty's science is the foundation of all knowledge. Just as the existence of all things depends on His existence as the Supreme Creator, all kinds of knowledge, without

exception, follow His knowledge and desperately need Him to realize His existence. There is no doubt that Allah Almighty understands the universe's initial cause and occurrence, according to the *Bubuhan Ilmu Sabuku*. The existence of everything other than God depends on Him, just as the existence of an object depends on its maker and an object on its subject. So science discusses God's substance, nature, and deeds, which implies knowledge of anything other than God. He who does not know his God knows nothing but Him. S.R. expressed his interest in studying this teaching because it encompassed high science knowledge.⁴²

The knowledge is profound

The teaching of *Ilmu Sabuku*, according to *Bubuhan of Ilmu Sabuku*, is a science that is so deep that it enters their hearts. When they learn this information, their hearts become convinced and calm. When a servant possesses a strong faith, a pure soul, a clean heart, a brilliant mind, and an upright nature, they will accept everything from Allah Almighty and His Messenger. Yet reason and logic cannot understand and digest all the wisdom of creation and the commandments or prohibitions. However, he believes that deep knowledge will also give birth to deep beliefs.

This applies not only to shari'at and tariqat, but also to the realm of reality. Since *Shari'at* and *Tarekat* are still outside and on the road, the followers have not gone inside. According to Rahmat, "One of the attractions of the teachings of *Ilmu Sabuku*, besides being very deep, is that they are also good to learn and easy to understand." He asserts that their minds are capable of embracing the logic inherent in scientific teachings. He claims that the teacher's teachings of *Ilmu Sabuku* are comfortable to understand, easy to remember, and acceptable to reason. Furthermore, he says that what the teacher taught is easy to understand and remember, so it is easy to convey and explain to others, and there is a sense of satisfaction in the heart.⁴³

⁴² Personal interview with Sr, Banjarmasin, July 2021.

⁴³ Personal interview with Rahmat A., Banjarmasin, June 28, 2021.

Exotic

According to some *Bubuhan Ilmu Sabuku*, this science is attractive because the teachings are exotic, and not many people know and learn about them. Therefore, it piques people's curiosity to learn and comprehend these teachings. According to the *Bubuhan*, many people feel foreign to the teachings of this Ilmu Sabuku; even though science has existed since the time of Sheikh "Abd al-Hamid Abulung and continues to develop until now, it's just that its development is not visible in society openly. After participating in its activities and studies, they only feel that this science is exceptional and extraordinary.⁴⁴ The A.L. says, "Excuse (difficult) lessons or teachers who can teach this knowledge." Upon joining *Ilmu Sabuku's* teaching community,⁴⁵ I learned numerous new things from his teachings that I had never encountered in assemblies or schools before. They believe that this teacher alone, not other teachers or scholars, can impart this knowledge. They feel lost and curious if they cannot attend *Ilmu Sabuku's* study even once.

According to AM, "Before meeting this study of *Ilmu Sabuku*, he had searched everywhere for teachers who taught about the subject of *fana baqa ittihad, hulul, wabdat al-wujud, insan kamil, and nur muhammad*, but did not meet but in this assembly of *Ilmu Sabuku*. Although it exists elsewhere, it is not in-depth and detailed. You can only find this attraction here."⁴⁶

Knowing God

According to the *Sabuku* affix, the teacher's recitation and explanation of the teachings deeply resonate with their hearts, enabling them to gain a profound understanding of God. Whom do they know is God? What is the nature of His ifat, af'al, and asma?. How does God relate to us, and how does He connect to the universe? I had only heard it casually, and I knew that I did not understand or know God well. Besides,

⁴⁴ Personal interview with A. Ari, Balangan, June 2021.

⁴⁵ Personal interview with Al, Banjarmasin, October 4, 2021.

⁴⁶ Personal interview with Am, Banjarmasin, June 2021.

God is magical, according to A.F.: "God is also real, because if God is believed to be unreal, then no one can meet Him and no one can see Him. Everything we see is a form of Allah's *tajalli*, and Allah embeds and introduces Himself to man through the universe."⁴⁷

Before learning this knowledge, according to U.M., he had studied with various teachers and ta'lim assemblies, schools, madrassahs, and even universities but needed help finding teachings about knowing himself.⁴⁸ Most are just lessons about faith, knowing Allah, angels, messengers, books, the day of *qiamat*, *taqdir*, prayer, *shari'at* law, and *morals*. So far, according to him, he has never learned how to know himself or his origin. According to AB, "one will know who we are and where we come from by understanding this *Ilmu Sabuku*."⁴⁹ A person will not be able to reach the tomb of *ma'rifatullah* degree until he is aware and able to know himself. Therefore, according to Hasbiyallah, man can attain the degree of *ma'rifatullah* depending on his consciousness's ability to understand himself. Conversely, a man who understands himself and his God through the signs of *Qaunniyah* (revelation) and *Aqliyah* (reason) can achieve a higher level of consciousness.⁵⁰

Conclusion

Within the realm of *Ilmu Sabuku*, religious phenomena intricately intertwine with prevailing social values, exerting a profound and pervasive influence on communal dynamics. Central to the ethos of Ilmu Sabuku is the belief that its practices and teachings serve as guiding principles for individuals, facilitating their journey towards attaining the status of a perfect human being (*insân kâmil*) endowed with wisdom and virtue. Adherents strive to emulate the Prophet Muhammad's (peace be upon

⁴⁷ Explanation at the Recitation by Af, Banjarmasin, August 2021.

⁴⁸ Personal interview with Um, Banjarmasin, November 15, 2021.

⁴⁹ Personal interview with Ab, Banjarmasin, June 2021.

⁵⁰ Hasbiyallah Hasbiyallah dan Mahli Nurul Ihsan, "Konsep Pengenalan Allah (*Ma'rifatullah*) Implikasinya terhadap Pendidikan Agama Islam | Hasbiyallah | Jurnal Perspektif," 14 Juni 2019, 3, <http://dx.doi.org/10.15575/Jp.V3i1.37>.

him) exemplary conduct through adherence to these principles, promoting harmonious and equitable interactions that encompass both spiritual devotion (*ibudiyah*) and worldly transactions (*mu'amalah*). Within the social fabric, individuals imbued with the teachings of *Ilmu Sabuku* commonly maintain close-knit relationships with peers and neighbors, transcending distinctions between adherents and non-adherents of the doctrine. Even in familial settings where cohabitation extends to non-adherents, harmonious coexistence prevails, albeit with limited instances of behavioral transformation among converts to *Ilmu Sabuku*.

The doctrinal precepts of *Ilmu Sabuku* engender a spectrum of novel behaviors and practices that permeate various facets of Banjar society's religious and social landscape. These teachings serve as catalysts for a continuum of sociological and behavioral developments, commencing with meticulous observation and delineation of prevalent beliefs and behaviors. The Banjar populace refines and synthesises these insights to engender the evolution of sociological and behavioural norms. A critical determinant sustaining *Ilmu Sabuku*'s enduring influence within Banjar society is the perception among adherents that its tenets are not only permissible but also constitutive of their identity, thus imbuing the societal fabric with distinct religious characteristics. Consequently, the teachings of *Ilmu Sabuku* emerge as a pivotal force shaping the religious and social milieu of Banjar society, perpetuating a continuum of beliefs and practices that endure through generations.

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