

Arabic Manuscripts from Buton, Southeast Sulawesi, and the Literary Activities of Sultan Muḥammad ‘Aydarūs (1824-1851)

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The sultanate of Buton, in the Indonesian province of Southeast Sulawesi, was possibly the easternmost centre of literary production in the Arabic language. During the early nineteenth century, Sultan Qā'im al-Dīn Muḥammad ‘Aydarūs of Buton (r. 1824-1851, known in Indonesian as Muhammad Idrus) composed numerous religious works, primarily concerned with aspects of Sufism, while other members of the royal family also patronised or themselves composed religious and literary works. This tradition of textual production remains almost unknown to scholars. The reasons for this are not hard to explain. Firstly, Arabic textual production in Southeast Asia has generally received little scholarly attention, even if, as early as the 1530s, Europeans were aware of the use of Arabic as far east as the Moluccas.¹ Brockelmann's famous *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur*, which remains the standard reference work, lists only a handful of Arabic-language authors from Southeast Asia,² and scholarship has generally favoured the study of texts in local languages such as Malay and Javanese. Secondly, texts produced in Buton never seem to have circulated beyond the island itself, as least as far as can be judged in our current, extremely limited, state of knowledge. No copies of the works from Buton discussed in this paper, for example, can be found even in the manuscript collections of National Library of Indonesia in Jakarta. Thirdly, the manuscripts of Buton remain in private hands; access to them is dependent on the owner, which may not always readily be given even to local researchers, and on the owner's death they are likely to be divided among his descendants according to the precepts of Islamic inheritance law. Moreover, the Buton Sultanate has itself been comparatively neglected by researchers, even in Indonesia.

However, recent years have seen several efforts to preserve Buton's manuscripts building on an earlier project undertaken by the National Archives in Jakarta between 1978 and 1984 to catalogue and microfilm the most substantial single collection, that of Abdul Mulku Zahari (1928-1987), the secretary of the last sultan, Muḥammad Falihi (d. 1960), and himself a noted historian of Buton.³ A team

Acknowledgements: I am very grateful to Falah Sabirin for his assistance on Buton and his advice on several questions, to Al Mudjazi Abdul Mulku, the current owner of the manuscripts discussed in this article for allowing access to a number of them, also to Hasaruddin for information about Butonese manuscripts and to Oman Fathurrahman. I also thank Michael Feener and Annabel Gallop for comments on drafts of this paper. Naturally, all mistakes in this preliminary survey are my own. I am also very grateful to the British Library's Endangered Archives Project for granting permission to reproduce images.

¹ Guilielmus Postellus, *Grammatica arabica* (Paris: Pierre Gromors, c. 1538), 3. I am indebted to Jan Just Witkam for this reference.

²See Carl Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur* (Leiden: Brill, 1898-1942); Brockelmann was largely reliant on the published catalogue of the Batavia collection, now the National Library of Indonesia in Jakarta, much of which comes from the library of the Banten sultanate. See the catalogue by R. Friederich et L.W.C. van den Berg, *Codicum Arabicorum Societatis artium et scientiarum Bataviae catalogus* (Batavia-Den Haag: Wijt & Nijhoff, 1873).

³ Achadiati Ikram, Tjiptaningrum F. Hassan and Dewaki Kramadibrata, *Katalog Naskah Buton: Koleksi Abdul Mulku Zahari* (Jakarta: Manassa and Yayasan Obor, 2001), esp. 5-6.

from the University of Malaya has sought to record manuscripts from the island, concentrating on those in Malay,⁴ while the British Library's Endangered Archives Programme (EAP) has also digitised and published online eighty manuscripts in Arabic, Malay and Wolio, the local language of court and literature, apparently from six private collections on Buton and the adjacent island of Muna.⁵ Several scholars have studied Malay manuscripts from Buton,⁶ in particular epistolography, but the Wolio and Arabic traditions remain much less known.⁷ A number of Wolio texts have been published with parallel Indonesian translation,⁸ almost invariably without even the briefest of introductions contextualising the works or giving information about the manuscript used. However, the Arabic texts have received almost no attention, with the exception of two valuable but unfortunately hard-to-obtain studies by a local scholar, Falah Sabirin.⁹

Despite these efforts it must be said that the rich manuscript heritage of Buton remains seriously under-researched, while the manuscripts themselves are frequently held in less than ideal conditions, resulting in their gradual deterioration or loss. Fortunately the Abdul Mulku Zahari collection, held in the village of Baadia in Bau-Bau, the principal town of Buton, is currently in a better state, even if the manuscripts' accessibility and storage conditions leaves something to be desired. Of its 300 odd manuscripts, 111 are in Jawi-script Malay, 88 are in Arabic and 71 are in

⁴ Ab. Razak Ab. Karim, Nwairi Hj. Khaza'ai, Zahir Ahmad, Nor Azlin Hamidon, Nor Azita Cik Din, Noriza Daud, *Masyarakat Melayu Buton: Kilauan Khazanah Manuskrip, Kesenenian, Budaya, Bahasa dan Pantunnya* (Kuala Lumpur: Akademi Pengajian Melayu, 2011).

⁵ EAP digitised manuscripts from Buton are freely available online at <https://eap.bl.uk/project/EAP212> (last accessed 4 September 2018), project no EAP 212 'Locating, documenting and digitising: Preserving the endangered manuscripts of the Legacy of the Sultanate of Buton, South-Eastern Sulawesi Province, Indonesia'. Digitisation was undertaken by Suryadi, Leiden University. It should be noted that in some instances the attributions of ownership or location given by the EAP Buton project are inaccurate; in particular some mss from the Zahari collection are attributed to other owners. Where relevant, discrepancies are noted below.

⁶ On the Malay diplomatic correspondence from Buton see Suryadi, 'A linguistic kaleidoscope of the Malay letter: the case of the eighteenth century official letters from the sultanate of Buton,' *Wacana* 16/2 (2015): 304-338, with references to earlier scholarship; Abd Razak Abd. Karim, 'Warkah-Warkah Kesultanan Melayu Buton: Analisis Struktur Binaan' in Arba'iyah Binti Mohd Noor, Ahmad Kamal Ariffin Bin Mohd Rus, Muhaineh Binti Jahi (eds) *Prosiding Persidangan Antarabangsa Manuskrip Melayu 2009* (Kuala Lumpur: Jabatan Sejarah, Fakulti Sastera dan Sains Sosial, Akademi Pengajian Melayu, 2009), 25-43; on the local Malay historiographical tradition see La Ode Rabani, 'Hikayat Sipanjongan Sebagai Sumber Sejarah Buton dan Konsekuensi Historiografisnya, Sebuah Kajian Hermeneutik,' in Arba'iyah Binti Mohd Noor, Ahmad Kamal Ariffin Bin Mohd Rus, Muhaineh Binti Jahi (eds) *Prosiding Persidangan Antarabangsa Manuskrip Melayu 2009*, pp. 195-203.

⁷ I am aware of two very brief introductions to the Wolio texts: Hiroko K. Yamaghuchi, 'Manuskrip Buton: Keistimewaan dan Nilai Budaya,' *Sari* 25 (2007): 41-50; Hasaruddin, 'Sejarah Pernaskhahan Buton,' in Arba'iyah Binti Mohd Noor, Ahmad Kamal Ariffin Bin Mohd Rus, Muhaineh Binti Jahi (eds) *Prosiding Persidangan Antarabangsa Manuskrip Melayu 2009* (Kuala Lumpur: Jabatan Sejarah, Fakulti Sastera dan Sains Sosial, Akademi Pengajian Melayu, 2009), 172-180; some passing comments can also be found in Abd Rahim Yunus, *Posisi Tasawuf dalam Sistem Kekuasaan di Kesultanan Buton pada Abad ke-19* (Jakarta: INSIS, 1995).

⁸ E.g. La Niampe, *Kabanti Oni Wolio (Puisi Berbahasa Wolio)* (Jakarta: Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa, 1999).

⁹ Falah Sabirin, *Tarekat Sammāniya di Kesultanan Buton: Kajian Naskah-Naskah Buton* (Ciputat: YPM, 2011); Falah Sabirin, 'Naskah Buton Naskah-Naskah Tasawwuf: Simbol Pencapaian Spiritual di Kesultanan Buton,' in Ahmad Rahman (ed.), *Teks Klasik Keagamaan Sulawesi dan Cirebon* (Jakarta: Pusitlitbang Lektur dan Khazanah Keagamaan, 2013), 155-267.

Wolio; the remaining 55 are in Latin script Malay/Indonesian.¹⁰ The proportion of Arabic texts is perhaps not especially unusual, but the interesting point from our perspective is that while these are in part well known and widely circulated works, especially connected with Sufism, there are a number of original works composed in Buton which form the focus of this article. An especially important feature of this collection is that it contains many manuscripts inherited from Abdul Mulku Zahari's ancestor 'Abd al-Khāliq b. 'Abdallāh al-Buṭūnī, who was secretary to Sultan Muḥammad 'Aydarūs and a Sufi *murshid*. 'Abd al-Khāliq himself copied many texts written by Muḥammad 'Aydarūs as well as prominent earlier Sufis such as al-Ghazālī, while other manuscripts seem to have been presented to him by the sultan, whose ex libris they contain.

The aim of this article is therefore to bring to wider scholarly attention the Arabic manuscripts of Buton, especially those composed by Sultan Muḥammad 'Aydarūs, who may be considered the leading figure in Arabic textual production on the island. It is based on an inspection of a number of works by the Sultan preserved in the Abdul Mulku Zahari collection which thanks to the generosity of Pak Mujazi, Abdul Mulku Zahari's son and the current owner, I was able to examine and photograph on visits to Buton in January and August 2018. In addition, I have made use of copies digitised by the EAP, and also rely on information provided in sundry published sources on Buton manuscripts. Clearly, in our current state of knowledge, where the bulk of the Buton manuscript heritage remains uncatalogued let alone recorded, a survey such as this must be regarded merely as a preliminary investigation that will be subject to subsequent correction and expansion.¹¹ While the focus of this paper is on the Arabic manuscripts, these cannot be wholly divorced from the Wolio tradition, for Sultan Muḥammad 'Aydarūs also composed works in that language. For this reason, preliminary information about those Wolio works by the sultan to which I have had access through Indonesian translations is also included.

Before proceeding to examine the Arabic textual tradition on Buton, it is worth briefly summarising something of the island's history, as the political structures of the sultanate are intimately interlinked with the literary traditions that developed there.

Buton and Islam

Buton's importance, historically, derives from the fact that it controls one of the main maritime passages between west and east Indonesia.¹² Although Buton seems to have produced little that was valued as trade goods, apart from slaves, and no

¹⁰ Sabirin, *Tarekat Sammānīya*, 70.

¹¹ The ongoing digitisation of the La Ode Zainu collection by the DREAMSEA project will, when made public, doubtless greatly contribute to our understanding of Butonese manuscript culture (see <https://dreamsea.blogs.uni-hamburg.de/6000-pages-of-ancient-manuscripts-undergoing-preservation-in-buton/> last accessed 3 October 2018).

¹² The standard, if not sole, survey of Buton's history in a western language remains A. Ligetvoeld, 'Beschrijving en Geschiedenis van Boeton', *Bijdragen tot de Taal, Land- en Volkenkunde* 26/1 (1878): 1-112. Today Buton is also an important centre for the production of asphalt.

significant quantities of spices, the region around the main port of Bau-Bau grew prosperous as an intermediary stop. Islam, according to traditional accounts, seems to have arrived in Buton rather earlier than most of Sulawesi. The coming of Islam is attributed to an Arab named 'Abd al-Wāḥid who is said to have converted the ruler of Buton, Lakilaponto, who was recrowned as Sultan Muḥūm in 948/1542, although migrants from Johor on the Malay peninsula and Sumatra also played a role.¹³ The island appears to have been tributary to Ternate during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries,¹⁴ and it is possible that these links with the Moluccas also contributed to the introduction or spread of Islam on Buton.¹⁵ From the 1660s onwards, Buton was allied to the Dutch East India Company, although still formally independent and in practice self-governing; it was only at the beginning of the twentieth century, in 1906, that Buton was integrated into the Dutch colonial system. The sultanate was finally abolished after Indonesian independence, in 1960.

Sufism played a crucial role in political life. By the late seventeenth century, specific Sufi orders start to be attested on Buton, usually in connection with their patronage by sultans.¹⁶ There are a few earlier indications that the Qādiriyya had developed a presence as early as the reign of sixth sultan, Ihsanuddin Dayan (1597-1631/2), while the Shaṭṭāriyya is said to have developed by the reign of the fourteenth sultan, La Dini Sayf al-Din (r. 1695-1702) who received an *ijāza* admitting him into the order from 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Akhḍarī.¹⁷ The Sammāniyya, of which we will have much more to say shortly, and the Naqshbandiyya, appear to have arrived in the early nineteenth century.¹⁸ Moreover, the 24th sultan La Jampi (1763-1788) was himself recognised as a leading *'ālim*, as reflected in his Wolio regnal title *Oputa Lakina Agama Mancuana*, 'King of the Ancient Religion'.¹⁹

Royal interest in religion, and specifically Sufism, is not itself unusual; however, in Buton Sufism was perhaps more fully, or at least more formally, integrated into political life than elsewhere in Southeast Asia. Society was divided into four estates, the *kaomu* (descendants of the first royal couple), from whom the sultans were drawn; the *walaka*, descended from the founders of the sultanate, who were responsible for watching the behaviour of the *kaomu*; the village inhabitants or *papara*; and slaves (*batua*). While the sultan was always a member of the *kaomu*, the position was not hereditary, and he was chosen from a number of candidates by the *walaka*. Sultans were regularly deposed, and the various administrative positions

¹³ For traditional accounts of the spread of Islam to Buton, see Abdul Mulku Zahari, *Islam di Buton: Sejarah dan Perkembangannya* (Bau-Bau: CV Dia dan Aku, 2017), esp. 42-69; this is also well covered in the principal study of Buton in the seventeenth to eighteenth centuries, Susanto Zuhdi, *Sejarah Buton yang Terabaikan: Labu Rope, Labu Wana* (Jakarta: Penerbit Wedatama Widya Sastra, 2018, 2nd ed.), 83-89.

¹⁴ Ligtvoed, 'Beschrijving', 31, 32.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 19.

¹⁶ For a survey of Sufi texts circulating in Buton see Yunus, *Posisi Tasawuf*, 51-66, 72-74.

¹⁷ Yunus, *Posisi Tasawuf*, 72-4.

¹⁸ For the Naqshbandiyya see Sabirin, *Tarekat Sammāniyya*, 12; Yunus, *Posisi Tasawuf*, 64-5.

¹⁹ Zahari, *Islam di Buton*, 189; Abdul Mulku Zahari, *Darul Butuuni Sejarah dan Adatnya* (Bau-Bau: CV Dia dan Aku, 2017; 1st ed. *Sejarah dan Adat fiy Darul Butuuni*, Jakarta, 1977; references in this article are to the Bau-Bau 2017 ed.), vol. 2, 144-5.

were evenly distributed between the *kaomu* and *walaka*.²⁰ According to traditional accounts, it was at the beginning of the seventeenth century that Islam in Buton obtained its distinctive form in which Sufi theory became umbilically linked to royal power. The sixth sultan, La Elangi Dayanu Ihsanuddin, assisted by an Arab scholar named Muḥammad Sharīf, formulated the code of laws known as the *Martabat Tujuh*,²¹ which were written down in a text existing in Wolio and Malay versions called the *Sarana Wolio* and the *Istiadat Tanah Negeri Buton* respectively.²² This only survives in nineteenth century copies, so its attribution to this early date may be regarded as uncertain. The term *Martabat Tujuh* ('Seven grades') derived from Sufi cosmology which divided the cosmos and revelation into seven grades of being; such theories originated with Ibn 'Arabī (d. 1240) but were transmitted to Southeast Asia through the well-known text *al-Tuḥfa al-Mursala* by the Indian scholar Burhānpūrī (d. 1620) and Shams al-Dīn Sumatrānī's (d. 1630) *Nūr al-Daqā'iq*.²³ In Buton, the *Martabat Tujuh* code, established an equivalence between this grades of being and the offices of the sultanate held by the *kaomu* (although not those occupied by the *walaka*).²⁴ By the nineteenth century, Sufi rituals, in particular *dhikr*, played a crucial role in the ceremonies to select the sultan conducted by the *walaka*.²⁵ Given the crucial place of Sufism in Buton's political history, it is not surprising that most of our Butonese Arabic texts are in some sense connected to Sufism.

As yet, however, the early development of Islam on Buton is comparatively unknown owing to the lack of early textual sources. The earliest manuscripts to come to light to date are seventeenth century Malay letters exchanged between Buton's rulers and outside powers, especially the VOC. Seventeenth century Qur'ans from both Buton and the nearby island of Wangi-Wangi have also been recorded,²⁶ but these attributions seem to be based on stylistic grounds rather than colophon dates. Certainly, the manuscript evidence to survive overwhelmingly dates to the nineteenth century, although it is of course possible that the dates of the surviving manuscripts do not accurately represent the picture of Buton's intellectual history. Closer inspection may well reveal that some of the indigenous works are copies or adaptations of an earlier literary tradition (for example, there are several Malay manuscripts of the genealogies of the rulers of Buton that evidently present great textual variations, and need investigation). Further, a devastating fire burned down most of the buildings in the *kraton* (palace compound) in 1824, shortly after

²⁰ The system is described in J.W. Schoorl, 'Power, ideology, and change in the early state of Buton,' in G. J. Schutte (ed.), *State and Trade in the Indonesian Archipelago* (Leiden: KITLV, 1994), 17-57; Zuhdi, *Sejarah Buton*, 62-71; Seung-Won Song, 'Origin narratives, origin structures, and the diarchic system of Buton kingdom, Indonesia,' *Indonesia and the Malay World* 46/135 (2018): 135-153.

²¹ Abdul Mulku Zahari, *Sejarah dan Adat*, vol. 1, 58-59; Yunus, *Posisi Tasawuf*, 2, 20, 67-71.

²² The Malay text has been published by Achadiati Ikram, *Istiadat tanah negeri Buton: edisi teks dan komentar* (Jakarta: Direktorat Jenderal Pendidikan Tinggi, 2001); for the Wolio mss, see Ikram, *Katalog Naskah Buton*, 40-42.

²³ For evidence of the existence of now lost mss of this work on Buton see Yunus, *Posisi Tasawuf*, 54, 68.

²⁴ Schoorl, 'Power, ideology and change,' 26-7; Yunus, *Posisi Tasawuf*, 120-1.

²⁵ Yunus, *Posisi Tasawuf*, 123-5.

²⁶ Ab. Razak Ab. Karim et al, *Masyarakat Melayu Buton*, 10, 17-18.

Muhammad 'Aydarūs's accession,²⁷ and it seems likely that many older manuscripts may have perished at this point. A good number of manuscripts were also apparently destroyed during the civil unrest that Indonesia suffered in 1965-1966.²⁸

Nonetheless, the broad picture of an upsurge in literary activity in the nineteenth century seems likely to be correct, as discussed further below. This was broadly a period of peace and stability in Buton, and although the sultanate was tributary to the Dutch it was largely left to its own devices providing it sent occasional military support to its colonial overlords.

Sultan Muhammad 'Aydarūs's life and intellectual background

The association of rulers with Arabic texts in Buton can perhaps be traced to sultan La Karambau Muhammad Himayatuddin (r. 1751-1752, 1760-1763),²⁹ whose name is attached to an Arabic work entitled *Madaniyyat al-Asirun Butoni*, of which a copy was reported in 2011 to be held by Bapak Syafiyuddin of Kelurahan Tomba, Bau-Bau, since deceased.³⁰ Although given the current lack of availability of information about this Sufi text, of which a single image has been published so far, we cannot be certain whether the sultan was the author, patron or merely owner of the text, in any event the association fits in well with what we know from other Southeast Asian societies of the same period. Rulers in the late eighteenth century showed an increasing interest in patronising and on occasion even themselves composing religious works. The manuscripts of the Banten sultanate in northwest Java, which are almost entirely written in Arabic and concentrate on Sufism, date overwhelmingly to the reign of sultan Zayn al-'Ashiqin (r. 1753-1773) whose name can be found on many of them.³¹ Muhammad Nafis al-Banjari (1735-1812) was a member of a Kalimantan royal family who became a notable scholar and author, studying in the Middle East.³² Closer to Buton itself, the Sultan of Bone in South Sulawesi, Ahmad Ṣāliḥ (r. 1775-1812), composed a Sufi treatise in Arabic entitled *al-Nūr al-Hādī*, which is preserved in a compendium of Sufi texts, almost entirely in Arabic, compiled for the court by his chief qādi.³³

²⁷ La Ode Zaenu, *Buton dalam Sejarah Kebudayaan* (Surabaya: Penerbit Suradipa, 1985), 105-6. I am very grateful to Michael Feener for alerting me to this point and for this reference.

²⁸ Pers. com. Hasaruddin, Bau-Bau, January 2018; further on the situation in Buton in this period see Song, 'Origin narratives,' 149.

²⁹ For his reign see Abdul Mulku Zahari, *Sejarah dan Adat*, vol. 2, 116-119.

³⁰ Ab. Razak Ab. Karim et al., *Masyarakat Melayu Buton*, 39. The manuscript is presumably held by one of Bapak Syafiyuddin's descendants, but its whereabouts are currently unknown. I am unable to reconstruct the correct transliteration of the title, the version given here being taken from Razak's book.

³¹ See Friederich et van den Berg, *Catalogus*, passim.

³² Azyumardi Azra, *The Origins of Islamic Reformism in Southeast Asia: Networks of Malay-Indonesian and Middle Eastern 'ulama' in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2004), 120-121; Martin van Bruinessen, *Islam di Nusantara: Kitab Kuning, Pesantren dan Tarekat* (Kuala Lumpur: IBDE Ilham, 2018), 302-4.

³³ MS Jakarta, Perpustakaan Nasional, MS A 108; van Bruinessen, *Islam di Nusantara*, 319, 321. I plan to publish a study of this text in the future.

It was in the early nineteenth century that Butonese intellectual culture reached its zenith.³⁴ In this period, the noted Wolio poet Haji Abdul Ghani composed long poems on religious and historical themes, but the major figure in the intellectual history of Buton is Sultan Muḥammad ‘Aydarūs (r. 1824-1851), who is attributed with the authorship of many works. In his seminal study of Buton’s history, *Sejarah dan Adat fiy Darul Butuuni*, Abdul Mulku Zahari listed no fewer than 21 works in Arabic and seven in Wolio by the Sultan; yet surprisingly, the list does not include several titles which Abdul Mulku Zahari had in his own collection, while numerous others cannot currently be traced at all. Elsewhere, Zahari claims the sultan was the author of some forty works.³⁵ However, in his will (*wasiyyat*), which exists in a Wolio manuscript translated by Zahari,³⁶ Muḥammad ‘Aydarūs himself gives the title of four Wolio works which he had composed (*Tanbih al-Ghafil*, *Bula Malino*, *Jauhara Manikamu Molabi* and *Nura Molabi*) and eighteen in Arabic; it is not clear whether this list is intended to be comprehensive. A complete account of Muḥammad ‘Aydarūs’s literary activities will doubtless require much more detailed work in a variety of collections on Buton. However, on the basis of the Sultan’s works that I

³⁴ Useful surveys are Zahari, *Islam di Buton*, and Yunus, *Posisi Tasawuf*.

³⁵ Zahari, *Islam di Buton*, p. 190.

³⁶ Sultan Muḥammad Aydarūs, *Syair Bula Malino Kapekarunana Yinca (Syair Rembulan Tenang Pelembut Hati)*, tr. Abdul Mulku Zahari (Baubau: CV. Dia dan Aku, 2017), 7-13. The will lists the following works (I have modified the transliteration to reflect normal scholarly conventions):

1. Taḥsīn al-Awlād
2. Takht al-‘Uṭūriyyāt
3. ‘Uṭūr al-Miskiyya
4. Sirāj al-Mutaqqīn
5. Durrat al-Aḥkām
6. Sabīl al-Salām
7. Shu‘ūn al-Raḥma
8. Targhīb al-Anām
9. Tuḥfat al-Zā‘irīn
10. Ḍiyā’ al-Anwār
11. Sumūmat al-Warrād
12. Tanqiyat al-Qulūb
13. Hidayyat al-Bashīr
14. Ḥabl Allāh al-Wathīq
15. Ḥawl al-Mawrūd
16. ‘Umdat al-Muwaḥḥidīn
17. Kashf al-Ḥijāb
18. Jawhar al-Abhariyyāt.

In addition, Zahari (*Sejarah dan Adat*, p. 17), lists three further Arabic works, the *Rawḍat al-Ikhwān*, the *Miṣbāḥ al-Rājīn* on prayer and the *Madād al-Raḥmān*, and one Malay work, the *Bidayat al-‘Alamiyyat* (not listed in the 1977 edition of *Sejarah dan Adat*); this is presumably MS IS/22/AMZ of the Abdul Mulku Zahari collection (Ikram, *Katalog Naskah Buton*, 65), digitised as EAP 212/5/1 where it is wrongly attributed to the La Mbalangi Manuscript Collection. The text contains no mention of the author, and the colophon that appears on the digitised version attributing the copying to ‘Abd al-Khāliq, belongs to a different manuscript, the *Mukhtaṣar al-Adhkār* of Nawawī. The *Bidayat al-‘Alamiyya* is a discussion of the creed inspired by Raniri’s *Sirat al-Mustaḳim* and ‘Abd al-Samad Palimbani’s *Bidayat al-Salikin*. One further Arabic work is attributed to Muḥammad ‘Aydarūs by Ikram et al, *Katalog Naskah Buton*, 146-7, *Shams al-Anwār wa-Kanaf al-Asrār*, IS/112/AMZ, 379 folios. This work was unavailable during my visits to Buton, and is not listed in Muḥammad ‘Aydarūs’s will. From the brief information given by Ikram, it seems the text is concerned with the meaning of the letters of the Arabic alphabet and the divine names. Its attribution must be regarded as uncertain.

have seen or have been digitised by the EAP it seems worth compiling a preliminary list of those that survive and can be verifiably associated with the sultan.

First, however, I offer some remarks on the intellectual background of the works. Relatively little is known about the life of Muḥammad ‘Aydarūs, who came to the throne roughly at the age of forty in 1821. His reign was relatively uneventful, with Buton acting as a reliable ally of the Dutch, sending troops to support them in the Java war. In 1835 Willem I of the Netherlands sent the sultan a medal to thank him for his friendship.³⁷ Internally, the main development seems to have been Muḥammad ‘Aydarūs’s construction of the village of Baadia in the *kraton* area of Bau-Bau where he built the mosque that stands to this day and houses his tomb and those of other relatives. The *khaṭīb* and imam appointed were his sons, and their descendants continued to hold these offices subsequently.³⁸

Muḥammad ‘Aydarūs was an adherent of the Sammāniyya, the *ṭarīqa* founded by the Medinan scholar Shaykh Muḥammad Sammān (1718-1775) which had been spread to Southeast Asia by the works of the notable Mecca-based scholar ‘Abd al-Samad Palimbani (d. after 1788), as well as by Southeast Asian pilgrims who personally encountered the shaykh in his capacity of guardian of the Prophet’s grave.³⁹ Interest in the Sammāniyya can be observed in several other Southeast Asian courts in this period, such as Palembang.⁴⁰ Muḥammad ‘Aydarūs’s works provide valuable evidence for the diffusion of the Sammāniyya and their textual traditions of which to date only scarce examples have been discovered in Southeast Asia, despite the order’s importance. As we shall see, the view expressed by Drewes that ‘going by the scanty number of Indonesian manuscripts containing direct borrowings from his works [Shaykh Sammān’s] one may say that these are practically unknown in Indonesia’ needs modification in light of the evidence from Buton.⁴¹

Broadly speaking, Muḥammad ‘Aydarūs’s works reflect the approach of eighteenth-century Middle Eastern Sufi movements such as the Sammāniyya in emphasising both ritual practice and hadith studies.⁴² In the lack of much

³⁷ Zahari, *Sejarah dan Adat*, vol 3, p. 22.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 19; Zahari, *Islam di Buton*, 192-3, 201-2.

³⁹ In English on the Sammāniyya see G.J.W. Drewes, ‘A note on Muḥammad al-Sammān, his writings, and 19th century Sammāniyya practices, chiefly in Batavia, according to written data,’ *Archipel* 43 (1992): 73-87; in Buton in particular see Sabirin, *Tarekat Sammāniyya*; also on ‘Abd al-Samad and the Sammāniyya see R. Michael Feener, ‘Abd al-Samad in Arabia: The Yemeni years of a shaykh from Sumatra,’ *Southeast Asian Studies* 4 (2015): 259-277; van Bruinessen, *Islam di Nusantara*, 291-8, 303-8, 320-323. The most recent study on ‘Abd al-Samad Palimbani is Mohammad Hussain Ahmad, *Islam in the Malay World: al-Falimbānī’s Scholarship* (Kuala Lumpur: IIUM Press, 2017), which, *inter alia*, proposes a radical revision of his dates to c. 1719-1839; on connections with the Sammāniyya see *ibid.*, 4-5, 22, 103-107, 250-251.

⁴⁰ Drewes, ‘A note,’ 81; see also the remarks by van Bruinessen (*Islam di Nusantara*, 303; Martin van Bruinessen, ‘The origins and development of Sufi orders (*tarekat*) in Southeast Asia,’ *Studia Islamika - Indonesian Journal for Islamic Studies* 1/1 (1994): 1-23), suggesting the Sammāniyya had spread to Borneo by the early 19th century.

⁴¹ Drewes, ‘A note,’ 76.

⁴² On these movements see John O. Voll, ‘Hadith Scholars and Tariqahs: An Ulama Group in the 18th Century Haramayn and their Impact in the Islamic World,’ *Journal of Asian and African Studies* 15/3-4 (1980): 264-273; for further discussion of eighteenth-century reformists and a critique of the idea in

biographical information about the sultan, details of his intellectual formation and teachers are only available through close examination of his works. In one work, the *Kashf al-Hijāb fī Murāqabat al-Wahhāb*, Muḥammad ‘Aydarūs mentions that he had received an *ijāza* from a scholar he describes as ‘my shaykh and teacher’ (*shaykhī wa-ustādhi*) named Shaykh Muḥammad b. Shīth Sunbul al-Makkī, said to be a *murīd* of Shaykh al-Sammān and who may have come to Buton in person to propagate the *ṭarīqa*, although this cannot be proved.⁴³ While it is not possible to identify this individual with absolute certainty, it seems likely he was a member of the family of the scholar Muḥammad Sa‘īd b. Muḥammad Sunbul al-Qurashī al-Makkī al-Shāfi‘ī (d. 1762), who transmitted Sufi texts including works by Ibn ‘Arabī from Ṭāhir, son of the famous reformist ‘ālim Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī who was the supreme shaykh of the Shaṭṭāriyya *ṭarīqa* in Mecca, to his own son Muḥammad Ṭāhir Sunbul. Other members of the family were also involved in transmitting Muḥammad Sa‘īd’s work on hadith, *al-Awā’il al-Sunbuliyya*, which represents an inventory of the first hadith listed in each of forty-three famous hadith collections, which was widely circulated in both the Hijaz and India (*hiyya al-musta‘mala bi-diyār al-Hind wa’l-Hijāz*).⁴⁴ A further Southeast Asian connection of the family is suggested by the fact that Muḥammad Sa‘īd’s nephew ‘Abd al-Ghanī Hilāl had been one of ‘Abd al-Ṣamad Palimbani’s teachers in Mecca.⁴⁵

Muḥammad ‘Aydarūs’s *Kashf al-Hijāb fī Murāqabat al-Wahhāb* was written at the behest of a certain Sayyid Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Ṣāfi.⁴⁶ Another shaykh mentioned by Muḥammad ‘Aydarūs, in his *Jawhar al-Abhariyyāt*, is al-Sayyid ‘Abdallāh b. al-Sayyid Aḥmad al-Baghdādī al-Naqshabandī, whom he calls his spiritual guide (*‘murshidī*).⁴⁷ Neither of these latter individuals have been traced to date, and it is certainly possible that rather than migrant ulama visiting Buton, Muḥammad ‘Aydarūs himself travelled to the Middle East for study, as we know his son did. Even if this is not recorded in any local sources, it would explain his mastery of Arabic and the transmission of these works from these Middle Eastern ulama.⁴⁸ However, such a thesis remains speculation for now.

Three other Arabic works hint at Buton’s broader regional connections and the possible means for the transmission of texts, teachers, and knowledge. The first, previously held in the sultan’s library, is *al-Nafaḥāt al-Ilāhiyya fī Kayfiyyat Sulūk al-*

older scholarship that these movements should be termed ‘neo-Sufism’ see Ahmad S. Dallal, *Islam Without Europe: Traditions of Reform in Eighteenth-Century Islamic Thought* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2018).

⁴³ Yunus, *Posisi Tasawuf*, 74.

⁴⁴ ‘Abd al-Ḥayy b. ‘Abd al-Kabīr al-Kattānī, *Fihris al-Fahāris wa’l-Athbāt wa-Mu‘jam al-Ma‘ājim wa’l-Mashāyikh al-Musalsalāt*, ed. Iḥsān ‘Abbās (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1982), I, 100-102; see also in English brief information about Muḥammad Sa‘īd b. Muḥammad Sunbul drawn from this source, Muhyiddin Ibn ‘Arabī, *A Prayer for Spiritual Elevation and Protection. Study translation and Arabic text by Suha Taji-Farouki* (Oxford: Anqa, 2006), 37-8; also Mohammad Hussain Ahmad, *Islam in the Malay World*, 91.

⁴⁵ Ahmad, *Islam in the Malay World*, 91.

⁴⁶ Muḥammad ‘Aydarūs, *Kashf al-Hijāb fī Murāqabat al-Hijāb*, MS Abdul Mulku Zahari collection, fol. 1b-2a. Cf. Sabirin, *Tarekat Sammāniyya*, 105.

⁴⁷ I have not seen this text; the manuscript of the *Jawhar al-Abhariyyāt* was held by the late La Ode Syafiyuddin; information from Sabirin, *Tarekat Sammāniyya*, 105.

⁴⁸ See Sabirin, *Tarekat Sammāniyya*, 106-7.

Ṭarīqa al-Muḥammadiyya by the founder of the Sammāniyya *ṭarīqa*, Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Karīm al-Sammān.⁴⁹ Notes on the title page (fig. 1) inform us that this work was in the possession of Muḥammad ‘Aydarūs, but that it was originally copied at the request of a student (*tilmīdh*) of the famous ‘Abd al-Ṣamad al-Palimbani by the name of Muḥammad Zayn b. Shams al-Dīn al-Jāwī. The manuscript was copied in Dhu’l-Qi’da 1225/1810 by al-Shaykh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad (?) al-Ḥadīd, whose name has been erased for some reason. It must have entered the Muḥammad ‘Aydarūs’s collection shortly afterwards. Given the Sammāniyya’s emphasis on shaykh-*murīd* ties, one can imagine that a manuscript commissioned by the famous Palimbani’s pupil would have been particularly esteemed at the Buton court.⁵⁰ The manuscript thus suggests Buton’s connections to broader currents of Islamic reformism in Southeast Asia; indeed, the connections demonstrated by the manuscript are not merely intellectual but practical, for a contemporaneous note at the end (fig. 2) records the dispatch of aloe wood to a certain shaykh ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Qazzāz who was a companion of Muḥammad ‘Alī, described as ‘lord of Selangor’ in the Malay peninsula (*ṣāhib Salangkūr*).⁵¹ A further reference mentions the separate dispatch of ginger and aloes in Sha‘ban of the same year ‘in the Sharīf’s ship’, presumably meaning the Sharīf of Mecca. These reference thus confirm that the manuscript was produced in Southeast Asia, where aloes and ginger grow, but the reference to the Sharīf’s ship hints at the trade networks which, as much as religious ones, linked the region to Arabia. South Sulawesi had close links with Selangor, which in the eighteenth century was settled by Bugis seafarers from Bone who constituted its royal family;⁵² the rulers of Bone are also known to have had a particular interest in the Sammāniyya, and it is possible the manuscript was originally copied there.⁵³

The second (fig. 4a) is a manuscript of Muḥammad ‘Aydarūs’s *Sabīl al-Salām*, which was originally owned by an individual named al-Shaykh Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Maqqarī *nasaban*, al-Yamānī *maskanan*. This *nisba* Maqqarī indicates this individual or his family was associated with or originated from Maqara, in the northeast of modern Algeria, while he was a resident of Yemen. Subsequently, the manuscript entered the hands of ‘Abd al-Khāliq. It is not clear how the manuscript came into Shaykh Aḥmad’s possession; he may have been an Arab visitor to Buton, but the insistence that his place of residence was Yemen raises the possibility that the work actually entered his possession there; if so, this would suggest that at least

⁴⁹ Ikram, *Katalog Naskah Buton*, 58-9; IS/14/AMZ; EAP 212/1/4; the manuscript lacks any binding. For a brief description of the text, see Drewes, ‘A note,’ 77; Sabirin, *Tarekat Sammāniyya*, 97-100.

⁵⁰ Another example of this interest in Palimbani’s work in Buton is the copy of an Arabic work attributed to him, the *Zād al-Muttaqīn*; curiously this ms also has another title, subsequently erased, stating it was *al-risāla al-musammā bi-waḥdat al-wujūd wa-hiyya awwal mā balaghahu al-shaykh ‘Abd al-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī ilā shaykhinā al-afkhar al-Shaykh Muḥammad al-Sammān*. No date or colophon but probably in the hand of ‘Abd al-Khāliq. MS 27/Arab/18, described in Ikram, *Katalog Naskah Buton*, 155-6, and see also the comments in Yunus, *Posisi Tasawuf*, 62-3.

⁵¹ Possibly this refers to Muḥammad Shah, who succeeded his father as ruler of Selangor in 1826 but had previously wielded much power there as crown prince; however, it must be regarded as rather uncertain, and possibly the date is too early to refer to Muḥammad Shah. On the latter see J.M. Gullick, *A History of Selangor, 1766-1939* (Kuala Lumpur: MBRAS, 2004, 2nd ed.), 29, 37ff.

⁵² On Selangor and Bone, see Gullick, *A History of Selangor*, 1-15.

⁵³ On the Sammāniyya in Bone see van Bruinessen, *Islam di Nusantara*, 320-323.

some of the works of Muḥammad ‘Aydarūs enjoyed a wider circulation than their present exclusive distribution in Buton suggests.

A third indication of these international links is in a note appended to a manuscript of *Ḥabl Allāh al-Wathīq* (the whole manuscript, copied in 1252/1836, is in ‘Abd al-Khāliq’s hand). This recounts the story (well-known, at least in the Middle East) of how the Sufi saint ‘Alī b. ‘Umar al-Shādhilī (d. 1418 or 1424) discovered coffee on the island of Suakin, off the coast of modern Sudan, and introduced it to the world through the port of Mocha in Yemen, where he is buried.⁵⁴ The report is related on the authority of Sarīr al-Dīn al-Jabartī (perhaps a mistake for Shihāb al-Dīn al-Jazīrī, known from elsewhere as its transmitter), and ends with the remark that “the island of Suakin is the port of Ethiopia under the rule of al-Rūm [the Ottomans], may God preserve them to the day of resurrection.”⁵⁵ This anecdote does not appear in the other extant manuscript of *Ḥabl Allāh al-Wathīq* (detailed below). Even if, as suggested by the spelling errors in proper names, it was drawn from another written source, the fact that ‘Abd al-Khāliq thought it worth recording these remarks about a distant port the other side of the Indian Ocean is testimony to his international outlook, as well, as perhaps an interest deriving from a memory of the role of the sultan of Rūm in the foundation of the kingdom of Buton, according to Wolio literary tradition.⁵⁶ It also suggests some knowledge of and interest in the Shādhiliyya *ḥarīqa* in Buton, which is otherwise unattested.⁵⁷

In all these cases, we are left with tantalising hints which the current lack of research and inaccessibility of much of the evidence prevents us from exploring fully. Nonetheless, it seems clear that despite its superficially self-contained and isolated literary culture, Buton enjoyed close links with scholarly networks that stretched to the Middle East and even as far as the Maghreb.

The extant works of Muḥammad ‘Aydarūs

All the manuscripts considered here derive from the best recorded of the Buton collections, that of Abdul Mulku Zahari. Most of the Arabic manuscripts were evidently inherited by Abdul Mulku Zahari from his ancestor ‘Abd al-Khāliq, himself secretary to Muḥammad ‘Aydarūs. In contrast, the Wolio manuscripts of Muḥammad ‘Aydarūs’s works seem much later, twentieth century. My aim here is simply to present some information about authorship, contents and date, to allow a preliminary insight into Sultan Muḥammad ‘Aydarūs’s intellectual activities. Codicological

⁵⁴ For the story in al-Jazīrī’s account see Ralph S. Hattock, *Coffee and Coffeeshouses: The Origins of a Social Beverage in the Middle East* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1988), 18; also Eric Geoffroy, ‘La diffusion du café au Proche-Orient arabe par l’intermédiaire des soufis: mythe et réalité,’ in Michel Tuchscherer (ed.), *Le commerce du café avant l’ère des plantations coloniales: espaces, réseaux, sociétés (XVe-XIXe siècle)* (Cairo: IFAO, 2001), 7-15.

⁵⁵ Muḥammad ‘Aydarūs, *Ḥabl Allāh al-Wathīq*, EAP 212/2/9.

⁵⁶ Yunus, *Posisi Tasawuf*, 20; Zuhdi, *Sejarah Buton yang Terabaikan*, 87-8; Zahari, *Islam di Buton*, 1-2.

⁵⁷ Yunus, *Posisi Tasawuf*, 51-75 mentions the circulation of texts relating to the Khalwatiyya, Sammāniyya, Shaṭṭāriyya, Naqshbandiyya and Qādiriyya, but on p. 66 specifically notes the absence of any Shādhilī texts on Buton. It should be noted that ‘Alī b. ‘Umar al-Shādhilī is not the founder of the order (this was ‘Alī b. ‘Abdallāh al-Shādhilī, d. 1258), but a later prominent member who is strongly associated with the Yemeni town of Mocha where he is buried.

information on paper, watermarks, and dimensions is already available in the catalogue by Achadiati Ikram et al, *Katalog Naskah Buton*, and will not be repeated here. Perhaps confusingly it should be noted that manuscripts in the Zahari collection have three catalogue numbers: a number allocated by the cataloguing team led by Ikram to the original; a number allocated by the ANRI cataloguers in the 1980s; and in some instances a further number allocated by the EAP. Here only the numbers given by Ikram and EAP will be cited.

Muḥammad ‘Aydarūs’s authorship is usually made evident on both the title folio, which gives both his name and that of the owner, ‘Abd al-Khāliq, as well as in the opening paragraph, after the initial compliments, where Muḥammad ‘Aydarūs introduces himself as author and gives the title of the book and the reason for its composition. In contrast, the colophons rarely give clear information about date or copyist. ‘Abd al-Khāliq seems to have enjoyed a long life, if the biographical information about him is reliable. As early as 1829, he is reputed to have accompanied Muḥammad ‘Aydarūs to a meeting with the Dutch in Makassar,⁵⁸ and we have a manuscript of Ghazālī’s *Bidāyat al-Hidāya* with his ownership statement dated 1255/1839 (fig. 3),⁵⁹ but there also survives a manuscript copied by his hand dated Safar 1297/January 1880.⁶⁰ He may well have fulfilled not merely a practical role for the sultan, but also a spiritual one, for he was the *murshid* of the 39th sultan, Muḥammad ‘Aydarūs’s son Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ, as is made clear in the latter’s *Ibtidā’ Sayr al-‘Ārifīn*: ‘My beloved my brother and father, my shaykh and my [spiritual] trainer the vizier ‘Abd al-Khāliq, the great vizier, the greatest of my friends... begged me to write for him a pleasing treatise and a clean short work.’⁶¹ Some such close spiritual connection, which in Buton would also have been a practical necessity given the place of Sufism in state structures, would go some way to explaining how ‘Abd al-Khāliq acquired the works of the sultan on religious matters, perhaps including manuscripts owned by the sultan such as the *al-Nafaḥāt al-Ilāhiyya* discussed above (although the exact date it entered the Zahari collection is speculative). Others were doubtless copied by ‘Abd al-Khāliq himself, although this is rarely stated (for an exception see no 4 below, *Ḥabl Allāh al-Wathīq*).

Muḥammad ‘Aydarūs rarely mentions his position as sultan in these works. Rather, he refers to himself as simply *al-faqīr al-ḥaqīr*, and the same term is used by the copyist. Similarly, the Wolio poems simply refer to Muḥammad ‘Aydarūs without mentioning that he was sultan. This raises the question of the date of the composition of these texts, which can only rarely be established with certainty. It is possible that in some instances the works were composed before Muḥammad ‘Aydarūs became sultan around the age of forty (which, given the elective nature of the sultanate, was by no means a foregone conclusion). However, in a couple of

⁵⁸ Zahari, *Sejarah dan Adat*, vol 3, p. 19. Contemporary Malay correspondence from the Buton sultanate confirms ‘Abd al-Khāliq’s role at this early date, *ibid*, vol. 3, pp. 35, 36.

⁵⁹ This manuscript is given the catalogue number 10/Arab/18, which is renumbered in Ikram as IS/20/AMZ; however Ikram’s description of the latter (*Katalog Naskah Buton*, 63-4) records a manuscript of 112 pages, whereas the one I saw was a much shorter text, perhaps some 20 pages.

⁶⁰ This is Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ’s *Ibtidā’ Sayr al-‘Ārifīn*. Sabirin, ‘Naskah Buton Naskah-Naskah Tasawwuf,’ 172-3.

⁶¹ Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ, *Ibtidā’ Sayr al-‘Ārifīn*, EAP 212/1/5.

instances we can firmly establish that a given text was indeed composed during Muḥammad ‘Aydarūs’s period of rulership. The *Ḍiyā’ al-Anwār fi Taṣfiyat al-Akdār*,⁶² which contains a statement indicating it was completed in Rabi’ I 1252/July 1836; although the same text does not contain an unequivocal statement of Muḥammad ‘Aydarūs’s authorship, it is listed among his works in his *waṣiyyat*.⁶³ The *Sabīl al-Salām* was completed in 1258/1842, according to a statement in one manuscript (fig. 4b).⁶⁴ Both these manuscripts confirm that Muḥammad ‘Aydarūs did indeed undertake literary activities while holding the office of sultan, although it is quite possible, if not probable, that a portion of his oeuvre was written before his accession.

The tradition of authorship was continued by Muḥammad ‘Aydarūs’s sons, Haji ‘Abd al-Hādī and Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ; the latter ruled as sultan between 1871 and 1885. Haji ‘Abd al-Hādī travelled to Mecca in the company of Haji ‘Abd al-Ghani and wrote a Wolio work of Sufi teachings, the *Kaokabi* (‘Star’).⁶⁵ Sultan Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ was the author of two Arabic texts. One of these was the *Ibtidā’ Sayr al-‘Ārifīn*, an adaptation of Ibn ‘Arabī’s *al-Anwār fi mā yamnuḥuhu ṣāḥib al-khalwa min al-asrār*.⁶⁶ From this work, we learn that, in addition to ‘Abd al-Khāliq, Muḥammad ‘Aydarūs himself was a key influence in initiating his son into Sufism, for he is also referred to in the introduction to *Ibtidā’ Sayr al-‘Ārifīn* as ‘my lord, *sanad* and *murshid*.’ Another work by Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ is entitled *Tanbīḥ al-Ghāfil wa-Tanzīḥ al-Maḥāfil*.⁶⁷ Nonetheless, neither son rivalled the productivity of the father.

Arabic works by Muḥammad ‘Aydarūs

1. *Sabīl al-Salām li-Bulūgh al-Marām fī Aḥādīth Sayyid al-Anām*. This work is an abridged collection of hadith, divided into seventy chapters. It exists in two manuscripts that have been identified to date although one of these is fragmentary.
 - a) IS/104/SYAM, described in Ikram et al, *Katalog Naskah Buton*, 139-140, and digitised by EAP with the catalogue number EAP 212/2/217. This represents only a fragment of the text, consisting of 22 folios, representing the first twelve chapters and the beginning of the thirteenth. The manuscript has the ownership statement of ‘Abd al-Khāliq (fig. 5).
 - b) IS/105/AMZ described in Ikram et al, *Katalog Naskah Buton*, 140-141. This represents the complete text, in a total of 520 folios. I had the opportunity to examine

⁶² EAP 212/2/7; IS/25/SYAM; Ikram et al, *Katalog Naskah Buton*, 67-8.

⁶³ The text as digitised by the EAP contains no mention of authorship; however, Falah Sabirin records that fol. 1r contains the statement that it is by Muḥammad ‘Aydarūs: ‘*Kitāb Ḍiyā’ al-Anwār fi Taṣfiyat al-Akdār lil-faqīr al-ḥaqīr Muḥammad ‘Aydarūs Qā’im al-Dīn b. Badr al-Dīn al-Buṭūnī*’. See Sabirin, *Tarekat Sammānīya*, 85. It seems this page was omitted in digitisation.

⁶⁴ Ikram et al, *Katalog Naskah Buton*, 141. The ms reads (p. 511): *wa-faraghtu min taswīd hadhā al-mukhtaṣar laylat ithnayn sab’at ‘ashar maḍat min shahr Jumādā al-Thānī sanat 1258 alf wa-mi’atayn wa-thamān wa-khamsīn ja’ala allāh dhālika khāliṣan li-wajhihi al-kaṛīm wa-mawjiban lil-fawz ladayhi fi jannāt al-na’īm wa-ḥasabnā wa-na’ama al-wakīl wa-lā ḥawla wa-lā quwwa ilā bi’llāh al-‘alī al-‘azīm*.

⁶⁵ Yunus, *Posisi Tasawuf*, 78-9.

⁶⁶ Ikram, *Katalog Naskah Buton*, 80-81, MS IS/39/AMZ, EAP 212/1/5. This has also been published in transliterated form and Indonesian translation in Sabirin, ‘Naskah Buton Naskah-Naskah Tasawwuf,’ 208-249.

⁶⁷ Yunus, *Posisi Tasawuf*, 79.

this text in person on my visit to Buton in January 2018. The manuscript has two ownership statements on its title page (fig. 4a), indicating it was possessed by al-Shaykh Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Maqqarī al-Yamānī, and then passed into the possession of ‘Abd al-Khāliq b. ‘Abdallāh al-Buṭūnī (see discussion above, p. 00). According to the colophon, the work was completed on 27 Jumada II 1258/5 August 1842 (fig. 4b). While the beginning and end of the manuscript are in good condition, parts of the interior have been damaged by the iron gall ink used, a common problem with manuscripts from Southeast Asia. This made examination of much of the manuscript problematic in view of the need to avoid further damage. The description is therefore based on the digitised, if fragmentary, MS IS/104/SYAM.

According to EAP and Ikram, the work is an abridgement of a work by Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalanī’s (d. 852/1449) on hadith, Ibn Ḥajar being one of the major authorities cited by scholars of this period.⁶⁸ It is true that there is a work by Ibn Ḥajar entitled the *Bulūgh al-Marām* which relates hadith concerned with Shafī’i *fiqh*, which we know ‘Abd al-Ṣamad Palimbani had studied during his time in Yemen,⁶⁹ and one might infer that this is the work referred to by Muḥammad ‘Aydarūs’s own title. Nonetheless, the relationship between the works is more distant than can be assumed on this basis. Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalanī is not mentioned in the introduction to Muḥammad ‘Aydarūs’s work, while even a cursory examination of the contents reveals a great difference in organisation.⁷⁰ Ibn Ḥajar’s introduction is extremely brief, whereas Muḥammad ‘Aydarūs lays out his contents in some detail, occupying the first six folios of IS/104/SYAM. Ibn Ḥajar’s original is divided into sixteen books (*kitāb*) which are subdivided into a number of chapters (*bābs*) which varies between *kitāb*, some having a single chapter and others up to twenty. In total there are ninety-seven separate *bābs* in the *Bulūgh al-Marām*, while Muḥammad ‘Aydarūs states in his introduction that his work comprised seventy *bābs*. Moreover, the topics are treated in quite a different order in each work. In conformity with normal practice for *fiqh* works, Ibn Ḥajar opens with a chapter on *ṭahāra*, ritual purity. However, the first chapter of the *Sabil al-Salām* in fact discusses Islam, belief, charity the last Hour and advice (*al-bāb al-awwal fi’l-islām wa’l-īmān wa’l-iḥsān wa-amārāt al-sā’a wa’l-naṣīḥa*). It has been suggested that Muḥammad ‘Aydarūs’s work might derive from an eighteenth-century commentary on Ibn Ḥajar with which it shares a similar title, Muḥammad b. Ismā’īl al-Ṣan’ānī’s *Subul al-Salām Sharḥ Bulūgh al-Marām*,⁷¹ but this does not explain the differences given that the *Subul al-Salām* follows exactly the arrangement of the *Bulūgh al-Marām*.⁷²

Even when the two texts treat exactly the same topic, the contents and hadith cited vary significantly. Consider, for example, the topic of *wuḍū’*, washing before prayers, dealt with by Ibn Ḥajar in the fourth *bāb* of the first *kitāb* on *ṭahāra*. Ibn Ḥajar opens with a hadith from the prophet cited on the authority of Abū Hurayra, as does

⁶⁸ Voll, ‘Hadith scholars,’ 265; van Bruinessen, *Islam di Nusantara*, 153-4.

⁶⁹ Ahmad, *Islam in the Malay World*, 80.

⁷⁰ I base my analysis of Ibn Ḥajar’s work on the following edition: Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalanī, *Bulūgh al-Marām min Adillat al-Aḥkām*, ed. ‘Iṣām Mūsā Hādī (Juaib: Dār al-Sādiq, 1423/2002).

⁷¹ Ikram et al, *Katalog Naskah Buton*, 141; cf van Bruinessen, *Islam di Nusantara*, 154.

⁷² See Muḥammad b. Ismā’īl al-Ṣan’ānī and Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalanī, *Subul al-Salām Sharḥ Bulūgh al-Marām*, ed. ‘Isam al-Sayyid al-Sababti (Cairo: Dar al-Hadith, 1994).

Muḥammad ‘Aydarūs, but the actual hadith are quite different. The hadith with which Muḥammad ‘Aydarūs opens is in fact only the fortieth on the subject listed by Ibn Ḥajar,⁷³ In general, Muḥammad ‘Aydarūs’s *Sabīl al-Salām* is more concerned with spiritual life than is usually the case for *fiqh* works, although it certainly does show some of the interest in ritual practice that characterises the latter. It seems that Ibn Ḥajar’s work provided the inspiration with its title and method of presenting hadith thematically, but that Muḥammad ‘Aydarūs’s interests diverge significantly from the legalistic intent of Ibn Ḥajar, placing greater emphasis on topics relevant to Sufism.

2. *Kashf al-Hijāb fi Murāqabat al-Wahhāb*, IS/50/SYAM, 14 fols, not digitised; a second copy IS/52/SYAM, digitised as EAP 212/210, total 26 fols. The text has been published accompanied by an Indonesian translation by Falah Sabirin.⁷⁴ This work was written at the request of Sayyid Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Ṣāfi, and offers a brief discussion in four short chapters (*faṣl*) of the Sufi practice of *murāqaba*, or using *dhikr* to reach a stage of annihilation in God, as had been advocated by Muḥammad al-Sammān.⁷⁵ Muḥammad ‘Aydarūs’s treatise examines the different forms of the practice, building on and extending earlier theories of *murāqaba*.⁷⁶
3. *Ḍiyā’ al-Anwār fi Taṣfiyat al-Akdār*, 29 folios. IS/25/SYAM, EAP 212/2/27. The text was completed in Rabi’ I 1252/July 1836; it is not clear whether this is also the date of the current copy.⁷⁷ There are marginal and interlinear annotations in a different hand, some of which are purely explanatory, but others of which seem to indicate that some text is missing. It thus seems likely that either this text was dictated to the copyist (in all likelihood ‘Abd al-Khālīq) by Muḥammad ‘Aydarūs and the marginal comments we then added when it was read back to him, or that it was simply copied directly but not wholly accurately from an original, against which it was then reviewed.

The principal concern of the treatise is the behaviour of the *murīd* and the things he must do to learn to discipline his desires. The treatise starts with a discussion of the disagreeable characteristics in the heart (*al-ṣifāt al-madhmūma fī al-qalb*), such as anger, envy, meanness, and the believer is enjoined to restrain his appetites and to engage in fasting, and to practice spiritual exercises such as *dhikr* and *khalwa*. Al-Ghazālī is frequently cited throughout the work, in accordance with the renewed appreciation of Ghazālī that is very characteristic of eighteenth century reformist Sufism.⁷⁸ The work concludes by discussing briefly the different fates of souls after death.

⁷³ Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalanī, *Bulūgh al-Marām*, 25; Muḥammad ‘Aydarūs, *Sabīl al-Salām*, IS/104/SYAM, fol. 7b.

⁷⁴ Sabirin, ‘Naskah Buton Naskah-Naskah Tasawwuf,’ 186-208 offers a Latin script transliteration of the Arabic and an Indonesian translation; an Arabic script edition is provided in his *Tarekat Sammānīya*, 190-198.

⁷⁵ See the discussion in Yunus, *Posisi Tasawwuf*, 92-4; Sabirin, *Tarekat Sammānīya*, 165-70.

⁷⁶ Sabirin, *Tarekat Sammānīya*, 74-6, 173-4.

⁷⁷ Text discussed by Sabirin, *Tarekat Sammānīya*, 84-92.

⁷⁸ Voll, ‘Hadith scholars,’ 269-70; Feener, ‘Abd al-Samad in Arabia,’ 265-6.

Authorities for the importance of abstinence (*zuhd*) who are cited include Shaykh Qāsim al-Maghribī and Shaykh Muṣṭafā al-Bakrī. Shaykh Muṣṭafā al-Bakrī of Damascus (d. 1749) had been a leading Khalwati shaykh, who was himself the teacher of Muḥammad b. al-Karīm al-Sammān.⁷⁹ Indeed, al-Bakrī is even cited as ‘our shaykh and teacher’, although given al-Bakrī’s death date this can hardly be taken literally (unless the passage is directly lifted from one of Muḥammad al-Sammān’s works). A *qaṣīda* on the *adab al-zuhd* containing twenty things that must be done to achieve asceticism, is apparently cited from al-Bakrī. Other authorities cited are Ibn ‘Arabī, and apparently al-Būnī (d. 1225) too, best known to modern scholarship for his works on magic but respected in his time as a Sufi. The work concludes in the *tatimma* with a discussion of the vanity of the world (*fī ṣifat al-dunyā wa-dhammihā*). Quotes on this theme and advocating *zuhd* are attributed to Abū Bakr b. Sālim, the sixteenth century Hadrami shaykh whose progeny spread throughout the Indian Ocean world, to Java, India and even the Swahili coast.⁸⁰ A *qaṣida* starting *tayaqquḥ yā maghrūr* which is apparently by Abū Bakr b. Sālim is also quoted.⁸¹

The work thus shows Buton’s connectedness to near contemporary Islamic movements, through figures like Muṣṭafā al-Bakrī and the enthusiasm for Ghazālī the author evinces. In addition, the citation of Abū Bakr b. Sālim suggests its integration into the broader intellectual currents that stretched across the India Ocean.

4. *Ḥabl Allāh al-Wathīq fī’l-Tawḥīd wa’l-Taṣdīq*. This manuscript survives in two copies recorded by Ikram et al, *Katalog Naskah Buton 74-6*: IS/33/SYAM, digitised as EAP212/2/22, consisting of 50 folios, and IS/34/SYAM, digitised as EAP212/2/9, which is only 16 folios. This latter manuscript was apparently copied by ‘Abd al-Khāliq on 12 Sha‘bān 1252/22 November 1836; in its margins it has another creedal work, entitled the *Qawā‘id al-Qawā‘id fīmā lā budda min al-‘Aqā‘id*, the authorship of which is not stated. Although no author is attributed to the *Ḥabl Allāh al-Wathīq* by Ikram’s catalogue, the work is mentioned in Muḥammad ‘Aydarūs’s will; further, the first parts of the text seem to largely reproduce the introductory parts of the *Tanqiyat al-Qulūb* (no. 6) below, discussing the twenty attributes of God. However, it is unusual in lacking an explicit statement of authorship by Muḥammad ‘Aydarūs in its introduction. The work deals with the basic requirements of what a Muslim should believe, gives examples from among the Prophet’s Companions and early Caliphs of the best of Muslims (such as Abū Bakr, ‘Uthmān, and ‘Alī), and warns against sins such as *shirk* while enjoining *tawba* (repentance). Beyond some allusions to the problem of *ijtihād*, discussed further below, the work thus represents a fairly typical Sunni creedal work.

⁷⁹ See Drewes, ‘A note,’ 74-5, and in general on al-Bakrī see Khaled El-Rouayheb, *Islamic Intellectual History in the Seventeenth Century: Scholarly Currents in the Ottoman Empire and the Maghreb* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 267-70.

⁸⁰ Anne Bang, *Sufis and Scholars of the Sea: Family Networks in East Africa 1860-1925* (London: Routledge, 2003), 27-8.

⁸¹ I have not been able to trace this *qaṣida* in a published text, but it is widely cited on modern Indonesian Islamic websites with an attribution to Abū Bakr b. Sālim (e.g, <https://www.facebook.com/AlhabibSyekhBaabud/posts/> accessed 3 October 2018).

5. *Taḥsīn al-Awlād fī Ṭā‘at Rabb al-‘Ibād*, 84 fols. IS/113/SYAM;⁸² EAP 212/2/26. Muḥammad ‘Aydarūs identifies himself as author in the introduction, but the manuscript lacks scribal data or information about the date of completion of the text. There are however indications that it is a copy, rather than being in the sultan’s hand; explanatory annotations in a different hand (but still in Arabic) have been added. While some of the annotations purely concern more unusual items of Arabic vocabulary, and occasionally less unusual ones,⁸³ one comment is explicitly taken from the “Sharḥ Ibn ‘Allān”.⁸⁴ (fig. 6) This is presumably a reference to the *Dalīl al-Fāliḥīn lil-Ṭuruq Riyād al-Ṣāliḥīn*, a commentary on the imam Nawawī’s famous hadith compilation by the Hijazi scholar Muḥammad b. ‘Allān (d. 1647 or 1648), whose works were popular in Southeast Asia, especially the Banten Sultanate.⁸⁵ Such annotations again suggest the role of oral exegesis in the copying and correcting of Muḥammad ‘Aydarūs’s works.

The title and contents of the work are, according to the introduction, inspired by Qur’an 17/2, ‘God has decreed that you worship none but him and do good to your parents’; good behaviour towards parents is taken to be axiomatic of the way the believer should behave more generally. Through stories of the Prophet’s behaviour and sayings aiming to inculcate good behaviour, the *Taḥsīn al-Awlād* ultimately aims to ensure the salvation of the reader. The text draws heavily on the hadith collections of Bukhārī and Muslim, although the hadith themselves are shorn of isnads or variant readings. Other than hadith, quite a number of additional sources are cited in passing. In addition to the work by Ibn ‘Allān cited above, there are several references to the *Rayāḥīn al-Akḥbār*,⁸⁶ although no author is given. Easier to trace is the reference to *al-Jawāhir wa’l-Yawāqīt* by ‘Abd al-Wahhāb al-Sha‘rānī (d. 1565).⁸⁷ This work attempted to explain the faith of earlier Sufis, with an emphasis on the visionary and angelological aspects of Ibn ‘Arabi’s works while playing down the controversial doctrine of *waḥdat al-wujūd*. *Al-Jawāhir wa’l-Yawāqīt* was widely popular elsewhere in Southeast Asia, being attested in several copies from the Banten sultanate.⁸⁸ Another work mentioned is *Manhaj al-Sālik*,⁸⁹ which is presumably the book of this title by Nūr al-Dīn ‘Alī b. Khalīl al-Marṣafī al-Madanī, comprising an epitome of the *risāla* of al-Qushayrī, which was also read in the late eighteenth-century Banten court.⁹⁰ Perhaps most curious is the reference⁹¹ to the

⁸² Ikram et al, *Katalog Naskah Buton*, 147-8.

⁸³ For example *al-hijra* is glossed *yantaqilu min Makka ilā al-Madīna*. Muḥammad ‘Aydarūs, *Taḥsīn al-Awlād fī Ṭā‘at rabb al-‘Ibād*, EAP 212/2/26, p. 4.

⁸⁴ Muḥammad ‘Aydarūs, *Taḥsīn al-Awlād fī Ṭā‘at Rabb al-‘Ibād*, EAP 212/2/26, p. 3

⁸⁵ On Ibn ‘Allān and Banten, see A.C.S. Peacock, ‘Sufi cosmopolitanism in the seventeenth-century Indian Ocean: Shari‘a, lineage and royal power in Southeast Asia and the Maldives’ in R. Michael Feener and Joshua Gedacht (eds), *Challenging Cosmopolitanism Coercion, Mobility and Displacement in Islamic Asia* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2018), 53-80, esp. 56-60. In general on Ibn ‘Allān see Sāmī es-Sakkār, ‘Ibn ‘Allān,’ *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 1999), vol. 19, 307-8.

⁸⁶ Muḥammad ‘Aydarūs, *Taḥsīn al-Awlād fī Ṭā‘at Rabb al-‘Ibād*, EAP 212/2/26, pp. 9, 14.

⁸⁷ Ibid, p. 16.

⁸⁸ Friedrich and van den Berg, *Catalogus*, 32, 107, 108; in general on the work see El-Rouayheb, *Islamic Intellectual History*, 238-40.

⁸⁹ Muḥammad ‘Aydarūs, *Taḥsīn al-Awlād fī Ṭā‘at Rabb al-‘Ibād*, EAP 212/2/26, p. 38.

⁹⁰ Friedrich and van den Berg, *Catalogus*, 101 (MS A114). This should not be confused with the famous commentary on Ibn Mālik’s *Alfiyya* with the same title.

⁹¹ Muḥammad ‘Aydarūs, *Taḥsīn al-Awlād fī Ṭā‘at Rabb al-‘Ibād*, EAP 212/2/26, p. 81.

well-known medieval Arabic encyclopaedia by the Egyptian author al-Ibshihī (d. after 850/1446), *al-Mustaṭraf fī Fann Kull Mustazraf*, which has been described as ‘a *vade mecum* for the honest Muslim, which does not hesitate to mingle the fields of *adab* and of pure ethics (*akhlāk*), which in principle remain distinct from each other.’⁹² However, given that al-Ibshihī’s name has been misspelt as al-Ibshimī it may be doubted whether Muḥammad ‘Aydarūs himself had access to this work; more likely it is quoted from an as yet unidentified intermediate source.

6. *Tanqiyat al-Qulūb fī Ma‘rifat ‘Ālam al-Ghuyūb*, 124 fols. IS/115/SYAM, EAP 212/2/32.⁹³ Unfortunately the first page of this manuscript, giving information about the circumstances of its composition is severely damaged, although the rest of the text is in good condition.

The work reflects Muḥammad ‘Aydarūs’s political position more directly than other works. As well as describing and defining what behaviour is obligatory for the believer, and what should be avoided, and discussing heretics (*ahl al-bid‘a wa’l-ahwā’*) it also discusses the affairs ‘of sultans, amirs and governors, and the obedience and loyalty owed to them by the people’.⁹⁴

The work opens with a discussion of the attributes of God and the Prophet, and the importance of *ijtihād* (independent legal reasoning);⁹⁵ it concludes with a brief discussion of the idea of the *mujaddid*, the renewer of the Muslim community who will come every hundred years. The work thereafter is divided into chapters (*faṣl*), the first of which deals with the pillars of Islam (*arkān al-islām*, pp. 6-13), the conditions of belief in God (*sharā’iṭ al-īmān*, pp. 13-14), the conditions of belief in angels (*sharā’iṭ al-īmān bi’l-malā’ika*, pp. 14-17), conditions of belief in the holy books (*sharā’iṭ al-īmān bi-kutubihī*, pp. 17-20), conditions of belief in God’s messengers and their miracles, which emphasises that it is still licit to call on the intercession of prophets, holy men (*awliyā’*), the righteous (*al-ṣāliḥīn*) and shaykhs (*al-mashāyikh*) after their death (p. 27). More detail, however is devoted to the last day and eschatology (pp 28-54). Muḥammad ‘Aydarūs discusses the signs of the last day, the Mahdī, the antichrist and Gog and Magog. The punishments of sinners in hell are described at some length (pp. 34-5), as are the ways of entering heaven. The next chapter discusses belief in predestination (pp. 54-6), which is followed by a chapter on heretics (pp. 58-63). This seems a very generic chapter, not at all tailored to the circumstances of eastern Nusantara, which concentrates on the classical heresies of the Rāfiḍīs, Khārijīyya, Jabariyya, Qadariyya, Jahmiyya and Murji’a. This is followed by a chapter on belief (*īmān*, pp. 63-8).

The more directly political part of the text starts on p. 68, when the chapter deals with the obligation of the Muslims to establish an imam to run their affairs and execute God’s law and carry out essential functions such as organising the army and

⁹² J.C. Vadet, ‘al-Ibshihī,’ *Encyclopedia of Islam*² (Leiden: Brill, 1960-2005).

⁹³ Described in Ikram et al, *Katalog Naskah Buton*, 149-50.

⁹⁴ *Tanqiyat al-Qulūb fī Ma‘rifat ‘Ālam al-Ghuyūb*, EAP 212/2/32, p. 2: *shay’an yakhtuṣṣu bihi al-salāṭīn wa’l-umarā wa’l-wulāt wa-mā yalzimu al-ra’iyya min al-ṭā’a lahum wa’l-muwālāt*.

⁹⁵ For a discussion of the importance of *ijtihād* in this period see Dallal, *Islam without Europe*, esp. 56-93; Bernard Haykel, *Revival and Reform in Islam: The Legacy of Muhammad al-Shawkani* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 76-108.

collecting charitable taxes (*yajibu ‘alā l-muslimīn naṣab imāmihim yaqūmu bi-maṣālihihim ka-tanfīdh aḥkāmihim wa-iqām[at] ḥudūdihim wa-sadd thughūrihim wa-tajhīz juyūshihim wa-akhdh ṣadaqātihim*) The conditions for the imam are that he must be ‘adult, intelligent, Muslim, just, free, male, exercise independent judgement (*mujtahid*), brave willing to listen, insightful, able to speak, and of sound body. Muḥammad ‘Aydārūs specifically emphasises that there is no necessity (*lā yushtarafu*) for the imam to be free from fault, nor a Hashimite or ‘Alid, nor to be the best of his time. At the same time the ruler (*wālī*, equating to either sultan or imam, the categories are merged) is enjoined not to listen to flatterers, but to remember that this world is but transient (*laysat bi-dār qarār*, p. 71). Times of ease in this life are but limited, most of life is taken up with burdens, but God has established kings to protect his people, and the sultan is God’s shadow on earth (*ẓill allāh fī’l-arḍ*) in whom the weak and oppressed can take refuge; therefore whoever honours a king will be honoured by God at the resurrection of the dead (p. 73). Religion and kingship are described as twins, and the sultan is enjoined to justice, ‘for if the sultan is unjust then the world is destroyed ... the kingdom of an unjust sultan will be destroyed and his kingship will not last, for the Prophet, peace and blessings be upon him, said, “kingship will survive with unbelief but will not survive with injustice.” (p. 74) Unjust rulers are condemned to hellfire while just ones are praised (pp. 75-78). The ruler must have a *wazīr*, but the *wazīr* is also one of the possible causes of injustice (pp. 78-9). Although the people should obey the ruler, if it orders something contrary to God’s law they must withhold their obedience (p. 85)

The final chapter deals with repentance and turning to God (*tawba*, p. 85-90), while the conclusion discusses *dhikr* (p. 90). Unusually, an authority is cited, Muḥammad al-Sammān’s *al-Nafaḥāt al-Ilāhiyya* (p. 91). In fact, most of the section on *dhikr* (pp. 98-106, starting from the heading *wa-‘lam inna anwā’ al-dhikr kathīra*) is a verbatim copy of the *Kitāb Mu’nisat al-Qulūb fī al-Dhikr wa’l-Mushāhada li-‘Allām al-Ghuyūb*, discussed below. The discussion of *dhikr* is followed by a section on the obligation of the Muslim to seek knowledge with which the work concludes (p. 112)

Essentially, then, the work is intended as a guide to how the Muslim should live and act, and in particular how the sultan and people should behave to one another. For the most part the contents reflect little about Buton’s particular circumstances. In the section on heretics for instance, the concentration is almost exclusively on the heresies mentioned by early Abbasid authors. Reincarnation, well-attested as a vibrant belief on Buton even into modern times, gets a desultory single sentence (*tanāsukhiyya*, p. 59).⁹⁶ However, in the section on kingship it may be possible to discern a more distinctly Butonese slant. Although the sources cited for this passage are all Middle Eastern, with allusions to Aristotle’s advice to Iskandar Dhu’l-Qarnayn, Socrates, Anushirwan the Just and Prophetic hadith, the emphasis seems rather to reflect Butonese ideas of the dispensability of underperforming sultans.⁹⁷ Although the overthrow of a sultan is not explicitly authorised, the text

⁹⁶ See J. Schoolr, ‘Belief in Reincarnation on Buton, S.E. Sulawesi, Indonesia,’ *Bijdragen tot de taal-, land- en volkenkunde* 141/1 (1985): 103-134.

⁹⁷ In an unpublished conference paper Michael Feener has noted that before the time of Muḥammad ‘Aydārūs, nearly half of Buton’s sultans had been relieved of their positions before their natural deaths, and one seventeenth-century sultan (Mardana Ali) was reportedly even executed for adultery. From the reign of Muḥammad ‘Aydārūs to 1960, however, all holding the title of sultan ended their

seems to suggest that God will remove the kingdom of an unjust ruler. At any rate, compared to the general preference in classical Islamic thought for injustice over chaos, Muḥammad ‘Aydarūs presents a rather different emphasis. It is interesting, however, that other attributes that scholarship has stated were requirements for the sultan of Buton, and indeed sacral Muslim kingship more generally in the region, such as possessing the charismatic attributes of *al-insān al-kāmil* or the *nūr Muḥammadiyya* are wholly absent from the discussion in the *Tanqiyat al-Qulūb*.⁹⁸ However, the insistence on the importance of *dhikr* in a work not otherwise especially Sufi in character does perhaps remind us of the political importance of *dhikr* rituals in the selection of a new sultan.

7. *Kitāb Mu’nisat al-Qulūb fī’l-Dhikr wa’l-Mushāhada li-‘Allām al-Ghuyūb*. Catalogued as IS/78/SYAM; not yet digitised, and not listed in Muḥammad ‘Aydarūs’s will. The title page (fig. 7) gives the name of the author, *al-faqīr al-ḥaqīr* Muḥammad ‘Aydarūs Qā’im al-Dīn b. Badr al-Dīn al-Buṭūnī, and the owner, his secretary ‘Abd al-Khāliq, *mulk al-faqīr al-ḥaqīr al-rājī ‘afw mawlāhu al-khāliq ‘Abd al-Khāliq b. ‘Abdallāh*. There is no colophon or date, but the manuscript is evidently early nineteenth century, and probably in the hand of ‘Abd al-Khāliq. The sultan identifies himself as author again in the introduction.

This short, unbound treatise of 20 folios discusses the practice of *dhikr*. While *dhikr* was important for most tariqas, the Sammāniyya were distinguished by their especial concern for it, and indeed were berated for their opponents both for the disturbances caused by the noise of Sammāni *dhikr* and the erroneous pronunciation of the words of the *shahāda* by Sammāni devotees, even if this was strictly forbidden.⁹⁹ The *Mu’nisat al-Qulūb* thus is the most characteristically Sammāni of Muḥammad ‘Aydarūs’s works to have come to light to date. As the text is as yet undigitised a more extensive summary is given here.

Perhaps in order to answer concerns of the opponents of Sammāni *dhikr*, the work starts with a barrage of hadith in support of the practice (fol. 1b-5a). Muḥammad ‘Aydarūs then provides anecdotes culled from earlier authors showing its efficacy even in bringing unbelievers to Islam. A story is quoted from ‘Abdallāh al-Yāfi’ī concerning an infidel king who raids the Muslims; eventually the latter captured him and decided to punish him by burning him on a pyre. However, when the king called out *lā ilāh ilā allāh*, God sent down water to quench the fire, and the king embraced Islam. A story from Abū Zayd al-Qurṭubī is cited indicating that saying *dhikr* 70,000 times can save even those already in hell. ‘Abd al-Qādir Jīlānī (fol. 6b) is also quoted as saying that when a drunk or an adulterer came to him, he would command them to say *lā ilāh ilā allāh* as a way of atoning for grave sins.

reigns with a natural death. Michael Feener, ‘Sufism and the State in Buton,’ paper presented at the Trade and Agrarian Change in the Indian Ocean Region Symposium, Yale University, New Haven, 1995. I thank the author for drawing my attention to this.

⁹⁸ For the idea of the sultans representing *al-insān al-kāmil* and possessing the *nūr Muḥammadiyya*, see Yunus, *Posisi Tasawuf*, 110-112; this is doubtless indebted (directly or otherwise) to A.C. Milner, ‘Islam and Malay kingship,’ *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 113 (1981): 46-70.

⁹⁹ On *dhikr* in the Sammāniyya see Drewes, ‘A note,’ 79-80, 83-4; Feener, ‘Abd al-Samad,’ 269-71; Sabirin, *Tarekat Sammāniyya*, 130-154.

The text goes on to consider the five conditions that must be fulfilled before performing *dhikr*, such as repentance (*tawba*) and ritual purity (*ṭahāra*). Perhaps the most important is the role of the shaykh, concerning which Shaykh Jibrīl Khurramābādī (fol. 7a) is cited emphasising the necessity of relying on the guidance of a shaykh who fulfils the role of a connection to the Prophet and ultimately to God.¹⁰⁰ Twelve further conditions must be fulfilled during the *dhikr* itself, such as the position of sitting and the appropriate clothes to be worn. Three further conditions are stipulated after the performance of *dhikr*, the observance of silence, self discipline and avoidance of drinking water (so as not to quench the divine flames kindled inside the individual). Further hadith follow (fol. 8a) on the benefits of performing *dhikr*, which is described as superior to any other task by virtue of thirty-five characteristics, such as teaching obedience to God's commands, pleasing God, and providing proximity to God. *Dhikr* is described as a means by which its practitioner can attain paradise. A *tatimma* discusses the various types of Sufi *dhikr*.

8. *Hadiyyat al-Bashīr fi Ma'rifat al-Qadīr*.¹⁰¹ IS/37/SYAM, EAP212/2/3, 24 fols. The text discusses 'aqīda (faith) and tawhīd (belief in the unity of God). Like the *Tanqiyat al-Qulūb*, the work starts by discussing the twenty positive attributes of God; however, the discussion here is much briefer and the material is arranged differently, although often the same sentences can be seen, rearranged in different contexts. For example, the start of the introductory portion of the *Hadiyyat al-Bashīr* starts *fā'ida: wuqū' al-i'rāḍ al-bashariyya bihim 'alayhim* etc (p. 3, l. 3), which corresponds to an identical passage much later in the *Tanqiyat* (p. 20, 4 lines from bottom). Like the *Tanqiyat*, the introduction is followed by a section on *arkān al-īmān* (p. 3), belief in prophets (p. 4), angels and God's holy books (p. 6), the last day and predestination (p. 8), although the material is abridged and sometimes rearranged. The final section (p. 10-19) deals with the day of judgement and paradise, using much the same material as in the *Tanqiyat*.

9. *Fath al-Rahīm fi'l-Tawhīd Rabb al-'Arsh al-'Ālimīn [sic]*. IS/63/SYAM; EAP 212/2/28. A second copy, undigitised, exists as IS/63/SYAM. The work has the ownership statement of 'Abd al-Khāliq, and the date of 1255/ 1839-40. This short treatise is described as an abridgement (*mukhtaṣar*) deals with the creed ('ilm al-'aqīda) and *dhikr*. However, the text is lifted from the introductory portions of the *Tanqiyat al-Qulūb fi Ma'rifat 'Ālam al-Ghuyūb*, corresponding to pp. 1-9 of that manuscript, with some abridgements. The text is not listed in Muḥammad 'Aydarūs's will.

¹⁰⁰ Jibrīl Khurramābādī was the author of a Persian text on Sufism, the *Risāla-yi Sulūk*; a manuscript dated 844/1440-1 of this work is preserved in Istanbul, Süleymaniye Library, MS Ayasofya 1838/2, fol. 73b-130a. He was a follower of Nūr al-Din 'Abd al-Rahmān Isfarā'nī (d. 1317), an important figure in the Kubrawiyya *silsila*; see on this latter in Indonesia, Martin van Bruinessen, 'Najmuddin al-Kubra, Jumadil Kubra and Jamaluddin al-Akbar: Traces of Kubrawiyya Influence in Early Indonesian Islam,' *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 150/2 (1994): 305-329, esp. p. 10.

¹⁰¹ The EAP catalogues this as *Hidayat al-Basyir* on the basis of the transcription given in Ikram et al, *Katalog Naskah Buton*, 78, 103, but from the text it is clear that the correct reading is *Hadiyyat*.

Wolio works by Muḥammad ‘Aydarūs

Here I provide merely brief information to allow the reader to compare with the Arabic works. The Wolio works, written in an adapted version of the Arabic script and in the verse form known as *kabanti*, are said to have been extremely popular, with a copy in every educated house.¹⁰² This may explain why they seem to survive in late copies, of the mid-twentieth century (fig. 8), as older ones were disposed of when no longer fit for purpose. Each poem’s length is around a couple of hundred lines.

10. *Bula Malina* (‘The clear moon’)

The text has been published in a Romanised Wolio version with an Indonesian translation and a facsimile of the manuscript (presumably the one in his personal collection), which evidently dates to the mid twentieth century.¹⁰³ Zahari puts the date of composition at the end of the eighteenth century.¹⁰⁴ The poem deals with the coming day of resurrection (*qiyamat*) and the believer’s appropriate conduct in view of its proximity.

11. *Jaohar* (‘The Jewel’)

The text discusses the Sufi concepts of *murāqaba*, *khalwa* and *dhikr*, and refers directly to the teachings of Muḥammad Sammān. As with other Wolio texts, this is in verse.¹⁰⁵

12. *Nura Molabi* (‘The glorious light’)

The poem discusses the Sufi ideas of *mushāhada* and *murāqaba*, practices which allow the adept to draw near to God and ultimately achieve annihilation.¹⁰⁶

13. Other works in Wolio: *Tanbih al-Ghafilin*, apparently unpublished; further, according to Zahari, but not listed in the will, two works entitled *Fakihi* and *Guru Molakina*.¹⁰⁷ In the first edition of Zahari’s *Sejarah dan Adat* (1977, p. 29), two further poems *Kanturuna Molehana* and *Kanturuna Molehana II* are attributed to Muḥammad ‘Aydarūs, which apparently dealt with historical themes.¹⁰⁸ References to these two have been removed in the 2017 edition. Ikram’s catalogue suggests that Muḥammad ‘Aydarūs was author of the Wolio-language *Sarana Wolio*, the Butonese code of customary law and the *Martabat Tujuh*; however, from the Malay text of this lawcode it appears that it was reissued under each sultan, so the Wolio text was probably issued under, rather than by, Muḥammad ‘Aydarūs.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰² A study of Sultan Muḥammad ‘Aydarūs’s Wolio poetry can be found in Basrin Melamba and Wa Ode Siti Hafsah, ‘Ijtihad Sultan Muḥammad Idrus Kaimuddin ibnu Badaraddin al Buthuni (1824-1851): Akulturasi Islam dengan Budaya di Kesultanan Buton,’ *El Harakah* 16/1 (2014): 22-50.

¹⁰³ Sultan Muḥammad Aydarūs, *Syair Bula Malino*; also published in La Niampe, *Kabanti Oni Wolio*, 5-21. The manuscript published in Zahari’s edition is probably identical with that digitised as EAP 212/2/31

¹⁰⁴ Text published with Indonesian translation in La Niampe, *Kabanti Oni Wolio*, 73-84.

¹⁰⁵ La Niampe, *Kabanti Oni Wolio*, 36

¹⁰⁶ La Niampe, *Kabanti Oni Wolio*, 73-84

¹⁰⁷ Zahari, *Sejarah dan Adat*, vol. 3, 17.

¹⁰⁸ Ikram, *Katalog Naskah Buton*, 108.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid*, 42, and see Ikram, *Istiadat Tanah Negeri Buton*, 8-10.

Muḥammad ‘Aydarūs’s Wolio works thus cover similar ground to the Arabic ones, but much more concisely. Their verse form suggests they were probably designed for oral recitation. Further research on these works and indeed the Wolio literary tradition more generally is a desideratum.

Conclusion

The texts examined here suggest that the abstruse theories of ‘the perfect man’ sometimes associated with royal interest in Sufism in Southeast Asia did not form the focus of Muḥammad ‘Aydarūs’s Arabic works. The latter, however, present considerable complications in their textual relationship to one another and indeed to other earlier sources on which Sultan Muḥammad ‘Aydarūs undoubtedly drew. Clearly, as in the case of the *Mu’nisat al-Qulūb* (no 7) above, the *Hadiyyat al-Bashīr* (no 8) and the *Fath al-Raḥīm* (no 9), some of the shorter works represent fragments that were excerpted from or inserted into the Sultan’s longer works. The possibly explains the discrepancies between the list of titles given by Zahari and that provided by Muḥammad ‘Aydarūs in his will.

More problematic still is the question of the audience for the Arabic works, which is rarely if ever alluded to. The circulation of such works, even in limited numbers, presupposes a well-educated audience versed in the principles of Sufism. While Zahari has claimed that Arabic functioned as a lingua franca in the nineteenth century Buton *kraton*,¹¹⁰ the limited circulation and the need for Wolio versions covering similar ground in the form of the *kabanti* suggests that knowledge of Arabic was relatively restricted. Further, if, as today, knowledge of Wolio was limited to certain aristocratic circles while unwritten vernaculars such as Cia-Cia represented the more widely spoken language, it might be mistaken to identify the Wolio works as simply as popularisations of the Arabic, for their audience would have been limited too. The question of the respective audiences of the Wolio and Arabic works needs further study. However, one component of this Arabophone audience was doubtless senior members of the administration including the sultan’s own secretary, ‘Abd al-Khāliq, who features both as the owner of some of these manuscripts (and possibly in some instances their copyist or annotator, although this is rarely specified). A study of the Malay correspondence of the Buton Sultanate has drawn attention to the frequent use of Arabisms in letters composed by the sultanate’s secretaries (*juritulis*),¹¹¹ suggesting their knowledge of the language. We also know from the testimony of Muḥammad Ṣālīḥ, Muḥammad ‘Aydarūs’s son, that the secretary ‘Abd al-Khāliq was instrumental in initiating him into the Sammāniyya tariqa. The social spread of the Sammāniyya and other Sufi orders on Buton is not yet clear, but it seems likely that the intended audience was drawn from murids who were members of the aristocratic ruling class and shared the interest in Sufism that was key to Buton’s political structures. To what extent particular tariqas crossed the divide between *kaomu* and *walaka* needs further investigation.

¹¹⁰ Zahari, *Sejarah dan Adat*, vol. 3, 16.

¹¹¹ Suryadi, ‘A linguistic kaleidoscope of the Malay letter’, 332-3.

A variety of intellectual influences can be discerned in Muḥammad ‘Aydarūs’s works beyond his evident commitment to the Sammāniyya. In works such as his *Sabīl al-Salām*, he shows himself willing to adapt and alter classic texts of Islam to serve an agenda of his own, while in the *Tanqiyat al-Qulūb* he uses conventional Islamic sources to support a distinctively Butonese interpretation of rulership. In addition to well-known classics such as Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, references abound to texts and scholars more specifically associated with Indian Ocean world, such as Abū Bakr b. Sālim and Ibn ‘Allān. At the same time there are plenty of other individuals, such as Muḥammad ‘Aydarūs’s teachers, who cannot be identified with certainty. Much further research is required to place Muḥammad ‘Aydarūs’s works more accurately in their intellectual context, and to verify the existence of other works by the sultan mentioned in the sources. However, those examined here do not seem to be simply derivative paraphrases of classics, but rather, even if they never circulated beyond the *kraton*, they reflect Buton’s engagement with classical Islamic thought, with contemporary reformist movements in the Haramayn and with individual scholars, often otherwise unrecorded, who contributed to the spread of Sufism and Islam on Buton.

Figures

Fig 1: Muḥammad al-Sammān, *al-Nafaḥāt al-Ilāhiyya fī Kayfiyyat Sulūk al-Ṭarīqa al-Muḥammadiyya*. Abdul Mulku Zahari collection, Bau-Bau, IS/14/AMZ; EAP EAP212/1/4, a) title page, b) detail showing ownership of Muḥammad ‘Aydarūs and copying statement mentioning ‘Abd al-Samad al-Palimbani. Photograph courtesy of EAP.

Fig. 2. Muḥammad al-Sammān, *al-Nafaḥāt al-Ilāhiyya fī Kayfiyyat Sulūk al-Ṭarīqa al-Muḥammadiyya*. Abdul Mulku Zahari collection, Bau-Bau, IS/14/AMZ; EAP EAP212/1/4, note at end on links with Selangor. Photograph courtesy of EAP.

Fig. 3. Ghazali’s *Bidāyat al-Hidāya*. Abdul Mulku Zahari collection, Bau-Bau, IS/20/AMZ. Author photograph by kind permission of Al Mujazi Abdul Mulku.

Fig 4. Muḥammad ‘Aydarūs, *Sabīl al-Salām li-Bulūgh al-Marām fī Aḥādīth Sayyid al-Anām*. Abdul Mulku Zahari collection, Bau-Bau, IS/105/AMZ. a) Title folio showing ownership statement of Shaykh Ahmad b. Muḥammad al-Maqqari al-Yamani and ‘Abd al-Khāliq b) colophon showing date of completion of 1258/1842. Author photograph by kind permission of Al Mujazi Abdul Mulku.

Fig. 5. Muḥammad ‘Aydarūs, *Sabīl al-Salām li-Bulūgh al-Marām fī Aḥādīth Sayyid al-Anām*. Abdul Mulku Zahari collection, Bau-Bau, IS/104/SYAM; EAP 212/2/17, title page showing ownership statement by the secretary ‘Abd al-Khāliq. Photograph courtesy of EAP.

Fig. 6. Muḥammad ‘Aydarūs, *Taḥsīn al-Awlād fī Ṭā‘at rabb al-‘Ibād*, Abdul Mulku Zahari collection, Bau-Bau. IS/113/SYAM; EAP 212/2/26, fol. 2a, showing annotations mentioning *Sharḥ Ibn ‘Alān*. Photograph courtesy of EAP.

Fig. 7. Muḥammad ‘Aydarūs. *Kitāb Mu’nisat al-Qulūb fī’l-Dhikr wa’l-Mushāhada li-‘Allām al-Ghuyūb*. Abdul Mulku Zahari collection, Bau-Bau. IS/78/SYAM, a) title folio
b) first page. Author photograph by kind permission of Al Mujazi Abdul Mulku.

Fig. 8. Muḥammad ‘Aydarūs, *Bula Malino* Abdul Mulku Zahari collection, Bau-Bau. EAP 212/2/31. Photograph courtesy of EAP.