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A I- J ā mi' a h: Journal of Islamic Studies - ISSN: 0126-012X (p); 2356-0912 (e) Vol. 58, no. 1 (2020), pp. 1-34, doi: 10.14421/ajis.2020.581.1-34 THE DEBATE OF ORTHODOX SUFISM AND PHILOSOPHICAL SUFISM The Study of Maqāmāt in the Sirāj al-Ṭālibīn of Shaykh Iḥsān Jampes Syamsun Ni'am State Institute of Islamic Studies (IAIN) Tulungagung, Indonesia email: [niamstainjbr@gmail.com](mailto:niamstainjbr@gmail.com) Abstract This article discusses the mystical view of Shaykh Iḥsān Jampes Kediri, East Java. He is known as a muslim jurist as well as a practical Sunnā Sufi of Nusantara (Indonesia), with a worldwide reputation. The main reason for his reputation originates from his monumental work Sirāj al-Ṭālibīn a voluminous commentary of al-Ghazālī work, Minhāj al-'Ābidīn, which had successfully reaffirmed orthodox Sunnī sufism that built and developed by al-Ghazālī. The sufism attitudes and ways of Shaykh Iḥsān in the journey were as if dealing with a sufi group which had philosophical pattern. Additionally, Shaykh Iḥsān Jampes in Sirāj al-Ṭālibīn reviewed the sufistic core stages which are called maqāmāt by many sufis, but Shaykh Iḥsān calls them steep road ('aqabah) consisting of seven steep stages. These differences bring some consequences not only on the number of steps/stairs/ maqām and the final destination of his mystical journey, namely gnosis and deification; but also question the limit of human being who physically cannot be united with God. On the other hand, God could have chosen to be invited to unite in accordance with His will. These seven 'aqabah are to deliver a traveller towards ma'rifatullāh (gnosis) as the ultimate mystical journey. [Artikel ini membahas pandangan sufistik Syaykh Iḥsān Jampes Kediri Jawa Timur. Ia adalah ahli hukum Islam yang juga sebagai praktisi sufi sunni yang terkenal di nusantara kala itu. Alasan utama yang membuatnya 2 A I- J ā mi' a h, Vol. 58, No.1, 2020 M/1441 H Syamsun Ni'am diperhitungkan adalah karyanya Sirāj al-Ṭālibīn yang berupa komentar terhadap Minhāj al-'Ābidīn karya al-Ghazālī. Sikap dan jalan sufi Shaykh Iḥsān Jampes tampaknya bersepakat dengan pola sufistik falsafati.

Dalam karyanya tersebut ia membahas tingkatan yang oleh para sufi biasa disebut maqāmāt , dimana ia sendiri menyebutnya dengan jalan terjal ('aqabah) yang terdiri dari 7 tingkatan. Perbedaan ini tidak hanya membawa perbedaan konsekuensi jumlah tangga dan tujuan akhir (gnosis dan deification) , tapi juga soal batasan kemampuan fisik manusia untuk menyatu dengan Tuhan. Di sisi lain, Tuhan dapat juga mengundang untuk bersatu berdasarkan kehendakNya. Tujuh tingkatan 'aqabah inilah yang akan membawa para musafir menuju ma'rifatullāh sebagai puncak perjalanan spiritual.]

Keywords: Syaykh Iḥsān Jampes, Sirāj al-Ṭālibīn , sufism, maqāmāt, seven 'aqabah A. Introduction This article is written to answer a fundamental question about the differences that occur throughout the history of the Islamic mysticism among the sufi authors in articulating the stages/paths pursued by sufis to reach their final goal, God. It is important to discuss this first thing first because in its long history, the sufis did not have an agreement to define technical terms used or the number of stages/paths required to achieve their mystical goal. This different conception would bring some consequences to different achievement that became the final goal of their spiritual journey. Some Sufis, such as al-Qushayrī, al-Ṭūsī, and al-Ghazālī argue that the ultimate mystical peak of a sālik (sufi traveller) in their mystical journey is maqām ridha (satisfaction stage). Some sufis, including Rabā'at al- 'Adawiyah, believe that the pinnacle of mystical stage/ maqām is maḥabbat Allāh (gnosis). Some others, including Jalāl al-Dīn al-Rūmī, said that the mystical peak is in mortal stage/ fanā' (the passing away) and baqā' (union with divine life). Other sufis believe that the ultimate goal of the mystical journey is being united and together with God in form of can take the ittiḥād (identification of the divine and human natures), ḥulūl (infusion of the divine essence), and wiḥdat al-wujūd or manunggaling kawulo Gusti (The unity of Being). This latter view is believed by al-Bisṭāmī, Ibn 'Arabī, 3 A l- J ā mī' a h , Vol. 58, No.1, 2020 M/1441 H The Debate of Orthodox Sufism and Philosophical Sufism al-Ḥallāj, Hamzah al-Fansūrī, Shams al-Dīn al-Sumateranī, and Shaykh Siti Jenar. Of these opinions, Shaykh 1 Iḥsān Jampes Kediri believes that the ultimate mystical experience is gnosis.

Such differences have affected the striking dichotomous claim in sufism. On one side, sufism is claimed to remain on the right track to maintain its orthodoxy (Sunnī), because they always cling to the integral relationship among aqīdah-sharā'at-tasawuf that is based on the Qur'an and the Sunna of the Prophet. The views of this group that later was claimed to hold to the teaching and practice of Sunnī sufism or orthodox sufism. On the other hand, the sufism teaching has been practiced by certain Sufis by incorporating philosophical elements at their reasoning and mystical practices. According to them, sufism is a doctrine that is always alive and prone to foreign influences. Consequently, their mystical view might have adopted philosophical and empirical arguments. In a further development, this kind of sufism is called 'philosophical sufism' 2 or pantheistic sufism. Therefore, they were regarded heterodox Sufism by Sunnī sufi groups because these philosophical Sufism has diverged from the boundary of the sharī'at grip. The two modes of sufism were a consequence of a conception built by two sufi groups. Both departed from different teachings and practices of sufism, so that their consequences were also different. The core of sufism teachings concerns the process of achieving the highest happiness —the process is commonly referred to as maqam (stages), which can be 1 The term shaykh, in Indonesian literature, is often used with different spellings; 'syaikh, syekh, syeikh and shaykh'. The author in this article will use the word 'shaykh' in order to maintain consistency.<sup>2</sup> Actually, the dichotomy of Sunnī-Falsafī sufi can be found in its development, there had been a difference/disagreement among sufism students. For example, Abdurrahman Wahid (Gus Dur) explained by taking the example of Sunan Wali Songo or in addition to following their Sunnī sufism, they also keep within themselves to follow Falsafī sufism of reincarnation, for example, Ibn 'Arabi. It becomes clear why Wali Songo used the word 'walī'.

Because according to Gus Dur, a guardian is someone who can be accepted by both Sunnī and Falsafī sufi .See Abdurrahman Wahid, “Pengantar: Antara Tasawuf Sunnī dan Tasawuf Falsafi”, in *Islam Sufistik: ‘Islam Pertama’ dan Pengaruhnya hingga Kini di Indonesia* , 1st edition (Bandung: Mizan, 2001), pp. xiii–xix. Likewise Said Agil Siradj disagreed the division and contention. According to him, if there is such a distinction, it is supposed that there is ‘Irfanī-Falsafī sufism and Sunnī-ghairu Sunnī. [Said Agil Siradj, interview \(29 Aug 2005\)](#). 4 A l- J ā m i’ a h , Vol. 58, No.1, 2020 M/1441 H Syamsun Ni’am met, even by uniting with the lover, which is God Himself. This then becomes the crucial problem among the community of sufis; the maqām conceived by each sufi will bring some impacts to the human reality, just as a servant of Allah, who has certain limits; in communicating, meeting, and ‘ashīq-ma’shūq (intimacy) with his or her Lord. Meanwhile, another sufi mystic argues that a sufi not only can communicate with God, but also can be united with God. In this context, the conception of Shaykh Iḥsān’s sufism has been articulated into his magnum opus; *Sirāj al-Ṭālibīn* , a commentary of *Minhāj al-Ābidīn* by al-Imām al-Ghazālī. Shaykh Iḥsān’s work is not only a reference of sufism in pesantren (Islamic boarding school) in Indonesia, 3 but it also receive appreciation from great scholars of the Middle East. *Sirāj al-Ṭālibīn* has become one of the standard works ( mu’tabarah ) in al- Azhar University, Cairo, Egypt, in parallel with other mu’tabarah treatises. Even the more interesting thing was that the Shaykh Iḥsān no longer used the term ‘ maqāmāt ’ — as always termed by sufis before—, instead, he Iḥsān called employed the term ‘ aqabat (steep road towards the cliff). Shaykh Iḥsān argued that the term ‘ aqabat used specifically in the book *Sirāj al-Ṭālibīn* is to show that the paths to God are not like paths that are usual easy ridden by ordinary people.

Instead, they are ladders to another upward ladder above. Thus, they require prudence, seriousness ( *mujāhadah* ), exercise ( *riyādah* ), and consistency ( *istiqāmah* ). The next argument is that the concept of 'aqabat tried to put a servant before God is fixed as a servant of God ('abd Allāh), so that between a man and God is still a sharp distance. Contrary to the view of sufi philosopher who believe that a servant (human) can be fused / merged with God. Herein the significance of this study lies. Subsequently, the article will analyze and elaborate the sharp 3 Hadi Murtadho considers Shaykh Iḥsān Jampes as three leading author clerics ( *muallif* ) of Nusantara, the most productive and high spiritual power, in addition to Shaykh Nawawī al-Bantānī and Shaykh Mahfūdz al-Termāsī. Surely Murtadho Hadi also does not deny the other scholars by considering highly productive in their performance areas, such as Ḥadratus Shaykh Hāshim Ash'ārī (d.1947 CE), Shaykh Arsyad al-Banjārī (d. 1812 CE), Shaykh Mohammad Nafīs al-Banjārī (Born 1148 H 1735 AD), Shaykh Aḥmad Khātib al-Sambāsī (d. 1875 CE), Kyai Abdul Hamid Pasuruan (d.1985 CE), and others. See Murtado Hadi, *Jejak Spiritual Kiai Jampes* (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pesantren, 2008), pp. 1–6.5 *A l-j ā mi' a h* , Vol. 58, No.1, 2020 M/1441 H The Debate of Orthodox Sufism and Philosophical Sufism contrast between the two thoughts, and contextualize in spiritual lives of contemporary Muslims. In addition, it will also showcase implications that resulted from these two approaches, especially the implication of religious practices of the opinions of Shaykh Iḥsān towards his students and Muslims community under his tutelage until today.

It is because his Sirāj al-Ṭālibīn is still considered as a main reference for many pesantrens (Islamic boarding schools) in studying al-Ghazālī's Sufism. B. The Debate Regarding Maqāmāt among the Sufis Maqāmāt is the plural form of maqām , which literally means rank or degree and stations or stages. Meanwhile, according to the sufism terms, maqāmāt is the position of a servant in front of the God, which is obtained through worshipping, mujāhadah (effort) and others, as well as spiritual exercises to develop continual relation with God. Technically, maqāmāt also means the activity and outmost effort done by a sufi to improve the quality of his or her spiritual and position ( maqām ) in front of God by practicing specific deeds until attaining direction to concentrate on a particular deed which has greater spiritual values in front of God.

Maqāmāt

is usually paired with the term

aḥwāl

.Aḥwāl is the plural form of the word ḥāl , which literally means the states or conditions. Meanwhile, according to sufism term ( 'ind al-mutaṣawwifīn ), ḥāl means feelings that influences the heart caused by purification of dhikr (recollection). Al-Junaid al-Baghdādī said, ḥāl is a natural condition of heart and one should not attempt to get it so it is transient. Aḥwāl is not equal to maqāmāt , since ḥāl is obtained not because of outmost effort of al-mujāhadah (spiritual struggle), al-riyāḍah and worship. Although the content and the practices in maqāmāt, or in aḥwāl is already known a long with the familiar teachings of Islam itself, the terminology of maqāmāt and aḥwāl is currently used and first discussed by Dhun Nūn al-Miṣrī. In Arabic, terms used to refer to people who did specific deeds are isim fā'il (actor) of those deeds, for examples tawwābīn , 'ubbād , zuhhād , and so on.

According to 'Abd al-Karim al-Qushayrī, these two terms is different. While, ḥāl acquired by chance without any efforts and its come in its form and ones who get ḥāl usually influenced by certain condition 6 A l-J ā mi' a h , Vol. 58, No.1, 2020 M/1441 H Syamsun Ni'am such as sad, nervous, love, longing, and so on, 4 maqāmāt is acquired through devoted effort. Those who are in maqāmāt might be in that stage for a long term.

It is also said that aḥwāl is like lightning if it is in one's heart. It will affect someone's feeling to be in such special condition and this effect would vanish as soon as possible when the aḥwāl was absent from his soul.<sup>5</sup> Among sufis there is a difference of vision for seeing maqāmāt discourse, either in the determining the amount of maqāmāt or the technical terms. In the sufism perspective, and most commonly used by the sufis there are at least seven illustrious maqāmāt experienced by the sufis. Those seven maqāmāt, of course, should be done well, right, and continual. Thus, for the beginner in sufism, the first thing he needs to do is tawbah (repentance). A sufi should repent his or her sins with the promise that it will not be repeated. Second, to reinforce repentance, a Sufi must relinquish all desires (zuhud). He or she began to relinquish himself or herself from the materials and the bustle of the world. He or she alienates himself or herself to a secluded place to worship, fasting, praying, reading the Qur'an and dhikr, little sleep and seeks to only spiritual happiness and closeness to God. The third stage is wara' (watchfulness). He or she avoids himself or herself from doing deeds which lies between the prohibited (ḥarām) and the permitted (ḥalāl), namely shubhat (unclear). The fourth is faqr (poverty). A sufi must only own what is sufficient to sustain his or her soul. In addition, he or she does not ask to anyone except in order to be able to carry out his religious obligations.

The fifth is ṣabr (patience). It is not only about the obedience to do the difficult commandment of God and His restrictions, but also to be patient in accepting all trials.<sup>4</sup> It is difficult to limit the number of ḥāl. It can take any form and color and its types are difficult to count. However, Abū Nasr al-Sarrāj al-Ṭūsī (w. 378 H.), in his book *al-Luma'* lists one by one the ten steps of soul (aḥwāl): concentration (murāqabah), closeness (qurb), love (maḥabbah), fearness (khaūf), hopes (rajā'), longing (shaūq), intimate ('uns), composure (iṭmi'nān), contemplation (mushāhadah), and trust (yaqīn), see *Ibid.*; Seyyed Hossein Nasr, *Living Sufism* (London: Unwin Paperbacks, 1980), p. 64. However, there are several scholars who define aḥwāl as maqāmāt. For example, al-Ghazālī claimed that maḥabbah is the highest maqāmāt among other maqām, it is not a type of ḥāl, as it is said by al-Ṭūsī. According to al-Ghazālī, there is other followed maqāmāt: shaūq, 'uns and ridhā though. See *Imām al-Ghazālī, Iḥyā' Ulūm al-Dīn*, vol. 4 (Surabaya: Al-Hidayah), p. 286.<sup>5</sup> Harun Nasution, *Falsafat dan Mistisisme dalam Islam* (Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, 1973), p. 63.<sup>7</sup> *A l- j ā m i' a h*, Vol. 58, No.1, 2020 M/1441 H. The Debate of Orthodox Sufism and Philosophical Sufism from God. He or she must be patient in suffering.

The sixth is tawakkul (trust in God). A sufi should show complete trust in God and surrender to His will. The seventh is ridhā (satisfaction). A sufi must not argue to the trials from God but accepts them gracefully. There is no hate feeling in his or her heart except happiness and love to God. Paths and stages (maqāmāt) passed by sufis will be different one to another. It is because they have different experiences, which makes them possess different stages and limitations. Therefore, the process of self-purification should be started from tawbah, the repentance of sins. That is why the first station of sufism is tawbah. A prospective sufi should repent from all great sins committed. If he or she succeeds in this stage, he or she will repent for minor sins, then avoid reprehensible acts (makrūh) after that followed by avoiding unclear (shubhat) acts. The repentance here refers to tawbat al-naṣūḥā, which requires one to regret sins and keep a promise that it would not be repeated even for the smallest sins. It takes, of course, a long time to complete the tawbah stage. To reinforce repentance, a sufi should move to the second station, which is zuhd.

In this station, a sufi relinquishes his or her desires on materials and the bustle of the world. He or she confines himself or herself into an isolated place to focus on worshipping, fasting, praying, reading Qur'an, and doing dhikr. Fasting will weaken desires and make him or her endure the hunger and thirst. A sufi eats and drinks just to sustain life. He or she sleep a little and does lots of worship. The clothing is humble. A sufi becomes zāhid (apostate) of the world, a person who is no longer tempted by worldly pleasures and delights of the material. If the pleasures and delights of the material could not tease him or her anymore, he or she come out of from the isolation and back to the world. He or she keep doing fasting, praying, reading the Qur'an, dhikr, and pilgrimage. Here he or she has arrived at the station wara'. At the station, God keeps him or her out from doubtful deeds (shubhat). In the literature of sufism, it is mentioned, that al-Muḥāsibī refused food, because in it was doubtful of its permissibility (not clear whether it is halal). Likewise, Bishr al-Hāfī did not accept food that contains doubtfulness. From the station wara, a sufi traveler moves to station faqr & A-l-j ā mi' a h, Vol. 58, No. 1, 2020 M/1441 H Syamsun Ni'am (poverty). In this station, he or she lives in poverty. His or her needs just a little in order to be able to carry out his religious obligations. He or she does not ask people, but accepts the God's gift though. After passing the station faqr, a sufi arrives at the station ṣabr. He or she is not only patient in performing commandment from God and avoiding His restrictions, which are full of temptations, but also patient in enduring all trials from the God. A sufi does not ask and expect the help of God. He or she is patient in suffering. Next, a sufi traveler moves to station tawakkul as he or she completely trusts in God and surrenders to His will. He or she does not think about tomorrow, what he or she gets today is enough. Even if a sufi traveler has nothing, he or she remains grateful. When he or she has something to eat, he will not eat it if there is other person in need. A sufi traveler is like a dead man. Furthermore, he or she moves to station ridhā. From this station, he or she is satisfied with the trials given by God and accepts it gracefully.



He does not ask for heaven or saved from hell. There is only love in his or her heart, no hatred. When a sufi traveler experiences hardship, he or she will accept it gracefully. In this stage, he or she feels really close to God and almost be able to see God by heart and then to unite with Him. Those stations ( maqāmāt ) are only the stages for self-purification for ones who experiences sufism. He or she has not become a sufi yet but only become the prospective sufi or sufi traveler ( sālik ). A sufi traveler will be a sufi after reaching the next station ( maqām ) and experiencing sufism experiences.<sup>6</sup> The different views of the sufis on the stages or maqāmāt can be mentioned here, for example, al-Kalābādzī in his book, al-Ta'arruf li Madzhabi ahl al-Tasawwuf said that the stations are ten: al-tawbah, al-zuhd, al-šabr, al-faqr, al-tawādlu', al-taqwā, al-tawakkul, al-ridlā, al-maḥabbah , and al-ma'rifah.<sup>7</sup> While al-Sarrāj al-Ṭūsī in his book, al-Luma' said that the numbers of maqāmāt are seven: al-tawbah, al-wara', al-zuhd, al-faqr, al-šabr, al-tawakkul , and al-ridlā .<sup>8</sup> While al-Ghazālī says there are eight: al-tawbah , <sup>6</sup> See Syamsun Ni'am, "Maqāmāt dalam Manthiq Al-Thayr Al-Attār", Kanz Philosophia: A Journal for Islamic Philosophy and Mysticism , vol. 5, no. 1 (2015), pp. 64–6.<sup>7</sup> See Abī Bakr Muḥammad ibn Ishāq al-Kalābādzī, al-Ta'arruf li Madzhab Ahl al-Tašawwuf (Beirut: Dar al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyyah, 1993).<sup>8</sup> al-Ṭūsī, al-Luma' , pp. 66–80.<sup>9</sup> A l- j ā m i' a h , Vol. 58, No.1, 2020 M/1441 H The Debate of Orthodox Sufism and Philosophical Sufism al-šabr, al-faqr, al-zuhd, al-tawakkul, al-maḥabbah, al-ma'rifah, and al-ridlā .<sup>9</sup> Then Abu Sa'id ibn Abi al-Khair, mentions 40 maqāmāt , namely: niyyat, inābat, tawbat, irādat, mujāhadah, murāqabat, taslīm, tawakkul, zuhd, 'ibādat, wara', ikhlāš, šiddīq, khaūf, rajā', fanā', baqā', 'ilm al-yaqīn, ḥaqq al-yaqīn, wilāyat, maḥabbah, wajd, qurb, tafakkur, wišāl, kasyf, khidmat, tajrīd, tafrīd, inbisāt, taḥqīq, nihāyat , and tašawwuf .

As for al-Qushayri in his book, *al-Risālat al-Qushairiyyah* mentions there are 45 maqām .10 While Achmad Siddiq, a contemporary Indonesian Sufi divided acknowledges only three stages; *al-istiqāmah*, *al-zuhd* , and *al-faqr* .11 Khaujah 'Abdullah al-Ansari in his book; *Hundred Field of Spiritual* , he mentions there are 100 stations.12 The differences above then have implications in positioning of human before God. For example, regarding the relationship between human as a servant of God and God as the Creator there must be certain limits. According to orthodox Sufism , that relationship should maintain this status; there must be distance between human as servant of God and God as the Creator. While philosophical sufism has different views, in which a human being has a very intimate relationship with God, even can be united with Him. This difference in view is as a result of the experience of sufism practiced by each sufis through the different processes. When related to a broader context—especially contemporary context, a bias understanding will emerge, wherein Muslims who believe in Sunni orthodox sufism will be more extreme in understanding and living their religion than those who observe philosophical sufism. In another words, the observers of orthodox sufism tend to be more exclusive. In contrast, pratitioners of philosophical sufism display a more inclusive attitude. That is proven from the lives of sufi personalities throughout history. Shaykh Iḥsān in this context, is the observers of orthodox sufism, but he was respectful of philosophical sufi personalities who had different thought than his, such as Jalal al-Din Rumi, Manshur al-Ḥallāj, Muḥy al-Dīn Ibn 'Arabī, Hamzah Fansuri, and Syamsuddin al-Sumaterani.9 See al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyā 'Ulūm al-Dīn*.10 See Abū al-Qāsim 'Abd al-Karīm Al-Qushairī, *al-Risālat al-Qushairiyyah fī 'Ilm al-Taṣawwuf* (Beirut: Dār al-Khair, 1988).

11 See Ni`am, "Maqāmāt dalam Manthiq Al-Thayr Al-Attār", pp. 119–30.12 See Nasr, *Living Sufism* , pp. 64–7.10 A l- j ā m i' a h , Vol. 58, No.1, 2020 M/1441 H Syamsun Ni`am Therefore, Shaykh Iḥsān was more inclusive and tolerant. His thought will be elaborated in the following discussion. C. Shaykh Iḥsān: A Sufi from Jampes Kediri Indonesia Shaykh Iḥsān, which had a childhood nickname Bakri, 13 was born in 1901 CE. His father was K.H. Dahlan and his mother was Nyai Artimah. K.H. Dahlan, Shaykh Iḥsān's father, was a popular figure in his era. He founded Islamic boarding school ( pesantren ) at Jampes Kediri Indonesia 14 in 1886 CE. K.H. Dahlan, is son of K.H. Saleh, a Kyai coming from Bogor, West Java, whose ancestors still have kinship with Sunan Gunung Jati (Syarif Hidayatullah) Cirebon. Related to his patronymic, Shaykh Iḥsān grandmother's (mother of K.H. Dahlan) name was Nyai Isti'anah.15 She played important roles in the process of character and personality building of Shaykh Iḥsān. She was a daughter of a well known figure, K.H.

Mesir Trenggalek, the son of K.H.Yahuda, who was very popular for his supernatural power at Lorog Pacitan. Nyai Isti'anah is the grand daughter of Kyai Hasan Besari, a well known figure from Tegalsari Ponorogo, who still had family relationship to Sunan Ampel Surabaya. Furthermore, if his patronymic drawn further, he still related to Panembahan Senopati, the founder of Islamic Mataram Kingdom in the 16th century CE.<sup>16</sup> However, it is not much can be explained about the patronymic 13 Hadi, Jejak Spiritual Kiai Jampes, p. 22.<sup>14</sup> Jampes is a name of a village in Gampengrejo, Kediri, in East Java, Indonesia. Jampes village is about 7 kilometer from the north of Kediri.<sup>15</sup> Muhammad Al-Fitra Haqiqi, 50 Ulama' Agung Nusantara: Potret Keteladanan & Ketokohan bagi Umat dan Bangsa (Jombang: Darul Hikmah, 2014), p. 88.<sup>16</sup> Murtadho Hadi describes Shaykh Ihsan Jampes as a great sufism figure which has a close relationship to two other great sufi: Kyai Hasan Besari (w.1773 CE) and Ronggowarsito (w. 1873 CE). Although they live in different era, but they have close relationship. Ny. Isti'anah (Kyai Hasan's grandmother) is the grand grandson of Kyai Hasan Besari, meanwhile Ronggowarsito is the student of Kyai Hasan Besari. Besides, they also have emotional and family relationship. Shaykh Ihsan and Ronggowarsito have same childhood characteristics.

They are naughty when he was young, like to stay all night, watching a puppet show, art, and other entertainment. However, they have same intelligence and excellent memory. These things then make a connection among Kyai Hasan Besari, Ronggowarsito, and Shaykh Ihsan Jampes. Detail can be read in Hadi, Jejak Spiritual Kiai Jampes, pp. 19–30.<sup>11</sup> A l-j ā mi' a h, Vol. 58, No.1, 2020 M/1441 H The Debate of Orthodox Sufism and Philosophical Sufism of Shaykh Ihsan from his maternal lines, Nyai Artimah. She was the daughter of K.H. Sholeh Banjarmelati Kediri. K.H. Sholeh was a close friend of K.H. Dahlan when they were studying at an Islamic boarding school Sepanjang, Sidoarjo. Unfortunately, the marriage life of K.H. Dahlan and Nyai Artimah did not last long because they divorced after having four children: a daughter who died when she was child, Bakri (Shaykh Ihsan), Dasuki Jasem Mojo Kediri (died in 1964), dan Marzuki who later became a caregiver of the Islamic boarding school Lirboyo Kediri (died in 1975). For education, the young Bakri studied in lots of Islamic boarding schools: he learnt ilm al-'arudl (Arabic prosody) at Gondanglegi Islamic boarding school, studied at Bendo Pare Kediri Islamic boarding school under tutelage of K.H. Khozin who was his uncle, learnt ilm al-falak (Islamic astronomy) from Jamsaren Solo Islamic boarding school. Other Islamic boarding schools that he had studied, including a Islamic boarding school lead by K.H.

Ahmad Dahlan Semarang, Mangkang Semarang Islamic boarding school, Punduh Magelang Islamic boarding school, and a Islamic boarding school at Bangkalan Madura under instruction of which lead by K.H.Kholil, who was recognized as the teacher of prominent traditional Islamic clerics ( 'ulama ) of Java and Madura at that time in which Shaykh Iḥsān learnt *Alfiyah* (a treatise on advanced Arabic Grammar), written by ibn Mālik. 17 M.Zuhal Qabili even mentioned Bakri (Shaykh Iḥsān) as a generation of students who had an intellectual chain ( sanad ) from Shaykh Maḥfūz al-Termāsī, 18 who was a student of Kyai Sholeh Darat (Ṣāliḥ ibn Umar al-Samarānī).<sup>20</sup> What made unique of his intellectual journey was that he had 17 Ibid ., p. 31. 18 M.Zuhal Qabili, Review terhadap Pemikiran Fiqh Shaykh Maḥfūz Termas dalam Kitab Ḥāshiyah al-Tarmāsī , Coursework Paper (Yogyakarta: Universitas Islam Indonesia, 2018).<sup>19</sup> Kambali Zutas, "Literacy Tradition in Islamic Education in Colonial Period (Sheikh Nawawi al Bantani, Kiai Sholeh Darat, and KH Hasyim Asy'ari)", *Al-Hayat: Journal of Islamic Education* , vol. 1, no. 1 (2017), p. 27.<sup>20</sup> Ali Mas'ud Kholqillah, *Pemikiran Tasawuf K.H.Saleh Darat al-Samarani: Maha Guru Para Ulama Nusantara* (Surabaya: Pustaka Idea, 2018), p. 101.<sup>12</sup> A-I-J ā mi' a h , Vol. 58, No.1, 2020 M/1441 H Syamsun Ni'am never spent much time to study at those Islamic boarding schools. He learnt *Alfiyah* , for example, just for two months. He learnt astronomy from K.H.Ahmad Dahlan Semarang for 20 days and he just stayed at Jamsaren Islamic boarding school for a month. Although it seemed too short, he could excellently gain and master knowledge from those teachers. Another unique thing is that in every place he stayed to study, he always acted as ordinary people.

He did not want to be recognized as a 'Gus' A tribute calling for sons of kyai in Java <sup>21</sup> He did not want people treated him as the son of a well known figure, K.H.Dahlan Jampes Kediri. Indeed, when many people knew his real identity as the son of well known figure and other students started to recognize him as a 'Gus' from Jampes, he would leave that Islamic boarding school immediately and moved to other Islamic boarding school. Shaykh Iḥsān, whose childhood nickname was Bakri, in his search of knowledge was different compared to other students. In the way of learning, he combined two techniques for learning: *kasbī* and *simāī* .<sup>22</sup> These models of learning were different from the common models practically used in the formal education. By using this learning model, he actively involved his reasoning ability, intelligence, and feeling in learning so that in a short time he could learn while understand the characters of his teachers such as *zuhd*, *warā'* , and *tabaḥḥur fillāh* (the purpose of doing everything is only God). Since he was fifteen until thirty years old, Shaykh Iḥsān had been taught to sharpen his reasoning ability, intelligence, feeling, and 'irfān (spiritual instinct) through intelligent and reasoning training. He wrote the book *Tasrīḥal-'Ibārāt* when he was twenty-nine. This book was written <sup>21</sup> 'Gus' is the shorthand form of 'Agus'. An honour nickname is given to sons or descents of Islamic scholar family who has an Islamic boarding house ( *pesantren* ) in Java, Indonesia. In Madura it is called as 'Lora/Mas'. For the daughter or girls, it is called 'Neng'. See Martin van Bruinessen, *NU: Tradisi, Relasi-relasi Kuasa dan Pencarian Wacana Baru* (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 1999), p. 157. Through this way, a continual communication between teacher and students is developed.

Discussion is a kind of technique used in this model of learning. Through this technique, teacher can give feedback on student's mistakes. Meanwhile, student is listening to the teacher to grab his explanation. This technique requires students to love their teacher, communicate with him, sit near him, and ask for his explanation.<sup>13</sup> A I-J ā mi' a h , Vol. 58, No.1, 2020 M/1441 H The Debate of Orthodox Sufism and Philosophical Sufism not only by using his sharp brain alone but also through praying and doing spiritual endeavor ( tirakat ). Then, two years later, when he was thirty-one, he wrote his monumental work: Sirāj al-Ṭālibīn ,<sup>23</sup> which was a commentary of al-Ghazālī's Minhāj al-'Ābidīn after his wife passed away.<sup>24</sup> On Monday, 25 Dzulhijjah 1371 H (September, 1952 CE), when he was fifty-one, he passed away. He left thousands of students, a wife, and eight children. He left many intellectual heritages; especially literature which was invaluable, either it was written on papers ( šutūr ) or kept in his student's memory ( šudūr ). Some of his students inherited and continued his effort to spread Islam in Islamic boarding school, such as: Kyai Soim, the leader of an Islamic boarding school in Tangir Tuban; K.H. Zubaidi in Mantenan Blitar; K.H. Mustholih in Kesugihan Cilacap; K.H. Busyairi in Sampang Madura; Kyai Hambali in Plumbon Cirebon; and Kyai Khazin in Tegal. Many Middle East and Indonesia scholars recognized and admired the quality of Shaykh Iḥsān Jampes' works.

It is due to the fact that his Sirāj al-Ṭālibīn has been published by a reputable publisher in Egypt, Muṣṭafā al-Bāb al-Ḥalābī. However, among Shaykh Iḥsān's works, it is only Sirāj al-Ṭālibīn which has been printed, whereas his other works are still in form of manuscripts and has not been printed nor translated yet into Indonesian or other languages. Although those works had been published, it is very difficult to obtain the new version. Here are several works of Shaykh Iḥsān: Taṣrīḥ al-'Ibārāt (Review of the book Natījat al-Mīqāt , written by K.H. Ahmad Dahlan Semarang), had been published in 1929 consisting of 48 pages.<sup>25</sup> Sirāj al-Ṭālibīn (a commentary of al-Ghazālī's Minhāj al-'Ābidīn ). It has been published by an Egyptian publisher, Muṣṭafā al-Bāb al-Ḥalābī, in 1932. It consisted of two volumes with about 800 pages. This book specifically reviewed the sufism aspect. New edition has been published by al-Hidayah publisher from Surabaya, which consisted of two volumes with 1098 pages.<sup>23</sup> Hadi, Jejak Spiritual Kiai Jampes , pp. 31–2. <sup>24</sup> Ibid ., p. 24.<sup>25</sup> Wasid, Tasawuf Nusantara Kiai Ihsan Jampes: Menggapai Jalan Ma'rifat, Menjaga Harmoni Umat (Surabaya: Pustaka Idea, 2016), p. 46.<sup>14</sup> A I-J ā mi' a h , Vol. 58, No.1, 2020 M/1441 H Syamsun Ni'am Manāhij al-Imdād , is a commentary of Irshād al-'Ibād, written by Shaykh Zayn al-Dīn al-Malībārī. This book also discussed about sufism.

This book writing was finished on Thursday, Jumad al-Tsānī , 1360 H. This book has just already published by Shaykh Iḥsān's family in 2005. It contained 1088 pages.<sup>26</sup> *Manzūmat Irshād al-Ikhān li Bayān Shurb al-Qahwah wa al-Dukhān* (a commentary of the book *Tazkīrat al-Ikhwān fī Bayāni al-Qahwah wa al-Dukhān* , written by K.H. Ahmad Dahlan Semarang). This book discussed the issue of the legality of smoking and drinking coffee.<sup>27</sup> It has been published by al-Iḥsān Jampes Kediri Islamic boarding school. This book consists of 48 pages. In addition, there is a finding by Wasid that Shaykh Iḥsān has one additional work, which is *Nūr al-Iḥsān fī Tafsīr al-Qur'ān* . This claim was found in the book *al-'Aqd al-Farīd min Jawāhir al-Asānid* , written by Shaykh Muhammad 'Isā al-Fadānī al-Makkī. However, this claim remains as a controversial issue whether or not this book is one of Shaykh Iḥsān works.<sup>28</sup> Therefore, it is no exaggeration if the scholars and researchers of Nusantara ulama such as Azyumardi Azra, Martin van Bruinessen, Drewes, and others – as quoted by Muhammad Abdullah— put Shaykh Iḥsān at the same level as the ulama who had a major influence in Nusantara through his works, such as Shaykh 'Abd al-Ṣamad al-Palimbānī, Shaykh 'Abd al-Rauf al-Singkilī, Shaykh Yūsuf al-Makassarī, Shaykh Hamzah al-Fansūrī, Shaykh Shams al-Dīn al-Samatranī, Shaykh Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānirī, Shaykh Muḥammad Arshad al-Banjarī, Shaykh Nawāwī al-Bantānī, Shaykh Iḥsān Jampes Kediri, Kyai Saleh Darat (Ṣaliḥ ibn Umar al-Samarānī, w.1321 H/1903 CE), K.H. Bisri Mustofa, K.H. Musliḥ from Mranggen (Musliḥ ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Maraqī, w.1981 CE), 26 Hadi, *Jejak Spiritual Kiai Jampes* , p. 55.

27 The book *Irshād al-Ikhwān* has been translated into Indonesian language entitled *Kitab Kopi dan Rokok* consisted of xxv+110 pages, and was acknowledged by Badrun (the owner of a coffee stall 'Blandongan'); See Shaykh Iḥsān Jampes, *Kitab Kopi dan Rokok: Untuk para Pecandu Rokok dan Penikmat Kopi Berat*, trans.by Ali Murtadho and Mahbub Dje (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pesantren, 2009); Haqiqi, *50 Ulama' Agung Nusantara*, pp. 91–2.28 Wasid, *Tasawuf Nusantara Kiai Ihsan Jampes*, pp. 58–9.15 *A l-Ĵ ā mi' a h*, Vol. 58, No.1, 2020 M/1441 H The Debate of Orthodox Sufism and Philosophical Sufism and Aḥmad 'Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Qandalī from Kendal, Central Java.29 As other prominent ulama in Indonesia who are known from their place of residence, Shaykh Iḥsān was recognized as Kyai or Shaykh Iḥsān Jampes. He is a well-known sufi who is hospitable to all people from all walks of life. There are three conditions as the characteristics of good sufi director (murshid), who are able to show the right path to his students. Those are: (1) having wide insight as scholar, (2) having divine wisdom as al-'ārif billāh (those who close to Allah), and (3) knowing the political strategy of the stakeholders. In this context, Shaykh Iḥsān always accepted guests who come to his house without considering who they are, where they come from, and when they come. It was told that at the wedding of one of his children in pre independence period, the guests came not only those who were the national movement organizations but also a Dutch officer. Nevertheless, Shaykh Iḥsān knew that the arrival of the Dutch officer was because there were certain political agenda amidst the wedding party. Here the populist-sufism view held by Shaykh Iḥsān could clearly be seen when the community and his students' interest were not degraded, he accepted all the guests gracefully. This view is very specific and always become features of sufis.30 According to sufism view, the artificial outlook will not affect the view of the world.

This view is in accordance with the view that everyone in front of God is equal. Things distinguish from one to another based on their hearts and obedience to God. That Shaykh Iḥsān's view influences other sufi afterward, for example Kyai Abdul Hamid Pasuruan, known as a sufi who always welcomed every guest that visited, even if they are not Muslims. Furthermore, Even if they asked for his prayer, Kyai Abdul Hamid Pasuruan never refused. 31 D. The Overview of Sirāj al-Ṭālibīn If we see the four works of Shaykh Iḥsān, such Sirāj al-Ṭālibīn , a commentary of Minhāj al-Ābidīn by al-Ghazālī; Taṣrīḥ al-'Ibārāt , 29 Muhammad Abdullah, "Makna Seksualitas dalam Naskah Sastra Pesantren", NUSA , vol. 12, no. 3 (2017), pp. 63–4. 30 Hadi, Jejak Spiritual Kiai Jampes , pp. 35–7. 31 Detail can be seen at Hamid Ahmad, Uswatun Hasanah: Biografi Keteladanan Kiai Hamid (Pasuruan: Yayasan Ma'had Salafiyah, 2001). 16 A l-Ĵ ā mī' a h , Vol. 58, No.1, 2020 M/1441 H Syamsun Ni'am a commentary of Natījat al-Mīqāt written by K.H.Ahmad Dahlan Semarang; Manāhij al-Imdād, a commentary of Irshād al-'Ibād written by Shaykh Zain al-Dīn al-Malībārī; and Irshād al-Ikhwān , a commentary of Tadzkīrat al-Ikhwān written by K.H.Ahmad Dahlan Semarang, we could conclude that Shaykh Iḥsān specializes in book commentary. Shaykh Iḥsān completed his Sirāj al-Ṭālibīn , a commentary of Minhāj al-Ābidīn by al-Ghazālī for less than eight months. This work was finished on Tuesday, 29th Sya'bān 1351 H. or 27th Desember 1932 CE at his house, Jampes Kediri, East Java, Indonesia. 32 Considering Minhāj al-Ābidīn consists of only 97 pages, 33 Shaykh Iḥsān's commentary which is Sirāj al-Ṭālibīn, is considerably voluminous.

It consists of two volumes with total of 1098 pages. The first volume is 544 pages including 2 cover pages, 532 content pages, and 10 references pages. The second volume is also 544 pages, including 2 cover pages, 534 content pages, and 8 references pages. The book Sirāj al-Ṭālibīn has been published by Al-Hidayah Publisher Surabaya. The first publication of this book had been done by an Egypt-based publisher, namely Muṣṭafā al-Bāb al-Ḥalābī in 1932, which consisted of 800 pages in one volume. Although Sirāj al-Ṭālibīn is sharaḥ (commentary) of Minhāj al-'Ābidīn by al-Ghazālī, it is clear that the Shaykh Iḥsān's expertise and competence are visible from his direct academic explanation given to the work. Therefore, it is not a few Middle East scholars conveying an appreciation for his works by giving a predicate as al-Ghazālī al-Ṣaghīr (the young al-Ghazālī). 34 Even scholars of Islamic studies in Europe also appreciate Shaykh Iḥsān and his work Sirāj al-Ṭālibīn . 35 The charm of Shaykh Iḥsān in explaining the doctrines of sufi by al-Ghazālī in Sirāj al-Ṭālibīn is very entrancing, so that King Faruk (the last King of Egypt in 1936-1952) also had to send a messenger to come to Jampes Islamic boarding house with the intention of asking Shaykh Iḥsān to be a professor or at least a guest lecturer at the University of 32 Read Shaykh Iḥsān Jampes, Sirāj al-Ṭālibīn , vol.1 (Surabaya: Taba' 'ala Nafaqah Maktabah wa Maṭba'at al-Hidayah), p. 542. 33 See Imām al-Ghazālī, Sharaḥ Minhāj al-Ābidīn (Semarang: Maktabah wa Maṭba'ah Karya Taha Putra). 34 Haqiqi, 50 Ulama' Agung Nusantara , p. 90. 35 Hadi, Jejak Spiritual Kiai Jampes , p. 53. 17 A l-Ĵ ā mī' a h , Vol. 58, No.1, 2020 M/1441 H The Debate of Orthodox Sufism and Philosophical Sufism al-Azhar, Cairo, Egypt.



However, this offer was rejected because he was more inclined to teach the students in his Islamic boarding school.<sup>36</sup> Later, *Sirāj al-Ṭālibīn* is used as the compulsory reference of examining sufis material in various Muslim countries as well as western countries when studying al-Ghazālī's thought.<sup>37</sup> In fact, according to K.H.Said Agil Siraj, the chairman of Nahdlatul Ulama (PBNU), when he visited Mali, West Africa, he witnessed the recitation of sufi gathering at a Friday night in a mosque using *Sirāj al-Ṭālibīn*. In fact, some Mali people assumed that the name 'al-Kadīrī' attached at the end of Shaykh Iḥsān's name written in the cover of *Sirāj al-Ṭālibīn* is associated with an area in Baghdad, Iraq. In fact, 'al-Kadīrī' (Kediri) is the name of regency in East Java, Indonesia, which is the birthplace of Shaykh Iḥsān.<sup>38</sup> The appreciation toward *Sirāj al-Ṭālibīn* does not only come from the Islamic scholars of the Middle East, but also from the Islamic scholars in Indonesia. It is proven by their remarks to the work of *Sirāj al-Ṭālibīn* at the end of the book. It is precisely stated at the end of juz 2. Such appreciations came from Ḥaḍratus Shaykh Hāsyim Asy'ārī, Jombang; K.H.'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Abd al-Karīm, Nganjuk; K.H. Muhammad Yūnus 'Abdullāh, Kediri; K.H. Muhammad Khazīn ibn Ṣāliḥ, Benda Pare Kediri; K.H. Muhammad Ma'rūf ibn 'Abd al-Majīd, Kedunglo Kediri; and K.H.

'Abd al-Karīm Lirboyo Kediri. <sup>39</sup> K.H. Abdurrahman Wahid, as quoted by Zaini Dahlan, also commented on Shaykh Iḥsān and his work *Sirāj al-Ṭālibīn*, saying that Shaykh Iḥsān was a pesantren scholar who became an extraordinary intellectual role model because he is a prolific writer. This also shows Shaykh Iḥsān's expertise in articulating sufism through his works and then practicing it thoroughly.<sup>40</sup> *Sirāj al-Ṭālibīn* is written with a direct language and deep discussion. <sup>36</sup> Ibid., pp. 52–3. <sup>37</sup> Wasid, *Tasawuf Nusantara Kiai Ihsan Jampes*, p. 51. <sup>38</sup> Ibid. Anotasion <sup>38</sup>. <sup>39</sup> Jampes, *Sirāj al-Ṭālibīn*, 1: 543–4. <sup>40</sup> Zaini Dahlan, "Khazanah Kitab Kuning: Membangun Sebuah Apresiasi Kritis", ANSIRU PAI: Pengembangan Profesi Guru Pendidikan Agama Islam, vol. 2, no. 1 (2018), p.14; Abdurrahman Wahid, "Asal-Usul Tradisi Keilmuan di Pesantren" *Pesantren*, no. 1 (1984), pp. 4–11. <sup>18</sup> A l-ġ ā mī' a h, Vol. 58, No.1, 2020 M/1441 H Syamsun Ni'am Shaykh Iḥsān starts it with muqaddimah (preface), then he continues it with an explanation of the basis of sufism, Shaykh Iḥsān proceeds to provide—still on muqaddimah—a long interpretation about the word *basmalah* in *bismillāhirraḥmānirraḥīm*, <sup>41</sup> the meaning and characteristics of a fiqh expert who is pious <sup>42</sup> and *zāhid*. <sup>43</sup> Of course, Shaykh Iḥsān always refers to the great scholar of *Minhāj al-'Ābidīn*, Imam al-Ghazālī in giving the explanations. Shaykh Iḥsān also frequently cites the opinions of famous Islamic scholars, especially in the field of sufism, to strengthen and enrich the information. In the subsequent discussion, Shaykh Iḥsān strongly emphasizes the importance of the culture of reading and writing. Because by reading and writing, someone will be grateful for the blessings given by God. Shaykh Iḥsān said, "people who write are basically people who have put their minds on the others' level and dignity".

44 The content of discussion in Sirāj al-Ṭālibīn essentially boils down to a seven-stage in taking a spiritual purpose that will deliver human to God ( al-wuṣūl ilā Allāh ). Shaykh Iḥsān called this stage as 'aqabah .It, of course, refers to Minhāj al-Ābidīn, which also has mentioned 'aqabah which means a steep road on a cliff. Meanwhile other sufis often use 41 Shaykh Iḥsān elaborates this by giving a literal meaning about the lafadz bismi in a sentence basmalah .The letter bā' stands for bahāullāh (The Great Allah), letter sīn stands for sanāullāh (The Dignity of Allah), and letter mīm stands for maḥabbatullāh (the love Allah).According to Shaykh Iḥsān, some give opinions that the letter bā' stands for buka al-tā'ibīn (the crying of repentant people), the letter sīn refers to sahw al-ghāfilīn (the careless of the forgetful), and the letter mīm is maghfiratuḥū li al-mudznibīn (the mercy of Allah).Shaykh Iḥsān continues that based in sufi, the sentence Allah on bismillāh al-Raḥmān al-Raḥīm is aimed to sufi, the sentence al-Raḥmān is aimed to ahli wafā (people who obey Allah's order), and the sentence al-Raḥīm is aimed to ahli jafā (the special people loved by Allah SWT).See Jampes, Sirāj al-Ṭālibīn , 1: p. 5.42 Shaykh Iḥsān, in this case, explains that the experts of fiqh are they who comprehend and understand the knowledge of sharī'ah absolutely. Meanwhile ṣāliḥ is a person who is always istiqāmah in behaving to Allah SWT and obey all His order or conduct his order based on Allah's rights and the human rights. In other words, he will spend much time in life for Allah and use his wealthy in the path shown by Allah SWT. Ibid ., 1: pp. 5–6.43 Zāhid, in the prespective of Shaykh Iḥsān, is zuhud conducted by people who achieve ma'rifat degree to Allah ( zuhd al-ārifīn ). Ibid ., 1: p. 6. 44 Ibid ., 1: p. 10.19 A l- j ā m i' a h , Vol. 58, No.1, 2020 M/1441 H The Debate of Orthodox Sufism and Philosophical Sufism the term maqām/maqāmāt to describe it. Those 'aqabah' s can be stated as follows: 1) 'Aqabat al-'ilmi (the stage of knowledge), 2) 'aqabat al-tawbah (the stage of repentance), 3) 'aqabat al-'awāiq (the stage of removing barriers).

These first three stages ('aqabat) are described within the Sirāj al-Ṭālibīn volume I. The next stages are: 4) 'Aqabat al-'awāridl (the stage of concerning hurdles), 5) 'aqabat al-bawāits (the stage of getting a rid of aghyār , something except Allah), 6) 'aqabat al-Qawādiḥ (the stage to attain the purity of soul), and 7) 'aqabat al-ḥamdi wa al-shukri (the stage of praise and gratitude). The fourth last stages are described in Sirāj al- Ṭālibīn volume II. That is the summary of Sirāj al-Ṭālibīn written by Shaykh Iḥsān, which became his great narrative. It will specifically and comprehensively describe at the following sub-discussion. 'Aqabah discourse constructed by Shaykh Iḥsān seems to follow al-Ghazālī (Ghazalian), which locates human being in a position of His creation and slave who is always in need God Almighty and obeys Him. Still, Shaykh Iḥsān also acknowledges that human being in certain condition is able to reach perfect status with God in form of spiritual unification of being. This status can be shown, for instance, in the seventh stage of al-ḥamd dan al-shukr. In this stage, actually Shayk Ihsan has reached beyond the stages of his predecessors. E. 'Aqabah in Sirāj al-Ṭālibīn of Shaykh Iḥsān Vis a vis Maqāmāt of Philosophical Sufis As described above, there are some differences among the sufis in articulating and describing the stages or maqām , in regards of technical aspects as well as the terms used. It is due to spiritual experiences of each sufi in approaching God.<sup>45</sup> Therefore, each sufi does not have the same view in determining the number of stages. Similarly, there are sharp differences among sufis in determining the final of the crowning achievement of the mystical experience. Thus, the practice of sufism has brought consequences to the existence of a sālik to relate to his or her Lord, if he or she is at the peak stage of al-ridhā , al-faqr , maḥabbah , ma'rifah ; or whether he is at the peak of mystical experience; ittiḥād, ḥulūl, wiḥdat al-wujūd or manunggaling kawulo Gusti .<sup>45</sup> Syamsun Ni`am, Tasawuf Studies: Pengantar Belajar Tasawuf (Yogyakarta: Ar- Ruzz Media, 2014), p. 141.

20 A I-J ā mi' a h , Vol. 58, No.1, 2020 M/1441 H Syamsun Ní'am Shaykh Iḥsān has a different view in elaborating stages taken by a sālik towards God, either concerning the technical terms used, essence of stages taken by a sālik to God, or about the final attainable goal of the stages conceived by Shaykh Iḥsān. Shaykh Iḥsān called the stages with the term 'aqabah . 'Aqabah originally means 'the steep road on the hill'. The verse is actually continuation of the previous paragraph, which is a choice in selecting the two streets ( najdain ) on wa hadaynahu al-najdayn , ie the 'virtues' (hike) and the 'crimes' (down). Shaykh Iḥsān chooses ' aqabah in his Sirāj al-Ṭālibīn by following Imam al-Ghazālī's term in Minhāj al-Ābidīn . The word ' aqabah is used by the two sufis because it describes a sheer road, hard to pass through because it is in the hill. It shows the articulation and symbolization of how hard a sālik to walk on and finally arrive at destination. In the way to reach the top of the hill he or she finds various obstacles, threats, obstructions, and hard tests. It is the reason, as mentioned before, that a sālik who finally becomes a sufi, needs much time to reach this. Therefore, every sufi experiences different journey. It is possible that a sufi needs years to arrive at a next stage. Thus, the use of term ' aqabah at the expense of term maqām by Shaykh Iḥsān is relevant. Shaykh Iḥsān in his Sirāj al-Ṭālibīn has articulated 'aqabah as 'sincerity' in an effort to approach God by practicing sulūk (travel to God), such as dhikr, qiyām al-layl, tirakat , and hunger.

Therefore, in this context, a sufi is a person whose only purpose is God. That is how the term maqām is used, as it represents a salik 's true devotion to God.<sup>47</sup> Related to this, Imām al-Ghazālī once said that in fact, the human beings just temporarily live in this world. They live as a traveler who are thirsty in their journey, then stop for a while till the thirst has gone. They <sup>46</sup> Adib Bisri and Munnawir A. Fatah, Kamus al-Bisri: Indonesia-Arab, Arab-Indonesia (Surabaya: Pustaka Progressif, 1999), p. 509. <sup>47</sup> Hadi, Jejak Spiritual Kiai Jampes , pp. 40–1. 21 A I-J ā mi' a h , Vol. 58, No.1, 2020 M/1441 H The Debate of Orthodox Sufism and Philosophical Sufism will not stay for long there. This world is illustrated as a stage or market in which traveler stop by during their journey to their destination. In this transit camp, they prepare themselves with stocks for continuing the journey.<sup>48</sup> It is how al-Ghazālī gives the imagery about the practice of life in this world. In that realm, human will be investigated about all their deeds in the world by the Creator, Allah SWT. In this case, everyone who behaves well in the world will get rewards, and those who do evil will be punished. Allah SWT ensures it with in the Qur'an, 98: 7 and 8: fa man ya'mal mitsqāla ḡarratin khairan yarahū (7) wa man ya'mal mitsqāla ḡarratin sharran yarahū (8) .

In this world, the human beings are demanded to do good deeds in their life to achieve happiness in the hereafter. This goal to achieve happiness is also believed by the sālik s who wish to take their mystical journeys. It clearly refers to the eternal spiritual happiness. It is also acknowledged that the journey to get there is not easy. It is stated that a sālik will face tests, obstacles and temptations. He or she is expected to be patient, keen, *istiqāmah* (consistent) and never giving up hope. There are many steps that a sālik has to roam to achieve his or her true goal and intention.<sup>49</sup> Meanwhile, *maqāmāt* which is mentioned by Shaykh Iḥsān with seven sheer roads on the hill ( 'aqabah ) are described as follows: The first is *aqabat al-'ilm* . Knowledge is the first and the main factor to worship God. Someone who is praying without knowledge is considered doing nothing. Shaykh Iḥsān says that knowledge and praying are never apart. According to Shaykh Iḥsān, knowledge is like a 48 Imām al-Ghazālī, *Kimia Kebahagiaan* , trans. by Haidar Baqir (Bandung: Mizan, 1995), p. 39.<sup>49</sup> The goal of sufi journeys conducted by a sālik is to re-attract people to their *asfala sāfilīn* condition so that they go back their pass which is in a perfect condition *aḥsanu taqwīm* , where they meet everything witnessed coming up from themselves, they become one with God, so that they are regardless devoid. Nasr, *Living Sufism* , p. 21.

In other words, sufism is not about to find the thruth, but to be a servant of Allah SWT ( 'abdullāh ). There is no other level higher than 'abdiyyāt to Allah SWT. See Muhammad Abdul Haq Ansari, *Sufism and Shari'ah: A Study of Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindi's Effort to Reform Sufism* (London: The Islamic Foundation, 1986), p. 173.<sup>22</sup> *Al-J ā mi' a h* , Vol. 58, No.1, 2020 M/1441 H Syamsun Ni'am pearl and much more meaningful than worship.

Nevertheless, worship is something crucial and must be done in the basis of knowledge.<sup>50</sup> Al- Ghazālī symbolizes the relationship between knowledge and worship as a tree and its fruits. Knowledge is like a tree and worship is the fruits. In other words, worship without any basis of knowledge will disappear as dust blown by wind.<sup>51</sup> Thus, both knowledge and worship are means to approach God. Shaykh Iḥsān gives an illustration by citing a hadith of Prophet Mohammad related by al-Turmudzi and Ibn Mājah from Ibn 'Abbās; "that is for *shayṭān* (devil), one fiqh expert is much harder to deal with than a thousand worshippers without knowledge".<sup>52</sup> Therefore, the knowledge in the Shaykh Iḥsān perspective became the main foundation in seeing God with all His creation both in the world and the hereafter.<sup>53</sup> The second, 'aqabat al-tawbah. Most of the sufis put this stage as the first stair before going up to the next stage. Shaykh Iḥsān lies the stage of repentance as the second stage, since he thinks that the first thing should be possessed by a sālik is knowledge with its various derivations (physical knowledge as well as spiritual knowledge).

Knowledge is believed to guide, support and show a person to meet and arrive at his or her destination. At first, a sufi candidate must repent from all major sins he made. If he has succeeded this, he or she should also stop doing minor sins. Finally, he or she must abandon *makrūh* and *shubhat*. The repentance meant in this case is *tawbat al-naṣūḥā*, which is a type of repentance in which the person feels guilty for what he did in the past and will not do that anymore. Of course, it takes a lot of time. For the case, Syaikh Iḥsān requires this repentance into four conditions, that are: 1) leaving sins wholeheartedly and having strong intention not to repeat it; 2) stopping doing the same 50 Jampes, *Sirāj al-Ṭālibīn*, 1: pp. 72–3.51 al-Ghazālī, *Sharah Minhāj al-Ābidīn*, p. 6.52 Jampes, *Sirāj al-Ṭālibīn*, 1: pp. 73–4.53 In this connection, a study was found specifically discussing Shaykh Iḥsān in interpreting the ḥadīth of the Prophet about seeing Allah SWT ( *ru'yatullāh* ) in *Sirāj al-Ṭālibīn*; the research of Rofiatul Adamiyah, "Interpretasi Sufistik Hadis tentang Ru'yatullāh fī al-Ākhirah dalam Pandangan Ulama Nusantara: Studi Kitab Sir.aj al-Ṭālibīn Karya Kyai Iḥsān Jampes", BA Thesis (Surabaya: UIN Sunan Ampel, 2018). The results of the study said, according to Shaykh Iḥsān, seeing God is certainly a bias for believers in the world and the hereafter. Seeing Allah ( *ru'yatullāh* ) is certainly specific to certain people who have indeed been chosen by Allah SWT himself.23 A-I-*J ā mi' a h*, Vol. 58, No.1, 2020 M/1441 H The Debate of Orthodox Sufism and Philosophical Sufism sins which have been committed before; 3) the sins have been done before must be equal with the sins left now; and 4) the motivation to repentance is done only for God, not other intentions.

54 The repentance done by laymen ( *tawbat al-'awām* ) is about to run from *ma'siyah* (evil doing). Meanwhile the sufi's repentance ( *tawbat al-ṣūfī* ) is about to run away from looking at themselves ( *ru'yat al-naḥsi* ), 55 it is done to enable true worship to God.56 Therefore, al-Ghazālī gives an explanation that the aim of repentance is based on two things. The first is to obey God. Committing sins will distract people to obey God, compromise the unity of God ( *tawḥīd* ), distance themselves from God, and prevent people from behaving properly. The second is for our worship to be accepted by God, repentance is the key. Thus, worship is only complementary.57 The third is, *'aqabat al-awā'iq*, that is a steep road full of temptation. Once a *sālik* succeeds in overcoming the obstacles, he or she will worship in an *istiḳāmah* (perpetual) manner. *Istiḳāmah* in this regard, by Shaykh Iḥsān is elaborated into istaḥ of physical worship. *Al-ḥamdu* can also prevent from insult from others. Meanwhile, *al-shukr* (gratitude) can be either *ṣabr* or *tafwīdh* (submission) to God. Thus, gratitude is the kind of deeds that is more about state of mind. Gratitude is also regarded as an antidote of the character and behavior of *kufr* (ingratitude, in a sense that it is opposite of *shukr* ).

Therefore, al-ḥamd (praise) is more general and more in numbers ( a'ammu wa aktsaru ). Meanwhile, al-shukr (gratitude) 67 al-Ghazālī, *Sharah Minhāj al-'Ābidīn* , p.72; Jampes, *Sirāj al-Ṭālibīn* , 2: pp. 379–86. 68 al-Ghazālī, *Sharah Minhāj al-'Ābidīn* , p.74; Jampes, *Sirāj al-Ṭālibīn* , 2: pp. 379–86. 69 al-Ghazālī, *Sharah Minhāj al-'Ābidīn* , pp. 62–3; Jampes, *Sirāj al-Ṭālibīn* , 2: pp. 227–8. 27 A l- J ā mī' a h , Vol. 58, No.1, 2020 M/1441 H The Debate of Orthodox Sufism and Philosophical Sufism is less in number and more specific ( aqallu wa akhaṣṣu ). 70 As God says; wa qalīlun min 'ibādiy al-shakūr (and few of My servants are grateful)" to God. 71 Shaikh Iḥsān further explains about the relationship between al-ḥamd and the al-shukr . Shaykh Iḥsān said that al-ḥamd and al-shukr are two things that cannot be separated. It is because when we recite al-ḥamd (praise), al-shukr (gratitude) will immediately follow. Likewise, when al-shukr is recited then al-ḥamd will be promptly followed. It is because al-shukr is always reflected through the entire body, and al-ḥamd is reflected through word of mouth.

72 Thus, al-ḥamd and al-shukr are like two sides of a coin, that if one of them is abandoned, then its value will be useless. This ' aqabat al-ḥamdi wa al-shukri is a steep road to reach top of spiritual joy. Meanwhile, the ultimate spiritual joy yearned by every sālik is to be able to approach, then get to know, meet, and even be united with his or her Lord. According to Shaykh Iḥsān, if this seventh 'aqabah can be achieved by a sālik , and then he or she has already been at the peak of mystical stage. Shaykh Iḥsān is different from other mystics in conceptualizing the stages which Shaykh Iḥsān called them 'aqabah . Not only different in naming the term and its amount, but also different in determining the final stage of sālik 's spiritual journey. The views of some sufis who were different from Shaykh Iḥsān concerning the stages of Maqāmāt have been mentioned in previous section. The question is why Shaykh Iḥsān limited the stages ( 'aqabah ) only at 7 'aqabah , and the peak of his mystical journey was only in 'aqabat al- ḥamd wa al-Shukr. The Conception of Shaykh Iḥsān's stages or Maqāmāt was different from the stages conceived by most sufis, ie al-Kalābādzī, al-Ṭūsī, al-Ghazālī, al-Qushayrī, Ibn 'Arabī, al-Biṣṭāmī, al-Ḥallāj, Rabī'at al-'Adawiyah, Jalāl al-Dīn al-Rūmī, Abū Sa'īd ibn Abī al-Khair, Khaujah 'Abdullāh al-Anṣārī, and other mystics. Shaykh Iḥsān, in the seven 'aqabah , is different from other sufis about maqāmal-tawbah, where Shaykh Ihsan puts ' aqabat al-tawbah in the second 'aqabah of the seven aqabah , where this stage ( tawbat ) by most other sufis places as the first stage, so tawbat is regarded as a very important stage because of its position on the first 70 al-Ghazālī, *Sharah Minhāj al-'Ābidīn* , p.84; Jampes, *Sirāj al-Ṭālibīn* , 2: p. 462. 71 Qur'an, 34: 13. 72 Jampes, *Sirāj al-Ṭālibīn* , 2: p. 451. 28 A l- J ā mī' a h , Vol. 58, No.1, 2020 M/1441 H Syamsun Ni'am ladder.

While Shaykh Iḥsān puts the al-tawbah on the second sequence after ' aqabat al-'ilmi .In this context, there are several arguments that can be raised, Firstly, stages or 'aqabah lived and conceived by Shaykh Iḥsān is a mystical experience (spiritual) that is very private and individual, so that the given expression is an expression based on the performer's feeling ( dzauq ).Secondly, even if Shaykh Iḥsān experiences and feels the stages or ' aqabah only up to the 7th stage; 'aqabat al-ḥamd wa al-shukr , Shaykh Iḥsān actually tries to put a sālik in a position vis-à-vis God's transcendence, so that it keeps a distance between man and God.Thirdly, Shaykh Iḥsān is a Sunnī sufi scholar who tries to be consistent to develop orthodox sufism.His standpoint is clearly visible on the stages or 'aqabah conception that are built in Sirāj al-Ṭālibīn . Fourth, Shaykh Iḥsān looks completely against the philosophical sufism, because according to him, this sufism deviates from the grip of Islamic orthodoxy as it has departed from the 'aqidah-shari'at- tasawuf pattern. 73 Therefore, the philosophical sufism based on mystical union is considered heretical (heterodox) by a group of orthodox Sufism in which Shaykh Iḥsān and al-Ghazālī are affiliated with.Fifth, Shaykh Iḥsān actually continues the pattern of sufism which first developed by al-Ghazālī. Therefore, Shaykh Iḥsān is considered a Ghazalian sufi cleric (transmitter of al-Ghazālī's orthodoxy in sufism); and as the result, he is dubbed as al-Ghazālī al-Ṣaghīr (the Young al-Ghazālī) by the Middle East scholars and Western scholars.74 73 Dialectic and integrative relationship can be explained by al-Qushairī, which is considered to represent a group of Sunnī orthodoxy sufism, by saying: " shari'at is an order to carry out worship, while ḥaqīqat is to live the greatness of God (in worship).Each shari'at unboosted by ḥaqīqat can not be accepted; and any ḥaqīqat that is not associated with shari'at , it would not produce anything.Shari'at comes up with the tasks of the Deity, while ḥaqīqat is the implementation of God's truth.Shari'at is to worship Him, ḥaqīqat is to witness Him.Shari'at means doing which he commanded, ḥaqīqat means witnessing His qadā' and qadr , either hidden or visible.See Al-Qushairī, al-Risālat al-Qushairiyyah fī 'Ilm al-Taṣawwuf , pp. 82-3.



74 Shaykh Iḥsān is called as Ghazalian, not only through his work *Sirāj al-Ṭālibīn* , but also can be seen from his habit of reading al-Ghazālī's works; *Iḥyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn* in the presence of the students in his pesantren. Even after finishing reciting the recitation, Shaykh Iḥsān ended it with the tradition of *khataman* (salvation: *selametan* ). Akh Yunan Atho'illah, "Etika Bisnis Kaum Santri: Studi Konsep Akhlaq Muamalah Pendidikan Pesantren dalam Kajian Kitab *Iḥyā' Ulūm al-Dīn*", *Oeconomicus: Journal of Economics* , 29 A l- J ā m i' a h , Vol. 58, No.1, 2020 M/1441 H

The Debate of Orthodox Sufism and Philosophical Sufism Thus, it can be understood that the stages conceived by Shaykh Iḥsān in his work *Sirāj al-Ṭālibīn* are certainly not the sustainability or adoption of the predecessor sufi masters, but it is rather his experience, which was then perceived by Shaykh Iḥsān from his long journey through the mystical path. It is here that then he raises a different perception among the sufis in articulating and defining the stages ( *maqāmāt* ). Even if Shaykh Iḥsān stipulates that the pinnacle stage in sufism is only to *'aqabat al-ḥamd wa al-shukr* , he actually wants to put the *sālik* in a concrete state of himself or herself and acknowledges the transcendence of God. Thus, there is still a distance between man and God. In other words, between a *Makhlūq* (creature, servant) and *Khāliq* (God) there is always a real distance that cannot be bridged. They cannot be united. Likewise, there is no any union between a servant and *Khāliq* . Thus, it is only mystical (spiritual) union-allegory, which is also very personal and emotional. Consequently, whatever effect of a sufi's mystical behavior is no longer a human affair, it becomes a private matter between the sufi and God. Therefore, it is no longer a public consumption. If it is drawn to the broader context, Shaykh Iḥsān actually wants to articulate his highly personal spiritual experience into a wider and real life. According to Shaykh Iḥsān, an individual *ṣāliḥ* has not been considered enough without being balanced with social *ṣāliḥ* .

For example, it can be seen from his association with various groups, without seeing the differences; either tribes, religions, races, ethnicities or religious groups of the time, before and after being a santri (disciple) to become a 'ulama-sufi who was famous in his day, as well as his attitude to the various problems of life faced by the ummah at the time. It is saved to categorize Shaykh Iḥsān as a populist-sufi cleric because of his inclusiveness.<sup>75</sup> Such a view becomes something very urgent and valuable amid waning self-awareness that results from disharmony and mental-spiritual instability, leading to a loss of humanity in the digital age.<sup>76</sup> Shaykh Iḥsān with his experience vol. 1, no. 1 (2016), p. 108.<sup>75</sup> The detailed description related to Shaykh Ihsan's association with various groups, so-called sufi populist figure, can be read on Syamsun Ni'am, "Merawat Keberagaman di Balik Perdebatan Kopi dan Rokok", Jurnal Lektur Keagamaan, vol. 13, no. 2 (2015), pp. 533–54.<sup>76</sup> Shokhibul Mighfar, "Menggagas Pendidikan Humanis Religius: Belajar dari Model Pendidikan Pesantren", Jurnal Pendidikan Islam Indonesia, vol. 2, no. 2 (2018), p. 165.<sup>30</sup> A l-j ā mī' a h, Vol. 58, No.1, 2020 M/1441 H Syamsun Ni'am and mystical views becomes a role model in solving the current unstable, diverse, and religious problems. F. Concluding Remarks The debate about the ways, stages, maqāmāt (which are called by Shaykh Iḥsān with 'aqabah) has raised once again a long lingering dichotomy of two opposing mystical approaches in Islam. The first group of orthodox sufism or Sunni sufism, which clings to the orthodoxy of 'aqīdah-sharī'at-tasawuf track, argues that there is a firm gap between human and God, Lord is positioned on His transcendence. While the second group was the philosophical Sufism, that believes that the stage/stairs/maqām could deliver a human being as a servant of God to meet and even unite with God, whether through a union (ittiḥād/wiḥdat al-wujūd/ manunggaling kawulo Gusti), incarnation (ḥulūl), fanā' (the passing away) and baqā' (union with divine life), or in other ways where it is considered by Sunnī sufis as having deviated from the orthodoxy of 'aqīdah-sharī'at - tasawuf pattern. Thus, philosophical Sufi is then deemed to have diverged/ astray (heterodox) from this orthodox Sufism perspective. In this regard, Shaykh Iḥsān Jampes Kediri has chosen to be part of the first group; the Sunnī sufi, following his great master, al-Ghazālī. Shaykh Iḥsān's standpoint can be seen through the form of spiritual stages formulated in his monumental work, Sirāj al-Ṭālibīn (a commentary to al-Ghazālī's Minhāj al-'Ābidīn), as described above, it shows that every sālik in reaching the final destination/primary to immediately meet God is not easy and full of twists.

This is what made Shaykh Iḥsān calls the spiritual stage with 'aqabah (a steep road towards the cliffs)". The Steep road ( 'aqabah ) is meant by Shaykh Iḥsān is as follows: 'Aqabat al-'ilmi, 'aqabat al-tawbah, 'aqabat al-awa'iq, 'aqabat al-'awāridh, 'aqabat al-bawāith, 'aqabat al-qawādiḥ, and 'aqabat al-ḥamd wa al-shukr. A Sālik should roam these 'aqabāh to reach his or her God ( al-wuṣūl ilā Allāh and ma'rifatullāh ) Thus, Shaykh Iḥsān seems to have confirmed that he was a consistent adherent and implementer of orthodox sufism because it can be seen from 'aqabah that has been formulated above, Shaykh Iḥsān actually tries to say that the relationship between a man as a servant of God ( 'abdullāh ) and God remains creating distance. They cannot be put together physically, but can be united spiritually. This view is different 31 A I-ġ ā mi' a h , Vol. 58, No.1, 2020 M/1441 H The Debate of Orthodox Sufism and Philosophical Sufism from the view of philosophical pantheistic sufism that believes that the relationship between man and God can be very intimate, not only mystical (spiritual), but also physically though. According to Shaykh Iḥsān, a very important thing for a sufi is his or her articulation in real life, his or her closeness to God must be manifested into a more empirical life. 32 A I-ġ ā mi' a h , Vol. 58, No.1, 2020 M/1441 H Syamsun Ni'am

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