

## SUFISM AND ITS ARTISTIC CREATIVITY: THE ROLE OF THE SAMMĀNIYYA SUFI ORDER IN THE DA'WAH ACTIVITY IN SUMATERA

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**Abstract:** This study discusses the Sammāniyya Sufi Order's creativity in designing art and employing it as a means of *da'wah* which emphasizes cultural values and wisdom in a pluralistic society. The informants of this study are the murshid (the Sufi master), caliph, and the adherents of the Sammāniyya Order. The data has been collected from observation, in-depth interviews, focused group discussion, and documentation. This study uses domain analysis and taxonomy to analyze data. The study reveals that the Sammāniyya leaders' creativity in their *da'wah* carried on to the present days has been manifested in the Acehese saman dance which is related to the practice of the Sammāniyya Order established by Shaykh Muhammad Saman. *Debus* (the ancient martial art from Banten) and *silek kumango* (the martial art found in West Sumatera) are also rooted from his practice. Therefore, the arts developed by the shaykh are clear evidence that local wisdom and Islamic Sharia do not have to be contradictory to each other. The arts have become not only an entertainment but also a medium of conveying Islamic messages to the public.

**Keywords:** Sammāniyya order; Saman dance; *Silek Kumango*; *Debus*.

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## Introduction

The *da'wah* activities of the previous Muslim scholars determine the success of Islamization in Indonesia today. These scholars are not from among *mutakallimūn* (the theologians) or jurists, but they are the shaykhs from Sufi orders.<sup>1</sup> Sufi order has become an important community because it preaches the basic training and knowledge to achieve happiness and salvation in this world and the hereafter.<sup>2</sup> Sufi order as spiritual education carried out by people who live a life of Sufism aimed to reach a certain spiritual level individually and as an association or organization with the established rules by a shaykh who adheres to a particular Sufi school.<sup>3</sup>

One of the preaching methods used by Sufis in spreading Islam in the archipelago is through art and culture. According to Said Aqil Siradj, fine art and music are some of the Sufi methods to arouse and strengthen the love for Allah.<sup>4</sup> Islamic art is directly inspired by Islamic spirituality, while specific characteristics shape its form.

Sammāniyya Order<sup>5</sup> is one of the Sufi orders that uses art and culture in its preaching approach. Although Islam did not provide or

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<sup>1</sup> See Fuad Said, *Hakikat Tarikat Naqsyabandiyah* (Ipoh: Pustaka Muda, 2008), 11.

<sup>2</sup> Ri'san Rusli, *Tasawuf dan Tarekat: Studi Pemikiran dan Pengalaman Sufi* (Jakarta: PT. Grafindo, 2013), 239.

<sup>3</sup> Martin van Bruinessen, "Studies of Sufism and the Sufi Orders in Indonesia", *Die Welt des Islams* 38, no. 2 (1998), 192-193.

<sup>4</sup> See Said Agil Siradj, "Sama' dalam Tradisi Tasawuf", *Islamica: Jurnal Studi Keislaman*, Vol. 7, No. 2 (2013), 361; Mukhammad Zamzami, "Nilai Sufistik Pembudayaan Musik Shalawat Emprak Pesantren Kaliopak Yogyakarta", *Marāji: Jurnal Ilmu Keislaman* 2, no. 1 (2015), 47.

<sup>5</sup> The Sammāniyya tariqa was founded by Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Karīm al-Madanī al-Shāfi'ī, known as Shaykh Muḥammad Sammān (1718-1775 AD/1130-1189 H). Shaykh Muḥammad Sammān studied various order to the greatest teachers of his time. His most impressive teacher was Muṣṭafā b. Kamāl al-Dīn al-Bakrī, prolific author and shaykh of the Khalwatiyya order of Damascus, who had settled in Medina and died in Cairo in 1749. This is seen in the lineage 'Abd al-Samad which refers to the chain of Khalwatiyya teachers, starting with Muṣṭafā al-Bakrī, so the Sammāniyya order is commonly considered a branch of the Khalwatiyya tariqa. See Azyumardi Azra, *Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah dan Kepulauan Nusantara Abad XVII dan XVIII* (Bandung: Mizan, 1998), 138; See also Martin van Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning, Pesantren, dan Tarekat Tradisi-tradisi Islam di Indonesia* (Bandung: Mizan, 1995), 56; Anthony H. Johns, "Sufism in Southeast Asia: Reflections and

outline detailed theories and teachings about art with its forms, many masters of the Sammāniyya Order utilize some arts to develop Islamic teaching. In this case, Seyyed Hossein Nasr has given its characteristics. He argued that Islamic art is the result of the embodiment of oneness in the field of diversity, reflecting the Oneness of God, the dependence of diversity to Almighty God, the transience of the world, and the positive qualities of cosmos existence or creatures as revealed by Allah in the Koran.<sup>6</sup>

In line with Sayyed Hossein Nasr, Ernst Diez said that Islamic art is an art that expresses devotion to Allah.<sup>7</sup> Abdul Jabar Beg complements the above statements with his opinion that art becomes Islamic when it reveals the view of Muslim life, that is, the concept of monotheism, and the artist who makes the art object is not necessarily a Muslim.<sup>8</sup>

The artistic creativity by the *murshids* of the Sammāniyya Order as means of preaching has found its foundation and momentum at the same time. As this study observed, several dances and martial arts were the creations of these Sufi masters.

One of the creativities of the Sammāniyya Order in Sumatera is the saman dance<sup>9</sup> of Aceh. In history, this saman dance is the Shaykh Saman's creativity, a student of Shaykh Abdussamad al-Palimbani<sup>10</sup>,

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Reconsiderations”, *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 26, no. 1 (1995), 169-183. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20071709>.

<sup>6</sup> Sayyed Hossein Nasr, *Islamic Art and Spirituality* (Suffolk UK: Golgonooza, 1987), 18.

<sup>7</sup> Ernest Diez, “A Stylistic Analysis of Islamic Art”, *Ars Islamica* 5 (1938), 36. Arthur Upham Pope, *Persian Architecture: The Triumph of Form and Color* (New York: George Braziller, 1965), 81.

<sup>8</sup> Muhammad Abdul Jabbar Beg, *Essays on the Origins of Islamic Civilization* (Cambridge: MAJ Beg, 2006), 54.

<sup>9</sup> Saman dance in Aceh was carried by a great cleric from Samudra Pasai (Pase) who was a disciple of Shaykh Abdussamad al-Palimbani named Shaykh Saman. Shaykh Saman is a title given by the public to him because he teaches that dance leaders are called “seh”. Because he was a dance leader, the great cleric of Pase was known as Shaykh Saman (without the double “m”). It is called Saman dance, because the great cleric was inspired by the Sammāniyya Order which first entered Aceh around the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Asep Supiandin et.al., “Model Konservasi Seni Islam Indonesia: Studi atas Pelestarian dan Perlindungan Seni Tari Saman Aceh”, *al-Tsaqafa: Jurnal Peradaban Islam* 16, no. 1 (2019), 77.

<sup>10</sup> Shaykh Abd al-Shamad al-Jawi al-Palimbani, a cleric from Palembang who was born around 1704 AD and died in 1824 AD or after 1785 AD or 1789 AD. Shaykh Abd al-Shamad al-Jawi al-Palimbani is a Sufi cleric and prolific writer. He gave up

who made the saman dance a means of preaching. Saman ance symbolizes and carries essential religious values shown in its movement, poetry, and patterns. It internalizes fundamental religious teaching that no God worthy of worship but Allah.

The Sammāniyya Order is also associated with the art of *debus*. Historically, the existence of *debus* is inseparable from the teachings of the order. *Debus* performance always starts with reading prayers and salutation upon the prophet and doing prayers and *dhiker* asking Allah's protection. The performance begins with certain rituals known to be the same ritual carried out by several Sufi orders.

Moreover, there is a martial art called *silek kumango* created by Shaykh Abdurrahman al-Khalidi, a Sufi who has contributed to developing the teachings of the Sammāniyya Order in West Sumatera. This martial art is one of the means. As the name implies, *silek kumango* is from Kumango village.<sup>11</sup> Kumango martial art's spiritual aspect is also called *silek duduak*, which is closely related to the Sammāniyya Order. Thus, the spiritual part of the art contains the teaching essence of the order. A famous saying (expression, jargon) among the adherents of *silek kumango* is “*manjago tali jan putuib, manjago raso jan ilang*” (to keep the rope from breaking and the feeling from being lost). This saying has a deep meaning in the martial art's teaching.<sup>12</sup>

The Sufi's artistic and cultural creativity as preaching media is found in several scholarly works by Nanang Rizali,<sup>13</sup> Said Agil Siradj,<sup>14</sup>

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his career at Haramayn and never returned to the Archipelago. But he still paid great attention to the development of Islam and the Muslim community in the Archipelago. See Fauzan Saleh, *Tarekat Sammaniyah di Kabupaten Banjar* (Kalimantan: Comdes Kalimantan, 2010), 98-99.

<sup>11</sup> Isral Saputra, “*Silek Kumango: Keberadaan, Pewarisan, dan Kearifan Lokal Minangkabau*” *Wacana Etnik: Jurnal Ilmu Sosial dan Humaniora* 2, no. 1 (April 2011), 79.

<sup>12</sup> Interviewed with Apria Putra, The chairman of *Sasaran* (hermitage) *Silek Kumango* Minangkabau, at June, 13, 2019.

<sup>13</sup> He concluded that works of art that breathe Islam contain symbolic meaning as the testimony of *Lā ilāh illā Allah, Muḥammad Rasūl Allah*, with a load of truth, goodness and beauty. See Nanang Rizali, “Kedudukan Seni Dalam Islam”, *Tsaqafa, Jurnal Kajian Seni Budaya Islam* 1, no. 1 (2012).

<sup>14</sup> Said Aqil Siradj concludes that *sama'* or music in the Sufism tradition wants to invite the audience to find the value contained in his verse verses, namely understanding the problem of right and wrong in life. See Siradj, “*Sama'* dalam Tradisi Tasawuf”, 370.

Yusnizar Heniwaty,<sup>15</sup> and others. Research on the creativity of the Sufi masters from the Sammāniyya order is crucial since—from a historical point of view—they contributed significantly to the development of Islam, especially in the Sumatera region. Although many researchers discussed Sufi order, very few have written about Sufi creativity in the art of preaching. Thus, this study focuses on the preaching of the Sammāniyya Order in Sumatera.

### **The Sammāniyya Order in Sumatera**

The Sammāniyya Order was brought to the Indonesian archipelago by four Muslim scholars: Shaykh ‘Abd al-Shamad al-Palimbani, Shaykh Muhammad Arsyad al-Banjari, Shaykh Muhammad Abdul Wahab Bugis, and Shaykh Abdurrahman al-Masri.<sup>16</sup> However, the most famous scholar and the most influential among the scholars, mainly because of his work which was widely circulated in the archipelago, was Shaykh ‘Abd al-Shamad al-Palimbani. Al-Palimbani was born in 1150/1737 when Sultan Mahmud Badaruddin I (1724-1758) was in power. Thus, he had experienced Palembang’s golden years as a center of Islamic science. Initially, al-Palimbani studied in his own country, in Palembang. Then, he went to study in Mecca. After arriving in Mecca and joining the Jawi community, al-Palimbani decided to stay and live there. In this Jawi community, al-Palimbani became a fellow teacher of people who would later become charismatic clerical figures in their respective regions; Muhammad Arsyad al-Banjari, ‘Abd al-Wahhab Bugis, ‘Abd al-Rahman al-Batawi, and Dawud al-Fatani.<sup>17</sup>

In his book, *Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah dan Kepulauan Nusantara Abad XVII & XVIII*, Azra said that it was through al-Palimbani that

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<sup>15</sup> Yusnizar Heniwaty writes about the art of Saman in Aceh. This paper is the result of research for his dissertation at the State University of Medan. He concluded that the choreography of the Saman Gayo dance is not an ordinary dance work, but Saman is a dance that contains basic Islamic concepts symbolized through rhythm, movement, poetry, floor patterns, clothing, stages of offerings, and the purpose of the offering. See Yusnizar Heniwaty, *Tari Saman pada Masyarakat Aceh Identitas dan Aktualisasi* (Medan: Universitas Negeri Medan, 2015).

<sup>16</sup> Supiandin et.al., “Model Konservasi Seni Islam Indonesia”, 74.

<sup>17</sup> Bruinssen, “Studies of Sufism and the Sufi Orders in Indonesia”, 192-219. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1570744>; Arifin Arifin, Hasan Asari, and Amroeni Drajat, “The System of Spiritual Education of Tarekat Sammaniyah at Learning Assembly of Ihya Ulumuddin Medan,” *International Journal on Language, Research, and Education Studies* 1, no. 1 (2017), 34-53, <https://doi.org/10.30575/2017081204>.

the Sammāniyya Order obtained fertile land not only in Palembang, but also in other parts of the archipelago. Palembang is the birthplace of al-Palimbani, which he had visited several times after settling in Mecca. His influence made the Sammāniyya Order spread rapidly in the region. According to Mahmud, Sammāniyya even shifted the popularity—or at least equalized—of the existing order brought by Sayyid Ahmad ibn Hasan ibn Abdullah Haddad. In Palembang, the teaching of the Sammāniyya Order was carried out by Ki Agus Muhammad Akib.<sup>18</sup>

The Sufi order has disseminated its influence not only in Palembang but also in Sumatera island. There are areas where the Sammāniyya Order has a significant influence on the people, namely Aceh, Jambi, Medan, and West Sumatera. The Sammāniyya Order entered Aceh at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century AD, as we know that people often read its *rātib* and *manāqib* at that time. In Medan and West Sumatera, the Sammāniyya order merged with the Naqshabandiyya order by Shaykh Mudo Abd al-Qadim. He studied this order's teachings from Abd at-Rahman al-Khalidi Kumango, who received a diploma from Muhammad Amin bin Ahmad Ridwan in Medina (1900 AD). In this amalgamation, the Sammāniyya elements appear to be more dominant than the Naqshabandiyya. Whereas in Jambi, the Sammāniyya order is quite rapidly spreading. This order is quite influential in the people's daily lives in Jambi. When something dangerous befalls the community and vows, they always read *manāqib* of Shaykh al-Samman in addition to *tablīl*.<sup>19</sup>

In 1980s, there were three teachers of the Sammāniyya order in Jambi, namely Abd al-Qadir in Terusan Village, Batanghani Regency, Imam Abd al-Rahman in the transmigration village of Tangkit Village, Batanghani Regency, and Haji Muhammad in Jambi City. The three teachers preached in their home areas. The first is the indigenous people of Batanghani, the second is from Sulawesi, and the third is from Kalimantan.<sup>20</sup>

The Sammāniyya order in Sumatera continues to develop. There are more and more Sammāniyya *murshids* emerging in each region in the Sumatera islands. The developers of the Sammāniyya

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<sup>18</sup> See M. Chatib Quzwain, *Mengenal Allah: Suatu Studi Mengenai Ajaran Tasawuf Syaikh Abdul Samad al-Falimbani* (Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, 1985), 66.

<sup>19</sup> Saleh, *Tarekat Samaniyah di Kabupaten Banjar*, 119-123.

<sup>20</sup> See Quzwain, *Mengenal Allah*, 66.

order in West Sumatera were Shaykh Abdurrahman al-Khalidi (1802-1930) and Shaykh Muda Abdul Qadim (1878-1957). In South Sumatera, Shaykh ‘Abd al-Shamad al-Palimbani (1704-1789 AD), Shaykh Muhammad’ Aqib ibn Kgs. Hasan al-Din (1736-1818 AD), and KH Zen Syukri developed the order. While the figure of the Sammāniyya order in Aceh was Shaykh Saman and Tengku Chik Ditiro Muhammad Saman (1836-1891). In North Sumatera, Shaykh Baringin (w. 1972) and Shaykh Ibrahim Bonjol (w. 1990) developed the order.<sup>21</sup>

Meanwhile, the rituals of the Sammāniyya order focus on five things, namely *tawbah*, *bay‘ah*, *sulūk*, *rābiṭah*, and *dhikr*. *Tawbah* for the Sufis is not only a remedy for sins, but there is something even higher, namely as a means to get closer to the Most Holy.<sup>22</sup> Then, *bay‘ah* is a statement of loyalty. Someone who will enter a Sufi order promises to obey all the applicable provisions in the teachings carried out by a teacher or shaykh of the order. According to Shaykh Muda Ahmad Arifin, the allegiance in the Sammāniyya order is based on the practice of *bay‘ah*, just like the prophet took the *bay‘ah* of ‘Alī ibn ‘Abī Ṭālib.<sup>23</sup>

The third ritual is *sulūk*. It is a spiritual practice by increasing the number of *dhikr* conducted in a particular place under a shaykh’s guidance. In a broader sense, it is to perpetuate the memory of Allah under any circumstances. Their hearts remain attached to Allah. They might be in a crowd, but their attention will only to Allah. So, the essence of *sulūk* is a practice to remember Allah in eternity.<sup>24</sup> The fourth ritual is *rābiṭah*. *Rābiṭah* serves as a guide for the student when he is away from the master. If the student is always loyal to his *murshid*, he will always feel that the *murshid* monitors his behavior. Thus, the student will feel guided even though the student is far from

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<sup>21</sup> Wahyudi Buska, Yogia Prihartini, and Ali Muzakir, “Abdusshamad al-Palembani: His Thoughts and Movements in the Spread of Islam in Indonesia,” *al-Fikra: Jurnal Ilmiah Keislaman* 19, no. 1 (2020), 144-154, <https://doi.org/10.24014/af.v19i1.10020>.

<sup>22</sup> M. Sholeh Hodidin, “Konsep Taubat Tarekat Naqshabandīyah Muzharīyah,” *Teosofi: Jurnal Tasawuf dan Pemikiran Islam* 2, no. 1 (2015), 29–48, <https://doi.org/10.15642/teosofi.2012.2.1.29-48>.

<sup>23</sup> Munir, “Dinamika Ritual Tarekat Sammāniyyah Palembang,” *Madania: Jurnal Kajian Keislaman* 20, no. 2 (2016), 197–214.

<sup>24</sup> Arifin, Asari, and Drajat, “The System of Spiritual Education of Tarekat Sammaniyah at Learning Assembly of Ihya Ulumuddin Medan.”, 41.

his *murshid*. Besides *dhikr* and charity, *rābiṭah* also functions as an inner bond between the teacher and the student. *Rābiṭah* can also be a strength for the student in facing opponents and enemies. With the *rābiṭah* to the *murshid*, the student will have strength and courage.<sup>25</sup> And the fifth Ritual is *dhikr*. *Dhikr* in the Sammāniyya order occupies a critical position because the practices of the Sammāniyya order are mainly in the form of *dhikr*. In the Sammāniyya Order, the implementation of *dhikr* has many levels. The first level is *nafy ithbāt*, the *dhikr* of 10 to 100 times every day for beginner practice which can be added 300 times every day. The second is *dhikr ism al-jalālah*. *Dhikr ism al-jalālah* is to utter the word “*Allah*”, given to students who have reached a remarkable level. The number of *dhikr* ranges from 40, 101, or 300 times a day. The third is *ism al-ishārah*. *Dhikr ism al-ishārah* is to utter the word “*Hum*”. It is given to students who reach a higher level and the *murshid*. Their *dhikr* is 100-700 times a day. They generally recite 300 times every day. And the special *dhikr*, namely *dhikr “Ab Ab”*. It is only given to the students who have become *murshid* and have reached the highest state because they are in the realm of *ma'rifat Allah*. The number of *dhikr* that is required is between 100-700 times every day.<sup>26</sup>

### **Saman Dance as a Form of Creative Arts of the Sammāniyya Order**

According to some sources, saman dance in Aceh was founded and developed by Shaykh Saman, a scholar from Gayo in Southeast Aceh. A Gayo historical observer, Wahab Daud, explained that the saman dance is very synonymous with Islam because this dance was developed as a tool to spread Islam, especially in the Gayo Lues highlands.<sup>27</sup>

The development of saman dance in Aceh was initially part of the order activities, namely the Sammāniyya dance. Saman Dance is very synonymous with *dhikr* and *wirid* taught in the Sammāniyya Order, which is usually practiced after performing the five daily

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<sup>25</sup> Munir, “Dinamika Ritual Tarekat Sammāniyah Palembang”, 205.

<sup>26</sup> Buska, Prihartini, and Muzakir, “Abdusshamad al-Palembani; His Thoughts and Movements in the Spread of Islam in Indonesia”, 149.

<sup>27</sup> Sumartini Rahaju, “Seni Tari Islami: Kontribusi Pengembangan Karakter Relevansinya dengan Nilai-nilai Pendidikan,” in *Proceedings: The 3<sup>rd</sup> Annual International Conference on Islamic Education (AICIEd)*, 2019, 18–29.



prayers by sitting cross-legged. The Saman dance was then developed to spread Islam in Aceh, especially in the Gayo Lues highlands. The lyrics consist of advice, life guidance, and the like. This dance reflects religion, education, cohesiveness, courtesy, heroism, and togetherness.<sup>28</sup>

Saman dance usually begins with the opening greeting from the shaykh (the leader of the saman dance). Furthermore, advices on living the life of the world is conveyed. At least eight members perform this dance, and a man who sits in the ninth position act as the leader (shaykh).<sup>29</sup>

Initially, this dance was just an ordinary folk game called *pok ane*. With the Acehnese great interest in this art, Shaykh Saman inserted verses containing praise to Allah into the art. Therefore, the saman dance is a medium of preaching Islam at that time. Under the Aceh condition, which was at war, the shaykh also added verses containing the fighting spirit for the Acehnese. This dance continues to develop and be adapted to the needs of the time. This dance has been more often displayed in religious and state celebrations.<sup>30</sup> The dance is intended for men, while women can participate in the *bines* dance. Saman dance consists of two movements, namely basic and variation movements. The basic movements consist of orderly sitting, while the variation movements consist of clapping the chest and hands.<sup>31</sup>

The Sammāniyya order became the first order to get the most followers from the archipelago. With its loud *rātib* and *dhiker*, which are sometimes very ecstatic and have been adapted for popular entertainment in some areas, this order impresses as an expression of popular religion. It differs from the religious pattern of Islamic jurist scholars. This order has spread out and strongly influenced Aceh to Palembang and other Sumatera areas, especially in suburban areas. In Palembang, many people read Shaykh Saman's history as a *tawassul* (intermediary) to get blessings. This order's characteristic is *dhiker*

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<sup>28</sup> Supianudin et.al., "Model Konservasi Seni Islam Indonesia", 63-82.

<sup>29</sup> Margaret Kartomi, "The Saman Gayo Lues Sitting Song-Dance and Its Recognition as an Item of Intangible Cultural Heritage", *Yearbook for Traditional Music* 45 (2013), 97-124. DOI: 10.5921/yeartradmusi.45.2013.0097.

<sup>30</sup> Desi Purnama Sari and Maini Sartika, "Nilai-nilai Dakwah dalam Syair Saman Gayo," *Jurnal Peurani: Media Kajian Komunikasi Islam* 2, no. 2 (2019), 28–45.

<sup>31</sup> Interview with Hasanuddin (Leader of Sammanniyah Tariqa Buntul Kemumu village, Sub district. Permata, Bener Meriah district), June 15, 2019.

which is loud and shrill, especially when saying *lā ilāh illā Allah*. It is also famous for its *rātib Saman*, that only uses the word “Hu” which means He (Allah).<sup>32</sup>

Shaykh Saman, the creator of this *rātib*, compiled the words and rules of movement and gestures that accompany the movement. There is no doubt that this Sufi teacher considers sound and motion essential tools for producing religious worship. In this respect, it differs from colleagues from other schools of order, requiring a state of silence, without sound and motion as the main requirements for *dhikr*. Although they were also attracted to the boisterous possession of *rātib* that at first sitting, half kneeling, then slowly standing up, swerving back and forth, shaking his head back and forth, and shouting the words “Allah” until the body feels ecstasy and attaining high excitement.

Unlike teaching and other mystical practices that are silent in *dhikr*, Shaykh Muhammad Saman creates shouting and movement as a force to generate the desire for the musical movement. Now the Saman movement, or what is called *rātib duek* is building continuous ecstasy and an intense climax. The Saman dance's primary focus is to remember or compose text, to sing it in groups of vocals, reaching a speedy climax while hitting the body.<sup>33</sup>

The Saman dance history is rooted in the Sammāniyya Order practices founded in Medina and then developed far to the Aceh and Java regions. Shaykh Muhammad Saman, the founder of the order, never came to Aceh to expand the teachings. However, he tried to incorporate elements of his order into the Acehese arts. In my observation, the Acehese saman dance is not modified by Shaykh Muhammad Saman from folk art. His students develop the artwork to spread Islam, especially Shaykh Abdussamad al-Palimbani, and the Acehese people cherish their works until now.<sup>34</sup>

Based on the order's teaching characteristics, we can see that the order transformation into the Acehese Saman dance is tremendous. A loud and shrill voice is a characteristic feature of the Sammāniyya remembrance. Similarly, saman dance also has a loud and shrill voice as a spirit or enthusiasm when performed. Acehese saman dance performance becomes a compositional force when

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<sup>32</sup> Supiandin et.al., “Model Konservasi Seni Islam Indonesia”, 75.

<sup>33</sup> Maini Sartika, “Nilai-nilai Dakwah dalam Syair Saman Gayo”, 41.

<sup>34</sup> Supiandin et.al., “Model Konservasi Seni Islam Indonesia”, 76.

performing movements. The dance has several basic movements; the exercise of the body, rumbling, beginning with a half-kneeling, standing back up, curling the body to the right and left, swinging the head back and forth to ecstasy, ending at a high climax. Of all these movement patterns are forms of the movement in the *rātib* of the Sammāniyya order, which expresses spiritual experience in the *dhikr*.<sup>35</sup>

Moreover, the Sammāniyya transformation into the Acehnese saman dance also occurs in the dance movement of competing (*tuning*), taking turns, and facing each other. In Acehnese society, *tuning* is a tradition in the saman dance performance, while in the order, it was a special provision to compete when carrying out *rātib* activities. The seated formation of the *rātib* in the order and that of Saman dance are performed in the sitting composition facing each other from one group to another. Therefore, the mentioned facts prove that the Acehnese Saman dance is the manifestation and metamorphosis of the Sammāniyya order's behaviors and utterances. In the present time, saman dance continues to develop. This dance, which was initially only performed at traditional ceremonies, and the commemoration of the prophet Muhammad's birthday, is now also performed at official events, such as visiting guests between districts and countries or at the opening of a festival and other events.

Besides the movement, the Sammāniyya order's influence on the Acehnese saman dance can also be seen from the poetry style in the lyrics. Recitation of the word "Hu" is a characteristic of the Sammāniyya *dhikr*. Apart from using the word *Lā ilāh illā Allāh*, there are also many saman dance verses, regardless of how we position the order's utterances in the context of experience. In this case, the author does not see the existence of the Sammāniyya order through sharia's perspective. The connection between the Sammāniyya order and the Acehnese saman dance cannot be separated from efforts to eliminate elements of pre-Islamic beliefs. The combination of religious and cultural elements has given birth to a distinctive artistic color for the Acehnese.<sup>36</sup> The dance, which is one of Aceh's traditional arts, can be used as a medium for planting and strengthening *tawḥīd* (oneness of God) which is thus a vehicle for the

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<sup>35</sup> Ibid.

<sup>36</sup> Interview with Hasanuddin (Leader of Sammanniyah Tariqa Buntul Kemumu village, Sub district. Permata, Bener Meriah district), June 15, 2019.

transformation of the Sammāniyya order.<sup>37</sup> The influence of the Sammāniyya order on the Acehese saman dance can be seen in every verse that is sung. Below is the example of the Seudati's verse:

*Labele hala bangura beum hala hala*

This translation of this meaning can be palpable from the origin of the praise word *Lā ḥawla wa lā quwwah illā bi Allah al-'Alīyy al-'Aẓīm*.

*Mat jal labe hot*, allegedly derived from the words *Mata Jalilalul Haq*.

*Yon yam ilalah, yan e kande lalah, illah labe hala hala.*

Presumably from the word *Allah lā ilāh illā Huwa al-Ḥayy al-Qayyūm*.

Then the word *Hu* in the *dhiker* of the Sammāniyya Order is also used in Saman Gayo's verse, as stated in the opening verse:

*Hu Lilah baillah hu la boya,*

*Saree e hala glue halalah*

*Aboya hale glue halele*

*Le eyan-eyan hu la nan labu.*

*Salam merdeka ibuh kin tutupe*

*Hiyee segenyan enyan ha illah*

*Nyan e hailalah*

*la hu, ala hu*

There is no god but Allah

who sees us doing art

So, do all fathers

So, do all mothers, that's it.

There is no God but Allah.

Greetings of liberty are used as the closing.

Yes, that's it, that's it, oh yes.

There is no God but Allah.

The poetry of the *likok pulo* dance mentioned:

*Malabo ya alapa ufir yula yo ala nekmah wamelo.*<sup>38</sup>

Based on the form and the content of each verse chanted in the Acehese saman dance, it turns out that the influence of the elements of the Sammāniyya Order is strongly felt. The influence is evident as we can see the loud sound of *dhiker* in the word *Hu*, hitting the body, half kneeling, getting back on its feet, curling the body to the right

<sup>37</sup> Maini Sartika, "Nilai-nilai Dakwah dalam Syair Saman Gayo.", 42

<sup>38</sup> Ibid.

and left, swinging the head back and forth until experiencing ecstasy, stopping with a high climax, while clapping.<sup>39</sup>

Like other dances, saman dance has several elements of art that are integrated into a dance. Each element has a meaning which is deliberately arranged to deliver the *da'wah* message. The elements of the art are as follows:

The first is poetry. The verses in the saman dance are from Islamic culture as it uses Arabic as the language. The majority of messages conveyed were Islamic values that wanted to be realized at that time. At the beginning of the saman dance making, this culture was known as *pok ane* and is still an ordinary folk game. However, the Acehnese people have a great interest in this culture. Under this circumstance, Shaykh Saman inserted verses containing praises to Allah that the saman dance could become a medium of preaching used at that time.

The second is singing. The Shaykh Saman makes the sound of the saman dancers and the clapping as the music. The aim of making such music is to make the dance looks modern without having to deviate from the sharia. That is why the saman dance continues to attract young people's interest and continues developing today. The songs in Saman's poetry are also different so that they sound more dynamic and not monotonous. The name of the songs are *rengum*, *dering*, *redet*, *shaykh*, and *saur*.<sup>40</sup>

The third is movement. Shaykh Saman studied this ancient Malay dance to invent the movement of hand and chest clapping. The types of movements used include *guncang*, *kirep*, *lingang*, *surang-saring*.

Fourth is the clothes. In the dance performance, the dancers wear a typical traditional clothing of the Gayo tribe. The fifth is dancers. Young men initially performed the saman dance because women were not allowed to appear in public. The dancers are divided

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<sup>39</sup> Interview with Hasanuddin (Leader of Sammanniyah Tariqa Buntul Kemumu village, Sub district. Permata, Bener Meriah district), June 15, 2019.

<sup>40</sup> Rengum is a type of singing that sounds like a roar that is initiated by a lifter. Ringing is a type of singing that sounds like a roar that is immediately followed by all dancers. Redet is a type of song that sounds like a short voice and is sung by a dancer in the middle of the dance. Shaykh is a type of chanting that sounds like a long, high-pitched voice, usually as a sign of changing movements. Saur is a song that sounds like a song repeated together by all dancers after being sung by a solo dancer. See Supiandin et.al., "Model Konservasi Seni Islam Indonesia", 76.

into two groups at the show, a guest group with a *sepangkalan* group. Consisting of dozens of men, the number must be odd. Another opinion states that the dance is to be performed by ten people. Eight dancers and two people as cue givers while singing.<sup>41</sup>

As this research found out, the symbolization of Islamic values in the saman dance has a cultural meaning taken from the prayer movement in Islam. There is also an ideological belief that saman dancers must be clean in soul and heart. The fact that the leader in the dance performance is a man confirms its similarity to the Islamic principle believed by Acehnese and Indonesian that men are born leaders.

### **Kumango Martial Art is A Creative *Da'wah* of the Sammāniyya Order**

*Silek* (martial art) *kumango* originates from the Kumango village. *Silek kumango* is one of the ten main styles of martial art in Minangkabau. This martial art comes from the *surau* in Nagari Kumango,<sup>42</sup> Sungai Tarab sub-district, Tanah Datar district, West Sumatera province.

Based on history, the first teacher of the martial art was Shaykh Abdul Rahman al-Khalidi, who got the title shaykh because of his “*basilek*” intelligence. This *silek* teacher then had children named Ibrahim Panduko Sutan and Syamsarif Malin Marajo. *Silek batin* or *Silek kumango* is a collaboration between the martial art movement and the *dbiker* of the Sammāniyya teachings.<sup>43</sup>

Shaykh Abdurrahman al-Khalidi, whose childhood name was Alam Basifat, was born in Kumango in 1802. He was a scholar who spread the teachings of the Sammāniyya Order throughout the Minang areas. Famous story about Shaykh Abdurrahman al-Khalidi reveals that he was once a *parewa* (thug) for 15 years. He was a respected and feared warrior in his youth because he had studied with several well-known martial arts teachers in West Sumatera. One time

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<sup>41</sup> Ibid., 77.

<sup>42</sup> Undri Damardjati Kun Marjanto, Ika Hijriani, “Silek Minangkabau dalam Khazanah Pencak Silat Indonesia: Proses Pewarisan dan Upaya Pemerintah dalam Melestarikannya,” *Jurnal Kebudayaan* 14, no. 1 (2019), 43–54.

<sup>43</sup> Isral Saputra, “Silek Kumango: Keberadaan, Pewarisan, dan Kearifan Lokal Minangkabau,” *Wacana Etnik: Jurnal Ilmu Sosial Dan Humaniora* 2, no. 1 (2011), 73–94.

he met Shaykh Abdurrahman, then pursued the teachings of Islam, and became a religious scholar.<sup>44</sup>

In the Sammāniyya Order's perspective, a person should not independently practice the order's teachings without pledging allegiance to a *murshid*. Likewise, one cannot master *kumango* martial art by simply learning the movements. He must also understand the meaning and application of these movements in everyday life. Therefore, the teacher should accompany the students in *silek* practice. The teacher would transmit noble values in the *silek* philosophy and avoid any inappropriate use of the martial art in everyday life.<sup>45</sup>

A unifying character between the *silek kumango* in particular and the *silek* in West Sumatera lies in its connection to Islam. A solid foundation in religious understanding is the main key in learning *silek kumango*. Therefore, practicing *silek* would ideally generate a good attitude and personality that is away from arrogance and disobedience as prohibited by Islamic teaching. Furthermore, a person studying *silek* is prohibited from doing an evil thing. A quote from the *silek* teaching mentions "baniat mamatah tapatah", meaning when one intends to destroy someone, he himself will be destroyed. Thus, such values are very relevant to this martial art.<sup>46</sup>

The *silek* movements are full of the spiritual teaching of love and gratefulness to Allah. The martial art follows the prophet's attitude and behavior as it aims not to hurt the opponent, be used for self-defense, and only be used when forced. The *kumango* movements form *Alif-Lām*, *Lām-Hā'*, *Mim-Hā'*, and *Mim-Dāl* in contrast to other martial art schools where some of the movements refer to animal movements such as *silek bayang buayo* (the shadow of crocodile martial art) and *silek harimau* (tiger martial art).<sup>47</sup>

There are ten mainly movements in the *silek kumango*, namely: (1) *Ilak kida*, consisting of *ilak kida lua* and *ilak kida dalam*, (2) *Ilak suok*, consisting of *ilak suok lua* and *ilak suok dalam*, (3) *Sambuik pisau*,

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<sup>44</sup> Ibid., 79.

<sup>45</sup> Interview with Apria Putra (Khalifah of Sammāniyya Tariqa), Nagari Taeh Baruah, Payakumbuh, West Sumatera, at June 13, 2019.

<sup>46</sup> Saputra, "Silek Kumango: Keberadaan, Pewarisan, dan Kearifan Lokal Minangkabau", 89.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid

(4) *Rambah*, (5) *Cancang*, (6) *Ampang*, (7) *Lantak Siku*, (8) *Patab Tabu*, (9) *Ucak Tangguang*, and (10) *Ucak lapeh*.<sup>48</sup>

Briefly, the training system of *silek* has four stages. In the first stage, what you learn is the stems. The students learn how to step and fend them off, how to do locks, sweeps, and how to behave when locked and how to drop. The second stage after studying the stems is to study *biduik salampih* (life in a layer) at this stage, the students learn the anticipation movement when an opponent blocks the first attack, how to release the lock, and simultaneously counterattack or lock back. At this stage, the students learn the basic movements which are broken down into several moves. Less than five different moves are derived from one basic move. In the third stage, the lesson is called *biduik duo lampih* (life in two layers). At this stage, the students learn to fend as well as carry out attacks or locks. Now the fight begins to appear in the sense of carrying out mutual attacks and locks.<sup>49</sup>

After mastering all the lessons from the first to the third stage, the fourth stage is the consolidation stage from previous exercises. At this stage, a *silek* student can use all kinds of movements called “*cancan talandeh so ukia*” in local regulations (all movements can be done as long as they do not deviate from the basic laws). Thus, at this stage, a *silek* student must be creative to improvise. At this stage, the level of *basilek* intelligence will differ from one another. For those who have higher creativity, they will be better at developing maximum training results.<sup>50</sup>

The advanced *pasilek* (*silek* practioner) will use *raso* (the sense). One can be called *Pasilek* when he has a *raso*. A person is said to have a *raso* if the movement takes place reflexively. Moreover, he will be able to read the movement that his opponent will launch. But to bring up this *raso* requires a lot of practice so that a *silek* practitioner will not hesitate in anticipating his opponent's attack.<sup>51</sup>

In the final stages, *pasilek* are trained to use sharp weapons, both knives, and machetes. The goal is to make a *pasilek* get trained to anticipate opponents and attacks with sharp weapons. At the final stage of *silek* training, there are no special ceremonies that indicate graduation from the *silek* training. The *pasilek* might not master all the

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<sup>48</sup> Interviewe with Angku Boncah (Leader of Sammāniyya Tariqa) at Nagari Taeh Baruah, Payakumbuh, West Sumatera, at June, 13, 2019.

<sup>49</sup> Saputra, “*Silek Kumango*”, 89.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid.



movements perfectly, but each student has their specific skills. The *pasilek* “factor” very much determines this feature; for example, some are good at striking, some are at locking, others are at agility.

The spiritual aspect of *kumango* martial art called *silek duduak* (martial arts of sitting) closely relates to the Sammāniyya Order. A Teaching that reflects the essence of this martial art tradition is “*manjago tali jan putuib, manjago raso jan ilang*” (keeping the rope from breaking, keeping the feeling from being lost). This proverb has deep and layered meaning in *kumango*’s martial arts teachings. Besides, there are several variations of the expression that go along with it.<sup>52</sup>

*Kumango* martial art is related to proselytizing method of the Sammāniyya Order in West Sumatera through the martial art philosophy in Minangkabau as a phrase conveys:

*Silek labia mencari kawan*

*Silek batin silek mencari Tuhan*

The translation is; Outwardly, *kumango* martial art aims to make friends, not look for enemies, and it is useful as self-defense when attacked by enemies. Inwardly, *silek kumango* seeks to get closer to Allah Almighty by obeying His commands and staying away from His prohibitions. This martial art is undoubtedly very useful for building a fighter personality. The aim seems to confirm the philosophy of Minangkabau life:

*Adat basandi Syarak*

*Syarak basandi Kitabullah*

The translation is: The custom is based on sharia (religion), and a religion is based on the *Kitabullah* (the Koran). *Silek kumango* was one of the elements determine one’s social position. Mastering *kumango* martial art would make a person respected as he would gain a higher social level in society. Therefore, many parents encourage their sons to study the art, so that one day they would become respected people in the community.<sup>53</sup>

Today, many students from various places outside West Sumatera visit his tomb in *surau* Subarang, *Kumango* Village. They come to commemorate the services he left behind, namely the martial art and the teachings of the Sammāniyya Order.

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<sup>52</sup> Interview with Apria Putra (Khalifah of Sammāniyya Tariqa), Nagari Taeh Baruah, Payakumbuh, West Sumatera, at June, 13, 2019.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid.

In West Sumatera, especially in Kumango village, the influence of the Sammāniyya Order is still significant in their religious landscape today. The senior in the martial art still preserve the training and transmit the knowledge to the students in the village and the Sammāniyya activities are routinely carried out every Thursday night in *surau* Subarang.<sup>54</sup>

### ***Debus* Art as a Form of *Da'wah* Creativity**

*Debus* is one of the original arts from Banten, which has survived to the present time.<sup>55</sup> According to history, the emergence of traditional *debus* art was in 1950. In Pandeglang Regency, this *debus* had spread in various villages and sub-districts as popular entertainment. *Debus* was initially born in Pandeglang. Then, this art culture has spread to Serang and even Tangerang Regency.

Today, *debus* has developed in Banten and spread to other areas even in West Sumatera. Buya Edison is a figure of the Sammāniyya Order who uses *debus* as a medium of preaching, bringing the Sammāniyya Order closer to the community.

Buya Edison is one of the *murshids* who has mastered various orders and martial arts, including the Sammāniyya and Naqshabandiyya Orders and *kumango* martial art from Shaykh Haji Luddin in Talang Maur. He also learned the Sampelong arts in Talang Maur from Angku Nelok Saini. Sampelong is a traditional wind instrument made of bamboo. The performance of Sampelong art was usually found at festive events or parties. He also learned the Serompak Minang art at Gunung Bungsu, an art that uses chains in its performances. Buya Edison also studied Qādiriyya Sufi order and mental medicine from Haji Yamin at the top of Mount Bungsu and also studied Asaliyah order from Shaykh Mudo Angku Juli.<sup>56</sup>

Buya Edison is currently leading Khalilullah's *surau* since 2012. What he taught in the *surau* are (a) leading *sulūk* or *kebahwah* since 2012 (b) leading *dhikr* recitation, (c) leading the art of *debus*, (d) teaching

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<sup>54</sup> Ibid.

<sup>55</sup> See Hudairi, "Debus di Banten: Pertautan Tarekat dengan Budaya Lokal", *Jurnal Al-Qalam* 27, no. 1 (Januari-April 2010); Hasaini Ahmad Said, "Islam dan Budaya di Banten: Menelusik Tradisi Debus dan Maulid", *Kalam: Jurnal Studi Agama dan Pemikiran Islam* 10 no. 1 (2016).

<sup>56</sup> Interview Buya Edidon Kasim (the Leader of Sammāniyya Tariqa), Talang Maur village, sub district. Mungka, district of. Limapuluh Kota, West Sumatera, July, 03, 2019

*silek kumango* (e) teaching a martial art called *kebätam al-nubunwah* (f) teaching *silek* Muhammad Yaman, and (g) providing alternative medicine and psychiatric medicine.<sup>57</sup>

There are two opinions on the meaning of *debus*. The word is from the Arabic word *dabbus* which means a piece of sharp iron. The second opinion states that the word *debus* comes from Sundanese. This local language is a translucent word associated with the sharpness of a tool, which can penetrate a person's body if struck.

By quoting from several sources, Vredenberg mentioned several meanings of the word *debus*. *Debus* can also be found in some literature outside Banten. For example, a Javanese source *Serat Tjentini* describes a game called *gabusan*, *debus* or *gadebus*. Meanwhile, in Aceh, this kind of game is called *Rapa'i* or also called *daboih* or *meudaboih*. While in West Sumatera this type of game is called "*badabuib*" or "*dabuib*", which is a word from Minang language and has the root of the Arabic word *dabbus*, which means a prickling needle. Other than that, this *debus* has also developed in Cirebon and Banyuwangi.<sup>58</sup>

*Debus* in the early days of its development was found in the Sufi tradition. It had a very different purpose from *debus* art in the present situation. *Debus* is more of a spark from the Sufi order tradition which purpose has been shifted. Therefore, we can find other sources in the current *debus* game, especially the pre-Islamic ones, which sometimes contradict the Sufistic aims in the early stages of its development.

The source of *debus* games were the Rifā'iyya and Qādiriyya orders. The game in the Sufi tradition determines the level of *fanā'* when one performs *wazīr* and *dhiker*. When a person has reached a certain level of *fanā'*, that person would usually perform something beyond the laws of nature.<sup>59</sup> The word *fanā'* in this case is commonly translated into a spiritual experience of immersion in the supreme being. Thus, they who have reached such a degree are physically marked by being invulnerable from sharp objects and unburnable from fire.

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<sup>57</sup> Ibid.

<sup>58</sup> Abu Bakar Atjeh, *Pengantar Ilmu Tarekat: Kajian Historis tentang Mistik* (Solo: Ramadhani, 1996), 357.

<sup>59</sup> Andrew Wilcox, "The Dual Mystical Concepts of *Fanā'* and *Baqā'* in Early Sūfism", *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 38, no. 1 (2011), 95-118. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/23077002>.

When Sufi order becomes popular in society, its followers obey the provisions that come from the original teachings and local elements. It is sometimes difficult to clearly distinguish between the practice of the Sufi and the practice of belief in magical power. In fact, in some cases, the method of the followers is more conspicuous in obtaining a mystical and syncretic power as often found in the practices which are not based on formal knowledge of Islamic doctrine and the activities of the people who highly regard supernatural powers.

Currently, most of those who have magical skills in West Sumatera are closely related to *silek*. The ones who possessed such skills today were *pasilek*. *Debus*, which relies on invulnerability toward sharp objects and fire, is a striking part of the syncretism between the practice of the Sufi orders and magical beliefs. *Debus* teachers generally use all kinds of occult practices, both those taken from the Sufi practice or from local traditions.

This “game” that use a sharp iron weapon to stab a body is clearly from Rifā'iyya. This sharp weapon, which is a large wooden handle with an iron chain, is similar in shape to the weapon used in the tradition of the Rifā'iyya adherents in Turkey and Egypt.

Nowadays in West Sumatera, *debus* game techniques are limited to emphasizing the invulnerability over sharp iron and an inseparable part of all martial arts skills commonly possessed by *pasilek*. Even today the game refers to other magical techniques such as the ability to hit from a distance, tame animals, invite the tiger spirit and other powerful forces to enter into his body which is called *Sambatan*, or ask for a help from the spirit and other supernatural powers known as *hadiran*.<sup>60</sup>

Acculturating *debus* with Islam is a form of cultural sacralization that the relationship between them is like two sides of a coin since only Muslims can learn the game of *debus*. Thus, this art is supposed to bring Islamic values, which is the surrender to the totality of God as opposed to showing off one's invulnerability toward sharp objects. Furthermore, the tambourine makes the musical accompaniment to the art performance. The musical accompaniment acts to give spiritual advices to the *debus* players:

*First, lā ilāha kalimah nafi, illā Allah kalimah tawajjuh, hilang kemana akan dicari, ujudnya satu dengan tubuh* (*Lā ilāha* the sentence of negation,

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<sup>60</sup> Hudairi, “Debus di Banten: Pertautan Tarekat Dengan Budaya Lokal”, 46.

*illā Allah* the sentence of *tawajjuh*, He is lost, where to look? His form is united with the body);

*Second, nak tau di bintang tujuh, coba lihat arah ke langit, nak tahu dibalut tubuh, cubalah pandang ke dalam roib/makrifat* (If you want to see the seven stars, try to look up at the sky, if you want to see the smoothness of the body, try to look inside the body with *ma'rifat*);

*Third, mandaki bukit mandaki, dapatlah yang sejunjung, jangan takut dengan tajamnya besi, ujung dilipat mata digulung* (Climbing the hill can be as long as possible, do not be afraid of the sharpness of the iron, the tip is folded and eyes are rolled);

*Fourth, Siraut belablah rotan, terbelah rotan berduri, laut buatlah, begitu mengenal diri.* (Siraut cut the rattan, the thorn rattan split, make the seal so you know yourself);

*Fifth, Banyak hari antara hari, tak semulia hari Jum'at, banyak nabi antara nabi, tak semulia Nabi Muhammad* (Many days between days, not as glorious as Friday, many prophets among prophets, not as glorious as Prophet Muhammad);

*Sixth, Banyak bulan antara bulan, tak semulia bulan puasa, banyak tuhan antara tuhan, tak semulian Tuhan Kuasa* (There are many months between months, not as glorious as the fasting month, there are many gods between gods, not all God is Almighty);

*Seventh, Sudah siang tandanya hari, sudah malam tutuplah pintu, pecah perang semasa nabi, kuda tersendam di gua batu (kisah perang semasa Ali bin Abi Thalib)* (It is daytime, the sign of the day, the door has broken down, the war broke out during the prophet's era, the horse is hidden in a rock cave (the story of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib's time);

*Eighth, Sariek sarumpun di biaro, ambek sebatang bawa ke suliki, laut terpanggang jadi bara, embun setitik memadamai* (Sariek sarumpun di biaro, Take a stick, take it to Suliki, the sea is roasted to embers, dew drops off);

*Ninth, Obang dulu baru ka kamat, takabir awal sumbahyang, cemerlang rupa Muhammad, sampai ke langit terbayang-bayang* (Call to prayer first then *iqāmah*, *takbīr* at the beginning of prayer, the bright appearance of Muhammad, until the sky is shaded);

*Tenth, takbir awal sumbahyang, niat sertakan pula, sampai ke langit terbayang-bayang, makrifat sertakan pula* (*Takbīr* at the beginning of the prayer, include your intention too, until the sky is shadowed, the *makrifat* to include too);

*Eleventh, Hasan jo Husin cucu Nabi, anak bundonya dek Zarkiah, lah sabulan peninggal nabi, banyak agama yang berubah* (Hasan and Husayn, the grandson of the prophet, his mother Zarkiah, had been a month after the prophet's death, many religions had changed);

*Twelfth, si Upiak si Ambung, anak manculiak minum darah, putub urat batimbun darah, setitik jangan berdarah* (Si Upiak si Ambung, the kidnapper will drink blood, break the veins covered in blood, don't bleed a speck).

The *debus* song above restores the Islamic values including the religious advice to read prayers to the prophet. The poetry of the *badar* prayer sung in the *debus* culture performance and sung by the singer contains a moral message: the importance of upholding the prophet's glory and imitating his struggles. The *badar* prayer song is also sung with a high-spirited rhythm to message that Muslims should not give up and always struggle in this life. If tragedy, trials, problems overflow a person, he should not give up.<sup>61</sup>

From the results of the interview with the head of the *debus* group, he said:

“*Debus* performances in Muslim societies are an artistic manifestation presented with the Islamic teachings regarding the creed, the oneness of Allah, the humanity and the general creation. The lyrics of the *badar* prayer at *debus* performance contain praises to the prophet Muhammad and his companions who were dead in the *badar* war.”<sup>62</sup>

The chanting of *dhikr* also usually accompanies every *debus* performance, such as the recitation of *lā ilāh illā Allāh*, there is no god but Allah. So, if Allah permits, the knives, machetes and bullets will not injure those players. The sharia message in the performance also reminds Muslims to pray five times a day, do *shabāda*, give *zakaat*, fast, perform the hajj pilgrimage for those who are able to do, repent, recite *dhikr* and marry.

No less important in this *debus* is the message of social morality. There are two moral messages based on the objects, namely morality to the Creator and morality to the creatures. Then, morality to the creatures includes morality to humans, animals and

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<sup>61</sup> Interview with Buya Edidon Kasim (The Leader of Sammāniyya Tariqa), Talang Maur village, sub district. Mungka, district of. Limapuluh Kota, West Sumatera, July, 03, 2019.

<sup>62</sup> Interview with H. Ardi (The Leader of *Debus* Art), Talang Maur village, sub district of. Mungka, district. Limapuluh Kota, West Sumatera, July. 03, 2019.

plants. Morality to human includes mutual assistance, patience, sincerity, and cooperation.

Thus, *debus* shows a clear evidence that local wisdom and Islamic shariah do not have to be contradictory. *Debus* is not merely an entertainment, but also a religious preaching that the community can absorb through the popular media. Islam, the religion of *rahmat li al-'ālamīn*, teaches all human beings to spread goodness not only to one religion and group but also to all creatures.

### **Concluding Remarks**

Religion and culture are two things that can be distinguished but cannot be separated. According to Geertz, culture consists of three main things: a system of knowledge, a value system, and a symbol system that allows meaning or interpretation. In this case, the Sufi order's position and role is a significant religious factor in understanding the culture. Sufism is a spiritual dimension of Islam that is more accommodative toward local cultures and traditions because Sufism tends to preach the monotheism dimension. Thus, Sufi teachings are relatively more tolerant and welcomed in the society.

The shaykhs in the Sammāniyya Order have exemplified how to understand local culture and traditions and how to use them to deliver Islamic values. The ability of the Sammāniyya leaders to utilize cultural arts as a means of preaching is an ideal example of maintaining harmony between religion (the teachings of the Sufism) and culture. The use of art and culture in preaching among the Sammāniyya order is a form of *da'wah* that promotes cultural values within a pluralistic society.

There is a significant difference between the Sammāniyya leaders in West Sumatera and North Sumatera in the patterns and creativity of their preaching method. The Sammāniyya Order in North Sumatera is better known as a preacher who puts forward the dialogical method of *da'wah*. The Sufi leaders are known as skilled figures in articulating *naqli* and *'aqli* arguments to recruit people to become followers of the order. Meanwhile, the Sammāniyya Order leaders in West Sumatera were more famous for their artistic creativity than sufistic argumentation, although they also lead *dhikr* recitation and mysticism.

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