

## EFFECT OF TAREKAT KHALWATIYYAH-SAMMAN ON FISHERMEN'S WORK ON THE SOUTH COAST OF SOUTH SULAWESI

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### **Abstract**

*Coastal fishermen communities hold religious rituals as Sufism practices. One of which is Tarekat Khalwatiyah-Samman, which affects their daily work. This paper aims to identify the substance of the Khalwatiyah-Samman teachings. It deciphers the effect of this teaching on the work of fishermen on the south coast of South Sulawesi. This research is qualitative with social and empirical approaches. Data collection was done through in-depth interviews, observation, and literature study. It employed qualitative data processing and analysis. The results showed that the substance of the Khalwatiyah-Samman teachings lies*

in its three doctrines: the purification of the soul, the concept of the essence of God, and the concept of human essence. In addition, the influence of Khalwatiyyah-Samman's teaching on the work of fishermen on the south coast of South Sulawesi is the emergence of attitudes in work such as complacency; God has determined everything, and they do not have a competitive spirit and spirit of achievement. Accordingly, the substance of the Khalwatiyyah-Samman teaching is that God has determined all human actions, and humans only live it. Moreover, the effect of the Khalwatiyyah-Samman teaching is to form an attitude of fatalism in fishermen or resignation.

Masyarakat nelayan di wilayah pesisir memegang teguh ritual keagamaan sebagai praktik Sufisme. Salah satunya yaitu Tarekat Khalwatiyyah-Samman yang berpengaruh terhadap pekerjaan sehari-hari nelayan. Tulisan ini bertujuan memahami substansi ajaran Tarekat Khalwatiyyah-Samman. Penelitian ini mengungkap efek Tarekat Khalwatiyyah-Samman terhadap pekerjaan nelayan di pesisir selatan Sulawesi Selatan. Penelitian ini bersifat kualitatif dengan pendekatan sosial dan empiris. Pengumpulan data dilakukan melalui wawancara mendalam, observasi, dan studi literatur. Kajian ini menggunakan pengolahan dan analisis data kualitatif. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa substansi ajaran Tarekat Khalwatiyyah-Samman terletak pada tiga doktrinnya yaitu penyucian jiwa, konsep esensi Ketuhanan dan konsep esensi manusia. Pengaruh tarekat Khalwatiyyah-Samman terhadap pekerjaan nelayan di pesisir selatan Sulawesi Selatan adalah timbulnya sikap dalam bekerja seperti cepat puas, segala hal telah ditentukan oleh Tuhan, mereka tidak memiliki jiwa bersaing dan semangat berprestasi. Karena itulah substansi ajaran Khalwatiyyah-Samman adalah semua perbuatan manusia telah ditentukan Tuhan dan manusia hanya menjalaninya. Adapun efek Tarekat Khalwatiyyah-Samman adalah membentuk sikap fatalism pada nelayan atau kepasrahan.

**Keywords:** *effect; fatalism; fishermen-community; Khalwatiyyah-Samman teaching*

## **Introduction**

In general, coastal communities in Indonesia are religious people. They showed their religiousness in the many rituals they held long ago (Tajuddin, 2019). These rituals are mostly related to his work as a fisherman

and are related to the sea. Seas are their source of livelihood (Torreon & Tiempo, 2021). Therefore, they hang completely on the seas and must maintain it so that it produces continuously when they go to sea. The fishermen also maintain a good relationship with the sea (Arifin et al., 2018) by making food offerings or sacrificing certain animals in the middle of the sea. Most fishermen's rituals in Indonesia are still characterized by animism and dynamism (Syarief, 2021). Animism and dynamism are beliefs that consider that certain objects have supernatural powers and can provide help, a belief that reeks of heresy and superstition that have converged into an inseparable form of belief in people's daily lives (Hasan, 2012). Fishermen believe that the sea has a guardian of supernatural beings who can be angry and happy depending on the rituals and sacrifices (Fitrisia, 2014; Karlina & Eriyanti, 2022; Syarief, 2021).

The entry of Islam in the fishing community, especially on the south coast of South Sulawesi, was first in the form of *Tarekat* and not formal Islam or Sharia (Agustang, 2010). It is due to the fact that bound can accommodate the local beliefs of fishermen while formal Islam does not accept it. In addition, the early generation of Islamic propagators did preach the essence of Islam. *Tarekat*, also known as a Sufi order or Sufi brotherhood, is a term used to refer to the various spiritual paths or schools within Islam that focus on the inner, mystical dimensions of the faith. The word "tarekat" comes from the Arabic word "tariqa," which means "way" or "path." Thus, the fishing community's beliefs became more assertive with the entry of Islam into fishing communities characterized by Sufism. This Sufism is in line with the belief in supernatural things, and it does not interfere with the habits of the fishing community (Nihayatul et al., 2019). Through Sufism, such fishermen's local beliefs become legal and can be understood as part of Islam.

In general, coastal fishing communities have the same work culture, such as fast satisfaction (Silooy, 2017), not having a competitive spirit (Syaiful, 2019), resignation to fate or destiny, momentary or short-term orientation, and lack of future orientation (Iriani, 2019). For them, God predetermines everything, and humans only live up to these provisions. The theological perspective views the culture as fatalism or *jabariyah*. (Hakim, 2015). Fatalism, also known as *jabariyah* or determinism, is a philosophical and theological concept that suggests all events and outcomes are predetermined and inevitable. It posits that everything in the universe,

including human actions and choices, is predestined and beyond individual control. The dominance of fatalism culture in fishing communities is one of the indicators of the causes of their poverty in addition to structural aspects in the form of social and political access (Hakim, 2016). Empirically, the fishermen on the south coast of South Sulawesi are primarily poor, as seen in their daily lives. It can be seen that their homes are small in size, their children's education is also low, and they have no job alternative (Anriani et al., 2017). This situation is evident in almost all traditional fishing communities on the south coast, including Takalar Regency, Jeneponto Regency, and Bantaeng Regency. The area also has the same characteristics as Makassarese ethnicity.

Some studies on religious characteristics in fishing communities include the Sufism teachings in the pesantren that train them to accept nature sincerely, happily and strive to become human beings with good character. The concept of the Sufism teachings leads to the concept of *akhlaqi* Sufism directed at increasing the obedience and closeness of santri, especially fishermen residents, to Allah by carrying out His commands and staying away from His prohibitions (Alam, 2020). Besides, the culture of fatalism (resignation) is the cause of fishermen's cultural poverty. Resignation as part of the cultural aspect became an integral part of the social life of fishermen as they believe that God has determined this life, whereas man only lives it like poverty. They are poor because they are God's provisions and cannot be rich (Hakim, 2019). Another research on the fishermen community in West Sulawesi showed that the Makkuliwa ritual and Islamic elements have the same pattern as an affirmation of something that has power beyond human reason. Thus, these two cultural elements influence each other at the level of practice, spiritual space, and beliefs of the fishing community. This tradition then becomes a series of ceremonies as a form of affirmation of Allah as the ruler without having to change the whole series and practice of the Makkuliwa ritual that has long been maintained. (Tajuddin, 2019).

All of the studies on the fishermen's communities generally focused on the teachings of *Tarekat* that shaped the belief of the fishing community to surrender to God. However, only a few have examined the effects of the *tarekat* on their work as fishermen. Therefore, this study examines the effect of *Tarekat Khalwatiyyah-Samman* on fishermen's work in the fishing community. Thus, this study is concerned with the following questions: (1)

What is the substance of the teachings of the *Khalwatiyah-Samman* Order? (2) How does the *Khalwatiyah Samman* order affect fishermen's work on the south coast of South Sulawesi? The contribution of this research is oriented to provide input for policymakers in filtering new understandings of the beliefs of local communities.

## **Method**

This qualitative research uses social and empirical approaches (Creswell, 2013; Oetomo, 2015). The empirical reality of the traditional fishermen's society (poverty) is the result of their knowledge and belief. This belief is a socially constructed evolution. Data were collected through in-depth interviews about the teachings of *Khalwatiyah-Samman* that influence the fishing community, observations about the living conditions of fishermen, for example, their house condition, their children's education, and literature studies about the belief of traditional fishermen and practices. The informants were five fishermen determined purposively. Furthermore, the data is processed and analyzed qualitatively using a three-step method: data reduction, categorization, and conclusions (Bungin, 2015; Suyanto, 2015).

## **Finding and Discussion**

### **The substance of *Khalwatiyyah-Samman* teachings**

The entry of the congregation into the fishing community on the south coast of South Sulawesi caused changes in the religious way of the fishing community. As a result, their local beliefs that resemble animism and dynamism get equivalence in Islam. However, these beliefs are separate from the teachings of *Khalwatiyah Samman*. Karaeng Muh. Said (77 years old) is a religious figure affiliated with *Nahdlatul Ulama*, one of Indonesia's largest and most influential Islamic organizations. He stated that the entry of *tarekat* teachings to the coastal area was its compatibility with the habits of fishermen so that they felt not disturbed when performing rituals. Instead, they were given a good response by the local early Islamic propagators who are generally community leaders. The community also made them an example (Interview, October 25<sup>th</sup>, 2020).

In addition, Abidin (78 years old) emphasized that the harsh and challenging natural environment made them depend on something

supernatural or supra-natural, like the ancients' beliefs. Fishermen believe that something beyond humans has the power to act beyond human capabilities that can save or harm depending on the human's submission to it (Interview, October 27<sup>th</sup>, 2020).

In essence, local beliefs and Islamic teachings have common ground on the occult aspect. It is this aspect of the occult that attracts fishermen to embrace Islam. In the teachings of *tarekat*, this aspect of the occult is very concerning and is the core teaching of *Khalwatiyyah-Samman*, making this a doctrine of its teachings.

### **The Doctrines of *Khalwatiyyah-Samman***

Every religious group must have a doctrine that encourages and binds group members to obey and believe in the group and its teachings. Moreover, *tarekat* is a straight prophetic path that must be traveled. It is as stated by an informant Manabba (70 years old) that the word "*al-thariqah*" derived from the Arabic word, which literally means the path, but that term referred to the way to God in order to get God's love by obeying his teachings as in Q.S. Al Jin: 16. The meaning of this verse is "If only they run the firm on *al-tariqah*, then Allah would have bestowed upon them the water of true life that is abundant." It's an energizing doctrine for us as followers of it (Interview, October 25<sup>th</sup>, 2021).

Furthermore, Yusuf Dg. Sarro (69 years), a *Khalwatiyyah* figure at the location explained that Sheikh Yusuf al-Makassari was a scholar of the *Ahlus Sunnah Wal Jama'ah* and motivated the people of the Banten area and Bugis Makassar against the colonialist through the doctrine of spiritual teachings of his order. He had 29 pieces of great work as a spiritual guide for life (Interview, October 30<sup>th</sup>, 2021).

Furthermore, all 29 pieces of Syeh Yusuf's work have been specified in writing *Muzdalifah Sahib* (Masri, 2019). All the entitlements are (1) *Al-Nafhatu as-Sailaniyah*. (2) *Zubdatu al-Asraar*. (3) *Qurratu al-'Aini*. (4) *Syurutu al-'Arifi al-Muhaqqiq*. (5) *Tajul al-Asraar*. (6) *Tuhfatu al-'Amri Fadhilat Dzikri*. (7) *Mathaalibu as-Salikiyn*. (8) *Sirru al-Araar*. (9) *Tuhfatu al-'Abraar*. (10) *Kaifiyatu al-Zikir*, (11) *Al-Wahsiyat al-Munjiya 'Anil Mudharrat*, (12) *Tanbiyhu al-Maasyi*, (13) *Mir'atu al-Muhaqqiqiyin*, (14) *Tartybu al-Wariydi*, (15) *Fathu ar Rahman*, (16) *Asraaru as - Shalawaat*, (17) *Barakaatu as - Sailaniyah*, (18) *Al-Fawaa'ih al-Yusufiah*, (19) *Muqaddimah al-Fawaa'id*, (20) *Bidayatu al-Mubtady*, (21) *Daf'u al-*

*Bala'u*, (22) *Fathu Kaifiyatu al-Zdikri*; (23) *Kaifiyat al-Munghi wal Itsbaat*, (24) *Risalat Ghayat al Ikhtishar*, (25) *Tahshilu al-Inayat wal Hidayah*, (26) *Hablu al-Waryd*, (27) *Tuhfatu al-Labiyb*, (28) *Safinatu an-Najat*, dan (29) *Tuhfatu ar-Rabbaniyah*. It is the core teaching of the *Khalwatiyah-Samman*, which is summarized into three main doctrines, namely (1) the doctrine of inward purification towards Allah SWT; (2) the conception of God's form and its properties; and (3) the conception of human essence (Arifin; et al., 2017). The three teachings are the hallmark of this *tarekat*, and its followers must practice them because they are oriented toward the inner purity of their followers. The three core teachings are explained as follows.

### The Doctrine of Soul Sanctification

According to informants who are followers of *Khalwatiyah Samman*, the sufis agree that the only way to approach God and witnessing is through purification and sanctity of life. In terms of Sufism, it is called sanctity hearts, as in the liver contained a variety of worldly tendencies that became a wall on *kasyaf* or openness for the trip. The human heart is a reflection or emission of substances of holy God; the heart should reach the level of purity and perfection. Therefore, it required education and mental training with the arrangements on disciplinary attitudes and behavior. Moreover, it needs the personal formation of high moral character, the direction of the center of thought, and a sense of the sacred object of transcendental spirituality (Nurhikmah, 2017).

In the context of soul purification, an *Anrong* teacher or the traditional teacher of *Khalwatiyah* in the Arungkeke district suggest *salik* or students forming attitudes and behavior of daily living a positive form of (1) *husnu al-dzan*, well thought of fellow human beings, and especially to God; (2) *husnu al-khuluq*, the good morals to every creature even more so to his creator; dan (3) *husnu al-adab* (Askahar, 2019), namely courtesy towards all beings because it is seen that all that is the reality and the nature of Allah Ta'ala. Wise men prosecuted priority *Husnu al-adab* to Allah, such as willingness to accept what has been given by God even if demands are not following expectations. Civilized to God is *taslim*, which handed over all affairs to Allah and willingly (the pleasure) accepts what is given as it is (Ulfa et al., 2022).

Except for the three positive attitudes and behavior of the *Salik*, it also recommended refraining from attitudes of negative behaviors such as (1) *hasad*, the envy of the favor of God to others with the desire for the provision of the deleted; (2) *riyaa*, the tendency for displaying wealth or his deeds to gain the praise of others or to be admired; and (3) *ghibah*, the curse and reveal something about another person to mock or insult. Third negative attitudes and behavior should avoid (purified) before undermining the mind or *qalb* (Fahruddin, 2016).

In the process of the congregation's inner purification and inspiration teachings, Sheikh Yusuf set up some *maqam* or station. In the form of levels of depth of understanding and experience of the teachings of the congregation reflected in the attitudes and behavior of each *salik* as described by Ustadz Kadir Kasim (80 Years) founder Babussalam boarding school located in the village Bonto Bangun District of Arungkeke Jeneponto region suggested three *maqam* or levels, namely: "...(1) *maqam Bidayah*. (2) *maqam tawassuth*. (3) *akhashshul khawash*". *Maqam bidayah* is the level of the congregation for the beginner class (lay). At this level, the student or *salik* obtains *akhyaar* or noble congregation in the form of training multiplying prayer, fasting, reading the Qur'an, pilgrimage, jihad in the way of Allah, and the like, multiplying good deeds outward or inward. *Maqam tawassuth* is the congregation level for *khawas* group that has risen from the *maqam Bidayah*. At this stage, the *Salik* obtain training institutes in the form of inner *mujaahadah* to change the character and bad behavior into good, purify the mind, and cleanse the heart, spirit, and *sirr* (secret), will raise the inner and charitable deeds to multiply outward. *Maqam akhashshul khawash* is in the form of level institutes for the *muqarribin* group (most specific). At this level, the *Salik* obtain expert congregations of remembrance and love of Allah (*muqorrobin*). (Haliadi et al., 2016)

At each *maqam*, the role of the Sheikh (*Khalifah*: Arab or Anrong Teacher: Bugis Makassar) is needed to achieve what is called an *Al-hal* form of courage for the *Salik* at all levels towards toward higher station to see God with the eyes of the heart. The basic teachings of the *Khalwatiyyah-Samman* congregation as quoted from the *Nafhatu as-Sailaniyah* book, namely repentance, ascetic, resignation, *qona'ah*, solitude, inclination, pleasure, *zikh* *Zahir*, and *muroqabah*.

The first principle is *taubat* or repent to Allah Ta'ala from all spiritual sin and physical sins. Repent of sin for leaving religious obligations, such as leaving one of the Five Pillars of Islam. Repent means promising oneself to leave the sin and will not repeat it.

The second principle is ascetic life or *zuhud* by leaving world affairs. It means reducing the desire in the world with the realization that the pleasures of this world are only temporary, while the hereafter is eternal. The knowledge that underlies the ascetic life is one's faith and a blend of *khauf* (anxiety) and *raja'a'* (hope). The third principle is *tawakkal* or resignation on Allah, submit to all matters, attitudes, and actions to God. Resignation regards *qodha*, Allah's invention and creation of this pre-eternal recording and destiny. It also concerns *qadar*, the result of Allah's knowledge and the manifestation of Allah's power.

The fourth principle is *qanaah*. It means feeling a provision of Allah. By holding this principle, one will limit the need for lust from the love of the world and luxuries. When one embraces *qanaah*, they develop a mindset that is free from excessive attachment to worldly possessions. This detachment allows individuals to focus on the pursuit of spiritual growth, fostering meaningful relationships, and engaging in acts of charity and kindness towards others.

The fifth principle is *uzlah*. It means the solitude or away from the crowds of people who are full of vice and crime. *Uzlah* encourages individuals to withdraw from the company of those who engage in immoral or harmful activities, as it can negatively influence one's character and spiritual well-being. In a world where negative influences can be pervasive, *uzlah* serves as a protective measure for individuals to safeguard their faith, values, and integrity.

The sixth principle is *tawajjuh*, or inclination, defined as a mental attitude that always feels the majesty of the natural creation and beauty. Moreover, it is accompanied by a tendency to drown himself over favor he felt. This Sufi attitude delivers inner purity and increases the love for God.

The seventh principle is *sabar* or patience above all the trials experienced by restraint. It is the ability to control himself against something concerning himself and his family, either favored or despised. It means enduring the risks and suffering that happen to him because of the provision of God.

The eighth principle is *ridha*. It means willingly receives *qadha* (Allah's invention and creation of this pre-eternal recording and destiny) and *qadr* (the result of Allah's knowledge and the manifestation of Allah's power). One practicing *ridha* means submitting all matters to Allah.

The ninth principle is *zikir zahir*, or a form of worship remembering God at any time and place through the recitation of *La Ilaha Illallah*. Salik which still at the station of *Bidayah* have to practice more on *La Illallah* sentences, were for a different *salik on tawassuth maqam*, the remembrance of *Allah-Allah* pronunciation, and for salik who are at the station of *akhashshul khawash* remembrance with pronunciation *Huwa...Huwa*. The need for appreciation of the meaning of each pronunciation of remembrance, not just utter by the tongue but concentrating feelings and thoughts in dealing with God, in which the vibrations of remembrance should flow throughout the body. For a Sufi, *zikr* is key to leading a mortal situation with Allah.

The tenth principle is *muraaqabah* which means to see with a heart full of sincerity to Allah. This obligation is shown in the hadith of the Prophet Muhammad, "*worship Allah as if you see Him. If you do not see Him, He saw you.*" In his treatise entitled *Zubdatu al-Asraar*, Sheikh Yusuf explained further that *muraaqabah* is a mental attitude that always looks with the heart to God in any circumstance, place, and time.

The ten basic teachings of *Khalawatiyyah-Samman* are oriented to the end goal: purifying the mind or *qolbu*, heightening the character, deepening the desire for closeness to God, and cultivating a love of Him to attain the pleasure of God. Finally, it results in the absolute dependence of all events on God's will in His destiny, free from all human action, making ascetic piety lies not in the empirical world but in the fate of it. A high spirit for social, economic, and political achievement is believed to be causally related to fate, fortune, and achievement but is seen as less trust in the "allowance" of God.

*Khalwatiyyah-Samman* congregation views the life meaning with the effort of Jabariah theology as only a modest course, and all the affairs of Allah (ascetic piety) are different from the Qadariah theology that performed much effort to make a breakthrough with high rationality. Related to this, Husin et al. (2020) state that we could pave the attachment of everything besides Allah by emptying the heart of the world's love and eliminating all negative thoughts. It is the result of the *zikr*. Thus the teachings of *Khalawatiyyah-Samman* viewed this as an effort to "escape" from the real world into the

unseen world. It means the tendency to ignore the mundane tasks that have implications on the weak instrumental values related to the effort to achieve prosperity in the world and maintain it.

### **The Concept of God's Essence**

Sheikh Yusuf, referring to Surah Al-Mujadalah verse 7 and Surah Al-Hadid verse 4, developed the concept of *ihathah* (covers) and *al-maiyah* (with) in light of the nature of God. God is always with humans where they are, and God includes *ala-kulli* (everything) with his knowledge. It is as described by Syech Yusuf in his treatise titled *as-an-Nafhatu Sailaniyah*, whose substance is "Allah Ta'ala that is unseen, again the most unseen, and no one knows his *haqiqah*, except himself. He includes *ala-kulli* (all that exists) outwardly and inwardly, without mixing and fusion ... ..He and all that is perfectly and watched without adjustment and not like it" (Hamid, 1994).

The formula above is the basic theory of immanence which states that God is present everywhere. He is always with humans wherever they are. God is present as *dziil* (shadow), reflected by the many mirrors, but this does not affect the plurality of His unity. God is very close to his servants. Besides Surah Al-Mujadalah and Surah Al-Hadid, there is still other surah designated as a basis for the conception of divinity referred. They are (1) Surah Al-Baqarah verse 115. This verse means "To Allah belongs the East and the West, wherever you turn, there is the face of God; (2) Surah Al-Baqarah verse 186. The meaning of this verse is "When the servants ask the concerning Me, (answer) that I was close"; (3) Surah Al-Hadid verse 3. The meaning of this verse is "He is the beginning and the end, who was born and the mind, and He is aware of everything (business); and (4) Surah At-Thalaaq verse 12. This verse means, "And Allah, His knowledge really covers everything."

The Unity conception mentioned above, for Sheikh Yusuf, intended to his *salik* not easily slip into the form of God and understand that it is present everywhere. That could mean God transformed into rocks, trees, and other natural objects or incarnate in humans. The concept of *al-ma'iyah* (along) and *al-ihathah* (reporting) God is in science, as in Surah Ath Thalaaq: 12, namely, "Indeed God his science covers everything."

Furthermore, Sheikh Yusuf explained that the participation of God and His reporting to His servants should not be viewed separately, namely *al-ihathah al'maiyah*. God is close to his servants as well as nature and his

reporting as reporting to his with some specific properties. It does not mean participating in two things simultaneously in one stream, but his participation covers. The concept of *alihathah al-ma'iyah* is inseparable, like a creator with his creation. *Uluhiyat* properties include everything.

Participation and coverage of the Lord to His servant are for those who always remember God, especially those who are mortal with him. In his treatise entitled *Zubdatu al-asraar*, page 31, Shaykh Yusuf argued that the servant of remembrance at all times and in all places would be sustainable longing and love. Therefore, God will love him and be with him.

### **The Concept of Human Essence**

In accordance with aspects of human beings, Sheikh Yusuf determines the classification of the *nafs* or soul by pointing out a few verses of the Al-Quran as its foundation, namely: (1) *nafs ammarah*, according to Surah Yusuf 53, *nafs* serves to encourage people to misbehave and obedient to the will or *syahwat*, so that his actions away from the nature of perfection. Therefore, *nafs* is recommended by Sheikh Yusuf to be killed; (2) *nafs lawwamah* is the type of passion that brings restlessness and restlessness over the temptations of earthly life. These *nafs* usually bring people closer to the evil deeds; (3) *nafs mulhimah*, according to Surah Asy-Syams 7-8, namely *nafs* that the rays of sanctity have inspired; and (4) *as muthmainnah*, according to Surah Al-Fajr 27-28 that *nafs* that have been surrendered to the will of God, the soul is already calm and avoid doubts.

This process of remembrance approach led to a religious experience known as a mystical experience or Sufism experience. The emergence of mystical experience led to the charges against specific *zikr* rituals that were previously possible only personally but later became a collective need for the people of Jeneponto South Sulawesi. It is evidenced spreading *Khalwatiah-Saman* congregation in South Sulawesi, the main area of the islands.

Here comes the sociological phenomenon, where "something" that originally is not worship then develops into worship due psychologically, humans hope to get something in the future to commit acts that become "worship." On the other hand, they have a fear of the future if it is abandoned. Their hopes and fears then formed worship into "custom" of horizontal society with its implementation, but it has a vertical dimension

objective. The habit of the order of remembrance of *Khalwatiyah-Saman* comes from "the depths of the soul" executing.

By deepening religious experience, more people feel pleasure. As a result, the person's soul gets healthier. With a healthy mental condition, there will be too personal with the mental hygiene (Westerhof & Keyes, 2010; Tremblay et al., 2021), in which the person in his life always feels calm, safe and secure (Jalaluddin, 2001). Efforts to find it is to resign or complete submission to God. Manifestations are to show love to perform rituals in remembrance as an attitude that eventually gave birth to God's "allowance." This resignation bore the symbol of pessimism for themselves adherents as the background of *Khalwatiah* congregation has implications for the underdevelopment of instrumental values in his life.

### **Effect of *Khalwatiyah Samman* on Fishermen's Work**

The force that had a bad influence on the low productivity of fishermen has long undermined the fishermen's society. Therefore, the strength is from Sufism which affects the cultural life of the fishing communities. When the lean season arrives, they are unemployed rather than finding another job to deal with the uncertainty of income. In comparison, some work can be like a bricklayer or construction worker and plantation (Yuerlita, 2013). It happens because of the patron-client system that ensures their families basic needs and because of cultural orientation only limited work for a living. The reason they are unemployed is due to the season. They did not try to find other jobs to supplement their income because they believed that whatever is done, this life will never change because God already determines life. They said "*mannapole apa nijama takkullei ta'roba tallasaka kaantu dalleka le'bami nipattantu rikaraeng Allah Ta'ala.*" (Makassar language).

There is also an indication that fishermen are complacent when they have obtained results, so they choose the job of fish retailers instead of big fishermen (Belwal et al., 2015). There are also those whose income is enough to live on, especially enough to eat tomorrow. This is indicated by a 'fatalistic' cultural orientation, such as fishermen who resignedly accept their fate because they have to bear debts due to production results not covering production costs that financiers have calculated. They believed that sustenance is the same as death. Whatever is done, if Allah destines it, that

is the result. According to them, the income is just for food, let alone a 'boss' that guarantees them. They said “*Sukkuruminne tawwa rinigappayya nasaba' niamo nikanre siagang punna la'busuki niaji parangka'ka assaretawwa angnginrang'*. It means efforts to illuminate the cultural orientation will expire at the conclusion that they work only for a living. There was a fisherman that indicated the nature of complacency when it had gained results. Many of those do not go to sea because it already has a sufficient supply of fish to eat the next day. According to them, provision is the same to the end; whatever is done when God destines it that results. In the concept of Cluckhohn cultural orientation, they belong to the fatalistic group (Ahmad, 2022; Hakim, 2019). On the other hand, when the fish season and getting adequate results did not direct to the stability of subsistence but directed to fulfill of consumer goods. Fatalistic cultural orientation, consumption, and uncertainty level of income indicate the weakness of fishermen's instrumental values.

Regarding productivity, in general, they believe that the results of operations are very dependent on the sustenance (fate or divine); sustenance everyone has been determined (both quality and quantity) by the Almighty (Encep & Surya, 2017; Hasmy, 2017). It shows a systematic dependence on life "worldly" above "religion" is sacred, where no earthly value unless connected with "religion." Labor and the plight were not based on efficiency for productive work ethic. "God's allowance" with observance of sharia, on the one hand, work efficiently, and sustenance obtained are interrelated but not causal.

For fishermen with the understanding "*that anjo nikanaya assele' batuji ridalleka*" means that *hassele* or *dalle* does not refer to rational and systematic work but refers to the abstract and mysterious *Erona Kareng Allahu Taala* ("God's favor"). Fishermen, in general in the research area, believe that the number of fish in the catch belongs to God's "favor," which is absolutely under his will. Therefore, all that can be done is to pray and improve sharia, not increase professional skills in fishing.

Ultimately, such a belief gives birth to the absolute dependence of all events on God's "favor" in his destiny, which is independent of all human actions. It made ascetic piety not located in the empirical world but in that destiny. They firmly hold that belief, even to the extreme, they consider that no matter how good (modern) the equipment or the sincerity of one's efforts have absolutely no significant influence on the size of the catch.

On the other hand, God's "favor" is also supernatural and mysterious, which cannot be recognized after the event. Therefore, the high spirit of economic achievement is supposed to be causally unrelated to fate, sustenance, and achievement unless there is a lack of faith in God's favor. This understanding is seen in different groups of fishermen. However, the group of fishermen more inconsistent with the *erona Kareng Allahu Taala* or the "favor of God" appear more productive, even though they are viewed and see themselves as less pious.

In the end, such a belief gives birth to the absolute dependence of all events on the "imposition" of God in His destiny which is independent of all human actions, making ascetic piety not located in the empirical world but in that destiny. They strongly believe in that belief, even to the extreme they emphatically throw out the answer "no matter how good (modern) the equipment or the sincerity of one's efforts have absolutely no significant influence on the catch size.

Moderate fishermen believe that "sustenance has indeed been determined, but humans do not live like stones." This view allows a number of other fishermen to get more production than their peers. They can leave the confinement of religious beliefs in the form of "ascetic piety," which shackles every effort of the fishing community in general. This attitude is relevant to the concept of work ethic.

Overall, the fishermen hold the beliefs taught by Islam through priests beliefs, religious leaders, and parents. Eventually, it led to the absolute dependence of all the events on God's "allowance" in His Providence that is free from any human action. It makes the ascetic piety lies not in the empirical world but in the fate of it. In the south coast fishing community, belief and submission to God is a hereditary tradition preserved through rituals led by *Pinati*. The *pinati* have the same belief that the level of sustenance for each human being has been determined, but humans need to know how much sustenance is. Humans only seek, and God determines it. *Pinati* took the analogy that "if a person has been determined as much as one glass of water, for example, then that one glass must be sought, but no effort will be able to exceed the size of the glass of water in question, because if it exceeds the size of the glass, the water in the glass will be spilled or transferred to others".

Seeking sustenance can be done in two ways, namely by inner means (occult) and by outward means (effort). On the basis of the influence of

Islamic teachings in South Sulawesi, especially the *Khalawatiyah-Samman* teaching, which takes more Sufi paths from Tuanta Sheikh Yusuf Al Makassar al Banteni. The inner (occult) way is more dominantly believed to be the only "best" way in the search for sustenance. It can be seen in the salvation ceremony ahead of each fishing season in honor of the Prophet Khaidir, who, according to the local community, is the "father" of Sheikh Yusuf. The ceremony is a way of requesting that they be safe at sea and obtain abundant sustenance. They believe that the Prophet Khaidir will appear in his white robe, a sign of good fortune. However, it is challenging for fishermen to witness the case.

The fishermen communities are accustomed to the old belief tradition (ancestors) that in the unseen world, as in the real world, every place is inhabited (controlled) by spirits. They communicate with spirits traditionally through offerings and prayers from a pinati. This tradition has been going on since pre-Islamic times until now. Similarly, sustenance - fate - destiny is seen from the supernatural world because it comes from God. The unseen world is controlled by God's messenger. Therefore, the issue of a better livelihood (increasing income, welfare, luck, and so on) must be pursued in a supernatural way as well, namely by paying homage to the residents (rulers) who are sacred. Thus in the Makassar Bugis community, especially in rural areas, there is a "dualism of belief," on the one hand believing in spirits as the bearer of sustenance originating from ancestral beliefs; on the other hand, because they have embraced Islam, they also believe in God as the provider of sustenance.

Through this inner way, the local fishing community tends to be passive so that instrumental values do not develop; they prioritize "prayer" through rites and mysticism rather than efforts to develop their instrumental values. Herein lies the relevance of what McClelland states: cultures with low nAch may devote more attention to preserving their traditions, especially in a religious environment (Halemba, 2023).

In general, the results of this study are in line with the finding on fatalism and poverty in fishing communities (Hakim, 2019) and research on the living Qur'an of the fishermen community of Pambusuang village, Balanipa sub-district, Polewali Mandar regency, West Sulawesi" (Tajuddin, 2019). It also supported the finding on the fishermen of Grajagan village, Purwoharjo sub-district, Banyuwangi regency, which states that all of the teachings of tarekat in traditional fishing communities tend to have the

character of *jabariyah* or fatalism and no character of *qadariyah* (Nihayatul et al., 2019). This is due to the harsh marine environment and the influence of past beliefs that are animist and dynamic. Thus, it is understandable that traditional fishermen need a mindset for achievement and progress. However, the results of this study have limitations, including this study did not cover the variables of change in the fishing community and the *Khalwatiyah Samman* order, and the scope of research was small in one fishing village. Therefore, further research is needed with wider variables and areas.

## **Conclusion**

In the southern coastal communities of South Sulawesi, the first Islamic teaching to spread was *Khalwatiyah-Samman*. The fishing community easily accepts this teaching because it has many similarities with the beliefs of fishermen who are still influenced by animism and dynamism. Moreover, *Khalwatiyah-Samman* is spread by community leaders so that the fishing community believes and follows it. The fishing community is familiar with the tradition of the old beliefs (ancestor) that in the unseen world, as in the real world, every place is inhabited (controlled) by the spirits. They communicate with the spirit of traditional spirits through offerings and chanting from a priest. This tradition lasted from the pre-Islam until now. Similarly, fortune, fate, and destiny are seen from the unseen world because they come from God. An unseen world dominated by the messenger of God. Therefore, the issue of a better life (increased income, prosperity, good fortune, and so on) must be taken by means of the occult. Similarly, by way of tribute to the occupant (ruler) was sacred. Thus, the Bugis-Makassar society, especially in rural, contained a "dualism of trust"; on one hand, believing in ghosts as carrier sustenance sourced from ancestral beliefs, while as they had embraced Islam, they also believed in the Lord God as the giver of sustenance.

The inner way of local fishing communities tends to be passive so that instrumental values do not evolve; they prefer the "prayer" in the form of rites and mystical rather than attempting to develop their instrumental values. Herein lies the relevant statement that a culture with a low Need for Achievement (N-ach) probably devotes more attention to preserving its

traditions, especially in the religious sphere. This is the effect of them being attached to their work as fishermen.

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