

## Diversity of *Tarekat* Communities and Social Changes in Indonesian History

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### Abstract

*Islam as a religious system is generally based on three principal teachings called as aqidah (theology), syari'ah (law), and tasawwuf (Sufism, moral and spiritual). Each thought and the Islamic expertise have also established Muslim communities that demonstrate the diversity of social and religious history in various regions on the spread of Islam. In the history of the spread of Islam in Indonesia, particularly the Sufis always showed a significant role in each period of social change. Therefore, further discussion of this paper will be based on the development of tarekat communities. The historical facts in this study are presented gradually based on the unique cases in each period. The tarekat communities in Nusantara in the early period of Islam, which is the 13<sup>th</sup> century until the 17<sup>th</sup> century, have established the religious system patterned on the diversity of doctrine, thought, and tradition that is acculturative with various cultures of the local society in Nusantara. Then they developed during the Dutch colonial period in the 18<sup>th</sup> century and the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Besides contributing in the Islam religious founding, they also contributed in the patriotism struggle and even protested in the form of rebellion towards the Dutch colonial. The Sufis from various tarekat streams displayed antagonistic of political acts towards the Colonial government policies. It was developed at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, which is the period of nationalism and of Islamic reform movements. The social force of tarekat people became an indicator of the religion revival that was very influencing towards the nationalism movement in Indonesia. The last one, it has been developing on the independence day of Indonesia, which is called the contemporary period, until today. The tarekat people have built a community system variously based on the principle of beliefs and various ritual activities. The tarekat people always develop, modify, and actualize the tasawwuf*

*teachings and the tarekat practice, mainly in order to complete the spirituality and morality improvement of the society. The tarekat people's contributions are very helpful for the society in general in order to fulfill the mental necessity. Their religiosity is also strategic enough to be used as a control media for the moral life of the nation.*

**Keywords:** Tarekat Communities, Social Changes, Indonesian History

## A. Introduction

Islam as a religious system based on the Qur'an and the Sunnah of the Prophet Muhammad SAW is always shown in the history of various streams or schools. The religion is generally based on three principal teachings of Islam, which are *'aqīdah* (theology), *sharī'ah* (law), and *taṣawwuf* (Sufism, moral and spiritual). The three Islamic thoughts have delivered the communities of experts of Islam, the *'Ulama Mutakallimūn* in the field of *kalām* (theology), *'Ulama Fuqahā'* who have expertise in the aspects of law (*fiqh*), and *'Ulamā' Sūfī* with the expertise in the aspects of comprehending Islam (*taṣawwuf*). Each thought and the Islamic expertise have also established Muslim communities that show the diversity of social and religious history in various regions on the spread of Islam. In the history of the spread of Islam in Indonesia, particularly the Sufis always show a significant role in each period of social changes, and they show the diversity of flow (*tarekat*) with various contribution with the times and the social and political situation.

The spread of Sufism in Indonesia took place based on the influence of the teachings and the *'Ulamā' Sūfī* thought in the Islamic world in general. Religious patterns developed by the Sufis often emphasize the simplicity of life by distancing themselves from world luxuries. They always try to approach God, so that they can feel the love of God and see God with the eyes of heart<sup>1</sup>. The concept of relationship between the human and God in the view of the Sufis is described as a relationship showing how close God to the human, even they feel united with God. The path to take someone closer to

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<sup>1</sup> Harun Nasution, *Filsafat dan Mistisisme* (Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, 1978), p.58.

God is the *tarekat*<sup>2</sup>. Since the thirteenth century, a number of *tarekat* emerged and was often associated with the flow of Sufism or the order of Sufi's teachings.

*Tarekat* that is quite well known and influential in various regions of the Islamic world are as follows: *Qadīriyyah* was founded by Sheikh Abdul Qadir al-Jilani (470-561 H), with a sphere of influence, especially in Iraq, Turkey, Turkistan, Sudan, China, and India; *Rifa'iyyah* was attributed to Sheikh Ahmed bin Ali Abul Abbas al-Rifa'I (d. 578 H) that had influence in Iraq and Egypt; *Suhrawardiyah* was attributed to Abu al-Najib al-Suhrawardi (490-563 H) and his son, Syihabuddin Abu Hafis Umar ibn Abdullah al-Suhrawardi (539-632 H); *Syadhiliyyah* was associated with Abu al-Hasan Ahmad al-Shadhili (d. 686 H) that was influential in North Africa, Syria and other Arab countries; *Naqsyabandiyyah* was associated with Muhammad bin Muhammad Bahauddin al-Uwaisi Naqsyabandi al-Bukhari (717-791 H) and had followers in Central Asia, Turkey, India, and China; *Mawlawiyyah* was associated with Sheikh Maulana Jalaluddin Rumi who died in Turkey in 672/1273, and was influential to Turkish society; *Syaṭṭāriyyah* was associated with Sheikh Abdullah al-Syattari who died in India in 633/1236, and had followers in India<sup>3</sup>.

The pattern of *sufism-tarekat* religiosity always colors the Islamization process since its beginning in the archipelago in the 13<sup>th</sup> century until the development of Islam in Indonesia today. The growth and development of *tarekat* in the region is characterized by the proliferation of the sects and communities of *tarekats* with various roles and their contribution to the spiritual and moral response to the challenges in the lives of Muslim. The main characteristics of the religious *tarekat* is the way they practice religion that focuses on the teaching of the system of *wirid* and *dhikr*

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<sup>2</sup> "Tarekat" comes from the Arabic word *thariqah*, which means the way or method. Through the tarekat the Sufis have always tried to approach God to feel God's love and to see God with their eyes of heart. Read, *Ibid*.

<sup>3</sup> Tim Penulis IAIN Jakarta, *Ensiklopedi Islam Indonesia*. (Jakarta: Penerbit Djambatan, 1992), p. 928., or on Sri Mulyati, (et.al), *Mengenal & Memahami Tarekat-tarekat Muktabarah di Indonesia*, (Jakarta: Kencana, 2005).

rituals that aim at positioning themselves closer to God. The development of the *tarekat* teaching is also shown accommodating and tolerant to the diversity of religious behavior of the society and the social changes.

In the Indonesian history, the *tarekat* has grown into a diverse community system based on the principles of belief and ritual activity that can direct improvement of morality and spirituality of the communities. They always developed *tarekat* in various areas of life to achieve the ideals of public religiosity. The *tarekat community* donations can also be seen from their involvement in the social life and in line with the social change in Indonesia. Therefore, further discussion of this paper will be based on the development of tarekat communities in the early period of Islam from the 13<sup>th</sup> century until the 17<sup>th</sup> century, then its development in the Dutch colonial period in the 18<sup>th</sup> century and 19<sup>th</sup> century, its development at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, which is the period of nationalism and Islamic reform movements, and its development on the independence day of Indonesia, which is called the contemporary period, until today. The historical facts in this study are presented gradually based on the unique cases in each period.

## **B. Initial Period of Islamic Sufi Community in the Archipelago**

The historians concluded the development of *tarekat* in the Sufi's network as one of the religious pattern in the process of Islamization in the Archipelago since the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century. Besides the Islamic religious broadcasters who were initially the members of a *tarekat* fled from Baghdad due to the Islamic power center of Mongol army invaded in 1258 AD<sup>4</sup>, there are also followers of a particular *tarekat* who played an important role for the growth of Muslim communities in the Archipelago. However, many written evidence have become the reference for the historians about the *tarekat* new developments based on the works of Sufis in the late 16<sup>th</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Anthony H. Johns, "The Role of Sufism in the Spread of Islam to Malaya and Indonesia", *Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society* 9 (1961), p. 143-161; Martin van Bruinessen, "The Origins and Development of Sufi Orders (Tarekat) in Southeast Asia", in *Studia Islamika*, vol. I, no.1, 1994, pp. 4-5.

century or in the early 17<sup>th</sup> century. The authors of the earliest Muslims are Hamzah Fansuri, Shamsuddin Pasai, Nur al-Raniri, and Abdurra'uf Singkel. Everything is the prominent Sufi scholars in Aceh on the centuries. It is known that the time span of Aceh as one of the powerful kingdoms and the paper-producing region is important. The king loved and supported the development of art and science, making Aceh as the major center of Islamic sciences and at the same time as the international trade center<sup>5</sup>.

Martin van Bruinessen mentioned Fansuri Hamzah as the first author in the prominent Sufi circles in Aceh. His name shows that he came from Fansur (also called Baros) on the west coast of Sumatra; he was active in the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century and he always expressed Sufi ideas in prose and poetry full of metaphor in Malay. Hamzah was known as nomads; in his poems he told a story about his visit to Mecca, Jerusalem, Baghdad, and Ayuthya. Some parts of literary works implied that he was a follower of *Qadiriyyah tarekat*, even he never became *khalifah* (caliphate)<sup>6</sup> of this *tarekat*. Hamzah also had visited several places in the Archipelago, including Java and Banten in particular, so that it was become a guidance claiming that Qadiriyyah tarekat had been followed by the Muslims in Java long before the 19<sup>th</sup> century<sup>7</sup>.

A famous pupil of Hamzah as the second great Sufi grown in Aceh is Shamsuddin Pasai (w.1630) who wrote a lot in Arabic and Malay. In his less poetic but more systematic works than his teacher, he formulated similar metaphysical teachings. He was called as the first Indonesian who outlines the teachings of seven dignities (*martabat tujuh*), which is an adaptation of the theory of emanation of Ibn 'Arabi that became very popular in the Archipelago. He was also known as a follower of Muhammad bin Fadhlullah Burhanpuri, the scholar from Gujarat, who affiliated with the *Shaṭṭariyyah tarekat*. Therefore, although there was no indication in the work of

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<sup>5</sup> Martin Van Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning, Pesantren dan Tarekat*, (Bandung: Penerbit Mizan, 1995), p. 190.

<sup>6</sup> Martin Van Bruinessen, *Tarekat Naqsyabandiyah di Indonesia* (Bandung: Mizan Publishing, 1992). p. 6.

<sup>7</sup> Sartono Kartodirdjo, *Pemberontakan Petani Banten 1888* (Jakarta: Pustaka Jaya Publishing, 1984). p. 212.

Shamsuddin and other works about following on *Shaṭṭariyah*, it was alleged that Shamsuddin tarekat follow the footsteps of his teacher of *tarekat*. However, not long after his death, the *Shaṭṭariyah tarekat* was very popular among the Muslim in the Archipelago who had returned from the Arab lands<sup>8</sup>.

The third famous Sufis is Nur al-Raniri who was born in Arab families and settled in Ranir (Rander) in Gujarat. He settled in Aceh during the years of 1637-44 and became the most influential figure in politics as an adviser to the king. He was actually a *fiqh* expert, but he was pressed in the debate about the Sufi teachings in Aceh, particularly the polemic with the Shamsuddin's student about understanding pantheism. Then he went to Mecca to explore the necessary knowledge, and after he returned as a Sufi teacher, he got a lot of students in Aceh. The *tarekat* developed by Ar-Raniri is *Rifā'iyyah tarekat*. Even the genealogy he presented in one of his books showed that this order was already in Gujarat since the previous generations<sup>9</sup>. *Rifā'iyyah* continued to grow in Aceh and last until the 19<sup>th</sup> century while it was spread to other areas such as Java, which is only in the small areas, in this century<sup>10</sup>.

The last great Sufis in Aceh is Abdurra'uf Singkel (1617-1690 AD). He was a primary teacher of *Shaṭṭariyah tarekat* and he was also known as the developer of the concept of *martabat tujuh*<sup>11</sup>. *Shaṭṭariyah's* influence extended beyond the region of Aceh on the merit of the Abdurra'uf's students, such as Burhanuddin Ulakan in West Sumatra and Abdul Priangan Muhyi in West Java<sup>12</sup>. Sheikh Abdul Muhyi (d. 1689 AD) himself was known as the Al-Sinkili's leading follower who was trying to develop *Shaṭṭariyah tarekat* in Java island. He learned this order from the Al-Sinkili in Aceh before

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<sup>8</sup> Van Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning*, p. 191.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 192.

<sup>10</sup> Kartodirdjo, *Pemberontakan Petani Banten*, p. 225.

<sup>11</sup> Read, Simuh, *Sufisme Jawa: Transformasi Tasawuf Islam ke Mistik Jawa* (Yogyakarta: Benteng Budaya, 1995), p. 54.

<sup>12</sup> About these two figures of Sufi, please read Karel A. Steenbrink, *Beberapa Aspek Tentang Islam di Indonesia Abad ke-19*, (Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, 1984 ), pp. 179-184; Aliefya M. Santric. "Martabat Alam Tujuh Karya Syaikh Abdul Muhyi", in Ahmad Rifai Hasan (peny.), *Warisan Intelektual Islam Indonesia* (Bandung: Mizan, 1984), pp. 110-113.

his departure pilgrimage to Mecca<sup>13</sup> and he taught the *tarekat* until his death in Pamijahan village, Tasikmalaya, West Java.

Until the 18<sup>th</sup> century the *Shaṭṭariyah tarekat* is a *tarekat* that is much more popular in Sumatra and Java. Besides, this *tarekat* was preferable for the Indonesian students to study in Arab lands. The *Shaṭṭariyah tarekat* itself is also relatively easy to chime in with the local traditions; it became the most grounded *tarekat* among the various existing *tarekats*. Besides, through *Shaṭṭariyah*, the Sufi metaphysical ideas and various symbolic classifications based on the teachings of the seven dignities have become the part of Javanese popular belief.

Besides the *tarekat* that developed on the influence of Sufi scholars from Aceh mentioned above, there were a growing number of *tarekats* in other areas in the Archipelago in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. One of the Abdurra'uf Singkel's contemporary scholars is Yusuf Makassar, who was known as the main guardian of South Sulawesi. He spent nearly two decades in the Arab Land and became the follower of a number of *tarekats* with *bay'ath*, and obtained a diploma to teach *Qadiriyyah*, *Naqsyabandiyyah*, *Shaṭṭariyah*, *Syadhiliyyah*, *Khalwatiyyah* and several other less famous *tarekats*. Even in 1670 he taught a *tarekat* called *Khalwatiyyah* that combines the spiritual technique selected from various *tarekats*. *Khalwatiyyah-Joseph tarekat* was rooted only in South Sulawesi, especially among the Makassar noblemen<sup>14</sup>.

The development of *tarekat* in the 18<sup>th</sup> century was represented by the popularity of *Sammāniyyah tarekat*. This *tarekat* was founded by Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Karim al-Samman (d. 1775) in Medina, which combined the *tarekat* of *Khalwatiyyah*, *Qadiriyyah*, and *Naqsyabandiyyah* with *Syadhiliyyah*, which is a *tarekat* originated from North Africa, but formally this order is one of the branches of *Khalwatiyyah tarekat*. Al-Samman's pupil from Indonesia and the most famous and influential one is Abd al-Samad from Palembang. Some scholars from Palembang studying other *tarekat* affiliated to

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<sup>13</sup> Azyumardi Azra,, *Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah dan Kepulauan nusantara Abad XVII dan XVIII: Melacak Akar-akar Pembaruan Pemukiman Islam di Indonesia*, (Bandung: Mizan, 1984), p. 210.

<sup>14</sup> Van Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning*, p. 195.

*Sammaniyyah* to this order were also getting a respectable place in Palembang Sultanate. *Sammaniyyah* influence was also spread by the As-Samman students from Indonesia, such as al-Nafis Banjari from South Kalimantan that had spread this order on the island. *Sammaniyyah* was also spread in South Sulawesi and met the Khalwatiyyah-Yusuf *tarekat* to create a ritual of *Khalwatiyyah-Samman tarekat* that was a little different from other *Sammaniyyah* branches in the Archipelago, and its membership was limited to the Bugis ethnic group<sup>15</sup>.

Based on the native sources, it is emphasized that the *tarekat* first got their followers in the royal palace community, and then it was dispersed to the wider society. The *Sufi* authors who have been mentioned above worked under the patron of royal power, even the pioneers of *Kesultanan* in Java often visited Arab. There, they vowed to be the followers of some certain *tarekats*. For the Sultans, *tarekat* is viewed as the source of spiritual power. Besides, it also strengthens their power and positions and makes them more legitimate. Therefore, the development of *tarekat* before the 18<sup>th</sup> century was shown through the dispersion of many kinds of sects that were followed by all people in all communities in Nusantara.

### C. Tarekat Communities and Movements in the Colonial Era

Since 17<sup>th</sup> century, the Western colonies in Indonesia have triggered some alterations in the Muslim society of this country in some aspects in their everyday life. It is primarily caused by the colonization of the Dutch army in some Muslim areas and cities that triggered the rebellion of those societies that were particularly mobilized by the *tarekat* teachers. In that situation, *tarekat* became the social power and took part in the movement that opposed the entrance of the colonial government; defied certain obligations made by the government or responded to the degradation and the oppression of the societies' economic lives. The social movement of the *tarekat* always appears in many anti-colonial rebellions, particularly ones that occurred during the late 19<sup>th</sup> century.

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<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 196.



The development of *tarekat* in Nusantara in the 18<sup>th</sup> century mostly shows the fact of religious life of the society at that time. The dispersion of many *tarekats*, such as *Syaṭṭariyyah*, *Naqsyabandiyyah*, *Kubrawiyyah*, and *Syadhīliyyah* by people who just got back from Mecca and Madinah is often not more than the citing of *dhikr* and *wirid* that are accomplished privately by the people themselves. The other indication of the early *tarekat* life during that century as in *Rifā'iyyah* and *Qadīriyyah* was largely shown by the body immunity cults such as what is called *debus* that were many performed in Aceh, some kingdoms in Kedah and Perak Peninsula, Minangkabau, Banten, Cirebon, and Maluku. Meanwhile, the other indication of the *tarekat* life was also spread evenly in many areas in Nusantara such as the emerging of the worship to the *tarekat* founder, especially 'Abd Al-Qadir Al-Jailani. Furthermore, reciting 'Abd Al-Qadir Al-Jailani *manāqib* in a group became an important ritual in the society religious life in several regions<sup>16</sup>.

Since the beginning of 19<sup>th</sup> century, *tarekat* has started appearing their role as the social power and has also carried out the social movements. The first *tarekat* that has many followers and is able to be mobilized is *Sammaniyyah*. As has been mentioned before, besides getting much support from Sultan of Palembang, this *tarekat* also had many followers who came not only from the royal family but also from the wider society. Moreover, this *tarekat* also played a significant role in the rebellion of the Palembang city invasion by the Dutch army in 1819. In line with what occurred in South Kalimantan in the 1890s, the Dutch also faced similar rebellion from the society movements in which they also had strong devotion in carrying out the prayer of *Sammaniyyah tarekat* that is called *beratip beramal*<sup>17</sup>.

Meanwhile, in Java Island in the 19<sup>th</sup> century there were three *tarekats* that played the significant role in organizing religious movements those are *Syaṭṭariyyah*, *Qadīriyyah*, and *Naqsyabandiyyah*. These three Sufi sects appeared as the determiner of Islam revival movements in some certain areas in Java Island<sup>18</sup>. As

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<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 198.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>18</sup> Kartodirdjo, *Pemberontakan Petani Banten*, p. 22.

has been mentioned above, *Syaṭṭāriyyah tarekat* was developed in Java since one century before first introduced by Syekh Abdul Muhyi in Priangan region. However, in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, *Syaṭṭāriyyah* became very dominant in Banyumas region. Furthermore, *Qadīriyyah tarekat* was intensively developed in Nusantara by Syekh Hamzah Fansuri in Aceh during the 17<sup>th</sup> century and was also emerged in Java since that century. However, since the middle of 19<sup>th</sup> century, it seemed that the influence of *Qadīriyyah tarekat* itself was gradually decreasing with the emerging of a new *tarekat* called *Qadīriyyah wa Naqsyabandiyyah*<sup>19</sup>, which was a *tarekat* that was a merger and combination between the precepts of *Qadīriyyah* and *Naqsyabandiyyah*.

The *Naqsyabandiyyah tarekat*, which is a *tarekat* founded by Muhammad bin Muhammad Bahauddin an-Naqsyabandi (w. 1389 M), entered Indonesia and was also dispersed by the students and scholars who pursued their studies in Makkah.<sup>20</sup> In 1840, a Minangkabau scholar who has studied for a long time in the holy town Mecca, Syekh Sulaeman Effendi, was inaugurated to be the first *Naqsyabandiyyah khalifah* or a leader in Nusantara, and was also a *Sufism* follower who had a lot of followers in Java in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Besides acquiring the followers from the common wider society, the influence of *Naqsyabandiyyah* was also supported by the noble community and partly by the native bureaucrats. K.F. Holle, the Honored Advisor for the native affairs who lived in Bandung, in 1886 reported to the General Governor in Batavia that *Naqsyabandiyyah tarekat* had been developed very rapidly, particularly in Cianjur region. According to him, almost all the noblemen and royal family had joined *Naqsyabandiyyah*, even the Priangan Resident had promoted the fanatic followers of the *tarekat* as the chiefs in Cianjur and Sumedang. The Regent of Sumedang himself gave his support to those fanatics<sup>21</sup>. It is a strategic way for the *tarekat* teachers to embrace the community leaders into the

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<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 212.

<sup>20</sup> J.S. Trimmingham, *The Sufi Orders in Islam*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1973), p. 184.

<sup>21</sup> van Bruinessen, *Tarekat Naqsyabandiyyah*, pp. 23-24.

*tarekat* community and environment, and it is also as an effort in achieving more influence towards the wider society.

Such political tendency of the Sufis was shown from the fact and reality that they had a great influence towards their loyal followers under the government authority so that they had a salient and important political position or means<sup>22</sup>. When those native official authorities joined them, the *tarekat* could not only do their activities freely and safely but also could seek for their followers and members from the lower class community. Meanwhile, besides what has mentioned above, the elite community participation was successful in protecting the activities of *Naqsyabandiyyah* from the Dutch suspicion, because the colonial government relied much on the information given by those elite people<sup>23</sup>. *Naqsyabandiyyah tarekat* movement in Cianjur was led by Raden Haji Abdul Salam and aided by R. H. Makmun (Waas Teacher), in which the relatives of the Cianjur chief had marked their peak of religious resurrection in that region in 1885. Their struggle had so successfully influenced the religious attitude of the leaders in that region in which the mosques began to be visited by many people after the regent and the chiefs became the member of *Naqsyabandiyyah tarekat*<sup>24</sup>. Even the official authority also developed a relation with the *tarekat* members because they counted on the *khalifah karāmah*, which is the spiritual power to protect their official positions, to achieve mind and soul calm because of the *tarekat* teachers' guidance, and also to be able to strengthen their legitimating power towards the people's eyes and minds.

The *tarekat* that has more even spreading influence is the *tarekat* that is the combination of *Qadīriyyah* and *Naqsyabandiyyah*. Between those two *tarekats*, each of them has its own difference and unique characteristic, particularly about the practice of *wirid*. *Qadīriyyah* usually performs the *wirid* with *dhikr zahri* or with the loud voices, while *Naqsyabandiyyah* usually practices *dhikr khāfī* or with the indistinct voices, only in the heart. The unification of those

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<sup>22</sup> Kartodirdjo, *Pemberontakan Petani Banten*, p. 227.

<sup>23</sup> van Bruinessen, *Tarekat Naqsyabandiyah*, p. 108.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*

two *tarekats* was conducted by Syekh Ahmad Khatib Sambas, one of the *Qadiriyyah* figures from Kalimantan who had lived in Mecca for a long time during the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and made it to be a brand new *tarekat* with the name *Qadiriyyah wa Naqsyabandiyyah tarekat*<sup>25</sup>. Khatib Sambas had made many people who came from Dutch Indies make oath, and after he returned to Indonesia, they founded the same *tarekat* branch there so that it accelerated the speed of the new *tarekat* dispersion, particularly in Java, during the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

The dissemination of *Qadiriyyah wa Naqsyabandiyyah tarekat*, which is later abbreviated as TQN, in Java was conducted by three students of Syekh Sambas those are Syekh Abdul Karim Banten, Syekh Tolhah Cirebon, and Kyai Ahmad Hasbullah Madura. Syekh Abdul Karim, who previously only served as the TQN *khalifah* in Banten in 1876 and was inaugurated by Syekh Sambas to be his successor as the TQN primary *mursyid* that was situated in Mecca<sup>26</sup>. Therefore, since that time, all TQN institution in Indonesia traced the spiritual track to the scholar who came from Banten. Furthermore, TQN had gained many followers from the wider society in all classes, in which they also participated in the battle and rebellion, such as in the case of Banten farmers in 1888.

One of the supporting factors of the great influence of a *tarekat* is the charisma of the teachers or *mursyid* in a certain *tarekat*. Every *tarekat* community develops their religiosity by maintaining their contact with God through the *mursyid* or *waliy*, who is the religious leader as the mediator. With the spiritual power (*barakah*) given by Allah to those *mursyid*, whatever students need can be influenced by the *mursyid* as the mediator. Therefore, those *mursyids* are very honored and sacred to be the protectors, where people seek for help for every kind of hardship and problems. The trust given by the society towards the *barakah* is what makes those *mursyids* have their charismatic authorities. The *mursyids* are also needed to attain the moral and intellectual integrity of the students of the *tarekat*;

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<sup>25</sup> Hurgronje, 1931 in Zamakhsyari Dhofier, *Tradisi Pesantren: Pandangan Hidup Kyai* (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1984), p. 85.

<sup>26</sup> van Bruinenessen, *Tarekat Naqsyabandiyah*, p. 109.

therefore, *mursyid* is made to be the spiritual advisor and teacher, even they are considered as the role model, the manifestation of religion precepts, and also the supervisor of the *tarekat*'s precept realization. This belief triggered many members of the society from all aspects and social classes to be their *tarekat* students and teachers. The status and capability of a *mursyid* as what has been explained before also encouraged the occurrence of material aspect promoting the practice and belief of Sufism, by giving a gift or present that is usually called *ṣadaqah* that describes their hope and need to the *mursyid*'s *barakah*. The relation system between teacher and student like this has established a condition that makes possible for the *mursyids* and their descendants to appear as the political and economic elite.

*Tarekat* development during the 19<sup>th</sup> century was also supported by the increasing number of the Indonesian Muslim who went to Mecca for pilgrimage or hajj<sup>27</sup>. Many people who just came back from hajj had been vowed and made oath to be the follower of a certain *tarekat* during their stay in Mecca; moreover, some of them got their *ijazah* or license to teach many kinds of *tarekats*, spiritual deeds, and its implementation. In their pilgrimage journey, they also got much knowledge about worldwide situation and condition, particularly the threat of colonial expansion to Islam or Muslim people. Therefore, their anti-colonial spirit was often spread together with the development of *tarekat*. In other words, *tarekat* has a specific role in contributing as the media of economic and political protest and criticism movement.

#### **D. The Tarekat Communities in the Transformation to Modernism and Nationalism**

In the beginning of 20<sup>th</sup> century, the religious and nationalism movement in Indonesia were marked by the establishment of many modern nationalist organizations. Islamic movements were also growing in many efforts of renewal organized in some movements, such as Muhammadiyah (1912), Sarekat Islam (1911), Persatuan

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<sup>27</sup> Kartodirdjo, *Pemberontakan Petani Banten*, pp. 216-221

Islam (1923), Nahdhatul Ulama (1926) and many more. However, the *tarekat* community gradually lost their political function, as happened in the previous century. In the beginning of this century, the total number of *tarekat* followers tended to decrease their orientation and interest in politics; meanwhile, they still survived sociologically in many Islamic *boarding schools* or village communities. However, with the increasing political repression in the end of 1920s, it can be concluded that many Indonesian people had altered their political activities to *taṣawwuf*. This kind of process occurred for many times in this century; therefore, *tarekat*'s role still could be seen from its contribution in various Muslim's aspects of life until the contemporary era.

The tarekat communities that grew fast since the early 20<sup>th</sup> century were *Qadīriyyah wa Naqsyabandiyyah* (TQN) and *Naqsyabandiyyah Khalīdiyyah tarekats*. The first *tarekat* got their primary followers and supporters in Madura and West Java; moreover, some of their *ulamas* who had great influence in those regions became the founder of *khalīfah* of this *tarekat* in Makkah. Meanwhile, the influence of *Naqsyabandiyyah Khalīdiyyah tarekats* was spread evenly in all parts of Nusantara; however, it was very prominent in the community of Minangkabau people in West Sumatera. The other *tarekats* gained many followers in Java those are *Idrīsiyyah* and *Tijāniyyah tarekats*, both were from North Africa. In learning the variety and diversity of *tarekats* and their social contribution in this century, the discussion will focus on three *tarekats* only those are *Qadīriyyah wa Naqsyabandiyyah*, *Idrīsiyyah*, and *Tijāniyyah tarekats*, particularly the ones that developed in Priangan region, West Java.

Teaching and developing of *Qadīriyyah wa Naqsyabandiyyah tarekat* (TQN) in Priangan was established by Ajengan Abdullah Mubarak, as the TQN *Badal* from Kyai Tolhah Cirebon since he became the *tarekat* student from the 1880s. Furthermore, in 1905 Abdullah Mubarak built Pesantren Suryalaya in Pagerageung, Tasikmalaya. This *pesantren* was prepared to be the center of TQN movement in West Java region. The inauguration as a *mursyid* was conducted directly by Syekh Tolhah when he visited Suryalaya in

1903<sup>28</sup>. To strengthen his position as a *mursyid*, Abdullah Mubarak also had done *tabarruk*, which means asking for blessing, to Syekh Abdul Karim Banten in Makkah, after he had been back from the holy pilgrimage or hajj.

The other *tarekat* that was dispersed in other regions in Java since the beginning of 20<sup>th</sup> century was *Tijāniyyah tarekat*. As having been reported by G. F. Pijper, this *tarekat* was spread and dispersed in Cirebon, Brebes, Pekalongan, Tasikmalaya, and Ciamis. This *tarekat* was early introduced for the first time by Ali ibn Abdillah al-Thayyib al-Azhari, an Arabian '*ulamā*' who came from Madinah. Since 1925, he had lived in Cianjur and Bogor for about three years. In these two cities, he lived in Kampung Arab, and he worked as an Islamic school (*madrasah*) teacher that was also owned by the Arab people. Furthermore, in 1928 Ali Abdillah decided to move to Tasikmalaya<sup>29</sup>. In this city, he wrote *Munyāt al-Murīd* book that contained the precepts of *Tijāniyyah tarekat*, and in this book, he also explained about the *sanad tarekat* and several messages and blessing from his teachers to spread the *tarekat*'s precepts to his students and followers widely.

Among the students of Syeikh Al-Tayyib, the one who soon became his vice and representation in being the leader of *Tijāniyyah tarekat* in Tasikmalaya is Ajengan Ahmad Qaljoebi. He had studied in Mecca for about six years (1910-1916), and after he came back from Mecca, he actively preached to exterminate the polytheist and any religious behavior that was considered as *bid'ah*. Since he knew and became a colleague of Syeikh Al-Tayyib's, he kept the good and close relationship with him, and even Syeikh Al-Tayyib himself often spent his time in Ahmad Qaljoebi's house. After that, Syeikh Al-Tayyib, the *Tijāniyyah* teacher, inaugurated Qaljoebi to be his representative and he had the right to make anyone vow and make oath to do the prayer and precepts of *Tijāniyyah tarekat*. K. H. A. Qaljoebi in the *tarekat* genealogy or *silsilah* had the teacher order in

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<sup>28</sup> Unang Sunardja, *Pesantren Suryalaya dalam Perjalanan Sejarahnya* (Tasikmalaya: Yayasan Seraba Bhakti, 1985), p. 29.

<sup>29</sup> G.F Pijper, *Fragmenta Islamica: Beberapa Studi Mengenai Islam di Indonesia Awal Abad XX*, trans. Tudjimah (Jakarta: UI-Press, 1987), pp. 86-87.

number 8,<sup>30</sup> and in 1929, he already had seven people as his representative who worked in all parts of Tasikmalaya region. After Ahmad Qaljoebi died (d. 1971), the *tarekat* was continued openly in public by his son whose name was Thabibuddin al-Qalyubi<sup>31</sup>. The followers of *Tijāniyyah tarekat* were commonly from Garut region, and then from this point *Tijāniyyah tarekat* was dispersed to some other regions, such as Bandung, Cianjur, Tangerang, Karawang, Subang, Sumedang, and Bogor.

The other *tarekat* in Priangan that had equal influence with those two *tarekats* was *Idrīsiyyah tarekat*. The dissemination of this *tarekat* was first accomplished by the merit of Ajengan Abdul Fatah, an '*ulamā*' that came from Tasikmalaya after he had studied for about eight years (1924-1932). He got a teacher *hirqah* (degree) in this *tarekat* from Sayyid Ahmad Syarif al-Sanusi in Jabal Abi Qubais, Mecca. Therefore, the *tarekat* that was developed by Abdul Fatah in the beginning was called *Sanūsiyyah tarekat*. However, Abdul Fatah himself called it the *Idrīsiyyah tarekat*. The calling of *Idrīsiyyah tarekat* was purposed as an effort to avoid the suspicion of the colonial government that considered the *Sanūsiyyah* people, particularly in North Africa areas, to conduct some movements in politics and oppose the western colonial government. Besides, he was only interested in developing the precepts of *Sanūsiyyah* in the religious matters, and he ignored its ideology that was oriented in politics.

People who actively participated in the *tarekat* developed the education activity and preaching in the end of the Dutch colonial era and also at the time of Japan invasion in their social politics relation that was also considered as anti-colonial. Their roles in this matter were conducted in many different ways, such as: opposing the colonial government through the society's spiritual improvement; striving against them by rising up the culture in the exclusivity of the *tarekat* symbol, moreover, having a physical fight in the line of Muslim people's army (*Ḥizbullāh*). Meanwhile, the others were

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<sup>30</sup> H. Ahmad Thabibudin al-Qajoebi, *al-Tariqah al-Tijaniah* (Tasikmalaya: al-Ma'had Nur al-Islam), p. 20.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*



developing the attempt to oppose them by doing the political exodus in terms of consolidation of the power in people's strive in fighting the invaders or colonies. Their social political role had been altered after the independence day of Indonesia; the *tarekat* people in this era showed a reciprocal cooperative relationship pattern. In this era, they gave their political support to develop and improve the education and social economy condition, and even they gave their valuable contribution to find the nation identity and also for the development of the wider society.

### E. *Tarekat* Communities and Their Roles in the Contemporary Era

The *tarekat* movement has still been developing since the independence day of Indonesia in 1945 until today. In this era, along with the transformation of the Indonesian people and society in the field of education, economy, and politics, those aspects have influenced the alteration of the people's movement type of *tarekat* because of its interaction with the new ideas or the social politics power. This tendency can be analyzed from the experience of those *tarekats*, particularly *TQN Suryalaya*, *Idrīsiyyah*, and *Tijāniyyah tarekats*. The three *tarekats* have been those having great and wide influence until today, and their description will be explained briefly in the following.

#### 1. *TQN Suryalaya*

The development of *TQN Suryalaya* or usually called as *Kaum Godebag* was survived based on the traditional religious frame in the formal relationship between the teachers and students. Their interaction occurred through the ritual system and religious ceremonial occasion; moreover, it was also influenced functionally by their social and political movements. *Kaum Godebag* commonly conducted their movements in the form of implementation process of the Islamic precepts and also did an openly *taṣawwuf* to the public and also emphasized the practical and functional aspects for the religious lives of their followers community or the other parties in terms of social-politics relationship context.

The movement of Godebag community proceeds in continuity between the two main teachers those are Abah Sepuh and Abah Anom, although the method and orientation of the doctrine development shows the changes between two periods of their leadership. The continuity of *tarekat* doctrine development traditionally has been proved by the activities of Godebag community. However, the process of *tarekat* doctrine actualization for the people's spirituality and the socio-political functions developing in the leadership of Abah Anom is not only routed as "a spiritual way" for the people, but also is deployed to concern about the social and political issues. This movement is viewed from the Mursyid efforts and Talqin representatives who always provide the answers for the spiritual needs of the people or the challenges that come from the socio-political power and the government policies.

The attempt of Abah Anom in holding TQN Suralaya movement is sourced from Abah Sepuh's notion in Tanbih 1956, which broadly stated that "*mursyid* is a place to ask about *Qadiriyyah wa Naqsyabandiyyah tarekat*. The students are advised to be prudent in everything; they are prohibited to oppose the religion and state regulations. Obeying both regulations is the faith attitudes of a man who can create willingness for God to prove His commandments in obedience to religion and state. Therefore, all of the TQN students are always reminded to avoid persuasive lust, to avoid temptation of satan, and to be aware of deviation of religion and state's orders"<sup>32</sup>. The practical messages of Tanbih appear from personal purity, so that all of the students have to prove the righteousness displayed in some attitudes as follows:

- a. Respecting to the person who has a higher rank, both physically and mentally, living in harmonious life and appreciating each other,
- b. Having humility and mutual assistance for others who are equals, avoiding disputes and disagreements because such actions will mislead a person to *'adzabun alim*, which means a great mourning forever in the world and in the afterlife.

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<sup>32</sup> K.H. Shohibulwafa Tajul 'Arifin, *Tanbih dan Asas Tujuan Thoriqat Qadiriyyah Naqsyabandiyyah*, (Tasikmalaya: Yayasan Serba Bhakti, t.th.), pp. 8-9.

- c. Not insulting or humiliating those having lower rank. They should be given a compassion, and should be guided with gentle advices, so that they repent to the righteousness way,
- d. Being friendly, noble, and generous to the poor because they are in such situation because of God's omnipotence.

Meanwhile, the strengthening of *tarekat* in TQN Suryalaya is always conducted through *riyāḍah* or spiritual exercises in ritual activities whether daily, weekly, and monthly. These rituals have become a routine practice since 1976, which was determined by pattern of uniformity in terms of experience or activity<sup>33</sup>. First is in the form of daily rituals, in which both of *wirid* series and the complete readings are described in Abah Anom's work, '*Uqūdul Jumān*'. Remembrance and prayers sequences are recited in the ritual that aim at *taqarrub* or approaching themselves to Allah SWT., to the way He approves; and *maḥabbah* or the sense of love, and *ma'rifat* or the knowledge of Him<sup>34</sup>. *Wirid* and prayers also aim at *tawaṣṣul*, which is intended as "something that can get closer to the others", for example, if we pray with *ṣalawāt* readings, we invoke Allah through the Prophet *ṣalawāt* readings<sup>35</sup>. Thus, the understanding of *tawaṣṣul* concept is closely related to the meaning of *rābiṭah* or relationship, which means connecting ourselves to the teacher when we perform *dhikr* so that the students' heart are close to the *mursyid's* that emits the *dhikr* teachings<sup>36</sup>. Similarly, in the second form, weekly rituals are usually held in *tarekat* on Tuesday or Thursday evening. In this rituals, some students gather in front of the *mursyid* or his representative, and then they accomplish *wirid* in the form of Prophet *ṣalawāt*, *al-Asmā' al-Ḥusna* (especially the phrase *al-Latīf*), short verses and other pieces of verses from al-Quran, and *tawaṣṣul* prayers in a hundred or thousand times<sup>37</sup>.

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<sup>33</sup> Decision Letter of Serba Bhakti Foundation, no. 05/ MID/ 76 on *Keceragaman Pengamalan TQN Suryalaya*.

<sup>34</sup> Juhaya S. Praja, "TQN Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya", in Harun Nasution, ed., *Thoriqot Qodiriyah Naqsyabandiyah: Kenang-kenangan Ulang Tahun Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya ke-85 (1905-1990)*, (Tasikmalaya: IAILM, 1990), p. 137.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 164-165.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid*, p. 166.

<sup>37</sup> The complete wirid series *Untaian wirid* can be read in scripture *Uqudul Jumaan*.

The third ritual or the monthly ritual is commonly called *manāqiban*, which was held on the 11<sup>th</sup> date of Qamariyah month. The determination of the date is based on the day of Sayikh Abdul Qadir Jailani's death. The term of *manāqiban* is derived from Arab *manāqib*, which is the plural form of *manāqabah*, which means a story about godliness and the primacy of knowledge and deed of someone<sup>38</sup>. The scripture recitation of *Manāqib* is actually an embodiment of *tawaṣṣul* teachings. The scripture used in the center of Suryalaya universities and its branches is *Tāju al-Dhākir fī Manāqib al-Syaikh 'Abd al-Qādir*<sup>39</sup>. This book mentions that the aims of *manāqiban* are to expect God's blessing, atonement (*kiparat*), Tarekat Qadiriyyah experience doctrines, and to enact the life of Syaikh Abdul Qadir Jailani as a model of the Prophet descendent<sup>40</sup>.

Besides in the form of the ritual, the three of them are also developed in the form of *Inābah*, and this activity increases the popularity of TQN Suryalaya movement nowadays. The field of *Inābah* is an effort of re-actualization for Tarekat Qadiriyyah wa Naqsyabandiyyah experience doctrine. The word *Inābah* definitively means return to the doctrine of Allah, or in the meaning of Sufism, it is one of *maqām taubah* from malicious to obedience for Allah. Lately, *inābah* is also operated as an institution to cure the drugs victims and any mental diseases. Thus, the system of teachings development and TQN Suryalaya rituals are more directed to the pragmatic aspects than the practice system of *taṣawwuf* doctrine.

Besides the actualization of *tarekat* in the religious practice above, some social praxis movement are also developed among the TQN Suryalaya as follows:

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<sup>38</sup> Louis Ma'luf, *Al-Munjid fī al-Lughah wa al-A'lam*. Beriut: Dar Al-Musrif, 1986), p. 829.

<sup>39</sup> This Scripture is a Syaikh Shohibul Wafa Tajul 'Arifin's translation, however the translator did not mention the source. He might made reference to al-Barzanji or Muhammad Sadiq al-Qadiri's work in Parsi language translated into Arab language by Abdul Qadir bin Muhyidin, *Tafrikh al-Khatir fī Manaqib as-Syaikh Abdul Qadir al-Jailani*. The researcher got the copy from K.H. Abd. Gaos Saefullah M., Talqin Representative in Ciceuri, Ciamis.

<sup>40</sup> *Tajudz Dzakhir*, p. 5.

## a. Education Field

These social movements can be seen from some of their efforts that lead to the education modernization. Suryalaya boarding school does not only teach *tarekat* for adults and non-formal religious education (*pesantren salafī*), but it also enforces the system of classical and formal education. The development of Madrasah Dīniyyah Awwaliyyah (MDA) built since 1957 was continued by the Foundation. The First Islamic High School (SMIP) was opened in 1962 and The Islamic Da'wah University (PTDI) was opened in 1963. One year later, *Madrasah Thānawiyyah* (MTs) was built. In 1967, The Religious Teacher Education (PGA) was opened in this *pesantren*, which later changed into *Madrasah 'Āliyah* (MA) in 1980 until now. After the religious school, The Junior High School (SMP) was built since 1970 to replace SMIP, while The Senior High School (SMA) was built in 1976. For the college level, Latifah Mubarakiyah University (PTLM) was built in 1986 consisting of two faculties: *Tarbiyyah* and *Syarī'ah*. Then, in 1988 *Ushuludin* Faculty was opened coinciding with the change of university status into Islamic Religious Institute of Latifah Mubarakiyah (IAILM)<sup>41</sup>. The establishment and development of formal education system function as the place for the *Ikhwān* from the academy to participate in helping the *mursyid* in an effort to expand the activity of Islamic boarding school.

To sustain the various movements of education and missionary endeavor, TQN Suryalaya activates in the socio-economical field. One of the efforts in the socio-economical field is HIDMAT (*Hidup Massa Tarekat*) cooperative. The cooperative built in 1973 was only an economical movement of Pesantren Suryalaya's students at the beginning, but then since 1979 it has expanded its scope that encompasses all of *Ikhwān* TQN in various areas. Now, some of the 41 representatives of TQN Suryalaya in Indonesia have established the cooperative business with various developing business units<sup>42</sup>. The development of the economic activity based on the cooperative

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<sup>41</sup> 90 Tahun Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya (Suryalaya: 1995), pp. 16-17.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 31.

form is very helpful for the business economy of *ikhwān* who live in the countryside.

b. Socio-political Field

In Abah Sepuh's *Tanbīh*, it is mentioned that "TQN Suryalaya has to prove the sanctity that appears from the result of *tarekat* practices on the virtues of religion motives, humanity, and state". Therefore, the socio-political life on TQN Suryalaya realm is shown by accommodating and being tolerant in facing the diversity of society religiousness and socio-political changes. Such tendency is shown in the social relationship and by supporting TQN Suryalaya to the government authority and its socio-political power. Since the authority of New Order in particular TQN Suryalaya is a source of voices for Golongan Karya, even after the election in 1982, Abah Anom was nominated as one of the elders of Golkar leadership in the central level. However, he never forbids his followers to join another political organization as long as the state and the government do not prohibit the organization. Such a pattern of socio-political relation is a claim from TQN Suryalaya as an embodiment of their basic ideologies, as suggested in *Tanbīh*. Abah Anom and *ikhwān* also see the movement in social and political field as an embodiment for the loyalty of Muslim needed to be supported by adherence to the state.

Other implementation of *Tanbīh* doctrine also can be seen from the social life of TQN communities, which show no signs of anti-establishment or resistance to the authority of local or national level. They can cooperate and have mutual understanding in developing spirituality, religion, and society's establishment. This indicates the pragmatic aspects of TQN Suryalaya movement in upholding their patriotism and adaptation to face the modern society of Indonesia. They develop the socio-political relation, which is dynamics and influencing to the political government on succeeding the programs of society's establishment. Thus, TQN Suryalaya develops its movement that is conducive to the religious (traditional) systems of society and to the need of society's practice-psychologies. Such a way continues as their accommodative attitude for the socio-political life.

## 2. Idrīsiyyah Tarekat

*Idrīsiyyah* movement in West Java performs some efforts conducted by Syeikh Akbar Abdul Fatah and his successors. *Idrīsiyyah tarekat* movement with its followers popularly known as *Kaum Wara'iy* shows the typical kind of movement on the influence of Ahmad Ibn Idris doctrine, which is fundamental in performing Islamic orthodox, spiritual deepening, and application of Sharī'ah. The development of its movement is an effort to confront the discipline of physical knowledge (*Fiqh* knowledge) and inner/mental knowledge (*taṣawwuf* knowledge) into *tarekat* tradition. Syeikh Akbar also explains that mental and physical aspects from Islam should never be contradictory, and *tarekat* practices should be in the straight line following the way that has been taught by al-Quran and as-Sunnah. Therefore, the Wara'iy concerns the balance between both aspects, although the ritual and religious system emphasize the *tarekat* tradition.

In the development of physical knowledge dimension, Syeikh Idrīsiyyah sees the fundamental and radical one in interpreting syarī'ah *nash* or texts. They emphasize the '*azīmah* rule, which is considered as severe by the "*Sunnah expert*" in general. Syarī'ah dimension is categorized into five aspects: 1) the views of *madzhab*, 2) the issues of Friday prayers, 3) the *tarekat* of sunnah prayers, 4) the dress coding, and 5) the proscription of smoking. Regarding the view about the first issue, although as-Sanusi and Ibn Idris follow Imam Malik madhhab, both of them keep on encouraging the *ummah*, especially for the clergy, to do *ijtihād* and not to do *taqlīd* upon *madhhab*. For the Idrīsiyyah, *madhhab* are only understood to provide opinion spatially, not as an absolute reference and as the only one, which creates fanaticism and intern disunity of Muslims<sup>43</sup>.

Similar to the development of mental knowledge dimension (*taṣawwuf*), according to Shaiykh Muhammad Dahlan, it functions to "complete syari'at and devout courtesy". This is fundamentally reflected from the relationship attitudes between the *Idrīsiyyah* students and teachers (Shaiykh Akbar). The *Idrīsiyyah* students are

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<sup>43</sup> Salim B. Pili, "Tarekat Idrisiyah di Indonesia: Sejarah dan Ajaran", *Tesis S2*. (Yogyakarta: Program Pascasarjana IAIN Sunan Kalijaga, 1996), p. 172.

not allowed to ask for teachings to Shaiykh Akbar because of his *karāmah* (miracle) or purposely seek his *barakah* (blessings). It is different from the view of other *tarekat* students in general who come to their teachers to seek *barakah* (blessings). *Idrīsiyyah tarekat* encourages the students to deepen their knowledge, while *barakah* is believed as an effect of practices of the *Idrīsiyyah* doctrine<sup>44</sup>. The Wara'iy are expected to be pious, so that the terminology applies for them that is *istiqāmah* or being consistent in doing the prayers/worship for thousand times is more important than *karāmah* (*al-Karāmah alfi istiqāmah Kahirun min*). Consequently, the subservience of the *Idrīsiyyah* students shows no primordial and cult attitudes towards the teachers.

The raising of public worship is the priority of *Idrīsiyyah* movement since the pioneering period by Shaiykh Akbar Abdul Fatah until now. Such a mission is developed as an effort to continue the preaching mission of the Sufis before in spurring the raising of *īmān-islām-iḥsān*, or often conceived as “elite education of Muslim spirituality” movement. Systematic worship practice is expected to be entwined from *sharī'ah*, then *tarekat*, to the *hakikat*. However, in this *tarekat*, there is no *maqāmat* concept or *aḥwāl* for the ‘*amaliyyah*’ student level, as commonly stated in the textbooks about *taṣawwuf* knowledge. Similarly, other concept like *sabar-syukur-ridha-tawakkal* is often emphasized in *tarekat* recitation by Syeikh Akbar and his representatives more solely as the good deed from heart (*al-‘amal qalbiyyah*) than *maqāmat* and *aḥwāl*.

The Wara'iy movement in education field is modified by broadening the *Idrīsiyyah tarekat* understanding and practice not only as the practical deeds for personal necessity, but also as the theoretic science that will be useful for the next generation. Thus, *tarekat* teaching is developed into classical system in Pagendingan Islamic Boarding School. Since 1978, formal education levels were held from kindergarten level, Madrasah Dīniyyah, Madrasah Ibtida'iyyah, Madrasah Thānawiyyah, until Madrasah ‘Āliyyah. All of these education levels use the curriculum of Religion Department, coupled or added with the local content like the *Idrīsiyyah tarekat* perspective

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<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*



of Islam. Meanwhile, *pesantren* education in particular is still held for the alumni of Madrasah Aliyah for two years.

Social potential and *Idrīsīyyah* movement as stated above have a potential as a social force, which is significant for the movement and participation in the political field. The effort, which is pioneered by Shaiykh ‘Abdul Fatah in the beginning of the *Idrīsīyyah* movement, does not only mean as a religious reformation, but also a symbolic influence towards the cultural and political resistance. For example, wearing *gamis* and *cadar* does not only mean as religious morality betterment in Muslim society, but is also disjunctive towards the political colonization, which develops the Western culture influence in wearing ties and coat. Shaiykh Abdul Fatah says a *fatwa* that wearing Western dress code means the same attitudes as *at-tasawwuh* (assimilative) towards the colonial politics<sup>45</sup>.

The fundamental attitudes of *Idrīsīyyah* in maintaining the *tarekat* traditions and signs seem to persist throughout its history, but it is different from the political movement. Since the independence day of Indonesia, Shaiykh Akbar and the *Idrīsīyyah* adherents acted accommodative towards the government. Their direct involvement on the nationalist struggle against Dutch Aggression, opposing Darul Islam Kartosuwiryo rebellion, and crossfire when Gestapu PKI rebellion happening in 1965 are the indication of the their political participation towards the country. The relationship between them and the government becoming stronger since the political force of the country was controlled by New Order regime, in which at that time the government and its socio-political power also concerned to utilize the *Idrīsīyyah* social potential.

Since 1977, Shaiykh Akbar Muhammad Dahlan brought the *Idrīsīyyah* people to be supporters of the government and Golongan Karya. Their political participation was very prominent, especially at the time of approaching the election and the general assembly of MPR. On these activities some *Idrīsīyyah* students usually wearing white dress were deployed to participate in Golkar campaign team. *Idrīsīyyah* was regarded as the representative of Islam with its Islamic jargon that *kāffah*, so that *Idrīsīyyah* was always included in

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<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*

Golkar events. This political participation, for the Wara'iy, did not mean as the fall of fundamentalism vouisicity of *Idrīsiyyah* movement, but rather as a practical strategy for the *Idrīsiyyah* preaching, which was conducive to the political current at that times. Shaiykh Akbar Abdul Fatah and Muhammad Dahlan have strong desire to maintain one Islamic political party, in which at that time they were only supported by Masyumi and PPP, but since 1978, K.H. Muhammad Dahlan switched to support Golkar and to be closer towards the government because of political morality motifs.

### 3. *Tijāniyyah Tarekat*

*Tijāniyyah tarekat* also displays its movement as exemplified by the *tarekat* founder, Syeikh Ahmad at-Tijāni, a Sufi figure from North Africa. *Tijāniyyah* was built as a mass reformation place rather than a centered spiritual loyalty and inspirational place for the society. *Tijāniyyah tarekat* is included as new *tarekat* that is very dynamic in creating its potential as a tool to revive religion by bringing the whole society to follow this *tarekat*<sup>46</sup>. The main doctrine of *Tijāniyyah* that is different from other *tarekat* is *wirid* series, which is determined as the core of teachings and *tarekat* ritual consciously obtained by Shaiykh Ahmad at-Tijāni from Rasulullah saw. (*yaqdah*). Although this doctrine is controversial among other Sufi clerics, it was actually developed by unique propaganda method. The members or students of *Tijāniyyah* are expected to leave all of their commitment to other *tarekat* by believing that all *tarekat* is low, and by believing that to leave another *tarekat* is not a sin. On the contrary, if someone leaves *Tijāniyyah tarekat*, he will be considered in a dangerous situation because when he dies, he will be punished as a heathen. *Tajīniyyah* preachers emphasize various benefits in this world and the afterlife as a result from adherence to the *tarekat* doctrine and regularity in presenting all *tarekat* practices in *Tijāniyyah wirid (aurad)*. On the contrary, a failure in presenting the practices or saying something bad about Ahmad at-Tijāni will gain the same fate with the people who leave *Tajīniyyah tarekat*<sup>47</sup>. This

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<sup>46</sup> Elizabeth Sirriyeh, *Sufi dan Anti Sufi*, terj. Ade Alimah, (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Sufi Publisher, 1999), p. 24.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 26.

exclusivity of *Tajāniyyah* is a consequence of Shaiykh Ahmad ad-Tijāni's beliefs that the Prophet had appeared to him and he expressed his position as a perfect Sufi's figure (*khatm al-'auliyā'*) so that he should cut the ties with other Sufi's figures, included also the prohibition to visit the graveyard of the saints.

*Tijāniyyah tarekat* movement in Garut, West Java, was pioneered by K.H. Badruzzaman. After he claimed as a follower of this *tarekat* and after he was appointed as *muqaddam*, he strengthened his beliefs of Shaiykh at-Tijāni's doctrine through *barzakhī* system. Badruzzaman called *Tijāniyyah tarekat* as *barzakhīyyah tarekat*, which means a *tarekat* received from the Prophet Muhammad SAW over his guidance towards Wali, and it also means that this *tarekat* was obtained from *talqīn barzakhī*<sup>48</sup>. Thus, Badruzzaman and his successors believe in this *barzakhī* system, because they believe that *Tijāniyyah tarekat* is a *tarekat* that has *sanad* towards the Prophet Muhammad SAW<sup>49</sup>. *Tijāniyyah* development in Garut is also emphasized in *sharī'ah* in the practice of *mahḍah* prayer, as in Syeikh Badruzzaman's works about *kafiat shalat, wudlu, tauhid*, and etc. *Tijāniyyah* functions as a religious strengthening media that is a revelation entrance towards the *sharī'ah*. Therefore, *tarekat* function seems to shift from the classical view, which states that *tarekat* is a step after the *sharī'ah*, whereas in the *Tajāniyyah*, *sharī'ah* is developed through *tarekat*.

Although the social movement is less institutionalized in the movement of Tijani in Garut, they indicate their movement existence in the political challenge and social change situation. As occurring in the political situation in Priangan in the beginning of the Independence Day, the Tijani followed K.H. Badruzzaman's leadership who initially supported the DI/TII fundamentalism movement, but after the movement was considered opposing the government, Badruzzaman and his followers left the movement. They considered DI/TII movement as an exclusive movement, while the socio-political activeness can be done openly through the closeness

<sup>48</sup> KH. Badruzzaman, *Silk as-Suni*, (Garut: Pesantren al-Falah, t.t.), p. 6.

<sup>49</sup> Ikyan Badruzzaman, *K.H. Badruzzaman dan Perkembangan Thariqat Tijaniyah di Garut*. (Garut: Zawiyah Thariqat Tijaniyah, 2007), p. 35.

and support of the government. The Tijani flexibly developed the socio-political roles as long as it can be used as a medium to enforce the Islamic preaching and *tarekat* practice. Therefore, the development of *Tajīniyyah tarekat* in relation to the socio-political problems is oriented more towards the *tarekat* functionalization as a filter of various act and movement from its adherents.

## F. Conclusion

Islamic religious diversity in Indonesia as discussed in this paper is shown in the growth and the development of *tarekat* community. *Tarekat* streams developed since 13th century in the Middle East, North Africa, and the Indian were scattered to our Archipelago along with the process of Islamization in this area. Here the deployment is performed by the Sufis and merchants through the religious teaching and the social and cultural contact towards the society that are various in tradition and ethnics, and have the socio-political relation with the local authorities. Therefore, the *tarekat* community development at the beginning of the Islamic period in the Archipelago has established the religious systems patterned on the diversity of doctrine, thought, and tradition that are acculturative with various cultures of the local society in the Archipelago.

*Tarekat* communities in various areas continued to show their roles during the Dutch colonial force in Indonesia. Besides they also contributed in the Islamic religious founding, mainly through the efforts of religion development based on *taṣawwuf* perspective. In relation with the people, they also contributed in the patriotism struggle and protested even in the form of rebellion towards the Dutch colonial. The Sufis from various *tarekat* streams displayed antagonistic of political act towards the Colonial government policies. Thus, the social force of *tarekat* people became an indicator of religion revival that was very influencing towards the nationalism movement in Indonesia in the 20th century.

Similarly, the *tarekat* people at the contemporary era in Indonesia have built a community system variously based on principle beliefs and various ritual activities. Their diverse movement is pointed to the enhancement variation of morality and spirituality

of the society. Nowadays, the donation of the *tarekat* people can be seen from religion functionalization level (*taṣawwuf* and *tarekat*) for the society, which is not only from the various actual social structures. The *tarekat* movement tends to act in accommodative and participative ways towards the Indonesian government. The *tarekat* people always develop, modify, and actualize the *taṣawwuf* teachings and the *tarekat* practice, mainly in order to complete the spirituality and morality improvement of the society.

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