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## RELIGIOUS MODERATION IN THE TRADITION OF CONTEMPORARY SUFISM IN INDONESIA

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### A. Preface

Islamic religious life in Indonesia has recently grown in diversity and massive differences. Therefore, efforts to seek religious moderation are carried out by various parties in order to find alternative methods, models or solutions for overcoming various symptoms of conflict, and finding a harmony atmosphere of the people in this country.

The search for a model of religious moderation can actually be carried out on its potential in the realm of Islam itself. As is well known, the Islamic teaching system is based on the Quran and Hadith, then it becomes the Islamic trilogy: Aqidah (belief), Syari'ah (worship and muamalah), and Akhlak (tasawwuf). Each of these aspects developed in the thought of the scholars who gave birth to various ideologies and genres according to the historical and socio-cultural context of the Muslim community. Meanwhile, tasawuf or sufism is assumed to have more unique and significant potential for religious moderation, because Sufism which is oriented towards the formation of Islam is moderate, both in thought, movement and religious behavior in Muslim societies.

The general significance of Sufism can be seen in its history in the spread of Islam to various parts of the world. John Renard, for example, mentions that Sufism plays a conducive role for the spread of Islam, because Sufism acts as a "mystical expression of the Islamic faith" (Renard, 1996: 307). Similarly, Marshall G.S. Hodgson, that Sufism in this role is the main stream of the international social order. Sufism contributes to strong moral support for the social life order formally developed by shari'ah along with religious institutions such as universities and madrasah. (Hodgson, 1977: 220).

Starting from the historical reasons for the spread and the very broad role of Sufism, many scholars have made a deeper understanding and explanation of it based on a historical and social (historical-sociological) approach. In this case, historians and anthropologists in particular show that the characteristics of the development of Sufism in the modern and contemporary period represent the role and movements that promote internal criticism and external responses. Sufism development displays responsive and adaptive methods, forms and attitudes to the challenges of modernity (Bruinessen and Howell (eds.), 2007: 8).

The trend of modern Sufism is also conceptualized by Fazlur Rahman as 'NeoSufism'. According to him, the tendency of Sufism is the amalgamation of as many Sufi heritage as possible which can be reconciled with orthodox Islam and which can be processed to produce positive contributions to the development of Islam. In neo-sufism there is a moderation effort to generate orthodox activism and to re-establish a positive attitude towards the world. In this case, the moral motive of Sufism is emphasized and part of the technique of zikir or muraqabah and spiritual concentration is still accepted, but the object and spiritual content of Sufism is based on moral and puritanical meanings and orthodox ethos (Rahman, 1984: 285).

Meanwhile, the development of Sufism in the contemporary era shows its characteristics, as stated by John O. Voll (1997), that Sufism is surviving and progressive in a wide area, but Sufism is also dialogical and adaptive to the latest social theories. The social symptoms of the development of Sufism in this era, explained by Bruinessen and Howell as concluded by Shokhi Huda, are the following nine historical characters: (1) Sufism as a variety of transnationalism, (2) changes in authority relations and association patterns in Sufism, (3)

emphasis Sufism as a solemn, (4) Sufism's accommodative attitude towards the new regime, (5) Sufism as the basis for the political mobilization of civil society, (6) developing the form of local voluntary association units, (7) the attitude of Sufism's solution in the political vortex, (8) the incorporation of Sufism with the spirit of salafi and political activism, and (9) global relations and transnationalism. (Huda, 2017: 81-82).

In accordance with the focus of this study, namely religious moderation in Sufism in Indonesia, the theoretical basis for the concept of moderation in question starts with the word moderation, which means not exaggeration or means moderate. This word later became modern (Indonesian) which means the reduction of violence, or avoidance of extremes. Moderation in Arabic is known as the word *wasath* or *wasathiyah*, which has the equivalent meaning of the words *tawassuth* (middle), *i'tidal* (fair), and *tawazun* (balanced). Another definition of the word *wasathiyah* is usually meant as "the best choice". But all of them imply the same meaning, namely fair and means choosing a middle ground position among various extreme choices. Meanwhile, moderation in religious life is usually termed "religious moderation". This term means referring to attitudes to reduce violence, or avoid extremism in religious practice. The spirit of moderation in religion is to seek a meeting point for the two extremes of religion, for example between followers of extreme religions who believe in the absolute truth of one interpretation of a religious text, while considering other interpreters as heretical; with extreme religious communities deify reason to ignore the sanctity of religion. Religious moderation in a very plural and multicultural nation like Indonesia, on the one hand means that religious values are preserved, combined with values of local wisdom and customs. But on the other hand, religious moderation is also interpreted as a balanced religious attitude between the practice of one's own religion (exclusive) and respect for the religious practices of other people of different beliefs (inclusive) in a pluralistic society (Ministry of Religion of the Republic of Indonesia, 2019: 18).

What is meant by the potential for religious moderation in a religion that is Sufism in nature? This issue was the first to encourage this study to be carried out based on the development of Sufism in Indonesia. One of the reasons is that besides Sufism in its history in this country, it has shown an important role since the beginning of Islamization until the development of Islam today, as well as Sufism in a practical method called *Thariqah* (Indonesian, *tarekat*) which has given birth to various *tarekat* orders in the life of Islamic society. Likewise, the roles of religious moderation can be analyzed from the aspects of the religious and social significance of the *tarekat* (Trimingham, 1999: 245).

Another reason is that the 19th and early 20th centuries were historical facts for Sufism, which was under attack from all sides. The first attack came from secular movements and ideas that undermined the Sufi order or brotherhood. Secularists think and worry that *tarekat* is an obstacle to progress. However, due to these two challenges, the Sufism community tried to take a middle path, namely through the movement that Fazlur Rahman called the 'neo-sufism' movement. The movement and revival of neoSufism that developed in the 20th century until now, is shown, among others, by the many Muslim communities who seek protection from the unrest of life in the modern world, and they feel the need to maintain spiritual values. Because of this, many *tariqahs* have managed to defend themselves in several regions in Indonesia. Thus, Sufism in modern and contemporary times still shows its vitality for the spiritual welfare of Muslims.

The second reason is also the background of this discussion issue further, namely to explain the patterns of religious moderation displayed by Sufism in Indonesia, so that this study comes to an analytical understanding of why Sufism is still potential and significant as an alternative in efforts to build a moderate religious life in the country. This discussion is based on the historical-sociological approach to the development of Sufism in the socio-religious orders of the *tarekat*.

## B. Flashbacks to Sufism in Modern Indonesia

Early research on the development of Sufism in the modern era can be linked first with contextual issues with Islamic reform in the perspective of Sufism. According to Azyumardi Azra, this has actually started in the 17th century, which was spearheaded by three prominent Malay-Indonesian scholars: Al-Raniri, Al-Sinkili, and Al-Maqassari, with their ongoing reforms under the influence of Islamic reform and the ulama network in the Middle East. (Azra, 1994: 240). The neo-Sufism trend, however, became even more pronounced in the eighteenth century. During this period, several Indonesian Malay ulama who came from various regions and ethnic groups in the archipelago carried out the development of neo-Sufism until the early nineteenth century. At least it can be explained here at a glance about two very influential Sufi figures, namely: First, 'Abd Al-Shamad Al-Palimbani (1704-1789), a Sufi figure who was the most prominent among the Palembang scholars. He was very influential, especially through his works on the teachings of neosufi figures, which were widely circulated in the archipelago. AlPalimbani's tendency towards Sufism is clear that he studied Sufism especially with AlSamani, from which he also took the Khalwatiyah and Sammaniyah orders. Furthermore, through Al-Palimbani the Sammaniyah tarekat developed rapidly not only in Palembang, but also in other areas in the archipelago. Second, the most important Sufi figure from Kalimantan named Muhammad Nafis bin Idris bin Husayn Al-Banjari. He was known as a Sufi scholar for his famous work entitled Al-Durr Al-Nafis, and he was affiliated with several tarekat: Qadiriyyah, Syathariyyah, Sammaniyah, Naqsyabandiyah, and Khalwatiyah. In his work, Muhammad Nafis emphasized the absolute transcendence of the Oneness of God, rejecting Jabariyyah which maintained a fatalistic determinism that was against free will (Qadariyyah). Therefore, Muhammad Nafis was a supporter of activism, one of the basic features of neo-Sufism. With strong pressure on Muslim activism, his book was banned by the Dutch, because it was feared that it would encourage Muslims to wage jihad ((Azra, 1994: 243, 251, 257).

Further discussion can also be seen from the process of spreading the orders of the tarekat carried out by the intermediaries of the pilgrims in the 19th century. Based on the tarekat teacher network, there are five very influential tarekat schools, namely the Qadiriyyah order (Abdul Qadir Jailani), the Syattariyyah order (Ahmad al-Qusyasyi and Ibrahim al-Kurani), the Sammaniyah tarekat (Muhammad al-Samman), the Naqsyabandiyah order (Bahauddin an-Naqsyabandi), and the Qadiriyyah wa Naqsyabandiyah order (Ahmad Khatib Sambas). Each of these tarekat forms associations with distinctive religious patterns, namely through ritual forms and tarekat practices. Thus, the tarekat becomes the teachings and values that are absorbed or internalized by its followers, so that the tarekat can involve a series of creativity that forms a culture, communication, social mobility, and community actions and behavior (Steenbrink, 1994: 179184).

In its time, the tarekat was not only recorded as a group of dhikr assemblies that only concentrated on their relationship with Allah alone and they ignored the social conditions around them. Many of the struggles or resistance carried out by the tarekat against the colonialists at that time, such as the Diponegoro War which caused quite a stir and made the Dutch government chaotic, received the support of Kyai Maja and a number of students. The rebellion in Cilegon, which involved Haji Wasid and his Qadiriyyah order, waged a jihad war against the Dutch government in Banten in 1888. Likewise, the Akmaliah movement led by Kyai Nurhakim (1866), and the Haji Ahmad Ripangi movement in Kalisalak, Central Java (1855) were quite troublesome local ruler (Ibid.). Several other tarekat, such as Syattariyyah in West Sumatra, have also been recorded as having protected the community.

Meanwhile, a review of the development of Sufism in Indonesia in the twentieth century needs to be discussed further about what is the position of Sufism in the flow of Indonesian modernization. The salient feature of the development of the Muslim community at the beginning of this century was the change in the Muslim movement, especially in opposition to

the Dutch colonialism, from forms of militant resistance to being replaced by new approaches and forms of organization; later the structure of holy war (jihad) was replaced by modern social and political associations. Meanwhile, internal Muslim struggles occurred between syncretic local Islam and a more fundamentalist form of Islam in Indonesia, and there was a separation between devout Muslims and syncretic local Muslims, coupled with the separation between modern Muslims and traditional Muslims. In this context there is also a distinction between conservative Islam which intends to maintain the special adjustments made to local culture; on the other hand, it is fundamentalist Islam, which is identified with opposition to popular religious customs and tendencies of Sufism (Voll, 1997: 293).

In the midst of the struggle for the nationalism movement and Islamic reform, the development of sufism-tarekat at the beginning of the twentieth century did not show its role in socio-politics as in the past, but at this time a number of tarekat still maintained themselves as the socio-religious and spiritual support of rural communities in many areas. Indonesia. This was the case during the Indonesian independence era, even though the Sufi brothers and sisters were not able to gain the influence of reformists, modernists and traditionalists who were affiliated in organizations. However, many Muslim communities seek protection from the unrest of life in the modern world, and they feel the need to maintain spiritual values. Simultaneously with such a modern situation, Sufism-tarekat circles re-emerge in new forms of tarekat development and respond to other aspects of modern life. Thus, sociologically sufism-tarekat continues to fulfill its mission of maintaining the spirituality of Islam through special links and relationships with the spiritual world represented by a number of tarekat, while still showing its vitality for the spiritual welfare of mankind (Trimingham, Madzhab Sufi., P. 266).

Sufism in Indonesia from the 20th century to the present day can be explained in a number of sufisms which were influential and played an important role in the development of Islam in Indonesia. First, the Naqsyabandiyah Tarekat, a tarekat founded by Bahauddin an-Naqsyabandi in Turkey, since the early 17th century, and this tarekat spread to Indonesian territory is estimated to be around the middle of the eighteenth century. As an in-depth study has been carried out by Martin van Bruinessen (1982), that the Naqsyabandiyah has experienced continuous development, both geographically and in the number of followers. The rapid development of the Naqsyabandiyah in this century was partly due to the urge to refresh and grow this tarekat which was driven from within its own country. Unlike the previous period until 1925, the impetus for refreshing the Naqshbandiyah always came from the Middle East. To date, the spread of adherents to this tarekat is represented in all Muslim-majority provinces. The spread of the Naqshbandiyah adherents was more widely accepted by lay people from various backgrounds, thus causing local variations in the practice of this tarekat. In addition, especially in the last quarter of the twentieth century the tendency of this tarekat did not only appeal to the social strata in the countryside, but also existed in urban areas among all professional groups. (Bruienesen, 1982: 219).

Second, the Qadiriyyah Wa Naqsyabandiyah Tarekat, which is also called a branch of the Naqsyabandiyah Order, but in its development in Indonesia in the modern period is a new and independent tarekat. This tarekat as the name implies is an amalgamation of selected elements from the Qadiriyyah and also the Naqsyabandiyah. The integration between the two orders was carried out by the Sufi scholar from Indonesia, Ahmad Khatib ibn 'Abd Al-Ghaffar Sambas, who lived and taught in Mecca in the midnineteenth century. He had many students who later played a role in the spread of this tarekat, namely among the Indonesians who visited Mecca from all parts of the archipelago: Malaya, Sumatra, Java, Bali and Lombok. Syekh Sambas also appointed many caliphs, including his three main caliphs, Shaykh Abdul Al-Karim from Banten. Although he lived for most of his life in Mecca, under his influence the Qadiriyyah Wa Naqshbandiyah Order became extremely popular in Banten. Two other influential caliphs were

Shaykh Tothah in Cirebon and Kiai Ahmad Hasbullah ibn Muhammad (a Madurese who also lived in Mecca).

The branch of the Tarekat Qadiriyah wa Naqsyabandiyah from the 'Abd Al-Karim teacher route, developed mostly in the Banten area especially under the influence of its last caliph. The most famous being Ki Armin (d. 1988) from Cibuntu, near Pandeglang. Some of its other branches are scattered in the Bogor area, especially through another caliph, namely Kiai Falak at Pesantren Pagentongan. Another important center of this tarekat was developed by another caliph 'Abdul Al-Karim at Pesantren Futuhiyah in Meranggen, Semarang, namely Kiai Muslikh (d. 1981). Meanwhile, the Tarekat Qadiriyah wa Naqsyabandiyah branch of the Cirebon Shaykh Tolhah teacher training path was developed by its most important caliph, 'Abdillah Mubarak (Abah Sepuh) through the pesantren he founded in Suryalaya Tasikmalaya in 1905. This Tareka which became known as TQN Suryalaya made progress. and its broader influence during the leadership of the CRC Shohibulwafa Tadjul Arifin (or better known as Abah Anom). The spread of TQN Suryalaya branches is throughout Java, East Sumatra, West Kalimantan, Lombok, and in Singapore and Malaysia. As for Ahmad Hasbullah's teacher training path, the Qadiriyah wa Naqsyabandiyah branch is more developed in East Java and Madura Island, especially through its center of education at Darul Ulum Islamic Boarding School in Rejoso (Jombang). The Qadiriyah Wa Naqsyabandiyah Order was first introduced by Khalil, a son-in-law of Kiai Tamin from Madura, the founder of the pesantren. Khalil, who also came from Madura, received a diploma from Ahmad Hasbullah in Mecca, but later Khalil's robe of leadership was given to Kiai Tamim's son named Ramly, and was later replaced by his son Musta'in Ramly. The authority of Kiai Musta'in Ramly led the tarekat at the pesantren for a long time until the end of the 1970s (Bruinessen, 1992: 98).

Third, the Khalwatiyah Order which has a very broad influence in South Sulawesi. This tarekat became the basis of religion among the Bugis and Makassar people. This tarekat was introduced for the first time in Sulawesi by Shaykh Yusuf Makassar (d. 1699) who was known as the honorary title Al-Taj Al-Khalwati (Crown of the Khalwatiyah Order). He was not only a Sufi, but also well known as a 17th century Makassar scholar and warrior, and he is still highly respected in South Sulawesi. Shaykh Yusuf spent several decades in Arabia and studied with many teachers. He became a follower of the Khalwatiyah order in Damascus by Abu Barakat Ayyub bin Ahmad AlKhalwati Al-Qusyaisyi, an imam and preacher at the Ibn 'Arabi mosque. Nevertheless, Yusuf also studied several tarekat and studied with a number of Sufi scholars and spiritual predecessors. Therefore, after his return to the archipelago, Shaykh Yusuf taught the Khalwatiyah Order as well as incorporating elements of other tarekat he had studied such as Qadiriyah, Naqsyabandiyah, Syatariyyah, and Ba'lawiyah (Bruinessen, 1995: 287-289).

The dissemination and development of the Khalwatiyah Order from the teacher training path of Shaykh Yusuf, which was later called Khalwatiyah Yusuf, is still developing today. Meanwhile, another branch of the Khalwatiyah order, is the order associated with Muhammad bin 'Abds Al-Karim Al-Samman (1718-1775), a well-known scholar and Sufi who taught in Medina. This branch of the tarekat became known as Khalwatiyah Samman, flourishing in the charismatic leadership of Haji 'Abd Al-Razzaq alias Puang Palopo (d. 1910), and most local chapters in South Sulawesi have been affiliated with Khalwatiyah Samman since the beginning of the twentieth century. Furthermore, the differences between the two Khalwatiyah tarekat actually still show continuity in terms of teaching, while the changes are solely in the path of teacher training or the lineage of the tarekat. This is because the spread of Sammaniyah's influence was first integrated naturally into the tradition that had been built by Shaykh Yusuf Makassar. But sociologically, the difference between the two can be seen from the number of followers of each tarekat, as in the statistics compiled by the Ministry of Religion in 1973, that

the Khalwatiyah Yusuf tarekat in the province of South Sulawesi has around 25,000 followers, while the Khalwatiyah Samman congregation has 117,435 followers. (Bruinessen, 1995: 285). Fourth, the Tijaniyah Order, which spread in the West Java region since the beginning of the twentieth century. As G.F. Pijper stated that in 1928 this tarekat had spread in Cirebon, Brebes, Pekalongan, Tasikmalaya, and Ciamis. Its spread in the Priangan area was first introduced by Ali ibn Abdillah al-Thayyib al-Azhari, an Arab scholar from Medina. At the first he lived in Cianjur for three years. After that, he lived in Bogor. In these two cities, he lives in an Arab village and works as a teacher at a madrasa belonging to his fellow citizens. Then, in 1928 Ali Abdillah moved to Tasikmalaya (Pijper, 1987: 86-87).

Among Sheikh al-Tayyib's students, who immediately became his representative in leading the Tijaniyah Order in Tasikmalaya was Ajengan Ahmad Qaljoebi, who had studied in Mecca for six years (1910-916). Since meeting Sheikh al-Tayyib, he has continued to maintain a close relationship with him. In fact, the Sheikh himself often spent his time at Ajengan Qaljoebi's house. Their relationship also concerns issues of teaching and Tijaniyah development, so that Sheikh al-Tayyib appointed Qaljoebi to be his representative who has the right to give allegiance to anyone to practice the teachings of this tarekat. K.H.A. Qaljoebi in the lineage of the Tijaniyah Order is the 8th teacher (Al-Qaljoebi, t.t: 20 and Pijper, 1987: 87). The development of the Tijaniyah Order was further carried out by another caliph of Sheikh al-Tayyib, named K.H. Badruzzaman, caretaker of the Blue Islamic Boarding School in the Garut area, with his appointment as caliph in 1935. The development of Tijaniyah originated from the K.H. Badruzzaman in Garut then spread to several other areas in West Java, such as Bandung, Cianjur, Tangerang, Kerawang, Subang, Sumedang, and Bogor; while the distribution of the Tijaniyah Order in Cirebon took place from the teacher training route of Kiai Abbas.

Fifth, the Idrisiyah Order. The spread of this tarekat first took place in Tasikmalaya, with the services of Ajengan Abdul Fatah, a scholar from Cidahu after he studied in Makkah (1924-1932). He obtained a teacher hirqah (degree) in this tarekat from Sayyid Ahmad Syarif al-Sanusi in Jabal Abi Qubais, when Abdul Fatah studied in the Holy Land (Sya'roni, 1992: 104-105). As the name of the tarekat taught by Syarif al-Sanusi, basically the tarekat that Abdul Fatah followed was the Sanusiyah Order. However, he popularized the name of his tarekat with the Idrisiyah Tarekat because it was intended as an effort to avoid the suspicion of the Dutch colonial government, which considered that the Sanusiyah people, especially in North Africa, were mostly involved in politics and opposed the Western colonialists (Ziadeh, 1983: 132). In addition, Abdul Fatah was only more interested in developing Sanusiyah teachings only in the field of worship. Therefore, he put aside his political ideology and movement.

### C. Patterns of Moderation of Sufism

Further analysis of religious moderation in the perspective of Sufism can be carried out based on the recent discourse of wasathiyah or moderation in Indonesia, which is objectively described through three pillars: moderation of thought, moderation of movement, and moderation of deeds. These three objects of religious moderation can be seen in the symptoms that are indicated in the traditions and movements of Sufism below, based on the symptoms found in each subject of Sufism, especially the tarekat mentioned in the previous discussion.

#### 1. Thought Moderation

One of the signs of moderate religious thought in Sufism is the tendency of neoSufism, as explained in the preliminary discussion above. The historical symptoms of this kind of moderation in the development of modern Sufism in Indonesia were shown by almost all tarekat, although with varying degrees of moderation from one tarekat to another. As seen in

Naqsyabandiyah Sufism thought, that before the modern period there were not a few cases showing how the Naqsyabandiyah tarekat gradually took elements of local traditions, or at least adopted traditions that tended to deviate from the point of view of the authenticity of Naqsyabandiyah. However, along with the neo-Sufism movement, including what occurred in the Naqsyabandiyah centers in Mecca and Medina, not a few Indonesian scholars also continued to establish contact with Naqsyabandiyah centers there, so after returning from Hijaz they made corrections to the trend of Naqsyabandiyah deviations in Indonesia. Therefore, during the twentieth century the Naqshbandiyah Order as a whole, or practiced by most of its teachers, held fast to its original teachings. In general, the emphasis on shari'ah has not changed, and many murshids have mastered Islamic science steadily (Bruinessen, 1992: 212), and practice moral activism in accordance with the modern context.

Some Naqsyabandiyah figures who pioneered neo-Sufism based on their area of influence can be mentioned here, including: 1) in Sumatra a famous scholar named Khatib Ali (1861-1936) came from Parak Gadang, Padang West Sumatra, he had been in Mecca (1884 - 1890) and studied from the reformer Ahmad Khatib, but also entered the Naqsyabandiyah tarekat at the hands of 'Uthman Al-Fauzi. After returning to his homeland, Khatib Ali emerged as a traditionalist, but he also played a role as a moderate modernizer. He became an active educator and founded a modern style madrasa. He developed Naqsyabandiyah and provided his defenses for the attacks of the reformers through his treatises. But Khatib Ali was also active in the formation of modern political organizations, he himself formed a local branch of the Sarekat Islam in West Sumatra in 1916, then in 1928 Khatib also played a role in the establishment of PERTI (Persatuan Tarbiyah Islamiyah) (Schrike, 1921; 306-9; Abdullah, 1971: 24-27).

A similar trend was carried out by other figures in North Sumatra in the mid-twentieth century, especially Prof. Dr. Haji Syekh Kadirun Yahya, M.Sc., a scientist who since the 1950s has taught chemistry at the University of North Sumatra in Medan. Kadirun studied the Naqsyabandiyah tarekat from Muhammad Hasyim from Buayan (between Bukittinggi and Padang), West Sumatra, and he received a diploma as caliph in 1950, about two years later as a shaykh. In the development of the Naqsyabandiyah, he was known as a reformer who had given this tarekat a scientific foundation. The followers are estimated to reach 2.5 million people in Indonesia, especially in the area of Medan, South Tapanuli, and spread in several cities in Java, while in Malaysia it reaches around 40,000 followers (Bruinessen, 1992: 151). Another symptom of the neo-Sufism direction can be noted from the development of the Naqsyabandiyah on the north coast of Central Java, for example K.H. Muhammad Hadi from Girikusumo, apart from mastering the science of Thariqah, he is also highly educated in fiqh, which since 1918 has developed his knowledge through the pesantren he founded in Popongan (between Solo and Klaten). Thus the successors of Kyai Muhammad Hadi to his present grandson, Muhammad Nadlif was very influential in the Naqsyabandiyah network in Central Java, and because he had studied at the Islamic University in Medina it seems that he directed Naqsyabandiyah to a somewhat 'puritan' climate; as was the case with Kiai Arwani from holy, he is not only a tarekat teacher, but also an expert in the knowledge of the Koran, even his pesantren is called Pondok Huffadz Yanbu'u Al-Quran (Bruinessen, 1992: 156-159).

The accommodation of shari'ah into the tarekat as this is a prominent feature of the neo-sufism process more clearly occurs in the Idrisiyah tarekat. This tarekat, as seen from its original character in North Africa, Idrisiyah was oriented towards religious orthodoxy of Sufism under the influence of Wahabi teachings. However, for Idrisiyah in Indonesia, the orthodoxy process was developed in an accommodative manner, so that the authors call it a tarekat with a fundamentalism-accommodative pattern. In general, this can be seen from the development of the Idrisiyah tarekat which is centered at the Pagendingan Islamic Boarding School. Among other things, it was stated that Ajengan Abdul Fatah was more oriented towards



worship and had no political potential which was seen as threatening the Dutch. Meanwhile, the development of fiqh in Idrisiyah was quite thick, especially their views and attitudes towards madzhab. Following the principles developed by the two main teachers of this tarekat, Shaykh Ahmad bin Idris and Sheikh Muhammad bin Ali as-Sanusi, who called for ijtiḥad and did not obey any school, the Idrisi saw the Sheikhs as the imams of the school. Therefore, the Shaykh does not only act as murshid tarekat, but he also serves as an imam in matters of sharia. In general, the principle held in solving fiqh problems is the rule of *al-muhafadatu ala qaulil qadim wa al-akhdu bi al-qauli sheikh*, so they acknowledge the opinion of previous scholars but also take or hold on to the opinion or ijtiḥad sheikh. The opinion of the sheikh of the Idrisiyah tarekat is believed to be the result of ijtiḥad that must be practiced, because he is also seen as referring to the opinions of previous scholars (Dahlan, 1979).

## 2. Movement moderation

This second pattern of moderation can be observed from social Sufism movements, especially seen from the community movements of each tarekat in responding to social or political problems facing them in certain situations. But normatively, the movements of the tarekat must depart from the principle of spreading religion, in this case based on Sufism, which aims to invite goodness and distance oneself from evil, but is based on invitations based on the tendency of moderation to take place in ways accommodating, persuasive, and peaceful way. Historical symptoms that illustrate such patterns of moderation can be learned from the following orders. The Naqsyabandiyah Tarekat, for example, which in the period before the twentieth century was known as a radical mobilization medium in opposition to the Dutch colonialism, among others in the case of the Banten peasants' rebellion at the end of the 19th century, actually in the twentieth century showed its changing patterns in accommodative ways. In this case, in particular adapting to modern nationalist movements, or the Naqsyabandiyah tarekat itself, carries out social movements through the organization as carried out by modernists. Naqsyabandiyah in West Sumatra for example, as mentioned above, apart from accommodating the Sarekat Islam, the Naqsyabandiyah circles themselves also pioneered the establishment of similar organizations with reformers.

One of the factors in the revival of the tarekat at the beginning of the twentieth century was the emergence of Islamic reformism with a puritan style, which gave it criticism, even for them that the tarekat was part of the religious experience that had to be removed from Islam. Another factor is the emergence of politically oriented mass organizations, especially the Sarekat Islam representing Islamic modernism and organizations with nationalist ideology. At least on these two factors, the sheikhs atarekat and other "traditional" religious leaders came together and established their own organizations to defend their practice and worship, tatepi also to respond to the political situation in the Indonesian nationalism process. In 1928 a number of traditional ulama in Sumatra established a new organization called Persatuan Tarbiyah Islamiyah (PERTI). Among the founders of this organization the most influential was Sulaiman Al-Rasuli, a Naqsyabandi, and until the end of the Dutch government Al-Rasuli managed to direct PERTI as the main vehicle for accommodating the interests of Naqsyabandiyah.

In the 1940s, a Naqsyabandi figure named Haji Jalaluddin, who was previously a PERTI activist with Sulaiman Al-Rasuli, founded the Islamic Tarekat Political Party (PPTI). The success of Haji Jalaluddin in fostering PPTI was evident in the 1955 general election, in which the party gained strong support in Central Sumatra (including Minangkabau) and North Sumatra (including Mandailing). The success in the general election also led to Haji Jalaluddin being elected as a member of the national parliament, and it was a momentum for him to expand his influence and the influence of PPTI. During the Guided Democracy period, he cultivated

good relations with President Soekarno, then he also showed flexibility with the political climate at that time (Bruinessen, 1992: 132).

PPTI's accommodative politics were further developed during the New Order era. Haji Jalaluddin directed PPTI as one of the first organizations to join the Golkar Secretariat. At that time he also tried to bring shaykhs and followers of tarekat other than the Naqsyabandiyah in Sumatra into his organization, and he also placed representatives throughout the country. Among his main followers was Abah Anom, the caliph of TQN Suryalaya who was then starting to gain influence in West Java. Haji Jalaluddin also succeeded in developing his representatives in Kalimantan, Sulawesi and Jakarta.

PPTI appears to have no representation in East Java, because in this region the Naqsyabandiyah branches, particularly the Qadiriyyah wa Naqsyabandiyah tarekat are affiliated with Nahdlatul Ulama. In 1957 the tarekat kiai established an organization called Jam'iyyah Ahl Al-Thariqah Al-Mu'tabarah, which was intended to unite all bona fide tarekat (mu'tabar) or tarekat-tarekat that were in accordance with the principles of Ahl Al-sunnah wa Al- -Pilgrims. This organization publishes a list of 44 tariqah which are considered mu'tabar. Although in practice, only the Naqsyabandiyah and Qadiriyyah wa Naqsyabandiyah orders are well represented in the Jam'iyyah and are limited to East Java and Central Java. Even the Qadiriyyah wa Naqsyabandiyah tarekat, which is based at the Darul Ulum Pesantren in Rejoso, Jombang, can control its umbrella organization. During the leadership of Kiai Musta'in Romly, he was able to maintain good relations with his father's students, Kiai Romly, who had raised about eighty badals scattered throughout East Java and Madura. Because of this, Kiai Musta'in Romly added a strong influence to his position as chairman of the Jam'iyyah (Ibid: 171). Shortly after he was elected chairman of Jam'iyyah, ahead of the 1977 general election, he supported Golongan Karya, a government political organization, rather than the Islamic political party PPP, the platform in which Nahdlatul Ulama was represented. Apart from the conflict among Nahdliyin due to Musta'in Romly's political stance, it can be said that his political stance indicates a similar pattern to the leadership of Haji Jalaluddin through PPTI and Abah Anom in TQN Suryalaya, all of which show accommodative political attitudes with the government or the rulers. in this country.

### 3. Moderation of Religious Traditions and Practices

This moderation pattern can be seen from the tendency of sufism-acculturative tarekat with local culture. This kind of religious moderation is a characteristic feature of the development of tarekat in Indonesia. The acculturation process took place in at least two tendencies: on the one hand some tarekat gradually took on elements of local traditions or took on a more typical Indonesian character, while on the other hand there were local mystical currents that took the tarekat influence. Such a tendency shows the same symptoms in every community and religious practice of the tarekat, among others, it can be analyzed from the socio-anthropological Sufism below.

a. *Community and Congregational Traditions.* Every association or tarekat community is always established between teachers ((murshid / shaykh) and students (adherents / ikhwan), as well as between students in the tarekat, in turn, forming a distinctive pattern of communication and perhaps not found in religious communities outside the tarekat. In tarekat associations, it always describes a communication event that reflects the esoteric rite identity of Islamic religious teachings, which is communicated in symbolic form and is addressed as' a means to achieve high potential and life goals (insan kamil / akhlak karimah) (Abdurahman, 2019: 48 - 49).

Tarekat adherents generally explain and communicate all experiences of closeness religiosity to the teacher or murshid, whether it is done in sacred ritual meetings or personal encounters. Adherents of tarekat generally interpret the teacher as a figure who has the ability

to transform consciousness, especially consciousness related to "blessings". This blessing is linked to very broad dimensions: economic, political, cultural, religious and social. Therefore, those who come and become disciples of the tarekat come from different walks of life, different social status, and different purposes. After they become part of the tarekat community, the murshid corrects the intentions deemed "incorrect" by being linked to the metaphysical goals of the taught tarekat.

In the development of religion and culture in society in general, the communication pattern of the tarekat which is centered on the murshid figure and integrated in the teachings and ritual systems of the tarekat, has in turn been able to change the religious relationship of the community. As described by Hasan Moestapa, among others, it relates to the ways some people overcome a life crisis. According to him, "When a person has a disease that is difficult to cure or it is difficult to know the cause from birth, people immediately suspect that it is due to demon possession, hooked up, witchcraft, or as a result of ancestral vows. These people are usually referred to as lay people. Some people overcome a crisis or try to achieve what they want by asking the kiai for help. Then the therapy is given by the tarekat kiai or teachers, that the person concerned is asked to worship a lot, take repentance baths at night, and routinely practice wirid and tarekat dzikir (Moestafa, 1985: 115-121). This phenomenon can indicate a religious change in the role of the tarekat, but it may also be a pattern of tarekat accommodation with local culture. Because the amalgamation of metaphysical ideas, magic words, holy water and so on, with tarekat meditation techniques is also a tradition of the Javanese teachers at the beginning of the twentieth century.

The religious tradition among Sufism-tarekat is wirid or dhikr. Wirid are readings that students must practice every day on a regular basis. These readings include dhikr, istigfâr, salawât and hizb. Each tarekat requires adherents to practice certain wirid. Although each tarekat has its own uniqueness, in essence there is uniformity that rests on the pronunciation, understanding and appreciation of these wirid-wazifa. Wirid does not only have meaning and function of pronunciation with the tongue coupled with complacency with the heart. Wirid has a broader meaning and function and is related to all physical and spiritual activities in obeying Allah by carrying out all His commands, keeping away from His prohibitions, and always seeking His pleasure. (Ibid:51).

b. *Pilgrimage Traditions*. Pilgrimage to the graves of saints is another form of tarekat practice that is used as public communication. Apart from the individual pilgrimages, there is also a collective pilgrimage (ziyârah "umah) which is performed annually, which is popularly known as haul. Such rituals are meant beside as a reminder of death, tabarruk, friendship, and trying to take the example of the saints.

In the aspect of public communication, the pilgrimage ritual is the central point of tarekat activities, in which the Sufi ritual is maintained and local leadership is strengthened. In addition, the pilgrimage is a medium for interpersonal and cultural communication and interaction, as well as a momentum for preaching and the transfer of religious knowledge to the general public. According to R.B. Sarjeant, haul is a form of ritual inherited from the ancient pre-Islamic Arab society that helps specifically in the consolidation of inter-tribal politics (Sarjeant, 1998: 167-184).

The pilgrimage model carried out by this tarekat group is quite effective in gaining sympathy from the community. Long before Islam entered the archipelago, the people of the archipelago were very happy to visit sacred places. No doubt, when this wali pilgrimage tradition was encouraged by the tarekat group, he also received a pretty good reception. Even today, pilgrimage and guardianship have become an Islamic tradition that continues to live on, even though it has been battered by modernity. The graves of the saints, in this case the tarekat predecessors, are often seen as sacred poles or branches of Mecca.

c. *Immunity and Power*. This is a unique religious pattern of the tarekat which is closely related or intertwined with local traditions. In tarekat tradition, especially in the XVIII and XIX centuries, immunity and supernatural powers are one of the most popular rituals of the tarekat, for example immunity and supernatural powers in the *debus* tradition. The game of *debus* in the Qadiriyyah order in Kurdistan has also developed in several regions in Indonesia, including Aceh, Minangkabau, Banten and Maluku. Although now it is only practiced as people's entertainment. In Aceh, *debus* (*daboih* or also *rapa'i*) is included as part of the practice of the Rifa'iyah and Sammaniyah tarekat (Bruinessen, 1995: 271). This is another phenomenon, many pesantren have been centers of martial arts and supernatural powers in addition to fiqh, monotheism and tasawuf. (Ibid: 272).

The teachings of the tarekat such as the above example have attracted the attention of many followers with different motivations. Through the tarekat, the Sufis also develop the teaching of the science of *kasampurnaan*, science of *saefi*, and *hijib*, all of which are compiled from the teachings of *zikrullah*. The methods of developing the tarekat adopted by the Sufis in such a way indicate their openness in the development and teaching of the tarekat, so that the tarekat has influenced various levels of society. d. Community Ritual Traditions. In this case, the tarekat also uses cultural institutions, such as life cycle ceremonies, farming, coping with calamities, glorified timing, calculation, and prediction, although in such cultural institutions it appears that they contain elements of *khurafat* and superstitions that affect the belief system and religious experience. For this reason, the religious life of the community still shows the mixing of Islamic elements with traditional elements. For example, they still believe in sacred objects, sacred graves, and spirits such as *ririwa*, *jurig*, *dedemit*, *kelong*, and *kuntulanak*.

In addition to their belief in supernatural things, most of the people of the archipelago still develop a system of Islamic religious rituals that contain local traditions, namely on Islamic holidays, such as Eid al-Fitr, Eid al-Adha, Maulud, Rajab, and Ruwah which are common celebrated as religious ceremonies in community groups. Likewise ceremonies performed by a family, such as *marhabaan* at birth, *tahlilan* ceremony on death anniversary ceremonies, and *slametan* ceremonies, namely ceremonies when a person or family obtains gifts and enjoyment.

#### D. Closing

This is the picture of religious moderation in the development and tradition of Sufism, which can be concluded that Sufism develops in various streams of tarekat in Indonesia, presenting religious life with patterns that are: 1) neo-sufism in the development of religious thought, 2) accommodating in socio-political activities. , and 3) acculturative in socio-cultural behavior.

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