Chapter 3: Kiaiship Through the Tarekat Movement

This chapter will provide a basic picture of various sufi orders or *tarekat* which exist in Jombang. *Tarekat* is one of the two institutions attached to *kiaiship*. In Jombang, its role is significant, not only because a significant number of Muslims here join a terakat movement, but also certain *tarekat kiai* are involved in politics. As will be discussed in Chapter V, *tarekat* in Jombang plays an important political role, contributing to the formation of what is known as ‘Islamic politics’.

Whereas the primary activity of the *pesantren* lies in educating the *santri*, the *tarekat*’s activity focuses on building *batin* (the inner life of a person). As the *tarekat*’s role is to mould the society’s religiosity by practising special *wird* (litany comprising Qur’anic excerpts recited many times), it contributes to the development of Islam in the society. The *tarekat* is an important institution attached to certain individual *kiai*. They are coordinated indirectly by NU. However, not all *tarekat* are accepted by this Islamic organisation. NU *kiai* only recognises and allows Muslims to practise *tarekat* which are *mu’tabarah* (religiously legitimate). These *tarekat* must have certain characteristics to be classified as *mu’tabarah*.

The discussion of the nature of the *tarekat* in Jombang will be a starting point to understand both the political conflict between various groups in Muslim society in Jombang and their political standpoint. In addition it will also shed light on the *kiai* leadership generally. As some *kiai* are leaders of certain *tarekat* which are affiliated with certain political parties, the conflict among *kiai* is reflected by clear political divisions in society.

3.1 The Nature of the Tarekat Movement

*Tarekat* practices are derived from the Muslim interpretation of the Qur’an. According to *tarekat* followers, there are verses in the Qur’an which encourage Muslims to practise *tarekat*. These verses are very important since there are other Muslim groups who do not agree with and are very cynical about *tarekat* practices. Of the most frequently quoted verse is: *Wa an la w istaqamu ‘ala al-tariqati la’asqainakum ma’an ghadaqa*, which states “Moreover, if they, the Meccan, keep straight on in that way, we will surely give them to drink of abundant water” (Sura, 72:16). The word *al-tariqati* (*tarekat*, Indonesian) mentioned in the verse, in the perspective of *tarekat* followers, indicates that approaching Allah necessitates a certain method, that is the *tarekat*. By using such verses, *tarekat* members not only legitimise their involvement in this religious movement but also express their religious satisfaction with it.
Tarekat are sufi orders through which Muslims practise religious rituals by performing special *wird*. The term *tarekat* derives from the Arabic *tariqa*, which literally means the mystical path to approach Allah. The members of the *tarekat* perform a ritual, known as *dhikr*, with the aim of placing themselves close to Allah. *Dhikr*, a distinctive form of worship of the sufi, is only one form of *wird* practice. It is the remembrance or recollection of God. The difference between *dhikr* in general and that conducted by *tarekat* members is that *dhikr* in general is done in more profane situations, while in a *tarekat* it is practised in a more sacred situation. In the *tarekat*, such *dhikr* are aimed at gaining a depth of religious feeling. The practice of *dhikr* is founded upon the Qur'anic order, “and recollect God often” (Sura, 33:40), since, “the recollection of God makes the heart calm” (Sura, 13:28).

Practising *tarekat* needs to be guided by a *murshid*, a carrier of the order (lit. spiritual teacher). The *murshid* not only provides his followers with certain *wird* but also helps them in practising the *wird*. *Murshid* literally means the person who ‘shows the way’. This term is used in the *tarekat* to indicate that the *murshid* is to lead the members to approach Allah, using a certain way. Initiation into a *tarekat*, moreover, follows the receipt of *bai’a*. *Bai’a* is an important element of the *tarekat*. A *kiai*¹ told me that in Jombang there was a Muslim who practised *tarekat* without having a *bai’a* from any *murshid*. As a result he suffered from mental illness. There are seven *bai’a* given by the *murshid* for each followers. *Bai’a* in the *tarekat* is not an oath of allegiance as the term suggests, but an event in which followers receive certain *wird* and a determination to practise them continuously.

According to Kiai Makki², one of the leaders of the *tarekat* in Jombang, there are three stages through which Muslims develop their religion. The first is the *shari’a*, Muslim law. At the *shari’a* level, Muslims perform their Islam as it is ordered in the Qur’an and the hadith (the two sources of Islam). Like the physiological functions of human beings, Makki further explained, Islam cannot survive without people practising its *shari’a*. Secondly, as human life, from a certain perspective, does not make sense without *batin* (spiritual world), Islam would be nothing if Muslims could not reach the inner aspect of their practice of Islam. It is hence emphasised that the significance of Muslim life, in the *tarekat* perspective, lies not in the performance of what is ordered but rather in the acknowledgement of the necessity of such performance (not simply because it is ordered). This is the *haqiqah* (the essence or the Truth). Thirdly, when a Muslim is accustomed to this situation, he will move to another level of *ma’rifah* (gnosis). At this level, what is alive in the Muslim's practice of Islam is not his physical

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¹ Interview with Kiai Arwani, 13 December 1994.
² Interview with Kiai Makki, *a murshid of the Tarekat Qadiriyah Wa Naqsyabandiyah (Tarekat Cukir)*, 13 March 1993.
movement but his heart. It is his heart that continuously connects him to Allah. However, it is not easy to come to this level. According to Makki,\(^3\) it is necessary to perform religious exercises continuously and be guided by an expert who has reached such a level of religious attainment. The *tarekat* functions at this stage. It provides a Muslim with methods and exercises, so that he or she can reach the highest stage in religious performance. Practising *dhikr*, from the perspective of *tarekat* followers, leads to complete spiritualisation, for Allah has promised “I am the companion of him who recollects Me” or “I am with those whose hearts are broken for My sake” (*hadith qudsi*\(^4\)). The basic goal of practising *tarekat* is hence “a purification on different levels, first from the lower qualities and the turpitude of the soul, then from the bondage of human qualities, and eventually a purification and election on the level of attributes” (see Schimmel, 1975:16). So, in the sufi world, the process of *dhikr* or *mujahada* constitutes a stage in the achievement of a higher religious level of *ma’rifa* (gnosis).

The main ritual of the *tarekat* is reciting the *dhikr* of *la ‘ilaha ‘illa Allah* (there is no God but Allah). In contrast to a common *dhikr* performed after daily prayer by Muslims, where *la ‘ilaha ‘illa Allah* is recited out loud, the *dhikr* in the *tarekat*, according to Kiai Makki\(^5\), is spoken silently. Although the practice of *dhikr* may differ from one *tarekat* to another, the essence is the same. The *dhikr* is of great importance in the *tarekat* world, since reciting it can lead to safety in this world and the hereafter.

Although the essence of all *tarekat* is to approach Allah, each of its *aliran* (lit. streams, fractions) has its own character. In addition, there exist variations and nuances which differentiate one *tarekat* from another. In the *tarekat*, variation is marked by the numbers of *aliran*, each of which has different ritual practices. By practice I refer to the *wird* they usually use. Each *aliran* also has different *murshid*. The aim of practising *wird* in the *tarekat* seems to be similar between groups, that is to attain a closeness to Allah; but because the *wird* practised by each group is not the same, the *silsila of murshidship* (the chain of the carrier) of the *tarekat* is also different. In the *tarekat* world, the appropriateness of *silsila of murshidship* is very important, since it is through such *silsilah* that the *wird* can be regarded as *mu’tabarrah* (legitimate).

There are two criteria for a *tarekat* to be *mu’tabarrah*\(^6\). Firstly, the teachings of the *tarekat* must conform with the *shari’a*. Secondly, the *wird* practised by the

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\(^3\) Interview with Kiai Makki, 13 March 1993.

\(^4\) The *hadith* is the sayings of the Prophet Muhammad. The *hadith qudsi* is the saying of Allah spoken through Muhammad. What differentiates the *hadith qudsi* from the Qur’an is that the Qur’an represents the actual words of Allah, while the *hadith qudsi* contains Allah’s message out in the words of the Prophet.

\(^5\) Interview with Kiai Makki, 13 March 1993.

\(^6\) see *Kitab Pembina Moral dalam Rangka Membentuk Manusia Seutuhnya*, published by the *Tarekat Qadiriyyah Wa Naqsyabandiyah* (1992).
tarekat must be traced through the unbroken line of links between the murshid and the Prophet Muhammad. That means that the wirk was practised by the Prophet and has passed to the current murshid. The wirk of the Tarekat Qadiriyyah Wa Naqsyabandiyyah are traced from the current murshid to the Prophet Muhammad through the great sufi, Sheikh ‘Abdul Qadir Al-Jailani. In other words, the silsila must connect the current murshid, as the carrier of the tarekat, to the Prophet Muhammad. This requirement is meant to ensure that the wirk is not invented, but rather was practised by the Prophet himself. If there is any missing link in the chain, the tarekat would be regarded as religiously not mu’tabarah.

The promotion of a person to murshid usually follows receipt of ijaza irshad (authority, special bai’a) from a previous murshid. Ijaza irshad (in the tarekat) is an important event through which the leadership of a murshid candidate is legitimised and accepted by his followers. It is through the ijaza irshad that the link of murshidship in the tarekat is continually passed down, so that the legitimacy of a certain wirk is also acknowledged. The centrality of the murshid in the tarekat in Indonesia is evidenced by the fact that not everyone has a chance to be promoted to murshid, since it constitutes a link which determines the validity of a tarekat. While the murshidship can potentially be acquired by any individual tarekat member, only a highly qualified member can achieve such murshidship. In addition to murshid, there are the khalifa who assist in conducting the rituals of the order. The khalifa, sometimes called the badal (lit. substitute), not only assist the murshid in performing the wirk, but also, sometimes, conduct bai’a7 for the followers.

The 44 Tarekat Aliran Acknowledged as Mu’tabarah by NU’s Kiai8:

1. Rumaniyah
2. Rifa’iyah
3. Sa’diyah
4. Bakriyah
5. Juztiyah
6. ‘Umariyah
7. ‘Alawiyah
8. ‘Abasiyah
9. Zainiyah

7 The term bai’a in practice is often understood improperly. Lay followers and some khalifa applied the term bai’a for ijaza irshad as well. The difference between these terms is apparent. Bai’a is a session in which followers are given certain wirk by the murshid (and takes an allegiance to practise the tarekat rituals), while ijaza irshad is an authority given by the murshid to senior khalifa to become murshid. In some tarekat, conducting the bai’a for followers can be carried out by the khalifa. But in any tarekat only a murshid passes an ijaza irshad to a murshid candidate.

8 Kiai Abdullah Sajad, a khalifa of Tarekat Cukir told me about these tarekat. However, he did not tell me the source in regard to these tarekat (Interview with Abdullah Sajad, 25 November 1994).
Of the great number of sufi orders in the Muslim world, NU's 'ulama examined 44 aliran and acknowledged them as mu'tabarah. Of these 44 aliran, according to Kiai Arwani⁹, only seven exist in Indonesia. They are the Qadiriyah, Naqsyabandiyah, Tijaniyah, Syadziliyah, Khalidiyah, Syattariyah, and Khalwatiyah.

⁹ Interview with Kiai Arwani, 16 December 1994.
The Qadiriyah Wa Naqsyabandiyah is the best known sufi order in Indonesia, due to its large number of followers. This tarekat comprises two different aliran, that is Qadiriyah and Naqsyabandiyah. In Jombang, the majority of tarekat followers are affiliated with this combined aliran.

It is important to note that the tarekat world in Indonesia is associated with NU society. Among modernist Muslims, the practice of tarekat is not found due to their orientation, which tends to be anti-bid’a (not heretical). In Jombang, in spite of the affiliation of the majority of NU members to the Tarekat Qadiriyah Wa Naqsyabandiyah, there are some who practise tarekat which, from the NU’s point of view, are not mu’tabar. For example, some belong to the sufi order, Tarekat Shiddiqiyah, headed by an NU kiai. This tarekat is regarded not mu’tabar because it does not have an acceptable silisila of murshidship. According to Dhofier (1982) it is really a new tarekat established in 1958 by Kiai Muchtar Mu’thi in Jombang. Also, in Jombang there is a tarekat like movement called Wahidiyah or Penyiar Sholawat Wahidiyah, which focuses its wirt practice on reciting shalawat (prayer for the Prophet). These religious movements are assessed slightly negatively by some kiai due to their novelty.

In brief, we can say that kiaiship in Jombang is related to leadership either in the pesantren or in the tarekat. These two institutions are of significance in relation to NU (as a socio-religious organisation). Both the pesantren and the tarekat are led by kiai. The difference is that the pesantren is an educational institution controlled by the kiai himself, while the tarekat is a religious movement, with a large number of followers, led by a number of kiai with a murshid as their central leader. Unlike the situation among non-santri followers of a pesantren, membership in the tarekat is formal, and emotional attachment between members and especially between them and their murshid is particularly strong.

Of the existing three sufi or quasi-sufi orders in Jombang, that is the Qadiriyah Wa Naqsyabandiyah, the Shiddiqiyah and the Wahidiyah, the first has the large number of followers. However, there are no exact figures concerning the
membership in this sufi order, although efforts were made by asking the members to renew their membership. From my interviews with some khalifah of this order, it can be assumed that the followers of Qadiriyah Wa Naqsyabandiyah in Jombang may number around thirty to forty thousand. This sufi order consists of two groups derived from the same aliran (lit. stream), that is the Qadiriyah Wa Naqsyabandiyah coordinated by the Jam’iyah Ahli Thoriqoh Al-Mu’tabaroh Indonesia and the Qadiriyah Wa Naqsyabandiyah coordinated by the Jam’iyah Ahli Thoriqho Al-Mu’tabaroh An-Nahdliyah. The tarekat coordinated by the Jam’iyah Ahli Thoriqoh Al-Mu’tabaroh Indonesia is centred in the eastern side of Jombang and is commonly called the Tarekat Rejoso because its centre is located in Rejoso village. The tarekat coordinated by the Jam’iyah Ahli Thoriqoh Al-Mu’tabaroh An-Nahdliyah is commonly known as the Tarekat Cukir or Tarekat An–Nahdliyah because its centre is located in Cukir, a village in southern Jombang.

Both of these aliran derive from the same source. During the first half of the 1970s, their members were followers of Kiai Musta’in, the murshid of the Qadiriyah Wa Naqsyabandiyah. This tarekat split after Kiai Musta’in joined the government political party, Golkar. A significant number of followers of Kiai Musta’in left his tarekat and organised another Qadiriyah Wa Naqsyabandiyah affiliated with the Jam’iyah Ahli Thoriqoh Al-Mu’tabaroh An-Nahdliyah. The rest persisted in giving their allegiance to Kiai Musta’in, who continued to lead the Tarekat Qadiriyah Wa Naqsyabandiyah. After Kiai Musta’in died in 1984, the tarekat was led by his brother, Kiai Rifai who died in a car accident in December 1994. The tarekat has since been led by a new murshid, Kiai Dimyati, who succeeded his brother.

Similar to tarekat in other Islamic countries, members of tarekat in Java mostly come from villages. In addition, the majority of the members are mature and older Muslims. This is not only because younger Muslims are not interested in joining the tarekat, but also the NU’s kiai in the past did not allow them to join this spiritual movement. This prohibition seems to have been discarded, so that the tarekat can be attended by younger Muslims as well. It is not surprising now to find Muslims as young as seventeen attending ritual activities of the tarekat.

I have to make clear the difference between the tarekat as a practice and the tarekat as an organisation which coordinates and manages such a practice. The Qadiriyah Wa Naqsyabandiyah is a tarekat, but both the Jam’iyah Ahli Thoriqoh Al-Mu’tabaroh An-Nahdliyah and the Jam’iyah Ahli Thoriqoh Al-Mu’tabaroh Indonesia are organisations which practise the tarekat. These two tarekat organisations managed some aliran. However, there is no exact number of how many aliran they comprise. No kiai of these tarekat organisations know about the number (Kiai Arwani of the Jam’iyah Ahli Thoriqoh Al-Mu’tabaroh Indonesia mentioned that this tarekat consists of seven aliran. See my discussion further in this chapter).

The names Tarekat Rejoso and Tarekat Cukir, hold only in the context of Jombang.

This conflict between kiai in the Tarekat Qadiriyah Wa Naqsyabandiyah, after Kiai Musta’in joined Golkar, is discussed at length in Chapter V of the thesis.
Like the pesantren, the tarekat does not have a formal organisational relationship to NU. It is acknowledged as an NU institution because those performing the ritual practices of the tarekat are NU members, and some of the kiai managing the tarekat are also involved in the NU leadership. Any problem concerned with the tarekat is discussed in NU. NU has thus been involved in many respects in (indirectly) managing the tarekat. The formation of the Jam‘iyah Ahli Thoriqoh Al-Mu‘tabaroh An-Nahdliyah, for example, was decided on at an NU congress in Semarang in 1979. It was done because Kiai Musta‘in (the murshid of the Qadiriyah Wa Naqsyabandiyah and the leader of the Jam‘iyah Ahli Thoriqoh Al-Mu‘tabaroh) deviated from the NU’s political policy by joining Golkar (at that time NU was a main component of the United Development Party, PPP).

3.2 The Tarekat Qadiriyah Wa Naqsyabandiyah

Muslims in Indonesia were introduced to tarekat practices in the 17th century. Bruinessen (1992), for example, mentioned Sheikh Yusuf Makasar as an ‘ulama who learned and then spread the tarekat among Indonesian Muslims. Sheikh Yusuf’s introduction to the tarekat happened when he set out to study Islam and make his pilgrimage to Mecca. “In Aceh, a town which constituted a centre for Islamic education in Nusantara, he did a bai‘a to join a tarekat, that is the Qadiriyah order” (Bruinessen, 1992:34). Sheikh Yusuf Makassar was not the only Indonesian ‘ulama who performed and spread the tarekat, since there was another ‘ulama, ‘Abd Al-Rauf Singkil, who by that time had introduced the Syattariyah order. In addition, the tarekat, as Bruinessen noted, had already developed in some other regions of Indonesia. Sheikh Yusuf could nonetheless be regarded as an important tarekat ‘ulama, since through his efforts the tarekat then developed in Nusantara. He wrote some risala (short papers) about the ritual practices of the tarekat. Returning from Saudi Arabia, he then lived in Banten, Western Java, though he actually originated from the Gowa kingdom in South Sulawesi. According to Bruinessen (1992:35), Syeikh Yusuf became an influential ‘ulama and assumed a powerful position after the Sultan of Banten married him to his daughter and appointed him as his most trusted assistant. Although Sheikh Yusuf learned the Qadiriyah, Naqsyabandiyah, Syattariyah and

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16 This organisation of tarekat is similar to that led by Kiai Musta‘in in the sense that it did not make any change in regard to its w ird. It followed the Qadiriyah Wa Naqsyabandiyah tradition. Its formation as a jam‘iya (organisation) was very political. NU was involved very much in this matter.

17 The Jam‘iyah Ahli Thoriqoh Al-Mu‘tabaroh was established by NU’s kiai in 1957. It aimed to coordinate all aliran classified as mu‘tabarah. After NU established another tarekat organisation, the Jam‘iyah Ahli Thoriqoh Al-Mu‘tabaroh was formally not acknowledged by NU. This organisation changed its name to the Jam‘iyah Ahli Thoriqoh Al-Mu‘tabaroh Indonesia in 1991.

18 The original wordings of quotation is in Indonesian.

19 Nusantara is another term to indicate Indonesia. Nusantara literally means a variety of islands. What we call Indonesia now has hundreds of islands in which its people live. The concept of Indonesia seems to be recent. It has been acknowledged since the 20th century when modern organisations were formed by native Indonesians. People usually referred to various groups of people in Nusantara, such as the Javanese or Sumatranese, by their place of origin.
Khalwatiyah orders, his teaching was mostly on Khalwatiyah. Among his followers to date, according to Bruinessen, are nobles of Bugis and Makassar in South Sulawesi.

The early perception of tarekat by the colonial government was negative. The tarekat was regarded as a threat to the existing authority since some messianistic revolts were conducted by tarekat followers. The colonial government's perception of Islam in Nusantara changed when Snouck Hurgronje, a colonial government adviser, differentiated Islam from the political aspirations of Muslim society. Hurgronje’s observations of Islam during his stay in Mecca in 1885 and his close relationship with a sheikh of the Naqsyabandiyah order, Muhammad Salih Al-Zawawi, not only changed the colonial government's political perception of Islam, but also prompted the government to allow tarekat followers to practise and develop their tarekat. What is interesting from Bruinessen's notes is that the tarekat was also practised by native government officers. The regent of Cianjur, for example, was a loyal follower of the Naqsyabandiyah order (Bruinessen, 1992:24–25 and 107).

The increase in the number of Muslims from Nusantara who went to Saudi Arabia had a significant impact on Islamic development in Nusantara. It also favoured the development of the tarekat there. While the Qadiriyah or the Naqsyabandiyah order had come to Nusantara during the 17th century, the Qadiriyah Wa Naqsyabandiyah was introduced to Muslims in Nusantara at the end of the 19th century. This tarekat is basically a fusion of the two sufi orders, that is the Qadiriyah and the Naqsyabandiyah. The difference between one sufi order and another is not simply based on differences in regard to the silsila of their murshid, but also on their different ritual practices. The merging of one sufi order with another is common in the tarekat world. However, the Qadiriyah Wa Naqsyabandiyah that exists in Indonesia, according to Bruinessen (1992), is more than a merger of two streams of sufi order, but constitutes a new tarekat, in which chosen aspects from Qadiriyah and Naqsyabandiyah are combined and emerge as something new. This tarekat, Bruinessen (1992:90) suggested further, was possibly established by an Indonesian ‘ulama, Ahmad Khatib Al-Sambasi, who lived and taught in Mecca in the mid 19th century.

The Qadiriyah Wa Naqsyabandiyah order has developed well in various regions of Indonesia. The Pesantren Darul Ulum in Rejoso has been its centre for the East Java region. The five latest murshid of this tarekat derived from this pesantren. Kiai Khalil was the first murshid from this pesantren. Kiai Khalil received his ijaza irshad to lead the tarekat from Ahmad Hasbullah in Mecca. He passed on his ijaza irshad to his brother-in-law, Kiai Romly Tamim, who passed it to his son, Kiai Musta’in Romly. The leadership of the tarekat remains in the Pesantren Darul Ulum, with Kiai Dimyati Romly as the current murshid. Kiai Dimyati Romly succeeded to the leadership after the former murshid, Kiai Rifai Romly, died in
a car accident in December 1994. It is important to note that the current murshid, Kiai Dimyati Romly, did not receive ijaza irshad from the former murshid, but from Kiai Ma’shum Ja’far, who received his ijaza irshad from Kiai Romly Tamim and Kiai Musta’in Romly (see the silsila below).

The Silsila of the Murshid of the Tarekat Qadiriyah Wa Naqsyabandiyah:

1. The Prophet Muhammad
2. ‘Ali Ibn Abi Thalib
3. Husein Ibn Ali
4. Zainal-Abidin
5. Muhammad Al-Baqir
6. Ja’far Al-Sadiq
7. Musa al-Kazim
9. Ma’ruf Al-Karkhi
10. Sari A-Saqati
11. Abu Qasim Al-Junaid Al-Baghdadi
12. Abu Bakr Al-Shibli
13. ‘Abdul Wahid Al-Tamimi
14. ‘Abdul Faraj Al-Tartusi
15. Abu Hasan ‘Ali Al-Hakkari
16. Abu Sa’id Al-Makhzumi
17. ‘Abdul Qadir Al-Jailani
18. ‘Abdul Aziz
19. Muhammad Al-Hattak
20. Syams Al-Din
21. Syarif Al-Din
22. Zain Al-Din
23. Nur Al-Din
24. Wali Al-Din
25. Husam Al-Din
26. Yahya
27. Abi Bakr
28. ‘Abd Rahim
29. ‘Usman
30. Kamal Al-Din
31. ‘Abdul Fattah
32. Muhammad Murad
33. Syams Al-Din
34. Ahmad Khatib Al-Sambasi
35. ‘Abdul Karim
36. Ahmad Hasbullah ibn Muhammad Madura
There is an important note that should be presented here in accordance with this silsila. Sukamto (1992) notes that when Kiai Musta’in led this tarekat, there were two versions of the silsila. After 1977, according to Sukamto (1992), one of the chains of the murshid, Kiai ‘Usman Al-Ishaq (No. 39), disappeared from the silsila. This version of the silsila means that Kiai Musta’in received ijaza irshad directly from his father, Kiai Romly Tamim. However, this version became a matter of dispute between kiai who were concerned about the tarekat.

According to some, Kiai Romly had not yet finished giving all bai’a to Kiai Musta’in (bai’a should be done seven times), as Kiai Musta’in was still young. This means that it was unlikely that Kiai Romly Tamim gave ijaza irshad to Kiai Musta’in. Kiai Musta’in, according to some kiai, therefore went to Kiai ‘Usman, who had received ijaza irshad from Kiai Romly Tamim, to complete the necessary bai’a. It was from Kiai ‘Usman that Kiai Musta’in received his ijaza irshad, enabling him to be eligible for murshidship, succeeding his father. Kiai ‘Usman was hence included as one of the links in the chain of the silsila of murshidship of the Tarekat Qadiriyah Wa Naqsyabandiyah (see Dhofier, 1982). For some kiai the deletion of Kiai ‘Usman in the silsila has become a big problem for the tarekat followers in general since it means that Kiai Musta’in has cut out one person in the chain of murshidship. For other kiai, however, there is no problem with regard to Kiai Musta’in’s murshidship, even though he cut out one person in the chain. According to a reliable source, Kiai Musta’in received his ijaza irshad directly from the former murshid, his father, Kiai Romly Tamim. Kiai Musta’in was asked by his father to continue leading the Tarekat Qadiriyah Wa Naqsyabandiyah.

Beside being a murshid of the Tarekat Qadiriyah Wa Naqsyabandiyah, in 1975 Kiai Musta’in was a leader of the Jam‘iyah Ahli Thoriqoh Al-Mu’tabaroh. This organisation was established by NU in 1957. It coordinated all tarekat

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20 Sukamto (1992) in his thesis mentions two versions of the silsila of the tarekat previously led by Kiai Musta’in. The first one puts Kiai ‘Usman (no.39) as a member of the chain of the murshid of the Qadiriyah Wa Naqsyabandiyah order, bridging Kiai Romly Tamim and Kiai Musta’in. The other does not include Kiai ‘Usman. Dhofier (1982) uses the first version.

21 I also received this information from Kiai Makki who showed me a printed version of the silsilah when I interview him.

22 Kiai Ma’shum Ja’far made a clear statement about the ijaza irshad passed from Kiai Romly Tamim to Kiai Musta’in. Kiai Ma’shum Ja’far indicated that he himself heard when Kiai Romly Tamim passed his ijaza irshad to Kiai Musta’in. He is a very close khalifa to Kiai Romly (see Sukamto, 1992).
acknowledged *mu’tabarah* by NU. The *Tarekat Qadiriyah Wa Naqsyabandiyah* and its umbrella, the *Jam’iyah Ahli Thoriqoh Al-Mu’tabaroh* split after Kiai Musta’in became affiliated to the government political organisation of Golkar, preceding the 1977 general election. NU, as the socio-religious organisation which organises *tarekat*, then established another *tarekat* group when it held its *mu’tamar* (congress) in Semarang in 1979. This new *tarekat* organisation was the *Jam’iyah Ahli Thoriqoh Al-Mu’tabaroh An-Nahdiyah*. As I will discuss at length in Chapter V, the followers of Kiai Musta’in were bewildered when he joined Golkar, and some *khalifa* felt obliged to establish another organisation of *Tarekat Qadiriyah Wa Naqsyabandiyah* with another leader. The initial underlying reason for the separation of some *kiai* and *khalifa* from Kiai Musta’in was thus political. Later, however, some *kiai* used the deletion of a person in the chain of *murshidship*, that is Kiai ‘Usman, as justification for their separation. As the *tarekat* should be passed on through a continuous chain of *murshidship*, this deletion, in the view of some *kiai*23, makes the *tarekat* of Kiai Musta’in doubtful in terms of its legitimacy.

The change in leadership from Kiai Musta’in to Kiai Rifai in 1984 was deemed by some *kiai* from another *tarekat* as a further problem for the *Tarekat Qadiriyah Wa Naqsyabandiyah* centred in Rejoso, since Kiai Musta’in never passed his *ijaza irshad* to Kiai Rifai. In other words, Kiai Rifai had an ever bigger problem than Kiai Musta’in in terms of his leadership in the *tarekat*. Nevertheless, the *murshidship* of Kiai Rifai was regarded as legitimate by his followers because Kiai Musta’in himself indirectly hinted that he approved of Kiai Rifai’s succession. Kiai Musta’in symbolically showed his trust for Kiai Rifai several times. He asked Kiai Rifai, for example, to substitute for him to lead the prayer when Kiai Musta’in could not do it. The acceptance of *ijaza irshad* by Kiai Rifai was thus symbolised through *ishara* (a sign).

However, Kiai Rifai’s name, according to Kiai Arwani24, would not have appeared in the *silsila* of the *murshid* of the *Tarekat Qadiriyah Wa Naqsyabandiyah* (Rejoso Version). Kiai Rifai died in a car crash before he could give *ijaza irshad* to his brother, Kiai Dimyati, the current *murshid*. Kiai Dimyati received his *ijaza irshad* from Kiai Ma’shum, who had received his *ijaza irshad* from Kiai Romly Tamim and Kiai Musta’in Romly.

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23 Only relatively few *kiai* held this perspective. They nonetheless stated their judgement clearly. One *kiai*, for example, suggested that “*dengan begitu, umat menjadi kasihan*” (with this situation I feel sorry for the *umma*). But this does not necessarily mean that no lay followers of the *tarekat* have the same perspective as the above *kiai*. A lay follower of the *Tarekat Cukir* suggested that “*Tarekat Rejoso itu silsilahnya pedot*” (the *tarekat* formerly led by Kiai Musta’in has its *silsila* disconnected).

24 Interview with Kiai Arwani, 13 December 1994. I interviewed this *kiai* a few days after Kiai Rifai died. The question of “*who is going to succeed Kiai Rifai*” spread among followers. Arwani is one of the senior *khalifa* of the *Tarekat Rejoso*. He knew that Kiai Dimyati received *ijaza irshad* from Kiai Ma’shum.
Despite the split of the Tarekat Qadiriyah Wa Naqsyabandiyah previously led by Kiai Musta‘in, the leadership of Kiai Rifai and (now) Kiai Dimyati has been strongly accepted. The necessity for loyalty and obedience to the leaders of the tarekat, especially the murshid, are factors that bind the followers and their murshid together. There is no problem at all for followers to give their allegiance to the new murshid and their respect to the family of previous murshid. That is why the Pesantren Darul Ulum has been continuously attended by loyal followers of the Tarekat Qadiriyah Wa Naqsyabandiyah (Rejoso).

It is estimated that around ten to fifteen thousand\(^{25}\) Muslims in Jombang are members of this tarekat. This Sufi order has around fifty six khususiya (location for dhikr ritual), and according to its administrative staff, each place of khususiya is attended by 200 followers. Khususiya or istighosa are tarekat rituals usually performed by an imam (a senior tarekat member) on a weekly basis. The biggest session of khususiya is usually held once a week in the Pesantren Darul Ulum. This khususiya is more crowded since it is attended not only by followers from Jombang but also from other regencies of East Java. Attending khususiya at the Pesantren Darul Ulum gives the followers the chance to perform dhikr held by the murshid, and they can also visit to the graves\(^{26}\) of previous murshid who are buried at the backyard of the pesantren. In addition, the current murshid in this session can do bai’a for his new followers or followers who have not completed their bai’a\(^{27}\).

\(^{25}\) It is hard to obtain exact data about the number of tarekat followers in Jombang because the tarekat is administratively weak. The above data may be an underestimation, since it is far lower than the number of followers of the Tarekat Cukir. According to one of its khalifa, Kiai Abdullah Sajad (interview, 25 November 1994), the Tarekat Cukir has around 40,000 followers in Jombang. I do not know whether this kiai exaggerated the number of his tarekat followers, but from my observation during a big ritual such as ‘sewelasan’, which commemorates the death of a great sufi, Sheikh ‘Abd Abdul Qadir Al-Jailani, the number of followers of the Tarekat Rejoso was larger than that attending the same ritual held by the Tarekat Cukir. Nevertheless, this number does not indicate how big both tarekat are in Jombang itself, since followers coming to such rituals are not simply derived from Jombang. It is common for followers from other regions to attend the rituals held in Jombang.

\(^{26}\) It is a cultural ritual of traditionalist Muslims to visit the grave of great ‘ulama such as a murshid or a saint. To have a description of ‘visiting grave’, see Fox (1991), “Ziarah Visits to the Tombs of the Wali, the Founders of Islam on Java”. In Ricklefs, M.C. Islam in the Indonesian Context. Clayton, Victoria: Centre for Southeast Asian Studies, Monash University.

\(^{27}\) Concerning the pattern of leadership in this tarekat I found a difference between Kiai Musta‘in and Kiai Rifai. When Kiai Musta‘in led the tarekat, bai’a for followers could be conducted by himself as the murshid or his khalifa. On the other hand, Kiai Rifai centralised the authority so that only he could do bai’a for his followers. Kiai Rifai was hence very busy since he had to do bai’a for his followers who lived in Jombang as well as in other regions of Indonesia. I do not know the reasons underlying his policy. I assume that Kiai Rifai had learned from the failure of the leadership of Kiai Musta‘in. Kiai Musta‘in often gave authority to some of his khalifa to do bai’a for his followers as he could not attend all the local khususiya held by his khalifa because his leadership was not confined to his tarekat in Jombang. This situation gave the khalifa a chance to build a close relationship with the followers. In the tarekat world, there seems to be no differentiation between the respect given to the murshid and his khalifa, since both are religiously good Muslims. Discriminating against them would bear a consequence for the baraka (divine grace) the followers might receive from practising the tarekat. Accordingly, the closeness of the khalifa and the followers built through “giving bai’a” and the continuous social encounter during the local rituals of khususiya, can result in loyalty to the khalifa.
3.3 The Jam’iyah Ahli Thoriqoh Al-Mu’tabaroh An-Nahdliyah: Tarekat Cukir

The Tarekat Qadiriyah Wa Naqsyabandiyah split into two after its leader, Kiai Musta’in, joined Golkar in the second half of the 1970s. To coordinate especially followers of the Tarekat Qadiriyah Wa Naqsyabandiyah who were disappointed with Kiai Musta’in’s political actions, NU subsequently formally established another tarekat organisation called the Jam’iyah Ahli Thoriqoh Al-Mu’tabaroh An-Nahdliyah. Although this organisation is coordinating various tarekat, it is mainly represented and managed by followers of the Qadiriyah Wa Naqsyabandiyah. In Jombang, the Jam’iyah Ahli Thoriqoh Al-Mu’tabaroh An-Nahdliyah is represented only by the followers of the Qadiriyah Wa Naqsyabandiyah who separated from Kiai Musta’in’s leadership.

Although the establishment of the Tarekat Cukir was a reaction against Kiai Musta’in, its ritual practices are those of Qadiriyah Wa Naqsyabandiyah. The formation of this tarekat initially served to coordinate those former followers of Kiai Musta’in who were bewildered and disappointed with his political steps. Therefore, the formation of Tarekat Cukir and the Jam’iyah Ahli Thoriqoh Al-Mu’tabaroh An-Nahdliyah was just a slight transformation of the same Qadiriyah Wa Naqsyabandiyah formerly led by Kiai Musta’in and a similar association established in 1957 by NU respectively.

The embryo of the Jam’iyah Ahli Thoriqoh Al-Mu’tabaroh An-Nahdliyah was created in Jombang. Many kiai asked NU to do something following their dissatisfaction with the political actions of Kiai Musta’in. Muhammad Baidlowi, the NU leader in Jombang, then initiated the formation of another association, the Tarekat Nahdlatul Ulama. Muhammad Baidlowi was uncomfortable with this since he had a close relationship with Kiai Musta’in (his wife is a sister of Kiai Musta’in’s wife). Muhammad Baidlowi thus tried to involve other NU leading figures, who also had close relations with Kiai Musta’in, to reduce the possible negative reaction of Kiai Musta’in. The document for the formation of the Tarekat Nahdlatul Ulama in Jombang was therefore signed by Muhammad Baidlowi (chairman), Najib Wahab (president) and Khatib (secretary). Muhammad Baildowi being greater than that to the murshid himself. That was why when some of the khalifa withdrew their allegiance from Kiai Musta’in, some followers at the grassroots level easily followed their khalifa in leaving the murshid. Kiai Rifai was aware of this and did not want what happened to Kiai Musta’in happening again to himself. Hence, he alone gave bai’a to his followers. In addition, he often attended local khususiya conducted by his khalifa or imam. The leadership of Kiai Dimyati, however, may change the pattern laid down by Kiai Rifai in regard to such centralisation of power. According to Kiai Arwani, it is very possible that Kiai Dimyati will give more opportunity to his khalifa to conduct bai’a for followers, not only because it is customary but also because the number of his tarekat followers is increasing. I carried out my research in Jombang from November 1992 to October 1993. After I attended the NU congress in December 1994 in Tasikmalaya, I went to Jombang to conduct interviews. In the second week of December 1994, Kiai Rifai died. Kiai Dimyati was then promoted to murshid. I left Jombang at the end of December. I can not therefore discuss the Kiai Dimyati’s leadership in any detail because I did not have much time to see it.
chose Najib Wahab instead of Kiai Adlan Ali, who was formally more appropriate since he was higher in rank than Najib, because Najib Wahab was the brother of Kiai Musta’in’s wife. Khatib, on the other hand, had a familial relationship with Kiai Musta’in, since his father was Kiai Musta’in’s uncle. The establishment of the Tarekat Nahdlatul Ulama in Jombang was then put forward to the NU congress in Semarang in 1979. It then became the stimulus for the formation of the Jam’iyah Ahli Thoriqoh Al-Mu’tabaroh An-Nahdliyah.

Kiai Adlan Ali from Jombang was promoted to be the main murshid of the Qadiriyyah Wa Naqsyabandiyah (the Jam’iyah Ahli Thoriqoh Al-Mu’tabaroh An-Nahdliyah version). When he joined the Tarekat Rejoso, he was a khalifa of Kiai Musta’in. He received his ijaza irshad from Kiai Muslih Abdurrahman (Mranggen, Semarang). With this ijaza irshad Kiai Adlan established another Tarekat Qadiriyyah Wa Naqsyabandiyah organisation with a silsila which was separate from the Tarekat Qadiriyyah Wa naqsyabandiyah led by Kiai Musta’in.

The Silsilah of the Murshid of the Tarekat Qadiriyyah Wa Naqsyabandiyah (Tarekat Cukir Version):

1. The Prophet Muhammad
2. ‘Ali Ibn Abi Thalib
3. Husein Ibn Ali
4. Zainal-Abidin
5. Muhammad Al-Baqir
6. Ja’far Al-Sadiq
7. Musa al-Kazim
9. Ma’ruf Al-Karkhi
10. Sari A-Saqati
11. Abu Qasim Al-Junaid Al-Baghdadi
12. Abu Bakr Al-Shibli
13. ‘Abdul Wahid Al-Tamimi
14. ‘Abdul Faraj Al-Tartusi
15. Abu Hasan ‘Ali Al-Hakkari
16. Abu Sa’id Al-Makhzumi
17. ‘Abdul Qadir Al-Jailani
18. ‘Abdul Aziz
19. Muhammad Al-Hattak
20. Syams Al-Din
21. Syarif Al-Din
22. Zain Al-Din
23. Nur Al-Din

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28 Interview with Muhammad Baidlowi, 10 September 1993.
In addition, the promotion of Kiai Adlan to the murshid of this new tarekat organisation automatically excluded Kiai Musta’in in his silsilah of the Qadiriyah Wa Naqsyabandiyah. This was because the ijaza irshad received by Kiai Muslih Abdurrahman was not derived from Kiai Musta’in. Kiai Muslih Abdurrahman, instead, received his ijaza irshad from Kiai ‘Abdul Latief; and Kiai ‘Abdul Latief obtained his ijaza irshad from Kiai Asnawi Banten, who, together with Kiai Ahmad Chasbullah received his ijaza irshad from Kiai ‘Abdul Karim Banten. According to another source, Kiai Adlan also received ijaza irshad from Kiai Romly Tamim, Kiai Musta’in's father (see the silsilah above).

Kiai Adlan Ali was also promoted to the national leader of the Jam‘iyah Ahli Thoriqoh Al-Mu’tabaroh An-Nahdliyah. He died in 1991. There are now three murshid of the Tarekat Cukir in Jombang who can conduct bai’a for followers or give ijaza irshad to a murshid candidate. The three murshid are Kiai Makki, who used to be one of the khalifa of Kiai Musta’in, Kiai Hisyam and Kiai Sholihin.

If Kiai Adlan actually had received ijaza irshad from Kiai Romly, why did not he directly declare his intention to establish another leadership of the Tarekat Qadiriyah Wa Naqsyabandiyah when he was disappointed with Kiai Musta’in's political steps (without having to go to Kiai Muslih to have an ijaza irshad)? Most khalifa in Jombang suggested that it is common for a murshid candidate to receive more than one ijaza irshad. In my judgement, the ijaza irshad of Kiai Adlan from Kiai Muslih was more political. It was needed to satisfy followers generally in regard to their separation from former Qadiriyah Wa Naqsyabandiyah. As Kiai Muslih’s murshidship was not received through Rejoso kiai, the reformation of this Tarekat Qadiriyah Wa Naqsyabandiyah was more satisfying. It was absolutely not related to former Qadiriyah Wa Naqsyabandiyah which was continually passed through murshid from Rejoso. As we can see from the silsila, Kiai Muslih’s murshidship was received not through Rejoso Kial, that is Kiai Muhammad Khalil and Kiai Romly Tamim, but rather through Kiai Asnawi Banten.
In addition to these three murshid, commonly called the khalifa kubro (lit. major khalifa), the Tarekat Cukir has four khalifa sugho (lit. minor khalifa). They are Kiai Abdullah Sajad, Kiai Khoerul Anwar, Kiai Rifai Marzuki and Kiai Abdul Hamid. While the khalifa kubro are classified as murshid, the khalifa sugho cannot conduct bai’a for the followers. The khalifa sugho are the main assistants to the murshid, either in regard to running the tarekat organisationally or performing the tarekat ritually. It is evident therefore that, in terms of the structure of either murshidship or khalifaship, the Tarekat Cukir is different from the Tarekat Rejoso, which does not acknowledge such a division in regard to its khalifaship.

In conducting its khususiya, the Tarekat Cukir follows the same patterns as the Tarekat Rejoso, since they have the same roots and history. Although the formation of the Tarekat Qadiriyah Wa Naqsyabandiyah (Cukir version) was a reaction against Kiai Musta’in's political actions, its khalifa throughout East Java have continued to be successful in managing and coordinating (recruiting) former followers of the Tarekat Qadiriyah Wa Naqsyabandiyah led by Kiai Musta’in. A significant number of former followers of Kiai Musta’in have joined this tarekat. In Jombang, the number of followers of this tarekat seems to be higher than that of the Tarekat Rejoso. According to its khalifa, Kiai Abdullah Sajad, there are about 40,000 people affiliated (as members) with this tarekat in Jombang. This compares with about ten to fifteen thousand followers of Tarekat Rejoso, a figure suggested by one of its staff. It is, however, difficult to get exact numbers, since neither tarekat has accurate data about followers. The figures may therefore be exaggerated. The followers are spread out in all regions of Jombang, and they are involved in local khususiya. The Tarekat Cukir has around 73 places of khususiya, each of which is led by an imam who is assisted by one to three badal (lit. a substitute).

Another important note in regard to Tarekat Cukir is that it continues to support PPP although this party has changed its Islamic base with Pancasila, and NU has formally freed its members from affiliation with PPP. The consistency of this sufi organisation in regard to its support for PPP seems to be related to the circumstances of its origin. Since it has been affiliated with PPP for a long time, and the PPP symbol was often used in its big ritual events, this sufi order in Jombang is also known as the ‘Tarekat PPP’. On the other hand, the Tarekat

30 In addition, some of the khalifa of both Tarekat Rejoso and Tarekat Cukir have been promoted to hold positions in the leadership of the Jam’iyyah Ahli Thoriqoh Al-Mu’tabaroh Indonesia and the Jam’iyyah Ahli Thoriqoh Al-Mu’tabaroh An-Nahdliyah respectively either at the regency or provincial level.
32 A few khalifa of this tarekat denied the common notion that Tarekat Cukir is a ‘Tarekat PPP’. Kiai Khoerul Anwar, the leader of this tarekat, tried to change that notion. He believed that in his tarekat there is an increasing number of public servants who are politically affiliated with Golkar. He always emphasised this opinion when he gave his religious speech among his followers (informal telephone talk with Kiai Khoerul Anwar, 10 January 1996).
Rejoso is explicitly affiliated with Golkar, although it is very likely that the support of the followers for this party in elections varies. The Tarekat Rejoso is also commonly called the Tarekat Golkar.

This discussion shows that the organisations of tarekat in Jombang are related to political developments in NU. Although the formation of the Tarekat Cukir was legitimised politically by NU and aimed to coordinate kiai and followers who were disappointed with Kiai Musta’in’s political actions, all kiai of the Tarekat Rejoso in present day Jombang continue to affiliate with NU. The pattern of political support of tarekat organisation remains the same regardless of NU’s decision to free its members to affiliate with any political organisation. The Tarekat Cukir continues to support PPP, while the Tarekat Rejoso supports Golkar.

3.4 Other Tarekat Movements

3.4.1. The Tarekat Shiddiqiyah

The centre of the Tarekat Shiddiqiyah is in the northern region of Jombang. Kiai Muchtar Mu’thi, the murshid of this tarekat was a student of Kiai Abdul Fatah of Pesantren Bahrul Ulum. His educational background indicates that Kiai Muchtar was mostly influenced by NU culture. Why he formed a tarekat separate from the NU’s is a difficult question to answer. The Tarekat Shiddiqiyah is classified not mu’tabarah from NU’s point of view. The tarekat is hence marginal compared to other tarekat in Jombang. By marginal I mean that most NU members in Jombang are affiliated with either Tarekat Rejoso or Tarekat Cukir, but not Tarekat Shiddiqiyah. It is also marginal, because members of this tarekat are not involved in NU activities, whereas the main stream of Islam in Jombang is represented by NU.

Researchers such as Dhoier (1982) have noted that the origin of this tarekat is not clear. The tarekat emerged for the first time in 1958 in a district of Ploso, in the northern part of Jombang. According to Dhoier, this tarekat does not exist in other countries. Kiai Muchtar, however, maintains that he is not the founder but inherited the leadership of this tarekat from Kiai Syu’aib, who went abroad. In addition, according to Dhoier, Kiai Muchtar is also well known as a dukun, a person who can cure certain diseases.

The shortage of research about this tarekat is due to several factors. Firstly, since this tarekat is not classified as mu’tabarah, and is not involved in the cultural network of NU in Jombang, it may be regarded by some as unimportant. Secondly, the tarekat is regarded as being rather exclusive. The impression of exclusiveness is acknowledged by many people in Jombang. Kiai Muchtar does not respond to questions about his tarekat.  

33 Interview with Kiai Azis Masyhuri, 19 April 1993.
In addition, Kiai Muchtar is also regarded as controversial in regard to *Friday prayer*. NU kiai maintain that *Friday prayer* is performed at the mosque as a substitute for that day’s *zuhr prayer* \(^{34}\). Those who perform *Friday prayer* feel that their obligation to conduct *zuhr prayer* for Friday has been met. Nevertheless, *Friday prayer* is not merely considered as an alternative which can be substituted for *zuhr*, but rather it is seen as an additional obligation which stands by itself. Only certain people, such as those who are sick, are allowed to perform *zuhr* instead of *Friday prayer*. Kiai Muchtar, on the other hand, contends that those who perform *Friday prayer* still have to conduct *zuhr prayer*. Kiai in Jombang have tried to discuss the problem with Kiai Muchtar. They have also invited Kiai Muchtar to explain his *tarekat*, since NU has indicated an intention to examine it. I was told by a kiai that Kiai Muchtar has never responded to such an invitation.

The exclusivity of Kiai Muchtar also impressed me when I tried to visit him at his house. Unfortunately he was not at home when I called. It was then recommended that I meet Kiai Muchtar’s assistant, who lives nearby. What was surprising to me was that the assistant told me that I must have Kiai Muchtar’s approval to get information about his *tarekat*, and refused to give me information. After a few days of waiting I was told by the assistant that Kiai Muchtar refused to be interviewed and had not given me permission to research either his *tarekat* or his *pesantren*. Kiai Muchtar had reasons for his refusal. According to the assistant, some university students had come to research Kiai Muchtar’s *tarekat* and *pesantren*, but their description (in their theses) had deviated from the facts. Kiai Muchtar contended that such attitude was unfair and dishonest, and that he would feel it sinful to give me a chance to act in a similar way to the previous researchers. I understood enough of his reasons and appreciated them. I thus had to be satisfied with information about this *tarekat* gained from outside the *Tarekat Shiddiqiyah* followers.

This does not mean that Kiai Muchtar never reacts to negative responses from kiai and Muslims criticising his *tarekat*. He has written some short *risala* (lit. writing). Kiai Muchtar insists that he did not create a novel *tarekat*. His *tarekat*, he maintains, is similar to other (*mu’tabarah*) *tarekat* which have chains of *murshid* to the Prophet Muhammad. His *risala* can easily be obtained by anyone who is interested. *Although the risala* are provided for his followers, they are also sold publicly on big ritual occasions. In his *risala* entitled *Informasi tentang Thoriqoh Shiddiqiyah* (Information on *Tarekat Shiddiqiyah*), Kiai Muchtar explains that his *tarekat* traces its chain to Abu Bakr Al-Siddiq, one of the main four companions of the Prophet Muhammad. He claims that his *tarekat* was also

\(^{34}\) A Muslim is obliged to perform prayer five times a day, that is *zuhr*, *'asr*, *magreb*, *'isha* and *subh*. He is also obliged to perform *Friday prayer* once in a week. This prayer is usually carried out at the same time as *zuhr prayer*
practised by such a great sufi as Al-Syadhili, the founder of the *Tarekat Syadhiliyah* (Mu’thi, 1992:24).

The word *shiddiqiyah* is related to Abu Bakr, who was called *Al-Shiddiq* by the Prophet Muhammad. This was because Abu Bakr accepted as true everything spoken by the Prophet in regard to the Prophet's *mi’raj* (lit. to ascend). *Shiddiqiyah*, according to Kiai Muchtar, is nothing but a *silsila* through which the *wird* practised by followers were passed from the Prophet Muhammad through Abu Bakr. This standpoint is derived from *Mu’jam Al-Buldan* written by Sheikh Al-Imam Syihabuddin Abi Abdillah Yaquti Ibn Abdillah Al-Rumi (Mu’thi, 1992:16). It is said in this book that a great sufi, Sheikh Muhammad Amin Al-Kurdi Al-Ibrili mentioned that the *silsila* which started with Abu Bakr and passed down to Sheikh Thoifur Ibn Isa Abi Yazid Al-Busthomi was called *Shiddiqiyah*. Kiai Muchtar explains further that the *silsila* of *Shiddiqiyah* was passed from Abu Bakr through either Ali Ibn Abi Thalib or Salman Al-Farisi.

With this explanation, Kiai Muchtar shed light on the origin of his *tarekat*, but he did not explain how the *murshidship* of this *tarekat* was passed to him. As commonly emphasised by those involved in the *tarekat*, proper *silsila* through which (the *wird* of) the *tarekat* is passed on is a necessity. Otherwise, the *tarekat* will be regarded as *munqati* (cut off). The *silsila* is one prerequisite that determines whether a *tarekat* is *mu’tabarah* or not.

**The Silsilah of Mursyidship of the Tarekat Shiddiqiyah (through Salman Al-Farisi)**

1. Allah
2. Gabriel ‘Alaihissalam
3. Prophet Muhammad
4. Abu Bakar
5. Salman Al-Farisi
6. Qasim bin Muhammad bin Abu Bakar Ashshiddiq
7. Ja’far Al-Shadiq

**Thoriqoh Shiddiqiyah**

8. Abi Yazid Thoifur bin Isa
9. Abi Al-Hasan Ali bin Abi Ja’far Al-Khorqoni
10. Abi Ali Al-Fadlol bin Muhammad Ath-Thusi Al-Farmadi
11. Abi Ya’qub Yusuf Al-Hamdani

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35 One night the Prophet was requested by Allah to attend Him. In this session the Prophet received among other things the obligation to pray five times a day. The journey to Allah was very very long, since the Prophet started it from mosque *al-haram* in Mecca through mosque *al-aqsa* in Jerusalem and finished his journey in the 7th layer of the sky (where he came to Allah). He then returned to Mecca. This journey was done in one night. People of Mecca were bewildered by the Prophet’s story because it was beyond common sense, but Abu Bakr did not hesitate to acknowledge it as true. That was why the Prophet called Abu Bakr *ash-shiddiq*, he who believes without question.
Thoriqoh Ath-Thoifuriyah

12. Abdul Kholiq Al-Ghojduwani ibn Al-Imam Abdul Jalil
13. ‘Arif Arriwikari
14. Mahmud Al-Anjiri Faghanawi
15. Ali Ar-Rumaitani Al Masyhur Bil ‘Azizaani
16. Muhammad Baabas Samaasi
17. Amir Kullali Ibn Sayyid Hamzah

Thoriqoh Al-Khuwajikaaniyyah

18. Muhammad Bahauddin An-Naqsyabandi
19. Muhammad Ibnu ‘Alaiddin Al-Athori
20. Ya’qub Al-Jarkhi

Thoriqoh An-Naqsyabandiyyah

21. Nashiruddin Ubaidillah Al-Ahror As-Samarqondi
22. Muhammad Az-Zahid
23. Darwis Muhammad Samarqondi
24. Muhammad Al-Khowaajaki
25. Muhammad Al-Baaqi Billah

Thoriqoh Ahroriyyah

26. Ahmad Al-Faruqi As-Sirhindi
27. Muhammad Ma’shum
28. Muhammad Saifuddin
29. Muhammad Nurul Badwani
30. Habibullah Jaanijanaani Munthohir
31. Abdillah Addahlawi

Thoriqoh Mujaddadiyyah

32. Kholid Dliya Ad-ddin
33. Utsman Siroj Al-Millah
34. Umar Al-Qothbul Irsyad
35. Muhammad Amin Al-Kurdi Al-Ibril

Thoriqoh Kholidiyah

(Source: Mu’thi, 1992:19– 21)\(^{36}\)

\(^{36}\) Kiai Muchtar Mu’thi quoted this silsila from the Tanvirul Qulub, pp. 500– 502. However, it is not clear how the murshidship of this tarekat was passed to Kiai Muchtar.
3.4.2. The Penyiar Sholawat Wahidiyah

I need to describe briefly the tarekat-like movement known as Penyiar Sholawat Wahidiyah, since it has some followers in Jombang. The Penyiar Sholawat Wahidiyah or the Wahidiyah is not a sufi order. It is a religious movement which emphasises the moulding of society by encouraging its followers to perform wira’ by reciting salawat (prayers for the Prophet Muhammad). Like a tarekat movement, the Wahidiyah aims at approaching Allah in different ways. In Jombang, the centre of the Wahidiyah is located in a village in the Ngoro district in southern Jombang. The founder of the Wahidiyah was Kiai ‘Abdul Madjid, who was from Kedunglo, Kediri. Kiai ‘Abdul Madjid introduced this religious movement in 1963. In Jombang, the Wahidiyah is led by Kiai Ihsan Mahin, the owner of the Pesantren at-Tahdzib.

The formation of the Wahidiyah began when Kiai ‘Abdul Madjid had a dream in 1959. In his dream it was as if an angel whispered to him. He was urged to improve the moral aspect of society and to mould the inner aspect of religious life. He had the same dream again twice in 1963. The third dream demanded that he act immediately. The tone of the dream alarmed Kiai ‘Abdul Madjid greatly (see Sanusi, 1993). As a result, he became determined to encourage the society to practise salawat. He then created a number of wira’, especially the salawat. A major difference between Wahidiyah and other tarekat is that its wira’ focus on reciting salawat, while the tarekat’s focus on reciting dhikr. Another difference is that the tarekat is usually a long established religious movement, transferred from one murshid to another, starting from the Prophet Muhammad, while the Wahidiyah is a new and local religious movement. Its wira’ were created by Kiai ‘Abdul Madjid one by one or he amended an earlier version (see, Sanusi, 1993).

The Wahidiyah has a very special character in terms of its ritual practices. The followers of Wahidiyah usually perform their wira’ in a sorrowful manner. In their wira’, they try to acknowledge and realise their sins. In their view the essence of their dhikr is to ask Allah forgiveness (tauba). According to them, this is the main reason for the practice of dhikr in Islam. Because of their mode of ritual practice, one can hear the mourning of the Wahidiyah followers in the night when other members of society are sleeping.

The Wahidiyah initially received a rather negative response from some kiai. Kiai Machrus Ali from Kediri warned his santri not to join this Islamic religious movement. It is also important to note that while NU indirectly organised several tarekat movements classified as mu’tabarah, according to a kiai, it never accepted Wahidiyah as an Islamic organisation under its umbrella. Despite this fact,

37 I was impressed by the extent of their mourning when one night I went to their ‘big ritual’, which was attended by Wahidiyah followers from various regions of Indonesia.
however, the *Wahidiyah* draws followers from various regions of Indonesia. Its followers vary from lay Muslims to government officers or even *kiai*. In Jombang, followers include the younger *santri* of Kiai Ihsan Mahin. The *kiai* has encouraged his *santri* to practise the *Sholawat Wahidiyah* rituals. In contrast to the *tarekat*, the *Wahidiyah* does not make any *bai’a* for those who want to practise its *wird*.

In brief *Wahidiyah* is a *terakat*-like movement, which receives an increasing acceptance from Muslims in Jombang and other cities. Its followers range from farmer Muslims to businessmen and Islamic organisation activists. In terms of follower attachment, this Islamic movement is different from *tarekat*. In the latter, followers’ attachment either to the *tarekat* or to their *murshid* is stronger.