

Chapter 8: Pesantren and Tarekat: The role of Buntet

INTRODUCTION

On Java, the *pesantren* and the *tarekat*, meaning (mystical) path, is the hall-mark of traditional Islam. The former is a place where *syare'at* (the exoteric dimension of Islam) is transmitted to the next generation; the second, in the strictest sense, is an organisation by which the esoteric dimension of Islam is established, especially among the aged.¹ The *pesantren* mainly prepares the young to cope with their immediate future in social life. It enables them to undertake active and acceptable participation in various societal roles without neglecting the more distant future, the hereafter. The *tarekat*, on the other hand, prepares the aged to cope with their immediate future. It attempts to secure for followers' safety and well being in the hereafter, after they feel that their worldly life is close to its end. In addition, the *tarekat* attempts to open the heavens to the public. It is a way to ensure equity of opportunity for entry to paradise between the religiously knowledgeable individuals and the laymen, and between the rich and the poor.²

The *tarekat* is usually associated with *tasawuf*. The objective of joining a *tarekat* comes after a commitment to the *Sufi* way (*tasawuf*) is taken by means of cleansing the heart (*tasfiyatul qalb*).³ In practice, *tasawuf* is a strict adoption of the Islamic precepts through observance of both obligatory and recommended religious work for attaining God's favour. Although not always, the by-product of doing *tasawuf*, if God's favour is obtained, is the ability of the individual to attain the knowledge of Divine Truths, the Essence (*hakekat*). The attainment of the Truth is *ma'rifat*, literally meaning knowing the Reality (gnosis). *Ma'rifat* (gnosis) is knowing the *hakekat*, the Essence or Divine Truth. This *hakekat* can be attained

¹ *Tarekat (thariqah)* can be defined as the contemplative Path of Islam, in contrast with *syare'at (syari'ah)*, which is concerned with the life of action. *Tarekat* is associated with or even considered synonymous with Sufism and its cognates. In its more restrictive meaning and specialised sense it refers to Sufi orders (Danner, 1988:242). Some informants explained that our life is a journey to common destination, the afterlife world. Everyone who travels must take a certain way. The word *tarekat* bears this notion. The word is derived from Arabic *thariq* and *thariqah*, meaning path or road. It is usually contrasted with *syare'at*, also derived from Arabic *syar'* and *syari'ah*, meaning street or highway. This contrast implies that the former (*tarekat*) is smaller and the latter (*syare'at*) is larger. *Syare'at* is the way that every Muslim should take to reach the general or common destination. As broad or common destination is reached everyone needs a certain path that leads to a specific place to which he wishes to dwell comfortably.

² By definition, according to Kyai Fahim Hawi (50 years) a Tijaniyah *muqaddam*, the knowledgeable and well-to-do people have a greater chance to enter paradise because they have the means and knowledge of how and what to do. The majority of laymen, on the other hand, have less chance. Due to various reasons they could not attain similar means and knowledge. *Tarekat* would like to guide them. With minimal knowledge and material means, provided they follow the guidance of the *mursyid*, they could have a similar chance to the knowledgeable and the well to do few.

³ See Chapter Four.

by following *tasawuf*, cleansing the heart. It is said that to many people, doing *tasawuf*, although not essential, is much easier and more convenient if it is carried out by following a certain *tarekat* (path). Whichever one would choose, the pre-requisite for following *tarekat* is the observance of *syare'at*. As not every Muslim observes the *syare'at*, not every Muslim who observes the *syare'at* wishes to follow a *tarekat*. In turn, not all the Muslims who follow a certain *tarekat* could attain the *hakekat* and thus experience *ma'rifat*. In local popular uses *syare'at*, *tarekat*, *hakekat* and *ma'rifat* form a sequence to characterise the degree of piety in which the first is the lowest, and the last is the highest. Because of either individual or societal factors only *wali* are thought to be likely to reach *ma'rifat*.

EARLY TAREKAT IN BUNTET: SYATTARIYAH

Pesantren Buntet gives homage to two *tarekat*, the Syattariyah, which came earlier and the Tijaniyah which came later. Both belong to the *tarekat mu'tabarah* (accepted *tarekat*).⁴

Although since its first stage Pesantren Buntet has been associated with *Tarekat Syattariyah* (the Syattariyah Order),⁵ the formal introduction of this *tarekat* within the *pesantren* circle is said to have been announced publicly only after Kyai Anwaruddin Kriyani al-Malebari (Ki Buyut Kriyan) arrived. When Kyai Mutta'ad led the *pesantren*, Kyai Anwaruddin, married Nyai Ruhillah, daughter of Kyai Mutta'ad; after that he publicly set up the *tarekat* in Pesantren Buntet.

Trimingham describes Syattariyah's origin as being obscure. The *tarekat* is claimed to be in Taifuri traditions but its foundation is attributed to 'Abdallah al-Syattar, a descendant of Syihab ad-Din as-Suhrawardi. According to Trimingham 'Abdallah was sent by his *pir* (a leader of the order), Muhammad 'Arif, to India; first to Jawnpur, then to Mandu where he died in 1428/9. His Path was spread by his pupils, especially Muhammad 'Ala', known as Qazan Syattari of Bengal. Its full development as a distinctive order is attributed to Shah Muhammad Ghawth of Gwalior (circa. 1517) who was succeeded by Syah Wajih ad-Din (circa. 1018/1609) who, in Gujerat, was known as a great saint.

⁴ According to Ki Dulah, at least two requirements should be met for a *tarekat* to be considered as *mu'tabarah*. One is that its litanies and teachings do not oppose the *syari'ah*, and that it had an unbroken spiritual chain (*silsilah*) to the Prophet. This would ensure that the teaching really comes from the Prophet.

⁵ See note 29.

Table 8.1: The Spiritual Genealogy (*Silsilah*) of Tarekat Syattariyah at Buntet

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1. *The Prophet Muhammad*
 2. *Ali bin Abi Thalib*
 3. *Husein*
 4. *Zain al-'Abidin*
 5. *Al-Baqir*
 6. *Ja'far Shadiq*
 7. *Abi Yazid al-Busthami*
 8. *Muhammad Maghribi*
 9. *Abi Yazid al-'Ashaq*
 10. *Abi Mudhaffar Turki at-Tusi*
 11. *Hasan Khirqani*
 12. *Hadaqlly*
 13. *Muhammad 'Asyiq*
 14. *'Arif*
 15. *Abdillah Syattari*
 16. *Qadhi Syattari*
 17. *Hidayatillah Sarmat*
 18. *Hudhari*
 19. *Al-Ghawth*
 20. *Sibghatillah*
 21. *Ahmad Syanani*
 22. *Ahmad Qasyasyi*
 23. *Malla Ibrahim al-Mu'alla*
 24. *Thahir*
 25. *Ibrahim*
 26. *Thahir Madani*
 27. *Muhammad Sayid Madani*
 28. *Kyai Asy'ari*
 29. *Muhammad Anwaruddin Kriyani (Ki Buyut Kriyan).*
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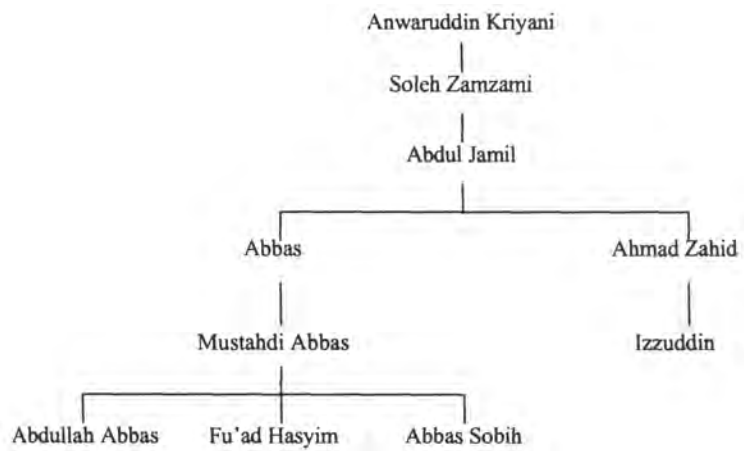
Although its chain clearly links with Suhrawardiyah, this *tarekat* does not regard itself as an offshoot of any order. In Iran and Turan Syattariyah was known as 'Isyqiyah, and in Ottoman Turkey as Bisthamiyah.⁶ It was brought to Indonesia (Aceh) by Abdul Rauf Singkel, who brought with him the theosophical doctrines of the seven stages of creation (*Martabat Tujuh*). Among his students was Syeikh Abdul Muhyi who brought the *tarekat* to south Priangan (West Java) via Cirebon.⁷ Although it is said that before going to south Priangan Syeikh Muhyi married and lived in Cirebon for some period of time, Tarekat Syattariyah in

⁶ Trimingham, J.S. (1971), *Sufi Orders in Islam*, Oxford: The Clarendon Press, p. 97–98. The Taifuri tradition refers to Abu Yazid al Bustami (d. 261/872 or 264/877–8), a famous medieval Sufi. He spent most of his life in Bustham and died there. Trimingham's characterisation of Shattariyah's obscurity seems to stem from his inability to discover the identity of Muhammad 'Arif who sent 'Abdallah to India.

⁷ Santrie, A.M. (1987), "Martabat Alam Tujuh" in Hasan, A.R. (ed.), *Warisan Intelektual Islam Indonesia*, Bandung: Mizan, pp 105–129. Syeikh Muhyi was buried at Pamijahan (Tasikmalaya, West Java). His tomb attract many visitors from various places.

Buntet has no link with him nor with Abdul Rauf Singkel because the Syattariyah came to Buntet from a different source.

Figure 8.1: Recruitment of Syattariyah Mursyid in Buntet



In Buntet, Kyai Anwaruddin Kriyani al-Malebari (Ki Buyut Kriyan), the founder of the Syattariyah order in Buntet received his authority as a *mursyid* (leader) from Kyai Asy'ary of Kaliwungu (Central Java). Table 8.1. shows the spiritual genealogy (*silsilah*) of Kyai Asy'ari to whom Kyai Anwaruddin in turn traced his authority. The latter therefore, is the 29th in the genealogical chain that relates him spiritually to the Prophet. As a Syattariyah *mursyid*, Kyai Anwaruddin in turn authorised Kyai Muhammad Saleh Zamzami, the founder of Pesantren Benda at Benda Kerep, to become a new *mursyid* when Kyai Zamzami was 57 years old (1317/1898). Kyai Saleh Zamzami authorised his brother at Buntet, Kyai Abdul Jamil, who authorised first Kyai Abbas and then Kyai Ahmad Zahid. Kyai Abbas authorised Kyai Mustahdi, who authorised Kyai Abdullah Abbas, Kyai Fu'ad Hasyim and Abbas Shobih (Kang Obih). Kyai Ahmad Zahid, on the other hand, authorised Kyai Izzuddin (Figure 8.1).

In addition to this, Tarekat Syattariyah is said to have been part of *kraton* traditions but it seems to have a different genealogy. The present Syattariyah *mursyid* within the *kraton* circle is P.S. Sulendraningrat of Kaprabonan at Lemah Wungkuk. He is a 15th descendant of Sunan Gunung Jati and the writer of *Sejarah Cirebon* and *Babad Tanah Sunda, Babad Cerbon*.⁸ Mbah Muqayim who was *Penghulu Kraton*, the founder of Pesantren Buntet, is said to have been a *mursyid* of Syattariyah *kraton* although in Buntet he did not recruit members or, if he did, it was not publicly. In Buntet Tarekat Syattariyah had won thousands of followers but after the death of Kyai Mustahdi its organisational

⁸ For a brief account on Syattariyah at *kraton* see: Siddique (1978), especially pp. 122–124.

significance has diminished considerably.⁹ Now, this *tarekat* still persists and is still strong in Benda Kerep, but in Buntet it seems to be left as a mere individual observance rather than an organised group.¹⁰

TAREKAT TIJANIYAH

Currently in Buntet, another *tarekat*, the Tijaniyah, is much more dominant than Syattariyah. Tijaniyah seems to gain more and more attraction among the Javanese and thus, with special reference to Buntet, it deserves a special attention. In addition to this, as we shall see, Buntet has been one of the important door-ways for the further spread of this *tarekat* to other parts of Java, especially West Java. It is this special role that in the subsequent discussion I wish to stress.¹¹

The Origin of Tijaniyah

Tarekat Tijaniyah was founded by Abu-'Abbas Ahmad who claimed to be the 21st descendant of the Prophet Muhammad. He was born in 1150/1737 at 'Ain Madi in south Algeria. His father, Muhammad bin Mukhtar, is said to have been a pious man of learning who lived and taught at 'Ain Madi, whereas his mother, "Sayidah 'Aisyah binti Abdullah bin Al-Sanusy-Attijany" was of the original Tijani tribe of 'Ain Madi and thus the name At-Tijani for Abu-'Abbas Ahmad is derived from his mother.¹²

At seven years of age, Ahmad at-Tijani is said to have read the whole Qur'an well, especially in Nafi' style (*qiraat Nafi'*). He then studied various religious subjects. He learnt *Mukhtashar al-Syeikh Khalil*, a summary of Malikite jurisprudence, read *Risalah Jama'ah as-Shufiyah bi bilad al-Islam* by Abu'l Qasim al-Qusayri, studied *Muqaddimas* of Ibn Rusyd and al-Akhdari and became a learned figure. He taught a number of students and gave *fatwa* (legal judgement) when he was 20. At 21 years of age he felt a call to the *Sufi* life and started travelling. He came to Fez in 1171/1757–8 in search of *Sufi syeikh*, studied the

⁹ H. Abbas Shobih of Buntet speculates, probably it is because upon his father's (Kyai Mustahdi's) death, Kyai Mustamid who succeeded Kyai Mustahdi was already old and unable to make extensive travel visiting the *zawiyah* (branches).

¹⁰ According to Kyai Fu'ad Hasyim, Tarekat Syattariyah in Cirebon and elsewhere came into two formats. One was in fully Arabic the other was explained in Javanese. Syattariyah in Buntet and Benda Kerep (and *pesantren* other as well) represent the first, while Syattariyah *kraton* represents the second. Both are equally *Mu'tabarah*.

¹¹ For the early stage of the rise of Tijaniyah in Java, see: Pijper, G.F. (1987), "Timbulnya Tarekat Tijaniyah di Pulau Jawa" in G.F. Pijper, *Fragmenta Islamica: Beberapa Studi Mengenai Sejarah Islam di Indonesia Awal Abad XX*, Jakarta: UI Press, pp 79–101, translated from *Fragmenta Islamica, Studien over het Islamisme in Nederlandssch-Indie*, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1934 by Tujimah. For a general account on Tijaniyah, see: Abun-Nasr (1965), *The Tijaniyya: A Sufi Order in the Modern World*, London: OUP. My own local Tijani sources are Fathullah, K.H.F. (1985), *Biografi Alquthbul Maktuum Saiyidul Awliyaa: Syeikh Ahmad Attijaniy dan Thariqatnya Attijaniyah*, Pasuruan: (anonymous publisher); *Al Masyrabul Kitmani Lil Khotmil Muhammadiy Syekh Ahmad bin Muhammad Attijani*, a pamphlet from Panitia Idul Khotmi Attijani Ke: 199, 9/10 Shafar 1413 H = 8/9 Agustus 1992 M, Leces-Probolinggo (East Java).

¹² Fathullah, K.H.F. (1985), p. 52.

Prophetic traditions and joined three *Sufi* brotherhoods, the Qadiriyyah, the Nashiriyyah and the *thariqah* of Ahmad al-Habib bin Muhammad.¹³ Among the *Sufi syeikh* whom Ahmad at-Tijani met was Muhammad bin Hasan Al-Wanajaly a great *wali* of his time who, at mount Zabib, said that At-Tijani would have a position (*maqam*) equal to Asy-Syadzily. Ahmad at-Tijani became a real *Sufi* at 31 after contemplation (*riyadhah*) for a period of time.¹⁴

Table 8.2: Ancestral Genealogy of Abu Abbas Ahmad at-Tijani The founder of Tijaniyah order

1. The Prophet Muhammad
2. Ali bin Abi Thalib
3. Hasan al-Sibthi
4. Hasan al-Mutsanna
5. Abdullah
6. Muhammad an-Nafs az-Zakiyah
7. Ahmad
8. Ali Zain al-Abidin
9. Ishaq
10. Idris
11. Abdul Jabbar
12. Abbas
13. Abdillah
14. Ali
15. Ahmad
16. Ahmad al-'Alwani
17. Salim
18. Muhammad
19. Mukhtar
20. Muhammad
21. Abu 'Abbas Ahmad at-Tijani

Ahmad at-Tijani went to Tunis, then to Mecca on pilgrimage in 1186/1772–3. On his way to Mecca he stopped at Azwawi, a town near Algiers and took an initiation into the Khalwatiyyah order with Mahmad b 'Abdul Rahman. He spent a year in Tunis, teaching the *Kitab al-hikam* of Ibn Ata' Allah, then went to Egypt to meet Syeikh Mahmud al-Kurdi, the Khalwatiyyah chief in Cairo. He reached Mecca on Syawwal 1187/1773–4, then performed his Hajj. In Mecca he tried to meet a great Indian *Sufi* Ahmad bin Abdullah al-Hindy. Although he failed to meet him in person, via al-Hindy's servant, At-Tijani received a written message from him saying that At-Tijani inherited all al-Hindy's occult mystical learning, and that At-Tijani would reach an equal status with Abu'l Hasan Asy-Syadzily. Two months after that al-Hindy died.¹⁵

¹³ Abun Nasr (1965), pp. 16–17.

¹⁴ Fathullah (1985), p. 55.

¹⁵ Ibid, pp 55–59.

After finishing his pilgrimage At-Tijani went to Medina to visit the Prophet's tomb and met Syekh Abdul Karim as-Samman, the Sammaniyah chief (a branch of Khalwatiyah), who foretold his potential for becoming the dominant *qutb* (pole). At-Tijani left Arabia in 1191/1777–8 for Africa via Egypt where Mahmud al-Kurdi authorised him to preach the Khalwatiyah order in North Africa. He did not return to 'Ain Madi however, but went to Fez then settled in Tlemsen (Algeria) until 1196/1781–2. From Tlemsen he went to Syallala and settled in Sidi Abi Samghun, an oasis 75 miles south of Geryville. There, in that year (1196/1781–2), he marked the foundation of the Tijaniyah order when he announced to his followers that the Prophet appeared to him in daylight while he was fully conscious and in active mind (*yaqdhah*), not dreaming. The Prophet, he said, authorised him to start a new work of *at-tarbiyah* (spiritual guidance) and assigned him his order's *wird* (litanies), consisting of *istighfar* (asking God's pardon) 100 times and *shalawat* (exaltation of the Prophet Muhammad) 100 times.¹⁶

In AH 1200, At-Tijani claimed, the Prophet reappeared and completed the litanies with *hailalah* (uttering there is no God but Allah). Fourteen months later, on Muharram AH 1214 At-Tijani claimed to have reached a position of 'the pole of (*wali*) poles' (*al-qutbaniyatul-'udhma*) which means that he obtained the 'highest rank of the highest' within the current *wali* hierarchy. On 18th Shafar of the same year he attained another position, 'the hidden seal of all poles' (*al-khatm wa'l-katm*) or 'the hidden end of the highest pole.' This implied that there would be no more *wali* pole whose position is higher than himself.¹⁷ Bearing simultaneously two positions, At-Tijani relinquished his former affiliation with the four orders with the assertion that along with teaching him the litanies for his order in person, the Prophet himself also ordered At-Tijani to give up all his former affiliations with the other orders. This was an official proclamation that At-Tijani only recognised the Prophet as his master and hence the Tijaniyah adherents claimed their order as *at-Thariqah al-Muhammadiyah*, a name similar to that claimed by the followers of Sanusiyah and Kittaniyah for their own *tarekat*.¹⁸ At-Tijani died on 12 Syawwal 1230/22 September 1815 when he was 80 years old. He was buried in Fez.

Some Tijaniyah's Essential Doctrines

There are some essential doctrines which mark Tijaniyah as being distinct from other *tarekat*. I wish to mention briefly some of them before discussing the specific role of Pesantren Buntet with regard to this *tarekat*. Trimmingham characterised Tijaniyah as belonging to the 19th century revival movement mainly because:

¹⁶ Ibid, 55–63; Abun Nasr, pp 18–19.

¹⁷ Ibid, 63–64.

¹⁸ Abun Nasr, p 37.

He (Ahmad At-Tijani, the founder of the tarekat) imposed no penances or retreats and the ritual was not complicated. He emphasised above all the need for intercessor between God and man, the intercessor of the age being himself and his successors. His followers were strictly forbidden, not merely to pay the *'ahd* of allegiance to any other shaikh, but to make invocations to any *wali* other than himself ...¹⁹

It is common belief among the *Sufis* that their *syekh* are organised in a spiritual hierarchy, hence a *Sufi* of high reputation of sanctity and learning, could claim to have attained a certain rank in the hierarchy. His followers had only to accept on trust what their *Syekh's* claimed.²⁰ In this context, At-Tijani took the liberty of claiming to occupy two of the highest positions simultaneously, one being *Qutb al-Aqtab* (the Pole of the Poles) the other being *Khatm al-Wilayah al-Muhammadiyah* (the Seal of Muhammadan Sainthood). This twofold position in relation to other *wali* is drawn parallel to the position of the Prophet Muhammad vis-a-vis other prophets. The Prophet Muhammad was the *Khatm* (seal) of the prophets in the sense that he was to complete all marvels of the other prophets, and that there would be no prophet sent to earth after him. At-Tijani on the other hand, was the *Khatm* of the *wali* in the sense that he bears a complete and perfect embodiment of *wilayah* before and after him, and that if ever there may be other *wali* after him, none would surpass or supersede at-Tijani in rank.²¹

At-Tijani is not a unique claimant of the *Qutb al-Aqtab* and the *Khatm al-Wilayah*. This position had been claimed by Muhyi ad-Din ibn al-'Arabi for himself. He was the famous Andalusian *Sufi* in the 13th century whose theosophical concepts influenced much of At-Tijani especially regarding the concept of *al-khatm*.²² The position was also claimed in the 14th century by an Egyptian 'Ali bin Wafa for his father, Muhammad bin Wafa, and by the founder of Kittaniyah order, Muhammad bin al-Kabir al-Kittani of Morocco in the 19th century.²³ The Tijanis however, assert that later on, Ibn al-'Arabi found that he himself had been mistaken and thus he wrote in his *Futuhat al-Makkiyah* that the *Khatm al-Wilayah al-Muhammadiyah* would be a man of noble Arab origin, living in his (Ibn 'Arabi's) own time, in Fez, and when God would try to locate this man among people, they would not believe him. Beside the fact that no one else in Fez had

¹⁹ Trimmingham, J.S (1971), p 108. (Words between brackets are my own).

²⁰ Ibid, pp 27–28; The existence of spiritual hierarchies among *wali* was first set forth by Abu 'Abdillah al-Tirmidzi during the 11th century. It became an established belief due to the work of Ibn al-Araby (1164–1240) and gained wide spread acceptance after 'Abdul Rahman al-Suyuti (1445–1505), a Hadithist, gave Prophetic traditions for this belief.

²¹ Abun Nasr, p 32.

²² Ibid, p. 32. It says: "The *Khatm*, who will be the standard of *wilaya*, will be the end of the line and its completion. He has been a *Khatm* without being known, and has the command which cannot be repeated or dispensed with ... Should a *wali* appear after him, he will be one of the followers, companions, or attendants (of the *khatm*) ..."

²³ Ibid, p 28.

announced such a claim, except that “the *Khatm al-Wilayah* would be living in his (Ibn al-‘Arabi’s) time,” all points to Ibn al-‘Arabi’s formal disavowal for his own status to be taken over by the Tijani to confirm At-Tijani’s position.²⁴

Claiming this superior position above other *wali*, along with giving up his affiliation with other orders At-Tijani posited his own order to excel the others. This claim, in turn, was formed into a doctrine which requires that all Tijani followers should neither join any other orders nor seek for *barakah* from other *wali* by visiting them, dead or alive. Further, as every Tijani is required to bind his heart completely to his own Tijani *Syeikh*, no Tijani follower is allowed to associate membership with any other order at the same time. Thus, anyone who would like to become a Tijani should be spiritually free. If he is a member of a certain order he has to give up his membership in his former order. The prohibition for a Tijani to join another *tarekat* is however accompanied by the Tijaniyah rejoicing doctrines. *Kitab Ar-Rimah* affirms At-Tijani’s assertion that (by the will of God) his faithful companions shall not enter the *mahsyar* with other laymen.²⁵ While being at the *Mahsyar*, Tijaniyah followers will not encounter suffering even for a second until they are settled in the highest heavens. On the Day of Judgement faithful Tijani companions will not stay at the stations amidst the mass of laymen; instead they will rest under the shadow of God’s Throne. In addition, the Prophet himself had taught At-Tijani in words, the *shalawat Jawharat al-Kamal*, and affirmed that whoever recites this *shalawat*, the Prophet and the Four Companions will be present with him during the recital.²⁶ All the rejoicing and other doctrines tend to impress exclusiveness, as if the Tijani followers were above the other Muslims and this, certainly, provokes disagreement, even refutations.

Another feature worth mentioning, which distinguishes Tijaniyah from other *tarekat*, is concerned with the notion of a spiritual genealogy chain (*silsilah*). In ordinary Sufi traditions, a *tarekat*, including the already mentioned Syattariyah, will produce a long list of names by which the present *Syeikh* and the founder of the *tarekat* are linked together spiritually in terms of master-to-master lineage, back to Al-Junaid or al-Busthami and via ‘Ali or Abu Bakr, to the Prophet Muhammad. It is this *silsilah* that validates that its rituals come from the Prophet and that ensures the flow of *barakah*. Contrary to this, At-Tijani produced no *silsilah* because, as At-Tijani himself claimed, and as ‘Ali al-Harazim puts it in his *Jawahir al-Ma’ani* (an official Tijani reference), the Prophet appeared to him when he was awake (*yaqdhah*) and instructed him in all the litanies and the

²⁴ Ibid, p 30.

²⁵ *Mahsyar* is a plain where all the dead, after resurrection, get together to receive a fair judgement.

²⁶ Fathullah (1985), pp 110–111.

number of times they were to be repeated.²⁷ Thus, if present *muqaddam* (Tijaniyah *syekh*), have a *silsilah*, it will be much shorter than what is ordinarily known for a *Sufi silsilah*.²⁸

Currently Tijaniyah has become an established order throughout the Muslim world including Indonesia, especially Java. With all its peculiarities and crucial points it has encountered opposition and rejection over time. An early serious rejection came from Muhammad al-Khidr bin Ma Ya'ba (1927). In his *Musytaha al-kharif al-jani*, al-Khidr devoted a full chapter to recount the absurdity of At-Tijani's claim. He also attempted to prove that At-Tijani's claim has no grounds in the Prophetic traditions. The Tijanis, on the other hand, consider that what had happened with their master and the presumed direct communication with the Prophet while he was awake was a sign of the Prophet's favour and thus ensured the status of the *tarekat* as being above others.²⁹ In addition, Al-Khidr's attitude towards the Tijaniyah seems to have been motivated, at least partly, by a political outlook rather than purely on theological grounds. This is due to the fact that upon the death of At-Tijani and the collapse of the Turkish rule, At-Tijani's successors, for their own reasons (probably due to the opposition from other *tarekat*), brought Tijaniyah into subservient co-operation with French colonialism in Algeria at that time.³⁰

When Tijaniyah was brought to Java at the end of 1920s and in the early 1930s, similar refutations also came from some already established orders such as Naqshabandiyah, Qadiriyyah, Syattariyyah, Syadziliyyah and Khalwatiyyah.³¹ The most notable one came from Sayid Abdullah bin Shadaqah Dahlan, an Arab who settled in Java, the nephew of Sayid Ahmad bin Zayni Dahlan, a distinguished Syafi'ite Mufti in Medina. In the same way as Muhammad al-Khidr bin Ma Ya'ba did, Sayid Abdullah referred to the crucial points contained in the Tijaniyah doctrines. He recounted the fallacies of the doctrines and denounced them by saying that some *ulama* in Morocco, Egypt and Hejaz had accepted Tijaniyah as untrue.³² The crisscrossing argumentations for and against Tijaniyah that prevailed at that time called for intervention from the NU, the traditionalist Muslim organisation that takes a number of *tarekat* under its umbrella. In its 6th Congress on August 1931 held in Cirebon, in which Kyai Adlan Ali, a prominent figure of Pesantren Cukir, Jombang (East Java) was appointed

²⁷ Abun Nasr (1985), p. 38. The rites consists of both the compulsory (*lazim*) and recommended (*ikhtiyari*). The compulsory consists of *wird lazimah* (litanies), *wadzifah* (office) and *hailalah* (participation in Friday afternoon *hadra* or seance). See Abun Nasr, pp 50–57; Fathullah, pp 129–139.

²⁸ See: the subsequent section.

²⁹ Detailed early refutations and counter refutations see Abun Nasr 1965, especially pp. 38–41.

³⁰ Ibid, pp 72–75.

³¹ Strong reaction against Tijaniyah in Buntet came from Benda, the *pesantren* established by Kyai Soleh Zamzami of Buntet, the elder brother of Kyai Abdul Jamil. Since Kyai Abbas era, until now, Benda-Buntet opposition is unreconcilable.

³² Pijper (1985), *Fragmenta Islamica*, pp 89–96.

Chairman, the Tijaniyah issue was included in the agenda. After a long and exhausting debate chaired by Kyai Hasyim Asy'ari, the Congress finally agreed that Tijaniyah is *mu'tabarah*. This, nevertheless, did not end the anti-Tijaniyah campaign especially outside the NU circle. Further refutation, for example, came from Kyai Muhammad Ismail of Cracak (Cirebon), a distinguished *Syeikh* of the Qadiriyyah wan-Naqsabandiyah order who personally was not affiliated to the NU. Through his pamphlets, he raised renewed and sophisticated arguments similar to those expounded by earlier anti-Tijaniyah proponents.³³

Quite recently, another refutation even came from within the NU circle when Kyai As'ad of Pondok Kramat in Pasuruan (East Java) issued a 94 page manuscript.³⁴ The manuscript was a translation in Madurese vernacular of the *Wudhuh ad-Dalail*, originally written on 26 Rabi' ats-Tsani 1330/19–20 (September 1930). Through this translation he turned the Tijaniyah issue from being a scholarly concern into a public concern. The polemic became complicated, albeit degraded, because some *non-ulama* became involved in the affair.³⁵ In a session held on December 1984 at Pesantren Nurul Qadim, Probolinggo (East Java), Kyai As'ad demanded that the NU review the Cirebon decision regarding the legitimacy of the Tijaniyah. In the session which was part of the 27th NU Congress centred at Pesantren Asem Bagus, Situbondo (East Java), Kyai As'ad encountered strong opposition from other *kyai* and failed to have his demand put into effect.³⁶ The result was that the status of Tijaniyah as being *mu'tabarah* remained unshaken.

Under seemingly continuous opposition, Tarekat Tijaniyah keeps growing. It relies on simple rites relative to other *tarekat*, yet promises its adherents high spiritual efficacy and merit. Together with its friendly attitude towards worldly life rather than the ascetic tendency usually exhibited by other Sufi orders, "Tijaniyah is suitable for every one, even the busy people of modern times; it is even suitable for civil servants," said Kyai Abdullah Syifa, a Tijaniyah *muqaddam* at Buntet. Currently, Tijaniyah enjoys wide acceptance from many people ranging from *ulama*, state dignitaries, and intellectuals to ordinary laymen.³⁷

³³ Ibid, pp 98–100

³⁴ This Kyai As'ad is to be distinguished from Kyai As'ad Syamsul Arifin of Pesantren Asem Bagus, Situbondo (East Java), former Chairman of *Syuriyah* NU.

³⁵ Fathullah (1985), pp 140–141. In this work (*Biografi Alquthbul Maktuum*) Without mentioning its writer, Fathullah devoted a full chapter entitled "Fasal Tambahan" (Additional Chapter) to counter the *Wudluh ad-Dalail*.

³⁶ The 1984 Situbondo Congress is well known for producing *Khittah 1926*, by which NU returned to the principle initially adopted when NU was established in 1926. This means that officially NU abstains from direct involvement in politics and is solely concerned with social and religious affairs.

³⁷ This was claimed by Kyai Fahim Hawi and Kyai Abdullah Syifa, two Tijani *muqaddam* in Buntet. An example of Tijaniyah's wide acceptance was given by Kyai Fahim Hawi in recounting a number of figures in Tijaniyah. Some of them are Sayid Alfa Hasyim, a Hadithist in Medina, Syeikh Hasan Yamani, father of Zaki Yamani, former petroleum Minister of Saudi Arabia, Mr. Muhammad, a Senegalese envoy

The Role of Buntet

In his special account on the rise of Tijaniyah on Java, Pijper states that Tarekat Tijaniyah was not known in Java before 1928. A wandering Arab, born in Medina, Syekh Ali bin 'Abdullah at-Thayyib al-Azhari, is held responsible for the introduction of this *tarekat* to Java, especially through his work, *Kitab al-Munyah fi 't-thariqat at-Tijaniyah*, Tasikmalaya: 1349/January 1928, a treatise on *Munyat al-Murid*.³⁸ Pijper points out further that from the age of nine years, Syekh 'Ali at-Thayyib had studied in Cairo where he remained for 20 years; he then stayed and taught in Mecca for six years. He returned to Medina and worked as a *mufti* for about ten years, then came to Java. First he stayed in Cianjur, then successively in Bogor, Tasikmalaya and back in Cianjur. In Java he lived from teaching and extensive travel from Banten to Surabaya selling religious books, including his own work, *Kitab Misykat al-Anwar fi shirat an-Nabi al-Mukhtar*, Tasikmalaya: (undated). Pijper claimed that he had met Syekh 'Ali at-Thayyib at his house on the slope of mount Gede in Cianjur.³⁹

According to local Tijani sources, the spread of Tijaniyah on Java is mainly attributed to two figures, one was 'Ali at-Thayyib al-Madani, an authoritative scholar in Medina who formed the gate for West Java by recruiting seven West Javanese *muqaddam*, the other was 'Abd al-Hamid al-Futi, also a distinguished scholar in Arabia who formed the gate for East Java by recruiting two East Javanese. Table 8.3 shows that 'Ali at-Thayyib al-Madani, who was held

to Jakarta on February 1985 who met President Suharto on behalf of the Senegalese President. All, he said, are Tijaniyah *Muqaddam*. There are also a number of distinguished figures at Al-Azhar in Cairo. Wide acceptance by many Javanese was shown by the huge number of participants in the festivals held to commemorate At-Tijani's spiritual ascendancy, the *Idul Khotmi At-Tijani*. One of which was performed at Jakarta's main stadium in 1990 had around a 100,000 participants. At a similar festival, the 199th *Idul Khotmi*, held on 8–9 August 1992 in Leces, Probolinggo (East Java), around 60,000 participants were present. I was among the contingent from Cirebon.

³⁸ Pijper, G.F. (1985), *Fragmenta Islamica*, Jakarta: U.I. Press, p 82.

³⁹ Ibid, pp 86–87. In spite of his claim of having met 'Ali bin 'Abd Allah at-Thayyib in Cianjur in 1929, Pijper seems to give a quite puzzling explanation. It is rather naive to think that a distinguished scholar holding a prestigious position for ten years in Medina, migrated to Java to become a petty trader of religious books. Pijper also says that when he met, 'Ali bin 'Abd Allah at-Thayyib was already old, did not have disciples from the nearby areas, etc. This contradicts his biographical account stated above, whereby 'Ali at-Thayyib should have been 45 when he came to Java (from the age of 9 years old, he stayed in Cairo for 20 years, then in Mecca 6 years, and in Medina 10 years). According to Kyai Fahim, among the key figures for the development of Tijaniyah on Java was Syekh 'Ali bin 'Abdullah at-Thayyib al-Madani (an Al-Azhar graduate from which the addition of al-Azhari may be derived). He was a prominent scholar with high authority in religious affairs, staying in Medina, not in Java. He, however, visited Java several times to see his son, Muhammad bin 'Ali bin 'Abd Allah at-Thayyib, an Arab immigrant who also had studied at Al-Azhar but stayed in Java (Bogor). The latter became a Tijaniyah *Muqaddam* with whom Kyai Fauzan Fathullah, the writer of *Biografi al-Quthbul Maktuum*, one of my references, was initiated. (Syekh) Muhammad bin 'Ali bin 'Abd Allah at-Thayyib of Bogor lived in the same period with Kyai Abbas, Kyai Anas and Kyai Akyas, three *muqaddam* from Buntet. They were all authorised as *muqaddam* by Syekh 'Ali at-Thayyib al-Madani, father of (Syekh) Muhammad bin 'Ali bin 'Abdullah at-Thayyib of Bogor. If Kyai Fahim is right, Pijper might have confused the two names, Syekh 'Ali bin 'Abdullah at-Thayyib al-Madani (al-Azhari) who stayed in Medina, and his son, Syekh Muhammad bin 'Ali bin 'Abdullah at-Thayyib (al-Azhari) who stayed in Bogor.

responsible for the spread of Tijaniyah in West Java, traced his spiritual genealogy with Ahmad at-Tijani through two different sources: Syeikh Adam bin Muhammad Shaib al-Barnawi and Syeikh Muhammad Alfa Hasyim.⁴⁰ This spiritual link can also be seen from Figure 8.2

Table 8.3: Spiritual genealogy of Syeikh Ali At-Thayyib al-Madani (West Java gate of Tijaniyah)

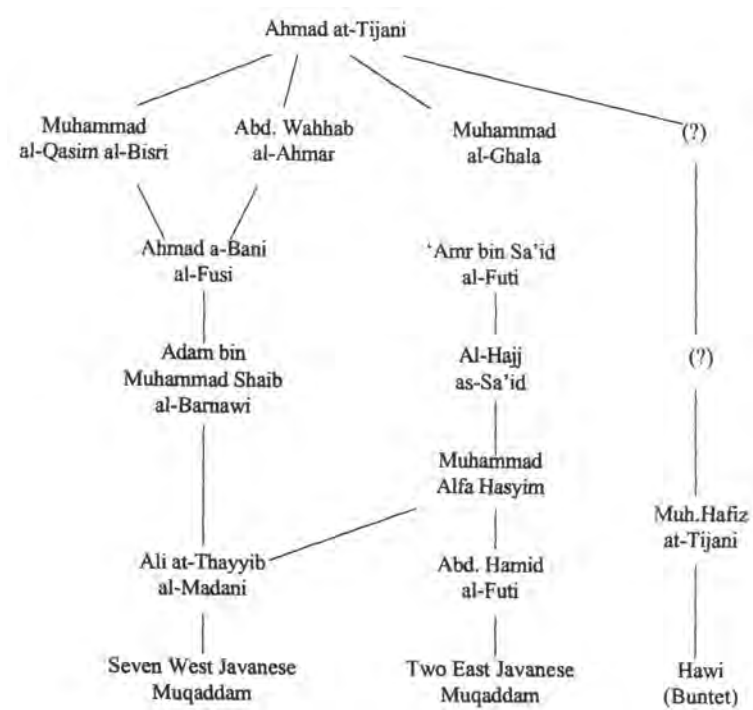
Chain-1	Chain-2
1 Ahmad at-Tijani	1 Ahmad at-Tijani
2 Muhammad b Qasim al-Bisri	2 Muhammad a-Ghala
Abd Wahab al-Ahmar	
3 Ahmad al-Bani a-Fasi	3 Amr b Sa'id al-Futi
4 Adam b Muhammad Shaib al-Barnawi	4 Al-Haj as-Sa'id
5 Ali at-Thayyib al-Madani	5 Muhammad Alfa Hasyim
	6 Ali at-Thayyib al-Madani

The seven West Javanese *muqaddam* recruited by Syeikh Ali at-Thayyib were his own grandson, Syeikh Muhammad bin 'Ali bin 'Abd Allah at-Thayyib (Bogor), Kyai Asy'ari Bunyamin (Garut), Kyai Badruzzaman (Garut), Kyai 'Utsman Dlamiri (Cimahi, Bandung) and three brothers Kyai Abbas, Kyai Anas and Kyai Akyas (Buntet). It was these West Javanese 'magnificent seven' who were in turn, responsible for the further spread of Tijaniyah, not only in West Java but also in Central and East Java because later, many other Javanese *muqaddam* were initiated by one or more of them. Among the Tijani, this *silsilah* grew into a complex crisscrossing spiritual chain as some *muqaddam* for various reasons, either for seniority or intellectual considerations, took initiation from more than one superior *muqaddam* (*muqaddam min muqaddam*). Kyai Hawi, father of a current *muqaddam* at Buntet, Kyai Fahim, for example, took initiation from Kyai Saleh, Kyai Abbas, Kyai Anas, Kyai Akyas and, when he went to Mecca, from a very senior *muqaddam*, Syeikh Muhammad Hafiz at-Tijani. The latter had only two *Syeikh* that spiritually linked him with Ahmad at-Tijani, the founder of the order.⁴¹

⁴⁰ Cf: Pijper (1985), p 87.

⁴¹ I could not get the two names because despite I made several visits, I failed to meet Pak Gani, a Maderise businessman in Jakarta who, according to Kyai Fahim Hawi, keeps the document.

Figure 8.2: Main Entrance of Tijaniyah to Java.



Kyai Abdullah Syifa, another current *muqaddam* at Buntet, took his initiation from Kyai Hawi and Kyai Akyas. Kyai Fauzan Fathullah (Sidagiri, Prussian, East Java), the writer of *Biografi Alquthbul Maktuum*, took initiation from Kyai Khozin Syamsul Mu'in (Probolinggo), Kyai Muhammad bin Yusuf (Surabaya) and Syekh Muhammad bin 'Ali bin 'Abd Allah at-Thayyib (Bogor).

Syeikh Abd al-Hamid al-Futi, the main gate for East Java, traced his authority from Muhammad Alfa Hasyim (source 2 number 4 of table 8.3). In turn, 'Abd al-Hamid al-Futi, initiated two East Javanese, Kyai Khozin Syamsul Arifin and Kyai Jauhar. Kyai Khozin Syamsul Arifin initiated Kyai Mukhlis (Surabaya), whereas Kyai Jauhar initiated Kyai Muhammad Tijani (Madura). Thus, even a *muqaddam* who took initiation from only one superior *muqaddam* will automatically inherit multiple *silsilah* because through Syekh 'Ali bin Abd Allah at-Thayyib, he can trace at least two lines, those of Syekh Adam al-Barnawi and Syekh Muhammad Alfa Hasyim. How complex the *silsilah* is can be observed from Figure 8.4.

Within the Buntet line, the persons who are considered the most instrumental and are held responsible for the spread of Tijaniyah, are Kyai Anas (1883–1945) and Kyai Abbas and, for the next generation, Kyai Hawi. Kyai Anas was the son of Kyai Abdul Jamil, younger brother of Kyai Abbas. Like Kyai Abbas, Kyai

Anas first studied with Kyai Nasuha at Pesantren Sukunsari (Plered), then with Kyai Agus (Pekalongan), and Kyai Hasyim Asy'ari at Tebuireng (Jombang). Together with Kyai Abbas, he was also involved in the foundation of Pesantren Lirboyo (Kediri) led by Kyai Abdul Manaf. He went to Mecca for both pilgrimage and study while his brother, Kyai Abbas, led Pesantren Buntet. It was due to Kyai Abbas' advice that Kyai Anas took Tarekat Tijaniyah. Kyai Abbas himself met Syeikh 'Ali at-Thayyib in Medina but, despite his interest in Tijaniyah, he did not take an initiation at that time because he bore responsibility as a Syattariyah *mursyid*. Kyai Anas took his brother's advice and upon his return he publicly established tarekat Tijaniyah and thus, there were two *tarekat* in Pesantren Buntet at the same time, the Syattariyah led by Kyai Abbas, and Tijaniyah led by Kyai Anas. Eventually, when both *tarekat* grew larger, Kyai Abbas took Tijaniyah initiation, not from his younger brother, Kyai Anas, but from Syeikh 'Ali bin 'Abd Allah at-Thayyib al-Madani when the latter visited Java (Bogor) in 1937. In 1939 Kyai Anas moved from Buntet and established his own *pesantren* at Kilapat, an adjacent village south-east of Buntet, where adultery and burglary were common. He named his *pesantren* 'Sidamulya,' meaning 'to become lofty.' Later, the name Kilapat for the village, where the new *pesantren* is located, was also renamed Sidamulya, following the *pesantren's* name. The earlier reputation of the village gradually vanished and it gained a reputation as a *santri* village.

Figure 8.3: Recruitment of Tijaniyah Muqaddam from Buntet

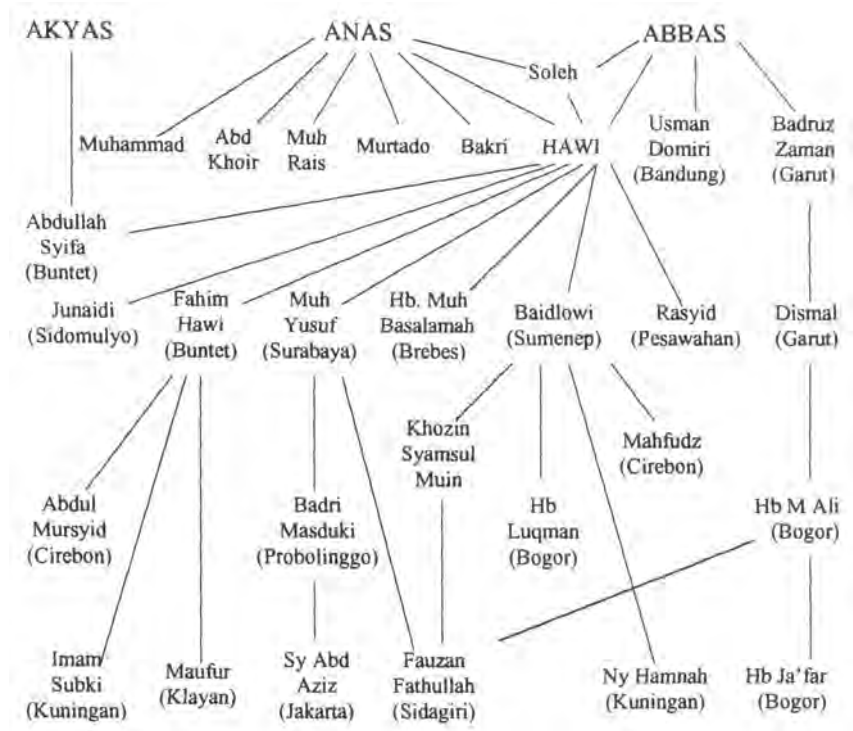
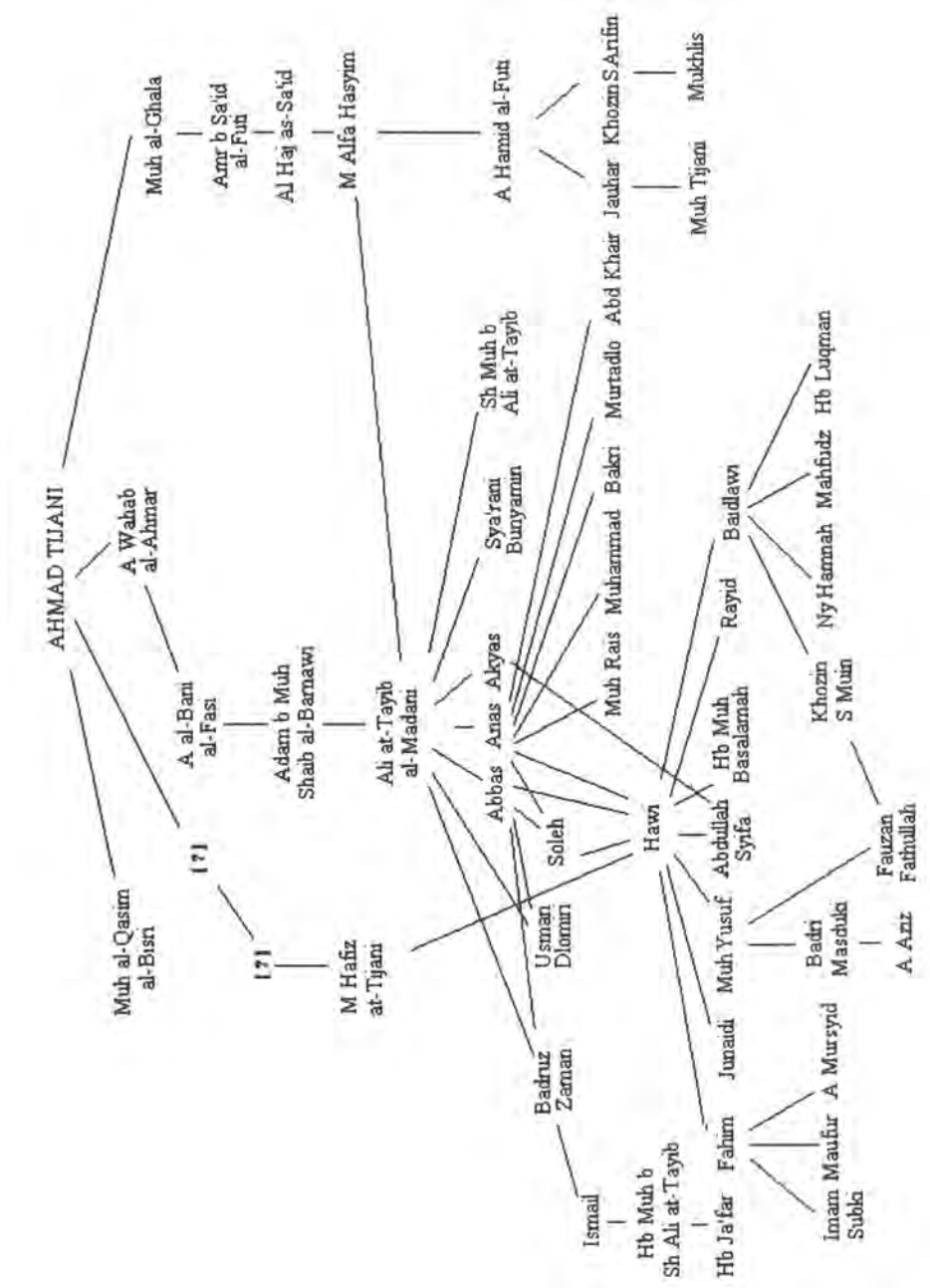


Figure 8.4: Spiritual Genealogy of Some Tijaniyah Muqaddam in Java



By then, Kyai Abbas was associated with and led the two *tarekat*, becoming *mursyid* of Syattariyah and *muqaddam* of Tijaniyah at the same time. To some people this seemed to show the extent of Kyai Abbas' leadership capacity and open-mindedness. Not only did he successfully lead the *pesantren* but also two *tarekat* centred at his *pesantren*. To others it was puzzling how Kyai Abbas managed his association with the two *tarekat*, considering Tijaniyah necessitates every Tijani to abandon other orders. Kyai Abbas himself as a Tijaniyah *muqaddam* broke the Tijaniyah rule because he did not give up his association with Syattariyah. When I asked about the matter, informants in Buntet of either Syattariyah or Tijaniyah always referred to this as an exception due to both Kyai Abbas' intellectual and spiritual excellence. Moreover, it was said that it was necessary especially after Kyai Anas, the *muqaddam* of Tijaniyah, had established his own *pesantren*, while in Buntet both *tarekat* were growing larger. No one directly raised the issue, especially not even Syekh Ali at-Thayyib himself, the initiator of Kyai Abbas, suggesting that in certain circumstances, Tijaniyah strict rules could also have exceptions.

In their career as Tijaniyah *muqaddam* Kyai Anas and Kyai Abbas produced a number of new *muqaddam*. Kyai Anas initiated Kyai Muhammad (Brebes), Kyai Bakri (Kesepuhan, Cirebon), Kyai Muhammad Rais (Cirebon),⁴² Kyai Murtadlo (Buntet), Kyai Abdul Khair, Kyai Hawi (Buntet) and Kyai Soleh (Pesawahan). Repeating the initiation made by Kyai Anas, Kyai Abbas initiated Kyai Soleh and Kyai Hawi (Buntet). He also initiated Kyai Badruzzaman (Garut) and Kyai Utsman Dlomiri (Cimahi, Bandung) before both *kyai* repeated an initiation from Syekh 'Ali bin 'Abd Allah at-Thayyib al-Madani when the latter made another visit to Java. Among the *muqaddam* initiated by Kyai Anas and Kyai Abbas, Kyai Hawi excelled himself by producing seven more *muqaddam*. He initiated Kyai Abdullah Syifa (Buntet), Kyai Fahim Hawi, his son (Buntet), Kyai Junaidi, son of Kyai Anas (Sidamulya), Kyai Muhammad Yusuf (Surabaya), Habib Muhammad Basalamah (Brebes, Central Java), Kyai Baidawi (Sumenep, Madura) and Kyai Rasyid (Pesawahan, Cirebon). Currently, Kyai Hawi's son, Kyai Fahim Hawi, has initiated three new *muqaddam*, Ustadz Maufur (Klayan, north of Cirebon), Kyai Abdul Mursyid (Kesepuhan, Cirebon) and Kyai Imam Subky (Kuningan). In East Java, Kyai Muhammad bin Yusuf Surabaya initiated Kyai Badri Masduqi (Probolinggo) and Kyai Fauzan Fathullah. Kyai Baidowi (Sumenep) initiated Habib Luqman (Bogor), Kyai Mahfudz (Kesepuhan, Cirebon) and Nyai Hamnah (Kuningan).⁴³ In turn the new *muqaddam* have recruited many followers and quite likely further recruitment will continue.

It is clear that Pesantren Buntet has played an important role in the spread of first Syattariyah and then Tijaniyah in Java, especially West Java. Not only has

⁴² A short description of Muhammad Rais, see Pijper (1985), pp 85–86.

⁴³ For further detail, see figure 8.4.

Pesantren Buntet now become the largest *pesantren* in Cirebon but it also represents one of the oldest *pesantren* in the area with its inherent mission for the transmission of religious tradition. The notion of 'the oldest' brings further implications in that, firstly, its dynamics and development reflect the dynamics and development of traditional Islam in this area for a period of more than two and a half centuries. Secondly, if the *Babad* narrative is taken into account, Pesantren Buntet finds its roots in the early stages of the Islamisation of 15th century Java, especially of West Java. Traditionally therefore, Pesantren Buntet stands in an unbroken chain of continuous religious transmission over time from the pre-*kraton*, early *kraton*, *kraton* and post-*kraton* eras. During the pre-*kraton* era religious transmission centred in the village as a free and independent undertaking. During the period of the early *kraton* religious transmission was fully under the auspices of the *kraton*. Not only did religious transmission enjoy political support and legitimation from the *kraton*, but also had the *kraton* homage. Later on, when the *kraton* came under the subjection of foreign rule, religious transmission was banned from the *kraton*. A hundred years after the death of Panembahan Ratu, religious transmission rediscovered its way back from the *kraton* to the village. This was marked by the establishment of Pesantren Buntet. Under considerable strain the *pesantren* endured and developed into its present form. Its present existence within the community therefore, represents the triumph of its spiritual traditions. Thus, what we can see in Cirebon and probably elsewhere on Java, the maintenance of scriptural and cultural traditions continues within the Javanese Muslim society, most notably, through combination of *pesantren* and *tarekat*. By these institutions, religious transmission has never ceased either with or without the support of the political power structure. This is probably one element that contributes to answering Hodgson's question: "why the triumph of Islam in Java was so complete."⁴⁴

⁴⁴ Hodgson, M (1974), *The Venture of Islam: Conscience and History in a World Civilisation*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, p. 551.

Plate 39: Kyai Fahim Hawi (left), a Tijaniyah Muqaddam of Buntet.



Plate 40: Kyai Abdullah Syifa and his five year old son.



Plate 41: Kyai Fu'ad Hasyim.



Plate 42: Kyai Fahim Hawi among Tijaniyah followers.



Plate 43: Nyai Hammah, a Tijaniyah Muqaddam of Kuningan.



Plate 44: Nyai Hamnah (centre), her followers and Kyai Imam Subki (Nyai Hamnah's husband).

