THE NEW PSEUDO-SUFI ORDER OF THE *MAJELIS SHALAWAT* AMONG URBAN MUSLIMS IN EAST JAVA

Rubaidi

UIN Sunan Ampel, Surabaya - Indonesia | rubaidi@uinsby.ac.id

Abstract: This article analyzes a new variant of urban Sufism with specific reference to *majelis shalawat* (*shalawat* group) as the new-pseudo Sufi order in Indonesia. It focuses on three *majelis shalawat*: Majelis Shalawat Kubro, Majelis Shalawat Muhammad, and Majelis Shalawat Adlimiyah. Employing field research, this article argues that the three *shalawat* groups that flourish in East Java have specific characters unique to the groups. They locate the *silsilah* (chain of lineage) as an important part in establishing the institution, doctrines, and Sufism practices among their adherents. The aspect of Sufism transmission is articulated as experiencing Sufism through living as inspired by Abu al-Qasim al-Junayd, not as told to them by *'ulamā* who theorize Sufism. Furthermore, doing Sufism means a process of experiencing supported by two Sufism traditions at once; they are vivid interconnection (*rābiṭat bi al-ṣuḥbah*) and virtual interconnection (*rābiṭah bi al-ghayb*). The application of the two *rābiṭah*s locates a Sufi travellers in a full consciousness (*yaqẓah*) far from self-disappearance (*al-fanā' fi al-shaykh*). With all of its characteristics, the three *shalawat* groups generate new variants of Sufi practice that can be considered as new Sufi order.

Keywords: *Majelis Shalawat*, new Sufi order, urban Muslims.

Introduction

An interesting and new phenomenon has taken place in experimenting Sufism in urban areas of Indonesia. There is a vast growth of a new kind of Sufi brotherhood such as Majelis Shalawat Kubro, Majelis Shalawat Muhammad, and Majelis Shalawat Adlimiyah adhered by middle class groups in some cities in East Java, namely Surabaya, Bojonegoro, Sidoarjo, Pasuruan. The phenomenon of Majelis Shalawat is an important proof not only for the ever-increasing growth of urban Sufism or pseudo-Sufism, but also for the awakening

of classical Sufism. This phenomenon is called the new pseudo-Sufi order. The rise is marked by the emergence of specific characters of Sufism as shared by three *majelis shalawat*s (*shalawat* groups), which also differentiates them from similar groups studied by Howell,[1] Zamhari,[2] Zamhari and Howell,[3] and Smith and Hamdi[4] who popularize the terms of pseudo-Sufi order*,* neo-Sufism*,* pseudo-Islamic Sufism*,* pseudo-Sufi group*,* pseudo-Islamic sect, or pseudo-Sufi organization to denote this urban Sufism. The main difference lies in the key doctrinal aspect and its implementation. Therefore, the existence of these three *shalawat* groups cannot be any longer framed within the spectrum of the pseudo-Sufi order. Instead, it should be called as the new pseudo-Sufi order in the framework of urban Sufism.

Pseudo-Sufi order as studied by Howell and Zamhari[5] is a terminological concept which is initially used to denote similar phenomenon in North America. The term is used to call an organization or group that teaches Sufi practices, but loosely adhering to general norms of a *ṭarīqah* (Sufi order). In the United States, for instance, the term pseudo-Sufi order is used to come to terms with the transmission of an international Sufism movement led by Hazrat Inayat Khan (1882-1927 M).[6] The structure of its institution,

[1] Julia Day Howell, "Sufism and the Indonesian Islamic Revival," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 60, 3 (2001)*,* 701-729.

[2] Arif Zahmari, *Rituals of Islamic Spirituality: A Study of Majlis Dhikr Groups in East Java,* (Canberra: The Australian National University, 2010), p. 1.

[3] Arif Zamhari and Julia Day Howell, "Taking Sufism to the Streets: Majelis Zikir and Majelis Salawat as New Venues for Popular Islamic Piety in Indonesia," *Review of Indonesian and Malaysian Affairs* 46, 2 (2012), 47–75.

[4] Bianca J. Smith and Saipul Hamdi, "Between and Salafi Subjects: Female Leadership, Spiritual Power and Gender Matters in Lombok," Bianca J. Smith and Mark Woodward (eds), *Gender and Power in Indonesian Islam, Leaders, Feminists, and Pesantren Selves* (London: Routledge, 2017), 30.

[5] Arif Zamhari, "Socio-Cultural Innovations in Urban Sufism, The Case Study of Majelis Dzikir and Shalawat Nurul Musthafa," *Journal of Indonesian Islam* 7, 1 (2013), 119-144; Zamhari and Howell, *Taking Sufism to the Streets*, 47–75.

[6] Elliot Bazzano and Marcia Hermansen, "Introduction," Elliot Bazzano and Marcia Hermansen (eds), *Varieties of Sufism in America, Islam, Sufi Orders, and Authority in A Time of Transition* (New York: State University of New York, 2020), 28; Patrick D. Bowen, *History of Conversion to Islam in the United State, Vol. 1,* (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 104-105; William Rory Dickson, *Living Sufism in North America, Between Tradition and Transformation* (New York: The State University of New York, 2015), 4; See also Garbi Schmidt, *Islam in Urban America, Sunni Muslim in Chicago* (Philadelphia: The Temple University Press, 2004), 153.

membership, and doctrine are the creation of Hazrat Inayat Khan. Among the major features of this movement is its specific and unique character compared to conventional Sufi orders. Similarly, many *dhikr* (spiritual chanting) and *shalawat* groups in Indonesia also show their distinct features. Among *dhikr* groups are Tanbihul Ghafilin,[7] Majelis Dzikir and healing by Ustadz Hayono,[8] followed by Ustadz Arifin Ilham's Majelis Dzikir *Adz-Dzikra*,[9] and Aa Gym's Manajemen Qalbu.[10]

Corresponding to the flourish of pseudo-Sufi order of *dhikr* and *shalawat* groups, three similar groups studied in this article emerge vastly. As a phenomenon of pseudo-Sufism, they attract a distinct membership of middle-class people from various backgrounds, namely businesspeople, academics, army and police officers, professionals, bureaucrats, and certainly religious clerics. Nonetheless, the emergence of these three groups does not necessarily represent merely pseudo-Sufi order phenomenon among urban people. The three groups still acknowledge the importance of *silsilah* or *sanad* (chain of lineage) that connect the chain of transmission for Sufism doctrine and practice from one generation to another by positioning *wali mastur* (hidden saint) at the top of its chain of lineage. The configuration of Sufism doctrine is also different from one *majelis dhikr* to another. The three *majelis shalawat*s consistently position the doctrine of Abu al-Qasim Junayd of Baghdad as central. In addition, they hail Ibn 'Arabi as the key figure in guiding their adherents for becoming the perfect Sufi. This combination is certainly unthinkable among conventional Sufi orders. The reconstruction towards *rabiṭah* doctrine that connects between a Sufi traveler and his/her spiritual instructor is also another distinct feature.

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[7] Arif Zahmari, *Rituals of Islamic Spirituality: A Study of Majlis Dhikr Groups in East Java,* (Canberra: The Australian National University, 2010), 14.

[8] Ibid.

[9] Ibid., 15-16; Julia Day Howell, "Indonesia's Salafist Sufis," *Modern Asian Studies* 44, 5 (2010), 1029–1051; Idem, *Indonesia's Salafist Sufi* (Singapore: S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, 2009). Compare to Julia Day Howell, "Sufism on the Silver Screen: Indonesian Innovations in Islamic Televangelism*," Journal of Indonesian Islam* 2, 2 (2008), 225-239.

[10] Julia Day Howell, "'Calling' and 'Training': Role Innovation and Religious De-differentiation in Commercialized Indonesian Islam," *Journal of Contemporary Religion* 28, 3 (2013), 401-419. Compare to Julia Day Howell, "Sufism and the Indonesian Islamic Revival," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 60, 3 (2001), 701–729.

This article tries to analyze the development of the new phenomenon in Sufi order among Muslim urban community that refers to the concept of new pseudo-Sufi order. As the focus of study, three groups of *shalawat* are the subject of the study, namely Majelis Shalawat Kubro, Majelis Shalawat Muhammad, and Majelis Shalawat Adlimiyah that attract urban middle-class community in some cities in East java, namely Surabaya, Bojonegoro, Sidoarjo, and Pasuruan. With their distinct characters the three groups have, this article argues that the existence of this *shalawat* groups not only represents wide spectrum of pseudo-Sufi order, but also believes that they represent new prototype in the movement of urban Sufism that can be called as the new pseudo-Sufi order.

Wali Mastur as the Initial Trigger of the Pseudo-Sufi Order

One of the significant indications of the new pseudo-Sufi order that is embedded in Majelis Shalawat Kubro, Majelis Shalawat Muhammad, and Majelis Shalawat Adlimiyah is the importance of lineage (*silsilah* or *sanad*) in the institutional structure of the three groups. This is a sharp contrast with similar groups such as Majelis Shalawat Wahidiyah,[11] Majelis Shalawat Nurul Musthafa,[12] and Majelis Dzikir Dzikrul Ghafilin [13] which tend to negate the lineage. Furthermore, those *dhikr* groups affiliated to Salafi and neo-modernist religious doctrines refuse the lineage because of their lack of such teaching from the prophet Muhammad. Therefore, these last groups insist that *silsilah* is a *bid'ah* (innovation) and therefore forbidden in Islam.[14]

The *silsilah* of Majelis Shalawat Kubro, Majelis Shalawat Muhammad, and Majelis Shalawat Adlimiyah take root very uniquely. Its emergence as the earliest in the genealogy of these three groups cannot be separated from the central figure of KH. Mohammad Tamyiz, and well-known among his followers as Mbah Tamyiz. For them, he is *al-waliyy al-mastūr* (hidden saint). In addition, he is

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[11] Dewan Pimpinan Pusat Penyiaran Shalawat Wahidiyah, *Profil Wahidiyah* (Jombang: Dewan Pimpinan Pusat Penyiaran Shalawat Wahidiyah, n.d), 4-5; Sokhi Huda, *Tasawuf Kultural, Fenomena Shalawat Wahidiyah* (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 2008), xvi; Zahmari, *Rituals of Islamic Spirituality*, 115-124.

[12] Zamhari, *Socio-Cultural Innovations,* 119-144; Zamhari and Howell, *Taking Sufism to the Streets*, 47–75.

[13] Zahmari, *Rituals of Islamic Spirituality*, 207-212.

[14] Ibid., 1.

considered in the beginning of chain that connect *dhikr* or *awrād* (enchantments) from the Prophet Muhammad to the Sufis who practice it nowadays.

Tamyiz was born in Jombang, a small town in East Java about 70 kilometers west to Surabaya who lived and died in Surabaya (1919-1982). His significant role as Sufi master is hardly known among Muslims in the neighborhood. In daily life, he presented himself as common Muslim. There is no indication showing him as a saint. Furthermore, he was known as *dukun* (shaman). His saintship started to appear when some of his main disciples became the successor who spread *shalawat* groups by teaching Sufi doctrines of Junayd and Ibn Arabi at the same time. Through his successors, Tamyiz as a hidden saint was increasingly gaining justification and legitimacy. His existence as the hidden saint as well as at the top chain of lineage for three groups in classic Sufism tradition is emphasized by one of his successors, Kahar:

> "In daily life, no one in his (Tamyiz) neighborhood believes that he is a saint, a holy man. You can imagine, I still remember how he lived. His appearance is like *Sakera* (common Madurese man). He wore black karate (baggy) pants up to his knees and wore Madurese red and white stripped T-shirt. Everyday we used to mingle with scavengers from whom he often bought the unsold trashes. The level of his saintship was started to reveal when he paid visit to local religious cleric that locals considered him as saint. For those who never escort him to the visit, it is not a surprise if he or she does not believe in his saintship".[15]

In the tradition of Sunni Sufism, common Muslims would not easily believe the saintship of Tamyiz. However, from the perspective of philosophical Sufism, especially Ibn Arabi, Tamyiz's saintship is not separated from the long process of Sufism history until now. By upholding the doctrine of "only himself and God witness his saintship", he becomes a small part of Malamatiyah Sufi. They are saints who reach the highest level, but intentionally hide themselves in many ways. Because of the height of Malamatiyah Sufi saints, Ibn Arabi once state "if the Malamatiyah Sufis show their saintship in front

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[15] Interview with Gus Kahar, Surabaya, September 9, 2014.

of common people, they would venerate them as if they were God *(law dhaharat makānatahum min Allahi li al-nāsi la al-ttakhadzūhum ālihatan).*"[16]

Far before Tamyiz transformed the doctrine and practice of his Sufism and showcased in the form of *shalawat*, he wandered to learn Sufism from many saints in the region. As it is a commonplace among Sufis, the process is not only about physical contact, but also through spiritual session (*barzakhi* learning or Uwaysi learning). It is a unique and distinct transmission patterns that is practiced in Sufism tradition. This Barzakhi learning can be traced from the *silsilah* of *dhikr* or *shalawat awrād* that Tamyiz taught his disciples. Among the Sufi master is Shaykhana Khalil of Bangkalan. As emphasized by Kahar[17] and Mursyidin,[18] Shaykhana Khalil of Bangkalan is one of Tamyiz's master.[19] After an intensive investigation, the tutelage between Shaykhana Khalil of Bangkalan and Tamyiz happened Barzakhi or Uwaysi (spiritual contact). It is because Shaykhana Khalil of Bangkalan passed away in 1927, whereas Tamyiz at the time was only 7 years old.[20] Therefore, it is hard to believe that at that very early age Tamyiz had studied in Bangkalan.[21]

In addition to Barzakhi instruction with Shaykhana Khalil of Bangkalan, he also studied physically to reputable Sufi masters of his age. He was believed to have become the disciple of KH Hamid of Pasuruan and KH Romli Tamim of Darul Ulum Rejoso. He also

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[16] Abu Bakar Muhyiddin Muhammad bin Ali bin Muhammad bin Ahmad bin Abdullah al-Khatimi al-Ma'ruf bi Ibni Arabi, *Al-Futuhat al-Makkiyah* (Beirut: Dar al-Fikr al-Arabi, 2011), 52.

[17] Quoted from the speech of Gus Kahar during *pengajian* (religious gathering) of Majelis Shalawat Muhammad in Sidoarjo, March 27, 2015.

[18] Gus Mursyidin is a pseudonym. He requested that his real name is not to be openly mentioned.

[19] Interview with Mursyidin, Bojonegoro, August 15, 2019.

[20] Mas'ud states that Shaikhona Khalil was born on Tuesday 11th of Jumadil Akhir 1235 H (1819 CE) and die don 29th of Ramadhan 1343 H (April 1925 CE) in Bangkalan, Madura. Abdurrahman Mas'ud, *Dari Haramain ke Nusantara, Jejak Arsitek Intelektual Pesantren* (Jakarta: Penerbit Kencana, 2006), 184.

[21] The communication between disciple and master of Shaykhana Khalil with his living disciple happened not only with Tamyiz. Shaykhana Khalil once also certified (grant *ijazah*) a Habib (a descedent of the the Prophet) in Sumenep to perform *du'a barzakhi* (Uwaysi). Rachman once said: "although he had passed away for years, Shaykhana Khalil certified ijazah barzakhi to Habib Muhsin Ali al-Hinduan who was still alive in Sumenep. The du'a was to repel disasters. See Saiful Rachman, *Surat Kepada Anjing Hitam, Biografi dan Karomah Kiai Kholil* (Jakarta: Pustaka Ciganjur, 2011), 68.

studied to KH Usman of Sawah Pulo Surabaya who was also his close friend when studying to KH Romli Tamin of Jombang. [22] Among his teachers include Habib Masrur Bawaqih, Curah Malang, Jombang, and KH Hamim Jazuli (Gus Mik), Ploso, Kediri. This latest figure was the teacher as well as disciple of Tamyiz. [23]

Tamyiz also studied under many prominent saints in the area of East Java to master Sufism. He studied under the tutelage of KH. Sahlan Tayyib of Pesantren Bahrul Ulum al-Sahlaniyyah, Sidorangu, Krian Sidoarjo from whom he studied Sufism as well as became his full servant. He always prepared praying mat for the master whenever he needed it to prayer.[24] He once studied under KH. Abu Bakar, Perak, Surabaya, Gus Thaha, and Abah Thayyib, Kemayoran, Surabaya. Both are Sufi masters in the region. He also studied in Gresik, adjacent to Surabaya where he learned Sufism to KH Sholeh, Pesantren Maskumambang, Bungah and KH Muhammad (Mbah Mad), Sedayu. He was also once a disciple of KH Ali Mas'ud (Mbah Ud), Pager Wojo Sidoarjo. In Pasuruan, he studied from KH Abu Amar, Payaman, Paserepan, in addition to KH Hamid. Other notable masters include

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[22] Interview with Bedjo, Bojonegoro, August 9, 2017.

[23] The shift of status between teacher and student in pesantren tradition as well as in Sufism tradition is normal. This situation once was experienced by Shaykhana Khalil of Bangkalan and KH. Hasyim Asy'ari of Jombang. Before departing to Mecca for further study and hajj pilgrimage, Kiai Hasyim Asy'ari was a student of Shaykhana Khalil. Upon returning from Mecca, he was very well-versed in (especially) hadith and later founded a pesantren in Tebuireng Jombang. His knowledge in hadith, which was still considered a new discipline by Javanese ulama necessitated Shaykhana Khalil to study hadith under tutelage of his former student in Tebuireng, especially during Ramadan month. From then on, the shift more frequently happened. See Mukani, *Dinamika Pendidikan Islam* (Malang Penerbit Madani, 2016), 127. Similar event also took place between Habib Shaleh Tanggul with KH Qusyairi who was the eldest son of KH Shiddiq Jember and the father in law of renown wali in Pasuruan, KH Abdul Hamid. Before this event, Habib Sholeh often attended the speech of KH. Qusyairi in Pasuruan. After years, Habib SHoleh shown the signs of being a saint (wali) so that KH. Qusyairi increasingly attended the religious functions in which Habib Sholeh delivered his speech. The fact that KH Qusyairi was very accomplished ulama in term of knowledge and Sufism practice. The indication of his qualification was the request of Gus Mik (KH. Hamim Jazuli), the founder of *majelis dhikr* of Dzikr al-Ghafilin and a renown wali, to KH Qusyairi to review the awrad of the majelis before publicly implemented by its members. Compare with M.N. Ibad, *Dzikir Agung Para Wali Allah, Sejarah Penyusunan Dzikrul Ghafilin dan Fadhilah Bacaan-Bacaannya* (Bantul: Pustaka Pesantren, 2012), 57.

[24] Interview with Mursyidin, Bojonegoro, August 15, 2019.

Habib Sholeh, Tanggul Jember, Habib Husen, Asembagus Situbondo, KH Kusnan, Tumpang, Poncokusumo Malang, KH Ismail (Mbah Mail), Brangkal Mojokerto, Mbah Sholeh (custodian of graveyard of Troloyo site), Troloyo, Mojokerto, KH Ilyas, Karang Nongko Mojokerto, and KH Mohammad Farhan (Mbah Farhan), Perak Jombang, KH Makruf, Kedunglo Kediri, Gus Maksum Kediri, and Mbah Mundir Kediri.[25]

There are two forms of learning that Tamyiz performed with those living masters. Firstly, he studied as well as becoming servant for a lengthy period of time. In the process of studying, he served all of the masters wholeheartedly. Among the aforementioned masters, some of them were more inspiring than others. They were Syekhana Kholil of Bangkalan, KH Romli Tamim of Jombang, KH Sahlan Tayyib, Sidorangu, Krian, Sidoarjo, Abah Thoyyib, Kemayoran, and KH Abu Bakar, Perak, Surabaya. Secondly, he studied under a master with the purpose of *tabarrukan* (seeking for blessing). In so doing, Tamyiz visited a Sufi master and saint for blessing, Sufism advises and *du'a* (supplication).

In addition to masters to whom Tamyiz studied in person, he also studied from the deceased saints of Java. Among the habit that he practiced for years is visiting graves of saints in many places from Surabaya, Trowulan site, Jombang, Kediri, Nganjuk, Bojonegoro, Tuban, Gresik, then back to Surabaya, and later on to Sidoarjo. He not only visited the graves of well-known saints like the *Wali Sanga* of Java, but also to graves of hidden saints not known to public. About this habit, Mursyidin explains: "In addition to visiting graves of *Wali Sanga*, Tamyiz roamed around from one grave to another on foot. He visited many graves which I do not know whose graves they were. I just kept silent when escorting him visiting graves".[26] In this Barzakhi spiritual journey, Tamyiz once claimed he studied under tutelage of Shaykh Siti Jenar who is known for the inclination toward Ibn Arabi's Sufism. This event was witnessed by Bedjo, one of his disciples who accompanied him in one of these journeys. Once Tamyiz said to Bedjo: "Didn't you see Shaykh Siti Jenar? He spoke to me just now. He sat near you and kept staring at you".[27]

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[25] Interview with Bedjo, Bojonegoro, August 12, 2019

[26] Interview with Mursyidin, Pasuruan, August 12, 2019.

[27] Interview with Bedjo, Bojonegoro, August 15, 2019.

The trace of his spiritual journey becomes an important indication of this Barzakhi interaction which enables the transmission of Sufism knowledge from the deceased saint whose graves he visited. Kahar further emphasized that he too experienced similar event during his Sufi travels. He stated that the Barzakhi transmission of Sufi knowledge with the deceased saints would produce a deeper Sufi knowledge and its application compared to in person tutelage with living masters in the final Sufism journey until he achieved the level of hidden saint, Tamyiz started to transmitted Sufism doctrines and practices to his disciples. The well-known transmission pattern used among Sufis is through his speech, which in Javanese called as *wejangan* (statement of wisdom). This process is conducted to transmit high level Sufism doctrine and practice. Such a process once secretly conducted by Sunan Bonang to a novice, the aspiring Sunan Kalijaga.[28]

As a consequence of this *mejang*, the act of delivering *wejangan* by Tamyiz is the lack of actual record of his disciples. However, Kahar explains that Tamyiz had 9 disciples, 7 of which are of ethnic Chinese background.[29] One of those 7 disciples is Syamsu Duha (1956-2004) who is the heir that founded Majelis Shalawat Kubro and later became its *murshid* (Sufi master). Among thousands of Syamsu Duha's disciples, it was Kahar (1962-2015) who succeeded Syamsu Duha as the spiritual leader of Majelis Shalawat Kubro. After him, Mursyidin (b. 1972) as a disciple of Kahar as well as Syamsu Duha leads Majelis Shalawat Kubro, Shalawat Muhammad, and later founded Majelis Shalawat Adlimiyah.

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[28] The event of *amejang* (delivering special instruction) as mentioned was about the story of a controversial Sufi mystic of Java, Shaykh Siti Jenar. The story was mentioned in several literature discussion the mysticism of Javanese Islam, like in *Falsafah Siti Djenar* authored by Bratakesawa (1954), the manuscript of this literature is kept in Radyapustaka Museum entitled *Seh Siti Jenar R.* the story is also told in *Serat Sitijenar*. In *Falsafah Siti Djenar,* it was narrated: *"nalika Sunan Benang mejang iktikad dhateng Sunan Kalijaga wonten setengahing baita, baitanipun rembes. Baito wau lajeng dipun popok mawi endhut, dilalah endhutipun katutan elur (cacing alit). Amilo pun elur saget mireng wejangan wau sedoyo, lajeng nguwuh satataning jalma. Wasana dipun sabda dening Sunan Bonang: dados jalmo, serta kasukanan nama Seh Siti Jenar, tuwin sinengkakaken saking ngandap ing ngaluruh: dados wali."* See Sujamto, *Reorientasi dan Revitalisasi Pandangan Hidup Jawa* (Semarang: Dhahara Press, 2000), 86.

[29] Another two disciples are Javanese origin. They are Muhammad Munir who is the father of Kahar, and the other is Rahman who is the father of Mursyidin. Interview with Kahar, Surabaya, July 23, 2015.

One important note is that both Kahar and Mursyidin never studied under the tutelage of Tamyiz in person. The position of Kahar as *murshid* was a result of guidance of Syamsu Duha as his master. Meanwhile, Mursyidin is a son of Rahman (d. 1997), a disciple of Tamyiz. Therefore, Mursyidin were spiritually guided by two masters; Syamsu Duha and Kahar. Thus, it can be sated that the position of Mursyidin as a Sufi master and the successor of Tamyiz Sufism doctrine and practice is very authoritative.

The Reference to *Lelaku* as a Practice of the Pseudo-Sufi Order

There is a Sufism tradition that is attached to three *shalawat* groups that is very distinctive compared to similar groups, *dhikr* groups even to orthodox Sufi order. Sufism articulation is very strong in these three groups. A Sufi master should be strongly and strictly anchored in the tradition of Sunni Sufism as taught by imam Junayd of Baghdad. In Indonesian Sufism tradition, his name is the ultimate reference in establishing and practicing Sufism, especially for orthodox Sufi orders. This established tradition is apparent in the three *shalawat* groups. This statement can be traced from the process of Sufism guiding selection of disciples so that they achieve the position of *murshid*. In the process of spiritual training of disciples by Sufi master, the doctrine of Junayd of Baghdad is always the point of reference.

The position of Junayd of Baghdadi as a main reference for the practice of urban Sufism with its strict rules in these three *shalawat* groups is indeed very distinctive. For instance, Shalawat Wahidiyah puts more emphasis on Sufism practice that refers to general Sufism doctrines, such as the stages of ascendancy of Sufism travel (*maqām*) that is transmitted during the process of *mujāhadah* (earnest striving for Sufism journey).[30] Likewise, Majelis Nurul Mustafa also only emphasizes on universal ethic that is inspired from the Prophet Muhammad's deeds as the main doctrine for transmission trough study groups or other means, like website and recordings. In study groups run by Salafi Muslims, the doctrines circulated through study groups, intensive

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[30] In Majelis Shalawat Wahidiyah there is a well-known Sufism doctrine that every practitioner who wish to *wusul* (unite with God) would experience steps of *syukur* (gratitude), *ikhlas* (sincerity), *sabar* (patience), *ridha* (satisfaction), *tawakkal* (trust in God), *mahabbah* (love), and positive prejudices or *husn al-dzan* (good presupposition). See Dewan Pimpinan Pusat Penyiar Shalawat Wahidiyah, *Kuliah Wahidiyah* (Jombang: Dewan Pimpinan Pusat Penyiar Shalawat Wahidiyah, 2005), 182-2015.

course, website, [31] DVD, and seminars are very general, namely all doctrines dealing with positive Sufism. [32] The distinction on the selection of Sufism doctrines and the difference of the method of tutelage indicate that the three *shalawat* groups are no longer aptly identified as urban Sufism or pseudo-Sufi order. Instead, they are now a new pseudo-Sufi order.

One doctrine that is distinct to Junayd of Baghdad is the method of Sufism venture that should be always in accordance with Sunni Sufism (orthodoxy). About this doctrine of Sufism ethic, al-Baghdadi as reported by al-Qushayri, asserted that Sufism journey should not follow what people said, but the experience of hunger, leaving the world behind, and abandoning hedonist and glamorous way of life.[33] Al-Ansari, a commentator to al-Qushayri's *al-Risālah* further highlights this point by saying:

> "…(what imam al-Junayd) is clearly understandable because Sufism according to many Sufis is essentially a statement of how a person act in accordance to the best ethic, by distancing oneself from haram and undetermined of its lawfulness, not enslaved by worldly lures, trust in God (*tawakkul*), satisfaction (*rida*) of God's destiny, and so forth. At the same time, a Sufi traveler should avoid bad characters such as showing off, arrogance, envy, and so on. Practicing Sufism is not about talking and quoting words of wisdom of great Sufis. [34]

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[31] The choice of Sufism doctrine of Majelis Nurul Musthafa can be traced from the reference it uses. There are at least two important references in building universal ethic of the followers, namely: *Khasha'ish al-Ummah al-Muhammadiyah* by al-Sayyid Muhammad ibn 'Alawi al-Maliki al-Hasani, and *Al-Nasha'ih al-Diniyyah wa Washaya al-Imaniyah* authored by Abdullah Alawi al-Haddad. Zamhari, "Socio-Cultural Innovations in Urban Sufism, 142; Zamhari and Howell, *Taking Sufism to the Streets*, 60.

[32] Howell, *Sufism and the Indonesian Islamic Revival*, 721.

[33] The text says: "I heard Al-Shaykh Abu Abdurrahman al-Sulami may Allah have mercy upon him, once said: I heard Muhammad ibn Abd Allah al-Razi once said: I heard Abu Muhammad al-Jariri once said: I heard Shaykh al_Junayd said: we practice Sufism not based on what people have said. We practice Sufism by experiencing hunger, renunciation, and abandement of hedonism and glamor. See Abu al-Qasim Abd al-Karim ibn Hawazan al-Qushayri, *Al-Risalah al-Qushairiyah* (Beirut: Dar al-Kutub al-Ilmiyah, 2001), 50. See also Musthafa al-Arusi, *Hashiyah al-'Allamah Musthafa al-Arusi al-Musamma Nata'ij al-Ifkar al-Qudsiyyah fi Bayan Ma'ani Sharkh al-Risalah al-Qushairiyah, Vol. 1* (Beirut: Dar al-Kutub al-Ilmiyyah, 2007), 218.

[34] Abu Yahya Zakariyya Ibnu Muhammad al-Anshari, *Ihkam al-Dilalah 'ala Tahrir al-Risalah al-Qusiariyyah, Vol. 1* (Damascus: Dar al-Nu'man li al-Ulum, 2000), 148-149.

This basis of al-Baghdadi teaching becomes the distinctive feature as well as the fundamental doctrine of Tamyiz's Sufism. Later on, this fundamental Sufism perpetuates and forms spiritual genealogy in Syamsu, Kahar and Mursyidin which is eventually adhered by the network of their followers that spread in many cities across Indonesia and abroad. Being a Sufi means a substantial action (*'amaliyah*), not theoretical in nature (*nazariyah*) nor intellectual (*ilmiyah*). The totality of Sufism in this way in classic Sufism terminology is identical with the term *lelaku* or *tirakat* in Javanese tradition or *riyādhah* in Arabic term, which denotes spiritual strive of Sufism.

The practice of urban Sufism in these three *shalawat* groups are also distinct from other similar groups and Sufi orders for other reason. This argument is important to be born in mind since there are so numerous groups that similar if not identical in Indonesia, urban or rural areas. For instance, Majelis Dzikrul Ghofilin of the late Gus Miek (KH Hamim Jazuli) and Majelis Shalawat Wahidiyah by the Late Gus Majid did not present smooth succession process during the transfer of authority from a Sufi master to another. In contrast, Tamyiz relegated his authority to next successors up to four generation without interruption until today.

The *lelaku* system in the three groups of *shalawat* is also different from other *shalawat* groups. The phenomenon of the emergence of Majelis Shalawat Nurul Mustofa led by Habib Hasan bin Ja'far Assegaf and Majelis Rasulullah of Habib Munzir al-Musawwa is identical to these three groups of *shalawat*. As a phenomenon of urban Sufism that fill the empty spiritual space of urban middle-class people in Jakarta, both adhere the line of Sunni Sufism. Both leaders of the *shalawat* groups is not yet analyzed from the perspective of genealogy because there is not yet a process of succession in the groups, although both could originate from a type of Sufism that use *lelaku* system in spiritual journey. Nonetheless, according to Zamhari, the two groups seem to be loose in terms of disciple-master relationship.[35] There is not strong bond between master and disciple in comparison to Sufism tradition in Sufi order in general. In these two *shalawat* groups, urban middle-class people generally are only tied by periodical *shalawā* sessions of the groups. Outside the sessions, they are free to perform other spiritual activities. This fact is supported by their freedom to choose and

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[35] Zamhari, *Socio-structural Innovations in Indonesia's*, 134-135.

participate in various *dhikr* and/or *shalawat* groups other than the two groups.

The argument on the key word of *lelaku* in three *shalawat* groups is also different from numerous *dhikr* groups of urban Sufism, especially Sufism from the lane of Islamic revival, neo-modernist, of Salafi. This kind of Sufism can be referred to some institutions like ICNIS (*Intensive Course Networking for Islamic Sciences*), IIMaN, which were initiated by some prominent Muslim modernists like Nurcholish Madjid and Haidar Bagir. In addition, there are also some urban Sufism groups like Manajemen Qolbu led by Aa Gym, Majelis Dzikir al-Dikra of Ustadz Arifin Ilham, and Penyembuhan Hati of Ustadz Haryono. The existence of various urban Sufism groups is actually a counterattack or critique toward orthodox Sufism, especially *ṭarīqah*. Therefore, in Indonesian context, the basis of Sufism takes the spirit of Hamka's thought in his book "Sufisme Modern". [36] In addition, for urban Sufism of neo-Salafi, the practice of orthodox Sufism remains a *bid'ah* (innovation), *khurāfah* (superstition), and syncretic. The main reason for this accusation is the lack of injunction in the Quran and precedence from the Prophet Muhammad. Although the debate is superficial, various Sufism practices of the two approaches are conducted in offices, malls, mosques, Islamic study groups, and even television. They act as a media for introspection. [37] The borderline that demarcates the orthodox Sufism and urban Sufism is their attribution as "neo-sufi," "positive sufism," and "practical sufism. [38]

For neo-Sufism, the existence of Sufism doctrine in fulfilling new space of urban community is unavoidable. However, some doctrines of orthodox Sufism remain unacceptable for those urban people. In addition to the doctrine of unity of being (*wiḥdat al-wujūd*), the master veneration is other example of orthodox Sufism that is unacceptable. About this Sufism practice, neo-modernist Muslims call it as "Islam but not Islam." [39] Those two aspects are the point of distinction

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[36] Howell, *Sufism and the Indonesian Islamic Revival*, 719.

[37] Wasisto Raharjo Jati, "Sufisme Urban di Perkotaan: Konstruksi Keimanan Baru Kelas Menengah Muslim," *Jurnal Kajian & Pengembangan Managemen Dakwah* 5, 2 (2015), 179-180.

[38] Howell, *Sufism and the Indonesian Islamic Revival*, 722.

[39] Julia Day Howell, "Modernity and Islamic Spirituality in Indonesia's New Sufi Networks," Martin Van Bruinessen and Julia Day Howell (eds), *Sufism and The 'Modern' in Islam* (New York: I.B.Tauris, 2007), 219.

between urban Sufism associated with Sunni Sufism and urban neo-modernist Sufism. To replace these two doctrines, Nurcholish Madjid, the spokesperson of neo-Sufism, reformed orthodox Sufism with rationality approach. In his mind, Sufism in form of *ṭarīqah* is no longer relevant in actualizing Islam in modern life. Meanwhile, in IIMaN, Haidar Bagir rationalizes Sufism practices by emphasizing the achievement the dimension of peace and happiness. [40] As a consequence of Sufism rationalization among urban Sufism of neo-modernists, the massive transformation of Sufism doctrine utilizes television in conveying their *tawṣiyah* (guidance). Thus, it is identical to televangelism.[41]

In contrast, the transformation of urban Sufism in three *shalawat* groups remains conventional. They employ cultural media, such as sessions of *shalawat* groups in delivering their Sufism doctrines. The session is usually held periodically, either in the house of the master or the houses of disciples. However, other media is also utilized, like the neo-modernists do. In the final years of his life, Kahar also appeared in local TV station, namely TV9, in a program named "*kembang tawasuf*" as a means to communicate his Sufism to wider audience. [42] In addition, as an important fact on justifying urban Sufism in the three groups of *shalawat* is the employment of media that corresponds to symbol of urban middle class people. Since Syamsu up until the next two Sufi masters, the groups adapted to the identity of urban middle-class people. Some sessions even were held in hotels, malls, cafes, and restaurants. In each place, they gather and form study clubs. They conduct this spiritual session often with food and drink served on the table. The three *murshid*s of different era opened various dimension of Sufism to disciples with certain limits.

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[40] Jati, *Sufisme Urban di Perkotaan*, 190.

[41] This fact refers to televangelist preachers in spreading the teaching of urban Sufism or political ideas by utilizing TV stations which are massively accessible by urban as well as rural people. To mention some names, there are Aa Gym, Arifin Ilham, Haryono, Jefry al-Buchory, Mamah Dedeh, and Qurrata A'yun. See Akh. Muzakki, *Islamic Televangelism in Changing Indonesia: Transmission, Authority, and The Politic of Ideas* (Singapore: ISEAS, 2012), 45-46.

[42] For some episodes, the *Pengajian* of Majelis Shalawat Muhammad was broadcasted in a program entitled "Kembang Tasawuf" in TV9, a TV station affiliated to Nahdlatul Ulama of East Java. In addition, the recordings of this program were uploaded to Youtube with a total of 12 episodes. To research and listen the Sufism thought of Gus Kahar, youtube content is still available by typing key word of *kembang tasawuf*.

Urban Sufism as represented by three *shalawat* groups as described becomes the distinctive character compared to various *dhikr* groups, *shalawat* groups, and *ṭarīqah*. The interaction between Sufi masters and their disciples is not limited to various places associated with urban middle-class people. Other symbol of middle-high class such as luxury cars, branded clothing, and various accessories are embodied in *shalawat* community. However, although adapting to these worldly symbols, there is no bargain with fundamental doctrine of Sufism in form of *lelaku*. It means that the master-disciple relation, be it within *shalawat* groups or in public space, even in working place and at home remains bound to the *lelaku*.

Fundamental Sufism in the form of *lelaku* as taught by Junayd of Baghdad becomes inherent part of the ideology of Sunni Sufism. The primary references of the ideology include *Ayyuha al-Walad* by al-Ghazali,[43] "*taʿlīm al-Mutaʿallim*" by al-Zarnuji,[44] and *Adab al-ʿĀlim wa al-Muta'allim* by KH Hasyim Asy'ari.[45]. These treatises become ethical code for students of *pesantren* in many regions in Indonesia. The strong relationship between master and students in *pesantren* and *ṭarīqah* finds its justification in those treatises. Although only consisting of 23 pages, al-Ghazai's *Ayyuha al-Walad* becomes the code of conduct in the *lelaku* of the three *shalawat* groups. Syamsu and Kahar acknowledged the spiritual depth of this treatise. In addition, Mursyidin asserted that this treatise is specifically intended for those who start their spiritual journey in Sufi path.[46]

Finally, *lelaku* becomes the most important part in the genealogy of three *shalawat* groups. One of *lelaku* manifestation is when the master intentionally says something not true about one of his disciples. Kahar once said remembering his own experience: "Do not say you study under a Sufi master before your master says something not true about you and your rights are taken away by your master."[47] Mursyidin also

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[43] Abu Hamid al-Ghazali, *Ayyuha al-Walad finasihat al-Muta'allimin wa Mawidatihim li Ya'lam wa Yumayyiz ʿIlman Nafi'an* (Singapore: al-Haramain, 2005).

[44] Burhan al-Islam al-Zarnuji, *Ta'līm al-Muta'allim: Ṭarīq al-Ta'līm* (Beirut: Darul Ihya' al-Kutub al-ʿArabiyah, n.d.).

[45] KH Hasyim Asy'ari, *Adab al-Alim wa al-Muta'allim fi ma Yahtaj Ilaihi al-Muta'allim fi Ihwali al-Ta'lim wa ma Yawaqqafu Ilaihi* (Jombang: Maktabah al-Turast al-Islami, 1938).

[46] Interview with Gus Mursyidin, Pasuruan, April 11, 2020.

[47] Quoted from the words of Gus Kahar in a session of Pengajian Majelis Shalawat Muhammad, Sidoarjo, 13 March 2015.

once said recollecting his spiritual journey: "My two beloved masters occasionally ordered me to do opposite things. That was a true challenge that sometimes made me want to scream."[48]

One important note is that all *lelaku* actions are performed without prior explanation by Sufi master. The ethic between *murshid* and *murid* (disciple) is itself an important doctrine in *ṭarīqah*. It is fully realized by the three *murshid*s in three *shalawat* groups. When performing *lelaku* during their spiritual journey, they performed all of the teachers' orders with no question being asked.[49] For the three *murshid*s, a murid is a dead person in front of *murshid* (or *al-murīd ka al-mayyit*). With similar expression, all *ṭarīqah* acknowledge and considered *lelaku* as a doctrine to establish the obedience of disciples in front of their Sufi masters, although these three *shalawat* groups are not formally a *ṭarīqah*.

Practicing the Pseudo-Sufi Order Through *Rābiṭah*

Rābiṭah in the tradition of classic Sufism simply means an endeavor of a disciple to present and visualize his or her Sufi master in all of his or her action.[50] Al-Kurdi formulates a more subtle definition of *rābiṭah* as an effort to bring the soul in harmony with the master's soul, although they do not physically meet in person.[51] The meaning of physical visualization refers to a condition in which a disciple always makes his or her master present even though not in flesh and blood. *Rābiṭah* is an important method in the process of transmission of knowledge from a Sufi master to disciples. In contrast to other science that can be obtained through an autodidact manner, Sufi travelers are required to advance delicate and complex stages (*maqāmāh*) along the

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[48] Quoted from the words of Gus Mursyidin in a session of Pengajian Majelis Shalawat Adlimiyah Gus Mursyidin, Bojonegoro, August 15, 2017.

[49] There should be no effort whatsoever to critically question or challenge the instruction of *lelaku tirakat* from the *murshid*. Ibn Hajar al-Haytami said this centuries ago. In one of his works he said: if a disciple asks even with short words, for instance, "for what?" *lelaku* should be performed, and it would ascertain that the whole process of spiritual journey is a failure. He further said: "whoever ask his or her shaykh the purpose of the action he or she will not succeed forever. He or she would fail in the process of spiritual journey" *(man qala li syaikhi lima? Lam yasluh abadan: ay li syaikhi fi al-suluk wa al-tarbiyah)*. See Ahmad Shihab al-Din bin Hajar al-Haytami al-Makki, *al-Fatawa al-Hadithiyah* (Beirut: Dar al-Fikr, 2013), 77.

[50] Abdul Malik, "Institusi Persaudaraan Sufi," *El-Harakah* 8, 3 (2006), 358.

[51] Muhammad Amin al-Kurdi al-Irbili Ibnu al-Syaikh Fathullah, *Tanwir al-Qulub fi Mu'alati Allamu al-Ghuyub* (Damascus: Mathaba'ah al-Shabah, 1994), 444.

path to their goal. Therefore, a novice would take a director 24/7 to lead him or her. The director or Sufi master (*murshid* or *shaykh*) should be a person with matured experience and profound knowledge who has achieved the level (*maqām*) of saintship (by gnosis *ma'rifah*). The goal of a disciple in the last phase is no other than meeting the Prophet and *wuṣūl* (directly linked) to God (*ma'rifah*). For this reason, the dictum *al-murīd ka al-mayyit* in classic Sufism becomes relevant.

The concept of *rābiṭah* might be alien to urban Sufism or pseudo Sufi order from neo-Sufism of neo-Salafi. It is an important aspect for classic Sufism, however, that modernist Muslims object. It is comprehensible that many urban Sufism groups with neo-modernist inclination refuses this *rābiṭah* concept. For this reason, *rābiṭah* is the heart of debate, and therefore the point of distinction between urban Sufism of neo-modernist and Salafi in one hand and traditional Sufism in the other. As a result, many *dhikr* and *shalawat* groups in the context of urban Sufism do not understand, let alone apply, this *rābiṭah* concept. In contrast, *rābiṭah* is not a new discourse among *ṭarīqah* disciples. Similarly, the concept of *ṭarīqah* in the three groups of *shalawat* is important and it becomes a distinctive identity for them as a new Sufi-order.

Since urban Sufism does not implement *rābiṭah*, they further consider it as *bid'ah, khurāfah,* even pantheistic and therefore unorthodox. In addition, the spirit of urban Sufism is actually a continuation of Islamic renewal, for which classic Sufism, because of its innovations, is a target of this renewal. In wider spectrum, institutional network and the doctrine of neo-Sufism cannot be separated from Nurcholish Madjid and Paramadina foundation.[52] They instigated the emergence of various modern Sufism institution in urban context, like Jakarta and some other big cities in Indonesia. As a revision of *ṭarīqah*-based Sufism, Nurcholish Madjid or other big names of urban Sufism developed Sufism doctrines that are suitable with modern demands. The key word that Nurcholish Madjid

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[52] As part of Islamic renewal, urban Sufism was developed and spread by neo-Sufism circles in many urban areas in Indonesia. Nurcholish Madjid is an important personality of this renewal movement of neo-modernism groups. Sufism dimension eventually became a target of this renewal movement. As a neo-Sufism figure, Nurcholish Madjid, through Paramadina foundation, lied basis of urban Sufism doctrine as well as envisaged its network using Islamic modernism persuasion. See Howell, *Sufism and The Indonesian*, 720-722.

emphasized was rationalization, the word that connect Islam with modernism.[53]

The debate about *rābiṭah* among urban Sufism creates new concept as revision of classic Sufism. For classic Sufism, *rābiṭah* is understood as spiritual bond between disciple and director. In contrast, urban Sufism positions *rābiṭah* as a mere solution-based bond as well as the fulfillment of spiritual need between *jamā'ah* (congregation) and *ustādh* (teacher).[54] Therefore, the bond in urban Sufism is not hierarchical, compared to what happens in *ṭarīqah*. Instead of *rābiṭah*, urban Sufism emphasizes on education and discussion with the spirit of purification. This phenomenon can be seen in groups of *usroh* and *ḥalaqah* in some campuses which are run by Salafi Muslims, or known as *ikhwān*. This Ikhwan Sufism in Indonesia is inspired by al-Ikhwan al-Muslimun's Hasan al-Banna that recognizes the term *murshīd*, *ikhwān* and *wazifah*. The formation of campus-based Sufism ideology eventually gave birth to its political wing of Partai Keadilan.[55] Outside Ikhwan Sufism are some groups, such as Paramadina, ICNIS, and IIMaN which choose to focus on intellectual discussion, instead of political activity. Beyond them, there are still groups of urban Sufism that utilize *dhikr* or *tawsiyah* (sermons) using television broadcast as media. It is not a surprise that the presence of televangelist *ustādh* gain popularity among urban audience.

Different from Sufism practice among neo-modernist, *rābiṭah* is perceived as a necessity for mystical advancement for *ṭarīqah* followers. The process of bringing the soul in harmony with the master's soul or physical visualization of the director is an important ingredient in gaining masters' guidance (*yastahdhiru al-murīd shūrata syaikhihi 'alā akmali al-aḥwāli li yahshula lahu al-madād*).[56] For a disciple, *rābiṭah* is a gate as well as intermediary in achieving the ultimate stage in mystical journey. Based on this argument, *rābiṭah* in classic Sufism can be described as follows: "Describing the picture of the shaykh in a disciple's imagination, bringing the soul in harmony with the shaykh's

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[53] Jati, *Sufisme Urban di Perkotaan*, 190.

[54] Ibid., 179.

[55] Yon Machmudi, *Islamizing Indonesia: The Rise of Jamaah Tarbiyah and Prosperous Justice (PKS)* (Canberra: ANU Press, 2008), 139.

[56] Darniqah, *al-Thariqah al-Naqsyabandiyah wa A'lamuh* (Libya: Mathba'ah Jarus Bar, 1987)*,* 28.

soul, although they do not physically meet in person. The disciple should imagine the soul of the shaykh as the ocean of spiritual gift, and thereof poured into the disciple's soul."[57]

In a different gradation to *ṭarīqah*, the three Majelis Shalawat Kubro, Shalawat Muhammad, and Shalawat Adlimiyah, position *rābiṭah* as the key concept in master-disciple relationship. Generically speaking, *rābiṭah* concept consists of two categories, namely; (1) direct connectedness (*rābiṭah bi al-ṣuḥbah*), and virtual visualization (*rābiṭah bi al-ghayb*).[58] *Rābiṭah bi al-ṣuḥbah* usually conducted during the early years of spiritual journey through certain *lelaku tirakat*. If a *murshid* believes that his disciple accumulates the ability to perform independently, then *rābiṭat bi al-ghayb* will be applied. The practice of *rābiṭah* is performed under very strict rule, especially for select disciples. For a disciple, *rābiṭah* practice will lead him or her to relate with the guidance of the *murshid* to meet the Prophet Muhammad. After meeting with the prophet, a disciple will advance to the next stage, *wuṣūl* to God (the union of the aspirant with God). [59]

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[57] Van Bruinessen, *Tarekat Naqsyabandiyah*, 83. Van Bruinessen apparently quotes al-Kurdi's treatise entitled *Tanwir al-Qulub fi Mu'alati Allamu al-Ghuyub,* a treatise on Sufism very popular among *ṭarīqah* and pesantren in Indonesia. In addition to *rābiṭat al-murshid*, al-Kurdi adds a method of sufi travel through *rābiṭat al-qubr* of visualization of grave as a series of *muqaddimah min al-muqaddimat al-dzikr* (introduction for *dhikr* or litany). Muhammad Amin al-Kurdi al-Irbili Ibnu al-Syaikh Fathullah, *Tanwir al-Qulub fi Mu'alati Allamu al-Ghuyub* (Damascus: Mathaba'ah al-Shabah, 1994), 576.

[58] The term *suhbah* has basic meaning, which is "commune in the same place and time" (*al-mu'ashara*). In Sufism tradition, this term is known as an important doctrine to deliver disciples to the goal of spiritual journey. *Rābiṭat al-suhbah* is actually not recognized among sufi orders. Instead, it becomes a distinct doctrine of these three *majelis shalawat*s. *Rābiṭat* doctrine is related to *suhbah* indicates the importance of the connection between disciple's soul with his or her Sufi master, in the context of the physical presence of the shaykh. *Rābiṭat fi al-suhbah* does not merely indicate the meeting of the two persons, but marks the process of trust and love to the shaykh which eventually arouses spiritual motivation that all the shaykh's instruction is an obligation which has to be performed. The consequence is that criticism, complaint, argument and other things that undermine the merit of obedience to shaykh is absolutely absent from the disciple's soul. Compare to Abdul Wahhab al-Sya'rani, *Al-Anwar fi Adabi al-Shuhbah inda al-Akhyar* (Damascus: Maktabah Abu Ayyub al-Anshari, 2007), 27-28.

[59] Syeikh al-Khalid al-Naqsyabandi, "Risalah ila Khulafa'ihi fi Istanbul li Bayani Ma'na al-Rabithah al-Naqsyabandiyah," Nazar Abadzah (ed.), *Al-Shaykh al-Khalid al-Naqsyabandi, Al-Alim al-Mujaddid, Hayatuhu wa Ahammu Mu'allafatihi* (Libanon: Dar al-Fikr al-Mu'ashir, 1994), 24-29; Muhammad Abdul Badiyyah, *Al-Naqsyabandiyah,*

Rubaidi

Interestingly, the second practice of *rābiṭah, rābiṭat bi al-ghayb* is implemented in many ways. It depends on the master's whish. It can be in form of recollecting *wird*, *dhikr*, *riyadlah* (spiritual exercise) to the graves of saints, manual labor, and other unthinkable activities. On the last point, Kahar's experience was very peculiar. When he was still a novice, his director asked him to accompany him going to cinemas. At a time, he explained: I was instructed how to conduct *wird sirri* (secret enchantment). While I was watching movies, I should not stop chanting the *wird*. After long practice, even though I watched movies, I only witnessed my *murshid*. [60] On the other hand, in addition to performing *rābiṭat bi al-ghayb* in the form of *wird*, *dhikr*, and *riyadlah* in the graves of many saints, Mursyidin was also commanded by his *murshid* to work in prostitution localization area in Tretes, near Pasuruan. In the context of harmonizing souls with the *murshid*, Mursyidin said:

> "One of my *murshid*'s instruction was to work in a place located near to prostitution area in Tretes. You can imagine that many things that took place there contrary to my consciousness. I cried a lot because what I saw was contrary to my conviction. Amidst this situation, I constantly recollected my directors. I did not care, whether I had become apostate as a result. I just recollected my *murshid*. By recollecting my *murshid*, finally I managed to survive in that job e few years until he instructed me to quit".[61]

Rābiṭah practice in the tradition of classic Sufism also closely related to the concept of *fana* (dissolving individual self into Universal Being) in the teaching of Junayd of Baghdad, Abu Yazid of Bistam (Bayazid), and Ibn Arabi. The concept of *fanā* is an embryo of the teaching of union with God (either *ittihād* or *waḥdah al-wujūd*). *Fanā* can be articulated as the transformation of humanly attributes to divine attributes.[62] According to Kahar as well as Mursyidin, before a disciple reaches *fanā* to God (*fanā bi Allah*), he or she should be in the state of

Nasy'atuha wa Tathawwuruha Lada al-Turk (Egypt: Dar al-Tsaqafiyah li al-Nasyar, 2010), 78-83. Compare to Muhammad al-Khani al-Khalidi, *Al-Sa'adah al-Abadiyah fima Ja'a bihi al-Naqsyabandiyah* (Istanbul: Maktabah al-Haqiqah, 2012), 12.

[60] Interview with Kahar, Surabaya, June 17, 2015.

[61] Interview with Mursyidin, Pasuruan, May 9, 2020.

[62] Rahmawati, "Memahami Ajaran Fana', Baqa', dan Ittihad dalam Tasawuf," *Al-Munzir* 7, 2 (2014), p. 74.

fana with the master (*fanā bi al-shaykh*). This argument is constructed upon the notion that a Sufi traveler cannot experience *fanā bi Allah* before truly in conviction of his or her *murshid*. This conviction will lead a disciple to experience *fanā* in the shaykh. Only after this process, a disciple continues to experience *fanā* to God with the mediation of the shaykh. Therefore, for three *shalawat* groups, *rābiṭah* is closely related to *fanā* station.

The doctrine of *fanā bi al-shaykh* in these three *shalawat* groups is legitimized in many classic Sufism treatises. One doctrine that is renowned in classic Sufism is the degree of *rābiṭah* determines the ascent of a disciple in achieving the ultimate goal of spiritual journey. The deeper and more disposed a disciple in experiencing *fanā* in shaykh, the more likely he or she experience dissolution in God (*fanā fi Allah*).[63] The connectedness of disciples to the shaykh in three *shalawat* groups materializes in normal condition, even when a disciple performs the shaykh's instruction. The rationale about relationship between the concept of *fanā* and *rābiṭah* reinforces the existence of there *shalawat* groups as more than just a mere urban Sufism or pseudo-Sufism. Instead, the practice of urban Sufism in the three *shalawat* groups emphasizes the harmonization of classic Sufism and modern culture. It is this point that Majelis Shalawat Kubro, Majelis Shalawat Muhammad, and Majelis Shalawat Adlimiyah is aptly justified as the the new pseudo-Sufi order.

Conclusion

The discussion on Majelis Shalawat Kubro, Majelis Shalawat Muhammad, and Majelis Shalawat Adlimiyah shows that variants of local Sufism among urban middle class is more than just pseudo-Sufi order. The three *majelis shalawat*s can be considered as new pseudo-Sufi orders. This novelty is characterized by several key points. This new pseudo-Sufi order is marked by the importance of *silsilah* or *sanad*

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[63] Mulyati, *Peran Edukasi Tarekat*, 377; Darniqah, *al-Thariqah al-Naqsyabandiyah*, 35. The self-annihilation in *rabithah* refers to Ibn al-Abbas dream of meeting with the Prophet. Amidst the dram, some of the Prophet's wives *(ba'dhu ummahāt al-mu'minīn)* appeared, and gave the mirror of the Prophet to Ibn al-Abbas. When he saw the mirror, what he actually saw was the face of the Prophet, while his face is non-existent *(ra'a shurah al-Nabi wa lam yara shurata nafsihi)*. Among the Sufis, *"hadza huwa al-fana' fi al-rabithah"*, the event that Ibn al-Abbas experienced is called as annihilation in *rābiṭah*. Rafiq al-Ajam, *Mu'jam Musthalahat al-Tashawwuf al-Islami* (Beirut: Maktabah Lubnan Nasyirun, 1999), 739.

(genealogical lineage) that maintain the authorized transmission of its Sufism doctrines up to its original shaykh (Sufi director, *murshid*). For the three *shalawat* groups, their *silsilah* ends up in a spiritual figure of Mbah Tamyiz, known and believed by his followers as *wali mastur* (hidden saint).

Another distinctive character of these three groups is the strict adherence to Sunni Sufism tradition as outlined by Junayd of Baghdad. The manifestation of this Sufism practice is absent from other urban Sufism groups. The tradition of "Junaydian" asserts that being a mystic means acting like Sufis which is achieved through long and hard spiritual journey, especially for selected disciples. Practicing Sufism means experiencing hard life, hunger, being object of scorn and ridicule, and constant fear. In contrast, practicing Sufism is not in the form of theoretical discourse about hunger, sincerity, and poverty. The whole process of "experiencing" is framed under the framework of the absolute obedience of *murid* (disciple) to the shaykh, *murshid*. For the thee *shalawat* groups, the essence of Sufism is obeying all the instructions of the *murshid*, because disciples consider themselves as corpse before their master. This "experiencing" Sufism is only displayed in the three *majelis shalawat*s; no other urban Sufism groups displays similar features.

In addition, the articulation of *rābiṭah* doctrine in these three *majelis shalawat*s is different from conventional *ṭarīqah*s. These three groups transmit the doctrine of *rābiṭah bi al-ṣuḥbah* and *rābiṭah bi al-ghayb* as an integral part in the process of spiritual strive through *lelaku tirakat* based on the instruction of the shaykh that is called as *rabithah al-'amaliyah* (action-based connectedness). Meanwhile, in conventional Sufi order, *rābiṭah* is mostly related to *dhikr* and *awrād* which have been predetermined in the effort to achieve spiritual passing away of individual self in God. Concurrently, other groups of *dhikr* and *shalawat* hardly touch the doctrine. This description allows important proposition that the doctrines and practices of Sufim in Majelis Shalawat Kubro, Majelis Shalawat Muhammad, and Majelis Shalawat Adlimiyah is more than pseudo-Sufi order. Instead, they are new pseudo Sufi order because of their distinctive characters in the aspects of genealogy, transmission, and spiritual journey. This distinctiveness is absent from any other *dhikr* and *shalawat* groups as well as from conventional Sufi orders. []

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