

## Dynamics of Contemporary Indonesian Sufism: Actors, Scientific Genealogy, Educational Patterns, and Doctrines of the Majelis Shalawat in East Java

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### ABSTRACT

*This article examines the dynamics of Majelis Shalawat as a "new" Sufi institution that flourished in the late 20th and early 21st centuries. Majelis Shalawat as another alternative to the tarekat is another option for the community because it teaches various dimensions of truth and makrifat. This following research focused on 3 (three) Majelis Shalawat, they are: (1) Majelis Shalawat Kubro (Gus Syamsu Dhuha), (2) Majelis Shalawat Muhammad (Gus Kahar), and (3) Majelis Shalawat Adlimiyah (Gus Mursyidin) in East Java. These are being an interested attention due to its multiple findings; Firstly, having a teacher backrest that forms a scientific genealogy. The three murshids become one unity because there is a key figure beyond them, namely KH. Muhammad Tamyiz (Mbah Tamyiz). Mbah Tamyiz connected with Sufi scholars from the 1970s to 1980s who were continued by his three successors. Secondly, it is built based on a specific Sufi education pattern, namely the strict mujahadah and riyad traditions. Thirdly, on the basis of scientific genealogy and educational patterns, which finally forming doctrines or thoughts. The doctrine taught by the three murshids, both stated and unstated, is continued with Abu Yazid al-Bustami (ittihad), Mansur al-Hallaj (hulul), Ibn al-'Arabi (wihdat al-Wujud), until Abdul Karim al-Jilli (tajalli). As a preliminary study, this article attempts to present the relationship among the scientific genealogy, educational patterns, and doctrines of the teachings of the three murshids in their respective of Majelis Shalawat as a part of contemporary Indonesian Sufi.*

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

There can be no doubt, that the transmission of Islam came to Indonesia through the approach of Sufism. This thesis is supported by scholars such as A. H. Johns, Ricklef, Feener, Seiji, and more, by viewing the traces of the influence of the thought of Ibn al-'Arabi, Hallaj al-Mansur, al-Jilli, and other scholars in the doctrine of the Sufis and more specifically on the *wihdat al-Wujud*, which develops in Sumatra, Java, Borneo, and Sulawesi (Feener, 1998; Johns, 1993, pp. 43–59; Ricklefs, 2006; Seiji, 2003, pp. 4–5). Evidences of the influence of the teachings of *wihdat al-Wujud* in the archipelago is marked with the names of the scholars who teach the doctrine. It referred to Siti Jenar (w. 1517 M) in Sunyoto (2017, p. 116), al-Mutamakkin (w. 1740 M) in Gusmian (2008, pp. 57–90), Hasan Mustofa (w. 1930 M) in Rohmana (2012). In Java, Hamzah Fanzuri (w. 1630 M) and Samsuddin al-Sumaterani (w. 1630 M), in Aceh, Sumatra, Muhammad Nafis al-Banjari (l. 1735 M) in Kalimantan, Yusuf al-Makassari (w. 1699 M) in Sulawesi. The names of the following scholars are only a portion of the sufi ulama in nusantara who played an important role in the process of Islamization through the approach of sufism in the range of the 16th to the 20th centuries.

The influence of sufis in the life of the Indonesian people continued until the 20th century. When it comes to the 20th century, the role of sufism is accomplished by the teachers or murshid using a network of tarekat institutions. Tarekat is not only developed in Java and Sumatra itself, but also extended in Sulawesi, Kalimantan, and other regions in Indonesia (Seiji, 2003, p. 4). The role of the tarekat does not mean nothing in the era of the *wali sanga*. In the meantime, the wali sanga are also leaning on a *tarekat* in particular. Yet, the charisma of the individual of the Wali sanga is more dominant than the tarekat institute itself. Siti Jenar, for example, she is trusted as a follower of the *tarekat syattariyah* (Sunyoto, 2017, p. 116). Importantly, the role of the tarekat in maintaining the continuity of Islam in Indonesia is getting stronger, especially among the people based in a rural location (van Bruinessen, 2000). Roles of the murshid through a network of institutions of the tarekat continued until in modern era in Indonesia.

Consequently, the da'wah pattern of Sufi scholars experienced some changes at the end of the 20th century and in the beginning of the 21st century. Apart from the tarekat which still playing Islamic roles in society, there are various other Sufi institutions which have no less influential than the tarekat itself. Several studies such as Howell, Zamhari, and others corroborated this thesis. The intended meaning referred to Majelis Shalawat, Majelis Dzikir, or other Majelis that initiated by Sufi scholars, even neo-modernist groups who previously rejected the teachings of Sufism (Howell, 2000, 2001; Zamhari & Howell, 2012; Zamhari, 2013). Mentioning among several Majelis Dzikir was the Dziku al-Ghofilin led by KH. Hamim Jazuli (Gus Miek), Kediri, and Majelis Nurul Mustofa led by Habib Hasan bin Ja'far Assegaf, Jakarta. While Majelis Shalawat is Majelis Shalawat Wahidiyah led by KH. Abdul Majid (Gus Majid), Kediri, and Majelis Shalawat led by Habib Mundzir al-Musawwa, Jakarta. Besides, there are still many Majelis Dzikir from the clerics, like Aa 'Gym, Haryono, Arifin Ilham, and so on. Meanwhile, as for the study institutions, they have Paramadina, Tazkiya Sejati, ICNIS, IIMAN, and so on. These last majelis were initiated by neo-modernists (Fathurahman, 2007, pp. 123–128; Howell, 2008, pp. 225–229). At the same opinion, these new Sufi institutions can be understood as a form of social-structural innovation in the Sufism tradition (Zamhari, 2013). It is believed that this innovation is tailored to the spiritual needs of the community, especially among the urban middle class. The attraction of the urban middle class society to Sufism from Howell is called as urban Sufism (Howell, 2000, p. 17, 2012, pp. 1–24). Howell's term is understandable, because middle-class people follow various Majelis Dzikir and Majelis Shalawat such as Majelis Shalawat which are the basis of this research (Rubaidi, 2017).

In East Java, apart from the Majelis Dziku al-Ghofilin and Majelis Shalawat Wahidiyah, Kediri, there are several Majelis Shalawat and other Majelis Dzikir which have best and interesting as part of the phenomenon of the contemporary Sufism movement. In Sidoarjo, there is the Majelis Dzikir led by Gus Nizam. The Majelis Rasulullah, led by Habib Mundir, also has a branch in Surabaya. Aside from these two Sufi institutions, there are still 3 (three) Majelis Shalawat which are the basis for this research, namely (1) Majelis Shalawat Kubro with murshid Gus Syamsu Dhuha, (2) Majelis Shalawat Muhammad the murshid of Gus Kahar, and (3) Majelis Shalawat Adlimiyah under Gus Mursyidin's discipleship (Interview with A/Pseudonim). Like Gus Miek and Gus Madjid, who have student networks spreading throughout East Java and various other areas in Indonesia, even abroad, the three murshids mentioned also have the similar student networks. Another similarity, Gus Miek and Gus Majid teach the dimensions of truth and makrifat as taught in the three Majelis. In fact, as will be explained in the next section, among Gus Miek, Gus Madjid and Gus Madjid's father, namely Kyai Makruf, has a common thread of scientific genealogy with the murshid of the three following majelis. Gus Miek has a teacher-student relationship, both with Gus Syamsu and Gus Kahar. Therefore, the basis of his teachings, which was based on the teachings of great Sufi masters such as al-Jaelani, al-Ghazali, Junaid al-Bagdadi, al-Bustami, Hallaj al-Mansur, and many more (Muhibuddin, 2014), also was followed by the three of them in their majelis shalawat respectively.

The three Majelis Shalawat groups with their respective murshids cannot be separated from a figure named KH. Muhammad Tamyiz (Mbah Tamyiz). He is a wali mastur as well as "owner" of the three aurat salawat which is eventually sent down as well as institutionalized into the Majelis Shalawat by the three successors. An interesting aspect that is the consensus in this article is the tracing of the scientific transmission from Mbah Tamyiz to Gus Syamsu, Gus Kahar, and Gus Mursyidin on the one hand. On the other hand, is the contact (scientific transmission) of the four with the Sufi scholars in their respective eras who formed the scientific genealogy or the doctrine of Sufi teachings in the 3 (three) Majelis Shalawat. Another one which analyzed in this article is the pattern or system of Sufi education that Mbah Tamyiz and his three successors underwent. It can be stated explicitly, that the pattern or system of Sufi education they went through was completely based on the mujahadah and riyadlah traditions or laku or lelaku in Javanese terms. This phenomenon is certainly different from Gus Miek, Gus Madjid or Islamic boarding school scholars in general, apart from running the mujahadah and riyadlah, it also focuses on the tradition of reading and writing classical books. However, in fact, the murshids in these three Majelis Shalawat teach various dimensions of truth and makrifat, even teachings such as ittihad, hulul, and wihdat al-Wujud. Therefore, this article will present a preliminary analysis of (1) scientific genealogy, (2) educational patterns, and (3) doctrine of teachings in the 3 (three) Majelis Shalawat.

## 2. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

### 2.1. Actor & Scientific Genealogy

There is a name of figures who have a very important role in the overall construction of this paper. He is KH. Muhammad Tamyiz, who was born in Jombang and lived until his death in Surabaya (1919-1982 AD). The local community calls him Mbah Tamyiz everyday. Mbah Tamyiz is actually one of the important kyai or ulama on the map of Sufism in modern Java, especially in East Java. However, as a wali mastur, Mbah Tamyiz was less well-known among the big names of *kyai* in his day. Instead of being known as a Sufi teacher or great scholar, Mbah Tamyiz among the residents is seen as a *shaman*. Besides, as a Sufi teacher, his role is to link the genealogical chain of Sufism in Java and in modern Indonesia. There are not many reference sources that describe his figure. Among the references that can be traced, are accounts of his students who became heirs and successors to his teachings. Gus Syamsu Dhuha (murshid Shalawat Kubro), Gus Kahar (murshid Shalawat Muhammad), and Gus Mursyidin (murshid Shalawat Adlimiyah) (Interview with A/Pseudonim), they are successors as well as sources of information. Of the three names, there are still several others of Mbah Tamyiz students as sources in supporting information.

The other necessary trails as an indication of Mbah Tamyiz's greatness as a Sufi teacher is the inheritance of 3 (three) aurat (books) of Shalawat at once, namely (1) Shalawat Kubro, (2) Shalawat Muhammad, and (3) Shalawat Adlimiyah. These are the identities of Mbah Tamyiz's sufism. Aurat in the Sufism tradition is not only a form of justification for the state of guardianship, but also an invaluable legacy. The inheritance of the aurat shalawat contains the values of the teachings and thoughts of Sufism which inherited by Mbah Tamyiz who were described by his three successors, namely Gus Syamsu Dhuha, Gus Kahar, and Gus Mursyidin.

Mbah Tamyiz spent most of his life traveling to meet the kyai khos as well as on pilgrimages to many stations of the *auliya* (Interview with Bedjo, Bojonegoro, July 14, 2017). Because of that, in his era, Mbah Tamyiz was very close to some of the great kyai like KH. Hamid, Pasuruan, KH. Ustman, Sawah Pulo, Surabaya (Interview with Gus Kahar, Sidoarjo, July 15, 2015), Habib Masrur Bawaqih, Curah Malang, Jombang (Interview with Habib Abdullah, Curah Malang Jombang, July 28, 2017), KH. Hamim Jazuli (Gus Mik), Ploso, Kediri (Interview with Gus Kahar, Sidoarjo, July 15, 2015), and many more. In the eyes of these kyai, the figure of Mbah Tamyiz is not only known as an expert in tirakat, but also as a wali mastur. The life of him is similar as those other kyai who live in the world of zuhud. The only thing that distinguishes Mbah Tamyiz throughout his life has never owned a boarding school like other kyai. Likewise, his successors also did not wish to build an Islamic boarding school. Hence, his figure is far from the impression of a *kyai*, especially a Sufi teacher.

Even though Mbah Tamyiz and his successors did not have an Islamic boarding school, they still had followers or students. During his life, Mbah Tamyiz only had students who could be counted on the fingers. However, his successors, both Gus Syamsu Dhuha (1957-2004 AD), Gus Kahar (1962-2015 AD), and Gus Mursyidin (1972-Present) have thousands of followers who spread across various regions in East Java as well as Indonesia, even in overseas. During his life, Mbah Tamyiz only had 9 students. Uniquely, seven of his students have Chinese ethnic backgrounds. Only two people, namely Muhammad Munir and Rahman, came from Javanese ethnicity. Muhammad Munir is the father of Gus Kahar, while Rahman is the father of Gus Mursyidin. Among the 7 students from this ethnic Chinese background, only Gus Syamsu acquired the

mandate to become the first successor after Mbah Tamyiz passed away. The meaning of "successor" is a teacher or Sufi murshid (Interview with Gus Mursyidin, Bojonegoro, July 14 2017).

Mbah Tamyiz's predicate as a Sufi teacher, as mentioned earlier, can at least be seen from the legacy of his teachings in the form of Shalawat. Having no half-hearted, Mbah Tamyiz inherited 3 (three) Shalawat at once, namely (1) Shalawat Kubro, (2) Shalawat Muhammad, and (3) Shalawat Adlimiyah (*Aurat Shalawat Adlimiyah*, 2015; Kahar, 2012). Each Shalawat contains such practice or dzikir just like the teachings of a tarekat. Each of these shalawats becomes a separate aurat (aurat Shalawat Kubro, Aurat Shalawat Muhammad, and Aurat Shalawat Adlimiyah). The three of them contain a broad spectrum of Sufism teachings described by the three students in their respective periods.

The genre of Sufism from the path of Mbah Tamyiz and his successors, is not like mainstream of Sufism in general. The Sufism tradition that was built by Mbah Tamyiz can be said to be out of the box, out of the old tradition which was usually based on Islamic boarding schools. As in the subsequent analysis, the scientific genealogy of Sufism built by Mbah Tamyiz and his successors is more based on the salik tradition. In contrast to other scientific paradigms, they are more based on the tradition of reading and writing. It emphasizes the practice of a student at the command of the teacher who makes it possible to meet with *khawas kyai*. This meeting forms the sanad system. Generally, it can be interpreted as a teacher-student connection from time to time to form an intellectual chain without breaking.

In the era of 1970-1980s, in East Java in particular and Java in general, there were still many names of kyai as Sufi teachers. Some of them were bound by a particular tarekat and some were not affiliated with a tarekat. In other words, Sufi institutions can be divided into 2 (two) forms; (1) institutionalized into tarekat organizations, and (2) dhikr practices that are not institutionalized in tarekat organizations (Dhofier, 2011, pp. 212-213). Both KH. Cholil, Bangkalan and KH. Hasyim Asy'ary, as the two central figures who creates many kyai and murshid were not formally affiliated with any particular tarekat (Arifin, 2012, p. 83).

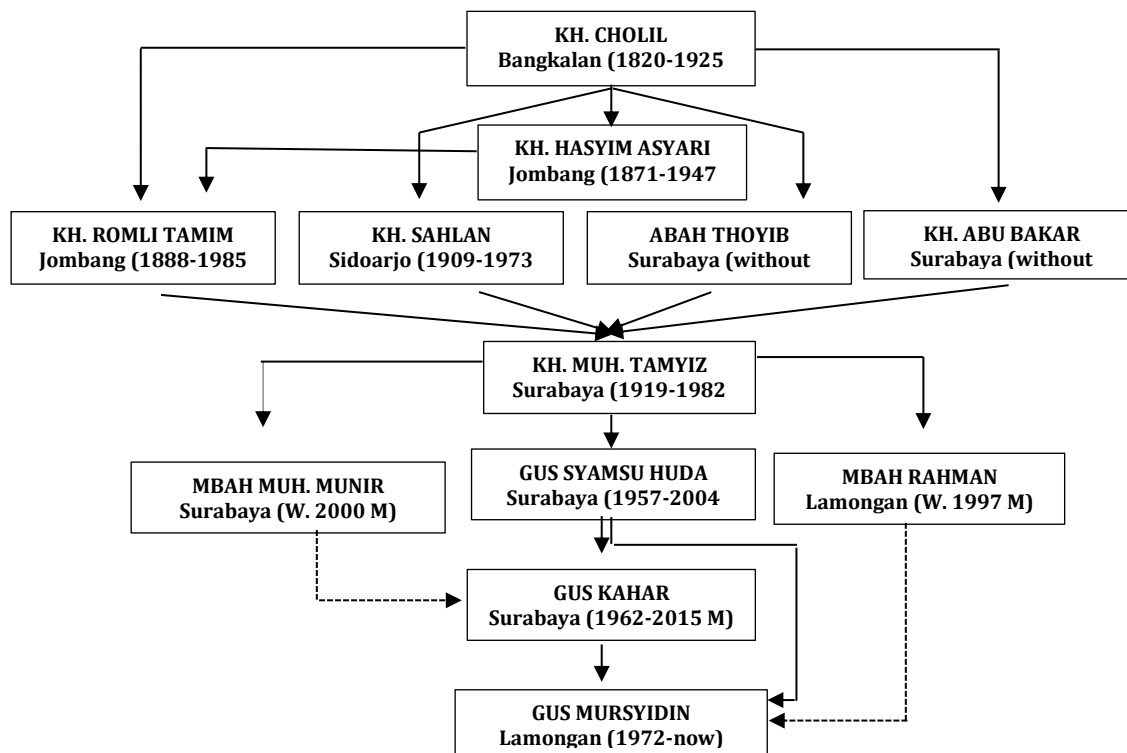
Mbah Tamyiz's scientific traces, at least on half of his age, can be seen because of the contact with many *kyai* in the era of the 1970-1980s. Several names of *kyai* still formed the networks in the era of Gus Syamsu Dhuha and Gus Kahar. Not until in the Gus Mursyidin era. Born in 1972, Gus Mursyidin as the 3rd successor, was no longer met physically with the intended *kyai*. The three of them formed a scientific chain that was common in the Sufism tradition. In his research, Bruinessen had tracked the Naqsyabandiyah Order in a wide span of time and area. He showed continuous evidence of the founder of the *Naqsyabandiyah* Order, namely Abdallah Dihlawi, India in the 19th century (1824) to the murshids in 20th century Indonesia. The *Tarekat of Naqsyabandiyah* in territorial linked among Indonesian, Indian, and Saudi Arabia (Mecca) scholars (van Bruinessen, 1990, pp. 166-167).

According to Gus Kahar, Mbah Tamyiz studied at the Darul Ulum Islamic Boarding School, Rejoso, Peterongan, Jombang, under KH. Romli Tamim (1888-1958 AD) (van Bruinessen, 2000, p. 390). It is suspected that the closeness between Mbah Tamyiz and KH. Ustman, Sawah Pulo, Surabaya as murshid of the *Qadiriyyah-Naqsyabandiyah tarekat* is caused due to the same teachers' path, that is, both have studied with KH. Romli Tamim. Apart from KH. Romli Tamim, Mbah Tamyiz also studied with several *kyai*. One of the teachers is KH. Sahlan Tholib (1909-1973 AD), the caretaker of the Bahrul Ulum al-Sahlaniyah Islamic Boarding School, Sidorangu, Krian, Sidoarjo. From the path of these two teachers, it is pictured that the relationship between sanad and teachers in the following Islamic boarding school and Sufism traditions in Indonesia is clear. KH. Romli Tamim, besides having studied with KH. Cholil, Bangkalan, also known as KH's favorite student of Hasyim Asy'ari. Meanwhile, KH. Sahlan has a student-teacher relationship pathway with KH. Cholil, Bangkalan, because they once studied there (Putra, 2015). In addition to studying from these 2 (two) well-known *kyai*, there are at least 2 (two) names of Mbah Tamyiz teachers, namely KH. Abu Bakar, Perak, Surabaya and Abah Thayyib, Kemayoran, Surabaya (Interview with Bedjo, Bojonegoro, August 9, 2017). Similar to the existence of Mbah Tamyiz himself, his two last teachers did not leave the written records.

Under the opinions of Gus Mursyidin, KH. Abu Bakr and Abah Thayyib played an important role in shaping Tamyiz's scientific construction. Of the four teachers, each of them played a role in shaping Mbah Tamyiz's scientific genealogy in different dimensions. KH. Sahlan, played an important role in shaping the dimension of sharia. Meanwhile, KH. Romli established a tarekat discipline. At the same time, Abah Thayyib and KH. Abu Bakr, respectively, formed the dimensions of truth and makrifat. "*Dulu Mbah Yis saat nyantri ke Mbah Sahlan tugasnya mbeber (baca: menata) sajadah untuk shalatnya Kyai Sahlan,*" said by Gus Mursyidin (Interview with Guus Mursyidin, Bojonegoro, August 15, 2017). Additionally, KH. Romli Tamim, according to his maqam, was indeed a murshid of the *tarekat Qadiriyyah-Naqsyabandiyah*.

Apart from Abah Thayyib, Kemayoran, Surabaya, which was still a mystery, the three teachers of Mbah Tamyiz were scientifically connected to the great Sufi masters of the late 19th and early 20th

centuries. The great Sufi teacher referred to none other than KH. Cholil, Bangkalan, with the title Syaekhona, means the teacher of teachers. From Gus Kahar, in the genealogy of Sufism, the figure of KH. Cholil became the murshid of all tarekat and shalawat (Observations on the activities of the Shalawat Muhammad Assembly at H. Sukri's house, Sentul, Tanggul Angin, Sidoarjo, March 27 2015). That is, for every tarekat or shalawat, one of the sanad that cannot be passed is KH. This Cholil. The scientific genealogy of Mbah Tamyiz and also Sufism in Shalawat Muhammad can be seen from the lines of the teachers which can be described in the diagram below:



**Diagram 1. Scientific Genealogy of KH. Muhammad Tamyiz**

Source: Compiled from various sources

Besides taking long-term *nyantri*, Mbah Tamyiz followed the *nyantri* pattern in the Islamic boarding school tradition known as "santri kalong" and "santri kelana." The learning pattern of *nyantri* did not stay in Islamic boarding school for a long time. These santri moved from one *kyai* / Islamic boarding school to another. The duration of time is determined by the *kyai*. There are several years, months, even a matter of days. KH. Hasyim Asyari, for example, as stated by Gus Farobi, had studied at the Mojosari Islamic Boarding School, Nganjuk, which under supervised by KH. Zainuddin who only lasted a very short time, namely one day and one night. KH. Zainuddin is precisely the guardianship of the young Hasyim Asyari (Interview with Gus Abdul Halim al-Farabi, Nganjuk, April 2017). This phenomenon of *santri kalong* and *kelana* were customary until the end of the 20th century (Dhofier, 2011, pp. 71-72). The tradition of *santri kelana* in Islamic boarding school education system and Sufism has been the hallmark of the previous scholars. The names of *kyai* such as KH. Wabab Hasbullah (Dhofier, 2011, pp. 50-52), KH. Wafa Tajul Arifin (Soebardi, 1971), KH. Munawir (As'ad, 1975), KH. Ma'sum (Chaidar, 1972), and many more including KH. Hasyim Asy'ari himself whom had walked through as a *santri kelana*. That "*kelana*" tradition formed the intellectual chains in the scientific genealogy.

The scholarly tradition of Mbah Tamyiz, as well as his three successors, were undoubtedly represented this tradition of education for the *santri kalong* and *kelana*. As parts of the "curriculum", the students of the *kalong* and *kelana* should do "*sowan*" to the saints who had died by visiting each of their grave sites. It is important to explain on this curriculum, because, in various treasures of Sufism and Islamic boarding schools, there was not intensively explained. Over the years, most of Mbah Tamyiz's age has been used for wandering. Furthermore, apart from praying to the living clerics, there are also pilgrimages activities, which accomplished from one tomb to another. One of the students who followed Mbah Tamyiz's journey, was Bedjo, saying that:

"Selain ziarah ke makam Walisanga, Mbah Tamyiz keliling ziarah dari satu makam ke makam lainnya dengan jalan kaki. Banyak makam diziarahi dan saya sendiri tidak tahu itu makam siapa. Saya hanya diam sambil menemani Mbah Yiz," (Interview with Bedjo, Bojonegoro, August 12, 2017).

In his wanderer, Mbah Tamyiz studied with many *kyai khos* in his era. Among the *kyai* he visited, was KH. Sholeh, Maskumambang Islamic boarding school, Bungah and KH. Muhammad (Mbah Mad), Sedayu. Both of them lived in Gresik. KH. Ustman al-Israqi, Sawah Pulo and Gus Thoha, Bungkul, Surabaya. In Sidoarjo, Mbah Tamyiz often met KH. Ali Mas'ud (Mbah Ud), Pager Wojo. KH. Abdul Hamid (Mbah Hamid), Pasuruan, KH. Abu Amar, Payeman, Paserepan, Pasuruan, Habib Sholeh, Tanggul, Jember, Habib Husen, Asembagus, Situbondo. KH. Kusnan, Tumpang, Poncokusumo, Malang. In Mojokerto, there were several *kyai* visited by Mbah Tamyiz, namely KH. Ismail (Mbah Mail), Brangkal, Mbah Sholeh (Guard of the Tomb of the Troloyo site), Troloyo, and KH. Ilyas, Karang Nongko. In Jombang, there were several *kyai*, namely Habib Ahmad Masrur Bawaqih, Curah Malang, KH. Mustain Romli, and KH. Mohammad Farhan (Mbah Farhan), Perak. Likewise in Kediri, there was a spiritual network of Mbah Tamyiz, namely KH. Makruf, Kedunglo, Gus Maksun, and Mbah Mundir (Interview with Bedjo, Bojonegoro, August 12, 2017).

In East Java, there were many sites in districts / cities as centers of Sufism activity that played a role in Islamizing both Java and the archipelago. At every point of this site, Mbah Tamyiz performed *riyadlah* mostly by feet. The site referred together the Walisanga site or other trustees. As a matter of fact, this phenomenon was not different like KH. Abdurrahman Wahid (Gus Dur) who made pilgrimages to the certain graves. The people around the site themselves did not understand whose grave. One of them happened when Gus Dur visited the tomb of Sheikh Jumadil al-Kubro, Trowulan. Gus Dur delivered a signal to dig the ground around the tomb. Since then, dozens of Auliya's graves have been buried under the ground for hundreds of years. A similar phenomenon was carried out by Gus Dur in finding the site of the Pasongsongan graves in Sumenep (Junaidy, 1999).

From the phenomenon, it can be described that the tradition of classical Sufism, despite of having forbidden by the rulers and Islamic scholars, it still existed across time and space boundaries. The teachings of Wihdat al-Wujud Ibn al-'Arabi, Ittihad or Hulul al-Hallaj (Al-'Arabi, 2007; Al-Jilli, 2010) from time to time continued to develop in the archipelago. In Java, since the 16th century, the teachings of Syekh Siti Jenar (W. 1517 AD) wihdat al-Wujud continued to develop in the era of the Demak kingdom. Sheikh Mutamakkin in the era of the Kartasura Kingdom also continued the teachings of wihdat al-Wujud (Bizawie, 2014). Yet, the transmission of the teachings of Siti Jenar and al-Mutamakkin did not stop in Java. In Sulawesi, Kalimantan, as well as Sumatra, this teaching was also being maintained. Hamzah Fansuri in Sumatra was no less legendary than Siti Jenar. In Kalimantan, the name of Abdul Hamid Abulung was also found (Mujiburrahman, 2013).

Apart of the stories, it intends to explain that the dimensions of transmission of Sufism science do not only rest on the sanad of the teacher physically an-sich. More than that, scientific transmission can also occur through meeting with the *ulama* (*wali*) who have died. Mbah Tamyiz's long journey of pilgrimage to various tombs as described above, is certainly could not be separated from the orders of his teachers. During one of the pilgrimages to a certain tomb, Mbah Tamyiz told Bedjo that:

"*Sampean mboten ningali Sheikh Siti Jenar tah. Tiange niki wau, by the way, if you are on the edge of Sampean. Tiange ket wau ningali sampean terus*". (You didn't see Sheikh Siti Jenar, huh. The man was talking to me. The man has been looking at you earlier), said Bedjo, imitating Mbah Tamyiz (Interview with Bedjo, Bojonegoro, August 15, 2017).

The combination of education among the four teachers, meeting various *khos* scholars, and pilgrimages to the grave sites of the saints formed a broad spectrum of genealogy and Sufism doctrine (thought) by Mbah Tamyiz. His successors, Gus Syamsu, Gus Kahar, and Gus Mursyidin later described his *sufism* thinking, which was recorded in 3 (three) recitation of the respective *Majelis Shalawat* as will be explained in the next section. According to Gus Mursyidin, these three prayers were symbolically handed over to Mbah Tamyiz via the KH route. Abu Bakr, who continued from the Sufi teachers to Syaekhuna Cholil, Bangkalan (Interview with Gus Mustakim, Bojonegoro, August 15, 2017).

## 2.2. Educational Patterns and Doctrines

As a Sufi teacher as well as a *mastur* guardian, Mbah Tamyiz's greatness was seen because he succeeded in creating the 3 (three) successors with the state of guardianship; Gus Syamsu, Gus Kahar, and Gus Mursyidin. Gus Syamsu's guardianship was directly educated by Mbah Tamyiz. Meanwhile, Gus Kahar's guardianship was educated by Gus Syamsu. While the guardianship of Gus Mursyidin was taught directly, both by Gus Syamsu and Gus Kahar (see previous diagram). Although, Gus Kahar and Gus Mustakim never studied directly from Mbah Tamyiz, his two fathers became Mbah Tamyiz's students. The dedication of his parents paid off for their respective sons.

The transmission of guardianship from Mbah Tamyiz to all those three did not happen suddenly. They were produced through the pattern and system of Sufi education. The education system in the Sufi tradition was not the same as the Islamic education system in general. This pattern and system of education can only be lived among the khos and khowas al-Khowas. From then, this education pattern can be referred to as guardianship education. The Islamic boarding school system, as the embryo of the Sufi education system in Indonesia, must not be able to undergo this pattern of education for every student. In practice, the pattern of guardianship education is difficult to imagine in a common sense because it is very strict and heavy. Hence, by the quantity, the inception of guardian's generation can only be counted with a finger.

The key word from the education experienced by Mbah Tamyiz and his three successors was to do the teacher's orders in the form of practice. Apart from Mbah Tamyiz who had studied at an Islamic boarding school, his three successors had never formally studied at that location. The pattern of nyantri for the three successors was by following the orders of each teacher in the field. For a basic Javanese term, this pattern is called laku. The practice-based education pattern is conceptually called *mujahadah* and *riyadlah*, or in the Javanese tradition, it is called *tirakat* (Observations on the activities of the Shalawat Muhammad Assembly at H. Sukri's house, Sentul, Tanggul Angin, Sidoarjo, March 27 2015). Those are abstract concepts that have a broad meaning. However, the essence is in the form of ridding the soul through physical and spiritual training for the students (salik). The process of carrying out both of them is called the path (Tariq or Tariqah) (Adnan, 2017). Therefore, the basic meaning of *Tariqah* is actually a way for a student to reach the Messenger of Allah and Allah by the practice ordered by his teacher.

The guardianship educational pattern that emphasizes the dimensions of *mujahadah* and *riyadlah* through physical and spiritual exercises had justification in the book of "Ya Ayyuha al-Walad," by al-Ghazali. The classical work of al-Ghozali became a code of conduct for students in studying from Sufi teachers. In one part of the book al-Ghazali, it was explained that; "Even if you read knowledge for a hundred years, and collect thousands of books, all will not bring blessings, except by charity (practice) (Al-Jaelani, 2005, p. 12)." In addition, one of the most famous doctrines in Sufism was "*al-Murid ka al-Mayyit*," which meant that a student was like a dead person. In other words, during the salik and riyadlah phases, a student must follow the teacher's orders. In undergoing this phase, a student is not allowed to *su'udlon* (negative thinking) toward the teachers at all.

In the Javanese Sufi tradition, the pattern of Sufi education as described previously had long been described in Dewa Ruci's *Fiber* (Nasuhi, 2007). *Serat Dewa Ruci* by Yasadipura I (Soebardi, 2004, p. 31) in essence contained the ethics of students towards teachers such as the work of al-Ghazali. Dewa Ruci's fiber discussed the journey of Bima (Warkudoro) who studied from Resi Durna (physical teacher) and Dewa Ruci (true teacher) with the sole purpose of finding "living water" (*tirta pawitra sari*). In the narrative, *Serat Dewa Ruci* depicted as the figure of Bima who had an idealistic student. Furthermore, he obeyed and had completed the faith in both of them. Between idealism and belief in total, made him able to escape from various tests and trials. These two assets led Bima to become a perfect human, namely uniting himself with God (Nasuhi, 2007, pp. 61–64).

The meaning of *tirta pawitra sari* was to look for a true teacher to get beauty. *Tirta* means water. *Pawitra* means beginning or great teacher. While *sari* means beauty or essence (Yudhi AW, 2012, p. 100). A true teacher, borrowing the term of al-Jilli is a teacher or murshid figure who has reached a degree of perfection (*al-Insan al-Kamil*) who can lead to the One, the existence of Allah. In Dewa Ruci's *Fiber*, true teachers could guide students (Bima) to unite. Therefore, *manunggaling kawulo-Gusti* was not actually a teaching, but an experience based on a serious search for the body and the physical body. This experience was based on a union among servants and God (Musbikin, 2010, p. 208).

Gus Syamsu became a student of Mbah Tamyiz at an adult age. Before becoming his student, young Gus Syamsu was taken by KH. Hamim Jazuli (Gus Mik), The Islamic boarding school of al-Falah, Ploso, Kediri, in a "night world" place in Surabaya (Interview with Gus Kahar, Surabaya, February 23, 2015). Gus Syamsu, who was being a Chinese origin, was converted to Islam by Gus Mik, then Mbah Tamyiz handed over him. Spiritually, as stated by Gus Kahar, Mbah Tamyiz awaited the presence of Gus Syamsu and killed the Qur'an 506 times at the Ampel Mosque (Interview with Gus Kahar, Surabaya, February 23, 2015). According to Gus Mursyidin, Gus Syamsu's presence was in line with the issue received by Mbah Tamyiz. "*Ora onok wong seng kuat nerimo ilmuku kecuai bayi yang baru lahir*," said Gus Mursyidin who imitating Mbah Tamyiz's words (Interview with Gus Mursyidin, Pasuruan, September 6, 2019). The term "newborn baby" is a figurative sentence. Gus Syamsu met the criteria as a "newborn baby" because it was found that Gus Mik was still Christian and then embraced into Islam.

For the first five years, Gus Syamsu followed his teacher's orders to riyadlah at the Sunan Ampel Mosque, Surabaya. Graduated from his early education, Mbah Tamyiz took him on a tour to meet the network of kyai khos and pilgrimages to various graves of saints. Correspondingly, that student is released

himself to continue on his own ritual practice. No one known for sure how many years it took. Gus Syamsu, with an ethnic Chinese background, must accept the fact that he followed his teacher's way of life. According to Gus Kahar, he was only provided with 2 (two) pairs of clog and *lawon* cloth from the grave of Sunan Ampel. One by one, he became a student who traveled to meet the kyai network owned by his teacher, as in the previous description. He also made a pilgrimage to every guardian's grave by only wearing clog and *lawon* cloth without any other materials.

The documents of Gus Syamsu's photographs were sufficient proof of his journey to become Mbah Tamyiz's student, just like Bima in Dewa Ruci's Fiber. One of the photos were wearing a green robe (Arabian dress) which wrapped in a turban and seemed emaciated, leaving skin and bones. It can be seen that two hands were only skin and bones and skin diseases. According to Gus Mursyidin, the photo was taken several years after Gus Syamsu underwent a *riyadlah* or laku phase and left by his teacher away. Several years after the death of his teacher, Gus Syamsu's guardianship began to descend.

Gus Syamsu started to distribute while establishing Majelis Shalawat Kubro which owned by his teacher. Quoted from Gus Kahar, Gus Syamsu spread the teachings of his teacher through Shalawat Kubro's aurat on Mbah Tamyiz's will; “*Besok nek zaman wes rusak, kibarno Shalawat Kubro. Nek Shalawat Kubro wes gak ngatasi, kibarno Shalawat Muhammad,*” (Once upon a time, if the world order has been damaged, bring down Shalawat Kubro. If Shalawat Kubro cannot handle it, then send the Shalawat Muhammad), emphasized by Gus Kahar (Observations on the activities of the Shalawat Muhammad Assembly at H. Sukri's house, Sentul, Tanggul Angin, Sidoarjo, March 15, 2015). His thin physical appearance plus his ethnic Chinese background became a mockery and made fun of residents in Pesapen, Surabaya. In fact, he repeatedly received death threats from the citizen's champions. “*China nekah, tumpes beih,*” (That's China, kill him) (Interview with Bedjo, Bojogoro, Agust 19, 2017).

In later developments, Gus Syamsu commenced to have students, one of whom was Gus Kahar and the next few years was followed by Gus Mursyidin. They were two of the hundreds of inner circle students of Gus Syamsu and thousands of Shalawat Kubro worshipers who were scattered in East Java and other provinces in Indonesia. From tens, even hundreds of inner circles of Gus Syamsu's students and thousands of worshipers, Gus Kahar and Gus Mursyidin were finally be able to escape and graduate like Bima in the story of Serat Dewa Ruci.

Gus Kahar's education pattern was nifty than his teacher. Duplication of a large part of riyadlah's journey and his teacher's practice was carried on by him again. Armed with 2 (pieces) of clogs and *lawon* cloth from Sunan Ampel, the teacher gave him as the capital to do riyadlah and laku traces to meet the kyai khos and do pilgrimages to various graves of the guardians. “*Sandal terompah sampek entek baru berhenti laku riyadlah,*” he recalled. He visited Khos kyai with a state of guardianship all over Java. In the 1980s, Gus Kahar met with kyai who were also the links in his teacher's traveling journey. On several occasions, the Majelis Shalawat Muhammad he led, for years of riyadlah, Gus Kahar met with kyai khos such as Kyai Dimiyati, West Java, Kyai Hasan Mangli and Kyai Hamid, Kajoran, Magelang, Habib Ahmad, Yogyakarta, Kyai Hamid, Pasuruan, Kyai Ustman, Surabaya, Kyai Kusnan, Tumpang, Malang, Habib Sholeh, Jember, Habib Ali Negara, Bali, and many more. In particular, he had a special relationship with Gus Mik, Habib Bafaqih, Curah Malang, Jombang, and Gus Dur through the path of his teacher.

The manifestation of the journey of *riyadlah* and *laku* of Gus Kahar did not end just like the previous description. The story of *riyadlah*'s journey under the guidance of his teacher was like fiction. For several years, he was not allowed to see his parents. In fact, the distance between the house and the teacher was only a different alley. The story of his joke did not stop there. In front of other students, the teacher did not hesitate to slander, berate, and even physically abuse him. “*Gus Syamsu itu pemain watak luar biasa,*” he revealed. Gus Kahar's words told that he was being deliberately slandered in front of the students until one of them intended to kill him because he was influenced by his teacher's scenario “*Saya pernah dilempar asbak oleh Gus Syamsu persis mengenai pelipis saya ini dan berlumuran darah,*” said by Gus Kahar while showing his right temple. “*Saya disuruh ngepel lantai sambil telanjang. Begitu itu, Gus Syamsu masih naik di punggung seperti naik kuda,*” he added (Interview with Gus Kahar, Surabaya, February 2015).

There were still many other fragments of the stories as parts of a long journey of learning from his teacher. Among the long epoches of another important pattern of education, were the attitude of dedication and sacrifice towards the teacher. “*Jangan pernah mengatakan berguru kalau belum difitnah gurumu dan hak-hak mu belum diminta oleh gurumu,*” he said (Observations on the activities of the Shalawat Muhammad Assembly at H. Sukri House, Sentul, Tanggul Angin, Sidoarjo, March 13, 2015). Gus Kahar's statement described that he gave everything he had to give to his teacher throughout his journey. In point of fact, according to him, everything his teacher asked, Gus Kahar, with all his efforts, always fulfilled it. In actualization, the needs of the teacher who lived in a city like Surabaya included transportation (car) to a place to live.



A portrait of the long journey of Gus Kahar's pattern of guardianship education in the perspective of Sufism WAS legitimized in al-Ghozali's book, namely *ayyuha al-Walad*. In addition, this pattern of education WAS substantially described in *Serat Dewa Ruci.Yasadipura I* concluded that there were 5 (five) keys that Bima should master in teaching the true teacher in *Serat Dewa Ruci*, namely; (1) *Pancamaya*, (2) Micro and Macro Cosmos, (3) *Pramana*, (4) Science of releasing, and (5) Living in death and dying in life (Musbikin, 2010). Those five keys are successively in accordance with the concept of Sufi teachers who have a term equivalent, such as (1) Lust, (2) Soul, (3) Spirit, (4) *Tajrid*, and (5) mortal.

The education pattern that Gus Mursyidin took during the *riyadlah* phase was relatively different from Gus Syamsu and Gus Kahar. Gus Mursyidin was directly tutored by Gus Syamsu and Gus Kahar without any of the other students knowing him precisely. "*Dua guru sama-sama saya cintai. Perintah keduanya tidak selalu sama. Coba bayangkan!*," he recalls telling the long journey of the phase of *riyadlah* and *laku* (Observations on the activities of the Shalawat Adlimiyah Assembly Gus Mursyidin, Bojonegoro, Agust 15, 2017). In contrast to ordinary education, the "rule" in the tradition of Sufism education, is the teacher-student relationship must be kept secretly in such a way by students. This story was written in *Dewa Ruci's* discourse to Bima in *Dewa Ruci's Fiber* (Musbikin, 2010). His two teachers hid him until both of them died.

From the previous factors, it can be said that it makes the Sufi education pattern relatively different from the two teachers. Both Gus Syamsu and Gus Kahar served as *santri kelana* to meet the knots of *kyai* khos in various parts of Java. On the other hand, Gus Murshidin did not undergo that phase. One of the most important forms of practice for decades he has lived is *riyadlah* in 2 (two) important grave nodes of *Walisanga*, namely Sunan Ampel and Sunan Giri. Even today, Gus Murshidin, even though, has become Shalawat Adlimiyah's murshid who is still doing a regular pilgrimage in Sunan Ampel. "*Terhitung ya kurang lebih sejak 1991, ya hitung sendiri, 27 tahun,*" said Gus Mursyidin explaining his "sowan" attitude to Sunan Ampel without breaking up (Observations on the activities of the Shalawat Adlimiyah Assembly Gus Mursyidin, Bojonegoro, Agust 15, 2017).

*Riyadlah* Gus Mursyidin in the 2 (two) sites was accompanied by *wirid* and other practices, especially prayer beads. "*Selesai ngaji Gus Syamsu atau Gus Kahar di Pesapen, jam 10 malam langsung ke Ampel. Pulang habis subuh,*" he said (Observations on the activities of the Shalawat Adlimiyah Assembly Gus Mursyidin, Bojonegoro, Agust 15, 2017). After a long doing pilgrimage in Sunan Ampel, Gus Syamsu ordered a pilgrimage to Sunan Giri "*Dari Pesapen naik Mikrolet jurusan Kebomas. Sampai Kebomas menuju Giri ya jalan kaki. Kalau naik Lin, uang gak cukup,*" he explained (Observations on the activities of the Shalawat Adlimiyah Assembly Gus Mursyidin, Bojonegoro, Agust 15, 2017). Gus Kahar without Gus Syamsu's knowledge asked his students to change the time to Sunan Giri. "*Budalo pas sepi uwong. Balek wayahe sepi wong. Lho, neng Sunan Giri kapan sepi orang itu. Tapi, tetap ada waktu-waktu itu,*" he added (Observations on the activities of the Shalawat Adlimiyah Assembly Gus Mursyidin, Bojonegoro, Agust 15, 2017). The time referred to, is between 07.00 until evening before sunset, which has been lived for several years.

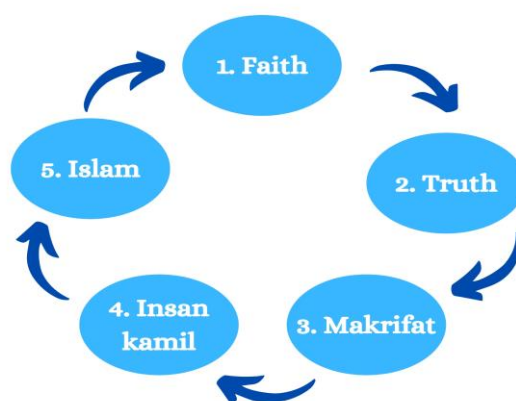
Similar to Gus Syamsu, both Gus Kahar and Gus Mursyidin spent years to undergoing *riyadlah*, physically looking thin, just like skin and bones. This fact was revealed from several photos of them. In fact, according to Gus Mursyidin, he was shunned by other students. His whole body, apart from being dry, was filled with various acute skin diseases. Even though, Gus Murshidin had finished his journey of *riyadlah* and inherited the knowledge of his two teachers as murshid, however, his physical remained clearly visible. Physically, the appearance of the body was still thin and the residual skin disease had not completely disappeared.

Like Bima's journey in studying with Resi Durna and Dewa Ruci in searching the "water of life," the three successors of Mbah Tamyiz one by one got the "water of life". The sites of Sunan Ampel and Sunan Giri became the "mecca" for the three of them as Dewa Ruci or true teachers. In Sunan Ampel and Sunan Giri, they were taught various dimensions of *makrifat* until they became one with the Creator. In the concept of Sufism, the ultimate achievement when someone taught by a true teacher is called *wusul*, namely meeting the Prophet and Allah. Besides, the three of them, as stated by Gus Mursyidin, had met Prophet Khidir. This was emphasized by Gus Mursyidin; "*Belum dikatakan guru tasawuf apabila belum ketemu dan diajari sendiri oleh Nabi Khidir,*" he said (Interview with Gus Mursyidin, Pasuruan, July 19, 2019). The encounter with the Prophet Khidir can be assumed as a sign or certificate of becoming murshid in the tradition of Sufism throughout the ages.

The long educational process as described in the beginning is a medium of transmission of knowledge that further forms the genealogy of science. From the genealogy of science, all them three created the doctrine of teaching. The media used to express the doctrine of the teachings is absolutely going through the 3 (three) *majelis shalawat*. Consecutively, Gus Syamsu got the aurat of Shalawat Kubro and was institutionalized as the Majelis Shalawat Kubro (*Aurat Shalawat Kubro*, 2001). Gus Kahar was given the task of spreading the aurat of Shalawat Muhammad by forming the Majelis Shalawat Muhammad, and Gus

Mursyidin who inherited the aurat of Shalawat Adlimiyah founded the Majelis Shalawat Adlimiyah (Musliikh, 1862).

Through those majelis shalawat, the three murshids indirectly formulated an independent epistemological model of Sufi thought. Their epistemological construction of Sufi thought is built on the basis of an educational pattern that is fully based on the mujahadah and riyadlah traditions. This learning tradition fully emphasizes on the amaliyah (practice), not on reading books and writing as a common in Islamic education in Islamic boarding schools. Because of this, in the view of the three murshids, in order to obtain sacred knowledge (Sufi) and attain the degree of essence and knowledge, the path that must be taken is to serve the teacher totally. To his students, Gus Kahar often repeated his statements; *"tinggalkan akal mu, tutup kitab mu"*. This attitude of service begins with an attitude of confidence (faith). After having a certain attitude (faith), a student will begin to be taught by his teacher with various dhikr and sirri practices through mujahadah and riyadlah. If a student is able to pass, the teacher will teach various secret dimensions of God which are called the science of truth and makrifat. This Sufi scientific epistemology can be described as shown in the chart below:



**Figure 2. Epistemology of Sufi Scholarship**

From the chart above, it can be explained, that the basic capital of a person who enters the Sufi world should be armed with such a belief (faith). From faith, it then forms a cycle, and goes successively to the ladder of truth, makrifat, insan kamil, then became Islam which is marked by blending with society as a form of religious responsibility. Related to faith as an entry point, Gus Syamsu, as revealed through Gus Mursyidin stressed that; *"tinggalen agamamu, golek'ono pengeran mu"* (Interview wit Gus Mursyidi, Pandaan, agust 19, 2019). Meanwhile, the meaning of a insan kamil, in the view of Gus Kahar and Gus Mursyidin is an individual who does not only achieve the maqam of makrifat. More than that, the meaning of insan kamil refers to the concept of tajalli al-Jilli. Accordingly, the light of Muhammad can be embedded (merged) into the human soul that reaching the state of perfection (Al-Jilli, 2010, p. 227). In other words, the meaning of a insan kamil like the concept of tajalli al-Jilli is the same as ittihad, hulul, or wihdat al-Wujud.

In the broad spectrum, either Gus Syamsu, Gus Kahar or Gus Mursyidin, teaching the dimension of *makrifat* with emphasis on the concepts of *tajalli*, *hulul*, *ittihad*, and *wihdat al-Wujud*. These thoughts are conveyed in the various sermons of each *majelis shalawat*, but with limited students. The study of the third majelis shalawat is divided into two; Firstly, after finished reading the aurat shalawat, it continued to the recitation of the truth followed by all the congregation whom at the moment reached hundreds of people. Secondly, after most of the congregation returned to home, there were still dozens of students who continued with question and answer sessions on makrifat chapters such as open houses. In this forum, students often asked various dimensions of truth and *makrifat* and up to concept of *tajalli*, *hulul*, *ittihad* and *wihdat al-Wujud*.

Gus Mursyidin in various recitation of Majelis Shalawat Adlimiyah often quoted a hadith of qudsi which read; *"Man arafa al-Haqqa, faqad sahidahu fi kulli sain."* (whoever truly sees Allah, will see Him in everything). This hadith, in his view, teaches about the existence of God who emanates in everything (creature), especially in humans. *"Kon pingin ngerti al-Qur'an tah? Yo aku iki al-Qur'an. Kon pingin ngerti Rasulullah tah? Yo aku Rasulullah,"* explained by Gus Kahar, who imitating Gus Syamsu's words one day. *"Di atas ajaran Siti Jenar masih ada lagi. Manunggal kawulo Gusti berarti masih ada kawulo sendiri dan Gusti sendiri. Kalau sudah ahad itu baru tidak pernah terpisah."* said Gus Kahar in a recitation of Majelis Shalawat Muhammad. *Awakmu pingin goleki Allah neng endi maneh. Yo Allah iku wes onok neng jero awak dewe iki,"*

(Where do you want to find Allah again. O Allah, it is already in us), said Gus Mursyidin. Several fragments of the above statements are clearly indicative of the doctrines of the teachings of al-Bustami, al-Jilli, al-Hallaj, and Ibn al-'Arabi which are actually still well preserved in the tradition and transmission of Sufism in contemporary Indonesia nowadays.

### 3. CONCLUSION

The dynamics of majelis shalawat as a Sufi institution that flourished in the late 20th and early 21st centuries in various big cities and villages in Indonesia became a new phenomenon in itself. The existence of these majelis shalawat are another alternatives to tarekat institutions as Sufi institutions that have been established for hundreds of years. Therefore, this majelis shalawat is another option for the community because it teaches various dimensions of the teachings of truth and makrifat. In accordance with the description, this article is based on a research by the three majelis shalawat, namely (1) Majelis Shalawat Kubro (Gus Syamsu Dhuha), (2) Majelis Shalawat Muhammad (Gus Kahar), and (3) Majelis Shalawat Adlimiyah (Gus Mursyidin) in East Java, which conclusively corroborates some interesting findings. Firstly, hierarchically, in the teacher-student relationship, there are teachers who form a scientific genealogy. KH. Muhammad Tamyiz (Mbah Tamyiz), as the founder of the downward teaching, produced three successors, namely Gus Syamsu Dhuha (murshid Shalawat Kubro), Gus Kahar (murshid Shalawat Muhammad), and Gus Mursyidin (murshid Shalawat Adlimiyah. Vertically, Mbah Tamyis has several teachers and at the same time connecting with Sufi scholars from the 1970s to 1980s. Secondly, the education system is built based on a specific Sufi education pattern, namely the strict riyadlah and mujahadah traditions that apply to students from generation to generation. Thirdly, based on scientific genealogy and a strict educational system forms doctrine or thought. The doctrine taught, both in Mbah Tamyiz and continued by the three murshids, either implied or expressed are connected to the doctrine of great Sufi teachers such as Abu Yazid al-Bustami (ittihad), Mansur al- Hallaj (hulul), Ibn al-'Arabi (wihdat al-Wujud), to Abdul Karim al-Jilli (tajalli).

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### **Interview**

Interview with Gus Kahar

Interview with Gus Mursyidin

Interview with Bedjo

Interview with Johan Untung

Interview with Abdul Ghoni

Interview with Edy Satiyo

Interview with Gus Farabi