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The Guardian of the Integral Vision of Islamic Practice: The Naqshbandi Sufi Order in Indonesia

Abstraksi: Gerakan Sufisme atau tarekat sering dituduh hanya bergerak dalam ranah spiritual semata. Sarjana seperti J. Spencer Trimingham malah beranggapan bahwa gerakan Sufisme dan tarekat di dunia Muslim selalu bermusuhan dan mengalami konflik dengan kelompok Muslim lainnya karena Islam tidak hanya memiliki dimensi spiritual, tapi juga syari'ah dan teologi.

Namun, mengikuti pandangan Hamid Algar, penulis artikel ini menunjukkan bahwa Tarekat Naqshabandiyah tidak mengenal adanya konflik antara ajaran Sufisme dan syari'ah itu. Bahkan sepanjang sejarahnya, Tarekat Naqshabandiyah ini memiliki hubungan yang organis tidak hanya dengan kehidupan spiritual, melainkan juga dengan pergulatan sosial dan intelektual. Di Indonesia, wilayah yang menjadi fokus utama tulisan ini, Tarekat Naqshabandiyah berperan secara signifikan setidaknya dalam empat hal: proses Islamisasi masyarakat asli di kepulauan Nusantara, menyebarkan semangat anti-penjajahan, dan mengembangkan pendidikan Islam dalam tradisi pesantren. Belakangan, sebagai bentuk perhatiannya yang dalam terhadap masalah sosial di masyarakat, tarekat ini juga sangat diminati karena keberhasilannya di dalam mengobati kecanduan obat-obatan terlarang.

Proses Islamisasi masyarakat Sakai Riau yang terasing tidak dapat dipisahkan dari peran para Syeikh Tarekat Naqshabandiyah. Selain memperkenalkan Islam, para guru tarekat ini juga membangun mesjid, mengembangkan perkebunan karet dan membuka lahan persawahan padi. Akibatnya, masyarakat Sakai yang tadinya berpindah-pindah berubah menjadi masyarakat yang menetap dengan pola sosial ekonomi yang berubah pula.

Kemunduran ekonomi dan politik dunia Islam khususnya pada abad ke-19 dan awal abad ke-20 M menimbulkan kebencian umat terhadap kekuatan kolonial Eropa dan sikap anti-penjajah. Beberapa guru Tarekat Naqshabandiyah di Banten melihat kemunduran Banten saat itu sebagai akibat langsung dari menguatnya kekuasaan kolonial di kawasan Muslim. De-

ngan gaya kepemimpinan mereka yang kharismatis, mereka berperan penting dalam memelopori apa yang kemudian dikenal dengan Pemberontakan Banten pada 1888. Meskipun kemenangan hanya mereka raih dalam tempo yang sangat singkat, hal ini tetap menunjukkan bahwa sentimen kolektif dari ajaran tarekat tentang kesalehan mistik yang berbaur dengan semangat "perang suci" merupakan ancaman yang sangat serius terhadap pemerintahan kolonial Belanda.

Tarekat Naqshabandiyah juga dikenal luas di kalangan pesantren, khususnya di Jawa. Berbagai pesantren mengajarkan ilmu syariah yang ditambah dengan pengamalan ajaran tasawuf. Kombinasi di antara keduanya ini hanya mungkin diajarkan oleh karena banyak guru dan kiayi pesantren adalah juga pengikut setia ajaran Tarekat Naqshabandiyah. Ini adalah contoh yang paling nyata di mana tesis Trimingham tidak sejalan dengan perkembangan tarekat di Indonesia.

Dan terakhir, yang sangat khas Indonesia, adalah peran Tarekat Naqshabandiyah di dalam menyembuhkan orang yang terkena ketergantungan terhadap narkotik dan obat-obatan berbahaya. Sejak 1971, Pesantren Suryalaya di bawah asuhan Abah Anom mengenalkan ajaran perpaduan antara pikiran dan jiwa lewat ritual zikir dan ibadah lainnya kepada para pecandu narkotik dengan tingkat keberhasilan yang, setidaknya pada dekade 1980an dan 1990an, nyata-nyata lebih besar daripada penyembuhan medis oleh lembaga rehabilitasi resmi.

Setidaknya pada abad ke-17 M, Tarekat Naqshabandiyah mulai dikenal di beberapa kawasan di Kepulauan Nusantara. Lewat tokoh seperti Syekh Yusuf al-Makassari (w. 1699), ajaran tarekat ini dikembangkan di Banten dan bahkan menjadikan kota di pesisir Jawa Barat ini sebuah pusat studi Islam. Luasnya jaringan tarekat ini memungkinkan mobilitas para santri dan ulama penganut tarekat ini semakin berkembang. Menjelang abad ke-19 M, tarekat ini sangat menonjol di dalam menghidupkan jaringan santri-ulama bukan hanya di Kepulauan Nusantara dan Asia Tenggara, tapi juga hingga ke Timur Tengah, khususnya di pusat-pusat keilmuan kawasan Mekkah dan Madinah. Hubungan tradisionalnya yang kuat dengan Mekkah semakin diperkokoh dengan banyaknya jamaah haji dari kawasan Nusantara. Selain menjalankan ritual ibadah haji, banyak di antara mereka ini menjadi pengikut setia Tarekat Naqshabandiyah. Lalu, sekembalinya ke tanah air, mereka menyebarkan ajarannya kepada masyarakat.

Dengan demikian, penulis berkesimpulan bahwa, lewat empat contoh yang dikemukakan, Tarekat Naqshabandiyah bukan hanya merupakan gerakan tarekat yang paling populer, tapi sekaligus gerakan tarekat juga yang paling berpengaruh di Nusantara.

The Guardian of the Integral Vision of Islamic Practice: The Naqshbandi Sufi Order in Indonesia

الخلاصة: قد أهتمت الطرق الصوفية بألها تقتصر على المجال الروحي المحض، بل يرى العالم "جي سينسير تريمينجام" بأن هناك الصراع بين الطرق الصوفية مع فئة مسلمة أخرى، لأن الإسلام ليس بعدا روحيا فحسب، بل يشمل أيضا الشريعة والعقيدة.

إلا أن الباحث يشير متأثرا برأى "حميد الغار" إلى أن الطريقة النقشبندية لم تر الصراع بين التعاليم الصوفية والشريعة، بل في طول تاريخها عرفت الطريقة بأن علاقتها التنظيمية لم تكن في الحياة الروحية فقط، بل تمتد بالتعايش مع التفاعل الاجتماعي والفكري. وفي إندونيسيا التي يتركز فيها هذا البحث، تلعب الطريقة دورا ملحوظا في المجالات الأربع هي نشر الدين الإسلامي في المجتمع المحلي بأرخبيل "نوسانتارا" (إندونيسيا)، وزرع الروح ضد الاستعمار، وتطوير التربية الإسلامية على نظام المدرسة التقليدية (بيسانترين)، ثم في الأوان الأخير يظهر اهتمامها بقضايا اجتماعية مما يؤدي إلى جذب الناس إليها الذي يرجع إلى نجاحها في علاج المدمنين بالمخدرات وممنوعات أخرى

لا يستطيع أحد أن ينسى الدور الذي يلعبه شيوخ الطريقة في نشر الإسلام بين أبناء قبيلة "ساكاي رياو" البدائية، بجانب تعريفهم بهذا الدين الحنيف، قد شيدوا لهم مسجدا وطوروا زراعة المطاط وفتحوا أرضا لزراعة الأرز. ويفضل هؤلاء الشيوخ تحول أبناء القبيلة من الحياة البدوية إلى أن أصبحوا مجتمعا مستقرا له نمط اقتصادي متغير.

والتخلف الاقتصادي والسياسي للعالم الإسلامي خاصة في القرن التاسع عشر والعشرين يثير كراهية المسلمين تجاه الاستعمار الاوروبي وموقفهم ضد الاحتلال. ورأى شيوخ الطريقة النقشبندية أن تخلف الولاية "بانتين" في ذلك الوقت ينجم عن قوة السيطرة الاستعمارية على المناطق

الإسلامية. وبقدرة الميزة لعبوا دورا مهما في قيادة المقاومة "بانتين" المشهورة في عام ١٩٨٨ ضد الاستعمار الهولندي. رغم من انتصارهم يعد قصيرا إلا أنه يدل على أن روح جماعية اكتسبها من التعاليم الصوفية التي يربط الصالح الروحي بروح "الحرب المقدس" تمثل خطرا كبيرا على حكومة الاحتلال الهولندي في البلاد.

قد انتشرت الطريقة النقشبندية في المدارس الإسلامية المختلفة في جزيرة جاوه على وجه الخصوص. وتدرس في هذه المدارس علوم الشريعة جنبا على جنب مع التعاليم الصوفية. ولم يحدث هذا الانسجام إلا لأن مدرسيها ومعلميها هم أصحاب الطريقة أيضا. وهذا الأمر دليل على أن رأى "جي سينسير تريمنجام" في الصراع بين الصوفية والشريعة يخالف وقائع الطرق الصوفية وتطورها في إندونيسيا.

ومن مميزات الطريقة النقشبندية في البلاد دورها في علاج المدمنين بالمخدرات وممنوعات أخرى. والمدرسة الإسلامية في سوراليا التي يرأسها "أباه أنوم" على سبيل المثال، قامت منذ عام ١٩٧١ بالعلاج الناجح على المدمنين من خلال التوفيق بين التركيز الفكري والروحي مع الذكر وعبادة أخرى، ولوحظ في أعوام الثمانينات والتسعينات أن نجاحها في هذا العلاج أكثر مما حققه مركز العلاج الرسمي.

وقد عرفت هذه الطريقة الصوفية طريقها إلى أرخبيل إندونيسيا في القرن السابع عشر الميلادي. وانتشرت في ولاية "بانتين" على أيدي الشيخ يوسف المكاسيري، بل تحولت هذه المدينة التي تقع في سواحل جاوه الغربية إلى مركز للعلوم الإسلامية. واتساع شبكة هذه الطريقة قد يؤدي إلى تزايد مستمر لعدد مريديها وشيوخها. ابان القرن التاسع عشر لعبت الطريقة دورا مهما في إحياء شبكة العلماء ليس فقط في أرخبيل إندونيسيا وجنوب شرقى آسيا، بل في الشرق الأوسط أيضا، بالأخص في مراكز العلوم الإسلامية بمكة المكرمة والمدينة المنورة.

وقد تزداد قوة هذه العلاقة التقليدية وتنمو بالاستمرار بتدفق الحجاج الإندونيسيين إلى الأرض المقدسة. بجانب أدائهم فريضة الحج هم ينتمون إلى الطريقة وينشرونها بعد عودتهم إلى أرض الوطن.

بذلك، من خلال الأمثلة الأربعة المذكورة أعلاها يستخلص الباحث أن الطريقة النقشبندية من الطرق الصوفية المشهورة، وفي نفس الوقت أنها أكثر الطرق نفوذا وتأثيرا في البلاد.

In his widely acclaimed work, *The Sufi Orders in Islam*, J. Spencer Trimingham defines Sufism as “tendencies in Islam which aim at direct communion between God and man.”¹ Parallel to this definition, he describes a person following the Sufi path as “anyone who believes that it is possible to have direct experience of God and who is prepared to go out of his way to put himself in a state whereby he may be enabled to do this.”² Trimingham further argues that because Sufism is a sphere of spiritual experience, it is always in contrast to and enmity with “Islamic consciousness deriving from prophetic revelation and comprehended within the *Shari’ah* and theology.”³

However, Hamid Algar, in his work on the Naqshbandis, defines Sufism by referring to a Turkish master of the Naqshbandi order, as “submission to God’s book and imitation of the *sunna* of His Messenger; it is reliving, by inner state and outer deed, the auspicious age of the Messenger and his Companions; it is the very essence of Islam.”⁴ Algar argues that throughout its history, Sufism has had an organic relationship with the social, spiritual and intellectual life of the whole Muslim community. Sufi Shaikhs, he continues, “act as guardians of an integral vision of the practice of Islam, concerned both with asserting the supremacy of *Shari’ah* in society and with the cultivation of the spiritual life.”⁵ Algar clearly demonstrates that Sufism is not confined to spiritual matters but also concerns itself with social and intellectual matters.

Following Algar’s argument, this paper will discuss the history of the Naqshbandi order in Indonesia. The paper goes beyond discussing the main impact of Sufistic teachings on Indonesian Islam, that is, seeking spiritual union between human beings and their God. As far as the Indonesian experience is concerned, the Naqshbandi order has contributed to the development of Indonesian Islam in several spheres other than the spiritual sphere. Thus this paper focuses on different branches of the Naqshbandi order and their roles in introducing Islam to the native people, establishing anti-colonial movements, developing *pesantren* tradition, and helping treat drug addiction in society. The wide-ranging roles of the Naqshbandi order in Indonesia and their organic relationships both with the spiritual and social spheres help confirm its status as one of the most influential and popular Sufi orders in the country.

The Spread and Prominence of the Naqshbandi Order in Indonesia

Many scholars argue that the Naqshbandi order is one of the most popular and widely-followed Sufi orders in the world.⁶ Originating in Bukhara, Central Asia in the late fourteenth century, the Naqshbandi order is very popular among Muslims not only in its birthplace, but also in the Caucasus, Turkey, Arab countries, and South and Southeast Asia. The order was named after its eponym, Muhammad Baha al-Din Naqshband (1318 – 1389). One of more important features of this order is its conformity with and its observance of the *Shari'ah* (Islamic law), which distinguishes it from other Sufi orders which are commonly perceived as opposing the *Shari'ah*. Another characteristic of Naqshbandi is the silent chanting in remembering God (*dhikr*).

As early as the seventeenth century, this order is believed to have been present in the Archipelago. However significant growth of the order was not recorded before the nineteenth century. It was during this century that the Naqshbandi started attracting a greater number of followers and in turn also played significant roles in bringing changes to society.

It is unknown when exactly the Naqshbandi order first came to the area now called Indonesia. Historical accounts on the early presence of the Naqshbandi order in this region are also scarce. One of the early notes on this order is a *risala* by Shaikh Yusuf of Makassar (ca. 1626-1699). In the *risala*, Yusuf mentions that he received his Naqshbandi initiation from Muhammad Abd al-Baqi in Yemen in the late 1640s when he was on his way to Mecca.⁷ When he came back to the archipelago and settled in Banten, West Java in 1672, it is assumed that he preached the Naqshbandi order. However, scholars were unsure if he only taught the order since he was also initiated into the Shattariyya order when he was in Mecca and studied with Ibrahim al-Kurani. Furthermore, during his stay in Damascus, Yusuf was also initiated into Khalwatiyya order. It is very probable that he taught a mixture of the orders he had learned.⁸

Shaikh Yusuf, a well-known Malay *ulama*, contributed to Banten's reputation as a centre of Islamic learning, attracting students from other regions of the archipelago. His close relationship with the Bantenese ruler, Sultan Ageng Tirtayasa, might have also contributed to the sultan's strongly anti-Dutch attitudes. When a conflict between the sultan and his son who was the crown prince

arose, and the latter sought support from the Dutch, Yusuf sided with the sultan and led a group of thousands of followers against the Dutch military. When he was captured, Yusuf was exiled to Ceylon (Sri Lanka) and later to the Cape of Good Hope, South Africa.⁹

In addition to Shaikh Yusuf's *risala*, the presence of the Naqshbandi order in the archipelago during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries is recorded in local historical texts, such as *Hikayat Hasanuddin*. The *Hikayat* mentions a Bantenese ulama, Shaikh Abdallah bin Abd al-Qahhar, who became a Naqshbandi *khalifa* in Madina. He was reported having appointed two *khalifas* to the districts of Bogor and Cianjur (both in West Java). In addition to the *Hikayat*, a Javanese court text, *Serat Centhini*, also mentions the presence of the Naqshbandi order in Central Java. The protagonist of the text, Amongraga, recites the litanies of the Naqshbandiyya and Shattariyya after prayer. This means that the author must have been aware, at least, that these two *tariqa* were practiced in certain circles.¹⁰

These sources confirm that by the late seventeenth century, the Naqshbandi order had been present in the archipelago although it might have no significant numbers of followers. In addition, as Bruinessen suggests, the teaching of the order was possibly mixed with that of other orders, especially the Shattariyya and Khalwatiyya orders.¹¹

The spread of the Naqshbandi order in Indonesia was better recorded during the nineteenth century. In the early 1850s, Shaikh Ismail Minangkabawi came to the archipelago and taught the Naqshbandi-Khalidi order to people in the northern part of Sumatra as well as the Malay Peninsula. Shaikh Ismail was originally from Simabur, West Sumatra, and had spent several decades in Mecca studying various Islamic sciences.¹² He was initiated into the Naqshbandi by a Khalidiyya *khalifa*, Abdallah Arzinjani. Then, Shaikh Ismail became a *khalifa* in his own right. He must have acquired great reputation among Indonesians in Mecca, so that when Snouck Hurgronje stayed in Mecca in 1885, his name was still well remembered as one of the leading figures of the archipelago. Snouck Hurgronje notes Shaikh Ismail as an "emotional but somewhat learned and very fanatical" person.¹³

Shaikh Ismail settled in Singapore. From this place he travelled to surrounding areas. The Sultan of Riau, *Yang Dipertuan Muda* (honorific title for Sultans) Raja Ali Haji, invited him to come to

Riau and sent his own boat to pick up Ismail. Raja Ali Haji and his relatives became *murid* (disciples) of Shaikh Ismail and practiced Naqshbandi *dhikr*. Raja Ali's brother, Raja Abdullah, was later appointed as Ismail's *khalifa* on the island.¹⁴ Shaikh Ismail also travelled to the northern part of Malaya, Kedah. His influence there was apparent as noted from the finding of his *risala* in Penang, in the 1880s.¹⁵ After a few years, Ismail returned to Mecca where he spent the rest of his life.

After the death of Raja Abdullah, the predominant Naqshbandi order in Riau was apparently not Khalidi, but Mazhari. This is because the *Yang Dipertuan Muda* after Raja Abdullah, Raja Muhammad Yusuf was initiated into the Naqshbandi Mazhari order by Shaikh Muhammad Salih al-Zawawi on a visit to Mecca by the *raja*. Muhammad Salih al-Zawawi himself was later to spend his last years in Riau, invited by Raja Muhammad Yusuf.¹⁶

In Central and West Java, during the mid nineteenth century, the Naqshbandi order also spread considerably. A Dutch officer in Yogyakarta reported that during the 1850s and 1860s Naqshbandi ideas were preached and "had given occasion to irregularities."¹⁷ Another Dutch officer in Cianjur, West Java, also reported a similar case that the Naqshbandi order affiliated with Ismail Minangkabawi was active.¹⁸

In the 1880s the Naqshbandi order was much more active in Central Java. Abd al-Qadir of Semarang who was appointed as a *khalifa* by Sulaiman al-Zuhdi at the end of the 1870s was reportedly gaining a large following in his region. In 1883 he had twenty-eight deputies in various parts of the northern coast of Java. This alarmed the Dutch authorities that they then arrested him and sent him into exile. Another Naqshbandi *khalifa*, Muhammad Hadi of Girikusumo (near Semarang) was also reportedly having significant number of disciples. One of his sons, Mansur, established a *pesantren* in Solo, near Yogyakarta, where he also taught the *tariqa*. Another network of Muhammad Hadi was found in Banyumas district, south-western Central Java, where Muhammad Ilyas of Sukaraja spread this order. In addition to Muhammad Hadi, both Mansur and Muhammad Ilyas appointed several *khalifa* in their respected areas.¹⁹

During the same period, the Naqshbandi order gained a foothold in Minangkabau, West Sumatra, the origin of Shaikh Ismail Minangkabawi. Although Shaikh Ismail did not visit his homeland after he settled in Singapore, the Naqshbandi order was very

popular among people in his hometown through Muslims who went to Mecca and studied with him. When the latter went home, they spread the order there. The first known Naqshbandi Shaikh in West Sumatra was Shaikh Jalal al-Din of Cangking, who was very popular in the 1860s and must have been a very active proselytizer. In 1869, a Dutch observer estimated that one-eighth of the entire population of Minangkabau had joined the Naqshbandi order.²⁰

In the late nineteenth century, the Naqshbandi-Khalidi order also spread to Langkat, Riau, Central Sumatra after Shaikh Abdul Wahab Rokan settled in the area in the 1880s.²¹ In the 1860s, he went to Mecca and was initiated into the order by Sulaiman al-Zuhdi. The latter then appointed Abdul Wahab as the *khalifa* of the order and was assigned to spread Naqshbandi in his region. Abdul Wahab built the *pesantren* Babussalam which attracted a lot of students from surrounding areas as well as some parts of Johor, Malaysia. He was reported having appointed more than 100 *khalifa* to different parts of Sumatra as well as Malaysia.²² According Bruinessen, Babussalam is "one of the major centres, perhaps the largest, of the Indonesian Naqshbandiyya."²³

In Madura, East Java, the dominant Naqshbandi order was Mazhari. The spread of this branch to the area was mainly due to the role of Abd al-Azim al-Manudri who became a *khalifa* of Muhammad Salih al-Zawawi and settled in Mecca in the late nineteenth century. Abd al-Azim who was originally from Madura attracted many Madurese students as well as those performing the hajj to join this order. Then, through this network, Mazhariyya became a dominant order in Madura and also among the Madurese people in other parts of Indonesia. Madura is the only place in Indonesia where Naqshbandiyya-Mazhariyya has a strong foothold.²⁴

The Qadiriyya-wa-Naqshbandiyya came to Indonesia also in the late nineteenth century. During the life of its founder, Ahmad Khatib Sambas, this order attracted a lot of Indonesian students who studied in Mecca. It continued growing under Khatib's *khalifa*, Abd al-Karim from Banten. Through a network of students mostly coming from Java, this order has been very, event the most, popular among *pesantrens* in Java. Different from the Naqshbandi-Khalidi order, which in other parts attracted the ruling elite, Qadiriyya-wa-Naqshbandiyya was popular mainly among the lower

class. This partly explains why this order was involved in several anti-Dutch movements, as will be discussed later.

The significant development of the order took place during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as the result of the influx of hajj pilgrims. The opening of the Suez Canal was a significant reason for the rise of Indonesian Muslims to go to Mecca. While they were there, many of them joined Sufi orders. It is not surprising, therefore, that the growth of the Naqshbandi order during these centuries was highly characterized by its strong connection with Mecca. Almost all of those who became prominent Sufi Shaikhs had direct links with masters settling in the holy city. However, it should be noted that since the nature of organization of such orders was not rigid, the improvement of prosperity of the Naqshbandi order in Indonesia depended on its Shaikhs, and not their patrons in the Arab lands. This explains why Naqshbandi branches then had varied roles in its later days, despite its similarity in the essential function, i.e. bringing Muslims as close as possible to their God. Now, let us discuss the several functions of the Naqshbandi in Indonesia.

Islamization

There are different theories regarding the process of Islamization in Indonesia especially in regard to when it happened and who brought Islam to the area. There were believed to be three different agents responsible for the spread of Islam: traders, preachers and Sufi masters.²⁵ It is safe to argue, therefore, that Sufis were one of those who brought Islam to the Malay-Indonesian world. Regardless of when the process of Islamization began, it is clear that Islamization is a never-ending process. Therefore, while some argue that Islamization took place in the eighth, thirteen, or sixteenth centuries, the process was not only limited to those periods. Even the Naqshbandi order, which was firstly recorder in Indonesia during the seventeenth century, played a role in the Islamization process.

The case of Islamization by Naqshbandis was found in Riau, especially among an isolated tribe of Sakai. Riau is a province located in the mid-eastern part of Sumatra. According to 1987 statistical data of the provincial government of Riau, there were six tribes categorized as isolated and they were scattered throughout five districts. The total population of those tribes was about 40,000 people and Sakai is the third largest population with about 5,500.²⁶

They were divided into two major groups, Batin Lima and Batin Selapan. All these tribes lived very modestly and some of them are even still nomadic. For daily subsistence they rely heavily on the natural sources available around them.²⁷

By the end of the nineteenth century, the Sakai people were known as animist and had not converted to any divine religion. This motivated the people of the Naqshbandi network centred in Babussalam, Langkat, Riau, to Islamize them. Abd al-Wahab Rokan, the Sufi Shaikh of Naqshbandi Babussalam assigned one of his *khalifas*, Ali Ibrahim, this mission. This process was noted in 1916. Accompanied by his close companions, Ali Ibrahim introduced Islam to the Sakai Batin Selapan people. Although the locals were initially opposed to the mission, Ali Ibrahim and his friends succeeded in overcoming the challenge and convinced the people that the religion they brought was not magical and eventually, one by one local people accepted Islam. After a while, Ali Ibrahim went back to Rokan and he left his friends, Imam Abdul Khalid and Lebai Dowi, to continue guiding local people. In the late 1930s, after these two imams died, Muhammad Toyib replaced them as the imam. Then, in 1953, the leadership of the *tariqa* was entrusted to Shaikh Sulaiman and then to Shaikh Muhammad Nur when the earlier died in 1982. The Sufi Shaikhs emerged as leading figures among the Sakai people. They became a source of information not only about religious matters, but also economic and social affairs. By the late 1960s, most people of Sakai Batin Selapan were Islamized while only a small proportion of the Batin Lima group converted to Islam.²⁸

The Naqshbandi Shaikhs did not only bring Islam to the Sakai people, but they also introduced wet-rice agriculture and rubber plantation. This resulted in the Sakai settling in a certain area meaning they were no longer nomads. With their permanent settlement, the process of Islamization was easily intensified especially after they built a mosque and *suluf*, a place where Naqshbandi rituals were regularly observed. A *madrasah* was also built in the area so that people could learn to read and write. All of these have brought significant social, economic and religious benefits to the Sakai people.²⁹

To sum up, it is clear that Naqshbandi Sufis are those who brought Islam to Sakai people. Not only did the former introduce the religion to the latter but they also brought with them knowledge of wet-rice agriculture and rubber plantation. With these

activities the Sakai people became settled in an area and were no longer nomadic. They were also introduced by the Sufis to trade surplus of their products in order to get other things they need. Today, a majority of the Sakai people are Muslims.

The Anti-Colonial Movement

Anti-colonial movements instigated by religious leaders were common-place in the Muslim world during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Some of the leaders were associated with certain Sufi orders, including the Naqshbandi order. One of the most significant anti-colonial resistance movements led by the Naqshbandi Sufis was that in Dagestan where Shaikh Shamil, a *murshid* of the order, led his followers to resist the Russian invasion. The struggle of this group was monumental in the sense that they succeeded in holding the Russian invaders at bay for about twenty-five years before the latter overcame the opposition in 1859.³⁰

In Indonesia, similar cases of revolts and resistances against colonial powers, led by religious leaders, were also found. The Javanese, Padri, and Aceh wars were examples of very significant conflicts between the Dutch authorities and local people led by Muslim figures, i.e. Diponegoro, Imam Bonjol, Tjut Nyak Dien, respectively.³¹ Although these leaders were not associated with certain Sufi orders, the nature of Islamic tenets was clearly manifested. There were some anti-Dutch movements led by Sufi Shaikhs, although they were less prominent. One of the most famous rebellions led by the Naqshbandis was that in Banten, West Java, in July 1888.

Sartono Kartodirdjo in his study of this revolt argues that the *tariqa* Qadiriyya-wa-Naqshbandiyya and its leaders played pivotal roles.³² They "formed the nuclei of the forces which generated the Banten revolt. The impressive cohesion of the rebellious movement was certainly due to the charismatic leadership of the *kiai* and the *guru tarekat*. The *tarekat* was characteristically organized around a charismatic leader, in whom were centred the loyalties of the rank and file. The strongest binding force was the collective sentiment of mystical devotion."³³ Kartodirdjo lists several figures whose roles were prominent in leading the rebellion. They were Abdul Karim, Tubagus Ismail, Wasid and Mardjuki.

It was Abdul Karim who started to spread hatred of the Dutch among Sufi followers. Abdul Karim went to Mecca when he was very young and learned with Shaikh Ahmad Khatib Sambas who

initiated him into the order. Then, he became the closest student of Ahmad Khatib. Snouck Hurgronje describes his close relation to the teacher as follows:

If envy were not abominated by the mystics as a deadly sin, the innumerable students must have envied Abdul Karim in that he might pass night and day in the near vicinity of the divinely illuminated one, accompanying him on all visits to the Mosque and in the town and become participant in the secrets of his heart.³⁴

After some years accompanying his master, Abdul Karim was entrusted to spread the order in the archipelago. He first travelled to Singapore where he spent about three years. Then, in 1872, Abdul Karim went back to his homeland, Banten, and lived there for about the same period before coming back to Mecca where he was appointed by Ahmad Khatib as his successor before the latter died.³⁵

When he stayed in Banten, Abdul Karim established a religious school through which he propagated the order. His good reputation attracted a lot of Bantenese to join the order. He soon won the loyalty, devotion and obedience of his disciples. He quickly emerged as the dominant figure among the religious leaders in the area. He was then also known as *Kiai Agung*, or the Great Kiai. He appealed to the people to revitalize their religious life by observing their religious duties more strictly. In relation to this call, *dhikr* became an important media. He wandered from place to place, leading the *dhikr* while at the same time preaching religious revival. Whenever he conducted the *dhikr* in public, it was always attended by an influx of people.³⁶

During the religious meetings, Abdul Karim not only performed the *dhikr* and reminded people of the necessity to purify their religious beliefs and practices, but also gave sermons where he showed hatred towards the Europeans. The latter were regarded as infidels who had usurped power from the Muslim ruler and brought misery to the local people. There was a need for *jihad* to restore the *dar al-Islam* and to get rid of the foreign ruler. It is not surprising that the people attending the *dhikr* were then motivated to wage war against the colonial authorities.³⁷ Snouck Hurgronje mentions that "every evening hundreds eager for salvation flocked to where he was staying, to learn the *dhikr* from him, [and] to kiss his hand..." They would also ask about the right time for fighting the Dutch³⁸ however Abdul Karim refused to give definite an-

swers to such questions and merely pointed out that the time was not yet ripe for waging the Holy War. Until his departure to Mecca in 1876, Abdul Karim did not mention a specific time to wage the *jihad*.³⁹ What Abdul Karim had done, however, paved the way for the revolt that broke out a few years later. Kartodirdjo confirms this by stating that "the leaders of the movement who succeeded Hadji Abdul Karim already found the ground prepared for carrying out their mission of sowing more seeds of rebellion among the population."⁴⁰

Feelings of hatred toward the colonial powers were widely shared by the indigenous people of the archipelago, especially among religious figures, including those in Banten. Banten used to be an important Islamic kingdom in Java. From the mid-sixteenth to the last quarter of seventeenth centuries, Banten enjoyed prosperity mainly as a result of revenue coming from its position as a major international trading port. A conflict between Sultan Ageng (r. 1651-1682) and his son, Sultan Haji, was the turning point in Banten. With the assistance of the Dutch, Sultan Haji won the battle but he had to pay with losing his power, especially on the international trade. After that, the greatness of the Banten Sultanate decreased significantly as the sultanate could not take any significant decision without prior approval from the Dutch. By the early nineteenth century the sultanate completely disappeared and the power was fully taken by the colonial powers.⁴¹ It is not surprising, therefore, that almost all Bantenese ulama in the nineteenth century shared Abdul Karim's sentiments towards the Dutch. Muhammad Nawawi, for example, whom Snouck Hurgronje categorizes as the one of the "most highly esteemed leaders of the intellectual movement," and "the sheikh *per excellentiam*"⁴² also hated the Dutch. This hatred compelled him to live in Mecca and spend the rest of his life there. "The resurrection of the Banten Sultanate, or of an independent Muslim state, in any other form, would be acclaimed by him joyously whether or not the insurrection took place according to the holy law or took the form of undisciplined fanatical bands."⁴³

Before Abdul Karim left Banten, he was reported to have told his intimate disciples that he did not intend to return to Banten as long as "it suffered under the yoke of foreign domination. Only on pure Islamic soil would he set foot again."⁴⁴ This statement motivated his disciples to continue what Abdul Karim had started. A few years later, new leaders - all of whom were Abdul Ka-

rim's followers - appeared to continue the insurrection against the infidel rulers. They were Tubagus Ismail, Mardjuki and Wasid. Kartodirdjo explains that these three people worked together and were very active in propagating a holy war (*jihād*) against the Dutch in every *tariqa* meeting. This happened especially after the religious leaders met in Wasid's house in early 1884 where they agreed to take action. Mardjuki even travelled to surrounding areas, such as Tangerang, Jakarta, and Bogor, in seeking support from local *kiais* who were ready to send their disciples as volunteers to Banten. They did not only stoke the flames of hatred against the colonial powers among the *tariqa* followers, but also provided things needed for a revolt, such as weaponry and conducting physical training. They also distributed amulets which were believed to make people invulnerable to any type of guns.⁴⁵

During the period of preparation, these leading figures worked collectively and supported each other. By early 1888 the revolutionary fervour was growing; the leaders conducted regular meetings attended by many *kiais* from the area to discuss the strategy, tactics and timing of the revolt. All meetings were run under the cover of religious gatherings, so that they were not discovered by the authorities. In a meeting held at Wasid's house in April 1888, around three hundred guests swore an oath that they would take part in the holy war and those who broke their promise would be regarded as infidels. There it was decided who would lead the revolt in each district of Banten, such as Cilegon, Serang, Anyer, and Tenara. It was also agreed that the rebellion would take place sometime in September of the year. However in a next meeting in around mid-June, Wasid persuaded his colleagues to advance the date. Those who attended the meeting, except Mardjuki, agreed to start the rebellion on July 12. Mardjuki, however, argued that the time was not ripe yet to start the action, while Wasid was afraid that the plot would be uncovered by government officials if they had to wait until September. This marked the end of the unity between the two. A few days later, Mardjuki accompanied by his wife and children left Banten and returned to Mecca where he spent the rest of his life.⁴⁶

As a result, Wasid emerged as the leading figure of the movement though he continued to seek approval from Tubagus Ismail prior to taking any action. By the end of June, Wasid had decided to advance the date of the rebellion by three days. The revolt was set to start on July 9. Although this decision was not approved by

kiais of Serang, upon whom influence of Mardjuki was quite strong, Wasid was firm in his stance after it was agreed upon by Tubagus Ismail. Messengers were dispatched to *kiais* surrounding Cilegon to gather their disciples on the date. It was also decided to commence the revolt in Cilegon instead of all areas of Banten simultaneously.⁴⁷

In the early morning of July 9, 1888, hundreds of people all wearing white garbs gathered in different posts heading toward the city of Cilegon. Under the command of Wasid, they attacked all Europeans residing there as well as civil servants who worked for the government and ransacked their houses. Seventeen people were killed and seven others were wounded.⁴⁸ During that day, Wasid was enthroned as the "king." After all targeted people were slaughtered, they marched to Serang, the capital city of Banten Residency, and some of them remained in Cilegon guarding the "conquered" city. They planned to attack Europeans in Serang but after realizing that the city was guarded militarily they cancelled their plan. They instead stayed on the outskirts of the city while waiting for an appropriate moment to launch an assault.⁴⁹

At the same time, those attacked by the mob sent a message to Serang, asking for help. Government authorities in Serang sent military troops to Cilegon in the afternoon to restore order. Approaching Cilegon, in the village of Tojomerto the troops were faced by a crowd of armed people blocking the road. When the rebels refused to leave the area after instructed to do so, the soldiers then fired. Nine insurgents were killed and many others were wounded. The encounter gave a shock to the rebels because they were not invulnerable as they assumed. Their belief that the rosaries would make them immune was shaken. Kartodirdjo argues that the effect of this incident was "a widespread psychosis among the rebels that expressed itself in the form of disillusion."⁵⁰ Their morale was largely broken and they were then discouraged from continuing their fight for the cause of the rebellion. The defeat at Tojomerto was the turning point in the course of the revolt.⁵¹

The defeat was heard by Wasid and other leaders who were stationed in the vicinity of Serang. Afterwards, they returned to Cilegon but did not take any other action except to hide from government authorities. The next day, the soldiers of Serang backed by military troops from the central government in Batavia started to round up those suspected as being involved in the re-

bellion and burning their houses. Around a hundred and fifty people were arrested while Wasid and other leaders moved from one place to another avoiding the detainment. Eventually at the end of the month the hiding location of Wasid and the others was disclosed by the government. When they refused to surrender, the troops fired their guns and a battle ensued. Less advanced in their weaponry, the rebels were totally annihilated leaving eleven corpses, including Wasid and Tubagus Ismail. This marked the end of the revolt.⁵²

It may be argued that in terms of scale, duration and devastation, the revolt of Banten was less than that of the Java, Padri and Aceh wars. Even though the rebels of Banten enjoyed their victory over the colonial authorities for only less than a day, the importance of the revolt, however, lies in the involvement of Sufi teachers and disciples. All leaders of the revolt were associated with the Qadiriyyah-wa-Naqshbandiyyah order. The revolt therefore gives an example of the role of the Naqshbandi order in the anti-colonial movement.

Another case of the anti-Dutch movement involving the order occurred in Lombok, West Nusa Tenggara, in the early 1890s, and in Sidoarjo, East Java, in 1903. Initially, Muslims in Lombok fought the Balinese (Hindu) people who dominated the area. This conflict was led by Guru Bangkol who was a *khalifa* of Abd al-Karim. When the conflict did not stop for a couple years, the Dutch used it as a pretext for their involvement in it. The conflict was then between the Dutch authorities and Muslims. As the *khalifa* of the Qadiriyya-wa-Naqshbandiyya orders, Guru Bangkol mobilized those associated with the order, until this revolt was militarily defeated in 1894.⁵³ In 1903, a revolt in Sidoarjo (near Surabaya) was led by Kasan Mukmin who was a *murshid* of the order in the region. Initiated into the order by Kiai Krapyak of Yogyakarta, Kasan Mukmin (who claimed to be the incarnation of Imam Mahdi, the messiah) declared a holy war against the Dutch.⁵⁴

Pesantren Tradition

A *pesantren* is a traditional Islamic boarding school in Indonesia. It is widely regarded as an indigenous educational institution where students learn different kinds of Islamic sciences. This institution is common especially in Java while in other islands a similar institution is known as *surau* or *rangkah meunasah*.⁵⁵ Sufism, especially the Naqshbandiyya Khalidiyya and Qadiriyya-wa-

Naqshbandiyya orders, have played a significant role in establishing *pesantrens* as a sub-culture of the Javanese culture. Aspects of the sub-culture, upon which influences of the *tariqa* are notified, are found in the life styles, values, and hierarchical relation between students and teachers.⁵⁶

It is hardly known when the *pesantren* was firstly established in Java. Some argue that it came into existence in the thirteenth century while others argue that it was founded around the fifteenth century.⁵⁷ Bruinessen, however, argues that based on historical records *pesantrens* did not exist until the eighteenth century with Pesantren Tegalsari established in 1742 as the oldest one.⁵⁸ The origin of this institution is also debatable. Some speculate that it is a continuation of the system of *zawiyah* or *khanaqah* which was very popular among Sufis in the Middle East.⁵⁹ Some others argue that it was adapted from a pre-Islamic educational institution where Hinduism and Buddhism were taught.⁶⁰ Regardless of when it was first established and how it originated, the type of *pesantren* which exists today grew rapidly during the nineteenth century and it became a pivotal institution for learning Islamic sciences.

In his anthropological study on *pesantrens*, Zamakhsyari Dhofier explains that there are five basic elements of the *pesantren*: the *pondok* (dormitory), mosque, teaching classical Islamic texts, *santri* (students), and *kiai* (teacher). A *Pondok*, which varies from one *pesantren* to another, is a dorm where students live together. A Mosque, in addition to its function as a place of prayer, is also a place where Islamic knowledge is taught as well as a place for other related educational activities for *santri*, such as *mushawarah* (discussion). The Mosque is then the centre of Islamic education in *pesantren*. *Kiai* is not only a teacher for students but in most cases is also the owner of the *pesantren* and the highest authority in the whole process of education. For many *pesantrens*, especially those with a huge number of students, a *kiai* is usually assisted by many teachers, some of them are his relatives and while others may be senior students.⁶¹ Dhofier recognizes that there are two major types of *pesantren*: *salafi* (traditional) and *khalafi* (modern). By *salafi* he means a *pesantren* that "preserves the teachings of classical texts as essential education," while *khalafi* means that the *pesantrens* "have either introduced the teaching of secular subjects or have incorporated secular schools."⁶² Based on data issued in 2005 by the Ministry of Religious Affairs of Indonesia, there are now about 14,800 *pesantrens* throughout Indonesia. Slightly different from Dhofier,

the Ministry categorizes them into three different types: traditional (21.5%), modern (31%) and a combination of both (47.5%). The latter means that the *pesantren* while maintaining the teaching of classical Islamic texts also offers *madrasah* or school system where secular subjects are taught.⁶³ Dhofier, however, categorizes the latter as traditional since it still offers the teaching of classical texts.

Dhofier's argues that the *pesantren* tradition is highly influenced by Sufism. In support of his argument, he notes that Sufi texts, such as those written by Abu Hamid al-Ghazali, are often taught in many *pesantrens* while almost all *kiais* practice a *tariqa* as shown from regular *dhikr* after daily prayers. And the popular *dhikr* among *pesantren* people resembles that of the Naqshbandi order. This is why he concludes that this *tariqa*, especially Khalidiyya and Qadiriyya-wa-Naqshbandiyya branches, is the most prevalent in *pesantren* in Java.⁶⁴

Other aspects of *pesantren* tradition also confirm the influence of this *tariqa*. Emphasis on modest living, a combination of ascetism and *Shari'ah*, and total obedience of students toward their teachers are among the most common characteristics of *pesantren* life and teachings. It is true that living modestly and the central position of teachers for students are common significant characters of almost all Sufis and not exclusively belong to the Naqshbandi order. However, a combination of ascetism and *Shari'ah* is one of pivotal principles of Naqshbandi. It is not surprising, therefore, that Sufism in a *pesantren* is far from being of a scholastic nature but places great emphasis on good deeds which do not contradict the *Shari'ah*.⁶⁵ Sufi books which are taught in *pesantrens* are also those which reconcile mystical and orthodox Islam, such as works by al-Ghazali, while Sufi scholastic books like *al-Futuhat al-Makiya* and *Fusus al-Hikam* by Ibn Arabi are completely absent from a *pesantren's* curriculum.⁶⁶ Some *pesantrens* even become centres for a *tariqa*, such as Pesantren Darul Ulum Rejoso Jombang in East Java, Pesantren Yanbu'ul Qur'an Kudus in Central Java, and Pesantren Suryalaya Tasikmalaya in West Java. According to Martin Bruinessen, while the Naqshbandi Khalidi order is popular among *pesantrens* in Central Java, the Qadiriyya-wa-Naqshbandiyya is the most popular in *pesantrens* throughout East and West Java.⁶⁷

As Abdurrahman Wahid, a famous Muslim intellectual and the fourth President of Indonesia, argues, the *pesantren* tradition is ingrained within the Javanese culture. As someone who was born into a *pesantren* family, Wahid argues that *pesantrens* have

three distinctive features. They are life styles, values and the ethics of the relationship between *santri* and *kiai*. Students in *pesantrens* live modestly, and eat simple, inexpensive food. Most of them cook by themselves and the rooms are not provided with a mattress. The clothes they wear are also far from pricey. They are not satisfied carrying out the obligatory acts of worship such as praying and fasting, but they also carry out such Sufistic forms of worship as *dhikr*, as well as and a number of recommended prayers and fasting. The motivation for students to study classical Islamic texts is not for worldly gains but for the hereafter. Students also obey the *kiai* unquestionably in the hope that they earn blessings as a result. *Kiais* are not only teachers and the owners of *pesantrens* but also sources of happiness. Once students come to and learn with a certain *kiai*, they will remain their student forever. There is no term of *former* or *ex* teachers for students in a *pesantren*. All these characteristics, according to Wahid, are influenced by Sufism. This is why, Wahid argues, the *pesantren* has become a sub-culture of the Javanese culture.⁶⁸ Wahid's ideas correspond fully with those of Dhofier as mentioned earlier. Although Wahid does not single out a specific Sufi order, it is evident that he means none other than the two branches of the Naqshbandi order, as these two are in fact the most popular *tariqa* in *pesantrens* throughout Java.

The Naqshbandi Order and its impact on Modern Life – The Case of Pesantren Suryalaya Tasikmalaya

The Naqshbandi order has also had a role in dealing with the negative impact of modern life. An example of a negative impact would be drug abuse, which is quite a prevalent problem in Indonesia. In this regards, the order offers help to those who suffer from a drug addiction, as found in Pesantren Suryalaya Tasikmalaya, West Java. Through a program called *Pondok Inabah*, this *pesantren* has successfully helped thousands of people beat this addiction. What's more, the method used to do so is not the detoxification method commonly used elsewhere but a combination of *dhikr* of the Tariqa Qadiriyya-wa-Naqshbandiyya and prayers.

Pesantren Suryalaya was established in 1905 by Shaikh Abdullah Mubarak who was also known as Abah Sepuh (the old father). Abdullah was initiated into the Qadiriyya-wa-Naqshbandiyya order by Shaikh Talhah, one of the khalifa of Shaikh Ahmad Khatib Sambas, the founder of the *tariqa*. It was from Talhah that Abdullah got *silsilah* to teach the *tariqa* in the *pesantren* he built.⁶⁹ From

the beginning, therefore, the *pesantren* was known as a centre of the *tariqa* despite the fact that it also provides teaching of Islamic knowledge as found in other *pesantrens*. Other similar *pesantrens* include Pesantren Futuhiyah Mrangen, in Central Java, and Darul Ulum Jombang, in East Java.

Since 1950, about six years before Abdullah died, the *pesantren* has been led by one of his sons, Ahmad Shohibulwafa Tadjul Arifin who is known as Abah Anom (the young father). Under his leadership, the *pesantren* continues to flourish as the centre for the *tariqa* and provides classes from elementary to university level. As a result of his charisma perhaps, many people - not only from surrounding areas but also from Central and East Java, as well as South Sumatra and West Kalimantan - have joined the *tariqa*. His order has even attracted a huge number of followers in Singapore and Malaysia through his students who live and teach the order there. Abah Anom then became a much respected Sufi teacher. His popularity is not limited to the followers of the order but also to the government officials, both at a local and central level. This is mainly because of his consistency in supporting the government's policies and programs. A specific program which has been highly appreciated by the government is the Pondok Remaja Inabah which was set up for treatment of drug addicts and delinquent youths.⁷⁰

In the early 1970s, Abah Anom became quite concerned with the rising drug problem in Indonesia. Parents whose children had a drug problem brought them to the *pesantren*, hoping that the Pesantren could help to cure them of their sickness. At first, victims of drug addiction were allowed to live and study alongside the other *santris*. However when it became clear that the drug addicts were causing problems for the latter, Abah Anom decided to set up a separate place for the troubled youths. In 1971 the first Pondok Inabah was established for male youth, located around twelve kilometres from the main complex of Pesantren Suryalaya. The second Pondok Inabah for female youth was founded in 1981, located ten kilometres from the Pesantren. These two are isolated from the surrounding communities and meant specifically to rehabilitate the patients from their addiction problems. As independent complexes both are supplemented with the instructor's and his/her assistants' residences, the dormitories, a place for prayer, a dining room, a living room, a kitchen, and a yard for sporting activities. The instructors and their assistants are in practice working 24 hours a day since they have to continuously monitor their

patients and are ready on call at any time.⁷¹ According to the internal report in 1985, there were at that time twenty Pondok Inabah operating throughout Java, two others in Malaysia and one in Singapore.⁷²

Programs of the Pondok Inabah were developed by Abah Anom. They are fully based on the teachings of the Qadiriyya-wa-Naqshbandiyya order and on Islamic teachings in general. Two main activities in the healing process are prayers (obligatory and recommended) and *dhikr* following the *tariqa*'s style. These are to bring the patients to remember God because Abah Anom believes that by remembering God, all sickness can be cured. Those who come to Suryalaya with drug problems are firstly diagnosed by Abah Anom and asked their readiness to follow all rules. When they are ready, they are given *talqin* (secret instruction of *tariqa* rituals). The *talqin* is a specific ritual of the *tariqa*, by which a person is initiated to join it.⁷³ A formula of *dhikr* is also given to them to be implemented while they are in the Pondok Inabah. According to Mulyati, the *talqin* ceremony "inevitably touches one's deepest feelings, and brings one into a greater state as self-consciousness."⁷⁴ This ritual signifies a starting point and allows the healing process to begin. After that, they join in all of the activities set up for Pondok Inabah.

Daily activities of the Pondok Inabah start at two o'clock in the morning and last until nine at night. The first activity is to take a bath which is called *mandi tawbah* (bath of repentance). Then, they perform a number of recommended prayers until it is time for the dawn prayers. After observing this obligatory prayer, they do *dhikr* by reciting *la ilaha illa Allah* 165 times. When they finish this activity, they have breakfast together. During the day, except for having lunch, doing exercise in the morning and late afternoon, and having visitors, they are preoccupied with prayers (both obligatory and recommended) and *dhikr*. Counting the number of prayers, Mulyati demonstrates that during a day and night they do at least 112 *raka'at* (literally, bowing) from five obligatory prayers and 29 types of recommended ones as well as innumerable *dhikr*.⁷⁵ All of this might be regarded by some as excessive, not to mention the fact that they only have about five hours a day to sleep. However, such schedule is designed to keep them remember God and their duty to him, and eventually beat the drug addiction, "which is literally a matter of life and death."⁷⁶

This daily schedule is done for a period of forty days for minor addictions, while those with a serious addiction may stay for up to six months. Abah Anom bases the forty days program on the Prophetic *hadith* which says that "Whoever prays in congregation forty days and nights continuously with God's will, shall be free from hypocrisy and destructive behaviour." Another *hadith* says that whoever wakes up at night for forty days continuously and worships God will be granted new thought and new ideas and will realize his true self.⁷⁷ On the 40th day, the youth is brought to Abah Anom to be told whether he or she can leave the Pondok. Based on the progress reports made regularly by the instructors, Abah Anom then decides a statement of health, physically and mentally, after which the youth is handed over to his/her parents. Some those may choose to stay in Pesantren Suryalaya and join the regular classes.⁷⁸

Mulyati believes that the method employed by this *pesantren* to treat drug addiction is "an original, genuine, and Indonesian creation, developed as an alternative treatment for victims of narcotics and juvenile delinquency."⁷⁹ She also praises the degree of success. Quoting research by Emo Kastama who shows that more than eighty percent of the youths sent to Pondok Inabah were successfully cured during the 1980s and 1990s, Mulyati concludes that this percentage is higher than that of medical treatment done in a Hospital for Drug Dependency in Indonesia.⁸⁰ The *pesantren* has also other several advantages compared to the hospital, such as the lower cost. In addition, 'patients' are not only cured from their drug addiction but are also treated spiritually. In other words, it rehabilitates not only their behaviour but also the mind and soul.

Conclusion

The definition proposed by Trimingham is wide enough to cover the various tendencies of all of the different orders that he studies. However, he only pays attention to the main purpose of Sufism which is the close association of man with his God. As the history of Sufism shows, there are also other functions of Sufism in the day-to-day lives of those who subscribe themselves to the Sufi path. Enmity between the followers of Sufism and that of *Shari'ah*, though a common phenomenon, is not always given. Some Sufi orders, especially the Naqshbandi order, have no history of such conflict.

The experience of the Naqshbandi order in Indonesia confirms its status as one of the most influential and popular Sufi orders in the country. This article, particularly the discussion on *pesantrens*, shows that only *tariqa* which supports *fiqh* is acceptable to and practiced by *kiai* and *santri*. This contradicts Trimingham's argument that Indonesians prefer heterodox mysticism. Comparing Muslims in Africa and Indonesia, Trimingham argues that Muslims in Indonesia place more emphasis on "thinking than upon acting" and therefore "speculative mysticism" is prevalent in this country.⁸¹ However this article has shown that this is not the case for the Naqshbandi order in Indonesia. The Sufi books which contain heterodox ideas such as *wahdat al-wujud* proposed by Ibn Arabi are completely absent from Naqshbandi influenced *pesantrens*. Furthermore, Sufism does not generally attract huge numbers of followers in Indonesia.

Trimingham's explanation of the development of Sufism, however, is very helpful in understanding the spread of Naqshbandi ideas in Indonesia. Following his conception, the introduction of the order into Indonesia took place during what he refers to as the "*taifa* stage."⁸² This period started about the fifteenth century and has several characteristics. "Sufism becomes a popular movement. New foundations formed in *tariqa* lines, branching into numerous corporations or orders, fully incorporated with the saint-cult."⁸³ Trimingham further explains that when it became popular and drew a significant number of followers by the nineteenth century, the order had acquired its "definitive form" meaning that the desire to "maintain the organization and liturgical forms of the parent orders," while differences among orders were found only in minor aspects such as the form of festivals and their social and political repercussions.⁸⁴

Although social, intellectual and political functions of the order may be classified as "minor" by Trimingham, the discussion of such roles of Naqshbandi in Indonesia shows that they should not be undervalued. People may join the *tariqa* because they come to and study in the *pesantren* or receive treatment for their drug addiction at the Pondok Inabah, for example. This means that social roles of the order become the entry point to people's involvement into the *tariqa*. The above-mentioned roles of Naqshbandi to some extent have contributed to the current character of Indonesian Muslims as moderate and peaceful.

Endnotes

1. J. Spencer Trimingham, *The Sufi Orders in Islam*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971, p. 1.
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Ibid.*
4. Hamid Algar, "The Naqshbandi Order: a Preliminary Survey of Its History and Significance," *Studia Islamica*, 44, 1977, p. 123.
5. Algar, "The Naqshbandi Order," p. 125.
6. John O. Voll, "Sufi Brotherhoods: Transcultural/Transstate Networks in the Muslim World," in Jerry H. Bentley, Renate Brindenthal, Anand A Yang (eds.), *Interactions: Transregional Perspectives on World History*, Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2005, p. 30-47. Hamid Algar, "Naqshbandiyah," in John L. Esposito (ed.), *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Modern Islamic World*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995, p. 226-229.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 157
8. *Ibid.*, p. 158
9. For a discussion of Shaikh Yusuf, see Azyumardi Azra, *The Origin of Islamic Reformism in Southeast Asia*, Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2004, p.87-108
10. Bruinessen, "The Origin," p. 159-160
11. *Ibid.*, p. 161
12. H.W. Muhd. Shaghir Abdullah, *Syekh Ismail al-Minangkabawi: Penyiar Thariqat Naqsyabandiyah Khalidiyah*, Solo: Ramadhani, 1985.
13. Snouck Hurgronje, p. 262
14. Raja Ali Haji ibn Ahmad, *The Precious Gift (Tuhfat al-Nafis)*, an annotated translation by Virginia Matheson and Barbara W. Andaya, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982, p. 285
15. Bruinessen, "The Origin," p. 162
16. *Ibid.*, p. 163
17. *Ibid.*
18. *Ibid.*
19. *Ibid.*, p. 171
20. *Ibid.*, p. 164
21. For a biography of Abdul Wahab Rokan, see Fuad Said, *Syekh Abdul Wahab: Tuan Guru Babussalam*, Medan: Pustaka Babussalam, 1983
22. Uu Hamidy, *Pengislaman Masyarakat Sakai oleh Tarekat Naksyabandiyah Babussalam*, Pekanbaru: Universitas Islam Riau Press, 1992, p. 37-53
23. Bruinessen, "The Origin," p. 172
24. Bruinessen, *Tarekat Naksyabandiyah*, p. 69-70
25. For discussion of Islamization in Indonesia, see Azyumardi Azra, *Jaringan Ulama: Timur Tengah dan Kepulauan Nusantara Abad XVII dan XVIII*, Bandung: Mizan, 1994, p. 23-36. See also S.Q. Fatimi, *Islam Comes to Malaysia*, Singapore: Malaysian Sociological Research Institute, 1963.
26. Hamidy, p. 5
27. *Ibid.*, p. 9-12
28. *Ibid.*, p. 56-59 and 72-77.
29. *Ibid.*, p. 60-69
30. For the struggle of Shaikh Shamil, see Moshe Gammer, *Muslim Resistance to the Tsar: Shamil and the Conquest of Chechnia and Daghestan*, London: Frank Cass, 1994, and Anna Zelkina, *In Quest for God and Freedom: the Sufi Response to the Russian Advance in the North Caucasus*, New York: New York University Press, 2000.
31. For the Javanese war, see Peter Carey, *The Cultural Ecology of Early Nineteenth Century Java: Pangeran Dipanagara, a case study*, Singapore : Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1974 and *Babad Dipanagara: an Account of the Outbreak of the Java War, 1825-30*, translated into English and Indonesian by Peter B.R. Carey, Kuala

- Lumpur: Art Printing Works, 1981. For Padri movement see, Christine Dobbin, *Islamic Revivalism in a Changing Peasant Economy: Central Sumatra, 1784-1847*, London: Curzon Press, 1983. For Aceh war, see Anthony Reid, *The Blood of the People: Revolution and the End of Traditional Rule in Northern Sumatra*, Kuala Lumpur, New York: Oxford University Press, 1979.
32. Kartodirdjo always mentions that the *tariqa* was "Kadiriah." However a closer examination of its leaders, especially Abd al-Karim, it is sure that the *tariqa* was Qadiriyya-wa-Naqshbandiyya.
 33. Kartodirdjo, p. 172
 34. Snouck Hurgronje, p. 276.
 35. *Ibid.*, p. 276-178, and Kartodirdjo, 177-178
 36. Kartodirdjo, p. 177-179
 37. *Ibid.*, p. 180
 38. Snouck Hurgronje, p. 277
 39. Kartodirdjo, p. 180-181
 40. *Ibid.*, p. 181
 41. For a history of the Sultanate of Banten, see Hoesein Djajadiningrat, *Tinjauan Kritis tentang Sejarah Banten : Sumbangan bagi Pengenalan Sifat-sifat Penulisan Sejarah Jawa*, Jakarta: Djambatan, 1983, and Atsushi Ota, *Changes of Regime and Social Dynamics in West Java: Society, State, and the Outer World of Banten, 1750-1830*, Leiden: Brill, 2006.
 42. Snouck Hurgronje, p. 268 and 276
 43. *Ibid.*, p. 270
 44. Kartodirdjo, p. 181.
 45. *Ibid.*, p. 183-197
 46. *Ibid.*, p. 198-201
 47. *Ibid.*, p. 202-208
 48. Among Europeans killed during the revolt were J.H.H. Gubbels, Assistant Resident of Anyer, his wife and his two daughters; Jacob Groundhout, drill engineer in the mining department in Cilegon, and his wife; Henri Dumas, the clerk in the assistant resident's office; and Ulric Bachet, the salt sales manager in Cilegon. See, Kartodirdjo, p. 339
 49. Kartodirdjo, p. 209-236
 50. *Ibid.*, p. 239
 51. *Ibid.*, p. 239
 52. *Ibid.*, p. 240-261
 53. Alphons van der Kraan, *Lombok: Conquest, Colonization and Underdevelopment, 1870-1940*, Singapore: Heinemann Educational Books, 1980, p. 27-29
 54. Kartodirdjo, *Protest Movements in Rural Java: a Study of Agrarian Unrest in the Nineteenth and early Twentieth Centuries*, London: Oxford University Press, 1973, p. 80-86
 55. The term of *surau* is found in West Sumatra, while *rangkah meunasah* in Aceh. See, Dawam Rahardjo, "Dunia Pesantren dalam Peta Pembaharuan," in Dawam Rahardjo (ed.), *Pesantren dan Pembaharuan*, Jakarta: LP3ES, 1974, p. 2. See also Zamakhsyari Dhofier, *The Pesantren Tradition: the Role of the Kyai in the Maintenance of Traditional Islam in Java*, Tempe: Program for Southeast Asian Studies, ASU, 1999, p. 1-7.
 56. Abdurrahman Wahid, "Pesantren sebagai Subkultur," in Dawam Rahardjo (ed.), *Pesantren dan Pembaharuan*, Jakarta: LP3ES, 1974, p. 43
 57. Wahid assumes that *pesantren* began in the thirteenth century. See Wahid, "Asal Usul Tradisi Keilmuan Pesantren," in *Pesantren*, vol. 1, 1984, p. 7. Dhofier, on the other hand, argues that *pesantren* had been well known as centers of Islamic education by the sixteenth century. See, Dhofier, p. 13-14.
 58. Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning, Pesantren dan Tarekat: Tradisi-tradisi Islam di Indonesia*, Bandung: Mizan, 1995, p. 24-25.

59. Nurcholish Madjid, "Pesantren dan Tasawuf," in Dawan Rahardjo (ed.), *Pesantren dan Pembaharuan*, Jakarta: LP3ES, 1974, p. 104-105
60. Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning*, p. 23-24
61. Dhofier, p. 25-40.
62. *Ibid.*, p. 22
63. See <http://www.bagais.go.id/bookletpontren05/>
64. Dhofier, p. 137-148
65. *Ibid.*, p. 137-156
66. For a detailed discussion of books used in pesantren, see Martin van Bruinessen, "Kitab Kuning: Books in Arabic Script Used in the Pesantren Milieu," *BKI*, 146, 1990, p. 226-269
67. Bruinessen, *Tarekat Naqsyabandiyah*, p. 156-174
68. Wahid, "Pesantren," p. 40-47
69. Achmad Sanusi, "Abah Sepuh dan Pembentukan TQN Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya," in Harun Nasution (ed.), *Thoriqot Qodiriyyah Naqsabandiyah: Sejarah, Asal-usul, dan Perkembangannya*, Tasikmalaya: IAILM, 1990, p. 91-109
70. Juhaya S. Praja, "TQN Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya dan Perkembangannya pada Masa Abah Anom (1950-1990)," in Harun Nasution (ed.), *Thoriqot Qodiriyyah Naqsabandiyah: Sejarah, Asal-usul, dan Perkembangannya*, Tasikmalaya: IAILM, 1990, p.113-185
71. Sri Mulyati, p. 275-278
72. Nurol Aen, "Inabah," in Harun Nasution (ed.), *Thoriqot Qodiriyyah Naqsabandiyah: Sejarah, Asal-usul, dan Perkembangannya*, Tasikmalaya: IAILM, 1990, p. 413
73. According to Trimmingham, *talqin* is a synonym of "initiation." See Trimmingham, p. 182
74. Mulyati, p. 282
75. *Ibid.*, p. 285-291
76. *Ibid.*, p. 294
77. As quoted in Mulyati, p. 295
78. Mulyati, p. 294-295
79. *Ibid.*, p. 276
80. *Ibid.*, p. 295-296. Mulyati seems to relay heavily on the research and does not provide a comparative data, such as that from the hospital. It can not be ascertained, therefore, a comparable measure between the two institutions.
81. Trimmingham, p. 131
82. Trimmingham divides the development of Sufism into three stages. The first is the "*khanaqah* stage" which took place prior to the eleventh century. The second is the "*tariqa* stage" or formative period, about 1100-1400 AD. The third is the "*taifa* stage" from the fifteenth century onward. See Trimmingham, p. 102-104.
83. Trimmingham, p. 103
84. *Ibid.*, p. 130

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Saiful Umam is lecturer at the Faculty of Letters, State Islamic University (UIN) Syarif Hidayatullah, Jakarta.