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Pesantren and Tarekat in the Modern Era: An Account on the Transmission of Traditional Islam in Java

Abstarksi: *Di Jawa, pesantren dan tarekat adalah dua lembaga yang biasanya menyandang cap Islam tradisional. Kedua lembaga ini mempunyai misi sama, yaitu menyampaikan dan melestarikan tradisi Islam dari generasi ke generasi. Pesantren lebih mengkhususkan misinya pada transmisi tradisi Islam di kalangan generasi muda agar mereka siap mengambil peran-peran aktif dalam masyarakat tanpa melupakan tujuan jangka panjang, yaitu mencari keselamatan dan kebahagiaan hidup di akhirat. Sedangkan tarikat lebih mengutamakan transmisi tradisi Islam di kalangan orang tua agar mereka siap meghadapai hidup di akhirat kelak di saat terasa akhir hayat semakin mendekat. Sering juga terjadi kedua misi tersebut sekaligus ada pada, atau diemban oleh, lembaga yang sama. Pesantren Buntet adalah salah satu contoh yang vitalitas dan dinamikanya dalam mengemban misi tersebut menarik untuk diamati.*

Pesantren Buntet sudah berusia tua, didirikan tahun 1750 oleh Kyai Muqayim, penghulu Keraton Cirebon. Setelah meletakkan jabatannya sebagai penghulu, Kyai Muqayim menyingkir ke desa lalu mendirikan pesantren. Ia merasa tidak tahan melihat kenyataan terlalu dalamnya campur tangan Belanda ke dalam urusan internal keraton. Para petinggi Keraton bukan saja takluk kepada kemauan penjajah, tetapi juga meniru tingkah laku mereka melalui gaya hidup dan perilaku yang kebarat-baratan, termasuk dansa dansi dan minum minuman keras. Yang lebih menyakitkannya lagi adalah kenyataan bahwa sejak tahun 1702 Belanda melarang dilaksanakannya pengajaran agama dalam lingkungan Keraton. Kesemuanya itu membuat posisinya sebagai penghulu tidak lebih dari sebagai penghias struktur formal tradisi Keraton.

Pesantren yang terletak kira-kira 14 Km sebelah tenggara Kotamadya Cirebon, Jawa Barat, ini kini masih tegak berdiri. Selain sebagai lembaga

pendidikan yang menampung ribuan santri, pesantren Buntet juga merupakan pusat gerakan tarekat, yaitu Syattariyah dan Tijaniyah. Di Indonesia keduanya termasuk mu'tabarah. Tarekat Syattariyah datang dan tumbuh lebih dahulu dengan pengikut ribuan orang, sedang tarekat Tijaniyah datang dan tumbuh kemudian, namun perkembangannya sangat pesat. Dalam konteks Tijaniyah inilah diskusi tentang Buntet menjadi lebih menarik, karena pihak Tijaniyah dianggap oleh tarekat lain sebagai pengundang kontroversi; padahal, Buntet merupakan satu dari dua gerbang bagi masuk dan berkembangnya Tijaniyah di Jawa dan di Indonesia pada umumnya.

Pendiri Tarekat Tijaniyah adalah Abu Abbas Ahmad al-Tijani, yang dilahirkan di Fez (Algeria) pada 1150 H/1737 M. Sesudah melalui jalan panjang dalam meniti jalan sufi, Abu Abbas al-Tijani mengajukan klaim-klaim untuk diri dan tarekatnya yang, menurut penilaian non-Tijani, eksklusif dan berlebih-lebihan. Kesan ini juga menyangkut doktrin yang dibawanya, sedangkan tiadanya silsilah spiritual dari guru ke guru sampai Nabi Muhammad saw. sebagaimana lazimnya dikenal dalam tradisi tarekat turut melengkapi kesalahpahaman dengan pihak lain. Dengan demikian kontroversi tentang Tijaniyah memang menyentuh masalah inti yang secara langsung menyangkut keabsahan sebuah organisasi tarekat. Tidak mengherankan kalau sejak didirikan Tarekat Tijaniyah banyak menghadapi tantangan dan hambatan.

Kehadiran Tijaniyah di Indonesia juga tidak sepi dengan tantangan semacam itu, terutama dari tarekat-tarekat yang sudah lebih dahulu ada seperti Naqsyabandiyah, Qadiriyyah, Khalwatiyyah, Syadziliyyah dan Syattariyyah. Kontroversi ini segera mengundang intervensi NU, organisasi Islam tradisional yang mengayomi berbagai organisasi tarekat. Dalam kongresnya di Cirebon pada 1931, diputuskan bahwa Tijaniyah termasuk tarekat mu'tabarah. Keputusan ini ternyata tidak menghentikan tantangan kepadanya, terutama dari luar NU. Bahkan dari kalangan NU sendiri gugatan terhadap Tijaniyah muncul kembali dalam kongres Situbondo 1984. Namun gugatan dalam kongres yang menghasilkan 'kembali ke Khittah 1926' itu ternyata gagal sehingga status Tijaniyah sebagai tarekat mu'tabarah tetap tak tergoyahkan.

Tarekat Tijaniyah mulai dikenal di Indonesia sejak akhir 1920-an melalui dua pintu, yaitu Jawa Barat dan Jawa Timur. Pintu Jawa Barat dibuka oleh Syekh Ali al-Tayib al-Madani dengan membaiai tujuh orang kyai sebagai muqaddam, pendekar; termasuk di antara 'the magnificent Seven' tersebut adalah Kyai Abbas, Kyai Anas dan Kyai Akyas, yang kemudian memegang peran kunci bagi perkembangan Tijaniyah selanjutnya. Sedangkan pintu Jawa timur dibuka oleh Abdul Hamid al-Futi dengan membaiai dua kyai setempat sebagai muqaddam.

الباسانترين والطرق الصوفية في العصر الجديد

الخلاصة: كان في جاوة سواء الباسانترين (pesantren) يعني المعهد الديني أو الطريقة الصوفية عبارة غالبا تعملان وتخلدان التقليد الإسلامي من جيل إلى جيل. وكلاهما أكثر اهتماما في تخصيص رسالته في تحويل التقاليد الإسلامية في أوساط الجيل الصاعد حتى يكون على استعداد لاستلام القيادة الفعلية في المجتمع من اهمال الهدف البعيد المدى مع البحث عن السلامة والسعادة المعيشية في الآخرة، بينما الطريقة تهتم أكثر على تحويل التقاليد الإسلامية في أوساط الكبار حتى يكونوا على استعداد لمواجهة الحياة الأخرية في أثناء يشعرون قربت نهايتهم الدنيوية كثيرا ما يحدث أن كلا من هاتين الرسلتين في وقت واحد موجودتان أو تتولاهما مؤسسة ما. قضية حادثة المعهد الديني بونتيت (Buntet) كانت أحد الأمثلة الحية وديناميكية في هذه الدعاية تشير إلى التنبه لها.

هذا المعهد الديني قديم ذو عمر طويل إذ أنشئ في سنة ١٧٥٠ أسسه كياهي مقيم (Kiai Muqayim)، مأذون قصر السلطان في تشيربون (Cirebon). وقد اختار مقيم ترك وظيفته كمأذون للخروج من خدام القصر

والاعتزال في القرية ثم أسس هذا المعهد الدينى انه غير متحمل رؤية الواقع الذى يعبر عن عمق تدخل اليد الهولندية في شئون القصر.

ومن التهكم أن كبار موظفى القصر ليسوا طائعين لإرادة الحكومة الاستعمارية فحسب بل يقلدون التصرفات فى طريقة حياتها وأسلوب الحياة الغربية ولاسيما فى القيام بالرقصات وشرب الخمر. والذى أثر فيه أكثر من ذلك هو المظهر الذى يبرز سنويا منذ سنة ١٧٠٢ أن الحكومة الهولندية تمنع الدرس الدينى فى محيط القصر. هذا كله يودى إلى عمله كماأذون لا يتجاوز عن كونه مكملا للبناء الرسمى للسلطنة فحسب.

فالمعهد الواقع عن بعد ١٤ كم عن جنوب شرقى محافظة تشيربون فى جاوة الغربية مازال قائما إلى وقتنا هذا. علاوة عن كونه مؤسسة تربية التى تضم آلاف طلاب العلم فإنه مركز حركة الطريقة يعنى الطريقة الشاطرية والطريقة التيجانية، وفى إندونيسيا كلتا الطريقتان معتبرتان. فالطريقة الشاطرية جاءت وانتشرت قبل الطريقة التيجانية وأعضاؤها قد بلغوا الآلاف بينما الطريقة التيجانية جاءت وانتشرت عقب ذلك، ولكن توسعها جد سريع.

فى الصبغة التيجانية قد بحثت عن معهد بونتيت الذى زاد سمعة لأن الجهة التيجانية تعتبرها الطرق الأخرى تحتوى على المناقشة المتواجهة. وفى الجهات الأخرى تعتبر بونتيت يقبض على نفوذ بعيد الأهمية لأنه يعد واحدا من مدخلين للانتساب والانتشار إلى التيجانية فى جاوة خاصة وفى إندونيسيا عامة.

مؤسس الطريقة التيجانية هو أبو عباس أحمد التيجانى المولود فى فاس الجزائر سنة ١١٥٠ هـ/١٧٣٧ م. بعد المرور على طريق طويل فى دراسة التصوف فقدم قضايا لنفسه ولطريقته التى حسب غير التيجانيين خارجة وأكثر غلوا بخصوص المبادئ التى أتى بها وسلسلته الروحانية التى وصلت إلى النبى محمد صلى الله عليه وسلم كما هو معروف لدى تقليد الطرق. فبذلك التضارب الفكرى عن التيجانية -فى الواقع- تمس المسألة الجوهرية التى عن طريق المباشرة متعلقة بصحة مؤسسة الطريقة الصوفية، ليس غريبا أنه منذ إنشاء

الطريقة التيجانية انها قد واجهت كثيرا من العراقيل والعوائق. إن حضور التيجانية إلى إندونيسيا لم يكن خاليا من تلك العراقيل والعوائق ولاسيما من الطرق الأخرى السابقة عنها من النقشابندية والقادرية والخلواتية والشاذلية والشاطرية. هذه الاختلافات سريعا ما تدعو إلى تدخيل جمعية نهضة العلماء، تلك المنظمة الإسلامية التقليدية التي تحتضن مختلف الطرق الصوفية. في مؤتمرها في تشيربون سنة ١٩٣١، قد قرر بأن التيجانية داخلة في الطرق المعتمدة. هذا القرار - في الظاهر - لا يوقف المعارضة ضد هذه الطريقة ولاسيما من خارج نهضة العلماء بل من داخل نهضة العلماء نفسها التي قامت فيها جبهته المعارضة ضد التيجانية وظهرت هذه المعارضة في مؤتمر سيتوبونديو (Situbondo) سنة ١٩٨٤، بينما النقذ في المؤتمر المفاجئ الذي قرر فيه العودة إلى خطة سنة ١٩٢٦ قد فشل حتى وضع التيجانية كطريقة معتبرة لم يتزعزع.

الطريقة التيجانية قد عرفت أولا في إندونيسيا منذ آخر العشرينات من بايين وهما أولا جاوة الغربية و جاوة الشرقية. باب جاوة الغربية قد فتحه الشيخ علي الطيب المدني ببيعه سبعة أشخاص كياهي الناشرين من هؤلاء السبعة العظماء ثلاثة إخوة من بونيت وهم كياهي عباس وكياهي أنس وكياهي أكياس الذي أخيرا أمسك مفتاح الحركة في نشر التيجانية التالية، بينما باب جاوة الشرقية قد فتحه عبد الحميد الفتوي مع بيعته كياهيين كمقدمين.

وحاليا قد انتشرت الطريقة التيجانية في جاوة خاصة وفي إندونيسيا عامة وقدرتها في تولى القيادة ونشر الفكرة قد صارت منبعثة زنشيطة والحياة التقليدية الإسلامية الحية على وجه العموم على الأقل منذ أماد من الأوقات لا تقل عن قرنين ونصف قرن تقريبا. في أداء هذه الرسالة التي لا تنتهي ودون انقطاع فإنه سواء المعهد الديني أو الطرق الصوفية قد صاروا العنصرين اللذين أعطيا جوابا للسؤال المتسائل عن لماذا أثر الإسلام في جاوة في غاية الكمال.

Introduction

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

The *tarekat* is usually associated with *tasawuf*. The objective of joining a *tarekat* comes after a commitment to the sufi way (*tasawuf*) is taken by means of cleansing the heart (*tasfiyat al-qalb*). In practice, *tasawuf* is a strict adoption of the Islamic precepts through observance of both obligatory and recommended religious work for attaining God's favor. Although not always, the by-product of doing *tasawuf*, if God's favor is obtained, is the ability of the individual to attain the knowledge of the Divine Truths, the Essence (*hakekat*). The attainment of the Truth is *ma'rifat*, literally meaning knowing the Reality (gnosis). *Ma'rifat* (gnosis) is knowing the *haqiqah*, the Essence or Divine Truth. This *hakekat* can be attained by following *tasawuf*, cleansing the heart. It is said that to many people, doing *tasawuf*, although not essential, is much easier and more convenient if it is carried out by following a certain *tarekat* (path). Whichever one would choose, the pre-requisite for following *tarekat* is the observance of *syare'at*. As not every Muslim observes the *syare'at*, not every Muslim who observes the *syare'at* wishes to follow a *tarekat*. In turn, not all the Muslims who follow a certain *tarekat* could attain the *hakekat* and thus experience *ma'rifat*. In local, popular, Javanese usage *syare'at*, *tarekat*, *hakekat* and *ma'rifat* form a sequence to characterize the degree of piety in which the first is the lowest and the last is the highest. Due to either individual or societal factors only *wali* (lit. "friend of God") is thought to be likely to reach *ma'rifat*.

To figure out how a certain *tarekat* manifests itself within a Javanese socio-religious context, in this paper, I would like to present a brief account of two *tarekat*, the Shattâriyyah and the Tijâniyyah, operating at Pesantren Buntet which is located in Desa Mertapada Kulon, District of Astanajapura, about 14 km south-east of the city of Cirebon, West Java. This *pesantren* is acclaimed as one of the oldest in Java. It was firstly established in 1750 by Kyai Muqayim, known as Mbah Muqayim, formerly Court Religious Official (*Penghulu*) of Cirebon Royal House (*Kraton Cirebon*). Opposing the Dutch intrusion into the internal affairs of the *kraton*, and seeing some of the *kraton* dignitaries subserviently fall into the embrace of the Dutch rule (some of them even exhibited behavior which was against the *shari'ah* such as dancing and drinking alcohol)³ Mbah Muqayim left his position in the *kraton* and went to a village in favor of living outside the *kraton* wall. He established a mosque and a hut where he and his followers dwelt and began to teach religion. Bearing his former honorable position as *Penghulu Kraton*, along with his profound knowledge of religion and exemplary behavior, he attracted many students and soon his hut was full of learners and they had to erect more huts. Finally, it became a learning centre and develops into a *pesantren* complex which evolves until this day. Now, this pesantren has grown and is currently one of the biggest *pesantrens* in West Java, with more than 4000 *santri*.⁴ Putting the Buntet case into a wider context, I would say that especially in Java, *pesantren* and *tarekat* are institutions whose role in the transmission and maintenance of religious traditions has been crucially important.

Early Tarekat in Buntet: Shattâriyyah

Pesantren Buntet gives homage to two *tarekat*, the Shattâriyyah, which came earlier and the Tijâniyyah which came later. Both belong to the *tarekat mu'tabarab* (accepted *tarekat*).⁵ Although since its first stage Pesantren Buntet has been associated with Shattâriyyah (the Shattâriyyah Order),⁶ the formal introduction of this *tarekat* within the *pesantren* circle is said to have been announced publicly only after Kyai Anwaruddin Kriyani al-Malebari (Ki Buyut Kriyan) arrived. When Kyai Mutta'ad led the *pesantren*, Kyai Anwaruddin, married Nyai Ruhillah, daughter of Kyai Mutta'ad; after that he publicly set up the *tarekat* in Pesantren Buntet.

Table-1

The Spiritual Genealogy (*Silsilah*) of Tarekat
Shattariyyah at Buntet

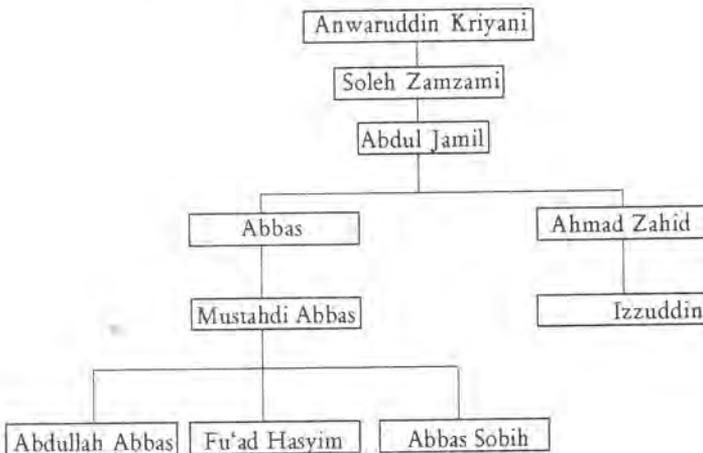
1. *The Prophet Muhammad*
2. *Ali bin Abi Talib*
3. *Husein*
4. *Zain al-'Abidin*
5. *Al-Baqir*
6. *Ja'far Sadig*
7. *Abi Yazid al-Bustami*
8. *Mubammad Maghribi*
9. *Abi Yazid al-'Asbaq*
10. *Abi Mudaffar Turki al-Tusi*
11. *Hasan Khirqani*
12. *Hadaqlly*
13. *Mubammad 'Asbiq*
14. *'Arif*
15. *Abdillab Shattari*
16. *Qadbi Shattari*
17. *Hidayatillab Sarimat*
18. *Hudari*
19. *Al-Ghawth*
20. *Sibghatillab*
21. *Abmad Shanani [al-Shinwâni]*
22. *Abmad Qashbaji [al-Qushâshî]*
23. *Malla Ibrahim al-Mu'alla [Ibrâhim al-Kûrânî]*
24. *Tahir [Ibn Ibrâhim al-Kûrânî]*
25. *Ibrabim*
26. *Tabir Madani*
27. *Mubammad Sayid Madani*
28. *Kyai Asy'ari*
29. *Mubammad Amwaruddin Kriyani (Ki Buyut Kriyan).*

Trimingham describes Shattâriyyah's origins as being obscure. The tarekat is claimed to be in the Taifuri tradition but its foundation is attributed to 'Abdallâh al-Shattâr, a descendant of Shihâb ad-Dîn as-Suhrawardî. According to Trimingham 'Abdallâh was sent by his *pir* (a leader of the order), Muhammad 'Arif, to India; first to Jawnpur, then to Mandu where he died in 1428/9. His Path was spread by his pupils, especially Muhammad 'Alâ', known as Qazan Shattari of Bengal. Its full development as a distinctive order is attributed to Shâh Muhammad Ghawth of Gwalior (circa. 1517) who was succeeded by Shâh Wajîh al-Dîn (circa. 1018/1609) who, in Gujerat, was known as a great saint. Although its chain clearly links with Suhrawardiyyah, this *tarekat* does not regard itself as an offshoot of any order. In Iran and Turan Shattâriyyah was known as 'Ishqiyyah, and in Ottoman

Turkey as Bistâmiyyah.⁷ It was brought to Indonesia (Aceh) by Abdul Rauf Singkel, who brought with him the theosophical doctrines of the seven stages of creation (*Martabat Tujuh*). Among his students was Shaykh Abdul Muhyi who brought the *tarekat* to south Priangan (West Java) via Cirebon.⁸ Although it is said that before going to south Priangan Shaykh Muhyi married and lived in Cirebon for some period of time, Tarekat Shattâriyyah in Buntet has no link with him nor with Abdul Rauf Singkel because the Shattâriyyah came to Buntet from a different source.

In Buntet, Kyai Anwaruddin Kriyani al-Malebari (Ki Buyut Kriyan), the founder of the Shattâriyyah order in Buntet received his authority as a *murshid* (leader) from Kyai Asy'ary of Kaliwungu (Central Java). Table-1 shows the spiritual genealogy (*silsilah*) of Kyai Asy'ari to whom Kyai Anwaruddin in turn traced his authority. The latter therefore, is the 29th in the genealogical chain that relates him spiritually to the Prophet. As a Shattariyyah *murshid*, Kyai Anwaruddin in turn authorized Kyai Muhammad Saleh Zamzami, the founder of Pesantren Benda at Benda Kerep, to become a new *murshid* when Kyai Zamzami was 57 years old (1317/1898). Kyai Saleh Zamzami authorized his brother at Buntet, Kyai Abdul Jamil, who authorized first Kyai Abbas and then Kyai Ahmad Zahid. Kyai Abbas authorized Kyai Mustahdi, who authorized Kyai Abdullah Abbas, Kyai Fu'ad Hasyim and Abbas Shobih (Kang Obih). Kyai Ahmad Zahid, on the other hand, authorized Kyai Izzuddin (Figure-1).

Figure-1
Recruitment of Shattâriyyah *Murshid* in Buntet



In addition to this, Tarekat Shattâriyyah is said to have been part of *kraton* traditions but it seems to have a different genealogy. The present Shattâriyyah *murshid* within the *kraton* circle is P.S. Sulendraningrat of Kaprabonan at Lemah Wungkuk. He is a 15th descendant of Sunan Gunung Jati and the writer of *Sejarah Cirebon* and *Babad Tanah Sunda, Babad Cerbon*.⁹ Mbah Muqayim who was *Penghulu Kraton*, the founder of Pesantren Buntet, is said to have been a *murshid* of Shattâriyyah *kraton* although in Buntet he did not recruit members or, if he did, it was not done publicly. In Buntet Tarekat Shattâriyyah had won thousands of followers but after the death of Kyai Mustahdi its organizational significance has diminished considerably.¹⁰ Now, this *tarekat* still persists and is still strong in Benda Kerep (within the city of Cirebon), but in Buntet it seems to have been left as a mere individual observance rather than a well organized group.¹¹

Tarekat Tijâniyyah

Currently in Buntet, another *tarekat*, the Tijâniyyah, is much more dominant than Shattâriyyah. Tijaniyyah seems to be more attractive among the Javanese and thus, with special reference to Buntet, it deserves a special mention. In addition to this, as we shall see, Buntet has been one of the important door-ways for the further spread of this *tarekat* to other parts of Java, especially West Java. It is this special role that I wish to stress in the subsequent discussion.¹²

The Origin of Tijâniyyah

Tarekat Tijâniyyah was founded by Abû-'Abbâs Ahmad who claimed to be the 21st descendant of the Prophet Muhammad. He was born in 1150/1737 at 'Ayu Mâdî in south Algeria. His father, Muhammad bin Mukhtar, is said to have been a pious man of learning who lived and taught at 'Ayû Mâdî, whereas his mother, "Sayyidah 'Aishah binti 'Abdullâh bin al-Sanûsî-al-Tijânî" was of the original Tijânî tribe of 'Ayû Mâdî and thus the name al-Tijânî for Abû-'Abbâs Ahmad is derived from his mother.¹³

At seven years of age, Ahmad al-Tijânî is said to have read the whole Qur'an well, especially in Nafi' style (*qirâ'at Nafi'*). He then studied various religious subjects. He learned *Mukhtashar al-Shaykh Khalîl*, a summary of Malikite jurisprudence, read *Risâlah Jamâ'ah al-Sûfiyyah bi Bilâd al-Islâm* by Abû al-Qâsim al-Qusayrî, studied *Muqaddima* of Ibn Rushd and al-Akhdari and became a learned figure. He taught a number of students and gave *fatwâ* (legal judgement) when

he was 20. At 21 years of age he felt a call to the Sufi life and started travelling. He came to Fez in 1171/1757-8 in search of Sufi shaykh, studied the Prophetic traditions and joined three Sufi brotherhoods, the Qâdiriyyah, the Nashîriyyah and the *tariqah* of Ahmad al-Habib bin Muhammad.¹⁴ Among the Sufi shaykh whom Ahmad al-Tijânî met was Muhammad bin Hasan al-Wanjalî a great *wali* of his time who, at mount Zabib, said that al-Tijânî would have a position (*maqam*) equal to al-Shâdhilî. Ahmad al-Tijânî became a real Sufi at 31 after contemplation (*riyadah*) for a period of time.¹⁵

Ahmad al-Tijânî went to Tunis, then to Mecca on pilgrimage in 1186/1772-3. On his way to Mecca he stopped at Azwawi, a town near Algiers and became initiated into the Khalwatiyyah order with Mahmâd ibn 'Abdul Rahmân. He spent a year in Tunis, teaching the *Kitâb al-Hikam* of Ibn Atâ' Allâh, then went to Egypt to meet Shaykh Mahmûd al-Kurdî, the Khalwatiyyah chief in Cairo. He reached Mecca on Shawwâl 1187/1773-4, then performed his Hajj. In Mecca he tried to meet a great Indian, Sufi Ahmad bin 'Abdullâh al-Hindî. Although he failed to meet him in person, via al-Hindî's servant, al-Tijânî received a written message from him saying that al-Tijânî had inherited all al-Hindî's occult mystical learning, and that al-Tijânî would reach an equal status with Abû al-Hasan al-Shâdhilî. Two months after that al-Hindî died.¹⁶

Table-2

Ancestral Genealogy of Abû Abbâs Ahmad al-Tijânî
The founder of Tijâniyyah order

1. The Prophet Muhammad
2. 'Ali bin Abî Tâlib
3. Hasan al-Sibî
4. Hasan al-Muthanna
5. Abdullâh
6. Muhammad an-Nafs al-Zakiyyah
7. Ahmad
8. 'Ali Zayn al-'Âbidîn
9. Ishâq
10. Idrîs
11. 'Abdul Jabbâr
12. 'Abbâs
13. 'Abdillâh
14. 'Alî
15. Ahmad
16. Ahmad al-'Alwânî
17. Salîm
18. Muhammad
19. Mukhtâr
20. Muhammad
21. Abû 'Abbâs Ahmad al-Tijânî

After finishing his pilgrimage al-Tijānî went to Madinah to visit the Prophet's tomb and met Shaykh 'Abdul Karîm as-Sammânî, the Sammâniyyah chief (a branch of Khalwatiyyah), who foretold his potential for becoming the dominant *qutb* (pole). Al-Tijānî left Arabia in 1191/1777-8 for Africa via Egypt where Mahmûd al-Kurdî authorized him to preach the Khalwatiyyah order in North Africa. He did not return to 'Ayn Mâdî however, but went to Fez and then settled in Tlemsen (Algeria) until 1196/1781-2. From Tlemsen he went to Shallala and settled in Sidi Abi Samghun, an oasis 75 miles south of Geryville. There, in that year (1196/1781-2), he marked the foundation of the Tijâniyyah order when he announced to his followers that the Prophet appeared to him in daylight while he was fully conscious and in active mind (*yaqdah*), not dreaming. The Prophet, he said, authorized him to start a new work of *al-tarbiyyah* (spiritual guidance) and assigned him his order's *wird* (litanies), consisting of *istighfâr* (asking God's pardon) 100 times and *salarwat* (exaltation of the Prophet Muhammad) 100 times.¹⁷

In AH 1200, al-Tijānî claimed, the Prophet reappeared and completed the litanies with *hailalah* (uttering there is no God but Allah). Fourteen months later, on Muharram AH 1214 al-Tijānî claimed to have reached a position of 'the pole of (*walî*) poles' (*al-qutbaniyyah al-'uzma*) which means that he obtained the 'highest rank of the highest' within the current *walî* hierarchy. On 18th Safar of the same year he attained another position, 'the hidden seal of all poles' (*al-khatm wa al-katm*) or 'the hidden end of the highest pole.' This implied that there would be no more *walî* pole whose position is higher than himself.¹⁸ Bearing two positions simultaneously, al-Tijānî relinquished his former affiliation with the four orders with the assertion that along with teaching him the litanies for his order in person, the Prophet himself also ordered al-Tijānî to give up all his former affiliations with the other orders. This was an official proclamation that al-Tijānî only recognized the Prophet as his master and hence the Tijaniyyah adherents claimed their order as *al-Tarîqah al-Muhammadiyyah*, a name similar to that claimed by the followers of Sanûsiyyah and Kittâniyyah for their own *tarekat*.¹⁹ Al-Tijānî died on 12 Shawwâl 1230/22 September 1815 when he was 80 years old. He was buried in Fez.

Some Tijâniyyah's Essential Doctrines

There are some essential doctrines which mark Tijâniyyah as being distinct from other *tarekat*. I wish to mention briefly some of

them before discussing the specific role of Pesantren Buntet with regard to this *tarekat*. Trimmingham characterized Tijâniyyah as belonging to the 19th century revival movement mainly because:

He (Ahmad al-Tijânî, the founder of the *tarekat*) imposed no penances or retreats and the ritual was not complicated. He emphasized above all the need for intercessor between God and man, the intercessor of the age being himself and his successors. His followers were strictly forbidden, not merely to pay the 'ashd of allegiance to any other shaykh, but to make invocations to any *wali* other than himself ...²⁰

It is a common belief among the Sufis that their shaykh are organized in a spiritual hierarchy, hence a Sufi of high reputation of sanctity and learning, could claim to have attained a certain rank in the hierarchy. His followers had only to accept on trust what their Shaykh's claimed.²¹ In this context, al-Tijânî took the liberty of claiming to occupy two of the highest positions simultaneously, one being *Qutb al-Aqtab* (the Pole of the Poles) the other being *Khatm al-Wilâyah al-Muhammadiyah* (the Seal of Muhammadan Sainthood). This two-fold position in relation to other *walî* is drawn parallel to the position of the Prophet Muhammad vis-à-vis other prophets. The Prophet Muhammad was the *Khatm* (seal) of the prophets in the sense that he was to complete all the marvels of the other prophets, and that there would be no prophet sent to earth after him. Al-Tijânî on the other hand, was the *Khatm* of the *walî* in the sense that he bore a complete and perfect embodiment of *wilayah* before and after him, and that if ever there may be other *walî* after him, none would surpass or supersede al-Tijânî in rank.²²

Al-Tijânî is not a unique claimant of the *Qutb al-Aqtab* and the *Khatm al-Wilâyâh*. This position had been claimed by Muhyî al-Din ibn al-'Arabi. He was a famous Andalusian Sufi in the 13th century whose theosophical concepts greatly influenced al-Tijânî especially regarding the concept of *al-khatm*.²³ The position was also claimed in the 14th century by an Egyptian 'Alî bin Wafâ' for his father, Muhammad bin Wafâ', and by the founder of Kittâniyyah order, Muhammad bin al-Kabîr al-Kittânî of Morocco in the 19th century.²⁴ The Tijânîs however, assert that later on, Ibn al-'Arabi found that he himself had been mistaken and thus he wrote in his *al-Futûhât al-Makkiyyah* that the *Khatm al-Wilâyah al-Muhammadiyah* would be a man of noble Arab origin, living in his (Ibn 'Arabi's) own time, in Fez, and when God would try to locate this man among people, they would not believe him. Besides the fact that no one else in Fez had

announced such a claim, except that "the *Khatm al-Wilâyah* would be living in his (Ibn al-'Arabi's) time," all points to Ibn al-'Arabi's formal disavowal for his own status to be taken over by the Tijânîs to confirm al-Tijânî's position.²⁵

Claiming this superior position above other *walî*, along with giving up his affiliation with other orders al-Tijânî posited his own order to excel the others. This claim, in turn, was formed into a doctrine which requires that all Tijânî followers should neither join any other orders nor seek for *barâkah* from other *walî* by visiting them, dead or alive. Further, as every Tijânî is required to bind his heart completely to his own Tijânî Shaykh, no Tijânî follower is allowed to associate with any other order at the same time. Thus, anyone who would like to become a Tijânî should be spiritually free. If he is a member of a certain order he has to give up his membership in his former order. The prohibition for a Tijânî to join another *tarekat* is however accompanied by the Tijânîyyah rejoicing doctrines. *Kitâb al-Rimah* affirms al-Tijânî's assertion that (by the will of God) his faithful companions shall not enter the *mahshar* with other laymen.²⁶ While being at the *Mahshar*, Tijânîyyah followers will not encounter suffering even for a second until they are settled in the highest heavens. On the Day of Judgement faithful Tijânî companions will not stay at the stations amidst the mass of laymen; instead they will rest under the shadow of God's Throne. In addition, the Prophet himself had taught al-Tijânî in words, the *salâwat Jawharat al-Kamâl*, and affirmed that whoever recites this *salâwat*, will have the Prophet and the Four Companions present with him during the recital.²⁷ All the rejoicing and other doctrines tend to impress exclusivity, as if the Tijânî followers were above the other Muslims and this, certainly, provokes disagreement, even refutations.

Another feature worth mentioning, which distinguishes Tijânîyyah from other *tarekat*, is concerned with the notion of a spiritual genealogy chain (*silsilah*). In ordinary Sufi traditions, a *tarekat*, including the already mentioned Shattâriyyah, will produce a long list of names by which the present Shaykh and the founder of the *tarekat* are linked together spiritually in terms of master-to-master lineage, back to al-Junayd or al-Bustâmî and via 'Alî or Abû Bakr, to the Prophet Muhammad. It is this *silsilah* that validates that its rituals come from the Prophet and that ensures the flow of *barâkah*. Contrary to this, al-Tijânî produced no *silsilah* because, as al-Tijani himself claimed, and as 'Alî al-Harâzim puts it in his *Jawâbir al-Ma'ânî* (an official Tijânî reference), the Prophet appeared to him when he

was awake (*yaqdah*) and instructed him in all the litanies and the number of times they were to be repeated.²⁸ Thus, if present *muqaddam* (Tijâniyyah shaykh), have a *silsilah*, it will be much shorter than that which is ordinarily known for a Sufi *silsilah*.²⁹

Currently Tijâniyyah has become an established order throughout the Muslim world including Indonesia, and especially in Java. With all its peculiarities and crucial points it has encountered opposition and rejection over time. An serious early rejection came from Muhammad al-Khidr bin Mâ Ya'ba (1927). In his *Mustaba al-Kharif al-Tijânî*, al-Khidr devoted a full chapter to recount the absurdity of al-Tijânî's claim. He also attempted to prove that al-Tijânî's claim has no grounds in the Prophetic traditions. The Tijânîs, on the other hand, consider that what had happened with their master and the presumed direct communication with the Prophet while he was awake was a sign of the Prophet's favor and thus ensured the status of the *tarekat* as being above others.³⁰ In addition, al-Khidr's attitude towards the Tijâniyyah seems to have been motivated, at least partly, by political outlook rather than purely on theological grounds. This is due to the fact that upon the death of al-Tijânî and the collapse of the Turkish rule, al-Tijânî's successors, for their own reasons (probably due to the opposition from other *tarekat*), brought Tijâniyyah into subservient co-operation with French colonialism in Algeria, at that time.³¹

When Tijâniyyah was brought to Java at the end of 1920s and in the early the 1930s, similar refutations also came from some already established orders such as Naqshbandiyyah, Qâdiriyyah, Shattâriyyah, Shâdhiliyyah and Khalwatiyyah.³² The most notable one came from Sayyid 'Abdullâh bin Sadâqah Dahlân, an Arab who settled in Java, the nephew of Sayyid Ahmad bin Zaynî Dahlân, a distinguished Shafi'ite Muftî in Madinah. In the same way as Muhammad al-Khidr bin Mâ Ya'ba did, Sayid 'Abdullâh referred to the crucial points contained in the Tijâniyyah doctrines. He recounted the fallacies of the doctrines, and denounced them by saying that some '*ulamâ'* in Morocco, Egypt and Hijaz had accepted Tijâniyyah as untrue.³³ The crisscrossing arguments for and against Tijâniyyah that prevailed at that time called for intervention from the Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), the traditionalist Muslim organization that takes a number of *tarekat* under its umbrella. In its sixth Congress in August 1931, held in Cirebon, in which Kyai Adlan Ali, a prominent figure of Pesantren Cukir, Jombang (East Java) was appointed Chairman, the Tijâniyyah issue was included in the agenda. After a long and exhausting debate

chaired by Kyai Hasyim Asy'ari, the Congress finally agreed that Tijâniyyah is *mu'tabarrah*. This, nevertheless, did not end the anti-Tijâniyyah campaign especially outside the NU circle. Further refutation, for example, came from Kyai Muhammad Ismail of Cracak (Cirebon), a distinguished Shaykh of the Qâdiriyyah wan-Naqshbandiyyah order who personally was not affiliated to the NU. Through his pamphlets, he raised renewed and sophisticated arguments similar to those expounded by earlier anti-Tijâniyyah proponents.³⁴

Quite recently, another refutation even came from within the NU circle when Kyai As'ad of Pondok Kramat in Pasuruan (East Java) issued a 94 page manuscript.³⁵ The manuscript was a translation in the Madurese vernacular of the *Wudûh al-Dalâ'il*, originally written on 26 Râbi' al-Thânî 1930/19-20 (September 1930). Through this translation he turned the Tijâniyyah issue from being a scholarly concern to a public concern. The polemic became complicated, albeit degraded, because some non-'ulamâ' became involved in the affair.³⁶ In a session held on December 1984 at Pesantren Nurul Qadim, Probolinggo (East Java), Kyai As'ad demanded that the NU review the Cirebon decision regarding the legitimacy of the Tijâniyyah. In the session which was part of the 27th NU Congress centered at Pesantren Asem Bagus, Situbondo (East Java), Kyai As'ad encountered strong opposition from other *kyai* (traditional 'ulamâ') and failed to have his demand put into effect.³⁷ The result was that the status of Tijâniyyah as *mu'tabarrah* remained unshaken.

Under seemingly continuous opposition, Tarekat Tijâniyyah keeps growing. It relies on simple rites relative to other *tarekat*, yet promises its adherents high spiritual efficacy and merit. Together with its friendly attitude towards worldly life rather than the ascetic tendency usually exhibited by other Sufi orders, "Tijâniyyah is suitable for every one, even the busy people of modern times; it is even suitable for civil servants," said Kyai 'Abdullah Syifa, a Tijâniyyah *muqaddam* at Buntet. Currently, Tijâniyyah enjoys wide acceptance from many people ranging from 'ulamâ', state dignitaries, and intellectuals to ordinary laymen.³⁸

The Role of Buntet

In his special account on the rise of Tijâniyyah on Java, Pijper states that Tarekat Tijâniyyah was not known in Java before 1928. A wandering Arab, born in Madinah, Shaykh 'Alî bin 'Abdullâh al-Tayyîb al-Azharî, is held responsible for the introduction of this

tarekat to Java, especially through his work, *Kitâb al-Munyah fi al-Tarîqat al-Tijâniyyah*, Tasikmalaya: 1349/January 1928, a treatise on *Munyah al-Murîd*.³⁹ Pijper points out further that from the age of nine, Shaykh 'Alî al-Tayyîb had studied in Cairo where he remained for 20 years; he then stayed and taught in Mecca for six years. He returned to Madinah and worked as a *mufitî* for about ten years, then came to Java. First he stayed in Cianjur, then successively in Bogor, Tasikmalaya and back in Cianjur. In Java his life included teaching and extensive travel from Banten to Surabaya selling religious books, including his own work, *Kitâb Mishkat al-Anwar fi Sirat al-Nabî al-Mukhtar*, Tasikmalaya: (undated). Pijper claimed that he had met Shaykh 'Alî al-Tayyîb at his house on the slope of mount Gede in Cianjur.⁴⁰

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

Muhammad bin 'Alî bin 'Abdullâh al-Tayyîb (al-Azhari) who stayed in Bogor. Thus, according to local Tijânî sources, the spread of Tijâniyyah in Java is mainly attributed to two figures, one was 'Ali al-Tayyib al-Madani, an authoritative scholar in Madinah who formed the gate way to West Java by recruiting seven West Javanese *muqaddam*, the other was 'Abd al-Hamîd al-Fûtî, also a distinguished scholar in Arabia who formed the gate way to East Java by recruiting two East Javanese. Table-3 shows that 'Alî al-Tayyîb al-Madani, who was held responsible for the spread of Tijâniyyah in West Java, traced his spiritual genealogy with Ahmad al-Tijânî through two different sources: Shaykh Adam bin Muhammad Saib al-Barnawî and Shaykh Muhammad Alfa Hashîm.⁴¹ This spiritual link can also be seen from Figure-2

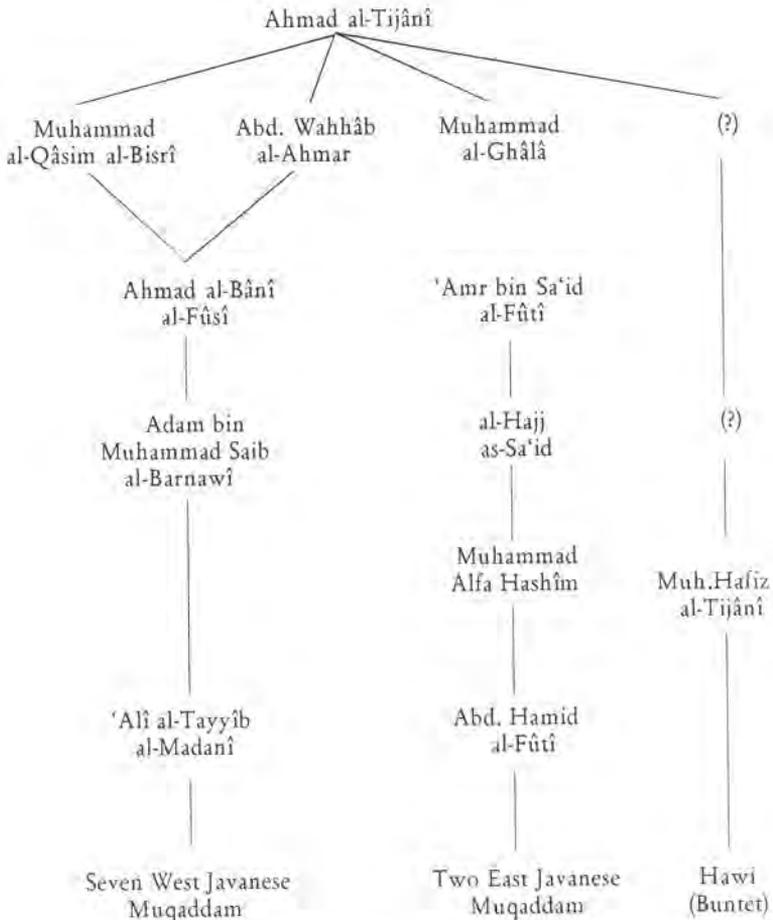
Table -3
Spiritual genealogy of Shaykh Ali al-Thayyib al-Madani
(West Java gate of Tijaniyyah)

Chain-1	Chain-2
1 Ahmad al-Tijânî	1 Ahmad al-Tijânî
2 Muhammad ibn Qâsim al-Bisrî & 'Abd Wahâb al-Ahmar	2 Muhammad al-Ghâla
3 Ahmad al-Bânî al-Fâsî	3 Amr ibn Sa'id al-Fûtî
4 Adam ibn Muhammad Saib al-Barnawî	4 al-Haj as-Sa'id
5 'Alî al-Tayyîb al-Madani	5 Muhammad Alfa Hashîm
	6 'Alî al-Tayyîb al-Madani

The seven West Javanese *muqaddam* recruited by Shaykh 'Alî al-Tayyîb were his own grandson, Shaykh Muhammad bin 'Alî bin 'Abdullah al-Tayyîb (Bogor), Kyai Asy'ari Bunyamin (Garut), Kyai Badruzzaman (Garut), Kyai 'Utsman Dlamiri (Cimahi, Bandung) and three brothers Kyai Abbas, Kyai Anas and Kyai Akyas (Buntet). It was these West Javanese 'magnificent seven' who were in turn, responsible for the further spread of Tijâniyyah, not only in West Java but also in Central and East Java because later, many other Javanese *muqaddam* were initiated by one or more of them. Among the Tijânî, this *silsilah* grew into a complex crisscrossing spiritual chain as some *muqaddam* for various reasons, either for seniority or intellectual considerations, took initiation from more than one superior *muqaddam* (*muqaddam min muqaddam*). Kyai Hawi, father of a current *muqaddam* at Buntet, Kyai Fahim, for example, took initiation from Kyai Saleh, Kyai Abbas, Kyai Anas, Kyai Akyas and, when he

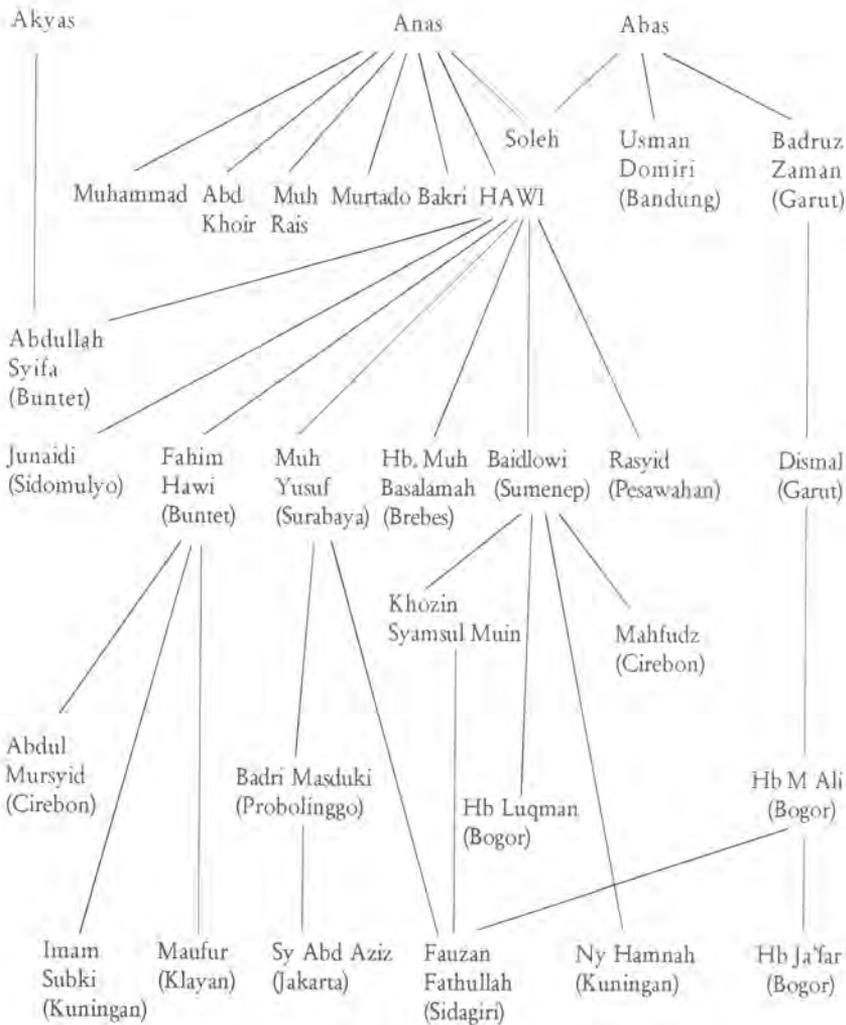
went to Mecca, from a very senior *muqaddam*, Shaykh Muhammad Hafîz al-Tijânî. The latter had only two Shaykh that spiritually linked him with Ahmad al-Tijânî, the founder of the order.⁴²

Figure-2
Main Entrance of Tijaniyyah to Java



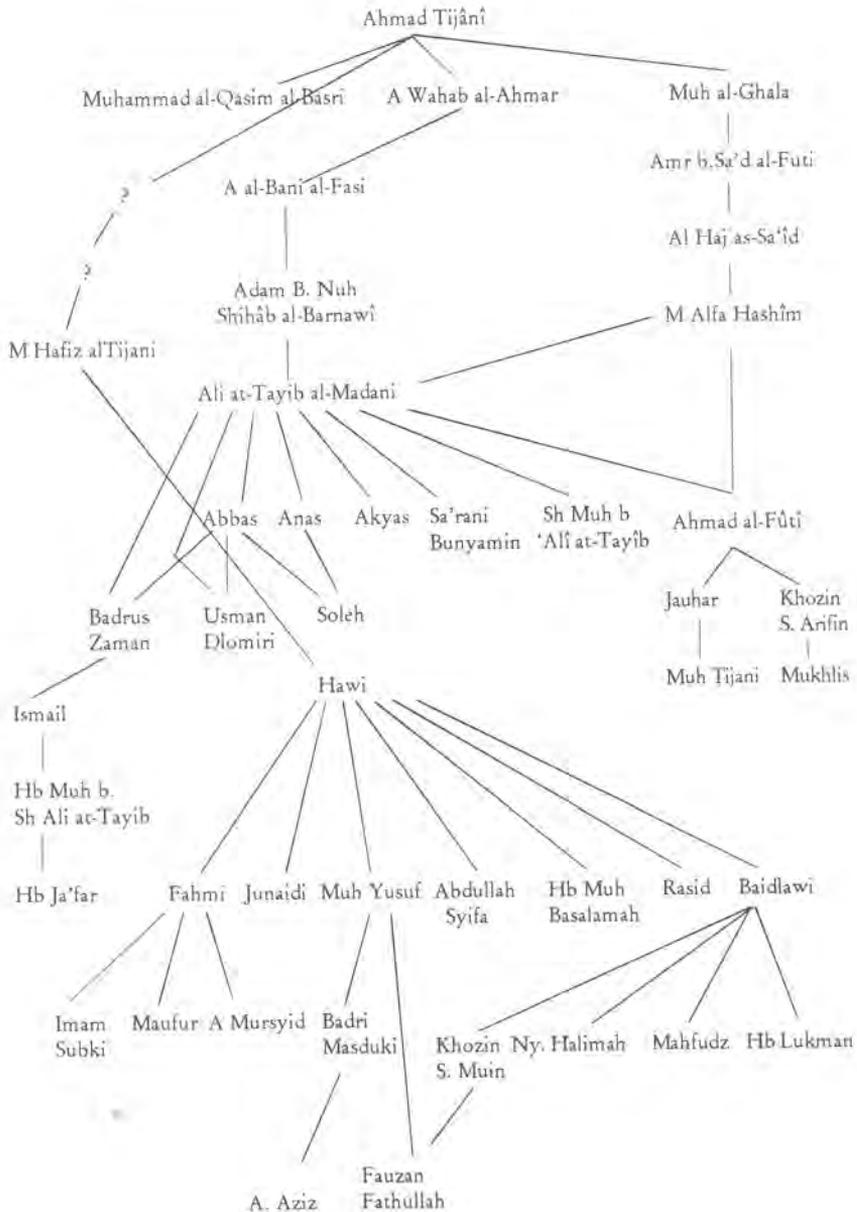
Kyai Abdullah Syifa, another current *muqaddam* at Buntet, took his initiation from Kyai Hawi and Kyai Akyas. Kyai Fauzan Fathullah (Sidagiri, Pasuruan, East Java), the writer of *Biografi Al-Qutb Maktûm*, was initiated by Kyai Khozin Syamsul Mu'in (Probolinggo), Kyai Muhammad bin Yusuf (Surabaya) and Shaykh Muhammad bin 'Alî bin 'Abdullah al-Tayyîb (Bogor).

Figur-3
Recruitment of Tijaniyyah Muqaddam from Buntet



Shaykh ‘Abd al-Hamîd al-Fûtî, the main gate for East Java, traced his authority from Muhammad Alfa Hashîm (source 2 number 4 of Table-3). In turn, ‘Abd al-Hamîd al-Fûtî, initiated two East Javanese, Kyai Khozîn Syamsul Arifin and Kyai Jauhar. Kyai Khozin Syamsul Arifin initiated Kyai Mukhlis (Surabaya), whereas Kyai Jauhar initiated Kyai Muhammad Tijani (Madura). Thus, even a *muqaddam* who took initiation from only one superior *muqaddam* will automatically

inherit multiple *silsilah* because through Shaykh 'Alâ bin Abdullâh al-Tayyîb, he can trace at least two lines, those of Shaykh Adam al-Barnawî and Shaykh Muhammad Alfa Hashîm. How complex the *silsilah* is can be observed from Figure-4.



Within the Buntet line, the persons who are considered the most instrumental and are held responsible for the spread of Tijâniyyah, are Kyai Anas (1883-1945) and Kyai Abbas and, for the next generation, Kyai Hawi. Kyai Anas was the son of Kyai Abdul Jamil, younger brother of Kyai Abbas. Like Kyai Abbas, Kyai Anas first studied with Kyai Nasuha at Pesantren Sukunsari (Plered), then with Kyai Agus (Pekalongan), and Kyai Hasyim Asy'ari at Tebuireng (Jombang). Together with Kyai Abbas, he was also involved in the foundation of Pesantren Lirboyo (Kediri) led by Kyai Abdul Manaf. He went to Mecca for both pilgrimage and study while his brother, Kyai Abbas, led Pesantren Buntet. It was due to Kyai Abbas' advice that Kyai Anas took Tarekat Tijâniyyah. Kyai Abbas himself met Shaykh 'Ali al-Tayyîb in Madinah but, despite his interest in Tijâniyyah, he did not take an initiation at that time because he bore responsibility as a Shattâriyyah *mursyid*. Kyai Anas took his brother's advice and upon his return he publicly established tarekat Tijâniyyah and thus, there were two *tarekats* in Pesantren Buntet at the same time, the Shattâriyyah led by Kyai Abbas, and Tijâniyyah led by Kyai Anas. Eventually, when both *tarekats* grew larger, Kyai Abbas took Tijâniyyah initiation, not from his younger brother, Kyai Anas, but from Shaykh 'Ali bin 'Abdullâh al-Tayyîb al-Madanî when the latter visited Java (Bogor) in 1937. In 1939 Kyai Anas moved from Buntet and established his own *pesantren* at Kilapat, an adjacent village south-east of Buntet, where adultery and burglary were common. He named his *pesantren* 'Sidamulya,' meaning 'to become lofty.' Later, the name Kilapat for the village, where the new *pesantren* is located, was also renamed Sidamulya, following the *pesantren*'s name. The earlier reputation of the village gradually vanished and it gained a reputation as a *santri* (Islamic oriented) village.

By then, Kyai Abbas was associated with and led the two *tarekat*, becoming *murshid* of Shattâriyyah and *muqaddam* of Tijâniyyah at the same time. To some people this seemed to show the extent of Kyai Abbas' leadership capacity and open-mindedness. Not only did he successfully lead the *pesantren* but also two *tarekats* centered at his *pesantren*. To others it was puzzling how Kyai Abbas managed his association with the two *tarekats*, considering Tijâniyyah necessitates every Tijânî to abandon other orders. Kyai Abbas himself as a Tijâniyyah *muqaddam* broke the Tijâniyyah rule because he did not give up his association with Shattâriyyah. When I asked about the matter, informants in Buntet of either Shattâriyyah or Tijâniyyah

always referred to this as an exception due to both Kyai Abbas' intellectual and spiritual excellence. Moreover, it was said that it was necessary especially after Kyai Anas, the *muqaddam* of Tijâniyyah, had established his own *pesantren*, while in Buntet both *tarekats* were growing larger. No one directly raised the issue, especially not even Shaykh Alî al-Tayyîb himself, the initiator of Kyai Abbas, suggesting that in certain circumstances, Tijâniyyah strict rules could also have exceptions.

In their career as Tijâniyyah *muqaddam* Kyai Anas and Kyai Abbas produced a number of new *muqaddams*. Kyai Anas initiated Kyai Muhammad (Brebes), Kyai Bakri (Kesepuhan, Cirebon), Kyai Muhammad Rais (Cirebon),⁴³ Kyai Murtadlo (Buntet), Kyai Abdul Khair, Kyai Hawi (Buntet) and Kyai Soleh (Pesawahan). Repeating the initiation made by Kyai Anas, Kyai Abbas initiated Kyai Soleh and Kyai Hawi (Buntet). He also initiated Kyai Badruzzaman (Garut) and Kyai Utsman Dlomiri (Cimahi, Bandung) before both *kyai* repeated an initiation from Shaykh 'Alî bin 'Abdullah al-Tayyîb al-Madani when the latter made another visit to Java. Among the *muqaddam* initiated by Kyai Anas and Kyai Abbas, Kyai Hawi excelled himself by producing seven more *muqaddams*. He initiated Kyai Abdullah Syifa (Buntet), Kyai Fahim Hawi, his son (Buntet), Kyai Junaidi, son of Kyai Anas (Sidamulya), Kyai Muhammad Yusuf (Surabaya), Habib Muhammad Basalamah (Brebes, Central Java), Kyai Baidawi (Sumenep, Madura) and Kyai Rasyid (Pesawahan, Cirebon). Currently, Kyai Hawi's son, Kyai Fahim Hawi, has initiated three new *muqaddams*, Ustadz Maufur (Klayan, north of Cirebon), Kyai Abdul Mursyid (Kesepuhan, Cirebon) and Kyai Imam Subky (Kuningan). In East Java, Kyai Muhammad bin Yusuf of Surabaya initiated Kyai Badri Masduqi (Probolinggo) and Kyai Fauzan Fathullah. Kyai Baidowi (Sumenep) initiated Habib Luqman (Bogor), Kyai Mahfudz (Kesepuhan, Cirebon) and Nyai Hamnah (Kuningan).⁴⁴ In turn the new *muqaddams* have recruited many followers and quite likely further recruitment will continue.

Concluding Remarks

It is clear that Pesantren Buntet has played an important role in the spread of first Shattâriyyah and then Tijâniyyah in Java, especially West Java. Not only has Pesantren Buntet now become the largest *pesantren* in Cirebon but it also represents one of the oldest *pesantren* in the area with its inherent mission for the transmission of

religious tradition. The notion of 'the oldest' brings further implications in that, firstly, its dynamics and development reflect the dynamics and development of traditional Islam in this area for a period of more than two and a half centuries. Secondly, if the *Babad* narrative is taken into account,⁴⁵ Pesantren Buntet finds its roots in the early stages of the Islamization of 15th century Java, especially West Java. Traditionally therefore, Pesantren Buntet stands in an unbroken chain of continuous religious transmission over time from the pre-*kraton*, early *kraton*, *kraton* and post-*kraton* eras. During the pre-*kraton* era religious transmission centered in the village as a free and independent undertaking. During the period of the early *kraton* religious transmission was fully under the auspices of the *kraton*. Not only did religious transmission enjoy political support and legitimation from the *kraton*, but also had the *kraton* homage. Later on, when the *kraton* came under the subjection of foreign rule, religious transmission was banned from the *kraton* in 1702. A hundred years after the death of Panembahan Ratu,⁴⁶ religious transmission rediscovered its way back from the *kraton* to the village. This was marked by the establishment of Pesantren Buntet. Under considerable strain the *pesantren* endured and developed into its present form. Its present existence within the community, therefore, represents the triumph of its spiritual traditions. Thus, what we can see in Cirebon and probably elsewhere in Java is the maintenance of scriptural and cultural traditions continuing within the Javanese Muslim society, most notably, through combination of *pesantren* and *tarekat*. Through these institutions, religious transmission never ceases either with or without the support of the political power structure. This is probably one element that contributes to answering Hodgson's question: "why the triumph of Islam in Java was so complete."⁴⁷

Endnotes

1. *Tarekat (tariqah)* can be defined as the contemplative Path of Islam, in contrast with *syare'at (shari'ah)*, which is concerned with the life of action. *Tarekat* is associated with or even considered synonymous with Sufism and its cognates. In its more restrictive meaning and specialized sense it refers to Sufi orders (Danner, 1988:242). Some informants explained that our life is a journey to a common destination, the world of afterlife. Everyone who travels must take a certain way. The word *tarekat* bears this notion. The word is derived from the Arabic *tariq* and *tariqah*, meaning path or road. It is usually contrasted with *syare'at*, also derived from the Arabic *shar'* and *shari'ah*, meaning street or highway. This contrast implies that the former (*tarekat*) is smaller and the latter (*syare'at*) is larger. *Syare'at* is the way that every Muslim should take to reach the general or common destination. As the broad or common destination is reached everyone needs a certain path that leads to a specific place in which he wishes to dwell comfortably.
2. By definition, according to Kyai Fahim Hawi (50 years) a Tijāniyyah *muqaddam*, knowledgeable and well-to-do people have a greater chance of entering paradise because they have the means and thus the knowledge of how and what to do. The majority of laymen, on the other hand, have less chance. Due to various reasons they could not attain similar means and knowledge. *Tarekat* seeks to guide them. With minimal knowledge and material means, provided they follow the guidance of the *murshid*, they could have almost the same opportunity as the knowledgeable and well to do few.
3. The hedonistic tendency evident among some of the kraton dignitaries probably refers to such people as Pangeran Arca Carbon, the alleged writer of *Carita Purwaka Caruban Nagari* (1720). For a short account of him, see for example, Siddique, S. (1977), *Relics of The Past?* unpublished PhD dissertation, Bielfeld: Bielfeld Universitat, pp 51-53.
4. For a further account of this pesantren, see for example: Amijaya, R., et al (1985), *Pola Kehidupan Santri Pesantren Buntet Desa Mertapada Kulon Kecamatan Astanajapura Cirebon*, Yogyakarta: Proyek Penelitian dan Pengkajian Nusantara (Javanologi) Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan.
5. According to Ki Dulah, at least two requirements should be met for a *tarekat* to be considered as *mutabarrah*. One is that its litanies and teachings do not oppose the *shari'ah*, and the other's that it has an unbroken spiritual chain (*silsilah*) to the Prophet. This would ensure that the teaching really comes from the Prophet.
6. See note 29.
7. Trimmingham, J.S. (1971), *Sufi Orders in Islam*, Oxford: The Clarendon Press, p. 97-98. The Taifuri tradition refers to Abū Yazīd al Bustāmī (d. 261/872 or 264/877-8), a famous medieval Sufi. He spent most of his life in Bustam and died there. Trimmingham's characterization of Shattāriyyah's obscurity seems to stem from his inability to discover the identity of Muhammad 'Arif who sent 'Abdallāh to India.
8. Santrie, A.M. (1987), "Martabat Alam Tujuh" in Hasan, A.R. (ed.), *Warisan Intelektual Islam Indonesia*, Bandung: Mizan, pp 105-129. Syeikh Muhyi was buried at Pamijahan (Tasikmalaya, West Java). His tomb attracts many visitors from various places.
9. For a brief account on Shattāriyyah at the *kraton* see: Siddique (1978), especially pp. 122-124.

10. H. Abbas Shobih of Buntet speculates, probably it is because upon his father's (Kyai Mustahdi's) death, Kyai Mustamid who succeeded Kyai Mustahdi was already old and unable to travel extensively visiting the *zawiyah* (sufi inns).
11. According to Kyai Fu'ad Hasyim, Tarekat Shattâriyyah in Cirebon and elsewhere came into two formats. One was fully in Arabic the other was explained in Javanese. Shattâriyyah in Buntet and Benda Kerep (and other *pesantren* as well) represent the first, while Shattâriyyah *kraton* represents the second. Both are equally *Mu'tabarah*.
12. For the early stage of the rise of Tijâniyyah in Java, see: Pijper, G.F. (1987), "Timbulnya Tarekat Tijaniyah di Pulau Jawa" in G.F. Pijper, *Fragmenta Islamica: Beberapa Studi Mengenai Sejarah Islam di Indonesia Awal Abad XX*, Jakarta: UI Press, pp 79-101, translated from *Fragmenta Islamica, Studien over het Islamisme in Nederlannsch-Indie*, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1934 by Tujimah. For a general account on Tijâniyah, see: Abun-Nasr (1965), *The Tijâniyya: A Sufi Order in the Modern World*, London: OUP. My own local Tijânî sources are Fathullah, K.H.F. (1985), *Biografi Alquthbul Maktuum Saiyidul Awliyya: Syaikh Ahmad Attijaniy dan Thariqatnya Attijaniyah*, Pasuruan: (anonymous publisher); *Al Masyrabul Kitmani Lil Khotmil Muhammadiyah Syaikh Ahmad bin Muhammad Attijani*, a pamphlet from Panitia Idul Khotmi Attijani Ke: 199, 9/10 Shafar 1413 H = 8/9 Agustus 1992 M, Leces-Probolinggo (East Java).
13. Fathullah, K.H.F. (1985), p. 52.
14. Abun Nasr (1965), pp. 16-17.
15. Fathullah (1985), p. 55.
16. *Ibid*, pp 55-59.
17. *Ibid*, 55-63; Abun Nasr, pp 18-19.
18. *Ibid*, 63-64.
19. Abun Nasr, p 37.
20. Trimmingham, J.S (1971), p 108. (Words between brackets are my own).
21. *Ibid*, pp 27-28; The existence of spiritual hierarchies among *walî* was first set forth by Abû 'Abdillâh al-Tirmidhi during the 11th century. It became an established belief due to the work of Ibn al-Araby (1164-1240) and gained wide spread acceptance after 'Abdul al-Rahmân al-Suyûti (1445-1505), a Hadithist, gave Prophetic traditions for this belief.
22. Abun Nasr, p 32.
23. *Ibid*, p. 32. It says: "The *Khatm*, who will be the standard of *wilâyah*, will be the end of the line and its completion. He has been a *Khatm* without being known, and has the command which cannot be repeated or dispensed with ... Should a *walî* appear after him, he will be one of the followers, companions, or attendants (of the *khatm*) ..."
24. *Ibid*, p 28.
25. *Ibid*, p 30.
26. *Mahsyar* is a plain where all the dead, after resurrection, come together to receive a fair judgement.
27. Fathullah (1985), pp 110-111.
28. Abun Nasr (1985), p. 38. The rites consist of both the compulsory (*lazim*) and the recommended (*ikhhtiyârî*). The compulsory consists of *wird lazimah* (litanies), *wadzifah* (office) and *hailalah* (participation in Friday afternoon *hadra* or seance). See Abun Nasr, pp 50-57; Fathullah, pp 129-139.
29. See: the subsequent section.

30. For details of early refutations and counter refutations see Abun Nasr 1965, especially pp. 38-41.
31. *Ibid*, pp 72-75.
32. Strong reactions against Tijâniyah in Buntet came from Benda, the *pesantren* established by Kyai Soleh Zamzami of Buntet, the elder brother of Kyai Abdul Jamil. Since Kyai Abbas era, until now, Benda-Buntet opposition has been unreconcilable.
33. Pijper (1985), *Fragmenta Islamica*, pp 89-96.
34. *Ibid*, pp 98-100
35. This Kyai As'ad is to be distinguished from Kyai As'ad Syamsul Arifin of Pesantren Asem Bagus, Situbondo (East Java), former Chairman of *Syuriyah* NU.
36. Fathullah (1985), pp 140-141. In this work (*Biografi Alquthbul Maktuum*) Without mentioning its writer, Fathullah devoted a full chapter entitled "Fasal Tambahan" (Additional Chapter) to counter the *Wudluh ad-Dalail*.
37. The 1984 Situbondo Congress is well known for producing *Khittah 1926*, by which NU returned to the principle initially adopted when NU was established in 1926. This means that officially NU abstains from direct involvement in politics and is solely concerned with social and religious affairs.
38. This was claimed by Kyai Fahim Hawi and Kyai Abdullah Syifa, two Tijâni *muqaddam* in Buntet. An example of Tijâniyah's wide acceptance was given by Kyai Fahim Hawi in recounting a number of figures in Tijâniyah. Some of them are Sayyid Alfa Hasyim, a Hadithist in Madinah, Shaykh Hasan Yamani, father of Zaki Yamani, former petroleum Minister of Saudi Arabia, Mr. Muhammad, a Senegalese envoy to Jakarta on February 1985 who met President Suharto on behalf of the Senegalese President. All, he said, are Tijâniyah *Muqaddam*. There are also a number of distinguished figures at al-Azhar in Cairo. Wide acceptance by many Javanese was shown by the huge number of participants in the festivals held to commemorate al-Tijânî's spiritual ascendancy, the *Idul Khotmi al-Tijani*. One of these festivals was performed at Jakarta's main stadium in 1990 and had around a 100,000 participants. At a similar festival, the 199th *Idul Khotmi*, held on 8-9 August 1992 in Leces, Probolinggo (East Java), around 60,000 participants were present. I was among the contingent from Cirebon.
39. Pijper, G.F. (1985), *Fragmenta Islamica*, Jakarta: U.I. Press, p 82.
40. *Ibid*, pp 86-87.
41. Cf: Pijper (1985), p 87.
42. I could not get the two names because despite I made several visits, I failed to meet Pak Gani, a Madurese businessman in Jakarta who, according to Kyai Fahim Hawi, keeps the document.
43. A short description of Muhammad Rais, see Pijper (1985), pp 85-86.
44. For further detail, see Figure-4.
45. Cirebon has so many versions of *Babad* (chronicles) called *Babad Cirebon*. It contains a semi legendary semi historical account on the development of the Cirebon region since its earlier time. It centres around the legendary figure of Syarif Hidayatullah, known as Sunan Gunung Jati, one of the nine saints (*walisanga*), the early propagator of Islam on Java. One that is already known to Western scholarship is *Babad Tjeron*, edited by J.L.A. Brandes and D.A. Rinkes (1911), collection No. 36 Deel LIX, Batavia: Albrecht.

46. Panembahan Ratu is the successor of Sunan Gunung Jati who died in 1650. See: De Graaf and Pigeaud (1989), *Kerajaan-Kerajaan Islam di Jawa: Peralihan Dari Majapahit ke Mataram*, Jakarta: Grafiti Press.
47. Hodgson, M (1974), *The Venture of Islam: Conscience and History in a World Civilization*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, p. 551.

A. G. Mubaimin is a researcher at the Office of Religious Research and Development, the Department of Religious Affairs, the Republic of Indonesia.