



THE PSEUDO-SUFI ORDER IN CONTEMPORARY INDONESIA:

A New Prototype of Philosophical Sufism among Majelis Shalawat and Urban Muslims in East Java Urban Muslim⁽¹⁾

Rubaidi¹, Abdul Jamil Wahab^{2*}, Usman Yudi¹, Juraidi³.

¹Universitas Islam Negeri Sunan Ampel, Surabaya, Indonesia

²Badan Riset dan Inovasi Nasional (BRIN) Jakarta

³Universitas PTIQ Jakarta

*Correspondence email: abdu075@brin.go.id

Abstract: This article examines the phenomenon of the pseudo-Sufi order within the landscape of urban sufism focusing on three groups in Surabaya, East Java: *Majelis Shalawat Kubro*, *Majelis Shalawat Muhammad*, and *Majelis Shalawat Adlimiyah*. It finds that the principal elements, Sufi practices, and doctrines of these groups cannot be fully classified within the broader spectrum of similar phenomena found in many *majelis taklim*, *majelis dhikr*, or *majelis shalawat*. The article argues that the dynamics of these three groups is an important clue for the birth of a prototype of new pseudo-sufi-order. They adopt the principal elements of a Sufi order, namely *sanad*, *lelaki* or *riyadha*, *rabita* or *suhba*, *zuhd* and so forth which are generally absent from many other pseudo-Sufi orders. The three *majelis shalawat* teach the doctrines of *haqiqa* and *ma'rifa* together with the perspectives of *Ibn al-'Arabi* and other mystical thinkers and other mystical thinkers of monistic tradition such as, Abu Yazid al-Bustami, Abd Karim al-Jilli and so on, closely associated with the doctrines of *wahdat al-wujud*, *ittihad*, *hulul*, and *tajalli* Nur Muhammad. While this doctrine is primarily speculative and polemical in nature, these three *majelis* have recontextualized it into a practical anthropocentric framework that responds effectively to social issues.

Key Words: *tariqa*; pseudo-Sufi order; new pseudo-Sufi order; Ibn al-'Arabi

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⁽¹⁾ My sincere thanks go to the *murshids* (Sufi masters) of Majelis Shalawat Kubro, Majelis Shalawat Muhammad, and Majelis Shalawat Adlimiyah in Surabaya, East Java, Indonesia, who served as the key informants for this study. I also express my gratitude to UIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya (State Islamic

Introduction

THE PSEUDO-SUFI order, which reflects the evolving spiritual aspirations of the urban Muslim middle class, is neither a singular nor a homogeneous phenomenon. Early studies of Howell¹ and Bruinessen² primarily associated this phenomenon with Islamic revivalism, particularly those represented by neo-modernists and Salafists. The agenda of Islamic revivalism was to counter attack the practice of traditional sufism represented by *tariqa* (sufi order or brotherhood).³ Rather than eradicating traditional Sufism altogether, Islamic revivalist movements contributed to the emergence of a new form of Sufism, variously referred to as positive Sufism, neo-Sufism, or practical Sufism.⁴ For several decades, pseudo-Sufi orders, born of neo-Sufism, dominated and clashed with Sufi groups. Amidst the tension between these two groups, pseudo-Sufi orders emerged, maintaining aspects of the Sufi order while also teaching elements of the Sufi tradition. This gap is interesting to examine and has given rise to new concepts within this study.

The dynamics of these pseudo-Sufi orders are represented not only by neo-modernists or Salafists, but also Orthodox Sufism. This fact is unveiled from the works of Howell⁵ and Bruinessen, also Zamhari,⁶ Rijal,⁷ Wasisto,⁸ Rofhani,⁹ Muttaqin,¹⁰ Arifin,¹¹

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¹ Julia D. Howell, "Sufism and the Indonesian Islamic Revival," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 60, no. 3 (August 2001): 701–729.

² Martin van Bruinessen and Julia D. Howell, eds., *Sufism and the 'Modern' in Islam* (London and New York: I.B. Tauris, 2007).

³ Julia Day Howell, "Indonesia's Salafist Sufis," *Modern Asian Studies* 44, no. 5 (2010): 1033.

⁴ Julia Day Howell, "Sufism and the Indonesian Islamic Revival," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 60, no. 3 (August 2001): 722.

⁵ Julia D. Howell, "Introduction: and Neo-Sufism in Indonesia Today," *Review of Indonesian and Malaysian Affairs* 46, no. 2 (2012): 1–24.

⁶ Arif Zamhari and Julia Day Howell, "Taking Sufism in the Streets: Majelis Dzikir and Majelis Shalawat as New Venues for Popular and Islamic Piety in Indonesia," *Review of Indonesian and Malaysian Affairs* 46, no. 2 (2012): 47–75; see also Arif Zamhari, "Socio-Structural Innovations in Indonesia's Urban Sufism: The Case Study of the Majelis Dzikir and Shalawat Nurul Mustofa," *Journal of Indonesian Islam* 7, no. 1 (June 2013): 119–142.

Darmadi,¹² and so forth. Pseudo sufi-order, referred by Howell in the late 1980s, is represented by tradition of neo-modern Muslim thinkers or salafis like Paramadina foundation of Nurcholish Madjid, IIMaN by Haidar Bagir, and ICNIS (*Intensive Course Networking of Islamic Science*) initiated by Nazaruddin Umar. In its development, many institutions appeared such as *Manajemen Qalbu* (MQ) of Abdullah Gymnastiar (Aa Gym), Majelis Dzikir al-Dzikra under guidance of Ustadz Arifin Ilham, Majelis Penyembuhan led by Ustadz Haryono, and so forth.

In contrast, the phenomenon of pseudo sufi-order also appears from Orthodox Sufism tradition which takes form of Majelis *dhikr* or *Majelis Shalawat* such as Majelis Dhikr al-Ghafilin of Hamim Jazuli (Gus Miek), Ploso, Kediri, as well as Majelis Shalawat Wahidiyah, Kedunglo, Kediri. Later, three similar groups appeared in Surabaya, namely Majelis Shalawat Kubro, Majelis Shalawat Muhammad, and Majelis Shalawat Adlimiyah. Outside the institutions of pseudo sufi-order, the *tariqa* network remains important for Urban Muslim community in many Indonesian big cities.

The diverse forms of pseudo-Sufi orders, including orthodox *tariqa*, continue to play important roles in meeting the spiritual need of Urban Muslim community. Consequently, various forms of urban Sufism have flourished by employing Information and communication technology. One important medium is television. Sufism has consequently been presented in a manner comparable to early Western Christian televangelism. Among Indonesian

⁷ Syamsul Rijal, "Revitalizing Hadhrami Authority: Networks, Figures, and Institutions among Habaib in Indonesia," *Studia Islamica* 27, no. 2 (2020): 239–268.

⁸ Wasisto Raharjo Jati, "Sufisme Urban di Perkotaan: Konstruksi Keimanan Baru Kelas Menengah Muslim," *Jurnal Kajian & Pengembangan Management Dakwah* 5, no. 2 (December 2015): 164–197.

⁹ Rofhani, "Pola Religiusitas Muslim Kelas Menengah di Perkotaan," *Religio: Jurnal Studi Agama-agama* 3, no. 1 (March 2013): 58–78.

¹⁰ Ahmad Muttaqin, "Islam and the Changing Meaning of Spirituality and Spiritual in Contemporary Indonesia," *Al-Jami'ah* 50, no. 1 (2012): 24–48.

¹¹ Achmad Zainal Arifin, "Reenergizing Recognised Sufi Orders in Indonesia," *Review of Indonesian and Malaysian Affairs* 46, no. 2 (2012): 77–104.

¹² Dadi Darmadi, "Urban Sufism: The New Flourishing Vivacity of Contemporary Indonesian Islam," *Studia Islamika* 7, no. 3 (2000): 205–210.

Muslim televangelists include Aa Gym, Arifin Ilham, and then Haryono.¹³ After them, there are Jefry al-Buchori, Yusuf Mansur, Mama Dedeh, Ali Jaber, Maulana, Qurrota A'yun, and many others.¹⁴

Even though on the surface many *pseudo sufi-order* institutions are virtually identical, essentially, they fall into two schools of sufism. The first *madhhab* or school represents identity as neo-sufism, neo-modernists, and even Salafists. Whereas the second school represents the mainstream of Orthodox Sufism. Neo-modernists promote positive Sufism while rejecting several classical *tariqa* doctrines. Therefore, the proposed argument in this article is that behind the dynamics of pseudo sufism lays contestation of doctrine, methods, strategies, practices as well as networks in order to cement influence upon middle-class urban Muslims

Among the various pseudo-Sufi orders, the article focuses on the study of three *shalawat* groups, namely (1) Majelis Shalawat Kubro led by Gus Syamsu Duha, (2) Majelis Shalawat Muhammad led by Gus Kahar, and (3) Majelis Shalawat Adlimiyah led by Gus Mursyidin.¹⁵ These three groups, based in Surabaya and whose members come from Surabaya, Sidoarjo, Gresik, and Mojokerto, thereby, representing urban Muslim communities. In other words, these three groups represent neo-modern school as well as Orthodox Sufism.

This article is based on field research. The research participants consisted of purposively sampled members of three *majelis shalawat*, namely *Majelis Shalawat Kubro*, *Majelis Shalawat Muhammad*, and *Majelis Shalawat Adlimiyah*, as they represent the adaptation of classical Sufi doctrines to contemporary urban religious practice. Data were collected through participant observation, in-depth interviews, and document analysis.

¹³ Julia D. Howell, "Sufism on the Silver Screen: Indonesian Innovations in Islamic Televangelism," *Journal of Indonesian Islam* 2, no. 2 (December 2008): 225–228.

¹⁴ Akh. Muzakki, *Islamic Televangelism in Changing Indonesia: Transmission, Authority, and the Politic of Ideas* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 45–46.

¹⁵ This last name, that is Gus Mursyidin, is a pseudonym upon request. He is still alive until this article was written

Observations were conducted during the routine activities of the *majelis shalawat*, led by the murshid and attended by members of the jama'ah. In-depth interviews were conducted with both the murshid and several *jama'ah*, particularly senior *jama'ah* or *murid* involved in both the *majelis shalawat* and the mursyid's life.

The collected data were analyzed thematically through data reduction, coding, pattern identification, and triangulation to ensure the validity of the findings. Data obtained from participant observation, in-depth interviews, and documentary sources were triangulated and interpreted iteratively, leading to the development of the study's analytical findings.

This article argues that these three *majelis shalawat* constitute a distinctive variant within the broader spectrum of the pseudo-Sufi order. Although they depart from conventional *tariqa* in several respects, they retain the core structural and doctrinal elements that characterize Sufi orders more generally. The only difference is that these three groups were not institutionalized into tarekat, thus remaining a pseudo-Sufi order phenomenon. Accordingly, this article argues that these three *majelis shalawats* represent the emergence of a new prototype, which the author conceptualizes as a new variant of the pseudo-Sufi order. The following analysis substantiates this conceptualization by presenting empirical evidence and identifying the distinctive characteristics that underpin this proposed typology.

Orthodox Sufism Pseudo-Sufi Orders: Counterattacks on Orthodox Sufism

The emergence of Islamic modernism in the Middle East and subsequently throughout the wider Muslim world, including Indonesia, generated intense debates regarding the role and legitimacy of Sufism. In general, the practices and teachings associated with institutionalized Sufi orders (*tariqa*) were criticized as contributing to the decline of Muslim societies. Among the practices most frequently criticized was the complete devotion of disciples to their Sufi masters in the tradition of sufi order (*tariqa*), thereby generating prolonged polemics among Muslim reformers or revivalists. According to these modernist thinkers, personal cult toward sufi master is illogical and

irrational. Sufi masters are neither prophets nor messengers of God. Fanaticism as well as personal cult is identical to *bid'a* (innovation), if not a *shirk* (idolatry). On this basis, modernists clearly rejected sufism, especially its institutionalized form, the *tariqa*.

In the classical Islamic history, the struggle of Islamic thought among the revivalists was fierce. Evidence of these debates can be traced from the pre-revivalist period through the era of Islamic reform and revivalism. Externally, these intellectual developments were stimulated by the rise of Western civilization and advances in science and technology which was marked by advancement of science and technology. The rise of Western powers contributed to European colonial expansion across the Muslim world. Colonial domination was widely perceived as contributing to the political and intellectual decline of many Muslim societies which was marked by intellectual stagnation. In contrast, the struggle among Muslim thinkers was trapped in the fierce debates concerning the causes of this backwardness. The debate between these two ideas can be seen in writings such as Deliar Noer,¹⁶ Geertz,¹⁷ Woodward,¹⁸ Hefner,¹⁹ and so on. These debates frequently identified the *tariqa* as one of the principal causes of decline. The cult of sufi master, *zuhd* (asceticism), *uzlah* (isolation), *rabita* (spiritual connection), and many more were regarded by reformist thinkers as contributing factors to Muslim decline. On the other hand, criticism was also directed to theology and philosophy that were too theocentric, not anthropocentric.²⁰

There were numerous reformers with that kind of thoughts, namely Sayyid Ahmad Khan, Sayyid Amir Ali, Jamaluddin al-Afghani, Namik Kemal, dan Muhammad Abduh. They all

¹⁶ Deliar Noer, *The Rise and development of the Modernist Muslim in Indonesia During the Dutch colonial periode (1900-1942)*, Disertasion, Cornell University, 1963.

¹⁷ Clifford Geertz, *The Religion of Java*, The University of Chicago Press, 1976.

¹⁸ Mark Woodward, *Java, Indonesia and Islam*, Departement of Religious Studies, Arizona State University, 2011.

¹⁹ Robert W. Hefner, *Civil Islam: Muslim and Democratization in Indonesia*, Princeton Universty Press, 2011.

²⁰ Muhammad Abid al-Jabiri, "Kritik Kontemporer atas Filsafat Arab-Islam," *Islamika* (Yogyakarta, 2003), 14–15.

involved in the debate. Prompted by Western scientific and political advancement, debates among Muslims touched all aspects of life. The reform was echoed from education. Iqbal was one of the Muslim intellectuals who openly criticized the practice of Orthodox Sufism that he considered to provide refuge from the reality of human problems. He asserted that what remained of Islam is negative sufism. He eloquently stated that orthodox Muslims who practice sufism (in *tariqa*) had none left but philosophical discourse that is irrelevant to reality.²¹ On that criticism, he proposed what he called positive sufism which in his understanding was a type of sufism that would create dynamic personality by serving the truth and responding the real problems of the Muslim community.²²

These debates subsequently influenced Indonesian Muslim intellectual discourse. Indonesian reformists likewise strongly opposed many Sufi practices, mainly the *tariqa* which is considered source of backwardness of Islam. Nevertheless, instead of killing sufism, many reformists eventually sought to reconcile Islamic modernism with selected Sufi teachings by revising some practices of *tariqa*. The traces of peace can be seen from the thought of Hamka. Among modernists in Indonesia, Hamka is the main reference when discussing sufism. Clearly, Hamka argued that Sufism constitutes one of the core teachings of Islam, rooted in the example of the Prophet Muhammad.²³ This opinion is explained in his work *Tasawuf Modern*.²⁴ He called for what he dubbed as positive sufism which is compatible with modern values. Therefore, in his other work, *Tasawuf dari Abad ke Abad*, he made modelling of sufism. In short, he refused some key concepts in the practice of *tariqa*. Among the key concepts of the *tariqa* that he rejected was *zuhd*, *rabita*, and cult of sufi master.²⁵ In contrast, he

²¹ Fazlur Rahman, *Islam dan Modernitas: Tentang Transformasi Intelektual* (Bandung: Pustaka, 1985), 66.

²² *Ibid.*, 66.

²³ Julia Day Howell, "Indonesia's Salafist Sufis," *Modern Asian Studies* 44, no. 5 (2010): 1033.

²⁴ Hamka, *Tasawuf Modern* (Jakarta: Pustaka Panjimas, 1990).

²⁵ Hamka, *Perkembangan Tasawuf dari Abad ke Abad* (Jakarta: Pustaka Islam, 1962), 17–64.

accepted some key concepts in *tariqa*, namely *sabr* (patience), *tawakkul* (reliance on God), *dhikr* (remembrance of God), *ridha* (satisfaction with God's will) and *wara'* (pious restraint) because they are not contradictory to modernity.

It is two sides of the same coin, as modernism has two sides, positive and negative. The advance of information technology positively enables people in communication. In contrast, it also poses negative impact to human life. The achievement of material symbol as it is highly praised in modern people has pluses and minuses. Negatively, materialism in form of career, accumulation of wealth, position and so forth has alienated them from social interaction.²⁶

Urban Sufism is expressed not only in hotels, offices, and shopping malls. Other Islamic institutions like mosques, *majlis taklim* (Islamic study groups), *Majelis Dhikr*, and even television were increasingly associated with Sufi-inspired religious programs. In contrast with the previous Islamic study groups, the theme of urban sufism in this period is mainly about self-contemplation.²⁷ Howell compared the phenomenon of urban sufism between Jakarta and Egypt that imitated Christian televangelists in the West. She mainly focused on Ustadz AA. Gym with his Managemen Qalbu (MQ) and Majelis Dzikir al-Dzikra which was led by Ustadz Arifin Ilham.²⁸ Beyond these two figures, numerous televangelists also emerged on the same platform. To name a few, there were Mamah Dedeh, Haryono, Jefry al-Buchori, Maulana, Qurrata A'yun, and Yusuf Mansur.²⁹

In its development, pseudo sufi-order was not dominated by neo-modernist or Salafi groups. Orthodox Sufism, as represented

²⁶ Martin van Bruinessen and Julia Day Howell, eds., *Sufism and the 'Modern' in Islam* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2007), 3, <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9418.2009.00463.x>

²⁷ Wasisto Raharjo Jati, "Sufisme Urban di Perkotaan: Konstruksi Keimanan Baru Kelas Menengah Muslim," *Jurnal Kajian & Pengembangan Manajemen Dakwah* 5, no. 2 (December 2015): 179–180.

²⁸ Julia Day Howell, "Sufism on the Silver Screen: Indonesian Innovations in Islamic Televangelism," *Journal of Indonesian Islam* 2, no. 2 (December 2008): 227.

²⁹ Akh. Muzakki, *Islamic Televangelism in Changing Indonesia: Transmission, Authority, and the Politic of Ideas* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 45–46.

by *tariqa*, was also embraced by middle class urban Muslims. This is shown aptly by Tarekat Qadiriyyah wa Naqsyabandiyah (TQN) Suryalaya, Tasikmalaya under tutelage of Abah Anom. TQN has network of followers in many big cities in Indonesia, especially Jakarta and the surroundings (Howell, 2013). In Yogyakarta, The Suryalaya TQN also enjoys substantial support from the educated Muslims in campuses, one of whom is Professor Aceh Partadiredja, Rector of Universitas Islam Indonesia (UII) as well as several lecturers (Howell, 2000). In Surabaya, There is also a khalifa (representative of the Sufi master) of the TQN with a large following.

In public perspective, *tariqa* institution is generally understood as doing formal and systematic sufism. However, sufism is presented in form of *majelis dhikr* or *majelis shalawat* for wider audience, especially among urban Muslims. This model represents a strategy adopted by ulama and habaib in preserving Orthodox Sufism in the context of Islamic revival after reform put forward by neo-modernist or neo-sufism, including salafism.³⁰

Among the many pseudo-Sufi orders in Surabaya, three majelis shalawat exhibit distinctive characteristics. They are *Majelis Shalawat Kubro*, (2) *Majelis Shalawat Muhammad*, and (3) *Majelis Shalawat Adlimiyah* (Rubaidi, 2017). These three majelis shalawat are considered representative of an ideal type of pseudo-Sufi order. Consistently, their three sufi masters, namely Syamsu Duha (1957-2004 M), the murshid of Shalawat Kubro, Gus Kahar (1963-2015 M), the murshid of Shalawat Muhammad), and Gus Mursyidin (1972- now), the murshid of Shalawat Adlimiyah established their urban sufism in major city centers.³¹ Their

³⁰ Ismail Fajrie Alatas, "Becoming Indonesians: The Ba'alawist in the Interstices of Nations," *Die Welt des Islams* 51 (2011): 45–74. Syamsul Rijal, "Kaum Muda Pecinta Habaib: Kesalehan Populer dan Ekspresi Anak Muda di Ibu Kota," *Jurnal Afkaruna* 14, no. 2 (December 2018): 168.

³¹ Shalawat Kubro which was led by Gus Syamsu was located in Surabaya. In addition, he also developed another majelis in Gresik dan Mojokerto. In contrast, after the passing away of Gus Syamsu, Gus Kahar continued the *majelis* in Surabaya and spread the network in many cities, namely Sidoarjo, Lamongan, Mojokerto, and Jombang. Gus Mursyidin continued his two directors in Kota Surabaya, Bojonegoro, Sidoarjo, and Pasuruan.

followers are from various walks of life, namely religious figures, academics, teachers, bureaucrats, politicians, business people, soldiers and policemen, and many more. The three Sufi masters and their followers are closely associated with symbols of modern urban life, reflect the identity of a *pseudo-Sufi order*.³² They are familiar with shopping malls, cafés, hotels, fashions and luxury cars.

Their principal distinguishing feature is the emphasis placed on the doctrines of *haqiqa* and *ma'rifa*. Discussions of *haqiqa* and *ma'rifa* are conducted in an open and accessible forum. These open discussions took place during the *shalawat kubro*,³³ *shalawat Muhammad*,³⁴ and *shalawat adlimiyah* gatherings.³⁵ They were held after the recitation of the *awrād* of *shalawat*, which was led by a senior deputy and repeated by the entire congregation. This was followed by the recitation of *Mahal al-Qiyām*.³⁶ The entire ritual lasts approximately ninety minutes. Following the communal meal, an open discussion is held for aspiring followers who wish to know more about *haqiqa* and *ma'rifa*.

³² Rubaidi, "Reorientasi Ideologi Urban Sufisme di Indonesia terhadap Relasi Guru dan Murid dalam Tradisi Generik Sufisme pada Majelis Shalawat Muhammad di Surabaya," *Teosofi* 5, no. 2 (December 2015): 303.

³³ Each *awrad* consists of series of *du'a*, *wird*, atau *dhikr* with the verse of *shalawat* as the essence. The series of *du'a*, *wird*, or *dhikr* in each *awrad* originates from early sufi masters. The *awrad* of *Shalawat Kubro* consists of (1) Surat Yasin (al-Quran Chapter 36), (2) *Dhikr Mubarak*, (3) *al-Asma' al-Husna*, and (4) *Ratib al-Haddad*. See: *Aurat Shalawat Kubro*, No publisher, Surabaya, 2001.

³⁴ *Aurat Shalawat Muhammad Rahmatan li al-Alamin* has 7 (seven) litanies; (1) *Dhikr Qahhariyyah*, (2) Surat Yasin (al-Quran Chapter 36), (3) *Du'a Kanz al-Arsh*, (4) *Istighfar Rajab*, (5) *Shalawat Muhammad*, (6) *Ratib al-Haddad*, and (7) *Du'a Ukasah*. See: Gus Kahar, *Kitab Shalawat Muhammad Rahmatan li al-'Alamin*, no publisher, 2010.

³⁵ The chain of *awrad Shalawat Adlimiyah* consists of; (1) *shalawat Burdah Syaikhuna Kahar*, (2) Surat al-Mulk (al-Quran Chapter 76), (3) *Dikr al-Mubarak*, (4) *Dhikr al-Yaumiyyah Syaikhuna Kahar*, (5) *Shalawat Adlimiyah*, (6) *Ismu al-A'dlam*, dan (7) *Du'a Ashura*. See: *Awrād Shalawat Adlimiyah*, no author and publisher (for internal circle), 2014.

³⁶ *Mahal al-Qiyam* is praises to Prophet Muhammad taken from excerpt of *mawlid al-Barzanji* which is usually recited while standing up.

The three murshids facilitate discussions not only in the fixed schedule, but also arrange meetings in malls, hotels, or cafes upon request of the followers. While the scheduled *pengajian* is attended by large crowd, these events in unconventional venues that represent middle-and high-class society are attended by small groups. While enjoying western, Japanese, or Chinese dishes, either Gus Kahar or Gus Mursyidin in different eras formed small discussion circles to explain various dimensions of *haqiqa* and *ma'rifa*.

Based on these observations, it can be argued that the three *majelis shalawat* are identical with the symbol of urban people, urban lifestyles, affluent social networks, and public figures. In the period of Gus Syamsu and Gus Kahar in the early 2000s, several public figures attended the *pengajian* of *majelis shalawat*. According to Gus Kahar, celebrities like Desy Ratnasari, Mayangsari, Dewi Yull, Reza Artamevia and her husband Adjie Massaid, and even Rhoma Irama once participated and privately met the *murshid* for spiritual advice.³⁷ The phenomenon of Gus Syamsu and Gus Kahar's close ties to national celebrities in the context of Bourdieu's capital theory stems from their shared attachment to various forms of capital: symbolic, economic, social, and cultural.³⁸ The honorific titles "Gus" and "Kyai" carry substantial symbolic authority. Economically, both project the image of the urban upper-middle class, symbolized by luxury cars, designer clothes, malls, and hotels. On numerous occasions, they are surrounded by students and guests from various social strata. Collectively, these elements construct their public image as modern clerics. In the period of Gus Kahar, *majelis shalawat* Muhammad which was held in the house of followers regularly attracted the attention of local residents because it was identical with its wealthy and urban followers. This perception was reinforced by the luxury vehicles used by the followers, namely

³⁷ As told by Gus Kahar in a conversation during open house event for *majelis Shalawat Muhammad* as well as during a private meeting in a café in Tunjungan Plaza Mall, Surabaya, in 2015.

³⁸ Muhammad Fadli Muslimin and Lismalinda, *Economic capital, Social, Cultural, and Symbolic Women in Aceh Post-Tsunami*, Indonesian Language and Education and Literature, Vol. 9, Number 2, July 2024, p. 400-413.

Mercedes Benz, Jeep Rubicon, Mini Cooper, Toyota Vellfire, Pajero Sport, and so on. In addition, several majelis events were broadcast on the local television station TV9 under the program *Kembang Tasawuf*.³⁹

Taken together, these findings indicate that the phenomenon of the three shalawat convincingly proves the birth of a new variant in the urban Sufism tradition. The practices of Gus Syamsu and Gus Kahar are particularly illuminating when analysed through Bourdieu's concept of capital. The presence of celebrities and symbols of luxury appears to contribute to the construction of a new form of social and spiritual authority that is not based on spiritual lineage. Bourdieu's four capitals, namely symbolic, economic, social, and cultural capital are utilized to build the image of Islam through the practice of Sufism among urban communities.⁴⁰ This means that both figures want to build a narrative that Sufism can live in any era, including the modern era. Sufism also does not discriminate against a person's social status, whether rich or poor, celebrities, officials, rulers, politicians, the Indonesian National Armed Forces, or ordinary people. Sufism also does not limit the dimensions of space, whether urban or rural communities.

The New Varian of Pseudo Sufi-Order as a New Venue of Urban Muslim

The existence of the pseudo-Sufi order represented by these three majelis shalawat provides an important indication of the consolidation of Urban Muslim, but also evidence of the resurrection of classic or Orthodox Sufism outside *tariqa*. This resurrection is indicated by the emergence of distinct characteristic of these three *majelis* and differentiates their existence from many variants of *majelis dhikr* as revealed by Howell, Zamhari, Smith and

³⁹ Some episodes of the religious event of Majelis Shalawat Muhammad was broadcasted in a program entitled "*Kembang Tasawuf*" in TV9, a local TV station affiliated to traditionalist Muslim organization, Nahdlatul Ulama. About 12 episodes of the program are uploaded in YouTube which can be used to research and analyze the sufism thought of Gus Kahar

⁴⁰ Akhyar Yusuf Lubis, *Postmodernisme (Teori dan Metode)* (Jakarta: PT Raja Grafindo Persada, 2014), 122–124.

Hamdi,⁴¹ and many more. Among scholars, the phenomenon of urban sufism is widely known as pseudo-sufi order, neo-sufism, pseudo-Islamic sufism, pseudo-sufi group, pseudo-Islamic sect, or pseudo-sufi organization.

The basic argument is that the phenomenon of pseudo sufi-order is not static. The analytical framework proposed in this context is that the existence of *tariqa* is a thesis. It then transforms into many anti-thesis in form of various pseudo sufi-order institution, either from the neo-modernist tradition or Orthodox Sufism. These three *majelis shalawat* can be understood as synthesis, because they are a new prototype which can be referred to as the new pseudo-Sufi order.

The *majelis shalawat* examined in this article closely adhere to the basic element of *tariqa* tradition. The only distinction is that the three institutions are not institutionalized as *tariqa*. Consequently, although the three institutions are part of pseudo sufi-order discourse, their substance is *tariqa* or Orthodox Sufism. These three *majelis* value *silsila* or *sanad* which links the transmission of doctrine and sufism practices from one generation to another by tracing their transmission through a wali mastur (hidden saint) in the top of the chain.⁴² In theory, the concept of a *wali mastur* refers to Sheikh Arsyad al-Banjari, there are three parts in a person's knowledge of a wali: he knows that he is a wali and others know, he knows that he is a wali and others do not know, and others know that he is a wali and he does not know. The former is known as a wali masyhur and the second is called a *wali mastur*.⁴³

The wali mastur in the context of the scientific sanad of the three *majelis shalawat* above began with KH. Muhammad Tamyiz (1919-1982 AD), who was born in Jombang and lived and died in

⁴¹ Bianca J. Smith and Saipul Hamdi, "Between Piety and Salafi Subjects: Female Leadership, Spiritual Power and Gender Matters in Lombok," in *Gender and Power in Indonesian Islam: Leaders, Feminists, and Pesantren Selves*, ed. Bianca J. Smith and Mark Woodward (London: Routledge, 2017), 30

⁴² Interview with Gus Kahar, murshid of Majelis Shalawat Muhammad, June–August 2015.

⁴³ Muhammad Rusydi, Fakhrie Hanief, and Ahmad Zainal Anbiya, "Wali in the Perspective of Ulama and the People of Kampung Dalam Pagar Martapura," *Al-Banjari: Jurnal Ilmiah Ilmu-Ilmu Keislaman* 22, no. 2 (2023): 170.

Surabaya. He held the authority of three shalawat. He passed down the first shalawat, namely Shalawat Kubro to his student, namely Gus Syamsu Duha. The second shalawat, namely Shalawat Muhammad was passed down to Gus Kahar, and the third shalawat, namely Shalawat Adzimiyah was passed down to Gus Mursyidin. The three of them, namely Gus Syamsu, Gus Kahar and Gus Mursyidin formed a teacher-disciple lineage with KH. Muhammad Tamyiz. Syamsu Dhuha of Chinese descent was a direct student of KH. Muhammad Tamyiz. Meanwhile, Gus Kahar and Gus Mursyidin were students of Gus Syamsu.

The authority of KH. Muhammad Tamyiz, the holder of the three shalawat, derives from a long process of study under the guidance of renowned Sufi masters whose spiritual lineage extends back to KH. Muhammad Cholil (d. 1925) of Bangkalan, Madura. According to Gus Kahar, KH. Muhammad Tamyiz studied with several Javanese scholars, including KH. Muhammad Cholil of Bangkalan; KH. Muhammad Thoyyib of Kemayoran, Surabaya; KH. Sahlan of Krian, Sidoarjo; and KH. Romli Tamim of Rejoso, Jombang.⁴⁴ This teacher-student relationship forms a chain known in the Sufi tradition as sanad. Within the Sufi tradition, sanad is sustained through four principal components: (1) a teacher (murshid); (2) a disciple (sālik); (3) regular spiritual practice and devotion under the guidance of the murshid; and (4) a place for suluk.

The Sufi journey of KH. Muhammad Tamyiz was also followed by his successors. After his teacher's death, Gus Syamsu and several of his students, including Gus Kahar and Gus Mursyidin, studied with several Javanese scholars of their time. According to Gus Kahar, the scholars he met were spread across East and Central Java, including Habib Masrur Bafaqih bin Muhdlor, Jombang; KH. Hamim Jazuli (Gus Miek), Kediri; KH. Abdurrahman Wahid (Gus Dur); KH. Hamid, Pasuruan; KH. Abdul Hamid, Magelang; KH. Dalhar, Magelang; and many more.

⁴⁴ Interview with Gus Kahar, murshid of Majelis Shalawat Muhammad, June–August 2015.

⁴⁵ Studying under these scholars in the Sufi tradition or at Islamic boarding schools is locally known as *nyantri kalong*. *Nyantri kalong* in the Islamic boarding school tradition is interpreted as studying with certain scholars for a short period of time. In the context of Sufi scholarship, such a tradition can be interpreted as passing on the *sanad* of knowledge. This tradition has been transmitted across generations within Indonesia's Islamic boarding school (*pesantren*) tradition.⁴⁶

In *tariqa* doctrine, *sanad* (chain of authorities) in term of guru (director) and murid (seeker) relationship is a key concept. This concept is also an identity of these three *majelis shalawat*. From the *sanad* concept, there are derivative concepts in practice which are connected in the *tariqa* tradition and consistently characterise these three *majelis shalawat*. Among the important concepts of those derivatives are *dhikir* (recollection), *wird* (a regular litany), *suhba* (companionship), *rabita* (attachment), *zuhd* (renunciation), *bay'a* (oath of allegiance), *khalifa* (deputation), and so forth.

The concept of *bay'a* and *khilafa* are exclusively applied in *tariqa* tradition. Therefore, the three *majelis shalawat* do not adopt these two concepts as the statement of their identity as *pseudo sufi-order*. In contrast, the *zuhd* concept is also practiced in these three *majelis*, but not similar to general understanding of *zuhd* among *tariqa* circle. According to Gus Kahar, *zuhd* is inherent element of sufism. He divides *zuhd* into two types, positive and negative (Rubaidi 2019). Negative *zuhd* is practiced by every novice that travels along a spiritual path. Before achieving the goal of union with God, under the guidance of a murshid, he or she must undergo *zuhd* which means renunciation even the permitted pleasure. However, when he or she has achieved the goal, moreover becoming a murshid, he or she is no longer living in *zuhd* materially. This latter concept is called positive *zuhd*.

⁴⁵ Interview with Gus Kahar, Pakuwon Indah Residence, Surabaya, June 2015.

⁴⁶ Anisatun Muthi'ah and Luqman Zain MS, "Konsep Ittishal al-Sanad sebagai Syarat Kajian Kitab Kuning dalam Tradisi Pesantren An-Nahdliyyah Cirebon," *Jurnal Studi Hadis Nusantara* 2, no. 1 (June 2020).

The transformation of positive *zuhd* in these three *majelis* is once more an important indication toward the concept of the new pseudo sufi-order and successfully deconstruct stigma about Orthodox Sufism. In the thought of the murshid of these three *majelis*, sufism should not be contrasted with modern life.

The articulation of sufism in the thought and practice of these three *majelis shalawat* is proven to be contextual. Gus Mursyidin plainly consider sufism as “to work, to strive, to be successful, to love god and the Prophet.”⁴⁷ This doctrine is well-emphasized to the followers, especially his apprentices. The three murshid paid attention to work ethos in modern concept. Gus Mursyidin once said “I was practicing *zuhd*, but I also worked hard and presented the money to my director.”⁴⁸ Therefore, as described in the previous section, either the followers or the three murshid are familiar with symbols of modernity such as cafés, malls, hotels even entertainment. The argument is that modernity and sufism is not always contradictory. They can join hands if treated wisely. Thus, this is the important indication on the emergence of these three *majelis shalawat* as a new paradigm of a synthesis that gives birth of the new pseudo sufi-order.

The new variant of the pseudo-Sufi order in question conceptually refers to the classical Sufi movement model called *Malamatiyah*. According to Afifi, *the Malamatiyah* tradition is an Islamic spiritual tradition that once flourished in the city of Nisabur in the Khurasan Province. This tradition was developed by Abu Hafs al-Haddad, Hamdun al-Qashshar, and Abu Said ibn Abi al-Khair al-Khurasani, originating from the main figure, Abu Yazid al-Bustami.⁴⁹ This *Malamatiyah* tradition of thought became even more solid after being developed by Abu Abdurrahman al-Sulami. This *Malamatiyyah* Sufi tradition is generally different from the existing mainstream Sufi tradition which represents the

⁴⁷ This definition of sufism is repeatedly emphasized by Gus Mursyidin in many forums of pengajian Majelis Shalawat Kubro, Shalawat Muhammad, or Shalawat Adlimiyah.

⁴⁸ Interview with Gus Mursyidin, Upnormal Café, Pandaan, Pasuruan, December 27, 2020.

⁴⁹ Abu al-A'la Afifi, *al-Malamatiyah wa al-Shufiyah wa Ahl al-Futuwwah* (Cairo: Dar Ihya' al-Kutub al-'Arabiyyah, 1945), 3.

mainstream, namely the Baghdad Sufi group developed by Abu Nashr al-Sarraj al-Thusi who continued his sanad to Junaid al-Baghdadi through the line of Abu Ja'far al-Khuldi.

The *Malamatiyah* Sufi tradition above is found in many elements in the behavior and thoughts of the three figures of Shawalat in this study. As the name suggests, *Malamatiyah* is taken from the root word *malama*, which means reproach. The *Malamatiyah* Sufi tradition, in its doctrine, places Sufis in the position to live as normal in the midst of society. They do not display their spiritual level, even deliberately concealing it. In maintaining a high level of spirituality, they often give rise to various controversies in society. One form of controversy referred to in the Sufi tradition is known as *syathahat*. This term refers to several sentences uttered by Abu Yazid al-Bustami: "Indeed, I am Allah, there is no god but I, so worship Me."⁵⁰ This sentence is found in several statements made by Gus Syamsu, as described previously.

Anthropocentrism of Ibn al-'Arabi in the New Variant of the Pseudo-Sufi Order

Another significant aspect of the new variant of the pseudo-Sufi order of these three *majelis shalawat* is their conspicuous philosophical sufism. The three majelis consistently position the doctrines of Ibn al-'Arabi, al-Bustami, al-Mansur, and al-Jilli as the key in guiding the followers to become accomplished sufis. The teachings associated with these Sufi thinkers reflect the *Malamatiyah* tradition discussed in the previous section.

Within the Indonesian Sufi tradition, not only al-Junayd al-Baghdadi also Ibnu al-'Arabi and al-Butami are the prominent sufi who have become major references in establishing and developing sufism practice in all *tariqa* institutions. The commitment to *tariqa* in practicing sufism is called *lelaku* (venture) or *tirakat* (abstinence) in Javanese terms and *riyadha* (exercise) in Arabic. The Sufi journey cannot be separated from the disciple's complete trust of the novice to the director. *Tirakat* or *riyāḍah* is practised through

⁵⁰ Rifqil Halim, "Kritik terhadap Teori Syatahat Kaum Sufi," *An-Nahdlah* 1, no. 2 (April 2015): 20.

regular *wird*, *dhikr*, and continual spiritual contemplation of the *murshid*.

Lelaku or *riyadha*, through its emphasis on *rabita* in classic sufism is closely related to the concept of *fana* (annihilation) in the doctrine of al-Junayd, Abu Yazid al-Bustami and Ibn al-'Arabi. *Fana* is the embryo for the doctrine of unity of being (*ittihad* and *wihdat al-Wujud*). It is understood as the transformation of human character into divine character.⁵¹ For both Gus Kahar and Gus Mursyidin, before achieving *fana bi Allah* (annihilation in God), a novice must experience *fana' bi al-shaykh* (annihilation in the director). The underlying argument is that annihilation in the *murshid* precedes annihilation in God is the prerequisite for the annihilation in God. And only with the guidance of the director, the annihilation to God is achieved. Therefore, the concept of *rabita* becomes crucial in *fana* because it is the *murshid* mediates the disciple in the process of his or her annihilation of God. The doctrine of *fana' bi al-shaykh* in these three *majelis shalawat* is well referred in classic sufism. A very well-known doctrine of this classic sufism is that "the more intensive and deeper the *rabita* between the novice and the director, the more rapidly he or she achieves the goal of annihilation of the novice in God (*fana fi Allah*)."⁵²

Genealogically, traces of Ibn al-'Arabi's thought are clearly visible in the teachings of Mbah Tamyiz to Gus Syamsu and his two successors. Evidence of the continued transmission of Ibn al-'Arabi's thought can be found in their thoughts in various *shalawat* assemblies led by the three. In fact, in the era of Gus Kahar and Gus Mursyidin, discussions of *wahdat al-wujud*, *ittihad*, or *hulul*, were conveyed in various *shalawat* study assemblies. In one of the *shalawat* assemblies, Gus Musyidin asserted: "*Kabeh kembali ke sifatku ahad...*" ("everything returns to my nature

⁵¹ Rahmawati, "Memahami Ajaran Fana', Baqa', dan Ittihad dalam Tasawuf," *Jurnal Al-Munzir* 7, no. 2 (November 2014): 74.

⁵² Shaykh al-Khalid al-Naqsyabandi, "Risalah ila Khulafa'ih fi Istanbul li Bayani Ma'na al-Rabithah al-Naqsyabandiyah," in *Al-Shaykh al-Khalid al-Naqsyabandi, al-'Alim al-Mujaddid: Hayatuhu wa Ahammu Mu'allafatihi*, ed. Nazar Abadzah (Beirut: Dar al-Fikr al-Mu'ashir, 1994), 24–29; compare to Darniqah, *al-Thariqah al-Naqsyabandiyah wa A'lamuha* (Libya: Mathba'ah Jarus Bar, 1987), 28.

ahad...").⁵³ Within the manuscript's interpretation, this statement refers to the origin and nature of creation of living creatures, especially humans in their relationship with God. Accordingly, Gus Kahar and Gus Mursyidin applied Ibn al-Arabi's thought to the realm of anthropocentrism in addressing contemporary problems.

During his life time, Mbah Tamyiz plainly illustrated the origin of being using plain Javanese language; "*Jipang, siji banjur ngepang*," which means that in essence everything comes from "The One," then becomes many.⁵⁴ "*Kon kepingin ngerti al-Qur'an? Yo aku iki al-Qur'an. Kon kepingin ngerti Rasulullah atau Allah? Yo aku Rasulullah yo aku Allah iki*," (if you want to know al-Qur'an, I am al-Qur'an. If you want to Know the Prophet Muhammad or God, I am the Prophet Muhammad, I am God), as told by Gus Syamsu to Gus Kahar.⁵⁵ Gus Syamsu's statement; "*Ya aku ini Rasulullah*," (I am Prophet Muhammad) can be explained through the concept of *tajalli* by al-Jilli. In his thinking, a mystic at a certain stage of spiritual development can attain a level of spiritual perfection similar to that of the Prophet Muhammad. In his work *al-Insān al-Kāmil*, al-Jīlī states that among his select disciples; *Ashhadu anni rasul Allah* (I witness that I am the Prophet of God), then the disciples replied: *Ashhadu annaka rasul Allah* (I witness that you are the Prophet of God).⁵⁶

Gus Kahar interprets Ibn al-'Arabi's thought in a more practical and contextual manner for everyday life. According to him, *asma' Allah* (names of God) is not only 99, but whole universe is *asma' Allah*. On the other hand, the essence of God is reflected throughout the universe. Likewise, Gus Mursyidin explains that the essence of God is no other than human being. This thought is based on the opinion of Gus Syamsu who states: "Allah creates the creation not far from His essence. The creation in this sense is

⁵³ Interview with Gus Mursyidin, Upnormal Café, Pandaan, Pasuruan, December 27, 2020.

⁵⁴ Interview with Gus Mursyidin, Fave Hotel, Bojonegoro, November 9, 2020.

⁵⁵ Interview with Gus Kahar, Tanggulangin, Sidoarjo, June 19, 2015.

⁵⁶ Syekh Abdul Karim ibnu Ibrahim al-Jilli, *al-Insan al-Kamil fi Makrifat al-Awakhiri wa al-Awaili* (Beirut: Dar al-Kutub al-Ilmiyah, 2010), 277.

human being. It is because there is *ruh* (spirit), *aql* (mind), and *nafs* (will). Furthermore, Gus Kahar also mentions that the 99 names of God also exist within human beings.

Ibn al-Arab-style of anthropocentrism does exist in the thought of Gus Kahar and Gus Mursyidin. It concerns the concept that situates human beings whose essential nature is interpreted through divine attributes. This anthropocentrism is as if al-Hallaj who said: “ana al-haq.” The classical debate concerning Ibn al-‘Arabi’s *wahdat al-wujudin* the old concept usually refers to emanation theory. The essence of emanation theory is that in addition to God’s existence, there is the reflection of the light of His emanation. The contextualization of God anthropocentrically in human being according to Gus Mursyidin is the most obvious can be seen from the *sifat* (character) or *asma* (names) of God. The divine attribute of All-Hearing is associated with human hearing with the ownership of ear in human being. The attribute of All-Seeing is associated with the eye of human being. God is the most subtle is connotated with the feeling of human, and so forth.

Furthermore, this anthropocentric interpretation is rendered practical by Gus Mursyidin. The argument is built upon the following proposition; if all *sifat* (character) or *asma* (names) of God exist in human being, then the act of human is like the act of God. This argument is applied by the three *murshid* as well as traced in many *ulama* and *habaib* who have reached the sainthood stages. The spirit of anthropocentrism in *wihdat al-wujud* is certainly in agreement and even needed for modern people. More broadly, this perspective can be further developed in addressing challenges that urban Muslims face in their lives.

According to the manuscript, Gus Syamsu's Chinese background contributed to an emphasis on work ethic, wealth creation, and professionalism. These principles also shaped the outlook of Gus Kahar and Gus Mursyidin as the *murshid* of *Shalawat Muhammad* and *Shalawat Adlimiyah*. “Life is a matter of calculation” as Gus Syamsu once said to Untung Johan, the older brother of Gus Mursyidin.⁵⁷ This Chinese mindset is known as

⁵⁷ Interview with Johan Untung, disciple of Gus Syamsu and older brother of Gus Mursyidin, Pandaan, Pasuruan, November 28, 2019.

having good work ethic as Gus Syamsu himself is a Chinese descent and this, in turn, shaped the outlook of his two successors, Gus Kahar and Gus Mursyidin, as well as the followers.

Gus Mursyidin consistently teaches positive thinking of life and good work ethics to the followers. He once told: "*Aku itu biyen senengane kerjo. Kerjo iku gak itungan. Selesai warung tutup ganti dodolan Legen. Ora onok nganggure wes,*" ("I was a workaholic. I never stop working. Every time I closed the food stall, I sold Legen."). I gave the earnings to Gus Syamsu. Some of which was for Gus Kahar, which later he gave to Gus Syamsu.⁵⁸ He further asserts; "*Allah itu Maha Sibuk, kenapa kita bermalas-malasan,*" ("God is always active, why should we be lazy?")⁵⁹

Gus Kahar once said: "being wealthy is a must." The wealth should only in our hands (not in our hearts) and is to be used to support the needy."⁶⁰ In the concept and practice, Gus Kahar often refers to Abu Hasan al-Shadhili, the eponym of Shadhiliyah *tariqa*, which is often described as the *tariqa* of the affluent. Based on this discussion, the argument that philosophical sufism can be practiced into anthropocentric dimension. This interpretation of philosophical Sufism once again refers to doktrin Ibnu al-'Arabi's *wihdat al-Wujud*, *hulul* of al-Hallaj, *ittihad* of Abu Yazid al-Bustami, and *tajalli Nur Muhammad* of al-Jilli. This perspective resembles Hassan Hanafi's proposal that tried to temper the theological discourse of which seems to be theocentric into anthropocentric. Hanafi successfully developed a dialogue between speculative theological themes to address practical human issues by producing new concepts like theology for environment, gender and so forth.⁶¹

From this analysis, This article argues that the three *majelis shalawat* along with their murshid play a major role in reconstructing Orthodox Sufism into modern context. These three murshid in their *majelis shalawat* reformulated the new

⁵⁸ Interview with Gus Mursyidin, Bojonegoro, August 19, 2017.

⁵⁹ Interview with Gus Mursyidin, Ikan Bakar Cianjur (IBC) restaurant, Pandaan, Pasuruan, December 28, 2020.

⁶⁰ Adapted from the pengajian of Shalawat Muhammad, Gus Kahar, Puri Indah Regency, Sidoarjo, June 23, 2015.

⁶¹ Hassan Hanafi, *Agama, Ideologi, dan Pembangunan*, trans. Sonhaji Sholeh (Jakarta: P3M, 1991).

conception of sufism. They also have applied those thoughts into contemporary practice. They not only continued the *Malamatiyyah* Sufi tradition but also reformed the pseudo-Sufi order. Pseudo-Sufi orders generally did not teach the ideas of Ibn al-'Arabi or al-Bustami. Various behavioral and intellectual innovations proved acceptable among urban communities in Surabaya, East Java. This process of conceptual innovation, shifting from the general pseudo-Sufi order to a new form of innovation, is called the new variant of pseudo-Sufi order.

Conclusion

The existence of these three assemblies, both theoretically and practically, differs from the pseudo-Sufi orders initiated by neo-modernists and neo-Salafis. The three assemblies in this study, on the one hand, have similarities with the *tarekat*. All three contain several elements of the tarekat, such as the concept of *sanad*, asceticism, *rabita* or *suhbah*, and *riyadh* or *lelaku*. These elements distinguish these three shalawat assemblies from other pseudo-Sufi orders. Therefore, theoretically, these three shalawat assemblies gave birth to a new theoretical framework in the form of the birth of a new prototype in the pseudo-Sufi order tradition. This new theoretical framework can be called a new variant of the pseudo-Sufi order. It is called the new pseudo-Sufi order because of the combination of tarekat on the one hand and pseudo-Sufi order on the other.

The findings, in the form of the concept of the new pseudo-Sufi order, can be used to dissect the distinctions between various prayer groups and Sufi assemblies, both from neo-Sufism (neo-modernism) and traditionalist circles. The new pseudo-Sufi order in the three groups in this study, on the one hand, accepts several important elements of the Sufi tradition. On the other hand, it teaches philosophical Sufi thought such as *wihdat al-Wujud*. In general, pseudo-Sufi orders emphasize teachings in the realm of *tazkiya al-Nufus* or various *dhikr* and *wirid*.

Thus, the new pseudo-Sufi order represented by the three shalawat assemblies in this study has practical and social implications for society, especially urban Muslims, offering alternative options. This alternative option is the birth of a Sufi

institution that does not require allegiance but still teaches Sufism or Sufism. Furthermore, this new pseudo-Sufi order teaches not only Sufism, such as *tazkiya al-nufus* (religious devotions), *dhikr* (remembrance of Allah), and *wirid* (religious remembrance), but also the deep and broad philosophical thought of Sufism. Finally, these three shalawat assemblies also teach important aspects of the order, as described in the previous section.

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