URBAN SUFISM OF THE KOPIAH COMMUNITY IN JAYAPURA

Muhammad Thohri[1], Prosmala Hadisaputra[2]

[1]Universitas Islam Negeri Mataram; [2]University of Malaya
Email: [1]mthohri@uinmataram.ac.id,
[2]prosmala.hadisaputra@perdana.um.edu.my

Abstract: This article highlights two main issues. First, how is the typology of urban Sufism practiced by the Kopiah community in Jayapura city? Second, what is the strategy for strengthening Sufism among the Kopiah community in Jayapura? This qualitative case study research garnered the data from twofold sources: interviews, multimodal artifacts, such as films, images, and relevant library sources pertinent to the Kopiah community's activities. The findings showed that the Kopiah community practice urban Sufism in the form of innovatively and contextually changing *tazkiyyat al-nafs* (purification of the self). Although the community is not linked formally to any Sufi sect, it, however, is influenced by the Alawiyah Sufi Order, based on the recited remembrance, adopting the *Ratib al-Haddad*. *Tazkiyat al-nafs* rituals adhere to a loud voice. It focuses on the study of the Qur'an and fiqh. It conducts Islamic teachings via dialogues entitled *"Ngopi"* (abbreviation of *Ngobrol Perkara Iman* or talking about faith) and *"Ngobat"* (abbreviation of *Ngobrol Perkara Taubat* or talking about repentance). This study paper helps map a preliminary understanding of the urban Sufism in eastern Indonesia, particularly in Jayapura.

Keywords: *Urban, Sufism, Tazkiyat, Kopiah, Hijrah, Typology, Strategy*

Introduction

URBAN SUFISM is a socio-religious phenomenon occurring in almost all major cities worldwide. The emergence of urban Sufism is a manifestation of the attention of the urban community to spiritualism.[1] Urban life is filled with complex social, cultural, religious, economic, and political problems. Exciting city life, work

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[1] Shinta Nurani, "Urban Sufism And Transformation Of Islamic Culture In Millenial Society," *Religia* 169 (2018): 157.

pressure, school or college, insufficient income, forced lifestyle, and the like have created an unsettled situation. Moreover, it is undeniable that urban communities are filled with various crimes, such as illegal drug trafficking, human trafficking, prostitution, thuggery, etc. Therefore, the authors argue that these problems have encouraged some urban communities to seek the true meaning of life.

Although urban Sufism and the *hijra* movement have become social phenomena, these two terms have never been linked in previous research or studies. Indeed, urban Sufism research is not a new study. However, linking Sufism to the *hijra* movement is a new theme and needs serious attention, as this present study proposes. Previous studies on urban Sufism were, among others carried out by Arif Zamhari,[2] Shinta Nurani,[3] Darmadi,[4] Farid Mustofa,[5] Falah,[6] and Makhasin.[7]

Furthermore, online searches for the relevant previous studies by entering the keyword *"komunitas hijrah"* found 14 results, while the keyword "*hijra* community" displayed 77 results. The total number of results that focus on discussing the *hijra* community is 91 documents. Among the researchers/writers who discuss the hijrah community are Windy Triana,[8] Yusa' and Farhan,[9]

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[2] Arif Zamhari, "Sosio-Cultural Innovations in Indonesia's Urban Sufism: The Case Study of the Majelis Dzikir and Shalawat Nurul Mustafa," *Journal of Indonesian Islam* 7, no. 1 (2013): 119–144.

[3] Nurani, "Urban Sufism And Transformation Of Islamic Culture In Millenial Society."

[4] Dadi Darmadi, "Urban Sufism: The New Flourishing Vivacity of Contemporary Indonesian Islam," *Studia Islamika* 7, no. 3 (2001): 205–210.

[5] Farid Mustofa, "Urban Sufism: The New Spirituality of Urban Communities in Indonesia," *Jurnal Filsafat*, 2012.

[6] Muhammad Akmal Falah, "Urban Sufism: A Case Study of Tasawuf Practices in the Uicci Students of Sulaimaniyah Ciputat," *Teosofia* 8, no. 2 (2020): 145.

[7] Luthfi Makhasin, "Urban Sufism, Media and Religious Change in Indonesia," *Ijtimā'iyya: Journal of Muslim Society Research* 1, no. 1 (2016): 23–36.

[8] PPIM-UIN-Jakarta, *Ringkasan Eksekutif: Hasil Penelitian Tren Keberagamaan Gerakan Hijrah Kontemporer* (Jakarta, 2021).

[9] Yusa' Farchan and Zulfa Rosharlianti, "The Trend of Hijrah : New Constructionof Urban Millennial Muslim Identity In Indonesia," *The Sociology of Islam* 1, no. 2 (2021): 1–24.

Qomaruzzaman and Busro,[10] Nadya Afrianti and Dedy Surya,[11] Hadri Hasan,[12] Nurul Annisa Hamudy dan Moh. Ilham A. Hamudy,[13] Mahanani and Putri,[14] Sahlani, and Hamidah and Amrullah.[15] However, the authors did not find these articles concernthe *hijra* community in urban Sufism.

This research has been conducted at the *Komunitas Pemuda Islam Ada Hijrah* (Kopiah) in the city of Jayapura, Indonesia. The selection of this community is based on the results of previous studies. The authors find that previous studies have focused more on *hijrah* communities located in big cities in the western parts of Indonesia, such as Jakarta and Bandung, so *hijrah* communities in eastern Indonesia, such as Jayapura City, have not been touched by any studies.

This article presents the conclusions of qualitative case study research. This article's discussion of research issues focuses on two points: First, how does the Kopiah community, Jayapura City, practise the typology of urban Sufism? Second, what is the strategy for strengthening urban Sufism in the Kopiah community, Jayapura City? Interviews and document analyses were employed to gather information. Online interviews were performed through the video call function of the WhatsApp service. Online discussions via social media are allowed based on the

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[10] Bambang Qomaruzzaman and Busro Busro, "Doing Hijrah Through Music: A Religious Phenomenon Among Indonesian Musician Community," *Studia Islamika* 28, no. 2 (2021).

[11] Nadya Afriyanti and Dedy Surya, "The Religiosity of Hijrah Adolescence in Muslimah Aceh Fillah Community Aceh Tamiang Indonesia," *INSPIRA: Indonesian Journal of Psychological Research* 1, no. 2 (2020): 43–48.

[12] Hadri Hasan, "Harakah Diniyyah Jadidah Fi Indonesia Al-Mu'asarah: Dirasah Mahrajan al-Hijrah Fi Jakarta 'Am 2018," *Journal of Indonesian Islam* 13, no. 1 (2019): 230–265.

[13] Nurul Annisa Hamudy and Moh. Ilham A. Hamudy, "Hijrah Movement in Indonesia: Shifting Concept and Implementation in Religiosity," *JSW (Jurnal Sosiologi Walisongo)* 4, no. 2 (2020): 133–150.

[14] Prima Ayu Rizqi Mahanani and Risky Chairani Putri, "Representation and Negotiation of Women Syar'i Hijab Shaff Hijrah Community Through Instagram," in *KnE Social Sciences*, 2019, 297–309.

[15] Lalan Sahlani, Iha Hamidah, and Yasir Amrullah, "Development of Religion and Empowerment of Bandung Punk Hijrah Community," in *3rd Asian Education Symposium (AES 2018) Development*, vol. 253, 2019, 301–303.

recommendation of Janet Salmon in her book *Qualitative Online Interviews: Strategies, Design, and Skills.*[16] Moreover, documents such as videos and photos were obtained from the official Facebook and YouTube accounts of the Kopiah community and Ustadh Tarmizi Tahir, the founder of Kopiah. In addition, other documents, such as sheets of remembrance, are sent via the Whatsapp application.

Even though the interview was conducted through the Whatsapp application, it was still carefully planned. Meanwhile, the documents collected were videos, photos, and documents related to the activities practiced by the Kopiah community, Jayapura City.

The contribution of this article is as an initial knowledge and mapping of strategies for strengthening urban Sufism and the typology of urban Sufism practiced by the *hijra* community in eastern Indonesia, especially Jayapura.

Discourse on Sufism and Urban Sufism

Sufism Concept

Massignon and El-Razik explain that the term Sufism has become a long discourse among Muslim scholars. Some scholars associate the word Sufi with the existence of *Ahl al-Ṣuffah*, who lived at the time of the Prophet Muhammad *PBUH.*[17] Some of them say that the Sufis are the people who occupy the first row in prayer. Others state that the origin of Sufis is from the Bani Sufah, the Bedouin tribe. Some argue that the term Sufi comes from the word *"Ṣūfi"* which means holy. Some even say that the word Sufi comes from the Greek *"Sophos*." Noeldeke rejects this last term because the word Sophos is written with the letter *Sīn*, not *Ṣād*. According to al-Taftazānī, differences of opinion regarding the origin of the term Sufism are due to its widespread use. The word Sufism is used by various religions, philosophies, and civilizations

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[16] Janet Salmons, *Qualitative Online Interviews: Strategies, Design, and Skills* (California: Sage Publications, 2014).

[17] *Ahl al-Suffah* is a group of worship experts who lived on the mosque's terrace at the Nabawi Mosque during the Prophet Muhammad.

in different eras.[18] Therefore, Massignon and El-Razik reject these opinions and state simply that the word Sufism is a noun formed from a verb with five letters *(fi'l khumāsī)* which is formed from the word "*ṣawafa*" which means to wear wool clothes *(ṣūf).*[19] However, Sufi scholars such as al-Qushayrī and Zakariyā al-Anṣārī state the term Sufi in Arabic is a word that is unchanged and does not stem from any word *(jāmid).* The word Sufi is a kind of title.[20]

Sufism has been in dispute over its linguistic terms and definitions. According to the study of Iḥsān Ilhā ahīr, that al-Qushayrī put forward more than fifty definitions of Sufism. An orientalist, Nicholson cites seventy-eight definitions. Siraj al-Tusi compiled more than 100 definitions.[21] Sirāj al-Ṭūsī quotes the words of Junaid al-Baghdādī, defining Sufism very simply, namely: a person is with his God without a barrier.[22] Ma'rūf al-Karkhī stated that Sufism is taking all that is right and not hoping in humans. Psychologically, Sufism is a sacred spiritual.[23]

On the other hand, IḥSān Ilhā ẓahīr remarkably expressed that Sufism is avoiding something or halal deeds, leaving the delicious, not getting married, not getting along with family and friends, and torturing himself with hunger, thirst, and drowsiness.[24] According to Faisal Badir 'Aun, Sufi did not care about the world and the hereafter, but a Sufi busied himself with the Almighty God.[25] However, in this study, the authors are more likely to follow the opinion of Al-Taftānī. According to Taftāzānī, Sufism is a philosophy of life, a certain way of behavior used to achieve moral perfection, knowledge of the truth, and spiritual happiness.[26]

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[18] Abu al-Wafa' Al-Ghanimi Al-Taftazani, *Madkhal Ila Al-Tasawwuf al-Islami* (Cairo: Dar al-Thaqafah Li al-Nashr wa al-Tawzi', n.d.), 3.

[19] Massignon and M. Abd El-Razik, *Al-Tasawwuf* (Beirut: Dar al-Kitab al-Lubnani-Maktabat al-Madrasah, 1984), 25.

[20] Ibid., 57.

[21] Ihsan Ilha Zahir, *Al-Tasawwuf: Al-Mansha' Wa La-Masdar* (Lahore: Idarah Tarjaman al-Sunnah, 1986), 36.

[22] Ibid., 37.

[23] Faysal Badir 'Aun, *Al-Tasawwuf al-Islami: Al-Tariq Wa al-Rijal* (Cairo: Maktabah Sa'id Ra'fat-Jami'ah 'AIn Shams, 1983), 32.

[24] Zahir, *Al-Tasawwuf: Al-Mansha' Wa La-Masdar*, 10.

[25] 'Aun, *Al-Tasawwuf al-Islami: Al-Tariq Wa al-Rijal*, 22.

[26] Al-Taftazani, *Madkhal Ila Al-Tasawwuf al-Islami*, 3.

Regarding the objectives, Sufism is the unification of God (tawḥīd), recognition of Him, attending, surrounding, and getting close to Him.[27] In addition, Sufi aims to get closer to God through spiritual purification and doing good deeds.[28] However, in a broader context, Tasawuf is not just seeking to get closer to God through worship but also to grow praiseworthy morals in the life of a day. Sufism forced his followers to be able to control themselves from despicable acts. Sufism forced his followers to decorate themselves with good deeds, which would improve their quality. Instead, Sufism wants humans not to pollute themselves with evil deeds or sins that will only humble themselves, both in human view and in God's sight.[29]

On the other hand, the same term similar to Sufism is *tazkiyat al-nafs* (purifying himself). The word *tazkiyat al-nafs* means purifying the soul of sin and fixing it with obedience.[30] The authors argue that the term of *tazkiyat al-nafs* was popularized by Ibn Taymiyyah and Ibn Al-Qayyim al-Jawzī. The term of Tazkiyat is a match of the word of Tasawuf. The authors' opinion is based on Ibn Taymiyyah's opinion, which states that the people who apply heresy asceticism *(zuhd bid'ah)* are those who glorify his master *(murshid/shaykh)*.[31] Ibn Taymiyyah's opinion contrasted with the behavior of the Sufis, who greatly surprised his teacher. However, in general, the term Sufism and *tazkiyat al-nafs* have the same purpose, i.e., purifying the soul by getting closer to God, but in different ways.

For example, conventional Sufism has formal traditions to get closer to God. Jean-Louis Michon mentions several specific rituals practiced in conventional Sufism: First, the way to God *(tarīqat).* Tariqat can include two meanings. First, *tarīqat* means a mystical

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[27] 'Aun, *Al-Tasawwuf al-Islami: Al-Tariq Wa al-Rijal*, 30.

[28] Ahmad Syafii Mufid, *Tangklukan, Abangan Dan Tarekat: Kebangkitan Agama Di Jawa* (Jakarta: Yayasan Obor, 2006), 233.

[29] Masyitoh Chusnan, "Tasawuf Kota: Studi Kasus Fenomena Religiusitas Jamaah Pengajian Pengurus Cabang Muhammadiyah (PCM) Slipi Kota Bambu Jakarta Barat," *Alqalam* 26, no. 3 (2009): 351.

[30] Abu al-'Abbas Ahmad bin 'Abdullah al-Halim bin Taymiyyah Al-Harrani, *Fasl: Fi Tazkiyat al-Nafs* (Kuwait: Maktabat al-Nahj al-Wadih, 2018), 12.

[31] Ibid., 6.

journey, that is, a collection of teachings quoted from the Qur'an, Sunnah, and the experience of the master (*murshid/shaykh).* Second, *tarīqat* means a certain brotherhood or Sufi order named after the founder of the *tarīqat.*[32] Second, spiritual meetings, namely gatherings to hear recitations, advice, and read remembrance. Third, invocation *(dhikr)* to glorify the name of Allah.[33] Fourth, read the order of memory *(wird).* Usually read at spiritual gatherings. The *wird* is read together to open a spiritual meeting, aloud and rhythmically. The *wird* is sometimes called *hizb*[34] or *waẓīfa.*[35] Fifth, singing holy songs,[36] like reciting the poems in the book of Mawlīd al-Barzanjī and poems containing Sufi teachings and prayers.

The orthodox Sufism tradition contrasts with the practice of *tazkiyat al-nafs* initiated by Ibn Taymiyyah and Ibn al-Qayyim al-Jawzi. Ibn Taymiyyah asserts:[37]

"بخلاف المتنسكين بالتزهد البدعي فإنهم يعظمون شيوخه ويتبعونهم ويعرضون عن آثار الصحابة والتابعين ويرققون قلوبهم بالمحدثات من العبادات كالأذكار المحدثة والسماع البدعي الذي يسمونه بالأناشيد فأصبحت تلك شعارات الجماعات الحركية والطوائف البدعية كالتبليغية الصوفية وغيرهم"

"*Tazkiyat al-nafs* is different from heresy asceticism *(zuhd bid'ah).* The heresy asceticism *(zuhd bid'ah)* congregations glorify their teachers and follow them. They turned away from the traditions of companions and followers of the Prophet. They soften their hearts with heresy acts of worship such as remembrance and *sama'* called songs. These rituals become heretical movements and congregational tawaf, like the rituals of the Sufis and others."

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[32] Jean-Louis Michon, *Introduction to Traditional Islam: Foundation, Art, and Spirituality* (Bloomington: World Wisdom, 2008), 126 & 128.

[33] Ibid., 133.

[34] *Ḥizb* is a collection of prayers and remembrance. *Waẓīfa* is a collection of prayers and remembrance that has been determined by time.

[35] Michon, *Introduction to Traditional Islam: Foundation, Art, and Spirituality*, 136.

[36] Ibid., 137.

[37] Al-Harrani, *Fasl: Fi Tazkiyat al-Nafs*, 6.

The Concept of Urban Sufism

In Indonesia, "Urban Sufism" is also popular with the term "Neo-Sufism," which was initiated by the late Indonesian Muslim intellectual Nurcholis Majid, and "modern Sufism," which was undertaken by Buya Hamka. The neo-Sufism that Majid teaches aims to balance the inner life by paying attention to religious laws. Moreover, urban Sufis must be fully involved in all aspects of life and contribute to the well-being of society.[38]

A scholar who is very active in writing about "urban Sufism" is Julie Day Howell. Farid Mustofa emphasized that Julie Day Howell popularized "urban Sufism" by publishing his article entitled Modernity and the Borderlands of Islamic Spirituality in Indonesia's New Sufi Networks.[39] According to Howell, urban Sufism can be understood as new ways to involve the Sufi heritage in the spiritual life of urban residents.[40] The authors argue that a strong current forces urban Muslim communities to participate in Islamic activities. In the literature published recently, urban Sufism is considered a socio-religious phenomenon. Farid Mustofa, for example, explicitly defines urban Sufism as a socio-religious phenomenon that occurs in urban communities due to the encouragement of the search for aspects of spirituality.[41] Because urban life is synonymous with modernization, urban Sufism must be in the form of Sufism that is contemporary, practical, and answers the actual and factual problems urban people face.

The authors argue that the Sufism model practised by urban communities tends to purify the soul (tazkiyat al-nafs). On the other hand, Chusnan stated that urban Sufism is a symptom of the emergence of Sufism in urban areas, which prioritizesprioritizing

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[38] Julia Day Howell, "Introduction: Sufism and Neo-Sufism in Indonesia Today," *RIMA: Review of Indonesian and Malaysian Affairs* 46, no. 2 (2012): 8.

[39] Mustofa, "Urban Sufism: The New Spirituality of Urban Communities in Indonesia," 223. See, Julie D. Howell, *"Modernity and the Borderlands of Islamic Spirituality in Indonesia's New Sufi Networks"*, Paper in International Conference on Sufism and the Modern in Islam, Bogor, September 4-6, 2003.

[40] Howell, "Introduction: Sufism and Neo-Sufism in Indonesia Today," 5.

[41] Mustofa, "Urban Sufism: The New Spirituality of Urban Communities in Indonesia," 225.

the substantive values of Sufism rather than its formalisms. Urban Sufism is not bound by the formal rituals of a tarekat such as allegiance, diplomas, murshid guidance, etc. Therefore, urban Sufism seems practical and straightforward.

Typology and Motivation of Urban Sufism

Darmadi, who follows Azra's opinion, categorizes Sufi followers into three: First, orthodox or conventional Sufism based in villages and cities. Second, urban Sufism, namely urban Islamic groups and not necessarily related to conventional Sufi groups. Third, student Sufism which is often found in state universities.[42] In urban society, Wasisto Raharjo Jati mapped the urban Sufi movement model into two models. First is the conventional Sufism model affiliated with a particular tarekat school. Second, the modern Sufism model is not affiliated with a specific tarekat school.[43] In addition to these models, the authors also consider another group, namely the Sufism model, which is carried out individually, independently, and not bound by a particular community.

In terms of motivation, the primary drive for urban Sufism is the search for solutions to complex problems.[44] Faced by urban communities. In addition, urban Sufism is a trend to show self-identity as a religious Muslim.[45] According to Farid Mustofa, a significant factor that drives the emergence of urban Sufism is the spiritual aspect that disappears in everyday life.[46] According to Nuraini, millennial society interprets urban Sufism as popular culture and a form of finding solutions to their problems.[47]

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[42] Darmadi, "Urban Sufism: The New Flourishing Vivacity of Contemporary Indonesian Islam," 208.

[43] Yusdani Yusdani et al., "Yogyakarta Urban Middle-Class Sufism: Economic, Political and Cultural Networks," *Ulumuna* 23, no. 2 (2020): 278.

[44] Nurani, "Urban Sufism And Transformation Of Islamic Culture In Millenial Society," 157.

[45] Ibid., 159.

[46] Mustofa, "Urban Sufism: The New Spirituality of Urban Communities in Indonesia," 225.

[47] Nurani, "Urban Sufism And Transformation Of Islamic Culture In Millenial Society," 157.

Darmadi, following Komaruddin Hidayat's analysis, suggests five factors in the rise of contemporary Sufism (urban Sufism): Sufism is considered a medium of a search for life meaning, intellectual struggle and enlightenment, psychological therapy, empowerment of traditional religions, and Economic interests.[48] The complex problems urban communities encourage them to seek the true meaning of life. Sometimes they feel bored with work pressure, and the salaries are never satisfactory. As a result, urban Muslim communities seek happiness and peace of mind through remembrance associations and Islamic lectures (kajian Islam/pengajian).

From a psychological perspective, Sufism has a positive impact. For example, Anshori, in his study, states that Sufism can overcome psychological problems in the form of inner peace so that the mind becomes healthy and happy in living a life without psychological burdens.[49] According to Rabia Nasir and Arsheed Ahmad Malik, in modern life, Sufism plays a role in knowing the world beyond imagination.[50] In addition, Rabia Nasir and Arsheed Ahmad Malik also mentioned several vital functions of Sufism for urban communities. First, through Sufism, one can see beyond the veil of darkness that covers oneself. A person who sincerely worships Allah through training in Sufism groups can reach a stage where "he worships God as if he sees Him". Second, Sufism has guided humankind in all ages and will continue to do so in the future. Third, Sufism offers a cure for evil in the modern world. Modern Sufism teaches the necessary values, such as respecting life, respecting love, etc.[51] As a result, due to different motivations, several typologies of urban Sufism were formed.

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[48] Yusdani et al., "Yogyakarta Urban Middle-Class Sufism: Economic, Political and Cultural Networks," 279–281.

[49] Afif Anshori, *Peran Tasawuf Perkotaan (Urban Sufism) Dalam Mengatasi Problem Psikologis: Studi Kasus Pada Kaum Eksekutif Di Bandar Lampung*, 2015, 141.

[50] Rabia Nasir and Arsheed Ahmad Malik, "Role and Importance of Sufism in Modern World," *International Journal of Advancements in Research & Technology* 2, no. 1 (2013): 8.

[51] Ibid., 3–4.

Urban Hijra Community in Indonesia

The society is partially understood as a group of people with the same interests, religion, race and so on.[52] At the same time, hijrah in Arabic means to move. The meaning of hijra, in the context of the hijra movement, is not only limited to the aspect of existence but the spirit of religion which is interpreted as a personal spiritual journey that will continue throughout human life.[53] From the meanings of the two words, the term hijra community can be understood as a community with the same vision and mission to move from a bad situation or way to a better state or way of being Muslim, which is carried out continuously.

As for the typology of hijra communities in Indonesia, Windy Triana highlights two findings in her research. First, the typology of the hijra movement in Indonesia can be grouped into two, namely: Conservative and Islamist. The Conservative category is divided into two, namely, Salafi and non-Salafi. Second, the strategy of spreading the hijra movement is considered superior in utilizing social media to attract followers from young people. Several methods are used in recruiting prospective members, namely: 1) presenting Islamic preachers (dāʻi/ustādh) who tend to be trendy; 2) choosing a special place of study, not a public area; 3) Islamic lectures (*kajian/pengajian*) are designed to be more interactive using digital technology. 4) using foreign language terms that young people often use; 5) forming intensive *halaqa* groups; 6) using well-known figures as third parties in social media content; 7) using pop culture elements to attract young people's interest and others.[54]

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[52] Merriam-Webster, "Merriam-Webster," *Merriam-Webster*, last modified 2021, accessed February 6, 2021, https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/innovation.

[53] Hamudy and Hamudy, "Hijrah Movement in Indonesia: Shifting Concept and Implementation in Religiosity," 133.

[54] Convey, "Tren Hijrah Di Kalangan Anak Muda, Ini Temuan Riset PPIM," *PPIM UIN Jakarta*, last modified 2021, accessed September 12, 2021, https://ppim.uinjkt.ac.id/2021/02/01/tren-hijrah-di-kalangan-anak-muda-ini-temuan-riset-ppim/. See the results of the comprehensive research can be read on the Executive Summary available on the: https://ppim.uinjkt.ac.id/wp-content/uploads/2021/02/RINGKASAN-EKSEKUTIF_fixed-300121-2.pdf

Typology of Urban Sufism among the Kopiah Community

Kopiah is an abbreviation of the "Komunitas Pemuda Islam Ada Hijrah". Kopiah is a community that accommodates youths, especially street children/youths whose lives violate legal, social, and religious norms. This community is headquartered at the Baabul Jannah Mosque, located on Jl. New Abepura Jayapura City.

Ustadh Tarmizi Tahir founded the Kopiah Community on January 14th, 2020. This community was formed based on the inner anxiety felt by Muhammad As'ad and Darwansa. Starting from a casual discussion, which led to a meeting of the Islamic world, they took the initiative to gather friends who felt the same anxiety. To respond to their stress, Ustadh Tarmizi founded the Kopiah community. Initially, the program was held in the form of sharing sessions. According to Ustadh Tarmizi, having Islamic lectures is not under the relaxed character of youth, while Islamic lectures (pengajian/kajian) seem very formal. Also, holding Islamic studies is more complicated than just sharing sessions.

However, the Kopiah community was designed as a mental and spiritual development center for the hijrah youth. Its activities include Islamic lectures (pengajian/kajian), five daily prayers in the congregation, procedures for performing prayers, holding a Qur'an educational park, and others.[55]

Referring to Wasisto Raharjo Jati, who has classified the urban Sufism movement into two typologies, the urban Sufism movement practiced by the Kopiah community appears to be included in the second typology. The second typology is an urban Sufism model that is not affiliated with a particular tarekat school.[56] The authors argue that the Kopiah community is not affiliated with any tarekat group regarding mazhab, theology, organisation, etc. However, it seems that the Kopiah community is tied with the Tarekat 'Alawiyah, which is linked to al-Haddad. The author's argument is indicated by 1) the ritual of remembrance, prayers, and Salawat carried out loudly and in the congregation; 2) The remembrance read is Ratīb al-Ḥaddād by al-Ḥabīb

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[55] Ustādh Tarmizi Tahir, *Interview*, 3/7/2021

[56] Yusdani et al., "Yogyakarta Urban Middle-Class Sufism: Economic, Political and Cultural Networks," 278.

Muḥammad bin ʿAlawī al-Ḥaddād, who adheres to al-Ashʿariyyah theology.

Strategy for Strengthening Urban Sufism among the Kopiah Community

Historically, Sufism has played an essential role in social change in society. This view asserts that Sufism is not bound by time and place.[57] It means that Sufism can be practiced by any group, organization, and community, including urban hijra communities. Although the Kopiah community cannot be categorized as a conventional tarekat or Sufism community, this community emphasizes mental and spiritual development through heart-purification rituals (tazkiyat al-nafs/taṣfiyat al-qalb), such as remembrance, as practiced by the Sufis.

To get a high impact of tazkiyat al-nafs among the Kopiah community, the founder of this community, Ustadz Tarmizi, designed several strategies.[58] In this article, the authors call the strategy a strategy for strengthening urban Sufism. The strategies that the authors mean are:

First, the Tazkiyat al-Nafs Ritual in the Congregation

Tazkiyat al-nafs is carried out in congregation at the Baabul Jannah musalla, the headquarters of the Kopiah community. Among the tazkiyat al-nafs activities carried out in the congregation are: 1) obligatory prayers; 2) Remembrance (dhikr) after the obligatory prayers, 3) Reciting ṣalawāt to the Prophet Muhammad; and 4) Asking for forgiveness (istigfār). Congregational remembrance is routinely performed after obligatory prayers. The weekly remembrance is carried out on Friday nights in the congregation by utilizing a collection of prayers in Rātib al-Ḥaddad, by al-Habīb Abdullāh al-ʿAlawī al-Haddād.[59]

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[57] Rubaidi, "The Role of Urban Sufism of Shalawat Muhammad Assembly Rrban Middle Class Society," *Jurnal Ushuluddin* 26, no. 2 (2018): 197.

[58] Ustādh Tarmizi Tahir, *Interview,* 3/8/2021

[59] Ustādh Tarmizi Tahir, *Interview,* 3/7/2021, Rātib al-Ḥaddād document sheet used by the Kopiah community.

The remembrance of the remembrance in Ratīb al-Ḥaddād is read repeatedly according to the provisions of its composer. The remembrance in Rātib al-Ḥaddād is read repeatedly according to the requirements of its composer.[60] The authors view that there are two reasons why dhikr is read repeatedly. The authors consider that there are two reasons why dhikr is read repeatedly.There are two reasons why dhikr is read repeatedly. First, reciting the dhikr is a mandate of Allah.[61] The second purpose of dhikr repetition is to instil tranquilly in the minds and spirits of people who remember Allah.[62]

The authors argue that tazkiyat al-nafs in reciting remembrance, prayer, and Salawat in the congregation are strategies for strengthening conventional Sufism, which ṭarīqat groups often carry out. Jean-Louis Michon called the gathering activity for remembrance among Sufis a spiritual meeting, usually held on a Friday.[63] The members of the tarekat gather in a designated place and recite the dhikr in the congregation.

According to the author, psychologically, reading remembrance in the congregation can raise enthusiasm when reading remembrance. In addition, from a social perspective, according to Alamul Huda, congregational dhikr rituals have implied goals, namely: 1) to create a balance of behaviour and social norms; 2) to minimize deviations from social ethics; 3) as a constructive effort to strengthen the social communication and inter-community relations. Congregational remembrance is expected to be social glue, including the benefit in the world and the hereafter.[64] Therefore, congregational memory is not only correlated with the spiritual community but also social. In addition to presenting humility, enthusiasm, and strength in dhikr, congregational dhikr also brings a sense of togetherness and brotherhood in social life.

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[60] *Rātib al-Ḥaddād* document sheet used by the Kopiah community.

[61] See Qur'an, Sūrat al-Aḥzāb (33):41, al-Anfāl (8):45, dan al-Jumu'ah (62):10.

[62] See Qur'an, Sūrat al-Ra'd (13):28.

[63] Michon, *Introduction to Traditional Islam: Foundation, Art, and Spirituality*, 133.

[64] Alamul Huda, "Fenomena Dzikir Berjamaah Sebagai Sarana Perekat Sosial," *Jurisdictie, Jurnal Hukum dan Syariah* 2, no. 2 (2011): 198.

Second, Emphasis on Learning on the Qur'an and Fiqh

As previously mentioned, at the beginning of the establishment of the Kopiah community, the activities carried out were in the form of sharing sessions. Along with the increase in members, Ustadz Tarmizi, as the founder of Kopiah, designed activities in the form of learning the Qur'an. The Qur'an learning program in the Kopiah community is named as the "Bajingan" (Belajar Ngaji Bareng/Learning Qur'an Together). The "Bajingan" program is carried out by Kopiah every day after the Isha prayer. "Bajingan" is a daily program carried out in coaching, namely by reciting the Qur'an. Ustādh listens to the reading of al-Qur'an from each community member and will correct the reciting of the Qur'an when it is misread. However, the "Bajingan" program was stopped during the Covid-19 outbreak. As a result, the committee of the Kopiah community-recommended reading Qur'an in their respective homes.

Ustādh Tarmizi Tahir Said:

"... The "Bajingan" program (recite the Koran together/read the Qur'an together) was programmed every night after 'Ishā' prayer. However, due to the Covid-19 disaster, the government prohibited all activities that caused crowds. Therefore, the Kopiah administrators agreed to postpone this program until the Covid 19 outbreak subsided. The participants took another strategy, namely reading the Qur'an in their respective places."[65]

In addition, the Kopiah community also programs fiqh lessons on Monday nights. Learning fiqh emphasizes the material on the procedures for carrying out prayers.[66]

Learning the Qur'an and fiqh is the implementation of the vision and mission made by the Kopiah community managers.[67] The authors view that the correct way of Sufism is to study religious knowledge, including the Qur'an and fiqh. Reading the Qur'an is one of the demands in worship. Surah al-Fatihah as part of the Qur'an must be read correctly to consider the prayer valid. Likewise, the science of jurisprudence (fiqh) is considered a science for worship. The validity and void of worship can be known through the science of jurisprudence (fiqh).

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[65] Ustādh Tarmizi Tahir, *Interview,* 3/8/2021.

[66] Rahmat Abdullah, *Wawancara,* 5/7/2021.

[67] Document sheet of vision and mission of the skull community.

مَنْ تَصَوَّفَ وَلَمْ يَتَفَقَّهْ فَقَدْ تَزْنْدَقَ، وَمَنْ تَفَقَّهَ وَلَمْ يَتَصَوَّفْ فَقَدْ تَفَسَّقَ، وَمَنْ جَمَعَ بَيْنَهُمَا فَقَدْ تَحَقَّقَ.

"Whoever does Sufism without Fiqh, he is called a zindīq (one who pretends to believe), and whoever studies Fiqh without Sufism is called a fāsiq (who commits a major sin). Whoever balances the two, he is the true expert in truth."[68]

Also, the importance of science, including jurisprudence (fiqh), before studying Sufism was pointed out by al-Gazali. In *Iḥyā ʿUlūm al-Dīn*, al-Gazāli prioritizes the discussion of the knowledge (*ʿIlm*) then the faith (*ʿaqīda*), purification (*ṭahāra*), prayer, and so on.[69] In the context of Sufism, there are several levels (*maqām*), namely sharī'a, then *ḥaqīqa*, and then *ma'rifa*. Sharī'a is a basic level in Sufism that cannot be underestimated. A Sufi can't reach the level of *ḥaqīqa*, and *ma'rifa* if he does not study the science of sharī'a (fiqh) and put it into practice.[70] Therefore, the science of fiqh must be learned for people who want to purify themselves through Sufism.

Third, Learning Islam Through Dialogue

In addition to congregational remembrance and focusing on learning the Qur'an and Fiqh, the strategy used is also to learn Islam through dialogue. The term dialogue used in the Kopiah community is very familiar among youth with social problems, such as "Ngobat" (abbreviation of *ngobrol perkara taubat* or talking about repentance) and "Ngopi" (*abbreviation of ngobrol perkara iman or talking about faith*).[71] The explanation of the two is as follows:

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[68] Ahmad bin Muhammad bin 'Ajibah Al-Hasani, *Al-Futuhat al-Ilahiyyah Fi Sharhi al-Mabahith al-Asliyyah*, ed. Abdurrahman Hasan Mahmud (Cairo: 'Alam al-Fikr, n.d.), 60.

[69] Abu Hamid Muhammad bin Muhammad al-Ghazali, *Ihyā' Ulūm al-Dīn* (Beirut: Dar Ibn Hazm, 2005).

[70] In addition to meaning level or position, maqam also means *"al-iqāmah"*, which is to carry out. Al-Qusyhayri said that a Sufi cannot rise to a higher level if he has not carried out the requirements of the level he is currently occupying. See al-Imam Abi al-Qasim 'Abd al-Karim bin Hawzan Al-Qushayri, *Al-Risalah al-Qushayriyyah* (Beirut: Dar al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyah, 2001), 91.

[71] Ustādh Tarmizi Tahir, *Interview*, 3/8/2021.

"Ngopi" (Ngobrol Perkara Iman/Talking about Faith)

This program is carried out every day before the Maghrib prayer and in free time after the obligatory prayers. "Ngopi" is a program designed to transfer knowledge about faith and the importance of religion in human life. In addition, the material discussed is about verses of the Qur'an related to behavioral deviations. Ngopi emphasizes on dialogue without making a judgment. The Ngopi program emphasizes using the daily language to be easy to understand. The Ngopi Program avoids discussions that seem forced to be understood and applied in everyday life.[72] So, as the name implies, the coffee program is designed as casually as possible so the participants do not feel awkward expressing their psychological burdens. They can ask about Islamic issues and share their spiritual experiences before or after joining the Kopiah community.

Rahmat Abdullah said:

"…Usually, this program (Ngopi) is held before the Maghrib prayer. Usually, the ustādh determines the verse or sūrat to be discussed. Usually, the verses of the Qur'an that are discussed are verses related to the deviant behavior that members of the Kopiah have carried out. The delivery method is carried out in a light, relaxed and relaxed manner…"[73]

Faith (īmān) is one of the crucial aspects of Sufism or *tazkiyat al-nafs*. In fact, according to Ibn Taymiyyah, faith is the subject matter in *tazkiyat al-nafs*. Faith can be defined as worshipping Allah, accepting sharia law, completing self-contempt for Him, and perfecting love for Him.[74] Therefore, the authors argue that this strengthening strategy is very relevant to the teachings of Sufism or *tazkiyat al-nafs*.

However, the authors view that the faith material presented in the Ngopi program is still ubiquitous. Imam Gazali in his *Ihyā'* highlights some critical material related to faith. For example, materials that include the attributes of Allah that He is free (*al-tanzīh*) from the characteristics of creatures. Allah also has the

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[72] Ustādh Tarmizi Tahir, *Interview*, 3/7/2021.

[73] Rahmat Abdullah, *Interview*, 5/7/2021.

[74] Abu al-'Abbas Ahmad bin Abdullah bin Abdul Halim bin Taymiyyah Al-Harrani, *Tazkiyat Al-Nafs* (Riyad: Dar al-Muslim, 1994), 16.

properties of knowing (*'ilm*), willing (*al-irāda*), hearing (*al-sam'*), seeing (*al-Baṣar*), speaking (*al-kalām*), and living (*al-hayā*).[75]

"Ngobat" or Talking about Repentance

The repentance program emphasizes persuasive dialogue to perform repentance. This program is implemented with a humanist approach, without coercion for perpetrators of deviant behavior. *Ngobat* is carried out using a straightforward discussion method. *Ngobat* activities are held every Sunday night and during other significant events, such as the Prophet's Birthday. The discussion theme is unlimited. Community members and people dealing with social problems feel free to ask anything. All questions will be answered by ustadh, who was present then.[76]

Ustādh Tarmizi confirmed the following:

> "... We don't use lectures in the Ngobat Program. This program approach is more of a casual chat. Usually, we do this program every night of the week. We invite Kopiah's members or friends who are addicted to drinking, gambling, consuming narcotics, and free sex to repent through the program. Maybe, first we will provide coffee and snacks from personal pockets. I don't think it's a problem. We deliberately invited them to come to chat as usual. After a long time, they were interested in learning about Islam, and asked to be held every Sunday night..."[77]

Repentance (*tawbat*) is one of the essential parts of Sufism and *tazkiyat al-nafs* because it is a source of luck,[78] and direct command from Allah.[79] Linguistically, repentance means regret (*al-nadam*). Practically, al-Gazāli defines repentance as an effort to replace despicable movements (*al-harakah al-madhmūmah*) with commendable movements (*al-harakah al-maḥmūdah*).[80] Therefore, the *Ngobat* program is very relevant to be carried out in the context of Sufism or *tazkiyat al-nafs*.

According to al-Qushayrī, repentance is the starting point for a person to begin his Sufism journey. Apart from meaning regret,

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[75] al-Ghazali, *Ihyā' Ulūm al-Dīn*, 107–108.

[76] Ustādh Tarmizi Tahir, *Interview*, 3/7/2021, Rahmat Abdullah, *Interview*, 5/7/2021.

[77] Ustādh Tarmizi Tahir, *Interview*, 3/7/2021.

[78] See Qur'an, Sūrat al-Nūr (24):31.

[79] See Qur'an, Sūrat al-Taḥrīm (66):8.

[80] al-Ghazali, *Ihyā' Ulūm al-Dīn*, 1337.

repentance is defined as the process of returning from despicable behavior to commendable behavior.[81] This opinion shows that repentance is the first stage that must be done by someone who wants to practice Sufism or purification of the soul. The person should be sorry for the sins and mistakes that have been done. Moreover, the most important thing is, the person must be determined not to sin again. The person should apologize if the sin committed is related to a human being.

Overall, the strategies designed and implemented by the Kopiah community look innovative and contextual. The program names and the approaches seem to match the community conditions, both from a psychological point and from a social background. Arif Zamhari states that the Sufi tradition in Indonesia has experienced social and structural innovations exemplified by several remembrance assemblies (*majlis dhikr*) and *ṣalawātan* groups in Indonesia.[82] So, even though the Kopiah community is not a tarekat, remembrance assembly, and *ṣalawātan* group, the Kopiah community has shown a simple, practical, and contextual way of carrying out the ritual Sufism focusing on *tazkiyat al-nafs*.

Conclusion

This article concludes that the Kopiah community can be considered a community that practices urban Sufism in the form of *tazkiyyat al-nafs*. The ritual of *tazkiyat al-nafs* has been modified innovatively and contextually. In particular, this article concludes two findings according to the focus of the problem studied. First, the typology of urban Sufism practiced by the Kopiah community is Sufism, which is officially not affiliated with any tarekat school. In addition, the Kopiah community is more likely to be referred to as a community that simply practices *tazkiyyat al-nafs*. However, the practice of *tazkiyat al-nafs* follows the ways of conventional groups, such as praying in congregation and with a loud voice and reading *Ratīb al-Haddād*. Second, the strategies of strengthening

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[81] Al-Qushayri, *Al-Risalah al-Qushayriyyah*, 127.

[82] Zamhari, "Sosio-Cultural Innovations in Indonesia's Urban Sufism: The Case Study of the Majelis Dzikir and Shalawat Nurul Mustafa," 141–142.

urban Sufism carried out by the Kopiah community are innovative, relevant, and contextual programs with Sufism activities. Three strategies for strengthening urban Sufism are carried out: 1) tazkiyat al-nafs rituals are carried out in the congregation, such as mandatory prayers (ṣala farḍ), remembrance, and salawat; 2) focusing on learning Qur'an and fiqh. Learning Qur'an is called "Bajingan" program (*Belajar Ngaji Bareng*/Learning the Qur'an Together); 3) Islamic Lectures (*kajian Islam/pengajian*) through dialogue, namely "Ngopi" and "Ngobat".

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