

RITUAL AND SPRITUALITY: THE TRADITION OF THE TARIQAH NAQSHABANDIYYAH KHALIDIYYAH JALALIYYAH IN INDONESIA

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Abstract

The Sufi Order, known as *tariqah*, played a significant role during the initial Islamization period in Indonesia, further solidifying the distinct identity of Islam in the country. However, compared to other mainstream Islamic organizations like Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah, *tariqah* has received relatively little study. In light of recent developments in Indonesia, particularly the conservative turn in Indonesian Islam, there is an increased significance in studying *tariqah*. This is because it provides insights into the diversity within Indonesian Islam, highlighting that the phenomenon of the conservative turn is not monolithic. Through observation and interviews, this article explores the rituals of the tariqah Naqshabandiyyah Khalidiyyah Jalaliyyah, which are routinely conducted based on Sufi spiritual concepts such as purification, admission, and illumination. These phases aim to enhance the spirituality of *tariqah* members through moral purification. This underscores that the essence of the ritual is to gradually and cumulatively improve the spiritual quality of its members. The transformation from one phase to another reflects the caliber of its members, ultimately leading to the attainment of the perfect man, a concept

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describing spiritual perfection for both worldly life and the hereafter.

Keywords: *Tariqah*; Sufism; Naqshabandiyyah Khalidiyyah Jalaliyyah; *murshid*; *dhikr*; Indonesia.

Khulasah

Tarekat, yang merupakan sebahagian daripada tradisi sufi, memainkan peranan penting dalam proses Islamisasi awal di Indonesia. Dalam perkembangan selanjutnya, ia mengukuhkan identiti unik Islam Indonesia. Berbanding pertubuhan Islam arus perdana lain seperti Nahdlatul Ulama dan Muhammadiyah, tarekat tidak banyak dikaji. Dalam perkembangan terkini di Indonesia, kajian tentang tarekat semakin mendapat perhatian. Ini kerana kajian ini memberikan gambaran bahawa fenomena konservatif dalam Islam Indonesia tidaklah bersifat monolitik. Masih terdapat beberapa ciri Islam Indonesia, dan tidak semuanya sama seperti yang diwakili oleh kelompok konservatif. Dengan menggunakan pemerhatian dan temu bual, artikel ini mendapati bahawa ritual tarekat Naqshabandiyyah Khalidiyyah Jalaliyyah dilakukan secara rutin berdasarkan konsep kerohanian sufi iaitu penyucian, kemasukan, dan iluminasi. Fasa-fasa ini dilakukan bagi membolehkan ahli tarekat meningkatkan kerohanian mereka melalui penyucian akhlak. Ini menunjukkan bahawa tujuan utama ritual adalah untuk meningkatkan kualiti rohani ahli secara beransur-ansur. Transformasi dari satu fasa ke fasa yang lain mencerminkan kualiti ahli tersebut. Transformasi yang mencapai tahap muktamad menyifatkan seseorang sebagai 'insan kamil'. Ini adalah konsep yang menggambarkan kesempurnaan rohaninya untuk kehidupan dunia dan akhirat.

Kata kunci: Tarekat; sufi; Naqshabandiyyah Khalidiyyah Jalaliyyah; mursyid, zikir; Indonesia.

Introduction

The Islamic model developed by the Sufis was not only believed to have played a role in the early Islamization of

Indonesia, but in its later development, it also helped shape and preserve the character of Islam in the country. Azra explains that the character of Indonesian Islam is moderate and tolerant, influenced by the early Islamization efforts of the Sufis.¹ The flexible incorporation of local culture became the main feature of Islam developed by Sufis. They typically prioritize specific rituals to deepen the spiritual qualities of the self. The main emphasis of the Sufis on the esoteric aspect reflects their distinctive and flexible character in understanding and practicing the values of Islamic teachings. The adaptive and tolerant character of Indonesian Islam is a typical example of *wasatiyyah* Islam.² The character of Islamic *wasatiyyah* continues to be upheld by a number of Islamic leaders in Indonesia through the establishment of Islamic organizations such as Nahdlatul Ulama, Muhammadiyah, and non-mainstream Islamic movements such as tariqah, which originates from Sufism.³

Unfortunately, the study of *tariqah* is not as appealing to many researchers of Islam in Indonesia. In comparison to mainstream Islamic organizations such as Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah, research on *tariqah* in Indonesia lags significantly behind. Martin van Bruinessen has shown interest in studying *tariqah*, particularly its development in Indonesia. However, his focus tends to be on the more prominent *tariqahs*, such as Naqshbandi,

¹ Azyumardi Azra, "Distinguishing Indonesian Islam: Some Lessons to Learn" in *Islam in Indonesia: Contrasting Images and Interpretations*, eds. Jajat Burhanudin & Kees van Dijk (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2013), 63.

² Mukti Ali, Ulfiyatun Nadhifah & Wuri Arenggoasih, "Klenteng Mosque's Religious Moderation: Intercultural Communication and Remarking Da'wah of *Wasathiyah* Islam," *Jurnal Dakwah Risalah* 33(1) (2022), 57-70. See also, Azyumardi Azra, "Islam Indonesia: Kontribusi pada Peradaban Global," *Prisma* 29(4) (2010), 85.

³ Martin van Bruinessen, "Overview of Muslim Organizations, Associations and Movements in Indonesia," in *Contemporary Development in Indonesia Islam* Explaining the Conservative Turn, ed. Martin van Bruinessen (Singapore: ISEAS, 2013), 52.

Qadiriyyah, Tijanniyyah, Khalwatiyyah, Sammaniyyah, Shattariyyah, and Shadhiliyyah.⁴ He provided limited elaboration on certain local *tariqahs* such as Naqshabandiyyah Khalidiyyah Jalaliyyah.

Another study solely examines the tradition of the Qadiriyyah wa Naqshabandiyyah Tariqah concerning environmental and nature conservation,⁵ while in another study, the researcher studied the development of the Tariqah Qadiriyyah wa Naqshabandiyyah in Pekanbaru.⁶ Meanwhile, Zamhari studied *Majlis Dhikr* in East Java. He found that *Majlis Dhikr* had rituals that were not much different from those of the *tariqah* adherents. Like the *mu'tabarrah tariqah*, *Majlis Dhikr* was developed and spread by *pesantren*.⁷

So far, there has not been any empirical research related to the tradition of the Naqshabandiyyah Khalidiyyah Jalaliyyah in Indonesia. This is due to the tendency of research in the study of *tariqah*, which prioritizes the *mu'tabarrah* and main *tariqah*. Examining the *mu'tabarrah tariqah* is based on the reason that these congregations have global-scale claims of authenticity and networking. Second, the main *tariqah* or Sufi orders have a significant number of followers compared to the branch *tariqah*. However, from the aspect of significance, the branch *tariqah* has its uniqueness that should encourage scholars to investigate further.

⁴ Martin van Bruinessen, *Tariqah Naqsyabandiyah di Indonesia* (Bandung: Mizan, 1992).

⁵ Masduki, Toni Hartono & Imron Rosidi, "Harmoni Lingkungan di Dunia Tariqah Qadiriyyah Wa Naqshabandiyah Desa Lalang Tanjung, Riau," *Al-Tahrir* 17(2) (2017), 289-309.

⁶ Masduki, Toni Hartono & Imron Rosidi, "The Tradition of Tariqah Qadiriyyah wa Naqshabandiyah in Pekanbaru, Riau," *KALAM* 12(1) (2018), 43-66.

⁷ Arif Zamhari, *Rituals of Islamic Spirituality: A Study of Majlis Dhikr Groups in East Java* (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 2010).

Firstly, branch Sufi orders have the same claim to authenticity as the main Sufi orders. This can be seen from the clear genealogical sequence of the *tariqah*. Secondly, branch Sufi orders tend to be more localized rather than global. This is an advantage of these *tariqahs* in the context of the adaptation of Islamic teachings to local culture.

In the current context, the eruption of conservatism, as described by Martin van Bruinessen in Indonesia, underscores the urgency of studying the *tariqah*.⁸ This is important as an argument that the character of Indonesian Islam is not merely as described in the findings. The eruption of Islamic conservatism did occur in Indonesia, but the phenomenon was not monolithic. This means that the description of 'the conservative turn'—a term proposed by Martin van Bruinessen—should be understood as one of the symptoms that cannot completely describe the complex and multifaceted nature of Indonesian Islam.

The study of Sufis or *tariqah* provides an opportunity for Indonesian Islamic scholars to understand that the dynamics of Indonesian Islam are diverse and pluralistic.⁹ Secondly, the symptoms of conservatism in Indonesian Islam are believed to have developed from the Islamization process carried out by alumni of Middle Eastern universities during the New Order era.¹⁰ Hence, research illustrating the esoteric character of Indonesian Islam becomes urgent as it demonstrates that typical religious

⁸ Martin van Bruinessen, "Introduction: Contemporary Developments in Indonesian Islam and the 'Conservative Turn' of the Early Twenty-First Century," in *Contemporary Development in Indonesia Islam Explaining the Conservative Turn*, ed. Martin van Bruinessen (Singapore: ISEAS, 2013).

⁹ See, Imron Rosidi, "Being Active Muslim Audiences: Reception of Thai Films in Indonesia", *Media Asia* 48(4) (2021), 1-13.

¹⁰ Imron Rosidi, "Harun Nasution's Influence on Shaping Muslim Intellectual Development in Indonesia", *Contemporary Islam* 17(3) (2023), 391-409.

practices of Islam in Indonesia persist and are continued by Muslims in the country.

Therefore, this article aims to explain the ritual and spiritual concepts of the Naqshbandiyyah Khalidiyyah Jalaliyyah *tariqah* in Riau, Indonesia. This article argues that the rituals performed by the *tariqah* followers cannot be separated from the local context. The *tariqah* enhances its followers' spirituality through rituals that accommodate local cultures. This indicates that this *tariqah*, as a social institution, is striving to maintain its existence amidst social changes.

Methodology

This study utilizes a qualitative method. The main source of information for this article is based on field research. Participant observation and detailed interviews are employed as primary research methods. Initially, observations are conducted to explore aspects pertaining to the conduct of significant figures within the *tariqah* under examination. Subsequently, thorough interviews are carried out with prominent figures or members of the *tariqah* to delve deeper into its intricacies. Furthermore, library research is employed to reinforce the findings obtained in the field.

The selection of research informants is based on purposive sampling techniques. Informants were selected based on certain criteria. Firstly, informants are the leaders of the Naqshbandiyyah Khalidiyyah Jalaliyyah order. Secondly, informants are followers of the Naqshbandiyyah Khalidiyyah Jalaliyyah. Ten informants were selected, comprising five males and five females. The background of the informants can be seen in the following table:

Table 1: Background of the informants

No	Name	Age	Position
1	Sheikh Muda Anwar Sazali	52	<i>Murshid</i> /Manager

2	Munawar Kholil Al-Kholidi	45	<i>Murshid</i>
3	KH. Aziz Ahmad	46	Follower
4	Zikri	56	Follower
5	Firdaus	62	Follower
6	Aisyah	45	Follower
7	Rosyidah	47	Follower
8	Rohana	43	Follower
9	Sarah	41	Follower
10	Kumala	44	Follower

A Glimpse of the Naqshabandiyyah Khalidiyyah Jalaliyyah

The history of the Naqshabandiyyah Khalidiyyah Jalaliyyah cannot be separated from the history of the Naqshbandiyyah Sufi order, founded by Shaykh Muhammad Baha' al-Din al-Husayni al-Uwasi al-Bukhari, who was the leader of the Naqshbandiyyah Sufi order. This is because the Naqshbandiyyah Khalidiyyah Jalaliyyah is an inheritance or branch of the Naqshabandiyyah order. When the Tariqah Naqshabandiyyah was practiced by Shaykh Diya' al-Din Khalid Kurdi Ottoman (1776-1827), the name of the Naqshabandiyyah order changed to the Naqshbandiyyah Khalidiyyah. The name 'Khalidiyyah' is significant as it describes the identity of his name, Khalid.

Historically, Shaykh Diya' al-Din Khalid Kurdi was born in the city of Qaradagh in the Shahrizur district of Kurdistan, Iraq. Khalid Kurdi received comprehensive and in-depth religious education in his native land before leaving for India in 1809.¹¹ Shaykh Diya' al-Din Khalid Kurdi was the first generation of the Naqshabandiyyah Khalidiyyah *tariqah*. He then passed on his leadership of the *tariqah* to Shaykh 'Abd Allah al-Zirjani. Shaykh 'Abd Allah then entrusted the management of this order to

¹¹ Itzchak Weismann, *The Naqshbandiyya: Orthodoxy and Activism in a Worldwide Sufi Tradition* (London dan New York: Routledge, 2007), 85.

Shaykh Sulayman al-Qirimi. Shaykh Sulayman al-Qirimi subsequently passed on the leadership to Shaykh Sulaiman Zuhdi under the same *tariqah* name, the Naqshabandiyyah Khalidiyyah order. It was then passed down to Shaykh 'Ali Ridha, who was the son-in-law of Shaykh Sulayman Zuhdi.¹² In 1924, amidst 'Abd al-'Aziz Ibn Sa'ud's conquest of Mecca and Medina, Shaykh 'Ali Ridha purportedly sought refuge in India, severing ties with his Indonesian students. Consequently, this year marked the conclusion of the era where the Naqshabandiyyah Khalidiyyah in Indonesia relied on Naqshabandiyyah instructors in Hijaz.¹³

When Shaykh Prof. Dr. H. Jalaluddin performed the pilgrimage in Mecca, he pledged allegiance to Shaykh 'Ali Ridha at Jabal Qubays. Prior to the time of *wuquf* in 'Arafah, he underwent a retreat at Jabal Qubays under the guidance of Shaykh Ali Ridha, where he was bestowed with the book *Sahifat al-Safa li Ahl al-Wafa* by Shaykh Sulaiman Zuhdi. This text served as a cornerstone for the development of the Naqshabandiyyah Khaliddiyah Tariqah in Indonesia.

The name Jalaliyyah for this tariqah is derived from H. Jalaluddin who was born on December 31, 1882, in Kotobaru Tigo Koto Maninjau, West Sumatra. He was a Sufi, poet (*mathnawi*), and theologian. According to his book *Sinar Keemasan*, at the age of 10 in 1890, his mother entrusted him to study at an elementary school level called Meer Uitgebroid Lager Onderwijs (MILO) during the day, while at night, he received Quranic education at the *Surau Tariqah* (the Sufi order mosque), resembling a *pesantren*, in Kotobaru Tigo Koto Maninjau. At this *surau*, he delved into religious knowledge, particularly in *fiqh*, *tawhid*, and

¹² Abdul Manam bin Mohamad al-Merbawi, et al., "Tariqah Naqshabandiyyah Khalidiyyah in Malaysia: A Study on the Leadership of Haji Ishaq bin Muhammad Arif," *Miqot XXXVI*(2) (2012), 301.

¹³ van Bruinessen, *Tariqah Naqsyabandiyah*, 71.

sufism, under the tutelage of his teacher named Shaykh Abdullah.¹⁴ According to his understanding at that time, individuals who studied Sufism could connect with Allah and make requests. Due to this belief, he earnestly pursued the study of Sufism with the hope of achieving success and eventually assisting his mother. His mother, an elderly widow, had been abandoned by her husband, who was deeply involved in mystically practicing the rituals of the Tariqah Naqsyabandiyah.¹⁵

After completing MILO school around 1897, he sought permission from his mother to travel to Banda Aceh. This was because Banda Aceh was considered the center of religious instruction at that time. In Banda Aceh, he not only joined the *tariqah* but also studied at the teacher school. He later relocated as a teacher from Banda Aceh to Bukittinggi. In Bukittinggi, he established the Naqsyabandiyah *tariqah* teaching center and founded the Organization of the Islamic Congregation of the Tariqah Islam (PPTI), serving as its chairman in Bukittinggi.¹⁶

During the first general election in 1955, he was elected as a member of the House of Representatives. He then proposed early retirement from his position as the head of the elementary school and simultaneously moved to Jakarta. Consequently, his *tariqah* in Bukittinggi was discontinued as there was no one to lead it. Eventually, the land of the tariqah teaching center was donated.¹⁷

¹⁴ Jalaluddin, *Sinar Keemasan II* (Jakarta: Terbit Terang, 1987), 210.

¹⁵ Based on the interview with Firdaus on November 27, 2018, his father is Sheikh Imam Mentari, from the Koto ethnic group of Kotobaru, Tigo Maninjau. He practiced rituals in Kumpulan, the *suluk* place for the Naqshabandiyyah followers. However, on the 40th day, his body mysteriously disappeared.

¹⁶ Jalaluddin, *Sinar Keemasan II*, 211.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

Glocalization and Modernization of *Tariqah*

The beginnings of glocalization can be seen in the name of the Naqshabandiyyah Khalidiyyah Jalaliyyah order. The addition of 'Jalaliyyah' to 'Naqshabandiyyah Khalidiyyah' signifies two meanings. First, it highlights Jalaluddin's significant role in the development of this *tariqah* in Indonesia. Second, as the *tariqah* was established by local religious leaders, it underwent a process of glocalization. The term 'glocalization' was originally coined to describe the globalization of culture and its products, which were then adapted to fit local traditions and culture.¹⁸ Thus, the term '*tariqah* glocalization' describes the adaptation of the global Naqsyabandiyah Tariqah to the local uniqueness developed by Jalaluddin. This was also endorsed by Bruinessen, who explained that the Naqshabandiyyah Khalidiyyah Jalaliyyah Tariqah was an exemplary instance of 'pribumisasi' (indigenization) of *tariqah* in Indonesia.¹⁹ The term '*pribumisasi*' proposed by Bruinessen essentially carries the same meaning as glocalization.

At this time, the leader of the Naqshabandiyyah Khalidiyyah Jalaliyyah Tariqah in Indonesia is Shaykh Salman Da'im. He was born in Sipare-pare, North Sumatra on January 1, 1942. The Naqsyabandiyah al-Kholidiyah Jalaliyah Tariqah has its central office in Bandar Tinggi Simalungun, North Sumatra. He was active as an advisor in the Islamic College named STAIS, Tebing Tinggi, Deli as well an advisor in Pemuda Pancasila, North Sumatra.

The various professions he holds illustrate the character of the *tariqah*'s glocalization that he leads. Generally, *tariqah* leadership tends to stick to traditional professions. While it's not uncommon for *tariqah* leaders

¹⁸ See, Roland Robertson, "Glocalisation: Time-Space and Homogeneity-Heterogeneity," in *Global Modernities*, eds. Mike Featherstone, Scott Lash & Roland Robertson (London: Sage Publications, 1995), 28-29.

¹⁹ See, van Bruinessen, *Tariqah Naqsyabandiyah*, 226-229.

to have multiple professions, these are usually closely related to religious traditions to support their role as Sufi figures. For instance, many *tariqah* leaders are leaders of *pesantren* or preachers. As a religious figure, being an advisor to the Pemuda Pancasila organization is an unconventional choice. Pemuda Pancasila is clearly not an organization closely associated with religious practices, especially piety. This can be interpreted as one of his attempts to bridge the Sufi world with non-Sufis. In other words, Shaykh Salman Da'im aims to popularize his *tariqah* among non-Sufis. This is rational because the glocalization dimension of a *tariqah* has the potential to generate judgments or justifications from certain parties regarding the authenticity of his *tariqah*.

Bruinessen explained that Jalaluddin, the founding figure of this *tariqah*, was considered to teach the 'wrong' *tariqah* to the people.²⁰ By pursuing multiple professions, it allows him to interact directly with the community, mitigating the issue of authenticity or accusations of 'heresy' associated with the *tariqah*. Additionally, involving himself as an advisor to other organizations besides the *tariqah* enables him to establish connections that might offer support for the survival of his *tariqah*.

Shaykh Salman Da'im started leading the Tariqah Naqshabandiyyah Khalidiyyah Jalaliyyah in 1960. He became the *mursyid* (leader) of the *tariqah* after being passed the leadership by his teacher, Shaykh H. Jalaluddin. In 1960, he established a *persulukan* (center of *tariqah* rituals) in Desa Gajing, Pematang Siantar, Simalungun. Then, in 1967, another *persulukan* was opened in Kota Baru, Tebing Tinggi, Deli, Sumatera Utara. In 1970, he founded a *persulukan* and Rumah Ibadah Suluk (center for rituals) in Bandar Tinggi. Then in 1980, he established Madrasah Ibtida'iyah (Islamic basic school), Madrasah

²⁰ See, van Bruinessen, *Tariqah Naqsyabandiyah*, 226-229.

Tsanawiyah (Islamic senior high school), and Qism 'Ali in Bandar Tinggi around the *persulukan*.²¹

Since then, the Tariqah Naqshabandiyyah Khalidiyyah Jalaliyyah has started to develop in several regions. To further its development, in 1992, Shaykh Salman Da'im introduced a ritual program called 'Suluk Reguler' in Bandar Tinggi. That same year, he also introduced the 'Suluk Executive'. This '*suluk*' program is designed for executive members, students, and other professionals who wish to participate in '*suluk*' while carrying out their daily activities. Remarkably, this program received significant interest from professionals. It rapidly expanded and was established in various regions such as Bogor, Batam, Jakarta, and others.²²

The aforementioned programs, which are unconventional and contemporary, can be interpreted as the *tariqah* leader's way of presenting the *tariqah* as a relevant path to attaining piety in the current context. In simple terms, alongside glocalization, there's a dynamic modernization effort evident in the development of these programs. This is an effective strategy for adapting to the evolving social dynamics brought about by modernity. The essence of the *tariqah*'s rituals remains unchanged, but the presentation is adjusted to suit the modern era. The term "Suluk Executive" embodies a fusion of modernity and *tariqah* elements. For those seeking to be recognized as 'pious', these programs undoubtedly offer a convenient 'shortcut'. Indeed, there exists a symbiotic relationship between the participants of the programs and the *tariqah* itself. Consequently, these programs will endure as long as neither party experiences significant detriment. As proponents of neo-Sufism, this *tariqah* adeptly embodies the pursuit of harmonizing worldly pursuits with spiritual

²¹ Jalaluddin, *Sinar Keemasan II*, 3.

²² *Ibid.*

endeavors, a philosophy that resonates with contemporary sensibilities.

Furthermore, in 1985, Shaykh Salman Da'im encouraged his followers to pursue higher education at universities. Presently, more than 100 of his followers have obtained undergraduate and post-graduate degrees. His endorsement symbolizes his commitment to modernization. This implies that navigating the path of the *tariqah* necessitates support from worldly endeavors. In the pursuit of spiritual refinement, material assistance is also crucial for *tariqah* members. In another *tariqah*, as observed in the study of the Shadziliyah Tariqah by Musthofa, a *murshid* is not merely perceived as a spiritual leader.²³ He can also function as a formal leader, akin to a professional manager. This indicates that the *tariqah*, as a facet of the Sufi tradition, does not entirely disregard worldly affairs, including modernity. As noted by Huda, adjustments to modern life and the hybridity exhibited by Sufi practitioners — including glocalization — are hallmarks of modern and contemporary Sufi traditions.²⁴

To achieve the desired spiritual goals, the *tariqah* emphasizes the importance of specific rituals. One of the crucial rituals in the tradition of the Naqshabandiyyah Khalidiyyah Jalaliyyah Tariqah is *suluk*. To facilitate the performance of this ritual for *tariqah* members in Kandis, the Darus Shofa Suluk (Worship House) was established in 1990 in Kandis, Riau. Kandis is estimated to have thousands of pilgrims. The management of this *tariqah* is now supported by Shaykh Salman Da'im's son, Shaykh Muda Anwar Sazali.

²³ Chabib Musthofa, "Relasi Murshid dan Murid dalam Bimbingan Tariqah Shadhiliyyah di Pesulukan Thoriqot Agung Tulung Agung," *Teosofi* 7(2) (2017), 327.

²⁴ Sokhi Huda, "Karakter Historis Sufisme Masa Klasik, Modern dan Kontemporer," *Teosofi* 7(1) (2017), 91.

The Rituals of the *Tariqah*

There are several rituals practiced by followers of this *tariqah*, one of which is the *dhikr* ritual. *Dhikr*, meaning 'remembering', is performed to remember Allah SWT. A simple *dhikr* ritual typically involves chanting the name of Allah or saying "La ilaha illAllah" (There is no god but Allah). This ritual holds great significance in Islam, serving not only as a means to remember Allah but also as a symbol of surrender to Him. While *dhikr* is often vocalized for others to hear, it can also be performed silently, known as *dhikr* in the heart. Followers of this *tariqah* frequently engage in silent *dhikr*.²⁵

Dhikr in the heart, performed silently, represents a dedicated effort by *tariqah* followers to purify their souls. They believe that mental cleanliness mirrors physical cleanliness, where substance corresponds to form. According to Sarah (41), a respondent who has been following this *tariqah* since her marriage fifteen years ago, she initially perceived *dhikr* as a post-prayer practice, especially after obligatory prayers. However, upon joining the Naqshabandiyyah Khalidiyyah Jalaliyyah order, she learned that *dhikr* could be practiced anywhere and at any time. While working, she often engages in silent *dhikr*, feeling closer to God and constantly mindful of His presence, which influences her behavior.²⁶

Silent *dhikr* is a practice that requires concentration and focus on a single point: God. Members of the *tariqah* are encouraged to engage in this practice so that God becomes the central focus, negating everything else. The goal of *dhikr* is to center one's attention on God, which fosters the development of highly personal, godly behavior, as all actions are directed toward Him. In the Naqshabandiyyah Khalidiyyah Jalaliyyah order, the *lata'if*

²⁵ Fiasal Muhammad Nur, "Perspektif Zikir di Kalangan Sufi", *Substantia* 19(2) (2017), 89-98.

²⁶ An interview with Sarah, November 30, 2018 in Kandis.

dhikr is regarded as the king of *dhikr* (*sultan al-adhkar*) or the foundation of *dhikr*. This particular form of remembrance encompasses all parts of the human body—starting from feathers, skin, blood, flesh, veins, bones, to marrow—all of which are exposed to the Most Holy God.

The *lata'if dhikr* involves seven stages within human beings. Each stage purifies negative potentials and fills them with positive characteristics. *Lata'if* is the plural of '*latifah*', meaning subtlety in the heart, referring to *dhikr* performed at various locations in the human body. The process begins with repentance, involving several activities:

1. Performing a repentance bath.
2. Surrendering to the *murshid* (spiritual guide).
3. Performing repentance prayer and a prayer of thanksgiving.
4. Performing ablution and the *istikharah* prayer, which seeks guidance from Allah.
5. Reciting *istighfar* a thousand times to ask for Allah's forgiveness and express regret for past misdeeds.

Following these steps, the *tariqah* follower participates in *bay'ah*, a pledge led by the *murshid* or Master Teacher. The *tariqah* followers will receive guidance from the *murshid*. They are provided the first lesson, which is *Ism al-Dhat*, or five thousand remembrances. This is a basic level of remembrance that must be practiced frequently by followers who have taken the *bay'ah*. At least seven times a day and night when they are not performing *suluk*, and fourteen times a day and night when they are performing *suluk*.²⁷ One complete (*khatam*)

²⁷ An interview with Munawar Kholil Al-Kholidi on Nov 30, 2018, in Kandis.

of the *Ism al-Dhat* is seventy thousand repetitions of the words "Allah.. Allah..".²⁸

Dhikr is an important instrument for the congregation to increase spirituality by subduing the *hawa* (desire) and lust. According to them, when these properties are already lodged in the human heart, it would be harmful to oneself or others. Therefore, in the Naqshabandiyyah Khalidiyyah Jalaliyyah, they are considered to be the mother or source of all kinds of heart (inner) diseases.²⁹

Another ritual is *suluk*. The term *suluk* comes from *al-sulk* which means taking the road, entering a place, temperament or behavior. The Arabs often say *husn al-sulk* for people with good character and *su' al-sulk* for people who behave badly. The nature of *suluk* is to emphasize the improvement of human nature by emptying oneself of bad traits (immorality and negative mentality) and filling oneself with good qualities (through physical and mental obedience).³⁰

The *suluk* ritual in the teachings of the Naqshabandiyyah Khalidiyyah Jalaliyyah in Kandis begins with taking *bay'ah* (oath). Before someone performs *suluk*, a prospective congregation member must take allegiance first, as allegiance is a very important act before a *salik* (prospective *tariqah* follower) enters into a *tariqah*. Taking *bay'ah* can be interpreted in two ways:

1. First, esoterically, the *bay'ah* is the initial door to the approach to Allah or *ma'rifatullah*. This recognition reflects the sincerity of the prospective follower to take the prescribed path in approaching Allah SWT. The methods used by the *tariqah* are binding, requiring 'loyalty' to go through and

²⁸ H. Djalaluddin, *Buku Penutup Umur dan Seribu Satu Wasiat Terakhir* (Surabaya: Terbit Terang 1987), 248.

²⁹ An observation on Dec 2, 2018 in Kandis.

³⁰ Mahjuddin, *Kuliah Akhlaq Tasawuf* (Jakarta: Kalam Mulia, 1996), 121.

undergo the methods and techniques. At this level, the symbol of membership is *bay'ah*.

2. Second, formally, *bay'ah* is a form of formalization of organizational membership. In this context, the *tariqah* is not merely a way to approach God spiritually but also an organization that needs members. A congregation without members clearly will not mean anything institutionally or organizationally. Furthermore, the *tariqah* actually establishes an organizational structure that is hierarchical but vague. The hierarchical arrangement is not documented but is effectively implemented in their practice.

By using *bay'ah* instruments, a member is given the honor of becoming a part of the *tariqah* with the effect of uncompromising loyalty to the leadership of the *tariqah*. The *tariqah* provides space for members to be loyal and obedient to its leadership. One way to bind the loyalty and obedience of members is through *bay'ah*. In the Naqshabandiyyah Khalidiyyah Jalaliyyah *tariqah*, taking *bay'ah* is done by the student facing the *murshid* while wearing clean, fragrant clothes and a cloth turban to tie around the head. Then, the student recites the oath:

"Minta izin tuan saya datang dari kelam zahil lautan dosa hajat hati ingin mengambil bai'at Tariqah Naqsyabandiyah Al-Kholidiyyah Jalaliyyah mohon doa dan bimbingan Tuan zahir batin dunia akhirat."

Translation: "I ask my Lord's permission. I come from the darkness of the sea of sin in my heart to take the *bay'ah* of Naqshabandiyyah Khalidiyyah Jalaliyyah, asking for your prayer and guidance in this world and the hereafter."

Then the *murshid* answered, "Insha 'Allah." Only after this, the student is taught the *Ism al-Dhat dhikr* or Five Thousand Recitation.³¹

In conclusion, followers of this particular *tariqah* engage in the ritual of listening to religious speeches as a means of both spiritual purification and self-improvement. Unlike some other *tariqah*, where religious speeches may focus primarily on spiritual matters, the speeches in this *tariqah* also address social aspects such as maintaining good relations with neighbors and the importance of education. The content of these speeches is delivered by knowledgeable figures within the *tariqah*, known as *murshids*, who provide guidance on both religious and worldly matters.

The key difference between this *tariqah* and others lies in the emphasis of its religious speeches. While some *tariqahs* may focus solely on spiritual themes, this *tariqah* incorporates teachings on social responsibilities and practical aspects of daily life into its spiritual practices. Additionally, the content of the speeches may vary depending on the *murshid*'s expertise and the specific focus of the *tariqah*, as seen in the example of Tuan Guru Batak Ahmad Sabban Rajagukguk, whose lectures prioritize issues of nationalism, tolerance, and religious harmony.

The Spiritual Concepts of the *Tariqah*

Phenomenologically, in the rituals of this *tariqah*, there are three phases of spirituality, namely the phase of *takhalli* (emptying or cleaning), the phase of *tahalli* (filling or adorning), and the phase of *tajalli* (manifestation of the truth). Every ritual is performed to find spiritual values by emptying the heart of all bad traits and filling it with good qualities. The *dhikr* in mystical rituals is done to cleanse despicable traits. When despicable traits are eliminated,

³¹ An interview with Syekh Muda Anwar Sazali on October 1, 2018, in Kandis.

virtuous qualities emerge. When virtuous qualities appear, they reveal the truth of the essentials. According to the respondent: "*Suluk* certainly aims to cleanse the diseases in the heart, such as greed, envy and so forth. Our primary intention in practicing *suluk* is to address these issues... and we are certainly assisted by young *shaykhs*."³²

The next spiritual concept is to subdue the love of the world (*dunya*). The ritual done to cleanse the heart from love for the world (*hubb al-dunya*) involves the remembrance of *latifah al-qalb*. There are five kinds of diseases among human beings, including *hubb al-dunya* (love for the world). Love for the world is a disease of the heart that can become a *hijab* (barrier) for those who travel (*salik*) to meet their Lord. Usually, a person afflicted with love for this world will be afraid of death because death will separate them from the world, which is why they fear it.³³

In the view of the congregation, Shaykh Muda Anwar said, "The congregation does not dislike the world, but rather uses it as a ladder to reach the next."³⁴ In this sense, the world does not need to be avoided or rejected. Instead, the life of the world should be utilized to enhance spiritual quality within the framework of attaining happiness in the hereafter. After purifying the heart from one of these despicable traits, namely love for the world (*hubb al-dunya*), it will be replaced by a commendable trait, which is *tawhid* (affirming the oneness of God).³⁵

The next aspect of spirituality involves purifying the heart from despicable qualities. Those who practice *dhikr* in the ritual of *suluk* will experience the *tabi'i* death, which is the death of worldly feelings because their hearts are

³² An interview with Munawar Kholil Al-Kholidi on November 30, 2018 in Kandis.

³³ An interview with Sulaiman on December 17, 2018, in Kandis.

³⁴ An interview with Syekh Muda Anwar Szali, October 2, 2018 in Kandis

³⁵ An observation on Dec 7, 2018, in Kandis.

filled only with God, and God's presence permeates every aspect of their being and the universe itself. The words of God resonate like powerful, endless waves in an ocean. Four types of reprehensible traits should be cleansed through the remembrance of God a thousand times, including anger, greed, miserliness, and stinginess. Once these four despicable traits are purified, they will be replaced by the simple contentment known as *qana'ah*.

There are numerous types of sickness or disgraceful qualities that reside within us, which must be cleansed through remembrance, such as revenge and anger. They should be purged through reciting a sentence of remembrance of God a thousand times. After purifying the heart from these three types of despicable traits, they will be replaced with praiseworthy qualities such as meekness and forgiveness.

Furthermore, in the Naqshbandiyyah Khalidiyyah Jalaliyyah, there are five stages of purification, namely: cleansing the body from impurity (*hadath*), cleansing the limbs from immorality, cleansing the heart from reprehensible traits (*madhmumah*), cleansing the intellect from associating partners with Allah the Most High, and cleansing the spirit from neglectful remembrance of Allah Almighty.³⁶

For followers of this *tariqah*, remembrance holds significant influence over the illumination of one's inner light. A heart consistently filled with the light of remembrance emits Nur Allah (God's Light), which can profoundly impact a heart purified by good morals. In terms of mental strength, remembrance serves as a method to mold and fortify intentions within one's heart, so that, with the permission of Allah, what is harbored within one's heart will also be granted by Allah. In essence, remembrance yields several benefits for the heart and soul, including forming and strengthening the will, as well as sharpening

³⁶ An interview with KH. Aziz Ahmad on Dec 17, 2018 in Kandis.

the heart. The diseases caused by *madhmumah* (negative) traits are ailments that manifest solely in one's outward appearance and behavior.³⁷

The rituals performed in this *tariqah* underscore the significance of spirituality rooted in moral purification. This exemplifies that the essence of the *suluk* ritual aims to enhance the spiritual quality of followers progressively. They possess an awareness of the importance of spiritual quality in human life. At this stage, followers of the *tariqah* are expected to exercise control over their desires, thereby mitigating and resolving potential conflicts within themselves and with others.³⁸

The concepts of *takhalli*, *tahalli*, and *tajalli* are important spiritual phases that *tariqah* followers should traverse through the *suluk* ritual. The transformation within each phase reflects the quality of the *tariqah*'s members. Everything stemming from *nafs al-ammarah*—which harbors all forms of aggressive instincts and human destructiveness—must be transmuted into *nafs al-lawwamah*—rational souls. According to Haque, a healthy soul is defined by rationality, as it discerns the difference between right and wrong.³⁹ *Nafs al-lawwamah* can be transformed into *nafs al-muthmainnah* (peaceful soul).⁴⁰

The pinnacle of transformation desired by *tariqah* followers is *insan al-kamil* (the complete person). This concept describes a spiritually perfected human being. At this level, a perfect human being signifies that individuals attain the happiness they aspire to. A peaceful soul is

³⁷ An interview with KH. Aziz Ahmad on Dec 17, 2018 in Kandis.

³⁸ See, Imron Rosidi, Maulana & Khotimah, "Conflict and Its Resolution in Indonesian Islam: A Case Study of Javanese Muslim Society in Riau," *Sunan Kalijaga: International Journal of Islamic Civilization* 2(2) (2018).

³⁹ Amber Haque, "Religion and Mental Health: The Case of American Muslim," *Journal of Religion and Health* 43(1) (2004), 49.

⁴⁰ A. Rivay Siregar, *Tasawuf* (Jakarta: PT. Raja Grafindo Persada, 2002), 242.

presumed to be a soul brimming with happiness. In the context of Naqshbandiyyah Khalidiyyah Jalaliyyah, happiness does not negate material and social dimensions. The emphasis on material and social dimensions in *tariqah* ritual activities distinguishes this *tariqah* from others.

The Material and Social Dimensions of the *Tariqah*

Education holds a crucial position within this *tariqah*. A member's educational background significantly influences their trajectory within the *tariqah*. Key positions within the *tariqah* are determined by educational qualifications. To attain the position of caliph in this *tariqah*, one must hold an undergraduate degree. Meanwhile, to attain the title of *Syeikh Muda*, members should possess at least a master's degree. The emphasis on education within this *tariqah* sets it apart from several others. In addition to prioritizing members with high academic qualifications for leadership roles, this congregation also offers a scholarship program to encourage members to pursue education up to the highest level.⁴¹

The *tariqah*'s emphasis on educational development distinguishes it from other *tariqahs*. In addition to establishing a house of mysticism, the founder of the *tariqah*, Abuya Shaykh Salman Daim, founded a *madrasah* in 1980. Alongside establishing an *Ibtidaiyyah Madrasah*, he also established the *Mualimin Tsanawiyah Madrasah*.⁴² The establishment of the *madrasah* by the founder of the *tariqah* marked his enthusiasm in creating quality Muslim human resources. The abundance of quality Muslim

⁴¹ "Mengenal Sosok Buya Doktor Syekh Muhammad Nur Ali Guru Besar Thariqat Naqsyabandiyah Al Kholidiah Jalaliyah," *Grapadi News*, <https://grapadinews.co.id/mengenal-sosok-buya-doktor-syekh-muhammad-nur-ali-guru-besar-thariqat-naqsyabandiyah-al-kholidiah-jalaliyah/> accessed March 17th, 2023.

⁴² "Manaqib Abuya Syekh Salman Daim," *Andikatalk.id*, <https://www.andikatalk.id/manaqib-abuya-syekh-salman-daim/> accessed March 19th, 2023.

resources is not solely determined by intensive worship rituals but also through education. For followers of this *tariqah*, one way to implement self-improvement and reach the highest phase in spiritual life is through continuous learning via formal educational institutions.

Although the spiritual aspect of the *tariqah* is predominant, it also encompasses some material and social values. Before joining the *tariqah*, every individual who has taken the *bay'ah* is required to pay a fee of Rp. 250,000. This contribution is intended to cover daily expenses during the *suluk* ritual, such as food and drink. Despite being a religious activity, material necessities are essential. It is at this juncture that the *tariqah* integrates both spiritual and material dimensions.

After paying the dues, typically every *tariqah* follower is also encouraged to give alms every month, at least one thousand rupiah. Alms are interpreted as a means of piety on one hand and fundraising on the other. In Islamic religious texts, alms are mentioned as an investment for the hereafter. In general, leaders of the *tariqah*—not only the Naqshbandiyyah Khalidiyyah Jalaliyyah *tariqah*—always advocate charitable activities as a means for spiritual advancement and economic activity.⁴³ This illustrates that almsgiving also holds a material significance. In the context of the Naqshbandiyyah Khalidiyyah Jalaliyyah, charity is vital as it serves to raise funds for the continuation of *tariqah* activities. The leader of the *tariqah* utilizes a portion of the alms funds to support *suluk* activities, such as maintaining the worship places for *suluk* and other related expenses.

Additionally, *tariqah* followers are encouraged to engage in worship activities that promote cooperation and

⁴³ Syeikh Abdul Wahab Rokan also suggest to his followers to give alms, see, L. Hidayat Siregar, "Tariqah Naqsabandiyah Syaikh Abdul Wahab Rokan: Sejarah, Ajaran, Amalan dan Dinamika Perubahan" *Miqot* XXXV(1) (2011), 72-73.

social solidarity. As a religious organization that emphasizes membership unity, establishing a work system that nurtures a spirit of cooperation and social solidarity is essential. This is significant evidence of the *tariqah*'s connection with Indonesian culture.

Alongside worship activities, *tariqah* members also provide meals for all participants involved in the rituals. These meals are not purchased as fast food but require cooking. In this cooking activity, all *tariqah* members participate together. On one hand, this approach is economically advantageous as purchasing fast food can be more costly. On the other hand, this activity demonstrates that the religious activities of the *tariqah* are not solely vertical worship activities directed towards God.

Another activity that involves cooperation and is authentically Indonesian is mutual cooperation or *gotong-royong*.⁴⁴ This activity fosters a strong Indonesian spirit. Typically, it is organized to maintain the cleanliness of worship spaces and protect them from potential damage. *Gotong-royong* activities are encouraged and promoted within the *tariqah*. This illustrates that the *tariqah* serves as a good example of what is known as *tariqah* globalization or *tariqah* indigenization. These 'humanist' activities continue to be upheld by the *tariqah*, promoting Islamic values that aim for moral purification esoterically, while also being outwardly friendly and fostering social solidarity.

Conclusion

The rituals within the *tariqah* are essential endeavors for members of the Naqshbandiyyah Khalidiyyah Jalaliyyah to attain the desired level of spirituality. The promotion and practice of personal piety are balanced with social piety.

⁴⁴ *Gotong-royong* is an even more dynamic concept than kinship. See, Anhar Gonggong, "Pancasila sebagai Dasar Negara: Tantangan dan Kesalahan-Kesalahan Kita dalam Memahaminya", *Maarif* 11(1) (2016), 21.

These rituals exemplify the Sufi essence deeply embedded within the religiosity of Indonesian Islamic society. The ritual characteristics, which emphasize the unity of the Jemaah (followers), highlight the preservation of the 'mutual cooperation' (*gotong-royong*) element within the Naqshabandiyyah Khalidiyyah Jalaliyyah *tariqah*. Mutual cooperation is a cultural element passed down through generations of Indonesian society. This unity in *ritual* tradition underscores the humanistic nature of the *tariqah*. It represents the unique synthesis of Indonesian Islam along the middle path (*wasatiyyah* Islam).

The infusion of humanist values within the ritual tradition suggests that this *tariqah* promotes a spirituality that embraces diversity without posing any threat. The instinct of aggression (*al-nafs al-ammarah*) is restrained and subdued through specific ritual practices. In the current context, the purification of Islam undertaken by 'new Islamic groups' is reflected in inhumane behaviors. The Islamization or *da'wah* they propagate often appears to be cloaked in symbolic Islamic elements; however, fundamentally, they exploit the instinct of aggression (*al-nafs al-ammarah*)

This article concludes that the rituals of this *tariqah* are rooted in spiritual concepts found in mysticism, namely: the stage of emptying or cleansing (*takhalli*), the filling stage (*tahalli*), and the stage of perfecting the soul's purity or the disclosure of truth (*tajalli*). These phases are enacted through rituals, serving to enhance the spirituality of followers through moral purification. This underscores that the essence of ritual mysticism is aimed at gradually improving the quality of spiritual followers. The transformation observed in each phase reflects the caliber of the *tariqah's* members. The ultimate transformation sought by the followers of the *tariqah* is *insan al-kamil*, a concept describing the spiritually perfected or complete human being.

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