

NATIONALISM AND SPIRITUALISM OF JAVANESE TAREKAT: STUDY OF TAREKAT RINJANI IN BANYUMAS CENTRAL JAVA

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Abstract

Tarekat or *tariqah* is the Muslim spiritual path toward direct knowledge (*ma'rifah*) or ultimate truth (*ḥaqq*) of God. This paper aims to describe the Sufism school teaching of Tarekat Rinjani in Besuki Village, Banyumas Regency. This research is also to reveal *laku batiniyah* and *lahiriyah* (spiritual and physical practices) of Tarekat Rinjani. Cultural anthropology research was conducted to achieve the objectives through participatory observation and in-depth interviews for collecting the data. Tarekat Rinjani is one of the local Javanese *tarekat* that existed within Javanese communities. In this *tarekat*, the members must carry out *Laku Kendalisada* ritual consisting of two parts; spiritual and physical practices, to reach the love of God. Spiritual practices were done by managing hearts, minds, and reciting *wirid*, while physical practices were done by loving the Republic of Indonesia, helping others regardless of religion, groups, and ethnics, and making spiritual journeys to places called as *wingit*. In conclusion, Tarekat Rinjani is classified as a *ghairu mu'tabarah*, which is not a well-recognized Sufi order

based on Sharia and included in the creed of Sunni Islam, since it is typical of Banyumas Sufi-syncretic *tarekat* with non-*mutashil sanad* that is not directly connected to the Prophet Muhammad.

Keywords: Laku Kendalisada, Spiritual Journey, Sufism, Java Banyumasan.

A. Introduction

The Javanese Muslim society in the rural area is closer to the teachings of Islamic mysticism or Sufism. It emphasizes more inner values or spirituality-inner mind than the formal side of religion, although they also accentuate the symbols in expressing their spirituality (Ricklefs, 2006, 2013; Suryo, 2009). In this context, the Islamization of rural Java was mostly done by Sufi scholars or at least scholars who were able to acculturate Islamic teachings, or else Islam would not become the Javanese religion that completely replaced the local religions and Hindu-Buddhist (Azra, 2002; Suryo, 2009).

Apart from the Sufi's sophisticated preaching in conveying Islamic teachings that merged with the cultural frames, the readiness of the Javanese mindset and inner experience in matters of spirituality also became the factors to embrace Islam as their religion. One of the local Javanese religions is *Kapitayan* in which they believe in the supernatural powers that exist in the world in the form of objects, living things, or certain artifacts (Ghofur & Purnomo, 2021). They believed that they could bring either happiness or disaster to humans. Thus, in this context, humans must strive to make peace and build harmony with the world to

satisfy these supernatural powers which ultimately leading to peace, harmony, and tranquility (Abdul, 2015). In maintaining this harmony, Javanese people used to carry out certain rituals within a certain period of time by giving offerings represented in distinctive symbols, which believed based on the Javanese experience as an effective means of establishing communication with these supernatural forces (Ricklefs, 2013; Sunyoto, 2012).

During the Islamization of Java, historians have a consensus that there was differences between the northern coast and the southern part of Java, or the rural area of Java which can be seen from the interaction of Javanese with international communities at that time (Setiadi, 2021). Islamization of coastal Java was spread faster because its open-minded and egalitarian local communities could receive the first phase of Sharia-centric Islamization, or the phase of Fiqh teaching in 1200-1400 AD (Wahyudhi, 2016) In addition, Islamization of rural areas in Java could only take place when Islamic mysticism began to influence the life of the rulers and poets during the second phase or the phase of Sufism around 1400-1700 AD (Suryo, 2009). This phase emerged when the rulers needed new legitimacy over their power and when the influence of the two previous great civilizations, Hinduism and Buddhism, had waned in the rural area of Java (Mukaffa, 2017). Then, the rulers of rural areas in Java, gradually and selectively, adopted the Islamic teachings and mysticism, or Sufism that can be seen as the most practical teaching for the Javanese people through their poets (Simuh, 2011). At that time, Islam was the only choice to form a new cosmopolitan civilization on the north coast of Java.

According to *sanad* from many local tarekat in southern Java, there are two well-known names; Sunan Kalijaga and Sultan Agung, who was considered to be the student of Sunan Kalijaga (Maziyah & Amaruli, 2020; Subekti, 2017). Sultan Agung's mysticism was deeply rooted among the adherents of local tarekat in southern Java (Werdiningsih, 2015). In the book of Sastra Gending, Sultan Agung revealed that theology manifested in a unified whole between the three elements that form an equilateral triangle, with God at the peak and the other two equal points occupied by humans and the universe (Zaenuddin, 2017). God has absolute power over all creatures and human actions cannot be separated from God's supervision; thus, He is the source of human action (*amurba solahing ringgit*). According to Sultan Agung, humans are classified into two groups: *ahlu dzahir* and *ahlu batin*. *Ahlu dzahir* refers to someone who can capture the nuances of the divine through outward aspects. On the other hand, *ahlu batin* refers to someone who can capture the nuances of divinity through spiritual experience. Sultan Agung argued that the two levels of people did not need to be disputed because they see various aspects from different perspectives (Kurnialoh, 2015; Werdiningsih & Andrian, 2020). It was also stated that humans who had enlightened were prophets, apostles, saints, *fuqaha*, and priests. Humans must seek integrated and intact knowledge physically and spiritually without distinguishing between the two (Ardani, 2011).

Sufism introduced by Sultan Agung is different from the Sufism teachings of Sheikh Siti Jenar. Sultan Agung combines the normative observance based on Islamic law and Sufism, emphasizing Sharia as the basis for Sufism (Werdiningsih &

Andrian, 2020). Human happiness in the world and hereafter can only be obtained by consistently working on the Sharia, when interacting with God or other humans and nature. Sharia is the initial step for humans to reach the level of tarekat in the form of several *maqamats* (degree), from one level to a higher level (*menggah tarekat kawruh mangerti, nginjen- nginjen trusing kasampurnan*). In the end, the highest level can be previously achieved through the essence (*hakekat wus nunggalake*); in this position, humans will reach the highest level called *ma'rifat* (*makrifat trusing kawruh*) (Ardani, 2011). *Ma'rifat* is the mystical intuitive knowledge of spiritual truth reached through ecstatic experiences, rather than revealed or rationally acquired (Fenn & Geertz, 1974)

The tradition of Sharia and Sufism developed by Sultan Agung initiated the tarekat tradition (popular mysticism), which has an essential role in forming unique local cultures as the dialectical results between orthodoxy and heterodoxy (Hidayat & Gaus, 2006). Sultan Agung's Sufism also developed in the palace, especially during Pakubuwana II, and it was developed by a pious Sufi, Queen Pakubuwana (Ricklefs, 2013). This Sufism model is also believed to be the embryo of the Tarekat Akmaliah from Java, which has a short *sanad* starting from Sultan Agung, Sunan Kalijaga, Nabi Khidr, Nabi Sys, Prophet Muhammad and tends to be different from other well-known tarekat (*mu'tabarah*) (Yanti, 2020). For that local Javanese tarekat taught by Sultan Agung, the name and the leader of the tarekat are not essential to be revealed to the public because the most important thing is the essence of *laku lahir* (Sharia/physical practices) and *laku bathin* (spiritual practices) as the teachings of Tarekat Akmaliah.

Sufism offers a deep understanding of the supernatural by having an intimate relationship with God Almighty without intermediaries, shedding longing, fear, and hope. Sufism teaches moderation and tolerance, leading to the noble characters (*al-Akhlak al-Karimah*) that are not only applicable to the universe ruler and fellow human beings but also to the universe itself (Werdiningsih, 2017). *Akhlak* (moral) toward the Creator requires worship with total surrender as a servant, and *akhlak* towards the universe elicits an attitude of respect toward other creatures. In addition, Sufism offers a heart cleansing from all evil characters and fills the soul with praiseworthy characters that influence human social relations. Living in harmony with nature means that humans must have fraternized with nature and be able to analyze the natural phenomena, knowing when to use and rejuvenate or renew them. Sufism always offers to read the natural phenomena and take lessons from them, for instance, learning about the rotation of the earth, the appearance of the sun and celestial bodies, or the development of plants from seeds to become perfect trees. These teachings captured the hearts of some Javanese people to follow the school of Sufism (Mulyati, 2004; Noer, 2003; Sunyoto, 2012).

Furthermore, *Hikmah Muta'aliyyah* is a concept in Sufism that discusses the universe. This view states that "being" or an "entity" is a simple concept that can be understood directly without intermediaries with other concepts. Being is a manifestation of reality that its existence must recognize; an absolute being is a stratified reality that experiences continuous evolution in a substantial movement (*Harakah al-Jawhariyyah*). Substantial movements occur

within the subject (spirit, soul, or mind) and object (digestible knowledge) framework, that is, the relationship between spirit, soul, or mind and the object. The growth of the human spirit is determined by the knowledge it assimilates; thus, the lower knowledge value that is absorbed, the weaker the soul (Suwito, 2012).

Islamic mysticism is so attractive to Javanese people because of its benefits. Besides conducting *wirid* activities to control the desires of worldly desires and preparing themselves to receive the *kasyaf* experience, it can also bring about supernatural powers to become a *salik*, a follower of the mystical path. To become a *salik*, a Muslim for the rest of his life must undergo discipline in carrying out outward sharia as well as discipline in living the inner sharia of Islam (Mawardi, 2006). *Wirid* is reading ayah taken from Al-Quran to be read in certain amount and generally given by a *kiai* to his students (Mawardi, 2006). Meanwhile, *Kashaf* or *kasyaf* is one of the *karomah* or advantages given by God to His beloved servants (Mawardi, 2006). This supernatural power in Javanese terminology is known as *daya linuwih* or sacred which refers to the ability to become strong and immune toward any weapons (Mawardi, 2006). In the end, what is so attractive to Javanese people in tarekat is to obtain *daya linuwih* (the ability of supernatural power). The ability of this power is tantalizing and becoming a pride for most Javanese people; therefore, tarekat is very popular among them. This aspect can be used as a reason why tarekat is rooted in the environment of inland Javanese society, in addition to the literacy stirred by the palace poets about Islamic mysticism through their predictions (Rubaidi, 2019).

Those are the concepts of Sufism that encourage Javanese Islamization. Hence, Sufism can be accepted and absorbed quickly into Javanese syncretism, as recorded in several *suluk* manuscripts (Nasrudin, 2021). *Suluk* is an activity of solitude for a while for worldly affairs (Mawardi, 2006). One example is the *Dewa Ruci* script which is the development form of the *Nawaruci* script talked about Hindu-Buddhist spiritual work during the Majapahit period. In the *Nawaruci* manuscript, various Sufi concepts were incorporated into the *Dewa Ruci* script, whose author was associated with Sunan Kalijaga. Moreover, the flexibility of Sufism teaching can be traced vividly in the process of Islamization of Java (Sunyoto, 2012). The doctrine of Sufism, which is flexible in accommodating various local values and traditions, is represented by Tarekat Akmaliah in Java. This tarekat is associated with several saints such as Sheikh Siti Jenar, Sunan Gunung Jati, Sunan Giri, and Sunan Kalijaga (Sunyoto, 2012).

Tarekat that is close to the concept of syncretism in this study is Tarekat Rinjani, a local tarekat based in Besuki village, Lumbar, Banyumas, Central Java. This tarekat encourages the members to be closer to Allah through *wirid*, *dhikr*, *suluk*, and *wingit* (a pilgrimage or journey to visit some areas considered sacred by rural Javanese), such as Nusakambangan in Cilacap and Mount Tidar in Magelang. Accordingly, the researcher was highly interested in studying the teachings of Tarekat Rinjani and sought the spiritual and physical practices of Tarekat Rinjani. This research contributes significantly to the development of Islamic studies, which is expected to give new knowledge and perception about Islamic mysticism.

B. Research Methods

This paper aims to describe Tarekat Rinjani teachings and to reveal *laku batiniyah* and *lahiriyah* (spiritual and physical practices) in Tarekat Rinjani. To achieve the objectives of the study, cultural anthropology research was conducted to reveal cultural phenomena, the meanings that are arranged from symbols, views of life, beliefs, interaction patterns, and ritual processions. The objects of this study are the spiritual and physical practices done by Tarekat Rinjani in Besuki Village, Banyumas known as *laku kendalisada*.

This study seeks to analyze how individuals and groups of tarekat in viewing and interpreting their daily lives. Participatory observation and interviews were used to collect the data. It means that the researchers directly involved themselves in the activities of Tarekat Rinjani, particularly in the *suluk* (visiting sacred places for the spiritual journey) ritual. The researchers employed field notes as the research instruments for three months and conducted interviews with informants related to the Tarekat Rinjani, including its practices and meanings that were needed for further explanation. The unstructured interview was used to collect the data to gain in-depth information. Also, notes and a recorder were used during the interview to maintain important information.

The collected data were then analyzed qualitatively using Miles and Huberman's theory, namely data reduction, data display, and conclusion drawing or verification (Miles, 2014). Specifically, the data from observation and interview were analyzed and categorized, and the unrelated data were reduced. Subsequently, the data were displayed according to

the objectives of the study. Finally, the conclusion of the study was generated based on the data analysis results.

C. Findings and Discussion

The results of the study show the description of Tarekat Rinjani's teachings and expose the spiritual and physical practices of Tarekat Rinjani in Besuki village, Banyumas, Central Java. There are 13 teachings related to the spiritual aspect practices of Tarekat Rinjani. Meanwhile, in the aspect of physical practices, *laku kendalisada* is considered a philosophy of controlling the heart and mind.

1. Tarekat Rinjani and Its Order Teaching

Observational data portrayed the society's environment and the Rinjani community's daily activities in Besuki village. Besuki village is located on the slopes of the Pine Mountains, with most people farming rainfed (*gogo*), raising livestock, gardening, and some nomads as builders. The community has a lot of free time for the community to do other activities, particularly during the dry season, including trying to be closer to God by following tarekat activities.

The name of Rinjani is short for *Rela Ilahi Nanggung Jawab Amanah Negara Indonesia*, which means willing to be responsible for Indonesia sincerely for God's sake. This tarekat was founded by a pious young man, Untung Waluyo, who interestingly did not want to be called an *ustadz* (Islamic teacher) or *kiai* (the leader of the Islamic

boarding school or Pesantren) because he felt unworthy to bear the title. In his confession, he had never been a resident in a particular *pesantren* (boarding school), but he was always a nomad *santri* (Islamic student) who sought knowledge from various *kiai* and *habib* in the Banyumas area, which was known to have a lot of *karomah* (charism) and was a *murshid* or a spiritual guide of the tarekat. This result is shown in the following interview,

“I don’t want to be called *kiai* or *ustadz*, yes, because maybe I don’t feel like I deserve that yet. I also never became a permanent *santri*, just looking for knowledge of some *kiai* in Banyumas. [laughing] such as .. er .. Mbah Abu Hamid Beji, Mbah Malik bin Ilyas Dukuh Paruk, Habib Hamid Sokaraja and Mbah Abdullah or often referred to by the community as Mbah Darmo, a strict follower of the Malamatiah tarekat.” (Untung Waluyo, interview, May 18, 2018)

Tarekat Rinjani not only teaches *wirid* from the previous scholars but also has particular teaching formulated by the leader of this tarekat called *Berlian Mas*, which consist of the descriptions and directions of Prophet Khidr. According to the interview, *Berlian Mas* consists of 13 main teachings, which are abbreviations known in Banyumasan (Banyumas language) presented in the following table.

Table 1. Berlian Mas Teaching of Tarekat Rinjani

No	Teaching	Abreviation
1	<p><i>Kunci Negara Indonesia</i></p> <p>(The Key to Indonesia)</p>	<p><i>Kunci: kekuatan ulama negara cangkul ilmu.</i></p> <p>(Key: The power of Indonesian Scholars in exploring science)</p> <p><i>Negara: nanggulangi eling gubug amal ridho Alloh.</i></p> <p>(Country)</p> <p><i>Indonesia: induk negara demokrasi otonom nasional ekonomi sejahtera indah alam semesta.</i></p> <p>(Indonesia: is a democratic and autonomous country and has prosperous economy, and beautiful nature)</p>
2	<p><i>Alam: Asal Lair Air Mani</i></p> <p>(Nature: The Origin of Semen)</p>	<p><i>Asal: asli sawiji Alloh lenggahane.</i></p> <p>(The Origin: Allah is one and only God.)</p> <p><i>Lair: loos Alloh ihlas ridho.</i></p> <p>(Birth: His birth was by the will of Allah.)</p> <p><i>Air: Alloh ihlas ridho.</i></p> <p>(Water: Wishing to Allah)</p> <p><i>Mani: muji Alloh nindaaken ilmu.</i></p> <p>(Semen: Praise to Allah for implementing knowledge)</p>
3	<p><i>Dunya: Dalam Usaha Nyinaoni Alam.</i></p> <p>(World: The Way and Effort to Understand the Nature)</p>	<p><i>Dalan: dawuh Alloh lampahi apik nindaaken.</i></p> <p>(Road: God's command to do good.)</p> <p><i>Usaha: udari sebisane alam hidup Alloh.</i></p> <p>(Effort: Efforts to read/learn from the natural life of God's creation.)</p> <p><i>Nyinaoni: nyimak ilmu nandur apik olih nur ilham.</i></p> <p>(Studying: Listening to knowledge, planting goodness, to obtain the light of divine blessings.)</p> <p><i>Alam: asal usul lair air mani.</i></p> <p>(Nature: The origin of human birth comes from semen.)</p>

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- 4 *Batu: Badan Alam* *Badan: balung akal daging ati nindaaken.*
 Tiang Urip. (Body: bones, minds, flesh, and souls to do good
 (Stone: The Body and deeds)
 Nature of Human Life) *Alam: asal usul lair air mani.*
 (Nature: The origin of human birth comes from
 semen.)
 Tiang: tatanan inspirasi agama ngayomi.
 (Pillars: The order of religious inspiration for
 protecting)
 Urip: ulama rino ilmu pandangan.
 (Life: Scholar as the inspiration of life)
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- 5 *Bako: Bumi Alloh* *Bumi: budaya umat migunani indikasi.*
 Kekuasaan Ora (Earth: Cultured/civilized human beings are a
 tanding useful indication of human beings.)
 (Eternal: The earth *Alloh: hanya Alloh yang tahu maha segalanya.*
 belongs to Almighty (Allah: Only God knows everything.)
 God, Allah) *Kekuasaan: kokoh eling kreatif umat alam*
 sejahtera aspirasi agama nasional.
 (Power: Strong human beings, remembering
 God, and creativity can prosper and inspire
 national religion.)
 Ora tanding: obor rino alam tinggi andalan
 nasional dermawan ilmu ngaweruhi.
 (Unparalleled: high natural night light is the
 mainstay of the national benefactor / provides
 knowledge to grow / widespread)
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- 6 *Bulus: Budi Luhur*
Sesama: Baik Ulama
Luwes Ules Sampurna.
(*Bulus: Noble*
Behavior towards
Others: Following
Good Scholars will
live smoothly, shroud,
and perfectly.)
- Baik: bijaksana arif ihlas kukuh.*
(Good: wise, sincere, and firm stance)
Ulama: utama laku alam manunggal Alloh.
(Scholar: The primary behavior in nature to be
fused with Allah.)
Luwes: lungguh urip waseso eling slamet.
(Smooth: Sitting down, in this case, living a
quiet life of peace, always remembering God for
salvation)
Ules: umur lugune eling sah.
(Shroud: The age of man to always remember
God
*Sampurna: syukur alam migunani prilaku umur
ridha negara ayem.*
(Perfect: Grateful to be given a long life by being
a useful human being and behaving well to
serve the country.)
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- 7 *Anggrem: Aku Nggolet*
Gaman Rino Enggal
Mulia.
(Incubating: I'm
looking for a noble
weapon)
- Aku: Alloh kekuasaane unggulan.*
(I : Alloh is almighty)
Nggolet: ngawiti gerak obah lumampah titen.
(Looking: initiate action/work carefully)
Gaman: guru amanah muji Alloh nitisi.
(Weapon: A trusted teacher always praised God.
Rino: rasa rumangsani ihlas nawang obor.
(Noon: Feeling sincere, being a light for others)
Enggal: eling ngalamat gutul Alloh lenggahane.
(Immediately: Always remember God to come
to His pleasure.)
Mulia: migunani umat lurus ihlas Alloh.
(Noble: It is beneficial for humankind with
sincerity because of God.)
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- 8 *Berlian*
(Diamond)
- Budi pekerti Eling Ridho Langsung Ilham Alloh*
Nanggulangi.
(Be ethical, remembering Allah, will get
pleasure and direct guidance from Allah in
overcoming things.)
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- 9 *Mas*
(Gold)
- Mulia Alloh Slamet.*
(Glorifying Allah will be Safe)
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- 10** *Iman: Induk Mengenal Alloh Nitis.*
(Faith: the main thing in knowing God to behave cautiously)
- Induk: inti ndadeaken dalam urip kehidupan.*
(Main: The core is to make the way of life and life.)
Mengenal: mirsani eling ngerti edek ndase alamate lakune.
(Knowing: seeing, remembering, drawing near to God)
Alloh: hanya Alloh yang tahu segalanya kuasa.
(Allah: Only God knows everything/ almighty.)
Nitis: Nanggulangi ilmu titipan ilahi semata ihlas.
(Originating: Overcoming the knowledge of God's trust solely with sincerity)
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- 11** *Islam: Insap Slamet Laku Agama Migunani.*
(Islam: Repentance, behaving safely, useful to religion)
- Insap: inggih nuwani sesame arif prilaku.*
(Repentance: that is, by following the person who is spoken of)
Slamet: sukses laku alam migunani eling tentrem.
(Safe: successfully acting in a useful realm, remembering God to live peacefully.)
Laku: lumampah Alloh kuasane unggulan.
(Practice: Acting according to God's commandments)
Agama: Alloh gawe amal migunani aku.
(Religion: Allah's religion gives guidance for charity and benefit)
Migunani: mundut ilmu gawe usaha nandur apik nasional ihlas.
(Useful: seek knowledge as an effort to instil goodness with sincerity)
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- 12** *Aherat*
(Hereafter)
- Ahir Hidup Eling Ridho Alloh Tinulungan.*
(Hereafter: a man, who always remembers Allah, will get the pleasure and help of Allah at the end of his life/hereafter.)
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- 13** *Suwarga*
(Heaven)
- Sukses Uripe Wekasane Amale Rahmat Ganjarane Alloh.*
(Heaven: A person who succeeds in practising God's teachings will get God's grace and reward.)
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Based on the table above, the 13 teachings of Tarekat Rinjani manifest the stages of human life in reaching *ma'rifat* level by embracing nationalism as the first key of all the teachings. *Ma'rifat* is the peak of spiritual appreciation (Burckhardt, 1984). In the Javanese context, *ma'rifat* is referred to *kasampurnan* or *sejatining urip*, that is, the achievement of spiritual appreciation and the union between the servants and God through the spirituality of the mystical soul. *Kasampurnan* or *ma'rifat* can only be obtained by anyone personally through strictly forging themselves by eliminating bad character and traits and filling the soul with commendable qualities and traits. If the bad character has been replaced with good character, then a *salik* will be able to reach *futuh*, *ma'rifat* to Allah in which they can recognize and understand God through inner eyes without any cover impeding a *salik* towards the God. People who reach the stage of *ma'rifat* to Allah can master the occult knowledge (*ladunniyah*) seen as a group of *khawas*, saints of God (Simuh, 2019).

Since tarekat is a symbol of the spiritual journey to climb up the levels of spirituality or *maqamat* (Noer, 2003; Simuh, 2019), the 13 teachings of Tarekat Rinjani can be represented as the stages or steps to reach the final goals of the human spiritual journey. The journey starts from semen as the origin of human's life, followed by the *laku* or practices that the human must undergo to reach the final goals of *ma'rifat* or *sawarga* in the last teaching of Tarekat Rinjani.

First, *Kunci Negara Indonesia* means that knowledgeable *ulama* (Islamic scholars) are the key to seeking knowledge to be close to God by remembering that Allah has given a country to the people of Indonesia as a home that is independent and

democratic country with its prosperity and beauty nature. It is certainly a blessing to be given such a place as a home, especially for Tarekat Rinjani. The **second** teaching is *Alam*, an abbreviation of *Asal Lahir Air Mani*, which means that the human originated from semen, the lowliest entity of human life. This teaching aims to remind us that they are merely low beings that should not be arrogant toward others and God. The **third** teaching is *Dunya: Dalan Usaha Nyinaoni Alam*. *Dunya* means World in English and that the way to reach Allah's love is by learning from nature. It aims to suggest that every entity in this world is nothing but to remind us of Allah's Mercy and Grace.

The **fourth** teaching is *Batu: Badan Alam Tiang Urip* which means that the physical body of a human's life should be governed by hearth obtained from learning and modeling the *ulama* (Islamic scholars). Then, the **fifth** teaching is *Bako: Bumi Alloh Kekuasaan Ora tanding* means that there is no power greater than Allah. It aims to remind us that Allah is *al-Malik*, the Lord of the worlds. It is to admit that Allah is the Sovereign of the Universe, the only one to be worshiped. The **sixth** teaching is *Bulus: Budi Luhur Sesama: Baik Ulama Luwes Ules Sampurna*. This teaching taught that the member of the tarekat should do good toward others to be safe in the world and hereafter. Doing well here is by following the model and example of the Prophet Muhammad as well as Muslim scholars. This teaching also suggests that the purpose of human life is *manunggal marang Allah*, which is to unite with God.

The **seventh** teaching is *Anggrem: Aku Nggolet Gaman Rino Enggal Mulia*. This teaching taught that the purpose of human life is to admit the oneness of Allah by doing everything

for Allah. It aims to remind the followers that everything should be done to seek Allah's mercy and blessing sincerely by always remembering Allah, following the scholars' teaching, and doing good towards others. The **eighth** teaching, *Berlian: Budi pekerti Eling Ridho Langsung Ilham Alloh Nanggulangi*. *Berlian* means diamond in English, representing the world's most beautiful and expensive jewelry. It refers to the central teaching of this tarekat that human has to embellish themselves with good moral and behavior spiritually as well as physically solely in order to get the blessing of Allah. This teaching corresponds with the **ninth** teaching, *Mas: Mulia Allah Slamet*. That is aimed to suggest that humans should do everything merely to seek blessing from Allah if they want to be safe in the world and hereafter.

The **tenth** teaching is *Iman: Induk Mengenal Alloh Nitis*, which is faith that there is nothing but Allah that should be worshiped. The **eleventh** teaching is *Islam: Insap Slamet Laku Agama Migunani*, which means that Islam is the way to reach Allah's love and be safe in the world and hereafter by always remembering and repenting toward Allah. The **twelfth** teaching, *Aherat: Akhir Hidup Eling Ridho Alloh Tinulungan*, is aimed to teach that the purpose of human life is not life in this world but the hereafter. It suggests that every aspect of human's life and everything that we do in this world will be rewarded by Allah in the hereafter. This teaching will lead to the **last** teaching which is *Suwarga: Suckles Uripe Wekasane Amale Rahmat Ganjarane Allah*. *Suwarga* means heaven in English, which means that the ultimate goal of human's life is to be awarded Allah's love and heaven.

Based on the description above, Tarikat Rinjani teaches that to reach the final stage of *ma'rifat*, and one must go through 13 stages which can simply be seen in the following illustration:



The illustration shows that to reach *ma'rifat* or *sawarga*, the followers of Tarekat Rinjani must embrace the first teaching of this tarekat: to follow the teaching of Kiai and love their homeland or nationalism. This teaching is in accordance with Islamic mysticism (Jafari, 2020), which explains that those who want to become Islamic mystics must undergo rigorous training under the guidance of a mystic teacher.

2. Spiritual and physical practices of Tarekat Rinjani

Principally, *ma'rifat* to God is an obligation and personal love of a servant, through a series of physical or spiritual activities that strictly limit the desires and passions so as not to control themselves and fulfill themselves with all that is commendable. There are two practices of Tarekat Rinjani, including spiritual and physical practices known as *Laku Kendalisada*.

Kendalisada spiritual practice in Tarekat Rinjani begins with managing the heart and mind (*nata ati pikiran*) by renewing the faith of the tarekat members by saying two *shahadah*, the confession that Allah is the only God and Muhammad is the messenger of God. The confession is to remind them that the only thing to be worshiped and that can be dependent on by creatures is none other but Allah. New members of the tarekat need to be reminded of this; even though they are Muslims and acknowledge that Allah is the most powerful, human deeds and actions still show the opposite. This finding is as stated in the following interview,

“They must remember Allah is the greatest to make their heart is placed to Allah and their mind focus to Allah. Because sometimes, the Ego is still dominate and control over humans and make them arrogance, feeling the best, most high and noble compared to other humans. This attitude is one of the denial attitudes towards the oneness of God in all things. Therefore, re-awareness is needed for the tarekat members by repeating the two sentences of the *shahada*.” (Untung Waluyo, interview, May 18, 2018)

Kendalisada's spiritual practice aims to get closer and get compassion from God by following the *Berlian Mas* teachings. The first step is to realize the position as a merely human being created from semen, the essence of the universe. The second step is to realize himself as a creature, and then humans must understand that the reason he was created is only to bow down to worship Allah. A *salik* (seeker) must carry out the Sharia that has been determined by God with the explanation from the Prophet. The third step is to eliminate the bad qualities and fulfilling the person with the praiseworthy qualities in interacting with all beings. The fourth step is always fulfilling the heart with the glory of God by constantly seeing and contemplating all His creations in this universe. In realizing this fourth step, *salik* should love and preserve the existence, wholeness, and diversity of the Republic of Indonesia as a form of glorifying God's creation. In the last step, a *salik* must surrender to a desire for His love, regardless of His promises and threats, when the hearts have been filled with God's majesty. This is the highest position of *Kendalisada* practices in the Tarekat Rinjani (interview with Mr. Untung).

The second *Kendalisada's* spiritual practice is reciting *dhikr* and *wirid* to draw closer to Allah and gain His love. This practice is also similar to the spiritual practice of Tarekat Naqshabandiyah Khalidiyah in which one way to reach *ma'rifat* is by doing *wirid* continuously (Saliyo, 2018). The main recitation of *dhikr* practice by Tarekat Rinjani is *dhikr fida* or in Javanese known as *dhikr pitung leksan*. *Dhikr fida* is remembering Allah by

reading the *kalimah tahlil* (لا إله إلا الله: There is no God but Allah) seventy thousand times. The following interview result confirms this finding,

“This *dhikr* serves as a compensation for humans to be avoided from the grave torment, kept away from hellfire and gaining Allah’s love. Humans in their lives will never be able to avoid doing wrong either to fellow human beings, other creatures, the universe or violating the prohibition of Allah. God has warned that people who do evil will get torture, while people who do good and obey God’s commands will get His love and be kept away from the torments of hellfire. In order to avoid the threat and then get the God’s love, humans need to atone by reading the *kalimah tahlil* seventy thousand times.” (Untung Waluyo, interview, May 18, 2018)

This explanation states the purpose of reciting *dhikr* and *wirid* as the second spiritual practice of *Kendalisada* that need to be implemented by the community of Tarekat Rinjani. *Dhikr fida* following the provisions of the tarekat is carried out at the house of the tarekat leaders on *minggu legi* (Sunday *legi*-one of the Javanese days) every month. In addition, it is also permissible to be done together with other activities such as circumcision, marriage, and funeral ceremony when there are tarekat members who wish to bring about (*ngunduh*) these activities to their homes.

According to the observation, this activity was started by collecting seventy thousand pebbles to be used by the tarekat member to count the *kalimah tahlil* that

must be read. These pebbles will be distributed equally to all the members. This activity begins with *tawassul* (a means through which to reach a certain goal) to the Messenger of Allah and his family, *tawassul* to angels, prophets, and pious people, one of them to Sheikh Abdul Qadir al-Jilani, *tawassul* for the integrity of the Republic of Indonesia, *tawassul* for all family members who have died from the tarekat, which had previously been recorded and given to the tarekat leader. Then, *surah al-Fatihah* in the Qur'an is also recited at the last session in each *tawassul* part. *Tahlil* recitation begins with a low voice, then flat but *jahr*, then louder, fast, and rising at the end of the *dhikr fida*. *Dhikr fida* ends with a very long prayer by the leader of the tarekat. In addition to *dhikr fida*, the tarekat members are also equipped with several *wirid* recitations which must be practiced every day.

Spiritual practices of Tarekat Rinjani include managing the heart and mind and reciting *dhikr* and *wirid* continuously. According to Saliyo (2018), the practice of spiritual and religious rituals can help to unite the body, mind, and spirit and can be beneficial for a person working at either physical or physiological development.

Meanwhile, *Kendalisada's* physical practices include, first, loving the Republic of Indonesia by flying the Red and White flag along with the NU flag in every moment of national or Islamic holidays. Second, helping others regardless of religion, group, and race, such as a tradition of gathering or visiting other tarekat members every week. Third, making a spiritual journey by visiting various places that are considered to have high *karomah*

(*wigit*), including tombs of Islamic custodians and pious people around Central Java, such as the Nusakambangan area known as the *Wingit* area and Mount Tidar as a magical gathering place for Muslim spiritual figures and Javanese spiritual leaders. In this kind of spiritual journey, there is a contact between local tarekat and groups of mysticism practitioners or *kejawen*. During the visit, the members are expected to always remember Allah (*dhikrullah*) and to be grateful for seeing all the appearances of the universe (*kauniyah* verses). The teachings of this tarekat are more inspired by the phenomena of the universe, both materials and living things. These teachings were spoken by the leader of the tarekat which is then widely recorded and written by its members using Latin letters in the Javanese using Banyumas dialect. The teachings originated from the ability to capture God's presence in the phenomenon of the universe and have made the tarekat members love their homeland, Indonesia. In every chanting of their prayers, they always pray for the integrity and existence of the Republic of Indonesia.

Based on *laku tarekat* or the tariqa practice, a *salik* must undertake it by doing *mujahadah*, a spiritual reflection (via purgative way) and doing practical practices (via contemplative way). The first practice is a philosophical reflection, to cleanse the heart from other than God by understanding the position of the self, mastering the passions, and filling oneself with noble morals. This *tarekat* does not dismiss the significance of *Sharia*. Similarly, Faturahman (2002) believes that there is no conflict between *tasawwuf* and *Sharia* teachings.

The second practice is a practical activity used to concentrate the mind solely on Allah by doing *dhikr*, chanting the name of Allah repeatedly with various methods and techniques to direct the overall consciousness of a *salik* to be able to see the beauty of God's face. In the consensus of Islamic mysticism, philosophical contemplation is only done by elite groups or *khawasul khawas*, while pragmatic practices can be introduced to guide ordinary Muslims to try to draw closer to God with strict *wirid* exercises (Simuh, 2019). In addition, (Bruinessen, 2018) explains that *tasawwuf* and psychology have a similar practice in which both originate from *nafs* as living and eternal creatures yearning to remain holy and seek the ultimate knowledge, which is capable of controlling the human body.

The last one has been developing on the Independence Day of Indonesia, which is called the contemporary period until today. The tarekat people have built a community system variously based on the principle of beliefs and various ritual activities. The tarekat people always develop, modify, and actualize the *tasawwuf* teachings and the tarekat practice, mainly to complete the society's spirituality and morality improvement.

Reviewing the result of the study in accordance with the teachings of Tarekat Rinjani through spiritual and physical practices, it is identified that Tarekat Rinjani is not a *mu'tabarah* tarekat like other large tarekat organization which has long been developed and well-established in Indonesia. The standard of *mu'tabarah* is to have *muttasil* (cohesive/connected) *sanad* to the Prophet Muhammad.

Dhikr and *wirid* are taught directly by the Prophet through his closer people, the *Mu'tabarah* tarekat must be shown by the lineage of the tarekat teacher to prove that the *dhikr* and *wirid* come from the Prophet Muhammad directly. Although the *sanad* of tarekat Rinjani is not *muttashil* until the Messenger of Allah, this does not mean that this tarekat is a splinter flow out of Islamic Sharia, the procedures for adherence, *dhikr* and *wirid* closely resemble Tarekat Qadiriyah and Khalwatiyah which are considered *mu'tabarah* by the Nahdlatul Ulama's tarekat organization. In contrast to the Tarekat Rinjani, Istadiyantha (2020) describes tarekat that are often considered misguided, such as in his research on Tarekat Syattariyah, which is considered deviate by the public, but on the other hand, there is an assumption that these teachings are following Islamic law.

In line with this, Abdurahman (2018) claims that tarekat followers constantly create, adapt, and realize *tasawwuf* teachings and tarekat practice, primarily to complete the spiritual and moral betterment of society. Besides, Sila (2009) argues that several tarekats have recently appeared in Indonesian metropolitan areas, demonstrating that tarekats continue to serve as a vehicle of social and cultural connection. One of them is Tarekat Kadisiyyah, located in central Bandung, West Java which is also opposed to *mu'tabar* tarekat.

Local congregations such as Tarekat Rinjani have a local nuance. There are some syncretic teachings and practices that intersect with mysticism. Thus, local tarekat are often suspected as deviant because they

do not have clear and convincing sanad. Unclear sanad (genealogy) and syncretic teachings cause local tarekat to be classified as *ghairu mu'tabarah* (unorthodox) tarekat (Bruinessen, 2019). This condition has caused many orthodox Muslim organizations and scholars to forbid Muslims from following these local congregations. This local tarekat seems as the previous tarekat in Indonesia that Abdurahman (2018) has already described, who maintains that the tarekat communities in Indonesia in the early period of Islam, that is, the 13th until 17th century have established the spiritual system patterned on the diversity of doctrine, idea, and subculture that is acculturative with various cultures of the neighborhood society in Indonesia.

In the historical context, local congregations have a distinctive style of loving the motherland and rejecting colonialism or anti-colonialism, such as the Tarekat Akmaliyah which is growing rapidly in Banyumas. As referred to in Dutch intelligence reports, the Akmaliyah congregation in Banyumas often conducts anti-colonial agitations (Bruinessen, 2019). The Akmaliyah tarekat movement led by Kiai Nurhakim is categorized as the *Ratu Adil* movement, a movement that hopes for the emergence of Imam Mahdi, who will eliminate colonialism and uphold Islamic law. The anti-colonial movement of the Tarekat Akmaliyah received the support of many followers because the tarekat leaders put forward supernatural abilities that were mystical and supernatural (Van Bruinessen, 2013).

Tarekat Akmaliah has many supporters for some reasons; first, the teachings and practices of this tarekat are typically Javanese by providing the members with *tolak balak*, *jampi-jampi*, and *raja* compiled in a *primbon* (kind of horoscope book consist of some spells). It also provides *jimat* (talisman) for various purposes, including immunity and others. Secondly, around 1888-1890, much social unrest arose in Banyumas' residency because the Dutch colonial government imposed the sugar cane plantation system. In this condition, people longed for protectors who were considered capable of saving them from threatening situations. Thus, Kiai Nurhakim, as a free cleric, became a patron (Steenbrink, 1993).

Another distinctive feature of local tarekat is their willingness to always mingle with the cultural conditions and traditions. Local tarekat wants to accommodate groups that are categorized as *abangan* to join the tarekat community slowly. It is hoped that the two groups considered Islamic and less Islamic will unite as an *ummah*. This integration is usually accelerated by a sense of joint saturation towards socio-political conditions, avoiding the hustle and bustle of politics that drains energy towards mind activities, a Sufistic attitude (Bruinessen, 2019).

In line with Bruinessen's opinion that local tarekat has a typology of loving the motherland and accommodating *abangan* groups and its culture, Tarekat Rinjani in Lumbar also has the same typology. One of the spiritual practices in *Berlian Mas* that must be done by a *salik* to get love from God is to love the motherland and

the Republic of Indonesia. The implication of this inner practice is manifested in the use of Red and White flag of the Republic of Indonesia and the slogan of “*NKRI harga mati*” (Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia is Undisputed) in every document. Another thing is the obligation of this tarekat to read certain *wirid* on the independence anniversary of the Republic of Indonesia every August 17, including raising the Red and White flag with the Nahdlatul Ulama flag. This may be affected by the history that in the early 20th century, the social power of the tarekat people became an indicator of religion resurgence, which had a significant impact on Indonesia’s nationalistic movement (Abdurahman, 2018).

Tarekat Rinjani is also committed to accepting everyone to join the congregation. Several leaders and members of the *Pemuda Pancasila* (Pancasila Youth) organization joined the tarekat because of the common goal of maintaining the integrity of the Republic of Indonesia. A group of mystical practitioners joined this tarekat because of their similar views on the microcosm concept and practices, such as penance and meditation in sacred places (*wingit*). One of the dominant factors of this congregational solidarity is that the leader of the tarekat is a cleric who is not formally affiliated with any Islamic organization, and it is the custom of the tarekat leader to always visit the members.

D. Conclusion

Sufism-syncretic is a term to describe Tarekat Rinjani. Similar to other local congregations in Java, this tarekat has a distinctive typology of having a high sense of nationalism and accommodating groups of people labeled as *abangan* along with its traditions and culture. The character of nationalism and the willingness to dialogue with the *abangan* group of Terakat Rinjani is based on *Berlian Mas's* teachings, very distinctive teaching in Javanese Banyumasan.

Berlian Mas teachings form the basis for Tarekat Rinjani members in undergoing themselves as a *salik* to reach God's love. The path that must be taken by a *salik* is called *laku* (practices) including spiritual and physical practices known as *laku Kendalisada*. *Kendalisada's* spiritual practice begins by managing hearts and minds that aim to reach the love of God by maintaining the integrity of the Republic of Indonesia and by reading *dhikr* and *wirid*. Meanwhile, *Kendalisada's* physical practices were pursued in three ways: loving NKRI by always flying the Red and White flag along with the NU flag on the Independence Day of the Republic of Indonesia, helping others regardless of religion, group, or class, and making the spiritual journey in various places that are considered having high *karomah* (*wingit*).

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