A Cult In Tariqa Leadership

(A Case Study at the Qadiriyyah wa Naqshbandiyyah tariqa in Jombang - Indonesia)

Amir Maliki Abitolkha|
UIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya – Indonesia
amir.abitolkha@gmail.com

Muhammad Fauzinudin Faiz
UIN Kiai Haji Achmad Shiddiq Jember – Indonesia
mufaddin@gmail.com

ABSTRACT

This study is a field research focusing on the data investigation about the implementation of tariqa with its various activities and practices, particularly the relationship pattern between the tariqa congregation and its *murshid* as a leadership node in the tariqa; which then the applied leadership model and the symptoms of cultism in the praxis of carried out leadership were found. In the former tariqa institutions, the cult (a religious practice) was assumed to influence the relationship pattern between the *murshid* and the congregation of the tariqa he led. This initiates a question on whether such cult phenomenon can still be found in tariqa groups in general today. This research proved that the cult in TQN Rejoso was more of a fanatical attitude (*mahabbah*), which was incidental and temporal, shown by the tariqa congregation as an appreciation for the leadership of the murshid, while still referring and adhering to *adab suluk* (speech etiquette) as well as the basic principles of congregation. This fanatical attitude or *mahabbah* did not cause excessive cabalistic and occult symptoms. Besides, the tariqa itself did not teach apocalyptic alarmism in practice.

Keywords: Cult, religious practice, Leadership, Tariqa, Qadiriyyah wa Naqshbandiyyah

Introduction

The leader of the tariqa, better known as al-Murshid[1], or As-Shaykh, is understood as *badal* or *caliph*[2], the living religious successor to Rasulullah SAW, responsible for providing spiritual guidance to the disciples (*murīd*)[3] or congregation (*jama'ah*) in their efforts to *taqarrub* to Allah SWT, based on the lineage or *sanad* that connects him to Rasulullah SAW.[4]

In the practice of tariqa, there is a difference in meaning between *badal* and *caliph*, even though linguistically both words have the same meaning, namely "substitute". *Badal* and/or *caliph*, both are substitute leaders of al-Murshid in leading the tariqa rituals carried out in their respective branches, known as *Idarahsyu'biyah*, which are usually found in several districts or in certain sub-districts with a congregational level differ from each other in the aspect of their quantity.[5]

Badal or *caliph* leadership is limited to the implementation of *khususiyah* or *khataman* activities that are not carried out jointly at the center of discipleship, for example in Rejoso, Jombang. Meanwhile, regarding *bai'at*, it remains the authority of al-Mursyid as the central leader of discipleship. The explanation of the role and function of *badal* or *caliph* has become a plenary decision in the Regional Conference (MUSDA) of the Tariqa Qadiriyyah wa Naqshbandiyyah Association (ITQAN) of Rejoso discipleship. However, up to the completion of this research report, the definitive results of those statutes have not yet to

---

[1] Hafidz Hasyim, *Hubungan Mursyid, Khalifahdan Murid*, Halaqah dan Musyawarah JAMU TAQWA Pusat, Jombang 11-12 July 1999.

[2] Hafidz Hasyim, *Hubungan Mursyid.,* p. 2

[3] Abdurrohmat, Abdurrohmat. "SUPERIORITAS LAKI-LAKI DALAM DUNAI SUFI: Tinjauan Budaya Islam Dalam Praktek Kepemimpinan Spiritual." *El Harakah* 10.1 (2008): 45.

[4] Kharisuddin Aqib, *Inabah, Jalan kembali dari Narkoba, Stres, dan Kehampaan Jiwa* (Surabaya: Bina Ilmu, 2005), p. 20-21. Martin Van Bruinessen, *Tarekat Naqsyabandiyah di Indonesia* (Bandung: Mizan, 1992), p. 83-84.

[5] Mashar, Aly. "Genealogi dan Penyebaran Thariqah Qadiriyah wa Naqshabandiyah di Jawa." *Al-A'raf: Jurnal Pemikiran Islam dan Filsafat* 13.2 (2016): 233-262.

be obtained, apart from the draft material of the MUSDA itself. The definition of *caliph* from the perspective of tariqa (theoretical) is a student who has succeeded well in completing the Naqshbandiyyah dhikr level from the level of *lathifah al-qalbi* to the level of *lathifat al-qalab* (lathaif dhikr)[6], which later increased to *muraqabah ahadiyah*, *muraqabah ma'iyyah*, and *muraqabah aqrabiyah*, to obtain a certificate from his *murshid* to become *caliph*.[7]

Conceptually, it can be said that the leadership praxis in tariqa is a paternalistic leadership model; a student or congregation is a client and al-Murshid is the patron.[8] It is because in the leadership of the tariqa, al-Murshid is understood as the captain of a large ship, as the symbol of the tariqa, which carries many passengers[9], namely the congregation of the tariqa. Together they sail the vast ocean, symbolizing the sharia, with the aim or interest of looking for gems, as a metaphor for the essence, found at the bottom of the ocean.[10]

The pattern of interaction between al-Murshid and the students is described as those between the *imam* and *makmum* in the congregational prayer rituals; a *makmum* (the *jama'ah*) is very dependent on the *imam*, and an *imam* is the most important element in the completeness of the prayer.[11]

---

[6]Sayyi, Ach. "Wasiat Pendidikan Sufistik Dalam Naskah Tanbih Mursyid Tarekat Qodiriyyah Naqsyabandiyah Suryalaya (Telaah Pemikiran Guru Mursyid Tqn Suryalay)." *Fikrotuna* 5.1 (2017).

[7]Mulyati, Sri. *Peran Edukasi Tarekat Qadariyyah Naqsabandiyyah Dengan Referensi Utama Suryalaya*. Prenada Media, 2010.

[8]Rokhman, Miftakhul. "Sejarah Perkembangan Tarekat Qadiriyah Wa Naqsabandiyah Dijawa Timur, Pada Masa Kepemimpinan Mursyid Kh Mustain Romly 1958-1984." *Avatara* 5.3 (2017).

[9]Khamim, M. *Mursyid Perempuan Dalam Tarekat: studi kepemimpinan perempuan dalam tarekat naqsyabandiyah Mazhariyah di Madura*. Diss. UIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya, 2019.

[10]Kodir, Muhamad. "Sosialisasi Tarekat Qodiriyah Naqsyabandiyah (Tqn) Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya Terhadap Masyarakat Sekitar." *Istiqamah: Jurnal Ilmu Tasawuf* 1.2 (2020): 90-109.

[11]Ahmadi, Rizqa, and Wildani Hefni. "Mobilitas Mursyid Cum-Aktivis dalam Tradisi Tarekat." *Jurnal Theologia* 30 (2019).

The second pattern of interaction is "*khidmah*", which the student must show over the teacher. *Khidmah* is described as the voluntary attitude of a student in maintaining the "presence" of his teacher either physically or psychologically which encourages him to always be *muraqabah* with Allah SWT[12], which in many experiences of tariqa practitioners is believed to have a determinant power in resisting Satan's temptations. Therefore, it is believed to be very effective in encouraging him to leave immorality and enmity.[13]

It can be said here that *khidmah* is an attitude as well as a motive that must always be shown by students towards their teacher, as the most important part of the *muraqabah* concept in tariqa leadership.[14] Besides, this *muraqabah* concept further confirms that the paternalistic leadership pattern in the tariqa

is not only theoretically justified; it is also extremely effective even within the framework of its praxis.[15]

Both above-explained patterns of interaction between *murid* (the student) and *murshid* (the teacher) in the leadership of the tariqa will be maintained and practically effective because of the "*tawassul*" tradition, which is understood as an attempt to connect a servant ('abd) with Allah SWT.[16] The concept of *tawassul* in this leadership of tariqa is beneficial to all parties, both the *murshids* as the leaders and the congregations they lead.[17]

Another interpretation of this *tawassul* is the attitude of "*andhap asor*" or courtesy that must be shown, both by the students and the *murshids* of the tariqa, to the guardians

---

[12]Jamaludin, Opik. "Peran Wakil Talqin dalam Pengembangan Dakwah Tarekat." *Anida (Aktualisasi Nuansa Ilmu Dakwah)* 18.2 (2018): 159-180.

[13] Hafidz Hasyim, *Hubungan Mursyid.,* p. 7.

[14] Kharisuddin, *Inabah Jalan Kembali dari Narkoba.,* p. 20.

[15]Muhtadi, one of the *caliphs* in TQN Rejoso, interview. 17 August 2009.

[16]Mudin, Moh Isom. "Suhbah: Relasi Mursyid dan Murid dalam Pendidikan Spiritual Tarekat." *Tsaqafah* 11.2 (2015): 399-416.

[17]Baharudin, Baharudin, and Nur Latifah. "Peran Pendidikan Tarikat Qadiriyyah Wa Naqsabandiyah." *Jurnal Tatsqif* 15.2 (2017): 223-241.

and ulamas who in *sanad* or genealogically connect al-Murshid as the leader of this tariqa to the Prophet Muhammad. In this regards, it can be understood why every tariqa ritual activity is always preceded by a long *tawassul* process. In fact, in some ceremonial activities of the tariqa, this *tawassul* can be carried out even longer than the main event, such as in routine recitations carried out before *khususiyah* and the *bai'at* process.[18] *Tawassul* can also be said of the attitude of the students and *murshids* of the tariqa towards the path to Allah SWT by serving the saints and ulamas who by *sanad* of this tariqa reach the Prophet Muhammad.

Tawassul is the main characteristic of tariqa leadership guarded and preserved together by both parties with full awareness, hence the leadership pattern in this tariqa can be said as a paternalistic-rationalistic

one.[19] This can be seen carefully through the observations of the researcher who followed the activities of the tariqa almost every Thursday, by mingling with the *jama'ah* of TQN Rejoso.[20]

Therefore, the interaction pattern of "*sendiko dawuh*" (obedience to the superiors) or *sam'an watha'atan*, which has been the target of criticism by modernists, can actually be explained in terms of its rationality, provided that the effort to understand the concept of leadership in a tariqa must refer to the standard pattern of tariqa leadership as explained above, along with the traditions surrounding it.[21] With this

---

[18]Salahudin, Marwan, and Binti Arkumi. "Amalan Tarekat Qadiriyah Wa Naqsabandiyah Sebagai Proses Pendidikan Jiwa Di Masjid Babul Muttaqin Desa Kradenan Jetis Ponorogo." *Esoterik: Jurnal Akhlak dan Tasawuf* 2.1 (2016): 73.

[19]Syahri, Akhmad, and Hamzah Hamzah. "Aktualisasi Ajaran Thoriqoh Qodiriyyah wa Naqsabandiyah dalam Membangun Karakter Generasi Milenial Indonesia." *Al-Munawwarah: Jurnal Pendidikan Islam* 11.2 (2019): 96-113.
[20]Anas, Ahmad, Hendri Hermawan Adinugraha, and Mila Sartika. "The Da'wah Movement of Tarekat Qodiriyah Wa Naqsyabandiyah from the Past until Now in Desa Ngroto." *Ushuluddin International Conference (USICON)*. Vol. 1. 2017.
[21] Yasmadi, *Modernisasi Pesantren: Kritik Cak Nur terhadap Pendidikan Islam Tradisional* (Jakarta: Ciputat Pers, 2002), p.103.

perspective, the phenomenon of "the *ndalem* family", which is common and prevalent in many *pesantren* (Islamic boarding schools) communities in Java particularly in *salafiyyah* ones (*ma'had salafy*), can be understood, obviously with different arguments.

The relationship pattern between the congregation of the tariqa and the *murshid* described by the concept of *salb ikhtiyar* is in some ways identical to the characteristics of a cult though not in its extreme[22], where there is an authoritarianism of a leader or *murshid* in the case of tariqa, as well as an obedience and dependence of the congregation on him, resulting in the deprivation of liberty and personal freedom.[23] If the above-mentioned cult formulation is referred to, it also occurs in the tariqa tradition in some cases,

mainly the ones related to their understanding of *tawassul* as described above.

On the other hand, Nurcholis Madjid also offers a solution on how to counteract the possible emergence of cultic symptoms in the religious process through increasing faith, by referring to the formula of the *shahada* (the Islamic creed) which consists of *nafy* (negation) and *itsbat* (determination). The *shahada* formula begins with a series of negative or negligent words. Humans naturally have a tendency and desire to praise, worship, and submit to something. By doing so, they will feel at ease, however false it may turn out to be, beyond that such an attitude is considered psychologically to have lightened the burden of their life.[24]

This research is nothing new in Islamic studies. There are several previous studies that have discussed about cults.[25] However, this study examined something different from any previous research, namely the exploration of leadership models in tariqa, in

---

[22]Irwansyah, Shindu. *Relasi Tarekat dan budaya populer: Analisis sosiologis keberagamaan pemuda Tarekat Qodiriyyah wa Naqsyabandiyyah Suryalaya*. Diss. UIN SUNAN GUNUNG DJATI BANDUNG, 2020.

[23] Nurcholis Madjid, *Islam Agama Peradaban membangun makna dan relevansi doktrin Islam dalam sejarah*, Jakarta: Paramadina, 1995, p.137.

[24]Ibid., p.138.

[25] Samsul Huda, Kultus Kiai: Sketsa Tradisi Pesantren.

addition to investigating the presence or absence of cultic symptoms in tariqa leadership along with the rational arguments at TQN discipleship in Rejoso, Peterongan, Jombang.

Leadership Praxis of the Qadiriyyah wa Naqshbandiyyah Tariqa Rejoso, Peterongan, Jombang

Cults arise in a pattern of relationships between several parties, usually because of the authority of certain party that exceeds other parties. Such authority in further development is a symptom of absolutism, either in the process of interpreting something or the nature of being excessive of the authority, which then requires the other party to follow. In some way, this kind of behavior would be a symptom of cult.

The ulamas argued that in determining the absolutism of a religious teaching (Islam), it must be based on definite arguments (no doubt about the truth), both on the source and interpretation. In addition, they also stated that all have agreed on the arguments believed by the people as the definite source of truth,

namely the Holy Quran and very few of the hadiths of the Prophet Muhammad SAW called *mutawatir.*

The instructions in both al-Qurʾān and the *mutawatir* hadiths do not automatically become absolute, unless it has a single interpretation and there is no other possible meaning for the text. According to al-Imam al-Syathibi: "There are very few – even almost none – of one religious text, both in the Quran and in the hadith, which can be understood independently to have a single interpretation (so that it becomes absolute)."[26]

Furthermore, al-Syathibi explained that according to him, the statement above was because to achieve such certainty, a certainty regarding the ten related factors is required, whereas most of those ten factors are relative, and it is impossible for something based on anything relative to be absolute. Therefore, he further wrote, "The establishment of a single interpretation of a religious text also requires a set of supporting arguments, and

---

[26]Quraish Shihab, *"Membumikan" al-Qur'an* (Bandung: Mizan, 1994), p.220-221.

this, among other things, results in extremely little absolute Islamic teachings."[27]

Al-Syathibi argued that: "Basically, any religious texts related to customs (*Mu'amalah* or social interaction) must be understood in relation to their objectives." This principle also opens up opportunities for differences in interpretation, thereby reducing the number of absolute teachings. However, more or less, the main issue is still being questioned, namely: Is there a way out to create harmony in social interactions? In the perspective of Tasawwuf or Sufism, the above question should be discussed in practice, especially concerning the authority of the *murshid* as a leader whose authority exceeds the boundaries of organizational authority; namely how a *salik* can carry out the whole process of his *suluk*. Apart from the fact that he is part of a social community that also always interacts with one another. Are they able to freely express their personal aspirations, or, do they always and have to depend on their *murshid*? This applies not only to the religious field but also to other aspects such as politics and economics. This study will describe the symptoms of a cult in the leadership of TQN Rejoso, Peterongan, Jombang.

Formally, the establishment of the Darul Ulum Islamic Boarding School since 1888 until now has apparently developed educational institutions with various types and levels of education. During that one century, this Islamic boarding school has walked the path of its life history, including various events it has experienced, such as the death of the *kiai* (which had reduced the number of students), a change of leadership which often caused conflicts between families, and the political attitude of this Islamic boarding school that experienced rapid development in the scope of school education. On the other hand, the Darul Ulum Islamic Boarding School has also dedicated itself to religious education in Indonesia. One proof of this is the large number of alumni who have

---

[27]Ibid.

become new figures in their regions.[28]

The journey of the Darul Ulum Islamic Boarding School from generation to generation always involves various institutional elements, especially the Tariqa Qadiriyyah-Naqshbandiyyah. The journey of the tariqa coincides with the development of the Islamic boarding school, thus making this tariqa institution identified with the boarding school institution. Because of this, many people call the Darul Ulum Islamic Boarding School a Tasawwuf or tariqa boarding school.[29]

The tariqa is the basis for spiritual activities – most of whose members are not Islamic boarding school students – which is used as the basis and benchmark for the development of the Darul Ulum Islamic Boarding School. In 1973, when there was a shift in political orientation led by Kiai Musta'in Romli who crossed over to Golkar, Darul Ulum was still known as the Salafiyyah Islamic boarding

school and a supporter of the Nahdlatul Ulama which fused to the United Development Party (PPP). This at least gives us an understanding of how closely the term Tasawwuf Islamic boarding school is for the Darul Ulum Islamic Boarding School. When Kiai Musta'in joined Golkar, community members concluded that the Darul Ulum Islamic Boarding School had forgotten the tradition (Tasawwuf) instilled by Kiai Romli Tamim. Due to this situation, many followers of the tariqa counterattacked, and declared their departure from the jam'iyah of this Tariqa Qadiriyyah-Naqshbandiyyah in Rejoso, then moved to Cukir where Kiai Adlan Aly led as the *murshid*. This case occurred in areas where the majority of tariqa members were supporters of PPP. The transfer of many TQN congregations to the Cukir discipleship has led to certain efforts made by Kiai Musta'in in mobilizing movements towards his congregation, which in certain respects resembled a cult symptom of his leadership.

Research on cultism in TQN Rejoso's leadership becomes an interesting study

---

[28]Sukamto, *Kepemimpinan Kiai dalam Pesantren* (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1999), p.185.
[29]Ibid.

especially when the leadership in this tariqa group was led by their third *murshid*, Kiai Musta'in Ramli, when he tried to convince his congregation to be affiliated with Golkar (which was very hegemonic towards state power), arguing that he should be able to entrust his congregation to the ruling group or party. This discourse did not occur in the two previous *murshids*, Kiai Khalil and Kiai Ramli, as well as the two succeded *murshids*, namely Kiai Rifa'i Romli and Kiai Dimyati Romli who still leads this tariqa today.

Kiai Musta'in Romli's participation in Golkar was the beginning of the direction in which the Darul Ulum Islamic Boarding School education system would be developed; which was initially thought to have been influenced by *salafiyyah* traditions then shifted towards *khalafiyyah*, a form of personal relationship involving religious emotional intimacy tends to be eroded by a form of impersonal relationship that causes various conflicts. This did not only revolve around the followers of Kiai Musta'in Romli who become students or members of the tariqa; different (even) opposing groups within the family members of the boarding school themselves sprang up.

The emergence of the term family of the southern group and the family of the northern group was not only due to the difference in the location of residence, but also the disputes over the policies of each family member in understanding the socio-political context of the Islamic boarding school. The southern family group initiated by the descendants of Kiai Kholil was against the northern family initiated by the descendants of Kiai Romli Tamim and Kiai Umar Tamim (brothers). The southern family members were those supporting the PPP organization, which at that time had one candidate for DPR-RI (The People's Representative Council of the Republic of Indonesia), Kiai Sofyan Kholil. At that time, he was nominated as the PPP representative for the constituency of the Special Region of Yogyakarta, but he himself had resided in Rejoso since 1973. The position of Kiai Sofyan Kholil as a member of the DPR-RI from the PPP faction had given legitimacy to the direction in

which the southern family was taking part in political life.

In politics, Kiai Musta'in Romli who supported Golkar did not get moral support or votes from the southern family. However, he had a strong position in the Darul Ulum Islamic Boarding School. His status as Chancellor of the Darul Ulum University (UNDAR), murshid of the tariqa, and Chairman of the Darul Ulum Islamic Boarding School, enabled him to invite high-ranking state officials to visit the Darul Ulum Islamic Boarding School. Politically, their visit to Darul Ulum was an attempt to popularize the institution he led in the eyes of the government and community members, as well as to give the impression that Darul Ulum was affiliated with Golkar rather than PPP. Thus, efforts to mobilize supports could easily be obtained because organizationally he benefited from his top position.

In an effort to gain support from the family of the Islamic boarding school which was divided into southern and northern families, he received support from northern one, from Bani Romli consisting of Kiai Dimyati Romli, Kiai Rifa'i Romli, Gus Sonhaji Romli, Gus Damanhuri Romli, Tamim Romli to Bani Umar namely Kiai Muhammad As'ad Umar. Therefore, attempts to explain his policies in stages were often addressed to those grouped in the two descendants. At first, Kiai Musta'in Romli joined Golkar without his wife's support. Even when Kiai Musta'in Romli became Golkar's campaigner (*jurkam*), his wife became PPP's. The same case happened in Bani Umar. From the beginning, Kiai Hasyim Umar (the younger brother of Kiai Muhammad As'ad Umar) did not support the politics of Kiai Musta'in Romli. He himself was a candidate for DPRD (The Regional Representative Council) Level II in Jombang from the PPP faction. Regarding this, the criticism from the northern family itself did exist, though not as strong as those coming from the southern family. Kiai Musta'in Romli did not receive support from the southern family. If he could embrace the integrity of the support from the northern family, the chaos of family

disunity could certainly be minimized.[30]

At any rate, the breakdown of family relations could not replace Kiai Musta'in Romli as the leader of the Islamic boarding school, the tariqa and the university. As it has become a tradition for the Javanese community, especially the Islamic boarding school communities, to continue the membership/ survival of the Islamic boarding schools through male descendants. Kiai Musta'in Romli is descended from the male side, namely the descendants of Bani Romli Tamim, while the southern family is the descendant of the female line, namely Nyai Fatimah binti Tamim who was married to Kiai Kholil, a student from the city of Demak.

Kiai Musta'in Romli had no significant difficulty in gaining support from the northern family than from the southern one. This is due to several factors. First, politically, it was easier for Kiai Musta'in Romli to approach the northern family since there were no figures appeared equal to that of Kiai Musta'in Romli himself. Moreover, all members of this family were his younger siblings. While in the southern family, there were several figures relatively equal to him, both in terms of the quality of religious knowledge and popularity, such as Kiai Sofyan Kholil, Kiai Ahmad Badawi Kholil, Drs. Mahfudz Karim and Kiai Hisyam Haromain. Second, both the northern and the southern family had the right to manage the Islamic boarding school, but they had different specifications and skills. The southern family could be categorized as a group of *Kitab Kuning* (lit. yellow book) enthusiasts with all forms of understanding, while the north focused on matters of religious practice. In other words, the southern family members are the ones studying the yellow books, while the northern family members are the ones practicing Tasawwuf (Sufism) with the tariqa as its activity.[31]

---

[30]Interview with a *badal* in TQN Rejoso, Kiai Mudahlan from Bleberan, Dlanggu, Mojokerto. Thursday, 20 August 2009.

[31]Interview with Gus Mamik (Hamid Bisri), grandchild of Kiai Kholil, the first pioneer of TQN in Rejoso discipleship, 20 August 2009.

The northern family appeared to have more dominant Sufi behavior than the southern one. This was due to the influence of Kiai Musta'in, who was indeed more easily accepted by them besides being effective in instilling his influence. In many cases, they prioritized the intuitive component rather than the rational component in carrying out their religious teachings. This was in line with the Sufi doctrine embodied in the Qadiriyyah-Naqshbandiyyah order used by Kiai Musta'in Romli as a tool to control his family.[32] It can be emphasized that Kiai Musta'in in his leadership made the teachings of the tariqa as an important instrument in the overall praxis of his leadership, apart from the existence of secular interests that were more mundane in nature such as the interest to gain political recognition and other interests.

Cult in the Leadership of the Qadiriyyah wa Naqshbandiyyah Tariqa Rejoso, Peterongan, Jombang, East Java

[32]Sukamto, *Kepemimpinan Kiai dalam Pesantren.,* p. 191.

It can be said that the mobilization efforts to seek support carried out by Kiai Musta'in Romli were relatively massive, by mastering the leadership in Darul Ulum Islamic Boarding School through becoming the Chairman of the boarding school, the *murshid* of the tariqa, and the Chancellor of UNDAR at the same time. Apart from going through a more sufistic indoctrination process as described above, both to families, students, and also the congregation of the tariqa he led.[33]

Another supporting aspect was the organizational experience he had when he was young, in addition to his extensive associations with many charismatic figures, who had forged him to appear more mature and dynamic in his thoughts.[34] Kiai Musta'in

[33]Interview with Mulyono and Ustadz Muhtadi, one of the lecturers in the Faculty of Islamic Studies, UNDAR, as well as a *badal* from this tariqa, Thursday, 20 August 2009.
[34]Helmy Mochtar, "Dinamika Nahdlatul Ulama (Suatu Studi Tentang Elite Kekuasaan Politik Islam di Jombang, Jawa Timur)", research report, thesis for graduate program of Gadjah Mada University, Yogyakarta, 1989, p.139.

Romli's association with charismatic individuals made him agile and able to absorb the personalities of those charismatic figures. Charisma, as a manifestation of individual abilities, had been practiced and tested for years in the interaction of one another.[35]

The *murshid* position of the Qadiriyyah wa Naqshbandiyyah tariqa, which was received as an inheritance from his father, was an important position that eventually launched Kiai Musta'in Romli as a charismatic leader. Murshid is the highest position in the tariqa organization which has the function of strengthening the legitimacy of a person to become an ulama or *kiai*.[36] There are quite *sufic* considerations on why Kiai Musta'in Romli finally accepted the delegation of the *murshid* position of the Qadiriyyah wa Naqshbandiyyah tariqa. For

---

[35]Hiroko Horikoshi, *Kiai dan Perubahan Sosial,* P3M, Jakarta, 1987, p.213-215.
[36]Batool, Syeda Sajida. "The Concept of 'Murshid'in Punjabi Sufi Poetry." *Journal of the Punjab University Historical Society* 31.2 (2018).

the tariqa, this delegation to Kiai Musta'in Romli was considered a more transcendental mandate. Besides, the transfer of the *murshid* position from Kiai Romli to Kiai Musta'in was believed by some of the TQN Rejoso congregation as of Kiai Romli's strong *sufistic* intuition which had inspired him to immediately delegate the authority of *bai'at* to his son, namely Kiai Musta'in Romli who was then still 25 years old.

The story of this *murshid* delegation sparked controversy in the history of the leadership of TQN discipleship in Rejoso, where there was an opinion that one of Kiai Romli's seniors, namely Kiai Usman al-Ishaqi, was considered more entitled to accept the position. This was indicated by the order of the lineage of this tariqa discipleship, where at first Kiai Usman ranked above Kiai Musta'in Romli, but then removed from the lineage of this tariqa discipleship due to his decision not to follow Kiai Musta'in Romli's step in changing his political affiliation to Golkar, although Kiai Usman himself was not politically affiliated to PPP

either and was more politically neutral.

The congregation's belief that Kiai Musta'in Romli had inherited something from his father encouraged him to prove before his congregation of his ability to continue this *jam'iyah*. Kiai Musta'in Romli's dynamic, aggressive and responsive personality could complement his charisma. Another supporting factor that captivated the congregation was his courage to deliver speeches in language that was easy for them to comprehend when the recitation was taking place, so that this tariqa institution provided 'fertile ground' for the figure of Kiai Musta'in Romli to be considered behaving remarkably by his congregation.

In the doctrine of the tariqa, there is a provision that a student is likened to a *mayyit* (a dead person) being bathed, meaning that a student must submit, body and soul, surrender to the teacher.[37] A "why" asked by a student to a teacher is defiance that is considered immoral. In fact, if a student finds out that his teacher is doing something forbidden or actually *haram*, that student must not reprimand him and must not oppose him.[38]

There were two dimensions that became important assets for Kiai Musta'in Romli, allowing him to become a role model for his congregation, namely a combination of the qualities of his personality and his charisma, which in certain cases made his congregation idolize him.[39]

The phenomenon of cultism and/or fanatical attitudes shown by the congregation community of TQN discipleship in Rejoso did not show any signs of cabalistic or alarmism as is common in other religious groups. The symptom of cult grew because of the above-mentioned two dimensions as well as the common sense of this tariqa congregation,[40] as

---

[37]Said Hawa, *Jalan Ruhani Bimbingan Tasawuf untuk Para Aktivis Islam*, Bandung: Mizan, 1995, p.234.

[38]Muhammad Amin al-Kurdi, *Tanwirul Qulub fi Mu'amalatil Alamil Ghuyub*, Egypt: 1377 H, p.527.

[39] Robi'in, Mu'anan, and Sanusi, the tariqa congregations of TQN, Interview, 20 August 2009.

[40].Amin Syukur and Masyharuddin, *Intelektualisme Tasawuf, Studi Intelektualisme al-Ghazali,* Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2002, p. 31.

the object of leadership praxis in the tariqa.[41] Moreover, the emergence of the cult symptom was in line with the political mobilization efforts made by al-Mursyid due to his political affiliation with Golkar. Therefore, the phenomenon of cultism was more incidental and temporal and "far from" the criteria of a cult as happened to the other religious groups.

In building the fanaticism of the tariqa he led, Kiai Musta'in Romli always delivered recitation materials containing elements of Sufism, as well as narrations about miracle legends (sacredness) associated with Sufi figures. This phenomenon became a turning point for the collapse of Sufism after the days of Ibn 'Arabi, Ibn al-Farid, and al-Rumi because the history of the sacredness was immediately welcomed by the common people even though it was a trick, so that what happened were not true services. The cult of saints became a common phenomenon among the tariqa and resulted in futile protests

from Orthodox Muslims. Another consequence was that this had cultivated *khurafat* and *takhayul* (superstition), blending occultism with noble ideals. Living in shame, acting indecently, speaking frivolously, are parts of a smooth path to fame, wealth and throne/power.[42]

The belief and conviction of the tariqa congregation on the charisma of Kiai Musta'in were supported by many things. One of which, among others, was his ability to read through and understand the wishes and needs of his congregation. His intuitive ability was brilliant when he joined Golkar and it was proven later that NU left PPP[43] for the reason of the *khithah* explaining the grace that God had bestowed upon him had proven that his actions were guided by God's guidance.[44] This could strengthen the fanaticism of

---

[41]Musthafa Zahri, *Kunci Memahami Ilmu Tasawuf,* Surabaya: PT. Bina Ilmu, 1992, p. 63.

[42] Observation, 21 August 2009.
[43]Al-Abza, M. Thohar, Kamsi Kamsi Kamsi, and Nawari Ismail. "Power Relation between Tarekat Qadiriyah Wanaqsyabandiyah (Tarekat Cukir) and Partai Persatuan Pembangunan (PPP) In Jombang, East Java." *Jurnal Episteme* 14.2, 2019: p.285-306.
[44]Sukamto, *Kepemimpinan Kiai.,* p.197.

the tariqa congregation he led and at the same time foster their cult over him. Even his death was understood as an event considered as extraordinary.[45]

This was not the case with the leadership of Kiai Rifa'i Ramli and Kiai Dimyati Ramli, both of whom are the younger siblings of Kiai Musta'in Romli, who also successively replaced him as the *murshid* of this tariqa, related to the cult phenomenon as happened during the leadership of Kiai Musta'in Romli. This was because there were no extraordinary events needing a massive mobilization process as in the previous leadership. Besides, both Kiai Rifa'i Ramli and Kiai Dimyati Ramli did not possess the charisma and personality qualities as of Kiai Musta'in Romli. Therefore, it can be ascertained that the symptom of cult and/or excessive fanatical attitude from the congregation of this tariqa towards both of them did not occur. In fact, in many ways, the relationship between the two as the *murshid* of this tariqa and their congregations seemed more flowing, open

and democratic. No exception regarding political choices as the one experienced in the previous Presidential Election (Pilpres).[46]

From the analysis above, the symptoms and/or cult phenomena in the leadership of TQN discipleship in Rejoso were more of a fanatical attitude or *mahabbah* shown as an appreciation by the congregation of this tariqa for the leadership of their murshid.[47] Thus, worship behavior in the practice of the tariqa was not centered on the authority of the *murshid*, but more of a *mahabbah* attitude that should be shown by the congregation towards him, so the submission and obedience were not formed by force and instead were voluntary.[48]

---

[45]Ibid., p.198.

[46]Widarda, Dodo. "The Relationship between Religion and the State for the Sovereignty of the NKRI Study of Suryalaya TQN Murshid Thought in the Tanbih Text." *Jurnal Studi Sosial dan Politik* 4.2, 2020: p.135-146.

[47] Ustadz Muhtadi and some other *badals* or caliphs such as Kiai Mughni, Kiai Ali Huda, Ustadz Robi'in, Kiai Mudahlan, Ustadz Asrari Asrukhan. Interview, 20 August 2009.

[48]Fuhaidah, Ulya. "Tariqa and Philanthrophy: The Study of Tariqa Qadiriyah Naqsyabandiyyah

Organizationally, the tariqa congregation is tightly bound because of the pledge of allegiance (*bai'at*) as a contract to sincerely and steadily carry out all the teachings of the tariqa, e.g. the ritual of *dhikr*, so that the formed community is not of "believers" with a strict organizational pattern, which leaves little chance for its members to leave. On the contrary, they are a community of *dhikr* who are encouraged to preach outside their own community. Thus, a strict organizational pattern which will manifest as a cabbalistic and exclusive movement will not be created.[49]

Symptoms or cult phenomena in many countries in the West (including those happened in Japan and India, for example), usually develop anti-social views and attitudes; from refusal to pay taxes (such as the case of Moonism and the Bhagwan

Shri Rajneesh group) to the use of violence to murder (such as the case of Satanism and the New Nation). Such things do not happen with the traditions that develop in tariqa groups in general, which are organizationally open. Even, in recent developments, their organizational pattern is already democratic.[50]

In many cases, cults have produced occult crimes that are tremendously difficult to trace and deeply disturb the social dimension of the surrounding community, apart from the extremely tight segregation efforts so as to create a demarcation line between them as a group and the other groups. This effort is usually carried out by attempts to make deviant interpretations of religious dogmas, such as teachings on apocalyptic alarmism to

---

Movement in Kuala Tungkal, Jambi." *Insaniyat: Journal of Islam and Humanities* 3.1, 2018: p.29-46.

[49] Amir Maliki, "Tarekat dan Perubahan Sikap Sosial Keagamaan Jama'ahnya."(Dissertation: UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta, 2009, p.350-355.

[50]Mujab, Saiful. "Fenomena Tarekat Dalam Tradisi Pesantren (Analisis Sosio Historis terhadap Perkembangan Tarekat dan Pesantren di Indonesia)." *Spiritualita* 3.1, 2019. Marzuki, Marzuki. "Tarekat Qadiriyyah Naqsyabandiyyah Suryalaya: Penyebaran dan Pengaruhnya di Aceh." *Nizham Journal of Islamic Studies* 1.1, 2017: p.110-124.

Mahdism (Ratu Adil). This phenomenon does not occur in the practice of tariqa.[51]

The leadership of *mursyid*[52] is limited to the process of guiding (escorting) the practiced *suluk* by the congregation of the tariqa and guaranteeing the correctness of the *suluk* process,[53] without limiting the congregation to socialize with other communities,[54] so that no

crime occurs because of their tariqa activities; apart from that the main purpose of being committed is to *taqarrub* with Allah[55] correctly with the educational process on how the congregation of this tariqa can protect their hearts.[56]

Conclusion

From the research about the cultism in the leadership praxis at the Tariqa Qadiriyyah wa Naqshbandiyyah (TQN) discipleship in Rejoso, Peterongan, Jombang, it can be concluded that the historical facts about the cult phenomenon in tariqa occurred mainly after the 12th century AD, or, after the golden age of Sufism with the figures of Ibn 'Arabi, Ibn al-

[51]Latif, Mukhlis, and Muh Ilham Usman. "Potret Organisasi Tarekat Dan Dinamikanya Di Sulawesi Barat." *Al-Qalam* 26.2, 2020: p.295-306. Wijaya, Sobri. *Pengaruh ajaran tarekat qodiriyyah wa naqsyabandiyyah syekh asnawi di caringin pandeglang-banten*. BS Thesis. Jakarta: Faculty of Ushuluddin and Philosophy, UIN Syarif Hidayatullah.

[52]Saleh, Ahmad Syukri, and Transformasi Sosial Dan Intelektual Orang. "Kontribusi KHM Ali Abdul Wahab Dalam Melestarikan Tradisi Keilmuan Keagamaan Etnis Banjar di Kuala Tungkal, Provinsi Jambi." *Konferensi Internasional Transformasi Sosial dan Intelektual Orang Banjar Kontemporer. IAIN Antasari Banjarmasin*, 2016.

[53]Hisniati, Shalli Badriyah. "Pengaruh Program Bimbingan Ajaran Tarekat Qodiriyah Naqsyabandiyah Suryalaya Terhadap Akhlak Mahasiswa." *Muntazam* 1.1, 2020.

[54]Nafis, Muhammad Muntahibun, and Muhammad Ainun Najib. "Pemikiran Sufistik dan Toleransi

Beragama KH. Sholeh Bahruddin di Pesantren Ngalah Pasuruan." *TEOSOFI: Jurnal Tasawuf Dan Pemikiran Islam* 7.2, 2017: p.330-352.

[55]Kanafi, Imam. "Sufi Practices and the Emotional and Spiritual Quotient (ESQ)." *Jurnal Penelitian* 8.1, 2011: p.77-90.

[56]Cholil, Muhammad. "Tarekat Qadiriyah Wa Naqshabandiyah Dan Pengaruhnya Atas Pondok Pesantren Manbaul 'Adhim Bagbogo Nganjuk." *Dialogia: Jurnal Studi Islam dan Sosial* 13.2, 2015: p.253-266.

Farid, and al-Rumi, are in fact also supported theoretically and conceptually by the existence of *adab suluk* and basic principles of congregation that allow the occurrence of cultism in the practice of tariqa.

In the case of the tariqa leadership at TQN discipleship in Rejoso, Peterongan, Jombang, there is no cult phenomenon as happened in the past in most tariqa groups. It is especially so if the criteria of cultism that requires a form of worship and *murshid* authoritarianism is referred, although organizationally the tariqa group is a form of a strict organizational pattern due to the pledge of allegiance (*bai'at*) the students must make to their *murshid* as a form of contract to be faithful in carrying out all the teachings of the tariqa in their *suluk*, and there is no exception for this TQN discipleship in Rejoso, Peterongan, Jombang.

Another supporting aspect is the absence of cabalistic phenomena, let alone occult crimes, which becomes an inherent part of the cult phenomenon in general. In addition, in its practice, TQN Rejoso does not instill the spirit of apocalyptic (alarmism) which usually goes hand in hand with messianism or millerianism which teaches understanding and hopes for the appearance of Ratu Adil. The symptoms of cultism in TQN Rejoso is more of a fanatical attitude built as a result of the massive support mobilization process when institutionally this tariqa institution shifted from its political affiliation to PPP to Golkar during the leadership of al-Mursyid Kiai Musta'in Romli, which is why it is incidental and temporal.

References

Abidin, Zainal and Juhaya, *Pengaruh Tarekat Qadiriyah wa Naqsyabandiyah Ponpes Suryalaya di dalam dan di luar Negeri* in Harun Nasution (ed.) *Tarekat Qadiriyah wa Naqsyabandiyah: Sejarah Asal-usul dan Perkembangannya,* Tasikmalaya: IAILM, 1990.

Anshari, Muhammad Abdul Haq, *Sufism and Syari'ah: A Study of Syeikh Ahmad Sirhindi Efoort to Reform*

Sufisme, London: The Islamic Fondation, 1986.

Aqib, Kharisuddin, *Inabah Jalan Kembali dari Narkoba Stress dan Kehampaan Jiwa,* Surabaya: Bina Ilmu, 2005.

Aqib, Kharisuddin, *Tarekat Qadiriyah wa Naqsyabandiyah Studi tentang Ajaran dan Teori-teori Filsafatnya (THESIS),* Graduate Program of IAIN Alauddin Ujung Pandang, 1997.

Arbery, A.J., *The Doctrine of The Sufis,* London: Cambridge University Press, 1978.

Basyuni, Ibrahim, *Nasy'at al-Tasawwuf al-Islamy,* Egypt: Dar al- Ma'arif, n.d.

Bruinessen, Martin Van, *Kitab Kuning: Pesantren dan Tarekat,* Bandung: Mizan, 1995.

Bruinessen, Martin Van, *Tarekat Naqsyabandiyah di Indonesia,* Revised Edition, Bandung: Mizan, 1992.

Hawa, Sa'id, *Tarbiyah al-Ruhiyah,* terj. *Jalan Ruhani, Bimbingan Tasawuf untuk Para Aktifis Islam,* Bandung : Mizan, 2nd ed., 1983.

Hilal, Ibrahim, *Tasawuf al-Islami Bayn al-Din wa al-Falsafah,* Cairo: Dar al-Nah«ah al-'Arabiyyah, 1979.

Horikoshi, Hiroko, *Kyai dan Perubahan Sosial,* Jakarta: P3M, Cet. I, 1997.

Al-Jilani, Abdul Qadir, *al-Fath al-Rabbani,* Jeddah: al-Haramain, n.d.

Jami'yah Ahl Tarekat al-Mu'tabarah, *Dokumentasi dan Keputusan-keputusan Kongres di Madiun*, Jombang, 1975.

Juwaini, Abd. Malik, *Luma' al-Adillah fi Qawa'id Ahl Sunnah wa al-Jama'ah,* n.d. Dar al-Misriyah li Ta'lif wa al-Tarjamah, 1965.

Al-Kalabadzi, Abu Bakar Muhammad, *al-Ta'arruf li Madzhabi Ahl Tasawuf,* Cairo: Maktabah Kulliyat al-Azhariyah, 1969.

Kurdi, Muhammad Amin, *Tanwir al-Qulub fi Mu'amalati 'allam al-Ghuyub,* Beirut: Dar al-Fikr, 1995.

Luthfi, Muhammad al-Hakim, *Sabil al-Muhtadin li Ma'rifat al-thariqat wa Kaifiyatu Amaluha Min al-Qadariyat wa Naqsyabandiyah,* Semarang: n.p., n.d.

Makky, al-Sayyid al-Bakri, *Kifayat al-Atqiya' wa Minhaj al-Asfiya'.* Translated by A. Wahid Sy. by the title *Merambah*

Jalan Sufi: Menuju Surga Ilahi, Bandung: Sinar Baru Algasindo, 1995.

Nasution, Harun (ed).,*Thariqat Qadiriyah Naqsyabandiyah: Sejarah Asal-usul dan Perkembangannya,* Tasikmalaya: IAILM, 1990.

Newcomb, Theodore M., Ralph H. Turner and Philip E. Converse, *Psikologi Sosial,* trans. Team of the Faculty of Psychology, University of Indonesia, Bandung: CV. Diponegoro, 1981.

Praja, Juhaya S., *Tarekat Qadiriyah wa Naqsyabandiyah Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya dan Perkembangannya pada masa Abah Anom (1950-1990)* in Harun Nasution (ed)., *Tarekat Qadiriyah wa Naqsyabandiyah: Sejarah Asal-usul dan Perkembangannya,* Tasikmalaya: IAILM, 1990.

Qadiri, Isma'il ibn al-Sayyid Muhammad Sa'id, *al-Fuyudat al-Rabbaniyat fi al-Mu'asir wa al-Aurad al-Qadiriyah,* Cairo: Masyhad Husain, n.d.

Qawaid, *Tarekat dan Politik: Kasus Tarekat Qadiriyah wa Naqsyabandiyah di Desa Mranggen (Tesis),* Jakarta: PPS-UI, 1993.

Al-Qusyairy, Abu al-Qasim Abd. Karim ibn Hawazin, *al-Risalah al-Qusyairiya fi 'Ilm al-Tasawuf,* n.d. : Dar al-Khair, n.d.

Rahman, Dudung Abd., *Upacara Manaqiban pada Penganut Tarekat Qadiriyah wa Naqsyabandiyah,* Jurnal Penelitian Agama, Yogyakarta: Balai Penelitian P3M IAIN Sunan Kalijaga, No. 11, September 1992.

Romly, Musta'in, *al-Risalat al-Khawasiyah,* n.p., n.d., 1380 H.

Sa'id, A. Fu'ad, *Hakekat Tarekat Naqsyabandiyah,* Jakarta: Pustaka al-Husna, 1994.

Sambas, Syeikh Khatib, *Fath al-'Arifin,* Dar Ihya al-Kutub al-'Arabiyah, n.d.

Scimmel, Annie Marie, *Mistical Dimension of Islam,* Chipelhills: California Pers, 1981.

Shihab, Alwi, *Islam Sufistik "Islam Pertama dan Pengaruhnya di Indonesia",* Bandung: Mizan, 2001.

Simuh, *Sufisme Jawa: Transformasi Tasawuf Islam ke Mistik Jawa,* 1st ed., Yogyakarta: Bintang Budaya, 1995.

Sukamto, *Kepemimpinan Kyai di Pesantren,* Jakarta: LP3ES, 1999.

Suyuthi, Mahmud, *Hubungan TQN Jombang dengan Pemerintahan Orde Baru (Studi tentang Interaksi Agama dan Politik dalam Perspektif Hubungan Agama, Negara, dan Masyarakat,* (DISSERTATION), PPS UNAIR, 1997.

Syukur, Amin dan Masyharuddin, *Intelektualisme Tasawuf Studi Intelektualisme Tasawuf al-Ghazali,* Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 1st ed., 2002.

Syukur, Amin, *Menggugat Tasawuf, Sufisme dan Tanggungjawab Sosial Abad 21,* Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2nd ed., 2002.

Al-Taftazani, Abu al-Wafa al-Ghunaimi, *Madkhal ila al-Tasawuf al-Islami,* Cairo: Dar al-¤aqafah li al-Nasr wa al-Tauzi', 1983.

Al-Taftazani, Abu al-Wafa al-Ghunaimi, *Sufi dari Zaman ke Zaman,* Bandung: Pustaka, 1974.

Tamim, M. Ramli, *Samrat al-Fikriyah Risalat fi Silsilat al-Tariqatin al-Qadiriyah wa al-Naqsyabandiyah,* Jombang, n.d.

Trimingham, J. Spencer, *The Sufi Orders in Islam,* New York: Oxford University Press, 1973.

Yahya, Zurkani, *Asal-usul Tarekat Qadiriyah wa Naqsyabandiyah dan Perkembangannya* in Harun Nasution (ed.), *Tarekat Qadiriyah wa Naqsyabandiyah: Sejarah Asal-usul dan Perkembangannya,* Tasikmalaya: IAILM, 1990.

Yasmadi, *Modernisasi Pesantren: Kritik Cak Nur terhadap Pendidikan Islam Tradisional,* Jakarta: Ciputat Pers, 1st ed., 2002.

Zahri, Mushthafa, *Kunci Memahami Ilmu Tasawuf,* Surabaya: Bina Ilmu, 1992.