

Reclaiming The Successor of Murshidship: A Case Study on Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya Order in West Java

A Thesis

**Submitted to the Master's Study Program of Islamic Studies at the
Faculty of Islamic Studies in partial fulfillment of the requirements for
the degree of**

Master of Arts (M.A.)



by:

Haidar Masyhur Fadhil

01212210012

UNIVERSITAS ISLAM INTERNASIONAL INDONESIA

DEPOK

2024

Reclaiming The Successor of Murshidship: A Case Study on Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya Order in West Java

A Thesis

**Submitted to the Master's Study Program of Islamic Studies at the
Faculty of Islamic Studies in partial fulfillment of the requirements for
the degree of**

Master of Arts (M.A.)



by:

Haidar Masyhur Fadhil

01212210012

UNIVERSITAS ISLAM INTERNASIONAL INDONESIA

DEPOK

2024

ABSTRACT

Haidar Masyhur Fadhil

01212210012

haidar.masyhur@uiii.ac.id

Islamic Studies

Universitas Islam Internasional Indonesia

This thesis examines the dynamics of murshidship authority within Qadiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya Order in West Java. The conflict emerged following the death of Abah Anom, who left no oral or written testament regarding his successor, an unprecedented occurrence. The Suryalaya faction insists that despite Abah Anom's passing, his charisma remains and can continue to guide his disciples. However, one of his senior disciples, Abah Aos, challenges this view by claiming himself as the *murshid*, arguing that a *murshid* must have a living successor. This thesis analyzes the struggle for *murshid* authority within the Qadiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya Suryalaya. By utilizing Weber's three types of authority—Traditional, Rational-Legal, and Charismatic—this research will detail how each faction interprets and maintains murshidship authority. The study employs a qualitative methodology, incorporating textual analysis and ethnographic fieldwork over five months (February-June) through participatory and digital observation, documentation, and interviews. Interviews were conducted with eight key figures from Qadiriyya Naqshabandiyya Suryalaya and Sirnarasa to understand the dynamics of murshidship authority. The study concludes that the power struggle arises from differing interpretations of *murshid* authority, specifically whether it must simultaneously encompass the three components of Traditional, Rational-Legal, and Charismatic authority to achieve legitimacy from followers.

Keyword: *Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya, Murshidship Authority, Hereditary Succession*

ملخص البحث

ناقشت هذه الرسالة دوافع السلطة في منصب المرشد في الطريقة القادرية والنقشبندية في جاوة الغربية. وقد حدث هذا الاضطراب منذ وفاة الشيخ أحمد صاحب الوفاء تاج العارفين الذي لم يترك وصية شفوية أو مكتوبة بشأن من سيكون خليفته، وهو أمر غير مسبوق. يصر سورباليا على أنه على الرغم من وفاة الشيخ أحمد صاحب الوفاء تاج العارفين، إلا أن فاعليته لا تزال موجودة ولا يزال بإمكانه توجيه طلابه ومريديه. إلا أن أحد كبار تلاميذه، وهو محمد عبد الغوث سيف الله المسلول، اعترض على هذا الرأي بادعائه أنه المرشد الكامل بناء على الرأي القائل بأن المرشد يجب أن يكون له وارث حي. وتسعى هذه الرسالة إلى دراسة الصراع على سلطة المرشد الذي حدث في القادرية والنقشبندية سورباليا. ومن خلال استخدام أنواع السلطة الثلاثة التي حددها ويبر (weber) وهي التقليدية (traditional) والعقلانية القانونية (Rational-legal) والكاريزمية (Charismatic)، سيبحث هذا البحث بالتفصيل في كيفية الحفاظ على سلطة المرشد من قبل كل فريق بتفسيره الخاص. يستخدم هذا البحث المنهجية النوعية مع التحليل النصي بالإضافة إلى العمل الميداني الإثنوغرافي (Ethnography) لمدة خمسة أشهر (فبراير - يونيو) من خلال الملاحظة التشاركية والرقمية والتوثيق والمقابلات. أُجريت مقابلات مع ثماني شخصيات رئيسية من القادرية والنقشبندية سورباليا وسيرنارسا لفهم دوافع الصراع على السلطة. وخلصت الدراسة إلى أن الصراع على السلطة يحدث بسبب التفسيرات المختلفة لسلطة المرشد، وما إذا كان يجب أن يمتلك ثلاثة مكونات للسلطة في آن واحد، وهي التقليدية، والعقلانية القانونية، والكاريزمية، ليكتسب الاعتراف من أتباعه.

الكلمات المفتاحية: القادرية والنقشبندية، سلطة المرشد، الخلافة الوراثية.

TRANSLITERATION GUIDE

IJMES TRANSLITERATION SYSTEM FOR ARABIC, PERSIAN, AND TURKISH

CONSONANTS

A = Arabic, P = Persian, OT = Ottoman Turkish, MT = Modern Turkish

	A	P	OT	MT		A	P	OT	MT		A	P	OT	MT
ء	ʾ	ʾ	ʾ	—	ز	z	z	z	z	ك	k	k or g	k or ñ	k or n
ب	b	b	b	b or p	ژ	—	zh	j	j				or y	or y
پ	—	p	p	p	س	s	s	s	s				or ğ	or ğ
ت	t	t	t	t	ش	sh	sh	ş	ş	گ	—	g	g	g
ث	th	ṯ	ṯ	s	ص	ṣ	ṣ	ş	s	ل	l	l	l	l
ج	j	j	c	c	ض	ḍ	ḍ	z	z	م	m	m	m	m
چ	—	ch	ç	ç	ط	ṭ	ṭ	ṭ	t	ن	n	n	n	n
ح	ḥ	ḥ	ḥ	h	ظ	ẓ	ẓ	ẓ	z	ه	h	h	h ¹	h ¹
خ	kh	kh	h	h	ع	ʿ	ʿ	ʿ	—	و	w	v or u	v	v
د	d	d	d	d	غ	gh	gh	g or ğ	g or ğ	ي	y	y	y	y
ذ	dh	ḏ	ḏ	z	ف	f	f	f	f	ة	a ²			
ر	r	r	r	r	ق	q	q	q	k	ال	a ³			

¹ When h is not final. ² In construct state: at. ³ For the article, al- and -l-.

VOWELS

	ARABIC AND PERSIAN	OTTOMAN AND MODERN TURKISH
<i>Long</i>	or ا ā و ū ي ī	ā ū ī <div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle; margin-left: 10px;"> { words of Arabic and Persian origin only </div>
<i>Doubled</i>	ى iy (final form ī) و uww (final form ū)	iy (final form ī) uvv
<i>Diphthongs</i>	او au or aw اي ai or ay	ev ey
<i>Short</i>	ا a u i	a or e u or ü / o or ö ı or i

For Ottoman Turkish, authors may either transliterate or use the modern Turkish orthography.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I dedicate this acknowledgment to my beloved parents, Ahmad Phudolli and Sofi Handayani, who have provided me with the best education. Thank you for your extraordinary efforts up to this point.

Secondly, to my dearest wife, Rizkiyatul Imtyas, who has supported me tirelessly and given me the encouragement to complete this challenging thesis. To my first daughter, Radwa Hafna Bahira, still a toddler, who has been the most precious gift in 2024.

Thirdly, I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my outstanding supervisor, Zacky Khairul Umam, Ph.D., for his invaluable insights, which have sharpened my thesis analysis. He has been relentless in motivating me to keep learning, anytime and anywhere.

I would also like to extend my sincere thanks to the professors of the Faculty of Islamic Studies at Universitas Islam Internasional Indonesia: Prof. Noorhaidi, Prof. Yanwar Pribadi, Ph.D, Prof. Syamsul Rijal, Muhammad Marakeby Ph.D, Zezen Zaenal Mutaqin, S.J.D, Haula Noor, Ph.D., Bhirawa Anoraga, Ph.D., Farid Fachruddin, Ph.D., Syafiq Hasyim, Ph.D and the other faculty members, for enriching our perspectives on Islamic Studies. I am immensely grateful.

Fifthly, I am thankful to Universitas Islam Internasional Indonesia (UII) for providing me with a full scholarship for my master's studies over the past two years. Special thanks go to the Islamic Studies staff, Anindhita Timika Aryani, M.Sc., and Fakhriyan Adriyanto, S.M., for their assistance with administrative and academic matters, and for their patience during demanding times.

I would also like to express my gratitude to Pesantren Suryalaya, which served as the focus of my research for six months, allowing me to gather the necessary information. Finally, despite the contributions of many people mentioned above, any deficiencies present within this thesis are entirely my own responsibility.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

TITLE PAGE	i
STATEMENT OF AUTHENTICITY	ii
ANTI-PLAGIARISM STATEMENT	iii
THESIS ATTESTATION	iv
ABSTRACT	vi
TRANSLITERATION GUIDE	viii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	ix
TABLE OF CONTENTS	vi
GLOSSARY AND ABBREVIATIONS	vi
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 Research Background	1
1.2 Literature Review.....	6
1.3 Research Questions	9
1.4 Research Limitations and Significance.....	9
1.4 Theoretical Framework.....	10
1.5 Method	12
1.6 Thesis Outline	12
CHAPTER 2: SHIFTING THE AUTHORITY: FROM DISCIPLESHIP SUCCESSION INTO SUFI DYNASTIES	14
2.1 The Early Polemics in Qadiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya in Indonesia	14
2.2 Hereditary Succession in Qadiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya Suryalaya: A Smooth Transition	21
2.3 Contesting Murshidship Authority of Abah Anom.....	29
2.4 Conclusion	32
CHAPTER 3: THE MURSHIDSHIP CONTESTATION POST-ABAH ANOM PERIOD	34
3.1 The Issue of Succession	34
3.2 The Contestation for Claiming the Authority: Between Suryalaya and Sirnarasa..	38
3.3 The Existence of Qadiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya Suryalaya without A <i>Murshid</i> ...	47
3.4 Conclusion	54
CHAPTER 4: ABAH AOS AND HIS AUTHORITY OF MURSHIDSHIP	56
4.1 Defending the Claim of Murshidship Abah Aos	56

4.2 The Intellectual Genealogy of Abah Aos.....	58
4.3 The Sources of Authority Abah Aos.....	61
4.4 Abah Aos and His Political Movement.....	64
4.5 Conclusion	67
CHAPTER 5	68
5.1 Conclusion	68
5.2 Research Suggestion	69
BIBLIOGRAPHY	71
ATTACHMENT	79

ABBREVIATIONS AND GLOSSARY

Abah	A vocational name for a <i>murshid</i> in Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya Suryalaya
Adab	Moral etiquette
BMAU	Badan Musyawarah Alim Ulama (Islamic Scholars Council)
Baraka	Blessing, spiritual power, charisma communicated by Friends of God
Da'wa	Propagation, missionary activity, proselytizing
DI/TII	Darul Islam/Tentara Islam Indonesia (House of Islam/Islamic Forces of Indonesia)
Dhikr	Recollection of God
Golkar	Golongan Karya (The Party of Functional Groups)
IALM	Institut Agama Islam Latifah Mubarakiyah (Islamic Institute Latifah Mubarakiyah)
Ijāza al-Irshad	An authority to lead the order
Ikhwan/Akhwat	Followers of Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya Suryalaya
JAMU TAQWA	Jam'iyya Mujahada Tariqa Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya (Association of the Struggle of Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya Order)
JATMAN	Jamiyyah Ahli Tariqa al-Mu'tabara al-Nahdiyya (Association of Recognized Sufi Orders of Nahdlatul Ulama)
Khalifa	Assistant of the murshid in sufi order who got a permission
Khalwa	Withdrawing oneself from social contacts by not speaking which, in its practice, to be alone in a dark and closed room for certain periods of time
Kanuragan	Magic, especially the types used in martial arts (invulnerability techniques and the acquisition of extraordinary powers)
Karama	Miracle, considered a divine grace, performed by a sufi
Kebatinan	Esotericism, Javanese syncretistic mysticism
Khataman	The chain or litany recitations and <i>ṣalawāt</i> , the closing prayers
Khānaqāh	Sufi hospice where a murshid teaches his disciples
Kyai	Charismatic teacher of religion in a pesantren, a traditional religious school

LDTQN	Lembaga Dakwah Tarekat Qadiriyyah wa Naqsyabandiyah (Institute for the Propagation of Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya Order)
Lawh al-Mahfuz	Preserved tablet
Mama	A title of honor in Sundanese ethnic group given to someone with extensive Islamic knowledge
MUI	Majelis Ulama Indonesia (Indonesian Ulema Council)
Maklumat	A statement by murshid of Qadiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya Suryalaya which contains important information
Manāqiban	Reciting the saintliness of ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī
Mantra	A repeated phrase for spiritual focus
Ma’rifa	Mystic or esoteric knowledge
Mujāhada	Inner struggle
Murshid	Spiritual adviser; a guide toward salvation
Murshidship	Leadership position in sufi order
NU	Nahdatul Ulama (Revival of the Ulama)
Pesantren	Islamic educational institution
PKB	Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa (National Awakening Party)
PPP	Partai Persatuan Pembangunan (United Development Party)
Quṭb	The north pole, a center around which anything revolves, hence, the title given the chief of an invisible hierarchy of all the mystics of any age
Rābita	A method of establishing a spiritual connection with the teacher through visualization of the latter’s image
Riyāḍa	Spiritual exercises
Sālik	Wayfarer; seeker who progresses thorough hard work
Silsila	Line of spiritual succession in sufi order
Sulūk	A Journey to attain closeness to God
Ṣuḥba	Companionship with the murshid
Talqin Deputy	A representative of murshid who receives authority to teach and initiated conferred on disciples by his murshid
Talqīn al-Dhikr	Oath of allegiance by a dusciple to a sufi order
Tanbīh	A testament from Abah Sepuh to his disciples on proper behaviour
Tawassul	Entreaty, pleading; seeking access/means to God via saintly intercession

TNI	Tentara Nasional Indonesia (Indonesian National Army)
UNDAR	Universitas Darul Ulum (Darul Ulum University)
Ustadh	Teacher
Wali	A friend of God; a saint
Walisongo	Nine Friends of God, chief group of Indonesian saints
Wilāya	Area over which saint has spiritual authority; politically, an administrative unit
Wird	Phrase-patterned devotion; litany or collect peculiar to a particular order
Zāwiya	Sufi lodge
Ziyāra	Visit or pilgrimage to a sacred place or tomb

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Research Background

Historical records indicate that kingdoms existing for over a millennium and across multiple continents have prioritized leadership and personal development. Today, Islam continues to foster moral leadership, as demonstrated by the lives of the prophets and saints of Allah. Prophet Muḥammad is regarded as the perfect human and a model of spiritual leadership, with his actions and behaviour serving as enduring standards for both spiritual and temporal leadership. Kriger and Seng observe that spirituality is deeply integrated into Islamic leadership, highlighting the example of Muḥammad and his Companions, who became the first four successors or caliphs. In Islam, leadership is not pursued as a personal ambition; instead, it is viewed as arising from the community's authority. A spiritually guided leader is encouraged to exercise socialized power, utilizing it for the benefit of others rather than seeking personalized power.¹

Similarly, in the context of Sufism, sufi masters or *murshid* emulate Prophet Muḥammad to understand spiritual leadership and authority. In the term of Sufism, authority and leadership are directly held by a *murshid*, who is responsible for guiding their disciples towards Allah through specific methods.² Al-Jurjānī (d. 1413) describes the *murshid* as an individual who guides people from the error path to the correct path.³ Ter Haar emphasizes that a genuine *murshid*, particularly by the standards of the Naqshbandi Sufi order, must satisfy two critical criteria: being perfect (*kāmīl*) and perfecting (*mukammīl*). A true *murshid* must have achieved the highest level of perfection and must lead others toward attaining this perfection (*martaba al-kamāl wa al-ikmāl*). Ter Haar also identifies another category of *murshid*, of a lower rank, called *kāmīl muqallid*. This term refers to a *murshid* who is perfect and perfecting but can only guide others to perfection by emulating a *murshid* who is genuinely perfect and perfecting.⁴

The authority of a *murshid* within an order can be understood using the Weberian model of rational, charismatic, and routinized charismatic or traditional authority, as noted

¹ Mark Kriger and Yvonne Seng, "Leadership with Inner Meaning: A Contingency Theory of Leadership Based on the Worldviews of Five Religions," *The Leadership Quarterly* 16, no. 5 (October 2005): 771–806, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.leaqua.2005.07.007>.

² Annabelle Bottecher, "Religious Authority in Transnational Sufi Networks: Shaykh Nazim al-Qubrusi al-Haqqani al-Naqshabandi," in *Speaking for Islam: Religious Authorities in Muslim Societies*, ed. Gudrun Krämer and Sabine Schmidtke (Leiden ; Boston: Brill, 2006), 243–68.

³ Al-Sharif Al-Jurjani, *Al-Ta'rifat* (Cairo: Dar al-Rayyan li al-Turast, 2005), 268.

⁴ Johan Ter Haar, "The Importance of the Spiritual Guide in the Naqshabandi Order," in *The Heritage of Sufism: The Legacy of Medieval Persian Sufism (1150-1500)*, ed. Leonard Lewisohn (Oxford: Oneworld Publication, 2003), 311–22.

by Sedgwick. According to this model, the authority of a *murshid* can combine these three elements. It is described as charismatic because it depends on whether the *murshid* possesses supernatural powers inaccessible to ordinary people and originate from a divine source. Charismatic authority can also transform into routinized charismatic or traditional authority. A *murshid* can become a *murshid* of an order not only because of the spirituality learned from their previous *murshid* but also due to hereditary factors, such as a son automatically becoming a *murshid* because his father was a *murshid* in an order.

Sedgwick also notes that authority in Sufism is not only traditional, hereditary, and charismatic. It also includes rational-legal authority, as certain orders have established hierarchical frameworks where the *murshid* grants an *ijāza* (murshidship authority) or *idhn* (permission) to a senior disciple to act as his representative (*muqaddam* or *khalīfa*). This representative typically oversees a branch *zāwiya* (lodge) of a major order, often functioning as a *murshid* in his own right. In Weberian terms, such a representative may be viewed as possessing rational-legal authority since it originates from an appointed role within a visible structure.⁵

Therefore, the existence of a *murshid* within a Sufi order is essential because, upon their death, the succession of murshidship is typically continued by their successor, who possesses *baraka* and also has *Ijāza* from the previous *murshid*.⁶ Additionally, as noted by Papas, the future *murshid* must have undergone, under rigorous spiritual guidance, the spiritual path and the entire mystical journey (*sulūk*) to lead the travellers (*sālik*) effectively.⁷ However, Hakim asserts that the issue of murshidship succession is fundamentally spiritual, sacred, and quite crucial in Sufism.⁸ Takahashi states that succession to murshidship has frequently been a source of conflict, at least among the candidates.⁹

In the Sufi tradition, scholars like Zarcone and Anjum identify two possible types of successors when a *murshid* has passed away. The first is hereditary succession, which was generally the norm within Sufi orders. This implies succession from a father to his son, or the so-called ‘indirect hereditary succession’ of a *murshid* by a brother or a descendant

⁵ Mark Sedgwick, “Sufi Religious Leaders and Sufi Orders in the Contemporary Middle East,” *Sociology of Islam* 6, no. 2 (June 6, 2018): 212–32, <https://doi.org/10.1163/22131418-00602007>.

⁶ The term “murshidship” was first coined by Endang Turmudi. Murshidship denotes a position within a Sufi order that holds the highest authority. See: Endang Turmudi, *Struggling For The Umma: Changing Leadership Roles of Kiai in Jombang, East Java* (Canberra: ANU Press, 2006).

⁷ Alexandre Papas, “Shaykh Succession in the Classical Naqshbandiyya: Spirituality, Heredity and the Question of Body,” *Asian and African Area Studies* 7, no. 1 (2007): 36–49.

⁸ Budi Rahman Hakim, *Actualization of Neo-Sufism: A Case Study of the Tariqa Qadiriyya Naqshabandiyya Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya* (Tillburg: Tillburg University, 2020), 225.

⁹ Takahashi Kei, “A New Logic in the Sufi Organization: The Continuation and the Disintegration of the Tariqas in Modern Egypt,” *Asian and African Area Studies* 7, no. 1 (2007): 50–64.

of a former *murshid*, such as a grandson or son-in-law. In other words, succession through lineage prioritizes *nasab* (bloodline) to occupy the position of murshidship and form family Orders. Some Orders consider that prophetic *nasab* facilitates the inheritance of prophetic *baraka*.¹⁰

Alatas argues that hereditary succession prevents conflicts between potential successors.¹¹ Tirmingham contends that the hereditary principle, while often resulting in the succession of incompetent or worldly individuals, was crucial in maintaining the unity of the order.¹² Succession through lineage can be found in the early development of the Qādiriyya order. Before his passing, ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī appointed his son ‘Abd al-Wahhāb as the next *murshid*.¹³

The second type of succession is based on discipleship, prioritizing learning or other merits, particularly if the *murshid* has no child. This model emphasizes the *silsila* (spiritual chain) over *nasab*, as Minorsky states, considering the blood relationship unimportant.¹⁴ Anjum adds that many descendants of *murshid* only sometimes inherit the spiritual position of their predecessors. This contrasts sharply with the *silsila*, which forms a spiritual genealogy, a chain of transmission of spiritual knowledge and initiation that links a *murshid* to Prophet Muḥammad. Therefore, the qualification for this type of succession is assessed by identifying the disciple most inherits the spiritual authority from their *murshid*. Succession through the *silsila* can be found in the Naqshabandiyya Order, particularly in its classical form, the Khawājān Naqshabandiyya or pre-Mujaddidiyya. The Chishti order follows a similar pattern; Khawāja Abū Ishāq Shāmī, a disciple of Khawāja Abū Dināwārī, was succeeded by his most accomplished disciple, Khawāja Abū Aḥmad ibn Farasnafah Chishtī.¹⁵

¹⁰ Thierry Zarcone, “Syakh Succession in Turkish Sufi Lineages (19th and 20th Centuries): Conflicts, Reforms and Transmission of Spiritual Enlightenment,” *Asian and African Area Studies* 7, no. 1 (2007): 17–35; Tanvir Anjum, “Sons of Bread and Sons of Soul: Lineal and Spiritual Descendants of Baba Farid and the Issue of Succession, in Sufism in Punjab: Mystics, Literature and Shrines,” in *Sufism in Punjab: Mystics, Literature and Shrines*, ed. Surinder Singh and Ishwar Dayal Gaur (Delhi: Aakar Books, 2009), 63–79.

¹¹ Ismail Fajrie Alatas, “Sufi Lineages and Families,” in *Handbook of Sufi Studies*, ed. Marcia K. Hermansen et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2021), 374–84.

¹² John Spencer Tirmingham, *The Sufi Orders in Islam* (London: Oxford University Press, 1971), 173.

¹³ Semih Ceyhan, “Established Sufi Orders,” in *Handbook of Sufi Order*, ed. Marcia K. Hermansen et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2021), 385–404.

¹⁴ Vladimir Minorsky, “A Mongol Decree of 720/1320 to the Family of Shaykh Zāhid,” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 16, no. 3 (October 1954): 515–27, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0041977X00086821>.

¹⁵ Anjum, “Sons of Bread and Sons of Soul: Lineal and Spiritual Descendants of Baba Farid and the Issue of Succession, in Sufism in Punjab: Mystics, Literature and Shrines.”

In general, two types of murshidship succession are not as significant in the continuity and existence of an Order. Typically, during their lifetime or at least approaching their death, a *murshid* passes on the mantle of murshidship to their descendants or to their disciples. Consequently, other followers automatically acknowledge and accept the designated successor to Murshidship. This was evident in the Naqshabandiyya Haqqāniya Order when its *murshid*, ‘Abd Allāh Al-Dāgistānī, as he approached the end of his life, handed over the leadership succession to Nāzīm al-Ḥaqqānī. Automatically, the followers and disciples of Al-Dāgistānī accepted and recognized Nāzīm al-Ḥaqqānī as the legitimate authority of murshidship.¹⁶

Moreover, the succession of a Murshidship can become a polemic and controversy for an Order if a *murshid*, until their death, has not appointed anyone as their successor. The issue of *murshid*’s successor can become a significant question. If the *Murshid* does not grant *ijāza* to anyone, who will become the next *murshid*? Will it be their descendants or their disciples? Is it sufficient to rely solely on charismatic or traditional authority without rational-legal authority to become a *murshid*?

Hence, it is unsurprising that disputes over the authority of murshidship may arise between the descendants of the *murshid* and their disciples. Both parties consider themselves deserving of becoming the successor to the *murshid*. Thus, a reconstruction of the authority of murshidship within an Order becomes necessary. Such occurrences arise because the process of murshidship succession as noted by Hakim is unlike that in the political world or other modern social organizations, where leadership succession typically follows a democratic process. Orders has no historical precedent where a disciple openly elects their *murshid*.¹⁷

The polemics surrounding the authority of murshidship in Indonesia have experienced significant fluctuations, particularly in the context of inter-order rivalries. Bruinessen, for instance, documents various controversies and disputes that occurred in 20th-century Indonesia. A notable example is Ismā’īl al-Minangkabawī, the *khalīfa* of the Naqshabandiyya Khālidiyya order under ‘Abd Allāh al-Arzirjānī, who faced severe criticism from an Arab Hadrami scholar, Sālim ibn ‘Abd Allāh ibn Sumayr, accusing him of propagating false doctrines concerning the order.¹⁸ A similar situation was experienced

¹⁶ Bottcher, “Religious Authority in Transnational Sufi Networks: Shaykh Nazim al-Qubrusi al-Haqqani al-Naqshabandi.”

¹⁷ Hakim, *Actualization of Neo-Sufism: A Case Study of the Order Qadiriyya Naqshabandiyya Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya*.

¹⁸ Martin Van Bruinessen, “Controversies and Polemics Involving the Sufi Orders in Twentieth-Century Indonesia,” in *Islamic Mysticism Contested*, by I.J.F. De Jong and Bernd Radtke, ed. De Jong and Bernd Radtke (BRILL, 1999), 705–28, https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004452725_039.

by the Naqshbandiyya Haqqāniyya Order, led by Shaykh Nāzīm al-Ḥaqqāni, who faced criticism from Munzīr al-Musāwā. Al-Musāwā argued that the order had deviated from Islamic teachings and posed a potential threat of leading the Muslim community astray, particularly because of its belief that ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib is still alive.¹⁹

The struggle for authority has also affected local orders in Indonesia, often driven by differing political affiliations, leading to friction and conflict. One prominent example is the Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya Order, one of the largest orders in Indonesia. Afandi identifies at least two main dynamics of conflict within this order. First, a key figure within the order separated from the central organization and established a new order association, JATMAN (*Jam’iyya Ahl Tariqa al-Mu’tabara al-Nahḍiyya*), under the leadership of Kyai Adlan ‘Ali. Second, in late 1994, a new faction emerged at Pesantren Darul Ulum Rejoso, known as JAMU TAQWA (*Jam’iyya Mujāhada Tariqa Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya*).

These frictions also led to a leadership struggle within a smaller scope, resulting in the formation of two groups of order practitioners. On one side, there was a group based at Pesantren Rejoso, under the leadership of Kyai Dimyatī Ramlī, who supported Golkar (Golongan Karya). On the other side, there was a group based outside the pesantren, at Darul Ulum University (UNDAR) in the city of Jombang, led by Kyai Mujīb Musta’in, who was aligned with PKB (Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa).²⁰

Unlike conflicts between orders, which often arise from differing perspectives on certain aspects of Sufism, or internal conflicts driven by political orientations, the polemics in the case study I am researching are purely due to the struggle for murshidship authority following the death of a murshid who did not appoint a successor. Specifically, this concerns the Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya Order Suryalaya, based in West Java, which was founded by ‘Abd Allāh Mubārak (Abah Sepuh) on September 5, 1905. Since its establishment, the authority of Murshidship has been held by him, succeeding Shaykh Ṭalhā Kalisapu Cirebon, until his passing on January 25, 1956, at the age of 120. Before his death, he passed on the succession of Murshidship to his son, Shaykh Aḥmad Sāhib al-Wāfā Tāj al-‘Ārifīn, commonly known as Abah Anom.²¹ The transition of Murshidship from Abah Sepuh to Abah Anom was considered smooth because he combined three types

¹⁹ Luthfi Makhasin, “THE POLITICS OF CONTENDING PIETY : Naqshbandi-Haqqani Sufi Movement and the Struggle for Islamic Activism in Contemporary Indonesia” (Canberra, Australian National University (ANU), 2015), 299.

²⁰ Ahmad Hasan Afandi, *Kontroversi Kyai Tarekat: Studi Pergeseran Orientasi Politik Kyai Tarekat Qodiriyyah Wa Naqsabandiyah* (Surabaya: Scopindo, 2020), ix–x.

²¹ Zulkifli, *Sufism in Java: The Role of the Pesantren in the Maintenance of Sufism in Java*, (Canberra: Australian National University, 1994), 86-112.

of authority—traditional, charismatic, and rational-legal—he was recognized by his followers, allowing him to maintain his authority as a *murshid* until he died in 2011 at 96.

However, the murshidship succession process after Abah Anom's death encountered significant controversy. The absence of either oral or written instructions from Abah Anom regarding who would continue the succession of murshidship led to polemics and disputes over the claims to the authority of murshidship between his descendants and disciples.

In the first two years after Abah Anom's death, the murshidship position in Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya Suryalaya remained vacant. In 2013, one of Abah Anom's senior disciples, Kyai Muḥammad 'Abd al-Gawth (Abah Aos), declared himself as the successor to Murshidship, citing 43 years of apprenticeship and practising authority under Abah Anom. Some followers of Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya Suryalaya regarded Abah Aos as a learned figure and a saint possessing both traditional and charismatic authority. However, Abah Anom's family did not accept this claim. Despite his passing, they maintained that Abah Anom still held the role of *murshid*. Furthermore, none of his children dared to assume his position as *murshid* because Abah Anom did not pass on his authority to anyone. Then, the family of Abah Anom issued a warning letter asserting that Abah Aos was not designated as Abah Anom's successor, lacking authentic evidence to strengthen his claim to murshidship, meaning Abah Aos needed more rational-legal authority. Moreover, the Suryalaya family strongly forbade Abah Aos from setting foot in Suryalaya again and revoked his status as *talqin deputy* in Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya Suryalaya.

This research discusses why the transition process of murshidship in Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya Suryalaya from Abah Sepuh to Abah Anom was smooth and without problems, leading to his authority being recognized by all disciples of Abah Sepuh and his followers. Subsequently, it explores the controversy surrounding the successor of Abah Anom after his death, involving a dispute between the family of Pesantren Suryalaya and Abah Anom's senior disciple, Abah Aos, who claimed to be his successor. Lastly, it examines how Abah Aos strengthened his authority without the rational-legal authority like *Ijāza*, which is crucial in the order.

1.2 Literature Review

Indeed, Murshidship succession is a central issue for every historian of sufism. Therefore, it is crucial to reconstruct the concept of murshidship within an order. Buehler asserts that the main principle for a *murshid* to gain authority is to have a *silsila*, a continuous spiritual chain linked to Prophet Muḥammad. On the other hand, Nakanishi argues that a *murshid* does not necessarily need to have a continuous *silsila* or spiritual

chain to Prophet Muḥammad.²² It is sufficient to be connected to a recognized *murshid* authority, as seen in Eastern China, where the authority of *murshid* She Qiling is acknowledged even though his genealogy is only linked to a prominent Sufi figure in the region, Hu Dengzhou.²³

Chih adds that besides a valid genealogy from the previous *murshid*, a *murshid* must also be recognized by the community as someone who inherits the knowledge and spiritual height of their predecessor. Traits such as asceticism, piety, and simplicity are considered visible signs of spiritual excellence. These qualities may help the successor gain recognition as a new *murshid*.²⁴ Meanwhile, Alatas argues more specifically that religious authority must combine several key elements, including *silsila*, charisma, the ability to connect teachings from the prophetic era to the present by teaching its traditions, and the legitimacy of their followers.²⁵ Sedgwick adds that the authority of a sufi or *murshid* typically combines at least three types of authority: charismatic, traditional, and rational-legal.²⁶

Although there are different criteria for someone to obtain legitimacy as a *murshid*, they converge on one main point: a *murshid* must obtain *silsila* from their predecessor or commonly known in Weber's term as *rational-legal authority*.²⁷ Consequently, if a previous *murshid* does not provide the murshidship authority (*Ijāza al-Irshād*) or designate a successor until their death, it can lead to a crisis in murshidship and even the dissolution of the order. The gap I identified here is how the authority of murshidship is redefined to maintain the existence of an order. In the case of Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya Suryalaya, for example, Abah Anom did not pass on the murshidship succession to anyone, leading his disciples and descendants to negotiate the definition of murshidship authority even if it involves contestation and conflict among them. Thus, there is contention over whether a *murshid* must possess all three authorities simultaneously—charismatic, traditional, and rational-legal—or if it suffices for a *murshid* to have traditional and charismatic authority alone.

²² Arthur F. Buehler and Annemarie Schimmel, *Sufi Heirs of the Prophet: The Indian Naqshbandiyya and the Rise of the Mediating Sufi Shaykh*, Studies in Comparative Religion (Columbia: Univ. of South Carolina Press, 1998), 82.

²³ Tatsuya Nakanishi, "The Logic of Succession in the Case of Chinese Muslims during the Qing Period," *Orient* 42, no. 0 (2007): 55–70, <https://doi.org/10.5356/orient.42.55>.

²⁴ Rachida Chih, "What Is Sufi Order? Revisiting The Concept Through A Case Study of The Khalwatiyya in Contemporary Egypt," in *Sufism and the Modern in Islam*, ed. Martin Van Bruinessen and Julia Day Howell (New York: I.B.Tauris, 2007), 21–38.

²⁵ Ismail Fajrie Alatas, *What Is Religious Authority?* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2021), 4.

²⁶ Sedgwick, "Sufi Religious Leaders and Sufi Orders in the Contemporary Middle East."

²⁷ Sedgwick.

Secondly, it is also essential to reconstruct the issue of murshidship succession that occurred in Sufi orders in the past. In 2006, a conference at the Second World Congress for Middle Eastern Studies (WOCMES-2) was held in Amman, Jordan. The main topic of one panel was ‘The Logic of Succession around sufis and saints. Zarcone focuses on the difference between hereditary succession in the 16th -17th century and the 19th century of Ottoman history. He argues that in the 16th century, the emergence of order was ruled by the prestigious *murshid* and *khalīfa*, whose transmission of *baraka* was indisputable. Besides that, establishing a lineage and the sons of the *murshid* were still considered spiritual heirs. This did not create a shaykh dynasty because only one or two sons of the *murshid* could continue their father’s legacy. While in the 19th and 20th centuries, there was a degradation of hereditary succession. Order dynasties became inevitable because murshidship succession emphasized sacred lineage, even if the descendants could not become *murshid*.²⁸

On the contrary, Papas discusses the opposite view. He argues that there has been a shift and inconsistency in the Naqshabandiyya Order regarding murshidship succession, even viewing it as a regression for the Order. This is because initially, the Naqshabandiyya Order strongly opposed succession through hereditary lines, prioritizing discipleship succession that had trained its spiritual authority to the point of perfection to become a *murshid*. However, Papas observes historical inconsistencies and regressions in the Naqshabandiyya Order regarding the principles of murshidship succession. From the 14th to the 17th century, the Naqshabandiyya Order began adopting hereditary succession, leading to the creation of several dynasties within the order.²⁹

Both Papas and Zarcone agree that hereditary succession has had a negative impact on an order, leading to a decline in Sufism, as Schmeding terms it “the decay of true sufism”. However, unlike Papas, Zarcone, and Schmeding, not all orders in the 20th century experienced a drastic decline in spirituality solely because their *murshids* were deemed incompetent due to relying solely on lineage. In my research, I found that in the Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya Suryalaya Order led by Abah Anom, hereditary succession can be managed effectively.

It is undeniable that studies on Abah Anom and the Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya Suryalaya have been extensive. For instance, Mulyati discusses the historical and intellectual development of the Suryalaya Islamic boarding school in detail, covering its

²⁸ Zarcone, “Syakh Succession in Turkish Sufi Lineages (19th and 20th Centuries): Conflicts, Reforms and Transmission of Spiritual Enlightenment.”

²⁹ Papas, “Shaykh Succession in the Classical Naqshbandiyya: Spirituality, Heredity and the Question of Body.”

teachings such as *dhikr*, *Manāqiban*, and *khatamān*.³⁰ Similarly, Zulkifli includes discussions on the Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya Suryalaya, focusing on the periods of Abah Sepuh and Abah Anom in his book.³¹ In this thesis, I offer a different perspective on the history of Abah Anom and the Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya Suryalaya Order by linking it to the leadership authority he possessed. This addresses criticisms from Zarcone, Papas, and Schmeding, suggesting that although Abah Anom's transmission from his father, Abah Sepuh, was hereditary, he fortified his authority by possessing all three types of authority simultaneously: charismatic authority through his spiritual excellence, legal-rational authority through the official succession letter he received from his father, Abah Sepuh, as the new *murshid*, and traditional authority as he attained the status of new *murshid* due to bloodline.

1.3 Research Questions

This thesis raises several questions. Firstly, why did the succession of murshidship through hereditary succession from Abah Sepuh to Abah Anom proceed smoothly and with minimal conflict? Following Abah Anom's death, why was there conflict regarding competing claims to spiritual succession between Pesantren Suryalaya and his senior disciple, Abah Aos, and how did the two factions redefine the authority of a *murshid*? Lastly, how did Abah Aos strengthen the legitimacy of his spiritual succession and establish his authority among his followers despite facing rejection from Pesantren Suryalaya and needing an official letter from Abah Anom designating him as the legitimate successor?

1.4 Research Limitations and Significance

This research limitations in the case of claiming the murshidship of Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya Order Suryalaya are as follows; Firstly, Limited access to specific resources and information may affect the depth of the analysis. Constraints such as restricted access to internal documents of the Order or interviews with key figures could impact the study's comprehensiveness. Secondly, the research is focused on a single Order located in West Java, limiting the generalizability of the findings to other Orders with similar cases. Thirdly, this research focuses exclusively on the internal conflicts within the Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya Order Suryalaya, thereby excluding the responses of its followers, both male and female, to these conflicts. Fourthly, because the study centers on

³⁰ The terms *dhikr*, *khataman*, and *manaqiban* refer to the daily, weekly, and monthly practices performed by the Qadiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya Suryalaya. See: Sri Mulyati, *The Educational Role of the Tariqa Qadiriyya Naqshabandiyya with Special Reference to Suryalaya* (Montreal: McGill University, 2002) 382-388.

³¹ Zulkifli, *Sufism in Java: The Role of the Pesantren in the Maintenance of Sufism in Java* (Canberra: Australian National University, 1994).

the role of the murshid within the order, it does not engage with gender analysis, and thus does not explore whether a *murshid* who passes away without appointing a successor could be succeeded by his wife as a *shaykha*.

Furthermore, this study is expected to contribute to ongoing academic debates regarding hereditary succession, which some researchers view as a source of decline for an order. Additionally, by combining textual studies and ethnographic research, the study aims to provide a deep understanding of the contestation over the authority of a *murshid*, whether all three main authorities—traditional, legal-rational, and charismatic—are necessary to gain legitimacy from their followers.

1.5 Theoretical Framework

As tool for process data and gain research objectives, I used the theory of Authority by Max Weber. Weber divided authority into three types: Charismatic, Traditional, and Rational-Legal.³² Sedgwick argues that these three types of authority are highly suitable and applicable within Sufism.³³

The first type is Charismatic Authority, as defined by Weber. It refers to a particular quality of an individual's personality that distinguishes them from ordinary people and leads them to be seen as possessing supernatural, super-human, or notably exceptional qualities, often considered of divine origin or exemplary. These qualities make the individual recognized and treated as a leader.³⁴ The term charisma is used in a broader sense to refer to the personal magnetism possessed by a leader. In Weber's terms, this encompasses characteristics that inspire those who would become their followers.³⁵ Weber also uses this term to describe charismatic religious leaders, whose basis of leadership is the belief that they have a special relationship with God. It is therefore not surprising that Weber's concept of charisma is equated by anthropologists, as noted by Cone, with the concept of *baraka* found in Sufism.³⁶ Andezian defines *baraka* as a divine beneficial force believed to bestow advantages across all aspects of life. It is mainly concentrated in the person of the Prophet and the saints, who can transmit it to those seeking it. The leaders of Sufi orders, regarded as holy figures, are also endowed with this supernatural power, which

³² Sheldon S. Wolin, "Max Weber: Legitimation, Method, and the Politics of Theory," *Political Theory* 9, no. 3 (August 1981): 401–24, <https://doi.org/10.1177/009059178100900308>.

³³ Sedgwick, "Sufi Religious Leaders and Sufi Orders in the Contemporary Middle East."

³⁴ Max Weber, *On Charisma and Institution Building* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968), 48–49.

³⁵ Doyle Paul Johnson, *Contemporary Sociological Theory* (New York, NY: Springer New York, 2008), 38, <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-0-387-76522-8>.

³⁶ Tiffany Cone, *Cultivating Charismatic Power* (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2018), 27, <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-74763-7>.

underlies all extraordinary occurrences. The ritual ceremonies conducted by sufi brotherhoods are intended to disseminate *baraka* among the participants.³⁷ In the context of a *murshid* or sufi master, a charismatic *murshid* can transfer supernatural powers to their community, thereby gaining recognition as a saint or *wali*.³⁸ Ahmed considers that charisma creating following and following creates charisma.³⁹

The second type is Traditional Authority, which is an authority based on established belief in the sanctity of ancient traditions and the legitimacy of the status of those who wield authority within them.⁴⁰ Leadership is not achieved through personal talent but is often predetermined by past arrangements, such as a Sufi's son inheriting his father's position as a *murshid*. This illustrates that traditional authority stems from lineage, family ties, or specific groups. In this sense, authority is primarily based on personal or familial relationships and an individual's loyalty to past leaders. Within traditional authority, power-holders are those considered knowledgeable of sanctified traditions, where traditional bonds play a central role.⁴¹

Weber distinguishes three types of traditional authority as mentioned by Giddens: gerontocracy, which is authority held by elders within a group; patriarchy, which is authority based on kinship held by a specific individual and inherited through generations; in Sufi orders like Qādiriyya and Naqshabandiyya Berjan, Purworejo, authority is passed down through generations within the family line.⁴² Finally, patrimonialism refers to a form of authority in which a leader enlists the help of their relatives or close associates, who are personally loyal to them. An example provided in Chapter 3 is Abah Aos working with his relative, Kyai Šaleḥ, to solidify his traditional authority as the *murshid* of the Qadiriyya and Naqshabandiyya Order.

The third type of authority is legal-rational authority, which is based on a belief in the legitimacy of normative rules and the entitlement of those in positions of authority

³⁷ Sossie Andezian, "Old Practices and New Meanings: Saint Veneration in Western Algeria," in *Archaeology of Sainthood and Local Spirituality in Islam: Past Present Crossroads of Events and Ideas*, ed. Georg Stauth (Bielefeld: Verlag, 2004), 107–25.

³⁸ Oleg Yarosh, "Globalization of Redemptive Sociality: *Al-Ahbash* and *Haqqaniyya* Transnational Sufi Networks in West Asia and Central-Eastern Europe," *Journal of Eurasian Studies* 10, no. 1 (January 2019): 22–35, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1879366518814915>.

³⁹ Cone, *Cultivating Charismatic Power*, 27.

⁴⁰ Wolin, "Max Weber."

⁴¹ Ibnu Shofi and Talkah Talkah, "ANALISIS TEORI OTORITAS MAX WEBBER DALAM KEPEMIMPINAN MULTIKULTURAL KIAI SHOLEH BAHRUDDIN NGALAH (Studi Kepemimpinan Multikultural di Pondok Pesantren Ngalah Pasuruan)," *Jurnal Kependidikan Islam* 11, no. 1 (June 20, 2021): 134–56, <https://doi.org/10.15642/jkpi.2021.11.1.134-156>.

⁴² Aly Mashar, "GENEALOGI DAN PENYEBARAN THARIQAH QADIRIYAH WA NAQSHABANDIYAH DI JAWA," *Al-A'raf: Jurnal Pemikiran Islam dan Filsafat* 13, no. 2 (November 15, 2016): 233, <https://doi.org/10.22515/ajpif.v13i2.75>.

under such rules to issue commands under such rules to issue commands.⁴³ In the context of Sufism, as noted by Sedgwick, a *murshid* may appoint their senior disciple as a *khalīfa* or *talqīn deputy* to initiate new disciples joining the order and also establish a *zawiya* or lodge to propagate the teachings of the order.

Sedgwick adds that while Weber's three types of authority are fundamentally distinct and separate in principle, they often merge and combine in reality. Therefore, this study aims to use this theory for examining the contestation for claiming the murshidship in one of the most popular order in the Indonesian archipelago.

1.6 Method

The method used in this research is qualitative, with textual analysis and ethnographic research conducted for approximately five months (February-June). The data sources and techniques used in this study include: First, textual analysis involves the examination of books, journals, and other publications related to the Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya Order, especially Pesantren Suryalaya and Sirnarasa. It utilizes the authority theory by Max Weber as the main framework and establishes connections with the research object to acquire theoretical information.

Second, observations entail direct scrutiny of the research object to gain a direct understanding of the issues at the research site. In this context, direct observations have been conducted at several central institutions of Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya Suryalaya and Sirnarasa in Tasikmalaya and Tangerang.

Third, interviews involve face-to-face and online interviews using open-ended questions with crucial figures of Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya Suryalaya and Sirnarasa, both at the central and branch institutions of these Sufi orders. I have interviewed eight individuals, including five *talqin deputies* and three administrators of LDTQN (*Lembaga Dakwah Tarekat Qadiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya*). The data processing flow involves collecting data, organizing it systematically, reducing it, presenting it systematically, and drawing conclusions that address the research problems.

1.7 Thesis Outline

This thesis consists of four chapters, each addressing distinct aspects of the research. The first chapter encompasses the Introduction, Literature Review, Research Questions, Research Limitations and Significance, Theoretical Framework, Methodology, and Thesis Outline.

⁴³ Wolin, "Max Weber."

In the second chapter, I delve into the polemics of murshidship contestation that have occurred throughout the history of the Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya Order in Indonesia, examining how this history demonstrates a shifting definition of the authority of a *murshid*. It is followed by exploring the dynamics of *murshid* succession within the Qādiriyya and Naqshabandiyya Order Suryalaya, which smoothly transitioned from Abah Sepuh to Abah Anom. Furthermore, this chapter discusses how Abah Anom asserted his authority through various events, ultimately strengthening his position as a *murshid*.

The third chapter explores the dynamics of conflict and division between the descendants of Abah Anom and his disciple, Abah Aos, shedding light on intricate issues within the Order. Additionally, this chapter discusses the existence of the Qadiriyya and Naqshabandiyya orders without a *murshid* for thirteen years.

In the fourth chapter, I investigate how Abah Aos strengthened his legitimacy as a *murshid* among his followers despite facing rejection from the Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya Suryalaya, thereby gaining recognition as a *murshid* at least among his followers. This chapter also examines Abah Aos political movements, which have tended to generate controversy on several occasions, particularly during the 2024 Indonesian presidential election.

The fifth chapter contains the conclusion of this study.

CHAPTER 2: SHIFTING THE AUTHORITY: FROM DISCIPLESHIP SUCCESSION INTO SUFI DYNASTIES

2.1 The Early Polemics of Murshidship Authority in Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya in Indonesia

Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya Order is one of the various orders that have significant popularity in Indonesia.⁴⁴ According to Mufid, an essential factor that makes this order so prominent is its approach, which is easy to understand and practice, especially in the practice of *dhikr*, which is simple and does not burden its followers.⁴⁵ In this context, the ease of spiritual practice is the main attraction for the congregation of this order. Another unique feature of Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya is its status as the only orthodox Sufi order founded by a local sufi figure. This shows that this order exists as a spiritual entity and as part of an intellectual and religious heritage widely recognized in the Indonesian Islamic context. Ahmad et al. assert:

The Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya combines two Sufi institutions, Qādiriyya and Naqshabandiyya. It teaches esotericism and religious substance and is readily accepted by the Indonesian people because it emphasizes content rather than religious symbols. Furthermore, the Sufi tradition stresses respect for teachers, respect for others, and easy adaptation to local culture. These factors contribute to Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya's existence in Indonesia today. Teachings, networks of scholars, intellectualism, values, and culture influence the dynamics of Qādiriyya in Indonesia. Through the networks in Islamic boarding schools (*Pesantren*), Qādiriyya has become one of the most popular sufi orders with prominent members and significant influence in Indonesia.⁴⁶

This order was introduced to Indonesia by Shaykh Yūsuf Makassar (d.1109/1699) in the 16th century. He encountered this order during his travels to study Islam and perform hajj in Mecca. Upon his return, he initiated his students who wished to join the order through the *bay'a* in Aceh. However, despite Shaykh Yūsuf's efforts, the order did not

⁴⁴ Martin van Bruinessen, "Published in: Kees van Dijk, Huub de Jonge & Elly Touwen-Bouwsma (Eds), Across Madura Strait: The Dynamics of an Insular Society. Leiden: KITLV Press, 1995, 91-117." n.d.

⁴⁵ Ahmad Syafi'i Mufid, *Tangklukan, Abangan Dan Tarekat: Kebangkitan Agama Di Jawa* (Jakarta: Buku Obor, 2006), 2-3.

⁴⁶ Maghfur Ahmad et al., "The Sufi Order against Religious Radicalism in Indonesia," *HTS Theologiese Studies / Theological Studies* 77, no. 4 (May 18, 2021), <https://doi.org/10.4102/hts.v77i4.6417>.

experience significant growth, and he is not recognized as the one who established or popularized it in Indonesia.⁴⁷ It was not until the late 19th century that the order was widely disseminated by from a shaykh from Kalimantan, Aḥmad Khatīb ibn ‘Abd al-Ghaffār Sambas (d. 1292/1875), who spread the order throughout Indonesia via his students. He combined two of the world’s leading orders—the Qādiriyya, founded by ‘Abd al-Qadir al-Jīlāni (d. 561/1166), and the Naqshbandiyya, founded by Bahā al-Dīn Naqshband (d. 791/1389)—into an independent order. Interestingly, Aḥmad Khatīb chose not to name the order he founded after himself, such as the Sambāsiyya or Khatībiyya order, but instead called it the Qādiriyya wa Naqshbandiyya order, as a sign of respect for the spiritual heritage of these two great orders.

Aḥmad Khatīb was born in Sambas, West Kalimantan, in the month of Safar 1218 H/AD 1803. He spent his childhood in the vicinity of the Sambas Sultanate Palace, where he studied under prominent scholars, notably Nūr al-Dīn Mustāfa. After completing his studies in Sambas for a while, his parents sent him to study in Mecca, where he lived and remained until his death.⁴⁸ He immersed himself in various branches of Islamic knowledge, particularly sufism. In the field of sufism, he received mentorship from Shaykh Dāūd ibn ‘Abd Allāh ibn Idrīs al-Faṭānī (d.1263/1847), Shaykh Muḥammad Arshad al-Banjārī (d. 1227/1802), and Shaykh Shams al-Dīn. Among these mentors was Shaykh Shams al-Dīn , who significantly influenced Aḥmad Khatīb’s Sufi orientation especially in *dhikr* and other practices. In the view of Shaykh Shams al-Dīn , Aḥmad Khatīb stood out as the most outstanding disciple among his peers. Consequently, Shaykh Shams al-Dīn designated Aḥmad Khatīb as the next *murshid* and successor to the leadership of his order after his death.⁴⁹

However, the validity of Aḥmad Khatīb’s position as the founder of the Qādiriyya wa Naqshbandiyya order has received critical attention from several researchers. Bruinessen, Zulkifli, Mulyati, and Hakim highlight that Aḥmad Khatīb’s order genealogy follows only one path: the Qādiriyya order through his teacher, Shams al-Dīn. It is important to note that Shams al-Dīn is only recorded as a Qādiriyya *Murshid*, with no record of involvement in the Naqshbandiyya order. Moreover, in the manuscript of *Fath al-‘Arifn*, written by Aḥmad Khatīb and later copied by his disciple Muḥammad Bali, there is only a Qādiriyya lineage narrated from Shams al-Dīn. This has raised questions from

⁴⁷ Afandi, *Kontroversi Kyai Tarekat: Studi Pergeseran Orientasi Politik Kyai Tarekat Qodiriyyah Wa Naqshbandiyyah*, 79–80.

⁴⁸ Hakim, *Actualization of Neo-Sufism: A Case Study of the Tariqa Qadiriyya Naqshbandiyya Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya*, 53–54.

⁴⁹ Zulkifli, *Sufism in Java: The Role of the Pesantren in the Maintenance of Sufism in Java*, 24.

scholars regarding the source of murshidship authority (*Ijazā al-Irshād*) that Aḥmad Khatīb obtained for the Naqshabandiyya order, indicating the need for further research to clarify the origins of the spirituality underlying the order he founded.⁵⁰

Muzakir's response to the uncertainty surrounding research findings involves investigating a manuscript from the book "*Fath al- 'Ārifin*" in a version copied by another disciple of Aḥmad Khatīb, 'Abd al-Wāḥid al-Falimbānī. According to Muzakir, this manuscript is the oldest known copy available, estimated to have been copied ten years before Aḥmad Khatīb died in 1866. Within this manuscript, aside from recording the Qādiriyya lineage, there are also records of the Naqshabandiyya lineage originating from the same teacher, Shams al-Dīn. Shams al-Dīn is the recipient of the Naqshabandiyya chain of transmission through his *murshid* Shaykh Mūsā , who received murshidship authority from Abū Sa'ad al-Aḥmadī until the Prophet Muḥammad.⁵¹

While living in Mecca, Aḥmad Khatīb had many disciples from Indonesia, such as those from Sumatra, Java, Bali, and Lombok. He also appointed many *khalīfa*, but those who were influential and became the forerunner of the Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya spread center in Indonesia, according to Bruinessen , there were only three people, namely 'Abd al-Karīm from Banten, Ṭalḥa from Cirebon and Aḥmad Ḥasb Allāh from Madura.⁵² Later, Mashar found that one more figure became an influential *khalīfa* of Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya, namely Muḥammad Khalīl Bangkalan from Madura, who had not been previously recorded.⁵³

The phenomenon of a successor who is claiming independence to become a *murshid* is not new in Sufi institutions. For example, in Egypt, Muḥammad 'Abd al-Hādī al-Habībī, who was a *khalīfa* in the Rifā'iyya order, proposed to the Sufi council to elevate his status to an independent *murshid* and establish a new order called al-Habībīyya.⁵⁴ Based on the phenomenon above, if we apply the classical scholars standardization stating that a disciple or *khalīfa*, aspiring to become an independent *murshid*, must possess an murshidship

⁵⁰ Martin Van Bruinessen, "The Origins and Development of the Naqshbandi Order in Indonesia," *Der Islam; Zeitschrift Für Geschichte Und Kultur Des Islamischen Orients* 67 (1990): 150–79; Mulyati, *The Educational Role of the Tariqa Qadiriyya Naqshabandiyya with Special Reference to Suryalaya*, 40; Zulkifli, *Sufism in Java: The Role of the Pesantren in the Maintenance of Sufism in Java*, 24; Hakim, *Actualization of Neo-Sufism: A Case Study of the Tariqa Qadiriyya Naqshabandiyya Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya*, 53.

⁵¹ Ali Muzakir, "Petunjuk Baru Silsilah Ahmad Khatib Sambas: Tiga Teks Tulisan Melayu," *Jurnal Lektur Keagamaan* 13, no. 2 (December 20, 2015): 513, <https://doi.org/10.31291/jlk.v13i2.238>.

⁵² Martin van Bruinessen, "Shaykh 'Abd Al-Qadir al-Jilani and the Qadiriyya in Indonesia," *Journal of the History of Sufism* 1–2 (2000): 361–95.

⁵³ Mashar, "GENEALOGI DAN PENYEBARAN THARIQAH QADIRIYAH WA NAQSHABANDIYAH DI JAWA."

⁵⁴ Kei, "A New Logic in the Sufi Organization: The Continuation and the Disintegration of the Tariqas in Modern Egypt."

authority, either in written or oral form, to have their authority recognized, then the legality of an order such as the Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya from its inception would be invalidated and delegitimized since their genealogy indirectly breaks and does not connect to Prophet Muḥammad.⁵⁵ It means that if a *murshid* must combine traditional, charismatic, and rational-legal authority to become a *murshid* in the Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya tradition, it will be difficult to achieve considering ‘Abd al-Karīm Banten did not specify his succession to become the *murshid* of the Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya Order. Furthermore, I argue that throughout the history of the Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya order, the issue of murshidship has consistently sparked polemics regarding the contestation of *murshid* authority because they do not have rational-legal authority to become a *murshid*. Thus, in the case of the Qādiriyya wa Nāqshabandiyya Order, it is sufficient for a *murshid* to possess only traditional and charismatic authority. Therefore, I define a *murshid* as “Someone who has accomplished mystical travel (*sulūk*) -- under the rigorous spiritual guidance of his shaykh within a specific period -- which enables him to lead the travelers (*sālik*), and then his murshidship is recognized at least by his community as the legitimate successor of the previous *murshid*.” Therefore, with this definition, a person can still become a *murshid* even if they do not possess rational-legal authority.

Throughout the history of the Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya order in Indonesia, the succession of murshidship has undergone shifts and declines in the transmission of the murshidship mandate. Initially, it emphasized discipleship succession based on spiritual and religious merit, not blood or biological inheritance, as seen in the succession of Aḥmad Khaṭīb to ‘Abd al-Karīm.⁵⁶ However, in the post ‘Abd al-Karīm period, murshidship succession in this order shifted towards hereditary succession, where the father passed on murshidship to his son or other family members, thus creating sufi dynasties in the form of Islamic boarding schools (*pesantren*). As a result, sometimes the sufis who inherited murshidship through this hereditary process only possess traditional authority without having charisma. Papas views hereditary succession as common in forming sufi dynasties.⁵⁷ One positive aspect of this succession model, as noted by Ziad, is that appointing sons as primary successors benefited the institutions and families. This practice ensured managerial and financial stability, facilitated the transfer of authority, and allowed for the smooth transfer of personal property intended to support the *khanāqa* and the

⁵⁵ Turmudi, *Struggling For The Umma: Changing Leadership Roles of Kiai in Jombang, East Java*, 46.

⁵⁶ Cone, *Cultivating Charismatic Power*, 2.

⁵⁷ Alexandre Papas, “What Is Sufi Institution,” in *Handbook of Sufi Studies*, ed. Marcia K. Hermansen et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2021), 1–24.

household.⁵⁸ Ziad's opinion is particularly insightful because it significantly aligns with the reality of pesantren in Indonesia, the majority of which utilize such hereditary succession models. The development of orders, both spiritually and economically, progresses and becomes more manageable when leadership succession continues through their respective descendants to prevent the dissolution of these pesantren.

The first genealogical lineage of the Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya order, forming dynasties, traces back to 'Abd al-Karīm Banten, where this lineage proliferated across various regions in Indonesia and established order dynasties that endure to the present day. Asnawi Caringin assumed the role of the primary *khalīfa* of 'Abd al-Karīm in Banten and actively contributed to the development of the Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya order in Indonesia especially in Banten. As narrated by Bruinessen, Asnawi appointed several *khalīfah*, including 'Abd al-Laṭīf, Aḥmad Suhari, and 'Abd al-Ḥalīm.⁵⁹ However, according to Asnawi's son, Mama Kāzīm, the true succession of murshidship was solely attributed to Aḥmad Suhari. In contrast, the others were considered ordinary *khalīfa*, not elevated to the rank of *murshid*. Interestingly, 'Abd al-Laṭīf played a pivotal role in the future dissemination of the Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya, including Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya Mranggen in Demak. However, his murshidship was not acknowledged by the descendants of Asnawi Caringin.⁶⁰

The Murshidship of Aḥmad Suhari, which had been legitimized, was then passed on to Mama Kāzīm, who was Asnawi Caringin's son. One reason Asnawi Caringin did not grant murshidship status to Mama Kāzīm was his young age at the time, so he directed him to deepen his knowledge of the order under his main *khalīfa*, Aḥmad Suhari, who later became the *murshid* to succeed his teacher Aḥmad Suhari. After Mama Kāzīm's passing, he passed on the succession of murshidship to Aḥmad Sukanta, who had long been apprenticed to him.⁶¹

Tubagus Muḥammad Falak (d. 1972), the founder of the al-Falak Pagentongan Bogor pesantren, also received authority from 'Abd al-Karīm when he was in Mecca. According to Mashar, Tubagus Falak was appointed as one of 'Abd Karīm's *khalīfa*.⁶²

⁵⁸ Waleed Ziad, *Hidden Caliphate: Sufi Saints beyond the Oxus and Indus* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2021), 84.

⁵⁹ Marlin van Bruinessen, *Tarekat Naqsyabandiyah di Indonesia: Survei Historis, Geografis dan Sosiologis* (Bandung: Penerbit Mizan, 1994), 62.

⁶⁰ Mashar, "GENEALOGI DAN PENYEBARAN THARIQAH QADIRIYAH WA NAQSHABANDIYAH DI JAWA."

⁶¹ Martin Van Bruinessen, "Shari'a Court, Tarekat and Pesantren: Religious Institutions in the Banten Sultanate," *Archipel* 50, no. 1 (1995): 165–99, <https://doi.org/10.3406/arch.1995.3069>.

⁶² Mashar, "GENEALOGI DAN PENYEBARAN THARIQAH QADIRIYAH WA NAQSHABANDIYAH DI JAWA."

However, according to Mama Kāzim, Asnawi Caringin's son, as noted by Bruinessen, Tubagus Falak only received the first level of authority (*al-Ijāza al-Ūlā*), meaning he had not yet received an independent authority to become a *murshid*.⁶³ Nevertheless, due to his piety and the fame of his pesantren, it became one of the centers for spreading the Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya in the archipelago. After his passing, the teaching of the Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya was continued by his son, Kyai Tubagus Muḥammad Ṭāhir Falak, until today.

Muṣliḥ ibn 'Abd al-Rahmān Mranggen (d.1981) and the generations after him at his Pesantren Futuhiyat Mranggen spread the Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya order in the Central Java region. Shaykh Muṣliḥ obtained his position in the Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya lineage from his teacher Shaykh Ibrāhīm from Brumbung, Mranggen, and 'Abd al-Laṭīf Banten, who was a disciple of 'Abd al-Karīm Banten. Muṣliḥ Mranggen led and taught the Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya Mranggen until his passing in 1981 while performing Hajj. Unfortunately, before his death, he did not have the opportunity to grant the murshidship authority to anyone. However, according to Mulyati, Muṣliḥ Mranggen's successor in Murshidship was Muḥammad Luṭfi Hākīm Muṣliḥ, who was then continued by his brother, Muḥammad Ḥanīf Muṣliḥ.⁶⁴

The next renowned dynasty from the 'Abd al-Karīm Banten lineage is the Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya Berjan Purworejo. Zarkashī (d.1917), its founder, obtained the murshidship authority from 'Abd al-Karīm while performing Hajj and staying there for some time. After Zarkashī's passing, the teaching of Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya in Berjan was continued by his son Muḥammad Ṣiddīq (d.1948), then Muḥammad Nawawī (d.1982), and now continued by Chalwanī Nawawī.⁶⁵

The second genealogical lineage that serves as a source of genealogy for the dynasties of the Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya in the Indonesia is attributed to Aḥmad Ḥasb Allāh, who expanded its influence in Madura, Jombang, and surrounding areas in East Java.⁶⁶ Two prominent pesantrens were established based on his teachings: Pesantren Tebuireng and Pesantren Darul Ulum Rejoso. These pesantren orders were founded by one of Aḥmad Ḥasb Allāh's disciples, Khalīl, who received talking from him while he was in

⁶³ van Bruinessen, *Tarekat Naqsyabandiyah di Indonesia: Survei Historis, Geografis dan Sosiologis*.

⁶⁴ Aris Widodo, "Spiritual Wisdom to Terminate Religious Terrorism: Promoting Kyai Muslih's Theory of Latha'if for a Harmonious Life," accessed April 20, 2024, https://www.academia.edu/46879369/Aris_Widodo_Spiritual_Wisdom_to_Terminate_Terrorism.

⁶⁵ Mashar, "GENEALOGI DAN PENYEBARAN THARIQAH QADIRIYAH WA NAQSHABANDIYAH DI JAWA."

⁶⁶ Hakim, *Actualization of Neo-Sufism: A Case Study of the Tariqa Qadiriyya Naqshabandiyya Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya*, 63.

Mecca. Aḥmad Ḥasb Allāh's murshidship was passed to his brother-in-law, Ramlī Tamīm, under whose leadership Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya rapidly spread in East Java for 21 years. Following his demise, his son Musta'in Ramlī claimed the position of *murshid*. This claim sparked controversy as some senior disciples argued that Ramlī Tamīm did not indicate or signal Musta'in Ramlī to be his successor. This controversy led to a dualism of murshidship between Musta'in Ramlī and Uthmān al-Ishāqī, one of Ramlī Tamīm's senior disciples who resided in Pesantren Sawah Pulo/Kedinding Lor Surabaya.⁶⁷

Despite the dualism, it did not significantly impact the movement and, in fact, operated smoothly for several reasons. First, after his father's passing, Musta'in Ramlī furthered his knowledge of the order and obtained murshidship authority from Uthmān al-Ishāqī, considered his father's primary *khalīfa*. Second, Uthmān al-Ishāqī, being Musta'in Ramlī's teacher, held him in high regard as his own student. Over time, Musta'in Ramlī's murshidship, initially doubted due to self-claiming, gained strength and was trusted by his followers. However, his political maneuvers, which were highly anti-mainstream and differed from the general stance of Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) members, drew sharp criticism and rejection from various quarters. Zamzami et al. argue that Musta'in Ramlī's affiliation with the secular and nationalist party like The Party of Functional or Golkar (Golongan Karya) sparked significant criticism and rejection from his followers, who were staunch supporters of the Islamic party which is The United Development Party or PPP (Partai Persatuan Pembangunan). Moreover, the majority of NU Kyais were unsympathetic towards Golkar, which was considered a common adversary both politically and ideologically.⁶⁸

'Adlān 'Alī from Cukir, one of the Kyai who strongly criticized Musta'in Ramlī's political behavior, then claimed his own Murshidship and established his own center for the Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya in Cukir. Consequently, the Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya Rejoso split into three schools, with Uthmān al-Ishāqī in Sawah Pulo/Kedinding Lor, Musta'in Ramlī in Rejoso, and 'Adlān 'Alī in Cukir. The polemics and controversies in Rejoso persist because there is no evidence of a murshidship authority from the previous *murshid*, either written or oral, regarding who is worthy to succeed the Murshidship in the Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya Order Rejoso. Currently, in Rejoso, the Murshidship is bestowed upon Musta'in Ramlī's younger brother, Rifā'i Ramlī, whose

⁶⁷ Mukhammad Zamzami, Fikri Mahzumi, and Abd A'la, "Tarekat and Politics in Indonesia: Contested Authority between *Murshids* in the Tarekat Qadiriyyah Wa Naqsyabandiyah in East Java," *Teosofi: Jurnal Tasawuf Dan Pemikiran Islam* 12, no. 2 (December 1, 2022): 187–208, <https://doi.org/10.15642/teosofi.2022.12.2.187-208>.

⁶⁸ Zamzami, Mahzumi, and A'la.

succession is then continued by his two brothers, Damanhurī Ramlī and Dimyāṭi Ramlī. Both of them have passed away in 2001 and 2015, and now the murshidship is held by Tamīm Ramlī, who is the youngest son of Muḥammad Ramlī Tamīm. In another lineage in Rejoso, Uthmān al-Ishāqī, before passing on his Murshidship to his young son Aḥmad Asrārī al-Ishāqī, his murshidship at that time was questioned due to his young age, raising doubts among his followers about his suitability to become a *murshid* replacing his father. Asrārī continued his Murshidship and developed the order inherited from his father by organizing *dhikr*. Over time, his Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya followers grew, not only from Java but also from Malaysia, Brunei, and Singapore.⁶⁹

The third unexplored school previously unnoticed and unrecorded by researchers is Khalīl Bangkalan Madura, also one of Aḥmad Khatīb's *khalīfas*. Mashar suggests that Khalīl Bangkalan granted the murshidship authority of the Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya order to 'Alī ibn 'Umar ibn Idrūs Bā'alawī from Bali. Sayyid 'Alī ibn 'Umar then transmitted this murshidship authority to his disciples, such as Sayyid Muḥammad Luṭfi ibn 'Alī Yahyā from Pekalongan.⁷⁰

The last genealogical lineage became the centre of the Order Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya's spread in Indonesia and abroad especially in neighbouring countries such as Malaysia, Singapore, and Brunei Darussalam. It is the lineage of Shaykh Ṭalḥa from Cirebon, West Java and its subsequent rapid expansion stems from this line and also Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya Suryalaya was established from this line by one of Shaykh Ṭalḥa's disciples, Shaykh 'Abd Allāh Mubārak (Abah Sepuh), as will be discussed in the next part.

2.2 Hereditary Succession in Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya Suryalaya: A Smooth Transition

The shift from discipleship succession to hereditary succession that has occurred in various branches of the Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya order as I have described above, has unwittingly caused some negative impacts on the sanctity of an order based on a spiritual path. In this case, Zarcone notes some critiques of the hereditary succession model of murshidship practiced by many Sufi orders in Ottoman Arab Lands, particularly in the 19th and early 20th centuries. Firstly, there arose numerous external criticisms from modern scholars who perceived Sufism as an antiquated institution, attributing it as a factor in the decline of Islam and the empire. Secondly, internal critiques emerged from within the sufi

⁶⁹ Hakim, *Actualization of Neo-Sufism: A Case Study of the Tariqa Qadiriyya Naqshabandiyya Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya*, 63.

⁷⁰ Cecep Zakaria El Bilad, *Mengenal Tarekat Qadiriyyah Naqsyabandiyah* (Tasikmalaya: Latifah Press, 2021), 28.

community, with a conscious acknowledgment that the realm of sufism had descended into darkness, leaving contemporary Sufism devoid of substance beyond mere ritual formalities. Moreover, the idea of reforming the model of murshidship succession dependent on hereditary lineage emerged among sufi circles. Thirdly, the widespread adoption of hereditary succession by many orders is considered a primary cause of the decline in muslim mysticism because an incompetent person leads the orders. It is argued that many orders adhering to such succession models hastened their demise.⁷¹ Schmeding adds that individuals he interviewed criticized this hereditary succession, perceiving it as a “decay of true sufism.” For instance, at the end of the 19th century, the shaykh of the Mevlevihane of Amasya, in the present-day Turkey, was succeeded by his two-year-old son.⁷²

Different with Zarcone statement, my research finding found in the case of Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya Suryalaya, hereditary succession is applied significant over the course of the 20th and early 21st centuries. It minimizes internal conflicts within the order until the death of the appointed *murshid*. The Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya Suryalaya is one of the many examples of dynasties in the form of pesantren whose murshidship succession uses the concept of hereditary succession. Since its establishment over a century ago, Pesantren Suryalaya has been widely recognized as a center of the Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya order in West Java. Its reputation extends not only nationally but also across Southeast Asia.⁷³

Suryalaya was founded by ‘Abd Allāh Mubārak, also known as Abah Sepuh, on September 5, 1905. In the genealogy of Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya, Abah Sepuh received teachings and the murshidship authority from Shaykh Ṭalḥa Kalisapu Cirebon. According to Millie, Ṭalḥa was born around 1825 in Trusmi, Cirebon, West Java. He was a descendant of Sunan Gunung Jati (d.891/1568), one of the famous Nine Saints of Java (*Wali Songo*). Ṭalḥa learned about Sufism and the order its founder, Aḥmad Khatīb Sambas when he performed Hajj and resided there for a certain period. Ṭalḥa returned to Cirebon from Mecca around 1873. From his base at Kalisapu, Cirebon, he acted as the *khalīfa* of the Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya for the Cirebon region. He passed away in 1935 and is buried at Gunung Jati, the burial site of Cirebon notables.⁷⁴

⁷¹ Zarcone, “Syakh Succession in Turkish Sufi Lineages (19th and 20th Centuries): Conflicts, Reforms and Transmission of Spiritual Enlightenment.”

⁷² Annika Schmeding, *Sufi Civilities: Religious Authority and Political Change in Afghanistan* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2024), 77.

⁷³ Zulkifli, *Sufism in Java: The Role of the Pesantren in the Maintenance of Sufism in Java*, 90.

⁷⁴ Julian Millie, *Splashed by the Saint: Ritual Reading and Islamic Sanctity in West Java*, Verhandelingen van Het Koninklijk Instituut Voor Taal-, Land- En Volkenkunde 262 (Leiden: KITLV Press, 2009), 89.

In Mulyati's account, Abah Sepuh was born in Bojong Bentang, Pager Ageung Tasikmalaya, West Java, in 1936. He spent twenty-three years, from 1883 to 1905, learning Sufism and order under the guidance of Shaykh Ṭalḥa in Trusmi and Kalisapu after receiving a dream message at the tomb of 'Abd al-Muḥyī (d.1151/1730) in Pamijahan to study under him. In 1908, at Shaykh Ṭalḥa's house in Trusmi, Abah Sepuh officially received the murshidship legitimacy and became Ṭalḥa Kalisapu's legitimate successor in the Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya order.⁷⁵

The selection of Abah Sepuh as the successor of Shaykh Ṭalḥa's murshidship was controversial. Mulyati argues that Shaykh Ṭalḥa initially appointed his son Kyai Malāwī to be his successor before his son asked permission to go to Mecca and live there for several years to study. When he returned, he asked his father not to appoint him as a *murshid* because he was involved in the Kedondong rebellion in the Cirebon region in 1890.⁷⁶ Due to ongoing issues with the Dutch government, he reasoned that the Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya order might be disrupted under his leadership. Thus, the succession of murshidship was transferred to Abah Sepuh.⁷⁷ We can see that Abah Sepuh was the second choice to be appointed as the murshidship of the Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya order. If Kyai Malāwī had accepted the murshidship given by his father at that time, the orderh dynasty in this order would have been inevitable.

After receiving a murshidship authority from Shaykh Ṭalḥa Cirebon, Abah Sepuh returned to visit the tomb of 'Abd al-Muḥyī in Pamijahan with his student Kyai Faqīh (d. 1409/1989). According to Garwita, Abah Sepuh had a spiritual dialogue with 'Abd al-Muḥyī at his tomb, witnessed by Kyai Faqīh, to inquire whether he needed to pursue another order besides the Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya. 'Abd al-Muḥyī answered that Abah Sepuh did not need to take another order because the Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya was the primary order at that time until the judgement day.⁷⁸

⁷⁵ Mulyati, *The Educational Role of the Tariqa Qadiriyya Naqshabandiyya with Special Reference to Suryalaya*, 239.

⁷⁶ The Kedondong War was a battle against the Dutch colonizers led by Ki Bagus Rangin, demanding that the colonizers release the Batavian soldiers and return the Kanoman king, Raja Lahutan, to Cirebon. See: Faviantio Farhan, Winny Gunarti Widya Wardani, and Febrianto Saptodewo, "Karakter Tokoh Ki Bagus Rangin Pahlawan Perang Kedondong di Cirebon," *Visual Heritage: Jurnal Kreasi Seni dan Budaya* 2, no. 02 (April 30, 2020): 96–102, <https://doi.org/10.30998/vh.v2i2.716>.

⁷⁷ Sri Mulyati, *Tarekat-Tarekat Muktabarah Di Indonesia* (Jakarta: Kencana, 2004), 264.

⁷⁸ Gardjita Garwita, *Satu Abad Abah Sepuh Dan Abah Anom Berkhidmat Untuk Agama Dan Negara*, (Tasikmalaya: PT. Mudawwamah Warohmah, 2022), 21.

In developing the Order Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya order, Abah Sepuh appointed nine deputy *'talqin deputies*.⁷⁹ They include: 1) 'Abd Allāh ibn Sanūsī from Bandung; 2) Uthmān Sumantapura from Tasikmalaya; 3) Mukhtār ibn 'Abd al-Ghanī from Ciamis; 4) Ghulām Nabī from Tasikmalaya; 5) 'Abu Bakr Faqīh from Malajengka; 6) Najm al-Dīn from Salopa Tasikmalaya; 7) Muḥammad 'Ābidīn from Ciawi Tasikmalaya; 8) Aḥmad Ṣāhib al-Wafā Tāj al-'Ārifīn (Abah Anom) from Tasikmalaya; 9) Aḥmad 'Ālī Hidāya from Tasikmalaya. One of his deputies later became his successor in leading the pesantren and the murshidship of the Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya Order. It was his fifth son, who later became known as Abah Anom. He was appointed in 1954, and two years later, in 1956, Abah Sepuh passed away at the very old age of 120.⁸⁰

The transition of murshidship from Abah Sepuh to Abah Anom proceeded smoothly and relatively without significant upheaval. I will argue that three main factors supported this transition of murshidship where Abah Anom combined three types of authority simultaneously: Traditional, Rational-Legal, and Charismatic: Firstly, Abah Anom being the son of Abah Sepuh, wherein, according to some sufi scholars, emphasis on prophetic lineage is regarded as a prerequisite for spiritual leadership within the order, assuming that prophetic lineage facilitates the inheritance of prophetic blessings (*baraka*). Alatas highlights the crucial role of *nasab* in ensuring the transmission of knowledge and succession of murshidship.⁸¹

Sedgwick also suggests that the son of a *murshid* is often well-prepared to take over from his father, having been mentored by him both in teachings and through personal example from an early age. A similar phenomenon exists among *ulama*, where a scholar's son typically follows his father's path, benefiting from his education and network. Sedgwick further points out that while there is no theological justification for hereditary succession, parallels can be drawn with the hereditary passing of the title of Sayyid among the descendants of Prophet Muḥammad. Hereditary succession is seen as a method to reduce internal conflicts, ensuring a smooth transfer of murshidship and significantly fostering

⁷⁹ In the Qadiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya Suryalaya, the hierarchy of the order revolves around three main pillars: the first is the *murshid*, who is the highest source of authority; the second is the *'talqin deputy*, a person appointed by the *murshid* to initiate new disciples; and the third is the *ikhwan/akhwat*, which refers to the disciples of the Qadiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya Suryalaya. See: Gunawan Anjar Sukmana, "Hierarki Tarekat Qodiriyyah Nasyabandiyyah Suryalaya Relasi Dan Fungsi Struktur Nilai Pranata TQN," in *Tarekat Qadiriyyah Naqshabandiyyah: Studi Etnografi Tarekat Sufi Di Indonesia*, ed. Abdurrahman (Sleman: Deepublish, 2015), 153–87.

⁸⁰ Hakim, *Actualization of Neo-Sufism: A Case Study of the Tariqa Qadiriyya Naqshabandiyya Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya*, 136.

⁸¹ Alatas, "Sufi Lineages and Families."

unity within the order.⁸² Regarding the succession of murshidship in Suryalaya from Abah Sepuh to Abah Anom Zulkifli states:

Therefore, he carries forward his father's mission and inherits the 'baraka' (spiritual power, divine grace) from him. By perpetuating his father's teachings, he preserves this spiritual power, which is revered and reinforced by all members of the order through visits to his father's grave. Hence, the tomb of Shaykh Mubarak within the pesantren complex is considered a sacred tomb and a crucial element in the order's continuity under Abah Anom.

The first factor mentioned strengthens my view that hereditary succession cannot solely be considered the primary source of decline for sufism and orders in the modern world. If we observe the historical development of the Qādiriyya order worldwide, it initially employed a model of hereditary succession. The children of 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī played crucial roles in spreading the Qādiriyya order across the Islamic territories. Sufi branches such as the Qādiriyya Brīfakāniyya and Qādiriyya Naqshabandiyya trace their murshidship genealogy back to 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī (d. 602/1205). Similarly, the Qādiriyya Ṭalībāniyya and Qādiriyya Niyāziyya also trace their genealogy to 'Abd al-Razzāq ibn 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī (d. 603/1207).⁸³ Moreover, in the case of the Naqshabandiyya, the lineage at Sirhind in India was passed down to members of Sirhindi's biological lineage, and the network expanded through various deputies and highest-ranking disciples who appointed their representatives.⁸⁴ Likewise, in Pesantren Suryalaya, during the leadership of Abah Anom, the Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya order experienced a significant increase in the number of followers from Indonesia and Southeast Asia. In fact, Abah Anom received many national and international awards for his contributions to healing drug addicts through the drug rehabilitation center he established in the 1980s, known as INABAH.⁸⁵

The second factor is Abah Sepuh's preparation of the best education for Abah Anom by sending him to various Islamic boarding schools and learning from scholars in multiple disciplines of Islamic knowledge such as *Naḥwu and Ṣarf* (Arabic Grammar),

⁸² Mark Sedgwick, "The Organisation of Mysticism," in *Sufi Institutions*, ed. Alexandre Papas, vol. 1 (Leiden ; Boston: Brill Academic Publishers, 2021), 335–61.

⁸³ Mukhlif 'Ali, *Al-Kunuz Al-Nuraniyya* (Cairo: Dar al-Rayhanah, 2017), 651–52.

⁸⁴ Itzhak Weismann, *The Naqshbandiyya: Orthodoxy and Activism in Worldwide Sufi Tradition*, 0 ed. (Routledge, 2007), 13, <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203947432>.

⁸⁵ INABAH is a Rehabilitation Institution for Juvenile Drug Addicts. See: Hakim, *Actualization of Neo-Sufism: A Case Study of the Tariqa Qadiriyya Naqshabandiyya Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya*.

Fiqh (Islamic Jurisprudence), *Ḥadīth* (Prophetic Tradition), and *Tafsīr* (Qur'anic Exegesis), thereby achieving intellectual and spiritual maturity to be highly prepared to succeed in the murshidship of Abah Sepuh and build his charismatic authority, recognized by his followers and the *talqin deputies* of his father. This is because one of the requirements to become a *murshid*, according to Zarcone, is adequate competency. Ahmed Mukhtār (d.1955) suggests that one cannot inherit the position of shaykh in the way that a son inherits tangible goods from his father. Competency and capacity are required. If the son of an educated shaykh does not study, he will be ignorant.⁸⁶

In contrast to Zarcone, Bottcher argues that a sufi shaykh's proficiency in solid exoteric knowledge (*'ilm*) is not essential. He contends that a shaykh could even be illiterate if he effectively imparts esoteric knowledge (*ma'rifa*) to his followers. The transmission of *ma'rifa* typically occurs through traditional methods such as personal instruction from a shaykh or shaykha, or through mystical experiences like dreams or visions involving a living or deceased shaykh or shaykha. This implies that controlling access to this knowledge is challenging, as it lacks institutional oversight regarding duration and content.⁸⁷

These perspectives differ significantly. Zarcone stresses the importance of competence and formal training to attain charismatic authority. At the same time, Bottcher emphasizes that exoteric knowledge is not always obligatory, and *ma'rifa* can be conveyed through unconventional means. Both viewpoints find application in the succession of murshidship at the Pesantren Suryalaya, where Abah Anom receives comprehensive education from Abah Sepuh, encompassing both esoteric and exoteric knowledge.

Abah Anom was known for his intelligence, piety, asceticism, and enthusiasm for seeking knowledge from a young age. He was born on January 1, 1915, in Godebag Village, Suryalaya, Tasikmalaya. At 8 years old, Abah Anom attended the Dutch colonial-era elementary school called 'Vervoleg School' in Ciamis from 1923 to 1931. He then enrolled in islamic junior high school (*madrassa thanāwiya*) in Ciawi, Tasikmalaya Regency, from 1929 to 1931. At 16, Abah Anom began to delve specifically into Islamic sciences. He studied *Naḥwu and Ṣarf, Fiqh, Ḥadīth, and Tafsīr*, at two pesantrens in Cianjur: Pesantren Cicariang and Pesantren Jambudipa. He later continued his education at Pesantren Gentur under the guidance of a renowned spiritual teacher who produced many prominent religious leaders in West Java, Mama Shātībī. Afterwards, from 1935 to 1937, Abah Anom pursued

⁸⁶ Zarcone, "Syakh Succession in Turkish Sufi Lineages (19th and 20th Centuries): Conflicts, Reforms and Transmission of Spiritual Enlightenment."

⁸⁷ Annabelle Bottcher, "Sunni and Shi'I Networking in the Middle East," in *Shaping the Current Islamic Reformation*, ed. B.A Roberson (London: Frank Cass Publisher, 2002), 41–62.

further studies at Pesantren Cireungas in Sukabumi under the mentorship of Ajengan Aceng Mumu. This pesantren was known for its expertise in Sufism and martial arts.⁸⁸

During this period, Abah Anom also performed spiritual exercises and visited the graves of saints as instructed by his father. Garwita documented that Abah Anom regularly visited and secluded himself in the tombs of the nine saints (*walisongo*), from Sunan Gunung Jati to Sunan Ampel (d.887/1481).⁸⁹

At the age of 23, Abah Anom traveled to Mecca to study under one of the *talqin deputies* appointed by Abah Sepuh, namely Shaykh Ramlī from Garut. he was renowned for his profound knowledge of sufism. He comprehended the theoretical aspects of sufism and embodied its teachings in his daily life. During his time with Shaykh Ramlī, Abah Anom frequently discussed two seminal sufi texts by ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī: “*Sirr al-Asrār*” and “*Ghunya li Tālibī Tarīq al-Haqq*”. He spent seven months in Mecca and returned to Indonesia in 1939. Subsequently, he was appointed as a deputy talqin by Abah Sepuh until he was eventually promoted to the position of *murshid* and leader of the pesantren in 1954.⁹⁰

Besides that, Abah Anom also wrote several books in Arabic and Indonesian. Among them are:

First, *Miftāḥ al-Ṣudūr*, which discusses the origins and evidence of the practices of Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya Suryalaya, the benefits of *dhikr* as a shield for humans against the temptations of desires and Satan.⁹¹ It emphasizes perseverance and strength in facing all obstacles to advancing religion, nation, and state outwardly and inwardly. Second, ‘*Uqūd al-Jumān* provides guidance for students in practicing the rituals of Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya Order Suryalaya, such as daily *dhikr*, *tawassul*, *khatamān*, and the spiritual lineage from Abah Anom to Prophet Muḥammad.⁹² Third, *Akhlāq al-Karīma* contains virtues that perfect personality in living and worshiping Allah SWT.⁹³ Fourth, *Kitāb ‘Ibādah* covers obligatory and recommended prayers throughout the day and night. This book also

⁸⁸ Mulyati, *The Educational Role of the Tariqa Qadiriyya Naqshabandiyya with Special Reference to Suryalaya*, 231–35.

⁸⁹ Garwita, *Satu Abad Abah Sepuh Dan Abah Anom Berkhidmat Untuk Agama Dan Negara*, 46.

⁹⁰ Asep Salahuddin, *Asep Salahudin, Pangrsa Abah Anom: Wali Fenomenal Abad 21 & Ajarannya*, (Jakarta: Noura Books, 2013), 30. (Jakarta: Noora Books, 2013), 30.

⁹¹ Ahmad Sohibul Wafa Tajul Arifin, *Miftah Al-Sudur* (Tasikmalaya: PT. Mudawwamah Warohmah, 2005), 2.

⁹² Ahmad Sohibul Wafa Tajul Arifin, *Uqud Al-Juman* (Tasikmalaya: PT. Mudawwamah Warohmah, 2009), 1–86.

⁹³ Ahmad Sohibul Wafa Tajul Arifin, *Akhlaq Al-Karimah* (Tasikmalaya: Yayasan Serba Bakti Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya, 2005), 2.

serves as a guide and method for rehabilitating victims of drug abuse and juvenile delinquency under INABAH's foundation.⁹⁴

From this narrative, it can be inferred that Abah Anom's intellectual journey, meticulously prepared by Abah Sepuh since childhood to explore various realms of knowledge and undergo spiritual training, contributed significantly to strengthening his charisma. This was acknowledged by his followers and senior disciples of his father. Furthermore, his ability to write books in Arabic and Indonesian. Consequently, the leadership transition from Abah Sepuh to Abah Anom was well-received and encountered minimal intervention from the latter counterparts.

The third factor that further solidified Abah Anom's succession as *murshid* was the presence of two significant letters bestowed upon him by Abah Sepuh before his demise, strengthening his rational-legal authority as the new *murshid*. The first letter is the murshidship authority (see attachment - figure 1) that Abah Sepuh wrote with his own hand shortly before his passing. He writes:

When the day of my death comes, my successor to lead all the disciples of the Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya Order will be my son named Haji Ṣāhib al-Wafā Tāj al-‘Ārifīn.

I wish that all the disciples who I have not chosen as my successor to maintain togetherness, to continue to get along well with each other and not to be disappointed. This ijaza is very important because it legitimizes all the order rituals. Please keep this in mind: when Muludan (the celebration of the birth of the Prophet Muḥammad) or the Nisfu Sya'ban arrive, please continue to practice the rituals as exemplified by the murshid. I ask of all my disciples, male and female, please not to change the rituals and always to follow the murshid in order to live happily and to be spared from despair in life.

Moreover, the second letter is the *Tanbīh* (see attachment-figure 2), which included advice directed towards the followers of the Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya Suryalaya order. One of its contents was not to hate contemporary scholars, not to criticize the teachings of other disciples, not to change attitudes when hurt by others, and to show kindness to those who dislike us. Initially, followers, mostly elders, doubted his spiritual capacity. However, as there was a letter from his father stating that Abah Anom was his

⁹⁴ Ahmad Sohbul Wafa Tajul Arifin, *Kitab Ibadah* (Tasikmalaya: PT. Mudawwamah Warohmah, 2005), 2.

successor, and because he demonstrated real leadership in managing Pesantren Suryalaya, this skepticism gradually disappeared.⁹⁵

2.3 Contesting Murshidship Authority of Abah Anom

The transition of leadership from Abah Sepuh to Abah Anom was relatively smooth with little conflict. However, this does not mean that Abah Anom's time as *murshid* was without challenges, as individuals still tested his leadership abilities. Chih highlights that even in Sufi orders where leadership typically passes through family lines, being a descendant of the founding master does not automatically ensure selection by the shaykh or acceptance by the community. The followers must also recognize the successor as having inherited the knowledge and spiritual qualities of their predecessor.⁹⁶ In this section, I will discuss how Abah Anom bolstered his charismatic authority through the various *karāma* (miracles) he possessed. As Lizzio points out, charisma is significantly tied to success and is shaped by the individual's qualities and the social context. A Charismatic leader believes in their mission or destiny but must also persuade others of their leadership abilities.⁹⁷

Within Sufi tradition, testing a *murshid's* leadership and authority is considered a customary practice in affirming one's position as a spiritual guide. Ephrat notes an instance from the past where the son of a prominent Sufi, 'Abd Allāh al-Yūnīnī (d. 617/1220), inherited his murshidship. This succession faced significant protests from his father's senior disciples. On the night of al-Yūnīnī's passing, the Prophet appeared in a dream to his son, Muḥammad. Upon hearing of this dream, the disciples immediately believed and recognized it as a sign from their teacher, al-Yūnīnī, indicating that his successor was indeed his son. Instantly, they bestowed extraordinary reverence upon Muḥammad.⁹⁸

The first phase occurred during the early years of Abah Anom's tenure as the *murshid* of Pesantren Suryalaya. In 1959, three years after Abah Sepuh's passing, the nine *'talqin deputies* of Abah Sepuh visited Pesantren Suryalaya to confirm if Abah Anom was his successor. Abah Anom warmly welcomed these deputies into his home despite their significant age difference. For example, Abah Faqīh was 76 years old while Abah Anom was only 41, creating a 35-year age gap. When the deputies explained the purpose of their late-night visit, Abah Anom responded, "Mari kita lihat di lawḥ al-Mahfūz siapa yang

⁹⁵ Andhika Darmawan, Interview with Vice-head LDTQN Jakarta, April 11, 2024.

⁹⁶ Chih, "What Is Sufi Order? Revisiting The Concept Through A Case Study of The Khalwatiyya in Contemporary Egypt."

⁹⁷ Ken Lizzio, "Ritual and Charisma in Naqshbandi Sufi Mysticism," *Anpere.Net*, 2007, 1–36.

⁹⁸ Daphna Ephrat, *Sufi Masters and The Creation of Sainly Spheres in Medieval Syria* (Leeds: Arc humanity Press, 2021), 47.

menjadi penerus Abah Sepuh (Let us see together in the preserved tablet (*lawḥ al-mahfūz*) whose name is written as the successor to Abah Sepuh).”

At that time, it was already night time, and each of the representatives of Abah Sepuh was given a Petromax lamp to illuminate the area in front of them. Simultaneously, Abah Anom and the nine *talqin deputies* engaged in a robust silent invocation (*tawajjuh dhikr khofi*), closing their eyes for a considerable amount of time to see whose name was written on the preserved tablet (*lawḥ al-mahfūz*). While deeply immersed in their invocation, suddenly, the petromax lamps, which were used for illumination, went out simultaneously, and at the same time, a radiant green light appeared from the direction of Abah Sepuh’s tomb towards the place where they were conducting their invocation.

Umi Euis, Abah Anom’s wife, witnessed this light penetrating through the ceiling of the house and directly illuminating the entirety of Abah Anom’s body as he was devoutly engaged in the invocation. At the same time the light entered, the *talqin deputies* of Abah Sepuh read on the *lawḥ al-mahfūz* who the successor of Abah Sepuh was, and they simultaneously shouted, “Allahu Akbar, kita punya abah baru (Allahu Akbar we have a new Abah!)”. They opened their eyes to see Abah Anom’s body enveloped in green light. They hugged Abah Anom together, crying, and all their doubts about Abah Anom’s charisma vanished.

Only after that did Abah Anom enter his room to retrieve the letter of murshidship authority given by Abah Sepuh, dated 1946 H. According to Ustadh Andika, after the passing of Abah Sepuh, Abah Anom did not release this letter of evidence until the representatives of Abah Sepuh had complete conviction about Abah Anom’s leadership. If the letter had been released immediately after Abah Sepuh’s passing, there would have been negative assumptions that Abah Anom had written the letter by himself and was merely pretending. Therefore, Abah Anom’s murshidship was accepted for two reasons: the authentic evidence of the testament from Abah Sepuh and the strong affirmation from the *talqin deputies* who saw Abah Anom’s name written on the *lawḥ al-mahfūz* as the successor of Abah Sepuh.⁹⁹

The second phase involved Abah Anom’s political movement. He opposed Kartosoewirjo’s DI/TII movement and actively fought against it. In 1957, with strong backing from the Indonesian National Army (TNI), Islamic religious leaders in Priangan Timur, such as Kyai Ruchiyat from Pesantren Cipasung and Kyai Ishāq Farīd from Pesantren Cintawana, along with regional government officials, formed the ‘Alim ‘Ulamā Council (BMAU). Abah Anom, together with the Siliwangi Division of the TNI and

⁹⁹ Darmawan, Interview with Vice-head LDTQN Jakarta.

members of the BMAU, took action to protect the region from further DI/TII threats, which contributed to the movement's failure. Subsequently, the Indonesian army entrusted his pesantren with the task of re-educating captured Dār al-Islām activists. This demonstrates that, from the early stages of his leadership and even before assuming full control of the order, Abah Anom supported and participated in efforts to ensure Indonesia developed as a modern nation-state rather than an Islamic state. Widarda suggests that as a leader of the community (*umma*) with the support of a growing and strong Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya network, Abah Anom was realistic about the ideological foundation and form of the Indonesian state, which did not choose an Islamic state. Instead, he focused his incredible energy on supporting the sovereignty of the Republic of Indonesia through tangible actions. Abah Sepuh and Abah Anom appear to belong to the Islamic Nationalist category, often expressing this through symbolic language. For instance, the red and white colors of the Indonesian flag were symbolized by the red and white butterfly pins worn on Abah Sepuh's shirt since the establishment of Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya Suryalaya in 1905, 40 years before Indonesian independence. He always wore this pin on official occasions.¹⁰⁰

The third phase was marked by a wave of criticism directed at Pesantren Suryalaya. During his early leadership, Abah Anom continued to teach Sufism and *kanuragan* (supernatural power) at the pesantren and remained selective in choosing his disciples. However, he was less strict than his father had been. He still required novices to complete a *khalwa* ritual, and upon passing the first stage of the 'selection' process, they were permitted to take the *talqin dhikr*. After this, they had to be prepared to perform extensive dhikr and wirid. Additionally, to enhance their devotion, purify their souls, and gain 'supernatural power,' they were required to undertake various spiritual exercises.¹⁰¹

Finally, Abah Anom's leadership was tested during his proximity to President Soeharto. In 1970, Abah Anom declared his support for the Golkar party as Soeharto's political vehicle. Coincidentally, at that time, Soeharto also considered Abah Anom's support and his order and pesantren as a political strategy that seemed likely to support his government's policies and programs. Soeharto, a follower of mystical teachings (*kebatinan*) centered on *eling*, which emphasizes remembering Allah, saw that the order aligned with his

¹⁰⁰ Unang Sunardjo, *Menelusuri Perjalanan Sejarah Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya* (Tasikmalaya: Yayasan Serba Bakti Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya, n.d.), 41; Dodo Widarda, "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 Dam Politik* 4, no. 2 (2020): 135–46.

¹⁰¹ Hakim, *Actualization of Neo-Sufism: A Case Study of the Tariqa Qadiriyya Naqshabandiyya Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya*, 56.

spiritual beliefs, as it involved practicing *dhikr*, constant remembrance of God. Therefore, Soeharto attempted to practice *dhikr* and moved away from his mystical teachings. Bruinessen notes:

Abah Anom grew closer to President Suharto, who valued his spiritual authority. It is believed that during the initial years of the New Order, Suharto relied primarily on kebatinan teachers as his spiritual advisors. However, he shifted towards orthodox Islam in later years, with Abah Anom reportedly becoming his most trusted advisor. Assessing such private trends with certainty is challenging. Nevertheless, sufism has replaced *kebatinan* to a significant extent as a source of legitimacy and spiritual guidance.¹⁰²

Since officially becoming a follower of the Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya order under Suryalaya, according to Kyai Wahfī, Soeharto has always been shielded with the spiritual protection provided by Abah Anom through his *dhikr*. This action angered the spiritual teacher who had been guiding Soeharto. The spiritual teacher then visited Pesantren Suryalaya with malicious intent. However, Abah Anom welcomed him warmly and provided a room on the second floor of the pesantren for him to stay. In the middle of the night, the spiritual teacher performed his ritual and attempted to harm Abah Anom spiritually with his ability like *mantra* (spell). Unfortunately for him, he ended up vomiting uncontrollably, while Abah Anom remained unaffected as he continued his usual activities of performing *tahajjud* prayers and engaging in *dhikr*.¹⁰³

These stories illustrate how Abah Anom strengthened the legitimacy of his murshidship through various miraculous acts he possessed. Consequently, those who initially denied the teachings of the order under Abah Anom gradually began to acknowledge and even became loyal disciples of Abah Anom in the future.

2.4 Conclusion

This chapter discusses the polemics surrounding the succession of murshidship throughout the history of the Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya order in Indonesia. Fundamentally, Indonesia's Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya order lacks a clear pattern regarding the term "*murshid*". Moreover, the murshidship position after 'Abd al-Karīm

¹⁰² Martin Van Bruinessen, "Saints Politicians and Sufi Bureaucrats: Mysticism and Politics in Indonesia's New Order," in *Sufism and the Modern in Islam*, Ed. Martin Van Bruinessen and Julia Day Howel, (New York: I.B Tauris, 2007), 92-112., ed. Martin Van Bruinessen and Julia Day Howel (New York: I.B.Tauris, 2007), 92–112.

¹⁰³ Wahfiudin Sakam, Interview with '*talqin deputy* of Suryalaya., March 20, 2024.

Banten, who did not designate a successor, led other *khalīfa* to self-claim as *murshids*, resulting in the fragmentation of the Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya order into several branches. Therefore, there is a need to redefine the term *murshid* to make it relevant for studying murshidship in Indonesia. I define it as “Someone who has undergone mystical travel (*sulūk*) — under the rigorous spiritual guidance of his *murshid* within a specific period — enabling him to lead the travelers (*sālik*), and his murshidship is recognized at least by his followers? as the legitimate successor of the previous *murshid*.”

Furthermore, In a previous study, Zarcone and Scmeding, based on their research conclude that this model can lead to the decline and decay of Sufism.¹⁰⁴ Nonetheless, my research proves that the hereditary succession model is well-suited and appropriate for pesantren based on the Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya order in Indonesia. Taking the case study of Suryalaya, hereditary succession smoothly transitioned from Abah Sepuh to Abah Anom due to three factors such as lineage, quality education, and strong evidence of murshidship authority. Despite the challenges faced by Abah Anom, they were not significantly impactful from his senior disciples, and he successfully maintained his authority, thereby receiving legitimate recognition from his followers. Therefore, This finding aligns with Weber’s theory of authority, which consists of Traditional, Charismatic, and Rational-Legal types. All three can be applied to my research on Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya Suryalaya.

¹⁰⁴ Zarcone, “Syakh Succession in Turkish Sufi Lineages (19th and 20th Centuries): Conflicts, Reforms and Transmission of Spiritual Enlightenment”; Schmeding, *Sufi Civilities*.

CHAPTER 3: THE MURSHIDSHIP CONTESTATION AFTER ABAH ANOM PERIOD

3.1 The Issue of Murshidship Succession

The issue of murshidship succession has been a subject of extensive discussion throughout history, mainly due to the inherent challenges in identifying suitable and compatible successors. Takahashi argues that succession has consistently served as a frequent and contentious source of conflict among the members of various orders. As he elaborates, this discord has not only strained internal relations but has also, on numerous occasions, culminated in significant divisions within these spiritual communities. The complexities and sensitivities surrounding the selection of a new *murshid* often exacerbate existing tensions, highlighting the intricate dynamics at play in the perpetuation of these sufi traditions.¹⁰⁵ Lassen elaborates that these issues are fundamental to the continuity and sustainability of religious movements. However, not all religious groups possess the resilience or resources to withstand such formidable challenges. Recent historical evidence underscores numerous instances of movements that, for various reasons, failed to endure following the demise or decline of their founders. This trend highlights the critical importance of adaptive strategies and internal cohesion within religious organizations to ensure long-term survival and stability.¹⁰⁶ According to Campbell, one of the most enduring challenges confronting Islam today is the same issue that has persisted almost since the inception of the religion: the question of succession to Muḥammad. This problem is rooted in the fact that Muḥammad did not designate a successor to his authority.¹⁰⁷ Sarayrah notes that the election of Muḥammad's successor was conducted by a process known as *shūrā* to elect the first four caliphs. The concept of *shūrā* involves an extensive discussion of an issue from all its aspects and dimensions, selecting the best views available on that issue, and rigorously testing those views to ensure their validity and appropriateness. Furthermore, the *shūrā* method was not unique to Islamic tradition; it was also a practice employed by pre-Islamic tribal Arabs, reflecting a deep-seated cultural norm of collective decision-making and consultation.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁵ Kei, "A New Logic in the Sufi Organization: The Continuation and the Disintegration of the Tariqas in Modern Egypt."

¹⁰⁶ Søren Christian Lassen, "Growing up as a Sufi: Generational Change in the Burhaniya Sufi Order," in *Sufis in Western Society Global Networking and Locality*, ed. Ron Geaves, Markus Dressler, and Gritt Klinkhammer (Routledge: Taylor & Francis Group, 2009), 149.

¹⁰⁷ Jamil M. Abun-Nasr, *Muslim Communities of Grace: The Sufi Brotherhoods in Islamic Religious Life* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007); Robert A. Campbell, "Leadership Succession in Early Islam: Exploring the Nature and Role of Historical Precedents," *The Leadership Quarterly* 19, no. 4 (August 2008): 426–38, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.leaqua.2008.05.007>.

¹⁰⁸ Yasin Khalaf Sarayrah, "Servant Leadership in the Bedouin-Arab Culture," *Global Virtue Ethics Review* 5, no. 3 (2004): 58–79.

However, in Sufi tradition, leadership succession significantly differs from the democratic processes observed in political and other modern social organizations. Instead of a democratic election, the succession in Sufi orders often follows a more spiritually guided and less formalized process. Historically, there have been instances where a group of disciples openly elected their *murshid*, indicating a somewhat collective decision-making approach. Nevertheless, as Sedgwick points out when a *murshid* passed away, it becomes imperative to identify or select a successor to maintain the continuity of spiritual guidance within the order.¹⁰⁹ Hakim suggests there has never been a hiatus in the *murshidship* position, implying that a seamless leadership transition is critical for the order's stability.¹¹⁰ Sometimes, a *murshid* may explicitly designate a successor before their death, ensuring a smooth transition. However, if a *murshid* passes without appointing an authorized successor, Takahashi notes that specific orders might face dissolution and eventual disappearance.¹¹¹

In contrast to the statements made by Sedgwick, Hakim, and Takahashi, my research findings in this chapter reveal a different situation. Firstly, the Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya Suryalaya, following the death of their *murshid*, did not appoint a successor either in writing or orally. As a result, this order and its followers continue to believe in and uphold the *murshidship* of Abah Anom to this day, a concept I refer to as “the death-*murshidship*.” this finding challenges Takahashi's claim that some Sufi orders dissolve after the death of their *murshid*, as well as Sedgwick's and Hakim's assertions that a successor must be immediately found and that there has never been a hiatus in leadership within an order. In the case of Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya Suryalaya, the community firmly believes in the ongoing spiritual guidance of Abah Anom despite his passing. They also believe that a successor will eventually be appointed directly by Abah Anom, even if this takes ten, twenty, or more years.

Secondly, due to Abah Anom not appointing a direct successor, a significant polemic arose regarding who was deemed worthy to succeed him. One of his senior disciples and his *talqin deputy*, Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Gawth Sayf Allāh Maslūl, commonly known as Abah Aos, was claimed by his followers on several occasions after Abah Anom's death to be the new *murshid*. This indicates that his disciples perceived him as the most

¹⁰⁹ Mark Sedgwick, *The Organisation of Mysticism*, in *Handbook of Sufi Studies*, ed. Marcia Hermansen et al., (Leiden: Brill, 2021), 335-361.

¹¹⁰ Budi Rahman Hakim, *Actualization of Neo-Sufism: A Case Study of the Tariqa Qadiriyya Naqshabandiyya Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya* (Tillburg: Tillburg University, 2020), 225-226.

¹¹¹ Kei, “A New Logic in the Sufi Organization: The Continuation and the Disintegration of the Tariqas in Modern Egypt.”

suitable person to take over Abah Anom's role. Abah Aos tacitly accepted this recognition from his disciples.

In addition, Abah Aos employed metaphorical language to assert his claim to the murshidship, using phrases such as “ini gerbong 38 (This is 38 gateway)”¹¹² and “Kalau mau ikut Abah Anom Ikut Aos (If you want to follow Abah Anom, follow Aos),” among others. Furthermore, Abah Aos established a new branch, the Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya Suryalaya Sirnarasa, as a counterpart to the original of Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya Suryalaya. From his perspective, Abah Anom had passed away, and the mantle of murshidship needed to be carried forward by a living person, which he believed to be himself.

Thirdly, Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya Suryalaya persists today, actively welcoming new disciples who seek to join and receive *talqin dhikr* from the order. The remaining *talqin deputies* of Abah Anom, around fifty persons, hold the authority to admit new disciples into Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya Suryalaya. However, they consistently emphasize a condition during each *talqin dhikr* session with new disciples: “Yang menyampaikan talqin dhikr adalah Abah Anom, kami sebagai wakil talqin hanya dipinjam saja mulutnya, kita menjalankan tugas ini sampai kita wafat (It is Abah Anom who delivers the *talqin dhikr*; we merely borrow his mouth. We are entrusted with this duty until the end of our lives).” For them, Abah Anom is considered to have only shed his physical body, while his spirit remains alive, continuing to accept new disciples and guide them towards Allah.¹¹³

This understanding underscores the ongoing spiritual vibrancy and organizational coherence of Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya Suryalaya despite the physical absence of their founder. The *talqin deputies* role in facilitating new admissions and their perception of Abah Anom's ongoing spiritual presence highlights the order's unique spiritual and organizational dynamics. Such beliefs and practices contribute to the order's continued relevance and attractiveness to new followers seeking spiritual guidance and participation in its *dhikr* rituals.

It is important to note that Abah Anom, who led the Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya Suryalaya Order for 55 years, passed away in 2011. As discussed in the previous chapter, the transition of murshidship from Abah Sepuh to Abah Anom was characterized by a lack of serious conflicts leading to internal divisions within the Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya

¹¹² The term “38” used by Abah Aos refers to the Shaykh *Murshid* in the 38th *silsila* (spiritual lineage) descending from Prophet Muḥammad (SAW).

¹¹³ Sirajuddin Ruyani, Interview with Talqin Deputy Suryalaya, April 28, 2024.

Suryalaya order. Moreover, until his demise, Abah Anom maintained his authority as *murshid* despite various disruptions and challenges, convincing doubters of his murshidship position.

However, the situation changed in 2011 with Abah Anom's passing, as none of his family members or disciples received a direct oral or written message appointing a successor, unlike the precise letter of murshidship succession that Abah Anom received from Abah Sepuh earlier. According to some of Abah Anom's disciples, Abah Sepuh's letter is a definitive model for determining succession within the Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya Order. The absence of conclusive evidence regarding Abah Anom's successor greatly influences his disciples' viewpoints concerning who deserves to replace Abah Anom as *murshid*.

Abah Anom's disciples' differing views regarding his successor led to the division of the Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya Suryalaya faction into two groups. The first group believes that one of Abah Anom's senior disciples, Muḥammad 'Abd Gaws Sayf Allāh Maslūl (Abah Aos), is the rightful successor to assume the murshidship position left vacant by Abah Anom. On the other hand, the second group comprises Abah Anom's family members and most of his *talqin deputies*, who maintain the belief that the murshidship position continues to be held by Abah Anom even after his demise. This conviction has persisted for 13 years and counting.

Therefore, this chapter delves into the intricate polemics surrounding the contentious issue of murshidship succession following Abah Anom's passing, which continues to shape the current discourse within the Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya Suryalaya order. The division into two factions reflects ongoing debates and negotiations within the community, highlighting the complexities and deep-seated beliefs regarding spiritual leadership and continuity within sufi traditions.

3.2 The Contestation for Claiming the Murshidship: Between Suryalaya and Sirnarasa

Sedgwick notes that after the death of a shaykh, different representatives may compete with each other for murshidship, and perhaps even with the son of the dead *murshid*. However, further disputes are rare once such competition has been resolved and a new *murshid* has been chosen.¹¹⁴ In contrast to Sedwick's notes, I found that in the case of Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya Suryalaya, the sons of Abah Anom are not obsessed with the murshidship position of Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya Suryalaya. They remain

¹¹⁴ Mark Sedgwick, Sufi Religious Leaders and Sufi Orders in Contemporary Middle East, *Sociology of Islam*, 6(2), 212-232.

steadfast in adhering to the authority of their late father. Additionally, my findings indicate that although a candidate for the next *murshid* has been identified, his authority is only recognized by some parties, including the family of the previous *murshid*. Consequently, this murshidship contestation continues to this day. In this chapter, I argue that the source of the contestation for *murshid* authority is due to differing interpretations of the role of a *murshid* by the two opposing factions.

The family faction of Abah Anom interprets that a *murshid*, even after death, retains strong authority in guiding their disciples. They believe that although the physical body dies, the eternal spirit can continue to guide followers anywhere. Several classical Islamic texts support this claim. For instance, Al-Nābulī as quoted by al-Tādifi asserts that a person's status as a *wali* (saint) does not disappear after death. He analogizes this to a prophet whose prophetic status remains intact despite their physical demise.¹¹⁵ This view is further reinforced by al-Ḥaddād, who states that those granted special favor by Allah, such as the saints (*awliyā*), experience only the death of their physical bodies. Their spirits, however, live on eternally. They reside in their graves, and their guidance to their disciples becomes even more vital after death, as they are no longer preoccupied with worldly matters.¹¹⁶

The second faction, led by Abah Aos and his supporters, argues that Abah Anom must have a living successor. This is crucial because many disciples require direct guidance from a living *murshid* to ensure the continuity of the order. Such an interpretation can also be found in classical Islamic literature. For instance, al-Kasnizān asserts that one of the reasons the Prophet Muḥammad left behind caliphs after his death, despite continuing to live in the spiritual realm, was that people need a guide in the physical world. Similarly, the need for a living *murshid* is vital, as they teach *dhikr* to help followers attain closeness to Allah. Al-Kasnizān further notes that 'Ali ibn Abī Ṭālib passed on spiritual knowledge to his living successors through the teachings of the Prophet Muḥammad. Likewise, the shaykhs continue the murshidship succession by passing it to his disciples.¹¹⁷

A controversy regarding the succession of Abah Anom began on the fortieth day after his passing. At that time, all of Abah Anom's fifty *talqin deputies*, his extended family and Abah Sepuh, the foundation's administrators, and the pesantren's management gathered. The event host inquired if anyone present had received any written or verbal

¹¹⁵ Muḥammad Rasyid al-Tadifi, *I'lam al-'Uqala Fi Itsbat Karamat al-Auliya* (Aleppo: Matba'a al-Nahdah, 1926), 51.

¹¹⁶ Ihsan Muḥammad Dahlan, *Siraj Al-Thalibin 'Ala Minhaj al-'Abidin* (Beirut: Dar al-Kutub al-Ilmiyyah, 2006), 411.

¹¹⁷ Muḥammad al-Kasnizān, , *Mausu'a al-Kasnizān Fima Istalaha 'Alaihi Ahl al-'Irfan*, vol. 11 (Beirut: Dar al-'Ayah, 2005), 230.

messages from Abah Anom before his death. The attendees remained silent, with no responses from the *talqin deputies*, the Abah Anom and Abah Sepuh families, the foundation, or the pesantren. Even Abah Aos, one of Abah Anom's *talqin deputies* who later claimed to be the *murshid*, did not respond. Umi Yoyoh, Abah Anom's wife, who accompanied him daily, checked all the wardrobes, clothing, and documents left by Abah Anom. However, Umi Yoyoh did not find any letter that could serve as legitimization for the next *murshid*.¹¹⁸

During the gathering, there was a debate involving two *talqin deputies* of Abah Anom, namely Prof. Ahmad Tafsir and Prof. Juhaya. They proposed selecting the next *murshid* based on criteria from Islamic literature on the qualities of a *murshid*. However, Kyai Wahfi, also a *talqin deputy* of Abah Anom, opposed this proposal. He believed that the position of *murshid* should not be likened to that of a democratically elected village head (*kepala desa*), as it could introduce unwanted political implications. According to him, the succession of a *murshid* is the prerogative of Allah, and humans have no authority to determine who will be the next *murshid*. Kyai Wahfi likened this process to the succession of prophets, where even a Prophet does not have the authority to appoint the next Prophet. Despite the exceptional knowledge and intellectual capabilities of Abah Anom's children and grandchildren, they are only sometimes appointed as *talqin deputies*. Kyai Wahfi argued that if humans determined succession, Abah Anom might have chosen his child as a successor, perpetuating the debate.¹¹⁹

To strengthen his argument, Kyai Wahfi illustrated the story of the appointment of Abah Anom's *talqin deputy*, which solely derived authority from Allah. When Abah Anom sought to appoint a new *talqin deputy*, he did not exercise his authority as a *murshid*. Instead, he invited his two sons, Haji Dudun and Haji Kankan Zulkarnaen, to engage in a *dhikr* ritual to be recited in the middle of the night, with the condition that they remain awake from Isha until Fajr prayer. This ritual aimed to access the *lawh al-mahfuz* and determine whether the name of the prospective *talqin deputy* was inscribed therein. Subsequently, both sons were required to report their observations to Abah Anom regarding what they had seen in *lawh al-mahfuz*. This process underscores Abah Anom's commitment to objectivity when appointing a deputy. It affirms that such appointments originate solely from Allah, as evidenced by his directive for his sons to observe *lawh al-mahfuz*.¹²⁰

¹¹⁸ Wahfiudin Sakam, Interview with 'talqin deputy of Suryalaya, March 20, 2024.

¹¹⁹ Wahfiudin Sakam, Interview with 'talqin deputy of Suryalaya, March 20, 2024.

¹²⁰ Wahfiudin Sakam, Interview with 'talqin deputy of Suryalaya, March 20, 2024.

After Kyai Wahfi's lengthy explanation failed to quell the debate entirely, Aḥmad Tafṣīr and Juhaya once again raised their hands. They proposed a reassessment of the declaration issued (*surat pernyataan*) by Abah Anom in 1998, which designated Kyai Nūr Anom Mubārak, Kyai Zayn al-‘Ābidīn Anwār, and the late H. Dudun Nūr Sa’id al-Dīn is a consultative figure for matters concerning Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya Suryalaya. Their suggestion was to appoint Kyai Nūr Anom and Kyai Zayn al-‘Ābidīn Anwār as successors to Abah Anom's role as *murshid*. One of the individuals named in the declaration, H. Dudun Nūr Sa’id al-Dīn, passed away in 2010, leaving only Kyai Nūr Anom and Kyai Zayn al-‘Ābidīn Anwār (see attachment-figure 3).

When this proposal was presented to Kyai Nūr Anom and Kyai Zayn al-‘Ābidīn Anwār, both declined the offer, feeling inadequate to assume the role of *murshid*. As a resolution, they were reconsidered not as *murshids* but as custodians (*pengemban amanah*) of the trust in accordance with Abah Anom's 1998 declaration, aiming to avoid a leadership vacuum within Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya Suryalaya. Consequently, this order continues to uphold and honor the authority of Abah Anom despite his demise. For consultations regarding matters of spiritual guidance, these two figures remain available, albeit in the capacity of custodians (*pengemban amanah*) rather than *murshid*.

Several months later, precisely in November 2011, following the Manāqib of Shaykh ‘Abd al-Qādir in Suryalaya, Kyai ‘Ārif Ikhwānī, who also serves as the *talqin deputy* for Abah Anom, received the startling news that Abah Aos had declared himself as a *murshid*. He then conveyed this information to Kyai Nūr Anom and Kyai Wahfī, who were nearby. Both were highly shocked upon hearing this information and could hardly believe the self-proclamation made by Abah Aos.

Kyai Ārif further explained that this incident began during the Manāqib ceremony of Shaykh ‘Abd al-Qādir in Bandung, where one of the ustadh presents referred to Abah Aos as “*murshid kita yang baru (our new murshid)*,” and Abah Aos did not refute the claim. According to Abah Aos, if someone openly declares themselves as a *murshid*, their status as a *murshid* is invalidated and not legitimized, hence his silence. According to Kyai Wahfī, Abah Aos's silence was a means to avoid embarrassment by not openly claiming to be the successor *murshid* of Abah Anom.¹²¹

Hearing the astonishing story from Kyai Ārif Ikhwānī, Kyai Wahfī promptly hurried to the residence of Abah Aos at Pesantren Sirnarasa to confirm the *murshidship* claim made by him. Before departing, he was warned by the senior and elder members of

¹²¹ Wahfiudin Sakam, Interview with ‘*talqin deputy* of Suryalaya, March 20, 2024.

Suryalaya to be cautious of Abah Aos because “Aos itu beracun (Aos is poisonous).” This means that with his mystical powers, he is capable of killing a person from a distance.

Upon arriving at Pesantren Sirnarasa, Kyai Wahfī presented a document outlining the concept of LDTQN (Lembaga Dakwah Tarekat Qadiriyyah wa Naqsyabandiyah)¹²². This initiative aimed to prevent divisions among the disciples (*Ikhwan and Akhwat*)¹²³ of Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya Suryalaya regarding the unresolved issue of murshidship. “Caranya bukan seperti ini (This is not the way to handle it),” Abah Aos, his face flushed with anger, threw Kyai Wahfī’s proposal to the floor. He then retreated to his room and returned with two relics of Abah Anom, which he claimed as authentic evidence of his succession as *murshid*.

The first relic was a laminated photocopy of a document written in Pegon Sundanese, which contained a mandate of murshidship from Abah Sepuh to Abah Anom. According to Abah Aos, he was the sole recipient of this murshidship mandate. However, Kyai Wahfī and Ustadh Andhika found this evidence weak, as it was merely a copy, not the original. Furthermore, many of Abah Anom’s deputies and disciples possessed similar murshidship mandates from Abah Sepuh to Abah Anom. These documents did not include any directive from Abah Anom designating Abah Aos as his legitimate successor. Additionally, during the 40-day memorial gathering after Abah Anom’s death, Abah Aos, who was present, did not mention this document.

The second piece of evidence presented by Abah Aos was a rare staff (*tongkat langka*) made of Ulin wood from Kalimantan, topped with a black stone resembling a meteorite. Abah Aos asserted that there were only two such staff: one belonging to Sukarno and the other to himself. It was rumored that the craftsman who made Sukarno’s staff also made this one. Supporters of Abah Aos interpreted this staff as a symbol of murshidship passed from Abah Anom to Abah Aos. However, Kyai Wahfī found this evidence equally unconvincing, noting that the so-called meteorite stone was common in Bangka Belitung and sold under the name “*batu santam*.” Moreover, the staff was not a gift from Abah Anom but from a craftsman who initially intended to present it to Abah Anom at Suryalaya. After Abah Anom’s death, the craftsman was directed by Abah Aos’s disciples to give it to Abah Aos at Pesantren Sirnarasa. In conclusion, Kyai Wahfī’s efforts to clarify Abah Aos’s

¹²² LDTQN (Lembaga Dakwah Tarekat Qadiriyyah wa Naqsyabandiyah) is an organization under the auspices of Pesantren Suryalaya tasked primarily with gathering, managing, caring for, preserving, and advancing the Qadiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya Suryalaya spiritual teachings. See: Muḥammad Kodir, *Jejak Abah Anom di Asia Tenggara: Dari Suryalaya untuk Dunia*, (Tasikmalaya: CV. Putra Surya Santosa, 2023), 87.

¹²³ *Ikhwan & Akhwat* is a term used to address male and female disciples of Qadiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya Suryalaya.

claim did not get satisfactory results, as he considered the two pieces of evidence to be very weak and insufficient to legitimize Abah Aos as the successor to Abah Anom's murshidship.¹²⁴

In the following months, Abah Aos frequently promoted his claims to murshidship before many of his followers, particularly in the mosques where the Manāqib of Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī was held. One of his prominent supporters, Kyai Muḥammad Ṣāleḥ, who was originally a *talqīn deputy* under Abah Anom, successfully mobilized followers of the Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya to switch their allegiance to Abah Aos. Kyai Muḥammad Ṣāleḥ actively promoted Abah Aos as the next *murshid* after Abah Anom. Kyai Ṣāleḥ support to Abah Aos is included in the concept of patrimonialism where a leader cooperates with relatives or closest people who have personal loyalty to him for gaining the legitimacy from the community.¹²⁵

At these mosques, he invited followers to attend the Manāqib of Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir at Pesantren Suryalaya on July 1, 2012, and to open the black box of batch 37 (*kotak hitam kloter 37*).¹²⁶ This announcement quickly went viral, reaching the majority of Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya Suryalaya followers. On the day of the Manāqib, as usual, a Fajr Lecture featuring religious sermons by Abah Anom's *talqīn deputies* followed the dawn prayer. Kyai Nūr Muḥammad Suharto from Kalimantan was tasked with delivering the Fajr Lecture that day. Aware of Abah Aos's controversial statements, he boldly addressed the congregation:

Currently, there are only 55 'talqīn deputies at Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya. The increase in the number of deputies is impossible, whereas their decrease is certain. The reasons are only two: first if a deputy dies, and second if a deputy lacks proper conduct (*Sūul Adab*) towards Abah Anom.

The statement made by Kyai Suharto during the fajr lecture reached Abah Aos, who was also present in Suryalaya at that time. Concerned about being perceived as disrespectful for making claims without authentic evidence and causing controversy, Abah Aos decided not to deliver his controversial message regarding the opening of black box 37 (*kotak hitam kloter 37*) during his sermon at the Manāqib of Syaikh 'Abd al-Qādir al-

¹²⁴ Wahfiudin Sakam, Interview with 'talqīn deputy of Suryalaya, March 20, 2024.

¹²⁵ Shofi and Talkah, "ANALISIS TEORI OTORITAS MAX WEBBER DALAM KEPEMIMPINAN MULTIKULTURAL KIAI SHOLEH BAHRUDDIN NGALAH (Studi Kepemimpinan Multikultural di Pondok Pesantren Ngalah Pasuruan)."

¹²⁶ The term "37" used by Abah Aos refers to the Shaykh *Murshid* in the 37th *silsila* (spiritual lineage) descending from Prophet Muḥammad (SAW).

Jilānī. Instead, he redirected the content of his sermon to his spiritual experiences during the Hajj pilgrimage, including an encounter with Khālid ibn Wālid, the military commander of the Prophet Muḥammad. Abah Aos drew an analogy between himself and Khālid ibn Wālid, implying that he, too, was a commander of Abah Anom, thus deserving to lead and continue the legacy of murshidship in the Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiya Suryalaya. The Manāqib ceremony in July 2012 was the last time Abah Aos visited Suryalaya. To this day, he has not returned, despite the fact that the distance between Pesantren Sirnarasa and Suryalaya is only about 10 kilometers.¹²⁷

Nonetheless, the Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya Suryalaya did not remain passive in the face of the mobilization efforts by Abah Aos and his main supporter, Kyai Šāleh, to legitimize Abah Aos's authority as *murshid*. To facilitate the promotion of Abah Aos as *murshid*, Kyai Šāleh, as Abah Aos's primary supporter, engaged in a closed debate with Kyai Zezen and Kyai Wahfī. All three were deputies of Abah Anom, although Kyai Šāleh defected to support Abah Aos. Kyai Šāleh presented a strong argument to legitimize Abah Aos's murshidship, claiming victory over Kyai Zezen and Kyai Wahfī in the debate.

Kyai Lukmān al-Hākīm, another staunch supporter, asserted that Abah Aos had spent 43 years in *suhba* (companionship) with Abah Anom, during which he emulated all of Abah Anom's behaviors, *riyāḍa* (spiritual training), *mujāhada* (struggle), and acts of worship. It was also stated that Abah Aos once did not sleep for three years straight. Furthermore, since 1998, when Abah Anom could no longer perform activities outside the pesantren, Abah Aos began to assume Abah Anom's roles outside the pesantren, with many disciples seeking consultation from him. Despite the numerous deputies of Abah Anom, Abah Aos was regarded as the foremost elder among them. He elaborated on the succession process, stating that Abah Anom called Abah Aos into a special room 84 times to impart esoteric knowledge (*al-‘ilm al-ladunnī*). In 1997, Abah Anom invited Abah Aos into his room, removed a red ring, and placed it in Abah Aos's hand, saying, “Genggam Ruh Bani Adam dan Hawa (Hold the soul of the children of Adam and Eve).” At that moment, Abah Aos witnessed a light sparkling like fireworks in his vision.¹²⁸ Anjum emphasizes that the concept of *suhba*, or companionship, is fundamental to the spiritual development of a disciple.¹²⁹ Buehler further elaborates, noting that *suhba*, with the intimates of God (*Awliyā*), bestows upon the seeker the promise of eternal life. This profound companionship

¹²⁷ Andhika Dharmawan, Interview with Vice Chief of LDTQN Jakarta, April 30, 2024.

¹²⁸ Lukman Hakim Assiddiq, Interview with Talqin Deputy Sirnarasa, May 18, 2024.

¹²⁹ Tanvir Anjum, “Sufism in History and Its Relationship with Power”, *Islamic Studies* 45, No.2 (2006): 221-268.,” *Islamic Studies* 45, no. 2 (2006): 221–68.

is believed to imbue the disciple with not only knowledge and wisdom but also spiritual elevation and closeness to divine truths.¹³⁰

The tale of *suḥba* between Abah Aos and Abah Anom spanning 43 years, as described by Ustadh Andhika Dharmawan, resembles narratives often recited during the *Manāqib* of Shaykh ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī in Suryalaya. Shaykh Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad al-Hirāwī, a beloved disciple of Shaykh ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī, accompanied him for approximately 40 years and bore witness to his Fajr prayers with the same ablution performed for Isha prayer. However, it is crucial to note that the analogy, according to Ustadz Andhika, is not entirely apt because al-Hirāwī did not succeed his teacher as *murshid*; instead, this role passed to his sons like ‘Abd al-‘Azīz and ‘Abd al-Razzāq, as evidenced in the genealogy (*silsila*) of the Qādiriyya order, where al-Hirāwī’s name is absent in most branches of the Qādiriyya Orders worldwide.¹³¹

Kyai Wahfī adds that prolonged companionship (*suḥba*) does not necessarily guarantee that a disciple will inevitably become a *murshid*, as the position of *murshid* is purely an authority bestowed by Allah. He analogizes this with the story of a great Naqshbandi scholar, ‘Ubayd Allāh al-Ahrār, who had many disciples contending among themselves, each claiming superiority over the others. The first disciple claimed, “I am superior to the others because I always stayed by the Shaykh’s side” Another said, “I am more noble because I sat with the Shaykh in his chamber.” This pattern continued among his other disciples.

As Shaykh ‘Ubayd Allāh al-Ahrār approached death, he instructed, “I will soon depart from this transient world and appoint one of you as my successor, but I will not mention his name. When I pass away, take my turban from my chamber and throw it into the air, and the turban will automatically settle on the head of my successor.” Upon the Shaykh’s demise, the disciples eagerly awaited, competing to retrieve his turban from the chamber and tossing it skyward, hoping it would land on their heads. The turban began to spin, and unexpectedly, it fell in front of a humble man who was accustomed to cleaning and tidying shoes outside the Shaykh’s quarters. Astonished, the learned disciples, all prominent scholars, were taken aback that someone without scholarly knowledge and merely a cobbler was chosen. Seeing this, the disciples were displeased and threw the

¹³⁰ Buehler and Schimmel, *Sufi Heirs of the Prophet*, 202.

¹³¹ Andhika Dharmawan, Interview with Vice Chief of LDTQN Jakarta, April 30, 2024 and See: <https://amaliyahtqn.blogspot.com/2015/09/manqobah-yang-dibaca-pada-manaqib-tuan.html>

turban into the air a second time. Yet again, the turban descended onto the same individual, confirming him as Shaykh ‘Ubayd Allāh’s chosen successor.¹³²

In order for many of the disciples who initially remained staunch with Suryalaya to gradually shift allegiance to Abah Aos and the Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya Suryalaya Sirnarasa under his leadership and authority, a significant shift occurred. By September 15, 2013, the remaining *talqin deputies* of Abah Anom, along with the family members of Abah Anom and the senior figures of the order, convened an important meeting. The primary agenda of this meeting was to address the escalating controversy surrounding the claim to murshidship put forth by one of Abah Anom’s senior disciples and *talqin deputies* who had defected—namely Abah Aos and Kyai Muḥammad Šāleḥ.

The outcome of the meeting resulted in a declaration known as the “Ijma Wakil Talqin TQN Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya (The Consensus of Talqin Deputies Pesantren Suryalaya)” (see attachment-figure 4), which outlined several crucial points. Firstly, Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya Suryalaya did not accept nor recognize Abah Aos as the successor *murshid* of Abah Anom and as the 38th link in the *silsila* (spiritual lineage). Secondly, the order ceased to acknowledge Abah Aos and Kyai Muḥammad Šāleḥ as *talqin deputy* for Abah Anom, effectively dismissing them from their roles without honor. Thirdly, it mandated Abah Aos and Kyai Šāleḥ to refrain from using the name, symbols, and all attributes associated with Pesantren Suryalaya in any of their activities. Furthermore, they were instructed to withdraw all copies, whether printed or electronic, of their spiritual practice books related to Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya Suryalaya, particularly the works ‘*Uqūd al-Jumān* and *Suryalaya Bukan Panggung Sandiwara*. This point was crucial as Pesantren Suryalaya alleged that Abah Aos intentionally appropriated Suryalaya’s attributes, such as naming his order Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya Suryalaya, distorting the primary wirid book ‘*Uqūd al-Jumān* by adding and subtracting key sections, and juxtaposing photos of Abah Sepuh and Abah Anom with Abah Aos. These issues are discussed in detail in the subsequent sub-chapter. Lastly, Ponpes Suryalaya called upon the followers of Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya Suryalaya who had mistakenly followed these individuals due to their limited knowledge to repent and return to practicing the true daily practices of Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya Suryalaya as outlined and practiced by the esteemed Shaykh Aḥmad Šāhib al-Wafā Ṭaj al-‘Ārifin (Abah Anom), passed down from

¹³²Wahfiudin Sakam, Interview with ‘*talqin deputy* of Suryalaya, March 20, 2024. See: <https://www.alhaqqani.com/%26%231593%3B%26%231576%3B%26%231610%3B%26%231583%3B-%26%231575%3B%26%231604%3B%26%231604%3B%26%231607%3B-%26%231575%3B%26%231604%3B%26%231571%3B%26%231581%3B%26%231585%3B%26%231575%3B%26%231585%3B.htm>

Shaykh ‘Abd Allāh Mubārak ibn Nūr Muḥammad (Abah Sepuh). This final point was emphasized due to the significant number of former Suryalaya adherents who had shifted allegiance to Abah Aos, whom they perceived as the most suitable successor to Abah Anom, as they sought a living *murshid* to guide them towards Allah. The “*Ijma Wakil Talqin*” letter was subsequently signed by the family of Abah Anom and Abah Sepuh, along with the majority of *talqin deputies* present at the time, totaling 40 individuals. The letter was then disseminated to the remaining disciples of Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya Suryalaya, who were uncertain about the issue of murshidship, urging them to uphold and practice its directives firmly.¹³³ Two months later, on November 11 and 18, 2013, Abah Aos and his followers issued a declaration letter read at Pesantren Sirnarasa. This declaration indirectly differentiated his order from Pesantren Suryalaya, outlining several key points: Firstly, Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya Suryalaya under Abah Aos is not a foundation or a legally recognized political organization. Secondly, it emphasizes that Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya Suryalaya is a spiritual practice for its brothers and disciples to guide them in their religious obligations, *riyāḍa*, *mujāhada*, and to deepen their understanding and enrich their practice of rituals. Thirdly, Abah Aos strictly prohibits the use of Suryalaya attributes for personal financial gain, ensuring that any related activities must be independently funded from personal resources. Fourthly, there is a mandate to preserve and uphold the teachings of Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya. Lastly, Abah Aos advises adherence to the testamentary admonition issued by Abah Sepuh.¹³⁴

The declaration issued by Abah Aos and his supporters indirectly continues to adhere to the teachings of Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya despite Abah Aos no longer being recognized by them. This unilateral claim as the 38th *murshid* successor to Abah Anom has created a division, leading to differing interpretations among supporters of both Pesantren Suryalaya and Pesantren Sirnarasa under Abah Aos. This division has escalated into a broader conflict that has spread throughout Indonesia, where the use of these names serves to distinguish between the two factions.

3.3 The Existence of Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya Suryalaya Without a *Murshid*

Since Abah Anom passed away in 2011, Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya Suryalaya has experienced a void in its *murshid*. The leadership of this order is currently held by Kyai Zayn al-‘Ābidīn Anwār, who serves not as a *murshid* but as a custodians (*pengemban*

¹³³ Wahfiudin Sakam, Interview with ‘*talqin deputy* of Suryalaya, March 20, 2024

¹³⁴ Hakim, *Actualization of Neo-Sufism: A Case Study of the Tariqa Qadiriyya Naqshabandiyya Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya*, 248.

amanah) of the order's legacy. In addition to Kyai Zayn al-‘Ābidīn Anwār, the order's continuity is supported by numerous *talqin deputies* appointed by Abah Anom, who are authorized to accept new disciples into Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya Suryalaya. Consequently, the number of followers continues to grow despite the ongoing *murshid* crisis. The concept of murshidship in this order maintains that Abah Anom continues to guide his disciples spiritually through his enduring presence, a phenomenon I refer to as “the death-murshidship.” As Werbner suggests, Sufis are believed to remain alive in their graves; their bodies remain untouched in the earth, their souls remain active, and they can hear, see, and aid people even after their death. Thus, they never indeed die.¹³⁵ This is reinforced by the views of classical scholars like al-Bakrī, as cited by al-Kasnizān, who asserted that the presence of a shaykh is not constrained by distance or time, even after their physical death.¹³⁶ Kyai Wahfī recounts the story of a disciple of Abah Anom who, while gravely ill and nearing death, witnessed the presence of Abah Anom, who came to escort and guide him during the moment of his passing.¹³⁷

The model of murshidship associated with Abah Anom cannot be separated from his charismatic authority, which is intrinsically linked to his status as a *walī* (saint). As discussed by Ephrat and Pinto, this status is believed to generate *baraka* (blessing) and *karāma* (miraculous deeds).¹³⁸

The term *walāya* which can be translated as “closeness or friendship” and *wilāya*, which can be translated as “tutoring”, “guidance” and “intercession”. The forms of expression of the saint's power were nicely summarized by Cornell and mentioned by Pinto, who stated that “the walī Allāh is both an intermediary and a patron for his clients”. There is continuity between the authority of the saint and that of the sufi shaykh, for the latter is also perceived by his followers as someone who mediates between the divine and the human realities due his personal connection to God.¹³⁹ Thus, this concept of sainthood leads to a subsequent effect of producing *baraka* (blessing). *Baraka* as Geertz defines, “encloses a whole range of linked ideas: material prosperity, physical well-being, bodily satisfaction, completion, luck, plenitude ... [suggesting] the proposition (again, of course,

¹³⁵ Pnina Werbner, “Reform Sufism in South Asia,” in *Islamic Reform in South Asia*, ed. Filippo Osella and Caroline Osella, 1st ed. (Cambridge University Press, 2013), 51–78, <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781139382786.004>.

¹³⁶ Muhammad al-Kasnizan, *Mausu' a al-Kasnizan Fima Istalaha 'Alaihi Ahl al-'Irfan*, 11:158.

¹³⁷ Sakam, Interview with Talqin Deputy of Suryalaya.

¹³⁸ Paulo G. Pinto and Daphna Ephrat, “Sufi Places and Dwellings,” in *Handbook of Sufi Studies*, ed. Marcia K. Hermansen et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2021), 105–44.

¹³⁹ Paulo G. Pinto, “Performing *Baraka*: Sainthood and Power in Syrian Sufism,” in *Archaeology of Sainthood and Local Spirituality in Islam: Past Present Crossroads of Events and Ideas*, ed. Georg Stauth (Bielefeld: Verlag, 2004), 195–211.

wholly tacit) that the sacred appears most directly in the world as an endowment—a talent and the capacity, a special ability—of particular individuals”.¹⁴⁰ Meanwhile, Andezian defines it as, a beneficial force of divine origin that provides benefits in all realms of life. It is thought to be especially concentrated in the person of the Prophet and the saints, who can communicate it to all those who ask for it. The leaders of Sufi orders, considered as holy men, are also invested with that supernatural force, which is at the origin of all prodigious events. All ritual ceremonies performed by the Sufi brotherhoods are supposed to diffuse the *baraka* among the participants.¹⁴¹

However, it is important to note that the concept of *baraka* from the *murshids* is not something that can be obtained by everyone. Typically, this *baraka* is received by disciples who have a spiritual connection with their *murshid*. This connection is often marked by practices such as *bay'a* (oath of allegiance), *talqin dhikr* (initiation into remembrance), or *'ahd* (covenant). As Chih notes that the relationship between master and his disciples is voluntary and though it contains the notion of a covenant (*'ahd*), it is not legally sealed: it derives its power from the sacred strength of a shared belief, that the master's *baraka* spreads to his followers.¹⁴² Pinto adds that the relationship between the Sufi shaykh and their disciples has an emotional character defined by the love (*ḥubb*) and the desire (*raghba*) stimulated in the disciple by the shaykh *baraka* or *nūr* (light), which lead the disciples to seek the divine truth embodied in the persona of the shaykh”. The connection between the two is not only illustrated when a *murshid* is alive but also continues after their death, allowing them to transfer their *baraka* to their disciples. as mentioned by Pinto, the dead shaykh can still intervene in the live of his disciples though his *baraka*, opening the way for his public recognition as a *wali* (saint). Therefore, the formative aspects of the *murshid*'s power, in particular his capacity in demonstrating the strength of his *baraka*, are fundamental for the maintenance of his community.

In the context of Suryalaya, the concept of *baraka*, which can be felt even after a *murshid*'s death, is exemplified by the significant increase in followers of the Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya Suryalaya order. Kyai Kodir notes that the latest data shows that the number of followers worldwide has reached fifteen million. This growth cannot be separated from the role of the remaining *talqin deputies*, who has been actively spreading and preaching the teachings of Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya Suryalaya.

¹⁴⁰ Ahmad Khan, “Donations to Sufis and Sufi Institutions, In,” in *Handbook of Sufi Studies*, ed. Marcia K. Hermansen et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2021), 81–88.

¹⁴¹ Andezian, “Old Practices and New Meanings: Saint Veneration in Western Algeria.”

¹⁴² Rachida Chih, “The Social Role of Sufis,” in *Handbook of Sufi Studies*, ed. Marcia K. Hermansen et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2021), 187–217.

For instance, in Thailand, the dissemination of Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya Suryalaya's teachings is led by Kyai Mohd Zuki as-Suja from Kedah, Malaysia, who has Patani ancestry. He travels back and forth to Thailand throughout the year to preach to new disciples interested in joining the order. In addition to Patani, many Muslims from Yala, Songkhla, and Narathiwat have joined the Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya Suryalaya. In Yala, Ustadh Šāleh, an alumnus of IAILM Suryalaya, established an orphanage school. Currently, there are approximately 500 followers of Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya Suryalaya in Thailand, a country where Muslims are a minority.¹⁴³

Similarly, the propagation of Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya in Egypt began when several disciples of Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya Suryalaya studied at Al-Azhar University in Cairo. This initiative led to the formation of a small community in early 2019, which was marked by the organization of Manāqib Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī, which had only five participants. Muḥammad Iqbal, Husni Abdul Aziz, and Reza Saipudin, all disciples of Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya Suryalaya, initiated the community. Initially managed by these three initiators, the community saw a boost in early 2020 when Kyai Wahfī, a *talqin deputy* of Abah Anom from Jakarta, along with a group, visited for religious tourism and provided motivation to intensify the propagation of Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya.

Subsequently, a more structured management was established under the leadership of Husni Abdul Azis. The organization diversified its activities, conducting monthly Manāqib sessions and weekly spiritual practices such as *khatamān*. Academically, regular studies of *miftāḥ al-ṣudūr* written by Abah Anom commenced. By 2021, this small community had transformed into a legally recognized organization as a foreign branch of LDTQN Suryalaya. During this transition, leadership shifted to Iqbal Muḥammad. According to Iqbal, the organization has around 300 active and non-active members. For prospective disciples interested in joining Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya Suryalaya, especially those abroad, Iqbal initiates contact with *talqin deputy* of Abah Anom in Indonesia to conduct *talqin dhikr* sessions via face-to-face Zoom meetings.¹⁴⁴ Therefore, it can be said that the propagation of Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya Suryalaya around the world is inseparable from the *baraka* of Abah Anom, which continues to be tangible until today, as noted by Ceyhan that sufi paths were represented as branches that reached various regions through deputies and emissaries (*khulafā'*) who helped to establish the brotherhood

¹⁴³ Muhammad Kodir, *Jejak Abah Anom Di Asia Tenggara: Dari Suryalaya Untuk Dunia* (Sleman: Putra Surya Santosa, 2023).

¹⁴⁴ Iqbal Mohammad, Interview with the Chief of LDTQN Suryalaya in Egypt, June 21, 2024., June 21, 2024.

in the daily life of their respective localities. This territorial process was eventually presented as the manifestation of the master's saintly power (*baraka*), in the sense that the saint (*walī*) ruled over a province (*wilāya*).¹⁴⁵

Then arises the question of why, out of the remaining *talqin deputies*, only one engaged in separatism by forming a new sufi order. Why did not each '*talqin deputies* establish an independent order like Abah Aos did?

The answer lies in returning to the concept of *walāya* as conceived by Abah Anom, which continues to produce blessings felt by the *talqin deputies* and their disciples to this day. At least two significant events bolster their confidence in Abah Anom. Firstly, several years before Abah Anom's passing, his son Baban Jihad was instructed by Abah Anom to visit his relatives and senior *talqin deputy* in Cianjur, Kyai Aang Muhaeminul Aziz. Upon arrival in Cianjur, Haji Baban found Kyai Aang waiting, eager to deliver several entrusted messages from Abah Anom before his demise. Kyai Aang recounted that he spoke on behalf of Abah Anom, conveying essential mandates. Firstly, Pesantren Suryalaya is under the ownership family of Abah Anom. Thus, all decisions must receive approval from the pesantren suryalaya. Secondly, besides writing the Arabic book "*Miftāḥ al-Ṣudūr*," which has been printed and learned by the disciples of the Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya Suryalaya, Abah Anom authored another Arabic manuscript that remains untitled. He continued, suggesting that if there is ever a sign from Abah Anom to publish and disseminate this book, it would signify the end times. According to Kyai Kodir, this manuscript is still carefully kept in the secretariat of LDTQN at the Pesantren Suryalaya, and we are awaiting Abah Anom's signal for publication. Thirdly, upon Abah Anom's, a senior disciple known as *Sayf Allāh Maslūl* will cause disturbance and commotion. Kyai Kodir advises that such unrest should not be confronted, as its consequences will eventually rebound upon the instigator.¹⁴⁶

Secondly, the *maklumat*¹⁴⁷ of Abah Anom, dated November 7, 1981, also serves as a guiding principle for the Ikhwan to adhere to Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya steadfastly. Despite its issuance in 1981, the *talqin deputies* and the disciples remain convinced of its continued relevance today. This proclamation includes several points: Firstly, to fully comply with all commands of Allah and His Messenger and refrain from what is prohibited according to al-Qur'ān and Hadith. Secondly, to thoroughly understand, internalize, and

¹⁴⁵ Semih Ceyhan, Established Sufi Order, in Handbook of Sufi Studies, ed. Marcia Hermansen et al., (Leiden: Brill, 2021), 385-404.

¹⁴⁶ Muḥammad Kodir, The Chief of LDTQN Suryalaya, June 15, 2024.

¹⁴⁷ In Qadiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya Suryalaya, the term *maklumat* refers to a letter of a sheikh to all his disciples. Each *Maklumat* is issued to inform disciples about the *murshid's* new direction related to the order practices and activities, or to respond a certain matter.

practice the principles, goals, and practices of Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya Suryalaya with utmost sincerity. Thirdly, to obey and fully implement the guidance (*tanbīh*) of Shaykh ‘Abd Allāh Mubārak, the founder of Pesantren Suryalaya. Fourthly, specifically for the disciple of Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya Suryalaya, citizens of the Republic of Indonesia, wherever they may be, to comprehend, internalize, and manifest in their daily lives the Pancasila and its P-4 principles in order to become exemplary citizens. Fifthly, to actively participate in all fields of development through the programs of the New Order government towards the realization of a just and prosperous society within the framework of the Republic of Indonesia based on Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution, which we always seek under the blessings of Allah. Following the issuance of these six points, he concluded with the statement, “Abah sebagai sesepuh Pesantren Suryalaya tidak bertanggung jawab dalam segala bentuk penyimpangan dan perubahan (Abah, as the elder of Pesantren Suryalaya, emphatically declares that he will not bear responsibility for any deviations.)” (see attachment-figure 5)

From these two crucial notes, they continue to uphold *adab* by practicing what was left behind by Abah Anom, hoping to receive *baraka* from the elevated spiritual rank held by Abah Anom. As noted by Chih, all disciples of a shaykh must respect rules of behaviour (*adab*) in relation to his person. These can be summarised as absolute submission and obedience to his authority in return for his grace and divine blessings, of which he is considered to be the source:

Do not think that spiritual openness is the result of your devotion, because it is only through your shaykh’s *baraka* that you will get to know God. If you oppose your shaykh internally (*bāṭinan*) or openly (*zāhiran*), you are opposing God and his Messenger. Your shaykh will not be able to help you progress if you do not demonstrate your truthfulness to him.¹⁴⁸

Then, what is the stance of Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya Suryalaya when a disciple begins to lose faith in Abah Anom’s blessings and defects to follow Abah Aos?

Kyai Kodir, who is the chairman of LDTQN Suryalaya, responded that Suryalaya’s approach begins with identifying the reasons why some disciples who initially followed Suryalaya subsequently moved to follow Abah Aos’s teachings in Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya Suryalaya Sirnarasa. First, there is the factor of personal closeness to Abah Aos. During his time as a *talqīn deputy* under Abah Anom, these disciples often

¹⁴⁸ Chih, “The Social Role of Sufis.”

interacted and consulted with him regarding spiritual guidance. Thus, when Abah Aos proclaimed himself as a *murshid*, these disciples naturally followed him. Second, there is the factor of strong belief. These disciples experienced and felt spiritual phenomena such as dreams and miraculous (*karāma*) occurrences directly attributed to Abah Aos, reinforcing their belief in his spiritual leadership. Third, there is the factor of religious justification. Some disciples moved to Sirnarasa based on interpretations from classical Islamic texts stating that a *murshid* must be living to guide disciples toward the hereafter.

Upon understanding these dynamics, the members of Suryalaya affiliated with LDTQN Suryalaya actively approach and guide disciples who have switched allegiance. They employ communicative dialogue to explain the underlying issues. If these efforts fail, Suryalaya does not compel disciples who have switched allegiances to return to the teachings of Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya Suryalaya.

The second program implemented by Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya Suryalaya is called Upgrading, conducted monthly for disciples after the Manāqib of Shaykh ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī at Pesantren Suryalaya. Upgrading entails two main components. Firstly, it involves enhancing the quality of worship through the practice of Abah Anom’s rituals over a two-days event, including sunnah prayers, remembrance (*dhikr*), and other acts of worship, with the aspiration of receiving blessings and spiritual experiences (*karāma*) from Abah Anom through comprehensive adherence. Secondly, there is the standardization of Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya Suryalaya practices to align with the guidelines established by Abah Anom, mainly aimed at disciples in rural areas lacking access to social media. According to Kyai Kodir, many disciples (*Ikhwan*) have been influenced by teachings from Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya Suryalaya Sirnarasa under Abah Aos. For instance, modifications such as altering liturgical formulas (*wird*), appending Abah Aos’s name after Abah Anom’s, and adding salutations during Manāqib have occurred. He emphasizes the need to rectify these deviations because the teachings of Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya must be purified as imparted by Abah Anom. Kyai Kodir argues that Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya’s teachings resemble a doctor’s prescription in that the dosage must be precise—neither deficient nor excessive. Abah Anom meticulously tailored the most suitable practices for his disciples through the guidance of *’Uqūd al-Jumān* and other worship manuals.(see attachment-figure 6) It is feared that any alteration or reduction in *dhikr* practices could pose spiritual risks to the disciples and undermine their spiritual purity before Allah. The concept of *dhikr* in each order, with its specific prescriptions and methods, has been expressly conveyed by al-Kasnizan, who stated:

Among the specialties of the dhikr in each order is the spiritual excellence that an ordinary person cannot attain unless they join as a disciple of that order. This occurs because the virtue of *dhikr* is granted through the relationship between a teacher and a disciple, which is established through *bay'a* or *talqin dhikr*. The various dhikr of different orders are bestowed as blessings specially allocated by Allah to sufi masters to reward their closeness to him.¹⁴⁹

According to Kyai Kodir, among the additions that should be avoided to prevent anger from Abah Anom and thereby avoid missing his blessings is the addition of *tawassul* in the book of '*Uqūd al-Jumān*. There are several additions in the Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya Abah Aos edition of '*Uqūd al-Jumān*, as opposed to the Suryalaya edition. In the Suryalaya edition, when performing daily rituals, the names of the shaykhs in the *tawassul* end with Shaykh Aḥmad Ṣāhib al-Wafā Tāj al-Ārifīn (Abah Anom). However, in the Abah Aos version of '*Uqūd al-Jumān*, there is an addition after the name of Abah Anom, namely Muḥammad 'Abd al-Gawth Sayf Allāh Maslūl al-Kāmil al-Muwaffaq, in the *tawassul* of daily *dhikr* rituals. Kyai Kodir emphasizes the danger of these additions, as they contradict the *maklumat* issued by Abah Anom in 1981, which prohibits altering the teachings of Suryalaya. Abah Anom disclaims responsibility if anything should happen to his disciples.¹⁵⁰

Lastly, the third objective of Upgrading is to register the membership of Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya Suryalaya disciples for administrative purposes. This registration follows Abah Anom's practice during his lifetime, where he issued membership cards for Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya paper. The aim is for the members to be officially registered within Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya externally and internally to be recognized as disciples of Abah Anom in the preserved tablet (*lawḥ al-mahfūz*).

3.4 Conclusion

This chapter discusses the controversy surrounding the claim to *murshid* within the Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya Order Suryalaya. The controversy within this order arises from differing interpretations between the two factions. The first faction, represented by the majority of '*talqin deputies* of Abah Anom and the family of Pesantren Suryalaya, interprets that a *murshid*, even after passing away, does not lose his existence as he can still

¹⁴⁹ Muḥammad al-Kasnizan, *Mausu'a al-Kasnizan fima Istalaha 'Alaihi Ahl al-'Irfan*, (Beirut: Dar 'Ayah, 2005), Vol. 8, 309.

¹⁵⁰ Muḥammad Kodir, The Chief of LDTQN Suryalaya, June 15, 2024.

guides his disciples to this day. The second faction, represented by Abah Aos, one of Abah Anom's senior students, claims himself as a *murshid*, arguing that a *murshid* must be a living person to continually preserve the teachings of Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya until the day of judgment. This difference in interpretation has perpetuated the controversy to the present day. Suryalaya issued a statement called "*Ijma Wakil Talqin*," which does not recognize the spiritual leadership of Abah Aos because he did not have a rational-legal authority namely the letter of *murshidship* authority. In response, Abah Aos issued a declaration stating that the Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya Suryalaya, under his management, aims to preserve the teachings of Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya with a living *murshid* still in existence.

Furthermore, Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya Suryalaya steadfastly believes in the *murshid* of Abah Anom to this day. Despite his passing, the teachings of Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya continue to flourish through his remaining *talqin deputies*, along with Kyai Zayn al-‘Ābidīn Anwār, who serves as the bearer of his mandate. The concept of "death-*murshidship*" is closely related to the idea of *walāya* (sainthood) and *baraka* (spiritual blessings) bestowed by Abah Anom upon his disciples. The intimate knowledge of divine reality that makes Abah Anom a saint grants him the capacity to mediate access to God's power and intervene on behalf of his followers from a position close to divine justice. Two factors reinforce this concept of *baraka*. Firstly, the story of his son, who received a mandate from one of Abah Anom's '*talqin deputies* to remain steadfast with Suryalaya. Secondly, the 1981 *maklumat*, still relevant today, states that Abah Anom disclaims responsibility if any disciple deviates from the teachings of Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya Suryalaya. An upgrading program is held to prevent disciples of Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya Suryalaya from switching allegiance to Abah Aos. This program aims to strengthen the Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya Suryalaya practices among its members.

CHAPTER 4: ABAH AOS AND HIS AUTHORITY FOR MURSHIDSHIP

4.1 Defending the Claim of Murshidship Abah Aos

On July 8, 2024, Abah Aos, through his special assistant Abah Jagat, issued a written statement addressing the numerous rejections concerning his status as the *Murshid* of Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya Suryalaya Sirnarasa, which included the following:

Assalamu'alaikum Warahmatullahi Wabarakatuh,

This *maklumat* is addressed to all those who cherish the purity of the soul worldwide and to all individuals whose identification cards denote their religion as Islam. Abah, for the first time, feels compelled to communicate a fundamental aspect of Abah Aos' spiritual leadership, which, among other things, asserts that the sun still rises in the east. Many people still do not accept the oneness of God; many people still do not accept the prophethood of Muḥammad; and many people also do not receive the spiritual leadership of Sayyidinā 'Āli (the first gateway to Islam), let alone Abah Aos as the 38th gateway. You are free to accept or reject this, as Allah states in Sūrah Al-Kahf, 18:29: "And say, 'The truth is from your Lord. Therefore, whoever wills, let him believe; and whoever wills, let him disbelieve'".

Thus, this *maklumat* from Pangersa Abah is conveyed for us to practice together.¹⁵¹

The above *maklumat* marks the first time he has openly acknowledged himself as a *murshid*. In the years prior, he never explicitly claimed to be a *murshid* because, in his view, anyone who claims to be a *murshid* cannot have their status validated. Typically, he used hyperbolic language, such as referring to himself as the 38th gateway, indicating he is the 38th *murshid* in the genealogy of Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya Suryalaya. He also used expressions like "Suryalaya telah pindah ke Sirnarasa (Suryalaya has moved to Sirnarasa,)" implying that the practices associated with Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya are no longer in Suryalaya and have now shifted to Sirnarasa.

According to Abah Aos, as documented by Lidi Amin, the lineage of Murshidship is always constant, akin to a train and its carriages, with the purpose of ensuring the direction of the disciples. The rear carriages are invariably pulled by the front ones, and

¹⁵¹ Pembantu Khusus Abah Aos, "Maklumat Guru Agung Hadlrotus Syeikh Abah Aos Ra Qs Ahad, 7 Juli 2024," accessed July 10, 2024, https://www.facebook.com/story.php?id=100069811802149&story_fbid=793914682945585.

this continues until the destination is reached. The objective of the ongoing Murshidship is to connect the dhikr “*Lā Ilāha Illa Allāh*” to the Prophet Muḥammad, the Angel Gabriel (*Jibrīl*), and ultimately to Allah.

A *murshid*, he further explains, is a lifeline for the disciple; without this lifeline, it is impossible to connect one’s spiritual being to the spiritual essence of the Prophet Muḥammad. If someone disagrees with this perspective, mistakenly believing that the divine lifeline has simply been severed, they must understand that belief in the One, Abah Anom, necessitates following the two, Abah Aos, and so forth. This is a simple formula for comprehending the order and continuity of spiritual practices and divine lifeline until the judgement day.

To further his defense, Abah Aos recounts several significant events involving Abah Anom to legitimize the regal-rational authority he possesses. The first event occurred in 1973 when Abah Anom instructed Abah Aos to attend a preaching training session, which was attended by scholars opposed to the Sufi order. During the training, the attending scholars bombarded Abah Aos with critical questions. He reported this to Abah Anom, who firmly commanded him to confront them. Following Abah Anom’s directive, Abah Aos addressed all the critical questions posed by the anti-Sufi scholars smoothly and without any difficulty.

The second event took place in 1989 when Mayor Yoga Sugama sought permission from Abah Anom to accompany him by saying, “Abah, saya mau pinjam jendralnya (Abah, I want to borrow your general),” to which Abah Anom responded, “Aya kitu waktunya (the time will come)”, while glancing at Abah Aos. This implied that there would be a time when Abah Aos would eventually become a *murshid*.¹⁵²

His followers believe that a disciple chosen by Abah Anom is someone long prepared by their teacher to become a *murshid*. In the transfer of murshidship authority, it is certain that a teacher has observed the prospective *murshid*’s courage, loyalty, and obedience. According to the Hakim, Abah Aos is the only disciple of Abah Anom whose character, behavior, and worship are identical to Abah Anom’s. He follows whatever Abah Anom does and commands and refrains from doing anything unless instructed or prohibited by Abah Anom. It can be said that, according to his followers, Abah Aos is a copy of Abah Anom.

Therefore, in this part, I argue that Abah Aos builds his authority by combining only two types of authority: traditional and charismatic. He does not possess rational-legal

¹⁵² Lidi Amin, *Suryalaya Bukan Panggung Sandiwara: Perjalanan Syaikh Muḥammad Abdul Gaos Saefullah Maslul q.s* (Ciamis: Yayasan Lautan Tanpa Tepi, 2021).

authority, which would be evidenced by his recognition as a legitimate *murshid* by all parties. Instead, his authority is based solely on personal claims and those of his followers. I will discuss the intellectual genealogy and sources of his authority in building the trust of his followers, as well as his political stance, which tends to be controversial.

4.2 Intellectual Genealogy of Abah Aos

Bottcher notes that a leader in order to build his network is required to have islamic knowledge yang luas to attract a large following.¹⁵³ In this section, I will analyze Abah Aos intellectual genealogy, which he acquired from three islamic scholars (*kyai*) in West Java. Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Gawth, commonly known as Abah Aos, was born September 1, 1944, in Panjalu, Ciamis, West Java. He was born into a devoutly religious family. From a social status perspective, his parents, ‘Abd Allāh Ibrahīm and Siti Muslihat were religious leaders in the region, holding the titles of *Kyai Haji* and *Ustadhah*. His parents significantly influenced the development of Abah Aos’s personality, both intellectually and spiritually. Interestingly, signs of his future prominence as a highly influential religious leader were evident before he was born.¹⁵⁴ Kyai Lukman stated that:

While still in his mother Siti Muslihat’s womb, she dreamt of being visited by his grandfather, Sheikh Muḥammad Kahfī, a *murshid* of the Shattariyya order in his time, along with his great-uncle, Ajengan Sharīf al-Dīn Banjarsari Banjarsana. They entered a small house carrying a carpet and a crystal stone. They set them up, invited Abah Aos’s mother to sit with them, and then his grandfather Muḥammad Kahfī called her and informed her that she would have a son and to name him “ ‘Abd al-Gawth.” He advised that it would be best to send him to an Islamic boarding school (*pesantren*); even if he did not study at a *pesantren*, the child would inherit divine knowledge (*al-‘ilm al-ladunnī*).

Abah Aos spent his youth studying in his hometown of Panjalu, Ciamis, West Java. Generally, his educational background is divided into two phases: formal and non-formal. His formal education was similar to that of most people living in post-independence Indonesia, beginning with Volkschool (Sekolah Rakyat) in 1950.

¹⁵³ Bottcher, “Sunni and Shi’I Networking in the Middle East,”

¹⁵⁴ Deni Kusuma, “Biografi Dakwah: Syekh Muḥammad Abdul Gaos Saefulloh Maslul Al-Quthb 1970-2017” (Yogyakarta, Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2018), 19–20.

At 13, in 1957, Abah Aos embarked on his religious education at Pesantren Gegempalan in Maparah Panjalu, which Kyai Iskandar Zayn al-'Ārifin led at the time. He was considered a brilliant student, surpassing the knowledge of his peers and even the senior students of Kyai Iskandar. Abdulsomad explains that Kyai Iskandar praised Abah Aos' knowledge by stating that all the knowledge available at Pesantren Gegempalan had been imparted to him. Remarkably, Abah Aos memorized the entire al-Qur'ān in just two months.¹⁵⁵ Kusuma adds that Abah Aos was the only student trusted by Kyai Iskandar to take care of his five children. Abah Aos fed them, gave them drinks, and even cleaned them after they defecated. He also often took the children for walks to his home in Ciceuri, carrying them up and down the hills individually. Furthermore, Abah Aos was entrusted with caring for Kyai Iskandar's other students and managing public religious studies for the community.¹⁵⁶

After spending ten years at Pesantren Gegempalan, Panjalu, Ciamis, Abah Aos continued his studies in 1965 at Pesantren Cintawana, Tasikmalaya, under Kyai Ishāq Farīd. At this second Pesantren, he did not begin as a student learning new knowledge from scratch, as he did in Gegempalan; instead, he often helped Kyai Ishāq for teaching other students. Despite this, according to Kyai Ishāq, Abah Aos was an exceptional figure because, although he had already mastered religious sciences, he never tired of studying them. In the three years he spent at this Pesantren, he completed all the religious studies offered there.

Upon returning from Pesantren Cintawana in 1968, Abah Aos married Rosliani Hasanah, a woman from Tasikmalaya living in Dado, Bandung. After their marriage, he returned to his hometown and established the Pesantren al-Iṣlāh, later renamed Pesantren Sirnarasa, in 1980, following Abah Anom's directive. Shortly after founding al-Iṣlāh Pesantren, Abah Aos visited Pesantren Suryalaya to take *talqin dhikr* with Abah Anom. After receiving the *talqin dhikr* of the Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya order, Abah Aos did not immediately practice the teachings of the order. Instead, he sought to thoroughly study the teachings developed by Abah Anom using al-Qur'ān, Ḥadīth, and the works of Sufi scholars as benchmarks.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁵ Abdulsomad and Yusuf, *Cahaya Medal Ti Gunung Syawal* (Ciamis: Yayasan Sirnarasa Ciseurri, 2018), 21.

¹⁵⁶ Deni Kusuma, "Biografi Dakwah: Syekh Muḥammad Abdul Gaos Saefulloh Maslul Al-Quthb 1970-2017," 26.

¹⁵⁷ Ahmad Mukhtar, "Pendidikan Tarekat Abah Aos: Studi Pemikiran Dan Karya Abah Gaos" (Ciputat, UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta, 2009), 69–71; Hakim, *Actualization of Neo-Sufism: A Case Study of the Tariqa Qadiriyya Naqshabandiyya Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya*, 223.

In 1972, Abah Aos began to firmly believe in the validity of the Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya teachings as imparted by Abah Anom, positioning himself as a specialist in sufism. From that year onward, he diligently practiced all the devotions and religious activities undertaken by Abah Anom, his *murshid*. This is inseparable from Abah Aos mastery of Islamic knowledge. From Kyai Iskandar, Kyai Ishāq, and Abah Anom, he studied extensively across various fields of scholarship. In *Naḥwu and Sharf*, he studied texts such as *Matn al-Ajrūmiyya*, *Lāmiya al-Af'āl*, *Naẓm al-Imriṭī*, *Sharḥ al-Kafrāwī*, *Matn al-Bīnā wa al-Asās*, *Sharḥ al-Taftāzāni 'Ala Matn al-'Uzzī*, *Matn Alfīyya ibn Mālik*. In the field of *Balāgha*, he engaged with *'Uqūd al-Jumān and Sharḥ Jawhar al-Maknūn*. In *Mantiq*, he studied *Matn Sullam al-Murawnaq and Matn al-Shamsiyya*. In *Uṣūl Fiqh*, his studies included *Matn al-Waraqāt*, *Laṭāif al-Ishārāt*, *Ghāya al-Wuṣūl Sharḥ Lubḥ al-Uṣūl*, and *Jam'u al-Jawāmi'*. In *Fiqh*, he engaged with *Safīnat al-Najā*, *Safīnāt al-Ṣalāt*, *Riyāḍ al-Badī'a*, *al-Iqnā'*, *Fath al-Wahhāb*, *I'ānat al-Ṭālibīn*, *Fath al-Qarīb*. Turning to *Tafsīr*, he studied *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn*, *Marāḥ al-Labīd*, *Tafsīr al-Ṭabarī*, and *Tafsīr al-Jīlānī*. In *Ḥadīth* studies, he studied *Naṣaiḥ al-'Ibād*, *Bulūgh al-Marām*, *Riyāḍ al-Ṣālihīn*, *Subūl al-Sālām*, *Ṣahīḥ al-Bukhārī and Muslim*. Lastly, in *Tasawwuf*, he studied *Miftāḥ al-Ṣudūr*, *Marāqī al-'Ubūdiyya*, *Minḥāj al-'Ābidīn*, *Fath al-Rabbāni*, *al-Anwār al-Qudsiyya*, *Ihyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn*, and *Jāmī al-Uṣūl fī al-Awliyā'*.¹⁵⁸ Due to his extensive knowledge of classical islamic books and his position in the traditional Panjalu community as a descendant of religious leaders on both sides, he effectively combines two forms of authority to strengthen his followers belief in his role as murshid; traditional and charismatic authority.

In 1980, Abah Aos began to undertake broader propagation tasks, extending beyond the region of Ciamis to encompass areas such as Jakarta, Bandung, Cirebon, Central Java, East Java, and even Kalimantan Island.

During this year, Abah Anom conferred upon Abah Aos an additional title, *Sayf Allāh Maslūl* (A Drawn Sword), appended to his name, Muḥammad 'Abd al-Gawth. Recognizing his capabilities, Abah Anom appointed Abah Aos as his *talqīn deputy* in 1990 and entrusted him with head of knowledge and missionary activities at the Pesantren Suryalaya for two consecutive terms.

Since then, his missionary activities have not been confined solely to his residential area or even Indonesia; he has frequently engaged in international activities in countries

¹⁵⁸ Abah Jagat, Interview with Talqin Deputy Sirnarasa, June 8, 2024.

such as Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand, and Brunei Darussalam, particularly in nurturing and expanding the Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya Suryalaya order.¹⁵⁹

4.3 The Sources of Authority Abah Aos

The sources of authority held by Abah Aos are traditional and charismatic. The first is his *nasab*. Alatas notes that *nasab*, in traditional Arab societies, serves as the foundational structural element. It historically verifies familial ties and encompasses entitlements and moral obligations, such as establishing social status and ethical duties.¹⁶⁰ Abu-Lughod adds that *nasab* gives someone excellence, Honor, sincerity and honesty and generosity.¹⁶¹ However, Leder also highlights the negative impacts of *nasab*, including the potential for individual ambition due to possessing a noble lineage. He further cites Ibn Khaldūn, stating that *nasab* is a concept that has no foundation in reality, but is beneficial for the social and political expediency of the proximity that it helps to create.¹⁶²

Abah Aos's lineage traces back to the Prophet Muḥammad through both his paternal and maternal lines. There are two recorded versions of Abah Aos's lineage: the first through Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jilānī, as noted by Abdulsomad, and the second through Faqīh al-Muqaddam al-Ba'alawī, as documented by Babad Banten. On his mother's side, he is a descendant of *Umm Kulthum* (see attachment – table 2). According to Kyai Akbar, both lineages are legitimate because Abah Aos's lineage is a result of spiritual insight. One of his *talqin deputies*, Kyai Sa'd al-Dīn, possesses the ability to trace someone's lineage by knowing only their grandfather.¹⁶³ However, according to Kyai Wahfī, his *nasab* is false because there is no documented evidence from any lineage recording institution (*naqāba al-ashrāf*) in the world. In addition to manipulating the *murshid* position according to Kyai Wahfī, Abah Aos also manipulated his *nasab* to the Prophet Muḥammad personally to take advantage and believe the community that he was new *murshid*.¹⁶⁴ Regarding the issue of lineage, it is not generally known that there exists a method of lineage determination through *kashf* (spiritual unveiling) or dreams to connect oneself to the Prophet Muḥammad. There must be acknowledgment from an established lineage recording institution that affirms Abah Aos as a descendant of the Prophet.

¹⁵⁹ Deni Kusuma, "Biografi Dakwah: Syekh Muḥammad Abdul Gaos Saefulloh Maslul Al-Quthb 1970-2017."

¹⁶⁰ Alatas, "Sufi Lineages and Families."

¹⁶¹ Lila Abu-Lughod, *Veiled Sentiments: Honor and Poetry in a Bedouin Society*, Thirtieth anniversary edition, with a new afterword (Oakland, California: University of California Press, 2016), 46.

¹⁶² Stefan Leder, "Nasab as Idiom and Discourse," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 58, no. 1–2 (April 10, 2015): 59, <https://doi.org/10.1163/15685209-12341371>.

¹⁶³ Akbar Mardani, Interview with 'talqin deputy of Sirnarasa, July 1, 2024.

¹⁶⁴ Sakam, Interview with 'talqin deputy of Suryalaya.

Interestingly, there are significant discrepancies between the two genealogical records of his lineage. In the first genealogical record, through his paternal line, he is positioned as the 32nd in the lineage, whereas in the second record, he is positioned as the 41st. Furthermore, through his maternal line, he is positioned as the 25th in the lineage, despite the fact that his father is significantly older than his mother. Logically, his paternal lineage should be higher than his maternal lineage, but the opposite is true, which raises substantial doubts about the validity of his lineage, leading to it being unverified by any credible sources, leaving only unsubstantiated claims.

The second source of authority Abah Aos holds, which garners him significant trust from his followers, is the recognition and numerous titles bestowed upon him by sufi masters worldwide. This indicates that his followers believe he possesses extraordinary charisma and is acknowledged as *al-Qutb*. As explained by Golestaneh, *al-Qutb* means “pole or axis,” entities around which entire worlds orient themselves. Additionally, *al-Qutb* signifies “the title many Sufis employ for the highest spiritual figure of authority,” referring to that singular individual so close to God that entire communities coalesce around them, with each complex solar system shaped by the *al-Qutb*’s particular gravitational pull.¹⁶⁵

Among the Sufis who visited him and bestowed their titles upon him are: *Sayf Allāh Maslūl* from Abah Anom in 1980, *al-Qādirī* from Shaykh Hashīm al-Dīn al-Jīlānī in 2013, *al-Kāmil* from Shaykh Muḥammad Fādil al-Jīlānī in 2014, *al-Naqshabandī* from Shaykh ‘Afīf al-Dīn al-Jīlānī in 2014, *al-Muwaffaq* from Shaykh ‘Abd al-‘Azīz ‘Abdīn in 2016, *al-Muttaqī* from Shaykh Muḥammad Fādil al-Jīlānī in 2016, *al-Mujaddid* from Abah Anom through Kyai Saifullah al Maburur, *al-Samadānī* from Shaykh Abd al-Azīz ‘Abdīn in 2017, and *al-Mahdī* from Shaykh Ḥasan al-Zāhir in 2017. Additionally in 2015, while performing Umrah, Abah Aos visited Sayyid Aḥmad al-Mālikī and received several compliments directly from him. Sayyid Aḥmad mentioned that he usually did not receive guests in the morning, but out of his love for Abah Aos, he welcomed him with pleasure. Sayyid Aḥmad also pointed to Abah Aos chest and mentioned that his heart did not stop remembering Allah with *dhikr*. Finally, Sayyid Aḥmad declared that disciples of Qadiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya Sirnarasa had become part of his family.¹⁶⁶

Thirdly, the sources of authority that Abah Aos possessed to legitimize his murshidship are the books he authored in Arabic, compiled into “*Majmū’a al-Rasāil*” (The Collection of Sufi Matters), consisting of four works by Abah Aos: “*Faḍāil al-Shuhūr li*

¹⁶⁵ Seema Golestaneh, “And the Master Answered?: Deferrals of Authority in Contemporary Sufism in Iran,” *Iranian Studies* 56, no. 2 (April 2023): 365–86, <https://doi.org/10.1017/irn.2022.63>.

¹⁶⁶ Mardani, Interview with *talqin deputy* of Sirnarasa.

Tālibi Ridā Rabb al-Ghafūr,” “al-Sunan al-Marḍiyya fī al-‘Amaliyya al-Murshidiyya,” “Fath al-Jalīl fī ‘Alāmāt al-Murshid al-Kāmil,” and “al-Fikra al-Jadīda fī Faḍāil Shuhūr annaha min asmā Allāh al-Husnā. (see attachment-figure 10)”

Among these four books, only two are the primary reference points for Abah Aos to convince his followers of his charismatic authority. The first is the book “ *al-Sunan al-Marḍiyya fī al-‘Amaliyya al-Murshidiyya,*” which contains the habits and rituals practiced by Abah Anom, such as praying at the beginning of prayer times, honoring guests and saints of Allah, performing special prayers during the middle of the month of Sha’ban, increasing charity, and others. According to his disciples, Abah Aos has faithfully followed all the practices of Abah Anom. Thus, when he initially claimed to be a murshid in 2013, he invited several of his talqin deputies to participate in a program called “*Ṣuḥba with the Shaykh Murshid,*” a two-week retreat to observe all the religious practices performed by Abah Aos. They were astonished because Abah Aos's days were filled with acts of worship, and they rarely saw him sleep at night. This increased their conviction that Abah Aos was the legitimate successor of Abah Anom.¹⁶⁷

The second is the book “*al-Fath al-Jalīl*” which discusses the signs of someone possessing complete and perfected moral character as a *murshid* kamil. This includes moral conduct towards fellow humans and towards Allah, such as having a continuous lineage of teachers connected to the Prophet Muḥammad, being knowledgeable (*‘ālim*), speaking sparingly (*qillāt al-akl*), possessing qualities of patience (*ṣabr*), gratitude (*shukr*), contentment (*qana’ā*), humility (*tawadū’*), and others. All of the Qualities in this book were already present in Abah Aos.¹⁶⁸ All the aforementioned traits, according to Hakim, are present in Abah Aos. This is attributed to his early experiences with Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya Suryalaya, during which he faced extraordinary hardships in life. Despite these challenges, he remained grateful and patient in confronting them.¹⁶⁹

And the final source of authority that he possessed, convincing his disciples that he was the legitimate successor of Abah Anom, was his numerous *karāma* witnessed directly by him. One of the stories recounted by Lidi Amin involves Abah Aos’s disciple from Tegal, Anfas Kusumo, who vowed inwardly, “Saya bersumpah tidak akan mengakui kewalian dan kemursyidan Abah Aos kalau beliau tidak menunjukkan sedikit karamahnya (I swear I will not acknowledge Abah Aos as the saint and successor of Abah Anom unless Allah shows me even a small karāma).” He uttered this vow at a hospital in Brebes while

¹⁶⁷ Mardani.

¹⁶⁸ Muḥammad Abdul Gaos, *Majmu’a al-Rasail* (Tangerang: Maktaba Jagat Arsy, 2020).

¹⁶⁹ Jagat, Interview with Talqin Deputy Sirnarasa.

watching his child lying weak, having not defecated for two weeks. Immediately after that, his child was able to defecate, leading him to believe in Abah Aos's *karāma* as the saint and successor of Abah Anom.¹⁷⁰

4.4 Abah Aos and His Political Movement

Abah Aos utilizes his charisma as a recognized *murshid* by his disciples to strengthen his political behavior. According to Carr political behavior can be defined as a study of human actions in political situations. While Ramlan Subakti, defines political behavior as an activity related to the process of making political decisions.¹⁷¹ A concrete example of this is his directive for his disciples to wear uniforms and red-and-white caps at all times. Abah Aos even issued a warning that if a disciple did not wear the red and white, their prayers would be considered invalid and would need to be repeated. According to Kyai Akbar, Abah Aos issued this directive because red and white attire has multiple interpretations. First, red and white symbolize nationalism, reflecting the colors of the Indonesian flag. Second, in the context of Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya Suryalaya Sirnarasa, red and white represent *dhikr jahr* (red) and *dhikr khofi* (white). Third, red and white symbolize strength and gentleness simultaneously. This distinctive uniform policy stands in stark contrast to the Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya Suryalaya, which permits any attire during its activities (see attachment-figure 6).

Second, in selecting *talqin deputies*, Abah Aos deviates from the approach of Abah Anom, who emphasized spiritual aspects by consulting the *lawh al-mahfuz*. Instead, Abah Aos considers political factors, aiming to integrate the order into governmental structures. By appointing politicians as *talqin deputies*, he strategically positions them in key government, political, and social roles. The primary reason for this approach is to ensure that the order can penetrate and influence governmental institutions effectively. This approach seeks to harness their influence and capabilities to bolster the performance of various institutions, including government agencies. By aligning with politicians, Abah Aos aims to garner support for government policies that may be in line with the values and principles of the order. These appointed politicians can serve as advocates for the order's objectives and ideals within government and political circles.

¹⁷⁰ Lidi Amin, *Suryalaya Bukan Panggung Sandiwara: Perjalanan Syaikh Muhammad Abdul Gaos Saefullah Maslul q.s.*, 158.

¹⁷¹ Welhendri Azwar and Muliono Muliono, "The Multifaced Politics: A Study on Polarization of Political Behavior of Tarekat Community in West Sumatera, Indonesia," *Al-Jami'ah: Journal of Islamic Studies* 60, no. 2 (October 21, 2022): 315–46, <https://doi.org/10.14421/ajis.2022.602.315-346>.

Second, attracting new members and boosting confidence: The second rationale revolves around expanding the order's reach and influence. By having prominent politicians as members, Abah Aos aims to attract more people to join the order. The presence of these public officials and influential figures can enhance the credibility and appeal of the order, potentially motivating individuals to become followers. Existing members may also gain greater confidence in their affiliation when they see respected politicians associating with the order. This, in turn, strengthens the community and its ties to the order.

Third, creating political patrons: the appointment of politicians as *'talqin deputies* goes beyond mere symbolism. It is a strategic move to create political patrons who can provide valuable access to networks and resources that can support the development of the order. Politicians often have extensive networks, and their affiliation can grant the order access to resources and opportunities that may not have been otherwise available. This symbiotic relationship benefits both the Order and the politicians.

Fourth, spiritual influence and grassroots support: Perhaps the most profound expectation tied to the appointment of politicians as *talqin deputies* is the spiritual dimension. These appointed individuals can serve as spiritual influencers, given their public recognition and extensive fan base. They can use their platform to introduce others to the order, conveying the order's teachings in a language and context that resonates with their followers. Additionally, these politicians often have strong grassroots support, making them highly influential at the community level. By appointing them as *talqin deputies*, Abah Aos may anticipate that their followers will follow suit and become members of the order, leading to a further expansion of the order's reach.¹⁷²

A concrete example of this approach can be seen in the case of Imām Nahrawī, a former Minister of Youth and Sports during the Jokowi administration. In 2019, he visited Abah Aos with the intention of becoming one of his *talqin deputies*. Imam Nahrawi expressed his visit on his Facebook page, where he wrote:

Alhamdulillah, I had the opportunity to meet Sheikh Muḥammad 'Abd al-Gawth Sayf Allāh Maslūl, affectionately known as Abah Aos. He is the founder of Pondok Pesantren Sirnarasa. We met this morning at the Pesantren Jagat Arsy, BSD Tangerang. At this place, I was entrusted with sharing my

¹⁷² Jagat, Interview with Talqin Deputy Sirnarasa.

experiences in a national lecture with the theme ‘The Central Role of Youth in Preserving the Integrity, Unity, and Unity of the Republic of Indonesia.’¹⁷³

In essence, Abah Aos’s decision to appoint politicians as *talqin deputies* represents a nuanced strategy that bridges the worlds of politics and spirituality. It is a dynamic approach that seeks to leverage the influence, resources, and social capital of politicians for the betterment and expansion of the order (see attachment-figure 7).

And the final step taken by Abah Aos is his direct involvement in practical politics by supporting specific candidates. In every national political contest, as mentioned by Abah Jagat, Abah Aos follows a distinct pattern in choosing the candidates he supports. Abah Aos tends to select candidates who display strong indications of winning the national political contest, particularly if these candidates are making their initial foray into public elections. When an incumbent is among the contenders, Abah Aos often favors the incumbent candidate.

In 2014, Abah Aos faced a significant political test during the presidential election, which was held to replace President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, who had already served two terms and was ineligible to run again. During the 2014 Presidential Election, Abah Aos extended his support to Prabowo Subianto and Hatta Rajasa, although they did not emerge victorious. Additionally, he directed his followers in Jakarta to vote for Muslim candidates in the Governor-Vice Governor race, and they secured a victory.

Moving forward to 2019, during the Presidential election, Abah Aos had already made a decision to back the incumbent President, Joko Widodo (Jokowi), who was seeking re-election. Abah Aos advised his followers to vote for Jokowi and his running mate, Kyai Ma’rūf Amīn, who had previously served as the head of the Indonesian Ulama Council (MUI) and the Nahdlatul Ulama (NU). Abah Aos’s rationale for supporting Jokowi was grounded in the belief of supporting the incumbent and a personal connection he had with Kyai Ma’rūf due to their shared religious activities. Kyai Ma’rūf expressed his gratitude to Abah Aos for his support, and they also crossed paths at a religious event in November 2018. Abah Aos articulated his support in the following manner: “Ma’rūf Amīn as a symbol of a religious figure and Jokowi as a statesman, this is what Abah has been waiting for.”¹⁷⁴

As for the upcoming presidential election in 2024, Abah Aos has openly endorsed Anies Baswedan as a candidate for the Indonesian presidency. He issued a proclamation to

¹⁷³ Imam Nahrawi, “Silaturahmi Ke Syekh Abdul Gaos,” January 11, 2019, https://web.facebook.com/852535984802606/posts/alhamdulillah-bisa-silaturahmi-ke-syekh-Muhammad-abdul-gaos-syaefullah-maslul-at/2151255241597334/?_rdc=1&_rdr.

¹⁷⁴ <https://www.kuninganreligi.com/2018/10/jamaah-tqn-ponpes-suryalaya-dukung.html>

his followers in the Qādiriyya and Naqshabandiyya throughout Indonesia, urging them to support Anies Baswedan in the 2024 presidential election.¹⁷⁵ Furthermore, Abah Aos's decision is not arbitrary; he claims that the directive to choose Anies comes from the guidance of his late mentor, Abah Anom. This is not the first time Abah Aos has supported Anies. In 2017, during the Jakarta gubernatorial election, Abah Aos had issued a statement in support of Anies during the gubernatorial election in DKI.¹⁷⁶

4.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, I discuss how Abah Aos defends his status as the legitimate *murshid* against the rejections from the Suryalaya faction. He argues his case through several significant events he experienced as a disciple of Abah Anom. Additionally, I explore how he builds his traditional authority and charismatic authority through his impressive mastery of classical Islamic texts, his Arabic writings, and the *karāma* witnessed firsthand by his followers.

Furthermore, in leading the Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya order, Abah Aos substantially changed Abah Anom's teachings. He mandated his disciples to wear red and white uniforms to emphasize nationalism, appointed *talqin deputies* from political circles to integrate his teachings into the government, and actively participated in practical politics by supporting specific candidates who he believed had a high potential to win political contests.

In conclusion, Abah Aos spiritual, intellectual, cultural, and political pursuits enable him to navigate and integrate Weber's two types of authority, reinforcing his position as a Sufi leader. His ability to blend traditional and charismatic authority demonstrates a multifaceted approach to murshidship that adapts to the changing dynamics of his community and the broader sosiopolitical landscape.

¹⁷⁵ Liputan News, "Fenomena Politik: Menobatkan Anies Sebagai Imam Mahdi, Abah Aos Berikan Rambutnya Dari Surga Untuk Jimat," August 21, 2023, <https://liputan9.id/fenomena-politik-menobatkan-anies-sebagai-imam-mahdi/>.

¹⁷⁶ Budi Rahman Hakim, *Actualization of neo-sufism: A case study of the Tariqa Qadiriyya Naqshabandiyya Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya*, (Holland: Tillburg University, 2020) 251-255.

CHAPTER 5

5.1 Conclusion

According to Sedgwick, applying Weber's theory of authority—comprising traditional, rational-legal, and charismatic forms—provides a nuanced lens through which to analyze authority dynamics within Sufism. In the context of the Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya Suryalaya Order, the application of these three types of authority is not always concurrent or uniformly applied.

Historically, the Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya Order in Indonesia has predominantly relied on traditional and charismatic authority rather than rational-legal authority. Many murshids within this order claim autonomy based solely on their traditional and charismatic credentials, without formal rational-legal structures. This shift can be observed in the transition from spiritual succession based on direct discipleship to a system of hereditary succession. The spread of the order through institutions such as pesantren in Mranggen, Rejoso, and Suryalaya exemplifies this shift, where lineage rather than formalized legal authority becomes the basis for leadership succession.

Given this context, the conventional understanding of murshid requires redefinition. A more comprehensive definition might be: “Someone who has undergone mystical travel (*sulūk*)—under the rigorous spiritual guidance of their own murshid over a specified period—allowing them to lead the travelers (*sālik*). Their murshidship is acknowledged, at a minimum, by their followers as the legitimate successor of the previous murshid.” This definition accommodates the nuanced forms of authority within the Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya Order and reflects the complex interplay between traditional, charismatic, and, where applicable, rational-legal elements in determining leadership succession.

In the case of the Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya Suryalaya, I found a divergence from what Zarcone and Schmieiding stated, particularly regarding the notion that there has been a decline in Sufi practices due to the emergence of a hereditary dynasty lacking in Sufi competence, especially concerning the 20th Abah. Abah Anom, a *murshid* of the Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya Suryalaya, despite receiving the authority of a murshid from his father, was able to expand the order internationally. This success can be attributed to his integration of three types of authority: traditional, as he was a direct descendant of the previous murshid, Abah Sepuh; charismatic, due to his mastery of both esoteric and

exoteric knowledge, along with the *karāma* (miracles) acknowledged by many people; and rational-legal, as his father formally appointed him through the *Ijazā al-Irshād* or murshidship authority in the form of a written decree.

In Chapter 3, I discuss the controversy that arose following the death of Abah Anom, who did not appoint a successor to become the next *murshid*. The struggle for *murshidship* authority became inevitable between two parties: the Suryalaya family and Abah Anom's senior disciple, Abah Aos, who openly claimed himself as the new *murshid* of the Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya order. This conflict is rooted in differing interpretations of a murshidship authority. The Suryalaya faction rejected Abah Aos's claim because he lacked rational-legal authority, such as a direct appointment by Abah Anom or an official letter designating him as Abah Anom's successor. In contrast, Abah Aos asserted that it is inconceivable for a *murshid* not to appoint a successor within the order, and he remained adamant in his claim to murshidship, relying solely on his traditional and charismatic authority. As a result, Suryalaya currently experiences a vacancy in the position of *murshid*, with its members believing that although Abah Anom has passed away, his status as murshid remains intact, and he can still guide his disciples towards Allah.

In Chapter 4, I discuss how Abah Aos established his authority despite the Suryalaya family's rejection of his murshid status. In this chapter, I also argue that although Abah Aos lacked rational-legal authority, his followers still recognised him as a *murshid* due to several factors. These factors include his mastery of classical Islamic texts, his pure lineage from both parents tracing back to the Prophet Muḥammad, the numerous accolades and honorific titles bestowed upon him by scholars worldwide, and his charisma, which deeply resonated with his disciples. Consequently, he garnered recognition from his followers as a *murshid*. Furthermore, his political movements, such as requiring his disciples to wear red and white, appointing politicians as *talqin deputies*, and supporting specific candidates in local elections, were obeyed by his disciples without any objection.

5.2 Research Suggestion

To further expand on the research in this thesis, it would be valuable to explore a comparative study of the succession of murshidship across different Sufi orders in Indonesia. Examining orders beyond the Qādiriyya wa Naqshabandiyya, such as the Shādhiliyya, Tījāniyya, or Idrīsiyya could help scholars identify whether similar conflicts and struggles for authority occur and how different cultural, regional, and historical contexts shape these dynamics. This could enhance our understanding of the role of local

customs and external influences in the succession processes, revealing broader patterns or unique variances in Sufi leadership transitions.

Another promising research direction would be to investigate the contemporary impact of murshidship conflicts on the followers and communities associated with these Sufi orders. Specifically, analyzing how these disputes influence the spiritual practices, social cohesion, and political affiliations of disciples could provide insights into the broader societal implications of religious authority disputes. This study could employ a mixed-methods approach, combining ethnographic fieldwork with surveys or interviews to capture a comprehensive view of the lived experiences and perceptions of the *murshid's* followers.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abdul Gaos, Muhammad. *Majmu'a al-Rasail*. Tangerang: Maktaba Jagat Arsy, 2020.
- Abdulshomad and Yusuf. *Cahaya Medal Ti Gunung Syawal*. Ciamis: Yayasan Sirnarasa Ciseurri, 2018.
- Abu-Lughod, Lila. *Veiled Sentiments: Honor and Poetry in a Bedouin Society*. Thirtieth anniversary edition, with A new afterword. Oakland, California: University of California Press, 2016.
- Abun-Nasr, Jamil M. *Muslim Communities of Grace: The Sufi Brotherhoods in Islamic Religious Life*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2007.
- Afandi, Ahmad Hasan. *Kontroversi Kyai Tarekat: Studi Pergeseran Orientasi Politik Kyai Tarekat Qodiriyah Wa Naqsabandiyah*. Surabaya: Scopindo, 2020.
- Ahmad, Maghfur, Abdul Aziz, Mochammad N. Afad, Siti M. Muniroh, and Husnul Qodim. "The Sufi Order against Religious Radicalism in Indonesia." *HTS Teologiese Studies / Theological Studies* 77, no. 4 (May 18, 2021). <https://doi.org/10.4102/hts.v77i4.6417>.
- Ahmad Mukhtar. "Pendidikan Tarekat Abah Aas: Studi Pemikiran Dan Karya Abah Gaos." UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta, 2009.
- Alatas, Ismail Fajrie. "Sufi Lineages and Families." In *Handbook of Sufi Studies*, edited by Marcia K. Hermansen, Christian Lange, Bilal Orfali, and Alexandre Papas, 374–84. Leiden: Brill, 2021.
- . *What Is Religious Authority?* New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2021.
- 'Ali, Mukhlif. *Al-Kunuz Al-Nuraniyya*. Cairo: Dar al-Rayhanah, 2017.
- Al-Jurjani, Al-Sharif. *Al-Ta'rifat*. Cairo: Dar al-Rayyan li al-Turast, 2005.
- Andezian, Sossie. "Old Practices and New Meanings: Saint Veneration in Western Algeria." In *Archaeology of Sainthood and Local Spirituality in Islam: Past Present Crossroads of Events and Ideas*, edited by Georg Stauth, 107–25. Bielefeld: Verlag, 2004.
- Anjar Sukmana, Gunawan. "Hierarki Tarekat Qodiriyah Nasyabandiyah Suryalaya Relasi Dan Fungsi Struktur Nilai Pranata TQN." In *Tarekat Qadiriyyah Naqsabandiyah: Studi Etnografi Tarekat Sufi Di Indonesia*, edited by Abdurrahman, 153–87. Sleman: Deepublish, 2015.
- Anjum, Tanvir. "Sons of Bread and Sons of Soul: Lineal and Spiritual Descendants of Baba Farid and the Issue of Succession, in Sufism in Punjab: Mystics, Literature and Shrines." In *Sufism in Punjab: Mystics, Literature and Shrines*, edited by Surinder Singh and Ishwar Dayal Gaur, 63–79. Delhi: Aakar Books, 2009.

- Azwar, Welhendri, and Muliono Muliono. "The Multifaced Politics: A Study on Polarization of Political Behavior of Tarekat Community in West Sumatera, Indonesia." *Al-Jami'ah: Journal of Islamic Studies* 60, no. 2 (October 21, 2022): 315–46. <https://doi.org/10.14421/ajis.2022.602.315-346>.
- Bottcher, Annabelle. "Religious Authority in Transnational Sufi Networks: Shaykh Nazim al-Qubrusi al-Haqqani al-Naqshabandi." In *Speaking for Islam: Religious Authorities in Muslim Societies*, edited by Gudrun Krämer and Sabine Schmidtke. Leiden ; Boston: Brill, 2006.
- . "Sunni and Shi'i Networking in the Middle East,." In *Shaping the Current Islamic Reformation*, edited by B.A Roberson, 41–62. London: Frank Cass Publisher, 2002.
- Bruinessen, Marlin van. *Tarekat Naqsyabandiyah di Indonesia: Survei Historis, Geografis dan Sosiologis*. Bandung: Penerbit Mizan, 1994.
- Bruinessen, Martin van. "Published in: Kees van Dijk, Huub de Jonge & Elly Touwen-Bouwsma (Eds), *Across Madura Strait: The Dynamics of an Insular Society*. Leiden: KITLV Press, 1995, 91-117.," n.d.
- Bruinessen, Martin Van. "Saints Politicians and Sufi Bureaucrats: Mysticism and Politics in Indonesia's New Order." In *Sufism and the Modern in Islam, Ed. Martin Van Bruinessen and Julia Day Howell, (New York: I.B Tauris, 2007), 92-112.*, edited by Martin Van Bruinessen and Julia Day Howell, 92–112. New York: I.B.Tauris, 2007.
- Bruinessen, Martin van. "Shaykh `Abd Al-Qadir al-Jilani and the Qadiriyya in Indonesia." *Journal of the History of Sufism* 1–2 (2000): 361–95.
- Bruinessen, Martin Van. "The Origins and Development of the Naqshbandi Order in Indonesia." *Der Islam; Zeitschrift Für Geschichte Und Kultur Des Islamischen Orients* 67 (1990): 150–79.
- Buehler, Arthur F., and Annemarie Schimmel. *Sufi Heirs of the Prophet: The Indian Naqshbandiyya and the Rise of the Mediating Sufi Shaykh*. Studies in Comparative Religion. Columbia: Univ. of South Carolina Press, 1998.
- Campbell, Robert A. "Leadership Succession in Early Islam: Exploring the Nature and Role of Historical Precedents." *The Leadership Quarterly* 19, no. 4 (August 2008): 426–38. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.leaqua.2008.05.007>.
- Ceyhan, Semih. "Established Sufi Orders." In *Handbook of Sufi Order*, edited by Marcia K. Hermansen, Bilal Orfali, Alexandre Papas, and Christian Lange, 385–404. Leiden: Brill, 2021.

- Chih, Rachida. "The Social Role of Sufis." In *Handbook of Sufi Studies*, edited by Marcia K. Hermansen, Bilal Orfali, Christian Lange, and Alexandre Papas, 187–217. Leiden: Brill, 2021.
- . "What Is Sufi Order? Revisiting The Concept Through A Case Study of The Khalwatiyya in Contemporary Egypt." In *Sufism and the Modern in Islam*, edited by Martin Van Bruinessen and Julia Day Howell, 21–38. New York: I.B.Tauris, 2007.
- Christian Lassen, Søren. "Growing up as a Sufi: Generational Change in the Burhaniya Sufi Order." In *Sufis in Western Society Global Networking and Locality*, edited by Ron Geaves, Markus Dressler, and Gritt Klinkhammer. Routledge: Taylor & Francis Group, 2009.
- Cone, Tiffany. *Cultivating Charismatic Power*. Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2018. <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-74763-7>.
- Darmawan, Andhika. Interview with Vice-head LDTQN Jakarta, April 11, 2024.
- Deni Kusuma. "Biografi Dakwah: Syekh Muhammad Abdul Gaos Saefulloh Maslul Al-Quthb 1970-2017." Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2018.
- El Bilad, Cecep Zakaria. *Mengenal Tarekat Qadiriyyah Naqsyabandiyah*. Tasikmalaya: Latifah Press, 2021.
- Ephrat, Daphna. *Sufi Masters and The Creation of Sainly Spheres in Medieval Syria*. Leeds: Arc humanity Press, 2021.
- Farhan, Faviantio, Winny Gunarti Widya Wardani, and Febrianto Saptodewo. "Karakter Tokoh Ki Bagus Rangin Pahlawan Perang Kedondong di Cirebon." *Visual Heritage: Jurnal Kreasi Seni dan Budaya* 2, no. 02 (April 30, 2020): 96–102. <https://doi.org/10.30998/vh.v2i2.716>.
- G. Pinto, Paulo. "Performing Baraka: Sainthood and Power in Syrian Sufism." In *Archaeology of Sainthood and Local Spirituality in Islam: Past Present Crossroads of Events and Ideas*, edited by Georg Stauth, 195–211. Bielefeld: Verlag, 2004.
- G. Pinto, Paulo, and Daphna Ephrat. "Sufi Places and Dwellings." In *Handbook of Sufi Studies*, edited by Marcia K. Hermansen, Bilal Orfali, Christian Lange, and Alexandre Papas, 105–44. Leiden: Brill, 2021.
- Garwita, Gardjita. *Satu Abad Abah Sepuh Dan Abah Anom Berkhidmat Untuk Agama Dan Negara*. Tasikmalaya: PT. Mudawwamah Warohmah, 2022.

- Golestaneh, Seema. "And the Master Answered?: Deferrals of Authority in Contemporary Sufism in Iran." *Iranian Studies* 56, no. 2 (April 2023): 365–86. <https://doi.org/10.1017/irn.2022.63>.
- Hakim, Budi Rahman. *Actualization of Neo-Sufism: A Case Study of the Tariqa Qadiriyya Naqshabandiyya Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya*. Tillburg: Tillburg University, 2020.
- Jagat, Abah. Interview with Talqin Deputy Sirnarasa, June 8, 2024.
- Johnson, Doyle Paul. *Contemporary Sociological Theory*. New York, NY: Springer New York, 2008. <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-0-387-76522-8>.
- Kei, Takahashi. "A New Logic in the Sufi Organization: The Continuation and the Disintegration of the Tariqas in Modern Egypt." *Asian and African Area Studies* 7, no. 1 (2007): 50–64.
- Khalaf Sarayrah, Yasin. "Servant Leadership in the Bedouin-Arab Culture." *Global Virtue Ethics Review* 5, no. 3 (2004): 58–79.
- Khan, Ahmad. "Donations to Sufis and Sufi Institutions, In." In *Handbook of Sufi Studies*, edited by Marcia K. Hermansen, Bilal Orfali, Christian Lange, and Alexandre Papas, 81–88. Leiden: Brill, 2021.
- Kodir, Muhammad. *Jejak Abah Anom Di Asia Tenggara: Dari Suryalaya Untuk Dunia*. Sleman: Putra Surya Santosa, 2023.
- Kruger, Mark, and Yvonne Seng. "Leadership with Inner Meaning: A Contingency Theory of Leadership Based on the Worldviews of Five Religions." *The Leadership Quarterly* 16, no. 5 (October 2005): 771–806. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.leaqua.2005.07.007>.
- Leder, Stefan. "Nasab as Idiom and Discourse." *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 58, no. 1–2 (April 10, 2015): 56–74. <https://doi.org/10.1163/15685209-12341371>.
- Lidi Amin. *Suryalaya Bukan Panggung Sandiwara: Perjalanan Syaikh Muhammad Abdul Gaos Saefullah Maslul q.s.* Ciamis: Yayasan Lautan Tanpa Tepi, 2021.
- Liputan News. "Fenomena Politik: Menobatkan Anies Sebagai Imam Mahdi, Abah Aos Berikan Rambutnya Dari Surga Untuk Jimat," August 21, 2023. <https://liputan9.id/fenomena-politik-menobatkan-anies-sebagai-imam-mahdi/>.
- Lizzio, Ken. "Ritual and Charisma in Naqshbandi Sufi Mysticism." *Anpere.Net*, 2007, 1–36.
- Lukman Hakim Assiddiq. Interview with Talqin Deputy Sirnarasa, May 18, 2024.

- Makhasin, Luthfi. "THE POLITICS OF CONTENDING PIETY : Naqshbandi-Haqqani Sufi Movement and the Struggle for Islamic Activism in Contemporary Indonesia." Australian National University (ANU), 2015.
- Mardani, Akbar. Interview with Talqin Deputy of Sirnarasa, July 1, 2024.
- Mashar, Aly. "GENEALOGI DAN PENYEBARAN THARIQAH QADIRIYAH WA NAQSHABANDIYAH DI JAWA." *Al-A'raf: Jurnal Pemikiran Islam dan Filsafat* 13, no. 2 (November 15, 2016): 233. <https://doi.org/10.22515/ajpif.v13i2.75>.
- Millie, Julian. *Splashed by the Saint: Ritual Reading and Islamic Sanctity in West Java*. Verhandelingen van Het Koninklijk Instituut Voor Taal-, Land- En Volkenkunde 262. Leiden: KITLV Press, 2009.
- Minorsky, Vladimir. "A Mongol Decree of 720/1320 to the Family of Shaykh Zāhid." *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 16, no. 3 (October 1954): 515–27. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0041977X00086821>.
- Mohammad, Iqbal. Interview with the Chief of LDTQN Suryalaya in Egypt, June 21, 2024., June 21, 2024.
- Mufid, Ahmad Syafi'i. *Tangklukan, Abangan Dan Tarekat: Kebangkitan Agama Di Jawa*. Jakarta: Buku Obor, 2006.
- Muhammad al-Kasnizan. , *Mausu'a al-Kasnizan Fima Istalaha 'Alaihi Ahl al-'Irfan*. Vol. 11. 24 vols. Beirut: Dar al-'Ayah, 2005.
- Muhammad Dahlan, Ihsan. *Siraj Al-Thalibin 'Ala Minhaj al-'Abidin*. Beirut: Dar al-Kutub al-Ilmiyyah, 2006.
- Mulyati, Sri. *Tarekat-Tarekat Muktabarah Di Indonesia*. Jakarta: Kencana, 2004.
- . *The Educational Role of the Tariqa Qadiriyya Naqshabandiyya with Special Reference to Suryalaya*. Montreal: McGill University, 2002.
- Muzakir, Ali. "Petunjuk Baru Silsilah Ahmad Khatib Sambas: Tiga Teks Tulisan Melayu." *Jurnal Lektur Keagamaan* 13, no. 2 (December 20, 2015): 513. <https://doi.org/10.31291/jlk.v13i2.238>.
- Nahrawi, Imam. "Silaturahmi Ke Syekh Abdul Gaos," January 11, 2019. https://web.facebook.com/852535984802606/posts/alhamdulillah-bisa-silaturahmi-ke-syekh-muhammad-abdul-gaos-syaefullah-maslul-at/2151255241597334/?_rdc=1&_rdr.
- Nakanishi, Tatsuya. "The Logic of Succession in the Case of Chinese Muslims during the Qing Period." *Orient* 42, no. 0 (2007): 55–70. <https://doi.org/10.5356/orient.42.55>.

- Papas, Alexandre. "Shaykh Succession in the Classical Naqshbandiyya: Spirituality, Heredity and the Question of Body." *Asian and African Area Studies* 7, no. 1 (2007): 36–49.
- . "What Is Sufi Institution." In *Handbook of Sufi Studies*, edited by Marcia K. Hermansen, Bilal Orfali, Christian Lange, and Alexandre Papas, 1–24. Leiden: Brill, 2021.
- Pembantu Khusus Abah Aos. "Maklumat Guru Agung Hadlrotus Syeikh Abah Aos Ra Qs Ahad, 7 Juli 2024." Accessed July 10, 2024. https://www.facebook.com/story.php?id=100069811802149&story_fbid=793914682945585.
- Ruyani, Sirajuddin. Interview with Talqin Deputy Suryalaya, April 28, 2024.
- Sakam, Wahfiudin. Interview with Talqin Deputy of Suryalaya., March 20, 2024.
- Salahuddin, Asep. *Asep Salahudin, Pangersa Abah Anom: Wali Fenomenal Abad 21 & Ajarannya*, (Jakarta: Noura Books, 2013), 30. Jakarta: Noora Books, 2013.
- Schmeding, Annika. *Sufi Civilities: Religious Authority and Political Change in Afghanistan*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2024.
- Sedgwick, Mark. "Sufi Religious Leaders and Sufi Orders in the Contemporary Middle East." *Sociology of Islam* 6, no. 2 (June 6, 2018): 212–32. <https://doi.org/10.1163/22131418-00602007>.
- . "The Organisation of Mysticism." In *Sufi Institutions*, edited by Alexandre Papas, Vol. 1. Leiden ; Boston: Brill Academic Publishers, 2021.
- Shofi, Ibnu, and Talkah Talkah. "ANALISIS TEORI OTORITAS MAX WEBBER DALAM KEPEMIMPINAN MULTIKULTURAL KIAI SHOLEH BAHRUDDIN NGALAH (Studi Kepemimpinan Multikultural di Pondok Pesantren Ngalah Pasuruan)." *Jurnal Kependidikan Islam* 11, no. 1 (June 20, 2021): 134–56. <https://doi.org/10.15642/jkpi.2021.11.1.134-156>.
- Sohibul Wafa Tajul Arifin, Ahmad. *Akhlaq Al-Karimah*. Tasikmalaya: Yayasan Serba Bakti Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya, 2005.
- . *Kitab Ibadah*. Tasikmalaya: PT. Mudawwamah Warohmah, 2005.
- . *Miftah Al-Sudur*. Tasikmalaya: PT. Mudawwamah Warohmah, 2005.
- . *Uqud Al-Juman*. Tasikmalaya: PT. Mudawwamah Warohmah, 2009.
- Sunardjo, Unang. *Menelusuri Perjalanan Sejarah Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya*. Tasikmalaya: Yayasan Serba Bakti Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya, n.d.
- Tadifi, Muhammad Rasyid al-. *I'lam al-'Uqala Fi Itsbat Karamat al-Auliya*. Aleppo: Matba'a al-Nahdah, 1926.

- Tanvir Anjum. "Sufism in History and Its Relationship with Power", *Islamic Studies* 45, No.2 (2006): 221-268." *Islamic Studies* 45, no. 2 (2006): 221–68.
- Ter Haar, Johan. "The Importance of the Spiritual Guide in the Naqshabandi Order." In *In The Heritage of Sufism: The Legacy of Medieval Persian Sufism (1150-1500)*, edited by Leonard Lewisohn. Oxford: Oneworld Publication, 2003.
- Tirmingham, John Spencer. *The Sufi Orders in Islam*. London: Oxford University Press, 1971.
- Turmudi, Endang. *Strugling For The Umma: Changing Leadership Roles of Kiai in Jombang, East Java*. Canberra: ANU Press, 2006.
- Van Bruinessen, Martin. "Controversies and Polemics Involving the Sufi Orders in Twentieth-Century Indonesia." In *Islamic Mysticism Contested*, by I.J.F. De Jong and Bernd Radtke, 705–28. edited by De Jong and Bernd Radtke. BRILL, 1999. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004452725_039.
- . "Shari'a Court, Tarekat and Pesantren: Religious Institutions in the Banten Sultanate." *Archipel* 50, no. 1 (1995): 165–99. <https://doi.org/10.3406/arch.1995.3069>.
- Weber, Max. *On Charisma and Institution Building*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968.
- Weismann, Itzhak. *The Naqshbandiyya: Orthodoxy and Activism in Worldwide Sufi Tradition*. 0 ed. Routledge, 2007. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203947432>.
- Werbner, Pnina. "Reform Sufism in South Asia." In *Islamic Reform in South Asia*, edited by Filippo Osella and Caroline Osella, 1st ed., 51–78. Cambridge University Press, 2013. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781139382786.004>.
- 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 Dam Politik* 4, no. 2 (2020): 135–46.
- Widodo, Aris. "Spiritual Wisdom to Terminate Religious Terrorism: Promoting Kyai Muslih's Theory of Latha'if for a Harmonious Life." Accessed April 20, 2024. https://www.academia.edu/46879369/Aris_Widodo_Spiritual_Wisdom_to_Terminate_Terrorism.
- Wolin, Sheldon S. "Max Weber: Legitimation, Method, and the Politics of Theory." *Political Theory* 9, no. 3 (August 1981): 401–24. <https://doi.org/10.1177/009059178100900308>.
- Yarosh, Oleg. "Globalization of Redemptive Sociality: *Al-Ahbash* and *Haqqaniyya* Transnational Sufi Networks in West Asia and Central-Eastern Europe." *Journal*

of *Eurasian Studies* 10, no. 1 (January 2019): 22–35.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/1879366518814915>.

Zamzami, Mukhammad, Fikri Mahzumi, and Abd A'la. "Tarekat and Politics in Indonesia: Contested Authority between Murshids in the Tarekat Qadiriyyah Wa Naqsyabandiyah in East Java." *Teosofi: Jurnal Tasawuf Dan Pemikiran Islam* 12, no. 2 (December 1, 2022): 187–208.
<https://doi.org/10.15642/teosofi.2022.12.2.187-208>.

Zarccone, Thierry. "Syakh Succession in Turkish Sufi Lineages (19th and 20th Centuries): Conflicts, Reforms and Transmission of Spiritual Enlightenment." *Asian and African Area Studies* 7, no. 1 (2007): 17–35.

Ziad, Waleed. *Hidden Caliphate: Sufi Saints beyond the Oxus and Indus*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2021.

Zulkifli. *Sufism in Java: The Role of the Pesantren in the Maintenance of Sufism in Java*. Canberra: Australian National University, 1994.

ATTACHMENTS

Table 1: List of Interviewers

No.	Name	Time	Position
1	Wahfiuddin Sakam	March 20 2024, Cawang	Talqin Deputy of Suryalaya
2	Andhika Dharmawan	April 11 2024, Online	Vice Chief LDTQN Suryalaya Jakarta
3	Muhammad Kodir	June 15 2024, Online	Chief of LDTQN Suryalaya
4	Iqbal Mohamammad	June 2021, 2024	Chief of LDTQN Suryalaya Egypt
5	Sirajuddin Ruyani	April 28 2024, Tangerang	Talqin Deputy of Suryalaya
6	Lukman Hakim As-Siddiq	May 18 2024 BSD	Talqin Deputy of Sirnarasa
7	Akbar Mardani	July 1 2024, Online	Talqin Deputy of Sirnarasa
8	Budi Rahman Hakim (Abah Jagat)	June 8, 2024, BSD	Pembantu Khusus Abah Aos and Talqin Deputy of Sirnarasa

Table 2: Abah Aos Bloodline

No	Father		Mother
1.	Sayyidina Muhammad	Sayyidina Muhammad	Ummi Kulstum
2.	Fatimah al-Zahra	Fatimah al-Zahra	Ibrohim
3.	Hasan ibn 'Ali	Husayn ibn 'Ali	Musa al-Fatawi
4.	AbdAllah al-Mahdi	Ali Zainal Abidin	Ismail
5.	Musa al-Jun	Muhammad al-Baqir	Nur Muhammad Abd al-Afwa
6.	Abdillah	Ja'far Shodiq	Ibrohim
7.	Musa	Ali al-Uraydi	Hasan Ghifari
8.	Dawud	Muhammad al-Naqib	Abdullah Maslul
9.	Muhammad	Isa al-Rumi	Abd al-Hakim
10.	Yahya al-Zahid	Ahmad al-Muhajir	Mustafa al-Akhyar
11.	Abdullah	Ubaidillah	Abu Abd al-Karim
12.	Abi Saleh Musa Janki Dosti	Alwi	Muhammad Sha'rani
13.	Abd al-Qadir al-Jilani	Muhammad	Ibrahim Yahya
14.	Yahya	Alwi	Abu Bakr al-Asqalani
15.	Ali Maulawi	Muhammad	Hasan Mufadhhol
16.	Musa al-Khudri	Ali Khali Qasam	Hasbi al-Siddiqi
17.	Hasan Abdullah	Muhammad Sohib Mirbath	Miftahul Wahhab
18.	Fathul Wahhab	Alwi Amm al-Faqih	Abd al-Wafa

19.	Muhammad Yahya	Abd al-Malik Azmatkhan	Fathurrahman
20.	Fahrur Zarkashi	AbdAllah Azmatkhan	Aziz Mubarak
21.	Abdul Malik	Ahmad Syah Jalaludin	Sirr al-Din
22.	Muhammad Bustami	Syaikh Jumadil Kubra	Muhammad Kahfi
23.	Abdul Hasan	Ali Nurul Alam	Muhammad Qazwini
24.	Izzul Mukarram	Abdullah Imaduddin	Siti Muslihat
25.	Ahmad Abd al-Karim	Syarif Hidayatullah (Gunung Jati)	Muhammad Abdul Gaos
26.	Syamsul Bahri	Maulana Hasanuddin	
27.	Ahmad Abdul Jabbar	Pangeran Tajul Arsy	
28.	Uyut Kawis	Pangeran Wirajaja	
29.	Abd al-Gani	Tubagus Wiranegara I	
30.	Hasan Bakri	Tubagus Mahmud	
31.	Muhammad Ibrahim	Harun Rasyid	
32.	Muhammad Abdul Gaos	Hasan Abdul Majid	
33.		Abdul Ghani	
34.		Ali Mustafa	
35.		Bukhari	
36.		Abdul Karim	
37.		Ahmad Abdul Jabbar	
38.		Abdul Gani	
39.		Hasan Basri	
40.		Ibrahim	
		Muhammad Abdul Gaos	

Figure 1: Letter of Authority of Abah Anom

W a s i a t

Hijrotun Nabi Tahun Jim awal Rojab ping 20 Kemis 1365 H
Keterangan Kaula Syekh Abdullah Mubarak Bin Nur Muham -
mad di Babakan Suryalaya Kajembaran Rahmaniyyah Guru Tho
reqat Qodiriyah Naqsyabandiyah ijjajah li Syekh Tolhah
Kalisapa Cirebon.

Dimana Kaula geus tepi kana waktuna ajal, Wakil mutlak
ka anak ngaran Haji Shohibul wafa Tajul Arifin mingpin
ka murid-murid Kaula Thoreqat Qodiriyah Naqsyabandiyah
serta wakil ijazah Thoreqat Qodiriyah Naqsyabandiyah

Wasiat Kaula kasakabeh murid-murid anu henteu jadi wa-
kil, poma sina luyu, sina runtut, ulah gumise lamun
taya ijazah ti Guru karena henteu sah jadi Guru atawa
Wakil, sing inget najan alim, sanes jeung ilmu pikir .
Matrud, Mardud dina ilmu Thoreqat wakalamuhu ghoero maq
buulatin, dimana waktuna Muludan atawa Nisfu Sya'ban sa
kumaha pahamna murid-murid pameget istri, poma ulah ro-
bah- robah tina sina inget kana papatah Guru, supaya lu
lus rahayu jeung pangaruh , maal enya papatah ngarah
cilaka.

Ieu Thoreqat Qodiriyah Naqsyabandiyah sulthonna Thoreqat
ulah mang-mang bisi hanjakal ahirna.

Syekh Abdullah Mubarak Bin Nur Muammad di Babakan Surya
laya Kajembaran Rahmaniyyah.

Figure 3: Letter of Statement Abah Anom in 1998


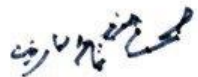

 PONDOK PESANTREN SURYALAYA Desa Tanjungkerta - Kecamatan Pagerageung - Kab. Tasikmalaya Prop. Jawa Barat Telephon (0265) 455801 - Faksimile (0265) 455824 - 455828 Alamat Surat : Kotak Pos No. 1 Pagerageung 46158 - Tasikmalaya JAWA BARAT - INDONESIA	
SURAT PERNYATAAN ----- Nomor : 211.PPS.X.1998	
Bismillahirrahmanirrahim.	
Yang Bertanda tangan di bawah ini :	
N a m a	: KHA. SHOHIBULWafa TAJUL ARIFIN Guru Mursyid Thariqat Qodiriyah Naqsyabandiyah/ Sesepuh Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya
Menyatakan dan menunjuk :	
	KH. Noor Anom Mubarak, BA KH. Zaenal Abidin Anwar H. Dudun Noorsaiduddin
Untuk mengelola, memelihara dan melestarikan Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya.	
Maka dengan adanya Surat Pernyataan ini, kepada seluruh Pimpinan Lembaga termasuk para Mubaligh dan Wakil Talqin yang ada dilingkungan Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya, apabila ada masalah-masalah yang berkaitan dengan kebijakan lembaga, fisik bangunan, pendidikan dan pengajaran, dan pembinaan Ikhwan TQN. Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya, supaya berkonsultasi dengan nama-nama tersebut diatas.	
Demikian Surat Pernyataan ini dibuat dengan sebenarnya untuk diketahui oleh semua pihak.	
	Dibuat di : S u r y a l a y a Pada tanggal : 11 Jumadil Akhir 1419 H 02 Oktober 1998 M
	Yang Membuat Pernyataan
	 KHA. Shohibulwafa Tajul Arifin

Figure 4: The Consensus of Talqin Deputies

**PONDOK PESANTREN SURYALAYA**
Desa Tanjungkerta – Kecamatan Pagerageung 46158
Kabupaten Tasikmalaya Jawa Barat – Indonesia
Telp. (0265) 454830 – 455801 Fax. (0265) 454830
Website : www.suryalaya.org email : madrasah@suryalaya.org

**IJMA WAKIL TALQIN TQN PONDOK PESANTREN SURYALAYA
dan AHLI WARIS SYEKH MURSYID KH. AHMAD SHOHIBULWAFI' TAJUL ARIFIN ra.
serta SYEKH ABDULLAH MUBAROK BIN NOOR MUHAMMAD ra.**

TENTANG

**KLAIM KEMURSYIDAN KH. ABDUL GAOS SM.
dan PENDUKUNGNYA K.H. MUHAMMAD SHOLEH**

Hari Minggu, Tanggal 15 September 2013 M / 9 Dzulqo'dah 1434 H

DASAR HUKUM DAN PERTIMBANGAN

1. SURAT PERNYATAAN No. 211.PPS.X.1998 dari KH. A. Shohibulwafa Tajul Arifin ra. selaku GURU MURSYID Thariqat Qadiriyyah Naqsyabandiyah sekaligus SESEPUH Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya yang telah menunjuk:
 - KH Noor Anom Mubarak, BA.
 - KH Zaenal Abidin Anwar, dan
 - KH Dudun Noorsaiduddin .Arsebagai "PENGELOLA, PEMELIHARA DAN PELESTARI" Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya sekaligus "TEMPAT BERKONSULTASI BAGI MASALAH-MASALAH YANG BERKAITAN DENGAN KEBIJAKAN LEMBAGA, FISIK BANGUNAN, PENDIDIKAN DAN PENGAJARAN, DAN PEMBINAAN IKHWAN THARIQAT QADIRIYAH NAQSYABANDIYAH PONDOK PESANTREN SURYALAYA".
2. MAKLUMAT SESEPUH PONDOK PESANTREN SURYALAYA Nomor : 01.PPS.V.2002 poin 5 yang berbunyi : "Menjaga diri agar tidak berbuat yang bertentangan dengan petunjuk, pedoman, tuntunan, bimbingan dan pengajaran yang telah ditetapkan dalam amalan Thariqat Qadiriyyah Naqsyabandiyah Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya, baik dilakukan secara sendiri-sendiri maupun secara organisasi, bagi mereka yang melakukan penyimpangan atau perekayasaan terhadapnya, maka Abah tidak ikut bertanggungjawab dan segala akibat yang timbul karenanya menjadi tanggung jawab orang yang bersangkutan."
3. IJMA PARA WAKIL TALQIN TQN PONDOK PESANTREN SURYALAYA Pada 40 Hari Wafat Abah Anom yang MENERIMA DAN MENDUKUNG KEPEMIMPINAN KETIGA ORANG TERSEBUT DI ATAS DAN SELANJUTNYA DISEBUT SEBAGAI PENGEMBAN AMANAH, sehingga dengan demikian tidak terjadi kekosongan kepemimpinan dan tidak diperlukan adanya pemimpin lain bagi Thariqat Qadiriyyah Naqsyabandiyah Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya.
4. Kesepakatan Keluarga dan Ahli Waris Syekh Mursyid KH. Ahmad shohibulwafa' Tajul Arifin ra. maupun Syekh Abdullah Mubarak bin Noor Muhammad ra. yang tetap berpegang pada semua Maklumat dan Pernyataan Abah Anom serta mendukung segala keputusan/ijma para Wakil Talqin Thariqat Qadiriyyah Naqsyabandiyah Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya.



PONDOK PESANTREN SURYALAYA

Desa Tanjungkerta – Kecamatan Pagerageung 46158

Kabupaten Tasikmalaya Jawa Barat – Indonesia

Telp. (0265) 454830 – 455801 Fax. (0265) 454830

Website : www.suryalaya.org email : madrasah@suryalaya.org

MEMPERHATIKAN:

1. KH. Abdul Gaos SM., berdasarkan pengakuannya di berbagai ceramah dan buku/terbitan yang diedarkannya, atau oleh para pendukungnya, secara sepihak dan tanpa adanya bukti/saksi yang sah telah MENGAKU SEBAGAI MURSYID KE-38 THARIQAH QADIRIYAH NAQSYABANDIYAH PONDOK PESANTREN SURYALAYA.
2. KH. Abdul Gaos SM., berdasarkan Kitab Uquudul Jumaan (Amalan Thoreqot Qadiriyyah wan Naqsyabandiyah Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya), yang diterbitkan oleh CV. Wahana Karya Grafika (Bandung) secara ilegal dan tanpa seijin Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya telah MENGUBAH AMALAN INTI THARIQAH QADIRIYAH NAQSYABANDIYAH PONDOK PESANTREN SURYALAYA pada AMALAN DZIKIR HARIAN, DZIKIR KHATAMAN, TAWASSUL, DAN DAFTAR SILSILAH MURSYID.
3. KH. Abdul Gaos SM., dengan tindakan-tindakannya itu, telah MENYIMPANG DARI AJARAN WALI MURSYID TQN PONDOK PESANTREN SURYALAYA, MERUSAK AJARAN TQN PONDOK PESANTREN SURYALAYA, DAN MEMECAH BELAH IKHWAN THARIQAH QADIRIYAH NAQSYABANDIYAH PONDOK PESANTREN SURYALAYA.
4. Semua perbuatan KH. Abdul Gaos SM. tersebut di atas didukung pula oleh H. Muhammad Sholeh dari Jakarta.

MENIMBANG

Perlu ada penyikapan tegas untuk mencegah terjadinya kekeliruan persepsi dan tindakan dari para ikhwan/akhwat Thariqat Qadiriyyah Naqsyabandiyah Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya, masyarakat luas, dan Pemerintah Republik Indonesia terhadap perbuatan KH. Abdul Gaos SM. dan KH. Muhammad Sholeh tersebut.

Maka, para Wakil Talqin Thariqat Qadiriyyah Naqsyabandiyah Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya dan Ahli Waris Syekh Mursyid KH. Ahmad Shohibulwafa' Tajul Arifin ra. maupun Syekh Abdullah Mubarak bin Noor Muhammad ra. dalam pertemuan hari ini, Ahad 15 September 2013 M / 9 Dzulqo'dah 1434 H, telah berijma dan sepakat untuk :

MENETAPKAN DAN MEMUTUSKAN :

1. Tidak menerima pengakuan KH. Abdul Gaos SM. sebagai Mursyid ke-38 Thariqat Qadiriyyah Naqsyabandiyah Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya.
2. Tidak menerima pengakuan KH. Abdul Gaos SM. Sebagai Penerus Guru Mursyid Thariqat Qadiriyyah Naqsyabandiyah Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya Syekh KH. Ahmad Shohibulwafa' Tajul Arifin ra.
3. Tidak lagi mengakui KH. Abdul Gaos SM. dan KH. Muhammad Sholeh sebagai Wakil Talqin Thariqat Qadiriyyah Naqsyabandiyah Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya.
4. Memerintahkan kepada KH. Abdul Gaos SM. dan KH. Muhammad Sholeh untuk tidak lagi menggunakan nama, simbol, serta segala atribut Thariqat Qadiriyyah Naqsyabandiyah Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya dalam berbagai kegiatannya dan menarik semua buku dan terbitan (cetak maupun elektronik) yang mereka buat yang berkaitan dengan Thariqat Qadiriyyah Naqsyabandiyah



PONDOK PESANTREN SURYALAYA

Desa Tanjungkerta – Kecamatan Pagerageung 46158

Kabupaten Tasikmalaya Jawa Barat – Indonesia

Telp. (0265) 454830 – 455801 Fax. (0265) 454830

Website : www.suryalaya.org email : madrasah@suryalaya.org

Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya terutama buku “Uqudul Jumaan” dan “Suryalaya Bukan Panggung Sandiwara”.

5. Menyerukan kepada para ikhwan/akhwat Thariqat Qadiriyyah Naqsyabandiyah Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya, yang telah hilap mengikuti langkah keliru kedua orang tersebut karena berbagai keterbatasan Pengetahuannya, agar segera bertaubat dan kembali melaksanakan amaliah Thariqat Qadiriyyah Naqsyabandiyah Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya yang sesungguhnya sebagaimana yang telah digariskan dan di amalkan oleh Pangrsa Guru Mursyid Syekh K.H Ahmad Shohibulwafa Tajul Arifin.ra yang diterima dari Syekh K.H.Abdullah Mubarak bin Nur Muhammad.ra.

Keputusan ini ditandatangani di : Patapan Suryalaya

Pada hari : Ahad, 15 September 2013 M / 9 Dzulqo'dah 1434 H

Oleh :

1. KH. Zaenal Abidin Anwar (Pengemban Amanah Sesepeuh Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya)

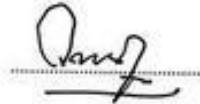


2. Wakil Keluarga Syekh Mursyid Thariqat Qadiriyyah Naqsyabandiyah Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya :

a. Ummi Hj. Yoyoh Sofiyah



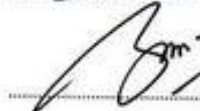
b. H. Didin Hidir Ar.



c. H. Kankan Zulkarnaen TA.



d. H. Baban Ahmad Jihad S.B. Ar.

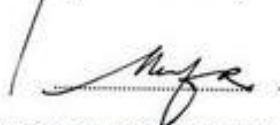


3. Wakil Keluarga Syekh KH. Abdullah Mubarak bin Nur Muhammad ra. (Abah Sepuh) :

a. Rd. Djaja Suratmadja

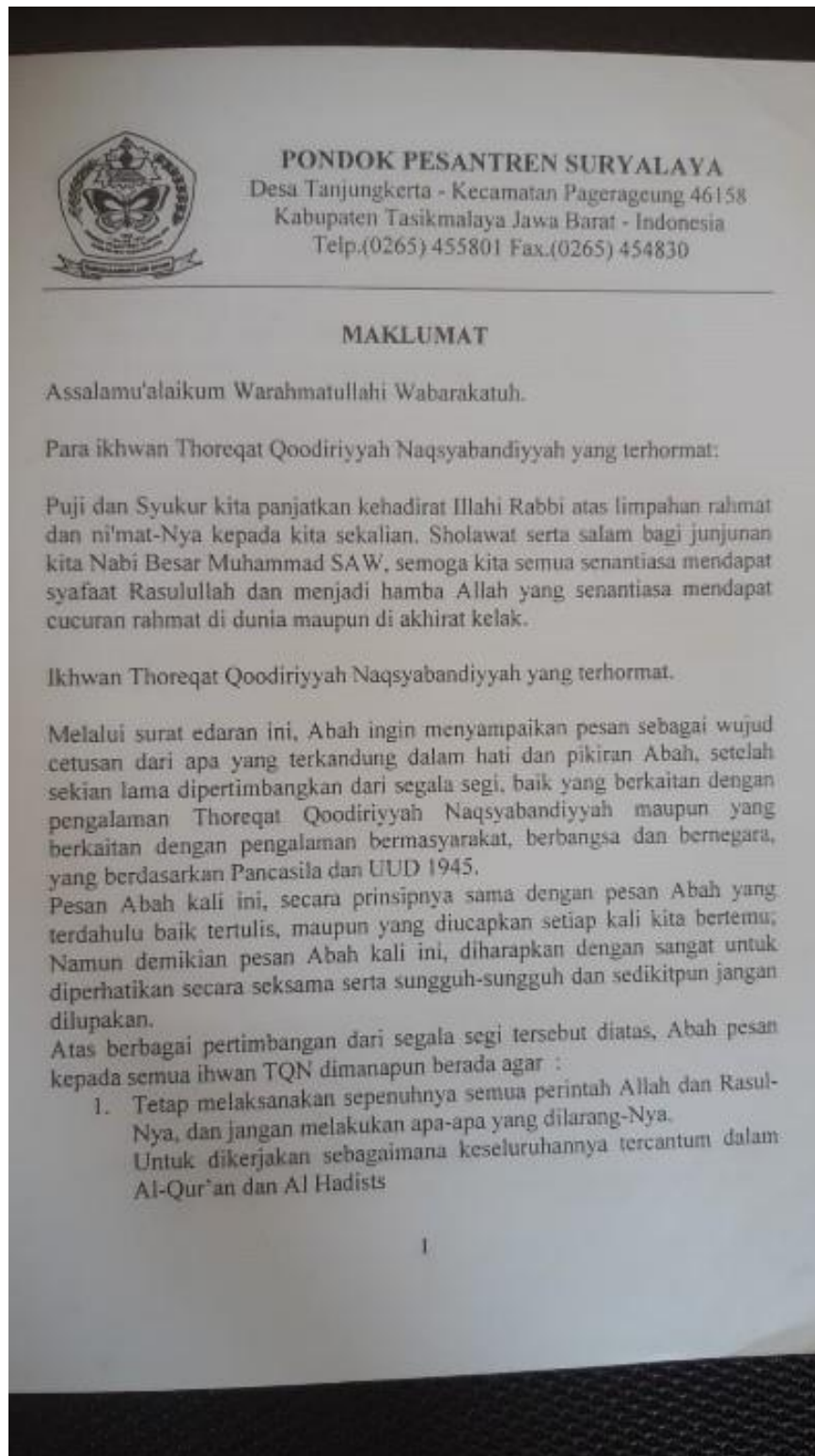


b. RH. Mamat Rahmat



4. Para Wakil TQN Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya (daftar nama dan tanda tangan terlampir).

Figure 5: Maklumat Abah Anom in 1981



2. Pahami, Hayati dan amalkan secara nyata dan sebaik-baiknya *azas* dan tujuan serta amalan Thoreqat Qoodiriyyah Naqsyabandiyyah
3. Ta'ati dan laksanakan sepenuhnya TANBIH / wasiat Guru kita semua Almarhum Syeikh H. Abdullah Mubarak Bin Nur Muhammad (Abah sepuh) pendiri Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya
4. Khusus bagi para ihwan TQN, warga negara Republik Indonesia dimana saja berada, agar memahami dan menghayati serta mengamalkan secara nyata dalam kehidupan sehari-hari Pancasila dan P-4 nya, agar kita menjadi warga negara yang baik.
5. Selalu ikut serta secara nyata dalam segala bidang pembangunan sesuai dengan program Pemerintah Orde Baru, demi terwujudnya masyarakat yang adil dan makmur dalam wadah Negara Republik Indonesia yang berdasarkan Pancasila dan UUD 1945, yang selalu kita harapkan limpahan ridlo Allah SWT.

Demikian pesan-pesan Abah, semoga kita semua dapat mengamalkannya. Pesan-pesan Abah tersebut, maka disini Abah selaku Sesepuh Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya menyatakan secara tegas tidak akan ikut bertanggung jawab, atas penyimpangannya.

Terimakasih atas segenap perhatian para ikhwan sekalian.

Wa'alailahi Tawakkalna wailaihil masiir.

Wassalamu'alaikum Wr. Wb.

7 November 1981 M

Suryalaya -----

10 Muharram 1402. H


 Sesepuh PPS

KHA. Shohibul Wafa Tajul Arifin

Figure 6: The Difference Between Uqudul Juman Suryalaya and Sirnarasa

Artinya : yaa Allah, semoga disampaikan pahala ini ke hadapan Nabi Besar Muhammad SAW. Semoga Allah menambah rahmat kepada Nabi serta keselamatan kepada keluarga, sahabat, istri, anak cucu dan ahli bairnya. Segala perkara kepunyaan Allah dan tetapliah kepada-Nya. Al-Faatihah.

ثُمَّ الْمَرْوَجِ أَهْلَ السَّلْسَلَةِ الْقَادِرَةِ وَالنَّقْشَبَنْدِيَّةِ
 وَجَمِيعِ أَهْلِ الظَّرْفِ وَخُصُوصًا الْحَضْرَةَ سُلْطَانَ
 الْأَوْلِيَاءِ غُوثِ الْأَعْظَمِ فَطْرَةَ الْعَالَمِينَ السَّيِّدِ الشَّيْخِ
 عَبْدِ الْقَادِرِ الْجِيلَانِيِّ قَدْرَ اللَّهِ بِرُوحِهِ وَالسَّيِّدِ الشَّيْخِ
 إِدْرِيسِ بْنِ عَبْدِ الْبَغْدَادِيِّ وَالسَّيِّدِ الشَّيْخِ
 أَحْمَدَ خَاطِبِ شَمْبَائِي بْنِ عَبْدِ الْعَقَّارِ وَالسَّيِّدِ الشَّيْخِ
 طَلْحَةَ كَالِي سَافُو وَبَنِيهِ وَالسَّيِّدِ الشَّيْخِ
 عَبْدِ الْكَرِيمِ بْنِ نُورٍ وَعَضْرَةَ شَيْخِنَا الْمُكْرَمِ الشَّيْخِ
 عَبْدِ اللَّهِ مَبَارَكِ بْنِ نُورٍ مُحَمَّدَ وَعَضْرَةَ الشَّيْخِ أَحْمَدَ
 صَاحِبِ الْوَفِيِّ تَاجِ الْعَارِفِينَ وَأَصْوْلِهِمْ وَفُرُوعِهِمْ وَأَهْلَ
 سُلْسِلَتِهِمْ وَالْأَخْذِينَ عَنْهُمْ بِنِيَّةٍ اللَّهُ لَهُمُ الْفَاتِحَةَ

7

Tsumma ilaa arwaahil ahlihsilsilati qoodiriyah wan naqsabandiyah
 wa jami'ii ahlihi thuruqi khushuushon ilaa hadhoroti sulthoonii
 auliyyaa ghoutsil a'zhomi qutubil 'aaliminas sayyidisy syaikh 'Abdul
 Qodir Jailani qoddasallohu sirrohu. Wassayyidisy Syaikh Abil Qoosim
 Junaidil Baghdadi. Wassayyidisy Syaikh Ahmad Khotib Syambas
 ibni 'Abdil Ghoffaar. Wassayyidisy Syaikh Tholhah Kalisapu Cirebon.
 Wassayyidisy Syaikh 'Abdul Karim Banten. Wahadhoroti Syaikhina
 almukarrom. Syaikh 'Abdillah Mubaarok bin Nuur Muhammad,
 Wahadhoroti Syaikh Ahmad Shoohibul Wafaa Taajul 'Arifin, Wa
 ushuulihim wafuruu 'ihim. Wa ahli silsilatihim. Wal aakhidziina
 'anhum. Syaiaun lillaahi lahum. Al-Faatihah.

Artinya : Semoga engkau sampaikan (rahmat) kepada para arwah
 silsilah tarekat Qoodiriyah wa Naqsabandiyah dan kepada semua
 ahli tarekat terutama kepada pimpinan para wali, penolong agama
 Allah yang Maha Agung, Syaikh 'Abdul Qodir al Jailani. Semoga Allah
 melimpahkan kesucian kepada maqomnya dan kepada Syaikh Abul
 Qosim Junaidil al Baghdadi serta Syaikh Ahmad Khotib as Syambasyi
 Abdil Ghoffar dan Syaikh Tholhah Kalisapu Cirebon dan Syaikh Abdul
 Karim Banten dan yang terhormat Guru kita yang dimuliakan Syekh
 Abdullah Mubarak bin Nur Muhammad serta Syekh Ahmad Shohibul
 Wafa Tajul 'Arifin, semoga Allah melimpahkan keridhoan kepada
 mereka dan kepada leluhurnya dan cabang-cabangnya dan ahli
 keluarga silsilahnya dan semua yang mengambil berkah dari
 semuanya. Segala perkara kepunyaan Allah dan tetapliah kepada-
 Nya. Al-Faatihah.

ثُمَّ الْمَرْوَجِ الْأَوْلِيَاءِ وَأَهْلَ بَنَاتِ الْأَوْلِيَاءِ
 وَالسَّلَامَاتِ وَالْمُؤْمِنِينَ وَالْمُؤْمِنَاتِ الْأَحْيَاءِ مِنْهُمْ
 وَالْأَمْوَاتِ بِشَيْءٍ اللَّهُ لَهُمُ الْفَاتِحَةَ

Tsumma ilaa arwaahil aabaa-inaa wa ummahaatinaa, wa likaaffatil
 muslimiina wal muslimaati, wal mu' minina wal mu' minaat, al-
 ahyaa'i minhum wal amwaat. Syaiaun lillaahi lahum. Al-Faatihah.

Artinya : selanjutnya semoga Allah menyampaikan (rahmat) kepada
 bapak-bapak kami, ibu-ibu kami dan kepada semua muslimin dan
 muslimat, mukminin dan mukminat, baik yang masih hidup maupun
 yang telah meninggal dunia. Segala perkara kepunyaan Allah dan
 tetapliah kepada-Nya. Al-Faatihah.

8

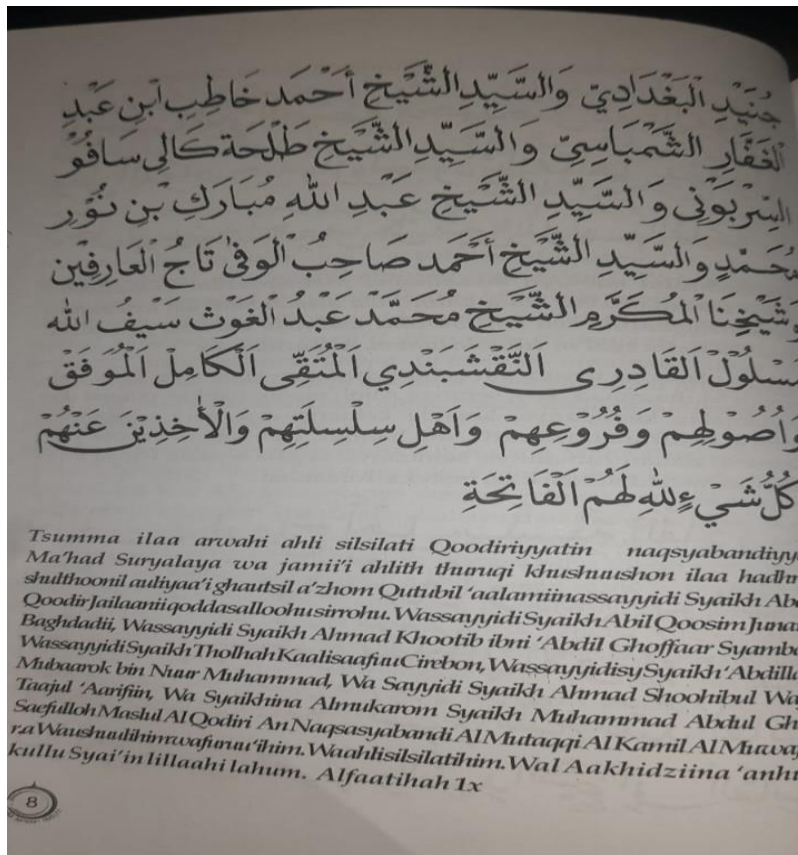


Figure 7: The Clothing Difference between Suryalaya and Sirnarasa



Figure 8: Abah Aos with International Ulama



Figure 10: Abah Aos Book Compilation

