

TAREKAT KADISIYYAH: An Example of Neo-Tarekat in Bandung, Indonesia¹

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Abstract

At present, several tarekats surfaced in the urban centers of Indonesia and continued to perform as a vehicle of social and cultural cohesion. The emergence of these so-called neo-tarekats (neo-sufi mystical orders) introduced rational reference to the sacred texts and Islamic law and rejected the close association between tarekats and the veneration of saints and holy places as generally known as silsilah in the old version of tarekats. This article depicts a close look at of Tarekat Kadisiyyah, an example of the neo-tarekats, located in central Bandung city of West Java. Most of the followers of this tarekat come from young and educated among urban people in Bandung. Mursyid (Ar: murshīd) of this tarekat refers to a person named Suprpto Kadis, who experienced the absence of an outward mursyid (lahiriah), but received direct guidance from Allah. There is no chain of transmission of mystical knowledge from a special mursyid to him. This kind of mursyid reminds us the concept of uwaysiyah in classical Islamic literature. Uways is the

¹ This article is a result of ethnographic research in Bandung, Indonesia throughout 2002. The earlier version of this article was presented in the International conference on Sufism and the Modern in Islam, organized by PPIM-UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta, the Griffith University, ISIM, Leiden University, at the Hotel Salak, Bogor-Indonesia, September 2003. I was thankful to Dr. Julia Howell and Prof. Dr. Martin van Bruinessen, and the participants, for their helpful comments on the article.

person who knew the prophet Muhammad but never met him in person. Another concept can be used to analyze this phenomena is the notions of khidr functioning as an invisible guide for the mursyid. Tarekat Kadisiyyah trained its students that one should become his own self in order to know Allah. In doing this, Tarekat Kadisiyyah concluded that shari'ah is important as it is the vehicle to gain closeness to Allah.

Keywords: Tarekat Kadisiyyah, Suprpto Kadis, neo-tarekat, *mursyid*, *suluk*

A. Introduction

In many Muslim countries, *tarekats* demonstrate a remarkable flexibility. Recently, several *tarekats* surfaced in the urban centers of Indonesia and their rapid spread shows that *tarekats* continue to perform as a vehicle of social and cultural cohesion. The new face of *tarekats*, provided generally by reformist Muslims, propagate rational reference to the sacred texts and Islamic law. Particularly, they reject the close association between *tarekats* and the veneration of saints and holy places. The critical posture introduced by the so-called neo-Sufi mystical orders (neo-*tarekats*) originates from the Middle East. These neo-*tarekats* disassociated themselves from existing mystical tradition by the use of very short *silsilah* (chain of initiation and transmission of mystical knowledge) in which entire generations of mystical teachers were omitted.

In Indonesia, a recent example of the so-called neo-*Tarekat* is Tarekat Kadisiyyah, located in central Bandung city of West Java. The presence of this *tarekat* met with strong opposition from the established *tarekats* (*mu'tabar*). Nevertheless, Tarekat Kadisiyyah continued to attract students, both among the rural and urban population of Bandung. A number of top officials in the bureaucracy, university students, businesspersons, executives and other high-wage earners are now fond of affiliating themselves with Tarekat Kadisiyyah. Yet, this *tarekat* comes with a modified face; it is somewhat different from that of the traditional one. There is neither such veneration of holy persons nor construction of a version of Sufi order, *tarekat*, (in an orthodox manner) aimed at obtaining closeness with Allah. It is to the study of such 'traditional' Sufism that they now turn.

What needs to be stressed is that students of this *tarekat* are drawn more prominently from among the educated sector. An over-abundance of material wealth has led them to a state of existential emptiness. Life is full of uncertainty. There is an awareness that their political downfall and loss of wealth can happen at any time. Thus, everyone is in a state of uncertainty. In that condition, people feel downhearted, anxious and suffer mental stress. As a consequence, they no longer indulge themselves in food and drink. They no longer compete for promotion, because these desires and goals are already fulfilled. Instead, they want to make life more meaningful, and they find this in Sufism. They turn to study at *tarekats* in the pursuit of tranquility with the knowledge that they can avoid anxiety.

The questions that this article will raise are: Do they really join Tarekat Kadisiyyah in order to gain closeness with Allah? Do they regard joining for Tarekat Kadisiyyah merely as a matter of a psychological escape? Is Tarekat Kadisiyyah some kind of creative adaptation of a traditional *tarekat* that meets the needs of modern Muslims and proves adaptive to the social contexts of Bandung city? What does *tasawwuf* mean to urban members, especially those involved with the modern life?

B. Tarekat Kadisiyyah in Bandung

The coolness of air at Mount Tangkuban Perahu makes the atmosphere of Bandung city attractive to many people who come there. It seems that this temptation inspired many Dutch landlords in the past to build leisure sites, which are still standing in many corners of Bandung city. Bandung, which has been known as *Paris van Java* (Paris replicator in the island of Java), has developed into a metropolitan city. As the capital city of central Java province, Bandung is one of larger cities in Indonesia. Social problems are mushrooming as a result of the negative impacts of modernity. The number of frustrated people is rising, and many seek solace by consuming illegal drugs, narcotics and alcoholic drinks. This negative trend is now popular, which makes one of the national electronic medias intentionally split the label of Bandung city as *Paris van Narkoba* (the city of drugs and narcotics usage).

Nevertheless, many others look for a more substantial coolness that is achieved by affiliating themselves with *tarekat*. The very popular

tarekat in Bandung is Tarekat Qodiriyyah Naqsabandiyyah (TQN). This *tarekat* has at present 318 places of *manaqiban* and with the number of students extends to more than ten thousands people throughout the city.² One of the *tarekats* that is now attracting the attention of urban people in Bandung is the so-called Tarekat Kadisiyyah. This *tarekat* focuses on the introduction and preservation of the heart (*qalb*), because the clean heart tends to be intimate with the truth. Conversely, the polluted heart causes for the disappearance of the genuine self (*dharmā*). The students of Tarekat Kadisiyyah are taught how to identify the heart (*qalb*), and then the self (*nafs*). For them, present *taṣawwuf* places itself as an alternative offer in coping with the multidimensional crisis of modern people, which actually comes from self-crisis.³

C. *Mursyid* of Tarekat Kadisiyyah

Mursyid of Tarekat Kadisiyyah refers to a person named Suprpto Kadis, who holds a Diploma in Electrical Engineering, and currently resides in Cilegon, West Java. He was born in 13 April 1929 in Karang Tawang, a small village to the south of the coastal area of Banyumas, Central Java. His mother, named Siti Djamilah, is the daughter of a leading *ulama* in the village. His father, Kadis Sastrodarmodjo, the principal of an elementary school, is also the son of an *ulama* in his region.⁴

² About the development of this *tarekat* in Bandung, see Dadang Kahmad, “Pengikut Tarekat di Perkotaan: Suatu Kajian mengenai Perkembangan Jumlah dan Kehidupan Keagamaan Pengikut Tarekat Qodiriyyah Naqsabandiyyah di Kotamadya Bandung”, *Jurnal AKURAT*, Pusat Penelitian IAIN Sunan Gunung Djati, Number 9, 2000. About TQN, see more in Martin van Bruinessen “Tarekat Qadiriyyah dan Ilmu Syekh Abdul Qadir Jilani di India dan Indonesia”, *Ulumul Qur’an* vol. 2 No.2, 1989; *Tarekat Naqsyabandiyah di Indonesia*, (Bandung: Mizan, 1992); and *Kitab Kuning: Pesantren dan Tarekat, Tradisi-tradisi Islam di Indonesia*, (Bandung: Mizan, 1999).

³ Herry Mardianto Syakir, *Perbandingan Spiritual Well-Being Antara Anggota dan Non-Anggota Tarekat: Studi Kuantitatif pada para anggota Yayasan Islam Paramartha-Paguyuban Tarekat Kadisiyyah Wilayah Bandung, Jawa Barat*, unpublished thesis, Fakultas Psikologi Universitas Indonesia, 2001.

⁴ Interview with Zamzam A. Jamaluddin T, the son in-law of Suprpto Kadis and the head of Yayasan Pendidikan Paramartha (YPP) Bandung, dated 15 July 2002.

Up to the age of 9 years, Suprpto Kadis was known for his pleasing personality. When his parents divorced in 1983, he chose to live with his father. Because all of the property and treasure belonged to his mother, he and his father had to look for a new place for them to live. Not long after he moved to the new house, his father got married for the second time. His childhood changed drastically, because his step mother was bad tempered and paid little attention on the importance of education for the children. Little Kadis was not able to go around freely as his peers did because he was charged with tending his father's herd of six water buffalos. Nevertheless, Suprpto Kadis was able to finish his school. After completing his elementary school (SR, *Vervolgschool*) at the age of ten, his father registered him in *Schakeschool*, a Catholic school, in Karang Anyar. He was in grade two when the Japanese invaded Indonesia. He then moved to Kroya to finish his SR until 1944. Then he successfully continued his study in Junior High School (SMP) in Purwokerto and graduated in 1974, two months before the first military aggression of the Dutch in Indonesia.⁵

Due to the social and political situation in the country, Suprpto Kadis was selected to enter military training in Purwokerto when he was in grade two of SMP. Until the age of 21, he spent his adolescence as a member of Indonesian Student Soldiers (*Tentara Pelajar Indonesia*) under the leadership of Captain Yasir Hadibroto. After the proclamation of independence in 1950, he insisted on continuing his studies. He then registered in *Sekolah Teknik Menengah (STM)* in Jetis, Yogyakarta, under the scholarship from Lemhanas, which he finished successfully at first rate in 1953. At that time, when he was at STM, young Suprpto married a lady from the village of his origin, a peer from childhood. He could not pursue his tertiary education due to his call for teaching service from the government. After finishing his teaching service requirement, he was accepted as a staff in the Ministry of Industry and Mining (*Departemen Industri dan Tambang*), at Implementation and Planning Bureau for Industrial Projects (*BP3I, Biro Perencanaan dan Pelaksanaan Proyek-Proyek Industri*). His duty involved many projects, which kept him moving from place to place. He was later appointed to be a

⁵ Interview with Zamzam A. Jamaluddin T, 15 July 2002.

supervisor in power supply at the CONEFO site (its name now is People's Consultative Assembly or Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat-MPR).⁶

A gloomy socio-political situation due to the uprising of G 30 S-PKI caused the termination of a number of governmental projects, including his projects. In order to cover the expense of his family, he became a distributor for chicken and palm sugar produced in his village to be sold in Jakarta, but this did not last very long. Following the improvement of the socio-political situation in Indonesia, he went back to work in some governmental projects. The last one was handling Krakatau Steel Project in Cilegon, West Java, at the beginning of 1970's. Thanks to the funding of the firm, he continued his electrical study in Germany until he received his Diploma in electrical engineering. Today, Suprpto Kadis resides in the housing of Krakatau Steel, Cilegon, West Java, along with his wife and two grandsons. Most all of his children hold university degrees, including his seventh daughter who finished her medical study at Padjajaran University (UNPAD), and they are all married. Of course, his retirement is not so relaxed, because he is now supervising hundreds of student seeking his wisdom.⁷

D. Notions of *Mursyid* (Teachers) in Tarekat Kadisiyyah

According to Abu Bakar Aceh, the problem which usually arises when discussing the history of the *tarekat* is concerned with the validity of its *mursyid's* genealogy, as the founder of the *tarekat*. This is based on the very important role of the *mursyid* who functions as a supervisor not only in the outer world, but also in the spiritual development of the students at the *tarekat* he establishes.⁸

There exist two arguments concerning how to measure the validity of a *mursyid*. *Firstly*, the argument based on what is widely known as *silsilah*. The validity of a *mursyid* lies in the chain of initiation and the transmission of mystical knowledge from a *mursyid* to the next *mursyid* candidates. In this regard, *silsilah* allows legitimacy for someone to be

⁶ Interview with Zamzam A. Jamaluddin T, 16 July 2002.

⁷ Interview with Zamzam A. Jamaluddin T, 16 July 2002.

⁸ Aboebakar Atjeh, *Sekitar Masuknya Islam ke Indonesia*, (Solo: Ramadhani, 1985).

called a *mursyid*. *Secondly*, the argument that puts emphasize on indirect communication through a spiritual meeting in *'ālam mithāl* or *barzakh* (literally the world between death and the day of judgment before entering the hereafter), in which they believe that their exact transmission goes directly to the Prophet Muhammad. The *tarekat* that we are discussing in this paper follows the second argument. This is apparent from the confession of Suprpto Kadis himself, concerning the absence of an outward *mursyid* (*labiriah*) who guided him. In his further confession, he received direct guidance from Allah, through which Allah had bestowed special knowledge on him.

The phenomenon experienced by Suprpto Kadis reminds us of the early sufis who named themselves as *Uwaysiyah* (*Uwaysi*). This naming references a figure who lived in the same era of the Prophet Muhammad. He knew the Prophet, but never met him in person. Likewise, the Prophet Muhammad knew *Uways*, but he never gazed at him. Among the sufis who have the similarity with Suprpto Kadis is an Iranian by the name of Abu al-Hasan Kharraqani, who left statements as follows: “I am proud of the students who said that they were taught by this *mursyid* and that *mursyid*. Have you ever known that I myself have never been taught by anyone. God is my guide. Even though, I give respect to all the *mursyids*.” Thus, the founder of Tarekat Kadisiyyah could be identified as one of the many *Uwaysiyah*.

Furthermore, in our discussion so far, we have touched notions of *Khiḍr* functioning as an invisible guide for the *mursyid*, who are not taught by visible or outward *mursyid* (*labiriah*). Budi Fajar Ali Martono, one of the staff members and a student (*salik*) in Tarekat Kadisiyyah, said that Suprpto Kadis is regarded as *Khiḍr*, who met with Moses (the prophet Musa). In the Qur'an, especially in chapter *al-Kahfī*, from verse 60 to 82, it tells the episode of the meeting between Moses and the mysterious being. The name of this mysterious being is not mentioned in the Qur'an, but tradition assigns the name of *Khiḍr*, and a number of picturesque folk tales provide the name of Abū al-ʿAbbās al-Ḥaḍīr Balya ibn Malkan. Moses wanted to learn something of the special knowledge which Allah had bestowed on *Khiḍr*. *Khiḍr* said in verse 70: “Ask me no questions about anything until I myself speak to thee concerning it.” In his journey with *Khiḍr*, Moses saw many things, which

he did not completely understand and this made Moses impatient (verse 67). He kept asking what Khidr had done in three incidents: firstly, when they went on a boat, Khidr dug a hole that would make the boat sink (verse 71); secondly, when they found a young boy, Khidr killed him (verse 74); and, thirdly, when they came to the inhabitants of a town, they asked for food but they encountered nothing but refusal, but when Khidr found a wall at the point of falling down he set it up straight (verse 77). Because Moses was impatient and kept asking what Khidr had done, Khidr said to Moses that:

This is the parting between me and you. But I will explain the interpretation of those things over which you were unable to hold patience. As for the boat, its owner was in great poverty. I damaged the boat in order to avoid the seizure of the boat from an unjust king. The owner could repair it as soon as the danger passed (verse 79). As for the young boy, the youth was a potential parricide, while his parents were pious people. The youth would be a particular source of grief to his righteous parents (verse 80). As for the wall, there was a treasure buried by a pious father beneath belonging to two youths, orphans, in the town. Thus, it was intended that the orphans should grow up and safely take possession of their heritage.

The meeting between Khidr and Moses is usually illustrated as the meeting between *sharī'ah* (outward world) and *ḥaqīqah* (inward world).⁹ Khidr means green or fresh, a symbolic color in Islam that relates to liturgical and spiritual being. His knowledge is fresh and green and drawn out of the living sources of life for it is drawn from Allah's own knowledge. He is a mysterious being who has to be sought out. He has the secrets of some of the paradoxes of life, which ordinary people do not understand or understand in a wrong sense. Thus, the highest knowledge often seems paradoxical to those who do not possess the key to it. Moses was learned in all the wisdom, but divine knowledge is unlimited even after Moses received his divine mission, his knowledge was not so perfect that it could not receive further additions.

In Javanese society, the existence of Khidr is familiar. Many *ulama* who are usually also called *wali* (saint) received their *wali* status after

⁹ Henry Corbin, *Creative Imagination in the Sufism of Ibn 'Arabi*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969).

meeting with Khidr, either in their dreams or in real time. Some of them try to assure that Khidr is the angle of Gabriel (*Jibril*) who takes the form of Khidr. In the process, those who are united with Khidr will then have the right to be called a *wali*. Khidr is always associated with “*ilmu ladun?*”, a special knowledge amongst *wali*, meaning special knowledge which Allah had bestowed on Khidr. This is clearly recorded in the Qur’an, chapter *al-Kahf*: 65; *ātaynāhu rahmatan* (On whom we had bestowed mercy), *wa-‘allamnāhu min ladunnā ‘ilman* (and whom we had taught knowledge from our own presence). Therefore, Khidr has two special gifts from Allah; (1) Mercy from Him, and (2) Knowledge from Him too. The first freed him from the ordinary incidents of daily human life, and the second entitled him to interpret the inner meaning and mystery of events.

In *tarekat*, every Muslim has a prime goal to be united with Khidr in order to achieve the highest knowledge (*ilmu laduni*). In principle, the meeting with Khidr is individual, personal, and sometimes not to be narrated to others. Everybody has an equal opportunity to meet Khidr. Many steps are recommended in order to have an easy access to meet Khidr, as follows; reciting chapter *al-Kahf* every night and reciting chapter *al-Fatihah* for Khidr by mentioning his name, Abū al-‘Abbās al-Ḥaḍīr Balya ibn Malkan, avoiding wrong deeds, and exercising optional prayers as much as possible. There has been controversy as to whether or not Khidr is still alive. But, what is worthily noted that many people are hoping to meet Khidr. This meeting has nothing to do with the idea of time dimensions chronologically. This spiritual meeting occurred in ‘*ālam mithāl* or *barzakh*. In this context, Khidr is illustrated as the one who has received the source of life (*sumber kehidupan*), has drunk the water of eternity, and as such he is not acquainted with ideas of oldness and death. He is an immortal youth (*pemuda abadi*), the twelfth invisible *imām* in Syi’ah tradition, living in the island of green in “the middle of the whitish ocean”.

Budi Fajar Ali Martono pointed out that to allow Khidr to become one’s *mursyid* and his guide, one should become his own self. Khidr is the *mursyid* who had never been taught by any *mursyid*, because he indicated to his students how to become his own self. The inauguration of the Khidrship of a person is indicated by the giving of the so-called

Khidr's long flowing robe (*jubah*) to his student (*salik*). This *jubah* becomes a symbol of togetherness, signaling that the person unites in the same spiritual culture, the same spirit. The inauguration occurs when a *mursyid* successfully identifies his own self with the condition of perfectness. With this method, a *mursyid* communicates the spiritual condition that he has constructed in his own self. Budi Fajar Ali Martono concludes this as follows:

The achievement of Khidrship does not necessarily require the silsilah of *mursyid* in a series of historical time, because the accomplishment itself can only be achieved in 'alam *mithāl*, while the qualitative time in this world is based on the development of psychological events. The meeting with historical and outward *mursyid* does not guarantee a salik to achieve his Khidrship (the source of life and truth), and a salik who has achieved his Khidrship must have met with his *mursyid*. In order to prove the truth, we are required to find the Khidrship of our own, as noted by Imam Ali peace be upon him: "please find the truth in yourself, then you will know who are the righteous among you."¹⁰

The quality of the inauguration of a *mursyid* will not become less important even he obtained his Khidrship from the mediation of other persons who have received the *jubah* of Khidr. His status of Khidrship will be the same as those who have received his Khidrship from Khidr directly. *Kashshāf* is another indicator for someone to be able to communicate in 'alam *al-mithāl*. Many *mursyid* acknowledge the presence of Khidr through their *kasyaf* in their spiritual quest before appointing students and founding a *Tarekat*, which sometimes takes his own name as the name of his *Tarekat*. For instance, the name of Tarekat Kadisiyyah is taken from the last name of its *mursyid*, Suprpto Kadis.

¹⁰ More in details about this, see Budi Fajar Ali Martono, *Hubungan Antara Interaksi Sosial Anggota Tarekat Dengan Gaya Hidup Anggota Tarekat: Suatu Studi Deskriptif Analitis Mengenai Interaksi Sosial Anggota Tarekat Kadisiyyah Wilayah Bandung-Jawa Barat Dengan Gaya Hidup Anggota Tarekat Kadisiyyah*, unpublished bachelor thesis, Universitas Padjadjaran Fakultas Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik Jurusan Kesejahteraan Sosial Bandung, 1999.

E. Students of Tarekat Kadisiyyah

The progress of Tarekat Kadisiyyah in Bandung started from a few people, then spread by word of mouth, or through friends in homes, schools, campuses, working places and places of origins. This is a common phenomenon happening in the dissemination of *tarekat*, that the process takes the form of a more personal way to the people they know well.

Looking at the level of economy, the students of Tarekat Kadisiyyah derive from the middle class strata especially in the eye of Bandung community. While, others are already among the upper class and the rest are grass root people. A large number of students of this *tarekat* pursue careers as lecturers in public and private universities. The rest work in a variety of fields as laborers, traders, government officers, military officers, and businessmen. The number of students of Tarekat Kadisiyyah in Bandung as of the beginning of August 1999 is 136 people (68 males and 68 females). As to the level of education, most of them are university students and graduates (80%). Graduates of public and private universities consist of 40 males (29, 63%) and 31 females (13, 23%). Students pursuing their study in tertiary education, either in public or private universities, are 21 males (15, 44%) and 18 females (12, 23%). While the rest, constituting a small number or only 20%, have the level of education, which varies from elementary schools (SD), junior high school (SMP), senior high school (SMA or SMU) or equivalent.¹¹

Up to now, Tarekat Kadisiyyah has founded four branches spreading out in several large cities of Indonesia, namely: Bandung, Cilegon (headquarter), Jakarta and Makassar. The number of students of each branch varies from one to another and even the character of its students also varies. Although there are four branches located in different places, only the Bandung branch has founded a formal foundation in which it could facilitate the whole activities of its students in implementing the teachings of Tarekat Kadisiyyah. The Bandung branch established the so-called Yayasan Pendidikan Paramartha (YPP). YPP was established on 29 July 1994, and its postal address is Jalan Dago Pojok 37E/161B Bandung, West Barat 40135. According to the statistics,

¹¹ *Ibid.*

around 60% (82 people) of the students of Tarekat Kadisiyyah get involved in the current organizational structure of YPP.

This YPP provides services focusing on education and study of other fields. The kind of education that it is concerned with is the concept of education based on philosophical elements of humanity consisting of *raga* (body), *jīwa* (mind) and *ruh* (spirit). *Raga* and *jīwa*, the two have to work together in gaining proximity with Allah:

*Menjadi kebendak Yang Maha Suci, jiwa dan raganya bersama serentak menyembah, bagaikan nyala api yang tak terpisah dari apinya, bagaikan ikan dengan air, bagaikan bunga dengan harumnya, dibimbing oleh olah jiwa, agama tak tertinggal satupun, berjalan bersama-sama.*¹²

[It is the wish of the Most Holy, mind and body worship altogether, like a flame of fire not separate from its fire, like fish with water, like flower with its fragrance, guided by mind training, no religion is left behind, walk together].

The philosophical management of YPP is based on the consciousness that every body is created for a special goal and specific for every self (*nafs*). Every being (*nafs*) comes into existence with certain individual goals. Therefore, every one is equipped with a body and all the potentials of the self are prepared to go to the main goal of the genuine self.

In the management system of YPP, those who are in charge of certain offices do not necessarily reflect their social strata, they are equal, the only thing that makes them different is the degree of their faith in Allah, and how far they put themselves in submission to Allah. The very important parameter is how every student (*salik*) attempts to work according to the field that Allah has willed. This process of studying varies from one student to another, because every one has a different social orientation. This diversity becomes the basis of YPP management.

Those wanting to enhance their spiritual journey (*suluk*) and scholarship can be involved in the so-called Paramartha International Center for Taṣawwuf Studies (PICTS). PICTS is one of the divisions

¹² *Acara Stadium Generale dan Kajian Serambi Suluk The Period of September 2001-March 2001*, Paramartha International Center For Tashawwuf Studies Yayasan Pendidikan Paramartha.

under the administration of YPP, which runs specifically in the studies of *taṣawwuf*. *Ilmiyah* and *suluk* (scholastic and spiritual) are the characteristics that PICTS wants to emphasize. PICTS regularly publishes a journal called '*Jurnal Suluk Rub Al-Quds*.' This journal was established in order to accommodate various teachings of *tarekat* that spread out across the Muslim countries. PICTS attempts to compile and integrate the richness of a large number of various teachings from different *tarekats* in the form of a diamond necklace and placed in the appropriate place in Islam from which everyone can learn wisdom. This is the prime goal of PICTS. In addition, PICTS will also try to explore the treasure of Indonesian *tarekats* across the country and introduce them to a wider level internationally. The treasure of *Baghdadi* (Middle East), which dominates the study of *taṣawwuf*, will be fully equipped if combined with its other treasures, so far being neglected.

PICTS provides a class called *Serambi Suluk*; *Serambi* means learning and *Suluk* means a house. This class will equip students with methods on how to describe the meaning of human existence in this world, the life goal that must be found and implemented by everyone. Before entering and learning something in a house, you must knock the door and introduce yourself to the host, looking around and then you will become familiar with the whole contents of the house. Thus, *serambi* will teach students how to know about *suluk*, *taṣawwuf* and *tarekat*. The highest knowledge could not be achieved if someone only receives information from *serambi*, he must also enter the *suluk* (house). Besides, PICTS also provides other classes, which allows students wanting to study various books (*kitab*) written by the Sufis. Titles of the books depend on the demands of the students who need more guidance and consultation, for example *Ribu'-ribu'* in *Ihya' Ulumuddin*, *Ajaibul Qulub* and *Miskatul Anwar* by Imam Al-Ghazali, *Gelaran Sasaka Kaislaman* by H. Hasan Mustafa, *Divani Syamsi Tabriz*, *Fibi Maa Fibi* and *Matsnawi* by Jalaluddin Rumi, *Fushush AL-Hikam* by Ibnu 'Arabi, *Hikam Muta'aliyyah* by Mulla Sadra, *Madrijus Salikin* by Ibnu Qayyim Al-Jauzy, and Other books on *Taṣawwuf*, Culture, Psychology, Philosophy and World Civilization.

These classes could be conducted in the forms of seminars, workshops, or short courses, which are made appropriate to the needs

and demands. In order to handle all the activities, PICTS has a number of teaching staffs as follows; Zamzam A. Jamaluddin, T. B. Hermawan, Kuswandani, Alfathri Adlin, Zaenal Muttaqin, Saat Katni Karim, Bambang Edy W., Triwarso Widji Purwono, Nu'aim Badru Kamal, Herman Soetomo, Imam Suhadi, Muhammad Sigit Pramudya, Pepi Saepuddin, Rachmat Soedarsono, Muhammad Sya'ban, Dodi Salman, Nina Kirana, Nurhasanah, Sentari, and others.¹³

With this staff composition, PICTS at this time has fulfilled some demands of *Serambi Suluk* deriving from various branches as follows: Bandung, Jakarta, Cilegon (headquarter), and Makassar. *Serambi Suluk* is conducted every week within the period of six months at regular base and is open for registration twice per annum; January and July. The registration is open, while the class is closed except for those who are registered, and have attended the whole study process from the very beginning.

The potential students are asked the question, 'want to join for *suluk*?' It is meant that those wanting to join for services of studying the treasure of *taṣawwuf*, will be asked for a commitment to their sincerity and seriousness to study and intensify the teachings of *taṣawwuf*. These requirements are also valid in the process of *baiat* (Ar: *bay'at*; taking an oath signaling one's loyalty against *mursyid*) as usually found in conventional *tarekats*. It seems that Tarekat Kadisiyyah also requires *baiat* in the recruitment of its students.

According to Zamzam A. Jamaluddin, son in-law of *mursyid* Suprpto Kadis and the one trusted to be in charge of handling the Bandung branch, the process of *baiat* really exists, but it is done in a different way compared to what the conventional *tarekats* do. 'We do not put so much emphasis on *baiat* to *mursyid* and even so there is no need to ask *mursyid* for his permission,' he added. In short, *baiat* really exists in Tarekat Kadisiyyah. This is different from what we find in other urban *tarekats*. In general, urban people getting involved in *taṣawwuf* are afraid of taking *baiat*. Moreover, they are reluctant to be tied up in certain *tarekat*, they even avoid in adopting *tarekat* as their form of studying *taṣawwuf*. What they need to realize is that religious

¹³ *Ibid.*

comprehension does not really require *baiat*. *Taşammuf* without *baiat* is a good terminology for this phenomenon.

So far, in its fifth year of existence, the headquarters of YPP has not settled yet in a permanent place. Up to the present, YPP still occupy a rented house, equipped with several units of computer appliances, office equipment, library, telephone and Internet access. In addition, YPP has been given authority in administering the mosque Al-Ishlah in the region. The activity, which requires a wider space, such as general *pengajian* (spiritual gathering), usually takes place in this mosque. In addition, YPP possesses its own medical clinic, available for people in the surrounding area, run by doctors drawn from the students of Tarekat Kadisiyyah.

One of the regular activities conducted by YPP is inviting the *mursyid* every month to hold a spiritual gathering in Bandung branch (the duration of *mursyid*'s visitation depends on the schedule created). Therefore, all students must see the coming of *mursyid* as the best opportunity in receiving his direct guidance, orientation and teachings. From my observation and interview, I found that the function of *mursyid* is relatively significant, because *mursyid* will guide intensively and orient the main activities of students (*salik*) for not exercising wrong doings. Mursyid is regarded as the one who better knows the fastest method in achieving closeness with Allah from each of self through daily main activities. Mursyid will guide them to the best course to be implemented. Through the help of *mursyid*, students also are able to accomplish a self-reflection, with fellows and environment, as well as to unite those relations, which directly guided by *mursyid*.

Besides, it is already the tradition of Tarekat Kadisiyyah, provided there is a student of *tarekat* who wants to consult concerning a heavy problem with *mursyid*, this is done while the *mursyid* is in his house located in Cilegon. It is particularly so because the more difficult the problem of the students is, the more conducive environment it requires — either for *mursyid* or student— in order to obtain the solution, which fits to what is needed by the student. Due to the increasing number of demands for consultation coming from students, *mursyid* provides his time for that purpose seven days a week. In fact, most of the students make the best use possible of this good opportunity. The number of visits to

mursyid in Cilegon varies from one student to another. For instance, there is a student from Bandung visiting *mursyid* up to six times an year, while others have never come to Cilegon even once since registering as a student. But again, direct contact with *mursyid* is not so important in Tarekat Kadisiyyah since *mursyid* Suprpto Kadis himself has never met bodily with his *mursyid*.

The Bandung branch provides several activities such as *Tafsir Al-Qur'an* (study of the Qur'anic interpretation). This is available for those wanting to enhance their appreciation of the Qur'an and at the same time to build up a sense of devotion to the Qur'an, by which in the long run they are able to implement the teachings of the Qur'an in daily life. This program runs every Sunday afternoon from four pm until six pm. In addition, there is the so-called *Pengajian Khusus Ikhwan dan Aekhwat* (a special religious gathering for male and female students). This program is available for those wanting to consult about many of their daily problems, mostly psychological and mental health problems, which need deeper answers. This program runs once a week starting from nine pm to twelve pm (every Saturday night for males and every Friday night for females). One additional program is also available for new comers, being registered in the middle of study progress. It is hoped that this program, which runs every afternoon at four pm to eight pm, will prevent them from falling behind as the program progresses.

Most of the people who come to Tarekat Kadisiyyah have severe and acute problems in their life, such feelings of downheartedness, anxiety, loss of self-confidence and the sufferings of mental stress. According to the perspective of Zamzam A Jamaluddin, these people experience anxiety because they have not found yet their own self in their life. He is a researcher, but frankly speaking he does not enjoy the job. Thus, Tarekat Kadisiyyah will help these people finding the job that really suits with their own selves (*jati diri*). Data show that 26 students, who reportedly felt disappointed when beginning the program, felt much better after attending the spiritual gatherings of Tarekat Kadisiyyah for certain period of time. The psychological condition of 42 people, being interviewed, is improving. In detail, they are as follows; 38 people (91%) no longer experience the state of disappointment (*neurosis noogenic*), and become better, while 3 (7,1%) are mediocre and 1 (2,4%) do not feel

any better.¹⁴ This data shows that *taṣannuḥ* makes its students feel much better than ever.

F. Teachings of Tarekat Kadisiyyah: Exploring Heart (*Qalb*), Looking For the Self (*Nafs*)

The main teachings of Tarekat Kadisiyyah focus on the invention of genuine self. Islam, as the last religion descended to the Prophet Muhammad, means submission. *Aslama* or self-submission, is the prime way of exercising Islam. In the Qur'an, it is frequently mentioned that the early prophets are those who submitted themselves, as mentioned in the Qur'an: "and Abraham is amongst the surrender (*muslimīn*)". This self-submission is the paradigm for repentance to God. After that, one is able to understand the concept of inventing the genuine self ("*bertemu-diri*").

In order to reach that station (*maqam*), one should be in the state of self-surrender and from the very beginning one should obtain forgiveness and mercy from Him. On that basis, ethical values are descended on the level of attitude and conduct. For instance, one will not complain if faced with difficulties and ordeals, and not be excessively cheerful if given a lot of joy. These are the prime values, which are constructed in the milieu of Tarekat Kadisiyyah.

Every student of Tarekat Kadisiyyah has a freedom to choose any *madbbab* (from five *madbhabs*) that fits to his or her belief. Explicitly, the emphasis is that every student must hold tightly his or her choices in everyday life. The students are also encouraged to join for a number of spiritual trainings (*riyāḍah*), self-surrender ("*berserah diri*"), and to attend religious gatherings conducted by the teaching staff of Tarekat Kadisiyyah in each branch. With this basis, it is hoped that every student understand what is better done in this life and what must be left behind, so that a much improved attitude and conduct will be implanted within them (*al-akhlāq al-karīmah*).

¹⁴ Thanks to Alfatri Adlin, a local staff, who provided me a chance to have this data from *Pusat Riset Metodologi dan Pengembangan Psikologi Yayasan Pendidikan Paramartha* (YPP) (the Centre for Research and Development of Psychology of YPP).

The discourse of the self or personality should be attached to the discipline of psychology. With that purpose, YPP has established Pusat Riset Metodologi dan Pengembangan Psikologi (Research Center on Psychological Methodology and Development). This center regularly publishes the outcomes of its research in the form of a journal called *psyche*. This name is derived from Greek, meaning mind (jiwa), being chosen in order to return and restore the theme of *psyche*, which has been reduced from its genuine meaning in modern psychology. *Journal of Psyche*, as they call this journal, becomes the medium for establishing articles or research findings concerning psychological problems along with their branches such as *nafs*, *rūb*, *qalb* and *'aql*, within the human self. Its inaugural issue was in March 2000.

The use of the words “return” and “restore” illustrate the concept of *psyche* appropriately, not mind in the definition of modern psychology, but in the definition used by Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle, that of an eternal entity, which remains alive although the body is dead already. From this starting point, both psychology and *taṣawwuf* meet at the same point, because *taṣawwuf* originates from *nafs*, as a living and immortal entity desiring to remain holy and look for the highest knowledge, which is able to control the human body, like the horseman can handle his wild horse, and then the two pursue hand in hand the mission of their life on this earth.¹⁵

Amongst the Muslim psychologists, even in YPP, there has been a debate on whether or not we need some kind of more Islamic based psychology. This is needed in order to add to the divine aspect of modern psychology, especially *taṣawwuf*. Nonetheless, Alfathri Adlin and Ening Ningsih, the two who are on the teaching staff of YPP, oppose the explicit use of Islamic symbols in this matter. The two pay more attention to the critical manner and genuineness in looking for the objectivity of human personality problems. Furthermore, the two suggest that there is a need to look for ‘the line of demarcation between *taṣawwuf* and psychology’, because each of this discipline has in principle different

¹⁵ Harry Mardianto Syakir, “Neurosis Noogenic dan Tasawwuf: Perbandingan Spiritual Well-Being Antara Anggota dan Non-Anggota Tarekat di Kota Besar”, *Journal of Psyche*, Paramartha International International Center For Tashawwuf Studies Yayasan Pendidikan Paramartha , vol. 2 (1) Desember 2001.

academic traits. In fact, many Muslim scholars today often act indecently in their attempts to formulate the ‘so-called Islamic psychology’, especially when they look for the parables of terms and study, either in psychology or *tashawwuf*.¹⁶

Up to the present, psychology is well known as the science of personality, and the structure of human internality does have only three big schools of thought, they are; Psychoanalysis, Behaviorism and Humanism. Psychoanalysis, with its prominent figure Sigmund Freud (1856-1939), maintains that man is influenced by his realm of unconsciousness. There have been three main systems in the structure of human personality; *id* (instinct), *ego* (pre-consciousness, consciousness, and unconsciousness), and *super ego* (conscience). All sorts of human interference are influenced by his pre-consciousness. According to Freud, this part needs attention in order to comprehend the substance of human thoughts and feelings. Burrhus Frederic Skinner (1904-1990), the prominent figure of Behaviorism opposes this comprehension, he put forward aspects of external stimulus, which could affect and produce human personality. Terms like stimulus, response and habit become the key words of this school of thought. However, both psychoanalysis and behaviorism have the same opinion that man is not a freewill creature, but an organism that its personality is influenced by a number of determinants, both internal and external.

Conversely, unlike Sigmund Freud who considers that the main part of human personality is influenced by irrational forces, of which man is not aware, Abraham Harold Maslow (1908-1970), the father of Humanism, really believes that man is a rational creature of freewill. Maslow postulates that provided we want to comprehend man, it is not reasonable to study only mentally sick individuals, who constituted the large number of Freud’s respondents in his research. Besides, it is narrow-minded provided we allow external stimulus influences human personality. Man has power in himself which is able to shift him to the highest position of life.¹⁷

¹⁶ Further elaboration of this problem, see “Nafs Lathifah, Ego, Kesadaran: Batasan Antara Psikologi dan Tashawwuf”, *Jurnal Suluk: Rub Al-Quds*, Paramartha International International Center For Tashawwuf Studies Yayasan Pendidikan Paramartha, volume 2 No. 1 Desember 2001.

Another conception of human personality is called analytical psychology, introduced by Carl Gustav Jung (1875-1961). Jung was the student of Sigmund Freud, so aspects of unconsciousness also attract the interests of Jung. Nevertheless, for Jung, personality must include the whole spectrum of consciousness and unconsciousness, which stretch out within human self, so that ego is not the representative of the total personality, which he called as *psyche*. The realization of the self is the key phrase in Jung's study, with regard to the shift of the central point of consciousness from ego to self, where this concept is carried out by ways of joining symbols of religion of both the west and the east. Ego is the connecting channel between body and self, so that ego is part of personality, but not the whole part of personality. According to Jung, when the construct of ego begins to realize the existence of a thing other than itself, which is irrational, then internal conflict occurs. On that basis, in order to avoid internal conflict, man should pursue his genuine self at first, as it is the process of becoming his own self or self-realization.¹⁸

Zamzam A. Jamaluddin and Tri Boedi Hermawan consider that the conception of Jung is much closer to the structure of *insan* in Islam. Self could be regarded as *nafs* in the terminology of Islam, the thing which must be identified at first, regarded as a bridge to reach the truth or genuine consciousness. As well, recognizing *nafs* is conceived as the starting point to know God ('who ever knows his *nafs* will know his *Rabb* (God); al-hadīth). They therefore said that:

In *taṣawwuf*, because of the subject matter in God's education is *nafs* and the construct of *insan* is a mere extension or limited shadow of this *nafs*, the personality of *nafs* does not have to be devastated by outward aspect (outward soldiers of *qalb*), as well psychic aspect which attaches with inward soldiers of *qalb*. The personality of *nafs* is the true personality of *insan*, which becomes a mirror for God's treasure, so that it must be free from the confinement of carnal desire.¹⁹

¹⁷ See Abraham Maslow, *Motivation and Personality* (Mc. Graw Hill, 1992).

¹⁸ See Zamzam A. Jamaluddin and Tri Boedi Hermawan, "Struktur Insan dalam Al-Qur'an, Apa yang Tersentuh Oleh Psikologi Analitik, dan Status Kecerdasan Spiritual (SQ)", article presented in 'Kuliah Tashawwuf' in Pusat Kajian Tasawwuf (PKT) Tazkiyah Sejati, Kuningan Jakarta, 17 February 2001.

Impure thoughts could devastate *qalb*, and this will work to the disablement of *nafs* within the human self. The man with healthy *qalb*, his *nafs* will be healthy as well, and provided *nafs* is healthy, it will guide its body to find medicine for its disease. Those who have found their *nafs* or themselves, possess a *qalb* that is already free from sick thoughts. Man, in the perspective of Islam, is born with his *fiṭrah* (natural character), and imbued with natural potentials, each has a different function, they are; *qalb*, *‘aql*, *nafs*, and *rūḥ*. *Qalb* is the determinate factor in producing human personality (*nafs*), provided it is good, then the whole will be good, and vice versa. A good *qalb* is also called *muṭmainnah* (peace and quiet), while the reverse will make *qalb* to become *ammārah* (cruel) and *lammāmah* (unstable).

Al-Ghazali, as cited by Zamzam A. Jamaluddin and Tri Boedi Hermawan, said that provided someone does not know his *qalb*, he will not recognize his *nafs*. Provided *nafs* is not known, so that he will fail to identify his goal of life (*dharmā*). If *dharmā* is not recognizable, the way leading to God is cut off. Therefore, the process of the invention of genuine self, according to the conception of Jung, finds its roots in the terminology of Islam, especially in the process of recognizing the *nafs*.

G. Concluding Remarks

In the process of consulting their personal problems, students of Tarekat Kadisiyyah will be confronted with problems relating to their level of spiritual journey (*suluk*). All of these problems have their own characteristics and vary from one student to another. To cope with this, the *muryid* will appoint a number of students who are considered capable of becoming a supervisor or mentor for other students. They will be given certain authority to help guide the *suluk* of other students.

A little comparison is needed in order to see how students of Tarekat Kadisiyyah differ from students of other neo-tarekats. The differences are that students of Tarekat Kadisiyyah still make use of mosque as a place for reciting sufistic poems and they keep using the term *tarekat* (Tarekat Kadisiyyah) symbolizing their spiritual association, although in a more modified and modernized manner. They also exercise

¹⁹ Interview with Zamzam A. Jamaluddin T, 16 July 2002.

the concept of *baiat* in the process of student recruitment. While other neo-*tarekats* prefer choosing hotels or luxurious sites in running their spiritual courses, they even avoid taking *baiat*.

Usually, students of Tarekat Kadisiyyah narrate their spiritual experiences, and then the *mursyid* will offer his interpretation and a resolution drawn from the spiritual experiences as related by the student. One of the main reasons for urban people to study *taṣawwuf* is because of experiencing disappointment and suffering in their life. But, this does not mean that they turn to *taṣawwuf* for psychological escapism. Despite having had personal problems, like mental illness, feeling worried and disappointed, students of Tarekat Kadisiyyah also pursue the sweetest way of gaining closeness with God. Besides, undergoing the life of *taṣawwuf* does not mean that we leave the world behind and live in poverty. The most important thing is that *qalb* should not be deceived by worldly temptation, but remains attached to God. *Taṣawwuf* allows your hands to be engaged in pursuing the world, while your *qalb* persistently remembers God alone.

Sebagai pembuka rasa qalbu, pertama kali kau beri pelajaran tentang tata bersembah kepada Tuhan. Sembahyang yang lima waktu dilaksanakan terlebih dahulu. Itu yang menjadi jalan untuk menemukan iman yang menjadi akar bagi pohon pribadi, yang akan menemukan jalan untuk mencapai langit menghadap Tuhan.²⁰

[As the opening of the taste of qalbu, it is the first time you give knowledge on how to worship God. Performing prayer five times a day is given precedence. It will become the way to find faith, which becomes roots for the tree of personality, which will find the way to reach the sky to face God].

The above quotation suggests that the relation between *taṣawwuf* and *sharī'ah* is obvious in the teachings of Tarekat Kadisiyyah. This is proof that Tarekat Kadisiyyah is categorized as another form of neo-

²⁰ Taken from 'Serat Sastra Jendra'; thanks to Ahmad Syafi'i Mufid, I have had access to this book. The book was written by the writer's wife after receiving divine words from the angel Gabriel on 25 February 1969, at 01.00 am. It is the book of *suluk* for students of Tarekat Kadisiyyah. The quotation above is the first part of the book, p. 2.

tarekat. This *tarekat* does not deny the importance of *sharī'ah* as many other *tarekats* do. For it, *taṣawwuf* is based on *sharī'ah* as it is the vehicle to gain closeness to God. Oman Faturrahman said, one of Ibrahim al-Kurani's important concepts, which became the basic tenet of neo-*tarekats* is that there is no contradiction between *taṣawwuf* and the *sharī'ah* teachings. So that even if a Sufi has improved his spiritual level up to that of *kasyaf*, it does not mean that he is exempt from doctrines of the *sharī'ah* such as prayer (*ṣalat*), fasting (*shamm*), paying *zakah*, and pilgrimage (*ḥajj*).²¹ Students of this *tarekat* do not escape from acute problems faced, but they welcome them. They do not cure suffering; they turn them into cheerfulness. They do not hate reason, but enhance and expand the capacity of it. Besides, the form of *dhikr* that Tarekat Kadisiyah is producing and creating is a masterwork. Publishing of journals and books is the spiritual outcome of its *dhikr*.

²¹ Oman Faturrahman, "Usul al-Madhahib al-Sufiyyah al-Muhaddathah bi Indunisiyya: Mulahazat 'ala Kitab *Ithaf al-Zaki li al-Shaikh Ibrahim al-Kurani*", *Studia Islamika*, Vol. 9, Number 1, 2002, p. 139-140.

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