

TRANSNATIONAL ṬARĪQA: The Expansion of Naqshbandî Ḥaqqânî and the Fulfilment of Urban Spirituality

*Dini Asmarani** & *Sarah Monica***

*National Research and Innovation Agency, Indonesia

**University of Indonesia, Indonesia

Email: dini.asmarani@gmail.com

Abstract

The following article examines the Naqshbandî Ḥaqqânî order as a spiritual oasis amidst urban life. This order has massively developed around the world, including in Indonesia through The Rumi Centre located in urban area. This ṭarīqa immerses followers in the philosophy of detachment from material possessions, which appeals to urban dwellers who live busy lives. The Naqshbandî Ḥaqqânî order's expansion is further supported by its simplified membership requirements and da'wah digitalization. This research using qualitative methods including participant observation, interviews, and literature studies to discover how The Rumi Center fulfills the spiritual needs of urban followers. The results show that this ṭarīqa successfully balances the lives of its followers through the daily practice of dzikr. Although the followers find solace and spiritual growth by detachment from material possessions, this philosophy may not resonate with every urban dweller. Their strong sufi tradition in their teachings do not resonate with all urban dwellers. The research's focus on urban areas imposes research's limitations on those who are genuinely seeking alternative religious outside of mainstream religion. The emphasis on inner spirituality, dzikr practice, and end-of-day arrival teaching distinguish this ṭarīqa from mainstream urban religious practices.

Artikel berikut ini mengkaji tarekat Naqshbandi Ḥaqqâni sebagai oase spiritual di tengah kehidupan perkotaan. Tarekat ini telah berkembang secara masif di seluruh dunia termasuk di Indonesia melalui Rumi Centre yang terletak di daerah perkotaan. Tarekat ini mendalami filosofi melepaskan orientasi keduniawian yang menarik banyak pengikut dari masyarakat kota. Perkembangan tarekat Naqshbandi Ḥaqqâni juga didukung oleh kemudahan syarat keanggotaan, dan sarana da'wah digital sebagai strategi dakwah. Artikel ini bertujuan untuk mengetahui bagaimana The Rumi Center memenuhi kebutuhan spiritual umat perkotaan. Untuk mencapai tujuan tersebut, metode penelitian kualitatif yang digunakan adalah observasi partisipan, wawancara, dan studi literatur dari berbagai penelitian dan teks mengenai tarekat Naqshbandi Ḥaqqâni. Hasilnya menunjukkan bahwa tarekat ini berhasil menyeimbangkan kehidupan pengikutnya melalui amalan zikir sehari-hari. Meskipun para pengikutnya menemukan pertumbuhan spiritual dengan melepaskan diri dari harta benda, filosofi ini mungkin tidak diterima oleh semua masyarakat perkotaan. Tradisi sufi yang kuat dalam ajarannya bukan berarti sesuai oleh masyarakat perkotaan. Fokus penelitian di wilayah perkotaan memberikan keterbatasan penelitian ini kepada masyarakat perkotaan yang memang mencari agama alternatif di luar agama arus utama. Penekanan pada spiritualitas batin, amalan zikir, dan ajaran kedatangan akhir zaman membedakan tarekat ini dengan aliran keagamaan perkotaan pada umumnya.

Keywords: *islamic philosophy; transnational tariqa; naqshbandi haqqâni; spiritual fulfilment*

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Introduction

A continuous quest throughout humanity's journey on life is to find happiness, truth, or the authenticity of life. It is eternal because people have always fought with this quest throughout human civilization from time to time, from generation to generation. Without going through this quest, humans will always be haunted by feelings of anxiety, alienation, and despair. It is as though a perpetual void resides within

each individual that needed to be filled constantly. According to Martin Heidegger, *Dasein* means throwing away emptiness or absence (*Nicht*) (Hardiman 2003, 79). From nothingness, humans determine an existence (*Dasein*) or the possibilities that human can create from the meaning of life.

Authenticity is to live a life with full of mindfulness. In Kierkegaard's view, we can only live authentically as human beings through the choices that determine our lives. The prerequisite is a profound spiritual life, which can overcome the influence of the five senses and all enticing offers (Tjaya 2010, 82). Humans experience desires, make decisions and commitments according to their spirituality. When a choice has been made, other choices would be abandoned, this is as a part of the commitment. This entire thing is created by faith, which in turn creates choices over actions with all of their associated risks.

Humans are unable to disregard aspects of spirituality that are intimately connected to the soul because it is in their nature to continually seek fulfilment, whether it be in the form of truth, authenticity, or the joy of life (Michaelson et al. 2019, 17). The history of human being has produced numerous tales illustrating how people have reacted to life's difficulties in diverse ways through the emergence of various cultural forms. Clifford Geertz in his study of Religion as a Cultural System explains that religion can answer the 'problem of suffering' and 'problem of evil' experienced by humans (Geertz 1973, 104-8). The ability of religion to answer these problems occupies a focus in the realm of spirituality.

Establishing a connection between creatures and the universe's Creator-God requires spirituality in religion. *Taşawwuf*, a form of a discipline and a paradigm, serves as the foundation for spirituality in Islam. It is derived from the Arabic word *sûf*, which means "wool" (al-Kalabâdzî 1993). Islam is recognized to include a mystical or esoteric dimension known as Sufism (Sakhok & Munandar 2018, 56). Becoming a Sufi (practitioner of Sufism) requires strict and prolonged physical-spiritual discipline (Purwanto et al. 2023, 6). He must follow the *tarîqa* master (*sheikh*) who has attained the greatest degree of the spiritual stages of sufism (*maqâm*). A *tarîqa*, translated as "way or technique" is emerged by the process of guiding from a *sheikh* to a *taşawwuf* student (Sakhok & Munandar 2018, 57).

A Muslim who decides to perform *taṣawwuf* through a *ṭarīqa* must practice a certain series of prayer and remembrance rituals that have been established by the *sheikh* or *murshīd* for generations. There are a lot of *ṭarīqa* in sufism, but the sufis divide them into two categories: *mu'tabar* (*ṭarīqa* whose chain is *mustahīl* [nearly impossible] connected to Prophet Muhammad) and *ghair mu'tabar* (*ṭarīqa* whose chain is *munfaṣil* [unconnected] to Prophet Muhammad) (Harini 2019, 52). The *mu'tabarah ṭarīqa* has several variants and derivations (branching) that resulted in the creation of other *ṭarīqas*. The *Naqshbandī Ṭarīqa* is one of the 43 *mu'tabarah ṭarīqas* that the *Jam'iyah Ahl al-Ṭarīqa al-Mu'tabarah al-Nahdīyah* (JATMAN) organization had created in Indonesia (Fauzia & Ma'ruf 2021, 44).

This article aims to discuss a special branch of the *Naqshbandī Ṭarīqa*, namely the *Naqshbandī Ḥaqqānī ṭarīqa* (*the Nāzimīyah*), which originated from central Asia and then grows and develops in Western countries (Green 2012, 225). The *Naqshbandī Ḥaqqānī* classified as 'the youngest child' who emerged at the end of the 20th century, approaching the 21st century (Halid 2022, 332). The *ṭarīqa* was rapidly successful and broadly reaching regions of the world in Europe, America, Africa, and Asia, including Indonesia with a total distribution of 28 countries (Estuningtyas 2022, 56). This *ṭarīqa*'s membership of Sufis is among the largest and most diverse in the world (Nielsen et al 2006, 181-82). Many analysts refer to the *ṭarīqa* as a multinational *ṭarīqa* because of its extensive geographic presence (Aziz 2011, 161).

In particular, *Naqshbandī Ḥaqqānī Ṭarīqa* emphasized personal connection to God whereas inclusivity and openness matter; but, it also hold on the importance of *Shari'a* in Sufi life. Due to this principle, the *Naqshbandī Ḥaqqānī Ṭarīqa* is open to accepting followers from non-Muslim backgrounds without requiring them to convert to Islam (Green 2012, 223). This *ṭarīqa* not only exists in Western countries but also in Latin America, where the *ṭarīqa* localizes the *Shari'a* practice in each region (Montenegro 2023, 3).

In Indonesia, *Naqshbandī Ḥaqqānī Ṭarīqa* had been examined by various scholars. Zakiya Fatihatur Rohma's thesis looked at the motives for joining new members into the *ṭarīqa* at the Yogyakarta-based *Naqshbandī Ḥaqqānī Ṭarīqa* (Rohma 2020, 74). Prior to this, Gazali

specifically researched the distribution map of the *Naqshbandî Haqqânî Tarîqa* in Indonesia (Gazali 2015). In 2008, Sulistiana had already examined the history of the foundation and growth of the Jakarta *Naqshbandî Haqqânî Tarîqa* (Sulistiana 2008), followed by Retna Dwi Estuningtyas who researched more or less the similar topic (Estuningtyas 2022). In addition, there is also research in the Padang area, West Sumatra, by Johan Septian Putra which focuses on the history and socio-religious changes of the Padang community associated with the emergence and development of the *Naqshbandî Haqqânî Tarîqa* in that city (Septian 2022).

The success of the *Naqshbandî Haqqânî Tarîqa* in spreading globally can be attributed to several factors. Primarily, its ability to embrace various elements of both Islamic and non-Islamic societies, with the ease of membership procedures and inclusive religious practices in the midst of socio-political dynamics and local culture (Hentschel 2023, 95). Therefore, this *tarîqa* is easily accepted as well as attracted many followers, both in Muslim majority and minority countries.

The research presented in this article offers a distinctive perspective by focusing on the acceptance and expansion of the *Naqshbandî Haqqânî Tarîqa* within an Islamic country, particularly in urban areas close to Jakarta. While prior studies have extensively discussed the acceptance of this *tarîqa* in non-Islamic countries, this research delves into uncharted territory by exploring how individuals leading busy urban lifestyles in an Islamic context still seek and find spiritual fulfilment through their engagement with The Rumi Centre. This geographical and cultural context provides a novel lens to examine the universality and attractiveness of the *Naqshbandî Haqqânî* order that previously unexplored. Additionally, the primary objective of this article is to address a question: how does The Rumi Centre meet the spiritual needs of urban followers? Through the investigation of this question, the article also seeks to uncover the expansion of the *Naqshbandî Haqqânî Tarîqa* in Indonesia, a predominantly Muslim country.

Research Method

This research was conducted using qualitative methods. Primary data for this study were collected through a combination of participant

observation, in-depth interviews, and the examination of relevant literature sources (Syarifah & Fahimah 2020, 298). The writer initiated contact with The Rumi Centre during the local lockdowns due to the Covid-19 pandemic in early 2022. The data collection process extended for over a year to ensure comprehensive and in-depth insights. Initially, the contact was established through their social media and an initial introduction was made with the aim of participating in their weekly *dzikir* session, which were conducted exclusively online during the lockdown period. As lockdown restrictions eased, the researcher continued to engage with the members in person at the location where the *dzikir* sessions were held.

After a thorough and persistent approach, three individuals (one female and two males) were selected as the informants. While the majority of the *tariqa*'s members were male, the inclusion of a female informant allowed for a well-rounded discussion and a more comprehensive understanding of the research topic. The article's analysis is intentionally focused on a specific issue within a broader research context, which centre on the spiritual transformation of Sufism practitioners. In this case, the research narrows its scope to explore the *Naqshbandi Haqqâni* order as a central hub for urban spiritual seekers within the transnational *tariqa* and the underlying factors driving this phenomenon. In the next chapter, the research will delve into the experiences of the subjects, narrating their stories as urban dwellers and their spiritual journeys.

Results and Discussion

The Rumi Centre as a Spiritual Oasis amidst the Urban Life

In terms of the connection between *tariqa* and urban life, The Rumi Centre comes up as an example of Sufism practices in the heart of the city, an area called Ciputat in South Tangerang. The members of The Rumi Centre are mostly men with a composition of 3:1 compared to women. The average number of members at each remembrance (*dzikir*) meeting on Monday evening is approximately 40-50 people. Especially at Islamic commemorative moments, such as the Prophet's birthday (*maulid*), the number of attendees can double. The congregants' age ranges from 20 to 60 years old. They, especially men, generally work as private sector workers. Others are still students at some universities. Meanwhile, women are dominated by housewives. Due to their daily

activities, the possible schedule for the Quran recital is on even days, and The Rumi Centre accommodates this need with its recitation activities starting from 8.30PM to 10.30PM Western Indonesia Standard Time.

People in cities live a very fast and busy rhythm of life. Their work and daily mobility cause them to struggle with traffic jams and the fierce competition of life (Muzayanah et al. 2020, 532). Most of their time is spent at work and on the road. Besides, the individualistic nature that characterizes urban society forces each person to rely on themselves in pursuing their dreams and self-actualization. Thus, the absence of reflection breaks and space for mental rest in the burden of daily activities results in high levels of stress that can lead to depression. Meanwhile, the relationships with other people in the spiritual community are important for maintaining their mental well-being (Ridho et al. 2023, 93).

The symptoms of anxiety experienced by The Rumi Centre members are interpreted by themselves as a form of madness or mental illness that requires medication or spiritual intake. When being questioned about the traits of visitors who come to learn at The Rumi Centre, one of the informants responded:

“On average, those who come are people who have a lot of problems, a lot of problems. That is why Sheikh Hishâm said, The Rumi Cafe is a mental hospital. So those who come here must be mentally ill people. On average, there are household problems, and other troubled people ended up gather here” (MR 2021).

The anxiety experienced by The Rumi Centre congregants pushed them to join the path of Sufism in order to find spiritual fulfilment amidst the stresses of everyday life. The Rumi Centre, which is affiliated with the *Naqshbandî Ḥaqqânî* order, has the convenience of accepting membership through the pledge of allegiance (*bai'at*). It can be done at any time by the *murshîd* as the leader of the assembly, as well as routine *wirid* rules that are simple and flexible so that they can be adapted to their daily activities.

Sufism practitioners in The Rumi Centre realize that spiritual needs must also be fulfilled. Through self-approach to God (*taqarrub*) and soul purification, it is the solution of spiritual fulfilment that *tarīqa* offered for urban people (Nurani 2018, 159). The spiritual fulfilment prompts

people to decide on a path that connected with God under the direction of a *murshid*, thus, they joined the *tariqa*. *Ṭariqa* is a terminology of Sufism. According to its etymology, it refers to the "way" followed by Sufis and defined as a road that originates from the *Shari'a*. *Shari'a* is known as the *syar* or main route. While the road branch is called *tariqa*, from the word *tariq*. The derivative term indicates that the mystical instruction by the *tariqa* is a branch of the primary path that is composed of Divine law, which serves as the cornerstone for every Muslim (Schimmel 2000, 123). In other words, there is no *tariqa* that deviates from *Shari'a* law. Hence, one of the considerations for urban Muslims in Greater Jakarta is to remain in compliance with *Shari'a* law.

Examining the *tariqa* practice that emerged in urban areas is intriguing since it has more to do with the individuals' spiritual transformation rather than just socio-political issues. Bruinessen's research of *tariqa* and its Development in Indonesia' in *Kitab Kuning, Pesantren, and Ṭariqa* (1995) revealed that the followers of *tariqa*, which were often associated with traditional rural communities, declined due to social changes and modernization. However, it was successful in attracting new students from the urban groups. "Muslims from modernist or secular backgrounds who are unsatisfied with the rational religious atmosphere but did not give emotional touch to their former environment, they seek a direct and emotional religious experience through the *tariqa*" (Bruinessen 1995, 205).

The Expansion of the Ṭariqa to Ease Modern Anxiety

Modern people who are claimed conquered and controlled the nature, are still unable to solve the issues in this modern time. These problems appear when people forget the transcendence part and the humanity, while the humanity is existed in accordance with spiritual conviction. Sufism provides an answer by emphasizing that human misery occurs because they no longer know who they really are. However, modern science is unable to help find the true identity (Nasr 2001, 337-53). This explains why *taṣawwuf* still exists from the 13th century until now. In fact, various *tariqas* had increased rapidly in the 21st century as modern *tariqa*, offering a balance life and relationships with God, humans, and nature (Abitolkha 2021, 8).

Modernity emerged when the civilization of the West began to experience absolute dependence on rationality as an absolute source of knowledge, along with the rise of many Muslim intellectuals at the time, they emphasized *aqli* (reason) over the spirituality (Ali 2022). In consequence, a modern generation faces a more complex challenge in current time. They often feel anxious when dealt with irrational events that cannot be explained (Courtney et al. 2020, 689). This confusion encourages humans to always search spiritual desires to dampen the vortex of anxiety.

One story shared by one informant as he revealed his anxiety of living in urban as a young entrepreneur.

“Since my father died in 2011, I’d started a business. My business was growing successfully. Strangely though, the perplexity began to emerge from the deep of my heart. Even though I could get everything and the business was continuing to “move up and up”, I was still perplexed. What else would I like to do with my life? There I felt emptiness. Confused.” (YM, 2022).

The story of anxiety mentioned on the story above is one of the backgrounds for *Naqshbandī Ḥaqqānī* followers joining the order. This problem is related to modern life which does not provide enough space for spiritual fulfilment for society. Thus, the preaching and teachings in the *Naqshbandī Ḥaqqānī* order regarding the necessity to manage the mind and souls in order to overcome the challenges in daily life and face the phenomena of the End Times (Doomsday) have become an important source of spirituality for its order.

The topic of Doomsday holds a significant place in the teachings of the *Naqshbandī Ḥaqqānī Ṭarīqa*. It is closely connected to the anxiety experienced by modern people who often obsess with material possessions. Through discussions about Doomsday, people in the modern time can find relief from their anxiety by acknowledging the inevitability of human mortality and detachment of material possessions or *zuhd* (Sviri 2022, 165). The *Naqshbandī Ḥaqqānī Ṭarīqa* expanded in the West dealt with this issues that were noticed by *Sheikh Abdullah Fâiz ad-Daghestanî*, the *tarīqa*'s leader. The Grand *sheikh* passed this vision to *Sheikh Nâzim al-Ḥaqqānī* and followed by *Sheikh Hishâm Kabbânî* who, further, refined it

(Sakhok & Munandar 2019, 35). The judgment day, the return of *Isa al Masih*, and *Imam Mahdi's* arrival were one of the kinds of *Naqshbandî Haqqânî Ṭarîqa's* preaching themes.

A sequence of global events, including climate change, natural disasters, and various other catastrophic occurrences, has revealed numerous mysterious signs. According to Islamic belief, the *Waliyullah* (saints of Islam) are considered the ones who possess the deepest understanding of God's mysteries (Alatas 2020, 4). Therefore, every time *Sheikh Hishâm Kabbânî* delivers a *shuhbah* (a special speech for *ṭarîqa* students), the message of *mahdism* (the belief in *Imam Mahdi's* arrival) can awaken spiritual consciousness (Mercier-Dalphonc 2021, 136). This is the end of time, the only way to salvation is to return to God.

The *Nâzimîyah Ṭarîqa* had succeeded in attracting new followers around the world, including Indonesia, due to the related topic, easiness in the *bai'at* process and the flexibility for *taṣawwuf* rites. It was even comfortable for students who are new with Islam. In addition, it was also relevance to global issues through Islamic interpretation, allowing urban groups from diverse races, gender, social-economics and social culture to be united.

The rapid growth of the *Naqshbandî Haqqânî* order, particularly in Indonesia, indicates a new historical milestone in the Islamic progressive movement through transnational *ṭarîqa*. The *Naqshbandî Haqqânî Ṭarîqa* succeed attracting followers by presenting loving-kindness and inclusivity. Hence, the *ṭarîqa* has survived amid materialistic orientation and it also adapted with technology. Islam's practice comes as a strategy to solve the more challenging problem.

The Rumi Centre: a *Naqshbandî Haqqânî* Genealogy

The Rumi Centre in Ciputat is one of Sufism practices that originally from *Naqshbandî Haqqânî Ṭarîqa*. The *Naqshbandî Haqqânî Ṭarîqa* is a branch of the *Naqshbandî Ṭarîqa*, as the name implies. The *Naqshbandî Ṭarîqa* is one of the largest and the most famous *ṭarîqas* in the world. Named after its founder, Sayyid Muhammad Bahâuddîn an-Naqshbandî, who was born in *Muharram* 1317 AD in Qashrul Arifan area, a village close to Bukhara. By lineage, Sayyid Bahâuddîn was still a

descendant of Rasulullah from Husain ibn Alî, husband of Fâtimah az-Zahrâ bint Rasulullâh (Latif & Usman 2020, 300). He was regarded as a renowned saint from his time who established the fundamental principles of the *Naqshbandî Ṭarīqa*. He promoted to clean the students' heart and to always remember *al-Ḥaqq* (Allah). One of this *ṭarīqa* most prominent teaching was always reciting (*sirr*), even in the crowd (Gitosaroso et al. 2022).

The history of the Archipelago showed that the *Naqshbandî Ṭarīqa* was first mentioned in the writings of Sheikh Yusuf al-Makassari (d.1699) who travelled to the West since a young age. He studied in Aceh the Centre of Islam studies in the Archipelago, and then he performed *Hajj* (pilgrimage) and studied in the Middle East. Bruinessen in his book "*Ṭarīqa Naqshbandî in Indonesia*" (1992) described the journey of Sheikh Yusuf studying the *Naqshbandî Ṭarīqa* in Yemen through a well-known Arab sheikh, Muḥammad 'Abd al-Bâqî. Later, in Medina he also studied with another well-known *Naqshbandî* figure, Ibrâhîm al-Kurânî, but he referred to his teacher only as a sheikh of the *Shattariyah Ṭarīqa* (Bruinessen 1992, 34). Through these historical archives, it is known that, in the 17th century, the *Naqshbandî Ṭarīqa* had expanded throughout the Archipelago, although Sheikh Yusuf himself later became the *murshîd* of the *Khalwatiyah Ṭarīqa* in Makassar.

The *Qadiriyah wa Naqshbandî Ṭarīqa*, the *Syattariyah Ṭarīqa*, the *Sammaniyyah Ṭarīqa*, and the *Naqshbandî Ṭarīqa* were developed in the Archipelago between the 18th and 19th centuries (Abdurahman & Nur 2018, 34-47). Trimmingham claimed that students who studied in Mecca disseminated the *Naqshbandî Ṭarīqa* for the first time. Sheikh Sulaeman Effendi, a Minangkabau Sufi scholar, in 1840, was announced as the first *Naqshbandî* caliph in the Archipelago (Trimingham 1971). In the following period, this *ṭarīqa* expanded with more followers, especially in the Parahyangan area, including Cianjur, Sumedang, and Sukabumi [see K.F. Holle's 1886 report in Bruinessen's work (Bruinessen 1992, 23-27)].

The *Naqshbandî Ḥaqqânî Ṭarīqa* recently emerged in the 21st century and was acknowledged as 'contemporary' *ṭarīqa* (Sulistiana 2008, 22). Sheikh Nâzim al-Ḥaqqânî occupies the 40th *Naqshbandî murshîd* lineage after his predecessor, Sheikh Abdullah Fâiz ad-Daghestanî from Damascus passed away on September 30, 1973. In 1974 Sheikh Nâzim al-

Ḥaqqânî began his da'wah in Europe, especially England and Germany (Sulistiana 2008, 7). In these vast non-Muslim countries, he attracted many followers who just converted to Islam and Muslims immigrant, by giving *bai'at* to the *Naqshbandî Ṭarîqa* through Grand Syekh ad-Daghestanî as *murshîd*.

Before receiving *bai'at* from the Grand Sheikh and being designated as *Naqshbandî murshîd*, Sheikh Nâzim had already strengthened his understanding of the *Naqshbandî Ṭarîqa* under the guidance of his teacher at the time, Sheikh Sulayman Arzurumi (d.1948). He was transferred to Sham (Syria) by Sheikh Sulaymana Arzurumi to pursue more comprehensive studies in sharia, Quranic interpretation, and hadith from various *murshîd* and shari'a masters. During his travels to Damascus, Aleppo, Hama, and Homs, Sheikh Nâzim studied with Sheikh Abdul Azîz Uyûn al-Sud (mufti of Homs), Sheikh Abdul Jalîl Murad, and Sheikh Saïd as-Subâ'î, all of whom were sheikhs of the *Naqshbandî Ṭarîqa*.

Sheikh Nâzim met Grand Sheikh Abdullah ad-Daghestani when he relocated to Damascus in 1945. In that year, he took an oath and asked to return to Cyprus. In 1952, Grand Sheikh wed Sheikh Nâzim to one of his students named Hajjah Amina Hattun Adil. He spent the following years preaching and traveling to the East Mediterranean where he attracted followers in Lebanon, Syria, and Jordan (Nielsen, Draper, and Yemelianova 2006, 184). A brief notes according to David W. Damrel's research; during the early 1950s to 1974, Sheikh Nâzim carried out meditative rituals and da'wah missions around Syria, Cyprus, Jordan, and Turkey (Damrel 2006, 208).

After the legacy of Grand Syekh ad-Daghestanî, Sheikh Nâzim focused his teachings on the West. He initially traveled to England to establish the *Naqshbandî Ḥaqqânî Ṭarîqa*. There are now several (Sufi meeting places) in London, Birmingham, Sheffield, and Glastonbury (Nielsen et al. 2006, 185-89). Research by Nielsen et al., in the 1998-2001 period, described the dynamics of the *ṭarîqa*'s rise in connection to the local setting and political fragmentation. The fragmentation within the *ṭarîqas* was resulted from the absence of a single caliph who could unify all parties from various regions. The followers, who came from various ethnicities but mostly from South Asia, were only gathered if Sheikh Nâzim made a visit to United Kingdom. Each group often engaged in

dzikr activities at certain location and schedule as agreed by the local leaders. This activity was performed on daily basis.

Two of the distinguished Lebanese Sunni Kabbânî brothers, Hishâm and Adnân Kabbânî, were among Sheikh Nâzim's earliest students. Both were chosen as caliphs in different regions. Sheikh Adnan Kabbânî held the Lebanese territories, especially Tripoli and Beirut. Meanwhile, Sheikh Hishâm Kabbânî was assigned by Sheikh Nâzim to America in 1990 to established *Naqshbandî Ḥaqqânî Ṭarīqa*. Interestingly, Sheikh Hishâm was wed to Hajjah Nazihe Adil, one of Sheikh Nâzim's daughters, and lived in Michigan (Baried et al. 2022). However, starting from America, Sheikh Hishâm Kabbânî then also expanded his influence to Southeast Asia, including Malaysia, Brunei Darussalam, and Indonesia.

One of Maulana Sheikh Hishâm's successes in expanding the influence of the *Naqshbandî Ḥaqqânî* in Indonesia was because of his preaching regarding the phenomenon of the end times (doomsday) and its connection with the arrival of Imam Mahdi, as clearly mentioned by the informant:

“So, Maulana Syekh Hishâm reminded the younger generation of the Prophet's followers that they should not love the world and not be afraid of death. You have to prepare yourself, whenever the time is. Because that is the secret of Allah Ta'ala, the secret of the saints. They do not say when Imam Mahdi will appear, but we must be prepared. People who support al-Mahdi must be prepared. Those one of the tasks of the great saints like Syekh Hishâm.” (SAB, 2022).

The Existence of Naqshbandî Ḥaqqânî Ṭarīqa in Indonesia

The intellectual exchange with other Muslim scholars marked an important moment that significantly influenced the religious landscape in Indonesia. Since the 16th century, the development of Islam in Indonesia has been shaped by interactions between Muslim scholars and Middle Eastern traders (Feener 2019, 3). This distinctive trajectory differs from mainstream religious practices. *Ṭarīqa* is classified as a category of supernatural conditions, primarily because its spiritual practices and rituals are observed predominantly among *ṭarīqa* followers (Qomariyyah & Saifuddin 2022, 2). The central hallmark of this *ṭarīqa* is the

attainment of inner peace. *Ṭarīqa* is transmitted by a *murshīd* or *Sheikh* who guides the followers through their prayer rituals. *murshīd* or *Sheikh* is regarded as a saint by their followers and occupies the highest position within a Sufi order, serving as its leader and spiritual guide (Smith et al. 2023, 365). The arrival of Sheikh Nâzim Adil al-Ḥaqqânî in Indonesia marked a significant presence of the *ṭarīqa* in the country.

The *da'wah* mission that was carried out by Sheikh Nâzim Adil al-Ḥaqqânî aimed to spread Sufi teachings in the context of human fraternity. They conveyed unity across all religions and spiritual paths to create harmony living (Sulistiana 2008, 37). Departing from this mission, the *Naqshbandî Ḥaqqânî Ṭarīqa* proved to embrace not only marginalized Muslim communities in Western countries, but also attracted non-Muslims to convert to Islam. It is unexpected that this *ṭarīqa* had developed into one of the most significant and rapidly expanding *ṭarīqa* in Western Europe and North America with its inclusive culture.

In 1974, Sheikh Nâzim commanded Sheikh Hishâm Kabbânî, one of his pupils and son-in-law, to preach and broaden the *ṭarīqa* movement to the European region and expanded to North America in 1990. The *Naqshbandî Ḥaqqânî Ṭarīqa* in North America developed fairly fast in the first 10 years under Sheikh Hishâm Kabbânî. Moreover, Sheikh Nâzim personally travelled to the United States and Canada in 1991 and 1993. According to Ḥaqqânî's publications, he was able to persuade more than 10,000 individuals in North America to convert to Islam and join the *Naqshbandî Ḥaqqânî Ṭarīqa* from his earliest travels (Damrel 2006, 210).

Through the *Naqshbandî Ḥaqqânî Ṭarīqa*, Sufism, which had its roots in the East Mediterranean's Islamic tradition, is able to affect the Western culture although with social-cultural disparities. "Miracle and blessing from Allah" were the answer of Nâzimiyah followers who undoubtedly joined the *ṭarīqa* (Kabbânî 2004, 481). The Nâzimiyah *Ṭarīqa* succeeded gaining many students in the United States. However, it is necessary to scrutinize that there are three main factors that can explain the success of the movement and the growth of the *ṭarīqa*, 1) the sheikh's spiritual charisma; 2) the structure of the *ṭarīqa* and their ability to embrace the diversity of any nations, ethnicities and beliefs; and 3) teaching messages from the *Sheikh* that are able to unite all students in the *ṭarīqa*.

The public and political actions, along with *da'wah* strategies and topics strengthened by Sheikh Hishâm's leadership, cannot be separated from the significant development of the *Naqshbandî Ḥaqqânî Tarīqa* in America. The *Ḥaqqânî* Sufi Foundation, the Islamic Supreme Council of America (ISCA), the As-Sunnah Foundation of America (ASFA), and the Kamilat Muslim Women's Organization are the four non-profit groups that are primarily linked to this *tarīqa*. Although each of these groups has a distinct mission and vision, ISCA is the most politically engaged as the voice of "traditional" Sunni Islam in the US. ISCA has two main agendas: first, to concentrate on serving these communities; and second, to educate American society with a corrective vision of what Islam is (Damrel 2006, 213).

The *Naqshbandî Ḥaqqânî Tarīqa* in America utilizes a variety of media and internet in addition to spreading public events especially for *da'wah* information. They disseminated their events through printed media, video, television, radio, as well as the internet (Piraino 2016). This strategy allows non-*tarīqa* members to understand the message of Islam as a moderate, tolerant and peace-loving religion. However, members of the *tarīqa* may keep in touch with the main organization, particularly with Sheikh Hishâm Kabbânî, their spiritual teacher. Additionally, the lectures focus on the theme of millennialism (*mahdism*) for social acceptance. Over the past three decades, *Ḥaqqânî* teachings had consistently addressed themes such as the coming of the Last Day and its signs, as well as the emergence of *Imam Mahdi* (Damrel 2006, 217).

Internal fragmentation emerged after the main spiritual leader of *Naqshbandî Ḥaqqânî Tarīqa*, Sheikh Nâzim Adil al-Ḥaqqânî died. It happened along with the changing of central leader from the *tarīqa*. The legitimacy of each caliph's claim of authority was bolstered by political networks and (digital) media influence. Although, the competing caliphs still pledged their followers on behalf of Sheikh Nâzim as the 40th *Naqshbandî murshid* according to the Golden Lineage (Conner 2015). It recorded in *Naqshbandî Ḥaqqânî's* hagiography. As a result of the mutual acknowledgement of Sheikh Nâzim's, the *tarīqa's* genealogy still continues referring him without mentioning any other caliphs, such as Sheikh Hishâm Kabbânî, who was considered to be the strongest representation.

The phenomenon of the *Naqshbandî Haqqânî Ṭarîqa* in Indonesia, especially in Jakarta area, demonstrated different forms of community in terms of social culture. The name of Sheikh Hishâm Kabbânî was mentioned in the *murshîd* genealogy by every associated with the *Naqshbandî Haqqânî Ṭarîqa* through the *wirid* rite. Hence, during the *wirid* procession with the students, they also sent al-Fatihah (*tawaṣṣul*) prayer to Sheikh Hishâm Kabbânî in sequence with the names of the prior teachers and until the Prophet Muhammad (Böttcher 2006). Mentioning Syekh Hishâm Kabbânî in *tawaṣṣul* can be historically explained. The proliferation would not have been occurred without him especially in Indonesia.

In addition to Malaysia and Brunei Darussalam, Indonesia is another Southeast Asia nation where the followers of *Naqshbandî Haqqânî Ṭarîqa* grew rapidly. On April 5, 1997, the *Naqshbandî Haqqânî Ṭarîqa* was initially brought to Jakarta through the role of Syekh Hishâm Kabbânî, as the caliph of the United States (Estuningtyas 2022, 59). On the same date, Sheikh Hishâm took allegiance and immediately appointed KH. Mustafa Mas'ud as caliph, the representative of Sheikh Nâzim Adil al-Haqqânî in Indonesia (Sulistiana 2008, 37). With this appointment, the *Naqshbandî Haqqânî Ṭarîqa* was officially established in Indonesia. Although the organization established in the next few years, in the two following visits, Sheikh Hishâm also ordained four other *ulama* as representatives of Sheikh Nâzim al-Haqqânî in Indonesia, namely 1) KH. Taufiqurrahman al-Subky in Wonopringgo, Pekalongan, Central Java; 2) Habib Luthfi bin Yahya, Pekalongan; 3) KH. Q. Ahmad Syahid, Nagrek, West Java; and 4) Ustadz H. Wahfiuddin MBA, Jakarta.

Following that, Mawlana Sheikh Nâzim and Sheikh Hishâm traveled to Indonesia as part of a series of trips planned by the Islamic Supreme Council of America (ISCA) from April 26 to May 6, 2001, to meet with local Ulama and government representatives. He was greeted by the *Haqqânî* Indonesia Foundation and the Minister of State Secretary of the Republic of Indonesia, Djohan Effendi. One of the agenda of the visit was to meet with the President of the Republic of Indonesia at that time, KH. Abdurrahman Wahid (Gus Dur) on May 2, 2001 (Naqsybandi 2008). On May 5 2001, he visited Abah Anom (Syekh Ahmad Shohibul Wafa Tajul 'Arifin) the *murshîd* of the *Qadirîyah wa Naqshbandî* (TQN)

tarîqa at the Suryalaya Islamic Boarding School, Tasikmalaya. In addition, Sheikh Nâzim accompanied by Sheikh Hishâm met with several political figures, Sufi academics, and Indonesian Muslim intellectuals in a series of amicable meetings that aimed to establish spiritual and political relations despite their tight schedule.

Figure 1

A weekly *dzikir* gathering using hybrid method (offline & online methods)



Overseeing the organizational and administration structure, the *Naqshbandî Haqqânî Tarîqa* in Indonesia was under Indonesian *Haqqânî* Foundation which was founded by Syekh Hishâm Kabbânî (Sulistiana 2008, 41). The *Haqqânî* Indonesia Foundation is a branch of the *Haqqânî* Foundation, an international network of Sufi *Haqqânî* foundations spread across several countries in the world where this *tarîqa* grows and develops. Since 1997, the *Haqqânî* Indonesia Foundation had organized various programs, but it was officially incorporated as a legal entity in 2000. The existing research about *Naqshbandî Haqqânî* in Indonesia indicated that this transnational *tarîqa* had risen across Indonesia, from Sumatra, Java, Kalimantan to Bali within two decades. Gazali in “*Tarîqa Naqshbandîyah Haqqânî di Indonesia*” mapped the regions where *Naqshbandîyah Haqqânî tarîqa* in Indonesia exists as well as all the location in each region (Gazali 2015, 24-29).

The Rumi Centre as one of the *zawiyah* (council) in Ciputat, suburban area around Jakarta, conducting a weekly ritual named ‘*Khtam Khwajagan*’. *Khtam Khwajagan* is a typical remembrance ritual carried out

in the *Naqshbandî* tradition. The *dzikr* consists of a series of wirid, verses, prayers and prayers that close each orderal *dzikr*. This *dzikr* was compiled by Sheikh Abd al-Khâliq al-Ghujdawânî (1179). The recitation of *khtam* is believed to invoke the spirits of great sheikhs from the past to help those gathered (Bruinessen 1992, 85-86). At the The Rumi Centre, *dzikr* activities are held every Monday evening from past 8 to 11 pm. Congregants who are unable to attend the The Rumi Centre in person can take part in the activity via Zoom. The admin manager will widely share the link in the afternoon to the WhatsApp group, WhatsApp story, Facebook, and Instagram, so the followers are reminded by the agenda. One of female informants said,

“When Syaikh Hishâm visited Jakarta, I would come to his agenda wherever it was. That's how much I like his teachings. Sufism is really for us to improve ourselves. That's what I like about Sufism. When he can't come to Indonesia anymore, I'll just follow his sermons via the internet, either through YouTube or Instagram. Apart from that, I also followed and joined the recitation of Kiai Shohib or Sheikh Gibril on The Rumi Centre's zoom.” (MD, 2022).

The *Naqshbandî Ḥaqqânî* order in Indonesia keeps maintaining connections with both existing and new followers through its online activities. The presence of the *murshîds* in social media is a part of *tarîqa* actualization because they are actively involved in the global community (Hidayat & Zein 2022, 139). The significance of the *murshîd*'s role is strengthened by his online sermons, which help keep the followers engaged. These sermons serve as a constant reminder of the core teachings, including detachment from material possessions, anticipation of Imam Mahdi's arrival, the impending doomsday, and the practice of *dzikr*.

Conclusion

The *Naqshbandî Ḥaqqânî tarîqa* in Indonesia led by Syekh Hishâm Kabbânî rapidly grows and spreads since they adopt the current issue of human anxiety. In urban areas, the presence of the The Rumi Centre serves as a spiritual oasis that catered the fulfillment of human spirituality. By focusing on universal topics related to the crises of modern times, the

ṭarīqa effectively connects with individuals on a spiritual level who acknowledge the reality of mortality. Additionally, they have embraced modern technology such as social media and other internet platforms as tools for *da'wah*. Through technology advancement, universal teachings on love and humanity, and eschatological theology, the *Naqshbandī Ḥaqqānī Ṭarīqa*'s adaptability and creative power are able to ignite and awaken human awareness to take the spiritual path as a strategy to face the challenges of modern life. Urban people may find their spiritual fulfilment through joining the *ṭarīqa* as the *Naqshbandī Ḥaqqānī* also offers the ease and convenience prerequisite to engage its potential followers. Thus, the uncertainty quest and problems of modern society will discover its answers and true meaning through *Sufism*, by joining the *ṭarīqa*. This process is where spiritual fulfilment happens.

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