

TARIQA OF SAMMANIYAH PALEMBANG IN 1900-1945: Struggle and Game Power of the Tariqa Sammaniyah Scholars In Maintaining the Existence of the Tariqa Sammaniyah

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Abstract

This study aims to discuss the struggle of Sammaniyah scholars in maintaining the existence of Sammaniyah Tariqa at the beginning and in the middle of the 20th century. The struggle of these scholars began since the Dutch removed the Islamic-Malay politics from the neighborhood of Palembang Sultanate Palace in 1824. Although the Dutch had left Indonesia and there has been a change of power, apparently the struggle of Islamic scholars to maintain the exposition of the order is still done. The method of study used in this research is qualitative with genealogical approaches, where researchers analyze the relationship of power built by the Sammaniyah scholars in spreading Islam and maintaining the teachings of orders. The different treatment experienced by the Sammaniyah order has made the Islamic scholars make a strategy so that they can endure the middle of the regime. Establishing a power relationship with the power Regim is one of the steps of Sammaniyah scholars in maintaining the order through the process of Islamization.

Keywords: The Struggle of the Scholars , Tariqa Sammaniyah, Palembang, Regim power, power relation.

1. Introduction

Experts agree that before the modernity entered in Indonesia, the scholars only participated as religious figures who only taught religious knowledge. However, when entering and developing in Indonesia, it turns out that Modernitas can provide opportunities to the scholars to define the wider Islam and to form the authority of its growth (see. Bruinessen, 1994; Burhanudin, 2012; DeWeese & Gross, 2008; Dhofier, 1985; Gibson, 2007; Rozaki, 2004; Turmudi, 2004; van Bruinessen, 1994). Scholars have only acted as religious figures that only teach the science of religion, especially in the traditional area of religious institutions in rural areas. However, nowadays scholars can participate in various roles in communities both in rural and urban areas. Moreover, in the eighteenth century, the Islamic reformer's movement was made through his Wahabinya movement, which criticized and "castrated" the traditional scholars especially the scholars of the order which were considered not by the Qur'an and Hadith in the way of Islamic teachings. The Islamic reformer was criticizing the doctrine of the order that was assessed to exploit superstitious beliefs rooted in lay society.

Various fundamental changes due to the modernization of Muslims' lives, scholars are required to work extra hard to develop their potential to complete the change. As a socio-religious elite, scholars not only act as religious figures that include spiritual roles, but the scholars also serve as educators, agent of change, and socio-cultural as well as figures involved in politics both as participants, supporters and actors. The changes that occurred as a result of modernization

and capitalism, did not necessarily immediately cease the scholars in voicing and fighting for Islam, but continued to fight and participate using the methods and method adopted and adapted from the modern world.

In historical records, scholars through his religious movements have been a political force in Indonesia. The scholars have an important role in strengthening the Islamic position in the country and society, and the development of the wider community environment. Some of the roles include: (1) role-forming factor and mode of state function; (2) as a clue to several ways of living community and economic development; and (3) as a fortress of defence against European colonisation (Drewes). Kartodirjo (1984) said that in the nineteenth century the beginning of the order was a movement of religious revival, the order of turbulences to the power of religious politics, even being the most effective tool for organizing religious movements and doctrinization ideals of revival. Through the International underground network, the movement is able to protect the cultural identity of Muslims in facing the Dutch colonial considered pagan. This kind of movement can turn into a jihad movement in the fight against the forces deemed an Islamic enemy. This is what is done by the scholars of the Tarekat Sammaniyah who thrive in Indonesia, especially in the area of Palembang.

Many research results show that the participation of Islamic scholars in the political world is not another to maintain the existence of its fighting teachings. As the Naqsyabandiyah scholars, Bruinessen (1995) mentions that Naqsyabandiyah scholars generally tend to approach the ruler and seek followers among the political elites. The involvement of the figures in politics conducted is to support the existing political system. As the results of previous studies show, the involvement of scholars in the political influence also on the development of the State, in addition to maintaining the teachings of the Tarekatnya (Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning, Pesantren Dan Tarekat*; Matzen; Siregar; Burhanudin; Gibson; Kartodirjo; Rozaki; Turmudi). Tariqa Sammaniyah is one of the most developed orders and has been the largest order in Palembang in the era of the Sultanate of Palembang Darussalam. Even this order was once a threat to the Dutch colonial government. As a result, the Dutch removed the influence of Sammaniyah order from the environment of Palembang Sultanate Palace since the Netherlands abolished the Malay political Islam in the Sultanate of Palembang. This situation proved not to make the scholars Sammaniyah discouraged. They continue to struggle and strive for Sammaniyah order to persist and be recognized.

Through this writing, the author tried to raise the struggle of the scholars of the Tariqa Sammaniyah Palembang in fighting and defend the existence of Sammaniyah orders in the regime of power. The changes that occur in each regime of power will certainly affect how the cleric plays and plays a role in it. All of them are not separated from the expertise, the character, even the charisma owned by the Clerics of Tariqa Sammaniyah Palembang.

2. Method

Research on the struggles of Sammaniyah scholars in maintaining the existence of Tariqa Sammaniyah Palembang in the midst of a power regime using qualitative methods with genealogy approaches. Through the interaction of discourse, this study looked for how the pattern of power progresses and not on who has power (Ramazanoglu, 1993: in in Kholifah & Rahayu, 2008). So in this research the author can reveal the relationship of power of scholars Tarekat Sammaniyah and the authority of the unwillingness that existed at the time. The author also conducts past historical investigations to find the crack of a time (discontinuity) as an attempt to locate the knowledge regime (Episteme) of what is in power at a certain time (archeology of knowledge), and how it operates the genealogy of power. So the concept of power in this study used Foucault's concept of power which saw power as something productive and reproductive, not centered, but dispersed (omnipresent) and flowing normalized in disciplinary practice (Kamahi).

3. Result and Discussion

3.1 Politics-Malay Abolished: Early Struggle of the Tariqa Sammaniyah

Tariqa Sammaniyah entered Indonesia brought by a number of Indonesian students who studied in Haramayn (Makkah and Madinah), among them Sheikh Abdush Shamad al-Palimbani, Sheikh Muhammad Arsyad al-Banjari, Sheikh Muhammad Abdul Wahab Bugis, and Sheikh Abdurrahman al-Masri (Betawi). They are known by the nickname "The Four Serangkai" (Helmina). Through the role of the four figures, the Samaniyah Tarekat developed in the homeland, such as Aceh, South Sumatera, Jakarta (Betawi), Kalimantan (Banjar), and Sulawesi (Bugis). This order is very important in Indonesia and has also played a role in anti-colonial resistance in its spreading area. Therefore, it is obvious that the Tariqa Sammaniyah became the first order to acquire a large number of followers in the archipelago (Bruinessen, "Kitab Kuning; Books in Arabic Script Used in the Pesantren Milieu"). The success of Tariqa

Sammaniyah became one of the greatest orders at the time due to the role of the scholars of the Tariqa Sammaniyah in spreading and teach the order from the elite level to the wider community.

Clerics of Tarekat Sammaniyah is a figure who has a strategic and central position in the Sultanate of Palembang. Their stretagist position was associated with his position as an educated person in the religious sciences. Moreover, at that time the palace of the Sultanate of Palembang is a palace of high-winning Islamic teachings and very respectful and appreciate the scholarly sciences. As an educated elite, scholars provide knowledge of Islamic teachings to the people of Palembang.

However, the development and existence of Sammaniyah in Palembang is not going well and smoothly. Many barriers and obstacles faced by Sammaniyah scholars in teaching the doctrine of this order. Especially after the Dutch colonial government removed the Malay-politics of the Sultanate of Palembang, where the scholars of the Sammaniyah in the Malay Islamic police, who were considered to interfere with the Dutch government system in Palembang. The Dutch colonial deprived the scholars of the order and to keep it away from the court environment.

The Palembang sultans had an important role as protector of Sammaniyah. The collapse of the kraton in 1821 also ended the close relationship between the state and religion. However, the collapse of the sultanate did not mean the dissolution of Sammaniyah. For the Palembang nobility, this tarekat became an alternative framework to replace the court society. The social function after 1821 was mainly developed by Panembahan Bupati, the brother of Sultan Mahmud Nadjamuddin II, who was allowed to live in Palembang (Peeters, 1997).

In Palembang, although the Sammaniyah Tarekat was introduced by Shaykh Abdus Shamad al-Palimbani, the relationship between the Palembang Palace and the Sammaniyah Tarekat was established through Shaykh Kiagus Muhammad Akib bin Kiagus Hasanuddin. This relationship was established through the collaboration of the Regent Panembahan and Sunan Ahmad Nadjamuddin II, who acted as the protector of religion. Apart from his involvement in politics and his close relationship with former court officials, Sheykh Kiagus Muhammad Aqib is a scholar and teacher of the Sammaniyah tarekat that is respected by the community. In the Dutch report in 1834 AD, it was stated that he was a religion teacher (in the field of Islamic law) with the largest number of students in Palembang. Then in the 1840s his name appeared again when a religious celebration funded by the Panembahan Regent aroused suspicion that the Dutch saw this ritual only as a cover for the followers of panembahan to gather in their political patron yard (Peeters, 1997: 24).

Dutch colonial suspicion of the Sammaniyah Tarekat movement was smelled by the Dutch when the Menteng War occurred in 1819. Sultan Mahmud Badaruddin II ordered the clerics of the Sammaniyah tarekat to lead the reading of the Samman ratib together with ministers, priyanyi, people, and pilgrims. The practice of the Samman ratib was also used to increase the power and immunity of the body against the Dutch colonialists. This fear then made the Dutch have to act by prohibiting the Sammaniyah tarekat from developing further and prohibiting tarekat clerics from teaching this tarekat. This prohibition was evidenced by the removal of Political-Malay from the Palembang Sultanate by the Dutch where the Sammaniyah clerics took part in Political-Malay through their political Islam—which was considered to be able to disrupt the Dutch government system in Palembang. Until finally, the Dutch excommunicated the tarekat clerics and kept them away from the Palembang palace environment.

At the end of the 19th century, through the influence of Snouck Hurgronje, Islamic Politiek was shown, namely the wisdom of the Dutch colonial government in dealing with Islam in Indonesia. According to Suminto (1985) Snouck Hurgronje's political Islam which was implemented by the Dutch colonial government in the late 19th and early 20th centuries was to classify the problem of Islam in three ways, as well as how to deal with it. First, the realm of pure religion or worship; second, the social sector or also problems of marriage and distribution of inheritance; and third, state problems or political problems. The attitude of the Dutch colonial authorities towards these three Islamic problems was different. With regard to the first problem, the government must let go of their hands and let those who do their worship alone. As can be seen the problem of prayer and in the arrangement of zakat and fitrah.

Against the second problem, if possible help. This attitude is clearly seen in the marriage arrangement, wanting to provide legal certainty for the Muslim community, regulating the Religious Courts, arranging the mosque treasury, wanting to curb the collection of marriage fees and the use of mosque cash, and the arrangement of Muslim employees in celebrating Islamic holidays and providing opportunities Friday prayer. The assistance provided by the Dutch

colonial authorities on the second problem was in the form of controlling and limiting authority, as well as providing assistance in the administration of Islamic religious management (Gibson).

As for the third problem, the Dutch government tended to be tough and prevented any efforts that would lead the people to fanaticism and Pan-Islam. This attitude of the Dutch government is contained in the Staatsblad of supervision of Islamic religious teaching (1905 and 1925) and the regulations regarding the pilgrimage as well as the provisions in selecting prospective rulers.

According to Peeters (1997: 31) the incident in 1881 was a turning point in the image of Islam in the eyes of the Dutch colonialists. Previously colonial officials did not see Islam as a threat, but after 1881, the capital city of Palembang was seen as a hotbed for the crime of "fanatical pilgrims" and "Arabs". This image change is mainly reflected in the change in attitudes towards the Hadramaut community in Palembang. The arrest of Syarif Abdullah Assegaf is seen as evidence of Alawiyin's involvement in Pan-Islamistic propaganda. So that the colonial government considered Palembang as the center of resistance against the colonial state, thanks to the "fanatical spirit" of the city residents.

3.2 The Fight Against *Kaum Mudo* (Young Scholars)

In the early nineteenth century, when the Reformation or the religious reformer entered Palembang, it was then emerging a new threat faced by the scholars in spreading Islamic religion. The reformers later called the Mudo assumed that the Islamic teachings taught by the Asherah (conservative clerics) through his movement were a heretical and *bid'ah* teaching because they were not in accordance with the teachings of the Qur'an and Hadist. The peak of this tension occurred in 1928, when the Mudo issue the reading of Talkin' Prayer for the deceased and the Tawassul (pilgrimage to the grave) is a heretical Islamic teaching or *bid'ah*. The conflict of the *khilafiyah* a reading of Talkin' prayer is the conflict that is still in question.

The efforts made by the *kaum mudo* to dispel all forms of ritual activities that were *bid'ah* met with fierce resistance by *kaum tuo*. The conflict of talkin prayer, qunut, and tahlilan caused a lot of social tensions that changed the social fabric of Palembang society due to hidden competition between individuals, social groups and villages. In fact, this conflict caused the geographic fragmentation of Muslims in Palembang. Although peace efforts have been made, such as by forming the "Islamic Igama Consideration Council (MPII)", which was spearheaded by prominent figures in the Palembang residency, where MPII officials were from among the *tuo* and the *mudo*. However, the *khilafiah* issue which the *kaum tuo* and *kaum mudo* people still questioned was no longer able to unite Muslims in one structure.

The conflict that occurred between *Kaum Mudo* and *Kaum Tuo* then created competition for both parties. The form of competition that occurs between the two is, for example, in the construction of Islamic schools or madrasas to teach Islam, trade, Islamic mass organizations, even to enter politics. The construction of religious schools or madrasas, both modern and traditional, carried out by *Kaum Mudo* and *Kaum Tuo*, is basically to develop Islamic teachings and through their own ways and patterns, namely in modern and traditional ways.

To maintain their identity and existence in the middle of Palembang and Indonesian society in general, the two groups joined in Islamic Society (*ormas*). In January 1931, the *Kaum Mudo* joined the Muhammadiyah which was thought to be in line with their ideas and ideas as reformers or recformers. While *Kaum Tuo*, in April 1943, to maintain the status quo and their existence, they joined Nahdhatul Ulama (NU), in line with them as conservative scholars who taught the orders.

The struggle of the Sammaniyah clerics in spreading the teachings of Islam and the tarekat has continued to the world of politics. When the Dutch had abolished political Islam in the Palembang Sultanate palace, the Sammaniyah cleric was removed from the life of the Palembang palace. However, this did not immediately disappear the teachings of the Sammaniyah tarekat from Palembang. Tarekat clerics must continue to struggle so that the teachings of the tarekat continue to develop despite the many pressures from the Dutch colonialism.

The twentieth century marked the beginning of a new era in colonial politics in Indonesia, in which the Dutch established "ethical politics" or "politics of reciprocation". According to Van Deventer, the father of Dutch ethics, stated that "Indonesia's rebirth is through good education". The education system (Western-style education) is an important part, and is an official sign of the start of a new ethical era in Indonesia (Nasihin, 2012: 21). The ethical policy carried out by the Dutch turned out to provide a change for bumiputera, including the existence of a public space for clerics to voice again about Islamic teachings that had been silenced by the Dutch. Even though we know

that until the twentieth century, the development of Islam in Indonesia was increasingly visible. The strong current development of Islam is a result of the process of spreading the Pan-Islamism (Islamic Awakening) movement which came from the Middle East (Nasihin, 2012: 43).

Through the Pan-Islamism movement, the spirit of Islamic renewal was present and colored the thoughts of Indonesians who had previously embraced Islam. The rise of Islamic power in the Middle East has contributed significantly to the formation of a sense of unity among the bumiputera. The spirit of the Pan-Islamism movement was present in Indonesia by the hajis who came after completing the pilgrimage to Mecca. Through the pilgrims who returned to their respective regions, they spread information about Islamic discourse and international politics, thereby attracting sympathy among Indonesian Muslims to unite under the banner of Islam and under the auspices of the Ottoman Turks.

The presence of modernity in the archipelago made the clerics of Sammaniyah involved in shaping and reviving the Islamic tradition which then reformulated it according to the demands of modernity. The scholars attempted to revive the classical Islamic tradition and they were then involved in defining Islam for Muslims in Indonesia. Under the banner of traditional Islam, the clerics of the Sammaniyah tarekat present and provide new formulations of Islamic thought and practice among their santri or congregation to suit the new situation. This kind of model of formulating Islam continues and is at the core of the social life of clerics in contemporary Indonesia.

Table 1. Organization of Islamic Movements in Palembang

Islamic Movement Organization	Since
Sarekat Islam (SI) Palembang	1914
Partai Syariat Indonesia (PSI)	1923
Sarikat Abangan (SA)	1916
Muhammadiyah Palembang	1931
Nahdhatul Ulama (NU)	1934

Sources: Alfian et., 1983al.; Zed, 2003.

Based on table 1, during the early and mid-twentieth century, there were also Islamic movements in Palembang such as the Sarekat Islam (SI) Palembang organization in 1914, the Indonesian Sharia Party (PSI) in 1923, Sarikat Abangan (SA) in 1916, Muhammadiyah Palembang 1931, and Nahdhatul Ulama (NU) in 1934. All of these movements are Islamic movements that struggle to develop Islamic teachings. The discourse of Pan-Islamism that has entered Indonesia is increasingly in contact with the political realm, as an effort to fight for the native people who are oppressed by colonialism.

The joining of the clerics of the Palembang Sammaniyah tarekat with NU, apart from being institutionalized, the Sammaniyah tarekat became more developed and the tarekat clerics became a distinctive group. For tarekat clerics, NU has facilitated them with an institutional foundation to promote and improve the process of reformulating traditional Islam and creating religious authority within the Muslim community through the Dutch East Indies intellectual and political stage played by the clerics.

3.3 Games and Public Space for the Clerics of the Sammaniyah Tariqa

The elimination of Political-Malay in Palembang by the Dutch showed that the Dutch did not like the ulama and Muslims. This is as stated by Bruinessen (1994a: 51-52) that when the Dutch Colonial controlled Indonesia, the Dutch government did not like Muslims in their colonies. The results of reports by several Dutch travelers—such as Hugo de Groot, Antonius Walaeus, and Gibertus Voetius—illustrated the Dutch colonial dislike of Muslims in Indonesia. They consider that Muslims in Indonesia are heretics, worshiping something superstitious. This dislike is also triggered by the large number of Muslim traders, both local Muslim traders and Muslim traders from the Middle East, who control trade in the Archipelago (Steenbrink, 2017: 29-62).

As long as Japan controlled Indonesia, 1942-1945, Japan made a policy that raised the dignity of the ulama, namely the policy of "respect for Islam". Through this Japanese policy, the ulama were recognized as a social and political force in the Dutch East Indies. The Japanese concern for Islam was evidenced by the appointment of Hasyim Asy'ari, *rais' am* NU, to head the Shumubu (Religious Office). This proves that the Japanese Government made Islam and Muslim figures an important consideration in its colonial policy.

The involvement of the ulama in politics was also facilitated by Japan, namely the establishment of the Indonesian Muslim Shura Council (Masyumi) in 1943. Masyumi is a new Muslim federation replacing MIAI (Majelis Islam A'la Indonesia), the previous season's inactive union, in 1937. In Masyumi, the ulama occupied the forefront and important positions in leadership.

Shumubu and Masyumi—despite the Japanese colonial aim of gaining political support from Muslim figures—both had strategic roles in enhancing the political role of ulama. *Shumubu* and Masyumi gave the ulama the opportunity to enter the political arena of the Dutch East Indies. Because of this, a number of ulama emerged as political figures, apart from playing their traditional roles in the pesantren. After successfully facilitating ulama in politics, the Japanese government created a colonial project that had a strong influence on the politicization of ulama. In April 1944, the Japanese government also established a *Shumuka* (regional religious office) at the residency level and appointed a local cleric as its leader.

With these offices and institutions, the Japanese colonialism created very favorable conditions for ulama on the political stage of the Dutch East Indies. This condition is very different from the Dutch colonial rule in Indonesia, where the ulama were excluded from political activities that could endanger the Dutch colonial government (Burhanudin, 2012: 373-374) 374). As a result, since the Japanese occupation, Indonesian Islam has seen the rise of the ulama to the heart of political life. Of course, this opportunity was not wasted by the scholars to take part in getting into politics and taking part in determining state policy. Through their non-political organization - Masyumi, traditional Islamic figures who joined NU used Masyumi as a vehicle for their political purposes.

At the end of 1944, Japan also gave permission to the Islamic Dutch East Indies to form the Hezbollah army, a military unit recruited only from among Muslim youth. Initially, Hizbullah was only from the NU circle, but later it belonged to the whole ummah. The spirit raised by this Muslim youth has the slogan "Live a noble life or be martyred", which is the slogan so that Muslim youths are not afraid to face foreign invaders.

4. Conclusion

There are two threats faced by the ulama of the Sammaniyah tarekat in Palembang in spreading the Sammaniyah tarekat, namely the threat that came from the Dutch colonialism and the threat that came from the reformists. The Dutch colonial dislike for the clerics of the Sammaniyah tarekat and Muslims in general when the Dutch colonialist abolished the Malay-Politics in Palembang. The trigger for this dislike was not only that trade in Palembang was controlled by Muslim merchants - both local and from the Middle East, the Sammaniyah tarekat movement was also a threat to the continuity of Dutch colonial rule in Palembang. Meanwhile, the threat that comes from the reformists is a form of threat that comes from Islamic reformers who try to destroy all forms of innovation that are not in accordance with the teachings of the Koran and Hadith. The threat would certainly affect the spread of the Sammaniyah tarekat in Palembang because if it was not faced, the Sammaniyah tarekat would disappear from Palembang. To deal with this, the Sammaniyah clerics took various methods so that the Sammaniyah tarekat in Palembang continued to develop. The political situation that developed at the beginning of the twentieth century required the clerics of the Sammaniyah tarekat to participate in the political situation that occurred at that time. The joining of the ulama of the Sammaniyah tarekat into NU was a way to defend Islamic teachings and the teachings of the Sammaniyah tarekat which were considered *bid'ah* among the reformists.

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