

TURKISH SUFI ORGANIZATIONS AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF ISLAMIC EDUCATION IN INDONESIA

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ABSTRACT

Sufism has contributed substantially in the development of Islam across the globe. It is also the case of Indonesia. Sufi preachers have been noticed as among the early Muslims who conveyed and disseminate Islam in the Archipelago. This trend seems to be repeated in this current Indonesian Islam. However, what is commonly unknown, Turkish organization also takes part in this current mode. Particularly, it is with the Islamic transnational organization from Turkey operating in Indonesia as the actors. This article aims at discussing the Sufi elements within three Turkish based transnational communities in Indonesian Islam and their contribution to Islamic education as part of Islamic development in the current Indonesia. This is a qualitative research to the topics within the three Turkish origin transnational Islamic organizations, namely the Jamaat Nur, the Fethullah Gülen Affiliated Movement, and the Suleymaniyah. This article will then argue that Sufism has continued to be one of the contributing factors for the development of Islam and in relation to that the Sufi elements within the three Turkish Transnational organizations also contribute to their acceptance in Indonesia. Overall, the Sufi elements have shaped the image and identity of the Turkish Muslims in developing the Islamic studies in Indonesia.

Keywords: *Suleymaniyah, Fethullah Gülen, Jamaat Nur, transnational Islamic organization.*

INTRODUCTION

Indonesia is a home to majority Muslim country. This has been a focus of interest for many Islamic organizations to establish their branches in Indonesia. There were a number of transnational organizations placing their branch in Indonesia. However, the Turkish origin transnational Islamic organizations relatively receive little attentions. In fact, there are a number of the Turkish origin Muslim organizations operating in Indonesia and play their substantial roles in terms of the development of the Islamic education. The Jamaat Nur, The Fethullah Gülen Affiliated Organization, and the Suleymaniyah

are among the Turkish origin transnational organizations establishing and expanding their branches in Indonesian Islam. The organizations which established in the late 1990s and early 2000s significantly developed.

The Turkish based organizations started in Indonesia with providing the assistance in economics and establishing Islamic educational services. Furthermore, they have strong connections with a Sufi order. For some people, especially from a traditional Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) background, the Sufi elements in the Turkish based organizations would be praised as both familiar and admirable. As a Sufi movement,

the organizations thus implicitly contest anti-Sufi constructions of Islam promoted by numerous transnational Salafi organizations in Indonesia today.

This paper analyzes the role of Sufism in this modern time with employing the case of three Turkish origin Muslim organizations and asks the three of them questions: how the three Turkish transnational movements justify themselves as *tasawuf* organizations operating in Indonesia within the framework of *tasawuf* study and what is the role of Sufism for the Turkish movement?

This article is an attempt to show how Turkish Muslim organizations played their pivotal role in the development of Islam through establishing Islamic education institutions, formally or informally, in the current Indonesian Islam. It seeks to contribute to the academic discussion that highlights the continuous role of Sufism in the modern time such as argued by Julia Day (2001: 702). And therefore, this paper will disagree with the group that suggests Sufism will fade in this modern time due to various reasons such as the advance of technology and modernization as suggested by a number of scholars such as Clifford Geertz (1984).

RESEARCH METHOD

This is a qualitative research which employs two methods of data collection were used in this research: participant observation (ethnography) data collection and library research. The terms 'ethnography' and 'participant observation', in reference to a research method, are very difficult to distinguish from each other. Both draw attention to the fact that the participant observer/ethnographer engages with a particular group for a significantly long period of time, observing group members' behavior, listening to what is said and asking questions (Bryman 2008).

In this article, I employ the term 'ethnography' for two reasons: First, choosing the ethnographic term can avoid the implication that 'participant observation' involves just observation, though in the practice, participant observers do more than

simply observing. Second, 'ethnography' covers the participant observation method as well as the notion of ethnography as a written style of research, and so is suitable for this study.

The data collection location of this research of three Turkish Muslim organizations can be described as follows. The study about the Gülen affiliated movements mostly conducted in the Fethulan Gülen Office which was located in the Universitas Islam Negeri Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta. The main location of the research of the Jamaat Nur or the Nurchu movements was in the Dersane of the Yayasan Nur Semesta which is located in Ciputat. While the study of the Suleymaniyah movements was mainly located in their headquarters, which is located in East Jakarta.

Regarding this paper, I have made my first participatory action research an ethnographic data collection in eight Suleymaniyah United Islamic Culture of Indonesia (UICCI) centers, the Jamaat Nur, as well as the Gülen office in Indonesia during 2012 to 2013. After that, I continuously interact with the members of the organization through religious meetings and events such as *pengajian* (scripture reading, reciting, and studying on the weekly basis or occasionally) and book launch. The data, therefore, updated during the interaction with the members. Ethnographic data included the social setting and the day-to-day behavior of the three Turkish origin organizations. In many cases, when possible, I also stayed in the boarding schools of the Turkish Muslim organizations for days of weeks. This has been very useful to gather the first-hand information from the participant. For many times, useful and invaluable information was gathered during informal conversations.

In addition to the fieldwork research through participant observation, this study also employed library research. It is seen pivotal to elaborate the characteristics and variety of Sufism literature and the application within two major Muslim organizations in Indonesian: Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) and the Muhammadiyah. This particular

focus of study will support the overall argument of this paper, namely, Sufism still plays an important role in the dynamics of Islam in Indonesia. While the Indonesian most widely accepted organizations (NU and Muhammadiyah) have absorbed the values of Sufism as can be recognized from their members when applying Islam. These three Turkish Transnational organizations link with Sufism can be identified from their role in establishing Islamic education in Indonesia.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Variety and Characteristics of Sufism

Tasawuf which known also as Sufism is a science in Islamic knowledge that teaches *ihsan*. *Ihsan* is one of the foundations in Islam, in addition to Aqedah and Sharia. In its development, Sufism can be divided into several categories depending on the characteristics and focus that are used to bring oneself closer to the God. This part of article will elaborate three varieties of Sufism with distinct characteristics. This understanding of the variety can then be used to understand the characters of a particular group when dealing with Sufism.

1. The *Tasawuf Akhlaqi*

Tasawuf Akhlaqi is a form of Sufism that talks about perfection and sanctity of life formulated in attitude setting strict disciplinary behavior, in order to achieve closeness to the God. Humans must identify their existence with the characteristics of God through purification of body and soul through the improvement of moral quality. The focus of Sufism is a private establishment that is noble. In the process, there are several steps one must go through. The stages are *takhalli* (emptying oneself from despicable qualities), *tahalli* (adorning oneself with praiseworthy qualities) and *tajalli* (revelation of the unseen light). One of the Imams in Sufi Islam, Al-Ghazali said that the human soul could be changed, trained, controlled and shaped according to the will of man himself. Good deeds that are very important are filled in the human

psyche and are accustomed in actions to become perfect human beings (*insān kāmil*). Process improvement of quality of his or her life is done through a variety of penance in them, namely:

a) *At Taubah*

At Taubah or repentance serves as the station early nature series the way to God. At the lowest level, repentance is a petition for forgiveness of sins related to the body or limb. At the secondary level, repentance implemented to beg forgiveness of the sin such as envy, pride and *riyā'*. At a higher level, repentance is done in an effort to distance oneself from the persuasion of the devil and awaken the soul with guilt. At the last stage, repentance means remorse for the negligence of the mind in remembering Allah Almighty. Repentance at this level is a rejection of everything that can turn away from the way of Allah Almighty (Amin 2014). Related to this, one of the figures in the world of Sufism, Al Misri, classifies people and repentance into three groups, namely: (1) People who repent of their sins and vices; (2) People who repent of neglect and neglect remembering Allah Almighty; (3) People who repent because they see the goodness and obedience (Solihin 2003). In addition, Imam Al-Ghazali classifies repentance into three levels, which aim at the higher the level of repentance, the better a servant is. The three levels are: (1) Abandoning evil in all its forms and turning to good for fear of the punishment of Allah; (2) Switching from a good situation to a better situation. Things in the world of Sufism are often called *inabah*; (3) The feeling of remorse is done solely because of obedience and love for God, a thing known in the world of Sufism as *taubah* (Ulandari 2017).

b) *Khauf and Rajā'*

The second practice is *khauf* and *rajā'* which runs in balance and influences each other. *Khauf* is anxiety or fear. The *raja'* can be interpreted as a hope that represents an optimistic attitude. *Khauf* is the fear of a servant solely for God, while the *raja'* or optimistic is a happy feeling of heart waiting for something to be desired and liked. It is said that a Sufi figure, Hasan Al-Basri, was the

first to bring up this teaching as a characteristic of Sufi life. According to him, what is meant by anxiety or fear is a feeling that arises because many do wrong and often neglect the God. Because he often realized his imperfections in serving God, fear and worry arose when He would be angry with him so that the servant tried to increase his devotion to God. Thus, these two attitudes are attitude that is introspection, introspective and always think of the lives that will be coming, which is the eternal life in the hereafter (Solihin 2003, Ulandari 2017).

c) *Zuhd*

Zuhd is generally understood as disinterest in the world or property. *Zuhd* has three levels of purpose. The first, the lowest *zuhd*, is to distance yourself from this world in order to avoid punishment in the hereafter. Second, it is distancing the worldly matters by weighing the reward hereafter. Third, which is at the same time the highest *maqom* (level), is to isolate the world not because of fear or hope, but because of love for Allah. People who are at this highest level will see everything, except Allah Almighty, has no meaning.

In its range of history, the application of this concept can be classified into two types: *zuhd* as *maqam* and *zuhd* as Islamic morals. *Zuhd* as *maqam*, the world and God are seen as two things that are dichotomous. A clear example is when Hasan al-Basri reminded Caliph Umar ibn Abdul Aziz, "Beware of the world. It is like a snake that is soft touch but has deadly venom."

There are various interpretations of *zuhd*. However, in general, *zuhd* can be interpreted as an attitude of escape from a sense of dependence on worldly life by giving priority to the afterlife (Syukur 2004, Ulandari 2017). Associated with the limits of escape from the sense of dependence, the Sufis disagree. Al-Ghazali interpreted *zuhd* as an attitude of reducing attachment to the world to then move away with full awareness. While Al-Qusyairi interpreted *zuhd* as an attitude of receiving the fortune, he obtained. If someone is rich, he does not feel proud and happy. Conversely,

if one is poor, he is necessarily feeling sad.

On the other hand, *zuhd* as Islamic morals can be interpreted according to local situations and conditions. The application of this type of *zuhd* includes the attitude of the scholars as already mentioned above, a reaction to the imbalance of social, political, and economic surrounding them, which at one time used for the mobility of the mass movement. Thus, the formulation can vary according to the guidance of the times. Therefore, according to Ulandari, as an Islamic character, *zuhd* can take the form of the teachings of *futuwwah* and *al-ithsar* (Ulandari 2017).

d) *Fāqir*

Literally, the *fāqir* (devotee) stage is usually interpreted as a person of dignity, need or poor. Whereas in the Sufi view, the devotee is not asking for more than what we already have. Do not ask for fortune except only to be able to carry out obligations. Not asking really is not in ours, if given is not accepted, not asking but not refusing. Thus, in principle, the poor attitude is a series of *zuhd* attitudes. It is just harder to face life ascetic world, while the indigent merely self-disciplines in the use of living facilities of God who do are aware that the essence of all things is belonged to God. Even in affluent situation, human needs to understand that all the things that actually only belong to God. This is the essence of belonging training for the *sālik* in the Sufi world in order to get closer to the God Himself (Nata 1998, Ulandari 2017).

e) *Al Šobru*

Al Šobru (patience) is the ability of a person to control himself over something that happens, both liked and hated. Patience is based on the assumption that everything that happens is Gods will (*irādat*). Patience is one of the fundamental mental attitudes for a Sufi (Amin 2014). According to Al-Ghazali, patience is a condition of the soul that occurs because of the encouragement of religious teachings in controlling the passions. Meanwhile, ar-Raghib al-Ashfihani suggests that the meaning of patience is in accordance with the context of the incident. Restraining

when overwritten is called *al şobru* (patient), while the opposite is *jaza'* (anxious, anxious, worried). Refrain from saying harsh words called *kitman* (silent), while the opposite is *ihdzar/hadza* (criticizing or angry). So, various matters relating to restraint from something categorized as patience (Amin 2014).

f) *Riḍa*

Riḍa means accepting with satisfaction with what Allah has bestowed. People who are happy are able to see the wisdom and goodness behind the trials given by God Almighty and do not be prejudiced against His provisions. Moreover, he is able to see the greatness, greatness and perfection of the Essence that gives trials so that he does not complain. According to Ibn Ajibah, pleasure is to accept unpleasant things with a cheerful smiley face. A servant gladly accepts the *qadha* of Allah Almighty and did not deny what had become of his decision. From the understanding of the pleasure contained signs that the pleasure does not mean accepting everything that happens to us without the slightest effort to change it. However, pleasure includes in it the perseverance and activeness that is realized in the form of maximum effort accompanied by our surrender to the destiny of God (Mustaqim 2007, Ulandari 2017).

g) *Murāqabah*

Murāqabah is an introspective attitude within oneself. *Murāqabah* has a meaning similar to introspection. In other words, *muraqabah* is ready and alert at all times to examine the situation on its own. Because, by realizing the mistake, it will reach the truth, with conviction people will recognize the negligence that they have done. When self-smallness is well known, the vibrating rhythm is about to get rid of the bad stains that have polluted him. There is no higher lesson than self-awareness. A Sufi candidate from the beginning has been taught that he was never separated from the supervision of Allah, the Almighty. All the activities of his life are aimed at being as close as possible to Him. He is aware that Allah Almighty "looks at him." That awareness leads to an introspective attitude or *muraqabah*

(Ali 2005).

2. The *Tasawuf 'Amali*

Sufism also emphasizes the teachings of the mystical path (spiritual, esoteric) towards the Divine. Sufism is thus called *Tasawuf 'Amali*. '*Amali* means the forms of deeds, which is a kind of behavior that takes a spiritual journey, which is often called *tarīqah* (spiritual journey). In this context, there are students, murshids (Sufi shaykh) and nature of guardianship. Then the congregation intended to expand the awareness of lust consciousness to consciousness of the spirit that is now significantly higher. In the *Tasawuf 'Amali*, there are four phases that will be passed are as follows:

a) *Shari'ah*

Shari'ah is defined as the quality of formal-birth practices that have been established in religious teachings through the Qur'an and Sunnah. Someone who wants to enter the world of Sufism must first master the aspects of *Shari'ah* and must continue to practice it, both mandatory and sunnah. Al- Thusi in al-Luma' said that, *Shari'a* is a science which contains two meanings the *riwāyah* and *dirāyah* which contain practices of birth and mind. If the *Shari'ah* is defined as *riwāyah*, then what is meant is theoretical knowledge about all kinds of law as contested in *Fiqh* or physical science. While the *Shari'ah* in the connotation is planned is the inner meaning of science or the intrinsic meaning of *Fiqh*. *ASālīk* (a person who is traveling through the Sufi phases approaching the God) it is impossible to obtain inner knowledge without fully practicing its outward practices (Siregar 1999).

b) *Tarīqah*

Until the fourth century of the Hijri, Sufis interpreted the *tarīqah* as a set of moral series, which became the basis of Sufism followers as a method of directing the soul and morals. In carrying out the outer practices, one must be based on a system that has been established by religion and carried out only because of devotion to God, only because of the encouragement of

love for God, and because they want to meet Him. The journey to the encounter with Allah is what they meant by the *tarīqah*, namely the simultaneous implementation of the *Shari'ah* in the two meanings above or the practice of birth accompanied by inner practice. For this purpose, internal rules have been put in place to carry out the outward provisions in order to deliver the wayfarer to the destination of the journey, which is to find the nature. The rules were informed in step by step and felt the situation of a specific obligation, this formation came to be known as *al-maqāmat* and *al-ahwāl*. The entire series of external practices and internal exercises which meant by the *Tasawuf 'Amali*, the kinds of best practices and procedures for being the *insān kāmil*, a perfect version of human being (Hamka 2016).

c) *Haqiqat*

In the understanding of this term, al-Qusyairi said, if the *Shari'ah* connotes to the consistency of a servant of Allah, then the essence is one's ability to feel and see the presence of God in the *Shari'ah*. Thus, every final practice is not filled with meaning is meaningless and likewise, should, nature means the essence of something. In the Sufi world, the nature is interpreted as the inner aspect of the *Shari'ah*, so it is said to be the deepest aspect of every charity, core and secret of the *Shari'ah* which is the purpose of the journey of a *sālik*. It seems that the essence connotes the quality of inner science, which is how deep can be explored and felt the inner meaning of every religious teaching. This understanding reinforces the existence of an inseparable bond between the *Shari'ah* and the nature which is formulated in a strict formation in accordance with the norms of *tariqāt*. With the arrival of a *sālik* on the quality of the nature of science, it means that he has hidden secrets in the *Shari'ah* so that he can feel the presence of God in every movement and pulse, in such situations, he has entered the gates of *al-ma'rifat* (Siregar 1999).

d) *Ma'rifat*

The *ma'rifat* means knowledge and/or

experience. While in the term Sufism this word is interpreted as a direct recognition of God obtained through heartstrings as a direct wisdom of true nature. It seems that *ma'rifat* refers more to the level of mental condition, whereas nature refers to the quality of knowledge or experience. The quality of knowledge is so perfect and clear that its soul feels united with what it knows. To achieve the highest quality, a Sufi candidate must perform a series of rigorous and earnest training called *al-maqāmat* or levels in the presence of God (Amin 2014).

3. *The Tasawuf Falsafi*

The *Tasawuf Falsafi* is Sufism branch whose teachings combine intuitive vision and rational vision. The word *falsafi* is used as it derived from various philosophical teachings that have influenced its leaders, but its originality as Sufism is not lost. However, the *Tasawuf Falsafi* cannot be seen as a philosophy, because the teachings and methods are based on *dzauq*. In addition, this kind of Sufism cannot also be categorized in *Tasawuf* (which is pure) because it is often expressed in philosophical language. The *Tasawuf Falsafi* began to emerge clearly in the treasury of Islam since the sixth-century Hijri, although the new characters known one century later. In the century, the *Tasawuf Falsafi* continues to grow and thrive, especially among the Sufis are also philosophers during the period leading up to lately.

Integration between Sufism and philosophy by itself has made The *Tasawuf Falsafi* teachings mixed with a number of philosophical teachings outside of Islam, such as Greek, Persian, Indian and Christian religions. However, its originality as Sufism is not lost. The characters continue to try to maintain the independence of their teachings, even though Islamic expansion expanded at that time so that they had diverse cultural backgrounds and knowledge. As a mysticism mixed with an understanding of philosophy, The *Tasawuf Falsafi* has its own distinct characteristics with *Tasawuf Akhlaqi* and *Tasawuf 'Amali*. The characteristics of The *Tasawuf Falsafi* generally

contain ambiguities due to the many phrases and special terminology that can only be understood by those who truly understand it. The *Tasawuf Falsafi* cannot be considered a philosophy because its teachings and methods are based on *dzauq* and cannot also be categorized as Sufism, because its teachings are often expressed in the language and terminology of philosophy and tend to be closer to the idea of pantheism. The development of Sufism as an exercise for the realization of inner purity on the way to the closeness with Allah Almighty, attract the attention of Muslim thinkers having a background in theology and philosophy. From this, group came a number of philosophical Sufis. This Sufism is called the *Tasawuf Falsafi*, which is the Sufism with rich of philosophical ideas. The most widely used philosophical teaching is the emanation of Neo-Platonism in all its variations. It is said philosophy, because the context has entered the realm of ontology, namely the relation of Allah with universe and nature. So it was natural to talk about issues such as emanation (*faidh*), incarnation (*hulūl*), the union of the spirit of God to the human spirit (*ittihād*) and oneness (*wahdah alwujūd*) (Amin 2014, Anwar 2010, Ulandari 2017).

Based on general characteristics, The *Tasawuf Falsafi* has its own objects, according to Ibn Khaldun, in his work *Muqaddimah*, concluded that there are four main objects of concern to philosophical Sufis, among others, namely as follows. First, spiritual practice with feeling, intuition, and self-reflection arising from it. Regarding spiritual practice with stages (*maqam*) as well as spiritual state (matters) and taste (*dzauq*), philosophical Sufis tend to agree with Sunni Sufis. Because, the problem, according to Ibn Khaldun, is something that cannot be rejected by anyone. Second, illumination or nature revealed from the supernatural, such as the Creator, His attributes, The 'Arsy, Angels, Revelation, prophecy, spirit and the nature of reality. Regarding this illumination, philosophical Sufis do spiritual practice by turning off the power of lust and arouse the spirit by activating *dhikr*. According to these philosophical Sufis, *dhikr*

allows the soul to understand the nature of reality. Third, events in nature that affect various forms of sanctity. Fourth, the creation of expressions with a vague understanding (*syatahiyyat*). This has led to diverse community reactions, both denying, approving, and interpreting them with different interpretations (Amin 2014, Anwar 2010, Ulandari 2017).

The *Tasawuf Falsafi* or the Philosophy Sufism also has special characteristics that distinguish it from other Sufism, including the following. First, the *Tasawuf Falsafi* conceptualizes the understanding of his teachings by combining philosophical rational thought and feelings (*dzauq*). Nevertheless, this type of Sufism also often bases its thinking by taking *naqliyyah* sources of the Quran and the hadith, but with interpretations and expressions that are vague and difficult for others to understand. Even if it can be interpreted by others, that interpretation tends to be less precise and more subjective. Second, like other types of Sufism, The *Tasawuf Falsafi* is based on spiritual practices (*riyadhah*), which are intended as moral enhancement and achieving happiness. Third, the *Tasawuf Falsafi* views illumination as a method of knowing the nature of reality, which according to its adherents can be achieved with mortal. Fourth, the followers of the *Tasawuf Falsafi* always disguised expressions about the nature of reality with various symbols or terminology (Amin 2014, Anwar 2010, Ulandari 2017).

The above description of the classification or the types of the Sufism as the rich discourses of the Islamic studies could help us to identify the Turkish origin Sufi brotherhood and organization in more details. Are the three of them belong to one particular type of, in fact, they may vary in the classification of the Sufi focus as illustrated from their activities and program in Indonesia, in relation to the development of Islamic education in the most populous Muslim country.

Taking the three categorization, the *Tasawuf Akhlaqi*, the *Tasawuf 'Amali*, and the *Tasawuf Falsafi* into account, it is possible now to

study how is *Tasawuf* has been embodied and perceived among the members of the Gülen Affiliated Movements, the Jamaat Nur, and the Suleymaniyah. Based on the results of my observations in the field and intensive interaction with informants among members of three Turkish organizations, it can be said that they have different variants in terms of the Sufism. For members of Fethullah Gülen and Jamaat Nur, they are more inclined to the *Tasawuf Akhlaqi*. They do not bind themselves into a particular *tariqāt* (Sufi order), but Sufism has been part of their learning and training, which can be found in daily Islamic discussions and activities. The *Risale-i Nur*, the main source of Islamic teaching read by the members of the Gülen Affiliated Movements and the Jamaat Nur discover many Sufistic teachings.

Meanwhile, for the Suleymaniyah, Sufism is regarded more formally in the formal form of *tariqāt* and this is one of the main features of the Suleymaniyah brotherhood. They adhere to the Taqiqat Naksibendi and say that the founder of Suleymaniyah is this *Murshid* of the *Tariqah*. Therefore, Suleymaniyah is more inclined towards the *Tasawuf Amali*.

Sufi Patterns in the Major Muslim Organizations in Indonesia

This section of the article is provided to show that Sufism has been accommodated within the two biggest Muslim organizations in Indonesia. Sufism has been introduced and taught within the Islamic education spectrum such as the *pondok pesantren*. It has been also used for *da'wah* of Islam in many ways, which illustrates the pivotal role of Sufism in the development of Islam in the Archipelago.

Indonesia is a home to Islamic organizations that continue to play a role in the development of Islam in the archipelago. This Islamic organization has played its role both before independence, in the process of achieving independence, and after the independence period. In pre-independence organizations such as the Islamic Syarikat played a role in safeguarding the interests of Muslim

traders in Indonesia. During the struggle for independence, Islamic organizations actively opposed colonialism and organized forces against the invaders to fight for independence. Similarly, in the period after independence, Islamic organizations continued to play a role in the development of Islam in Indonesia.

Among the many Muslim organizations that have emerged and developed in Indonesia, there are two organizations that are most dominant in playing their role both directly and indirectly in Islamic Education in Indonesia, the Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama (Wajdi 2018a). The first is Muhammadiyah. The modernist movement, founded by KH Ahmad Dahlan in Yogyakarta in 1912, was very focused on education and public health services. Therefore, in the regions where the Muhammadiyah institution is growing, various Islamic institutions with Islamic-inspired education can be seen from both the primary and tertiary levels.

Specifically, in the field of Islamic education, Muhammadiyah also developed Islamic boarding schools, which are the hallmark of Islamic Education in Indonesia, among the most well-known is the Darul Arqam Islamic Boarding School Muhammadiyah of Garut Region, which began providing religious education services from 1978-1979 has graduated many students who play a role in Islamic Education in Indonesia. In addition, Muhammadiyah also developed and established the MBS (Muhammadiyah Boarding School) as a more modern form of Islamic Education in Indonesia. Muhammadiyah Boarding School's learning model, although it refers to the boarding school system, is more able to apply modern concepts and teaching methods.

Even though Muhammadiyah is better known as a modernist organization in Indonesia, it also maintains the Sufi values that were carried out both by its founder KH Ahmad Dahlan and the leaders of the Muhammadiyah movement. Chusnan and Wahab (2009) argue that among the leaders of Muhammadiyah, like A.R. Fakhruddin, explored and emulated the code of conduct within

the religious values as their application of Sufism. Especially Sufism refers to the *Tasawuf Akhlaqi*.

So, according to Muhammadiyah followers, Sufis are people who take the path of life by practicing the Shari'a correctly and at the same time taking the spirituality (essence) of the teachings of the Sharia in the form of purification and self-approach continuously to God. Behavior of obedience to the Shari'a is then manifested in behavior that is full of morality (noble morals) in everyday life (*Tasawuf Akhlaqi*). If the definition of Sufism refers to the insurer as expressed by Ibn Taimiyah and al-Ghazzali as mentioned above, then in the Muhammadiyah the faces of Sufism will also emerge, namely those who obey, and their spiritual lives are quite intense.

In addition to that, the Sufism within the Muhammadiyah followers or leader could also be found from the written works. Chusnan and Wahab analyzed the works of A.R. Fakhruddin as one of the leaders of Muhammadiyah and found out that his written works are clearly revealed with a different narrative from the works of al-Ghazali and Ibn Taimiyah, but the substance is in line with the works of Sufism al-Ghazali, for example, about Ethics in Religion, about *al-Qawid al-'Asyrah*, compliance, avoiding sin, both the sins of the body and the sins of the soul related to Allah and humans, about monotheism, faith, purification of self from stain, sin, immorality, and so forth. Without mentioning the word Sufism actually, he has practiced and spread the teachings of Sufism in an inclusive and integral manner. So, the teachings and values of Sufi being integrated in the form of *Tasawuf 'Amali* and *Akhlaqi* in the model Muhammadiyah (Chusnan and Wahab 2009).

Meanwhile, Nahdlatul Ulama, the largest Muslim organization in Indonesia, uses a different approach in Sufism. NU, which is usually known as a traditional Islamic institution, contributes a lot to traditional Islamic education, better known as *pondok pesantren*. Islamic boarding schools have grown and developed in Indonesia and become one of the knots of the development of

Islamic teachings both in Indonesia and abroad. This is because *pesantren* alumni are not only involving with Islamic studies in Indonesia, but also have developed their work in the global world in religious fields. In line with that, of course NU also known by the *pondok pesantren* leaders known as *Kyai*. The *Kyai* in the NU tradition has a noble and strategic position, and therefore, the *Kyai's* work also often crosses the boundaries of his Islamic boarding school as a traditional model of Islamic Education Institution (Dhofier 1999, Dhofier 2009).

In addition, NU has also recently developed a modern higher-education institution that offers Islamic studies, for example, with the establishment of the Universitas Nahdlatul Ulama Indonesia (UNUSIA) which provides Islamic Education services at the tertiary level. With this, it seems that traditional and modern boundaries related to Islamic Education in Indonesia from the perspective of the two largest Muslim organizations in Indonesia can be studied again (Wajdi 2018a).

Regarding Sufism, it is clear that Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) has a different approach. In Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) institution, Sufism and Sufism studies are institutionalized in the form of *Jam'iyah Ahlith Thariqah Al- Mu'tabarah An-Nahdliyyah* (JATMAN). Nahdlatul Ulama has many autonomous bodies, including the JATMAN (<https://www.nu.or.id/post/read/1074140/sejarah-jamiyyah-ahlith-thariqah-ai-mukhtabar-an-nahdliyah-atau-jatman>). This autonomous body composed of orthodox Sufi organization in Indonesia. This organization was founded in July 1979 AD to coincide with Rajab 1399 H. Literally, *Jam'iyah Ahlith Thariqah al-Mukhtabarah an-Nahdliyyah* means the association of NU for the Sufi organization or the *Tariqah*. The forerunner of the organization was formed in Jombang by the name of the Nahdlatul Ulama Congregation initiated by KH Muhammad Baidlowi, the leader of the NU in Jombang (<https://www.nu.or.id/post/read/107414/sejarah-jamiyyah-ahlith-thariqah-ai-mukhtabar-an-nahdliyah-atau-jatman>).

Second, the use of the word '*an-Nahdliyah*' is also intended to differentiate themselves from similar organizations that are not *nahdliyah*, meaning those that are not included in the NU's autonomous body. The purpose of this organization is to seek the enactment of Islamic and physical sharia with *Ahlussunnah walJamaah*, which adheres to one of the four schools of thought; promoting and increasing pious deeds according to the teachings of the *shalihin of the ulama* with a promise of faithfulness (*bai'ah shalihah*); conducting recitations (specialties) and spreading useful knowledge (*'ulumun nafi'ah*) in terms of structure, organization this has the leadership at the national level (named *Idaroh Aliyah*), provincial (*Idaroh Wustho*), district or city (*Idaroh Syu'biyah*), district (*Idaroh Ghusniyah*), and at the village or sub-district (*Idaroh Syafiyah*). In the main NU website (www.nu.or.id) it is explained about JATMA can be identified that JATMA has carried out all muktabaroh classifications and also has a purpose the establishment of the JATMA itself (Jatman).

Jam'iyah Ahlith Thariqah Al Mu'tabarah An Nahdliyyah is a means for the Murshid/ Caliphs in Sufism, to make more effective for the guidance of students who have taken allegiance as well as a forum to establish *ukhuwah* among fellow *thariqah* adherents in order to improve the quality of the faith, piety and devotion and sincerity in rituals and improve *rabitah* to teacher Murshid/ Caliphs.

Thariqah is a special method that is used by *sālik* (the facer road) towards Allah SWT through stages (*maqāmat*). Thus, the *tariqah* has two meanings, first it means the method of giving spiritual guidance to the individual in directing his life towards closeness to God. Second, the tarekat as a brotherhood of Sufis is characterized by the existence of formal institutions such as *zawiyah*, *ribath* or Islamic boarding school, college or *halaqah*. Named *thariqah* intention to run Islam with more caution and meticulous as avoid cases still doubtful and carry out the virtues after the principal obligations, such as work on

tahajjud prayer and non-obligatory prayers and others. Accompanied by seriousness in doing worship and *riyadlah*, for example, fasting on Monday and Thursday, diligently reading the Qur'an, reading the blessings of the Prophet, dhikr, prayer beads, forgiveness and so forth.

The organization was named *Al Mu'tabarah* because all his practices (*tariqah*) continued/ connected (*muttasil*) to the Prophet Muhammad PBUH.

So, we can conclude here that the implementation of the teachings of the teachings of the Sufi held by the two largest organizations in Indonesia, Muhammadiyah and NU each individual has a different complexion. If Muhammadiyah more emphasis on the implementation of the value of the value of the Sufi like *tawadhu*, *wara*, patient and so are usually known as an expression of Sufism *akhlaqi*, without addressing the formality of Sufism in movement and organization of Sufism, so we certainly cannot find organization *tariqah* which is formally backed by Muhammadiyah, then in another NU the story goes. NU as an Institute of Indonesia's largest Muslim organization, also known as the Institute for the support of the Islamic existence traditionalists it strongly emphasizes the formality of Sufism in the Institute *tariqa*. This could be because in NU the continuity of genealogy to the Prophet Muhammad in studying Islam has its own urgency. This can then be seen through the institutionalization of Sufism in the form of *Tariqa*. NU then facilitate the organization *tariqa* them in an institution, especially the JATMAN. JATMAN as an autonomous institution in NU also played its role in the social religious field.

Here we then see how Sufism has a very important role in the development of Islamic Education in Indonesia. This is clearly seen by how the two largest Islamic organizations have concerns and special attention to address that Sufism is an integral part of Islamic organizations in Indonesia. This shows the historical connection of how Islam entered and later developed in the archipelago with the help and role of the

Ulama who were also partly known as Sufism practitioners.

However, little is known about the study of Sufism in non-native Muslim organizations coming from Indonesia. As it is understood that Indonesia since the first is a melting pot for various Islamic organizations that come and develop their role in Indonesia, then Indonesia today is also a place that is attractive to organizations of Islam, which came from abroad. Unfortunately, many organizations are coming to Indonesia later this is precisely associated with the movement militarism and extremism. Though there are many other movements that also play a role in Indonesia and the movement is a movement or organizations Islam a peaceful and moderate. One that has not been much discussed in Indonesia is the Islamic movement which organizes Islamic education both formal and informal in Indonesia originating from Turkey.

Turkey and Indonesia have had a very long relationship. About how the oceanic kingdom of Pasai who asked for help and entered into bilateral relations with the Turkish kingdom of Ottoman in fighting the invaders. This relationship is in a different version and not only stated in the continuation of the relationship that had existed in the royal era was still there. Many Turkish institutions that developed the role they are in Indonesia and included in it a role in the field of education Islam. Only what is not yet known is whether the Sufi elements contained in various Educational Institutions originating from Turkey and how the Sufi patterns are chosen by various Turkish Islamic Organizations in Indonesia. Is a formal pattern which instituted like NU in Indonesia or not formal and more emphasis on the implementation and application of the value of the value of Sufi as carried out by followers of Muhammadiyah in Indonesia. This was the study that offered nature of this article.

Sufi Elements in the Three Turkish Muslim Movements and their Islamic Education Establishment

1. Sufism in the Gülen Movement

Fethullah Gülen is the charismatic leader of the Gülen Islamic learning and Muslim development movement, which takes form in numerous social initiatives, like schools, media companies, and local associations. Gülen and the people he inspired started to build schools in Turkey in the early 1980s. The first two of these Gülen-inspired high schools were established in 1982, one in Izmir and the other in Istanbul (Ebaugh 2010: 29). Now, his followers in Turkey are estimated at 70 million, and activities run by them include Turkey's leading newspaper (Zaman), a financial institution (Bank Asya), a TV Channel (Samanyolu), hospitals (e.g., Sema Hospital) and hundreds of Gülen-inspired schools (Barton 2006: 156-158, Ebaugh 2010: 10, 117). There are also Gülen-inspired Islamic social action organizations all over the world, for example, Affinity Intercultural Foundation in 2001 and Kimse Yok Mu Relief Organization in 2002. It is estimated that around the world as many as eight to ten million people are involved in Gülen-connected associations (Ebaugh 2010: 118). Many of these groups are active in promoting interfaith dialogue, suggesting an outlook counter to that of Islamic radicals. Some see in this Gülen's carrying forward the Ottoman approach to religious diversity within a multi-faith empire.

Several authors have alluded to the 'Sufi' character of Gülen's movement. Terry Ray, for example (in Kim and Raines 2012: ix), referred to Gülen himself as an influential Turkish Sufi. However, Gülen never claimed to be a Sufi *sheikh*, nor did he try to model his movement or its affiliates as a Sufi brotherhood. He does not claim any authorization to act as a Sufi master and does not initiate anyone. Yet while he cannot be called

a Sufi *sheikh*, Sufism (*Tasawuf*) was part of his early religious education and in various ways colours the kind of religious and social formation students receive through Gülen schools.

Among the most influential teachers Gülen had in his early years was a Sufi, Sheikh Muhammed Lutfi Efendi (d. 1956) (Ebaugh 2010: 33). Muhammed Lutfi Efendi had a unique principle in his life: 'not having food without a guest'. Gülen was at one time a house-guest of the *Sheikh*, and then later, at ten years of age, became the *Syiekh's* student. For the last period of *Sheikh* Efendi's life Gülen continued to study at Efendi's *tekke*, where he received spiritual lessons and practiced Sufi principles and practices until the age of sixteen (Kim 2008: 120).

According to Kim (2008), for Gülen, Sufis can be divided into two types: "those who stress knowledge and seek to reach their destination through knowledge of God (*ma'rifat*), and those who follow the path of yearning, spiritual ecstasy, and spiritual discovery (Kim 2008: 216-217)". In this regard, Gülen favors the first Sufi type. Therefore, he does not distinguish between Sufism and Islamic law (Sharia). Nor has he attached himself to any particular Sufi Sheikh for guidance; for him, the Qur'an is a superior master and guide. Yet, one can still see some Sufi concepts in his understanding, such as the concepts of *tawba* (repentance), *zuhd* (resistance against desire), *tafakkur* (meditation), and *sayrila Allah* (journey to God) (Saritoprak 2003:161-62). These are attitudes related to the cultivation of spiritual intimacy in Islam, and all refer to the exemplary conduct of the Prophet Muhammad (Kim and Raines 2012:134).

Gülen was also active in Nursî reading circles that were known as *cemaat*. The *cemaat* were a new type of association for religious study, founded initially in Turkey in the 1950s by Said Nursî (1877–1960). Nursî was an acclaimed commentator on the Qur'an, who nonetheless advocated combining general education (including the study of science) with Islamic learning. The *cemaat* were a kind of Islamic

self-help organization, which used intimate learning circles, similar to the gatherings of Sufi brotherhoods (*tekke*) but also in important respects different from them. According to Ebaugh (2010: 34), "the *cemaat* had no formal membership requirements, no initiation rites and required no specific building or room in order to convene; therefore, it was not a Sufi group". Nonetheless, the Nursî *cemaat* did have some Sufi coloration which, according to Saritoprak (2003: 169), justifies considering them Sufi. For example, the Nursî *cemaat* practiced *dhikir* litanies and purification rituals in an effort to become closer to God; their interpretation of Islam reflected Sufi understandings and they practiced an ascetic lifestyle. So, although Gülen does not call himself a Sufi, he has what might be called a '*tasawuf-style*' of living, meaning that even though he and his followers are not attached to any particular Sufi order and have not become devotees of a Sufi sheikh, they still practice *Tasawuf* in a general way, in line with the Qur'an and the prophetic tradition embodied in the Sharia (Islamic law) (Barton 2014: 291, Saritoprak 2003: 169, Weller and Yilmaz 2012: 150).

In Indonesia, mostly the Gülen affiliated movement provides modern school which seem has nothing to do with religion. However, the Islamic spirituality studies are embedded in the hidden curriculum of the Gülen Affiliated organizations and school. This is because the Turkish Muslim had a bad experience of teaching Islam publicly during Kemal's era. Therefore, they tend to keep it secret and this application seemed to be work until this current time.

However, the teachings of spirituality among Gülen's still exist only implemented by the hidden curriculum method. This is for example carried out in extracurricular activities carried out by the school or dormitory - in the Gülen affiliated boarding movements known as - *ışık ev* (house of light) - where the teachings on spirituality remain taught consistently and continuously.

In Indonesia too, dormitories in Indonesia are prepared for students who normally study

formally at nearby universities. However, they return to the hostel to study Islam and also Islamic spirituality. In the Gülen movement, they are not affiliated with any particular *tarīqah*. They only practice the values of Sufism consisting of *dhikr* and the practice of spirituality to draw closer to God.

In addition, the Sufism side seen in Gülen in Indonesia can be seen in the publications that deal quite a lot with spirituality issues. Gülen, who was inspired by Said Nursi, was very productive in publications and was also followed by readers of *treatise of nur* who greatly appreciated publications in Islamic studies. So, in Gülen movement too. There are publications in the form of book translations, and some are more like journals. Discussion about spirituality is quite often discussed in the publication, and it can be said as part of the way of teaching and then the implementation of teachings and values of Sufism.

So, it can be concluded here that in the Gülen community, Sufism is carried out informally. Similar to what was carried out in the Muhammadiyah community. This attitude makes most Gülen followers in Indonesia moderate and friendly towards the multiculturalism that exists in Indonesia. A moderate attitude is one of the keys to the success of the Gülen group in Indonesia. At least this is what happened to the political problems that occurred between Fethullah Gülen and Erdogan. However, observing that Gülen placed one of his officials in Indonesia, this shows that Indonesia is a prospective country for the development of Islamic Education in Indonesia.

The Gülen affiliated movements members do not put Sufism teaching formally in their schools as the Gülen members provide secular not necessarily religious based schools in Indonesia. The Sekolah Pribadi in Depok and the Kharisma Bangsa - School of Global Education are two examples of the education institution run by the Gülen affiliated movements members. Therefore, the values of Sufism are mostly taught informally during the school extracurricular activities.

In addition to the above, the Gülen affiliated movements members also provide informal boarding school which know as *asrama* for university students. In this *asrama*, Sufism could be taught more intensively compared to the extracurricular activities of the school. The *asrama* also known to have the supervisor who would guide the student to live a Sufi life without necessarily bound with one particular *tarīqah*.

2. Sufism in the Jamaat Nur (Nurcu) Movement

Bediüzzaman Said Nursî is the charismatic figure at the centre of the Nurcu or Jama'at Nur movement (Mohammad 2018: 207-208). Nursî was born and raised in eastern Anatolia, an area where Nakşibendi Sufi orders had a significant influence. Therefore, Nursî felt that he benefited from the teachings of the Sufi masters. Probably because of this early childhood experience, many scholars have mistakenly defined Nursî as a Nakşibendi Sufi. Although Sufism had an important impact on his ideas and spiritual experiences, Nursî never identified himself with the Nakşibendi, the Qadiri order, or any other *tarīqah* (Kuru and Kuru 2008: 105).

However, taking the above into account, Nursî acknowledged that his most famous work of Qur'anic commentary (*Risale-i Nur*) and Sufism have similar ends, even if they achieve them by different means. Sufism aims at self-purification in order to experience the nearness of God, while *Risale-i Nur* emphasizes the need of *aqidah* (understanding). However, both aim at the clarification and unfolding of the truth of faith and at becoming closer to God (Nursi 1994: 38). For that reason, Aydin argues that *Risale-i Nur's* teachings are compatible with Sufism (Aydin 2003: 219).

Nursî refers to Sufi masters to justify his service of faith (Nursi 1994). Further, he claims that *Risale-i Nur* accepts all the benefits of Sufism without committing its followers to a Sufi path to ecstatic experience. In addition to this, the Nurcu has practices of 'remembering' God known as *tasbihat*, much like the Sufi *dhikr* practices. They

also encourage a strong sense of brotherhood among the 'students of Nur' based on *ukhuwah* (brotherhood), similar to a Sufi brotherhood. So, without establishing a formal Sufi group, in the view of Kuru and Kuru (2008: 108) Nursî tried to offer a way of reaching the goals of Sufism (spiritual refinement that brings greater intimacy with God) but using a more text-based and rational method.

In Indonesia the *Thullabunnur* (the people who read the *Risale-i Nur*, the Magnum opus of the Bediüzzaman Said Nursî provide Islamic education in the so called Dershane (a room for study) more like a boarding for religious students. Within the Dershane, the students and the teacher read and study the *Risale-i Nur* and other related Islamic knowledge, but mostly the works of Said Nursi. This gives another opportunity for young Indonesian Muslim to learn their religion as well as Turkish culture.

The application and indication of the Sufi elements within the *Thullabunnur* can be seen in the discussion of the spiritual dimension as described in the work of Ibrahim M. Abu-Rabi', *Spiritual Dimensions of Bediuzzaman Said Nursi's Risale-i Nur* (Abu-Rabi 2008).

The studying, teaching, and application of the Sufi values within the dershane of the Jamaat Nur is quite more intensive compared to the one took place within the Gülen affiliated movements members. This is because the Jamaat Nur specialized in the classic model of Islamic education type, more like the *pesantren salafi* in Indonesia. The Jamaat Nur named their kind of 'pesantren' as dershane. *Ders* means the study, while *hane* means room or house. So, in essence, the dershane is much more like *pesantren salaf* but normally smaller.

During my observation, I can mention that the Jamaat Nur members in Indonesia is blessed with a fine supervisor and teacher who come from Turkey himself to endow himself in the life of religion. This *abi*, we call him, is highly knowledgeable in Islamic studies and Nursi works. He is the main source of teaching and

learning activities in the dershane and one the lesson is also about how to live a Sufi life without necessarily belong to one particular Sufi order.

3. Sufism in the Suleymaniyah Movement

Unlike the groups described above, which share some elements of Sufism although they are not connected formally to any particular Sufi order (*tariqah*), the Suleymaniyah readily acknowledge that they are linked with the Nakşibendi Sufi order. This has been confirmed by many scholars, including Yavuz (2003: 11) and Chernov-Hwang (2009: 194). The first evidence comes from the fact that the charismatic leader of the Suleymaniyah was the thirty-third *mursyid kāmīl* (an initiating master of the highest level) of the Nakşibendi Sufi order. Tasawuf and Sufi practices like *rabita* (oath taking), *dhikr* (litany recitation), and *khatim* (*dhikr* in a group run three times a week), have been important elements of the Suleymaniyah' education. These are taught in the Suleymaniyah boarding schools, and importantly; *dhikr* and *khatim* are practiced by all Suleymaniyah members.

The Suleymaniyah members also take the initiation pledge (*rabitaorbai'at*) to *Sheikh Süleyman*. This creates a spiritual connection between the disciples (*telebe*) and the *Sheikh* and also with other disciples of the *Sheikh*, in other words, with the rest of the global Suleymaniyah community. The members also regularly practice Sufi rituals, principally *dhikr* rituals (consisting of multiple repetitions of short phrases from the Qur'an or reciting the ninety-nine 'beautiful' names of God) both in individual and in group devotions. Thus, Sufi brotherhood undergirding the Suleymaniyah movement helps to create a strong and solid commitment among the Suleymaniyah members to live according to the way of *hizmet* (religious service).

The Suleymaniyah provides traditional Islamic educational service in the form of *Pesantren Tahfidz*. The centre is located in East Jakarta, but its branches are established across Indonesia. The *Pesantren Tahfidz* has helped Indonesian young generation to learn about Islam

and memorize the Qur'an with distinct Ottoman Turkish method of memorizing the Qur'an. In addition to the above, the *Pesantren* is also a house of the application of the Tasawuf and Sufi practices among the follower of *Sheikh* Suleyman Hilmi Tunahan (Wajdi 2018b).

Sufism, particularly the Nakşibendi Sufi order with their *Sheikh* Suleyman Hilmi Tunahan as the murshid is part of identity among the Suleymaniyah brotherhood. It is very important to be able to take *rabita* as one does not consider as full members without it.

Sufism as Opportunity Spaces

The concept of 'opportunity spaces' was introduced by Hakan Yavuz when he identified successful development of Turkish Islamic movement in the 1950s within the secularist system of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. The successful with the development, according to Yavuz is due to the ability of the movement's members to find out and utilize the opportunity spaces. By 'opportunity space' Yavuz means "a forum of social interaction that creates new possibilities for augmenting networks of shared meaning and associational life" (Yavuz 2003: 24).

In this paper, I will then argue that the Sufism elements within the three Turkish Transnational movements have successfully initiated the social interaction forum which later contributes to the acceptance of the movements in Indonesia.

As mentioned previously, these three Turkish movements are presently active in Indonesia. It has been argued that while Sufi elements can be found in all three, and the Suleymaniyah even went further to have preserved the inner, hierarchal spiritual structure of a Sufi order based on initiation linking the student to the charismatic leader—in the case of the Suleymaniyah, Süleyman Hilmi Tunahan. Although the external formal administration of the Suleymaniyah was established after the death of *Sheikh* Tunahan, the inner spiritual bond and the traditional social structure of *tarīqah* were already strongly present within the early Suleymaniyah movement and still persist today.

This is not the case with the Fethullah Gülen movement and the Jamaat Nur (Nurchu). The sense of personal obligation to the main figure—Fethullah Gülen in the Gülen movement and Said Nursî in the Nurcu movement— might be found among those two groups' members. They do not have an initiation process. Still this is worth to mention here that the application of *Tasawuf* values take place in the communities of Gülen movement and Jamaat Nur movement.

Further, Sufi understanding of Islamic spiritual life, and supporting Sufi rituals, reinforce the distinctive pattern of personal bonds underlying the formal organization and give the three movement's members a unique character. It also suggests that the Sufi approach taken by the three movement's members has been an important part of the appeal of the Turkish *hizmet* (religious service) to Indonesian Muslims. Not only can the movements be recognized as similar to existing Indonesian Islam, but they resemble a particular kind of informal Islamic school practicing and teaching *Tasawuf* to their members. Thus, Sufism is readily recognized by many as a valuable part of the spectrum of Islamic education in Indonesia. Many Indonesian Muslims see this association of a school for Islamic studies with a Sufi lineage as positive.

Therefore, I argue here that Sufism elements within the three Turkish origin organization have successfully created opportunity spaces, which contribute to acceptance of the three organizations establishment in Indonesian and further development in this Archipelago. This then has created a contribution to the development of Islam in Indonesia with a degree of Turkish color in the current Indonesian Islam.

Sufism and Islamic Development in the Current Indonesia

The study of Sufism in Indonesia can be traced back as far as the fourteenth century, through the Muslim Javanese author, Abdullah bin As'ad Al-Yafi'i (1298–1367). Al-Yafi'i devoted much of his life to recording the miracles of the Sufi master, Abd al-Qadir Al-Jilani (1077–1166)

(Laffan 2011: 4-5). This work has helped us understand that there were Sufi fraternities, which were established and lead by Sufi *sheikhs* in that era. The following era of Indonesian Islam has been marked the emergence of Sufi-related theological works, evidencing that Sufism was an important part of Indonesian history in the following centuries. These included *Sulalat al-Salatin*, *Mirat al-Thulab*, and *Shath al-Wali*. Many notable historians have documented the significance of Sufism in the development of Indonesian Islam (Azra 2004, Bruinessen 1998: 199, Laffan 2011: 24, Ricklefs 2006, Ricklefs 2007).

It is widely argued that Sufism, and the Sufi orders played a crucial role in the Islamization process in the Archipelago (Bruinessen 1994: 1, Laffan 2011: 24). According to Bruinessen (1994: 1), the first Islamization of Southeast Asia took place in the same period as the rapid development of medieval Sufism and the growth of the Sufi orders (*tariqah*). Therefore, the version of Islam that was taught to the first Southeast Asian converts was strongly colored by Sufi teachings and values. It is also suggested that it was the Sufi coloration of Islam in that period that made it attractive to converts. As Bruinessen observed, "the development of Sufism was one of the factors making the Islamization of Southeast Asia possible" (Bruinessen 1994: 2).

Michael Laffan (2011) has shown in his work, *Makings of Indonesian Islam*, that Sufi praxis was part of Islamization since the fourteenth century. Mystical fraternities known as *tariqah* and lead by Sufi *sheikhs* were also known in that era. As already mentioned, we have evidence of this in the works of Abdullah bin As'ad Al-Yafi'i.

In the following centuries, Sufi figures played important roles in the Islamization of the Archipelago. In the fifteenth century of Indonesian Islam, the legendary Nine Saints (*Wali Songo*) dominated stories of spreading Islam. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Sufi mystics, such as Hamzah Fansuri and Abdurrauf Singkil, were leading Muslim figures in Aceh, the

famed gateway of Islam into the Archipelago. In the eighteenth century, the time of neo-Sufi reformism, the prominent Sufi, al-Falimbani, worked to mediate between the *Sharia* (Islamic law) and *Tasawuf* (Sufi metaphysics) (Azra 2004: 109-12, Laffan 2011: 4-24).

The important role played by Sufi *sheikhs* and brotherhoods in former times in Indonesia was resumed in the later twentieth century, in the midst of Indonesia's Islamic revival. Howell (2001) argues that the picture of Islamic revival in Indonesia, which started in the 1970s, as it did also in other parts of the Muslim world, and appeared to be scripturalist, did, in fact, include a revival of Sufism. Howell showed the 'inner' side of Islamic revival, which was represented by 'Sufi-inspired forms of piety' to which Muslims turned to supplementing the otherwise dry, rule-oriented Wahhabi, Modernist, and Salafist piety regimes. The late twentieth-century Sufi revival engaged sectors of society previously thought to find Sufism's devotional and mystical traditions unappealing: urbanites, women, and young people. As Howell has observed,

"...devotional and mystical intensifications of core Islamic practice—in short 'Sufism'—have survived. Indeed, they are being enthusiastically pursued, and not only by the elderly village men once thought to be Sufism's sole refuge in the twilight of its existence" (Howell 2001: 702).

Since the turn of the twenty-first century, new forms of Sufi piety promotion have proliferated and reached wide audiences (Hoesterey 2009, Howell 2012). These include *Tasawuf* courses taught in commercial, adult Islamic educational institutes, Sufi-inspired televangelist, and mass rallies featuring revivalist preaching along with sung prayers.

Taking the study of three Turkish organizations that have strong elements related to Sufism into account, it can be said that the three of them are practicing Sufism with different degrees, two of the, the Gülen and the Jamaat Nur, are more inclined towards the *Tasawuf Akhlaqi* while another, the Suleymaniyah is more towards the *Tasawuf 'Amali*. These three organizations

came from Turkey in order to expand their role in establishing Islamic Education in Indonesia with different but complementary models as part of Islamic development. All three clearly teach the values of Sufism. The Sufi values still play an important role in the development of Islam in Indonesia. Sufism is not lost, but it is still an important identity that is significant in the development of Islam in Indonesia.

CONCLUSION

this article has argued that the three Turkish-origin transnational Islamic movements use a common Nakşibendi Sufi heritage, each in their own way. Neither the Nurcu nor the Gülen movements claim to have followed any particular Sufi order (*tariqah*). However, many studies and evidence from the fieldworks have shown that both Said Nursî and Fethullah Gülen were inspired to a certain extent by Nakşibendi Sufism. This influence can be seen in the Sufi lifestyle practiced by the members of both the Nurcu and Gülen movements. In addition to that, Sufi influence can be seen in the values they teach and, in their activities, and programs. The way they focus on the Sufi method is the '*amali*' which mainly belongs to the *Tasawuf Akhlaqi* variety within the *Tasawuf* study. This is a similar example compared to the application of the Sufism within the Muhammadiyah members in Indonesia.

Of the three movements, the Suleymaniyah movement is the only one that claims a formal affiliation with a Sufi order (*tariqa*), through its spiritual connection (*rabita*) with its *Sheikh*, who is a master in the Nakşibendi godly chain of authority (*silsilah*) reaching back to the Prophet. The Suleymaniyah members have been able to preserve this classic form of Sufi spiritual community and esoteric practice in modern Turkey and actually extend it around the world today. They have been able to combine their variant of esoteric Sufism with other exoteric teachings in a way that is both familiar and attractive to Indonesians, despite the movement's

foreign origins. Overall, the three organizations are justified to inspire, teach, preserve, and apply Sufism values.

This examination of Sufi linkages underpinning the Turkish origin global movement and of the ways these linkages have supported the growth of the transnational organization in Indonesia, lends further weight to the estimation that *tariqah* Sufism has a future as part of Indonesian Islam and can be successfully wedded to modern institutional forms (cf. (Howell 2012)).

Furthermore, the Sufi elements of the three Turkish origin Islamic organizations have characterized the organization as Sufi movements in the current Indonesian Islam. So, in addition to their Islamic education providing services, the organizations are also characterized themselves as Sufi movements. These Sufi elements have been highlighted in their attitude of organizations as being friendly and accommodated while spreading their contributing roles in terms of Islamic education in Indonesia. This kind of Sufi friendly attitude has made Indonesian government as well as Indonesian society to welcome them warmly.

The Indonesian government through the Ministry of Religious Affairs has supported the development of their branches in Indonesia. This is particularly true with the Suleymaniyah and the Jamaat Nur. Also, with the Gülen affiliated movements until the political incidents of Turkey which made Gülen as the rival of the President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan.

The Indonesian society also receive the transnational organization as they are moderate and part of the *ahl sunnah wa al jama'ah*. Hence this article argues that the Sufi elements have played a significant role to the development of the Turkish organization in Indonesia.

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