
**SALAWAH WAHIDIYAH IN THE FRAME OF THAREEQAT IN
INDONESIAN ARCHIPELAGO: RESISTANCE IN THE FACE OF
PERVERSE FATWAS IN TASIKMALAYA**

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Abstract

The relationship of power and resistance against it has been widely discussed as an intellectual discursive debates. However, resistance groups against the theological authority is off the debate. This paper analyses the resistance movement of Salawah Wahidiyah (SW) in the face of the erroneous fatwa by the Assembly of Indonesia Ulama (MUI). With the analysis of power relationships, knowledge, and resistance, this paper finds that SW is fighting against the misguided fatwa of Tasikmalaya MUI which is carried out as the majority of theological hegemony to defend the doctrine and amaliyah as well as to reject the deviating claim. This is all done to maintain the freedom to believe and practice the teachings of an inside democracy which guarantees and protects the right of religious freedom. Ironically, the resistance of SW in Tasikmalaya was not able to replicate the success of the Centre SW in conducting resistance against NU figures. SW Tasikmalaya failed to reconcile the differences of religious views with MUI. As a result, the motion of SW became limited because it is still stigmatized as deviant.

Keywords: *Salawah Wahidiyah, resistance, fatwa (binding rules), the Assembly of Indonesia Ulama*

A. INTRODUCTION

Congregation and power often do not run in harmony. Both are in the opposite lane because of domination, hegemony, and injustice¹. This is confirmed by the fact that it is the power that produces knowledge to perpetuate dominative and hegemonic existence. Michael Foucault (1978) puts the country as a power relation that has the entire superstructural authority (*relation to a whole series of power networks*) to produce a dominative knowledge. The implication is going political knowledge² that got rid of the fringe and minority knowledge. No doubt, the domination of power to knowledge resulted in existential marginalization. This is experienced by different groups of the society with the majority of the group knowledge. A group of congregations deemed contrary to the majority of theological knowledge which in turn leads to allegations of perversion or deviation.

Salawah Wahidiyah (hereafter called as SW) as a congregation which is based on the practice of invocation is now faced with hegemony of the theological power putting them as the perverted/deviant group. Assembly of Indonesia Ulema (MUI) of Tasikmalaya Regency, West Java has declared that SW is a heretical group. Perverse fatwas against SW in reality gives birth to resistance against the theological power. Although not a country faced by SW, SW resistance against the fatwa of heresy is a form of resistance against the theological power dominated by MUI.

The studies on the SW movement seems to ignore the relationships of the group with the dominative theological authority. The studies are still oriented on the teachings and practices (*amaliyah*).³ However, the resistance reaction of the SW against the fatwas by MUI escape from the study of the intellectual.⁴ This paper analyses the resistance movement of Salawah Wahidiyah (SW), which is facing a serious problem over the theological attack launched by the outside groups. Characters, typology, and the consistency of the resistance of SW Tasikmalaya are analysed in the theories of power relations, knowledge, and resistance.

¹Jean Comaroff, *Body of Power, Spirit of Resistance: The Culture and History of a South Africa People*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985), p. 2 dan 11.

²Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*. Vol. 1: An Introduction. New York: Random House, 1978, p. 112 dan 122. Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, New York, Vintage Book, 2010. Jeremy W. Crampton (ed) *Space, Knowledge and Power: Foucault and Geography*, Georgia State University, USA and Stuart Elden Durham University, UK, Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2007.

³Sokhi Huda, *Tasawuf Kultural: Fenomena Shalawat Wahidiyah*, Yogyakarta: LkiS, 2008), Arif Zamhari, "The Development of Chanting Groups in East Java: A Case Study of the Salawat Wahidiyah Group in Pesantren Kedunglo, Kediri": Review of Indonesian and Malaysian Affairs Volume 42 Issue 1 (2008), Abdul Majid, "Praktik Tawassul Melalui Orang Yang Sudah Meninggal Pada Jama'ah Pengamal Shalawat Wahidiyah (Sebuah Kajian Living Hadith)", Tesis, 2015, Syalafiyah, Nurul (2014) *Nilai-Nilai Ketasawufan Shalawat Wahidiyah : Studi Kasus Para Pengamal Shalawat Wahidiyah Di Pondok Pesantren Kedunglo Kota Kediri*. Tesis, UIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya, 2015, Jannati, Brenda Fadkhuli (2017) *Interaksi Sosial Antar Umat Beragama: Studi Kasus Jama'ah Shalawat Wahidiyah dan Jama'ah Nabdhyyin di Desa Sukorejo Kab. Sidoarjo*. Undergraduate thesis, UIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya 2017, Yuni Pangestutiani (2013) *Kehidupan Sufistik Pengamal Shalawat Wahidiyah: Studi Kasus di Keringan Mangundikaran-Nganjuk*. Tesis, UIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya, 2013, Novi Dwi Nugroho, "Pandangan Masyarakat Terhadap Aliran Shalawat Wahidiyah: Studi Kasus di Kelurahan Simbarwaringin Kecamatan Trimurjo Kabupaten Lampung Tengah", *Jurnal PENAMAS* Volume 30, Nomor 1, April-Juni 2017.

⁴Moch. Nur Ichwan, *Local Politics Of Orthodoxy: The Majelis Ulama Indonesia in the Post-New Order Banten* *Journal of Indonesian Islam* Volume 06, Number 01, June 2012 dan Moh. Ulumuddin, Syariah dan Tasawuf Lokal: Studi Tentang Perdebatan Legalitas Wahidiyah, *At-Tahtzib*, Vol. 1 Nomor 1 2012-2013

Studies of the relationship of power and resistance has indeed started by Michael Foucault (1978) by stating, "where there is power, there is resistance"⁵. This statement provides reassurance that when there is power, then it would appear the resistance movement because of the nature of the power is usually hegemonic and dominative, which limits the space of freedom. Because of that, Steve Pile states resistance leads to power⁶ because power is likely to be dominative.

Resistance character as revealed by Routledge (1997) manifests in groups that are undertaking efforts to challenge, alter, or retain a certain circumstances having to do with relationships, processes, and/or the Community institutions implying some forms of contestation and is inseparable from the practice of domination. As in class resistance, James Scott, (1989) believes that resistance is carried out by members of the subordinate classes which are intended to reduce or deny claims made by the superordinate class. According to Fernandes (1988), resistance is also a social attitude, behaviour and counter-hegemonic action aimed at weakening the classification between social categories and directed against dominant forces and against those who practice them. Therefore, resistance in the language of Pile & Keith (1997) is a struggle in the defence of freedom, democracy and humanity⁷. That is why, Stellan Vinthagen (2007) looks at that resistance as the creation or expansion of spaces to make a choice and restructure power relations that restrict identity or space action.⁸

Resistance is often referred to as "contention", "protest", "power struggle", "revolution" or "mimicry"⁹, which in many cases is seen as a violent movement, such as rebellions and riots. No wonder James Scott (1985) develops the concept of 'everyday' resistance to show different resistance; that is not so dramatic and looks like rebellion, riot, demonstration, revolution, civil war.¹⁰ In theory, the resistance to contain tranquillity, scattered, disguised or invisible or 'infra-politics.' Scott shows the behaviour of the subaltern groups (e.g., dragging away, escape, sarcasm, passivity, laziness, disobedience) as a tactic that exploits people to survive and undermine repressive domination. This theory is later developed by Stellan Vinthagen and Anna Johansson (2013) who view resistance as a single point of power and based on changing contexts and situations because it is not universal or one face. The concept of 'everyday' resistance later is elaborated as regular, occasional, politically; in non-dramatic, confrontational, not done by individuals or small groups without a formal leadership or organization, but usually driven by some subcultural attitudes.¹¹

B. DISCUSSION

1. The teaching of SW

SW is one of the thareeqat in the Indonesia archipelago. The group was born around July 1959 founded KH. Abdul Madjid Ma'roef. He is the caretaker of Pondok Pesantren Kedunglo, Village Bandar Lor, Kediri Regency. He has served as the head of Syuriah *Nabdatul Ulama* (NU) Mojoroto Sub district and Syuriah PCNU of Kediri Regency. However, after he

⁵Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, Vol. 1: An Introduction, (New York: Random House, 1978), p. 95.

⁶Steve Pile, "Introduction: Opposition, Political Identities and Space of Resistance" dalam Steve Pile, Michael Keith, *Geographies of Resistance*, (London: Routledge, 2007), p. 2.

⁷Stellan Vinthagen, "Understanding Resistance": Exploring definitions, perspectives, forms and implications, Presented at Resistance Studies Network 6th Dec 2007, Gothenburg University, p. 3-5.

⁸Stellan Vinthagen, "Understanding "Resistance", p. 21

⁹Vinthagen & Lilja, Missionstatement, 2006

¹⁰Scott, James C. (1989) "Everyday Forms of Resistance", Copenhagen Papers, No. 4.

¹¹Stellan Vinthagen and Anna Johansson, "Everyday Resistance": Exploration of a Concept and its Theories, Resistance Studies Magazine 2013 No 1

delivered Sholawat Wahidiyah and his teachings (1963), he was no longer active in the NU organization.

The teachings of sworn SW are growing and widely accepted by some Muslims. Among the Nahdlatul Ulama figures themselves there are many scholars who practice SW, among which were KH. Wahab Hasbullah (one of the founders of NU), KH. Abdul Karim Hashim (Pp. Tebuireng Jombang), KH. Abdul Khaliq Hashim (Pp. Tebuireng Jombang), KH. Yassir (Rois Syuriah of eastern city of Kediri, the first Chairman of the PSW 1964-1966), KH. Ahyat (NU'S Syuriah Rois Mojokerto, Chairman of PSW 1966-1967), KH. Ahmad Chamim Jazuli aka Gus Mik (Chairman of PSW 1966-1970) and KH. Idham Cholid (Chairman of PBNU).¹² The number of NU figures as members and administrators of SW is not only in the early days of its establishment. Now, there are still many NU figures who are members and administrators of SW, especially in East Java.

Although the SW does not claim as a group of congregations, but the teaching and *amalayah* are similar to a congregation. In view of the SW, teaching is a practical guidance outwardly and batiniyah (inner guidance) in practicing the teachings of the Prophet Muhammad PBUH.¹³ Practical guidance is supported by the utilization of the potential balanced and harmonious spiritual.¹⁴ Hence, there is a colour balance of SW teachings in managing birth behaviour and inner behaviour.

As for the principal teachings of the SW is *lillah billah, lirrsaul birrasul, lil ghauts bilghauts, yukti kulla dzī baqqin baqqob, taqdimul abam fal abam tsummal anfa' fal anfa'*. This reinforces the principal teachings of SW in broadcasting and developing Islam in balancing the inner and outer behaviour in every observer. This SW teaching contains the dimensions of tauheed (the unity of God) mentored by a Murshid, the leader of the teachings and institutional.

In practice, not all of the teachings of the SW is accepted by the community. The concept of *al-ghauts* this is a staple of the problem because it is considered deviant by some circles. According to board of YPW Tasikmalaya, *al-ghauts* is a helper manifesting in the figure of the Murshid.¹⁵ Devotees of the SW believe that *ghauts* is the guides and helpers towards ma'rifat to God and his Messenger and the helper of the various difficulties and distress and other life problems.

For SW, *ghauts* is *sulthanul awliya* or *quthbul aqtbob*, the leader of the guardians of God so that "*ghauts hadzaq*" is the leader of the guardians of God today. If the *ghauts* died, he needs to be replaced by others until the day of resurrection. This view is a reference book of Masyariq al-Anwar which mentions that the first is *ghauts* Sayyidina Hasan bin 'Ali, then replaced Sayyidina Husen bin 'Ali and so on. In addition, Shaykh Abdus-Salam bin Masyisy, Shaykh Abdul Qodir al-Jaelani, Shaykh Abil Hasan As-Syadzili, Shaykh Bahauddin an-Naqsyabandi many others are the *ghauts fi zamanih* or *sulthanul auliya* ' in their time.¹⁶

“In running its function as *ghauts*, they are not at their sole discretion. There are self-proclaimed required such as Shaykh Abdul Qodir al-Jaelani and Shaykh Abu Hasan as-Syadzili. There is also a need to keep secrets, such as Shaykh Abdus Salam bin Masyisy

¹² Sokhi Huda, Tasawuf Kultural, pp. 319-320.

¹³ *Kuliah Wahidiyah untuk Menjernihkan Hati dan Ma'rifat Billah Wa Birasulibi SAW*, (YPWPPK: Kediri, 2011), p. 89.

¹⁴ *Kuliah Wahidiyah*, p. 89

¹⁵ Interview with the caretakers of YPW, such as Agus Halim, Abdul Qahar, dan YPW Pusat KH. Abdul Ghafur, 16 September 2017 in Tasikmalaya.

¹⁶ *Kuliah Wahidiyah*, pp. 138-139.

al-Nawawi and Imam Murajjih al-Falastin. There's more that should be authorized secret and be proclaimed".¹⁷

Not all devotees of the SW know and get to know physically and spiritually ghauts. If any of the devotees of the SW recognises and knows who the ghauts, then it is a *fadhilab* and the grace of God Almighty. He should not be discussing who the ghauts hadzaz times, more so with people who still have not received Wahidiyah for fear of being embroidered in the heart.¹⁸ In view of the SW, ghauts occupies the title of the greatest guardian. Since its inception, although not expressly stated, Kyai Abdul Majid Ma'roef and Kyai Abdul Latif Ma'roef are ghauts, Murshid, and trustees who have the ability to provide helps with prayers.¹⁹

In SW's view, the ghauts have the abilities of *salab* and *jalab*.

"*Jalab* and *salab* have general and special meanings. General meanings of *jalab* and *salab* can be owned by any creature. They likened, for example, water to *salaab* (seize) thirst, and can run (bring) freshness of the throat or body, fire can make cooking, and can *salab* water (make water turns into steam). If one understands the power of water or fire out of water or fire (without the permission of Allah, without the principle of *billah*) itself, then the faith of the person is still mixed with Shirkism. While the special meaning *jallab* and *sallab* only possessed by certain people who desired by God Almighty, and very concerned with something unseen, like the condition of the *ahwal* every *salik* or one's faith. For example, if there is a cleric or Kyai if within a community, the faith the community will be increased, or when there are immoral in an environment, then the faith of most people will sag".²⁰

According to the adherents of SW, a ghauts/Murshid/guardians have the ability to revoke a person's faith when invited to commit sin (*salab*), and has the ability to appeal to faith (*jalab*) when referring to the good. Or ghauts, have the ability to revoke a person's faith with his prayer. That is, only given the ability of the ghauts by God Almighty with prayers to revoke and withdraw the faith.²¹

SW management is aware, if understood with a shirk sense, then the conclusion that human faith can rise or fall not caused by the power of Allah SWT, but by other humans or by the environment. For that reason, the devotee SW holds that in Islamic rule, there are no creatures (including the Prophet and al-Ghauts) that has the power to bring benefits or deny a loss without the permission of Allah SWT. If a creature can bring benefits or deny shortcomings, either for himself or for another, solely upon the permission and the will of God Almighty.²²

In view of the SW, *salab jalab* ability will not be understood by the believer who has faith that mixes with the shirk, for example, the ability to believe the solely strength of the ghauts himself. *Jalab* and *Salab* of the ghauts can only be understood by people whose faith is not shirk, people who have to understand the supreme power of Allah SWT in the universe.²³

¹⁷ *Kuliah Wahidiyah*, p. 142.

¹⁸ Interview with Ahmad Dimiyathi, the Caretaker of YPW West Java.

¹⁹ Interview with Ahmad Dimiyathi, the Caretaker of YPW West Java, 16 September 2017 in Tasikmalaya.

²⁰ Materi Up Grading Da'i Wahidiyah, (Kediri: YPW Pusat, 2000).

²¹ Interview with Agus Halim, Head of Yayasan Perjuangan Wahidiyah Tasikmalaya, Ajengan Khobir, Abdul Qahar, 15 September 2017, 15 September 2017, and interview with Ajengan Abbas, 16 September 2017, in Tasikmalaya.

²² Materi Up Grading Da'i Wahidiyah, (Kediri: YPW Pusat, 2000)

²³ Materi Up Grading Da'i Wahidiyah, (Kediri: YPW Pusat, 2000).

SW sees jalab and salab as creatures of God. For example, Izrail's salvation is the lifting of lives (sallab), but dead and living of creatures are only in the hand of Allah SWT. Michael's Jalab is divining (jalab) as well as taking (salab) prosperity, either born or inner prosperity, every being, but essentially is just the God Almighty, who rules over it. Gabriel's jalab, for example, is when Prophet's departure towards the ascension to Mi'raj. Gabriel on the orders of Allah increases (jalab) faith in the Prophet. Salab and Jalab of the *Wali Songo* as *waliyullah* for example before the spread of Islam in Indonesia, the public has no faith to God Almighty, but after they spread Islam in Indonesia and particularly Java, the community has faith in his heart to Allah SWT. The faith of the people can be regarded as the jalab of the waliyullah. So did salab jalab of scholars, i.e. in each area are occupied by a scholar, of course, faith and perseverance of worship community will increase. This can be said as *karomah* (privilege) jalab owned by any of the scholars.²⁴

2. Embryo Resistance of SW

The history of SW resistance has actually happened since the first time SW teaching was formed in 1963. KH Mahrus Ali, the caretaker of Pesantren Lirboyo Kediri is the first figure to forbid SW. According to him, the teaching of SW is the result of KH Abdul Madjid's plotting to obtain personal and group interests and the salawah (invocation) that is composed has no *sanad* (lane) and legal basis.²⁵ This view was then spread among the wider community, especially the Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) community, causing controversy.

Against this religious outlook, SW is fighting to maintain institutional existence, manifested in the form of NU scholars meetings. Among the most widely discussed in the meeting was the meetings at **Ngadiluwih** held on October 20, 1979, at the home of KH Abu Syujak, Ngadiluwih, Kediri and on December 15, 1979 AD, at HBM Muchsin S.M., in Badal, Ngadiluwih, Kediri. The meetings were attended by KH Abu Suja', Kyai Abdoel Muhith, Kyai Ahmadi, and Kyai Abdoel Halim Syafi'i, from a non-Wahidiyah group from Kediri. Wahidiyah members were represented by KH Ihsan Mahin, Kyai Muhammad Djazuly Yusuf, and Kyai Agus Ahmad Baidlowi. The deliberations resulted in 11 agreements, namely: (1) Murabbun fi akhiri al-zaman (supervisor in the latter days); (2) why Salawah Wahidiyah did not choose a waridah salawah; (3) Mujaddid, (reformers of religion); (4) The issue that those not practicing Salawah Wahidiyah were kufr; (5) Crying when people worship Salawah Wahidiyah; (6) To imagine the form of Rasulullah SAW in the name of the Prophet; (7) Menalqin muhtadar (dying people) with reading guidance *Ya Sayyidi Ya Rasulallah*; (8) Children who do not attend schools because of joining the mujahadah; (9) The meaning of thareeqat mu'tabarah; (10) Appointment of a Mursyid (thareeqat priest); (11) The name (in praise) *ba'du al-salihin* from the leaders coupled with *tayyibah* words.²⁶

²⁴Materi Up Grading Da'i Wahidiyah, (Kediri: YPW Pusat, 2000)

²⁵Moh. Ulumuddin, Syariah dan Tasawuf Lokal, h. 280, Lihat Dokumen Dewan Pimpinan Pusat Penyiar Sholawat Wadiyah di Jombang; lihat juga Qomari Mukhtar, Sejarah dari Awal perjuangan Wahidiyah, (Kediri: tp, 2008), 4th Printing. p. 83. 11

²⁶Moh. Ulumuddin, Syariah dan Tasawuf Lokal, p. 280 dan Penyiar Sholawat Wahidiyah Pusat Badan penyiaran dan Pembinaan Wahidiyah, Tanya Jawab Masalah Wahidiyah yang Timbul di Daerah, (Kediri: PSW, tt.), First Edition. pp. 2-3

The above agreement is set forth in "Ngadiluwih Charter,"²⁷ a charter of mutual agreement between the critics and the SW in which both parties declare "to obey, defend and strive all consensus **deliberations**. After the Ngadiluwih Charter was signed, there was no more turmoil about the misguidance of SW in the community. SW teaching then expanded to all over the abroad archipelago.

3. Dynamics of SW Resistance - Historical Dynamics and Theological Conflict

In the beginning, the understanding and teachings of SW in Tasikmalaya developed individually, which was originated from Kyai Abdul Majid Ma'roef in Kedunglo, Kediri.²⁸ SW teaching grew after Ajengan Abbas spread SW to Tasikmalaya from studying at Kedunglo, Kediri.²⁹ In the 1990s, Ajengan Abbas invited people who were interested in the SW teachings of Islam to go to Kedunglo, Kediri to learn SW to the teacher (murshid), namely Kyai Abdul Latif Majid, the heir to the SW founder, Kyai Abdul Madjid Ma'roef.³⁰

The spread of SW in Tasikmalaya was based on a goal to change the religious community who did immoral to do Sufi Dhikr of Allah SWT, so that the bad behaviour changed towards a better fit to Islam guidance.³¹ After that, many of the youth who had been living in immoral behaviour, were attracted by the SW amaliyah. They also became close to Allah SWT through dhikr and salawah.³²

In Tasikmalaya, the new SW officially became an organization in 2002, led by Ajengan Abbas. This organization was named as Yayasan Perjuangan Wahidiyah (the Foundation of Wahidiyah Struggle) and Pesantren (Islamic boarding school) Kedunglo. This organization was not affiliated with Peniyar Shalawat Wahidiyah (PSW), Broadcasters of Salawah Wahidiyah, centered in Jombang, but instead it was based on the Wahidiyah Foundation in Kedunglo, Kediri.³³ After the leadership of Ajengan Abbas ended, the Foundation of Wahidiyah was led by Ade Nurjaman (2007-2011) from Nurul Falah School of Kampung Lebah Nended, Singaparna and continued to Agus Halim (2011-present).³⁴

In the early days of SW development in Tasikmalaya, theological conflict occurred. The development of SW in Tasikmalaya which was increasingly wide spreading caused public disturbance because of different theological teachings with the community. The theological knowledge of dominative society had limited the theological movement of SW in Tasikmalaya. This theological conflict leads to the release of the MUI fatwa stating that SW in Tasikmalaya Regency is diverged. MUI of Tasikmalaya also determines that the teachings of SW in

²⁷"Ngadiluwih Charter" published as a part of SW publication entitled "*Risalah Penjelasan Mengenai Masalah Wahidiyah Yang Timbul Di Daerah*", Published by Peniyar Sholawat Wahidiyah Pusat, Badan Peniyaran dan Pembinaan Wahidiyah, Kedunglo, Kodya Kediri, Jawa Timur, Indonesia: 1410 H./1990 M.

²⁸Interview with KH. Sodikin, the Elder of Wahidiyah Tasikmalaya in Tasikmalaya

²⁹Interview with Ajengan Abbas, 16 September 2017, in Tasikmalaya.

³⁰Interview with Ajengan Abdul Khobir, 15 September 2017, in Tasikmalaya.

³¹Interview with Agus Halim, Head of Yayasan Perjuangan Wahidiyah Tasikmalaya, 15 September 2017, in Tasikmalaya.

³²Interview with Ajengan Abdul Khobir, 15 September 2017, in Tasikmalaya.

³³Interview with Agus Halim, Head of Yayasan Perjuangan Wahidiyah Tasikmalaya, 15 September 2017, Interview with Ajengan Abdul Khobir, 15 September 2017, dan Interview with Ajengan Abbas, 16 September 2017, in Tasikmalaya.

³⁴Interview with Agus Halim, Head of Yayasan Perjuangan Wahidiyah Tasikmalaya, 15 September 2017, in Tasikmalaya.

Tasikmalaya City is heretical.³⁵ The fatwa is based on the misguided SW teachings in SW handbook containing irregularities. According to MUI of Tasikmalaya, some teachings of the foundation is contrary to the principles of aqeedah Islamiyah, because (1) they give doctrines to the people to believe that Mu'allif Salawah Wahidiyah KH. Abdul Madjid as gauts hadzaz of the time; (2) prayers to Allah will not arrive if it does not go through the first gauts; (3) the gauts has authority of jalab and salab (embed and revoke) one's faith; (4) if there is no gauts (KH. Abdul Madjid), God will destroy the world nowadays and KH. Abdul Madjid is considered a saviour for the nowadays people. In view of the MUI, the above things do not have basic instructions, neither in the Qur'an nor Hadith, nor Al-qawl of Scholars.³⁶ The fatwa of MUI of Tasikmalaya was then considered to be triggered violent action against the devotees of the SW and wrecking action of SW facilities in Tasikmalaya in the year of 2007.³⁷

After the fatwa came out, the SW administrator responded to clarify the SW teachings that were considered as deviating. The administrators have come to the house of Kyai Dudung Akasyah, as the Chairman of the MUI of Tasikmalaya Regency to clarify the understanding of SW teaching, but the MUI did not accept them. Until finally, the board made a writing containing the rebuttal³⁸ against the fatwa.³⁹ In the rebuttal, SW charged MUI Tasikmalaya to revoke the fatwa (decree) number: 25/Kep./MUI-Kota-Tsm/VI/2005 back. SW also required MUI Tasikmalaya to issue a new decree, explaining that the SW is not incompatible with the principles of aqeedah Islamiyah.

The following SW excerpts against the fatwa of MUI of Tasikmalaya:

"For Point 1, which is written; "Some of the teachings of Yayasan Perjuangan Wahidiyah are against the principle of Islamic aqeedah". We answer that the opinion is not right and improper. Because Yayasan Perjuangan Wahidiyah never teaches its devotees something that is against the principle of Islamic aqeedah. Even the principle of Islamic aqeedah itself is taught, the six pillars of faith (6) and the five pillars of Islam (5) were never added at all. Wahidiyah struggle even provide guidance, how to make the Islamic aqidah can be applied and performed properly. Wahidiyah's struggle gives guidance, by applying billah, that we are aware that our movements both inwardly and outwardly are always watched by God and by God's command or power. We must be aware, when we see is shown by God, when we hear is heard by God, when we speak is allowed to speak by God, when we walk is walking on the strength of Allah and so on. Is such a thing contrary to the principle of Islamic aqeedah? Reflect, deeply-in meditation".⁴⁰

More rebuttal quote:

³⁵Interview with Agus Halim, Head of Yayasan Perjuangan Wahidiyah Tasikmalaya and Interview with Ajengan Abdul Khobir, 15 September 2017, Interview with Abdul Qahar, the Province Caretaker of YPW 15 September 2017, and Interview with Ajengan Abbas, 16 September 2017, in Tasikmalaya.

³⁶Fatwa of MUI No. 25/Kep/MUI-Kota TSM/VI/2005 date 28 June 2005 and Fatwa of MUI No. 45/Kep/MUI-TSM/V/2007 date 25 May 2007

³⁷Moh. Ulumuddin, "Syariah dan Tasawuf Lokal", p. 280.

³⁸Rebuttal, Answer, and Explanation on the Decission Letter by MUI Tasikmalaya Number 25/Kep./MUI-Kota-Tsm/VI/2005.

³⁹Interview with Agus Halim, Head of Yayasan Perjuangan Wahidiyah Tasikmalaya and Interview with Ajengan Abdul Khobir, 15 September 2017, and Interview with Ajengan Abbas, 16 September 2017, in Tasikmalaya.

⁴⁰ Rebuttal, Answer, and Explanation on the Decission Letter by MUI Tasikmalaya Number 25/Kep./MUI-Kota-Tsm/VI/2005.

“For point 1.a. which is written: "It is indoctrinating to the people to believe that Mu'alif Salawah Wahidiyah is named Mbah H. Abdul Madjid RA, as Gauths Hadza Zaman (Text Collection Wahidiyah Lecture p.16) Hal Mbah KH. Abdul Madjid Ma'ruf RA as Ghauts Hadzaz Zaman. In this case, first we want to ask, according to Tasikmalaya City MUI, what if there is someone or a group that believes someone, that the person he believes, is a *wali*, correct or wrong? If the MUI of Tasikmalaya City answered correctly and legitimately, then why we struggle and the Wahidiyah who tried to believe Mbah KH. Abdul Madjid RA as a guardian, is convicted as a person or group having a contrary belief to the principle of Aqeedah Islamiyah, while others are not. Is it the people of Thareeqat of Qadiriyyah believe that Shaykh Abdul Qadir Jaelani RA as an Al-Ghauts / Sultan Auliya, and the Thareeqat of Naqsabandiyah believes that the Shaykh Bahauddin An Naqsabandi RA is also Al-Ghauts, as well as the Thareeqat Syadziliyah also believe that Shaykh Abul Hasan As-Syadzili is Al-Ghauts, and many others? Why they are not convicted, as we are convicted. Have they missed the observation of MUI of Tasikmalaya! In Tasikmalaya, there are the Qadiriyyah and Naqsabandiyah thareeqats, as well as the other thareeqats. If we were to observe a little further, in the event of the Shaykh Abdul Qadir Jahani Ra, we would find a sentence, where in that sentence the Shaykh is positioned in such a special position. Is not it even more astonishing (if misunderstood) that puts the name of Shaykh Abdul Qadir Jaelani after the two sentences of the shahadah? We did not get there. Back to the question above, if MUI of Tasikmalaya, answered not true or wrong, how many Muslims in Indonesia having wrong aqeedah/belief. Does the majority of Muslims in Indonesia (especially in Java) believe in *Wali Songo*, what is their argument, to believe that they are the guardians? Do many Muslims in East Java believe that Mbah KH. Abdul Hamid of Pasuruan is a guardian, don't they? And many people in Central Java believe that Mbah Dalhar, Mbah K. Hasan Mangli, Mbah Lim Klaten are also *wali* (the guardians). In Pamijahan West Java there is Shaykh Muhyi who is also believed to be a guardian. How is that, does it mean they are all wrong and should be said to be contrary to the principle of Aqeedah Islamiyah and considered heretical and dissolved?⁴¹

Other quote:

Point 1. d. written: If there were no ghauts (meant Mbah H. Abdul Majid) Allah would destroy the present world (Mbah H. Abdul Majid is considered as the savior of the today's ummah). (Text Collection Wahidiyah Lecture p. 17). We answer the text of this sentence, not in accordance with the page and the reference of the book. In particular, the text (Mbah H. Abdul Majid is considered as the savior for the today's ummah), is not found in the page and the reference of the book (refer the book again). The book and the original page are attached. How should this Tasikmalaya City MUI, claimed to have taken a reference from the phrases contained in our book, but it turns out that the reference, is "interpretation" of MUI of Tasikmalaya itself? Things like this should not be appropriate in the religious institutions like MUI. The meaning of the phrase "That if there is no ghauts", is clearly general to all of the Ghauts RA, both past, present, and future. However, on what purpose is MUI Tasikmalaya City interpret it specifically

⁴¹ Rebuttal, Answer, and Explanation on the Decission Letter by MUI Tasikmalaya Number 25/Kep./MUI-Kota-Tsm/VI/2005.

addressed to Mbah KH. Abdul Madjid Ma'roef Muallif Shalawat Wahidiyah QS wa RA? We asked whether the sentence was written deliberately to err, point, and cornered Mbah KH. Abdul Madjid Ma'roef Muallif Shalawat Wahidiyah QS wa RA.? Is not it more cruel than a murder? Has this been the contemplation of MUI of Tasikmalaya City? If the MUI of Tasikmalaya wishes to correct the meaning and content of the principles, it should look at the original book, which we make reference in our book. Namely the book of Taqrib al-Ushul, page 53. Not just in our book. More not on "self-interpretation". If indeed the MUI of Tasikmalaya does not have the reference book, there should not be in the fatwa (decree) the phrase "which has carefully discussed and examined" this book (Taqrib al-Ushul), explores the principle as the explanation of the hadith of the Prophet, about the existence and sirri of the waliyullah, especially the guardian of al-Ghauts RA (as the guardian and the conservationist of nature spiritually)".

The above three quotations are a susceptible response to the MUI fatwa of Tasikmalaya which declares SW to be contrary to Islamic aqeedah. SW in its denial states that KH. Abdul Madjid Ma'ruf is the guardian of the Thareeqat Qadiriyyah and Naqsabandiyah who has a guardian. Similarly, KH. Abdul Hamid of Pasuruan, Mbah Dalhar, Mbah K. Hasan of Mangli, Mbah Lim of Klaten, and Shaykh Muhyi are believed by some Muslims as guardians. This is the intellectual counter done by SW in facing the MUI's fatwa.

Management of SW Tasikmalaya also made other efforts to neutralize the fatwa, such as inviting public figures and government officials to engage in mujahadah. SW management also invited MUI of Tasikmalaya to directly see the mujahadah SW. Unfortunately, the invitation of SW management was ignored by the board of MUI of Tasikmalaya. However, at least the police and government officials have come to join SW mujahadah in Tasikmalaya.

4. The Character and Typology of Resistance

In theory, resistance is made to *counter-hegemonic social attitudes against the dominant power*, attempting to challenge, change or retain particular circumstances, defend claims, reject the claims of the superordinate class (*deny claims made on that class by superordinate classes*), defend freedom (*fighting against back in defenses of freedom, democracy and humanity*), against certain power (*power, policy, or regime*) or respond to power (*response to power*). This kind of resistance character appears in the SW movement after the MUI's fatwa in Tasikmalaya.

Firstly, SW does encounter the majority of theological hegemony in the early days of its birth in Kediri and in the misguided areas of Tasikmalaya (*the counter-hegemonic social attitudes against the dominant power*). The first hegemonic counter can be resolved in the Ngadiluwih Charter, while the second hegemonic counter is made by making a letter of refutation to the MUI of Tasikmalaya City that SW's teaching does not contradict the Islamic aqeedah.

Unfortunately, this resistance attempt failed in Tasikmalaya because until now there is no meeting between SW and MUI Tasikmalaya in a dialogue on the understanding and the teaching of SW. The implication is that the demand for MUI Tasikmalaya to revoke the fatwa has not succeeded until now.⁴² In other words, the MUI of Tasikmalaya ignores the hegemonic counter by SW in Tasikmalaya in the form of refutation of the false fatwa. MUI of Tasikmalaya

⁴²Head of MUI Tasikmalaya cannot revoke the Fatwa stating SW as deviant since it was decreed not in his era. Interview with the Head of MUI Tasikmalaya 16 September 2017 in Tasikmalaya.

affirms that the fatwa has been established and not to be dialogued because in fact MUI's fatwas cannot be dialogued after being decided.

Secondly, in its rebuttal, SW of Tasikmalaya seems very strong in maintaining its teachings and amaliyah (*attempts to challenge, change, or retain particular circumstances*). The pattern of defending his teachings is done by proposing counter-knowledge, accompanied by convincing theological arguments. The arguments of the Qur'an and the hadith as well as the opinion of the scholars are put forward in the rebuttal to strengthen the argument. Thus, SW seems to reject the heretical claims made by influential figures and the MUI of Tasikmalaya as well as mitigate (*deny claims made on that class by superordinate classes*) on the problems they face.

Ironically, the counter-knowledge made by SW is not addressed discursively by MUI of Tasikmalaya, so there is no intellectual dialectics between SW and MUI. If there is a debate, then the intellectualism between SW and MUI will be faced with a mutual agreement as Charter Ngadiluwih or otherwise appear to be the winner and the loser. This condition makes it difficult for MUI to dialogue intellectually with SW.

Third, SW Tasikmalaya fought to maintain the freedom to practice his teachings (*fighting back in defenses of freedom, democracy and humanity*). As known, the teachings of the SW in the democratic system is given expression space, so they are trying to retain the freedom to believe and practice the teachings in a democratic system that is free and open. Inevitably, because of Indonesia as a country that embraces democracy and guarantee protection of human rights, the SW is given the freedom to believe and practice its teachings.

However, the freedom that characterizes democracy cannot guarantee the freedom of religion and belief, because in practice, democracy is faced with the problems of the minority and the majority in the community. It is the issue that the space of freedom of SW is constrained by a majority vote declared by MUI.

Fourth, SW Tasikmalaya be the *civil resistance* against the theological ruling of MUI. The power of civilians in their fight against the dominance of theological ruling of MUI that has a strong power relations to become a knowledge center of theological truth. SW tries to open up the diversity of teachings in Islam by rejecting the domination of power relations and theological knowledge owned by MUI. Therefore, the SW as a subordinate power responds to the domination power of the superordinate theological MUI (*activities against a particular power, force, policy or regime*). Response to the super ordinance of MUI Tasikmalaya is in the SW resistance movement to maintain its presence.

Although SW Tasikmalaya not successfully open space dominance MUI knowledge, but they are given a space of freedom to criticize the dominance of MUI. Inevitably, democratic Indonesia has given space to the intellectual resistance towards MUI Tasikmalaya without intimidation and repression. This means Tasikmalaya MUI receive criticism for understanding and teaching of astray discourse of SW in Tasikmalaya.

Table 1.
Resistance Characters of SW in Tasikmalaya

Resistance characters	Resistance characters of SW
the counter-hegemonic social attitudes against the dominant power	SW performs counter-hegemony on the majority theology of the early birth and in the misled region

Attempts to challenge, change or retain particular circumstances relating to societal relations, processes and/or institutions	SW retains its teachings and <i>amaliyah</i> (deeds) understandings
Mitigate or deny claims made on that class by superordinate classes	SW rejects misguided claims made by influential figures and MUI Tasikmalaya as well as mitigating
Fighting back in defence of freedom, democracy and humanity	SW struggles to maintain the freedom to practice its teachings
civil resistance: activities against a particular power, force, policy or regime	SW becomes a civil resistance against the theological ruling MUI

The typology of resistance, it is theoretically divided into several in type. First, who do resistance; individual-collective, minority-majority, a social group or ideology (individual-collective, minority-majority, category and type of social or ideological groupings doing resistance). In practice, SW Tasikmalaya fights collectively made by the minority group in ideologically faced. Understandably known that SW is not a majority group such as NU and Muhammadiyah making its teachings susceptible to misdirection. Therefore, the collective resistance is not carried out by the branch or region, but also directly led by the central committee. This is normal hierarchical power in Sufism groups and congregations colouring the typology of their movement.

Second, where to do resistance; a public arena or the private sphere (*in an established and recognised public arena, spontaneous uprisings and riots in neighbourhoods which create informal and temporary political space, or "everyday resistance", or silent disloyalty to one's work place*). In fact, the SW resistance is in an open public arena. The rebuttal of the fatwa is not only done in the form of an open letter to the MUI Tasikmalaya, but also expressed in social media, such as Facebook and YouTube as well as internal papers (Koran Amunisi). This shows the SW resistance on the misguided claims are not made within the room of silent as theorized James Scott as "everyday resistance". The resistance is done in an open arena so that everyone can access it.

Third, in what way the resistance is done; violence or non-violence (*nonviolent or lawful non-institutional resistance, non-armed resistance or military organised resistance*). SW in Tasikmalaya commits nonviolent resistance. After the fatwa of MUI Tasikmalaya posted, SW resistance efforts is undertaken with the way of peace. Constitutional efforts are still done through lobbies to community leaders, teachers, police officers, soldiers, and the government. It is done through inviting them in any *mujahadah* event that are open. On the contrary, they get the violence of Islamic groups, who perform arson to property of SW in Tasikmalaya.

Fourth, how to mobilize the organization performing resistance (*not organised in a formal and explicit way as organisations*). SW in Tasikmalaya struggles formally and explicitly in order that their aspirations may be heard by policy makers. Although the resistance does not need to be moved formally, but in reality SW Tasikmalaya takes a formal way in the resistance. In addition to the formal channels, SW still considers informal resistance in the form of mainstreaming, media, though there is not obvious effects because it does not have the social capital and human resources who are strong enough in the public media.

Fifth, against a certain force (*against the state institutions and laws, corporations and market-rules, discursive rules or cultural institutions and traditional norms, economic resistance as wild-cat-strikes, or resistance*

to gender stereotypes or feminist reconstructions of gendered life styles in a patriarchal society). SW Tasikmalaya performs resistance to the institution having the strong theological power in the society, namely MUI Tasikmalaya. The goal is that MUI Tasikmalaya draw back their fatwa them so that the socio-religious effects do not extend to other areas. It was clear that the SW Tasikmalaya does not take the fight against the groups that do *pressure* in setting the fatwa. The main target is that the MUI is seen as the opposition organization most responsible for the determination of apostasy of SW.

Table 2.
The Typology of SW Resistance

Typology	Details	Resistance Typology of SW
Who acts?	individual-collective, minority-majority, social category or ideological groupings	SW to fight collectively as an ideological minority
Where?	public arena-silent resistance	SW to struggle in the public arena
With which means?	Nonviolent or lawful non-institutional	SW to resist without violence
Organised how?	formal and explicit way	SW to resist formally and explicitly
Against what?	Against the state institutions and laws, corporations and market-rules, discursive rules or cultural institutions and traditional norms	SW to fight against the power of MUI (theological)

5. Consistency, Hierarchy, and Failure

The forms of character and typology of resistance by SW in facing the fatwa in Tasikmalaya seemed consistent. SW Tasikmalaya is consistent to resist as done by SW Center in Kediri. The model is consistent with the theory of resistance by Gene Sharp (1973), which rely much on "discursive resistance"⁴³, which is trying to convince and communicate the theological outlook to MUI and the wider community. The pattern of discursive resistance takes the form of refutation towards Tasikmalaya MUI fatwa and mainstreaming deviant theological views through media organizations (Koran Amunisi) and social media via Facebook, twitter, and YouTube. Discursive resistance is not only done through SW figures, but also through the voice of the outside groups that agree with SW, such as KH. Abdurrahman Wahid, Hamka Haq, and other figures.

The consistency in the use of discursive resistance in Tasikmalaya can be understood because SW is a characterized institute and organization so that there is a strict hierarchy. The

⁴³ Stellan Vinthagen, "Understanding Resistance", p. 23.

entire rebuttal against the fatwa conducted by the Center. In other words, SW in Tasikmalaya only utters mainstreaming rebuttals. The hierarchy is the main power of SW resistance so that information does not spread to many leaders of the SW in the areas.

However, discursive resistance of SW in Tasikmalaya does not successfully change the fatwa on them. It is in contrast to the SW Center which successfully reconciled understanding of its teachings by bringing NU figures in Kediri, which in turn they make a deal Ngadiluwih Charter. MUI figures in Tasikmalaya in reality cannot be met by the board SW Tasikmalaya so there is no dialogue. The failure of SW Tasikmalaya in its efforts to fight cannot be separated from the variation of Islamic groups in the MUI that complicate the dialogue. Unlike in Kediri majority NU so that SW can easily articulate theological differences, Islamist factions in MUI are difficult to have dialogues in discussing the fatwa. This is compounded by social situations that lead to the strengthening of the public adherence to the decision by MUI Tasikmalaya in rising negative sentiment towards the Islamic groups who are decreed as deviant by MUI. In such circumstances, SW Tasikmalaya is failed to mitigate the MUI Tasikmalaya in order to restore the position of SW as an Islamic organization that does not contradict Islamic theology.

C. CONCLUSION

SW as a part of the congregation of the archipelago fights against the fatwa as deviant by MUI Tasikmalaya. The resistance by SW Tasikmalaya is conducted as a counter-hegemonic majority to retain understanding of theological teachings and *amaliyah* simultaneously to reject the claims as deviant by MUI Tasikmalaya. This is all done to maintain the freedom to believe and introduce teachings in a democracy that guarantees and protects the right of religious freedom.

If judging from history, resistance SW in Kediri imitated by SW Tasikmalaya, which uses collective resistance typology, formal, and explicit. As a minority ideological, SW displays resistance in the public arena that is done without violence. This suggests that the SW Tasikmalaya performed as an organization against the theological authority. Although the way to do resistance is the same, it is not able to replicate the success SW Centre in its resistance. SW Tasikmalaya is failed to reconcile differences with the religious views because until now the fatwa as deviant by MUI has not been revoked. As a result, the motion roared by SW elsewhere becomes limited because it still is stigmatized as deviant.

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