

The Power Relations between *Mursyid* and *Murid*: a Review of the *Tarekat* of *Qadiriyyah Wa Naqsabandiyah* in the Islamic Boarding School Darul 'Ulum, Jombang

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Abstract

This study aims to examine the power relations of *mursyid* and *murid* in the *Tarekat Qadiriyyah Wan Naqsabandiyah* Islamic Boarding School Darul 'Ulum Jombang. This study is important to find out how the relationship between *mursyid* and students is not only to build a spiritual relationship but also to strengthen their religious authority and political power base. This research uses qualitative methods in which data is gathered through literature studies. The data is analysed through the theory of power by Robert A. Dahl (1957), by selecting two dimensions namely: the dimensions of the power base and the instrument of power. The results of this study found that the power relations between the *Mursyid* and *murid* in the *Tarekat Qadiriyyah Wan Naqsabandiyah*, Darul 'Ulum Jombang were strung together through the relationship between *mursyid* and students in the rituals carried out by this *tarekat*. The rituals of *Seninan* and *Kemisan* which are routinely performed become the basis and instrument for the effective working of power relations between *mursyid* and students, but it is limited to religious power and not for the political interests of the *Mursyid*. Power relations are formed through the hope of students to always seek a way of salvation through the intermediary of the *mursyid* and obey what is ordered or advised by the *mursyid*, which incidentally is believed to have the advantage of reading the eyes of a student's heart on the one hand and students hoping for blessings and rewards on the other. For *Mursyid*, the ritual of *dhikr* which is routinely carried out through Monday and Thursday is the basis and instrument of power to strengthen their religious authority, but it does not necessarily strengthen the basis of their political power.

Keywords: Power Relations, tarekat, *Mursyids*, *Murid*, *Pesantren*

Abstrak

Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengkaji relasi kuasa *mursyid* dan *murid* dalam *Tarekat Qadiriyyah Wan Naqsabandiyah* pesantren Darul 'Ulum Jombang. Riset ini dilakukan untuk mengetahui bagaimana relasi *mursyid* dan *murid* tidak semata-mata untuk membangun relasi yang bersifat spiritual, melainkan juga untuk memperkuat otoritas keagamaan dan basis kekuasaan politik *mursyid*. Menggunakan metode kualitatif, riset ini memanfaatkan studi literatur dengan mengacu pada analisis relasi kuasa *mursyid* dan *murid* berdasarkan teori kekuasaan Robert A. Dahl (1957), dengan memilih dua dimensi yaitu: dimensi basis kekuasaan dan instrumen kekuasaan. Hasil penelitian ini menemukan bahwa relasi kuasa *Mursyid* dan *Murid* dalam tarekat *Tarekat Qadiriyyah Wan Naqsabandiyah* pesantren Darul 'Ulum Jombang terangkai melalui jalinan relasi *mursyid* dan *murid* dalam ritual yang dilakukan oleh tarekat ini. Ritual *seninan* dan *kemisan* yang secara rutin dilakukan merupakan basis dan instrumen bekerjanya relasi kuasa antara *mursyid* dan *murid* yang

berjalan secara efektif, namun terbatas pada kepentingan murid yang ingin memperoleh keselamatan dunia dan akhirat. Relasi kuasa terbentuk melalui harapan murid untuk selalu mencari jalan keselamatan melalui perantara *mursyid* dan mematuhi apa yang diperintahkan atau dinasehatkan oleh *mursyid*, yang notabene dipercaya memiliki kelebihan membaca mata hati seorang murid di satu sisi, dan mendatangkan berkah dan pahala di sisi lain. Sementara bagi *Mursyid*, ritual dzikir yang secara rutin dilaksanakan melalui *seninan* dan *kemisan* merupakan basis dan instrumen kekuasaan untuk mengokohkan otoritas keagamaan mereka, tetapi tidak demikian dengan usaha memperkuat basis kekuasaan politiknya.

Kata Kunci Relasi Kuasa, *Tarekat*, *Mursyid*, *Murid*, Pesantren

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INTRODUCTION

Jombang is one of the areas located in East Java which is widely known to have many Islamic boarding schools (*Pesantren*). As this is very well known, *Pesantren* is an institution, where classical Islamic studies and Islamic knowledge, in general, are transmitted. *Pesantren* are also generally closer to the traditional Javanese education model, which in many respects has similarities to madrasas in the Middle East and South Asia (Woodward, 2013). In Indonesia, *Pesantren* applies a very varied curriculum. However, in general, the *pesantren* curriculum includes several combinations covering classical Arabic grammar, and Qur'anic studies, including the application of memorization, reading and interpretation programs, Islamic law, theology and mysticism (*tarekat*) (Woodward, 2013).

It is widely known that *Pesantren* has two community groups; The first group is called *Kyai*, and the second group is called *Santri* (student). The first group is generally a leader who owns the *pesantren*. The *Kyai* plays a central role in

Pesantren, instead of being a teacher, *Kyai* also becomes a source from which students or the wider community are consulted on all kinds of issues such as political problems, marriage problems, spiritual problems and the like. In short, the *Kyai* has a varied role not only teaching Islamic doctrine, but also guiding the morality of *santri*, political support and so on. The second group is *Santri*. *Santri* is student who studies Islam in *Pesantren*. In *Pesantren*, *Santri* is not only required to study Islam, but also has to guard their hearts and minds to avoid actions that are prohibited by religion (Islam). More precisely, *Santri* must do good and submit to what is ordered by the *Kyai*. It is in this context that in many ways the *tarekat* then plays an important role.

Darul 'Ulum *Pesantren* is one of the largest *Pesantren* in Indonesia which is the center of *tarekat* activities, namely the *Qadiriyyah Wan Naqsabandiyah* Order. The *Qadiriyyah Wan Naqsabandiyah* Order is one of the various *tarekat* schools in Indonesia. From the historical

perspective, this tarekat was founded by *Sheikh* Abdul Qadir Jaelani, a scholar, and a well-known fiqh expert in the Hambali school, who later switched his passion to *tarekat* and essence science (Firdaus, 2018). As a *da'wah* movement, the *Qadiriyyah Wan Naqsabandiyah tarekat* has grown so rapidly in Indonesia. The development of this tarekat is not only concentrated on the island of Java, but also it spreads out to all corners of the country. Sambas is an example of a place where this *tarekat* is growing very rapidly. The *Qadiriyyah Wan Naqsabandiyah* Order in Sambas was brought by Akhmad Khatib Sambas, and this *tarekat* is well known by the people of Sambas District widely (Setiawan, 2020).

Many previous studies describe *tarekat* not just religious ritual activities, but its existence has covered many aspects, either social, economic, or political aspect. For example, the *Qadiriyyah Naqsyabandiyah* Order in Suryalaya, West Java, has a wider range of roles beyond religious teaching. This tarekat plays an important role to carry out education and social development by establishing rehabilitation lodges for drug victims, plays a role in economic empowerment by establishing financial institutions, and educational institutions (Shalahudin, 2013). Meanwhile in the political realm, several research results explain that historically the *Qodiriyyah wan Naqsabandiyah tarekat* was present as an important part of the nation's component to participate in the struggle for Indonesian independence. The *tarekat* in this context emerges to respond the colonization by the Dutch colonial government (Zainurofieq, 2021) so that its existence is not merely to guide people to the path of God through religious rituals,

but also it exists to participate in encouraging Indonesian independence.

The tarekat relationship with politics is also unavoidable in today's era. In his study Al Abza et al. explained that the Cukir tarekat in Jombang was a tarekat institution that not only taught religious knowledge, especially how to build closeness with God for students, but the *tarekat* was actively involved in practical political activities where the mursyid gave full support to the incumbent candidate in the Regent Election (*Pilkada*) in Jombang in 2018 (Abza, M Thohar Al; Qodir, 2018). In the context of the Cukir *tarekat*, the power relation between the mursyid and the student is formed due to the understanding of knowledge about Islam and politics which is perceived as inseparable entities, and the knowledge about the importance of alms, courtesy, friendship which is the doctrine of the Tarekat itself (Abza, M Thohar Al; Qodir, 2018) that should be undergo by students which ultimately encourage *mursyid* and politicians (students) to build relationships actively. Furthermore, the existence of *tarekat* which is actively involved in politics is determined by the relations and influence of the mursyid's predecessors. For example, the involvement of Kyai Shiddiq as a *mursyid* of the *Qodiriyyah wan Naqsabandiyah tarekat* at the Manba'ul Falah *Pesantren* in Piji, Kudus in political arena is a reflection of the great influence of his predecessors such as Kyai Hasyim Asy'ari, Kyai Romli Tamim and Kyai Muslich who historically had quite close relations with political affairs (Mu'min, 2014). In this regard, Turmudi explains that most of the kyai in Jombang are ulama who are closely related to political activities. He asserts that the importance of *pesantren* lies not only in

the fact that these institutions are media for instilling a system of Islamic values, but also that the *kiai (mursyid)* who lead pesantren are often involved in politics. For example, the Darul Ulum *Pesantren* which is the center of one of the *Qadiriyyah Wa Naqsyabandiyah tarekat* is led by *Kiai As'ad Umar*, who is a member of the provincial parliament (Turmudi, 2006).

Concerning the relationship between tarekat and politics, the Darul Ulum Pesantren is a unique as the leader of this institution mostly get a close affiliation with the political party since the early period of the new order regime. It was in 1977 that *Kyai Musta'in Romly* as the leader of the *Qadiriyyah Wan Naqsabandiyah tarekat* decided to join Golkar Party. His decision to enter Golkar was very controversial and brought a bitter debate among many *Kyai*. Many religious elites both from internal families at Darul Ulum Pesantren, United Development Party/PPP (Islamic party), and the *Nahdlatul Ulama (NU)* protested against the decision (Setianingsih, 2017). This situation exacerbated the trust of tarekat followers which in turn went down in its number, and *Kyai Mus'tain* was also excluded from social relations.

The relationship between the elites of the Darul Ulum Pesantren with the political sphere is persistent until now. Therefore, to see the position of *mursyid* in Darul Ulum Pesantren cannot be separated from two perspectives. The first is religious figures from which murid will place them as a bridge to connect with God and as the problem solvers. Second is political figures in which most of the *mursyid* are political party elite. For example, *Kyai As'ad Umar* who was a former National Legislative Member (DPRRI) between 1992 and 1999 was

associated with Golkar. In addition, *Kyai Dimiyati Romly* (the leader of the tarekat) was the former of Golkar elite who in 2007 moved to the Democrat Party (PD), and *Kyai Tamim Romly* and *Gus Mudjib Musta'in* are the members of the national awakening party (PKB) respectively (Fatkhuri, 2007).

Based on the explanation above, this study aims to examine the power relations between *Mursyid* and *Murid* in the *Qadiriyyah Wan Naqsabandiyah tarekat* at Darul 'Ulum Pesantren. The question posed in this research is, how do *mursyid* exercise their power over their *murid* in the *Qadiriyyah Wan Naqsabandiyah tarekat*? What kinds of power do the *mursyid* exercise?

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND RESEARCH METHOD

Power Relations

Power is a very crucial entity in people's lives. Its existence does not merely describe the relationship and influence between individuals or groups with other individuals or groups, but in general power is able to drive the future direction of human life. According to Syarbaini et al, power has an important role because its role can determine the fate of many people (Syarbaini; Rusdiyanta; Fatkhuri, 2012). It is important to note that there is no single definition of the term power. The conceptualization of power is carried out in various ways, and the concept has many meanings (Wong, 2015). The Compact Oxford English Dictionary of Current English for example, offers several definitions as described by Soanes and Hawker (2005) that power is the notion of "the ability to do something or act in a certain way, and the capacity to influence others [and] the rights or

authority given or delegated to a person or entity” (Wong, 2015).

The depiction of power is accommodated into three streams, which include: functionalist theory, conflict theory and interpretive theory. Functionalist theory assumes that society is categorized as an organized and stable entity as a consequence of the existence of community relations based on complementary main values so that society tends to be stable. Different from the first, conflict theory sees society as a phenomenon that shows instability in which each group competes with each other to achieve their respective interests (Wong, 2015). Conflict occurs as a result of an imbalance in the distribution of status, capital, and opportunities that is not evenly distributed, and this also results in competition for limited resources, creates conflict and tension between individuals and groups and determines their economic and cultural conditions and status. Meanwhile, interpretive theory sees society as a group that interacts in a micro context. This theory assumes that individual is the main players in any social phenomenon, and has the freedom to decide how to play their daily roles and shape society (Wong, 2015).

How does power work? Power works in the areas that present the relationship between individuals or groups with other individuals or groups. The relationship describes a situation in which an individual or group can control the existence of another group of individuals. The existence of individuals or groups, including governments, nations, or groups of people, is the object of power relations which in Dahl's terms are referred to as actors (1957). In this regard, Dahl conceptualizes power in a simpler image,

namely when A has power over B, and A can order B to do something even though B actually does not expect it (Dahl, 1957). To determine actors in power relations, there are variables that can be used as a basis for measuring the operation of a power which includes resources, domains, and bases (eg opportunities, actions, and objects to influence behavior); and the second is the means or instruments (such as: promises of protection, threats of vetoes, threats of appeal to voters, using charm/appearance and charisma (Dahl, 1957).

In the world of pesantren, power relations can be seen from the relationship between *kyai* and *santri*. Whereas in the *tarekat* world, this relationship can be referred to the relationship between the *mursyid* and *Murid* (student). This relationship is called *suhbah* (Mudin, 2015). In the world of Sufism, the use of the term *suhbah*¹ to describe the relationship between the *mursyid* and the student which is very close relationship. This connection is described through friendship, which it is inspired by the process of the relationship between the Prophet Muhammad and his followers and companions (Mudin, 2015). The relationship between *mursyid* and students, or *Kyai* and *Santri* in the pesantren world is very strong. Different from general relations, the *Mursyid* in the *tarekat* is often not only placed as a teacher, but as a source from which various kinds of problems can be solved. Not surprisingly, the relationship between

¹ *Shuhbah* is a spiritual relationship between *mursyid* and *murid* in the sufi order. The term *suhbah* in most cases refers to the friendship between a person and someone else. It is more of spiritual companionship or friendship that has a purpose for discussion and to sharpen one's inner eye.

the mursyid and *murid* can last forever because the mursyid is considered a sacred figure where students will fully obey and submit to the will of the kyai (mursyid) as a form of respect and charisma they have (Setiawan, 2020).

Tarekat

The term tarekat derives from Arabic, which is called *tariqatun* which means a road. The road in the context of the *tarekat* is the path that connects the people with God. Al-Kailani in Setiawan (2020) quoting Al-Jurjani defines "tarekat as a path that is specifically intended for people who enter the path of Allah, through spiritual paths and stations"(Setiawan, 2020). In a similar vein, tarekat is also a path to goodness. According to Madjid as quoted by Mahmudi, the meaning of the word is the same as the words *shari'atun*, *sabilun*, *sirātun* and *manhajun* (Machmudi, 1997). Referring to the meaning of "way" above, *tarekat* is defined as the path to goodness (heaven).

Historically, tarekat, as it is called as sufi brotherhood, is one of the Islamic movements which plays a significant role in Southeast Asia. Peter Mandaville in his work stated that in the contemporary transnational Islam in South and Southeast Asia, sufi brotherhoods is one of the forms of movement out of four primary forms such as renewalist/pietistic movements, Islamist parties and groups, charitable organizations and da'wa organizations (Mandaville, 2009) which has a significant impact for Islamic development in the world. As an Islamic movement, tarekat is spread out in the world with different approaches. Mostly, tarekat movement is introduced with a softy instrument which is less directly involved in conflict and politics

(Mandaville, 2009). Indonesia is one of the countries from which sufi brotherhood blossoms. In this regard, Nahdatul Ulama is one of the Islamic mass organisations which is largely Sufi-based (Mandaville, 2009).

Tarekat is believed to be the most effective way to free people from the shackles of the world. In this context, a *tarekat* practitioner is obliged to carry out various kinds of rituals as a way to get closer to Allah. The *tarekat* is a guide in carrying out worship in accordance with the teachings determined and exemplified by the Prophet and implemented by *sahabat* and *tabiins*, from generation to generation to teachers, connected and chained (Firdaus, 2018). In practice, the *tarekat* teaches its followers to always carry out the "dhikr" as a ritual to remember Allah. In this way, the tarekat is believed to be able to purify the human heart from various kinds of things that pollute it such as immorality, and other sins, and fill it with good deeds.

The tarekat (Sufi Brotherhood) is mostly associated with tassawuf (Islamic mysticism) in which its practice is a strict adoption of Islamic principles through observance of both obligatory and recommended religious work for attaining God's favor. Tarekat and pesantren are two things that have become the hallmark of Islamic tradition in Java. The relationship between both is obvious in Indonesia as the development of Sufi orders have relied heavily on the pesantren (Fatkhuri, 2007).

Sufism is a path of wisdom that is taken by a Muslim who wants the safety and protection of Allah. In its implementation, it strictly adopts Islamic principles which are carried out through ceremonial means, the aim of which is to achieve goodness. The term Sufism has

developed since the first century hijriah which was pioneered by Hasan Basri in 110 H through his teachings known as *khauf*, which is to strengthen the fear of Allah and reciter 'that is, to practice and increase spiritual life (Machmudi, 1997). With this understanding, Sufism always encourages humans to always get closer to Allah and increase practices to strengthen the spiritual aspect of humans.

Tarekat and *pesantren* are two elements that characterize the Islamic tradition in Java. The relationship between the two is very strong in Indonesia where *pesantren* is a place for the development of Sufi doctrine. In the historical context, the doctrine of Sufism plays a role that cannot be underestimated, because its presence gives its own color to the pattern of development of Islam in Java. As explained by Mahmudi (1997) that in the process of spreading Islam in Indonesia, Sufism has an important role in developing Islam since the beginning of the 14th century AD, 15 AD, and continued until the 19th century AD, and even in the 13th century AD., a number of Sufis succeeded in converting a number of residents in Java. This fact becomes empirical evidence that the existence of the tarekat in the development of Islamic history has a significant role. In Indonesia, the *Qadiriyya Wa Naqsbandiyyah tarekat* was founded by Kyai Ahmad Khatib Sambas (died 1875) from Kalimantan. He was a well-known scholar who mastered various fields of Islamic Knowledge such as the Qur'an, hadith (prophet traditions), and fiqh and had many students in Mecca (Fatkhuri, 2007). At the Darul 'Ulum *Pesantren*, this tarekat has many followers. Since its inception, the Darul 'Ulum *Pesantren* has been known as *Qadiriyya Wa Naqsabanidyya*. His

presence in this pesantren was brought by Ahmad Juremi (later known as Kyai Khalil), a student of Kyai Khalil Bangkalan. Kyai Khalil (Ahmad Juremi) who is the son-in-law of Kyai Tamim Irsyad is the tandem of Kyai Tamim Irsyad, the founder of the Darul 'Ulum *Pesantren* (Fatkhuri, 2007).

This research uses descriptive qualitative method. The qualitative method is a method with research that relies on text and image data, has unique steps in data analysis, and describes a variety of designs (Creswell, 2018). In its implementation, this research was conducted by collecting data and information through literature and document studies. The literature study was carried out by analyzing several sources from various literatures related to this study either directly or indirectly. For example, this study utilizes documents owned by Islamic boarding schools related to recitation programs and activities, and other literature in the form of journals, online newspaper articles, and so on. The various data that have been collected are then categorized and reduced before being analyzed to answer the research questions. Furthermore, the results of the research data analysis are presented in the form of descriptions related to responses to research questions.

RESULTS AND EXPLANATION

Darul Ulum is as a center for religious activities run by the *Tarekat Qadiriyyah Wan Naqsabandiyah*. Most of the followers (jamaah) who attend the activities held at this pesantren generally come from various cities in East Java, including Mojokerto, Surabaya, Jombang, Nganjuk, Kediri, and others. They regularly gather at Darul' Ulum on

Mondays and Thursdays to conduct a ritual of *seninan* and *kemisan*.² For those who are registered as official members of the congregation, attending the recitation on that day is mandatory as a form of their consistency (*istiqomah*) to do dhikr to Allah (remembrance of Allah). Generally, those present on these days are either ordinary members or leaders (*imam khususiyah*)³ from various cities.

As described in the theoretical basis above, the figure of the *kyai* or *mursyid* in the tarekat is the central figure. In the context of the power relations between the two, this study will describe the relationship between *mursyid* and students using the perspective of power relations according to Dahl (1957) which choose two dimensions, namely: the basis (opportunity) of power and means of power.

***Mursyid* and *Murid* power relations based on the Dimensions of Power bases**

Power relations arise when there are relationships that have an influence on others. However, power relations can only work when there is a vehicle for the operation of that power (power bases). According to Dahl, the space that becomes the basis of power includes the existence of resources such as opportunities, actions, objects, and so on that can influence the behavior of others (Dahl, 1957). In the context of the *Qadiriyyah Wan Naqsabandiyah tarekat* at

the Darul 'Ulum *Pesantren*, Jombang, power relations can be seen from the actions and opportunities in the implementation of the religious rituals of Monday and Thursday (*seninan* and *kemisan*).

As mentioned above, it is important to note that *mursyid* in Darul Ulum Pesantren can be seen from two perspectives. The first is a religious symbol from which murid will come to ask many problems. Second is a political figure in which most of the *mursyid* are in a close relationship and even become political party elite. So, maintaining religious rituals by means of the tarekat can invite many followers and this also preserve their power.

In the perspective of the power base, this study examines that the dhikr ritual is an action and opportunity that is routinely carried out twice a week namely *seninan* and *kemisan* is a concrete form of the use of *mursyid's* power. *Seninan* and *kemisan* are rituals in the *Qadiriyyah Wan Naqsabandiyah tarekat* at the Darul 'Ulum *Pesantren* which are run regularly by followers/members of the *tarekat*. For *murid*, this ritual is believed to be a means to get closer to Allah through the guidance of the *mursyid*. The reason why this ritual activity is conducted on Mondays and Thursdays is not known. However, it is important to underline that the selection of Monday and Thursday to carry out the activities of the Tarekat *Qadiriyyah Wan Naqsabandiyah tarekat* places more emphasis on the traditions that have long been built by the predecessors at the Darul Ulum *Pesantren* in Jombang (Fatkhuri, 2007).

² *seninan* and *kemisan* are originated from the day when those activities were carried out on Monday and Thursday. *Seninan* means performing ritual on Monday and *kemisan* means activity, which is traditionally carried out on Thursday.

³ *Imam Khususiyah* is a person who has the authority to perform ritual activities in their village or region. *Imam Khususiyah* is appointed by *mursyid* (leader of *tarekat*)

For the *Qadiriyya Wan Naqsbandiyya* Order, dhikr⁴ (remembrance of Allah) must be done regularly and consistently by the congregation/followers, both individually and collectively. This ritual routine is a manifestation of the principles and moral commitments that must be carried out by *murid*. Dhikr recited by *murid* in the *tarekat* must go through the intermediary of the teacher or *mursyid*. In this *tarekat*, dhikr is very crucial because it is able to create peace and peace of mind for those who carry it out (Nisa, 2020). In its implementation, *murid* not only recites dhikr in speech, but also has to imagine the face of the teacher. *Murid* who does dhikr must have high concentration, so that what is in front of him is really just the face of a teacher without any other shadow or focus. Connecting the teacher when doing dhikr is an effort to concentrate so that the heart of the student seems to be facing *mursyid's* heart and it feels as if the teacher's heart is emitting the teachings of his dhikr (Machmudi, 1997). Therefore, the bond between *mursyid* and *murid* is very high due to the role of the teacher which is in the *tarekat* is so strong that it is believed to be the link (way) between students as servants, and Allah as their Lord.

In terms of the interest of the *mursyid*, it should firstly be noted that the *tarekat* was not merely a religious ritual but also it is one of the activities which enables *mursyid* to connect closely with *murid* as followers. This is very pivotal

instrument to maintain both religious authority and political interests of the *mursyid*.

For the *tarekat* leaders, conducting dhikr for *murid* routinely is very important because it enables *mursyid* and *murid* to get closer at any time. This is based on the fact that from a historical perspective, the *tarekat* in Darul Ulum had lost a large number of *tarekat* followers due to Kyai Musta'in Romly's decision to switch political parties from PPP to Golkar in 1977. The successors of the *tarekat* in this pesantren are aware that their affiliation to a political party might possibly cause followers to go. Therefore, the *tarekat* must be maximized in order to ensure that followers can still carry out routine dhikr activities, and it is also in an effort to establish closeness with students. A strong relationship with *murid* is very important, because *mursyid* is not only as a religious leader but also as part of the elite of a political party. *Mursyid*, who is at the same time part of the party elite, of course expects the huge support for the students even though it is not in obvious direction. In this case, *Mursyid* usually utilise that political symbol which has a sign for *murid* to support for *Mursyid*. Therefore, the routine rituals held by *tarekat* cannot be separated from the kyai's efforts to secure two things, namely religious authority and political authority. However, in terms of political interests of the *mursyid*, this research does not obtain an adequate data as then this can be inferred that such kinds of ritual only contribute to the religious power development, but it is not to the development of political (power) interests which is related to the support for the *mursyid's* political party.

⁴ Dhikir in *tarekat* is carried out through the procedures such as in general, the members are recommended to get the intimacy with their leaders (*murshid*). In addition, people should perform initiation before they conduct dhikir. Finally, when they do dhikir, they should use Ka'bah (Qiblat) as a center of the attention.

***Mursyid* and *Murid* power relations based on the Means or Instrument Dimensions**

In this perspective, power will work when there are means that allow it to be used. The power will be effectively used when there is a message for protection (safety), liberation from threats (danger), and other similar forms that can be accepted by followers from their role models. The instrument of power is an arena that can mediate or connect between the power bases of one actor and provide a response for other actors (Dahl, 1957). In the context of *tarekat*, the power relation between *Mursyid* and *Murid* in the *Qadiriyyah Wan Naqsabandiyah* order at the Darul Ulum *Pesantren* can be seen in the phenomenon that *mursyid* is a figure who is believed to be a *washilah* to bring salvation to the students. *Mursyid* is a figure who can be a source for a student to get protection and safety. Through the *tarekat* way, a student has great hopes for the guidance of the *mursyid* to get safety in both this world and the hereafter. This hope of salvation causes a disciple to always give his obedience and submission to the *mursyid*. In the *tarekat* world, the student is a person who must obey what is the will of the *mursyid*. Regarding the importance of *dhikr* as a way to find salvation, as *tarekat* practitioners, students believe that if they do *dhikr* regularly, they will get a sense of security and peace both in this world and in the hereafter. The main reason for doing *dhikr* is in order to seek the pleasure of Allah (Fatkhuri, 2007).

For *mursyid*, their position in the *tarekat* is not only for leading the *dhikr* ritual. In most cases, they also provide more opportunities for *murid* to consult any problems. In Darul Ulum, there is visitation tradition (*sowan*) which is

existed to tight connection between *mursyid* and *murid*. At this *Pesantren*, a *Sowan* tradition is as an effort to build harmony and closeness between *mursyid* and *murid*. *Sowan* is a tradition which in Islam is recommended as a form of behavior for believers, namely to connect the relationship between fellow ummah. *Sowan* is generally carried out by someone who wants to get guidance or advice from a *kyai* on various problems they have. The *sowan* tradition is carried out with someone visiting or saying goodbye to the *kyai*'s house, and this activity is done because the *kyai* figure has a high social position or status, wisdom and as a place to look for instructions, advice, prayers and so on (Zuliansyah et al., 2017).

The *kyai* who is also a *mursyid* always emphasizes that friendship (visit) by visiting someone directly is very important for students or the community. *Kyai* often argue that *sowan* is one way to honor the *kyai* as a teacher (religious teacher) who will produce reward (*pahala*) and blessing of Allah (*barokah*). In addition, *sowan* is not just a visiting activity, but rather a spiritual journey, because the *kyai* will instill religious dogma for their guests or visitors (Fatkhuri, 2007). For a student, *Sowan* is a tradition that has many benefits. According to Al Abza et al. (2018), knowledge of this friendship is very important in shaping the behavior of a student who in turn can regularly visit religious leaders including *kiai/ulama* who become their role models (Abza, M Thohar Al; Qodir, 2018). In addition to being a medium to strengthen the bond of love with *Mursyid* as a role model, the friendship between teachers and students as mentioned above is a place to pour out their hearts and all the problems that

students have. This fact indicates that the role of the *mursyid* or teacher is not only related to spirituality alone, but also they play an important role in guiding students to achieve a better life in the world. This phenomenon also illustrates that the teacher is perceived as a figure who has a huge influence and charisma, that distinguishes the type of leader in other groups/organizations in general. According to Jung and Sosik (2006), a characteristic of charismatic and transformative leaders that distinguishes them from other types of leaders is their ability to respond/accommodate the interests/needs of their followers (students), from minor problems such as psychological problems and the need for compassion. safe for his followers, to the level of great needs such as self-esteem and actualization in life (Jung & Sosik, 2006).

At the Darul Ulum *Pesantren*, *sowan* or *silaturrahmi* are generally carried out, especially before the *istighasah* ritual activities and other events begin. Similar to the description above, for *mursyid*, a strong relationship is very important in the tarekat. Therefore, *mursyid* always provide ample opportunities for murid to visit their homes. Some people come to *mursyid* just to do *silaturrahmi* (just to strengthen relations), and others usually bring problems that they want to consult with *mursyid*. These visits are generally used as an opportunity to convey both personal problems and other issues such as social, political and economic. *Mursyid* with his extensive knowledge and experience will help provide solutions to students' problems. In this context, *mursyid* as a teacher is also delightful because their relationship with students is getting closer. This relation for *mursyid* is

beneficial because they are also political figures. In this regard, they are more likely to hope that murid also will also have similar political standpoint. However, some research shows that in the context of political aspect, the loyalty of murid to *mursyid* does not necessarily contribute to political support for *mursyid*. It means students do not always have similar political choice as *mursyid* does. A study conducted by Usman (1998) shows that the results of studies in the the *Qadiriyyah Wan Naqsabandiyah* in Piji shows that some murid in this tarekat do not support *mursyid's* political party in the General Election in 1992 (Usman, 1998).

In the context of tarekat in Darul Ulum, *mursyid* is the central figure who occupies the top position in the structure of the tarekat's *jam'iyah*. The *mursyid* has considerable authority and influence for a student. But in terms of political interests, there is no clear information whether *mursyid* has a huge influence on murid's political choice. In many occasions, when friendship and recitation activities are established, the *kyai* at the Darul 'Ulum *Pesantren* who is as a *mursyid* does not clearly invite or explain problem which is related to political affairs. In this case, he just for instance emphasizes that a form of sincere respect for the teacher will have an impact on the acquisition of rewards and blessings (God's blessings) (Fatkhuri, 2007).

It is important to note that the majority of Sufis are prohibited from following the Sufi path without the endorsement of the *mursyid* or *sheikh*. In this regard, no one should and can criticize the *mursyid* because they are figures who guide students, and as a bridge to draw closer to Allah. Furthermore, the advantage of a *mursyid* is

who is believed to have the advantage of reading people's hearts and minds (occult power), where they can see and guess the hearts of their members is an important instrument for the mursyid to gain obedience from his students. These advantages in the end make the students obey and respect the mursyid. Finally, the high level of obedience of the students lies in the value of blessings expected by students from a mursyid.

From the explanation above, *mursyid* and *murid* power relations then is obviously carried out by means of providing opportunities for murid to consult any problems through visitation tradition (sowan). This instrument contributes to the tight connection between *mursyid* and *murid* which also develop mursyid's religious power. However, there is no enough information which delienates that this is also in line with murid's political support for the mursyid.

CONCLUSION

Based on the descriptions aforementioned, this study finds that the power relations between mursyid and *Murid* are in the *Qadiriyyah Wan Naqsabandiyah tarekat* at the Darul 'Ulum *Pesantren* Jombang can be traced from two important factors. Firstly, the ritual routine of dhikr Monday and Thursday (*Senin* and *Kemisan*) is an action and opportunity used by students to pray through the intermediary of the mursyid. The obligation of students to do dhikr through the intermediary of the mursyid becomes an instrument for the effective and sustainable working of power relations between the mursyid and students. Second, the routine of dhikr Monday and Thursday is a means of power (Means or Instrument) used by

mursyids to convey moral and spiritual messages which then become doctrines that must be implemented by students. Mursyid can be an important agent to bring protection (safety), and peace of mind will always be the foundation of hope for students in every life. This hope of obtaining salvation encourages a disciple to always give his obedience and submission to the Mursyid. While for Mursyid, relationship with murid is important to exercise both their religious authority and political power. Maintaining the tarekat in this case is not only for guiding their followers into God, but also it is very important instrument to maintain political Power. However, this research shows that there is not ample evidences which describe the murid's support for political interest of the mursyid as there is no a clear political obidience of *murid* to *mursyid's* political interest.

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