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Islamic Educational Tradition: Rebuilding Sufi Traditions in Nahdlatul Wathan Madrasas

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ABSTRACT

This article discusses Sufi tradition as an Islamic educational tradition in the Nahdlatul Wathan (NW) madrasas. The article was examined through a literature review supported by interviews and analyzed through a sociological approach. We put the document as primary data, while the results of the interview as secondary data. These documents are works of Shaykh Zainuddin, founder of the NW organization, which houses around 1600 madrasas throughout Indonesia. In addition, we also used documents written by his students. As for the interviews, we carried out with three key informants. We concluded that Sufi rituals as the educational traditions in the NW madrasas are the original traditions of the Sufis which were rebuilt and modified both in terms of practice and material. The emergence of these traditions in two ways. Some of it arises through the bottom, which was traditions that occurred spontaneously, and partly arise through the above, namely a tradition that occurs utilizing being planned, promoted, and emphasized. The process of changing the old Sufi tradition into the NW version is in line with the formulation of the sociologist, Piotr Sztompka. He argues that changing tradition is a necessity, and human psychology always wants to realize its ideas. Besides, the clash between one tradition with another encourages changes in a tradition.

Keywords: Islami, educational tradition, sufi, Nahdlatul Wathan Madrasas.

Introduction

Nahdlatul Wathan (NW) is one of the Islamic communities organisations located in Lombok, Indonesia. Shaykh Zainuddin Abdul Madjid founded the organisation. The forerunner of this organisation were two main madrasas, namely Nahdlatul Wathan Diniyyah Islamiyyah (NBDI) and Nahdlatul Banat Diniyyah Islamiyah (NBDI). NWDI was established on August 22, 1937/1356 H, while NBDI was established on April 21, 1943/1362. ¹Both madrasas are increasing from year to year. In 1953, the number of branches of the two madrasas reached 66 madrasas. To

¹ Abdul Hayyi Nu'man & Sahafari Asy'ari, (1998), *Nahdaltul Wathan Organisasi Pendidikan, Sosial dan Dakwah*, Lombok Timur: Pengurus Daerah Nahdlatul Wathan Lombok Timur, p. 172.

organise and develop these madrasas, Shaykh founded Islamic community organisations. He named it Nahdlatul Wathan, popularly abbreviated as NW, which already has 24 branches throughout Indonesia.²

Nahdlatul Wathan in Arabic means the rise of the homeland. NW is like a medium for the awakening of the nation in education, social, and da'wa aspect. NW has played a significant role in all three elements. In the perspective of Education, NW has established around 1630 madrasas throughout Indonesia.³ In the social aspect, NW plays an active role in social service activities, such as supporting orphans and abandoned children.⁴ NW established an orphanage for them and paid for their education. In the field of da'wa, NW found hundreds of *majlis ta'lim* which spread throughout almost all of Indonesia. The NW also actively sends male and female preachers (*dā'ī and dā'iyyah*) to mosques and NW madrasas.

To strengthen the existence of NW-affiliated madrasas, the Shaykh packs up the Sufi traditions of Sunni (read: the *Ahl Sunna Wa al-Jema'ah/al-'Ash'ariyyah* sect) in which ordinary people in Lombok practice it. He modified these traditions by improving the content, material and practices. He adopted the excellent content, method and value, while the bad he leaves and replaces with good ones. Then these traditions are used as the trademark of education in the madrasas affiliated with the NW.

Methodology

This article is the result of a literature review supported by interviews. We examined the history of rebuilding Sufi traditions as a tradition of Islamic education in NW madrasas, Lombok. This study relied on two data sources, namely documentation studies and interviews. The documents used as data sources are the works written by Shaykh Zainuddin, and the works of his students, which have relevance to this research. Data collection also involved interview techniques. We interviewed three students of Shaykh, namely Tuan Guru Haji Lalu Mahsun (class of 1952), Tuan Guru Haji Qamaruddin (class of 1965), and Tuan Guru Haji Lalu Anas Hasyri (class of the 1970s). During our research, we did not meet students of Shaykh's generation under 1952, because they had passed away. According to Tuan Guru Mahsun, only three students were living in the class of 1952. We also went to one of them, namely Haji Muhammad Rifai. But we found him weak physically and mentally. Consequently, we did not choose him as the informant.

Educational Tradition in NW's Madrasas

One of the functions of tradition is to provide a powerful symbol of collective identity, strengthen rootedness and reinvigorate primordial loyalties to nations, communities, and groups.⁵ NW made flags and organisational logos, mars songs, and unique Sufi rituals as the

² Zainuddin al-Tsani, Greeting Speech as a Chairperson of the Executive Board of Nahdlatul Wathan, video, NW Online Chanel through Youtube, published on June 20, 2019. Accessed on 8/27/2019 through <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UhlkZ0BjzpQ&t=10375s>

³ Syamsul Mujahidin, Speech Report in Annual Celebration of Hultah NWDI, video, NW Online Chanel through Youtube, published on June 20, 2019. Accessed on 8/27/2019 through <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UhlkZ0BjzpQ&t=10375s>

⁴ Abdul Hayyi Nu'man & M. Mugni (2006), *Mengenal Nahdlatul Wathan*, Lombok: Pengurus Besar Nahdaltul Wathan, p. 28.

⁵ Piotr Sztompka, (1993), *The Sociology of Social Change*, Oxford: Blackwell, p. 65.

symbols of the collectivity. These symbols are characteristics of NW organisations, and these rituals become a distinction between NW's members and other community or organisation members.

In the context of education, Sztompka said that the traditions of universities and schools were expressed in various forms of rituals and ceremonies.⁶ Madrasas affiliated with NW applies several rituals. The Islamic rituals they practised were rituals carried out by Sufis. Nasser mentions several aspects of the tradition practised by Sufis who are experts in Sunnah Wal Jama'ah. Sufis drilled the way to God (*ṭarīqa*), invocatory prayer (*dhikr*), the Muslim rosary (*wird*), which is sometimes called *ḥizb* or *wazīfa*, the hymns, and the sacred dance.⁷ Also, the Sufi tradition is very identical to the *Bay'at* culture.⁸ These rituals are elements of tradition modified by the Shaykh as the founder of the NW.

In addition to these rituals, Sufis are also very concerned about morals. Even Bayman revealed four words to represent the Sufis in their entirety. The four words are no morality, no spirituality.⁹ Polite behaviour is closely related to spiritual realization.¹⁰

The practice of Sufi education is not only practised in pesantren (Islamic boarding schools) which are affiliated with the NW but also practised in another pesantren. That argument refers to Howell who provided evidence of the survival and new vitality of traditional Sufi institutions in conjunction with their usual institutional homes, pesantren, or religious schools.¹¹ However, Sufistic rituals practised in the NW madrasas are unique. The Shaykh can modify the general rituals which are widely practised in pesantren and madrasa (*al- 'Ash'ariyyah Sect*). The Shaykh edited it by giving particular emphasis to each of these rituals. Even the Shaykh discarded harmful fragments in the old tradition, then replaced them with sharp and Islamic pieces. Therefore, these rituals become distinctive tradition, practised in pesantren or madrasas affiliated to the NW.

The work of the Shaykh and his students and interview mentioned some unique Sufi traditions in the NW madrasas. These traditions are *hiziban*, *dhikr/wird*, *berzanji*, praying before and after learning, *reciting Ṭarīqat Ḥizb Nahḍat al-Waṭan*, *ijazah* and *bay' ah*. However, we did not encounter any Sufi rituals such as sacred dances, as many Sufis practice.

These Sufi traditions become unique when all of NW's madrasas and pesantren practice it with the same content, form, and method, such as *hiziban* or *tariqa* tradition. All the NW madrasas practice one *ḥizb* namely *Ḥizb Nahḍat al-Waṭan Wa Ḥizb Nahḍat al-Banāt*. They also only practice one *tariqa*, namely the *Ṭarīqat Ḥizb Nahḍat al-Waṭan*.¹² The practice is different from what students practice in another madrasas, Nahdah Ulama' pesantren for example. Both

⁶ Piotr Sztompka, (1993), *The Sociology of Social Change*, Oxford: Blackwell, p. 65.

⁷ Jean-Louis Michon (2008), *Introduction to Traditional Islam: Illustrated Foundation, Art, and Spirituality*, Bloomington: World Wisdom, p. 133-138.

⁸ Sayyed Hossein Nasr (Ed.), (1987), *Islamic Spirituality: Foundations*, London: Routledge, p. 53.

⁹ Henry Bayman, (2001), *The station of no station: Open secrets of the Sufis*, Berkeley: North Atlantic Books, p. 100.

¹⁰ Lloyd Ridgeon (ed.), (2015), *The Cambridge Companion to Sufism*, New York, Cambridge University Press, p. 75.

¹¹ J. D. Howell, (2001). "Sufism and the Indonesian Islamic Revival", *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 60 (Marc 2001), p. 701–729.

¹² TGH. L. Anas Hasyri, *Interview*, 20th of July 2018.

the *ḥizb* and *ṭarīqa* are practised differently between one NU pesantren and another NU pesantren. In the NU pesantren tradition, its congregations (students) know and practice different types of *ḥizb*. Some practice *Ḥizb Nawāwi*, *Ḥizb Baḥr*, *Ḥizb Dardīr*, *Ḥizb Naṣr*, *Ḥizb Laṭīf*, *Ḥizb Sulaymān*, *Ḥizib Awtād*, *Ḥizib Iksīr Sa'adah* and others.¹³ Likewise, with the *Tarīqa*, the NU pesantren or madrasas practised different *tariqas* such as the *Naqshabandiyah*, *Qadīriyyah*, *Sattāriyyah*, and others.¹⁴ However, the most popular *tariqa* in NU Pesantren is the *Qadīriyya wa Naqshabandiyah*.¹⁵ This *tariqa* is the two teachings of the *tariqa* that Shaykh Ahmad Khatib Sambas combined into one instruction.¹⁶

Sufi Rituals in the NW Educational Tradition

First: *Hiziban* (Reciting of *Ḥizb*)

Hiziban or *berhizib* (Indonesia, Sasak Language) is a verb taken from the word *ḥizb*. *Ḥizb* in Arabic means 'collection'. *Ḥizb* is a collection of prayers that have provisions in their practice. *Hiziban* is a tradition of reading *ḥizb*, while *Ḥizb* is a material that is recited when the *hiziban* tradition takes place. In the Nahdlatul Wathan Education tradition, students only read one type of *ḥizb*, namely *Ḥizb Nahḍat al-Waṭan* and *Ḥizb Nahḍat al-Banāt*.¹⁷ The Shaykh defined his *Ḥizb* as a collection of prayers and *wird* of the *ulamā* and *awliyā* (lover of God). Furthermore, he said that besides that, this *Ḥizb* also consisted of prayers that came from the Qur'an and Hadith, and the great names of God (*al-Asmā al-Ḥusnā*). Before becoming the book, *Ḥizb* was a prayer sheet which the Shaykh gave the name *Du'ā Nahḍat al-Waṭan* and then added another prayer. After Shaykh assumed that the contents of this *hizib* were complete, he named it *Ḥizb Nahḍat al-Waṭan Wa Ḥizb Nahḍat al-Banāt*.¹⁸

Historically, this *Ḥizb* in the early days of Japanese occupation in Indonesia. At that time, approximately 60 per cent of madrasas in all of Indonesia had been closed by Japan. Shaykh was worried that Japan would close the NWDI madrasa, which he had founded. Therefore, he arranged the *Ḥizb* as a fortress to defend the NWDI madrasa from Japanese atrocities.¹⁹ Also, emerging of *Ḥizb* was the response from the Shaykh to morals of the youth. They are far from God, and they have low awareness to do religious activities. Therefore, Shaykh arranged *Ḥizb* as one of the mediums to improve their spirituality. *Hiziban* rituals emerge and serve as a tradition.²⁰

¹³ NU Online, Jika Negara Kacau, Santri Siap Gunakan Hizib, accessed on 13 October 2019 from the page <https://www.nu.or.id/post/read/60671/jika-negara-kacau-santri-siap-gunakan-hizib>

¹⁴ Ahmad Zahro, (2004), *Tradisi Intelektual NU; Lajnah Bahtsul Masail 1926-1999: Tradisi Intelektual NU*, Yogyakarta: LKIS PELANGI AKSARA, p. 44.

¹⁵ Zahro, *Tradisi Intelektual NU*, 43.

¹⁶ James J. Fox, (2004), *Currents in Contemporary Islam in Indonesia*, paper originally presented at Harvard Asia Vision 21 on 29 April – 1 May 2004 Cambridge, Mass, p. 3.

¹⁷ Hasyri, *Interview*, 20th of July 2018.

¹⁸ Muhammad Zainuddin Abdul Madjid, (2018), *Ḥizb Nahḍat al-Waṭan wa Ḥizb Nahḍat al-Banāt*, Lombok Timur: Pengurus Besar Nahdlatul Wathan, p. 90-92.

¹⁹ Muhammad Zainuddin Abdul Madjid, *Muqaddimat Ḥizb Nahḍat al-Waṭan wa Ḥizb Nahḍat al-Banāt*, Audio. See too Zainuddin, *Ḥizb*, p. 37-38.

²⁰ Zainuddin, *Ḥizb*, p. 89-91.

We can trace the beginning of the emergence of the Hizban tradition through the preface the Shaykh wrote in his Hizb. The Shaykh wrote the foreword on February 14, 1962 AD / 30 Ramadhan 1383 H. Shaykh wrote it using the Malay Arabic script (Jawi / Pegon Arabic). In the article, he said that *Hizb* had been read 20 years ago. That means that the tradition of Hizban in the NWDI madrasas began in 1942 AD / 1360 AH when Japan entered Indonesia.²¹

Over time, many pilgrims and students asked the Shaykh to have the Hizb printed. In 1962 AD, Hizb began mass printing. Before printing, Hizb was first written by a calligrapher (khaṭṭāt), namely Tuan Guru Haji Dahmuruddin. Besides him, Tuan Haji Yusuf Makmun also became a calligrapher of Hizb, during the lifetime of Shaykh. Finally, from the interview, the style of Hizb calligraphy (*khaṭṭ*) are two; the first is the Hizb with the Dahmuruddin's style and the second with the Yusuf Makmun's style.²²

Second: Ṭarīqa (Ṭarīqat Ḥizb Nahḍat al-Waṭan)

The background to the emergence of the Ṭarīqat Ḥizb Nahḍat al-Waṭan can be traced from the following Shaykh's will:

*"Ṭarīqat Hizb ṭarīqat terakhir
Dengan bishārah al-Bashīrun Nazīr
Kepada Bermī al-Faqīrul Ḥaqīr
Dan ditaukidkan oleh al-Khiḍir."*²³

*"Ṭarīqat Hizb is the last order
with good news from the Prophet Muḥammad
to Bermī (Shaykh).
Prophet Khiḍir ordained it."*

The verse of the poem of Shaykh convinced his students that Ṭarīqat Ḥizb was the last order (ṭarīqa). It may be that there is no ṭarīqa afterwards in the archipelago, or even in the world. *Ṭarīqat Ḥizb* was inspired by *bishārah* (glad tidings) through dreams, which the Prophet Muhammad conveyed to the Shaykh. At first, Shaykh was unsure, but he dreamed again. In his second dream, he met the Prophet Khiḍir. In his dream, the Prophet Khiḍir confirmed the truth of the *bishārah* that Shaykh received from Prophet Muhammad, peace be upon him.

Besides the *bishārah* that the Shaykh received, there were also his students who received the same *bishārah*. He strengthened this point in his other will, which is as follows:

*"Banyak sekali bishārah nan nyata
untuk jama'ah ṭarīqat kita
dari anbiya' dan auliya.'
menjadi bukti menjadi fakta."*²⁴

*"There are so many real bishārah
for our congregation
from anbiya' (prophets) and auliya' (beloved of God)
(It) became evidence (and) became a fact."*

Tuan Guru Haji Makmun, also known as Guru Ocek, was one of the Shaykh's students who received the *bishārah*. The *bishārah* ordered him to ask the Shaykh for giving him an *ijāzah* of Ṭarīqat Ḥizb. In 1967, Shaykh gave the *ijāzah* to Guru Ocek. Therefore, the tradition of reciting Ṭarīqat Ḥizb began in 1967 in NW madrasas, while the writing started in 1964.

Also, *Ṭarīqat Ḥizb* emerged as a response to the religious practices of the people in Lombok at that time. They strayed in practising the Tariqat. They practice the ṭarīqa, but they leave the sharī'a. The Shaykh documented the situation in his poetry as follows:

²¹ Zainuddin, *Hizb*, p. 38-39

²² Hasyri, *Interview*, 20th of July 2018.

²³ Muhammad Zainuddin Abdul Madjid, (2016), *Wasiat Renungan Masa Pengalaman Baru*, Lombok Timur: Pengurus Besar Nahdlatul Wathan, p. 103.

²⁴ Zainuddin, *Wasiat*, p. 103.

*Ṭarīqat Hizib harus berjalan
Bersama ṭarīqat yang more
Membenteng shari'a membenteng iman
Menendang ajaran tarekat setan²⁵*

Ṭarīqat Hizib Nahḍat al-Waṭan must walk
with pure *ṭarīqat*
it fortifies the shari'a, and it enriches the faith
it kicks the teachings of the satanic order

Third: *Ijāzah* (Permission/Authorization)

The Educational Tradition of Nahdlatul Wathan also revived another Sufi tradition, namely *ijāzah*. *Ijāzah* is a refinement process to be able to practice prayer. This tradition was divided into two types, divided into two types, namely general *ijāzah* (*ijāzah 'āmmah*), and special *ijāzah* (*ijāzah khāṣṣah*).

The two types of *ijāzah* traditions are not known for absolute beginnings in the NW madrasa. The informants we interviewed could not provide us with certain information. However, we argue that the tradition of *ijāzah* in the NW madrasa began at the end of 1942 AD/1360 Hijri. Shaykh officially published the *Hizb Nahḍat al-Waṭan* in that year.

In 1942 AD / 1360 Hijri, the Shaykh offered *ijāzah* of *Hizb* in general (*ijāzah 'āmmah*). He offered its *ijāzah* to anyone who wants to practice it. Only, Shaykh required that the *Hizb* be practised sincerely, truth, and kind minded. The practice of this *ijāzah* can be understood in the last paragraph of the preamble of *Hizb Nahḍat al-Waṭan*.²⁶

Besides the general *ijāzah*, there is also a special *ijāzah* (*ijāzah 'khāṣṣah*). The special *ijāzah* is also unknown in the beginning. There are no documents that explain the beginning of this tradition. However, we reflect that the special *ijāzah* began with the *ijāzah* of the *Ṭarīqat Hizb Nahḍat al-Waṭan* Congregation, in 1967 AD.

Ṭarīqat Hizb Nahḍat al-Waṭan is special prayers, whereas special prayers require special *ijāzah*, which is marked by the submission of *mahr* (dowry). In the NW tradition, *mahr* is called "*pemantapan*" (stabilization), which is the surrender of money or objects such as sugar to the murshīd (Shaykh). Tuan Guru Haji Guru Lalu Anas Hasyri said that the amount of money handed over as stabilization did not come out of figure 1,2, and 7. He said the following:

"In the past, the Shaykh explained to us that there are numbers that must exist, namely the numbers 1, 2, and 7. In the past, we obtained a prayer. Its stabilization was one hundred and twenty-seven thousand rupiahs (Rp127,000). Then it was changed to one thousand and two hundred and seventy rupiahs (Rp1270). Or sometimes it is reversed to two hundred and seventeen rupiahs (Rp217) or reversed to two thousand and one hundred and seventy rupiahs (Rp270), or two hundred and seventeen thousand rupiahs (Rp217,000)"²⁷

Fourth: *Bay'at* (The Formal Vow of Allegiance)

In the context of Nahdlatul Wathan, *bay'at* is a faithful promise that should be made to the Shaykh and the organization he founded.²⁸ The informants we met did not know, for sure, the beginning of the *bay'at* tradition in the NW madrasas. However, the history of *bay'at* can be traced from the history of *Ṭarīqat Hizb Nahḍat al-Waṭan* too. Because dowry (*mahr*) and *bay'at*

²⁵ Zainuddin, *Wasiat*, p. 107.

²⁶ Zainuddin, *Hizb*, p. 54.

²⁷ Hasyri, *Interview*, 20th of July 2018

²⁸ Hasyri, *Interview*, 20th of July 2018

are the series of conditions that must be fulfilled before accepting the *ijāzah* of Ṭarīqat Ḥizb. Therefore, if we look at the chronology of Ṭarīqat Ḥizb, bay'at also began since 1967. The emergence of a Ṭarīqat demands the existence of bay'at because it is the tradition of the previous tariqat group. The will of the Shaykh also supports this tracking method in his poem:

<i>Dulu banyak kami yang kami bai'at</i>	In the past, we took lots of allegiances
<i>Waktu ijazah dan nerima tariqat</i>	at the time of ijazah and received Ṭarīqat
<i>Sanggup membela selama hayat</i>	(They were) able to defend (the Shaykh and the organization) for
<i>Sehidup semati sampai akhirat²⁹</i>	life,
	live and die together until the afterlife

In the educational tradition of NW, bay'at was not only developed as a ṭarīqat or special prayers complement but also it was as a scientific bond between the Shaykh and his students.

In Nahdlatul Wathan, *bay'at* is not only applied to people who want to take the ijazah of ṭarīqat, but also other special prayers such as exam prayers. Bay'at is applied to new students who are going to study at educational institutions located in the centre of Nahdlatul Wathan. They give the vow of allegiance at the ceremony of handing over and accepting between new students' guardians and the general chairperson of the great executive Nahdlatul Wathan. As for students studying in-branch madrassas, they usually take pledges on ijazah of exam prayer, or it is known as *du'ā ikhtibār*.³⁰ Therefore, we can argue that NW students take the pledge of allegiance (bay'at) at least once if they study at the NW madrassas. We see that the *ijāzah* of *du'ā ikhtibār* is the right moment for the process of bay'at because the students are going for graduation from the NW madrassas.

Fifth: Dhikr/Wird (Invocation)

Wird After Fard Ṣalāt

One of the identities at the Nahdatul Wathan educational institution is dhikr after fard ṣalāh (obligatory prayers). The Shaykh composed dhikr which was read after the fard ṣalāh. According to Tuan Guru Anas during our interview, the Shaykh did not explain the reason for arranging the dhikr after prayer, which is different from the general public. He mentioned that his students only followed what Shaykh read after the daily prayer.³¹

According to Tuan Guru Anas, the Shaykh is the compiler of the dhikr sequences. The Shaykh negated some of the dhikrs that Lombok people used to read at the time. However, the Shaykh added with another dhikr. Shaykh emphasized to read the last two verses of Surat al-Tawbah, namely *laqad jā'akum rasūlun* (verse 128) dan *fain tawallaw* (verse 129). Both verses are characteristic of this wird. The Shaykh emphasized reading *laqad jā'akum* once, in every prayer time, and *fain tawallaw* seven times, after the Maghrib and Ṣubḥ Prayers.³² Nu'man and Ash'ari also put footnotes to the verse *fain tawallaw* in their book. Both stated that the poem is read-

²⁹ Zainuddin, *Wasiat...*, p. 87.

³⁰ NW Online TV, *Video*, published on 2nd of February 2019, accessed on 25th of March 2019. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sQkLlOAMGGg>

³¹ Hasyri, *Interview*, 20th of July 2018

³² Hasyri, *Interview*, 20th of July 2018.

only once, except at Maghrib and Şubḥ prayers, it is read seven times.³³ Both of them stated that the tradition of *dhikr* with *wird* compiled by the shaykh was part of the personality of students of Nahdlatul Watan.³⁴

There are no documents that can explain the beginnings of the tradition of *wird/dhikr* with Shaykh's arrangement. The informants we interviewed did not know for sure the starting of its emergence. We suspect that this tradition arose spontaneously, so it is difficult to trace the origin of its appearance.³⁵

Şalāt al-Nahḍatain

The reciting of *Şalāt al-Nahḍatain* is one of the educational traditions in the Nahdlatul Wathan madrasas. *Şalāt al-Nahḍatain* is compulsory prayer before learning, both formal and informal learning. Besides, it was also recited to open official events within the Nahdlatul Wathan organization.

Şalāt al-Nahḍatain is the authentic work of the Shaykh. The Shaykh made up the blessing at Raudhah, Nabawi mosque, in 1947 AD / 1366 Hijri. The prayer was composed when the Shaykh became the Indonesian leader of the hajj for pilgrims. He was inspired by the pilgrims who were on a pilgrimage at the Prophet's grave. The Shaykh watched them recite the various form of prayers (*şalawāt*; plural of *şalāt*) in front of the Prophet's tomb. Therefore, Shaykh was inspired to compile a memento, namely *Salawat*. After a while, the prayer was completed by the Shaykh. Then he went to see his teacher, Shaykh Muḥammad al-Mashshāt, the author of *Bughyat al-Mustarshidīn*. His teacher smiled, indicating that he liked the prayers composed by Shaykh.³⁶ In the same year (1947 AD), the Shaykh immediately published the prayer.³⁷ As a result, we conclude that the tradition of starting learning by reading *Şalāt al-Nahḍatain* began in that year.

Do'a Pusaka (Prayers of Inheritance)

When Şalāt al-Nahḍatain becomes the opening prayer for learning and gathering events in the Nahdlatul Wathan organization, "*Do'a Pusaka*" becomes the closing prayer of study and gathering events.³⁸ Shaykh has named it "*Do'a Pusaka*" because it is inherited from his teachers. The Shaykh did not compose the prayer; he only added two verses to the prayer.³⁹ It seems that the naming with "*Do'a Pusaka*" is very suitable because the prayers are unknown to the author. Even in the book *Ḥizb Nahḍat al-Waṭan*, Shaykh did not mention the name of the author.⁴⁰

As for the beginnings of this tradition, Tuan Guru Mahsun, who attended NW madrasa in 1952, stated that in that year and possibly in previous years, the Shaykh had initiated to read

³³ Nu'man & Asy'ary, *Nahdlatul Wathan...*, 143.

³⁴ Nu'man & Asy'ary, *Nahdlatul Wathan...*, 140.

³⁵ E. Hobsbawm, & T. Ranger, (Eds.), (2012), *The invention of Tradition*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 1.

³⁶ Hasyri, *Interview*, 20th of July 2018. See Mohammad Noor, Muslihan Habib, & Muhammad Harfin Zuhdi, (2014), *Visi Kebangsaan Religius: Refleksi Pemikiran dan Perjuangan Tuan Guru Kyai Haji Muhammad Zainuddin Abdul Madjid*, (Jakarta: Bania Publishing), 255.

³⁷ Muhammad Zainuddin 'Abdul Madjid, (2017), *al-Şalawāt al-Nahḍiyyah*, (Lombok Timur: IAIH Lombok Timur Press), 35.

³⁸ Hasyri, *Interview*, 20th of July 2018.

³⁹ Hasyri, *Interview*, 20th of July 2018.

⁴⁰ Zainuddin, *Ḥizb*, p. 92.

“Do’a Pusaka”. However, the Shaykh had not emphasized this tradition too much. Therefore, “Do’a Pusaka” is read sometimes, and it is not read sometimes at the end of the lesson.⁴¹

Sixth: *Berzanji* (Reciting the Book of *al-Barzanji*)

According to Tuan Guru Qamar, the Nahdlatul Wathan version of the *al-Barzanji* book arises because of the rise in various forms of faults by the public when committing *berzanji* tradition (Sasak Language). They add to the poetry with unclear sources. The poetry they added also had no meaning, namely as follows:

Allah, Adam, Siti Hawa, Datoknya si Moyang kita
Wafatnya di tanah Juda, Makamnya di luar kuta
Allah, Mekah wal Madinah, Air Zam-zam ke Baitullah
Allah..., Aly, Siti Fatimah, Muhammad ya Rasulullah.⁴²

These additional verses, in terms of language structure, do not have any meaning. That mistake is also heard at the time of *berzanji* tradition. The tune they used affect the meaning of recitation reads. Therefore, the Shaykh initiated to make a suitable tune which did not change the essence, so that the Book of *al-Barzanji* was formed with a unique style as found today.

Nahdlatul Wathan’s version of the *Berzanji* tradition has existed since the Shaykh is still alive. However, this tradition received suggestions from various parties. These suggestions relate to the adopted material taken from the original Book of *al-Barzanji*, and about the tune used when reciting the poems of *al-Barzanji*. Consequently, the originator became unclear.⁴³ Furthermore, we did not find the name of the author or collector or who summarized it on the cover book of *al-Barzanji*. It is different from the book of *Ḥizb Nahḍat al-Waṭan*, which includes the name of the Shaykh as the author.⁴⁴

We interpret that the omission of the author’s name Book of *al-Barzanji* in NW version indicates that Shaykh Ja’far was the original author of *al-Barzanji* because *al-Barzanji*’s version of Nahdlatul Wathan is a summary from the original. Shaykh only summarized the material of *al-Barzanji*, and he popularized such as *Ṭala’a al-badru ‘alaynā*, and *Ṣalawāt Badr*, in the tradition of *berzanji*. He also added two verses of poetry in *Ṣalawāt Badr* that contain prayer for Nahdlatul Wathan.

Based on information from Tuan Guru Qamar, who attended school in 1965-1969, he found that the book of *al-Barzanji* had already been composed in those years. The Shaykh began to produce readings in the *Berzanji* tradition, and he pursued the right styles.⁴⁵ In the 1980s, an audio recording of *berzanji* tradition was carried out. In the recording, the Shaykh gave the introductory words. The record was performed by Students of Ma’had Dār al-Quran Wa al-Hadith. At that time, the Shaykh appointed his student Tuan Guru Haji Khairi Yasri as the leader of the *Berzanji* in the recording.

Seventh: *Ihtiram-Tahiyyah* (Respect-Greeting)

In the context of Nahdlatul Wathan’s Education, the Shaykh was very concerned about the morality of the student towards his teacher, especially in terms of respect. He then modified the

⁴¹ TGH. Lalu Mahsun, *Interview*, 15th of May 2018.

⁴² TGH. Qamaruddin, *Interview*, 11th of June 2018

⁴³ Hasyri, *Interview*, 20th of July 2018

⁴⁴ Hasyri, *Interview*, 20th of July 2018

⁴⁵ Qamaruddin, *Interview*, 11th of June 2018

common tradition in schools to become a unique tradition, for example, the tradition of *Ihtirām wa taḥiyyah*. According to Tuan Guru Anas, this tradition is unique. It will not be found anywhere else, especially in Lombok. According to him, this tradition was artificial of Maulana Shaykh, to teach his students how to respect the teacher.⁴⁶

This tradition is not known with certainty when it began in the NW madrasa. It could be that this tradition began before 1952. For example, Tuan Guru Mahsun, who studied in that year, stated that he used to say *ihtirām*, and immediately said *Assalāmu'alaykum wa raḥmat Allāh wa barakātuh*, to the Shaykh. On the other hand, Tuan Guru Mahsun also mentioned that the Shaykh chose to use Arabic as a command, because the term for the madrasa at that time in Lombok was "Arabic school"⁴⁷ So, at that time, the command "*ḥayyū*" (say your salām/greeting!) did not exist. There was only the cue "*ihtirām*" (give your respect!). But gradually this tradition was perfected into *ihtirām* as the first command. In this step, the students are ordered to stand together. Then *ḥayyū* is the second command, aimed at greeting: *Assalāmu'alaykum wa raḥmat Allāh wa barakātuh*.⁴⁸

Discussion

Sociologists and anthropologists discuss whether emergence invented or reinvented of a tradition. Hobsbawm and Ranger are more likely to use the term "invented tradition".⁴⁹ Invented tradition is a set of practices in the form of ritual or symbolic nature, which aims to instil specific values and norms of behaviour repeatedly, which automatically implies continuity with the past. If possible, tradition usually tries to establish continuity with a historical and compatible past.⁵⁰ For both, tradition does not arise spontaneity. Tradition is intentionally held and institutionalized.

On the other hand, Mitchell and Aron state that tradition cannot be created and built alone without the concepts of previous people. People have done certain things the same way, planned activities, applied theories, and it happened repeatedly.⁵¹ People who live today emulate the behaviour of people before so that no new traditions are born. The tradition that people practice now is a tradition that revived (reemergence or rebuilding or reproduction), both in the same form or in a modified way. Sztompka does not question whether the tradition was emergence or reemergence, created or re-created, discovered, or rediscovered. According to him, the tradition emerged in two ways, namely below and above.⁵²

The first way is the tradition emerged from below. It is through the mechanism of spontaneous emergence, unplanned and involving the people at large. For some reason, individuals find some fragment of impressive historical heritage. Attention, admiration, and admiration, which are spread in various ways, affect many people. The individual's appreciation and actions become collective and turn into real social facts. The second way; tradition, emerges

⁴⁶ Hasyri, *Interview*, 20th of July 2018

⁴⁷ Mahsun, *Interview*, 15th of May 2018.

⁴⁸ Qamaruddin, *Interview*, 11th of June 2018

⁴⁹ Hobsbawm & Ranger, *The Invention...*, 1.

⁵⁰ Hobsbawm & Ranger, *The Invention...*, 1.

⁵¹ Stephen A. Mitchell & Lewis Aron (Ed.) (1999), *Relational Psychoanalysis: The Emergence of a Tradition*, New York: Taylor & Francis Group, p. 1.

⁵² Sztompka, *The Sociology*, p. 61.

from above through obligation. Everything that is considered a tradition is chosen and made a public concern or imposed by influential or powerful individuals. The king might impose his tradition on his people.⁵³

If we look back at the emergence of the Islamic Educational Tradition of Nahdlatul Wathan, some of these traditions emerged from the first way, some also through the second way. These traditions are more spontaneous, such as the emergence of “*Ihtirām-Ḥayyū*” tradition. These traditions are automatic such as the emergence of the *Ihtirām*, reading *Ṣalāt Nahḍatain* as the opening prayer, and “*Doa’ Pusaka*” as the closing prayer. Spontaneous development makes these traditions challenging to trace the beginning of their appearance. However, some traditions are planned and emphasised, such as the tradition of reading *Ḥizb Nahḍat al-Waṭan*, *Ṭarīqat Ḥizb Nahḍat al-Waṭan*, *bay’at* and *ijāzah*. Therefore, its emergence is more natural to trace.

The two birth paths of this tradition do not distinguish the levels. The difference is whether the tradition is authentic or is artificial. The authentic already existed in the past, while the artificial is purely imaginary.⁵⁴ In the context of Nahdaltul Wathan, educational traditions can be categorized as authentic, purely artificial, and not imaginary traditions. These traditions are Sufi traditions which were practised by the early *ṭarīqa* groups. Shaykh Zainuddin, as a reformer of these traditions, wanted to build continuity with the past. He tried to harmonize the old Sufi tradition following the times. Therefore, he removed some of the fragments from these traditions, and he also took some pieces, and he even added them with new fragments.

The *Ṭarīqa* group has existed since the middle of the sixth century Hijri. Qadiriyya is the group of *ṭarīqa* who first appeared. This *ṭarīqa* was founded by Shaykh Abd al-Qādir al-Gīlanī (died in 1116 CE). One year later, Abd al-Qāhir al-Suhrawardī founded *ṭarīqa*. Then Najm al-Dīn al-Kubrā founded *Ṭarīqat Kubrawiyyah*. Then Muḥammad Bahā’uddīn al-Naqshabandī (died 1221) founded *Ṭarīqat al-Naqshabandiyyah*, and so on.⁵⁵

In Indonesia, the spread of *ṭarīqat* has begun since the end of the 10th century Hijri / 16th century AD or three centuries after the spread of Islam to some parts of the world. In the 10th and 11th century Hijri / 17 AD, Sufi teachings and values began to be practised, primarily, by Muslims in Aceh, North Sumatra.⁵⁶ In Lombok, the birthplace of the NWDI and NBDI Madrasas, the practice of the *ṭarīqat* is unknown at the beginning. Some people say that the beginning of the arrival of Islam (13th Century - 18th Century AD) became the beginning of the spread of order on the Lombok island.⁵⁷ However, it cannot be denied that the practice of *ṭarīqat* was considered to be deviant; in fact, it can be said to be heretical.

⁵³ Sztompka, *The Sociology*, p. 61.

⁵⁴ Sztompka, *The Sociology*, p. 61.

⁵⁵ Martin Van Bruinessen, (1994), *The Origins and Development of Ṣūfī Orders (Tarekat) in Southeast Asia*. *Studia Islamika*, 1(1). p. 4.

⁵⁶ Alexander Knysh, *Islamic Mysticism: A short history*. Vol. 1. (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 286. See too, Endang Turmudi (2007), *Struggling for the Umma: Changing Leadership Roles of Kiai in Jombang, East Java*. ANU E Press, p. 50. See too Felicity Crowe, Jolyon Goddard, & Ben Hollingum, (Eds.) (2011), *Modern Muslim Societies*, New York: Marshal Cavendish Reference, p. 106. See too A. G. Muhaimin (2006), *The Islamic traditions of Cirebon: Ibadat and Adat Among Javanese Muslims*, ANU E Press, p. xi.

⁵⁷ Abdul Quddus, & L. Muhammad Ariadi, (2015), *Gerakan Tarekat dan Pertumbuhan Budaya Berfilosofi di Lombok*. *TEOSOFI: Jurnal Tasawuf dan Pemikiran Islam*, 5(2), 324.

Remembrance (*dhikr*), including *ḥiziban*, *ṭarīqat*, *wird*, and *du'ā*, is not only ordered to Muslims who are adults, but *dhikr* also becomes an important requirement for students when in the learning process.⁵⁸ The tradition of the *ṭarīqat* established by Shaykh aims to fortify his students from the sceptical tradition that developed at that time. The Book of al-Barzanjī in NW version appeared as a response to the common mistakes that occurred in society when performing the tradition of berzanji. The tune used is not appropriate, so it led them to the neglect of Tajweed. The emergence of the tradition of *mahar* (dowry) before accepting the *ijāzah* of prayer in the NW madrasa aims to teach that to obtain knowledge requires commitment. "*Mahar/Pemantapan*" is a symbol of one's commitment to receive prayer from his master. The "*Iḥtirām-Ḥayyū*" tradition aims to differentiate between NW madrasas and other educational institutions. "*Ihtiram-Ḥayyū*" is also a symbol of a student's respect for his teacher, both in behaviour and speech.⁵⁹

Ḥiziban tradition emerged as a ritual of religiousness was projected to fortify the NWDI madrasa from the cruelty of the colonials. Besides, Shaykh arranged *hiziban* as a medium to reduce harmful activities carried out by the community, especially young people. Shaykh is a visionary pioneer. The traditions which he rebuilt and modified were transformed into the collective identity and personality of NW students. The rebuilding was an attempt by the Shaykh to instil absolute values in his students.

The transformation of the old versions of Sufi traditions into new releases is in line with Sztompka's opinion. **First**, he noted that each tradition begins to be questioned, doubted, reexamined, so that the fragments of the past are discovered, then validated into a tradition.⁶⁰ Exactly what Turner said that tradition is fluid. It always reflects the changing needs of the present;⁶¹ **Second**, Sztompka said the nature of human psychology is the spirit of striving for new pleasures, realizing creativity, and renewing and realizing his mind full of imagination.⁶² Human thoughts make improvements according to their needs or desires;⁶³ **Third**, clashes between one tradition and another lead to changes in tradition. Such conflicts can occur between different community traditions within a particular society.⁶⁴ As a result, the NW educational traditions are the result of the re-establishment of Sufi traditions. William termed it as a process of reproducing tradition in the form of action.⁶⁵ The process of re-establishment has consequences to help in binding people, together, to bring up certain routine social practices, that are primarily taken for granted.⁶⁶ In the NW context, the process of reproduction is driven

⁵⁸ Mohd Anuar Mamat, Muhammad Mustaqim Mohd Zarif (2019), Keperluan Zikir dalam Pembelajaran Menurut Manuskrip Melayu: Kajian Terhadap Mss 2906 (B) Tibyān Al-Marām. *Journal of Al-Tamadun*, 14(1).

⁵⁹ Mahsun, *Interview*, 15th of May 2018.

⁶⁰ Sztompka, *The Sociology*, 61.

⁶¹ J. W. Turner, (1997), Continuity and Constraint: Reconstructing the Concept of Tradition from a Pacific Perspective. *The Contemporary Pacific*, 345-381.

⁶² Sztompka, *The Sociology*, 62.

⁶³ H. Glassie, (1995), Tradition, *The Journal of American Folklore*, 108 (430), 395.

⁶⁴ Sztompka, *The Sociology*, 63.

⁶⁵ Raymond Williams (1981), *Culture*, London: Fontana, p. 187.

⁶⁶ David Halpin, Alex Moore, Gwyn Edwards, Rosalyn George, & Catherin Jones, (2000), "Maintaining, reconstructing and creating tradition in education." *Oxford Review of Education*, 26(2), 133-144.

by local religious traditions. Their religious rituals are considered fault, both materially and practically.

Conclusion

Whether the tradition was created or re-created, the Nahdlatul Wathan education tradition was born from two directions. Some appear downward, and some arise through the upward trend. Traditions born from below are usually born spontaneously such as the tradition of respect and greetings, the opening and closing prayers of learning, wird after the Nahdlatul Wathan version of the prayer. While traditions are born through above, usually appear in a planned way, then promoted, and emphasized, such as the tradition of *hiziban*, reciting of the *Tarīqat Hizb Nahdat al-Waṭan*, and *bay'at* (the formal vow of allegiance).

The history of the emergence of the NW Education tradition is inseparable from the political, social, religious and cultural contexts of the local community. *Hizb*, for example, specifically, arises because of the political situation, namely the closing of madrasa by the invaders. Shaykh chose to face them through spirituality. In general, the NW Education tradition was born in response to community deviations in carrying out Islamic rituals. Also, Shaykh, as a pioneer of Sufi traditions in the new version, wanted to instill specific values in his students.

The changing of the old Sufi traditions to the new version in NW madrassas is a necessity. Shaykh, as an actor in changing traditions, has brilliant ideas that he must realize. Besides, the clash between traditions in the community sparked a change.

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