



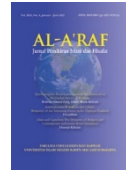
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THE TARIQA SHATTARIYYA: ETNO-TARIQA AND HOMETOWN “REMINDER TOOL” OF PARIAMAN-TRANSLOCAL IN INDONESIA

Ziaulhaq Hidayat

Universitas Islam Negeri Sumatera Utara, Indonesia

Abstrak

Kata Kunci:

Tarekat
Syattariyah,
Translokasi
Pariaman,
Etno-Tarekat,
Identitas dan
Spiritualitas

Studi ini bertujuan untuk mendiskusikan Tarekat Syattariyah (TS) pada masyarakat translokasi Pariaman, di Indonesia. TS menjadi bagian yang menyatu dengan aktivitas kehidupan masyarakat translokasi Pariaman. Studi yang menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif ini mengandalkan observasi mendalam terhadap objek yang dikaji. Dengan perspektif etnografis, studi ini berusaha menggambarkan secara utuh masyarakat translokasi Pariaman yang merantau ke berbagai daerah di Indonesia. Studi ini dilakukan di Kota Medan dan Bekasi untuk mendapatkan gambaran umum tentang TS dan masyarakat Pariaman-Rantau di Indonesia. Hasil studi menemukan, bahwa TS sebagai etno-tarekat dibentuk melalui proses adaptasi panjang dengan budaya Pariaman. Etno-tarekat terkait langsung dengan pembentukan identitas masyarakat translokasi Pariaman melalui TS, sehingga di manapun mereka merantau akan selalu terhubung dengan TS. Jadi, masyarakat translokasi Pariaman memiliki misi spiritual dalam penyebaran TS. TS bagi masyarakat translokasi Pariaman berfungsi sebagai “alat penghubung” antara satu dengan lainnya di tanah rantau, sehingga terbentuklah komunitas etnis berbasis spiritual. TS juga menjadi “alat pengingat” kampung halaman, dan menjadi referensi kehidupan mereka di tanah rantau.

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Corresponding author:
e-mail: ziaulhaq.phd@gmail.com

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Abstract**Keywords:**

Tariqa
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 Pariaman-
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 Ethno-Tariqa,
 Identity and
 Spirituality

This study aimed to discuss the Tariqa Shattariyya (TS) in the Pariaman-translocal community of Indonesia. TS is an integral part of the life activities associated with these community groups. This research method is qualitative and relies on in-depth observation of the object under study. The perspective used by ethnography seeks to fully describe the Pariaman people who migrate to various regions of Indonesia. This study focused on Medan and Bekasi cities to explore TS and the Pariaman-translocal community. The findings of this study explain that wherever the Pariaman people migrate to Indonesia, the Syattariyah order will constantly be revived and developed there. As an ethno-tariqa, TS was formed by introducing it to the Pariaman culture. Through ethno-tariqa, it determines the identity of the Pariaman-Translocal community in order to constantly connect in their migrations. Therefore, the mission of the Pariaman-Translocal community is to disseminate TS as a “connection tool” overseas and form a spiritual ethnic community. TS is a “reminder tool” of their hometown used as a reference for their life overseas.

Introduction

The migrating Pariaman community is part of the Minangkabau sub-ethnic located on the West Sumatra island.¹ The community practices a trans-local or global migration to the overseas territory.² The Pariaman community is unique among other Minangkabau ethnicities, especially *Tariqa Shattariyya*'s (TS) spiritual connection. The community adopted and developed TS through *Shaykh* Burhanuddin Ulakan (Shaykh Ulakan),³ a

¹ Mochtar Naim, *Merantau: Minangkabau Voluntary Migration* (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1971), 53, <https://catalogue.nla.gov.au/catalog/4326539>; Tsuyoshi Kato, *Matriliny and Migrations: Volving Minangkabau Traditions in Indonesia* (Ithaca dan London: Cornell University Press, 1982), 107 <https://catalogue.nla.gov.au/catalog/107504>; R.F. Ellen, “Tsuyoshi Kato: Matriliny and Migration: Evolving Minangkabau Traditions in Indonesia,” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 46, no. 3 (1983): 584–585, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0041977X00043652>; Usman Pelly, *Urbanisasi Dan Adaptasi: Peranan Misi Budaya Minangkabau Dan Mandailing* (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1994), <https://opac.perpusnas.go.id/DetailOpac.aspx?id=256751>.

² Auda Murad, “Merantau: Aspects of Outmigration of the Minangkabau People” (The Australian National University, 1978), 43, <https://openresearch-repository.anu.edu.au/handle/1885/117421?mode=full>.

³ Agustianda, “The Influence of Sufism Thought Shaykh Burhanuddin among the Minangkabau Community in Medan City,” *al-Lubb: Journal of Islamic Thought and Muslim Culture* 2, no. 1 (2020): 18–33, <http://jurnal.uinsu.ac.id/index.php/lubb/article/view/8586/4006>.

Pariaman ulama connected to *Shaykh* ‘Abd al-Rauf al-Sinkili, the *murshid* and TS developer in the archipelago.⁴

Aceh Sultanate supported the TS development and spread in the archipelago.⁵ *Shaykh* Ulakan liaised to adapt the TS doctrine into the “Pariaman realm” as a spiritual order and an essential part of the community. The TS adaptation to the Pariaman culture created their ethnic identity. Furthermore, it is a dynamic *tariqa* that can grow and develop in the community’s culture. Locality does not affect its development but facilitates the community’s acceptance. TS facilitates an individual and group connection to the “world of Pariaman society.” It determines the Pariaman-translocal community’s ethnic identity through life activities. These ethnic groups continuously connect with TS during their migration as a “reminder and connection tool” to their hometown.

The Pariaman-translocal community applies TS as “self” and hometown, referencing the village in their doctrines or rituals. The community lives in various cities, such as Medan, Jakarta, Bekasi, Batam,

⁴ Oman Fathurahman, *Shattariyah Silsilah in Aceh, Java, and the Lanao Area of Mindanao* (Tokyo, 2016), 139; M. Laffan, “Shattariyah Silsilah in Aceh, Java, and the Lanao Area of Mindanao by Oman Fathurahman Tokyo: Research Institute for Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, 2016. Pp. 139. Notes, Bibliography, Index,” *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 3, no. 1–2 (2022): 383–384, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022463422000091>. Azyumardi Azra, *The Origins of Islamic Reformism in Southeast Asia Networks of Malay-Indonesian and Middle Eastern ‘Ulama’ in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Australia: Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2004), 264, <https://opac.perpusnas.go.id/DetailOpac.aspx?id=567321>.; Denys Lombard, *Les Tarekat En Insulinde Alexandre Popovic Dan Gilles Veinstein, Eds., Les Orders Mystiques Dans l’Islam: Cheminements et Situation Actuelle* (Paris: L’École des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, 1986), 146.; Alexandre Popovic dan Gilles Veinstein, eds., *Mystiques Dans l’Islam: Cheminements et Situation Actuelle* (Paris: L’École des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, 1986), 146.

⁵ Sher Banu A. L. Khan, *Sovereign Women in a Muslim Kingdom: The Sultanahs of Aceh, 1641–1699* (Singapore: National University of Singapore, 2017), 145, <https://nuspress.nus.edu.sg/products/sovereign-women-in-a-muslim-kingdom-the-sultanahs-of-aceh-1641-1699>.; Julianti Parani, “Sovereign Women in a Muslim Kingdom. The Sultanahs of Aceh, 1641 – 1699,” *Paradigma: Jurnal Kajian Kebudayaan* 8, no. 2 (2018): 197–202, <https://scholarhub.ui.ac.id/paradigma/vol8/iss2/6/>.; Werner Kraus, *The Shattariyya Sufi Brotherhood in Aceh Arndt Aceh: History, Politics and Culture* (Singapore: ISEAS Publishing, 2010), 201. <https://www.degruyter.com/document/doi/10.1355/9789814279130-014/html>.

and others. The TS spiritual institution's identity is easily found in mosques and *surau*.⁶ Furthermore, the results showed that Medan and Bekasi City have a TS connection through the Pariaman-translocal communities' relations or Ulakan spirituality. Therefore, TS creates a spiritual community for liaison between the Pariaman-translocal groups. Both cities reflected a community identity through TS, indicating spiritual affiliations. Spiritual communities function as spiritual institutions and connect the community's interests to maintain and preserve the TS traditions.

The Pariaman community adapts TS by unifying tariqa doctrines and rituals with society's traditions. The TS adaptation process disregards the barriers between tariqa as a spiritual doctrine and society's traditions, identifying TS and the communities. Therefore, tariqa and the community groups are connected by similar traditions adaptation. TS in the Pariaman-translocal community should be explored, especially in relation to TS as a spiritual sect and the meaning of "self" and "hometown." Additionally, the meaning and function of TS in the Pariaman-translocal community should be explained.

Trajectory of the TS

TS is part of the tariqa rapidly growing in the archipelago, especially Indonesia. It has transformed into society's religious traditions and is a transnational spiritual flow adapted in the local culture to be accepted and passed down between generations.⁷ In the Turkish region, TS, originally known as the *Tariqa Isyqiyya* or *Tariqa Bistamiyya*, was developed in Iran.⁸ It

⁶ As far as I can see, mosques and *surau*, established by the Pariaman-translocal community in several cities in Indonesia, especially Medan city and Bekasi city, always use the name *Shaykh* Burhanuddin as his name. The choice of name directly shows the connection with the TS in it.

⁷ Fakhriati, *Menelusuri Tarekat Syattariyah di Aceh Lewat Naskah* (Jakarta: Badan Litbang dan Diklat Departemen Agama RI, 2008), 39, <https://opac.perpusnas.go.id/DetailOpac.aspx?id=39516>.

⁸ Azyumardi Azra, *The Origins of Islamic Reformism in Southeast Asia Networks of Malay-Indonesian and Middle Eastern 'Ulama' in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries.*; Sunarwoto, "The Shattariya Order Between Universal and Local Islam," *Millab: Journal of Religious Studies* VIII, **AL-A'RAF**– Vol. XX, No. 1 June 2023

transitioned into *Tariqa Shattariyah* when it spread and was adopted in India due to its association with Ahmad Shattar, considered the “founder” of *tariqa* doctrines and rituals. Shattar was an important figure in developing the two *tariqas* into TS. Developing TS, especially through *Sibgat Allah*,⁹ a disciple of Shattar, successfully transitioned into *Haramain* and later connected with al-Qushashi (1660 AD) and al-Kurani (1689 AD). TS was an official *tariqa* taught in Mecca.¹⁰ *Shaykh* al-Sinkili received TS from the two developer figures, as well as his teachers, and introduced it in Aceh to spread to various archipelago regions.¹¹

Shaykh al-Sinkili, as a TS liaison in the archipelago, spearheaded the TS spread. He was appointed as *qadi qudat* in the Sultanate of Aceh when he returned from *Haramain* in the *Sultanah Safinah* period.¹² His strategic position enabled him to introduce TS to the archipelago through his

no. 2 (2009): 385–388, <https://jurnal.uui.ac.id/index.php/Millah/article/view/5238>; J. Spencer Trimingham, *The Sufi Orders in Islam* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 98, <https://archive.org/details/160961366SufiOrdersInIslam>.

⁹ Tommy Christomy, *Signs of the Wali: Narratives at the Sacred Sites in Pamijaban, West Java* (Canberra: ANU E Press, 2008), <http://hdl.handle.net/1885/39452>; Martin van Bruinessen, “Origins and Development of the Sufi Orders,” *Studia Islamika* 1, no. 1 (1994): 1–23, <https://journal.uinjkt.ac.id/index.php/studia-islamika/article/view/864/0>.

¹⁰ Oman Fathurrahman, “Ithaf Al-Dhaki by Ibrahim Al-Kurani: A Commentary of Wahdat Al-Wujud for Jawi Audiences,” *Archipel* 81 81, no. 1 (2011): 177–198, https://www.persee.fr/doc/arch_0044-8613_2011_num_81_1_4274; Fakhriati, *Menelusuri Tarekat Syattariyah di Aceh Levat Naskah*; R. Michael Feener, “A Re-Examination of the Place of Al-Hallaj in the Development of Southeast Asian Islam,” *Journal of the Humanities and Social Sciences of Southeast Asia* 154, no. 4 (1998): 571–592, <https://doi.org/10.1163/22134379-90003885>.

¹¹ Oman Fathurrahman, “Ithaf Al-Dhaki by Ibrahim Al-Kurani: A Commentary of Wahdat Al-Wujud for Jawi Audiences.”; A. H. Johns, *Friends in Grace: Ibrahim Al-Kurani and Abd Al-Rauf Al-Singkelî S. Udin, S. Ed., Spectrum: Essays Presented to Sulan Takdir Alisjabbana on His Seventieth Birthday* (Jakarta: Dian Rakyat, 1978), 495–85. Fakhriati, *Menelusuri Tarekat Syattariyah di Aceh Levat Naskah*; Feener, “A Re-Examination of the Place of Al-Hallaj in the Development of Southeast Asian Islam.”; Martin van Bruinessen, “Reviewed Work: Shattariyah Silsilah in Aceh, Java, and the Lanao Area of,” *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient* 102, no. (2016): 487–490, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/26435138>.

¹² Francis R. Bradley, “Islamic Reform, the Family, and Knowledge Networks Linking Mecca to Southeast Asia in the Nineteenth Century,” *The Journal of Asian Studies* 73, no. 1 (2014): 89–111, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/43553396>; Sher Banu A. L. Khan, “What Happened to Sayf Al-Rijal?,” *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 168, no. 1 (2012): 100–111, https://brill.com/view/journals/bki/168/1/article-p100_5.xml?language=en&body=article%20details.

students from various regions. Additionally, the Sultanate of Aceh supported al-Sinkili to disseminate TS. *Shaykh* Ulakan, al-Sinkili's student,¹³ helped spread TS in the Minangkabau realm, especially the Pariaman region. Shaykh Ulakan developed TS, emphasizing its practice, specifically at the lower social level. In contrast, al-Sinkili was an intellect in his various works spread in the archipelago as the court realm, while *Shaykh* Ulakan was involved with the grassroots. *Shaykh* Ulakan internalized the TS doctrines and rituals into Pariaman society and was more popular than his teacher, but the TS in the Pariaman-Minangkabau realm is associated with al-Sinkili. However, *Shaykh* Ulakan's popularity surpassed al-Sinkili's because he introduced TS in the Pariaman.

Shaykh Ulakan's TS in the Pariaman realm disregarded the embodiment of doctrines and rituals in the Ulakan community.¹⁴ He simplified the *wujudhiyya* (pantheism) doctrine due to the Pariaman community's religious and social situation, which strongly practiced sharia, especially the *fiqh* and theology based on *ahl al-sunnah wa al-Jama'ah*. He believed that maintaining the pantheism doctrine would contradict the community and affect the dissemination of TS. Therefore, this simplicity

¹³ Henri Chambert-Loir, "Saints and Ancestors: The Cult of Muslim Saints in Java," in *The Potent Dead: Ancestors, Saints, and Heroes in Contemporary Indonesia*, 1st ed. (London: Routledge, 2002), 9, <https://www.taylorfrancis.com/chapters/edit/10.4324/9781003118176-9/saints-ancestors-cult-muslim-saints-java-1-henri-chambert-loir>; Andrea Katalin Molnar, "The Potent Dead: Ancestors, Saints, and Heroes in Contemporary Indonesia," *Journal of Asian Studies* 62, no. 2 (2003): 699–701, <https://doi.org/10.2307/3096332>. Suryadi, "Shaikh Daud of Sunur: Conflict between Reformists and the Shattariyyah Sufi Orders in Rantau Pariaman in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century," *Studia Islamika* 8, no. 3 (2001): 57–100, <https://doi.org/10.15408/sdi.v8i3.681>. Za'im Rais, "The Minangkabali Traditionalists' Response to the Modernist Movement" (McGill University Montreal, 1994), 29.

¹⁴ Mulaika Hijjas, "Marks of Many Hands: Annotation in the Malay Manuscript Tradition and a Sufi Compendium from West Sumatra," *Indonesia and the Malay World* 45, no. 132 (2017): 226–249, <https://www.randfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/13639811.2017.1324688>; Oman Fathurrahman, *Tarekat Syattariyah di Minangkabau: Teks dan Konteks* (Jakarta: Prenada Media Group, 2008), 128, <https://opac.perpusnas.go.id/DetailOpac.aspx?id=561524>; Eka Meigalia, "Book Review-Oman Fathurrahman, Tarekat Syattariyah Di Minangkabau; Teks Dan Konteks," *Wacana, Journal of the Humanities of Indonesia* 12, no. 1 (2010): 207–215, <https://scholarhub.ui.ac.id/wacana/vol12/iss1/15>.

was creative-*ijtihad* and differentiated the al-Sinkili doctrine. This simplification established TS as a spiritual order without conflicting with society's traditions. *Shaykh* Ulakan was a central figure in the Pariaman community as a spiritual and traditional figure who reconciled traditional debates with Islam.

TS as Ethno-Tariqa

Accepting the TS doctrines and rituals in the Pariaman society's traditions established the ethno-tariqa. The Pariaman community's acceptance took a long time process to become an integral part of their traditional activities. TS is the spiritual community's identity and a part of society's "self" as it transformed into the "Pariaman cultural body".¹⁵ The cultural transformation connected TS and the Pariaman culture into the community's tradition. The TS ethic unification turned it into a culture maintained and preserved by the community. The TS and Pariaman culture unification established ethno-Sufism in society, especially in migrating groups. Ethno-Sufism is part of the Pariaman community's spiritual identity as a cultured society and community group. TS, as an ethno-tariqa, is *Shaykh* Ulakan's main character in Pariaman society, known as the "*silsila* link" and carrier of the TS doctrines and rituals.¹⁶ Shaykh Ulakan was an important figure for TS due to his murshid position as its reference and interpreter in the Pariaman culture. Additionally, he

¹⁵ Edwin Wieringa, "A Tale of Two Cities and Two Modes Reading: A Transformation of the Intended Function of the Syair Makah Dan Madinah," *Die Welt des Islams* 2, no. 42 (2002): 174–206, <https://doi.org/10.1163/15700600260186260>; Taufik Abdullah, "Adat and Islam: An Examination of Conflict in Minangkabau," *Indonesia* 2, no. 2 (1966): 1–24, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/3350753>.

¹⁶ Michael Laffan, *The Makings of Indonesian Islam: Orientalism and the Narration of a Sufi Past* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2011), 40–64, <https://history.princeton.edu/about/publications/makings-indonesian-islam-orientalism-and-narration-sufi-past>; Carool Kersten, "Book Review-Laffan, Michael, The Makings of Indonesian Islam: Orientalism and the Narration of a Sufi Past," *Journal of the Humanities and Social Sciences of Southeast Asia* 169, no. 1 (2013): 158–160, <https://doi.org/10.1163/22134379-12340012>; Mulyani, "Tatawzur Al-Tarbiyah Al-Islamiyyah (Surau) Fi Minangkabau," *Studia Islamika* 4, no. 1 (1997): 173–199, <https://journal.uinjkt.ac.id/index.php/studia-islamika/article/view/790>.

reconciled religion and customs in the Pariaman community by integrating “*adat basandi syarak, syarak basandi Kitabullah*” (the custom is based on sharia, sharia is based on the al-Qur’an). Therefore, TS was introduced and accepted in the Pariaman society as a tradition that determines their culture in term of religion and custom.

The TS’s acceptance as a spiritual school enabled acculturation and peace, forming the community’s traditions. TS is accepted as the community’s religious tradition as a spiritual sect or Pariaman culture. TS supports its acculturation with the local culture to accept their traditions as a spiritual expression,¹⁷ without conflict. TS entities adapt to local traditions and simplify the tariqa for the community’s acceptance. It colors the community’s traditions as a spiritual reference in their activities. The Pariaman community’s acculturation forms an ethno-tariqa based on TS’s spiritual identity.

TS identity adapted to the local culture creates a different expression from the TS in other areas.¹⁸ The “local faces” expression is separated from the ethno-tariqa formation due to the peculiarities between each region accepting and adopting TS. The ethno-tariqa describes tariqa as a spiritual school without a strict and rigid entity but as a dynamic identity in all situations and conditions.¹⁹ The Pariaman society’s formation of ethno-tariqa is determined by the TS and local cultural connection with a dynamic side. The ethno-tariqa in the Pariaman community integrate TS into their culture. The TS and local culture unification connect the spiritual

¹⁷ In the context of TS’s experience that comes from *Shaykh* ‘Abd al-Rauf, he was able to adapt to the local culture of his community. For example, TS entered the Pariaman-Minangkabau cultural tradition through *Shaykh* Ulakan, into Sundanese culture through *Shaykh* Muhyi Pamijahan, and through *Shaykh* Abdul Malik into the Malay world in Terengganu Malaysia.

¹⁸ Werner Kraus, *The Shattariyya Sufi Brotherhood in Aceh Arndt Aceh: History, Politics and Culture*; et.al. Sri Kuhnt-Saprodewa, *Nationalism and Culture Revival in Southeast Asia: Perspectives from the Centre and the Region*, ed. Volker Grabowsky and Martin Grossheim Sri Kuhnt-Saprodewa, 1st ed. (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1997), 179, <https://catalogue.nla.gov.au/catalog/674964>.

¹⁹ Werner Kraus, *The Shattariyya Sufi Brotherhood in Aceh Arndt Aceh: History, Politics and Culture*; Sri Kuhnt-Saprodewa, *Nationalism and Culture Revival in Southeast Asia: Perspectives from the Centre and the Region*.

doctrine and society's culture. The Pariaman community's TS practice is homogeneous based on a certain community's traditions and cultural acceptance, creating an identity as a value system to determine good and bad.²⁰

TS in the Pariaman community is "themselves" because of the long adaptation process, which continues to enter "into" the community between generations and cannot be distinguished from local cultural entities.²¹ TS is part of the Pariaman culture that forms life values in their current customary system or as a reference for their activities, including a value system differentiating good and bad. It is an "ethnic self" identity strengthened by maintaining TS as part of the ethnic self through society's doctrines and traditions.²² Various doctrines and traditions are maintained through spiritual rituals as part of the Pariaman community's culture. Maintaining the TS tradition in the Pariaman community in the face of globalization is getting stronger, changing their lives. The TS identity and tradition are integrated into the Pariaman community's activities and strengthened through spiritual life. Globalization enables localities to survive and thrive in society.

The Pariaman society's TS identity is a value system that determines the people's attitude toward adhering to tradition or the community groups disregarding tradition. The TS value system determines the

²⁰ Roni Faslah, "Tarekat Syathariyah di Padang Pariaman: Dinamika Peran Tuanku Dengan Kaum Adat Terhadap Keagamaan di Ulakan, Pariaman" (UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta, 2019), 185 https://www.academia.edu/45143652/TAREKAT_SYATHARIYAH_DI_PADANG_PARIAMAN_PERAN_TUANKU_DENGAN_KAUM_ADAT_TERHADAP_KEAGAMAAN_DI_ULAKAN_PARIAMAN.; Roni Faslah & Ahmad Khoirul Fata, "Islam, Adat, dan Tarekat Syattariyah di Minangkabau," *Al-Ittibad Jurnal Pemikiran dan Hukum Islam* 6, no. 2 (2020): 1–19.

²¹ My observations in Medan city and Bekasi city found that the younger generation of Pariaman-translocal follows all kinds of traditions that take place, especially at the Burhanuddin Ulakan Mosque, without understanding that what is practiced is part of the TS tradition in it, for example, in the traditions of fasting, holidays, death, and others.

²² Agustianda, "The Influence of Sufism Thought Shaykh Burhanuddin among the Minangkabau Community in Medan City," *Journal of Islamic Thought and Muslim Culture (JITMC)*, 2, no. 1 (2020): 18–33, <http://jurnal.uinsu.ac.id/index.php/lubb/article/view/8586>.

Pariaman people's practices because groups that ignore or reject TS are considered to disregard their hometown traditions.²³ The community's TS tradition is maintained through its doctrines and traditions. The Pariaman community practices various TS rituals even in overseas land as a maintained TS tradition by those directly involved in reviving the community's doctrine and tradition. Additionally, those not involved in the practice process understand that various rituals are part of the "living traditions" in the Pariaman community.²⁴

The TS doctrine and tradition reference the Pariaman community's diversity. Spiritual life activities are associated with TS as a unified identity in the community.²⁵ TS as an ethno-tariqa is a society's spiritual reference that helps maintain traditions, especially in the Pariaman community, which identifies *Tuanku* as a spiritual and traditional leader. *Tuanku* is important as TS's *murshid*, or spiritual leader.²⁶ Their position in the social structure of Pariaman guides the community's spiritual life and life problems, including social, political, and economic. They advise and guide the community using their spiritual depth and their mastery of the value system in society. The Pariaman community, as a religious community, upholds spiritual elements in their life activities, including cultural and economic practices associated with TS.²⁷

TS is important in people's lives because it involves all life activities. As an ethno-tariqa, it is applied to people's activities that grow and develop in their hometown and link them with the outside world. It

²³ Interview with Tuanku Hasan Bastri, August 29, 2020.

²⁴ Interview with Tuanku Hasan Bastri, August 29, 2020.

²⁵ Suryadi, "Shaikh Daud of Sunur: Conflict between Reformists and the Shattariyyah Sufi Orders in Rantau Pariaman in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century."

²⁶ Azyumardi Azra, "The Significance of Southeast Asia (the Jawah World) for Global Islamic Studies: Historical and Comparative Perspectives," *Kyoto Bulletin of Islamic Area Studie* 8, no. (2015): 69–87, <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/39321713.pdf>; Christine Dobbin, "Islamic Fervour as a Manifestation of Regional Personality in Colonial Indonesia: The Kamang Area, West Sumatra, 1803-1908," *Archipel* 56, no. (1998): 295–317, https://www.persee.fr/doc/arch_0044-8613_1998_num_56_1_3493.

²⁷ Roni Faslah, "Tarekat Syathariyah di Padang Pariaman: Dinamika Peran Tuanku dengan Kaum Adat terhadap Keagamaan di Ulakan, Pariaman."

is a community spiritual tradition, especially in maintaining and developing traditions considered original values in society, despite the TS's spiritual leadership.²⁸ TS in the Pariaman community has undergone no significant changes because its traditions are part of society's value system that continues to develop. It is a reference in all aspects of life, especially for people connected to the outside world, as it influences their values and social systems. However, as the Pariaman community culture shows, TS is stringent in maintaining the changes in society. The TS and current tradition's contestation reflect a strong value system maintained by the Pariaman community. It is guarded as part of the Pariaman-Translocal community's traditions and culture, indicating cultural resistance through the community's development.²⁹

Older people upholding and preserving its traditions help facilitate TS resistance. Furthermore, Medan and Bekasi cities showed resistance against the younger generation's new elements, especially in spiritual institutions like mosques and *surau*. Both cities are plural and open through the diversity of their communities.³⁰ Mosques and *surau* are guarded by older groups to comply with their hometown traditions.³¹ TS reflects the older generation's strength in guarding TS traditions from challenges but disregards the younger generation's input on new ideas for social development. The mosques and *surau* affiliated with TS are spiritual institutions that can resist religious development. Ethno-tariqa is a permanent identity in society's dynamics due to its interpretation and the Pariaman community.

²⁸ Interview with Tuanku Hasan Basri, August 29, 2020.

²⁹ Duski Samad, "Tradisionalisme Islam di Tengah Modernisme: Kajian tentang Kontinuitas, Perubahan dan Dinamika Tarekat di Minangkabau" (Pascasarjana UIN Syarif Hidayatullah, 2003), 56, <https://onsearch.id/Record/IOS5951.11784?widget=1#details>.

³⁰ Abu Bakar, "Tarekat Syattariyah Ulakan di Kota Medan" (UIN Sumatera Utara, 2020), 104.

³¹ Interview with Tuanku Syahril, June 18, 2019, and Tuanku Hasan Basri, August 29, 2020.

TS in the Translocal Region

The Pariaman community migrates from their hometowns to new areas.³² Nomad community groups connect through similar homelands and cultural ties, legitimized by spiritual connection. Based on their traditions, the Pariaman-Translocal groups have a liaison with TS as an ethnic and spiritual identity. TS in Pariaman society is a liaison between ethnic groups and their hometown.³³ The community's religious diversity is based on TS aspects as a tradition that simplifies the people's religious practices with a spiritual pattern. TS has integrated with the Pariaman community's traditions and culture, especially those living in their hometown or the Pariaman-translocal group. Connecting ethnicity or ethnic groups is achieved by building relationships based on TS in community life activities, including overseas lands.

Medan and Bekasi cities apply TS to form the ethnic groups' identities and connect Pariaman-translocal with the Pariaman ethnicity.³⁴ TS practice is based on religious traditions, determining the Pariaman-translocal community's traditions originality in their society because everything about "self" and ethnicity reflects their hometown. The religious traditions and practices originate from the village and assess the Pariaman-translocal community's tradition.³⁵ Therefore, different traditions are considered deviant. The Pariaman-Translocal community is

³² Meghan Downes and Paritosh Kobbe, "Merantau and Minangkabau Modernities: Stories of Mobility in Prose and Practice," *University of Freiburg Paper Series 35* (Freiburg: Southeast Asian, University of Freiburg Paper Series 35, 2017), https://www.southeastasianstudies.uni-freiburg.de/Content/files/occasional-paper-series/Op_35-2.pdf/view; Tsuyoshi Kato, "Rantau Pariaman: The World of Minangkabau Coastal Merchants in the Nineteenth Century," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 39, no. 4 (1980): 729–752, <https://doi.org/10.2307/2055180>.

³³ Suryadi, "The Recording Industry and 'Regional' Culture in Indonesia: The Case of Minangkabau" (Leiden University, 2014), 126.; R. J. Chadwick, "Matrilineal Inheritance and Migration in a Minangkabau Community," *Indonesia*, no. 51 (1991): 47–81, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/3351065>.

³⁴ Interview with Tuanku Syahril, June 18, 2019.

³⁵ Interview with Tuanku Syahril, June 18, 2019, Tayar Yusuf, "Kehidupan Tarekat di Sumatra Barat: Studi Kasus tentang Basapa di Ulakan-Pariaman" (IAIN Syarif Hidayatullah, 1998), 45.

connected to their homeland, which influences their life in an overseas land.

The Pariaman-translocal community referencing their traditional village shows a strong connection with local traditions to maintain originality with their hometown. At the same time, referencing the village makes TS a determinant of religious traditions and practices in overseas lands. TS reflects their original tradition to achieve sustainability between TS and the Pariaman tradition. The village's influence as a spiritual reference is reflected in the Pariaman-translocal community's religious practices, such as the "*maliek bulan*" tradition.³⁶ The "*maliek bulan*" (looking at the month) tradition determines the beginning and end of Ramadan's fasting worship. The Pariaman-translocal community fasting rituals are based on their hometown; hence, Ulakan determines TS. As shown by the Pariaman-translocal community in big cities whose religious practices are based on their village, the village rules must be implemented. Determining the beginning and end of Ramadan is based on different views held by the government or religious organizations. TS follows its worship implementation by combining *ru'yat* and local wisdom.

The Pariaman-translocal community's tradition and interpretation of TS follow the Pariaman community group in their hometown. The Pariaman-translocal group has different experiences from their hometown. The "old generation" adapts to the overseas community by maintaining and referencing the village to establish TS affiliations.³⁷ The groups are multi-ethnic and multi-cultural, with their own ways of maintaining TS traditions. Furthermore, the community in Medan City builds a network with other ethnic groups to maintain each other's traditions by strengthening the community and spiritual

³⁶ Muhammad Rhazes Adiasa, "Penentuan Awal Ramadhan Tarekat Syattariyah di Minangkabau" (Sekolah Pascasarjana UIN Syarif Hidayatullah, 2015); Adlan Sanur Tarihoran, "Maliek Bulan': Sebuah Tradisi Lokal Pengikat Tarekat Syatthariyyah di Koto Tuo Agam," *Islam Realitas* 1, no. (1) (2015): 35–43, <https://moraref.kemenag.go.id/documents/article/97406410605863789>.

³⁷ Interview with Tuanku Hasan Basri, August 29, 2020.

institutions. Spiritual institutions connect the Pariaman-Translocal community and the TS spiritual actualization in the overseas community.³⁸

TS in Bekasi city strengthens doctrines and rituals, especially in spiritual institutions like mosques. Mosques revitalize the Pariaman culture and implement cultural activities, such as weddings, or those connected to the Pariaman community's traditions referencing their hometown. The mosques maintain the Pariaman-translocal culture, unifying TS and their culture. TS in the overseas lands is related to spiritual aspects and maintains the community's culture; hence, it is important in Pariaman-translocal community life.

The Pariaman-translocal community's social identity in Medan and Bekasi City connects with TS in the village through mosques and *surau* formed by self-help communities. The spiritual institution, *Shaykh* Burhanuddin Ulakan, becomes their spiritual and ethnic identity, connecting the Pariaman community overseas.³⁹ Mosques and *surau* maintain and preserve TS religious traditions in the Pariaman-Translocal community. The village's traditional activities are practiced in the religious institutions formed by the Pariaman community. As a spiritual and traditional figure, *Tuanku*, assisted by *Labai* and *Fakiab*, formed the two spiritual institutions in their different roles; *Tuanku* guides and refers to the Pariaman-Translocal community's traditions.⁴⁰ He supported maintaining village traditions in the Overseas and TS sustainability in the

³⁸ Jemmy Harto, "Surau as Education Institutions of Muslim in Minangkabau (Study the Role Sheikh Burhanuddin Ulakan in Building Education System of Surau in Minangkabau 1100-1111 Ah)," *Tawazun: Jurnal Pendidikan Islam* 9, no. 1 (2018): 71–94, <https://doi.org/10.32832/tawazun.v9i1.1231>.; Desy Aryanti, "Surau Syekh Burhanuddin Ulakan, Pariaman and Islamization of Minangkabau," in *Simposium Antarabangsa Muafakat Minang: "Sejarah, Budaya dan Teknologi Serta Senibina* (Negeri Sembilan, Malaysia: Politeknik Port Dickson, Negeri Sembilan, Malaysia, 2014), 1–10.

³⁹ Erwati Aziz, Mohammad Dzofir, Aris Widodo, "The Acculturation of Islam and Customary Law: An Experience of Minangkabau, Indonesia," *QIJS: Qudus International Journal of Islamic Studies* 8, no. 1 (2020): 131–160, <https://journal.iainkudus.ac.id/index.php/QIJS/article/view/7197>.; Imanaga Seiji, "Islamization and Sufism in Indonesia," *Shimane Journal of Policy Studies* 5, no. March (2003): 1–13, https://www.u-shimane.ac.jp/img/old_post_img/20230402150329_4/seisaku501.pdf.

⁴⁰ Observations conducted in Medan city and Bekasi city.

Pariaman-Translocal community.

Labai and Fakiab assisted *Tuanku* as a reference for TS to maintain and conduct the community's traditions.⁴¹ He was passive and active as a TS leader, especially strengthening TS doctrine and traditions in the Pariaman-Translocal community through scheduled recitation activities called "self-assessment." The Pariaman-Translocal community adapts TS through self-study to explore spiritual elements and become a better person following the TS doctrine.⁴² *Tuanku* in Medan City conducts the TS recitations in various places, visiting different *surau* or houses.⁴³ In contrast, Bekasi city has a more passive *Tuanku* that preserves TS only in mosques and *surau*. The TS is conducted at a certain time and attended by the Pariaman-translocal community from various regions to maintain the tradition. The recitation is through spiritual and social relations connecting the Pariaman-Translocal community. They connect the Pariaman community, forming solidarity among migrants to help and advance each other in economic and political aspects.⁴⁴

The TS is conducted in the regional language, especially the Pariaman ethnic language, based on their hometown to maintain originality and facilitate ethnic ties. The regional language unifies the community to facilitate TS internalization in every Pariaman-translocal community.⁴⁵ The regional languages are important in the TS recitations and are strengthened by the writings in the same language. As an integral part of Pariaman society, TS is connected with their ethnicity. Furthermore, Medan and Bekasi cities have preserved the local languages in TS studies because the communities are part of the Pariaman-

⁴¹ Abu Bakar, "Tarekat Syattariyah Ulakan di Kota Medan.", 110; Agustianda, "The Influence of Sufism Thought Shaykh Burhanuddin among the Minangkabau Community in Medan City."

⁴² Ali Nurdin, "Sejarah dan Perkembangan Ajaran Syekh Burhanuddin di Kota Medan" (Pascasarjana UIN Sumatera Utara, 2010), 31; Oman Fathurrahman, *Tarekat Syattariyah di Minangkabau: Teks dan Konteks*.

⁴³ Interview with *Tuanku* Hasan Basri, August 29, 2020.

⁴⁴ Abu Bakar, "Tarekat Syattariyah Ulakan di Kota Medan.", 120

⁴⁵ Abu Bakar, "Tarekat Syattariyah Ulakan di Kota Medan.", 125.

translocal ethnic group. However, a few other community groups are involved in various activities. The recitations are conducted despite the group's Pariamanization through ethnic closeness or intermarriages to become part of the Pariaman community. Locality in TS doctrine and tradition strengthens the TS for the Pariaman-Translocal community to maintain tradition.

The Pariaman-translocal community's TS actualization references the village; for example, mosques and *surau* affiliated with TS follow the village in various religious rituals, such as implementing the Friday sermon in Arabic. This practice is maintained by the view that the Prophet preached in Arabic.⁴⁶ Therefore, Arabic sermons are preserved in the village and adapted to overseas lands. The Arabic sermons are distinctive and differentiators between the TS and other groups. The Arabic sermon text has been a legacy since the beginning of TS, developed by *Shaykh* Ulakan and succeeded by *Tuankeu*. Maintaining the Arabic sermon tradition reflects self-identity affirmation and the developments that orthodoxy is a choice in maintaining and caring for TS's traditional life.

The TS adaptation into the Pariaman culture is shown in the *Salawat dulang* tradition, which is maintained and preserved even in overseas lands. *Salawat dulang* tradition is conducted in certain situations, such as *manlid*, *isra' Mi'raj*, *hawl*, and others.⁴⁷ It is conducted by reading various poems and local music containing the core TS doctrine. This tradition is part of the TS and Pariaman culture integration. The leaders of the TS group have developed it by incorporating modern changes while upholding tradition and referencing the village.

The Pariaman community in Medan City has several *surau* trying to adapt to the developments, especially dialogue with government policies

⁴⁶ Sermons in Arabic were practiced from the Shaykh Ulakan period until today. Friday sermons in Arabic are also known as *katubah ayyam* in Minangkabau language (*kebutbah al-ayyam* in Arabic), as daily sermons read during Friday prayers. The contents are a message of piety and good deeds.

⁴⁷ Suryadi, "The Impact of the West Sumatran Regional Recording Industry on Minangkabau Oral Literature," *Wacana, Journal of the Humanities of Indonesia* 12, no. 1 (2010): 35–69, <https://doi.org/10.17510/wjhi.v12i1.45>.

on their religion's dynamics. Negotiations with the overseas environment are interpreted as dialogue efforts with the current TS that contradict tradition. It was found that while maintaining the TS tradition, some *surau* implements rituals, such as the beginning of Ramadan, *Eid al-Fitr*, *Eid al-Adha*, were based on the government. However, others reference the village because TS holds religious authority, especially worship⁴⁸. TS determines its ritual schedule and implementation by combining the rukyah with local wisdom.

TS as Hometown “Reminder Tool”

The Pariaman-Translocal community in Medan and Bekasi City conducts TS's rituals, such as the *basapa* tradition and 40 days of prayer. These two traditions have a different meaning for the Pariaman-translocal community. Preserving the community's traditions is influenced by their hometown. Furthermore, certain groups in the Pariaman society set special times to conduct the traditions for spiritual aspects and liaison with other Pariaman ethnics in the overseas lands.

Basapa

The *Basapa* tradition refers to the month of travel, which has its meaning in the TS community groups, or Pariaman.⁴⁹ The month of *Safar* refers to the year of *Shaykh* Ulakan's death as the main murshid of TS in the Pariaman society. The *Basapa* tradition is conducted annually, and various ritual activities and are conducted to connect with their hometown and adapt the village life to the overseas community.⁵⁰ The Pariaman-

⁴⁸ Interview with Tuanku Hasan Bastri, August 29, 2020.

⁴⁹ Wilma Sriwulan and Andar Indra Sastra, “Shi'a and the Tabuik Tradition: A Religious Ritual in Aesthetical Packaging in the Pariaman Community of Minangkabau – West Sumatera,” *Arts and Design Studies* 83, no. (2020): 54–65, <https://iiste.org/Journals/index.php/ADS/article/view/53534>; Welhendri Azwar, “The Resistance of Local Wisdom towards Radicalism: The Study of the Tarekat Community of West Sumatra, Indonesia,” *Pertanika: Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities* 26, no. 1 (2018): 75–102, https://www.researchgate.net/publication/324766398_The_resistance_of_local_wisdom_towards_radicalism_The_study_of_the_tarekat_community_of_West_Sumatra_Indonesia.

⁵⁰ Ziaulhaq Hidayat, “Tariqa Shattariyya (TS) and Spiritual Tourism in Pariaman,

translocal community participates in this tradition of returning to their hometown as a “reminiscent tool,” which attracts crowds to the activities. The *basapa* is a spiritual tradition that commemorates the death of *Shaykh* Ulakan and has become a part of the Pariaman community.⁵¹

The Pariaman-translocal community views the *basapa* tradition as broader to actualize TS and return to their hometown to meet their family. They perform certain rituals to commemorate the *basapa* activities conducted in mosques or *surau* in their respective cities. The *basapa* tradition respects and internalizes the *Shaykh* Ulakan’s doctrines and traditions as the main TS characteristics. *Tuanku* and *Labai* have a special role in conducting this tradition as the main elements of maintaining and practicing the TS tradition in the Pariaman community overseas and their hometowns. The community practices the *basapa* tradition to imitate *Shaykh* Ulakan, who introduced TS to the Pariaman society. This tradition is conducted through a pilgrimage to *Shaykh* Ulakan and various formalized religious activities, such as prayer, remembrance, Salawat, and others.⁵²

40 days of prayer

The 40-day prayer is important in TS practice for the Pariaman community as the core ritual of Suluk in TS. The 40-day prayer involves seclusion by practitioners in a certain place, such as a mosque or *surau*, guided by the *Tuanku* and assisted by *Labai*.⁵³ The congregation conducting the ritual practices is formalized in the TS doctrines and traditions. Some people implement the 40-day prayer ritual by returning home to the mosque or place of worship connected to *Shaykh* Ulakan, accompanied by a mursyid or *Tuanku* as TS, the successor in their

Indonesia,” *International Journal of Religious Tourism and Pilgrimage* 11, no. 3 (2023): 125–134, <https://arrow.tudublin.ie/ijrtp/vol11/iss2/8>.

⁵¹ Duski Samad, “Tradisionalisme Islam di Tengah Modernisme: Kajian tentang Kontinuitas, Perubahan dan Dinamika Tarekat di Minangkabau,” 60.

⁵² Duski Samad, “Tradisionalisme Islam di Tengah Modernisme: Kajian tentang Kontinuitas, Perubahan dan Dinamika Tarekat di Minangkabau,” 70.

⁵³ Interview with *Tuanku* Hasan Basri, August 29, 2020.

hometown. Conducting the 40-day prayer in their hometown references the village as having more value in the doctrines and rituals for all spiritual aspects considered ethnic tradition.

Other congregations to conduct the 40-day prayer ritual in overseas lands. This technical option considers the time and funding spent to return home, preferring the city. The 40-day prayer ritual determines a practitioner's spiritual spirit within themselves. It requires a commitment to implement and accommodate the ritual. It was found that some Pariaman-translocal people in Medan city did not implement the 40-day prayer ritual, but certain groups from the older generation were the biggest part of the ritual practice. The older generation group does not perform eventful activities; however, they are involved in self-affirmation rituals to maintain tradition and self-improvement through the TS rituals.⁵⁴

The Pariaman-translocal community in Medan and Bekasi city follows the *Tuanku* as a spiritual leader and reference for all entities. *Tuanku* is an alternative for guidance and help; for example, people can ask or complain about cultural and economic issues.⁵⁵ Additionally, *Tuanku* can ask for prayer and medicine, especially medical practices based on local wisdom. *Tuanku* strengthens TS in the Pariaman culture and traditions because it is referenced in all community activities, such as marriage or death. Furthermore, it strengthens the overseas TS to occupy a high position.

It is not easy to become *Tuanku* in the Pariaman society in your hometown or overseas due to the long process of occupying important social structures. *Tuanku* is a group that connects to tariqa traditional Islamic education, especially TS. Educated groups in traditional Islamic education are called “*syiak* people,” who learn Islam, especially from society's traditions.⁵⁶ The “*syiak*” group in Medan and Bekasi city pioneers,

⁵⁴ Abu Bakar, “Tarekat Syattariyah Ulakan di Kota Medan.”, 155.

⁵⁵ Michael Laffan, *The Makings of Indonesian Islam: Orientalism and the Narration of a Sufi Past*.

⁵⁶ Interview with Tuanku Hasan Basri, August 29, 2020.

the TS formation and development in the Pariaman-translocal community, passed in two generations of *Tuanku* that maintained TS in the nomad community. *Tuanku's* efforts to strengthen TS in the overseas lands began by establishing *surau* and mosques, effective in Medan city, with various spiritual institutions spread among the Pariaman people. The *surau* and mosques affiliated with TS are built based on community self-help that is continuously developed. However, it is found that some spiritual institutions lack attention but still connect the Pariaman community.

Conclusion

The Pariaman community, especially those who have migrated to various regions of Indonesia, is an ideal example of how spiritual traditions, such as TS, can grow and develop in their society. TS has also merged into the lives of its people so that it can no longer be distinguished between the culture of the Pariaman people and the TS doctrine, and everything has become one in the community's traditions, including groups that migrate the mixing between culture and tarekat doctrine as part of the process of forming an ethno-tariqa. TS as an ethno-tariqa was formed by unifying the TS doctrines and rituals with the Pariaman community's culture. The TS and Pariaman culture unification linked their doctrines and rituals, proving that TS as a transnational tariqa can adapt to local culture by simulating society's needs, especially their realities. Additionally, as an ethno-tarikat, it forms the Pariaman community group's identity, especially for the younger generation to understand that TS involves ethnic identity to accept spiritually-based religious practices. TS is related to the spiritual-processing process and an integral part of the migrating Pariaman-Translocal community. It binds and reminds the community of their hometown, connecting those with TS ties.

TS references the hometown in all aspects of life to become an ethno-tariqa dominated by certain groups that liaison between the community and others, connecting between worlds. The Pariaman-

translocal community has a spiritual mission overseas to grow and develop TS in its migrations. This spiritual mission involves the TS unification with Pariaman culture to be interpreted as their hometown. Additionally, TS connects and reminds the Pariaman-translocal community of their hometown. Therefore, the hometown is an important place of return connected through TS.

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