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Submission date: 14-Dec-2023 02:20PM (UTC+0700)

Submission ID: 2258713520

File name: 3._ABu_bakar_Ziaulhaq.doc (192K)

Word count: 5688

Character count: 31050

From Hometown to the Overseas: Tuanku Hasan Basri (THB) and His Role in Developing Tariqa Shattariyya (TS) in Medan City, Indonesia

Abstract

This study aimed to discuss the role of Tuanku Hasan Basri (THB) in developing Tariqa Shattariyya (TS) in Medan City. THB, a murshid of Tariqa Shattariyya from Ulakan, Pariaman, West Sumatra, comes from the Pariaman community as the practitioners of TS integrated into the prevailing social traditions in Medan City. Therefore, the study question was about the role of THB in maintaining and developing TS. The results showed that THB played a role in increasing the number of *surau*s developments affiliated with TS in Medan City and lead to 27 active teaching groups as a spiritual and traditional leader.

Keywords: Tariqa Shattariyya, Tuanku Hasan Basri, *Surau* and Local Wisdom

Introduction

Medan is one of Indonesia's cities with many immigrants from Minangkabau,¹ especially from Pariaman in West Sumatra, which is unique from other community groups. The peculiarity of the community is its connectedness with Tariqa Shattariyya (TS) as the spiritual elements.² The spread of the people in this city is marked by a religious identity known as TS. They are part of a group that strives to present and maintain the traditions that apply in their hometown overseas. Therefore, they always adopt the TS-based religious identity everywhere, including Medan City.³

The many developments have made the Pariaman community's religious identity of the *surau* a spiritual and customary activity in Medan City. The spread of the *surau* affirms the self-identity and religious affiliation of the community. It cannot be separated from TS as a value system that applies in its society. Furthermore, *surau* is a means of spiritual activity and the development of TS in the community.⁴ TS is an important spiritual school in people's lives because it is an element of the tariqa and an integral part of the prevailing social traditions. The religious identity of the Pariaman people refers to the TS tradition that developed in their hometown. Therefore, bringing the TS overseas is a form of presenting the traditions that originated in their hometown.

TS developed in Medan City because of *Tuanku*'s role as a spiritual leader active in carrying out his duties and functions. *Tuanku*, as included in a community group with the legitimacy of an *ijaza* and *silsilah*, becomes a practitioner and developer of the TS.⁵ Therefore, Tuanku Hasan Basri (THB) played an important role in disseminating the TS network among the Pariaman community in Medan City or groups outside. THB is a primary figure in the guardian of the TS tradition in the Pariaman community. All existing *surau* directly connects with him, a murshid with in-depth knowledge and good skills in TS-based local wisdom. THB became a reference for the community's religion, value system, and traditions, and was actively involved in developing TS and *surau* in Medan City and the surrounding area.

TS-based religious activities always involve THB as a spiritual figure and an elderly group actively engaged in internalizing TS in people's lives. However, the dynamics are unavoidable, specifically concerning the management of *surau* as the basis for the development. All the policies that apply to religion still make THB the primary reference, whose strategic position in the

¹Tsuyoshi Kato, "Rantau Pariaman: The World of Minangkabau Coastal Merchants in the Nineteenth Century", *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 39 (4), 1980, 729-752.

²Carool Kersten, *History of Islam in Indonesia: Unity in Diversity* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2017), 59.

³Agustianda, "The Influence of Sufism Thought Shaykh Burhanuddin among the Minangkabau Community in Medan City", *al-Lubb*, 2 (1), 2020, 18-32.

⁴Elizabeth E. Graves, *The Minangkabau Response to Dutch Colonial Rule in the Nineteenth Century* (Singapore: Equinox Publishing, 2009), 49.

⁵Roni Faslah, "Tarekat Syathariyah Di Padang Pariaman : Dinamika Peran Tuanku dengan Kaum Adat Terhadap Keagamaan di Ulakan, Pariaman", (PhD Thesis, UIN Syarif Hidayatullah, 2019), 166.

development of TS is interesting to be explored in more depth. The role in TS development also relates to the traditional system in the Pariaman community.

Brief Biography of Tuanku Hasan Basri (THB)

THB came from Aie Masin Village in the Koto Mambang, Pariaman Regency, West Sumatra Province, and was born on February 5 1952, when the *surau* was an inseparable part of people's lives.⁶ THB came from a religious family directly related to TS. His father had studied at a *surau* connected to Tuanku Saliah and was widely known as a pious person and TS practitioner.⁷ Also, his father was very obedient and strict in maintaining and practising all things related to TS. In this situation, the young THB referred directly to the TS practiced in family and community life and spent his time at the *surau*,⁸ learnt part of the Pariaman tradition, and has been very familiar with the living traditions in the *surau* since childhood.

At the age of 11, THB was admitted to the Pondok Pesantren Dinul Ma'ruf (PPDM). The traditional Islamic educational institution still exists, although it has changed through ongoing developments. His father expected him to become someone with extensive religious knowledge, specifically based on the TS tradition. In 1963, THB entered the pesantren and was actively participated in all teaching, learning activities, and other extra activities.⁹ THB became acquainted with various branches of Islamic knowledge, such as Arabic, fiqh, tafsir and Sufism. In early education, the boarding school applied Arabic language teaching as a basis for studying Islamic sciences. Therefore, THB was introduced to science tools such as *al-jurūmiyya*, *matan al-binā' wa al-asās* for Arabic, and *al-kaylānī* for nahw. The Arabic lessons are completed in three to four months in groups under the *guru tuo* (senior teacher).

PPDM has rules that further education is only continued after understanding the basic Arabic language before introduction to other science lessons. Advanced classes are taught using various other books. For instance, the subjects of Qur'anic exegesis and *fiqh* are taught using *tafsīr al-jalālayin* and *minhāj al-ṭālibīn*, respectively. The books are an important part of developing mastery and knowledge in traditional Islamic education. PPDM education applies knowledge learnt as part of assessing students' abilities. THB was part of a group that quickly mastered the knowledge matter being taught after taking approximately eight years to complete all the subjects.¹⁰

When staying in PPDM, THB was introduced to TS Sufism as part of what is taught in educational institutions but not to all students. TS students are determined based on their mastery of the basic Islamic sciences of 'aqida and sharia. THB was one of students believed to be capable of accepting and practicing TS. Therefore, the studies involved practicing and developing TS.¹¹ A good mastery of Islamic knowledge prompted the teacher to teach him TS. People could practice and teach TS with adequate knowledge of social traditions and Islamic science, including tawasuf. The teacher trusted and allowed him into the TS lineage. This would enable him to master Islamic knowledge as a foundation for understanding Sufism, specifically TS.

THB received TS from Tuanku Syarif Imam, his teacher and the head of PPDM. Tuanku Syarif Imam was also the sixth TS liaison from Syaykh Burhanuddin Ulakan and the seventh from Shaykh 'Abd Rauf al-Sinkili. The last two figures were important in developing TS in Pariaman and Nusantara.¹²

⁶Interview with THB, December 10, 2021.

⁷Kevin W. Felder, *Indonesia's Islamic Revolution* (Oxford: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 79.

⁸Azyumardi Azra, "The Rise and Decline of the Minangkabau: a Traditional Islamic Educational Institutional in West Sumatra during the Dutch Colonial Government" (Theses, Columbia University, 1988), 12.

⁹Interview with THB, December 10, 2021.

¹⁰Interview with THB, December 10, 2021.

¹¹Zamakhsyari Dhofier, "The Pesantren Tradition: A Study of the Role of the Kyai in the Maintenance of the Traditional Ideology of Islam in Java" (PhD Thesis, The Australian National University, 1980), 255, Muhammad Latif Fauzi, "Traditional Islam in Javanese Society: the Roles of Kyai and Pesantren in Preserving Islamic Tradition and Negotiating Modernity", *Journal of Indonesian Islam*, 6 (1), 2012, 136.

¹²Azyumardi Azra, *The Origins of Islamic reformism in Southeast Asia: Networks of Malay-Indonesian and Middle Eastern Ulama in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2004), 70, Oman Fathurahman, *Tarekat Syattariyah di Minangkabau: Teks dan Konteks* (Jakarta: Prenada

Next
Syaykh Abd al-Rauf al-Sinkili
Syaykh Burhanuddin Ulakan
Tuanku Jenggut Hitam
Tuanku Abdurrahman
Tuanku Lima Puluh Malalo
Tuanku Aluna Koto Tou
Tuanku Panjang
Tuanku Syarif Imam
Tuanku Hasan Basri

Silsila of THB
Source from THB

THB accepted TS obediently and sincerely in each teaching stage. The teaching covered the aspects of practicing doctrine and rituals and was also based on reference books that became the grip of TS murshid in Pariaman. Good mastery of Islamic knowledge enabled him to efficiently study the TS genealogy and doctrine, accepted everything, and was deemed worthy to practice and develop the TS. Furthermore, THB completed studies and pursued local wisdom, specifically traditional medicine taught by his parents and teachers at PPDM. TS is inseparable from local wisdom, specifically the acculturation of TS into Pariaman culture.

After completing the education in PPDM, THB devoted himself to one year as a companion teacher in the educational institution.¹³ At that time, the tradition in his hometown adhered to the matrimonial system. Parents had pride in obtaining a son-in-law from among the pious and educated. Many parents asked him to become their son-in-law, though TBH was not ready to get married. This is because of the strong desire to increase knowledge, specifically in TS. Therefore, the decision was made to migrate to Aceh to stay with Syaykh Abd al-Rauf Sinkili, Syaykh Burhanuddin's teacher, and conveyed the intention to his teacher. Therefore, his teacher and parents blessed and allowed him to migrate but stopped in Medan City.¹⁴

Migration to Medan City

In 1973, THB migrated to Medan after being advised by his teacher and parents, despite the initial desire to move to Aceh. At that time, the Pariaman migration community was already quite developed in Medan.¹⁵ The life is different from other groups in the urbanization areas of Indonesia, where plural people intermingle.¹⁶ However, the people differ from the Pariaman community, which prefers living in groups in the Medan Denai Districts, dominated by nomads. Ethnic and regional identity is very visible in this area. The group identity is formed based on its regional elements, which continue to be turned on in Medan. An essential element of this identity stands out from TS, an integral part of the religious traditions. This is also visible overseas, where religious expressions show obvious TS elements.

In the early days, several TS-based *surau* became the centre for the community's spiritual activity. The religious leadership was held by a *Tuanku* known as Tuanku Ya'qub (TY), the spiritual leader of the Pariaman community in Medan City. TY was a TS practitioner connected to Tuanku

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Media Group, *École française d'Extrême-Orient, Pusat Pengkajian Islam dan Masyarakat (PPIM) UIN Jakarta, and KITLV-Jakarta*, 2008), 21.

¹³Interview with THB, December 10, 2021.

¹⁴Interview ⁸with THB, December 10, 2021.

¹⁵Usman Pelly, "Urban Migration and Adaptation in Indonesia: A Case Study of Minangkabau and Mandailing Batak Migrants in Medan, North Sumatra" (PhD Thesis, University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign, 1983), 42. ⁴

¹⁶Edward M. Bruner, "Urbanization and Ethnic Identity in North Sumatra", *American Anthropologist*, 63 (3), 2009, 508-521.

Saliah, a prominent TS figure in Pariaman.¹⁷ THB had several TS *surau* forming part of the spiritual activity centre in Gang Seto. The *surau* in the alley became the main base for the *Pengajian* TS (religious gathering) for the Pariaman community living in the area. In other areas outside the city, the community developed a TS *surau* in the Tebing Tinggi area. TY became an important spiritual figure and a reference for all TS-based religious activities. During his leadership period, TS was taught only through general recitation with no special rituals, as was the tradition in his hometown.

TY met THB in Medan City and knew his educational background and expertise in TS. TY asked him to help develop TS in the Pariaman community and was introduced to the people in the city and several other areas connected to TS.¹⁸ Subsequently, THB began to devote himself as a religious leader to accompany TY in carrying out his duties as a spiritual leader. Realizing that the people needed him, the intention to migrate to Aceh was dropped.¹⁹ For about ten years, they worked together until in 1982. All TS-based spiritual activities became his responsibility, widely known by the people and understood the social and political situation and became an active figure in the development of TS.

THB taught basic principles of TS-based spiritual activities to the Pariaman community, as well as specific and technical matters, specifically the doctrines and rituals practiced in his hometown. THB played an important role in the development of TS in Medan City because of his competence in this field. Consequently, TS's teaching increased significantly due to his ability in spiritual problems and knowledge of customs based on the Pariaman people's culture. THB carried out his duties and functions as a spiritual figure by developing TS and establishing various new *surau*. The *surau* is an inseparable part of the Pariaman community because the id is a means of TS-based spiritual development and connects the nomads in Medan City.

THB's activities were generally related to TS through recitations and cultural activities of the Pariaman community. The activities played by THB involved strengthening TS for the community and interested groups outside the city. Another aspect that supported THB's success in developing TS related to the TS entity that has become part of the unified tradition in the Pariaman community, which cares about maintaining the traditions.²⁰ This group always revives the Pariaman tradition wherever it migrates to fulfil the need for TS as a spiritual community.

The number of *surau* in the Pariaman community continues to increase through non-governmental organizations and always involves THB. His strategic position as a spiritual and traditional figure makes him always awaited and needed, with a busy schedule in every religious activity in the Pariaman community. All existing *surau* always carry out the same tradition as in their hometown. However, the *surau*'s role dynamics cannot be avoided because of differences between the people. The role requires involvement in all religious ritual or cultural activities. THB dedicated himself to the development of TS and all related activities. In the early days of his leadership, TS continued to show significant development in the Pariaman community, specifically the elderly group. The connection with TS must be fulfilled because it is directly related to community traditions.²¹

Surau as TS's Identity

Surau is the Pariaman community's religious and cultural identity and a place for worship.²² It continues to grow among its people, specifically in Medan. Furthermore, it is separate because it is an identity integrated with the community. The presence of a *surau* affirms that the

¹⁷Interview with THB, December 10, 2021, Abu Bakar, "Tarekat Syattariyah Ulakan di Kota Medan" (PhD Thesis, Fakultas Ushuluddin dan Studi Islam, UIN Sumatera Utara, 2020), 21.

¹⁸Interview with THB, December 10, 2021.

¹⁹Interview with THB, December 10, 2021.

²⁰Meghan Downes and Kobbe, Paritosha, "Merantau and Minangkabau Modernities: Stories of Mobility in Prose and Practice", *University of Freiburg Paper Series* 35, 2017, 9, Suryadi, "The recording industry and 'regional' culture in Indonesia: the case of Minangkabau" (PhD Thesis, Leiden University, 2014).

²¹Interview with THB, December 10, 2021.

²²Abdul Wahid Hasyim and Yulia Kartika, "Harakatul Nah Mosque: Minang Identity and Islamic Mission in Diaspora (Rantau)", *Islam Realitas*, 6 (1), 2020, 23, M. Haviz, "Designing and Developing a New Model of Education Surau and Madrasah Minangkabau Indonesia", *Jurnal Pendidikan Islam*, 6 (1), 2017, 79-100.

community strongly maintains the traditions. People always strive to maintain the traditions and customs, including in overseas lands.²³

Under THB's leadership, various *surau* was established in Medan City through community self-help. The establishment involved collecting funds voluntarily during traditional and religious activities, such as the *mawlid* of the Prophet, *isra' mi'raj*, Islamic holidays, weddings, and deaths. THB became a pioneer that mobilized to raise funds to establish a *surau* or repair parts that needed development. Community participation in raising funds for constructing a *surau* was relatively high. The people have a tradition of donating money to affirm self-existence and social status in community groups. Financial support also came from individuals or groups participating in constructing *surau*. Money or materials were given to support the establishment of the *surau* in various areas in the city.

Surau is a facility and infrastructure for the TS study and an integral part of people's lives. All existing *surau* is connected to THB as a religious and traditional leader for the community. People always asked him for opinions and directions for all community activities for the common interest or personal needs. Another task was to ensure that the existing *surau* maintained society's prevailing doctrines and traditions related to TS. Six of the fourteen *surau* established in Medan City have been transformed into mosques with the same roles and functions. The *surau* and mosques were named Syaykh Burhanuddin Ulakan to affirm that the spiritual institution connected with TS.

No	Establishment	Mosque/ Surau	Address
1	1957	Masjid Syekh Burhanuddin	Jln. Bakti Gang Seto
2	1958	Masjid Syekh Burhanuddin	Jln. Utama No. 72
3	1960	Masjid Syekh Burhanuddin	Jln. Rawa II Gang Langgar Ujung
4	1960	Mesjid Syekh Burhanuddin	Jln. Denai Gang Kumis II
5	1965	Mesjid Syekh Burhanuddin	Jln. Denai Gang Jati
6	1966	Mesjid Syekh Burhanuddin	Jln. Denai Gang Mesjid
7	1957	Surau Toboh Gadang	Jln. Ismailiyah Gang Toboh
8	1966	Surau Syekh Burhanuddin IK-Sukur	Jln. Rawa II Gang Tani
9	1968	Surau Syekh Burhanuddin VII Koto	Jln. Bromo Lr. Tenteram
10	1975	Surau Syekh Burhanuddin	Jln. Pimpinan
11	1978	Surau Syekh Burhanuddin	Jln. Bromo Lr. Trimo
12	1980	Surau Syekh Burhanuddin Impak	Jln. Bakti Gang Seto
13	1990	Surau Syekh Burhanuddin	Jln. Rawa Gang Nangka
14	1998	Surau Syekh Burhanuddin/Tuanku Hasan Basri	Jln. Bromo Lr. Trimo

List of *Surau* TS in Medan City
Source from Bakar

Transforming a *surau* into a mosque relates to the community's needs, specifically for religious rituals, such as Friday prayers. The change is also a form of tolerance, a strategy for the Pariaman community with other communities, and the expansion of religious traditions with outside groups. This means that changing the *surau* into a mosque provides a broader space for all people to be part of the congregation. However, the religious rituals carried out still refer to the TS tradition.

Several mosques have been previously mentioned as having the same name as the *surau* as the base for all religious activities of the Pariaman community. Everything about the traditions

²³Auda Murad, "Merantau : Aspects of Outmigration of The Minangkabau People" (Theses, The Australian National University, 1978), 19, R.A. Kern, "The origin of the Malay Surau", *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 29 (1), 1956, 179-181.

prevailing in the hometown is practised in this spiritual institution. As a religious leader, THB ensured that all activities follow the provisions in their hometown.²⁴ The hometown is also an integral part of the Pariaman community in the overseas land. Therefore, efforts to realize traditions in their hometown become a basic need for the community groups.

Surau is integral to the Pariaman people's lives and moral responsibility. In Medan City, it is connected by appointing *Labai* and *Fakiah* as the group responsible for ensuring that all religious activities are carried out.²⁵ *Labai* and *Fakiah* are responsible to *Tuanku* as the figure that authorizes the two groups to ensure that everything in the *surau* is carried out properly. THB plays *Tuanku* as an elder figure in all matters related to TS and maintains traditions according to what is occurring in his hometown. In his duties as *Tuanku*, THB is responsible for matters related to *surau* and makes the necessary policies.²⁶

Surau is a facility and infrastructure for community religious activities according to the diverse traditions integrated with TS.²⁷ Religious activities are carried out by referring to traditions in their hometown. THB is a leader with authority in determining activities, specifically policymaking. The religious activities and rituals also show the spiritual identity of TS, such as conducting traditions after prayers by remembrance and reading. Similarly, Friday prayers and sermons are carried out using Arabic and delivered by THB or a group mandated by *Tuanku*.

Spiritual activities are part of TS's doctrine, and rituals were carried out at the *surau* during a 40-day prayer ritual. TS doctrines and rituals are continuously maintained, practised, and internalized in the community.²⁸ Rituals are generally followed by worshipers from the old group, while the younger group is rarely involved due to their limited number.²⁹ The 40-day prayer is only for the older generation, though there is no age limit. It is carried out in a *surau* under the leadership of THB as a spiritual leader. These rituals are a continuous process to maintain the consistent implementation of congregational prayer and practices taught by *Tuanku*. Furthermore, *surau* is a place for the Pariaman community to determine the beginning and end of Ramadan by following the *maliek bulan* (look at the moon) tradition as part of the TS tradition that applies in their hometown.³⁰

Deployment of *Pengajian TS*

The *Pengajian TS* (teaching of TS) is essential for developing and strengthening the network among the Pariaman community in Medan City. The TS study enhances group-self about doctrines and rituals connected with the hometown as a reference for the value system prevailing overseas. The *Pengajian TS* is carried out continuously to maintain the people's self-identity under the direct leadership of THB, trusted by the people as a person that understood the hometown traditions. TS was developed and maintained through recitations as the main alternative to connect the community with social traditions.

The establishment of the *Pengajian TS* was also strengthened by ethnic ties connecting the people in Medan City. The binding element enhances the realization of the institution supported by clan ties between the people. Clans for these community groups are important, specifically in overseas

²⁴Agustianda, "The Influence of Sufism Thought Shaykh Burhanuddin among the Minangkabau Community in Medan City", *al-Lubb*, 2 (1), 2020, 12.

²⁵Interview with THB, December 10, 2021.

²⁶Interview with TB, December 10, 2021.

²⁷Nelmawarnia, "Minangkabau Migration in Aceh During the Colonial Era: The Reconstruction of Sheikh Jamee's Identity", *International Journal of Innovation, Creativity and Change*, 14 (3), 2020, 1086, Mulyani, "Tatawaur al-Tarbiyah al-Islamiyyah (Surau) fi Minangkabau", *Studia Islamika*, 4 (1), 1997, 186.

²⁸Syahril and Del Marjoni, "Jejak Perjuangan Syekh Burhanudin dalam Mengembangkan Ajaran Islam di Kabupat Padang Pariaman", *Tarikhuna: Journal of History and History Education*, 3 (1), 2021, 94, Afrinaldi, "Respon Komunitas Islam Moderen terhadap Aplikasi Ritual Islam Tradisional di Sekitar Makam", Abdul Razak Salleh, et.al., ed., *Diaspora Adat dan Kekerabatan Alam Minangkabau: Sebuah Kepelbagain Kajian Pemikiran* (Jakarta: Kemala Indonesia, 2015), 55.

²⁹Interview with TB, December 12, 2021.

³⁰Muhammad Rhazez Adiasa, *Penentuan Awal Ramadhan Tarekat Syattariyah di Minangkabau* (Ciputat: Cinta Buku Media, 2016), 27.

lands.³¹ Efforts to care for each other presented the *Pengajian* TS as the legitimacy of the clan ties. This step was also strengthened when TS became an integral part of the life of the community group. Another element that strengthens the recitation is tied to one village as a liaison by reviving the traditions prevailing in the hometown. Therefore, the TS becomes part of the tradition that connects groups with ties among villages.

THB developed the general (*pengajian umum*) and particular (*pengajian khusus*) TS-based recitations in Medan City.³² First, general teaching is a recitation conducted with a public lecture model related to TS doctrines and rituals initiated by people with specific intentions or desires. Teaching related to TS is carried out to strengthen the people's self-existence. Furthermore, general teaching is attended by the community and colleagues or families from other groups. It has no fixed schedule because it is based only on the needs of groups with an intention. In this teaching, THB usually delivers a public lecture on matters related to TS and issues related to the people overseas.³³

The general teaching is usually delivered in the regional Pariaman community language, though it is also interspersed with Indonesian. The regional language is used because the community groups always communicate with the language of origin of an area. The local language's general teaching is the special identity of the group. The teaching relates to efforts to meet the community's spiritual needs and maintain the traditions overseas. The group has strong ties to its traditional system. The general teaching is held in Medan and other areas, with THB as a reference figure.³⁴

General teaching is also an introduction to TS because it involves people with no special ties to *Pengajian* TS. This public teaching is important for the community group because it forms an attitude of caring and love for traditions. Furthermore, it is an effort to introduce the tradition to the younger generation or groups outside the community.³⁵ This effort is a strategic step to maintain the tradition and spiritual identity. It could continue to be maintained and developed by the community in the overseas land, remain present and become part of the activities in Medan City. This general teaching also opens a question-and-answer room between THB and the congregations, strengthening the public's interest in TS.

The general teaching also influences groups outside the Pariaman community interested in knowing and deepening TS. Some groups outside knew about TS through general teaching and started attending a special the *Pengajian* TS. The people in Medan City carry out general teaching containing TS at specific moments. The teaching involves THB as the main character because of his strategic position in the community.

Second, a particular teaching is directly related to internalizing TS doctrines and rituals to the Pariaman community groups in Medan City. It is the core recitation with special activities to benefit TS practice in daily life. This teaching is carried out at a specified time that is mutually agreed upon and is open to the public. Moreover, the commitment to its implementation is important because it follows the schedule of pilgrims or Pariaman nomads with limited time due to their busy activities.³⁶ Since the Pariaman community are generally traders, the time selected follows the group's schedule. The teaching is conducted every Saturday night under the tutelage of THB as a murshid and head of the *Pengajian* TS.

General provisions must be obeyed by the congregation involved in particular teachings, such as the obligation to follow ritual provisions and memorize the readings to be practiced in life activities. THB conducted particular teaching to members in a designated or other *surau*. However, the *surau* managed by him directly became where special recitations were mostly carried out to manage time. Particular teaching activities are carried out at a *surau* led by THB, though special

³¹Lucky Zamzami, "The Local Wisdom in Marine Resource Conservation for Strategies of Poverty Reduction In Indonesia" (PhD Thesis, Tokyo University, 2019), 6-7, 35.

³²Interview with THB, December 10, 2021.

³³Interview with THB, December 10, 2021.

³⁴Interview with THB, December 10, 2021.

³⁵Interview with THB, December 10, 2021.

³⁶Abu Bakar, "Tarekat Syattariyah Ulakan di Kota Medan" (PhD Thesis, Fakultas Ushuluddin dan Studi Islam, UIN Sumatera Utara, 2020), 30.

recitations could be held at other *surau*. The time taken for teachings at other *surau* is more limited than when directly by him.³⁷

Particular teaching is part of TS's internalization of the Pariaman community in Medan City. The special recitation is implemented using the book "*Pengajian Tubuh* (learn about the body)" as a guide for the murshid but also given to worshipers. Special recitations have been carried out continuously and are generally attended by Pariaman community groups in Medan City and from outside. THB's high commitment has made the teaching called "learn about self" or "*Pengajian tasawuk* (learn about Sufism)". It is continuously followed by the Pariaman community groups, though particular teaching has social elements. The connection between fellow Pariaman nomads is important for their respective self-development and work. They become a liaison medium through particular teaching that strengthens community ethnic bonds and social networks.

THB has 27 deployments of *Pengajian* TS held in *surau* or certain houses in Medan City.

No	Deployment of <i>Pengajian</i> TS
1	Pengajian Jln. Bajak V Marendal
2	Pengajian Masjid Gg. Jati Jln. Denai Medan
3	Pengajian Surau Toboh Gadang Kp. Suduik Jln. Ismailiyah
4	Pengajian Surau Infak Jln. Seto Medan
5	Pengajian Pajak Tembung Medan
6	Pengajian Simpang Mandala Jln. Denai
7	Pengajian Gg. Sehat Jln. Denai Medan
8	Pengajian Gg. Sedar Medan
9	Pengajian Surau Syekh Burhanuddin Gg. Nangka Medan
10	Pengajian Surau VII Koto Gg. Aman Bromo
11	Pengajian Jln. Selamat Bromo Ujung
12	Pengajian Surau Gobah Ungku Kali Gg. Kumis
13	Pengajian Jln. Datuk Kabu Pasar III Tembung
14	Pengajian Masjid Nurul Huda Gg. Kumis Jln. Denai
15	Pengajian Masjid Syekh Burhanuddin Ulakan Gg. Langgar Ujung
16	Pengajian Jln. Rawa III/Simpang Pancasila
17	Pengajian surau Tuangku Hasan Basri Lorong Trimo Bromo
18	Pengajian Gang Taruna/Pajak Baru Medan
19	Pengajian Kaum Ibu-ibu Lorong Trimo
20	Pengajian Jln. Pertiwi Gg. Ayah Bunda Medan
21	Pengajian Gg. Aman Medan
22	Pengajian Kaum Ibu-ibu di Balerong Lr. Trimo
23	Pengajian Gg. Langgar
24	Pengajian Jln. Denai di Rumah Simbolon
25	Pengajian Jln Cemara Rumah Jamiri Kaban SK
26	Pengajian Jln Besar Tembung di Rumah H. Bagindo Pintin Chan
27	Pengajian Jln Pasar V di Rumah Bagindo Ramli

Deployment of the *Pengajian* TS in Medan City
Source from Bakar

The table shows that THB is essential in disseminating TS in Pariaman community. The various points of TS learning continued to increase. However, there was also a decrease due to fluctuations in the Pariaman community in Medan City. This was evident in the change of residence

³⁷Agustianda, "The Influence of Sufism Thought Shaykh Burhanuddin among the Minangkabau Community in Medan City", *al-Lubb*, 2 (1), 2020, 32.

and shift of business fields which indirectly affected the congregation's participation in the *Pengajian* TS. Furthermore, THB is actively involved in maintaining and developing TS with assistance from *Fakiah* and *Labai* to carry out technical activities. This makes it easier to manage time with several teaching deployments carried out on special activities.³⁸ In maintaining the continuity of the *Pengajian* TS involved delegation of duties to several junior *Tuanku* to assist supervisors. This ensures that doctrines and rituals are consistent with the general provisions applicable to every *Pengajian* TS activity.

THB attended two to three teaching deployments in Medan City per night and assisted in ensuring that the *Pengajian* TS is implemented properly. These dense activities have a direct influence on strengthening TS. All activities connected with TS are always maintained and practiced by the community. Furthermore, various *Pengajian* TS points are connected, while community participation is based on each recitation. The existence of ethnic ties and TS doctrine makes each one connected. In his spiritual leadership, THB continued to improve himself with various sources related to TS doctrine and rituals. The improvement is realized through an in-depth study of the primary sources used as references for TS. THB also connected with the hometown as a reference in all Pariaman and TS matters.

TS and Local Wisdom

THB's legitimacy as a TS murshid is also supported by his ability to maintain and revive TS-based local wisdom in the Pariaman community of Medan City. Local wisdom related to traditional medicine is an integral part of the Pariaman community.³⁹ Although they live in a modern city, local wisdom is still powerful in community life, specifically from the older generation. The older generation born in their hometown has a direct connection with the local wisdom. Therefore, the tradition of local wisdom continues to be practiced, inspiring the younger generation regarding their profession of interest.⁴⁰

The connection of the Pariaman community in Medan City with TS-based local wisdom implies a belief system that every activity must comply with prevailing traditions. In this case, THB is always asked for advice due to his special mystical abilities, connection to TS practiced, and teaching the community.⁴¹ As an alternative, TS-based local wisdom is found with many Pariaman people coming to ask for prayers and other rituals related to traditions. The local tradition symbolizes the group's connectedness with Pariaman. The Pariaman community cannot separate themselves from the local wisdom because it is found in all activities.

THB's house always receives public visitors seeking prayers or other forms of help. According to THB,⁴² the various local wisdom activities were based on the TS traditions. Rituals such as remembrance, Shalawat, and prayer become inseparable from TS. The local wisdom practiced by the Pariaman community emphasizes that TS is a tariqa that has experienced acculturation with traditions. The other aspect focuses on doctrine and rituals formalized in TS and appears in the expression of the strong local wisdom. The various motivations of the Pariaman community who come to THB are a form of realizing what has been practised in their hometown. Making it occur again overseas is important to create a better life. These efforts are maintained as part of the prevailing tradition of people in the overseas land because the community always revives local wisdom wherever it migrates.

³⁸Interview 5th THB, December 10, 2021.

³⁹Sefriyono and Mukhibat, "Preventing Religious Radicalism Based on Local Wisdom: Interrelation of Tarekat, Adat, and Local Authority in Padang Pariaman, West Sumatera, Indonesia". *Sosiohumanika*, 11 (1), 2018, 1-18.

⁴⁰Welhendri Azwar, "The Resistance of Local Wisdom towards Radicalism: The Study of the Tarekat Community of West Sumatra, Indonesia", *Pertanika*, 26 (1), 2018, 86-97.

⁴¹Interview with THB, December 10, 2021.

⁴²Interview with THB, December 10, 2021.

Some local wisdom activities relate to tradition in opening new businesses.⁴³ Since the Pariaman community generally works as traders or entrepreneurs, they venture into business by practicing local wisdom. They believe that their business is not entirely related to the marketing strategy developed by a trader. It must also be supported by spiritual activities to avoid bad things that could hinder the success of entrepreneurship. As a spiritual leader, THB carried out certain rituals learned from his hometown to practice local business wisdom.⁴⁴ THB is visited by ordinary people, civil servants, officials, party leaders, and others seeking prayers to achieve their goals.

Conclusion

The role of THB in developing TS in Medan City relates to his social position as a spiritual and traditional figure with broad authority to maintain and develop community traditions. This strategic position has a supporting element in developing the TS, an integral part of the community's religious tradition. This facilitates the role in spreading TS into the community. The growth and development were also reflected in *surau* and mosques with a religious affiliation to TS. *Surau* and mosques are important facilities and infrastructure for the overseas Pariaman community to express their spiritual identity. Furthermore, various *Pengajian* TS deployments developed in Medan City and the surrounding area are fully connected to THB. The position of *Tuanku* or *murshid* is important in developing the *tariqa* and strengthening the TS network. This role was important in providing space for the weakening of TS in society. However, his leadership role is limited due to age and health factors, necessitating efforts to regenerate TS leadership in Medan City to maintain its sustainability in the community.

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