

## **Spiritual Brotherhood of Mandailing Ethnic Groups Abroad through Tarekat Naqshabandiyah Khalidiyah Jalaliyah (TNKJ)**

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### **Abstract**

This study aims to demonstrate that the Mandailing Tribe, who are predominantly Muslim in North Sumatra, utilize TNKJ as a means to foster spiritual brotherhood while away from home. The research method used is qualitative and data was obtained through direct observation at TNKJ JABABODETABEK. Furthermore, the analysis uses data reduction techniques, data presentation, and drawing conclusions. This study found that global developments have changed the new face of Sufism which is seen as a path to God, transforming spiritual tribalism. The order which has been seen as a path for Sufis to get closer to God, has undergone a transformation of orientation towards ethnicity in strengthening brotherhood while away from home. The focus of this research is Jakarta, Bandung, Bogor, Depok, Tangerang, and Bekasi (JABABODETABEK). These places seem to represent the formation of the spiritual brotherhood of the Mandailing tribe while away from home to get closer to God. This spiritual phenomenon with an ethnic background certainly needs to be studied in depth because it raises the question of why TNKJ has become a link for the Mandailing tribe while away from home.

**Keywords:** *TNKJ, Mandailing Ethnicity, Tribal Sufism, Dalihan Na Tolu.*

### **Abstrak**

Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk membuktikan bahwa Suku Mandailing yang mayoritas beragama Islam di Sumatera Utara menjadikan TNKJ sebagai tempat membangun persaudaraan spiritual di perantauan. Metode penelitian yang digunakan adalah kualitatif dan data diperoleh melalui observasi langsung di TNKJ JABABODETABEK. Selanjutnya, analisis menggunakan teknik reduksi data, penyajian data, dan penarikan kesimpulan. Penelitian ini menemukan bahwa perkembangan global mengubah wajah baru tasawuf yang dipandang sebagai jalan menuju Tuhan, mengalami transformasi ke arah tribalisme spiritual. Tarekat yang selama ini dipandang sebagai jalan kaum sufi dalam mendekatkan diri kepada Tuhan, mengalami transformasi orientasi ke arah suku bangsa dalam mempererat hubungan persaudaraan di perantauan. Fokus penelitian ini mengambil lokasi di Jakarta, Bandung, Bogor, Depok, Tangerang, dan Bekasi (JABABODETABEK). Tempat-tempat tersebut seakan menjadi representasi terbentuknya persaudaraan spiritual suku Mandailing di perantauan untuk mendekatkan diri kepada Tuhan. Fenomena spiritual berlatar belakang suku bangsa ini tentu perlu dikaji secara dalam karena

menimbulkan pertanyaan mengapa TNKJ menjadi penghubung suku Mandailing di perantauan.

**Kata kunci:** *TNKJ, Mandailing Ethnicity, Tribal Sufism, Dalihan Na Tolu.*

## INTRODUCTION

The Tarekat is a Sufi organization maintained by students to formulate their teacher's teachings as guidance in spiritual doctrine. The tarekat doctrine taught by students is usually named after their teacher. The Naqshabandiyah Tarekat, for example, is attributed to Bahaudin Bukhari Naqshabandi (1318-1389) (Qodim, 2022, pp. 22–23), the Qodariyah Tarekat is attributed to Abdul Qodir Jilani and the Naqshabandiyah Khalidiyah Jalaliyah Tarekat (TNKJ) is attributed to Haji Jalaludin (1882). Tarekat comes from the Arabic word *Toriqun*, which means path; in other words, it can be said to be a person's way of getting closer to God. Practitioners who practice the order are called Sufis or saliks and are sometimes called disciples. Meanwhile, the person with the highest authority in the congregation is called the *murshid*. All stakeholders, from the salik to the *murshid*, are bound together in one organizational forum called the tarekat or Sufi group.

In his journey, he is dynamic in keeping up with the times, from a divine orientation to the worldly. At the beginning of its emergence, this group had an absolute orientation towards returning to the heavenly way because they felt disappointed with Muslims who were involved in politics, which deviated a lot from the fundamental values taught by the Prophet Muhammad. Finally, along with their development, these Sufi groups experienced a metamorphosis towards exotericism, which still instilled in them the values of Sufism. The differences between rural and urban Sufi groups became the prototype representing the changes in the new face of this Sufi. Research by Martalia and colleagues concludes that contemporary Sufis experience a shift in Sufi life patterns from asceticism to transformation into hedonic behavior (Ardiyaningrum, 2017, p. 221).

Sufi forms in the urban middle class are religious programs in various forms. Starting from courses and seminars with themes around spirituality, Sufism courses, and special classes studying Islam guided by Islamic figures and scholars, to television programs guided by teachers, *ustadz*, and lecturers who appear neat and smartly dressed, and in certain stages are also entertaining. It was through a special spiritual development program that eventually became a

particular brand that Bayat finally promoted what he called active piety. This is what he then classified as a new style of religiosity (Bayat, 2007, pp. 150–151).

One of the orders that has received a lot of attention from scholars and researchers and is considered to have a role in people's lives is the Naqshbandiyah Tarekat. In his experience, this congregation is not only able to build spiritual awareness, but more than that, it is also able to build social life in society in its own way. The role of this tarekat is proven by its ability to engage in dialectics with power which is considered as part of an effort to survive and at the same time expand networks to strengthen influence so that it is accepted and obtains a strategic position within the protection of power, so that it is not uncommon for the tarekat to become the main partner of the authorities in a reciprocal relationship strengthening each other's position each in society (Algar, 1990, pp. 45–56).

Muliyani said that the tarekat's ability to build communication with the rulers had slowly become a political movement that inherited the current system of government in Iran. At that time, Safiudin Darbili, the murshid of the tarekat, succeeded in changing the direction of the tarekat into a practical political movement, thus forming the Safawiyah dynasty (Muliyani, 2018). Changes in the orientation of Sufi groups have become more massive with the times, recent research has shown that Sufi movements are affiliated with economic movements such as the Global Ikhwan in Malaysia (Syahrul & Hidayat, 2021, pp. 268–289). Furthermore, one of the interesting congregations raised in this research is the Naqshabandiyah Khalidiyah Jalaliyah in North Sumatra. This Sufi group has many networks outside the island of Sumatra and the network focus that the author will raise takes place in Jakarta, Bandung, Bogor, Depok, Tangerang and Bekasi (JABABODETABEK).

In JABABODETABEK, this order is dominated by migrants who are of the Mandailing ethnic group, every moment of spiritual encounter such as tawajuhan, zikir Syazali and Suluk becomes an event for the establishment of spiritual brotherhood of this ethnic group. The kinship that is established in the Batak tribe, especially the Mandailing, has often been studied in various studies. For example, Sumule's research states that the Batak community is often nicknamed the migrant tribe, so that it is often found in big cities and small towns. Even in the land of migration, the Batak tribe in general will remain bound by the cultural customs they have (Sumule, 2022). In their migration, this

tribe will hold the purpose of life as a basic principle, namely inviting relatives to succeed or be serious in studying, being polite to older people and spreading goodness or covering up badness as stated by Suharto in his article (Suharto et al., 2024).

Furthermore, Arcindy's research proves that the marsiadapari tradition has become a hereditary tradition for the Batak tribe that has taken root. This tradition has a philosophy to foster the values of mutual cooperation, family, and friendship among the community (Aricindy et al., 2023). In theory, this study found that tribalism has formed a new model in the face of Sufism, while in practice it shows that tribal-based spiritualism can maintain local wisdom even though it is far from its place of origin. This study aims to prove that TNKJ, which is located in JABABODETABEK, is the choice of the Mandailing ethnic group in carrying out their spiritual life. Of course, in this study, the author highly recommends that further researchers conduct an in-depth study of whether the philosophy of Dalihan Natolu is the main cause of the glue of this brotherhood in the Mandailing tribe. At least the author can conclude that spiritual tribalism is a new model in the study of postmodern Sufism.

## **RESEARCH METHOD**

This research uses a qualitative phenomenological approach. Data was obtained from the young sheiks who became murshid intermediaries in various mystical houses located in JABABODETABEK and the Khalifas, who contributed to the congregation's development. Apart from that, documentation methods are also used to collect data on the portrait and composition of the population from social and cultural aspects and religious aspects that support the focus of the study. Furthermore, the data is processed by selecting data that is the focus of the study. Furthermore, the selected data will be simplified and then displayed in an easy-to-understand narrative form, and then the data will be concluded. Miles Huberman uses this analysis technique in this type of qualitative research.

## **RESULT FINDING AND DISCUSSION**

### **Overview of TNKJ**

The Naqshabandiyah Order (TN) is a spiritual organization founded by Baha' al-Din Naqshabandiyah with the aim of preserving the spiritual teachings

that he formulated in following the path of Sufism or divinity. In the Naqshabandiyah tradition, a student who has received a diploma is permitted by the murshid to continue the teachings of the tarekat and add the name of the tarekat to his name. Therefore it is often found that the Naqshabandi order is combined with the name of the murshid who founded it . The addition of the Khalidiyah ratio to accompany the Naqshabandiyah is a name that is attached after the 30th genealogy period of Rasulullah SAW, namely in during the time of Maulana Shaykh Khalid Kurdi, the periodization is as follows: 1) During the time of Sayyidina Abu Bakar Shidiq until the time of Shaykh Taifuriyah it was called Shidiqiyah; 2) From the time of Shaykh Taifuriyah to the time of Khawajagh Shaykh Abdul Khaliq Fajduani was named Taifuriyah; 3) The period from Shaykh Abdul Khaliq to Shaykh Bahauddin al-Bukhari is called the Khawajakaniyah; 4) The period of Shaykh Bahauddin al-Bukhari to Shaykh Ubaidullah Ahrar is called Naqshabandiyyah; 5) The period of Sheikh Ubaidullah until Imam Rabbani was named Ahrariyah; 6) From the time of Imam Rabbani to Maulana Shaykh Khalid it was called Mujaddidiyah; 7) At the time of Maulana Shaykh Khalid until now it was named Khalidiyah (Mubarak, 2017).

The experience of the development of TN in the Southeast Asian region, or more specifically Indonesia, can be seen that practically the murshid of the tarekat also opens himself up to other elements, both in terms of adaptation efforts from other tarekat, or relevance to the needs of the situation faced by the murshid. In Indonesia the development of TN is very significant with various variants of network forms spread throughout the region. It also forms revitalization efforts for certain murshids, such as the Qadiriya wa Naqsyabandiyah Order (TQN) as a form of murshid creative ideas combining two large tarekat into one, the Naqsyabandiyah Muzahiriyah Tarekat (TNM) (Racman & Ismail, 1991, pp. 100–105; Widiyanto, 2013, pp. 103–116) an affiliated congregation from the Indian region developed in the East Java region, the Naqsyabandiyah-Khalidiyah Order (TNK) spread to almost all parts of Indonesia. Various variants of TN are also referred to as in development having specifications based on the identity that appears, either through the murshid or the area of distribution. For the Sumatra region, for example, there are various variants of TN, such as the Naqsyabandiya Jabal Abi Qubais Order (TNJAQ), the Naqsyabandiyah-Khalidiyah Babussalam Order (TNKB), the Naqsyabandiyah-

Khalidiyah Order Kadirun Yahya (TNKKY), and others (Hidayat, 2019, pp. 64–65; van Bruinessen, 2007, pp. 225–251).

TNKB, one of the oldest congregations in North Sumatra, is precisely located in Besilam Village, Langkat Regency, Padang Tualang District. The first murshid from TNKB was 'Abd al-Wahhab Rokan (28/9/1811-27/12/1926) or better known as Tuan Guru Babussalam (Laffan, 2011, p. 59). He is a Ulama and leader of the Naqsabandiyah Order. In this village there is the grave of Sheikh Abdul Wahab Rokan, also known as Sheikh Besilam, who was a student of Sheikh Sulaiman Zuhdi (Hidayat, 2014, p. 62; Said, 1998, p. 30), in Jabal Qubais Mecca (Copty, 2003). After the death of Sheikh 'Abd al-Wahab Rokan, the TNKB relay is currently being continued by his descendant Sheikh Zikmal Fuad. Counting from 'Abd al-Wahab to Zikmal Fuad the change of murshid has occurred twelve times (Alivia, 2016).

About two centuries ago, since the establishment of the TNKB, thousands of students have spread all over Malay lands. They have continued the dream of their first murshid, Wahab Rokan, to introduce this tarekat to various elements of society. One of his students who developed the Naqsyabandiyah-Khalidiyah Order was Salman Daim, a TNKB caliph under the guidance of mursid Muhamad Daud Rokan. Daud Rokan is the son of Wahab Rokan, he became the fifth murshid at TNKB. After completing his study of his tarekat in TNKB, Salman Daim was entrusted with continuing his knowledge attached to Syekh Muhammad Ali in 1962 and from him Shaykh Salman met Shaykh Jalaluddin in 1965 in Medan.

From this Shaykh he completed his tarekat knowledge, but in terms of genealogy he took from Shaykh Jalaluddin's path, therefore the tarekat developed by Sheikh Salman was named the Naqshabandiyah Khalidiyah Jalaliyah Congregation (TNKJ). This is because there are more levels than those studied at Basilam. If with Shaikh Daud Rokan he finished up to 7 levels (*Dhikr Ism Zat, Dhikr Lataif, Dhikr Nafi Ithbat, Dhikr Wukuf Qalb, Dhikr Muraqabah, Dhikr Ma'iyah, and Dhikr Tahlil al-Lisan*) (Lestari, 2017, pp. 14–15; Siregar, 2003) while with Shaikh Jalaluddin up to 17 levels (*Dhikr Ism Zat, Dhikr Lataif, Dhikr Nafi Ithbat, Dhikr Wukuf, Muraqabah Mutlaq, Muraqabah Ahadiyah al-Af'al, Muraqabah Ma'iyah, Muraqabah al-Aqrabiyah, Muraqabah Ahadiyah al-Zat, Muraqabah Zat al-Sharfi wa al-Buhti, Maqam Mushahadah, Maqam Muqabalah, Maqam Mukashafah,*

*Maqam Mukafahah, Maqam Fana fillah, Maqam Baqa billah, and Maqam Jama' Uns'u billah*) (Daim, 2024).

The Naqshabandiyah Khalidiyah Jalaliyah (TNKJ) Order is located in Simalungun, North Sumatra in Bandar Tinggi Village. The congregation is very diverse because this place is the main center of activities for conducting spiritual graduation - students who are declared to have graduated to become Young Sheikhs -. Meanwhile, congregations in other places who want to attend spiritual graduation must come to this place. The spiritual brotherhood based on ethnicity in Bandar Tinggi is almost invisible because the congregation is very heterogeneous but different from the congregation on the island of Java. This means that the congregation on the island of Java, especially in JABABODETABEK, is dominated by the Mandailing ethnic group, therefore researchers see that there is a tribal factor that is the basis of this brotherhood.

Mandailing, a tribe originating from North Sumatra, is more visible in its culture when they become TNKJ congregations in the diaspora, this is what makes it unique compared to other TNKJs. Previous TNKJ research has never found any ethnic link with this order, at least research on spirituality with ethnicity has only been found in the research of Rowkith and Bhagwan who found the involvement of tribes in spirituality in India (Rowkith & Bhagwan, 2020). Furthermore, spiritual involvement with the Shona tribe in Zimbabwe written by Maenzanise (Maenzanise, 2013). As for research on TNKJ, it is more discussed about its teachings and uniqueness in formulating the determination of the months of Ramadan, Shawwal and Zulhijjah.

Shaykh Salman Daim was the founder and first murshid of TNKJ, but on Tuesday 16 October 2018 he died at the age of 78 and the leadership relay of TNKJ was led by his son, Muhhamad Nur Ali. Structurally, this congregation is different from other Naqshabandiyah congregations. The main leader is called the murshid, the second is the young sheikh, the third is the caliph, the fourth is the tahlil and the fifth is the golden child. Each individual has a task that must be carried out. The task of a murshid is to collect all the dhikr read by adherents and evaluate them when they preach to him.

The job of the young shaykh is to replace the role of the murshid if the murshid is not physically present in the assembly or the mystic house that he founded when performing the khalwat ritual, namely *tawajuh*, *khatam kwajagan*, *yasinan* and so on. The young shaikh has the right to reprimand the caliph if

there is a violation of suluk etiquette which is not in accordance with adab. The caliph's function is to bathe the repentance of new members who join the TNKJ and also teach the rites, rituals and manners that must be practiced for a TNKJ congregation. Tahlil functions as a TNKJ servant in carrying out all activities carried out by this bond and golden children are members who have just joined whose studies have not yet reached the *Muraqabah Ma'iyah* (Z. H. Lubis, 2017).

If you look at the genealogy between the TNKB and TNKJ, both of them are separated on the 26th genealogy

The following is the genealogy of the Naqshabandiyah Khalidiyah Jalaliyah teachers:

- |                                |                                    |
|--------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1. Prophet Muhammad SAW        | 2. Abu Bakr al-Siddiq              |
| 3. Salman al-Farisi            | 4. Qasim bin Muhammad bin Abu Bakr |
| 5. Ja'far al-Siddiq            | 6. Abu Yazid al-Bustami            |
| 7. Abu Hasan Kharqani          | 8. Abi Ali Parmadi                 |
| 9. Yusuf Hamdani               | 10. Abdul Khaliq Pajduwani         |
| 11. Arif Riyukuri              | 12. Mahmud Anjiri                  |
| 13. Ali Rami Thani             | 14. Muhammad Babassamasi           |
| 15. Amir Kulali                | 16. Bahauddin Naqshbandi           |
| 17. Alauddin al-Tahari         | 18. Ya'kub Jarkhi                  |
| 19. Abdullah Ahrari Samarkandi | 20. Muhammad Zahidi                |
| 21. Dervish Muhammad           | 22. Muhammad Khauzaki Amanaki      |
| 23. Muhammad Baqi Billah       | 24. Ahmad Faruqi Sarhindi          |
| 25. Muhammad Ma'sum KS         | 26. Syaifuddin KS                  |
| 27. Nur Muhammad Badawani      | 28. Syamsuddin Janjanani           |
| 29. Abdullah Dahlawi           | 30. Khalid Qurdi                   |
| 31. Abdullah Effendi           | 32. Sulaiman Qurmi                 |
| 33. Sulaiman Zuhdi             | 34. Ali Ridha                      |
| 35. Prof. Dr. H. Jalaluddin    | 36. DR. Salman Daim                |

The teacher's lineage is through the line of Shaykh Abdul Wahab Rokan, separate at lineage number twenty-six.

- |   |                     |
|---|---------------------|
| 26. Abdullah Hindi  | 27. Diyau al-Haq    |
| 28. Ismail Jawi Minangkabawi  | 29. Abdullah Afandi |
| 30. Sulaiman Qurmi  | 31. Sulaiman Zuhdi  |
| 32. Abdul Wahab Rokan al-Khalidi al-Naqshabandi (Said, 2001, p. 40.17). |                     |
| 33. Muhammad Dawud Rokan.   |                     |

### **TNKJ Mandailing Ethnic Liaison**

The Mandailing ethnicity is one of the ethnic groups or tribes in Southeast Asia. Geographically, this tribe lives in Mandailing Natal Regency, North Sumatra Province. Mandailing Natal Regency is on the west coast of North



Sumatra, which borders West Sumatra (Luthan, 2015). Most Mandailing people live by working in the fields. They consider themselves more polite than other Batak groups. Like most other Batak people, the Mandailing people are very proud of their culture. One of the most important characteristics of the Batak culture is the *dalihan na tolu* (3 Hearths) which is a system of carefully constructed tiered relationships between the three kinship groups.

Before the Mandailing area became a district in 1998, it was still included in the South Tapanuli district. The establishment of the Mandailing Natal Regency and being separated from the previous regency was a long struggle carried out by the Mandailing tribe since the Dutch colonial period. This struggle began with the desire for a separate government that reflected the social, cultural and political identity as well as the religion adhered to by the Mandailing tribe. If we look at the historical background, around nine centuries ago the name Mandailing emerged and became known to the outside world. During the Majapahit era, this area was known as part of the archipelago. This was revealed in the 13th verse of the first Ztanza in the book *Negarakartagama* by the Majapahit poet Mpu Prapanca which was published in 1395 (E. Lubis, 2016, pp. 14–15).

In the 15th to 17th centuries a network of Sufi scholars affiliated with Mecca was formed in Tapanuli marked by the return of several scholars from Batak lands to their hometowns. Hamzah Fansuri, for example, a Sufi figure who has the *wihdatul* concept of being from Barus port, has introduced Sufi teachings to the land of Tapanuli (Barus) (Riddell, 2001, p. 105). His student Samsudin al-Sumatrani continued his teacher's teachings about *wihdatul wujud*, but he transferred more of his mystical knowledge to the people of Aceh just like his teacher Hamzah Fansuri (Ni'am, 2017, pp. 263–271). The spread of Sufi teachings in this century was interrupted because the Sufi figures spent a lot of time teaching outside their home villages.

Entering the century after that, Islam entered Tapanuli with the spread of Islam by the Minangkabau people who were initiated by Imam Bonjol. This ethnic response to Islamic law was also well received because they were influenced by the Padri who were in conflict with the Indigenous People who did not agree with the implementation of Islamic law in West Sumatra (Parlindungan, 2007). The feud between these two groups sparked the Padri War which occurred in the Karajaan Pagaruyung area from 1803 to 1838.(Arifian,

2016, pp. 13–19; Cuisinier, 1959) Before this ethnic group converted to Islam, their main beliefs were animism and *parmalim* (Situmorang, 2017, p. 3).

The invasion of the Padri into Batak lands was the forerunner of the widespread spread of Islam in this region, Tuanku Rao ( 1790-1833) to Tuanku Tambusai (1784-1882) (Abdullah, 1979, p. 223), who became the leader of the Padri in the invasion and at the same time spread Islam in this region (Hadler, 2008, pp. 25–32).

The wave of the spread of Islam was even more widespread after the return of Mustafa Husen (1886-1955) from Mecca to Mandailing in 1914. He founded the oldest and first Islamic boarding school in Tapanuli which is associated with his name, namely the Mustafawiyah Islamic Boarding School. The Sufi style (Pulungan, 2017, pp. 25–32) of the santri houses will be visible to the eye looking along the ancient village road of Mustafawiyah. This Sufi- style Islamic boarding school eventually became the initiator for the establishment of other traditional Islamic boarding schools in Tapanuli. Darul Ulum Muara Mais, for example, which was founded by Abdul Wahab Lubis (1914-1991) in Tapanuli, has the same style as Mustafawiyah, whose students' houses are designed in the Sufi style. It was also in this century that TN was spread to Mandailing by Sheikh Abdul Muthalib Manyabar (1874-1937) when he decided to settle down with his family in Manyabar after his return from Mecca in 1923 after 50 years of living there (Syahnan et al., 2019, pp. 264–269).

Since the establishment of the Mustafawiyah Islamic Boarding School, the Sufi institution or tarekat in Mandailing has become widely known in Tapanuli, including the Mandailing ethnic group, which is one of the largest ethnic groups in this area. The increasing number of Mandailing people who migrate to various regions in Indonesia in search of a more stable livelihood, many of them are usually equipped with self-care knowledge from the sheikhs in their hometowns. These sheikh gentlemen, most of whom are alumni of the ancient Mustafawiyah, are taught this science-self-care- at the seventh level with the aim of good so that people who practice it are protected and good fortune is provided (Erawadi, 2014, pp. 82–83).

A Sufi institution based in North Sumatra, namely TNKJ, which has dozens of mystical houses, several Islamic boarding schools, and hundreds of tawajuhan houses scattered in various cities in Indonesia, has become a strong link for the Mandailing ethnic group overseas. The reason is that this Sufi

institution, apart from being a place to study religious knowledge, is used as a place for the unity of the Mandailing ethnic group who are overseas. Starting from the islands of Sumatra, Kalimantan, Sulawesi and Java, where the Mandailing ethnic group migrated to these islands, surely this ethnic group will meet at the mystic house in the area. For example, the Mandailing ethnicity living in Jakarta, Bandung, Bogor, Depok, Tangerang and Bekasi (JABABODETABEK) has a Darussalam suluk house in the form of a luxury villa located in Kampung Pasir Jawa, Loji, Cigombong District, Bogor Regency. Once a month TNKJ holds remembrance sazali after the Isa prayer at Darussalam in order to strengthen the religious spirit. In the afternoon after Asar, groups of ethnic Mandailing arrive from JABABODETABEK by renting mini buses or private cars to attend this monthly ritual event. Apart from being spiritually connected under the guidance of a murshid, this ritual is a gathering place for the Mandailing ethnic group. All the characteristics of the Mandailing people in their hometown will be seen very clearly when they are in this Darussalam house, in terms of language and food, everything is Mandailing.

There are various types of tarekat in JABABODETABEK, such as Qodariyah Naqsbaniyah (QN), Naqsbaniyah Haqqani, Tarekat Idrisiyah (TI), as far as the author knows and observes, most of their congregations consist of various ethnicities and Javanese are the majority ethnic group that joins most of these tarekat. In the author's opinion, what makes TNKJ a Mandailing ethnic hub compared to other orders in JABABODETABEK, *firstly*, is the place of origin of TNKJ which is in Simalungun, North Sumatra. *Second*, the TNKJ murshid namely, Sheikh Salman Daim is the Khalifah of the TNKB which is also in Langkat, North Sumatra. On the other hand, TNKB is well known to the people of North Sumatra, including the Mandailing ethnic group, as a place *for tazkiyat al-nafs* from the Dutch colonial period.

Third, the acculturation of Mandailing culture with Malay culture that has long occurred in northern Sumatra makes the Mandailing ethnic group closer to the Malays than the Batak ethnic group. In terms of identity, this ethnic does not accept when it is classified as Batak ethnicity which is synonymous with Christianity. In Langkat and Simalungun itself, it is difficult to differentiate between Malay and Mandailing people because Mandailing people often use Malay when speaking Indonesian. The religious level of Malay people who are so high towards Islam makes this ethnicity very close in terms of belief. *Fourth*, the

longing of these ethnic nomads for the Mandailing culture which is hard to come by overseas. *fifth*. There are many TNKJ mystical houses outside North Sumatra and TNKJ members are actively recruiting fellow ethnic Mandailing. *Sixth*, the marriage ties of respected figures in TNKJ with the Mandailing Ethnicity, Syekh Salman Daim is married to the Silalahi clan while the suluk house which is the Darus Safa Islamic boarding school in Riau's Kandis is led by Anwar Sazali al Khalidi, son of Syekh Salman Daim. Sheikh Salman's grandson is married to Batara Siregar alias Mr. Maulana, son of a well-known businessman in Jakarta, namely Mr. Baginda Doli Siregar. The luxury villa in Cigombong, Bogor, which is used as the home of Suluk Darussalam, belongs to Mr. Doli Siregar, who he donated to TNKJ.

#### **Dalihan Na Tolu: Mandailing's Kinship System (*paralealeon*)**

The Batak tribe is divided into six sub-tribes or tribes, namely Toba, Karo, Pakpak, Simalungun, Angkola, and Mandailing. All of them are descended from Siraja Batak who came from Mount Pusuk Buhit which is adjacent to Sigulatti Hill on Samosir Island, Sianjur Mula Mula sub-district. In this place there are replicas of Batak ancestral statues of kings who passed down clan relatives which were built in 1995 by the Punguan Pomparan Guru Tetea Bulan Central Management Board (PPGTB). One of the life philosophies of the Batak tribe is to have many descendants of '*HAGABEON*,' (Valentina & Martani, 2018). Therefore, to maintain the Siraja Batak lineage in large numbers, a kinship system called *Dalihan Na Tolu* was formed.

*Dalihan Na Tolu* means three parallel and balanced furnaces. Based on this ethnic mythology, to sustain a dish, three burners must be aligned. *Dalihan* (furnace) is made of stones arranged in such a way that the shape becomes elliptical. One end of this pretext will be blunt and the other end is somewhat rectangular which is used as the foot of the stove. The stove consists of three stones formed with a width of 10 cm, a length of about 30 cm and a diameter of 12 cm. The stove cannot be molded exactly the same because it is carved from hard stone, but efforts are made to have the same height. The three stones are planted close together to form a triangle that is symmetrically spaced. It is always placed in the kitchen and is used as a cooking stove (Silitonga, 2010).

Before the entry of various other beliefs into the Batak tribe, this tribe was already familiar with the system of belief in spirits (*tondi*) and spirits (animism)

with a belief called *Ugamo Malim* or *parmalim*. *Debata Mulajadi Nabolon* is believed to be the God who created the universe (Nainggolan, 2021). The entry of other beliefs such as Islam, Protestantism and Catholicism experienced several shifts in the terms in *Dalihan Na Tolu*, but in substance they still have similarities.

*Dalihan Na Tolu* kinship terms, the earliest known as *Somba Marhulahula* (family from the wife's side or the woman/wife giving party), *Elek Marboru* (family from the son-in-law or the recipient of the woman/wife), *Manat Mardongan Tubu* (family friend). The spread of Islam through the Padri to the Batak lands, made some of these tribes embrace Islam so that cultural assimilation could not be avoided. The two clans of the six tribes that most embraced Islam were the Mandailing and Angkola tribes, so the concept of *Dalihan Na Tolu* also experienced changes in pronunciation. Mandailing ethnics call *Somba Marhulahula* as *Mora*, *Elek Marboru* as *Anak Boru*, and *Manat Mardongan Tubu* as *Kahanggi*.

There are two additional mythologies in *Dalihan Na Tolu*, namely, based on *bonang manolu* which means three threads. *Bonang manolu* consists of three color elements, red, white and black. These three threads are spun into one thread and it is called *bonang manolu*. The combination of these three threads cannot be separated because they are one unit with different color symbol meanings. The final mythology is based on the concept of *banua natolu*, which consists of *banua ginjang* (upper continent), *banua tonga* (middle continent), and *banua toru* (lower continent). These three continents are connected but all three are inhabited by different inhabitants. *Banua ginjang* is generally understood as the place of gods, *Banua Tonga* as the place of humans, and *Banua Toru* as the place of demons and people who have died (Butarbutar et al., 2020, p. 24).

In describing the attitudes and responsibilities of the three elements, they are not the same as a hierarchical or caste system, but their position is equal in position (egalitarian). (Sialaban & Pasaribu, 2020, p. 11) Sometimes the position of the three elements is like a wheel, there are times when someone can become *Mora* or *Boru* and or *Kahanggi*, all of these changes are based on time and place in traditional events. The elements of *Dalihan Na Tolu* kinship are *hula-hula* (wife giving party), *dongan tubu* (blood relatives) and *boru* (wife receiving party). The Batak ethnic way of behaving as regulated in *Dalihan Na Tolu*, namely; *somba marhula-hula*, *manat mardongan tubu*, and *elek marboru*, which means to

worship/respect hula-hula (wife giver), be careful (wise) towards donan tubu (relatives), and affection for boru (wife recipient) (Firmando, 2021).

The position of these three elements must be kept in balance so as not to cause conflict in the social kinship system, because if conflict occurs it is difficult for the Batak ethnic group to reconcile. Perhaps the status of 'Blue Blood' - descendants of kings - is what makes this attitude of defeatism not found in ethnic Batak people like kings who always feel right. Therefore, caution is highly respected by the Batak ethnic group when meeting at traditional events and socializing with fellow Batak ethnic groups. Apart from the three elements above, there is one element that is inherent in *Dalihan Na Tolu* as a complement to social life, namely *Sihal-Sihal*.

Significances are complementary in *Dalihan Na Tolu*. As stated at the beginning, if the cauldron's seat doesn't fit properly on the dalihan (stove) it will be supported by a stone called sihal-sihal. Initially, these sihals were played by Raja Huta (village king), but due to the mobilization of the Batak community which spread to various regions, no one else played the role of sihal-sihal played by the king of Huta. So the role of the sihal-sihal in the overseas lands of the Batak people was replaced by the pungan parsahutaon (a collection of one village). Because there is a saying of the Batak people, *Jonokan partubu, jonokan do parhundul*. This proverb has a meaning, the closer the kinship is, the closer the neighborly relationship (Marpaung, 2019, p. 12).

To maintain this kinship relationship, *Pertuturon/Martarombo*, who are known from the clans, need to know each other where the clan used in the identity of the name comes from. The aim is to maintain harmony, respect each other, maintain attitudes and help each other while overseas (Pasaribu, 2020). This momentum will occur when the rites are held by TNKJ on a weekly basis such as *Tawajuhan*, monthly such as *Zikir Syazali*, annually such as haul buya sepuh, *Khalwat* at the mystical house and Commemoration of Islamic Holidays (PHBI). These spiritual encounters make this ethnic collectively aware of the function of *Dalihan Na Tolu* in life to remain solid in maintaining tribal solidarity (Bedriati Ibrahim, 2019, pp. 5–6).

The role of Dalihan Na Tolu illustrates the new face of Sufism in the global era which is based on tribalism (*tribal Sufism*), meaning that the development of Sufism in urban areas which is dominant across ethnic groups is growing towards tribalism which is synonymous with traditional rural life. The

more modern the era, the more the old traditions strengthen their identity, this is the phenomenon that occurs in the spiritual transformation of TNKJ in JABABODETABEK.

## CONCLUSION

The spiritual concept actually does not recognize ethnic, racial or religious identity because spirituality is the basic essence in the human soul. This means that humans have the potential to know God, as a means of controlling themselves from the crisis they are experiencing without being tied to a particular identity, or in other words, the spiritual concept is universal. The presence of TNKJ in JABABODETABEK indicates a new spiritual model based on ethnicity or a particular group, while *Dalihan Na Tolu* is a neo concept that is experiencing transmission due to the spread of the Batak ethnicity outside their place of origin, namely North Sumatra. The spread of TNKJ in JABABODETABEK with congregations that are predominantly ethnic Mandailing shows that Sufism is undergoing a transformation towards spiritual tribalism. Furthermore, with this change, of course, new questions arise, whether during the development of the Sufism era experiencing exclusivity or inclusiveness. There needs to be further studies to explore this and the authors highly recommend future researchers to raise this issue.

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