

## **ACTUALIZATION OF MEANING AND MOTIVES FOR ENTERING THE SUFISM ORDER ON MAX WEBER PERSPECTIVE**

*(Study Of The Experience Of Tijaniyya Order Practitioners In Pesantren In  
Madura)*

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### **Abstrak**

Artikel ini menafsirkan aktualisasi makna inti keyakinan dan nilai-nilai inti Tarekat Tijaniyah oleh Kiai Djauhari, Kiai Tidjani dan Kiai Ahmad Fauzi, ketiganya adalah muqaddam Tarekat Tijaniyah serta pemimpin dan pengurus pondok pesantren, sekolah. Kajian ini menggunakan kajian fenomenologi di pondok pesantren Al-Amien Prenduan, dengan kaedah pengumpulan data pemerhatian, temu bual dan dokumentasi, seterusnya dapatan kajian, dianalisis menggunakan teori tindakan sosial Max Weber. Kesimpulan dari penelitian ini adalah aktualisasi makna inti keyakinan dan nilai oleh kiai Tarekat Tijaniyah di pondok pesantren Al-Amien Prenduan melalui teladan, serta menghayati amalan Tarekat Tijaniyah dalam tradisi pondok pesantren. , yang kemudiannya melahirkan 5 motif pengikutnya ketika memasuki Tarekat Tijaniyah, yang dinamakan motif talqin Tijani, iaitu motif tradisional, motif afektif, motif rasional instrumental, motif rasional nilai, dan motif intuitif.

Kata kunci: Makna, Motif Tindakan, dan Tarekat Tijaniyah

### **Abstract**

*This paper interprets the actualization of the core beliefs and values meaning of the Tijaniyya Sufi Order by Kiai Djauhari, Kiai Tidjani and Kiai Ahmad Fauzi, the muqaddam of the Tijaniyya Order as well as the leaders and caregivers of a pesantren. This is a phenomenological study, conducted at the Al-Amien Prenduan Islamic boarding school. Observations, interviews and documentation were conducted to collect data. Max Weber's theory of social action were employed to analyze the data. This study concludes that the actualization was performed through being the role models as well as internalizing the practice of the Tijaniyya in the pesantren traditions. This actualization process stimulates the emergence of five motives of talqin Tijani (entering the Tijaniyya Order). They are traditional motives, affectual motives, instrumentally rational motives, value rational motives, and intuitive motives.*

Keywords: meaning , motives, and Tijaniyya Order

## 1.0 INTRODUCTION

The members of Tijaniyya order believe that the *Salat al-Fatih* is the *salat* which was directly given by the Prophet to Sheikh At-Tijani through a face-to-face meeting in the *barzakh* world. In terms of virtue, they believe that reading this *salat* once is better than reading other *salat* by 100,000 nations, where every nation has 100,000 districts, in each district are 100,000 houses and each house contains 100,000 people who read the other *salat* for over 100,000 years. The virtue of *Salat al-Fatih* is equal to 600,000 of other *salats* (Al-Maghribi, 1971). Reading *Salat al-Fatih* is also believed to be equal to all *tasbeeh* and *takbir* ever recited on earth and is also equal to the virtue of complete recitation the Quran 6,000 times, some say it is equal to 6 times (Fateh, 2014; Husnain, 1909). The *Salat al-Fatih* also believed to be the solution for solving complicated problems, in addition to the effort to seek nearness and admittance to God, to be with Muhammad the Prophet, and to be protected from hell (Saifuddin et al., 2016).

This virtue is often conveyed by the leading scholars of the Tijaniyya Order or by the *muqaddam* of the Tijaniyya Order. This is different from what happened at the Al-Amien Prenduan Islamic boarding school. Although almost all of the leaders and caretakers of the boarding school are *muqaddams* of the Tijaniyya Order, such as Kiai Djauhari, Kiai Tidjani and Kiai Ahmad Fauzi, the three of them rarely tell their students about the great virtue, multiple rewards, of reading the *Salat al-Fatih* as what the followers of the Tijaniyya Order believe. The three kiai only convey the primacy of *Salat al-Fatih* to the internal followers or *ikhwans* of the Tijaniyya Order, not to the students of the Al-Amien Prenduan Islamic boarding school despite the capacity of the three as the highest leaders in their respective periods.

The three kiai preferred internalizing the noble values of the Tijaniyya Order into the students rather than speeches and lectures about the primacy of reading *Salat al-Fatih*. For example, Kiai Djauhari often conveyed the essence of gratitude on many occasions. One of Kiai Djauhari's words is '*sapa-sapa orang se tao lebet e pettengnga bakal tao jha' badha tera'na bintang*' (people who have walked in complete darkness can enjoy the light of the stars). This quote means that only people who have experienced the darkness and hardships of life will be able to feel the joys of life. Through this, these people will always be grateful for everything they receive from Allah and they will never give up. Kiai Tidjani also often conveyed the same message but in style. He often read and referred to Surah An-Naml verse 40 and Surah Ibrahim verse 7, two verses that invite people to be always grateful for what Allah has given. Kiai Ahmad Fauzi, the third generation, often invites students and teachers to grasp and comprehend the Quranic verse '*fabi-ayyi ala-i rabbika tatamara*', then which of the favors of your Lord do you doubt?

It is quite clear that the three kiai are a group of people who love Allah. The Jawahir Maani Book explains that the peak of one's love for Allah is in the form of gratitude to Allah for His various graces and gifts. These three kiai followed the prophet Muhammad. The prophet once woke up praying at night and someone said, "You are still doing this while your past and future sins have been forgiven." He replied, "*afala akunu abdan syakuran*" (Shouldn't I be a grateful servant of Allah?). The prophet Muhammad also said, "(You) love Allah because of the blessings He has given you, love me because of the love of Allah, and love my family because of your love for me." This hadith shows the same value that was shown by the previous prophets, namely loving Allah for the outpouring of His grace and blessing (Al-Maghribi, 1971).

What the three kiai do is in accordance with what is believed in the Tijaniyya Order. The Jawahir Maani book states that the peak of love for Allah is gratitude. This is how we, Allah's creatures, love Allah. In this state love, whose peak is gratitude, is the dignity of all of Allah's saints (Al-Maghribi, 1971).

For the above-mentioned reason, these three kiai always quote Quranic verses and hadiths about the noble values contained in the Tijaniyya Order, without showing that it is one of the beliefs in the order. What the three kiai have done, according to Max Weber, is one of good social action characteristics. This action is full of meaning, inner nature and, the most important, has a positive influence on others, which then attracts them to participate in doing the action (Ritzer, 2011). The actualization made by the three kiai makes numbers of students of Al-Amien Prenduan become practitioners of the Tijaniyya Order especially after their graduation. They want to follow or imitate their kiai, the practitioners of the order.

The continuously occurring phenomenon of Tijaniyya Order practices at the Al-Amien Prenduan is not only due to the legacy of its predecessor, from Kiai Djauhari to Kiai Tidjani which then continued by Kiai Ahmad Fauzi, but also because of the knowledge of these kiai about the virtues of practice and *wird* in the Tijaniyya Order. This continuity is relevant to Max Weber's theory of social action, which provides an understanding of the motives of individual behavior. It explains that individual behavior can be based on traditional actions, Affectual actions, instrumental rationality actions, and value rationality actions (Jones, 2003; Turner, 2012). Max Weber was provided for rationality in social actions, often social actions are emotionally based (Naseri, 2022; Sardehi, 2022). For this reason, this paper is aimed to interpret the actualization of the meaning and motives of Tijaniyya Order in Max Weber's social action perspective.

## 2.0 DISCUSSION

Kiai Djauhari, Kiai Tidjani and Kiai Ahmad Fauzi certainly took social action. It cannot be separated from their capacity as practitioners of the Tijaniyya Order. All of them are *muqaddams* of the Tijaniyya Order who are also caregivers of the Al-Amien Prenduan Islamic Boarding School. However, they do not use their power to oblige the students at the Al-Amien Prenduan Islamic Boarding School to become practitioners of the Tijaniyya Order.

During Kiai Djauhari's period, the spread of the Tijaniyya Order seemed to be more massive and open in Pondok Tegal, the educational institution that he founded. Kiai Djauhari regularly involved his students to take part in monthly activities held in turn in the homes of members of the Tijaniyya Order called *seventeenth activity*, held in every seventeenth day of the month. At that time, students attended the event were not as a practitioner of the Tijaniyya Order or Tijani Brothers, but only as Tijani Shubban. During this period, all students witnessed *Hailalat al-Jum'ah*, another formula chanted among other disciples on Friday afternoon before the sun down, which was held at the Tijani Majlis, located in the middle of Pondok Tegal.

It is different from the period of Kiai Tidjani and Kiai Ahmad Fauzi. During Kiai Tidjani period, students of Al-Amien Prenduan Islamic Boarding School no longer invited and participated in the *seventeenth activity*. This continues until now, in the period of Kiai Ahmad Fauzi. However, both Kiai Tidjani and Kiai Ahmad Fauzi as the leaders and caregivers of the Al-Amien Prenduan Islamic Boarding School still familiarize their students and teachers with reading the *Salāt al-Fātih* after every five daily prayer and on the preamble for every school activity. The actions of Kiai Djauhari, Kiai Tidjani and Kiai Ahmad Fauzi cannot be separated from their capacity as *muqaddams* of Tijaniyya Order. Their action has an impact on student involvement in the order, both they who attended the *seventeenth activity* and they who accustomed to reading the *Salat al-Fatih* in daily and regular basis.

Although the students are not involved in the Tijaniyya order during the period of Kiai Tidjani and Kiai Ahmad Fauzi, some students and teachers are interested in becoming practitioners of the Tijaniyya order. This is because they consider the two

kiai to have charisma. Max Weber argues that high trust in a leader often gives birth to obedience at the highest level, which is sometimes classified as irrational. Therefore, a leader who is obeyed and followed by people in high level of obedience is a leader with charisma. In Weber's conception, charisma is a certain quality of an individual because of which he is much different from ordinary people and is considered to have super natural powers and extraordinary advantages (Albrow, 1990; Rusli, 2005).

The tradition and habit of reading Salat al-Fatih among students and teachers at the Al-Amien Prenduan Islamic Boarding School is due to the motivation and virtue of reading the Salat which is often conveyed by the kiai. However, the kiai, either Kiai Tidjani, Kiai Ahmad Fauzi or other kiai, did not convey the full virtue of Salat al-Fatih, which was then widely opposed by the opponents of the Tijaniyya Order. Not to convey the virtue of reading Salat al-Fatih equal to the complete reading of Qur'an is because the kiai do not want any conflict in their students' lives. Therefore, Kiai Tidjani and Kiai Ahmad Fauzi only introduced and conveyed information about the existence of Salat al-Fatih. What has been conveyed more is the benefits and virtues for someone who diligently and regularly reads Salat (prayers to the Prophet Muhammad) in general.

In the first and second development periods of the Al-Amien Islamic Boarding School, both during the Kiai Tidjani and Kiai Ahmad Fauzi periods, the main actor of social action in the habituation of reading Salat al-Fatih is the Kiai Council or the Riasah Council of the Al-Amien Prenduan Islamic Boarding School. In terms of Affectual action, despite their capacity as the Chairman of the Council, Kiai Tidjani and Kiai Ahmad Fauzi are accomodating. Kiai Tidjani contributed in maintaining the traditions and systems that have been built by his deputy, Kiai Idris Jauhari, together with other members of the Kiai Majlis. Kiai Ahmad Fauzi is indulgent to the actions to be taken. It is because many of members of the Kiai Council are more senior than him. What Kiai Ahmad Fauzi done is more on respecting the elders. In these period is the habit of starting events with Salat al-Fatih developed.

The ignorance of some students that the reading of Salat al-Fatih is a practice of the followers of the Tijaniyya Order occurs because they see and are keen on imitating the kiai who are steadfast in practicing the reading of Salat al-Fatih. This phenomenon can be related to the sociological theory of ignorance, which describes the ignorance of followers on the decisions taken by their elites. Some do not know because they do not really know or do not want to know, while some actually know but hide their knowledge as if they do not really know (Wertheim, 2009). It is also can be explained by Max Weber theory of social action. He argues that even a social action is individual, it has possible affect on others directly or indirectly. It is because the action is taken for specific purpose or meaning for the doers, which also can be directed to lead and influence action of others (Ritzer, 2011).

From the aspect of instrumental rationality, members of the Kiai Majlis, both during the time of Kiai Tidjani and during the time of Kiai Ahmad Fauzi, have a capable intellectual capacity in religious knowledge. During the Kiai Tidjani period, members of the Kiai Majlis were graduates of Al-Azhar Egypt, the Islamic University of Medina, King Abdul Aziz University of Mecca, and graduates of several major Islamic boarding schools in Indonesia. During the period of Kiai Ahmad Fauzi, the members are doctoral graduates both from abroad and from within the country, Saudi Arabia alumni who studied in formal institution like King Abdul Aziz University Mecca as well as non-formal institution like Majlis of Sheikh Muhammad Ismail al-Yamani Mecca. This background bring a positive impact to the doctrine carried out. It strengthen the foundation so that the tradition of reading Salat al-Fatih, which was deliberately established despite of not being a formal decision made by the Kiai Council, continues.

This tradition is cherished by all institution under the Al-Amien Prenduan Foundation. It is because teachers and students want to reap benefit from reading

Salat al-Fatih, after listening to explanation about the virtues of the tradition, which was delivered by several members of Kiai Council of the two periods.

This phenomenon was similar to what happened at the At-Taqwa Islamic Boarding School in Sleman Yogyakarta. At-Taqwa has preserved the tradition of reading the book of Mukhtasor al-Bukhari. It is held before the arrival of the holy month of Ramadan, in the month of Rajab to be precise. Ahlis Muhlis and Norkholis studied the tradition and found that that from traditional actions aspect, this tradition is a kind of hereditary tradition. It especially comes from the parent boarding school, the Islamic boarding school of Sunniah Salafiyah Pasuruan. From Affectual actions aspect, this tradition is well maintained because of the charisma of the figure who lead the book reading and also because of the special time, the month of Rajab. From instrumental rational aspect, it is the readiness of the institution to carry out the activity, the readiness of the committee, funding, and the ability to invite the *habaib* in the activity. From value rationality aspects, it is the awareness of the institution of taking blessings from the *salafus shalih* scholars and eagerness to imitate what they are doing (Muhlis & Norkholis, 2016).

The phenomenon of the Majlis Kiai's actions at the Al-Amien Prenduan Islamic Boarding School as an institution has become an interesting discussion material when compared to the Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI) institution. Muhamad Agus Mushodiq and Ali Imron have studied the dominance of MUI power in responding to the COVID-19 pandemic as well as the motives for MUI's socio-religious actions through issued fatwas. In terms of domination of power, MUI has a significant role. With the legitimacy that MUI was established based on the approval of Islamic mass organizations, such as NU and Muhammadiyah, this organization has a politically dominant type of power.

This is because MUI has two principal domination of power, the dominance of legal power and charismatic power. Legal domination means that MUI is given authority by the government while charismatic dominance is due to the existence of MUI itself which legitimizes itself as an organization of "an association of all ulama", from various mass organizations, which makes all groups of Muslims obey the fatwa as a social act. The later is also because of the charisma that is formed from the outside.

In terms of motives for socio-religious actions, MUI has three dominant motives in issuing fatwas, namely instrumentally rational, value rational, and traditional. The instrumentally rational motive is that the fatwa they issue refers to various models of worship that are considered the most reasonable to be practiced in effort to break the chain of COVID-19 spread and provide the basic five human needs. The value rational motive is that they use Islamic values sourced from the Qur'an, Hadith, and Fiqh Rules, rational, dynamic and full of probabilities sources, so as alternative worship practices can be decided and used as mitigation of the COVID-19 outbreak. In terms of traditional motive, MUI seeks to continue what the prophets and their companions do in facing the plague or pandemic. Thus, the worship practices that MUI recommend is also an effort to preserve the previous tradition with a hermeneutical approach (Mushodiq & Imron, 2020).

However, problems more likely to arise if the action is only on one aspect, especially when it is only on the Affectual aspect. One of the examples is the Klitih phenomenon in Yogyakarta, the stabbing and mistreatment of motorists who were targeted by a group of teenagers. These teenagers sometimes even commit violence against the victim as they also carry sharp weapons with them. Such actions are categorized as Affectual actions, one with an irrational emotional impulse (Putra & Suryadinata, 2020).

It is certainly different from the social actions taken by Kiai Djauhari, Kiai Tidjani and Kiai Ahmad Fauzi. These three kiai set an example of good behavior in their community. Kiai Djauhari, for example, often conveyed that the destiny of human life is to die. It then became the reason for Kiai Akmal to enter the Tijaniyya Order. He joined the order as his provision to face death.

In addition, there are times when members join the order because they want to compete with all the *kanuragan*, a secret Javanese or Madurese ritual initiation tied to local cosmological practices and cults, that are troubling to the community. This had happened at the beginning of Kiai Djauhari's entry into the Tijaniyya Order. Through joining the order, people will be released from the black magic that he was involved before. This was acknowledged by Ustaz Fahmi Yunus. However, reasons for joining the order vary from one person to another. Most common reason is because of inheritance from the family, either or both father and mother or their extended family. Some other members are motivated to enter the order because they want peace of mind.

Interestingly, of the many prospective practitioners of the Tijaniyya Order, they need approval from a muqaddam. In other words, the prospective practitioners of the Tijaniyya Order need a clear sequence of *sanad*, in terms of the order, before they can perform the order practices. Not all prospective practitioners of the Tijaniyya Order can easily get approval from a muqaddam. For example, there is a student of Al-Amien Prenduan Islamic Boarding School who has not yet received permission to practice the practices of the Tijaniyya Order. It is perhaps because he is considered spiritually immature. On the other hand, even though a muqaddam considers someone to have fulfilled the requirements to become a Tijaniyya practitioner, it is not necessarily the person is willing to become a Tijaniyya practitioner. This kind of event happened during the Kiai Djauhari period.

In the Tijaniyya Order, many factors encourage members to become a Tijaniyya practitioners. One of them is a family tradition. In the periods of Kiai Tidjani and Kiai Ahmad Fauzi, not a few people reported that they became practitioners of the Tijaniyya Order for inheritance reasons, either from father or mother. This was experienced by Nyai Halimatus Sa'diyah, Kiai Halimi, and Kiai Khoiri Husni. Not only family, community also becomes the stimulating factor for people someone to enter the Tijaniyya Order. This has been reported by Mr. Jalal and Ustaz Said Amien. Ustaz Said Amien said that he joined the Tijaniyya Order because it is common for people in his village, Palongan Kapedi, to be Tijaniyya practitioners. There are numbers of them.

There is a number of practitioners of the Tijaniyya Order who enter the order because they want their lives to be as calm as the lives of Tijaniyya practitioners around them. This is what happened to Mr Misro' and Kiai Fadli Fatrah. Before performing talqin Tijaniyya, both of them were ordered by Kiai Tidjani to first perform the *istikhara* prayer. One of the conditions for entering the Tijaniyya Order is the result of their *istikhara* dream. In the world of Sufism, as explained by Ibn Arabi in *al-Futuhat al-Makkiya*, quoted by Abdullah Saeed, it is believed that one day the spirit in human life will be dismissed through death and will experience neglect during sleep (Saeed, 2016).

Dreams in the order world have an important position. For example, during the time of Kiai Djauhari, not all dreams can be accepted as a condition for entering the Tijaniyya Order. It is because Kiai Djauhari judged and evaluate that someone's dream, and sometimes found dan stated that the dream came from devils. Kiai Tidjani also gave special attention to dreams. He once gave the practice of *wird* to one of the Tijaniyya Tarekat brothers because of the dream story he told. Even after the death of Kiai Tidjani, there are still several friends and students who claimed to have dreamed of being visited by him. *Ikhwan as-Safa*, good people who have died and

miss their acquaintances and friends who are still alive, such as their children, family and students, with God's permission, can come and tell metaphysical-occult things (truths) to people who are still alive (Muniron, 2011).

Some enter the Tijaniyya Order purely without any motive. They are just considered to meet the requirements to enter the Tijaniyya Order, as experienced by Kiai Nafi' and Firdausi. Others entered the order because of a dream of meeting the Prophet and Sheikh Tijani, as experienced by Kiai Muhajiri. Some others enter the Tijaniyya Order because they are used to practicing the Tijaniyya Order before, as experienced by Nyai Anisah Fatimah Zarkasyi. There are also those who enter the Tijaniyya Order because they want to always be close to Allah or to be steadfast in remembrance of Allah.

The most prominent characteristic in the intellectual tradition of pesantren is a network, transmission, and continuous genealogy (*muttasil* and *musalsal*). These are to determine the level of authenticity, quality, and wisdom of an intellectual. For this reason, among the Nahdliyin whose bases are mostly in Islamic boarding schools, there is a kind of *ijaza* tradition to guarantee the purity of knowledge from the first person to the last person, as a necessity for the continuity chain (*sanad*) of those who have practised and shared the knowledge. In Sufism, the existence of an *ijaza* from a teacher is absolute. People are considered unfit to become teachers if they have not yet obtained a certificate from the teacher above. It is even better if you can connect to the first person, maybe the *tabi'in*, the companions, or maybe directly from Muhammad the Messenger of Allah (Fadeli & Subhan, 2007; Nahe'i, 2018).

Table 1. Reason for joining the Tijaniyya Order

No	Name	Period	Reason for joining	Talqin to
1	Kiai Djauhari	Kiai Djauhari	Rememberance of Allah and fight against kanuragan	Sheikh Muhammad Abdul Hamid al-Fufi
2	Kiai Tidjani	Kiai Tidjani	Father's legacy (Kiai Djauhari) and seeking admittance and nearness to Allah	Kiai Djauhari
3	Kiai Ahmad Fauzi	Kiai Tidjani	Father's legacy	Kiai Tidjani
4	Nyai Anisah Fatimah	Kiai Tidjani	Motivation for spouse and therapy	Sheikh Idris
5	Nyai Faryalah	Kiai Tidjani	To steadfast in remembrance of Allah	Nyai Fatma
6	Nyai Halimatus Sa'diyah	Kiai Ahmad Fauzi	Mother's command	Kiai Jamaluddin
7	Kiai Halimi Sufyan	Kiai Ahmad Fauzi	Father's command	Kiai Sufyan Nawawi
8	Kiai Muhajiri Musyhab	Kiai Ahmad Fauzi	Have a dream meeting Muhammad the prophet and and Sheikh Tijani	Sheikh Ahmad Muhammad al-Hafidh
9	Kiai Nafi'	Kiai Tidjani	Kiai Jamaluddin's command	Kiai Jamaluddin
10	Kiai Akmal Rofi'ie	Kiai Djauhari	Kiai Djauhari's command	Kiai Djauhari
11	Kiai Moh Khoiri Husni	Kiai Tidjani	Perserving father's practices	Kiai Tidjani
12	Kiai Fadli Fatrah	Kiai Tidjani	To live a calm live	Kiai Tidjani
13	Ustaz Fahmi Yunus	Kiai Tidjani	To release black magic and due to diffuclyt memorizing lesson	Kiai Jamaluddin
14	Ustaz Said Amin	Kiai Tidjani	Community tradition and confessing sins	Kiai Tidjani
15	Pak Misro	Kiai Tidjani	To live a calm live and motivated through seeing	Kiai Tidjani

16	Firdausi	Kiai Ahmad Fauzi	the calm live of the practitioners Kiai Syinqithi's command	Kiai Syinqithi
17	Mahbub Junaidi	Kiai Ahmad Fauzi	The virtue of Salat al-Fatih	Kiai Bukhari Muslim
18	Ihsan	Kiai Ahmad Fauzi	For internal reason (related to soul)	Kiai Bukhari Muslim
19	Rusydi Akmal	Kiai Tidjani	Family tradition	Kiai Jamaluddin
20	Berril Musthofa	Kiai Ahmad Fauzi	Spiritual guide	Kiai Jamaluddin
21	Pak Jalal	Kiai Tidjani	Community tradition	Kiai Jamaluddin
22	M. Asep Saifudin	Kiai Ahmad Fauzi	To ask blessing for the knowledge earned from Pesantren	Kiai Ali Syadili bin Sulaiman
23	Kiai Samsiruddin	Kiai Tidjani	Family tradition and confessing sins	Kiai Jamaluddin dan Kiai Tidjani

The table 1 shows that the motives and goals for entering the Tijaniyya Order in the Al-Amien Islamic Boarding School are mostly due to traditional motives, or in other words, because of the inheritance from the family or society. In addition, there are also affectual motives, that they want peace of mind like the Tijaniyya practitioners around them and value motives, that they want to atone for sins, as well as the rational motive, because of the virtue of Salat al-Fatih.

Interestingly, people's motives in joining the Tijaniyah order at the Al-Amien Prenduan Islamic Boarding School are not solitary, their motives are not only explained by one motive. For example, in the period by Kiai Tidjani as muqaddam of the Tijaniyah Order, Kiai Tidjani often did not immediately approve people's request to join the order. He usually first asked their main reason. This kind of experience was reported by Kiai Khoiri. When he told Kiai Tidjani that he wanted to join the order to continue his father's path as a practitioner of the Tijaniyah Order, Kiai Tidjani asked him to reconsider his decision carefully before actually entering the Tijaniyah Order. It shows a traditional motive at first that then is reinforced with a rational motive.

The same experience was also reported by Mr Misro. He came to Kiai Tidjani and conveyed his desire to enter the Tijaniyya Order. He told Kiai Tidjani that it was because he saw the life of people who practice the Tijaniyya Order seemed calm. Kiai Tidjani then asked him to first think about it carefully. Mr Misro had two underlying motives in joining the order. The initial motive of Mr Misro was an affectual motive. It was then combined with value rational motives.

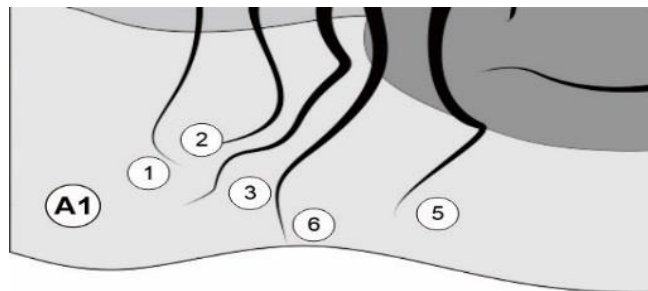
There was also a time when people joining the order because of the stimulus that came from the *muqaddam*. In the context of Al-Amien Prenduan, it happened in the period of Kiai Djauhari. He often conveyed and lectured people about the benefit of joining the order. He repeatedly said that it was for the provision of death. One of the practitioners that join because of this is Kiai Akmal. The story shows a value rational motive.

In the next two periods, the tradition of reading Salat al-Fatih and lecture on its virtue became a strong stimulus for students to join the order. Mahbub Junaidi was one of the proof. He reported that he joined the order because of the virtue of Salat al-Fatih. It shows an instrumentally rational motive and the study only found one subject who reported it. It is not in line with Muzaiyana finding. She found the virtue of Salat al-Fatih became the major reason for people joining the order. She found that most of Madurese in Probolinggo join the order because of the virtue of Salat al-Fatih. They were strongly excited about the reward of reading the Salat al-Fatih or in other words eschatological nuances (Muzaiyana, 2019).

However, the four motives of the social action theory of Max Weber cannot explain the whole motives of people joining the Tijaniyya order. There are people

whose decisions cannot be explained using the four motives. For example, Kiai Muhajiri reported that he joined the order because of his dream. He told that he met Muhammad the prophet and Sheikh Tijani in his dream. There are also Kiai Nafi and Firdausi who joined the order merely because the master teacher judged that they had complied with all requirements needed to join the order. It is called *ayn al-basharia* (intuition) of a *muqaddam*, who will guide them in making a vow of allegiance (*baiat* or *talqin*). Dream and intuition of a *muqaddam* are not in the four motives of Max Weber theory. This can be called intuition motive.

The consideration that Kiai Nafi' met the requirements to enter the Tijaniyya order was made Kiai Jamaluddin Abdus Shamad. It was unintentional moment as this was not his first intention visiting Kiai Jamaludin Abdus Shamad. He only accompanied his father who wanted to make a vow and enter the order through the guidance of Kiai Jamaluddin Abdus Shamad. His father was interested in entering the order after listening to Kiai Badri Masduki preaching during the local *Eid al-Khotmi* held in Pondok Tegal. Muzaiyana stated that this event becomes the communication media for people who want to enter the Tijaniyya order. Moreover, the speakers, Kiai Badri Masduki was the prominent and influential *muqaddam* of Tijaniyya Order in East Java. He was also the main figure in conveying the truthfulness of Tijaniyya order (Muzaiyana, 2019).

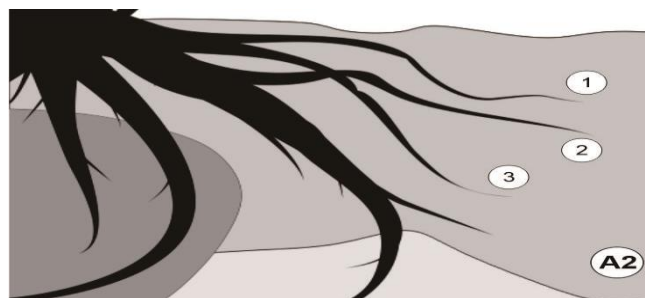


Note:

A1 (root): Traditional Motive

1. Family tradition
2. Father's legacy/inheritance
3. Following father's step
4. Motivation from the spouse
5. Community

Figure A1. Traditional Motive



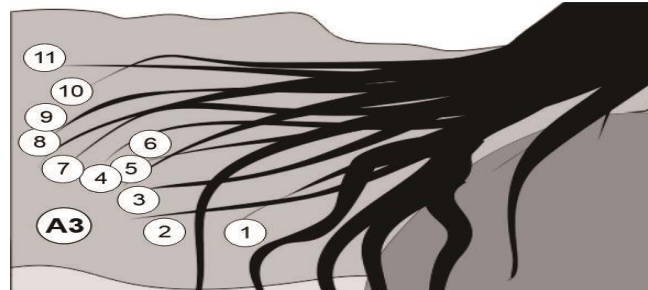
Note:

A2 (root): Instrumentally Rational Motive

1. Accostumed to reading Salat al-Fatih

2. Accostumed to Tijaniyya Wird
3. Steadfast in remembrance of Allah

Figure A2. Instrumentally Rational Motive

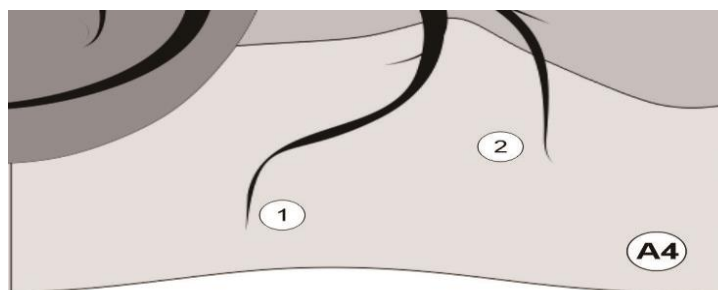


Note:

A3 (root): Affectual Motive

1. Inspired by a pious figure
2. A path to reach Allah's love
3. Inner-self purification
4. Self-education
5. A tool to seek nearness to Allah
6. Difficulty in memorizing lesson
7. Releasing black magic
8. Feeling overwhelmed with sins
9. To reach a calm soul
10. Seeing the practitioner's life calm
11. Practising practices learned in pesantren.

Figure A3. Affectual Motive



Note:

A4 (root): Value Rational Motive

1. Therapy for the sick
2. The virtue of Salat al-Fatih

Figure A4. Value Rational Motive



Note:

A4 (root): Intuitive

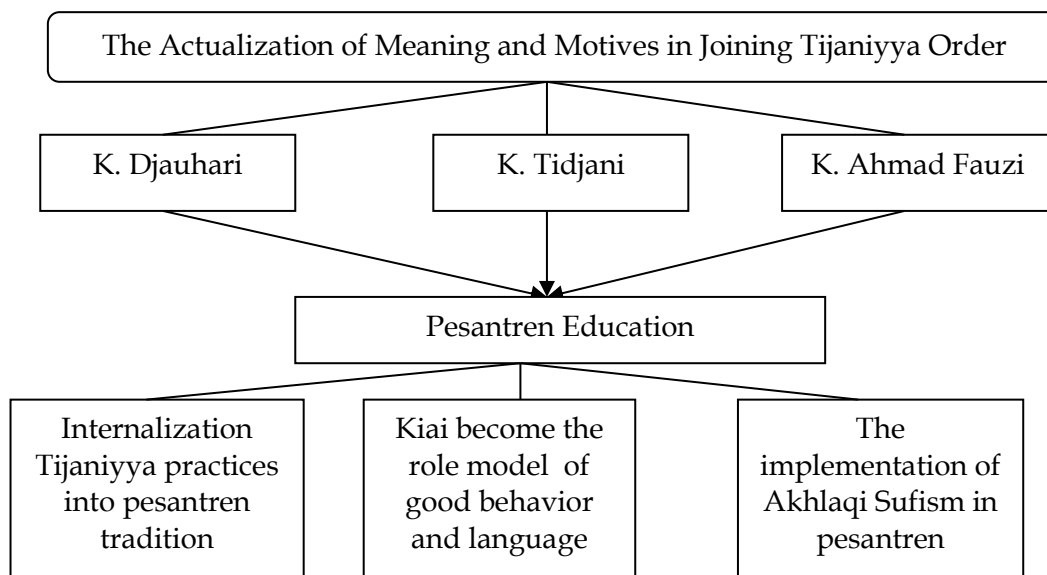
1. Master teacher intuition

2. Spiritual guidance

3. Seeing Muhammad the Prophet in a dream

Figure B. Intuitive Motive

The result shows that there are four motives why people join the Tijaniyyah order in line with what the Social Action Theory of Max Weber stated, traditional motives, affectual motives, instrumentally rational motives and value rational motives. However, this research also finds one new motive, the one that is not in Max Weber theory of social action. It is the intuition motives. People join the order through *istikhara* prayer. Some people join the order because of the master teacher intuition's ('*ayn al-bashira*). Meanwhile, as practitioners of the Tijaniyya order and leaders of pesantren, the kiai do not only take the sharia basis but also the Sufism one into account in making the policies and decisions. The meeting decision is sometimes also made through *istikhara* prayer.



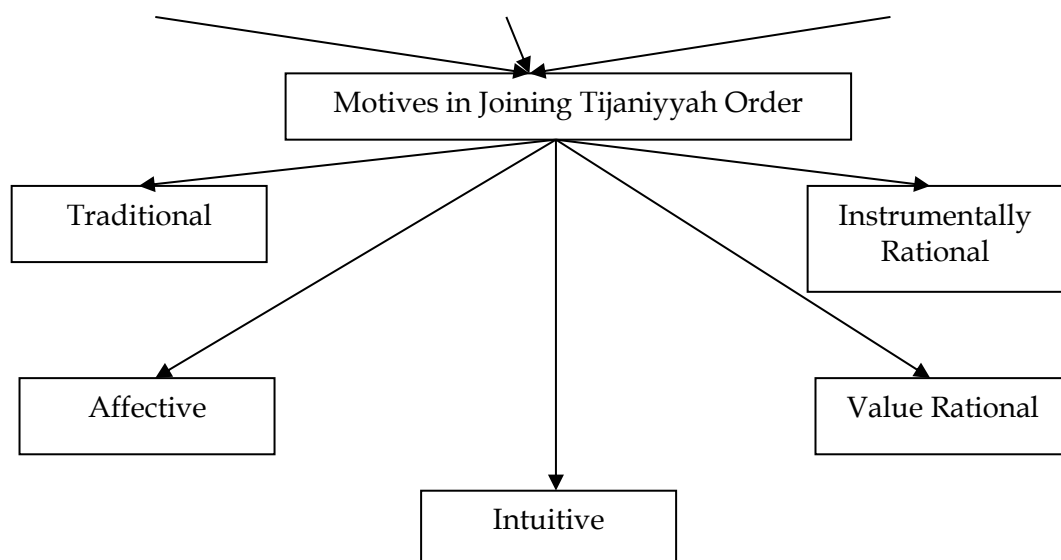


Diagram A.

The actualization of core values and beliefs of Tijaniyya Order in Al-Amien Prenduan

### 3.0 CONCLUSION

The actualization of core value and meaning of Tijaniyya Order by the three muqaddam in Al-Amien Prenduan, Kiai Djauhari, Kiai Tidjani and Kiai Ahmad Fauzi, can be seen in their behavior and languages. This became a good role model for students, teachers and alumni. These kiai has succesfully internalized the Tijaniyya practices into the tradition and daily life of the pesantren. Among them are reading Salat more and often, keeping in touch with family and friends, not insulting others, not being arrogant, not feeling self-righteous, staying away from *ikhtilath*, living a simple life, being reliable, keeping promises, attaching the heart to the mosque, staying away from corruption, having noble character towards teachers and kiai, and loving the Qur'an through both diligently read it or memorize it. The cultivation of these noble characters has born the fruit of Sufism characters in the students, such as repentance, honesty, patience, piety, *istiqamah*, grafefulness, *wara'*, *zuhud*, sincerity, and *tawadhu'*. It then attracted people to enter the Tijaniyya order and gave birth to five motives of *Talqin* Tijani, namely traditional motives, affectual motives, instrumentally rational motives, value rational motives, and intuitive motives.

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