

## Power Relations between Tuan Guru and Sultan in the Malay World: Source of the Tuan Guru Manuscript (TGM)

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### ABSTRACT

This article examines the power relations between Tuan Guru and the Malay *Sultans*. Power relations are not only in relations between people and authority but relations that support and strengthen each other's existence. This research raises how the power relations between Tuan Guru and the Malay *Sultans* were formed. The Tuan Guru Manuscript (TGM) written by Tuan Guru 'Abd al-Wahhab Rokan was used as the main source to answer the research questions. This manuscript is important because it is Tuan Guru's letter and notes to the Sultan of Langkat. The results of this research explain that the power relations formed between Tuan Guru and the *Sultans* have supported the spread of the Tarekat Naqsyabandiyah-Khalidiyah Babussalam (TNKB) in the Malay world. Then, power relations have also impacted the establishment of a tarekat village. It was supported by the Sultan by providing land and other supporting facilities.

**Keywords:** Tuan Guru; Manuscript; Power Relation; Malay Sultan; Malay World

## INTRODUCTION

The Tarekat Naqsyabandiyah-Khalidiyah Babussalam (TNKB) is one of the tarekat growing widely in Malay, Indonesia, and Malaysia. TNKB is developing well, directly related to the role played by its murshid, namely Tuan Guru ‘Abd al-Wahhab Rokan (Tuan Guru) (Lombard, 1986). Tuan Guru is actively involved in forming networks in areas based on Malay communities from Riau, North Sumatra to Batu Pahat, Malaysia. Tuan Guru’s direct involvement has formed a wide network in disseminating the TNKB as a spiritual organization. Tuan Guru in every area he visits, always appoints a caliph who becomes the agency to maintain and continue the network formed in that area. This agency model is part of strengthening the network that has been formed to continue to grow. According to Bruinessen, Tuan Guru was one of Shaykh Sulayman Zuhdi’s *caliphs*, who successfully developed networks and had a strong influence in the Malay world. Tuan Guru’s influence was able to surpass the other *caliphs* who were also *caliphs* who came from Jabal Abi Qubis, Mecca (Bruinessen, 2007;1992).

Tuan Guru’s role in creating networks in the Malay world, particularly in Indonesia and Malaysia, has been the focus of researchers on TNKB. Several international scholars, like (Bruinessen, 2007; Lombard, 1990; Weismann, 2007), and others, described how Tuan Guru influenced the expansion of TNKB in society. The influence of Tuan Guru was beyond the reach of murshids others in Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula. Then, local researchers such as (Fuad, 2002; Irham, 2010; Siregar, 2003), and others generally focus on aspects of doctrine and ritual taught by Tuan Guru in TNKB practice. In addition, it also shows the influence and network of TNKB, which was developed directly by Tuan Guru. Various studies have confirmed the influence and network of TNKB in the Malay world, but so far, no one has examined the role played by Tuan Guru and the support of the Malay *Sultans* so that it can develop quickly. The absence of research on the *Sultans*’ indirect role becomes important in the context of seeing the existence of a power relationship between Tuan Guru and the *Sultans* in strengthening the TNKB network in the area based on the Malay community.

According to (Foucault, 2006), power is dispersed and can be produced by anyone close to that power. So, power relations are a form of reciprocal relationship that can present power to benefit the accepted relation in power. In the same context, the power relations showed that the Tuan Guru had good dialectical abilities in this relationship. Hence, the acceptance of Tuan Guru became a major part of the development of the tarekat in the territory under the control of the Malay *Sultans*. Power relations are an important part of the ongoing relations about TNKB. Power relations with the *Sultans* are not only a special closeness that is well developed but also an art in strengthening influence in society. So far, much research has been conducted regarding Tuan Guru or TNKB, from the aspects of the doctrines and rituals taught in them. However, there has yet to be research looking at the development of the TNKB network by Tuan Guru from the perspective of the existence of power relations between Tuan Guru and the Malay *Sultans*. This

research focuses on the Tuan Guru Manuscript (TGM) as the main source of research. TGM is important because research has focused more on primary sources written about Tuan Guru. This research focuses on the main sources from Tuan Guru himself, especially in manuscripts, which are also not widely known. TGM is an interesting material because it is believed to be a source that comes directly from Tuan Guru.

## **METHOD**

This qualitative research method seeks to present the data obtained in a descriptive and in-depth analysis. The qualitative research model uses data that is not statistical or numerical but in text form. The approach used is philology as a framework that seeks to understand texts and their functions. The text in philology is a product of the past and a form of handwriting. This approach was chosen to be able to read and understand the text to present the specific information that is considered essential to know today. The research data source is the Tuan Guru Manuscript (TGM), a text from an important figure for TNKB. Field studies collected data by exploring the community to ensure the availability and authenticity of these manuscripts, especially for the Tuan Guru family or the Sultanate of Langkat. Furthermore, an inventory of manuscripts is carried out to ascertain the number and type of manuscripts. The following stages of data analysis were completed: description, transcription, grouping, interpretation, and writing. The description is done by trying to present the intact condition of the manuscript and exploring the historical background of the manuscript. Transcript of the manuscript explaining what is included therein. So that it can be read and understood what is in it, it groups the contents of the manuscripts by the theme to facilitate discussion of the contents of the manuscripts. Next, an interpretation of the manuscript's contents is carried out, including examining the information contained in the manuscript with other sources, both classical and modern. The final step is to present the manuscript's contents by choosing which themes or issues are deemed relevant to be given in the articles.

## **RESULTS AND DISCUSSION**

### **Overview about TGM**

TGM was obtained from the family of the Sultan of Langkat, but unfortunately, I only received copies. To ensure that the manuscript is indeed from Tuan Guru, comparisons have been made with other manuscripts written directly by Tuan Guru.<sup>1</sup> The results of the comparison of the manuscripts show that the manuscript is believed to have been written directly by Tuan Guru. According to information from the Langkat Sultan's family, who kept a copy of the TGM, that family also received TGM in the form of a copy from another Sultan's family, who is now deceased (Tajul, 2022). As far as research has been conducted, the original

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<sup>1</sup> Manuscript comparisons were made with other Tuan Guru manuscripts in the diplomas awarded to *caliphs*, manuscripts of the al-Qur'an, and others.

manuscript has not been found, but the copy of the TGM is quite certain that Tuan Guru indeed wrote the manuscript. This manuscript is important because it not only contains the history of Tuan Guru's life journey but also provides an overview of the existence of power relations between Tuan Guru and the Malay *Sultans*.

Generally, the TGM is written using the Jawi script in a typical Malay language, and a small number use Arabic. Regarding the chosen diction, it shows what is used of word choice that is rarely used in today's Langkat Malay society. Referring to the Malay language that developed in *Kampung Besilam*, there is a difference from the language used by the Malay people of Langkat. The Malay language that developed in *Kampung Besilam* has its characteristics and closely relates to the Malay language that developed in Malaysia, specifically in Kuala Kangsar, Perak (Atan, 2020). For this reason, the language used in TGM may be the language Tuan Guru used at that time. Diction in the TGM is often found in idioms that are rarely heard or no longer used in Malay society. However, it can still be understood by certain groups, especially those old from the virtuous Tuan Guru community living in *Kampung Besilam* (Kahar, 2020).

As far as research is being conducted, this TGM consists of 6 (six) sheets. The entire contents of the manuscripts can be grouped into 2 (two) types, namely manuscripts of letters addressed to the Sultan of Langkat and manuscripts of personal notes about Tuan Guru's life journey. The TGM in this letter is a communication between Tuan Guru and the Sultan of Langkat, specifically Sultan Musa Shah and Sultan 'Abd al-'Aziz. This TGM also shows the existence of special relations and mutual relations of each other. Tuan Guru came and settled in Langkat at the request of Sultan Musa and placed him in a strategic position in the religious aspect. On the other hand, Sultan Musa himself was a student who also followed the way of life as a *salik*, thus achieving achievements as a caliph. The so-called relationship formed a strong bond between Tuan Guru and Sultan Musa to support each other. Likewise, Sultan 'Abd al-'Aziz continued what the previous Sultan had done. The TGM in this letter which Tuan Guru conveyed to the Sultan of Langkat has an intense relationship within it.

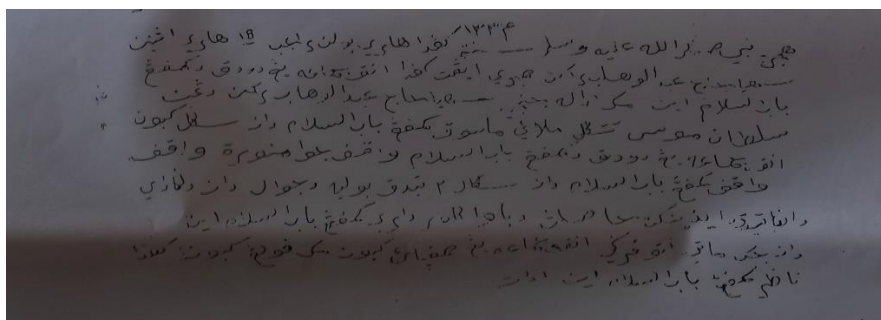


Figure 1. TGM Example  
Source: Collection of Tengku Tajul, Sultan Langkat Family

Another TGM is in the form of Tuan Guru's account of his life's journey, although this manuscript only records certain information. The TGM of this note provides information to find out that traces of events and experiences that were passed are recorded in the manuscript, both of a personal nature or related to the history of the development of the TNKB. This manuscript document the struggle that Tuan Guru went through in developing TNKB, especially those directly related to the power of the Malay *Sultans* in the expansion of the tarekat. In the TGM, which contains notes, it can be seen that the process of the journey that is passed is not always easy, but there are also rejections in it. This manuscript explains that TNKB as a spiritual sect has its dynamics, especially during the initial process of its formation. The TGM notes confirm that Tuan Guru is aware of history, so manuscripts a notes can be used as a reference in tracing the history of TNKB.

This TGM always writes the day, date and year in every note. TGM as information is very helpful in finding out various events with TNKB. At the same time, the condition of the TGM is quite good because it appears to be readable, although some terms must be read repeatedly to understand them. Generally, TGM conditions can be read and understood in every written text. In every TGM, it is also found that there is a Tuan Guru tradition that before starting to convey the message, it is always started by giving an introduction as an opening with praise to Allah and salawat to the Prophet. This introductory writing in praise is common in manuscripts, especially about Islamic themes. Another important identity in this TGM is the mention of Tuan Guru 'Abd al-Wahhab Rokan. Mention this name as reinforcement and simultaneously, accountability that the manuscript was written and came from Tuan Guru.

### **Power Relations and Network Expansion of TNKB**

In disseminating the TNKB network developed by Tuan Guru, everything is based on the territory of the Malay community, especially in the Sumatra Region, to be precise in Riau and North Sumatra (Kraus, 1990). The distribution of TNKB in this area has always been directly related to the existence of power relations between Tuan Guru and the Malay *Sultans*. The relationship shows that Tuan Guru as the developer of the tarekat received a good reception from among the *Sultans*. However, in the ongoing relationship, it was also found that certain groups wanted to avoid Tuan Guru being in the area (Said, 1983). Tuan Guru's position as murshid and simultaneously developer of the tarekat can be quite well-developed in Malay community-based areas. It cannot be separated from the power relations built between Tuan Guru and the *Sultans* in power in their respective regions so that the spread of TNKB as a tarekat sect can be easily accepted by the people. Not only accepted as a religious sect, but also some of them became part of the practice of the tarekat.

According to the TGM, Tuan Guru visited the Sultanate of Kualuh at the request of Tuanku Hāj 'Abd Allāh as the ruling Sultan in Kualuh in 1290 H/1973

AD.<sup>2</sup> Done for special and special guests. The reception, carried out with certain attractions, showed Tuan Guru's position as someone the Sultan of Kualuh respected. It can be seen that Tuan Guru's position as head of the tarekat was not only received as a guest but also given respect for his presence in the area. Tuan Guru's existence in Kualuh was respected for his position as a tarekat leader. As a person believed to have certain privileges, the Sultan paid special respect to him.

Hari Selasa tanggal 5 bulan Rabi'ul Awwal tahun 1290 H, di masa itulah sahaya Haji 'Abd al-Wahhab Rokan al-Khalidi mula masuk ke Negeri Kualuh dan di dalam tahun ini juga sahaya kawin dengan isteri hamba bernama Khadijah di Istana Sultan Kualuh di Kampung Masjid dan dibunyikan meriam sembilan kali (Rokan, n.d.).

[Tuesday the 5th of the month of Rabi' al-Awwal in 1290 H, at that time I am Haji 'Abd al-Wahhab Rokan al-Khalidi started coming to Negeri Kualuh, and in that year, I married my wife named, Khadijah at the Sultan Kualuh Palace in *Kampung Masjid*. Then, the cannon sounded nine times].

Tuan Guru's presence in Kualuh was not only to fulfill Sultan's invitation to live and settle in the area but also to connect with the TNKB network's projected expansion. While in Kualuh, Tuan Guru formed a new TNKB network in this area by training several people from the Sultanate as TNKB practitioners. Eventually, some achieved a spiritual achievement worthy of being appointed caliph.<sup>3</sup> The position of the caliph in the tarekat is an important part of occupying the position of murshid representative in the formation of the TNKB network in the regions that are not only as practitioners but more than that they also serve as teachers of TNKB doctrine in the area (Hidayat, 2015). Traces of the TNKB network in the Kualuh area are still visible today, especially the many suluk houses standing and having a spiritual affiliation to *Kampung Besilam*. This tarekat network will usually be passed down from one generation to the next to continue to survive and be connected to its center in Langkat. TNKB for the people of Kualuh, is not only a spiritual sect but also part of the value system, especially *Kampung Besilam*, an area that is always made a vow to visit.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Tuan Guru 'Abd al-Wahhab Rokan, "Tuan Guru Manuscript", *Manuscript*. The Sultanate of Kualuh is now in the area of North Labuhanbatu Regency. To be precise, I have visited this area in Masjid Village, the site of the former Kualuh Sultanate. However, it's a shame that traces of the sultanate's legacy can no longer be found because the social revolution resulted in the destruction of the imperial palace and the death of many of the sultan's family (Langenberg, 1985)

<sup>3</sup> Records of Kampung Besilam mention that several Tuan Guru senior *caliphs* from those living in the Masjid Village area played an active role in spreading the TNKB network in their respective regions. Recent developments show a disconnect between this regional network and Kampung Besilam because it generally has its affiliation, even though it still recognizes the TNKB as its main network.

<sup>4</sup> In the Kualuh community, there is always a request in a *nazar* (vow) to make a pilgrimage to Kampung Besilam, if something is achieved. This also includes water from the village, which is used as medicine.

In its development, Tuan Guru's visit to Kulauh did not take that long because he finally had to return to Riau at the request of Sultan Zainal Abidin as the ruler of the Tambusai Sultanate for certain purposes.<sup>5</sup> One of the factors that prompted Tuan Guru to return to Riau was to see the progress of his *jama'ahs* in the area. Strengthening the network by building sustainable relationships is part of the network strengthening that Tuan Guru continues to do. This effort ensured the development of pilgrims who had previously been connected to the TNKB. Strategies to strengthen the network by always visiting the area to ensure and strengthen the development of previously connected *jama'ahs*. Riau is a special area for Tuan Guru because he was born and raised in the region (Rokan, n.d.). The efforts to develop the TNKB network in this area have become an important part of Tuan Guru, so network strengthening in Riau continues to cover various regions where until now, the TNKB network ties in Riau with *Kampung Besilam* as the TNKB base are a form of a strong bond.

After all his interests in Riau were finished. Finally in 1295 H / 1878 AD Tuan Guru returned to Kualuh. In that country, Tuan Guru was not only given extensive space to develop the TNKB network. Still, he was also tasked with advising the Sultan of Kualuh in the religious affairs. Tuan Guru's strategic position in Kualuh makes it easy for him to continue developing the TNKB doctrine for the wider community. Tuan Guru's important role in Kualuh was the successful opening of a settlement still known today as *Kampung Masjid*.<sup>6</sup> Tuan Guru's village development is the main project which is the general character of Tuan Guru's visit to the land of the Malay *Sultans*. One of Tuan Guru's traditions is that in every country he lives in, he usually builds a TNKB base. The activities carried out by Tuan Guru in the development of this village are specifically related to the formation of the TNKB network in areas based on Malay ethnicity in the Malay Sultanate (Junaid, 2020).

In its further development, in 1299 H / 1881 AD Tuan Guru attended the invitation of the Sultan of Langkat, Sultan Musa Shah to visit the country he led. Based on the invitation Tuan Guru visited the country of the Sultanate for the first time. Tuan Guru's presence in Langkat was related to the request of the Sultan of Langkat to treat his sick son. After listening to many inputs from various parties, Tuan Guru was asked who is known as a person who has many abilities, including treating sick people to help heal Sultan's son Langkat (Said, 1983). Tuan Guru's

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<sup>5</sup> In 2013, I visited the former Tambusai Sultanate in the Rokan Hulu area, Riau. In this area, traces of Tuan Guru remain in a stone which is believed to be a relic of the ablution place that Tuan Guru often used. In the area of the former Tambusai Sultanate, several graves were also found, which is thought to be one of them, the Tomb of Tuan Guru 'Abd al-Halim, who was Tuan Guru's teacher when he was still studying in Riau.

<sup>6</sup> As far as my research goes, the tradition of opening a village is Tuan Guru's special idea because in several areas that Tuan Guru has visited, there will always be a village built, for example in the Dumai area, Riau there was also a village built by Tuan Guru with the name "Sungai Masjid". Likewise, when Tuan Guru lived in Batu Pahat, Johor, Malaysia, he also founded a village named "*Kampung Masjid*". Some of his *dhurriat* also continued the tradition of building this village in several areas where he lived (Mudawar, n.d.)

traditional treatment ultimately positively impacted the healthy development of Sultan Langkat's son. Finally, the Sultan of Langkat asked Tuan Guru to live there. To fulfill Sultan's request, Tuan Guru accepted the offer to stay in the country he led for a while. Tuan Guru still communicates with the Sultan of Kualuh by leaving messages through his *caliphs* in the land of Kualuh to pray for each other between Tuan Guru and the Sultan of Kualuh (Rokan, n.d.).

Same as in Kualuh, Tuan Guru also received respect as an adviser to the Sultan and, at the same time, was given the widest opportunity for him to develop the TNKB network in the country. In the early days, Tuan Guru in Langkat gathered *jama'ahs* from that area to become TNKB practitioners. The development of the TNKB, which was quite large when he was in the Langkat Sultanate, required Tuan Guru to ask the Sultan of Langkat to be given an empty land which would be used as the base of the TNKB. In 1300 H/1883 AD, the Sultan of Langkat was given an area to become the base of the TNKB which is now known as Babussalam or, more popularly known as *Kampung Besilam*.<sup>7</sup> *Kampung Besilam* was originally a forest that humans did not inhabit, so because of Tuan Guru's creativity it was finally transformed into a village suitable for human habitation (Lombard, 1986). The village opened by Tuan Guru is an important part of the development of TNKB because the village is the main base for TNKB which continues to grow until now.

Adalah 14 bulan ini juga *maqbul* hari arba', sahaya Hāji 'Abd Wahāb dengan Tuanku Sultan Mūsa serta Tuan Bāqī dan Syaikh Muhammad Yūsuf dan anak sahaya Yahyā dan Siwad dan lain-lainnya mudik melihat tanah buat Kampung. Sesudah sampai pada tanah itu sahaya Haji 'Abd Wahab tebas kira-kira tiga depan dengan batu di atas tunggul dan di bawah asam limau tiga biji. Kemudian, adalah waktu zuhur sahaya bang dan qāmat dan Tuan Bāqī imam dan sekalian kami sembahyang lepas sembahyang, maka sahaya namakan dengan Kampung Babussalam. Al-fatihah dan mendoa Tuan Syaikh Muhammad Yūsuf selesai mendoa sekalian kami berangkat pulang ke Langkat (Rokan, n.d.).

[On the 14th of this month *maqbul*, on Wednesday, I am Hāji 'Abd Wahāb with Tuanku Sultan Mūsa, as well as Tuan Bāqī and Shaykh Muhammad Yūsuf, and my sons, named Yahyā and Siwad and others have seen land for settlements. After arriving at the area, I am Haji 'Abd Wahab cut about three fathoms using a stone on a stump and under the acid of three limes. Then, at noon I called azan and qāmat. Then, Tuan Bāqī is the priest, so we all pray. Then, after the prayer, I gave the area the name *Kampung Babussalam*. Al-Fatihah, and prayer by Tuan Shaykh Muhammad Yūsuf. After praying, we all went back to Langkat].

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<sup>7</sup> *Kampung Besilam* is geographically located in Langkat Regency, North Sumatra. This area is based on the Malay ethnicity as its original population, but in its development, other ethnic developments have also developed in the area.



The TGM records show that the initial process of building *Kampung Besilam* was carried out with the support of the Sultan of Langkat. The support given by the Sultan was very important in the village's development because it was related to the authority given to developing the village and other aspects. The Sultan of Langkat also provided financial support to create the tarekat-based village (Hasjim, n.d.). The effort to create a tarekat-based village facilitates the development of the tarekat, and creates an independent base in other aspects. The existence of tarekat village, founded by Tuan Guru is not only a special place for tarekat practice. The tarekat village initiated by Tuan Guru has succeeded in carrying out its role as a spiritual village while developing a philanthropic movement through the availability of the village to accept and protect the less fortunate in it, such as widows, orphans, the elderly and others.

*Kampung Besilam* as a tarekat village is not only used as a basis for spiritual activity, but Tuan Guru can also develop it to create an economically independent village. To realize the idea of an independent tarekat village, Tuan Guru through support from the Sultan of Langkat in various commodities for the benefit of economic development. One of the steps, Tuan Guru took was to realize an economically independent tarekat village by developing the plantation sector. The choice of plantations at that time took into account the land that was indeed suitable for this field. Plantations developed in black pepper, rubber, sweet orange and others (Lombard, 1986). To complement the plantation business, it is also followed by livestock development, such as fish, cattle, goats and others (Lombard, 1986). The business development carried out by Tuan Guru is an effort to realize the realization of a tarekat village which is not only developing in the spiritual aspect but is also able to meet needs through businesses that support the achievement of an independent economy within it.

The various businesses initiated by Tuan Guru were developed on a community basis by involving all the people in TNKB. This step involves all existing components in addition to the learning process about Sufistic doctrine, which does not only focus on aspects of the hereafter but also has a high spirit to be economically capable. Efforts to integrate the orientation of the afterlife with maximum efforts to meet economic needs for oneself and family. In developing the business, Tuan Guru affirmed that the results obtained could only be utilized in *Kampung Besilam* and did not give permission to take the results outside the village. The business development efforts carried out by Tuan Guru do not recognize property rights because each congregation should meet their needs from the results of this business. In practice, if the jama'ah dies or no longer lives in *Kampung Besilam*, all their business rights will end because they no longer live in the village (Rokan, n.d.)

To maintain public order, especially regarding the rights and obligations of the people who live there, *Kampung Besilam* is a tarekat village, which is an autonomous area of the TNKB. The regulations that apply to this area also fully refer to the provisions of the TNKB, which originate from Tuan Guru.

*Maqbul* pada hari ahad 26 syawal tahun 1310 H, sahaya Haji ‘Abd al-Wahhab Rokan berjanji dengan Tengku Sultan Musa: Segala anak jamaah saya yang duduk di dalam Babussalam semata-mata beramal ibadah saja, tidak kena bayar kerahan (pajak) dan lainnya apa-apa di dalam negeri dan di masa inilah saya Haji ‘Abd al-Wahhab Rokan membuat pelekat peraturan Kampung Darussalam dan Babussalam wajiblah atas segala jamaah mengikutinya selama duduk di kampung ini hingga hari kiamat. Adapun peraturan yang saya perbuat itu datangnya dari pada Allah dan Rasul serta ulama-ulama yang salihin, tidak selamat segala anak jamaah yang mengobahnya adanya (Rokan, n.d.).

[*Maqbul* on Sunday 26 Shawwal in 1310 H, I am Haji ‘Abd al-Wahhab Rokan, made a promise with Tengku Sultan Musa: All of my *jama’ahs* who live in Babussalam are only for worship, are not subject to taxes, and etc. At this time, I am Haji ‘Abd al-Wahhab Rokan, who made the regulations for *Kampung* Darussalam and Babussalam, which are mandatory for all *jama’ahs* to follow them as long as they live in the village until the Day of Judgment. As for the regulations I made, it came from Allah and the Messenger, as well as the pious ulama. It is not safe who changed them].

The TGM put forward shows that the power relations between Tuan Guru and the Sultan of Langkat had an intimate relationship. This relationship is not only between the community and the authorities. More than that, it is also the relationship between the murshid and the *salik* who has a spiritual bond in it. Tuan Guru’s agreement with the Sultan of Langkat continues to apply until now that the special area of *Kampung* Besilam is an area that is fully under the provisions of the TNKB as the sultan’s waqf management nazir. In the management of *Kampung* Besilam, the *jama’ah* is free to live in the area. However, the provisions apply that you must comply with all applicable regulations referring to the regulations made by Tuan Guru. Currently, *Kampung* Besilam is generally occupied by the *dhurriyat* (main family) of Tuan Guru, who devote themselves to the TNKB, all the khadim (servant of Tuan Guru), or executors of various activities that continue to this day (Hidayat, 2015).

According to local sources, an incident involving Tuan Guru during the Dutch colonial period forced him to leave Langkat for some time (Mudawar, n.d.). To be precise, Tuan Guru chose to visit the Malay *Sultans* in the Peninsula region in Batu Pahat, Johor, Malaysia. In this area, Tuan Guru lived and settled for the sake of friendship with the tarekat murshid while also developing the TNKB network on the Peninsula (Munsoor, 2021). In this area, Tuan Guru also succeeded in appointing several *caliphs* who became the new TNKB agents. At present, the TNKB network, especially those originating from Tuan Guru has become the main network for spreading TNKB in the Malaysian region, which is then also strengthened by a new network that has been continued by TNKB murshid after Tuan Guru’s death until now (Mahyuddin, M.K. & Stapa, Z, 2013; Mohamad, 2003; Mohammad, 2012). Contacts between the TNKB network in Malaysia and

*Kampung* Besilam have continued to this day. The network continues to be connected through the previous network, originating from *Kampung* Besilam, which continues through the Tuan Guru, who leads the TNKB in Langkat.

In further developments, after the mission in Malaysia was completed, Tuan Guru returned to Langkat. It was recorded that in 1310 H / 1893 AD Tuan Guru finally returned to *Kampung* Besilam, at which time there had also been a change of leadership from Sultan Musa to his son, Sultan ‘Abd al-‘Aziz. Not much different from the previous sultan, Sultan ‘Abd al-‘Aziz also paid high respect to Tuan Guru as the leader of TNKB. The Sultan’s respect for Tuan Guru is proven by providing moral and material support for all activities carried out in *Kampung* Besilam (Hasjim, n.d.). In 1334 H / 1916 AD, Tuan Guru submitted a will to Sultan ‘Abd al-Aziz regarding who would replace him after he became a *waqf*. In response to this request, Sultan ‘Abd al-Aziz visited Tuan Guru in *Kampung* Besilam to discuss this, especially the future of *Kampung* Besilam considering that at that time, Tuan Guru was very old. The second meeting was held by Tuan Guru, who visited Sultan ‘Abd al-‘Aziz at his place. A testament was finally drawn from the meeting results, which contained who would replace Tuan Guru when he passed away.

Dan jika sahaya Haji ‘Abd al-Wahhab Rokan al-Khalidi berpulang ke rahmatullah ta‘ala yang menjadi ganti saya mengerjakan amal ibadah sahaya di *Kampung* Babussalam hendaklah dengan syarat mutlaq dan adab yang disebutkan ini, yakni tiga syarat. Pertama, siapa-siapa di antara anak cucu atau khalifah dan murid sahaya yang memegang surat ijazah sahaya yang diberi guru sahaya Maulana Shaykh Sulayman Zuhdi kepada sahaya di Makkah al-Mukarramah dahulu, maka itulah ganti sahaya turun temurun ila yawm al-qiyamah. Kedua, Khalifah Naqsyabandi, yakni yang telah menerima ilmu zahir batin serta adab-adab tariqah menurut ilmu tasawuf. Ketiga, haji, yakni telah tamam mengerjakan rukun Islam menurut hukum Allah dan rasul. Adalah wasiat sahaya ini datangnya dari Allah dan rasul serta limpahan *masyāikh syadāt al-kirām* dan siapa-siapa yang tidak menurutnya, maka tidak selamat hidupnya dunia dan akhirat dan tidak dalam keridaan *masyāikh syadāt al-kirām* (Rokan, n.d.).

And if I am Haji ‘Abd al-Wahhab Rokan al-Khalidi dead, those who replace me to carry out the charity service in *Kampung* Babussalam must fulfill absolute requirements and adab, namely three conditions. First, whoever among my children and grandchildren or *caliphs* and students holds my diploma given to me by my teacher, namely Maulana Shaykh Sulayman Zuhdi when I was in Makkah al-Mukarramah, then he will be my successor for generations until the Day of Judgment. Second, according to Sufism, the Naqshabandiyya Khalifah, namely those who have received physical and spiritual knowledge, and adab tariqah. Third, Hajj, which carries out the pillars of Islam according to the law of Allah and the Messenger. My will comes from Allah and the Messenger, as well as an abundance of *masyāikh syadāt al-kirām*. Whoever does not obey him will not survive in this world and the hereafter, and not in the pleasure of *masyāikh syadāt al-kirām*.

Tuan Guru's testament mentioned in the TGM describes preparations for the change of leadership of the TNKB in *Kampung Besilam*, if Tuan Guru dies later. The will was submitted to Sultan 'Abd al-'Aziz, the leader of the Langkat Sultanate at that time. Before writing this will, it also answered Sultan's question about the survival of *Kampung Besilam* after Tuan Guru's death (Zarcone, 2021). The question was related to the whereabouts of Tuan Guru, who was already very old at that time. The purpose of granting a will is not only to maintain the continuity of the TNKB in *Kampung Besilam* but also to prevent conflicts within the family. Giving a will is also an affirmation of the responsibilities of the Sultan of Langkat as a representative to ensure the continuity of the village.

In the will, Tuan Guru stipulated specific conditions regarding who would be appointed as murshid to continue the leadership of TNKB. The requirements made by Tuan Guru are absolute requirements for TNKB to fulfill in selecting replacement leaders from one generation to the next. The testament shows that the position of the murshid is very open to anyone, especially those from the dhurriat or caliph circles who are seen as fulfilling these conditions. The testament regarding the criteria for a leader given by Tuan Guru is an important part of the guideline for each leader's appointment in *Kampung Besilam*. The position of murshid is an important part of TNKB's continuation as a spiritual organization because the leader is not only a reference in every activity carried out, especially related to tarekat doctrine and rituals, but also has authority in policies that take place in TNKB.

## CONCLUSION

Based on the discussion, it can be emphasized that the TGM provided information about the power relations between Tuan Guru and the Malay *Sultans*. Power relations form a strong bond between Tuan Guru and the *Sultans*, not in relations between the people and the authorities. However, the reciprocal relationship is that the Malay *Sultans* are also interested in Tuan Guru's existence in the territory of power as the legitimacy of power. The power relations formed also had a good impact on the development of TNKB because through the support of the Malay *Sultans*. TNKB as a spiritual sect and organization can develop quickly in the area where Tuan Guru lives. In developing this network, Tuan Guru has appointed several *caliphs* as agencies tasked with maintaining and developing the TNKB in the areas where their respective groups live. Another important aspect of the power relations that developed between Tuan Guru and the Malay *Sultans* was providing wide space for the expansion of the TNKB network and obtaining moral and material support for the development of TNKB. Power relations are an important part of the development of TNKB in the Malay world because through power relations, Tuan Guru cannot only form TNKB-based communities and networks. Tuan Guru's power relations also manifested the establishment of a tarekat village as the base for TNKB, which teaches not only spiritual aspects but also builds economic independence, which the *Sultans* fully support. Power relations are part of the strategy developed by Tuan Guru in terms of developing

the TNKB network so that it can be accepted and spread widely to include the world of Indonesian and Malay Malays, which are still maintained today and make *Kampung Besilam* their main affiliate.

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