Urban Sufism from Exclusiveness to Inclusiveness: A Metaphysical Perspective

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Abstract: Every human being looks for *saʿāda* (happiness) in this world. However, this paradigm has recently shifted. It is now emerging amid urban communities, especially among Indonesian Muslims searching for spiritual values. This qualitative study aims to answer the above argument using a sufistic approach by analysing human nature and the nature of happiness, which are the factors supporting the birth of urban sufism. Besides, it also uses a phenomenological approach to see urban sufism, especially in the cities of Jakarta and Bandung, as an example of the development of urban sufism. This study found that the paradigm shift was caused by the revival of human awareness that the spiritual aspect is a source of true happiness within human beings.

Contribution: This article provides a rational reason to show that sufism is not only for certain circles but is universal and needed for every human being, especially for the conditions of this era. Every human needs sufism as it is a metaphysical human element consisting of *Nūr Muḥammadiyy* and *Adamiyy*.

Keywords: *saʿāda; urban sufism; metaphysics.*

Introduction

Feelings and a state of inner and outer serenity without the slightest feeling of restlessness are the terminologies of happiness, which is the ultimate goal or estuary of all activities of human life. In this case, for example, to be innovative, to be rich, to be a good person, and so on, the goal is none other than to find happiness. As stated by Aristotle: happiness is a life goal everyone wants to achieve. The need to be happy becomes a driving force in making decisions and actions so that humans become careful in making decisions and actions or trying to get the best to get happiness.[1]

Happiness is subjective. It has a different measure for each person. The relativity of happiness makes each look for his happy path. Some look for it through material things, so they desperately chase treasure. Some consider happiness as an established position, so they justify any means to get it. Others call happiness with popularity so that they pursue it relentlessly. Nowadays, the desire to go viral—a measure of happiness—is embraced by some individuals or urban groups, so it's not uncommon to take actions beyond normal limits.

Happiness, described above, cannot be said to be happy because it is pseudo. False happiness is a pleasure. The nature of fun is not soothing. Its character is only temporary because it can be lost or exhausted. As is known, many urban people have material possessions, position, rank, popularity, and other material happiness, but there is a space in their soul that is never satisfied. Happiness can never be measured from what can be seen by the eye. Happiness is a matter of feeling that grows in one's soul.[2]

True happiness is spiritual happiness. The achievement is with something that is an abstraction, which will continue to be absolute in the human soul. Happiness is obtained by approaching God through sufism. Sufism is the source of inner life and the centre that organises Islamic buildings. The analogy is like the human body, where the body is Islam, and the heart is sufism. So, sufism becomes a vital object that fills human spirituality and eliminates the spiritual

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[1] Yakobus Ori Banusu and Antonius Denny Firmanto, 'Kebahagiaan Dalam Ruang Keseharian Manusia', *Forum: Filsafat Dan Teologi* 49, no. 2 (19 December 2020): 51–61, https://doi.org/10.35312/forum.v49i2.301.

[2] Agus Jemi Karyadi, 'Falsafah Empan Papan Berdialog Dengan Richard Rorty Tentang Batas Toleransi', *Jurnal Ilmu Budaya* 8, no. 2 (6 August 2020): 235–46, https://doi.org/10.34050/jib.v8i2.10989.

aridity faced by urban society. So, with sufism, the spiritual happiness that urban communities want to achieve can be felt.[3]

The importance of sufism can be seen from its holistic and comprehensive approach to humans; it creates a balance between spirituality and the material needs of the individual and produces a perfect human being. Make people aware of God, seek a godly life, and fear sin.[4] As one example of the 'mindset' and practice common in *Sufi* contexts that can be understood as esoteric, if one follows a formalistic understanding, one can cite the *murāqaba* tradition, or what can be translated as sufi meditation and contemplation. In the Naqhshbandi-Mujaddidi tradition, *murāqaba* can be likened to a spiritual journey to a higher state of spiritual purity and closeness or God (*auliyā'*), a way to experience true happiness.[5]

According to Muhammad Iqbal, *taṣawwuf /* mysticism produces a superior approach to other sciences because *taṣawwuf* is the faculty of the heart ('*qolb*') in attaining the path to Allah and acquiring knowledge about objects. Through mysticism, said Iqbal, the goal is to gain knowledge through spiritual endeavours.[6] Martin argues that the birth of sufism in several big cities in Indonesia is thought to have emerged in the early 1980s when an urban Muslim middle class was forming. With an excellent educational background, the city's Muslim community has had careers in various sectors, both in government and the domestic sector. Louis Massignon even expressed a different view. The assumption says that sufism will not be able to survive in the modern era. He argues that by the mid-20th century, the *tariqa* had been crippled by the constant attacks from the contemporary Muslim elite. This constellation is also strengthened by the notion that spiritualism which is the essence of Masaru and *tariqa,* is not under existing modernity which continues to increase its momentum in almost all Muslim

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[3]   Nur Hadi Ihsan and Iqbal Maulana Alfiansyah, 'Konsep Kebahagiaan Dalam Buku Tasawuf Modern Karya Hamka', *Analisis: Jurnal Studi Keislaman* 21, no. 2 (30 December 2021): 279–98, https://doi.org/10.24042/ajsk.v21i2.9636.

[4]   Niyaz Ahmad Lone, 'The Role and Significance of Taṣawwuf in Modern-Day Crisis', *Teosofia: Indonesian Journal of Islamic Mysticism* 11, no. 1 (16 June 2022): 83–102, https://doi.org/10.21580/tos.v11i1.12030.

[5]   Simon Sorgenfrei, 'Hidden or Forbidden, Elected or Rejected: Sufism as "Islamic Esotericism"?', *Islam and Christian–Muslim Relations* 29, no. 2 (3 April 2018): 145–65, https://doi.org/10.1080/09596410.2018.1437945.

[6]   Feyzullah Yilmaz, 'Overcoming Nihilism Through Sufism: An Analysis of Iqbal's Article on ʿAbd Al-Karīm Al-Jīlī', *Journal of Islamic Studies* 30, no. 1 (1 January 2019): 69–96, https://doi.org/10.1093/jis/ety041.

countries.[7] In the history of "philosophical sufism" lies the determination of where the phenomenon might have started and what it might lead to. Many who practice Sufism are identified by popular Sufism as friends of God.[8] So, this article aims to view the phenomena of urban Sufism amid urban communities; why it has become widespread so far in the modern age.

Literature Review

Syarifuddin (2018), in his study on the relations of the Dzikir Jami'atul Mubarakh Assembly of Makassar City with the Political Elite, explained that the development of urban Sufism had become a unique attraction for certain circles, besides self-awareness to tread Sufism seeking spiritual peace, several other things have become driving factors that influenced the development of urban sufism, these other driving factors, were driven by motives to gain political legitimacy, reasons of religious figures, and pragmatism in religion.[9]

Besides, technological developments also play a significant role in urban Sufism's growth, as Putra stated. He explains that the shift in an urban society oriented towards the world of sufism has been caused by access to more available information, which gives a new colour to sufism that can be followed through a more efficient and practical approach. Online lectures, preaching video clips, and even daily religious practices can be accessed through online media such as Instagram and Facebook.[10]

All those previous studies reveal the rationality of the development of urban Sufism from external or outer factors of human beings. Therefore, this study fills the gap by looking at the rationality of the development of urban Sufism from the exoteric and esoteric aspects of humanity and its existence with an inclusive *taṣawwuf* approach.

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[7]   Wakhid Hasyim, Ahmad Syafii, and Arifah Fauziah, 'Urban Sufism: Spiritulity Education For Middle Class Muslim', *Forum Paedagogik* 13, no. 2 (1 January 2022): 262–77, https://doi.org/10.24952/paedagogik.v13i2.6466.

[8]   Hamid Algar, 'Sufism: A New History of Islamic Mysticism By Alexander Knysh', *Journal of Islamic Studies* 30, no. 1 (1 January 2019): 97–103, https://doi.org/10.1093/jis/ety050.

[9]   Muh. Ilyas Syarifuddin, 'Urban Sufisme Dan Politik (Studi Terhadap Relasi Majelis Zikir Jami'atul Mubarakh Kota Makassar Dengan Elite Politik)' (Universitas Islam Negeri Alauddin Makassar, 2018), 13.

[10] Ifansyah Putra, 'Urban Sufisme: Negoisasi Antara Islamisme Dan Modernisme Kalangan Muda Perkotaan (Studi Analisis Provinsi Bengkulu)', *Jurnal Aghinya* 2, no. 2 (2019): 190–204, https://ejournal.stiesnu-bengkulu.ac.id/index.php/aghniya/article/view/51.

Sufism Perspective of Happiness

Today's human view of happiness has changed from a materialistic to a spiritual perspective. The emergence of the trend of modern society towards a spiritual lifestyle indicates this. The fulfilment of various material needs does not provide significant satisfaction, so modern society's need for spirituality is not only secondary but has become a primary need or higher than the need for materials.[11]

Spirituality in urban communities has also increased, as stated by Julia Day Howell, called urban Sufism, which is caused by the unhappiness and unease of urban communities in the fierce competition of modernism.[12] And materialistic urban life. Urban Sufism can be interpreted as sufism without going through a *tariqa* teacher but only through an ordinary teacher. No conditions must be met, such as; certain allegiances and *wirīd-wirīd* (the practice of reading *thayyibah* sentences continuously and routinely), that must be performed. The urban Sufism movement can be seen in the many activities such as *istīghastah* (ask Allah for help when you are sad or happy), *shalawāt* (Praise or respect for the Prophet Muhammad), *zikir* (Remember Allah), and others that are similar to what is happening in urban communities.[13]

The shift of urban society to sufism is undoubtedly based on the desire to find spiritual happiness in life that is not found in materialistic satisfaction. Spiritual happiness is promised in sufism; each Sufi gives meaning differently. Although, in general, it shows the same substance to finding true happiness. Happiness or *sa'āda*/سَعَادَة (Arabic) shows a state of pleasure and joy and free from troublesome things.[14]

As for in view, al-Ghāzālī (1058–1111) understands *sa'āda* with the existence of humans with 3 (three) mental conditions; quiet, peaceful, and undisturbed. The climax in al-Ghāzālī's view is when humans can achieve essential closeness to God or *ma'rifāt* to God. The analogy of peak happiness is like the joy of the eyes when they see something beautiful or liked when the ear

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[11] Siti Halimah, 'Tasawuf Untuk Masyarakat Modern', *Jurnal Al-Makrifat* 2, no. 1 (2017): 85–98, http://ejournal.kopertais4.or.id/tapalkuda/index.php/makrifat/article/view/3027.

[12] Ifansyah Putra, 'Urban Sufisme: Negoisasi Antara Islamisme Dan Modernisme Kalangan Muda Perkotaan (Studi Analisis Provinsi Bengkulu)'.

[13] NU Online, '"Urban Sufisme", Perkembangan Positif Dalam Dakwah Islam', nu.or.id, 2017, https://www.nu.or.id/warta/quoturban-sufismequot-perkembangan-positif-dalam-dakwah-islam-lLYN1.

[14] Ihsan and Alfiansyah, 'Konsep Kebahagiaan Dalam Buku Tasawuf Modern Karya Hamka'.

hears a melodious voice or sound, as well as other body parts.[15] Based on the place, happiness is divided by al-Ghāzālī be 2 (two); happiness in this world and the hereafter. The joy of the world is temporary (*fan*ā) and metaphorical. At the same time, the happiness of the hereafter is true happiness. Although the pleasure of this world is transient and metaphorical, it can be valuable or useful when used to achieve satisfaction in the hereafter.[16]

While Ibn Athā'illāh al-Sakandarī (1260–1309 A.D.) views happiness as a manifestation of the obedience and obedience of a human being in carrying out God's commands and leaving His prohibitions, the characteristics of happiness are related to the situation and condition of the heart, whether a person is happy or not is determined by his heart, because the heart is the origin of happiness and suffering. For Ibn Athā'illāh al-Sakandarī, humans can feel happiness in this world and the hereafter. Life in this world is very influential in determining happiness in the hereafter if humans manage their worldly life for the afterlife. In the sense of making the world a means to get happiness and pleasure in the hereafter.[17]

Method

This study uses a descriptive qualitative approach, which aims to describe a phenomenon developing among urbanites, which aims to reveal existing phenomena and understand the meaning behind these phenomena. This is done to answer the rationality of the paradigm shift of urbanites starting to follow the world of sufism. This is done none other than human nature itself, which encourages humans to find their identity as humans who will not be separated from their rabbis; that is what humans must take to find happiness or peace of mind during a spiritual crisis in urban society.

Through the study of humans from the esoteric side, which is explored through textual cues (the *isyāri* method), which is elaborated through descriptive analysis to describe the meaning obtained from reading and understanding the text, in which the dominant urban society is surrounded by a life full of values only

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[15] Jarman Arroisi, 'Bahagia Dalam Perspektif Al-Ghazali', *Kalimah: Jurnal Studi Agama Dan Pemikiran Islam* 17, no. 1 (1 March 2019): 89–103, https://doi.org/10.21111/klm.v17i1.2942.

[16] Yusuf Suharto and Ishmatun Nihayah Ishmah, 'Tasawuf Kebahagiaan Dalam Pandangan Al-Ghazali', *PUTIH: Jurnal Pengetahuan Tentang Ilmu Dan Hikmah* 6, no. 2 (2021): 33–46, http://journal.mahadalyalfithrah.ac.id/index.php/PUTIH/article/view/69.

[17] Ade Anang Suhada, Muliadi Muliadi, and Dodo Widarda, 'Kebahagiaan Menurut Syeikh Ibnu Atha'illah as-Sakandari', *Jurnal Penelitian Ilmu Ushuluddin* 2, no. 1 (22 January 2022): 180–97, https://doi.org/10.15575/jpiu.13590.

material things so that they often feel hopeless in living life. Ultimately, it is not uncommon to end life by committing suicide. Therefore, it is necessary to reintroduce spiritual values to them, especially studies on sufism. as a form of esoteric (metaphysical) rationality from the development of urban Sufism.

Urban Sufism is a development that occurs because it is influenced by paradigm changes that affect social change in urban society, and a necessity, which will become a rapid development in the future, where the value of human happiness will be achieved if humans themselves have a soul. To reach the perfect soul, humans must understand and study the science of sufism. This is the reason for the need for the urban society for sufism, especially among urban Muslims.

Results and Discussion

Divinity in Human Nature

The theory of Abrahamism and Hayy bin Yaqzan are 2 (two) theories that examine the journey of human life in seeking God. The theory of Abrahamism refers to the story of the Prophet Ibrahim a.s. They are contained in the Koran. While seeking God in any bin, Yaqzān's theory is the story of the journey of humans living in the forest, described in the novel by Ibn Ṭufaīl (1105–1185 A.D.), the classical Muslim philosopher. These 2 (two) theories are pretty popular in the Islamic world and have their individual stories, but between the two, they show the human spiritual journey to find the truth in life.

The theory of Abrahamism is described in the Koran sura al-An'ām [6]: 74–79; The description of the spiritual journey of Prophet Ibrahim a.s. in seeking God in the above verse shows several things; First, the method used by Prophet Ibrahim a.s. in pointing out the error of humanity in his time in deifying the heavenly bodies; like stars, moon, and sun. Prophet Ibrahim a.s. show step by step that the divine celestial bodies can disappear or leave humans and determine that someone created them.[18] Second, from the story of Prophet Ibrahim, a.s. Seeking God illustrates a systematic process of finding the truth or reporting a human spiritual journey in it. Prophet Ibrahim a.s. starts with the empowerment of bodily potential, then the potential of Allah, and finally, the potential of the heart. All three are stages of using the potential humans can do to find the truth.[19]

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[18] Sri Suyanta, 'Kisah Ibrahim Mencari Tuhan Dan Nilai-Nilai Pendidikan Islam', *Jurnal Ilmiah Islam Futura* 6, no. 2 (25 April 2018): 100–118, https://doi.org/10.22373/jiif.v6i2.3051.

[19] Suyanta.

Meanwhile, Hayy bin Yaqzān in Ibn Tufail's novel, tells about the spiritual journey of a man in finding the truth by using various epistemologies, which start from sensory observation, then reason (ratio), and intuition. The flow of the process by conducting structured observations of the phenomena that occur around them, natural phenomena, and animals which then arrive at the Truth or find the essence of all the essences that exist.[20]

God is human nature; before being born into the earth or when humans are in their mother's womb, man and God agree that he confesses and testifies to God.[21] So, it can be said that humans believe in God or acknowledge God as a great power outside of themselves that controls their lives. Humans created by God have the instinct to be religious—god, where god has been inherent like his creation. So that God cannot be removed from human life—the relationship between humans and God is natural.[22] As Koran sura al-A'rāf [7]: 172.

Hamka interprets the verse that the pure soul of each human being is in a state of nature, still clean, and there is no influence from anything. In the soul that is still clean, there is an acknowledgement of the existence of the creator of this universe. Recognition of the universe that was created not by itself but because there was one who made it and only one (one) created it.[23] Since the beginning of being born as a human being, acknowledging the creator's existence is natural. God Almighty, the universe's creator, sent down the Koran to manage the agreement's impact. As is known, the agreement talks about rights and obligations, and because this agreement is between God and humans, the rights here refer to God's righteousness to be worshipped and human obligations to worship.[24]

Ibn Kathīr interprets nature's meaning by acknowledging God's oneness— that humans are born with monotheism or tend to unite God and always seek the

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[20] Nisa Shofiyatul 'Afiifah, 'Relevansi Epistemologi, Jiwa Dan Akal Dalam Perspektif Ibnu Thufail', *Al-Ibrah* 5, no. 1 (2020): 120–42, https://ejournal.stital.ac.id/index.php/alibrah/article/view/93.

[21] Abd. Muqit and Eko Zulfikar, 'Tuhan Dalam Fitrah Manusia Dan Faktor-Faktor Yang Merubahnya: Kajian Tematik Ayat-Ayat Dan Hadis Ketauhidan', *JURNAL YAQZHAN: Analisis Filsafat, Agama Dan Kemanusiaan* 7, no. 2 (13 December 2021): 152–68, https://doi.org/10.24235/jy.v7i2.8019.

[22] Abdul Hamid, 'Agama Dan Kesehatan Mental Dalam Perspektif Psikologi Agama', *Jurnal Kesehatan Tadulako* 3, no. 1 (2017): 1–14, http://jurnal.untad.ac.id/jurnal/index.php/HealthyTadulako/article/view/8714.

[23] Hamka, *Tafsir Al-Azhar*, vol. 4 (Singapura: Pustaka Nasional PTE LTD, 1999), 2597.

[24] Saryono, 'Konsep Fitrah Dalam Perspektif Islam', *Medina-Te: Jurnal Studi Islam,* 12, no. 2 (2016): 161–74, https://doi.org/10.19109/medinate.v12i2.1179.

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way of monotheism.[25] Meanwhile, Sayyid Qutub interprets the meaning of nature as every human soul must be perfected with religious character—there is a strong relationship between the human soul and godly character. Between the two are God's creations that humans inspire to be able to find wisdom toward something better, authentic, and straight, also in Koran sura al-Rūm [30]: 30.

This is useful to help humans get their happiness by understanding the direction of life/movement of life. Referring to the cues from the Koran, there are two movements of living people, the first to the hereafter (KS: Āli 'Imrān [3]: 33 means moving towards Allah's forgiveness, and the second to the world. The second is the movement of humans towards the world, which is moving to pick up the sustenance that Allah has determined (KS: al-Mulk [67]: 14; Understanding the direction of life for humans and balancing the two is a command from Allah." (KS. Al Baqarah [2]: 148.

Even though these two aspects must be lived, they have their respective portions. The movement to the afterlife is the esoteric side of the human self, while the move to the world is the exoteric side of a human being. This reaffirms that man is composed of spirit and body, and both cannot be ignored. However, judging from the metaphysical aspect, the human tendency towards the world, then the nature of happiness is only temporary, but the human tendency towards the hereafter, the nature of his joy, will be lasting. From this world to the hereafter, a person can feel eternal happiness, not only later when he is in the hereafter. Because the nature of time depends on the point of view that humans are immortal/eternity itself, two concepts emerge in human beings that can be seen metaphysically, *Muḥammadiyy* and *Adamiyy*.

Human *Muḥammadiyy* and *Adamiyy*

Humans consist of two elements: the element of *Muḥammadiyy* and the element of *Adamiyy*, meaning that in humans, there is an esoteric side and an exoteric side. The esoteric side of man is the essence of *Muḥammadiyy*, and the exoteric side of man is *adamiyy* (body). Not only in humans but in the entire universe has an esoteric side because in the beginning, before everything was created, the first one created by Allah was *Nūr Muḥammad*, often also called *Nūr Haqīqa Muḥammad*. Implicitly Allah conveys it in KS. al-Mā'idah [5]: 15.

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[25] Suriadi, 'Aplikasi Konsep Fitrah Dalam QS. Al-Rum Ayat 30 Terhadap Tujuan Pendidikan Islam', *At-Tajdid: Jurnal Ilmu Tarbiyah,* 7, no. 1 (2018): 71–107, https://ejournal.isimupacitan.ac.id/index.php/tajdid/article/view/117.

Imam ibn A'raby in his book *Futūhat al Makkiyah* explains the word of Allah KS al-Nūr: 30, where Allah likens his light to *mishbah*, which means lamp. Ibn Araby called it the term *Nūr Muḥammad* or *A'qal*.[26] He is the ruler of all the worlds, where he is from the emanation of divine light, and his existence nature is manifested. Concept *Nūr Muḥammad* is not just a sufistic cosmological doctrine but has become a paradigm of thought and practice for all life activities. *Nūr Muḥammad* is also called the Nature of Muḥammad; the term is often associated with several terms such as *al-Qalam, al-A'ql al-awwal* (leading mind), and *Insan Kāmil*.

These terms generally mean the highest, noblest, first and foremost of Allah's creatures. This is because all beings originate in and through him. That is why *Nūr Muḥammad* is also called *al-Syajarah al-baidha'* because all creatures radiate from him. He is like a tree from which various planets emerge with their complexities. Thus, *Nūr Muḥammad* can be considered *qadim* in the *qadim al-hukmi* perspective but also as new in the *qadim al-dzāti* perspective.

It can be explained through the word of Allah SWT on KS. al-Isrā' [17]: 70 describes the superiority of humans over other creatures of Allah, and everything was created and prepared for humans KS. Ibrāhīm [14]: 32-34; the meaning is that after everything is completed, humans are created from everything that exists. And the element of creation would not exist if Muḥammad did not exist. In the world of sufism, call it *Nūr Haqīqa Muḥammad.* Imam Ibn Araby said that man is the spirit of nature; man is the cause of all this.[27]

The origin of human creation comes from the spiritual realm; when it is manifested into material form, the view becomes closed. If he only looks at his material form, his *bashīrah* will be closed. Then it won't be easy to see the nature of its existence. Then the light will be hidden from him.[28] Hal, this is explained by Ibn A'raby when explaining the hadith of the Prophets, which means I am the ruler of the descendants of Adam, and another narration, I have become a prophet while Adam is still between water and land. He explained that the spirit is meant before an insāniyah material body exists. Just as Allah witnessed Adam's offspring in his mother's womb before he had a body, the *Syahāda* is carried out to the spirit of the body, not to the body.

The first means Muḥammad as the source of all created things, and the second is Muḥammad as a human sent to earth. In the sense of the word, his

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[26] Ibnu Araby, *Futuh Al Ghaib*, vol. 1 (Beirut: Dar El Kutub Al Ilmiah, n.d.), 184.

[27] Araby, 1:182.

[28] Araby, 1:204.

existence existed before he was presented in material form (the son of Adam). And it existed before man was created; everything was made from it.

From the description above, it can be understood that there are elements of Muḥammad in every creature, including humans. And the aspect of Muḥammad cannot be separated from the source which created it, namely Allah SWT. Therefore, humans, in particular, cannot escape from the creator. And in his conscience, the nature of Muḥammad is always tied to the one who created it. The form of attachment is to want always to feel close to him. This makes humans want to return to the nature of their existence, together with their creator, and always be with him. Because, in essence, his existence is not material Adam, but spiritual, which emanates from the light of the nature of *Nūr Muḥammad; it's* just that humans tend to look at the material side of themselves, thus forgetting the spiritual side from within themselves, as the origin of their existence.

Sufism Inclusiveness

Sufism can be interpreted as a ritual to get closer intimately to the Creator. Self-approach aims to seek peace and solutions to all life's problems. People generally conduct sufism activities to find answers to issues after reason, and reason alone is unsuccessful in solving them. That encourages people to look for solutions to problems through the spiritual path. The transformation of transcendental thinking in urban society's modernist and hedonistic climate is an anomaly. The growing number of study assemblies in various city corners evidences the increasing need for spiritualism in urban culture. [29]

In Indonesia, Islamic spiritualism (*tasawwuf* or sufism) was born and proliferated only among rural communities, such as traditional Islamic Boarding Schools or local rural study groups. *Tarīqa* (a form of sufism experience, for example, turns out to be more of colouring the lower strata of society. But now, it has surfaced as a necessity for modern urban society, so the term urban Sufism appears.[30]

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[29] Wasisto Raharjo Jati, 'Sufisme Urban Di Perkotaan: Konstruksi Keimanan Baru Kelas Menenengah Muslim', *Jurnal Kajian & Pengembangan Manajemen Dakwah,* 5, no. 2 (2015): 175–99, https://www.academia.edu/20024258/Urban_Sufisme_Konstruksi_Keimanan_Baru_Kelas_Menengah_Muslim_Indonesia.

[30] Fadli Rahman, 'Urban Sufism Kajian Fenomenologis Terhadap Kecendrungan Bertasawuf Masyarakat Kota Palangka Raya', *Jurnal Studi Agama Dan Masyarakat* 6, no. 1 (2009): 35–60, https://fauziannor.files.wordpress.com/2013/03/urban-sufism-kajian-fenomenologis-terhadap-kecendrungan-bertasawuf-masyarakat-kota-palangka-raya-fadli-rahman.pdf.

Jakarta, for example, the remembrance and prayer groups, which have increased since the 2000s led by *ustad*, are attended by hundreds or even thousands of people and are broadcast on television and published on a large scale in many media. There are approximately 158 scattered *manākiban* places.[31]

Urban Sufism can cover various spiritual movement phenomena that arise in urban society. So, besides the spiritual movement that prioritises the rituals of remembrance and prayer without a trek at the organisation, as practised by Ustadz Haryono, Ustadz Arifin Ilham, and Aa Gym, a conventional *tasawuf* movement that is still tied to *tarīqa* organisational knots as shown by the Qadariyya-Naqshbandiyya *tarīqa* community is also included.

Urban Sufism is a term for urban Muslim communities who like and choose the sufism approach as a spiritual path, although not with a strict *Sūfi* approach. In the early 1980s, several *Sūfi* learning communities emerged with unlimited members. The participants in these sufi groups were the educated and the urban middle class. They are unlike other *Sūfi*, groups who seclude themselves from the world. Urban *Sūfi* groups go the other way.[32]

The term urban Sufism became popular after Julia Day Howell (2003) used it in an anthropological study of the spiritual movements that are rife in urban areas in Indonesia, especially remembrance groups and the like. Urban Sufism is a phenomenon that occurs in almost all major cities in the world. However, according to John Voll, urban Sufism cannot be understood as a shift in the popularity of the conventional *tariqa* because *tarīqa* organisations can still develop amidst the hustle and bustle of modern society.[33]

Spiritualism never dies. Not only because it continues to be passed down from one generation to another among people who still adhere to this tradition, but it also appears at the centre of culture, which is going in a completely different direction from it. Unexpectedly he appears here and there amid modern urban materialism.[34]

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[31] Oman Fathurrahman, 'Urban Sufism: Perubahan Dan Kesinambungan Ajaran Tasawuf', Indonesian Islamic Philology, 2007, http://oman.uinjkt.ac.id/2007/01/urban-sufism-perubahan-dan.html.

[32] Saprillah Saprillah et al., 'Kontestasi Keagamaan Dalam Masyarakat Muslim Urban', *Al-Qalam* 26, no. 1 (29 June 2020): 39–56, https://doi.org/10.31969/alq.v26i1.844.

[33] Muhammad Anis, 'Spiritualitas Di Tengah Modernitas Perkotaan', *Jurnal Bayan* 2, no. 4 (2013): 1–15, https://s3ppi.umy.ac.id/wp-content/uploads/2017/04/Spiritualitas_di_Tengah_Modernitas_Perko.pdf.

[34] Anis.

Komaruddin Hidayat explained four perspectives on why sufism is growing in big cities. First, sufism is in demand by urban communities because it is a means of searching for the meaning of life. Second, sufism becomes a means of intellectual struggle and enlightenment. Third, sufism is a means of psychological therapy. Fourth, sufism is a means to follow trends and developments in religious discourse.[35]

Urban society is a social creature that needs other humans in their lives; a group of people who need each other will form a life together called a society. Society itself can be identified as a unitary human life that interacts according to a particular system of customs that is sustainable and bound by a sense of shared identity.[36]

Sufism urban society is a form of the positive development of Islamic preaching. This indicates that there needs to be more feeling in carrying out religious rituals that have been carried out so far that urban communities need to improve the quality of faith with various approaches, one of which is through 'Urban Sufism'.

The difference between urban and conventional sufism is that not taking an oath of allegiance or oath to a particular tarīqa group is enough to participate in light studies, even through online media such as YouTube. In terms of daily practices, it is also not as heavy as conventional sufism. However, in carrying out these routine practices, urban Sufism still follows the principles of traditional sufism: continuity, awareness of sincerity, cleanliness of intentions, and not contradicting worship rituals.[37]

According to Hossein Nasr, as quoted by Rahman, the current world crisis has originated from the West since the renaissance era. Since then, man has been independent of God and nature. Humans free themselves from the divine order to further build an anthropomorphic order that is solely human-centred and results in a break from spirituality.[38]

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[35] Anis.

[36] Guslita Siadeka, 'Spiritualitas Masyarakat Urban (Studi Terhadap Gerakan Shalat Subuh Berjamaah Di Banda Aceh)' (UIN Ar-Raniry Banda Aceh, 2017), 26.

[37] Ifansyah Putra, 'Urban Sufisme: Negoisasi Antara Islamisme Dan Modernisme Kalangan Muda Perkotaan (Studi Analisis Provinsi Bengkulu)'.

[38] Rubaidi Rubaidi, 'Kontekstualisasi Sufisme Bagi Masyarakat Urban', *Jurnal THEOLOGIA* 30, no. 1 (10 June 2019): 127–52, https://doi.org/10.21580/teo.2019.30.1.3145.

Future Urban Sufism

The most prominent characteristics of modern (urban) society are its very aggressive attitude toward progress. They are driven by various achievements achieved by science and technology. Modern society is trying to break the myth of the sacred nature of the universe. All must submit and try to be subjugated by science and technology, which pivots on rationality. The reality of the universe, which religious doctrines always associate with the creator's greatness, is now only understood as an autonomous object that has nothing to do with God.[39]

Another problem that arises due to the perspective used by modern society is a crisis of spirituality. The situation of spirituality for modern humans starts from a view that places the spirit and body as something logical and does not exist in reality because it is a unit of psychosomatics. The loss of spirituality in modern humans causes a loss of faith and ignorance in the process of change, resulting in uncertainty; uncertainty causes doubt, indecision creates anxiety, and finally, creates fear. Therefore, modern society is always gripped by a sense of insecurity and sometimes even feels threatened by the progress it has made itself.

This spiritually dry trend of modern life encourages the revival of religious enthusiasm in society, especially the esoteric dimension of sufism. The importance of religion (spirituality) as an antidote to all forms of alienation is the emptiness felt when humans achieve material prosperity, as if teaching how true happiness is not located there but in a more spiritual part.[40]

Religious needs are psychic needs that have a biological basis, like human events. In the recesses of his soul, man feels the urge to seek and think about his creator and the creator of the universe. This awareness also causes him to worship Him, beg Him, and seek help from Him whenever calamities and calamities of life strike him. In His protection, he feels calm and serene. The path taken in worshipping Him varies according to the level of thinking and cultural development.[41]

The growing number of study assemblies in various city corners evidences the increasing need for spiritualism in urban society. For example, in the Jakarta case, there was the Rasulullah Council led by Habib Munzir Al Musawwa, the Dhikr al-Dzikra Council led by Ustadz Arifin Ilham, the Quranic Study Council, Alms Management led by Ustadz Yusuf Mansyur, and so on. In Bandung there is

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[39] Siadeka, 'Spiritualitas Masyarakat Urban (Studi Terhadap Gerakan Shalat Subuh Berjamaah Di Banda Aceh)', 28.

[40] Siadeka, 29.

[41] Siadeka, 34–35.

Qolbu Management led by Ustadz Abdullah Gymastiar. In addition to theological-based spiritual activities, the emergence of ESQ training initiated by Ary Ginadjar is also an exciting narrative to explain that the spiritual needs of the urban middle class are now trying to balance spiritual and material needs. In addition, the emergence of religious and spiritual movements and behaviours such as Anand Krishna through Brahma Kumaris, Lia Aminuddin with the Eden Community, and later the emergence of other religious communities indicates that the spiritual needs of urban residents have increased.[42]

Over half of the world's population will live in urban areas by 2050; leading demographers estimate that nearly seventy percent will live in cities. This is related to the rapid process of urbanisation and modernisation.[43] This will make sufism will increasingly develop in the future.

Conclusion

The phenomenon of urban Sufism has revealed to us the real human character, which consists of two aspects, i.e. *Nūr Muḥammadiyy* and *adamiyy*. By realising the importance of balance between soul and body, humans can achieve the true happiness they have pursued. Urban societies, with huge material necessities, need to be reintroduced to the nature of their existence, that spirituality is a crucial element in human life. Thus, Sufism, as teaching concerned explicitly with the spiritual aspect of human beings, is now finding its place again and needs to be reintroduced to societies to rediscover their character. Therefore, Sufism is now not limited to a specific circle but is more inclusive, which can be practised by diverse communities. Also, the phenomenon of urban Sufism is a development that occurs due to the influence of changes in the urban Muslim paradigm, influencing social change in society. It is reasonable why urban Sufism is widespread as urban Muslims generally have an inclusive and flexible perspective, so they readily accept changes, especially Sufism.

Acknowledgement

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[42] Rubaidi, 'Kontekstualisasi Sufisme Bagi Masyarakat Urban'.

[43] M Nanda Fauzan, 'Gairah Spiritual Kelompok Urban Sufisme Di Tengah Maraknya Wabah Covid-19', *Islamika: Jurnal Ilmu-Ilmu Keislaman* 21, no. 01 (25 August 2021): 62–75, https://doi.org/10.32939/islamika.v21i01.628.

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