



The Digital Transformation of Sufi Orders in Indonesia: A Typology of Cyber Sufism

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Abstract: Despite the rapid expansion of digital religious platforms, little is known about how Indonesian Sufi orders have adapted their spiritual practices to cyberspace. This study examines the development of Cyber-Sufism in Indonesia by identifying the typology of digital practices among Sufi orders. Using virtual ethnography and qualitative content analysis, it analyzes the official websites and digital platforms of nine Indonesian Sufi orders selected through purposive sampling. The findings identify two major types of Cyber-Sufism. The informative type, represented by the Qādiriyya wa Naqshbandiyya, Shādhiliyya, Tījāniyya, Syattāriyya, Idrīsiyya, Sammāniyya, and Rifā'iyya orders, primarily employs digital media for one-way dissemination of Sufi teachings, literature, organizational information, and institutional activities. Meanwhile, the interactive type, represented by the Naqshbandī Ḥaqqāni order, enables reciprocal spiritual engagement through online *bai'a*, *dhikr*, *suḥba*, spiritual consultation, and virtual religious gatherings. The study concludes that the Naqshbandī Ḥaqqāni order exemplifies the most comprehensive model of interactive Cyber-Sufism through its digital *zāwiya*, which facilitates continuous spiritual learning, guidance, and religious engagement in the digital sphere.

Contribution: This study contributes to understanding the transformation of Sufi authority, religious learning, and spiritual interaction in the digital age, while offering a conceptual framework for mapping contemporary digital Sufism in Indonesia.

Keywords: Cyber-sufism; digital *zāwiya*; sufi order; cyberspace.

Introduction

As more Sufi communities embrace technological advancements and participate in the digital revolution, they are increasingly integrating the internet and digital media into all dimensions of their religious life.¹ Cyber-Sufism examines how global Sufi communities utilize digital multimedia to reach new audiences, reinterpret traditions, shape identities, and enrich ritual practices. As a subfield of *Digital Religion*² and *Cyber-Islamic*,³ both in local and global contexts, Cyber-Sufism specifically investigates the activities of Sufi communities and orders within cyberspace.⁴ In the Western context, Cyber-Sufism demonstrates that the digital sphere is perceived as a medium for constructing virtual communities as a form of their existence in the physical (offline) world, particularly for Sufi groups originating from immigrant and minority backgrounds in the West.⁵

Traditional Sufi communities are increasingly adapting to contemporary technological developments by integrating digital media into religious education, spiritual communication, and organizational activities, reflecting the broader

¹ Robert Rozehnal, *Cyber Muslims: Mapping Islamic Digital Media in the Internet Age*, ed. Robert Rozehnal (New York: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2022), 5; Khusnul Khotimah, Amirotnun Solikhah, and Zidan Abid Maulana, "Virtual Sufism Identity in Majelis Kalbun Salim (MKS)," *Teosofia: Indonesian Journal of Islamic Mysticism* 13, no. 2 (2024): 269–302, <https://doi.org/10.21580/tos.v13i2.23598>.

² Heidi A. Campbell and Ruth Tsuria, *Digital Religion: Understanding Religious Practice in New Media Worlds*. (New York: Routledge, 2022), 1-21; Pauline Hope Cheong, "The Vitality of New Media and Religion: Communicative Perspectives, Practices, and Changing Authority in Spiritual Organization," *New Media & Society* 19, no. 1 (May 31, 2016): 25–33, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444816649913>; Heidi A. Campbell, "Understanding the Relationship between Religion Online and Offline in a Networked Society," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 80, no. 1 (2012): 64–93, <https://doi.org/10.1093/jaarel/lfr074>; Rachel Wagner, *Godwired: Religion, Ritual and Virtual Reality* (London: Routledge, 2011), <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203148075>.

³ Gary R Bunt, *Hashtag Islam: How Cyber Islamic Environments Are Transforming Religious Authority* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2019), 3.

⁴ The concept of cyberspace, originally introduced by William Gibson, denotes an imaginative and abstract virtual domain made possible through digital technology. For further discussion, see Pol Donets and Nataliya Krynytska, "Here Be Dragons: The Evolution of Cyberspace from William Gibson to Neal Stephenson," *American, British and Canadian Studies* 38, no. 1 (2022): 76–98, <https://doi.org/10.2478/abcsj-2022-0005>.

⁵ *Sufi Institutions* (Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2020), 405–14, https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004392601_024; Robert Rozehnal, "Chapter 5 Cyber Sufism in the Global West," in *Sufism in Western Contexts* (Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2023), https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004392625_007.

transformation of religious practice in the digital age.⁶ Such adaptation is not merely technical in nature but also touches upon fundamental aspects of the *ṭarīqa* (Sufi order), such as the pedagogical system, ritual practices, the master-disciple relationship, and the construction of spiritual authority. In this context, the digital sphere is not simply an auxiliary instrument for conveying information but has become an autonomous medium for conducting spiritual learning, ritual practices, and even shaping religious and spiritual experiences in the virtual space.⁷ This form stands in contrast to traditional Sufi orders, which are typically exclusive and emphasize direct, physical encounters between disciples and their *murshid* (spiritual guide) in settings such as *khanqahs*, *zāwiyas*, *ribāts*, or *pesantrens*.⁸ Therefore, scholars in the fields of religious and Islamic studies need to critically examine these emerging forms of religious expression.

The manifestations of Sufi communities and *ṭarīqa* within cyberspace facilitate the epistemic reconfiguration of Sufi pedagogical processes and the digitally mediated enactment of rituals such as *bai'a* (pledge of allegiance), *dhikr*, and *sulūk* (spiritual journey).⁹ The digital domain functions as a flexible and dynamic semiotic space for the constitution of virtual communities, identity construction, self-representation, and the discursive reconstruction of religious authority with tangible effects in offline realities.¹⁰ Furthermore, it enables the virtualization of transcendental practices, including *sulūk* and spiritual retreats, thereby expanding the modalities of spiritual experience beyond corporeal

⁶ Armyn Hasibuan, Ismail Fahmi Arrauf Nasution, and Mowafg Masuw, "Tarekat in the Digital Age: Transforming Spirituality for the Age of Technology," *Religia* 27, no. 1 (April 27, 2024): 13–30, <https://doi.org/10.28918/religia.v27i1.2306>.

⁷ Jeffrey Overall, "Self-Inquiry at a Distance: A Qualitative Study of Spiritual Emergence in a 7-Day Virtual Retreat," *Journal of Spirituality in Mental Health*, 2025, 1–33, <https://doi.org/10.1080/19349637.2025.2504958>.

⁸ Martin Van Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning Pesantren Dan Tarekat* (Yogyakarta: Gading Publishing, 2012); Muhammad Faizul Amirudin, "Lembaga Pendidikan Kaum Sufi: Zāwīya, Ribath, Dan Khanqah," *El-Ghirah: Jurnal Studi Keislaman* 12, no. 1 (2017): 116–29, <https://doi.org/10.37092/el-ghiroh.v12i1.30>; Dudoignon, "Chapter 22 Cyber Sufism."

⁹ Putri Rahmah Nur Hakim et al., "Digital Sufism: The Transformation of Piety in Gus Ulil'S Online Teachings," *Khazanah: Jurnal Studi Islam Dan Humaniora* 22, no. 2 (2024): 191–218, <https://doi.org/10.18592/khazanah.v22i2.13872>; Ziaulhaq Hidayat, "Transformasi Sufism Into Digital Media: Eshaykh and Simplification of Tarekat Orthodoxy," *Epistem : Jurnal Pengembangan Ilmu Keislaman* 17, no. 2 (2022): 197–223, <https://doi.org/10.21274/epis.2022.17.2.197-223>.

¹⁰ Dahlia Hidayati, "Online Sufism and Reestablishing Religious Authority," *Ulumuna* 26, no. 1 (2022): 204–37, <https://doi.org/10.20414/ujis.v26i1.488>; Rozchnal, "Chapter 5 Cyber Sufism in the Global West."

constraints.¹¹ This phenomenon demands rigorous critical inquiry into whether digital platforms constitute a legitimate medium for sustaining *ṭarīqa* orthodoxy or engender pseudo-spiritual performativity driven by image commodification and algorithmic governance.

The term Cyber-Sufism was introduced by Robert Rozeznal (2019) in his book *Cyber Sufis: Virtual Expressions of the American Muslim Experience*, which examines the forms, expressions, and mapping of Sufi communities in the digital realm within a Western context.¹² However, Cyber-Sufism in the West often reveals epistemological ambiguities in defining Sufi and *ṭarīqa* communities. Many groups classified as *ṭarīqa* or Sufi communities are not entirely rooted in Islamic epistemology but rather emerge from a syncretism between Islamic Sufi elements and non-Islamic spiritual traditions. Communities such as the *Bawa Muhaiyaddeen Fellowship*, *The Threshold Society*, *Jerrahi Order of America*, *Murid Islamic Community*, and *Nur Ashki Jerrahi Community* exemplify Sufi-like entities in the West.¹³ This phenomenon indicates a tendency within Western Cyber-Sufism studies toward a syncretic understanding of sufism and *ṭarīqa*, accompanied by processes of de-Islamization.

In the Indonesian context, specific studies on Cyber-Sufism remain limited, although some research indicates Sufi and *ṭarīqa* communities' adaptation to digital spaces through various forms and approaches. Previous studies employ terms such as *Digital Sufism*, *Online Sufism*, *Digital Ṭarīqa*, and *Virtual Sufism* to describe the transformation of Sufi praxis in cyberspace. This transformation involves the use of websites and social media for virtual preaching, online follower recruitment, reinforcement of religious authority, and the consolidation of *ṭarīqa* identity and community presence in the digital realm.¹⁴

¹¹ Overall, "Self-Inquiry at a Distance: A Qualitative Study of Spiritual Emergence in a 7-Day Virtual Retreat."

¹² Robert Rozeznal, *Cyber Sufis: Virtual Expressions of the American Muslim Experience (Islam in the Twenty-First Century)* (United Kingdom: Oneworld Academic, 2019).

¹³ Rozeznal, "Chapter 5 Cyber Sufism in the Global West."

¹⁴ Ziaulhaq Hidayat and Achyar Zein, "Sufism and Virtual Piety: A Narration of the Millennial Murshid in North Sumatra," *JOURNAL OF INDONESIAN ISLAM* 16, no. 1 (June 1, 2022): 133–52, <https://doi.org/10.15642/JIIS.2022.16.1.133-152>; Sehat Ihsan Shadiqin and Shabrun Jamil, "Mediatisasi Sufisme: Otoritas, Komunitas, Dan Autentisitas Tasawuf Di Dunia Maya," *Substantia: Jurnal Ilmu-Ilmu Ushuluddin* 26, no. 2 (2024): 273–88, <https://doi.org/10.22373/substantia.v26i2.26654>; Hasibuan, Nasution, and Masuwd, "Tarekat in the Digital Age: Transforming Spirituality for the Age of Technology"; Hidayat, "Transformasi Sufism Into Digital Media: Eshaykh and

Several *tariqa*'s in Indonesia have adapted to digital media, such as the Qādiriyya wa Naqshbandiyya order, which uses digital platforms to disseminate Sufi teachings and inform its followers.¹⁵ The Naqshbandī Ḥaqqānī order also employs digital spaces to conduct spiritual practices like *dhikr* and online *bai'a*.¹⁶ Additionally, virtual Sufi communities engage in spiritual learning by studying classical Sufi texts via live streaming on social media, as exemplified by Gus Ulil and Majelis Kalbun Salim.¹⁷ Although studies on Sufi expressions in Indonesia's digital realm exist, a comprehensive investigation of Cyber-Sufism remains lacking. Therefore, mapping digital Sufi community expressions is necessary to distinguish between *tariqa* and Sufi communities, as they differ conceptually. This clarification is crucial to avoid epistemological ambiguities observed in Western Cyber-Sufism studies.

This study aims to map several *tariqa* in Indonesia that have adapted to digital media. The primary focus is to identify and analyze how each *tariqa* articulates Sufi practices within the digital realm, including the transformation of the Master-disciple relationship, innovations in ritual performance, and the construction of spiritual authority mediated by digital platforms. Through this approach, the study is expected to offer significant theoretical and empirical contributions to the literature on Cyber-Sufism, particularly within the richly endowed Sufi tradition of Indonesia.

Literature Review

This study specifically examines the phenomenon of Cyber-Sufism and the expressions of *tariqa* within digital spaces. Accordingly, this section will present two main focuses: Cyber-Sufism—as a conceptual framework for studying Sufism in digital environments; and *tariqa*—as a Sufi institution characterized by an authoritative structure, a distinctive pedagogical system, unique rituals, and affiliation to a Shaykh (spiritual guide) who leads the order.

Simplification of Tarekat Orthodoxy”; Hidayati, “Online Sufism and Reestablishing Religious Authority.”

¹⁵ Zulfan Taufik and Muhammad Taufik, “Mediated Tarekat Qadiriyyah Wa Naqshabandiyah in the Digital Era: An Ethnographic Overview,” *Esensia: Jurnal Ilmu-Ilmu Ushuluddin* 22, no. 1 (2021): 35–43, <https://doi.org/10.14421/esensia.v22i1.2511>.

¹⁶ Hidayat, “Transformasi Sufism Into Digital Media: Eshaykh and Simplification of Tarekat Orthodoxy.”

¹⁷ Hakim et al., “Digital Sufism: The Transformation of Piety in Gus Ulil’S Online Teachings”; Khotimah, Solikhah, and Maulana, “Virtual Sufism Identity in Majelis Kalbun Salim (MKS).”

Cyber-Sufism

Over the past few decades, particularly following the rapid expansion of the Internet in the late 1990s and the widespread adoption of social media in the early twenty-first century, Sufi communities have increasingly utilized digital technologies as platforms for religious outreach (*da'wa*), spiritual learning, communication, and community development.¹⁸ This transformation has accelerated with the emergence of digital platforms such as websites, YouTube, Facebook, Instagram, Telegram, Zoom, and various online communication applications, enabling religious interactions to transcend geographical and temporal boundaries. Consequently, digital technologies have not only expanded the dissemination of Sufi teachings but have also reshaped the transmission of religious knowledge, the performance of rituals, the formation of spiritual communities, and the construction of religious authority within virtual environments.

These developments have given rise to a growing field of inquiry known as *Cyber Sufism*, which examines Sufi practices mediated by digital information and communication technologies. In this context, *Cyber Sufism* extends beyond the mere presence of Sufi content on the Internet to encompass a wide range of digitally mediated spiritual activities, including the dissemination of teachings through websites and social media, online sermons and *dhikr* gatherings via live streaming, digital *bai'a* and spiritual instruction, virtual consultation with *murshids* through communication applications, and the establishment of virtual *tarīqa* networks and communities that facilitate spiritual engagement across regional and national boundaries.¹⁹

Previous studies on *Cyber Sufism* have examined how digital technologies reshape Sufi practices, religious authority, and spiritual communities in virtual environments. The term *Cyber Sufism* was first introduced by Marcia Hermansen to describe the emerging interaction between Sufism and cyberspace, highlighting how digital media create new modes of spiritual communication, learning, and community formation.²⁰ Building on this conceptual foundation,

¹⁸ Dudoignon, "Chapter 22 Cyber Sufism"; Rozechnal, "Chapter 5 Cyber Sufism in the Global West." 139-161.

¹⁹ M. Agus Wahyudi et al., "Vernacular Cyber-Sufism: Digital Ritual, Mediated Authority, and the Naqshbandi Haqqani Order in Indonesia," *Teosofi: Jurnal Tasawuf Dan Pemikiran Islam* 15, no. 2 (2025): 406–28, <https://doi.org/10.15642/teosofi.2025.15.2.406-428>.

²⁰ Marcia Hermansen, "Global Sufism: 'Theirs and Ours,'" in *In Sufis in Western Society: Global Networking and Locality*, ed. Ron Geaves, Markus Dressler, and Grill Klinkhammer (London: Routledge, 2009), 26–45.

Robert Rozehnal, in *Cyber Sufis: Virtual Expressions of the American Muslim Experience*, examined how Sufi communities in the United States utilize digital platforms to construct spiritual identities, disseminate religious teachings, and engage transnational audiences. His study argues that *Cyber Sufism* represents not merely a technological innovation but also an epistemological and theological adaptation to the challenges of modernity and globalization.

The rapid advancement of digital technologies has significantly transformed religious life, including Sufi practices. *Tarīqa* communities increasingly utilize websites, social media, live-streaming platforms, and various digital communication applications to disseminate religious teachings, facilitate spiritual learning, conduct rituals, and establish spiritual networks that transcend geographical boundaries.²¹ This transformation has given rise to a phenomenon widely referred to in the literature as *Online Sufism*, *Digital Sufism*, or *Cyber Sufism*, reflecting the shift of Sufi practices from predominantly face-to-face interactions to digitally mediated forms of religious engagement.²² Beyond expanding access to spiritual activities, digital technologies have also generated new modes of religious communication, the construction of spiritual authority, and the formation of virtual communities. At the same time, this transformation has raised important concerns regarding the authenticity of spiritual transmission, the legitimacy of online rituals, the preservation of religious orthodoxy, and the potential commodification of religion.²³ These issues are particularly significant because Sufi traditions have historically regarded direct interaction between the *murshid* and the disciple as the principal means of

²¹ Dini Asmarani and Sarah Monica, "Transnational Tariqa: The Expansion of Naqshbandi Haqqānī and the Fulfilment of Urban Spirituality," *Ulul Albab: Jurnal Studi Islam* 24, no. 2 (2023): 232–55, <https://doi.org/10.18860/ua.v24i2.23630>; Francesco Piraino, "Between Real and Virtual Communities: Sufism in Western Societies and the Naqshbandi Haqqani Case," *Social Compass* 63, no. 1 (March 1, 2016): 93–108, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0037768615606619>.

²² Wael Hegazy, "Cyber Sufis: Virtual Expressions of the American Muslim Experience (Islam in the Twenty-First Century)," *CyberOrient* 14, no. 2 (2020): 99–103, <https://doi.org/10.1002/j.1804-3194.2020.tb00005.x>; Hasibuan, Nasution, and Masuwd, "Tarekat in the Digital Age: Transforming Spirituality for the Age of Technology"; Rozehnal, "Chapter 5 Cyber Sufism in the Global West."

²³ Shadiqin and Jamil, "Mediatisasi Sufisme: Otoritas, Komunitas, Dan Autentisitas Tasawuf Di Dunia Maya"; Hidayat, "Transformasi Sufism Into Digital Media: Eshaykh and Simplification of Tarekat Orthodoxy"; Dudoignon, "Chapter 22 Cyber Sufism."

transmitting *baraka* (blessing), providing spiritual guidance, and preserving the continuity of spiritual authority.²⁴

***Tarīqa* Transformation**

A *tarīqa* (Sufi order) constitutes a spiritual and educational institution within the Sufi tradition that provides a systematic path toward attaining closeness to God under the guidance of a *murshid* (spiritual master). As a religious institution, a *tarīqa* not only regulates spiritual practices such as *dhikr*, *bai'a*, and *sulūk*, but also establishes an authoritative master–disciple relationship transmitted through an unbroken chain of spiritual lineage (*silsila*). For centuries, Sufi orders have served as one of the principal institutions for transmitting Sufi teachings and shaping Muslim religious communities across the Islamic world.²⁵

Throughout their historical development, Sufi orders have continuously evolved in response to changing social, cultural, and technological contexts. Traditionally, they were centered on physical institutions such as *zāwiyas*, *khanqahs*, or *pesantrens*, where spiritual learning, ritual practice, and the transmission of religious authority occurred through direct face-to-face interaction between the *murshid* and disciples. Religious instruction, *bai'a*, *dhikr*, and spiritual supervision were therefore embedded within localized communities and sustained through established chains of spiritual transmission.²⁶

During the twentieth century, the emergence of Neo-Sufism marked a significant transformation by reorienting Sufi orders toward ethical renewal, social reform, and greater engagement with public life. Rather than remaining exclusively inward-looking, many *tarīqas* expanded their religious roles to address contemporary social issues and the moral challenges facing modern Muslim societies. Subsequently, processes of urbanization further reshaped Sufi practices through the emergence of Urban Sufism, in which Sufi teachings became increasingly accessible to urban middle-class Muslims

²⁴ Martin Lings, *What Is Sufism?* (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd, 1975); Julia Day Howell, “Sufism and the Indonesian Islamic Revival,” *The Journal of Asian Studies* 60, no. 3 (2001): 701–29, <https://doi.org/10.2307/2700107>; Martin Van Bruinessen, *Tarekat Naqsyabandiyah Di Indonesia* (Bandung: Mizan, 1996), 82–83; Abubakar Acch, *Pengantar Ilmu Tarekat: Uraian Tentang Mistik* (Solo: Ramdhani, 1985), 420.

²⁵ J. Spencer Trimingham, *The Sufi Orders in Islam* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 1–15.

²⁶ Ahmet T. Karamustafa, *Sufism: The Formative Period* (Edinburgh University Press, 2007), 134.

through public religious gatherings, educational institutions, and popular religious movements, often with less emphasis on formal *tarīqa* affiliation.²⁷

The rapid advancement of digital technology has introduced a new phase in this historical transformation. Contemporary Sufi orders increasingly utilize websites, social media, video-sharing platforms, and other digital communication technologies to disseminate religious teachings, organize virtual rituals, provide spiritual consultation, and maintain transnational religious networks.²⁸ This development has given rise to what scholars describe as Digital Sufism or Cyber-Sufism, in which religious authority, spiritual communication, and ritual practices are increasingly mediated through digital environments.

Compared with earlier periods, the most significant transformation does not lie in the abandonment of the *tarīqa* tradition itself, but rather in the changing modes through which it is practiced, transmitted, and institutionalized. Face-to-face religious instruction has been complemented by online learning, localized spiritual communities have expanded into transnational digital networks, and conventional forms of religious authority have adapted to technologically mediated interactions. These developments demonstrate that contemporary *tarīqa*'s have reconfigured their educational, organizational, and spiritual practices while preserving their fundamental religious identity in an increasingly digital society.²⁹

Method

This study employs a virtual ethnography method to analyze practices and interactions within digital networks on the internet.³⁰ Virtual ethnography enables researchers to observe online communities without requiring physical presence, making it suitable for investigating digitally mediated religious practices.³¹ In this

²⁷ Fazlur Rahman, *Islam* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1979), 193–206.

²⁸ Wahyudi et al., “Vernacular Cyber-Sufism: Digital Ritual, Mediated Authority, and the Naqshbandi Haqqani Order in Indonesia,” 2025.

²⁹ Bunt, *Hashtag Islam: How Cyber Islamic Environments Are Transforming Religious Authority*, 5.

³⁰ Christine Hine, *Ethnography for the Internet: Embedded, Embodied and Everyday*, 1st ed. (London: Routledge, 2020), [https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003085348](https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003085348).

³¹ Zainal Abidin Achmad and Rachmah Ida, “Etnografi Virtual Sebagai Teknik Pengumpulan Data Dan Metode Penelitian,” *The Journal of Society & Media* 2, no. 2 (2018): 130, <https://doi.org/10.26740/jsm.v2n2.p130-145>.

study, the method was used to explore and observe the activities of several *ṭarīqa* communities in virtual spaces, with particular attention to those operating and engaging followers through digital platforms in Indonesia.

Data were collected through digital observation by systematically analyzing content available on websites and social media platforms affiliated with nine *ṭarīqa* communities in Indonesia, namely *Naqshbandiyya Khālidiyya*, *Naqshbandiyya Aḥmadiyya Muzhariyya*, *Idrīsiyya*, *Quddūsiyya*, *Ṣiddīqiyya*, *Akmaliyya*, *Qādiriyya wa Naqshbandiyya Suryalaya*, *Qādiriyya wa Naqshbandiyya al-Usmāniyya*, and *Naqshbandiyya Ḥaqqānī*, including content published on YouTube, Instagram, and Facebook. The selection of *ṭarīqa* accounts was based on three criteria: (1) the historical background and institutional legitimacy of the *ṭarīqa*, particularly recognized spiritual lineages (*silsila*) and established communities in Indonesia; (2) the consistency of digital activity and sustained religious content production; and (3) the availability of content related to Sufi teachings, rituals, online *dhikr*, spiritual guidance, and virtual religious interactions. The data were qualitatively analyzed using content analysis to interpret texts, images, videos, and other visual materials disseminated through these platforms. In addition, a literature review was conducted to examine the broader challenges and transformations of Sufism in the digital sphere.

Results and Discussion

Profile of Digital *Ṭarīqa* in Indonesia

In Indonesia, several *ṭarīqa* communities have adopted digital media to disseminate Sufi teachings, strengthen spiritual networks, establish religious authority, and facilitate online religious practices. This transformation reflects the adaptation of Sufi traditions to contemporary digital environments while simultaneously raising questions regarding the preservation of traditional authority and the potential commodification of religion within algorithm-driven platforms.³² Mapping these digital *ṭarīqa* communities is therefore essential for understanding whether digitalization represents an expansion of Sufi pedagogy or a transformation of its traditional forms.

This study identified nine *ṭarīqa* communities in Indonesia that maintain an active digital presence through official websites and various social media

³² Hasibuan, Nasution, and Masuwd, "Tarekat in the Digital Age: Transforming Spirituality for the Age of Technology"; Hidayati, "Online Sufism and Reestablishing Religious Authority."

platforms. The identification was based on three criteria: (1) the existence of a recognized spiritual lineage (*silsila*) and institutional legitimacy, (2) consistent digital activity, and (3) the availability of online content related to Sufi teachings, ritual practices, spiritual guidance, and interaction with followers. These criteria align with the digital religion approach, which views digital media as a space for religious identity, authority, and practice.³³ The findings reveal varying levels of digital adaptation among these *tariqa* communities, ranging from the use of websites as platforms for disseminating religious information (*religion online*) to the development of interactive digital platforms that facilitate online spiritual practices (*online religion*).³⁴

Table 1. Digital Profiles of *Tariqa* Communities in Indonesia

Tariqa	Official Platform	Main Digital Features
Naqshbandī Ḥaqqānī	naqsybandi.com and eshaykh.com	Online <i>bai'a</i> , live <i>dhikr</i> , spiritual consultation, dream interpretation, healing services, <i>murshid</i> sermons
Qādiriyya wa Naqshbandiyya Suryalaya	tqnnews.com	News, <i>dhikr</i> recordings, tawassul, <i>Inabah</i> program information, <i>murshid</i> network
Qādiriyya wa Naqshbandiyya al-Usmāniyya (Al-Khidmah)	alkhidmah.id	<i>Dhikr</i> schedules, Sufi lectures, community activities, social programs
Naqshbandiyya Khālidiyya Ciamis	naqsyabandie.com	<i>Silsilah</i> , <i>adab al-sulūk</i> , <i>manāqib</i> , seminar information, <i>murshid</i> lectures
Idrīsiyya	idrisiyyah.or.id	Spiritual consultation, education, healthcare, economic empowerment, multimedia learning
Naqshbandiyya Aḥmādiyya Mudzhāriyya	naqsyabandiyah-gersempal.org	<i>Manāqib</i> , gallery, audio lectures, prayer recordings

³³ Heidi A. Campbell, "Religion and the Internet: A Microcosm for Studying Internet Trends and Implications," *New Media and Society* 15, no. 5 (2013): 680–94, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444812462848>.

³⁴ Christopher Helland, "Online Religion or Religion Online and Virtual Communities," in *Religion on the Internet: Research Prospects and Promises*, ed. Jeffrey K. Hadden and Douglas E. Cowan (London: JAI Press / Elsevier Science, 2000), 205–23.

Tarīqa	Official Platform	Main Digital Features
Quddūsiyya	qudusiyah.org	Sufi doctrines, digital learning, Quran application, online lectures
Ṣiddīqiyya	shiddiqiyyah.org	Murshid biography, <i>dhikr</i> manuals, organizational information, online learning
Akmaliyya	akmaliah.net	“Kedai Sufi”, sermons, spiritual reflections, murshid advice

As shown in Table 1, the nine *tarīqa* communities demonstrate different strategies for integrating digital technology into Sufi education and religious practice. The Naqshbandī Ḥaqqānī Order exhibits the highest level of digital adaptation by facilitating not only online learning but also interactive spiritual practices such as online *bai’a*,³⁵ live-streamed *dhikr*,³⁶ and spiritual consultation,³⁷ as shown in Figure 1.



Figure 1. Online *bai’a* of Naqshbandī Ḥaqqānī Order

Other *tarīqas*, particularly Idrīsiyya, have also developed interactive digital services through live-streamed *dhikr*, online religious studies, and digital spiritual programs.³⁸ The Quddūsiyya Order conceptualizes *tarīqa* as a spiritual

³⁵ The practice of online *baiat* is documented on the official website of the Naqshbandi Haqqani Order in Indonesia, accessed October 12, 2025: <https://naqsybandi.com/2016/07/19/bayat-online/>

³⁶ Evidence of this practice is available through the official Sufilive platform: <https://sufilive.com/Dhikr-16-g.html>

³⁷ The practice of online spiritual consultation is available through the official eShaykh platform: <https://eshaykh.com/ask-a-question/>

³⁸ The implementation of digital spiritual programs, including live-streamed religious activities, can be accessed through the official Idrisiyyah website: <https://idrisiyyah.or.id/livestreaming>

path to God through repentance, self-purification, and the cultivation of *īmān* and *ihsān* based on the Quran and Sunnah. Its official website provides Sufi learning materials, al-Ḥikam lectures, explanations of *ṭarīqa* principles, and the Quran Quddūsiyya application, demonstrating that digital media function not only as channels for information dissemination but also as platforms for online spiritual learning,³⁹ as shown in Figure 2.

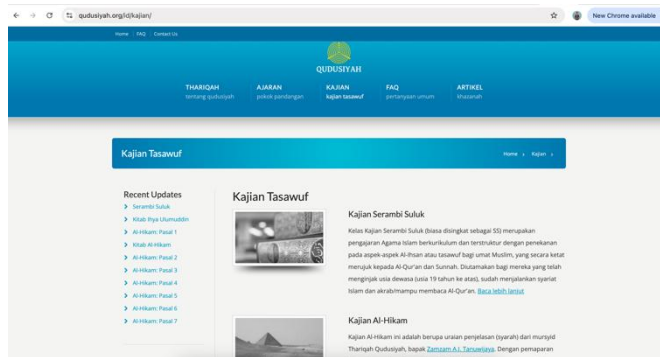


Figure 2. Quddūsiyya

Several *ṭarīqas*, including TQN Suryalaya, primarily employ their official websites as platforms for disseminating scholarly articles and educational materials on Sufism and *ṭarīqa* teachings (see Figure 3).⁴⁰

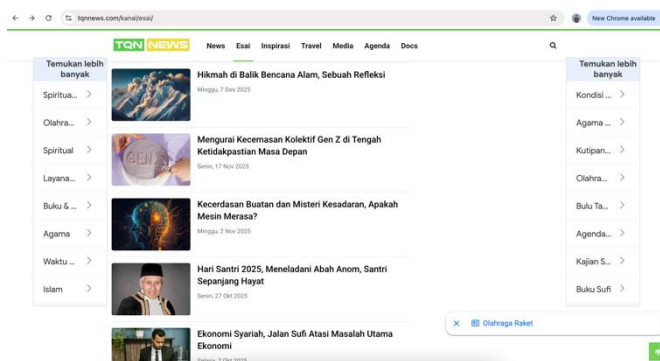


Figure 3. Official Website of TQN Suryalaya
Featuring Articles on Sufi Values

³⁹ The Qudusiyah Order's concept of *ṭarīqa* and its digital Sufi learning resources are available on its official website: <https://www.qudusiyah.org/id/tarekat/konsep-thariqah/thariqah-islam/>

⁴⁰ The dissemination of scholarly articles and educational materials on Sufism and *ṭarīqa* teachings can be observed in the "Essay" section of the official TQN News website: <https://tqnnews.com/kanal/esai/> (accessed 13 October 2025).

Naqshbandiyya Khalidiyya, Naqshbandiyya Ahmadiyya Mudzhariyya, and Şiddīqiyya—continue to utilize digital media primarily for disseminating Sufi teachings, strengthening organizational communication, publicizing religious activities, and providing recordings of *dhikr* and religious sermons. However, core *tariqa* rituals, such as *bai'a* and *talqīn* (instruction), remain exclusively conducted through direct face-to-face interaction. This finding is supported by observations of the official websites of these *tariqas*, as summarized in Table 1, which indicate that their digital platforms function mainly as channels for information dissemination, activity documentation, and the distribution of religious materials rather than as venues for conducting core ritual practices online. By contrast, the Akmalīyya Order represents a more limited model of digital adaptation, in which digital media are used primarily to publish Sufi reflections, spiritual advice, and educational materials (see Figure 4).⁴¹

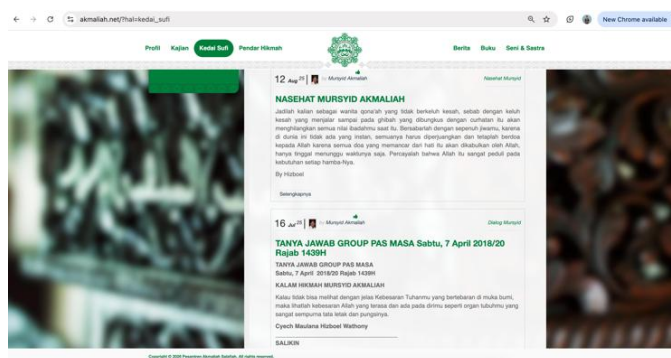


Figure 4. Sufi Reflections and Educational Materials on the Akmaliah Order's Official Website

Overall, the findings demonstrate that Indonesian Cyber-Sufism has evolved beyond the dissemination of religious information. Digital platforms now serve as spaces for Sufi learning, ritual guidance, community formation, and the construction of religious authority. Practices once confined to the physical *zāwiya*—including *dhikr* instruction, spiritual consultation, religious education, online prayer requests, dream interpretation, and spiritual guidance—are now

⁴¹ The Akmaliah Order's digital dissemination of Sufi reflections and educational materials can be accessed through the "Kedai Sufi" section of its official website: https://akmaliah.net/?hal=kedai_sufi

increasingly accessible through virtual spaces, as demonstrated by the Naqshabandī Ḥaqqānī Order (see Figure 5).



Figure 5. Virtual *Zāwiya* of the Naqshbandī Ḥaqqānī Order

Nevertheless, the degree of digital transformation varies considerably across *tarīqa* communities, reflecting different theological orientations, institutional policies, and understandings of the relationship between technology and spiritual transmission.

Typology of Cyber-Sufism in Indonesia: The Transformation of Digital *Tarīqa* Practices

The development of digital technology has created new spaces for religious expression among *tarīqa* communities in Indonesia. Various *tarīqa* groups have utilized digital media as a means to disseminate teachings, expand spiritual networks, and foster interaction with their followers, a phenomenon commonly referred to as cyber-Sufism, namely the practice of Sufism that evolves and transforms within digital spaces.⁴² However, the manifestation of cyber-Sufism in Indonesia demonstrates a diversity of forms, ranging from informative and one-way communication patterns to more interactive and participatory digital practices.

In this context, digitalization has not only transformed the medium through which religious teachings are transmitted but has also reshaped the

⁴² M Agus Wahyudi et al., “Vernacular Cyber-Sufism: Digital Ritual, Mediated Authority, and the Naqshbandi Haqqani Order in Indonesia,” *Teosofi: Jurnal Tasawuf Dan Pemikiran Islam* 15, no. 2 SE-Articles (December 2025): 406–28, <https://doi.org/10.15642/teosofi.2025.15.2.406-428>; W Hegazy, “Cyber Sufis: Virtual Expressions of the American Muslim Experience (Islam in the Twenty-First Century),” *CyberOrient*, 2020, <https://doi.org/10.1002/j.1804-3194.2020.tb00005.x>.

relational dynamics between the *murshid* (spiritual guide) and *murid* (disciples). Spiritual relationships, which were once predominantly grounded in face-to-face encounters, have gradually evolved into more flexible forms of interaction mediated through digital platforms such as YouTube, Facebook, WhatsApp, Instagram, and official *tariqa* websites.⁴³ This transformation demonstrates that digital technology functions not merely as a communication tool but also as a new arena for religious learning, spiritual formation, and the cultivation of trans local religious networks that transcend geographical boundaries.

This transformation in the patterns of interaction between master and disciple has significant implications for the organization of religious authority within *tariqa* communities. As communication increasingly shifts toward digitally mediated environments, authority is no longer sustained solely through physical proximity, direct ritual participation, or institutional affiliation. Instead, digital platforms create new mechanisms through which religious legitimacy is communicated, negotiated, and continuously reinforced. The growing reliance on online engagement enables *murshids* to maintain their pedagogical and spiritual roles while simultaneously expanding their influence to followers who may never participate in conventional face-to-face gatherings.

Digital transformation has also reshaped the construction of spiritual authority. Within digital environments, the authority of a *murshid* is no longer derived solely from traditional forms of legitimacy, such as spiritual lineage (*silsila*) and the transmission of religious knowledge. Instead, it is increasingly established through the consistent dissemination of religious teachings, sustained production of digital content, active engagement with followers, and the ability to cultivate credibility and trust within digital media ecosystems.⁴⁴ Consequently, spiritual authority in the digital era emerges from the intersection of traditional legitimacy and digital visibility, enabling a *murshid* to extend spiritual influence beyond the constraints of physical space and to engage with broader, geographically dispersed communities.

⁴³ The data presented in Table 1 are based on observations of the official websites of each *tariqa*. All of these websites are integrated with one or more social media platforms, including Facebook, YouTube, Instagram, WhatsApp, and Telegram, which are utilized as channels for religious communication and the dissemination of spiritual teachings and institutional information.

⁴⁴ Wahyudi et al., "Vernacular Cyber-Sufism: Digital Ritual, Mediated Authority, and the Naqshbandi Haqqani Order in Indonesia," December 2025.

As empirical evidence, this study analyzes the official websites and various digital platforms of nine *ṭarīqa* communities in Indonesia, as presented in Table 1. The findings reveal that *cyber-sufism* is manifested in two principal and interconnected forms: *informative cyber-sufism* and *interactive cyber-sufism*. While some *ṭarīqa* communities primarily utilize digital media as a one-way channel for the transmission of religious teachings, others have developed more interactive models that employ digital technologies to facilitate participatory spiritual learning and the performance of ritual practices.⁴⁵

Some *ṭarīqa* communities tend to utilize digital media in a predominantly one-way manner through the dissemination of recorded sermons, *wirid* texts, or ritual documentation as forms of doctrinal transmission.⁴⁶ Meanwhile, other groups demonstrate a more participatory model through online question-and-answer sessions, limited virtual *bai'at* (spiritual initiation), spiritual consultations via social media, and the establishment of *dhikr* communities based on digital platforms.⁴⁷ These digital data indicate that cyber-sufism in Indonesia is not a singular phenomenon; rather, it evolves across a diverse spectrum of practices, ranging from transmission-oriented models to more intensive forms of spiritual interaction.

Thus, the utilization of digital media by *ṭarīqa* communities in Indonesia demonstrates that digital transformation does not occur uniformly but instead reflects the varying levels of adaptation, institutional needs, and spiritual orientations of individual Sufi orders. This diversity indicates that *cyber-sufism* is a dynamic phenomenon in which digital media function not only as channels for the dissemination of religious teachings but also as spaces for spiritual learning, religious formation, and ritual practice. Based on these findings, this study proposes two principal typologies of *cyber-sufism*—*informative cyber-*

⁴⁵ Campbell and Tsuria, *Digital Religion: Understanding Religious Practice in New Media Worlds*.

⁴⁶ These findings can be substantiated through the various spiritual practices published on the digital platform of the Naqshbandi Order, particularly through the practices page, which provides guidance on rituals, *wirid*, and the religious activities of *ṭarīqa* followers. See <https://naqshbandi.com/praktik/>

⁴⁷ This phenomenon can be observed through the official website of the Naqshbandi Haqqani Order, which provides a question-and-answer feature for its followers across different regions as a medium for spiritual consultation and religious interaction. This feature enables disciples to receive spiritual guidance beyond geographical boundaries. See: <https://eshaykh.com/ask-a-question/> and Hidayat, "Transformasi Sufism Into Digital Media: Eshaykh and Simplification of Tarekat Orthodoxy."

sufism and *interactive cyber-sufism*—as an analytical framework for understanding the digital transformation of *ṭarīqa* practices in the contemporary era.

Although both typologies reflect the digitalization of *ṭarīqa* practices, they represent different degrees of transformation rather than a single, uniform process. The emergence of cyber-sufism has reshaped traditional patterns of Sufi learning, religious communication, and spiritual authority by extending practices that were once confined to the physical *zāwiya* into digital environments. However, this transformation varies across the two models. In informative cyber-sufism, digital media primarily function as channels for disseminating religious knowledge while the core structure of spiritual learning and ritual practice remains centered on the physical *zāwiya*. In contrast, interactive cyber-sufism represents a deeper transformation in which digital platforms become integral spaces for spiritual instruction, ritual guidance, community formation, and the transmission of religious authority. These differences demonstrate that cyber-sufism should be understood as a spectrum of digital adaptation shaped by the theological orientations, institutional strategies, and technological engagement of individual *ṭarīqa* communities.

Cyber-Sufism: Informative

Informative cyber-sufism refers to the use of digital spaces in a predominantly one-way communication mode, functioning as a medium for disseminating knowledge about Sufism and specific Sufi orders to both followers and the wider public. In this model, digital platforms primarily serve as repositories of religious information rather than spaces for active spiritual interaction. Official websites and social media accounts commonly provide comprehensive information regarding the history and development of the order, its organizational structure, core spiritual teachings, biographies of murshids, spiritual genealogies (*ṣilsila*), chains of transmission (*sanad*), branch locations, schedules of religious activities, and publications produced by leading scholars or spiritual masters.

Multimedia resources, including articles, photographs, recorded lectures, videos, and digital archives, are provided to facilitate public access to Sufi knowledge and institutional information. Communication within this model remains predominantly unidirectional, with users functioning primarily as readers or viewers who consume religious content. Opportunities for direct participation in ritual practices, spiritual guidance, or interactive learning are

minimal, as digital platforms mainly serve as channels for the dissemination of teachings rather than as spaces for reciprocal engagement between the *murshid* and disciples.⁴⁸

In the Indonesian context, several Sufi orders can be categorized within the informative cyber-sufism model because their digital presence primarily functions as a channel for disseminating institutional and doctrinal information rather than facilitating interactive spiritual engagement. These include the *Ṭarīqa Qādiriyya Naqshbandiyya Suryalaya*, *Qādiriyya Naqshbandiyya al-Usmāniyya Surabaya*, *Naqshbandi Khālidiyya Ciamis*, *Idrīsiyya Tasikmalaya*, *Naqshbandiyya Ahmadiyya Mudzhariyya Sampang Madura*, *Quddūsiyya Banten*, *Ṣiddīqiyya Ploso Jombang*, and *Akmaliyya Ciracas*, East Jakarta. This classification does not imply that these orders exclusively operate within this model; rather, it reflects the predominance of publicly accessible digital content that emphasizes institutional identity, historical background, spiritual teachings, organizational networks, and educational resources, making them suitable examples for mapping informative cyber-sufism in Indonesia.

This classification is based on the observation that, while these orders utilize websites and social media to share information regarding their activities and teachings, they have not, to a significant degree, provided key components essential to the full practice of Sufi orders—such as *bai’a*—in the digital realm. These orders continue to uphold a traditional structure in which initiation, instruction, and ritual practice depend entirely on direct, face-to-face encounters with the *murshid*. This choice is not merely the result of technological limitations, but is grounded in epistemological and theological considerations, wherein the authority to digitize spiritual teachings and practices rests solely with the *murshid* as the supreme holder of authority within the Sufi order.

Several scholars have noted a transformation in the strategies employed by Sufi and *ṭarīqa* communities in utilizing digital spaces as a medium for transmitting their teachings.⁴⁹ However, the practice of Sufism in virtual environments is also perceived as having the potential to distort the authentic values of *tasawuf*, given the nature of digital spaces that are open, fragmented, and often emphasize individual expression. Such conditions may lead to the

⁴⁸ Piraino, “Between Real and Virtual Communities: Sufism in Western Societies and the Naqshbandi Haqqani Case.”

⁴⁹ Hasibuan, Nasution, and Masuwd, “Tarekat in the Digital Age: Transforming Spirituality for the Age of Technology.”

decontextualization of teachings and rituals.⁵⁰ Nevertheless, all *.tariqa* identified by researchers through their official websites remain firmly rooted in the epistemology of Islam and regard the Prophet Muhammad as the ultimate source of legitimacy for their doctrines. This stands in contrast to certain forms of cyber-Sufism in the West, as noted by Rozehnal, which tend to be syncretic in nature and do not always refer to Islamic epistemology or adhere to the established frameworks of traditional Sufi order.

Cyber-Sufism: Interactive

Interactive cyber-sufism represents a more profound and participatory transformation of *.tariqa* practices within the digital sphere. In this model, virtual space no longer functions merely as a medium for disseminating information but becomes an integral component of the *.tariqa*'s educational structure, spiritual formation, and religious life.⁵¹ Digital platforms facilitate reciprocal interaction between the *murshid* and disciples, allowing spiritual learning to extend beyond the physical boundaries of the *zāwiya* or religious assembly. Through official websites, social media platforms, instant messaging applications, and video conferencing services, disciples are able to participate in religious lessons, receive spiritual guidance, seek advice, and maintain continuous engagement with the *.tariqa* community regardless of geographical distance.

This model demonstrates that the core principles of *.tariqa* education—including *bai'a* (spiritual initiation), *dhikr*, *suhba*, the personal relationship between the *murshid* and disciples, and the process of *tarbiyya rūhiyya* (spiritual education)—can be reconfigured into diverse digital formats without entirely abandoning their traditional foundations. Interactivity constitutes the defining characteristic of *interactive cyber-sufism*, as digital media are employed not only to disseminate religious teachings but also to mediate ritual practices, provide spiritual consultation, foster virtual religious communities, and strengthen the emotional and spiritual bonds between the *murshid* and followers. Consequently, digital space functions as an extension of the *.tariqa*'s spiritual environment, where religious authority, ritual practice,

⁵⁰ Shadiqin and Jamil, "Mediatisasi Sufisme: Otoritas, Komunitas, Dan Autentisitas Tasawuf Di Dunia Maya"; Hidayat and Zein, "Sufism and Virtual Piety: A Narration of the Millennial Murshid in North Sumatra."

⁵¹ Piraino, "Between Real and Virtual Communities: Sufism in Western Societies and the Naqshbandi Haqqani Case."

and educational processes are enacted simultaneously across both physical and virtual settings.

Interactive cyber-Sufism can be observed in the practices of the Naqshbandī Ḥaqqānī Order, which actively utilizes various digital platforms, including official websites and social media, as primary channels of interaction between the *murshid*, *khalīfā*, and *murīd*. This approach stands in contrast to the eight other Sufi orders discussed earlier, which tend to employ the virtual sphere as a one-way medium of disseminating information to their followers. The Naqshbandī Ḥaqqānī Order has developed a comprehensive digital ecosystem encompassing all the core elements of the order's educational structure and praxis. This digital presence reflects the order's strategic efforts to ensure the continuity of its teachings and spiritual practices amidst the constraints of limited physical interaction.⁵²

The Naqshbandī Ḥaqqānī Order's utilization of digital space as the primary medium for spiritual education and ritual practice is reflected in its extensive use of official websites, including *naqshbandi.org*, *naqshbandi.com*, *nurmuhammad.com*, and *sufilive.com*, all of which are integrated with the Order's various social media platforms. This multilayered digital strategy has created a virtual environment that functions as the central locus of the Order's religious activities, which, in this study, is conceptualized as a “digital *zāwiya*”. This digital *zāwiya* serves as an interactive spiritual environment in which religious teachings, spiritual guidance, and collective religious experiences are conducted online while remaining firmly anchored in the *ṭarīqa*'s established structure of spiritual authority.

The transformation of *ṭarīqa* practices within virtual spaces in the Indonesian context—as reflected in several Sufi orders, including the Naqshbandiyya Khālidiyya, Naqshbandiyya Aḥmadiyya Muzhāriyya, Idrīsiyya, Quddūsiyya, Shiddīqiyya, Akmalīyya, Qādiriyya wa Naqshbandiyya Suryalaya, Qādiriyya wa Naqshbandiyya al-Usmāniyya, and Naqshbandiyya Ḥaqqānī—demonstrates the emergence of new structural forms of contemporary Sufi praxis that remain firmly grounded in Islamic epistemology. Among the cases examined, the Naqshbandī Ḥaqqānī Order exhibits the highest level of maturity in developing a comprehensive digital infrastructure. It has successfully

⁵² Hasibuan, Nasution, and Masuwd, “Tarekat in the Digital Age: Transforming Spirituality for the Age of Technology”; Hidayati, “Online Sufism and Reestablishing Religious Authority.”

integrated core Sufi practices—including *dhikr*, *murāqaba*, *sulūk*, and spiritual guidance—into a coherent digital ecosystem that ensures the continuity of both spiritual education and ritual practice across physical and virtual environments.

The empirical findings further indicate that the digital transformation of *.tarīqa* communities extends beyond the digitization of religious activities. Rather, it involves the reconfiguration of the organizational structures, pedagogical processes, and mechanisms of spiritual authority that have traditionally characterized Sufi orders. As digital technologies become increasingly embedded in the daily religious life of *.tarīqa* communities, they facilitate new modes of learning, ritual performance, and community formation while preserving the essential principles of Sufi spirituality.⁵³ These developments suggest that digital media are not merely supplementary communication tools but have become integral components of the contemporary *.tarīqa* system, creating new patterns of religious engagement that bridge physical and virtual religious spaces.

Thus, the practice of the *.tarīqa* in virtual spaces should not be understood merely as the adoption of digital technology; rather, it reflects broader epistemological, structural, and pedagogical transformations within the *.tarīqa* tradition. These findings make a significant contribution to the development of Digital Religion,⁵⁴ Digital-Islamic Studies,⁵⁵ and Cyber-Sufism by providing empirical evidence of how *.tarīqa* communities reconstruct religious authority,

⁵³ Taufik and Taufik, “Mediated Tarekat Qadiriyyah Wa Naqshabandiyah in the Digital Era: An Ethnographic Overview”; Hasibuan, Nasution, and Masuud, “Tarekat in the Digital Age: Transforming Spirituality for the Age of Technology.”

⁵⁴ For an introduction to the study of “digital religion”, see the works of Campbell and Tsuria, *Digital Religion: Understanding Religious Practice in New Media Worlds*; Cheong, “The Vitality of New Media and Religion: Communicative Perspectives, Practices, and Changing Authority in Spiritual Organization”; Campbell, “Understanding the Relationship between Religion Online and Offline in a Networked Society”; Wagner, *Godwired: Religion, Ritual and Virtual Reality*.

⁵⁵ For studies on cyber Islamic networks, see the works of Bunt, *Hashtag Islam: How Cyber Islamic Environments Are Transforming Religious Authority*; Gary R Bunt, *IMuslims: Rewiring the House of Islam* (University of North Carolina Press, 2009); Sariya Cheruvallil-Contractor, “Online Sufism – Young British Muslims, Their Internet ‘selves’ and Virtual Reality,” in *Sufism in Britain*, ed. Ron Geaves and Theodore Gabriel (London: Bloomsbury Academy, 2013), 76–151

develop spiritual pedagogy, and sustain ritual practices within digitally mediated environments.⁵⁶

More importantly, this study establishes the conceptual foundation for the Cyber-Ṭarīqa model, which proposes a new form of *ṭarīqa* practice in virtual spaces through the systematic integration of Sufi values, spiritual authority, ritual practices, and the educational system of the *ṭarīqa* into a transformative digital ecosystem, as exemplified by the Naqshbandī Ḥaqqānī Order. Unlike Cyber-Sufism, which generally refers to the broader phenomenon of Sufi expression, communication, and practice in digital environments, *Cyber-Ṭarīqa* specifically emphasizes the systemic transformation of *ṭarīqa* institutions. This model extends beyond the use of digital media as a channel for disseminating religious teachings by integrating pedagogical structures, mechanisms of spiritual formation, ritual practices, *murshid–murīd* relationships, and the construction of religious authority into a coherent digital ecosystem while preserving the foundational principles of the *ṭarīqa* tradition. Accordingly, Cyber-Ṭarīqa may be understood as a conceptual refinement of Cyber-Sufism, offering a more precise analytical framework for explaining how *ṭarīqa* institutions adapt, transform, and sustain their educational functions and spiritual life in the digital era.

Conclusion

This study addressed the question of how *ṭarīqa*'s in Indonesia have adapted to digital technological developments and how forms of Cyber-Sufism have manifested within virtual spaces. The findings demonstrate that digitalization has not merely functioned as a new medium for the dissemination of Sufi teachings, but has also transformed the transmission of religious knowledge, spiritual guidance, and patterns of religious authority within *ṭarīqa*'s. In this context, Cyber-Sufism in Indonesia has evolved into two primary models: informative cyber-sufism, which utilizes digital media for the dissemination of information and the representation of *ṭarīqa* identity, and interactive cyber-sufism, which transforms the digital sphere into a “digital *zāwiya*” for conducting *bai'a*, *dhikr*, *ṣuḥba*, and online spiritual mentoring. The Naqshbandī Ḥaqqānī order represents the most advanced example of the interactive model through an

⁵⁶ Rozeznal, “Chapter 5 Cyber Sufism in the Global West”; Rozeznal, *Cyber Sufis: Virtual Expressions of the American Muslim Experience (Islam in the Twenty-First Century)*; Dudoignon, “Chapter 22 Cyber Sufism.”

integrated digital ecosystem that enables transnational spiritual engagement across geographical boundaries.

Critically, this study reveals that the digital transformation of *tarīqa*'s has not diminished traditional forms of spiritual authority; rather, it has reconfigured them within technologically mediated environments. The authority of the *murshid*, spiritual lineage (*sanad*), and Sufi practices continue to function as essential sources of legitimacy, even within virtual spaces. These findings suggest that Cyber-Sufism in Indonesia represents not merely a process of technological adaptation, but also an ongoing negotiation between Sufi traditions, digital modernity, and the socio-religious context of Indonesian Islam. Consequently, Cyber-Sufism in Indonesia constitutes a distinctive model that does not simply replicate Western paradigms of digital spirituality, but instead demonstrates the continuity of Islamic spiritual and epistemological authority within cyberspace.

This study has several limitations. First, the analysis was limited to the mapping of nine digital *tarīqa*'s based on observations of selected websites and social media platforms, and therefore does not fully capture the broader landscape of *tarīqa*'s in Indonesia. Second, the study focused primarily on digital representations and activities, without extensively examining the subjective experiences of followers participating in online spiritual practices. Future research should therefore explore the long-term implications of Cyber-Sufism for the transformation of spiritual authority, the formation of virtual religious communities, followers' religious experiences, and the future development of Sufism within increasingly immersive digital environments, including the metaverse and AI-assisted spiritual guidance platforms.

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M.A.W.: conceptualization, data collection, analysis, and manuscript drafting. S.I.S. and E.S.: provided supervision and assisted with the translation. All authors approved the final version of the manuscript for publication.

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