

The Transformation of Traditional Tariqa Teachings Among Nasqhbandi Haqqani Sufis in Indonesia

Gazali Gazali^{1*}, Yelfi Dewi S², Efendi Efendi³, Dulce Martins da Silva⁴, Novi Hendri⁵

¹ Faculty of Ushuluddin, Adab and Dakwah, Universitas Islam Negeri Sjech M. Djamil Djambek Bukittinggi, Email: gazali@uinbukittinggi.ac.id

² Faculty of Education, Universitas Islam Negeri Sjech M. Djamil Djambek Bukittinggi

³ Faculty of Ushuluddin, Religious Studies, Universitas Islam Negeri Imam Bonjol Padang

⁴ Dulce Martins da Silva, National University of Timor Lorosa-e

⁵ Faculty of Ushuluddin, Adab and Dakwah, Universitas Islam Negeri Sjech M. Djamil Djambek Bukittinggi

*Corresponding Author: gazali@uinbukittinggi.ac.id

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ABSTRACT

The transformation within the Naqshbandi Haqqani order has occurred on a massive scale. These changes extend beyond the limited adoption of modern tools and penetrate the essential core of tariqa teachings. This study aims to examine the forms of transformation enacted by the Naqshbandi Haqqani order, particularly in relation to the initiation ritual (bay'ah), the teacher-student relationship, and the practice of dhikr. Previous studies have explored how tariqas adapt to modernity, often focusing on the use of digital technologies as tools for outreach and da'wah. However, the Naqshbandi Haqqani have gone beyond such dimensions. This research employs a qualitative approach, collecting data through interviews and participant observation. Observations focused on the digital platforms utilized by the Naqshbandi Haqqani, while interviews were conducted with both teachers and students within the order, as well as with leaders from other Sufi groups. The transformation of these three core aspects has significantly expanded the order's demographic reach, attracting followers from diverse economic, social, and educational backgrounds. Through this transformation, Naqshbandi Haqqani adherents are able to engage in spiritual practices regardless of time, place, or circumstance. However, maintaining the purity of the teachings remains essential to prevent dilution by the limits of modernity. Leaders of other tariqas may benefit from considering similar transformative approaches as exemplified by the Naqshbandi Haqqani.

Keywords: Transformation, Traditional Tariqa, Naqshbandi Haqqani.

INTRODUCTION

In addition to its esoteric teachings, Islam also encompasses exoteric dimensions. The esoteric tradition has evolved under the guidance of Sufi masters since the classical period of Islam and has been transmitted to their *muridin* (hereafter referred to as students) across generations. The role of Sufi teachers in preserving the continuity of this tradition is affirmed through a teacher-*murid* (singular form of *muridin*) relationship that is both physical and spiritual in nature (Azis et al., 2024). In recent years, the development of *taṣawwuf* teachings has seen significant growth. According to reports from Indonesia's Ministry of Religious Affairs, there are hundreds of *tariqa* groups across various regions of Indonesia, with thousands more around the world (JATMAN, 2023). This spiritual linkage is often formalized through the granting of *ijazah* in a ritual known as *bay'ah*. In order to obtain an *ijazah* through *bay'ah*, a student must undergo a long spiritual journey, progressing through multiple levels in accordance

with the teachings specific to each Sufi tradition. However, transformations have emerged in the transmission, practice, and reception of *ijazah* within the world of *taṣawwuf*, particularly as seen in the case of the Naqshbandi Haqqani order, driven by broader societal and temporal changes.

Previous studies have shown that several *tariqas* in Indonesia have adapted to change and undergone transformations in various aspects of their practices (Hidayat, 2023; Sirriyeh, 2014). These changes have emerged as Sufi leaders increasingly participate in popular activities, making it difficult for them to remain detached from an environment that has itself transformed (Patel, 2021; Waddick, 2023). Modern contexts demand faster and more accessible spiritual information, often presented in contemporary formats. Asghari (2021) and Sheikh (2018) argue that modern life driven by technology and globalization poses a threat to spiritual existence. Nevertheless, mastery over media and digital platforms can serve as a protective force for Islamic spirituality. Rahma (2021), for instance, examined the case of Habib Luthfi bin Yahya, who has utilized social media to promote the *tariqa* he leads in Pekalongan. A more in-depth study by Taufik & Taufik (2021) focused on the *Qadiriyya wa Naqshbandiyya* order, which employs digital platforms to share event schedules, disseminate Islamic teachings, and conduct fundraising. Rahmah et al. (2024) also noted the scheduled use of digital platforms for teaching *taṣawwuf*. This study contributes to the growing body of literature by highlighting the ways in which the Naqshbandi Haqqani order has adapted to modernity particularly through the use of digital platforms not only to promote the order but also to facilitate acts of worship.

This study aims to examine how the Naqshbandi Haqqani order has transformed its religious practices amid globalization and modernization through the use of digital technologies. Addressing a gap in the existing literature, the research explores three key dimensions: the use of Instagram as a platform for conducting *bay'ah*, the shift in the teacher–disciple relationship from authoritarian to egalitarian, and the transformation of *dhikr* practices from communal to personal forms. This study seeks to explore the dynamics of online *bay'ah* rituals performed by students with their spiritual guides, as well as the active role of Naqshbandi Haqqani teachers in providing spiritual services, engaging in *da'wah*, commemorating Islamic holy days, and articulating positions on social issues. Another notable transformation is the increased accessibility of personal *dhikr*, facilitated through digital means. Overall, this research aims to provide a holistic view of the transformation of core teachings within the Naqshbandi Haqqani order in Indonesia, particularly in the areas of *bay'ah*, the teacher–disciple relationship, and the practice of *dhikr*.

This study argues that the Naqshbandi Haqqani order has developed a modern form of transformation in practicing Islamic esotericism, making it accessible to a broad spectrum of society. The hypothesis proposed is that the transformations undertaken by the Naqshbandi Haqqani order are both acceptable to lay communities and acknowledged by spiritual leaders from other *tariqas*. This phenomenon reinforces the notion that religion can adapt to and accommodate contemporary developments in accordance with the needs of its followers. According to an interview conducted by Tarbiyah (2023), online *bay'ah* may be accepted as a form of religious outreach (*syiar*), yet for one to fully attain authenticity and express true spiritual intent, it is recommended that the disciple meet with the spiritual guide in person to seek permission for *bay'ah*. The digital platforms used by the Naqshbandi Haqqani order demonstrate a high level of engagement, with followers consistently expressing appreciation for the content shared on social media (Naqshbandi Haqqani, n.d.). This study offers a new perspective on the transformation of *tariqa* teachings and transmission, as exemplified by the Naqshbandi Haqqani order in Indonesia.

Dalvit (2024) argues that the transformation of teachings is part of a disciplinary shift that enriches knowledge through diverse cultures, life experiences, and academic traditions. Such transformations bring new epistemic values in response to evolving educational environments (David & Hill, 2021; Fernando et al., 2021; García-Peñalvo, 2021; Leichenko et al., 2022; Lin et al., 2024; Ojo & Adu, 2017). According to Bir and Önerisi (2024), the transformation of teaching involves a process of internalizing values into life practices cognitive, affective, social, and behavioral skills that enable individuals to determine moral principles, feel motivated to implement their decisions, translate those decisions into behavior within their social environments, and sustain such behavior over time. Teaching transformation has become a functional system aimed at equipping individuals with up-to-date technical skills aligned with current educational demands (Froebe, 2018; Mohd Yusof et al., 2020; Muhamad Hafidz Mohd Yusof et al., 2020; Munjiah, 2023; Naithani et al., 2023). Therefore, the transformation of teachings can be understood as a disciplinary shift within the field of education.

Leichenko et al. (2022) identify three key elements in the process of teaching transformation: (1) enhancing students' understanding of transformation and their belief that transformative change is possible; (2) increasing students' awareness of their own rights and their capacity to effect change; and (3) helping students articulate their roles within transformative processes. This aligns with the findings of Vovchasta et al. (2024), who argue that teaching transformation can address inequalities in access to quality education for students across various regions. Additionally, it ensures optimal financial support and fosters adaptive and inclusive learning environments that enhance students' professional skills and digital competencies, particularly under crisis conditions. Such transformations promote the innovative development of teaching resources and environments, instructional

methods, school management practices, and assessment systems. They also support reform in curriculum structure and educational content (Anitha & Kavitha, 2021; Liu et al., 2021; Manshur, 2020; Talukder, 2023; Verisa et al., 2024). Therefore, teaching transformation constitutes a critical innovation within the education system.

A *tariqa* is an organization composed of followers of prominent Sufi masters, established with the aim of preserving and transmitting the teachings of their spiritual lineage (Buyung, 2024). According to Syarifuddin (2023), traditional *taṣawwuf* represents a body of teachings capable of guiding mystical and occult practices often deemed deviant toward the right spiritual path, contributing positively to broader developmental efforts. This is due to traditional *tariqas* are Sufi organizations that emphasize the deepening of spiritual knowledge and practice (Ahmad et al., 2021; Badaruddin & Mahyuddin, 2021; Gurbuz-Dogan et al., 2021; Hassan, 2023; Islamy et al., 2022). This includes renouncing worldly attachments and drawing closer to God. Zabidi (2023) observes that traditional *tariqas* are grounded in core spiritual principles, cultivated within individuals through practices such as supplication (*du'a*) and remembrance (*dhikr*). These practices are carried out through various religious rituals performed by numerous *tariqa* groups across Indonesia (Bistara, 2020; Mufid & Mohad, 2022; Munawaroh et al., 2023). Therefore, traditional *tariqas* can be understood as Sufi organizations centered on religious spirituality.

Dodi & Abitolkha (2022) identify two core teachings within traditional *tariqa*: 1) The spiritual teachings practiced by *tariqa* focus on the discipline of *riyāḍah* (inner exercises), aimed at eliminating feelings of envy, fanaticism, false claims, and self-righteousness, all of which can lead to religious conflict; and 2) The spiritual elements of *tariqa* serve to mitigate and resolve religious conflicts through several key principles, including: 1) the principle of humanity through peace, 2) the concept of balance through correlation, and 3) the idea of perfection through *Iḥsān*. These teachings are implemented in the spiritual practices followed by Sufis (Ahmad et al., 2021; Badaruddin & Mahyuddin, 2021; Hassan, 2023; Muassomah, 2023; Siraj et al., 2022; Smith et al., 2023). Therefore, the teachings of traditional *tariqas* offer an insight into the way Sufi groups practice the knowledge of *taṣawwuf*.

Estuningtiyas (2022) notes that the Naqshbandi Haqqani is a newer branch of the Naqshbandiyya lineage, tracing its spiritual authority back to Baha' al-Din Naqshbandi (d. 1389). The Naqshbandi Haqqani is attributed to the founder of the Haqqaniyah Foundation, Sheikh Muhammad Nadhim Adil al-Haqqani, who is based in Cyprus (Estuningtiyas, 2022). The teachings of the Naqshbandi Haqqani *tariqa* emphasize love, with *dhikr* (remembrance of God) and communal gatherings conducted at various *zāwiyahs* under the auspices of the Haqqani Foundation in Indonesia (Estuningtiyas, 2022; Shadiqin, 2018). According to Shadiqin (2018), this *tariqa* seems to place a stronger emphasis on the spiritual aspects of religion as an integral part of modern societal development. Therefore, the Naqshbandi Haqqani is a *tariqa* that has evolved within a Sufi organization, grounded in the knowledge of *taṣawwuf*.

Gitosaroso & Sahri (2021) describe the Naqshbandi Haqqani as a set of steps taken by a Sufi to address worldly challenges, including: 1) strengthening the *ḥalaqa* of *dhikr* (remembrance); 2) enhancing the congregation's understanding of *tariqa* through spiritual education and practice; and 3) reinforcing face-to-face *da'wah* (preaching) to the congregation, the management of the Foundation, and the broader public. After progressing through the stages of the *tariqa*, a member receives an *ijazah* (authorization) from the teacher to pass on the teachings of the *tariqa* to others (Fata, 2011; Gitosaroso & Sahri, 2021; Salahuddin, 2021; Shadiqin, 2018; Supatmo, 2017a). In terms of lineage, most *tariqas* trace their spiritual genealogy to the Prophet Muhammad through his companion Ali bin Abi Talib, except for the Naqshbandiyya, which traces its lineage to Abu Bakr Siddiq (Supatmo, 2017b, 2017a; Suteja, 2017). Therefore, there are three key steps followed by the Naqshbandi order as a form of religious spirituality for a Sufi.

METHOD

The unit of analysis in this study focuses on the transformation of teachings and education within the Naqshbandi Haqqani *tariqa* in Indonesia. This research limits its analysis to three key aspects: *bay'a* (the initiation oath), the relationship between teacher and student, and the practice of *dhikr* (remembrance). The primary focus is on how the Naqshbandi Haqqani has transformed these three aspects of the *tariqa* teachings. *Bay'a* is selected as a sample for this study since it is considered the gateway to entering the *tariqa*. The relationship between teacher and student is crucial in the world of *tariqa*, as it is akin to two sides of the same coin, inseparable and essential. Meanwhile, *dhikr* is at the core of the *tariqa's* teachings, as it is through *dhikr* that the connection between the teacher and the student, and between the teacher and Allah (SWT), is established. Therefore, this study explores a clear unit of analysis related to the impact of the transformation of Naqshbandi Haqqani teachings in Indonesia.

This study employs a qualitative approach with an exploratory design to gain a deep understanding of the transformation within the *tariqa* education teachings. The research design focuses on data collection through direct observation and semi-structured interviews to explore the experiences and perceptions of *tariqa* teachers. This qualitative method allows the researcher to gain in-depth insights into the transformation within the world of *tariqa*.

A digital ethnographic study was conducted on digital platforms such as Instagram, Facebook, Telegram, and YouTube. The researcher spent six months observing the activities carried out by both the teachers and the disciples of the *tariqa*. Additionally, interviews were conducted with three key informants, including a teacher, a student, and a figure from a different *tariqa*. This qualitative approach provides space to understand in greater detail how transformation creates room, time, and opportunities for the followers of the Naqshbandi Haqqani *tariqa* to practice the teachings of the *tariqa* they believe in.

The data sources in this study consist of both secondary and primary data, collected through interviews and observations. Secondary data includes interviews conducted with *tariqa* figures outside of the Naqshbandi Haqqani *tariqa*. Primary data was obtained from observations of several digital platforms and direct interviews with teachers of the Naqshbandi Haqqani *tariqa*. The informants include teachers from various Naqshbandi Haqqani *tariqa* centers (*zawiyah*) in Indonesia, such as in Yogyakarta, Jakarta, and West Sumatra. Meanwhile, teachers from outside the Naqshbandi Haqqani *tariqa* include *murshids* from Naqshbandi *tariqa* in the cities of Bukittinggi and Padang. The students of the Naqshbandi Haqqani *tariqa* were interviewed online via Zoom meetings and WhatsApp messages. Documents from digital platforms were collected through captions on each digital platform that were relevant to the research discussion. This data provides relevant context and helps in understanding how the transformation within the Naqshbandi Haqqani *tariqa* has been effectively carried out. The use of both secondary and primary data allows the researcher to obtain a comprehensive picture of the transformation within the *tariqa* world.

Data for this study were collected through two main methods: observation and semi-structured interviews. Observation was conducted to gain direct insight into the process of the transformation of *tariqa* teachings as presented on social media platforms. This method provided the researcher access to directly observe the interactions between teachers, disciples, and digital platforms. The researcher observed the activities of the *tariqa* broadcasted through social media by joining Facebook, Instagram, and scheduled Zoom meetings organized by the administrators of these platforms. Additionally, semi-structured interviews were conducted to delve deeper into the informants' experiences in practicing and following the *tariqa* teachings. The interviews involved 10 informants, including teachers, disciples, and figures from other *tariqas* outside the Naqshbandi Haqqani. By combining observation and interviews, this study was able to generate rich and in-depth data regarding the transformation of the Naqshbandi Haqqani *tariqa* teachings.

The data collected were analyzed using an interpretive approach with stages of open, axial, and selective coding to identify patterns and key themes. The first stage involved open coding to identify key concepts that emerged from the observation and interview data. Next, axial coding was performed to link these concepts into broader categories, illustrating the relationships between the transformation and the *tariqa* teachings. For example, codes such as "online *bayab*" and "method of *bayab*" frequently appeared in the digital platform observation data. Selective coding was used to identify main themes such as online *bayab*, teacher-student relations, and the practice of *dhikr*. This analysis also involved data triangulation to ensure the validity of the findings by comparing the observation data with the interviews and digital platform pages. Therefore, this analytical approach provides an in-depth understanding of how the transformation of *tariqa* teachings significantly influences the opportunities for the students to practice the teachings.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Results


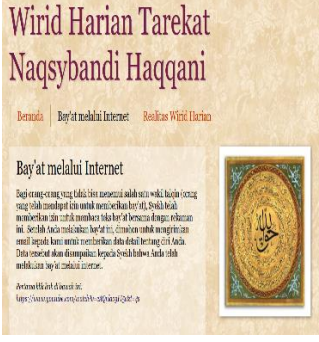

The Naqshbandi Haqqani *tariqa* has undergone a transformation in its teachings and practices. This transformation was implemented to adapt to the changes and developments of the times. The rational consideration of the importance of time and opportunity has driven the shift in the implementation of its practices. The materialization characteristic of modern society has also influenced the relationship between teachers and students. The modern lifestyle, which is inseparable from technological devices, has been effectively adopted by the Naqshbandi Haqqani *tariqa*. The efforts made by this *tariqa* have not only brought significant changes but also helped sustain the continuity of this *tariqa* in Indonesia.



Bai'ah Technique from Conventional to Digital

In an era increasingly dominated by digital advancements, traditional *tariqa* teachings have undergone transformation in various aspects, including the *bay'ah* technique, which is the oath of loyalty between a disciple and their spiritual teacher. Previously, *bay'ah* was conducted through direct physical meetings involving eye contact, handshakes, and the recitation of the oath in the presence of the *murshid*. However, with the advent of technology, this process has now shifted to being conducted online. The use of digital platforms such as video conferencing, social media, and instant messaging applications has become an alternative for the *tariqa* to disseminate its teachings

and initiate new students without the constraints of distance and time. This context can be observed through the display in Table 1.

Table 1. Digital Bay'ah Information Conducted by the Naqsyabandi Haqqani Tariqa Group

No	Figures	Description	Sources
1		<p>Information on <i>bay'ah</i> conducted online by the Naqsyabandi Haqqani Sufi group</p>	<p>https://naqsybandi.com/bergabung-dengan-tarekat-naqsybandi/</p>
2		<p><i>Bay'ah</i> through the internet</p>	<p>https://docs.google.com/document/d/17O1hkK4ehiDyXN48CKKg4mcCHgncpJSZEZdRSeFIo48/edit?tab=t.0</p>
3		<p>Information regarding <i>bay'ah</i> conducted online by the Naqsyabandi Haqqani Sufi group.</p>	<p>https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cAQnkwgFI5c&t=4s</p>

<p>4</p>		<p>The Naqsyabandi Haqqani <i>mursbid</i> leads the <i>bay'ah</i>.</p>	<p>https://youtu.be/w2AZ-FTIB4w</p>
<p>5</p>		<p>Information on <i>bay'ah</i> conducted online by the Naqsyabandi Haqqani Sufi group.</p>	<p>https://naqsybandi.com/bergabung-dengan-tarekat-naqsybandi/</p>

The transformation of *bay'ah* from conventional to digital methods has become an inevitability in the modern era, given the growing need for flexibility and accessibility in spiritual practices. Technological advancements have enabled a greater number of individuals to affiliate with a *ṭariqa* without being constrained by geographical or physical limitations, therefore allowing the teachings of the *ṭariqa* to reach a broader audience. In this context, digital *bay'ah* serves not only as a practical adaptation but also as a viable alternative during times of crisis when in-person gatherings are not feasible. Nevertheless, this shift demands a clear framework and deeper understanding of the spiritual and symbolic dimensions of *bay'ah*, particularly since the absence of direct physical interaction may reduce the depth of personal and symbolic experience. The lack of eye contact, physical gestures such as handshakes, and the performative aspects of ritual can dilute the transmission of meaning and sacredness traditionally associated with this initiation. For this reason, it is essential that such technological adaptations remain grounded in the spiritual ethos and core values of traditional *ṭariqa* teachings.

Table 1 illustrates the transformation of *bay'ah* from a conventional to a digital format, which can be understood through three key contexts: technology, spirituality, and religious authority. From a technological standpoint, digital advancements have enabled *bay'ah* to be conducted via online platforms such as Zoom, providing accessible means for disciples across different regions of the world. In terms of religious authority, scholars and *ṭariqa* leaders play a pivotal role in determining whether digital *bay'ah* remains valid and aligned with the principles of *taṣawwuf*. Hence, this transformation is not merely a technical innovation but also a critical challenge in preserving the authenticity and purity of traditional *ṭariqa* teachings.

a. Shifting Dynamics in the Teacher-Student Relationship (From the Students Visiting the Teacher to the Teacher Reaching Out to the Students)

A transformation has occurred in the relationship between teacher and students within the Naqshbandi Haqqani *ṭariqa*. Etymologically, *murid* (hereinafter referred to as student) – are the “one who seeks,” not “one who is sought.” Traditionally, it is the student who should approach the master in search of knowledge and *barakah* (blessing), not the other way around. However, in contemporary practice, Naqshbandi Haqqani teachers are increasingly seen visiting their students to offer instruction, lead religious commemorations, and engage with figures from civil society and political institutions. This inversion of roles reflects a broader shift in spiritual authority and community engagement. The dynamics are illustrated in Table 2 below.

Table 2. The Shifting of the Teacher-Student Relationship

No	Figures	Description	Sources
1		Shaykh Mustafa Mas'ud (Khalifa of the Naqshbandi Haqqani Order in Indonesia) visits his students at one of the <i>zamiyahs</i> in Yogyakarta.	https://www.instagram.com/p/DFUbwCOxhPK
2		Shaykh Gibril Haddad, from Singapore, visited his students to conduct a two-day <i>daurah</i> (spiritual teaching session).	https://www.instagram.com/p/Cxw0gmyLKeC/
3		"Hastage" serves as a spiritual guide for his students.	https://www.instagram.com/p/DGAPAHAB5_B/
4		Instruction from the <i>murshid</i> to maintain unity and solidarity among fellow <i>jama'ah</i> members.	https://t.me/haqqani_indonesia
5		Shaykh Nazim Haqqani visits his students in Indonesia.	https://www.instagram.com/p/Cr0nUXPrwCI/

On one occasion, the *Khalifah* of Naqsyabandi Haqqani attended the commemoration of an Islamic holiday at one of the *zamiyah* in the Special Region of Yogyakarta. Despite the limitations, the *Khalifah* participated in the activities organized by his students. Furthermore, a spiritual master from abroad came to provide an extended training session for the disciples over a significant period. Masters of the Naqsyabandi Haqqani *tariqa* also did not hesitate to visit political figures, social activists, and NGOs to promote the Naqsyabandi Haqqani teachings and



foster relationships. This condition has altered the teacher-student relationship from a paternalistic model to a more egalitarian one.


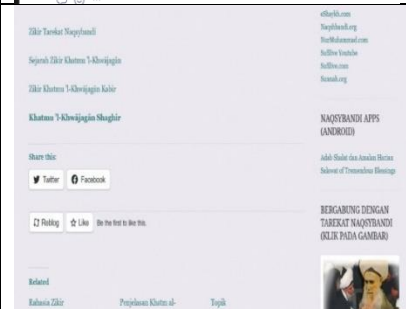
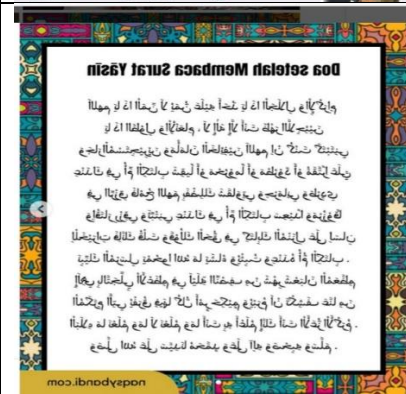
Table 2 illustrates the dynamics between the teacher and students within the Naqshbandi Haqqani *tariqa*, as observed in specific events and activities. The presence of spiritual leaders during major Islamic commemorations and long-term training sessions often organized by dedicated committees and attended by large audiences highlights this relational transformation. Naqshbandi Haqqani masters have also visited government officials, social figures, and NGOs to convey their spiritual mission while simultaneously strengthening communal ties. These practices reflect humility and mutual respect among fellow servants of God. The boundary between the teachers and students has become increasingly fluid, with masters positioning themselves as citizens who honor their leaders. The orientation of the *tariqa*, once purely esoteric, is now shifting toward a semi-exoteric model allowing its members to mobilize various resources to ensure continuity amid societal transformation and within a globalized context.

b. From Communal to Individual Dhikr Practice

Several *amal* (spiritual practices) within the Naqshbandi Haqqani *tariqa* have undergone significant transformation, including the method of performing *dhikr* (remembrance of God). Traditionally, *dhikr* was practiced communally under the guidance of a teacher, ensuring that the remembrance was properly directed and spiritually effective. However, within the Naqshbandi Haqqani order, a notable shift has occurred: *dhikr* can now also be performed individually, guided by instructions available on the official Naqshbandi Haqqani website. This development provides broader access for disciples to engage in the path of *tasawwuf* in accordance with the directives of the *murshid*. This transformation allows for greater flexibility and inclusivity, enabling followers to maintain their spiritual discipline regardless of time and location. This shift is further illustrated in Table 3 below.

Table 3. The Transformation of Dhikr Practice from Communal to Individual

No	Figures	Description	Sources
1		The teacher delivers a lecture online across multiple digital platforms, including Facebook, Instagram, YouTube, and Telegram.	https://www.instagram.com/p/DFUbwCOxhPK
2		<i>Dhikr</i> is performed regardless of time and place.	https://www.instagram.com/stories/highlights/17963751073110084/

<p>3</p>		<p>Interview with a Zoom meeting participant engaged in online <i>dhiker</i>.</p>	<p>Zoom meeting</p>
<p>4</p>		<p>A <i>dhiker</i> guides accessible to students of the Naqshbandi Haqqani order, allowing for individual practice.</p>	<p>https://naqsybandi.com/2013/10/30/zikir/</p>
<p>5</p>		<p>Digital literacy accessible to students through digital platforms.</p>	<p>https://www.instagram.com/p/DF__PnmBeYe/?img_index=1</p>

Providing spiritual guidance to students is an obligation that must be fulfilled by a teacher. In the Naqshbandi Haqqani order, a teacher can offer individual spiritual instruction through digital platforms, enabling students to engage in the teachings anytime and anywhere. The Naqshbandi Haqqani community also offers accessible digital resources for its members, allowing the practice of *dhiker* in accordance with the order’s teachings to be performed beyond the limitations of physical space and time.

Table 3 illustrates how the practice of *dhiker* and other *tariqa* rituals by both teachers and students is now conducted individually through digital platforms such as Facebook, Instagram, and YouTube. Participation in collective *dhiker* is no longer a necessity, as disciples can access live-streamed sessions individually via Zoom, Facebook, and Instagram. In order to facilitate personal practice, students are also provided with online instructional materials available on the official websites of the Naqshbandi Haqqani order.

DISCUSSION

The transformation undertaken by the Naqshbandi Haqqani order encompasses nearly all core elements that constitute the foundation of a *tariqa*. The first step, *bay’ah*, can now be easily performed by prospective *jamaah* (followers) through the official website managed by Naqshbandi Haqqani administrators. Spiritual communion with a teacher no longer requires great physical effort; teachers within the order are accessible to their students and willing to attend various religious events when needed. A spirit of openness and egalitarianism is demonstrated by the teachers not only toward their students, but also to the broader public, including religious leaders, politicians, and civil society organizations. The practice of *dhiker*, a central ritual in the *tariqa*, is granted considerable flexibility members may choose to participate communally at *zawayah* across Indonesia, or individually via the many social media channels available. These transformations have given rise to a new form of spirituality, particularly suited to urban populations, the upper middle class, and religious minorities who often find themselves spiritually isolated (Hidayati, 2022).

Online *bay'ah* represents one of the digital strategies employed by the Naqshbandi Haqqani order to expand its teachings globally (Rosowsky, 2017). This method significantly facilitates prospective *jamaah* (followers) in joining the *tariqa*, which was originally introduced from the United States (Gazali, 2015). Online initiation opens space for individuals from various ethnic, sectarian, and cultural backgrounds to collectively engage in the spiritual practices of Naqshbandi Haqqani. However, the digital format unintentionally filters access to those who are technologically literate, thereby limiting online participation to segments of society with higher levels of education, economic means, and social class. The Naqshbandi Haqqani order has primarily developed among urban populations with strong engagement in social media networks, where digital technology is no longer a luxury but rather a necessity. Through the mechanism of online *bay'ah*, the order has extended its reach across the globe, including throughout Indonesia from Sabang to Merauke (Indonesia, 2007; Gazali, 2015).

The relationship between teacher and student within the Naqshbandi Haqqani order has undergone a significant transformation from a paternalistic structure to a more egalitarian one. Teachers are no longer perceived solely as the ultimate source of spiritual knowledge but have also assumed the role of facilitators, guiding their students toward a deeper understanding of esoteric teachings (Mudin, 2015; Isgandi, 2023). This shift is closely linked to the fact that Naqshbandi Haqqani teachers are often individuals with democratic values and strong educational backgrounds. Reverence toward the teacher has evolved from uncritical fanaticism into a more accountable form of spiritual-academic respect, made possible through digital literacy that is widely accessible and distributed via online platforms. Religious understanding has likewise shifted from *taqlid* (blind imitation) to a shared, participatory comprehension fostered in publicly accessible academic spaces. This egalitarian approach has empowered students to engage confidently in the propagation and innovation of *tariqa* teachings, including in regions with minority Muslim populations such as Bali and East Nusa Tenggara (Kabbani, 2024). Teachers are actively present at both large-scale events and short courses organized by their students, and they also participate in live broadcasts on social media platforms managed by the Naqshbandi Haqqani order to deliver teachings and guide ritual practices (Muhitdinova, 2023). This behavior represents a radical departure from the traditional Sufi paradigm, which often emphasized hierarchical, authoritarian dynamics. In contrast, the current teacher–murid relationship is built on mutual respect, intellectual openness, and spiritual equality.

The Naqshbandi Haqqani order, with its followers dispersed across the Indonesian archipelago, consistently facilitates its students to practice their spiritual obligations in accordance with their individual circumstances. This geographically scattered presence is accommodated through both communal and individual modes of worship. Communal gatherings are organized based on *zawiyah* agreements, during which some students take the initiative to facilitate sessions via Zoom, enabling those who cannot attend physically to participate remotely. Furthermore, the Naqshbandi Haqqani order provides digital access to various *dhikr* literatures through its official website. Among the available forms are the Naqshbandi Haqqani *dhikr*, Khatm Khawajagan Shaghir, and Khatm Khawajagan Kabir. The implementation of *dhikr* in a hybrid format has significantly broadened opportunities for followers to engage in ritual practices in alignment with the guidance of their spiritual teachers.

The decision made by the founder of the Naqshbandi Haqqani order supported by its students to adapt technology as part of their spiritual practice has enabled the order to survive amidst the pressures of modernization. This development stands in contrast to the prediction made by Ernest Gellner, who foresaw the decline of traditional religions in the face of rationalism (Hall & Jarvie, 2021), a perspective aligned with the discourse on religious secularization emphasized by Nurcholish Madjid (Bruinessen, 2006; Asghari, 2021). This condition resonates with the research conducted by Julia Howell and Martin van Bruinessen, who explored various forms of urban spiritual expression (Howell & Bruinessen, 2007). However, their studies primarily focused on modern spiritual movements such as KKA Paramadina, the Az-Zikra Assembly, and the Darut Tauhid Islamic boarding school led by KH. Abdullah Gymnastiar. Meanwhile, traditional forms of spirituality, such as the Naqshbandi Haqqani order which is rooted in the classical teachings of the Naqshbandi tradition remained outside the scope of their research.

The Naqshbandi Haqqani order has taken significant steps to ensure its continuity amidst the inevitable currents of global transformation. This is evident in its efforts to adapt contemporary technologies to support the practice of teachings inherited through the *silsilas* the spiritual chain of transmission passed down from previous *murshid*. The technological proficiency of its students has provided the order with substantial opportunities to expand its reach and maintain the loyalty of its followers. This study calls upon *murshid* of other *tariqas* to support and learn from the transformative efforts undertaken by the Naqshbandi Haqqani. For Sufi orders seeking to preserve their teachings, it is crucial to initiate renewal and adopt modern methods of instruction and recruitment. Nonetheless, while engaging in transformation, maintaining the authenticity of spiritual teachings and established practices must remain a core principle. With open-mindedness and mutual respect among Sufi communities, the esoteric dimensions of Islamic teachings (*tasawwuf*) will remain resilient upholding the spiritual consciousness and moral integrity of the ummah in the face of modern change.

CONCLUSION

The transformation undertaken by the Naqshbandi Haqqani order has proceeded effectively, supported by the active participation of its students. Transformations in the practices of *bay'ah*, teacher–student relationships, and *dhikr* rituals have been integrated into the daily and weekly routines of both teachers and students, as well as during the commemoration of significant Islamic holidays. A considerable number of students have engaged with various digital platforms, with high levels of interaction, such as positive reactions and supportive comments, indicating that the transformation aligns well with the needs of modern society accustomed to digital technology. The efforts of Naqshbandi Haqqani teachers to adopt digital tools have proven to be a strategic approach for preserving traditional Islamic teachings amid the pressures of modernity and secularism. This ongoing adaptation demonstrates the order's capacity to sustain its spiritual legacy while remaining relevant within the contemporary context.

Esoteric Islam in the hands of Naqshbandi Haqqani has undergone a shift from offline to online. The Sufi literacy, which was once limited to classical texts, has been digitalized and is now accessible to anyone, regardless of their ethnic, religious, cultural, or social background. The limitations of distance and time have been transformed into a single space and line in the virtual world. The challenges of understanding foreign texts have become more manageable with the assistance of electronic tools that facilitate murid in comprehending them. Interaction between teachers and students, as well as among students themselves, can take place with the help of electronic devices that are accessible anytime and anywhere. These transformations in the teaching and practice of the Sufi teachings significantly contribute to the esoteric tradition of Islam, incorporating the advancements and modernization of contemporary technology.

Negative stigma has emerged regarding the transformation carried out by Naqshbandi Haqqani. The use of electronic media as a tool to convey teachings and perform spiritual practices is considered foreign and outside the mainstream. The perceived lack of a sacred relationship between teachers and students is thought to diminish the sanctity of spirituality. Modern devices, which are not internally produced, are seen as weakening the Islamic spirit. The distance and limited meetings are believed to reduce the student's obedience to the teachers. Providing explanations and reconciling perceptions regarding the transformation carried out by Naqshbandi Haqqani to religious figures, particularly Sufi scholars, is essential and should be addressed promptly. Examining the aspects that may compromise the authenticity and purity of the teachings of the *tariqa*, while involving academic Sufism, is an important avenue for further research.

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