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THE EXPRESSION OF PIETY THROUGH THE RATIK TOGAK IN THE *TAREKAT SURAU SULUK* IN RIAU

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ABSTRACT. Tarekat is piety expression based on spirituality encouragement as Islamic identity in Indonesia. Studies about piety expression is often connected to radicalism or violent movement. In fact, piety expression of Muslims in Indonesia as described in this article can accommodate with local culture. This study examines the existence of Surau Suluk and the tradition of Ratik Togak, which is one of the practices of the Naqshabandiyah tarekat in Rokan Hulu. It is known 'Negeri Seribu Suluk', having approximately 122 Surau Suluk. Surau Suluk is a place to undergo religious activities to get closer to God. This study uses qualitative descriptive method employing observation and interview. A phenomenological concept is used to see the religious traditions of followers of the Surau Suluk congregation. The results showed that Surau Suluk in Rokan Hulu is developed by Sheikh Abdul Wahab Rokan. A practice that has become a tradition in the Naqshabandiyah tariqah is Ratik Togak. Ratik means dhikr, a practice in the form of dhikr and forgiveness which is done to find the peak of enjoyment of dhikr. The Togak Ratik is performed at certain religious events in public spaces as an important medium for them to get closer to God. Ratik Togak is a form of social Islamic religious worship. This tradition is special because it has become an icon for Surau Suluk which involves ordinary people. It also gets support from local government. This tradition is a practice for followers of the Naqshabandiyah as a form of their piety with God.

Key words: surau; suluk; tradition; tarekat; Ratik Togak

EKSPRESI KESALEHAN MELALUI RATIK TOGAK DALAM *TAREKAT SURAU SULUK* DI RIAU

ABSTRAK. Tarekat merupakan wujud dari ekspresi kesalehan yang berbasis pada penguatan spiritualitas jiwa sekaligus identitas Islam di Indonesia. Dewasa ini, kajian tentang ekspresi kesalehan masyarakat Muslim di Indonesia sering dikaitkan dengan gerakan radikalisme atau kekerasan. Padahal, ekspresi kesalehan masyarakat Muslim di Indonesia sebagaimana akan ditunjukkan dalam kajian ini bisa berkompromi dengan budaya lokal. Tulisan ini mengkaji tentang eksistensi Surau Suluk dan tradisi *Ratik Togak* yang menjadi salah satu amalan pengikut tarekat Naqshabandiyah di Rokan Hulu, Riau. Rokan Hulu dikenal dengan julukan Negeri Seribu Suluk, memiliki sekitar 122 Surau Suluk yang tersebar di seluruh wilayah. Bagi pengikut tarekat, Surau Suluk merupakan wadah untuk menjalani aktivitas keagamaan sebagai jalan mendekati diri kepada Allah. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode deskriptif kualitatif berbasis wawancara dan observasi. Fenomenologi digunakan sebagai basis konsep untuk melihat tradisi keagamaan para pengikut tarekat Surau Suluk berdasarkan perspektif mereka. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa Surau Suluk di Rokan Hulu eksis dan berkembang melalui peran Syekh Abdul Wahab Rokan dengan ajarannya tarekat Naqshabandiyah. Salah satu amalan yang menjadi tradisi dalam ajaran tarekat Naqshabandiyah adalah *Ratik Togak*. *Ratik* bermakna zikir atau *ratih* merupakan amalan berupa zikir dan istighfar yang dilakukan untuk mencari puncak kenikmatan berzikir. *Ratik Togak* dilakukan pada event keagamaan tertentu di ruang publik sebagai medium penting bagi mereka untuk mendekati diri kepada Allah. *Ratik Togak* merupakan salah satu bentuk dari ibadah keagamaan Islam yang bersifat sosial. Tradisi ini semakin istimewa karena menjadi ikon bagi Surau Suluk yang melibatkan unsur masyarakat awam dan dukungan dari pemerintah. Tradisi ini merupakan amalan bagi pengikut tarekat Naqshabandiyah sebagai bentuk kesalehan mereka dengan Sang Pencipta.

Kata kunci: Surau; Suluk; Tradisi; Tarekat; Ratik Togak

INTRODUCTION

The Surau suluk is identical with sufism. This can be seen from its followers practicing sufi teaching. Sufi is known for a long time promoting 'soft' Islam which accommodates local culture in Indonesia. Currently, there is a tendency that scholars are more interested in studying Islamic radicalism as piety expression among Muslims. In fact, the piety expression in Indonesia is plural rather than monolithic. Muslims in Indonesia have multiple ways to express their piety. Radicalism is only one way done by some Muslims to express their piety. In this context, this article is crucial to prove that to express their piety Muslims in Indonesia do not solely use radical ways as seen in news. This can be seen from the Surau Suluk

followers in Rokan Hulu who express their piety through the Ratik Togak. From its term, this activity is not purely Islamic as practiced in the Middle East but there is an accommodative nature between Islam and local culture. It is therefore beneficial studying the Surau Suluk since it provides understandings about Islam and local culture in Indonesia. This article is devoted to know the extent to which the Surau Suluk followers conduct the Ratik Togak. As a result this article aims to know the existence and tradition of the Ratik Togak as piety expression among Muslims in Rokan Hulu.

The Surau Suluk teachings have a connection to the *Tarekat Qadiriyyah wa Naqshabandiyah* such as *zikir* (religious remembrance), *khataman* (completing the Quran), and *manaqib* (reading the bibliography of Syaikh

Abdul Qadir Jaelani) (Mutiah & Sukiman, 2018: 13), *muraqabah* (special ritual), and special *zikir* with certain times (Aqib, 2012: 6). The Tarekat developed by Syaikh Abdul Wahab Rokan also teaches its followers to practice the *zikir*, *suluk*, and *rabithah*. However, this tarekat also supports its followers to work in the garden, raise animals, fish and establish printed companies. This indicates that this tarekat integrates the profane and non-profane life dimension (Siregar, 2011a: 59). Other tarekat followers recite God's names (al-Malik, al-Jabbar), and practice certain rituals being closer to God (Bruinessen, 1992: 2). Tarekat indeed has faced teaching transformation and shift in the 19th and 20th, namely the teaching and values as well as rituals (Syarif, 2017: 137) due to social changes in a Muslim community.

In the early time, tarekat is defined a way consisting doctrine, method and special rituals. This meaning then has changed to be an institution organizing its followers. As an institution, each tarekat has different characteristic. This fact is affected by the sufi teachings being followed, social cultural condition, and the role of *mursyid* (tarekat leader). Each tarekat also has different ritual and religious practice because it may have different *mazhab* (Sofwatul Ummah, 2018: 317).

Generally, the sufi daily lives implemented in tarekat have a close connection with the rural people. However, with the progress of time, the practices of tarekat have been popular among urban-middle class Muslims. This is because tarekat is beneficial for Muslim inner domain. It is even used for means of psychological therapy as well as strengthening religious tradition (Hasan, 2016: 94). The sufi practices in tarekat has become an essential spiritual medium to support other routine religious rituals (Sofwatul Ummah, 2018: 316). One of the tarekat practicing certain rituals is Surau Sulukin Rokan Hulu, Riau.

The Surau Suluk is tarekat which has a close connection with Surau (small mosque). Surau was previously known as education institution in 1356. It was called 'Surau Budha' in Bukit Gombak founded by Raja Adityawaman (Natsir, 2012: 39). However, Surau has been popular in Minangkabau since the 19th -20th century (Pramono, 2009: 248). In this society, Surau was crucial for Islamic education training especially in Padang Pariaman Sumatera Barat. It is a symbolic integration of local culture and Islam (Natsir, 2012: 41). It was a place of Islamic knowledge transmission as well as dynamic intellectual network process of student-teacher (Pramono, 2009: 248). It was functioned as 'prayer' and Islamic teaching place especially tarekat or suluk (Mukhlis, 2017: 119). At the same time, it was an Islamic classical education institution producing Muslim scholars in Indonesia (Hakim, 2017: 283). Surau is an unique center of Islamic teaching and tarekat signifying the islamization process in Minangkabau (Pramono, 2009: 248) as well as other regions in Indonesia.

Tarekat or suluk also started to grow in Kampung Babussalam, Sumatera Utara developed by

Syekh Abdul Wahab of Rokan Hulu, Riau (Lestari, 2017a: 1). Historically, Rokan Hulu had many Suluk houses. However, nowadays there are only two *hemah* or teaching origins. They are from Maulana Syekh Ibrahim Al-Khalidi (1764-1914 M) and Syekh Abdul Wahab Rokan, Besilam Langkat (1811-1926 M). These two scholars have a significant role in disseminating tarekat Naqsabandiyah in Rokan Hulu (Pembab Rohul, Twelfth Program, Negeri Seribu Suluk: <http://achmadriau.com/> accessed on 26 December 2018).

Suluk is a religious activity done by the followers of tarekat Naqsabandiyah. It is done by distancing himself or herself from social lives and staying in a place for several days. During this social distancing, he or she conducts several rituals like *zikir*, *salat*, *puasa*, *istighfar*, *muhasabah*, and so on. These rituals are led and guided by *amursyid* (Muhammad, 2015: 1). This indicates that tarekat is a means of reaching spiritual and theological goals (Nasrullah, 2017: 27) by practicing religious rituals based on esoteric values (Aqib, 2012: 9).

Suluk or tarekat is defined as journey decided by traveller (*salik*) to Allah by purifying himself or journey done by an individual in order to being closer to God (Abduh, 2017: 220). Tarekat in sufism is a way to Allah to get His blessing by following His teachings. Tarekat is also a special method done by *salik* to Allah through several stages *ormaqaamat*. Tarekat is a way done by a sufi (Rohman, 2016: 218). Each individual conducts several steps to gain the highest level of spirituality (Muhammad Amin, The history of a thousand suluk country: www.nuansawisatariau.blogspot.co.id/, accessed on 23 May 2018).

Suluk also known as *khawat* provides guidances to tarekat followers to develop selves, to balance the physical and spiritual needs, to keep desire, to establish healthy spiritual thinking, to control thought and behavior, to discipline thinking, to balance feeling and physics, to change the animal behavior to good one, to control desire and emotion, to keep peace and patience. Suluk is a special religious activity done by the followers of tarekat Naqsabandiyah (Muhammad, 2015: 1). It is a tradition among the followers of tarekat Naqsabandiyah as a manifestation of piety expression to God. One of religious activities through the Surau Suluk is the practice of *Ratik Togak* done by the followers of tarekat Naqsabandiyah.

In the Islamic teaching practices, the main problem faced by Muslims is responsibility to implement their piety in the social lives. In this context, tarekat can be used as a medium to implement this piety in the social lives. It is then an alternative way for Muslims to both being closer to God and closer to human beings through special rituals and social activities (Firdaus, 2017: 198). In this case, two important marks can be underlined here; First, tarekat is seen from ritual aspect in which there are some special rituals should be practiced by its followers. Second, tarekat is an institutionalized sufism which is socially organized (Firdaus, 2017: 199).

METHOD

This article uses qualitative method and phenomenology approach. Phenomenology generally is used to know facts or social phenomena in a society (Nindito & Nindito, 2013: 79). It focuses on human daily experiences. Specifically, it explains and describes human experiences as they are without interpretation and abstraction (Asih, 2005: 75).

In religious context, phenomenology is defined as consciousness about (a) the existence of two different worlds, non-empirist and empirist world (b) human beings as a part of empirist world (c) human beings are able to connect symbolically with the non-empirist world (Ahimsa-Putra, 2012: 294). This study focuses on interpretation of religious phenomena among followers of tarekat Surau Sulukin connection to their expression of piety in social lives. This is because religion is basically individual as well as social.

In this context, religion is collective consciousness. The tradition of *Ratik Togakis* collective religious practices done by the tarekat Naqsabandiyah. As collective consciousness, religion is consciousness owned collectively. Its elements made and owned by individual integratively. Based on phenomenology perspective, this collective dimension emphasizes on consciousness, knowledge, collective views, inter-subjective understanding producing the collective behavior among the congregation or followers of certain religion (Ahimsa-Putra, 2012: 295).

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

There are limited articles and research studying the Surau Suluk which becomes the trade mark of Rokan Hulu regency. However, some non-academic reports can be found on digital and printed media. The Negeri Seribu Suluk has been labeled to Rokan Hulu for a long time. This label is given because there are many followers of tarekat Naqsabandiyah practicing their rituals (Suluk) in Surau. The Negeri Seribu Suluk then has a close connection to the existence of tarekat and suluk. The Rumah Suluk is an institution as well as a place of practicing tarekat. The Rumah Suluk in Rokan Hulu is a symbol of religious practice there. There are at least 122 active Suluk houses (Abduh, 2017: 212) practicing religious teachings as their expression of piety.

Muslims joining the tarekat are active practicing the suluk activities to support their identity as a Muslim. This indicates that in Rokan Hulu tarekat has become a symbol of religiosity and piety. Being pious Muslims are then being followers of tarekat by practicing suluk rituals in the surau. It is unsurprising that local government support the symbol of Negeri Seribu Suluk since it is beneficial for reaching the spiritual goals of individual as well as prosperous society based on religious values (Perda Rokan Hulu Nomor 3, 2018: 8).

Rokan Hulu has many rumah suluk (suluk houses) as explained before. However, recently, there are only two *hemah* or suluk teaching origins. The first *hemah* was brought by Maulana Syekh Ibrahim Al Khalidi and the second one was brought by Syekh Besilam Langkat Syekh Abdul Wahab Rokan. These two Muslim scholars are very influential disseminating the tarekat Naqsabandi in Rokan Hulu. Based historical note, the origin of this spiritual practices can be traced from Sayyidina Abu Bakar Radhiyallahu 'Anhu and others can be referred to Sayyidina Ali ibn Abu Thalib (Pembab Rohul, Twelfth Program, Negeri Seribu Suluk: <http://achmadriau.com/> accessed on 26 December 2018).

Syekh Ibrahim Al-Khalidi Kumpulan was born in 1764 and died in 1914. He has a crucial role for the existence of tarekat in Rokan Hulu. Syekh Abdul Wahab Rokan is Rokan person born in Rantau Binuang in 1811 and died in 1926. After completing tarekat learning in Bukit Abi Qubis Mecca in 1286 H, he disseminated his teachings in Rokan (Muhammad Amin, The history of a thousand suluk country: www.nuansawisatariu.blogspot.co.id/ accessed on 23 May 2018).

Based on its development, the term 'surau' is local product especially in Minangkabau. For Minangkabau, the existence of surau can be traced before the coming of Islam functioning as meeting place as a part of the *rumah Gadang* (Mukhlis, 2017: 118). In its early development, surau was established for Islamic trainings by Syekh Burhanuddin as a student of Syekh Abdurrauf Singkil. He built Surau Ulakan, Pariaman. After that, Tuanku Mansiang Nan Tuo developed Surau Paninjauan and Tuanku Nan Kacik built Surau in Kota gadang Agam. These two Suraus produced well-known Muslim scholars for the progress of Islam in Sumatera Barat (Hakim, 2017: 284 dan Ilyas, 2017: 106-7).

The function of surau became more crucial because Minangkabau society tradition is based on matrilineal system. Based on its tradition, men did not own a bedroom in their parent house so that they then sleep at night in surau. This makes surau as an important place for Minangkabau men. It is a place for physical development and religious trainings for men. Its function was unchanging though Islam came. Even, its religious function was strengthened by Syekh Burhanuddin in Ulakan, Pariaman. At that time, surau was widened its function not only as a prayer place by Syekh Burhanuddin (Hakim, 2017: 284) but also as Islamic teachings, especially tarekat (suluk).

In its further development, surau was connected to religious activities of tarekat Naqsabandiyah followers, especially led by Syekh Abdul Wahab Rokan from Riau (Abduh, 2017: 206; Lestari, 2017: 10; Siregar, 2011: 60; and Miftahuddin et al., 2019: 78). However, in line with the renewal or reformation movement, the function of surau is replaced with madrasah as an alternative education institution at that time (Mukhlis, 2017: 118). Naqsabandiyah in Rokan Hulu is growing due to the

existence of Surau Suluk. The role of Surau Suluk is crucial in developing tarekat Naqshabandiyah. Syekh Abdul Wahab Rokan started its struggle from Rokan, Riau and then he developed in several regions like Langkat Sumatera Utara called 'Kampung Babussalam' (Lestari, 2017a: 9) or village and madrasah Babussalam as well as he disseminated it to east coast of Sumatera such as Siak, Tambusai in Riau until the kingdom of Kota Pinang, Bilah Panai, Asahan, Kualuh, and Deli Serdang as well as Basilam in Langkat (Siregar, 2011b: 63).

Surau Suluk is an iconic institution of tarekat in Rokan Hulu. This term (surau suluk) was firstly popularized by the followers of tarekat Naqshabandiyah. Suluk and tarekat Naqshabandiyah has a close connection which cannot be separated each others. For tarekat Naqshabandiyah, Surau Suluk is a crucial institution for tarekat Naqshabandiyah followers for being closer to God. Furthermore, Surau Suluk is also used as a training place for its followers.

Naqshabandiyah is a fast growing tarekat in Indonesia. In Sumatera Utara for instance, it can be connected to the sufi special place of Babussalam or Basilam. Tarekat Naqshabandiyah entered this region prior to the mid of 13rd H/19th. This fact can be connected to the establishment of suluk in Babussalam, Langkat, Sumatera Utara in cooperation with Sultan Musa from Kesultanan Langkat and Syaikh Abdul Wahab Rokan (1811 M-1926 M) as a leader of this tarekat (Siregar, 2011b: 60).

Tarekat Naqshabandiyah is known as a tarekat involving actively in social, political, and economic life of society. Its social piety concept can be seen from their belief that social involvement is a way of their devotion to Allah. The principle of *khalwat dar anjuman*—distancing from the crowd—has become the basis of this principle (Rahmawati et al., 2018: 341 dan Nugroho, 2015: 39) Tarekat Naqshabandiyah is a way through stages of spiritual rituals. In a simple manner, *khalwat dar anjuman* can be understood as the stage in which an individual keeps his ritual without any noise though in crowded environment (Nugroho, 2015: 39). Even, there is no room for worldly activities. Every single activity is devoted to Allah (Khaerani & Nurlaen, 2019: 89).

In the early time, tarekat usually cannot be separated from 'unique' ritual. Even, recently, some tarekat still practice ritual which is viewed 'strange' by ordinary people (Rohman, 2016: 208). However, ritual practiced by tarekat followers is closely related to their way for being closer to God. Generally, each tarekat practices rituals which have been long practiced by its founder to its teacher/mursyid and its followers.

Tarekat teaches Islam through many ways and methods believed as a true way. For its followers, this way implemented in some rituals should be kept and taught to next generations. Muslims regard God as absolute reality. This is expressed through some formal rituals. Other

Muslims express their belief to God not only through formal rituals but also to some methods in order to be closer to God. The last way of expression is then called sufism or mystism focusing on esoteric things (Rahmawati et al., 2018: 332).

Rituals practiced by tarekat followers in Indonesia are plural, such as *zikir* (Rahmawati et al., 2018: 334) in certain times (Hafil, 2014: 50) in the systematic way like fasting *mutih* among the followers of tarekat local Syattariah in Jawa Tengah (Syam, 2013:). Rituals like *istighfar*, *salawat ummi*, *kalimah tauhid*, *do'a*, *wasilah* and *rabithah* giving positive impact for spiritual piety are done by the followers of tarekat Syadziliyah in Banten (Sofwatul Ummah, 2018: 328-32). Others practice *salawat nariyah* or *tafrijyah* or *qurtubiyah* like among the followers of Nahdliyin in Pamekasan, Madura (Hasan, 2016: 100). Others conduct fasting and *zuhudas* the followers of tarekat Naqshabandiyah Al-Haqqani in Jakarta Selatan (Shakok & Munandar, 2018: 57). Some recite certain *zikiras* done by the followers of tarekat Syattariah in Aceh called *Salek Buta* (Shadiqin, 2017: 76) notably Syattariah order (Tarekat Syattariyah. In tarekat Qadiriyyah, *mursyid* has an authority to modify certain ritual (Hafil, 2014: 40). This indicates that in tarekat rituals are not monolithic, even diversified. Further more, the rituals of tarekat depend on its teacher's rituals which sometimes accomodate local tradition.

Essentially, every ritual in tarekat is a way of its followers to purify their soul so that they get God blessings. A tarekat follower commonly should be discipline in practicing his rituals like *zikir*, fasting, and *zuhudas* well as other social rituals which cannot be separated from tarekat (Nugroho, 2015: 35). In its development, the followers of tarekat practicing sufi activities are guided by a teacher who already reached the highest spiritual stage in sufism-called as *khalifah*. This guidance supports tarekat as way or method. Each *mursyid* has different method to guide his students. This difference is related to rituals which have essentially the same goal, namely a way of being closer to Allah (Shakok & Munandar, 2018: 57).

Rituals done by the followers of tarekat in Rokan Hulu essentially are same as other tarekats. The tarekat Naqshabandiyah in Rokan Hulu also teaches *zikir* called as *Ratik Togak*. This ritual is conducted in Surau Suluk in Rokan Hulu. This ritual is not disturbing for ordinary people living near of the surau suluk. For them, Surau Suluk activities are positive. Even, surau suluk is supported by local government.

"Ada satu bulan sekali, kegiatan Bupati, ngumpul bersama dan diadakan zikir akbar lalu berdakwah, tempatnya itu berganti. Kadang di tempat ini (Baitul Amal), kadang di Muara Rumbai, kadang di Ujung Batu. Pendeknyo kalo gak salah di Rokan Hulu ini ada 124 surau di Rokan Hulu ini. Itu lah berganti setiap bulan (There is a Regent activity once in a month to conduct ritual and religious speech. The

place is changeable. Sometimes in Baitul Amal, in Muara Rumbai, in Ujung Batu. In short, if I am not mistaken, there are 124 suraus in Rokan Hulu. He in turns presents every month) (H. Basyir, Head of Surau Suluk Baitul Amal, interview, 26 February 2019).

The local government support to the activities of suluk indicates that the rituals of the suluk are essential for the spiritual development of the society. The suluk is then should be preserved. The *Ratik Togak* for tarekat followers is a method or way to be closer to Allah. It is a 'soft' way to Allah based on the guidance of tarekat teacher. Many rituals are performed starting from the *kenduri tarekat* to the zikir *sir'orfana*—without physical or mouth movement. The zikir reading is based on the teaching of the Prophet Muhammad. There is no bad statement during the ritual. They should keep their behavior and speaking in front of Allah.

The *Ratik Togak* is done by the followers of tarekat Naqshabandiyah in Surau Suluk Rokan Hulu, Riau. Their rituals depend on much the tradition developed by the founder and teachers of the tarekat. The *Ratik Togak* has a symbolic meaning. It is performed to improve the spirit of tarekat followers to conduct zikir. The *Ratik Togak* is a special tradition held in tarekat or suluk. This activity has been tradition for local people.

"Kalo Ratik Togak itu termasuklah dia kedalam kegiatan fisiknya, yang kalimahny dengan menyebut "Lailahailallah" dan menyebut nama-nama Allah atau asmaulhusna. Dari 99 nama itu diambil satu-satu untuk dibacakan. Entah 50 atau 100 kali setiap namanya. Itu sama-sama dilakukan, untuk jumlah orangnya tidak terpilih. Bebas mau berapa saja. Semakin banyak semakin bagus. Posisi melakukannya dengan berdiri tegak dan memiringkan ke kanan dan ke kiri sambil mengucapkan yang di atas tadi tu (Ratik Togak is physical activity while reciting 'lailahailallah' and other God's beautiful names. From 99 of His names, one by one is recited. Each can be 50 or 100 times. The congregation number is not fixed. More people are better. The position is by standing and moving his head and body to left and right while reciting the above words) (KH. Syahril, Madrasah Leaders of Suluk Al-Islamiyah Rantau Binuang Sakti, interview, 22 February 2019)."

The *Ratik Togak* is done by mentioning Allah's names and 'Lailahailallah'. The number of people are not fixed. In its process, each person recites Allah's names 50 times to 100 times. Other tarekat followers recite the zikir (Shakok & Munandar, 2018: 62) and the *salawat* 4444 times (Hasan, 2016: 95), 20 times training during the *tawajuhan* (Masduki et al., 2017: 296), *bersuluk* or *berkhalwat* by reciting certain zikir (Syarif, 2017: 143). The tarekat Naqshabandiyah developed by Syekh Abdul Wahab Rokan has the level of zikir starting from 5000-

6000 in a day known as *mukasyafah*. It is then improved by his students to be 7000-11000 called as *lathaiif, nafi, wuqub qalbi, ahdi'ah, mahdi'ah*, and *tahlil* (Lestari, 2017b: 14-5). The activity of *Ratik Togak* is started from reciting 'Lailahailallah' and ended with the same word. The *Ratik Togak* is done by standing and moving his body to the left and right based on the pace of the zikir. This is similar to the tarekat Sammaniyah followers who conduct their rituals based on three main aspects, namely reading, movement, and formation aspects (Hasan, 2017: 115) as a tarekat, Samman functions as a way to reach closeness taqarrub.

The followers of tarekat Maulawi dance during the rituals as their spiritual expression. The body movement during the rituals is sometimes spontaneous. Sufi dance is a medium of love expression from a human being to his God. He does not find any way to express his love to Him except through dance. It is a symbol of integration of his profane body to the eternal One, Allah. Dance done by sufi followers is an important element of their spiritual method. This dance is an intimate dialogue between the sufi souls and his God. This dialogue is symbolically found in the dance. It is then a medium to express their love to God (Abdullah, 2019: 51).

The practice of sufi teachings is developed further in the form of body movement while reciting and praising God. The dance of *Rabbani Wahid* for instance is inspired by movement and the *syair Meugrob* from the Tarekat Shammaniyah brought by Abdurrauf Al-Singkili. The dance of *Rabbani Wahid* is identified from the movement of sitting and standing then jumping and falling to the floor. This pattern is not found in Aceh dances, both in coastal and rural areas. The special characteristic of this dance is jumping and falling. This dance is influenced by the *Meugrob* movement consisting of *Rateb Duek* (zikir while sitting) and *Rateb Dheung* (zikir while standing) which is manifestation of sufi zikir from tarekat Khalwatiyah Shammaniyah (Abdul Manan, 2013: 20).

The *Ratik Togak* can be done in any ritual generally, like zikir—which also can be practiced by any tarekat (Hafil, 2014: 41; Hasan, 2016: 95; Firdaus, 2017: 192; Shakok & Munandar, 2018: 57; Nasrullah, 2017: 27; dan Soleha, 2015: 323). This activity may consist of 17 levels of zikir starting from *zikir qalbi, muraqabah*, and oral zikir integrated into the zikir *ism dzat* and *tauhid* (Syarif, 2017: 148). The *Ratik Togak* is a physical activity done by the tarekat followers as a symbol of piety expression among people in Rokan Hulu. This activity is originated and developed from the rituals of Surau Suluk. However, in its further development, the *Ratik Togak* is also done in the general public religious event so that it becomes a part of local tradition in this society.

"Sejarah Ratik Togak itu, biasanya kalo orang diajak berzikir duduk berjamaah jarang orang mau atau malas, tapi kalo dilaksanakan bersama-sama pasti lebih timbul keinginannya, dan untuk memberikan

semangat makanya dilakukan bersama-sama (The history of Ratik Togak is started when people sometimes are lazy to recite the zikir while sitting for hours. But, when it is done together, person may have motivation. So, to motivate person to conduct zikir, it is done together) (KH. Syahril, Madrasah Leaders of Suluk Al-Islamiyah Rantau Binuang Sakti, interview, 22 February 2019).”

The activity of *Ratik Togak* has a goal to motivate its followers to recite *zikir* and remember Allah. This is actually effective to improve the spirit of congregation. Togetherness is the key of this activity. This is because it is done together with circle formation and recited loudly. This activity is viewed positively by local government and society. The *Ratik Togak* is unsurprisingly used as local religious identity of Rokan Hulu regency. It is therefore logical that the *Ratik Togak* is not only done by the tarekat followers but also by Rokan Hulu society.



Documentation, 22 February 2019.

Picture 1. Activity of Ratik Togak, Research

The above picture shows that the *Ratik Togak* is an activity done by society in a religious event. Syekh Abdul Wahab Rokan founding the suluk tradition of tarekat Naqshabandiyah (Lestari, 2017b: 9) developed the *Ratik Togak* as an important point of the tarekat existence in Malay regions, especially in Riau, Indonesia, and Malaysia (Lestari, 2017a: 1). Besides the *Ratik Togak*, Syekh Abdul Wahab Rokan also developed another ritual named *Lobe Runcing*—a symbol of *zikir* centre in human’s heart (Lestari, 2017b: 13) and as identity reinforcement among tarekat followers and ordinary people (Muzakir, 2015: 13). *Lobe Runcing* is also defined as a symbol of spiritual activity in tarekat to approach God (Muzakir, 2015: 14).

People in Rokan Hulu also know about the *Ratik Togak* as its identity. Therefore, Rokan Hulu people keep the activity of *Ratik Togak*. To support this identity, the local government of the ‘Negeri Seribu Suluk’ Rokan Hulu built the monument of *Ratik Togak*. It is hoped that people in Rokan Hulu realize and preserve this tradition as a religious identity of Rokan Hulu regency.

The *Ratik Togak* is a social Islamic practice like *khatam tawajjuh* (Syam, 2013) *khataman*, *belasan*, and

haul (Masduki et al., 2017: 296). It is a part of social piety as manifestation of *muamalah* (social relationship). Therefore, tarekat can be identified as a religious social institution having contribution for Muslims to implement their social piety (Firdaus, 2017: 189-0); as well as ritual, spiritual and social piety (Sofwatul Ummah, 2018: 315 & 332). Tarekat is believed as a medium to fulfill the spiritual needs of human beings since routine religious practices cannot fulfill them (Sofwatul Ummah, 2018: 316) like *wirid* and *zikir* (Roza & Yasnel, 2017: 232). Further more, in Islam, social and ritual piety are not separated. Both of them are crucial to improve the piety of Muslims completely (Nugroho, 2015: 34).

The activity of *Ratik Togak* is done by inviting participation from other Muslims. The important aspect in this activity is unity or togetherness. This is because it requires an active movement. The *Ratik Togak* actively focuses on reciting Allah’s names or *zikir* (Hafil, 2014: 41; Hasan, 2016: 95; Firdaus, 2017: 192; Syarif, 2017: 139; Nasrullah, 2017: 27; dan Soleha, 2015: 323) done together by moving their body while reciting Allah’s names and *zikir* to Allah.

The implementation of *Ratik Togak* in Rokan Hulu is supported by local government as mentioned before. This is because the local government understands about the positive impact of this activity for the image of government (Roza & Yasnel, 2017: 211 dan Abduh, 2017: 207). The *Ratik Togak* is a special tradition since it is not only as a religious tradition but also as an icon of Rokan Hulu regency as the region of thousands Suluk. In this context, tarekat as a part of sufi tradition is successfully integrating with local culture. Its tolerant method does not cause the *cultural shock*. It is understandable since sufism does not put Islam and local culture in an opposition (Said, 2016: 112). In Indonesian context, local cultural values are crucial to preserve their identity. Indonesian society uses cultural values as a medium to filter global culture (Hindaryatiningsih, 2016: 108).

Ratikis defined as *zikir*, *ratib*, such as *debus* and *zikir mulud* which has been developed to be local culture in Banten (Said, 2016: 120). The activity of *ratik* has become the special ritual done by the followers of tarekat Surau Suluk, Naqshabandiyah in Rokan Hulu. The activity of *ratikis* also named *ratik Soman*—the *ratib* of tarekat Sammaniyah, as religious tradition preserved by Pamekasan society in Madura. In its further development, tarekat Sammaniyah interacts intensively with local tradition so that it can be done by everyone without teacher’s guidance (Hasan, 2017: 113) as a tarekat, Samman functions as a way to reach closeness (taqarrub).

The activity of *ratikis* done by the followers of tarekat Naqshabandiyah to search the ultimate pleasure in reciting God’s names as done by the followers of tarekat Sadhiliyah (Safik, 2011: 165). This *Zikir* is done in the closing of *khalwat* (suluk) 41 days of the tarekat. It is a final *kenduri* in the end of the suluk. This activity

is done only by the followers of arekat without inviting participation from ordinary people. This ritual marks the end of suluk (Abduh, 2017: 207).

The *Ratik Togak* is a symbol of Islamic activity implemented in tradition and culture of Rokan Hulusociety. This manifestation symbolically can be seen from the existence of *RatikT ogak* monument built by Rokan Hulu government. This indicates that the local government contributes for the preservation of the *Ratik Togak* in Surau Suluk of Rokan Hulu.

The local government actively involves in this preservation since it contributes for the development of Rokan Hulu identity as Negeri Seribu Suluk. This monument adds the values of the existence of thousands 'Rumah Suluk' in Rokan Hulu. This identity may bring benefits for the economic and political sector in Rokan Hulu. People may come to Rokan Hulu to visit because they want to know further about this identity. This may bring economic benefits for local people in Rokan Hulu. Politically, this identity also provides benefits for political actors because this identity makes them successfully change the Rokan Hulu to be a religious region. In future political election, it becomes advantages for them to get support from the voters. The *Ratik Togak* which is actively tarekat tradition has integrated into social and religious activities of Rokan Hulu people.

The monument of Ratik Togak is located on Jalan Jenderal Soedirman, in front of Islamic Centre mosque and Local Government Gate of Rokan Hulu regency. Rokan Hulu society will always remember about the rituals of *Ratik Togak* when it sees the monument.



Research Documentation, 22 February 2019

Picture 2. The Monument of Ratik Togak

The *Ratik Togak* is not only as Islamic tradition for the the followers of Surau Suluk, it has become the reason for people to conduct the Suluk activity or rituals. This supports the existence of the activity and identity of *Ratik Togak* as well as the Surau Suluk in Rokan Hulu. The tarekat followers understand that there are some Muslims may not agree with this tradition but they do not openly establish the conflict further. The difference or conflict may exist in any religion including in the tarekat Naqsyabandiyah (Muhammad, 2015: 1).

Each tarekat follower has special tradition to be handled, namely he or she follows what has been taught by

his or her teacher. Sociologically, their religious behavior is based on tradition which has been preserved for years from one generation to the following generations. This belief or tradition is crucial for them to practice religious teachings in daily life (Safik, 2011: 171). In this context, they should behave based on tarekat tradition producing the individual, social and spiritual piety. The *ratik togak* has supported the tarekat followers to implement social and spiritual as well as individual peity which become the basis of ritual piety (Firdaus, 2017: 189).

CONCLUSION

The Surau Suluk is an iconic religious institution in Indonesia, especially in Rokan Hulu, Riau. This institution has a close connection with the tarekat Naqsyabandiyah developed by Syekh Abdul Wahab Rokan. Its tarekat teachings have become tradition for Rokan Hulu society as a part of crucial identity for the 'Negeri Seribu Suluk' symbol. Ritual which becomes the tradition is called the *zikir Ratik Togak*. The *Zikir* for the tarekat followers is crucial to reach the *maqam* (level) which is closer to Allah as their expression of piety. *Ratik* means *zikir* or *ratib* consists of *zikir* and *istighfar*. This activity is done to reach the ultimate spiritual pleasure. In fact, the *Ratik Togak* is also done in certain religious event in the public sphere. This indicates that it is not only intended for spiritual piety but also social piety. As spiritual and individual piety, it is done to get closer to Allah. In the context of social piety, it is done to produce multiple benefits for social interaction in the community such as economy, tourism, and so on.

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