

Living Sufism of Sheikh Ahmad Mutamakkin in Tradition and Culture of Kajen Muslim Community

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Abstract

Sheikh Ahmad Mutamakkin was a prominent Islamic scholar who played a significant role in spreading Sufism in the northern coastal region of Central Java, particularly in Pati. This study aims to explore how the concept of "Living Sufism" is manifested through the integration of Sufi teachings into the traditions and culture of the Kajen Muslim community. Using a qualitative approach, data were collected through documentation, in-depth interviews, and direct observation. The findings reveal that Sheikh Mutamakkin's Sufism is deeply rooted in sharia, particularly in the context of fiqh, as evidenced by his work *Arsy Muwahhidun*. His teachings have been integrated into local traditions, pesantren education, and the architectural symbolism of the Jami' Kajen Mosque. In the modern era, Sheikh Mutamakkin's Sufism remains relevant as it offers a spiritual solution to the crisis of materialism and secularism. This study contributes to the understanding of how Sufism can be contextualized within local culture while maintaining its Islamic essence.

Syekh Ahmad Mutamakkin merupakan ulama terkemuka yang berperan penting dalam penyebaran tasawuf di pesisir utara Jawa Tengah, khususnya di Pati. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengeksplorasi bagaimana konsep "Living Sufism" diwujudkan melalui integrasi ajaran tasawuf dalam tradisi dan budaya masyarakat Muslim Kajen. Dengan pendekatan kualitatif, data dikumpulkan melalui dokumentasi, wawancara mendalam, dan observasi langsung. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa tasawuf Syekh Mutamakkin berpegang teguh pada syariah, khususnya dalam konteks fikih, sebagaimana tercermin dalam karyanya Arsy Muwahhidun. Ajaran tasawufnya terintegrasi dalam tradisi lokal, pendidikan pesantren, dan simbolisme arsitektur Masjid Jami' Kajen. Di era modern, tasawuf Syekh Mutamakkin tetap relevan sebagai solusi spiritual terhadap krisis materialisme dan sekularisme. Penelitian ini memberikan kontribusi dalam memahami bagaimana tasawuf dapat dikontekstualisasikan dalam budaya lokal tanpa kehilangan esensi Islam.

Keywords: Sufism; Living Sufism; Sheikh Ahmad Mutamakkin; Kajen Traditions; Islamic Culture

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Introduction

The tradition and culture of the Muslim community in Indonesia cannot be separated from pesantren, even Gus Dur called it a subculture of society. Pesantren is the first typical and original Indonesian education model that still survives because of its ability to adapt to the changing times¹ and its community empowerment movement.² The birth of pesantren was an effort of ulama to teach classical books on fiqh, tasawwuf, and morals with Islamic values as the main philosophy.³ The distinctive characteristics of pesantren are prioritising morals or morality with the foundation of Islamic teachings and local wisdom⁴ so that they are able to form noble and moderate⁵ students without leaving the value of their cultural wisdom.⁶

Evidence that pesantren has a major influence on religiousness is the social interaction of Muslim communities in the archipelago which is closely related to transcendental issues,⁷ not just empirical ones. The transcendental process aims to strengthen spiritual intelligence, something that goes beyond understanding ordinary experience and scientific explanations. The transcendental process towards high spirituality in Islamic teachings is called tasawwuf. Tasawwuf, Sufism, or many call it spirituality is one of the main characteristics of pesantren⁸ and the Muslim community in the archipelago.

One of the most famous Sufi figures in Java is Sheikh Ahmad Mutamakkin, a great scholar and propagator of Sufism in Pati, Central Java, who lived in the

¹ M. Falikul Isbah, "Pesantren in the Changing Indonesian Context: History and Current Developments," *Qudus International Journal of Islamic Studies* 8, no. 1 (2020).

² A. Zaenurrosyid and Ahmad Nuruddin, "Modal Sosial Pesantren Jawa Pesisiran Dalam Pemberdayaan Masyarakat: Studi Kasus Di Pesantren Maslakul Huda Kajen Pati," *Islamic Review: Jurnal Riset dan Kajian Keislaman* 2 8, no. 1 (2019).

³ Duna Izfanna and Nik Ahmad Hisyam, "A Comprehensive Approach in Developing Akhlaq: A Case Study on the Implementation of Character Education at Pondok Pesantren Darunnajah," *Multicultural Education & Technology Journal* 6, no. 2 (2012): 77–86.

⁴ Syamsul Ma'arif, "Education as a Foundation of Humanity: Learning from the Pedagogy of Pesantren in Indonesia," *Journal of Social Studies Education Research* 9, no. 2 (2018): 104–123.

⁵ Syamsun Ni'am, "Pesantren: The Miniature of Moderate Islam in Indonesia," *IJIMS: Indonesian Journal of Islam and Muslim Societies* 5, no. 1 (2015).

⁶ M. Sofyan Alnashr, "Pendidikan Karakter Ala Gus Dur: Representasi Pesantren Dalam Mendidik Bangsa," *Shabih* 4, no. 1 (2019): 57–72.

⁷ Ida Afidah, "Spiritualitas Masyarakat Perkotaan," *Hikmah: Jurnal Dakwah dan Sosial* 1, no. 1 (2021): 28–33.

⁸ Lalu Pattimura Farhan and Prosmala Hadisaputra, "Tasawuf Pesantren: Jalan Menuju Revolusi Spiritual," *Al-Fikr: Jurnal Pendidikan Islam* 6, no. 2 (2020): 53–64.

18th century.⁹ The success of the spread of Islamic teachings in the region was partly due to his ability to combine Sufism with local wisdom. According to him, the teachings of Sufism must be improved and adjusted to the proper *kebittah*, namely as an instrument of self-formation and the development of perfect human beings (*insan kamil*).¹⁰

Every activity in Islamic boarding schools, especially santri activities, is always related to theological and Sufistic matters. So it is not surprising that pesantren are able to form the character of Sufistic santri as well as a place for moderation.¹¹ The subtlety of Sufism is important to transform Islamic models that are more tolerant, calm, friendly, and more Indonesian.¹²

The Sufism teachings of Sheikh Ahmad Mutamakkin have been able to improve and spread Islam, especially in the Kajen Margoyoso Pati area.¹³ The Jami' Kajen Mosque that he built was decorated with various ornaments as well as being one of the media for spreading the teachings of Sufism based on local wisdom.¹⁴ His teachings are still preserved in several Islamic boarding schools as well as the traditions and culture of the community, especially in Kajen, Pati and surrounding areas.

These transcendental characteristics of the Muslim community of the archipelago must be preserved and developed to improve the spirituality of the community, especially urban and modern people. Modern society sociologically tends to be materialistic, individualistic, rationalistic, and formalistic. These characters indirectly affect the attitudes and perspectives in religion¹⁵ that tend to be materialistic. Therefore, Sufistic teachings become a valuable oasis in the midst of the spiritual dryness of modern society.

⁹ Imam Sanusi, *Perjuangan Syekh Ahmad Mutamakkin Dari Penuturan Seseputih Dan Manuskrip* (Pati: Pustaka Kanjengan, 2021).

¹⁰ Manggara Bagus Satriya Wijaya and Sariyatun, "Pemikiran Neo-Sufisme Syekh Ahmad Al-Mutamakkin," *Jurnal Theologia* 29, no. 2 (2018): 317–338.

¹¹ Neny Muthi'atul Awwaliyah, "Pondok Pesantren Sebagai Wadah Moderasi Islam Di Era Generasi Milenial," *Islamic Review: Jurnal Riset dan Kajian Keislaman* 8, no. 1 (2019).

¹² Baedhowi, "Sufism and Pesantren as the Part of Our Islamic and Indonesian Identity," *Santri: Journal of Pesantren and Fiqh Sosial* 2, no. 2 (2021): 169–182.

¹³ Argawi Kandito, *Mbah Mutamakkin : Perjalanan Hidup, Pendakian Spiritual, Dan Buah Pikir Emas Sang Legenda Tanah Jawa*, ed. Jajang Husni Hidayat (Yogyakarta Pustaka Pesantren, 2013).

¹⁴ M. Sofyan Alnashr, "Ornamen Masjid Jami Kajen Serta Kontribusinya Dalam Penguatan Pendidikan Karakter Di Madrasah Ibtidaiyah," *Elementary: Jurnal Ilmiah Pendidikan Dasar* 6, no. 1 (2020): 9.

¹⁵ Afidah, "Spiritualitas Masyarakat Perkotaan."

Sufism or tasawwuf is an important aspect of Islamic history and tradition in Indonesia.¹⁶ In various regions, the teachings of Sufism have been integrated into people's lives, not only in spiritual aspects but also in local culture and traditions.¹⁷ Sheikh Ahmad Mutamakkin is known as a figure who was able to harmonise the teachings of Sufism with the daily lives of local people.¹⁸ He is not only respected as a scholar who studies religious sciences, but also as a figure who guides the community in understanding and practising Islamic teachings through a Sufistic approach.¹⁹ The traditions and culture formed in Kajen, Pati, to this day are still thick with the values taught by Sheikh Ahmad Mutamakkin, which shows how profound his influence was on the social and spiritual life of the community.²⁰

Living Sufism refers to the ways in which the teachings of Sufism are still practised and appreciated in the daily life of the community.²¹ The Sufistic teachings of Sheikh Ahmad Mutamakkin are taught and practised by the people of Kajen, one of which is through pesantren education and traditions that develop in the community. The study of 'Living Sufism' or Sufism that lives in society, especially those rooted in the teachings of Sheikh Ahmad Mutamakkin, is important to explore how these teachings are accepted, practised and inherited by the people of Kajen.²² This region is known as one of the centres of Islamic religion and education in Central Java.²³

This research will explore how the Sufism of Sheikh Ahmad Mutamakkin shaped the traditions and culture of the Kajen community and how this teaching adapted to the changing times without losing its essence. Thus, this research is expected to make a meaningful academic contribution in understanding the role of Sufism in shaping the traditions and culture of local communities, as well as enriching the treasury of Sufism studies in Indonesia. Although many studies have discussed Sufism and the role of pesantren in

¹⁶ Muhammad Sakdullah, "Tasawuf Di Era Modernitas (Kajian Komperhensif Seputar Neo-Sufisme)," *Living Islam: Journal of Islamic Discourses* 3, no. 2 (2021): 364–386.

¹⁷ Husain Nasr, *Tasawuf Dulu & Sekarang* (Jakarta: Pustaka Firdaus, 1994).

¹⁸ Wijaya and Sariyatun, "Pemikiran Neo-Sufisme Syekh Ahmad Al-Mutamakin."

¹⁹ Abdul Rosyid, "Tipologi Pemikiran Dan Model Tasawuf Syaikh Mutamakkin Kajen (Kajian Semiotik Dalam Buku Pakem Kajen)," *Empirisma: Jurnal Pemikiran Dan Kebudayaan Islam* 28, no. 2 (2019): 131–141.

²⁰ Zainul Milal Bizawie, *Syeh Mutamakkin : Perlawanan Kultural Agama Rakyat*, ed. Munawir Aziz (Tangerang, 2014).

²¹ Sakdullah, "Tasawuf Di Era Modernitas (Kajian Komperhensif Seputar Neo-Sufisme)."

²² Kandito, *Mbah Mutamakkin : Perjalanan Hidup, Pendakian Spiritual, Dan Buah Pikir Emas Sang Legenda Tanah Jawa*.

²³ Muh. Aniq Ulinni'an, "Perubahan Sosial Masyarakat Desa Kajen Menjadi Kampung Santri Di Kecamatan Margoyoso Kabupaten Pati Tahun 1975-2000," *UIN Salatiga*, 2022.

society, there is still a gap in understanding how the Sufism teachings of Sheikh Mutamakkin. This study aims to fill that gap by exploring how Sheikh Mutamakkin's 'Living Sufism' is practised and passed on in the Kajen community and analysing its relevance in facing challenges in the modern era.

Method

This research uses a qualitative approach with a descriptive design to explore in depth the practice of Sheikh Ahmad Mutamakkin's 'Living Sufism' in the traditions and culture of the Kajen community. The qualitative approach was chosen because it is suitable for understanding complex and contextual socio-cultural phenomena, especially in revealing the meaning and spiritual values contained in local traditions.²⁴ The research was conducted in Kajen Village, Margoyoso Sub-district, Pati Regency, Central Java, which is known as the centre of the spread of Sheikh Ahmad Mutamakkin's Sufism teachings. The research subjects included kiai, community leaders, santri, and the general public involved in religious and cultural traditions in Kajen. The selection of informants was done by purposive sampling, with the criteria that informants have in-depth knowledge of Sheikh Mutamakkin's teachings and are actively involved in religious practices in Kajen.

Data were collected through three main techniques: 1) Participatory Observation: The researcher was directly involved in religious and cultural activities in Kajen, such as grave pilgrimages, haul, and slametan traditions, to understand the socio-cultural context in which Sheikh Mutamakkin's Sufism was practised; 2) In-depth Interviews: Interviews were conducted with key informants, including kiai, community leaders, and santri, to explore their understanding of Sheikh Mutamakkin's Sufism and its influence on local traditions. Interview questions focused on spiritual practices, the integration of Sufism in culture, and the relevance of Sheikh Mutamakkin's teachings in the modern era; 3) Documentation Study: Secondary data was collected from books by Sheikh Mutamakkin, historical archives, and previous research on Sufism in Kajen. These documents were used to complement and verify data from observations and interviews.

Data were analysed using Miles and Huberman's interactive analysis model,²⁵ which includes three stages: 1) Data reduction: The collected data were

²⁴ John W. Creswell, *Research Design Pendekatan Metode Kualitatif, Kuantitatif, Dan Campuran* (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2019).

²⁵ M. B. Miles, A. M. Huberman, and J Saldana, "Cross-Case Data Analysis," in *Qualitative Data Analysis: An Expanded Sourcebook*, 3rd ed. (Arizona: Sage, 2014).

simplified and focused on the main themes relevant to the research focus, such as the integration of Sufism in local culture, spiritual practices, and pesantren education; 2) Data Presentation: Data were presented in the form of descriptive narratives supplemented by direct quotes from interviews and observation notes; 3) Inference Drawing: Research findings were analysed thematically to identify patterns and relationships between Sheikh Mutamakkin's Sufism teachings and the traditions and culture of the Kajen community.

Data triangulation was used to ensure data validity, comparing data from observations, interviews, and documentation studies. In addition, the researcher also conducted member checking by confirming the interpretation of the data to key informants to ensure the accuracy and credibility of the findings. The results of the analysis of the findings are discussed in the context of relevant literature by highlighting the main findings and their implications for the study of Sufism and Islamic education.

Result and Discussion

The Sufism Thought of Sheikh Ahmad Mutamakkin

Sheikh Ahmad Mutamakkin, known as Mbah Mutamakkin, was an 18th century Sufism scholar who played an important role in the development of Islam in the Kajen region of Pati, Central Java. Born around 1645 in Cebolek, Tuban, East Java, he came from the lineage of Sultan Trenggono of Demak through his father, Raden Sumohadiwijaya.²⁶ Despite his noble background, Sheikh Mutamakkin chose to pursue religious studies from a young age, including in the Middle East under the guidance of Sheikh Muhammad Zayn Al-Mizjaji from Yemen, who introduced him to the Naqsyabandiyah order.²⁷

Shaykh Mutamakkin's Sufism reflects a unique blend of sharia and hakikat, with a strong emphasis on tawhid and morals. In his work, *'Arsh al-Muwahhidin*, he emphasises the importance of sharia as the foundation of spirituality. For example, in discussing prayer, he refers to the Shafi'i Mazhab-dominant among the Javanese-as evidence of his commitment to the normative teachings of Islam.²⁸ This view refutes the accusation that he deviated from sharia, as implied in Serat Cebolek. Instead, he rejected pantheistic interpretations of *wahdat al-wujud*, such as those attributed to Sheikh Siti Jenar, and emphasised

²⁶ Sanusi, *Perjuangan Syekh Ahmad Mutamakkin Dari Penuturan Sesepuh Dan Manuskrip*.

²⁷ S. Soebardi, *Serat Cebolek: Kuasa, Agama, Pembebasan Pengadilan K. H. Mutamakkin & Fenomena Syaikh Siti Jenar* (Yogyakarta: Nuansa, 2004).

²⁸ Islah Gusmian, "Pemikiran Tasawuf Syekh Ahmad Mutamakkin: Kajian Hermeneutik Atas Naskah 'Arsy Al-Muwahhidun,'" *Jurnal Lektur Keagamaan* 11, no. 1 (2013): 57–90.

tanẓih (transcendence of God) achieved through worship and practical effort (*kasb*). Al-Ghazali's influence is evident in his approach of balancing sharia, morals and Sufism, with *dhikr* as the main means of drawing closer to God.²⁹

Sheikh Mutamakkin's eclectic approach is also evident in his integration of Javanese local wisdom. He studied texts such as *Serat Dewa Ruci* and applied a gradual cultural da'wah method (*alur Tuban*), similar to the Walisongo strategy, to spread Islam without erasing local traditions.³⁰ This approach created a contextualised Sufism, difficult to classify strictly as Sunni, falsafi, or neo-sufi, but rather a synthesis that enriched the Javanese spiritual tradition.³¹

Living Sufism of Sheikh Mutamakkin in the Tradition and Culture of Kajen Society

Living Sufism, as embodied by Sheikh Mutamakkin, refers to the practice of Sufism integrated in the daily lives of the people of Kajen. The research found that his teachings were not only theoretical, but also lived through cultural traditions, pesantren education, and architectural symbolism. Observations show that prior to the arrival of Sheikh Mutamakkin in the late 17th century, Kajen society was still influenced by Hindu-Buddhist syncretism and animism. His Sufistic approach changed the spiritual landscape without cultural conflict, by reinterpreting local traditions such as slametan and kenduri within an Islamic framework.³²

Interviews with community leaders and descendants of Sheikh Mutamakkin revealed that his Sufism values, such as *zuhud* (simplicity) and *tawakal* (surrender to God), are still reflected in the lifestyle of the Kajen community. The practice of *zikir* and *tahlil*, both individually and collectively, has become a routine that strengthens the communal spiritual dimension. The annual haul tradition on 10 Muharram (Suro), which involves grave pilgrimages, Qur'anic recitation, and social activities, is clear evidence of how his Sufism continues to be alive and relevant.³³ This Haul is not only a spiritual ritual, but also strengthens friendship across communities, including the 'abangan' group.³⁴

²⁹ Alvi Nour Sholihah, "Living Sufism in SIHATSU (Silat Hati Suci): Practices and Impact," *Journal Intellectual Sufism Research (JISR)* 4, no. 2 (2022): 63–69.

³⁰ Milal Bizawie, *Syeh Mutamakkin : Perlawanan Kultural Agama Rakyat*; Kandito, Mbah Mutamakkin : *Perjalanan Hidup, Pendakian Spiritual, Dan Buah Pikir Emas Sang Legenda Tanah Jawa*.

³¹ Wijaya and Sariyatun, "Pemikiran Neo-Sufisme Syekh Ahmad Al-Mutamakkin."

³² Rosyid, "Tipologi Pemikiran Dan Model Tasawuf Syaikh Mutamakkin Kajen (Kajian Semiotik Dalam Buku Pakem Kajen)."

³³ Gusmian, "Pemikiran Tasawuf Syekh Ahmad Mutamakkin: Kajian Hermeneutik Atas Naskah 'Arsy Al-Muwahhidun.'"

³⁴ Abdul Ghoftar Rozien, "Wawancara" (Pati, 2024).

Sheikh Mutamakkin laid the foundation of Islamic education in Kajen through the establishment of pesantren, which are now centres of Sufism learning. Observations at Perguruan Islam Mathali'ul Falah (PIM) show the teaching of classical books, such as Al-Ghazali's *Ihya Ulumuddin*, which integrates morals and spirituality.³⁵ The pesantren curriculum does not only focus on knowledge transfer, but also the holistic transformation through values such as *adab* to teachers and the application of Sufism in social life.

An important finding is the development of the Basic Values of *Shalih Akram* (Nilai Dasar Shalih Akram/NDSA) by PIM and Institut Pesantren Mathali'ul Falah (Ipmafa), which reflects the legacy of Sheikh Mutamakkin. The NDSA, which includes values such as faith and noble morals, is internalised through the learning process to shape the character of santri.³⁶ The pesantren is also open to the general public through majelis taklim, making the teachings of Sufism accessible and relevant in a modern context.³⁷

The Jami' Mosque Kajen, founded by Sheikh Mutamakkin together with Haji Syamsudin, is a physical manifestation of his Sufistic vision. Architectural analyses show that the mosque's ornaments, such as the Egret of the Moon (a symbol of spiritual struggle) and the Naga Aji Saka (a symbol of controlling lust), contain deep philosophical meaning.³⁸ These ornaments are not only aesthetic, but also educational, teaching Sufism values such as effort (*kashb*), simplicity, and awareness of Allah. The calligraphy on the ceiling of the mosque, which features *La Ilaha Illallah* and Asmaul Husna, reinforces the focus on tawhid as the core of spirituality.³⁹

The Relevance of Sheikh Mutamakkin's Sufism to the Modern Era

The findings of this study confirm that Sheikh Ahmad Mutamakkin's Sufism is not merely a historical legacy, but a living practice that continues to be relevant in the context of Kajen society. The integration of his teachings with local traditions, such as *slametan* and *haul*, reflects the flexibility of Sufism in responding to social dynamics without sacrificing the principles of Shari'ah, as evidenced in '*Arsy al-Muwahhidin*'.⁴⁰ However, this eclectic approach raises a

³⁵ Milal Bizawie, *Syeh Mutamakkin : Perlawanan Kultural Agama Rakyat*.

³⁶ Muhammad Luthfi Setiawan, "Internalisasi Nilai Dasar Sholih Akram (NDSA) Sebagai Upaya Pembentukan Moral Mahasiswa IPMAFA Pati" (IAIN Kediri, 2019).

³⁷ Ulinni'an, "Perubahan Sosial Masyarakat Desa Kajen Menjadi Kampung Santri Di Kecamatan Margoyoso Kabupaten Pati Tahun 1975-2000."

³⁸ Alnashr, "Ornamen Masjid Jami Kajen Serta Kontribusinya Dalam Penguatan Pendidikan Karakter Di Madrasah Ibtidaiyah."

³⁹ Mohammad Zuli Rizal, *Infografis Masjid Kajen* (Pati: Perpustakaan Mutamakkin Press, 2017).

⁴⁰ Gusmian, "Pemikiran Tasawuf Syekh Ahmad Mutamakkin: Kajian Hermeneutik Atas Naskah '*Arsy Al-Muwahhidun*'."

critical question: does such cultural adaptation actually strengthen the essence of Sufism, or does it risk blurring the line between Islamic spirituality and pre-Islamic syncretism? Previous studies have shown that Sufism in the Nusantara often walked a fine line between accommodation and compromise.⁴¹ In the case of Sheikh Mutamakkin, the affirmation of the shari'a and the tanzih Allah demonstrate a conscious effort to maintain orthodoxy, but their effectiveness in preventing deviant interpretations -such as the allegations in Serat Cebolek-⁴² needs to be further tested through more in-depth textual and historical analyses.

Furthermore, the relevance of Sheikh Mutamakkin's Sufism in the modern era, as seen in pesantren education and the symbolism of the Jami' Mosque Kajen, offers a potential solution to the spiritual crisis caused by materialism and secularism.⁴³ Values such as *zuhud* and *tawakal* embedded in the lives of the Kajen community, as well as the holistic educational approach through the NDSA, show that Sufism can be an antidote to individualism and excessive rationalism. However, this approach is not without its challenges. Sakdullah argues that modern Sufism is often trapped in the romanticism of tradition, failing to deal with the complexities of urban life dominated by technology and globalisation.⁴⁴ In the context of Kajen, although the tradition of haul and dhikr remains strong, this study found that the younger generation tends to be more exposed to the influence of modernity, which has the potential to weaken Sufistic practices. This phenomenon, if not balanced with more innovative adaptation strategies, such as the utilisation of digital media for Sufistic da'wah, can erode Sufistic traditions and teachings.

The Sufism teachings of Sheikh Ahmad Mutamakkin reveal continuity and divergence in Javanese Sufistic traditions that go hand in hand with local wisdom to strengthen Islam. He also used a cultural approach based on art and symbolism, such as mosque ornaments. This research confirms Sheikh Mutamakkin's unique contribution to living Sufism, but also highlights the need for further studies to evaluate the resilience of this model amidst rapid modernisation. As such, his Sufism is not only a mirror of history, but also a call for critical reflection on how spirituality can remain alive and relevant in a changing world.

⁴¹ Ahmad Arifai, "Akulturasi Islam Dan Budaya Lokal," *As-Shuffah* 7, no. 2 (2019): 1–17.

⁴² Soebardi, *Serat Cebolek: Kuasa, Agama, Pembebasan Pengadilan K. H. Mutamakkin & Fenomena Syaikh Siti Jenar*.

⁴³ Afidah, "Spiritualitas Masyarakat Perkotaan."

⁴⁴ Sakdullah, "Tasawuf Di Era Modernitas (Kajian Komperhensif Seputar Neo-Sufisme)."

Conclusion

This research reveals that Sheikh Ahmad Mutamakkin's Sufism, which adheres to the principles of sharia and fiqh, has been successfully integrated harmoniously into the traditions and culture of the Kajen community. Through a cultural-contextual approach, Sheikh Mutamakkin not only spread the teachings of Islam, but also created a living and dynamic model of 'Living Sufism'. His Sufism was not only practised in religious rituals, but also coloured various aspects of the community's socio-cultural life, such as the tradition of *slametan*, haul, and pesantren education. In the modern era, Sheikh Mutamakkin's Sufism teachings remain relevant as a response to the spiritual crisis faced by society due to materialism and secularism. The values of simplicity, zuhud, and tawakal that he taught became a spiritual oasis in the midst of modern life that tends to be materialistic. In addition, the pesantren education model developed by Sheikh Mutamakkin continues to produce generations of scholars who not only master religious knowledge, but also have spiritual depth and social responsibility.

This research makes a significant contribution in understanding how Sufism can be contextualised in local culture without losing the essence of Islam. The findings also open space for further research on the role of Sufism in shaping the religious and cultural identity of Muslim communities in Indonesia.

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