Chapter IV: ‘Turn to God and His Prophet’: The Spiritual Path of the Šalawāt Wāḥidīyat Group

This chapter examines a Majlis Dhikr group that defines itself not only as an alternative mystical path among other recognised Sufi orders but also as part of legitimate ritual practice in Islam. An assessment of how this Majlis Dhikr group known as Wāḥidīyat does this requires assessment of its history and the sources and the arguments from which the doctrine and the ritual practices of this group are taken, as well as the way this group disseminates its teachings to others. What I hope to show here is that although this Majlis Dhikr group is not regarded as a tarekat mu’tabarah (a recognised Sufi group) by Nahdlatul Ulama, it still belongs in the frame of the Sufi teachings practised by other international Sufi groups. Moreover, despite the fact that this Majlis Dhikr group has developed from classical Sufism, it is not identical with it, and offers a world view and ritual that distinguishes it from other Sufi groups in Indonesia.

4.1. The Foundation of Šalawāt Wāḥidīyat

The word Šalawāt originally means ‘blessing’ or ‘grace’ of God. But according to Islamic tradition, the word Šalawāt refers to particular prayers or blessings to the Prophet Muhammad, which are therefore often followed by the word al-Nabī (the Prophet). The reciting of Šalawāt is part of Islamic teachings since it is revealed in the Qur’ān and hadith. The recommendation to recite Šalawāt is primarily found in the Qur’ān (33: 56) and hadith as follows:

Undoubtedly Allah and His Angels send blessings on the Prophet. O’ you who believe! Send upon Him Blessings and salute Him with all respect. (33:56)

On the Day of Judgment the nearest person to me, from amongst the people, would be the one who would have recited Šalawat the most in this (mortal) world. (Tirmidhi)
There are many other hadith which stress the importance and the benefit of reciting Ṣalawāt to the Prophet. Although the Prophet mentioned only one particular kind of Ṣalawāt which is well known as al-Ṣalawāt al-Ibrāhīmiyyat, according to one informant this does not necessarily mean that he forbade his followers from composing other Ṣalawāt. As a result of this, it is believed that every person is allowed to compose the text of al-Ṣalawāt as long as it is dedicated to the Prophet. In this sense, there are a number of Ṣalawāt composed by Muslim scholars. Some of these are named according to the use of the Ṣalawāt, others according to their composer. For example, Ṣalawāt Ṣalāhiyyat or Ḳāmilat, composed by Sidi Ibrāhīm al-Ṣāzi, is believed to be able to make livelihood easier for those who recite it four thousand times (Ṣihab 2006:363). Another Ṣalawāt is called Ṣalawāt ṢanāJECT inīyyat since it is used to avert danger. Yet another Ṣalawāt is called Ṣalawāt Masīṣiyah since it was composed by ‘Abd al-Salām Ibn Maṣṣīs (d.1228), whose tomb in Morocco is an object of visitation and veneration. Other examples of this kind of Ṣalawāt are Ṣalawāt Ṣalāḥiyyat, Dardiriyat, and Ṣiṣṭiyyah (Shiddieqy 1964:70). Therefore, it is commonly asserted by Ṣalāḥiyyat board members that there are two categories of Ṣalawāt: the first is Ṣalawāt Maṭḥūra, which means that the text of the Ṣalawāt derives directly from the Prophet, and the second is Ṣalawāt Ṣhaīrū Maṭḥūra meaning that the text was not taught by the Prophet, but it was composed by the Prophet’s Companions and Muslim ‘ulama (Anonymous 1999b:63-71). Ṣalawāt Ṣalāḥiyyat, therefore, can be added as an example of Ṣalawāt in this latter category since its text was composed by a Muslim scholar (I., ulama).

The origin of Ṣalawāt Ṣalāḥiyyat is closely connected with the figure of the late K.H Abdul Madjid Ma’ruf, often called Kyai Madjid. He was not only the author of the Ṣalawāt Ṣalāḥiyyat but also the leader of a pondok pesantren (Islamic boarding school) in Bandar Lor village, Mojoroto, in the city of Kediri, East Java. Among his followers he was regarded as ‘the source of help of his age’ (ṣīʿūḥ ḥāḍīz al-zamān), a title accorded to the highest leaders of the Sufi hierarchy who govern the universe. An informant described his saintship like this:

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1 Ṣalawāt al-Ibrāhīmiyyat is a text of the Ṣalawāt which was directly taught by the Prophet. This Ṣalawāt is called Ibrāhīmiyyat because its text contains praise not only for the Prophet but also for Abraham. Many different Hadith texts mention the text of the Ṣalawāt narrated by different figures (Muslim and Abū Dāwud, Muslim and Abī Masʿūd, Al-Bukhari from Abū Saʿīd) but all of them contain praise for Abraham. The text of the Ṣalawāt is as follows: Blessings be upon Muhammad and Muhammad’s family just as You blessed Abraham’s family and sanctify Muhammad and Muhammad’s family just as You sanctified Abraham’s family.

2 In Morocco, this Ṣalawāt is known as Ṣalawāt al-Ṣāziyyat. This name is much more appropriate than Ṣalawāt Ṣāziyyat since there is no word in the text of this Ṣalawāt signifying the word nār meaning fire.
The sainthood of Kyai Madjid Ma’ruf can be obviously seen from the light of faith shining from his works of Ṣalawāt. As noted by Shaikh Musthofa al-Thomum in his book entitled, Manaqib al-Sayyid Muhammad Sirr al-Khatami al-Mirghoni, indeed, the secret of the saint is within his ḥizb (litany, special prayer formula) and his station (maqam) can be seen from the composition of his shalawat (exaltation) on the Prophet (peace be upon him). And the attributes of the Prophet written in the composition of his Ṣalawāt constitute a degree and a station of such saints.

The sainthood of Kyai Abdul Madjid Ma’ruf was also been supported by some well-known kyai (religious leaders) in Kediri. For example, after looking for God’s guidance in the course of forty days’ meditation and eating only white rice (I. puasa mutih), Kyai Mubashir Mundir, who was himself known as a wali (saint) in Kediri, received an unseen whisper (I. bisikan gaib; A. hāṭif) saying that Kyai Abdul Madjid Ma’ruf was ‘the source of help of his age’ (A. ghauth al-aqta>b ha>dza al-zamān). Another figure who acknowledged the sainthood of Kyai Abdul Madjid Ma’ruf was Kyai Hamiim Jazuli or Gus Mik, the founder of Majlis Dhikr al-Gha>fīlī>n. He said that Kyai Madjid Ma’ruf was the rāís al-‘ārīfīn (the leader of the Gnostics and Saints). He even said that if Shaikh ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Jayla>nī (1078-1166)3 was still alive; he would have practised Kyai Abdul Madjid’s Ṣalawāt (prayer).

Other support was given by Kyai Abdul Wahab Hasbullah, one of the founders of Nahdlatul Ulama (NU). When Kyai Madjid offered people the Ṣalawāt Wāḥidiyat, the entire audience invited for his son’s circumcision ceremony accepted the Ṣalawāt, including Kyai Wahab Hasbullah. He was reported as saying to the audience, ‘Kyai Madjid’s knowledge is very deep, like a well which is ten metres deep, while my well is only one to two metres deep.’ He continued to say ‘I will practise his Ṣalawāt.’ These acknowledgments gained from those who had high spiritual standing among the Muslim ummat were utilized by the newly born Wāḥidiyat to achieve legitimacy among its followers. These acknowledgments were documented in a book, and the followers of Wāḥidiyat are reminded of them at every official ritual so that their belief and surrender (A. taslīm) to the Kyai Madjid Ma’ruf can be improved. Another reason for this might be to give the impression that not all kyai or ‘ulamā‘ in Kediri disagreed with the founder of Wāḥidiyat; in fact, one of them who held a high position in the Nahdatul Ulama organization accepted and practised the Ṣalawāt. This was particularly needed when Wāḥidiyat faced vigorous criticism from Kyai Machrus, the guardian of the Pesantren Lirboyo, Kediri.

Kyai Madjid’s father, Kyai Ma’ruf (b. 1852), was a charismatic and well-known religious scholar (‘ulamā‘) in Java. Among the followers of Wāḥidiyat, he was

3 He is the founder of the oldest of the Muslim Sufi group called Tarekat Qadiriyah.
regarded as a wali, whose tomb in Pesantren Kedunglo has been an object of visitation and veneration. Although he was a scholar who mastered various disciplines of religious knowledge, he was well known among many pesantren communities as a kyai who possessed supernatural qualities (I., karamah). One of his reported supernatural qualities was that instead of praying in Arabic, he prayed in the Javanese language; but his prayer was powerful. The story about his extraordinary power was widely known in pesantren circles. He was a founder of Pesantren Kedunglo after studying in many pesantren, such as Pesantren Cepoko Nganjuk, Pesantren Langitan Tuban and pesantren of Kyai Shaikhanā Cholil Bangkalan, Madura. He also studied in the Holy City of Mecca under the supervision of the great Indonesian Muslim scholars who taught there such as Shaikh Kyai Nawawi al-Bantani from Banten, Shaikh Ahmad Khāṭib al-Minangkabawi from West Sumatra, and Shaikh Mahfudz al-Tirmīṣī from Pasitan East Java (Vety 2001:54-61). It is clear that Kyai Abdul Madjid Ma’ruf had a well respected genealogy (‘blue blood’). His status and religious authority was derived from his family tree as well as from the depth of his own religious piety. The kyai’s genealogy obviously played a part in building up his authority among his followers.

As the son of a kyai, Kyai Abdul Madjid Ma’ruf (1918-1989) learned religion firstly with his father Kyai Ma’ruf. Then he undertook further study in several pesantren. The first pesantren where he studied was pesantren Banjarmelati, in Kediri, under instruction of Kyai Shaleh, his grandfather. This pesantren is regarded as the oldest pesantren from which some large pesantren such as Pesantren Lirboyo and Pesantren Jampes are linked. He then moved to study in Pesantren Kemayan, twelve kilometres south of his home, where he spent about three years. As well as his study in these pesantren, he was said to have studied in a secular school until secondary level (Bawani 1981:1-31).

In 1959, his followers believed that Kyai Abdul Madjid Ma’ruf, as he was usually called, experienced the highest of spiritual moments when he received an invisible order (I., perintah gaib) or invisible caller (A., hatif) to improve and rebuild people’s morality by means of a spiritual path that would bring them to the consciousness of God and the prophet. The invisible order, which was to affect his spiritual life, convinced him that people have suffered increasingly serious moral problems. This spiritual order is believed by his son, Abdul Latif Madjid in particular and by Wāḥidīyat members in general to have come from the Prophet Muhammad, who appeared to Kyai Abdul Majid Ma’ruf when he was awake (Madjid 2001). However, on another occasion his son has said that his father met the Prophet in a sleeping state (ru’yat al-sāliḥat). His son was convinced that only those who had reached the highest spiritual state can experience a vision of the Prophet (Madjid 1999:10).
Kyai Abdul Madjid Ma’ruf was considered by his followers not only as ghauth hādhā al-zamān but also as the reformer (A., mujaddid) of his age. His followers believed that such reformer of Islam comes at the end of every century to revitalize Islam and save society from moral and spiritual decadency. This belief is based on a Prophetic hadith. In line with this hadith, his followers maintain that after the death of Kyai Abdul Madjid Ma’ruf no other man can claim to be a saint (wali).

What Kyai Abdul Madjid Ma’ruf experienced with divine inspiration was not novel for Muslim reformers. Other reformers in previous centuries such as Shah Wali Allah of Delhi (1703-62) and Usman dan Fudio of West Africa (1754-1817) received visionary dreams before reforming religious practice in their societies. Shah Wali Allah, for example, experienced a visionary dream in which he met the Prophet’s grandsons, Hasan and Husain. It was said that Hasan and Husain appeared to him, gave him a pen and clothed him in the Prophet’s mantle. Likewise, Usman dan Fudio dreamed that ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Jayyānī, a great saint, in the company of the Prophet brought a green robe embroidered with the phrase, ‘There is no god but God and Muhammad is his Messenger’ (Sirriyeh 1999:5). For these reformers, these spiritual experiences gave a divine power so that their religious reformation would find firm legitimation. By the same token, the spiritual order from the Prophet experienced by Kyai Abdul Majid did gave a strong impression and justification to his followers that what he taught and wrote was actually permitted, and requested directly by the Prophet, not of the kyai’s own free will and decision. As Gilsenan (1973: 35) has observed ‘it is not uncommon for the foundation of a brotherhood to arise out of such a truth vision (A., ru’ya al-ṣadiqa).’ As a result, Kyai Abdul Madjid Ma’ruf did not face questions of legitimacy among his followers.

Through this spiritual experience, Kyai Abdul Majid Ma’ruf reportedly developed a deepening spiritual relationship with God and the Prophet and spent much time in contemplation and recitation of many kinds of Ṣalāwāt such as Ṣalāwāt Badawiyah, Ṣalāwāt Nāriyat, and Ṣalawāt Massisiyah. In addition, he made an effort to focus his spiritual power on praying for the betterment of the Islamic life of Muslim community.

In 1963, Kyai Abdul Madjid Ma’ruf experienced another spiritual event. This invisible order urged him to do the same things. As a result of this, he endeavoured to improve his praying and proximity (A., taqarrub) to God. This resulted in a physical health problem, but he did not let this prevent him from continuously communicating with God.4 Not long after the second order, he received another spiritual command which was harder and accompanied with

a threat. The threat was so great that he trembled with fear. This critical event shaped Kyai Majid’s commitment to begin to write litanies which would be useful for his society. He, then, wrote the text of the litanies that are called *Wahidiyyat* The first litany he wrote is as follows:

O! Lord as You are the right one, exaltation, peace, and blessings upon our Lord, and our intercessor, our beloved, our heart, Muhammad (peace be upon him) just as he is the qualified. We ask you O! Allah by his right to immerse us in the depth of sea of the oneness so that we cannot see, hear, feel, move and rest except with it. And we ask your perfect forgiveness O! Allah, your perfect amenity O! Allah, we ask for my perfect gnosis of you, and my perfect love to you, my perfect consent to you O! Allah. And exaltation, peace, and blessings be upon Him and His relatives and His companions as many as the number of things which is encompassed by your knowledge and included in your book, by your mercy, O! The Most Merciful of merciful people, all praise is due to Allah, the Lord of the Worlds.

*Kyai* Madjid Ma’ruf called this prayer *Ṣalawāt Ma’rifat* (The Gnosis Supplication), without explaining the meaning of *ma’rifat*. He intended that those who read the prayer would be able to reach the state of *ma’rifat*, which, according to Sufi scholars, is the highest station achieved by a Sufi. After writing the prayer, he asked some people to read it continuously. Among those whom he asked were Abdul Jalil, a senior person of Kampung Jamsaren, Muhtar, a market trader, and Dahlan, a *Pesantren* Kedunglo student from Demak, Central Java. After practising and reading the prayers, they admitted that they were blessed with a feeling of calmness and were much more conscious of God.

Within the same year, *Kyai* Abdul Madjid Ma’ruf composed another *Ṣalawāt* prayer. Although the composition of this prayer was shorter than previous one, it was believed that it can give more positive effects to its readers by improving their consciousness of God and the quietness of soul. The prayer is as follows:
O! God O! The oneness, the One, O! the Finder, the Most generous. Exalt, peace, blessing upon our Lord Muhammad and his family in every glance of the eye and in every breath with as many as the knowledge of God and His stream of grace and His assistance (100 times).

He gave this prayer publicly to those who visited him regardless of their social background, asking them not only to read it but also to disseminate it to other people. Apart from this, he asked one of his students to write the Ṣalawāt and send it to other Muslim scholars (kyai) together with a letter recommending that this prayer be read by local people. In addition to his religious and preaching motives, he sent the prayer to many kyai perhaps because he needed them to assist in the dissemination of the prayer as widely as possible. This is understandable since kyai are regarded not only as teachers but also as living saints who are responsible for the spiritual training of people. In other words, as Woodward has argued, kyai play an important role in the religious lives of lay Muslims (Woodward 1989).

Pesantren Kedunglo held its weekly public instruction (pengajaran umum) on Sufi doctrines and practices on Thursday night. The Sufi text used as a reference in the instruction was Kitāb al-Ḥikam written by Ibn ‘Athāillah al-Iskandarī (d.1309). The reason why this Sufi book was more often chosen than the Sufi treatise such as Al-Ghazāli’s Iḥyā’ ‘Ulūm al-Dīn, is because the book contains teaching about the struggle against nafs (lower soul) which is in line with Wāhidīyyat teachings. The participants in this instruction ranged from students to local people. Kyai Abdul Majdid Ma’ruf used the instruction as a means to introduce and explain his teachings on Ṣalawāt. On such occasions, Kyai Abdul Madjid Ma’ruf also explained in detail some aspects of Sufi doctrines which later become a pillar of his teachings. Not long after releasing the second Ṣalawāt, in 1963 at the weekly pengajaran, Kyai Abdul Madjid Ma’ruf launched a third Ṣalawāt that he called Ṣalawāt Thalj al- Qulūb (The Cooling of the Heart prayer). He wrote the prayer as follows:

O! The Prophet, intercessor to creatures, blessing and peace of God is upon you, O! The light of creatures, O! The guidance of mankind, O! The source of mankind and O! the spirit of mankind, guide me and teach me because I am really a wrongdoer, I am meaningless without you, if you leave me I will be a destroyed person.
It was reported that he composed the Salawāt Thalj al-Qulūb because after practising the Salawāt Ma’rifat a number of people experienced jadhba (J., jadhab, attraction), a high spiritual experience in which a person can be exalted into a state of ecstasy and of union. The people who experienced jadhba or majdhub (attracted) behaved in an uncontrolled way just like crazy people because of the overwhelming shock of ‘the unveiling’ (Schimmel 1978). But in the case of Wāhidiyat, they wept all the time after practising the Salawāt Ma’rifat (Madjid 2001:21-27).

Kyai Abdul Madjid Ma’ruf then called those three prayer compositions Salawāt Wāhidiyat. As implied in the first Salawāt, the name Wāhidiyat was derived from al-Wāhid, one of the names of God (Asmā al-Husnā) which means The One (Qomari 2003:31-32). Kyai Abdul Madjid Ma’ruf used the name because, according to Muslim scholars, al-Wāhid has many purposes, namely to get rid of a feeling of confusion and anxiety and to increase a feeling of fear of God rather than of God’s creatures. Another reason might be that the use of God’s names in praying is strongly recommended by the Qur’an and the Prophet tradition so that God may grant the prayer. This is revealed in the Qur’an as follows:

And Allah’s are the best names, therefore call on Him thereby, and leave alone those who violate the sanctity of His names; they shall be recompensed for what they did. (7:180)

At the end of 1963, Kyai Abdul Madjid Ma’ruf invited many kyai and other notable figures who practised Salawāt Wāhidiyat to discuss a topic related to Salawāt Wāhidiyat. The meeting, chaired by Kyai Abdul Madjid Ma’ruf, produced several decisions including the composition of the text of Salawāt, the method of reciting the Salawāt, and the guarantee which was that: ‘If the Salawāt is recited for forty consecutive days and there is no effect on heart at all, (the author) can be called to account in the world and the hereafter.’ All of this were printed as a pamphlet. It was not clear why Kyai Abdul Madjid Ma’ruf proposed putting this guarantee in the pamphlet. Qomari Mukhtar (2003), a member of Wāhidiyat, argues that the guarantee from Kyai Abdul Madjid Ma’ruf should be seen as a part of his guidance to his followers in order to take responsibility for any matters that they have done. Mukhtar maintains that this guarantee should not be interpreted as if Kyai Abdul Madjid Ma’ruf guarantees paradise to his followers in the hereafter. However, others might argue that the guarantee could be seen as a part of an advertisement for the power of the prayer. As a result, the guarantee would convince the readers and the followers that the Salawāt Wāhidiyat can be a panacea for any problems

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5 ‘Menawi sampun jangkep 40 dinten boten wonten perubahan manah, kinging dipun tuntut dunyan wa ukhron.’
they face, if it is recited continuously for forty days. However, the guarantee is not found in the new printed text of Șalawāt. This might be due to the fact that the guarantee has prompted criticism from many kyai (religious leaders) in Kediri.

It took eighteen years to complete the composition and the ritual of Șalawāt Wāhidiyat. This was not a short time to accomplish the teaching and the composition of Șalawāt Wāhidiyat. In 1964, the first of a series of one week Wāhidiyat camps was held bringing many delegations from cities in East Java such as Kediri, Blitar, Nganjuk, Jombang, Mojokerto, Surabaya, Malang, Madiun, and Ngawi. Activities were guided directly by Kyai Abdul Madjid Ma’ruf who gave a series of lectures about Șalawāt Wāhidiyat for new preachers of Wāhidiyat (da’i). As described by Mukhtar (1997), the first Wāhidiyat camp was attended by many ‘ulamā’ and kyai. However, not every participant came with the intention of learning the teachings of Wāhidiyat. Some of them joined the camp just to test Kyai Abdul Madjid Ma’ruf on matters to do with the teachings of Wāhidiyat. If Kyai Abdul Madjid Ma’ruf could give a satisfactory answer, then they would submit to him.

On the final day of the camp, Kyai Abdul Madjid explained the qualifications that disciples (murid) and spiritual guides (murshid) should have. As retold by Mukhtar, Kyai Madjid described these as follows:

A murshid should possess qualifications needed such as the capability to teach (tarbiyah) his murid, although they are in a very distant place. For example, if the murid stays at the sunset place and the murshid stay at the sunrise place, the murshid can teach them. In addition, the murshid should not hope for a murid’s possessions. Meanwhile, a murid should behave like a dead body (kalmayyit), and surrender completely to the master. Whatever a murid possessed should be given absolutely to the master, including the mind, time, energy, wife or husband (Mukhtar 1997:45).

Instead of accepting the title of murshid given by his disciples, Kyai Abdul Madjid Ma’ruf asked them, together with him, to come close to God, the Prophet and the Muslim saints (ghauth hāzda al zamān) because he did not possess the qualifications to become either a m–urshid or murid. Although he refused the title of murshid from his disciples, his disciples still awarded it to him. Furthermore, the followers of Wāhidiyat (I., pengamal Wāhidiyat) believed he was the only one who was able to bring them to the experience of ma’rifat (gnosis), intuitive knowledge of God (Yusuf 2003:2). In order to complete the Șalawāt, Kyai Abdul Madjid Ma’ruf introduced an exclamation phrase to the participants of the camp, and included it in the body of the text of the Șalawāt Wāhidiyat. This exclamation was as follows: ‘Yā Sayyidi yā Rasūl Allah’ (O
Plate 4.1: The text of Şalawāt Wāhidiyat and its instruction how to recite it
My Lord and Prophet of God). The exclamation is believed by the member of Ṭawḥīdiyyat to have many purposes such as to purify one’s soul and to increase the calmness of the soul. In addition, members in the formal congregation who are unable to recite the whole text of Ṣalawāt Ṭawḥīdiyyat can recite the exclamation phrase, provided that they recited it for about the same period of time as the recitation of the whole text of Ṣalawāt.

The exclamation phrase is familiar to the followers of Ṭawḥīdiyyat and has become their mark of identity. They usually use this phrase to welcome people. It is not only used as a part of the formal ritual of Ṭawḥīdiyyat, but also as a part of daily activities, either in the Ṭawḥīdiyyat headquarters or in Pesantren Ṭawḥīdiyyat. For example, if a student has a call from his or her parents or others, the operator will announce it through the loudspeaker first by reciting the exclamation phrase. The exclamation can be found on a small printed card or a sticker supplemented with the following advice:

Always read this phrase Ya Sayyidī yā Rasūl Allah orally or internally wherever you are every day for thirty minutes. This phrase can be used for various kinds of purposes, especially for purifying the soul and it can be practised by anyone. 6

This card is distributed to people who attend to the formal ritual held in the Pesantren Kedunglo or when a member board of Ṭawḥīdiyyat makes an official journey to the branches of Ṭawḥīdiyyat throughout Indonesia.

Plate 4.2: Sticker of Ṭawḥīdiyyat displaying the logo of the group and Nida’ Ya Sayyidī yā Rasūl Allah (the exclamation).

In 1965, another prayer was introduced to the participants of the second Ṭawḥīdiyyat camp. This prayer consisted of a supplication for all the leaders of the saintly hierarchy, namely all ‘the help’ (ghauth) and ‘the axis’ (qutb), who have died. Kyai Abdul Madjid believed that although the ghauth has died, if God is willing, he can continue to give spiritual guidance and education to

6 ‘Bacalah selalu dengan lisan atau dalam hati di mana anda berada kalimat Ya Sayyidi Ya Rasulallah; usahakan dibaca setiap hari 30 menit. Dapat digunakan untuk segala macam kebutuhan terutama kejernihan hati dan ketentraman jiwa boleh diamalkan oleh siapapun tanpa pandang bulu.’
those who seek guidance. As a result, the ghauth will be able to help people to reach (A., wuṣūl) God. The belief in ghauth’s existence, is strong among the followers of Wāḥidīyat, and it is one of the teachings of Wāḥidīyat. The prayer was known among the followers of Wāḥidīyat as istighāthah (appeal for aid). The prayer was as follows:

O! Ghauth peace of Allah is on you; teach me by God’s will, and O! My Lord radiate on me the radiation which can reach to His Highness.

In 1965, Kyai Abdul Madjid Ma’ruf also created another exclamation and asked his followers to recite it at the end of the prayer above. At that time he did not give any reason why this should be recited after the prayer. One of the followers believed that the only one who knew the reason and the secret of the exclamation was the author. At the beginning, this exclamation was not included in the printed text of Ṣalāwa Wāḥidīyat. But, eight years later, not only was this exclamation included in the text, but it was also recited loudly while facing all four directions in turn. In fact, the exclamation was taken from the verses of Qur’ān (17:8 and 51:50). Part of this exclamation phrase, ‘therefore turn to Allah’, was then taken as a symbol of this organization. The exclamation was as follows:

Therefore, Turn to Allah, and say: Truth has come and falsehood has vanished; surely falsehood is a vanishing (thing).

Two years later Kyai Abdul Madjid Ma’ruf launched another Ṣalawāt, which he did not name at the time. The new Ṣalawātis as follows:

O! Our God exaltation and peace be upon Muhammad, the intercessor of people, and His followers, make people immediately to be aware of the Lord of the Worlds. O! Our Lord, forgive our sins, ease our concerns, open our mind, and guide us, strengthen our brotherhood, O! Our Lord.
In 1971, before the first general election was held in the New Order era, he composed a new *Salawāt* without giving a name to it. This new *Salawāt* was similar to the previous one, but had a contextual meaning related to the political situation. In other words, this *Salawāt* was composed in response to the disastrous political changes affecting the lives of the Indonesian people and Indonesian Muslims, in particular. By reciting the *Salawāt* his followers were expected to be able to pass successfully through this difficult time. It was not clear whether political motives stimulated *Kyai* Abdul Madjid Ma’ruf to compose the *Salawāt*. But, according to an informant, the *Salawāt* Wāḥidiyat group was not involved in political activities and was not affiliated to any particular political party. The new *Salawāt* was as follows:

O! The intercessor of people and the Beloved of Allah, His exaltation and peace is on you, my efforts have been stuck, in my country. O! My Lord, take my hand and people (*ummat*).

In order to complete the *Salawāt* Wāḥidiyat, he composed two more prayers consecutively in 1972 and 1973, adding them to the final part of the *Salawāt* Wāḥidiyat. From 1972 to 1981, he made a number of revisions to the *Salawāt* Wāḥidiyat, before he decided to reprint it using Arabic script. According to the statutes of the organization (Chapter I: 1), *Salawāt* Wāḥidiyat is the name given to these prayers written by *Kyai* Abdul Madjid Ma’ruf, as printed in the *Salawāt* Wāḥidiyat pamphlet, including their method of recitation (Penyiari Shalawat Wahidiyah n.d:3).

It was believed by his followers that the many revisions and alterations of the *Salawāt* Wāḥidiyat made by the author contained particular spiritual mysteries (*asrār*), which were known only by their author and those particular people who had been given spiritual knowledge by the author.

### 4.2. External Conflict in Wāḥidiyat

When the founder of the *Salawāt* Wāḥidiyat was still alive, there was no little serious internal conflict among the board members of Wāḥidiyat which might threaten the unity of the organization. At that time, serious conflict

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7 Interview with Zainuddin, Kediri, September, 2004.
only occurred between the members of Wāḥidiyat central board and outsiders who questioned and criticized the validity of Ṣalawāt Wāḥidiyat. In dealing with these critics, the members of the central board answered the criticism by finding arguments derived either from the Qurʾan or hadith.

The most vigorous criticism faced by Wāḥidiyat during its formative years was from Kyai Machrus Aly, one of the members of East Java’s Provincial Supreme Religious Council (syuriah) in Nahdlatul Ulama, and the guardian (pengasuh) of Pesantren Lirboyo, the biggest pesantren in Kediri. Although the founder of Pesantren Lirboyo and that of Pesantren Kedunglo had a familial relationship, the short distance between Pesantren Lirboyo and Pesantren Kedunglo sparked heated conflict between the two pesantren leaders. According to an informant, Kyai Machrus prohibited his students from reciting and practising the Ṣalawāt Wāḥidiyat. The prohibition is still on display, written in Javanese-Arabic script on a large wooden plank on the wall above an entrance door of the pesantren mosque so that students of the pesantren can easily read the notice. The prohibition signed by Kyai Machrus Ali and Kyai Mazuqi Dahlan is as follows:

1. All students are prohibited from reciting Ṣalawāt Wāḥidiyat,
2. and from studying the books which are not suitable for their degree.

I tried to ask the students about the reason behind the prohibition; however, they did not give me a satisfactory answer.

Few people know the reason behind the prohibition. However, one of the Wāḥidiyat board members argues that it was to do with the political preference of Kyai Machrus. He continued to say that since Kyai Machrus’s political party preference was Nahdlatul Ulama (NU was a political party until 1973), so he wished to include Wāḥidiyat, which had attracted many followers, as part of the NU party. Yet, he was not successful because Kyai Abdul Madjid Ma’ruf did not agree. As a result, Kyai Machrus banned his students from reciting and practising Ṣalawāt Wāḥidiyat. However, this argument seems too subjective. It is unlikely that Kyai Machrus, who was known as a man of integrity, had such an intention. There could be a deeper reason for Kyai Machrus’s ban.

An official of the Branch of the Religious Affairs Department in Kediri argues that the ban was issued due to the fact that, according to Kyai Machrus, practising and reciting of Ṣalawāt Wāḥidiyat could interfere with the students’
concentration in studying in the pesantren. This is partly because reciting and practising the *Ṣalawāt Wāḥidiyyat* not only takes a long time but it is recommended that it should be recited at each of the five daily prayers.

One of Kyai Machrus’s sons, Kyai Kafabi, agrees with this argument, saying that his father banned his students from practising *Ṣalawāt Wāḥidiyyat* because the main duty of the students was to study and learn rather than to deal with other issues. From the perspective of Kyai Machrus, learning and studying can be regarded as ‘tarekat’ (the way, path), possibly the best path.8

Another reason for the ban had to do with the guarantee given by the author of *Ṣalawāt Wāḥidiyyat*. Kyai Machrus continued to say that the author of the *Ṣalawāt Wāḥidiyyat*, Kyai Madjid, was convinced that those who recited his *Ṣalawāt* for forty days consecutively would be guaranteed paradise. For Kyai Machrus, such a guarantee violated Islamic teachings since the Prophet himself was unable to guarantee that his followers would reach paradise. Another informant9 explained Kyai Machrus’s ban by saying:

As a matter of fact, the author of *Ṣalawāt Wāḥidiyyat* is still a relative of Pesantren Lirboyo itself... at the first time Kyai Madjid Ma’ruf who was younger than both Kyai Machrus and Kyai Marzuki, suddenly shocked many ulama’ who lived in Kediri with his tarekat. At first, the tarekat was legally accepted by those ulama’ since its teaching was to spread the reciting of *Ṣalawāt*. Preaching the reciting of *Ṣalawāt* is recommended and is not prohibited. But the thing that was not be accepted by Kyai Machrus in particular, and Pesantren Lirboyo in general, was related to the other added information which was characterized as lying (iftira’). For example, whoever recites for a certain number of days would be able to gain gnosis. Where does such information come from? This is only iftira’ (lying). Can we accept this information? Moreover, at that time there were many people who became mad after practising and reciting *Ṣalawāt Wāḥidiyyat*... furthermore, Kyai Madjid Ma’ruf was said to have seen the real Prophet, just as a live person, not in a dream. We did not have any evidence of this event. And if someone experiences visionary dreams of the Prophet, the dream, according to Islamic Law, cannot be used as an argument (hujjat), since it cannot be proven. If he believed that the dream of the Prophet is right, it is his right to say that. Yet, the dream cannot be delivered as a legal opinion (fatwā). ...Apart from that, the majority of Wāḥidiyyat followers were lay people who had no deep knowledge of shari’at. As a result, if such people were selected as leaders in their hometowns, they would do anything that they wanted to do because they felt that they had achieved the highest spiritual stage and had been able to achieve wuṣul (ma’rifat) with Allah.

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8 Interview with Kyai Kafabi, Kediri, February, 2005.
9 Interview with Kyai Idris Marzuki, Kediri, February, 2005.
The guarantee that Kyai Abdul Madjid Ma’ruf had printed in the first pamphlet of Şalawât Wâhidiyat told followers that if they recited Şalawât Wâhidiyat for forty consecutive days and there was no effect on their heart, Kyai Abdul Madjid Ma’ruf could be called on in the world and the hereafter. It is likely that this guarantee has been interpreted wrongly, as if the author was guaranteeing paradise for those who recite the Şalawât for forty consecutive days. However, from the perspective of the Wâhidiyat board members, this guarantee should be seen as an expression of the responsibility of the author. In fact, there are many reasons why the guarantee should have been given by the author. Firstly, it was issued on the basis of thinking well of God (A., ḥusn al-zann), trusting in God’s kindness in response to the Şalawât prayer of His servants. Secondly, the guarantee was based on ḥusn al-zann, to think well of the Prophet, that he would give intercession (shafa’at) to his followers. Thirdly, the guarantee was given as a result of ḥusn al-zann toward the Angels of God that they would certainly ask forgiveness for those who recited the Şalawât. Fourthly, the guarantee was based on thinking well of Wâhidiyat followers, who tirelessly ask for the guidance and blessing of God. However, for Sufi who emphasize humility, the guarantee might be regarded as too exaggerated, therefore it raised strong criticism among ‘ulama’ in Kediri. Furthermore, as observed by Sodli (1990:29) the guarantee is opposed to the teaching of the Qur’an and hadith that people cannot take responsibility for others in the hereafter and they cannot guarantee happiness by practising a particular action. God alone will decide whether they will be bestowed with tranquility of heart or not. What people might do is to make every effort (Sodli 1990:29). However, the guarantee is no longer included in the current pamphlet. The removal of the guarantee was undertaken by the members board of Wâhidiyat, probably due to the fact that many ‘ulama’ raised objections to the guarantee.

An additional objection of Kyai Machrus towards Şalawât Wâhidiyat had to do with its chain of transmission (A., isna>d). This objection might be based on the knowledge of Prophetic traditions. According to this, a Prophetic tradition can only be regarded as a valid tradition if it has an unbroken chain of narrators or transmitters who are authoritatively linked directly to the Prophet. According to Kyai Machrus, Şalawât Wâhidiyat did not possess a proper chain of transmitters (A., isna>d min al-adillat) linking the author of the Şalawât Wâhidiyat to the Prophet. Kyai Machrus argued that the transmitter of the Şalawât Wâhidiyat was the author himself. Therefore, Şalawât Wâhidiyat could not be considered as a valid Şalawât and it could not be practised by others.10

In order to answer this criticism, the members of Şalawât Wâhidiyat board maintain that an authoritative transmitter (A., isna>d min al-adillâ’) is not

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needed for every kind of Ṣalawāt, since the isnād is through the Prophet himself. In other words, every person who has the capability to compose a Ṣalawāt can also teach the Ṣalawāt to others without having an authoritative transmitter. This argument is frequently cited by the current leader of Ṣalawāt Wāḥidiyyat. Furthermore, in order to answer the problem of transmitters in Ṣalawāt Wāḥidiyyat, another member also published a family tree of the author that shows genealogical connection to the Prophet. Kyai Mundir, who is regarded as a respected wali (Muslim saint) in Kediri, created this family tree, but little is known about the method he applied to trace the genealogy of the author’s family. An informant told me that Kyai Mundir created the family tree on the basis of a divine inspiration. Therefore, the evidence for the family tree is not based on historical methods. The list of author’s genealogical descent from the Prophet is given as follows:

1. Faṭimat ibn Mūḥammad
2. Ḥasan Ibn ‘Alī
3. ‘Abd Allah Ṣādiq
4. ‘Alwī
5. Mūḥammad ‘Abd Allah
6. Aḥmad ‘Abd Allah
7. Ḥafīẓ Ilyās
8. ‘Alī Raḥmat ‘Abd Allah
9. Muhammad Abu Ḥasan
10. Uṯmān Karīm
11. ‘Alī Soḥīq ‘Abd Allah
12. ‘Alwī ‘Abd Aillah
13. ‘Abd Allah ‘Alwī
14. Mālik Muṣṭafā
15. ‘Abd al-Raḥman Karīm
16. Ḡazāfī Ilyās
17. ‘Abd Allah Ḡazāfī
18. ‘Abd al ‘Azīs ‘Abd Allah
19. Iḥsan Nawāwī
20. Hanafi Mūṣa
21. ‘Abd al-Mālik Karīm
22. Zayn al-Dīn

The purpose of presenting this family tree, is perhaps to convince others that the author was an authoritative person who could compose and teach the Ṣalawāt Wāḥidiyyat since he was a descendant of the Prophet. The reason for this is because within the pesantren tradition, the ‘ulamā’s authority and status is heavily derived from his family genealogy. In addition to this, the family genealogy can add to the authority of the author among his followers. As described by Woodward (1989:145) ‘a clear line of educational descent from the Prophet is one of the most important criteria for establishing a claim to the title of kyai.’ Nevertheless, a family genealogy is not relevant to answer the problem of isnād since it indicates only the genealogical ties of the author, while an isnād is related to the list of authoritative people who hear and receive messages from one to another linking back to the Prophet. The preservation of family trees linked to the Prophet is usually more emphasized among Arab families (sharifian families) in Indonesia.

Another objection to Ṣalawāt Wāḥidiyyat from many kyai in Kediri, and Kyai Machrus in particular, was that the author of the Ṣalawāt reported that he received it from the Prophet Muhammad when he experienced a mystical dream. In such a case Kyai Machrus said that a dream cannot be regarded as an argument (A., ḥujjat) nor can it be delivered as a legal opinion (A., fatwā) for others. However, if the dreamer practises by himself what he received in the dream, Islamic law will guarantee it. To deal with this objection, the official board of Wāḥidiyyat has written a history of Ṣalawāt and put it in the statutes of the organization. It explains that the author received the order to write the Ṣalawāt Wāḥidiyyat when he was awake, not in a dream. However, some followers are convinced that the author of Ṣalawāt Wāḥidiyyat was asked by the Prophet Muhammad to compose the Ṣalawāt.

As far as the visionary dream of the Prophet is concerned, Kyai Ali Mashuri, a Muslim scholar from Sidoarjo, argues that people should be careful about such dreams. In fact, the Prophet guaranteed that people can have dreams about him.
and that if they see the Prophet in a dream, he must be the real Prophet since Satan is unable to resemble him. Therefore, having a dream about the Prophet can be justified in Islam. Nevertheless, despite the Prophet’s guarantee, one should be concerned about how far the dreamer has observed the normative piety of Islam (ṣāri‘at). For example, if people claim to have met the Prophet in a dream but they have not observed the ṣāri‘at properly, the dream cannot be regarded as a truth. Although dreams of the Prophet are possible for those who are pious and have the maqām (particular station in Sufism), the dream should not be told to others, even their wives, let alone to others for the sake of popularity.¹²

The spiritual dream of the Prophet has been used by Wāhidiyat, as Kyai Ali Mashuri argues, as an icon to spread its teachings and attract other followers. Although the aim of the Salawāt is to achieve the knowledge of God and His Prophet (ma‘rifat billāh wa rasūlihi), Wāhidiyat regards the spiritual experience (I., pengalaman ruhani) either in a dream or in a waking state as an important achievement for its followers. As a result, this spiritual experience is emphasized, and if followers have experienced it, they can tell others about the experience. With their consent, board members of Salawāt Wāhidiyat have collected these spiritual experiences and published them in a book and in a magazine so that other followers can not only read the stories but also improve their reciting of Salawāt Wāhidiyat, so they can achieve similar experiences.

When Kyai Ali Mashuri was asked about his opinion of Wāhidiyat, he argued that since the founder of Salawāt Wāhidiyat did not regard Wāhidiyat as a tarekat (Sufi order), the existence of the Salawāt Wāhidiyat organization is acceptable as long as it intends to spread the teaching of Salawāt reciting among people and also to improve the proselytization of Islam (da’wat wa al-irṣyād). Although he agrees with the spreading of Salawāt performed by Salawāt Wāhidiyat group, he is opposed to the formal loud weeping ritual, which is commonly practised by many followers of Salawāt Wāhidiyat using a loudspeaker. In his opinion, although crying while praying is sanctioned by Islam, and even recommended in some cases, such weeping should only be performed in quiet situations when people pray and practise ritual meditation individually.¹³

In contrast, the practice of weeping has become a symbol of the ritual practice of Salawāt Wāhidiyat and it is emphasized in every ritual. According to Wāhidiyat teachings, weeping is allowed in Islam since it was practised by the

¹³ Ibid.
Prophet Muhammad and Adam. The Qur’an and hadith even condemn those who are unable to weep (53:59-61). The Qur’an and the Prophetic tradition (hadith) speak about crying as follows:

And they fall down on their faces weeping, and it adds to their humility. (17:109)

These are they on whom Allah bestowed favors, from among the prophets of the seed of Adam, and of those whom We carried with Nuh (Noah), and of the seed of Ibrahim (Abraham) and Israel, and of those whom We guided and chose; when the communications of the Beneficent God were recited to them, they fell down making obeisance and weeping. (19:58)

Oh! Mankind cry, if you cannot cry, try to cry (narrated by Abū Dāwud from Anas)

The Prophet says: ‘two kinds of eyes which will not touch the fire of the hell are eyes which are crying due to fear of Allah, and eyes which are awake all night for the sake of fighting in the way of God (Sabīlillah)’ (narrated by al-Ṭabrāniy).

It is argued that the weeping practised by Wāhidiyat followers in formal Wāhidiyat rituals is the kind of weeping that is intended for God and the Prophet. This crying has nothing to do with the loss of things. They cry because they feel that they have sinned against God, the Prophet, parents, relatives, teachers, leaders, and other creatures, and they are struggling for the consciousness of God and the Prophet (Anonymous n.d.-a:198-203).

However, the arguments derived from both the Qur’an and hadith above do not indicate how and where the weeping should be performed. In the case of Wāhidiyat, the weeping is performed collectively and can be heard from distant places since it is broadcast by a loudspeaker facing in four directions. Opponents of this group always question whether the weeping is sincere and why it is necessary to weep collectively using a loud speaker. It is also likely that some objections to this broadcast weeping are based on the opinion that it can disturb the tranquility of public life.

Similar opinions have been voiced by Sayyid Rashīd Riḍā (1865-1935) who is known as a vigorous opponent of unlawful innovation (I., bid’ah). Citing Riḍā’s view, Rakhmat explained that weeping cannot be regarded as part of bid’ah if it is carried out to improve the humility of praying. He bases his view on the Prophet’s statement that ‘indeed, the Qur’ān was derived in sadness and pain. If you recite it, cry. If you are not able to cry, try to cry.’ Riḍā further argues that
weeping will become a bad thing if it consists of riya’ (showing off). In other words, people weep because they want to be regarded by others as having a deep sense of humility (Rakhmat 1998:111).

During the early years, Ṣalawāt Wāhidiyat received criticism not only from religious leaders but also from lay people. Examples of the criticisms include the following: that Ṣalawāt Wāhidiyat is a new teaching which is not sanctioned by the Qur’an and hadith, Ṣalawāt Wāhidiyat involves practices obtained from a jinn and the Nyai Roro Kidul14, Ṣalawāt Wāhidiyat and its teachings is not based on the Ahlussunnah wal Jama’ah, the author of the Ṣalawāt Wāhidiyat has guided his followers to make a cult of the Prophet, and the ritual of weeping in Ṣalawāt Wāhidiyat is not part of Islamic teachings. These examples of criticisms can seen as evidence that Wāhidiyat faced the problem of legitimation at the time of its founding.

4.3. Internal Conflict in Wāhidiyat

Internal conflict among the board members of Ṣalawāt Wāhidiyat happened when this organization held its first major gathering in 1985. From 1964 to 1985 the Ṣalawāt Wāhidiyat had only a single organization, that is The Centre of Ṣalawāt Wāhidiyat Preaching (Pusat Penyiaran Ṣalawāt Wāhidiyat). This body was established to decide on organizational policy and to practise, spread, and develop the Ṣalawāt Wāhidiyat, to print the pamphlets of Ṣalawāt Wāhidiyat, and to arrange weekly teaching of al-Ḥikam15 in the pesantren. Until the Indonesian government issued Law Number 8 (1985) about mass organizations and Pancasila as a sole foundation (azas tunggal), Wāhidiyat did not have the same statutes that other organizations had. However, according to Law Number (8) 1985, chapter II, article 2, all mass organizations had to be based on Pancasila as their sole foundation. Article 4 of this chapter stated that all mass organizations were required to mention this base, as described in article 2 in their statutes (Anonymous 1985:468). In order to meet the Law, Wāhidiyat held its first gathering to establish a new board and the statutes of the organization. Decisions made at this meeting included the determining of the organization’s statutes, the election of the members of Wāhidiyat Struggle Advisory Board (Dewan Pertimbangan Perjuangan Wāhidiyat or DPPW), which was later changed to The Wāhidiyat Judgment Assembly (Majlis Pertimbangan Wāhidiyat), and the election of The Centre of Ṣalawāt Wāhidiyat Preaching Board (Pusat Penyiaran Ṣalawāt Wāhidiyat, or PPSW) which was

14 A legendary goddess who is believed by Javanese to live in the Indian Ocean.
changed to The Committee of \textit{Ṣalawāt Wāḥidiyyat} Preaching Board Centre (Panitia Penyiir Shalawat Wahidiyah Pusat or PPSWP) and later changed to The Central \textit{Ṣalawāt Wāḥidiyyat} Preaching Board (Penyiir Shalawat Wahidiyah Pusat or PSWP). The first board functioned to develop, guide, direct, advise and supervise the activities of The Centre of \textit{Ṣalawāt Wāḥidiyyat} Preaching. The board was chaired by Abdul Latif Madjid, the son of Kyai Abdul Madjid Ma’ruf and the second board was chaired by Kyai Muhammad Ruhan Sanusi, the senior kyai in Wāḥidiyyat.

Internal conflict emerged after the establishment of these two authoritative boards. Although the DPPW functioned to guide and supervise the PSWP, members of the latter thought the DPPW intervened too much in the practical affairs of the PSWP. The position of Abdul Latif Madjid Ma’ruf as the chairman of DPPW as well as the son of Kyai Abdul Madjid Ma’ruf, the author of the \textit{Ṣalawāt}, gave him more authority and power to build up and direct PSWP. It was reported by an informant that Abdul Latif Madjid seemed to aspire to lead Wāḥidiyyat at that time. As a result, the members of PSWP felt that they were not be free to implement the policies of the organization. On the 7th May 1986, to solve the conflict between the two boards, Kyai Abdul Madjid Ma’ruf established a ‘team of three’ to seek a possible solution to the problem within Wāḥidiyyat. He, then, gave a solution to cope with the problem which is known as Wasiat 9 Mei 1986. In his wasiat, Kyai Abdul Madjid Ma’ruf stated:

\begin{quote}
The struggle of Wāḥidiyyat is like other Islamic struggles. Wāḥidiyyat is not like an inheritance [which can be given to the son of the author]. It is part of your right to make a struggle for Wāḥidiyyat. It is expected that all of you will be in unity until the Day of Judgment (\textit{yaumil qiya\textsuperscript{mat}}). All members of Wāḥidiyyat preachers and members of Wāḥidiyyat Struggle Advisory Board [DPPW] and followers can be regarded as my representatives (\textit{wakil}). Al-Wākil Athi\textsuperscript{r} al-Muwakkil. Every word and deed which can cause slander should be completely removed. For a large event in Wāḥidiyyat such as \textit{Mujāhada Kubrā} and others, I asked that they be held in Kedunglo, if there is no obstacle.
\end{quote}

However, this solution did not necessarily mean that the problem could be resolved. Instead, the tension between Abdul Latif Madjid and PPSW worsened when they had to decide whether or not Wāḥidiyyat should be registered legally with The General Director of the Social and Political Office in Jakarta in accord with Law Number 8. Abdul Latif Madjid argued that the registration was not important, and in most cases would restrict the organization. In contrast, PSWP members were convinced that Wāḥidiyyat would benefit from the registration since the government would not be suspicious of it. Registering the organization with the government and putting \textit{Pancasila} as its sole foundation was inevitable not only for Wāḥidiyyat but also for other organizations, otherwise the regime
would ban those organizations by stigmatizing them as communist or as extremist Islam. Political analysts and observers at that time were convinced that the Law Number (8) 1985, which decreed this registration, was part of the overall strategy of the regime to weaken political rivals and dominate all aspects of Indonesian social life.

In order to resolve the problem, the two boards agreed to bring this case to Kyai Madjid. He, then, suggested that this problem should be resolved through a mechanism other than discussion (I., musyawarah), namely by invoking God through istikhâra prayers. This is a special prayer aimed at seeking guidance from God when Muslims face difficult options. Like a dream, istikhâra prayer has traditionally been an important aspect in the pesantren tradition and Islamic belief in general because it is recommended by Prophetic hadith. In order to know the result of one’s istikhâra prayers, after observing the prayer Muslims usually look for guidance by opening one page of the Qur’an and pointing randomly to one verse on the page. If the verse consists of goodness, it can be used as guidance. Alternatively, people can find the result of istikhâra prayers from a dream. For example, if they experience a good dream, then the dream can be the basis for a decision and action. The use of dreams as the basis of action for Muslims is possible because they believe that there is a distinction between false dreams and true dreams. According to the Prophetic sayings, false dreams are thought to be caused either by Satan or other evil spirits. In contrast, true or good dreams are thought to be caused by God or an angel.

Of thirty one people who were asked to perform the istikhâra prayer, nineteen people reported the result by putting their response in an envelope. The results were as follows: The response in one envelope could not be interpreted; one envelope was cancelled; four envelopes suggested that Wâhidiyat should not be registered; six envelopes asked that Wâhidiyat be registered; and seven envelopes were blank. Abdul Latif Madjid, however, refused to accept the result maintaining that the istikhâra prayer had to be repeated due to the fact that seven people did not receive guidance from God. Because of his son’s objection, Kyai Abdul Madjid Ma’ruf asked the seven members of board who had not received the sign from God during their previous prayer as well as one member whose response could not be interpreted to carry out istikhâra prayer again. In the end, the result of the istikhâra prayer revealed that six people received God’s guidance to register Wâhidiyat with the Director General of Social Political Office, while two people received God’s guidance not to register.

To implement the result of the istikhâra prayer, the organization of Wâhidiyat was be registered with the government. On September 8th 1987, The Social and Political Director of East Java officially registered Wâhidiyat as a social
and religious organization and issued it with a registered number. However, according to Abdul Latif Madjid, the process of registration by PPSW violated an agreement made by the two parties. He actually agreed with the registration, but claimed that the registration carried out by the PPSW members was not only too soon after it had been decided at the meeting, but was done before the result of the istikhāra prayer was revealed. The tension, therefore, did not automatically cease, since Abdul Latif Madjid continued to oppose the registration by rejecting the statutes of the organization and wrote a letter to all branches of Wāhidiyat asking them not to discuss the registration or the statutes since they had not been resolved by the central board members of the Wāhidiyat. As a result of this, Kyai Abdul Madjid Ma’ruf issued a letter that suspended the members of PSWP or MPW and asked the general members to nominate people for a new structure for the Wāhidiyat organization. In this new structure, those that had been involved in the conflict could still become members.

This incident shows that, the problem in Wāhidiyat happened as a result of the dissatisfaction and rivalry between two factions. The establishment of the new organization did not contribute to reducing the tension as long as those people involved in the conflict were still elected for the new structure. This was evident, particularly when the founder and the author of Şalawāt Wāhidiyat died in 1989 (Yusuf 2003). As a result, conflict between the two factions became even stronger and this contributed to the break up of the organization.

The conflict emerged again, even more strongly because the two factions found it difficult to agree on a successor to the founder. Abdul Latif Madjid was convinced that he was entitled to be the successor since he was the oldest son, although he was not the first child because he had other older sisters. In the pesantren tradition descent is important since knowledge and blessing are geneologically transmitted (Woodward 1989). In addition to this, his loyal followers were also convinced that he should succeed the founder, his father, although Kyai Madjid Ma’ruf did not clearly bequeath Wāhidiyat to him. This conviction was based on the signs and gestures given by the founder, that could be interpreted as indicating that Abdul Latif Madjid would be his successor. For example, one informant told me that during the founder’s last illness, Kyai Abdul Madjid Ma’ruf designated Abdul Latif Madjid to lead the prayers in his absence on the fourth day of Mujāhada Kubrā, a half yearly ritual in Wāhidiyat, particularly the sunset prayer which Kyai Abdul Madjid Ma’ruf had always led during the Mujāhada Kubrā. This was the last Mujāhada Kubrā for the founder since he died ten days later.
This *Mujāhada Kubrā* was held for four consecutive days. From the first day to the third day, *Kyai* Abdul Madjid Ma’ruf’s family voted for the candidate to lead the sunset prayer. The informant maintains that Abdul Latif Madjid was elected as the leader of the sunset prayer for the first day, while his brother, Abdul Hamid and his relative, Imam Yahya were elected leaders on the second and third day respectively, Abdul Latif Madjid thus succeeded the founder as leader on both the first and the last day of the *Mujāhada Kubrā*. This could be interpreted as an indication that Abdul Latif Madjid should succeed the founder and was one way to convince followers that Abdul Latif Madjid was the most eligible person to succeed the founder of *Wāḥidiyyat*. This event reminds us of the story of the succession to the Prophet. During his last illness, the Prophet designated Abū Bakr to lead prayer. Many took this gesture as an indication that Abū Bakr would succeed the Prophet. Upon the Prophet’s death, he was elected the first Caliph, by the acclamation of the people present at the meeting of *Saqīfah*.

According to the *PSWP* faction, before *Kyai* Abdul Madjid Ma’ruf was buried, his wife made an announcement at a meeting attended by the two factions. She explained that since the late leader had not given any last testament, two things had been left: first, the *pesantren* and second *Wāḥidiyyat*. The female *pesantren* and the male *pesantren* would be given to Nurul and Abdul Hamid respectively, and the formal school of *Wāḥidiyyat* would be given to Abdul Latif Madjid. Meanwhile, the organization of *Wāḥidiyyat* would be run by all the children of the founder with the help of the members of the Central Board of *Wāḥidiyyat*. All those in attendance agreed to the decision (Yusuf 2003:16-18). But according to another faction, Abdul Latif Madjid was not invited to the meeting. Therefore, he did not know about the announcement. Since the meeting was a family meeting, it was inappropriate that Abdul Latif Madjid was not invited, especially as he was the oldest son of the founder. The informant further said that in the meeting, Abdul Hamid was selected as the successor of the founder. This decision was valid for only a few hours since in the morning it was changed.

Without involving other members of *PSWP* (the Central Board of *Wāḥidiyyat*) a second family meeting was held, and it was decided that Abdul Latif Madjid would lead *Pesantren* Kedunglo. According to his supporters, if he was selected as the leader of the *Pesantren*, he was the successor of the founder in *Wāḥidiyyat* as well. As a result of this, his brother, Abdul Hamid, disputed the decision because the election of Abdul Latif Madjid as the leader of *Wāḥidiyyat* had not been mentioned in the letter given to him. Therefore, instead of supporting the

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16 Interview with Zainuddin, Kediri, September, 2004.
17 Interview with Zainuddin, Kediri, September, 2004.
election, he was only willing to obey the wasiat from his father which meant he had to oppose his brother. However, it is clear that Abdul Hamid was opposed to his brother, not because he had to obey the wasiat, but because in the second familial meeting he was not elected as the successor to Wahidiyat. If he strictly followed the wasiat of his father, he would have refused to be selected as the successor of the founder at the first meeting.

It is clear that the earlier decision was changed due to strong pressure from one of the members of the family, probably Abdul Latif Madjid, who was reportedly not involved in the first meeting. He wished to be the successor of the founder of Wahidiyat, and was entitled to succeed his father because he was the oldest son. As far as the election was concerned, he maintains that as a matter of fact his election had long been decided by his charismatic grandfather, Kyai Ma’ruf who was known as a wali. Abdul Latif Madjid recounted this in his weekly classes on Kitab al-Hikam many years after the death of Kyai Abdul Madjid Ma’uf, when he explained about God’s promises which do not seem to be fulfilled. Quoting the words of al-Hikam, he maintained that this does not necessarily mean that God does not grant them. God might be suspending his promise, and will fulfill it later at the right time. He described the story as follows.

It was reported that before Kyai Abdul Madjid Ma’ruf died, Pak Joni (a newly converted Muslim from Flores) living in Tulungagung was told by Kyai Ma’ruf in his dream, ‘Jon, ask Latif and Yahya to see Madjid (the founder of Wahidiyat), and tell him that after Madjid Ma’ruf dies, Latif should become kyai in Kedunglo.’ After Kyai Madjid Ma’ruf died, in the family meeting at 21.00 pm, I was not selected as the kyai of Kedunglo, But after the second meeting at 2.00 am, I was selected as the successor of Kedunglo. Thus, the promise of God through the Kyai Ma’ruf came true after a few four hours…

This is a real story. It has a witness, Ask Mbah Nyai Madjid Ma’ruf (the wife of the late founder), Pak Yahya, and Pak Joni. All of them are still alive…That is the promise of God. In the first meeting His promise was not fulfilled, but four hours later His promise was fulfilled (Madjid 1425 34-37).

There are many other stories which confirm Abdul Latif Madjid as the successor of Kyai Abdul Madjid Ma’ruf, and most of them are based on followers’ dreams (Rohani 2004). It is clear that in order to support his position, Abdul Latif Madjid not only used information taken from dreams but also borrowed an

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18 Ibn ‘Ata’illah states: ‘If what was promised does not occur, even though the time for its occurrence had been fixed, then that must not make you doubt the promise. Otherwise, your intellect will be obscured and the light of your innermost heart extinguished’ (‘Ata’illah 1978: 48).
authoritative person as a means to legitimise his election as the successor of the founder. He needed to explain the story to his followers since at the same time another faction questioned the validity of his choice as the leader.

This other faction was convinced that since the founder stated on the 9th May 1986 that Wāḥidiyat was not something which could be inherited, the sons or the relatives of the late leader could not proclaim themselves successors of the founder. In other words, the founder of Wāḥidiyat never publicly appointed his successor. Based on this wasiat, this faction maintained that the successor of the Wāḥidiyat leader should be voted on through a formal election involving all parties. This faction further argued that if a son of the founder proclaimed himself the leader of Wāḥidiyat, this could be regarded as deviation from the true teaching of the founder (Yusuf 2003:4). However, this argument was not convincing since this faction then gave their strong support to Abdul Hamid to lead an informal forum which was known as Milādiyat forum (birth), a name derived from the birthday of Kyai Abdul Madjid Ma’ruf. If this faction had been committed to their view, they would not have supported Abdul Hamid to establish the forum. Since the birthday of the founder was on Friday Wage (Javanese calendar), this new forum was held every forty days. This forum, inevitably, opposed the claims of Abdul Latif Madjid. The faction gave support to Abdul Hamid since he was the only one who was able to oppose the dominance of Abdul Latif Madjid in Wāḥidiyat. Furthermore, Abdul Hamid had strong ties with the faction because one of the senior members was his father-in-law. The establishment of this forum, therefore, sharpened the tenor of the factional rivalries. After that, Wāḥidiyat was filled with increasing tension and growing hatred between the factions. Each faction had its own loyal supporters. One informant told me that the conflict was so strong that it sometimes led to physical conflict among rival groups.

However, the alliance between Abdul Hamid and the faction did not last. Internal conflict between Abdul Hamid and his faction resulted in a split of the alliance. One informant speculates that this happened because Abdul Hamid was not satisfied with his position in the forum when he realised he was just a symbolic leader and that the real authority was still in the hands of the forum members, notably the former board of PPSW. As a result, he left the forum, at the expense of his relationship with his father-in-law and established a new organization named Milādiyat, which was legally registered in the Department of Justice. The headquarters of his organization is situated directly beside the Pesantren Kedunglo.

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19 Interview with Zainuddin, Kediri, September, 2004.
Instead of joining the Abdul Latif Madjid faction, the remaining members of the forum, who were mainly former members of PSWP, moved to the Pesantren al-Tahdhib in Ngoro, Jombang under the leadership of Ihsan Mahin, Abdul Hamid’s father-in-law. The reason given for this was to save the teaching of Wahidiyyat from corruption.21 This faction, then, established a new organization but kept the same name, that is, Penyiar Salawat Wahidiyat (PSW). This name might have been deliberately used to give the impression that this was the true organization initially established by the founder of Wahidiyyat. This group concentrated their activities in the pesantren. The organization also established many branches throughout Indonesia. Meanwhile, Abdul Latif Madjid succeeded his father and established a new organization named Yayasan Perjuangan Wahidiyah dan Pondok Pesantren Kedunglo (The Wahidiyah Foundation of Struggle and Kedunglo Islamic Boarding School), and occupied Pesantren Kedunglo.

The proponents of PSW believe that any organizations established after the death of the founder of Wahidiyyat, irrespective of their names, are not in line with the teaching of Kyai Abdul Madjid Ma’ruf. Only the organization established by Kyai Abdul Madjid Ma’ruf, that is PSW has validity (Yusuf 2003:14). In other words, they argue that the true organization and the leadership in Wahidiyyat is nothing but PSW, which has moved to Ngoro, Jombang. In order to assure its followers, one of the member of this group published a provocative book entitled ‘Aku Pengganti Muallif Salawat Wahidiyat (I am the Successor of the Author of the Salawa Wahidiyat) written by Muhammad Djazuli Yusuf. In this book Yusuf claims that organizations other than PSW have been established just for the sake of material gain rather than to implement the teaching of the founder. In his opinion, those who are not following the teaching of the founder can be regarded as rebellious students, and as a consequence their repentance cannot be accepted. He regards those who established another organizations as Kharijites, the name of Islamic theological sect which was opposed to the four official caliphs in the Islamic history after the Prophet died (Yusuf 2003:14-15).

In addition, the proponents of PSW argue that although Kyai Abdul Madjid Ma’ruf had died, he is the only great teacher who can bring the followers of Wahidiyyat to wusūl to God on the Day of Judgment. None of the Wahidiyyat followers can equal Kyai Abdul Madjid Ma’ruf in his perfection as a murabbi (spiritual teacher). This means that although the followers of Wahidiyyat are guaranteed to achieve a perfect level of spirituality within Wahidiyyat, they have only achieved one aspect of Kyai Abdul Madjid Ma’ruf’s qualities, and at the same time their position remains as students of Kyai Abdul Madjid Ma’ruf. As a

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21 KyaiDjazuli Yusuf told me that ‘To save the struggle of Wahidiyyat (perjuangan Wahdiyah), the organization had to be moved to Ngoro.’
consequence, anyone who proclaims himself the successor of the author, should not be perceived as perfect as the author since it is impossible for an heir to inherit all the properties and qualities belonging to the late author. The heir, however, might have one quality that the author had. This is like the Muslim scholars who have been regarded in the Prophetic tradition as the inheritors of the Prophet. As heirs of the Prophet, they do not inherit all the Prophet’s qualities and knowledge (Yusuf 1994:14-15). Yusuf put forward this view due to the fact that after the death of the author, following the emergence of several Wāhidiyat organizations, many followers of Wāhidiyat were confused about whom they had to entrust with their spiritual development. In this sense, the aim of this opinion was twofold; to give the impression to the followers that the new PSW established in Ngoro, Jombang was the official body to which they should submit to improve their spiritual qualities and to demonstrate that although the sons of the author led other Wāhidiyat organizations, they were not equal to Kyai Abdul Madjid Ma’ruf in their qualities.

The impact of these conflicts were strongly felt by Wāhidiyat followers in many regions. It was reported that many Wāhidiyat followers in Sumenep, Madura, were divided into two factions: those who followed the older generation (PSW) which still maintained the authority of Kyai Abdul Madjid Ma’ruf while not submitting to Abdul Latif Madjid, and those mostly of a younger generation who followed Abdul Latif Madjid. This conflict thus resulted in confusion among people on which group to join (Anonymous 1999c:36).

It is clear that each faction made their own judgment on the validity of their organizations. The first faction made its judgment by relying on the genealogical family, while the other used the official structural organization established by the founder. These conflicts show that any religious organization can be vulnerable to conflict if one of the proponents of the organization emphasises his or her own interest rather than those of the organization. The internal conflict in Wāhidiyat might not have happened if each faction had negotiated the quest for power by individuals without sacrificing the unity of the organization.

Plate 4.4: The Logo of Ṣalawāt Wāḥidiyyat group (Penyiar Sholawat Wahidiyah, PSW) in Ngoro, Jombang.
4.4. The Teaching of Wāḥidiyat

The doctrine and rituals of Wāḥidiyat practised by its followers were created by Kyai Abdul Madjid Ma’ruf, the founder of Wāḥidiyat. However, Kyai Abdul Madjid Ma’ruf did not write any book explaining the doctrines of Wāḥidiyat. The only reference which can be relied on is based on the transcript of his instructions on Kitab al-Ḥikam published by the Wāḥidiyat Foundation in a book entitled Pengajian Kitab al-Ḥikam dan Kuliah Wāḥidiyah Ahad Pagi Oleh Al-Mukarrom Mbah KH. Abdul Madjid Ma’ruf Qoddsalallohu Sirrohu Wa RA (The Instruction of al-Hikam Book and the Sunday Morning Wāḥidiyat Lecture by Al-Mukarrom Mbah KH. Abdul Madjid Ma’ruf Qaddasallohu Sirrohu Wa RA, 2001). This book is available only in the Wāḥidiyat shop in Kediri.

According to the author of Wāḥidiyat, Ṣalawāt Wāḥidiyat is based on the Qur’an and hadith, the two basic sources of Islam, which consequently form the foundation of the teaching of Ṣalawāt Wāḥidiyat. What is meant by the teachings of Ṣalawāt Wāḥidiyat is the practical guidance for the inner life and the external life, drawing on aspects of Islamic law (sharī’at) and ḥaqīqat (the truth) in the improvement of faith (imān) and in the mystical knowledge of God (ma’rifat), the observance of Islam, the actualization of iḥsān (goodness) and the implementation of morals (akhlāq).

It is clear from this definition that the teaching of Wāḥidiyat includes Islamic law (sharī’at), morality (akhlāq) and the transcendent truth (ḥaqīqat or ma’rifat). These three aspects of the teachings are similar to the tripartite path to God which is widely known in Sufi traditions, that is sharī’at, tariqat, and ḥaqīqat or ma’rifat. These three aspects of Wāḥidiyat teaching are regarded as like an essence and its nature, or like sugar and sweetness, neither of which can be separated. Therefore, people cannot ignore one of these three aspects and stress the others (Madjid 2000a:20). According to Kyai Abdul Madjid, ‘sharī’at without ḥaqīqat is emptiness, while ḥaqīqat without sharī’at is invalid’ (Madjid 1423a:20-25). On the basis of this definition, the ultimate aim of Wāḥidiyat teachings is to achieve ma’rifat or wusūl with God. However, instead of using the word tariqat (the mystical path to God), the founder of Wāḥidiyat used akhlāq in his definition of the Wāḥidiyat teachings. He omitted the word tariqat because Wāḥidiyat is not categorized as a tariqat (I.: tarekat, sufi order) and he never regarded Wāḥidiyat as a tariqat. Moreover, if the word tariqat were mentioned in the teachings, it might raise objections from the leaders of established tarekat. Nevertheless, Kyai Abdul Madjid Ma’ruf argued that

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22 Iḥsān means beauty, goodness used by Sufis to refer to an ideal state of worshipping God.
Waḥidiyat to some extent can be regarded as a ʿtarīqat in its literal meaning, that is ‘a path’ to God, since it provides the way for those who seek closeness to God. He put it as follows:

Some one asked Kyai Madjid, ‘Excuse me Kyai, Is ʿSalawāt Waḥidiyat able to be categorized as a ʿtarīqat?’ He replied, ‘Reciting ʿSalawāt is reciting ʿSalawāt. If the word ʿtarīqat refers to a jamʿīyyat ʿtarīqat (Sufi organization), ʿSalawāt Waḥidiyat cannot be regarded as a ʿtarīqat. However, it also can be regarded as a ʿtarīqat, because to wuṣūl (reach) God can be done through as many paths as a number of creatures’ (Qomari 2003:101).23

In the guidance book of the principle teachings of Waḥidiyat published by Yayasan Perjuangan Wahidiyah (Anonymous n.d.-b), Kyai Madjid Ma’ruf quotes a large number of verses from the Qur’an and hadith to support his teachings. As well, he refers to the thoughts of several famous Sufi such as Abu Ḥasan al-Shaḥīdī (1196-1258), al-Ghazzālī (1058-1111) and Imam Ibn ʿAṭāʾillah al-ʾIskandarī (d. 1309), whose teachings have also been widely recognised among Sufi orders in Indonesia. Ibn ʿAṭāʾillah in particular inspired and influenced Kyai Abdul Madjid Ma’ruf’s views in establishing the teachings of Waḥidiyat. By quoting these authoritative references, Waḥidiyat cannot be regarded as a deviant group. In addition, this gives the impression that the teachings ofWaḥidiyat do not contradict the basic teaching of Islam, nor is it an addition to these teachings.

Indeed, Waḥidiyat teachings have very strong roots in Islamic doctrine. This is important since Waḥidiyat, as a new Islamic spiritual group, needed to clarify its position among other Islamic spiritual groups to avoid being regarded as deviant. This explanation was evidently effective because none of the Muslim organizations in Indonesia, including Nahdlatul Ulama and Muḥammadiyah, the two biggest Muslim organizations, officially criticized the existence of Waḥidiyat. In 1977, the conference of Jamʿīyyat ʿTarīqat Muʿtabara Nahḍiyīn (Federation of Recognised Tarekat of NU), the official Sufi order group established by Nahdlatul Ulama, decided that Waḥidiyat could be practised by all members of tarekat as long as this was in accordance with Islamic law (Qomari

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23 Nyuwun sewu Romo, Shalawat Wahidiyah meniko punopo termasuk thariqot? Mbah Yahi dawuh,’Maos shalawat inggih maos shalawat, menawi ingkang dimaksudaken jam’iyah thorikot meniko sanes, nanging menawi dipun wastani tharikot inggih saget kemawon, sebab menuju wusul ilallah puniko marginipun sedoyo wilangane makhluk.
24 This Sufi leader’s full name was Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī Ibn Abd Allah Ibn al-Jabbar al-Shaḥīdī. He founded the tarekat called Shadhiliyyah. His teachings are widespread in North Africa and similarly present in the most of Islamic world, as far as Indonesia (Lewis 1971: 707-08).
25 Al-Ghazzālī’s full name was Abū Hāmid Muḥammad Ibn Muḥammad al-Tūsī al-Ghazzālī. He was a prominent Muslim scholar, theologian, jurist, Sufi and religious reformer (Lewis 1965: 1038-40).
26 Among the works of this Sufi sage and scholar of 13th century Egypt, Kitāb al-Ḥikam is particularly noteworthy because of its universal value (ʿAṭāʾillah 1978:3).
Furthermore, strong support was received from the government, which provided an official letter issued by the head of the Attorney General’s Office (I., Kantor Kejaksaan Negeri) in East Java and Religious Research and Development Unit of the Ministry Religious of Religious Affairs in Jakarta. The Unit of the Ministry of Religious Affairs maintained that Wāḥidiat was allowed to be taught and spread to common people due to the fact that it is not part of Islam Jama’ah,27 the name of a Indonesian Muslim organization which was officially banned by the Indonesian government. Strong criticism given to Wāḥidiat only came from local Muslim scholars, the effect of which was not significant in the spread of Wāḥidiat.

To begin our discussion of these mystical teachings, we will consider the book entitled Kuliah Wāḥidiat Untuk Menjernihkan Hati dan Ma’rifat Billah Wa Bi Rasūlīhi SAW (The Wāḥidiat Teaching For Purifying Soul and Gnosis of God and His Prophet). In this book Kyai Abdul Madjid Ma’ruf emphasizes the importance of the teachings of Wāḥidiat including Li Allāh, Bi Allāh, Li al-Rasūl, Bi al-Rasūl, Li al-Ghauth, Bi al-Ghauth, Yu’ti kullu dhi ḥaqqin ḥaqqah, and Taqdim al-aham fa al-aham thumma al-anfa’ fa al-anfa’. He insists that these teachings should be implemented in the heart of Wāḥidiat followers during every activity and deed categorized as ‘ibādat (worship).

Li Allāh (for God), the first doctrine of Wāḥidiat, is considered the entry point for followers to practise the mystical path within Wāḥidiat. According to Kyai Abdul Madjid, the meaning and the application of Li Allāh adheres to every inward and outward deed (I., amal lahiriah dan batiniah), whether it has connection with God and His Messenger or is related to public affairs as long as it does not break the law of God and involves a pious intention (A., ikhlāṣ) to worship God without expecting any worldly and eschatological reward. In other words, Kyai Abdul Madjid Ma’ruf here stresses the importance of pious intent in every devotion to God without expectation of obtaining paradise or in fear of hell (Anonymous n.d.-a:317). But, Kyai Abdul Madjid Ma’ruf argues that followers are still allowed to hope for paradise and to fear hell providing that the hope is within the context of worship. In this sense, sincere and pure intentions are required to transform activities into worship. In contrast, every deed that is not performed solely to worship God falls to the desire of the lower soul (A., li al-nafs). Hence, if Muslims’ deeds are filled with this nafs, it will prevent them from obtaining the consciousness of God and His Prophet to which the Wāḥidiat teachings are aimed. He argues that this first doctrine can be compared with the doctrine of sharī’at, the first

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27 Because of the ban, this organization firstly changed its name to LEMKARI and then changed to LDII, Lembaga Dakwah Islam Indonesia, Indonesian Islamic Preaching Board.
of the tripartite path to God (Anonymous n.d.-a:381). With this explanation, Kyai Abdul Madjid Ma’ruf stresses the importance of \textit{shari’at} as the initial state for those who wish to enter the mystical path. His view on the importance of \textit{shari’at} is not unusual as most traditional santri in Java maintain that all the requirements of \textit{shari’at} should be fulfilled prior to entering upon the mystical path. Moreover, they argue that mystical path should be cultivated on the basis of outward piety (\textit{shari’at}) (Woodward 1989:81).

The second doctrine of \textit{Wahidiyat} is \textit{Bi Allah}. What is meant by the doctrine \textit{Bi Allah} (because of Allah) here is that every person’s outward and inward aspects are nothing but the creation and action of God. This definition is derived from the verse of the Qur’an stating that ‘and God has created you and what you make’ (37: 96). As a consequence, one cannot claim to have strength and power to act and to do either something good or bad, since the power and strength belongs to God Himself. This verse is not interpreted from the perspective of predestination, but from the Sufi point of view. In fact, this doctrine is practised as the implementation of the phrase, ‘\textit{lā ḥaula wa lā quwwata illā bi Allāh}’. There is no power and might save in God (Anonymous n.d.-a:98). Quoting Sunan Kalijaga, one of nine Javanese Muslim saints, Abdul Latif Madjid explains that according to this doctrine ‘a human is like a puppet and the God is like a puppeteer’ (Madjid 1423b:29-33). As far as bad deeds are concerned, Kyai Abdul Madjid Ma’ruf maintains that unlike good deeds, bad deeds should also be based on the doctrine of \textit{Bi Allah}. Therefore, one should keep in mind that every bad deed can only happen because of God. However, this does not necessarily mean that people are permitted to do bad deeds, even though they are performed through \textit{Bi Allah}. Kyai Abdul Madjid Ma’ruf defines this doctrine a \textit{haqiqat}, another of the tripartite ways to God.

Kyai Abdul Madjid Ma’ruf’s explanation of this doctrine largely follows Ibn ‘Ata’allah’s mystical teachings on the importance of relying on the Divinity rather than people’s own actions and deeds, as he explains in \textit{al-Hikam}. In elucidating the doctrine, Kyai Abdul Madjid Ma’ruf maintained as follows:

As a matter of fact, when we see, hear, feel, find, move, stay, imagine, think, and so on and so forth, we should feel within our heart that all of these can happen because of God’s command...if all activities are based on \textit{Li Allah-Bi Allah}, they will be regarded as worship. In contrast, if all activities, including prayers, \textit{dhikr}, are not based on \textit{Li Allah-Bi Allah}, they will be worthless. They are just like a dead body which cannot give any benefits or harm (Anonymous n.d.-a:98)

With this explanation, Kyai Abdul Madjid Ma’ruf argues that if this doctrine is absent from the heart of someone, they will tend to follow their own desire (\textit{bi...})
al-nafs). As a result, they can easily claim that everything they do is because of their own strength and power. Kyai Abdul Madjid Ma’ruf is convinced that if this feeling increases everyday, people will become egocentric and proud (A., ‘ujb, ananiyya) which is believed to be the cause of moral decadence, deviation, hostility, and quarrels. In addition, people’s reliance upon their own strength and power will lead them to commit hidden polytheism (shirkkhāfi‘a) (12: 106). Therefore, he insists that it is incumbent upon every follower to purge the nafs of its evil attributes by applying the doctrine of Li Alla‘h -Bi Alla‘h, reciting Ṣalawāt Wāhidiyat and striving (A., mujāhada) to ask forgiveness and guidance from God. He further maintains that once people manage to purge the nafs from their own deeds, they will come to a spiritual stage called wuṣūl (union) and ma’rifat (gnosis), both of which are the ultimate goal of Wāhidiyat.

The third doctrine of Wāhidiyat is Li al-Rasūl which means that every deed categorized as worship must be preceded not only with the doctrine li-Allah but also with an intention to follow the Prophet’s guidance. The aim of this doctrine is not only to improve the purity of intention (ikhlāṣ), but also to keep in touch with the Prophet. Kyai Abdul Madjid Ma’ruf is convinced that if people apply this doctrine, God will bestow the feeling of intimate relationship with the Prophet, enabling them to imitate the Prophet ethics (takhalluq bi akhlaq al-rasūl) in every situation. Moreover, since the essence of observance requires the understanding of the observed in every situation, such an intimate relationship will lead people to achieve the intended observance of the Prophet (Anonymous n.d.-a). Like the doctrine Li Allāh, this doctrine can be categorized as shari‘a.

The fourth doctrine of Wāhidiyat is Bi al-Rasūl which means that every person’s inward and outward deeds which do not violate the law of God have to be believed as result of the Prophet. Moreover, Kyai Abdul Madjid Ma’ruf explains that all the creatures in the world were created by God’s mercy, which is given through the Prophet. Without him, the world would not have been created. The merit of the Prophet is not confined to the time during which the Prophet lived, but continues to the present. If the merit of the Prophet had stopped just for a second, people would have been nothing (Anonymous n.d.-a). This doctrine is basically elaborated from the concept of Nur Muhammad (the Light of Muḥammad), and it is also called al-Ḥaqiqat al-Muḥammadiyyat, which was first introduced by Ibn ʿArabi (1165-1240) who developed more completely the doctrine of the pre-existence of Muḥammad before creation. According to

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28 Associating partners with God.
29 Al-ʿArabi’s full name was Muḥyī al-Dīn Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn ʿĀli Ibn Muḥammad Ibn al-ʿArabi. He was the greatest Sufi in Islam. He was the most prolific of Sufi writers. The number of his works number more than 239.
the hadith qudsi,\textsuperscript{30} all creatures are created from Nūr Muḥammad which was created from the light of God (khalaqtuka min nūrī wa khalaqtu al-khalqa mi al-nūrīka). Therefore, the world is a manifestation of that Light, and it emanated to Adam, the Prophets, and the Āqṭāb, the axis, all of which are the perfect Man (Insān al-Kāmil). However, the concept of Nur Muḥammad in the Wahidiyat is conceived only as a basis on which the followers of Wahidiyat should relate to the Prophet. In his attempt to explain the concept of Nūr Muḥammad, Kyai Abdul Latif Madjid describes it as follows:

Wahidiyat can be regarded as a Sufi group which follows the concept of Nūr Muḥammad. Not all Sufis, such as Hamka,\textsuperscript{31} can receive the teaching of Nūr Muḥammad. In Wahidiyat, it can be described as the connection of cotton, thread and fabric. The cotton is God, the thread is Nūr Muḥammad and the fabric is all creation. In fact the fabric is nothing without the thread and the thread is nothing without the cotton.

Unlike the application of the doctrine of Bi Allāh, the application of this doctrine is confined only to good deeds which are relevant to the law of God. In contrast, bad deeds which violate the law of God cannot be deemed to be the merit of the Prophet. Kyai Abdul Madjid Ma’ruf argues that the application of this doctrine, therefore, leads people always to feel that God and His Prophet will watch them, and as a consequence they will not dare to do something which violates the law of God (Anonymous 1999a). This teaching reminds us of the concept of iḥsān which means, according to traditions of the Prophet, ‘that you worship God as if you see Him, for even though you do not see God, God always sees you.’

The fifth doctrine of Wahidiyat is Li al-Ghauth (for the saint). The definition of this doctrine is that every good deed should be based on Li Allāh and Li al-Rasūl, followed by an intention to follow the guidance of the ghauth haḍha al-zamān. The application of this doctrine in Wahidiyat is confined to good deeds, not to bad deeds. This doctrine is derived from the verse of the Qur’ān which is as follows:

\begin{quotation}
...and follow the way of those who turn to me (in love): in the end the return of you all is to Me, and I will tell you the truth (and meaning) of all that ye did (31: 15).
\end{quotation}

\textsuperscript{30} A hadith qudsi is a tradition containing revelation from God phrased in the Prophet’s own words (Saeed 2006:156).

\textsuperscript{31} Hamka’s full name was Haji Abdul Malik Karim Amrullah (1908-1981) He was author of the book entitled Tasawuf Modern. He considered responsible for introducing Sufi teachings among Indonesian Muslim reformists.
Here Kyai Abdul Madjid Ma’ruf interprets the word ‘those who turn to me (in love)’ in this verse as the Ghauth (the Help), a friend of God and the highest spiritual authority possessed by saints. Although they have passed away, they are believed to be able to give spiritual guidance to people. However, the names of the Ghauth are not mentioned in this doctrine, so we do not know how many Ghauth exist in this world according to the doctrines of Wahdiyat. However, according to some followers, the Ghauth are Kyai Abdul Madjid and his son, Kyai Abdul Latif Madjid.

The next doctrine is Bi al-Ghauth. This is similar to Bi Allâhand Bi al-Rasûl, but also includes the belief that Ghauth gives spiritual guidance to Muslims, leading them to the consciousness of God and His Prophet, which in Wahdiyat is usually called fafirrî ila Allah wa rasûlihî şalla Allâhu ‘alaihi wasallam ‘(Turn to God and his Prophet, peace and blessing be upon him). This consciousness is inherent within the hearts of Muslims who cultivate the ethics of God and His Prophet in themselves (takhalluq bi akhlaq Allah wa al-rasûl). The application of this doctrine in Wahdiyat is intended not only to express gratitude to God but also to express gratitude to the Ghauth who transmits the grace of God to people. This is partly because the perfect expression of gratitude (A., shukr) to God requires the gratitude to those who cause the grace of God is be given. This teaching is based on the Prophetic tradition, ‘Those who are unable to express gratitude to people, will not be able to express gratitude to God.’ In this sense, a Ghauth is regarded not only as wasilat (intercessor) but also as nâib al-rasûl (a successor of the Prophet); and the Prophet is regarded as wasilat al-‘uzmâ (the great intercessor) who brings people to wusul (union) with God (Anonymous n.d.-a). In the case of Wahdiyat, Kyai Abdul Madjid Ma’ruf as well as his son, Abdul Latif Madjid, are regarded by their followers not only as the Ghauth but also as perfect teachers (A., kâmil mukammil) who are able to be intercessors (A., wasilat) towards God and the Prophet. In his speech on the occasion of Mujâhada Kuba’in 2000, Abdul Latif Madjid also regards himself as a point of intercession for Wahdiyat followers. He said this as follows:

Some one asked me, ‘Uncle, I recited this litany, why has it not been successful?’ I said to him, ‘Therefore you should take me as a mediator.’ He answered: ‘I did.’ And I said to him, ‘In that case, you have not given absolute submission to me. If you do not understand what total surrender means, simply recite this in the way I recite it ‘(Madjid 2000a).

If Kyai Madjid Ma’ruf and his son are considered to be Ghauth, their followers then have to submit absolutely to their guidance.

Another doctrine of Wahdiyat is Yu’tî kulla dhî ḥaqqin ḥaqqahu (literally, meaning to accord rights to those who deserve them), which is interpreted
to mean that people should give priority to fulfilling their obligations rather than in claiming their rights. The fulfillment of obligations will result in the fulfillment of other rights. For example, children must fulfill their obligations to their parents, and parents have to fulfill their obligations to their children without claiming their own rights. In fact, this doctrine is reminiscent of al-Ghazâlî who defines justice as giving rights to those who possess those rights. According to Kyai Abdul Madjid Ma’ruf, this doctrine will give a balance between the esoteric life and exoteric life. He puts it this way:

It is not enough for us just to study imân musyâhada, as the early Sufis who merely focused on their ascetic life (zâhid) and their isolation (tajrîd) so that they could not fulfil their duty as people of their nation (Anonymous 1425c:10-14).

The last doctrine of Wāhîdiyat is taqdim al-aham fa al-aham thumma al-anfa’ fa al-anfa’. This doctrine is described as giving priority to fulfilling the most important matters as well as the most useful matters. This doctrine applies especially when people are faced with two important options. In this case, they should choose which one is the most important. If both options are important, then one should choose the option which is more useful. According to this doctrine, everything that leads to the consciousness of God and His Prophet is regarded as most important (aham) and everything which gives benefits others is regarded as the most useful (Anonymous 1425b:30). This doctrine is derived from Islamic legal theories which state that preventing damage should be prioritized over seeking benefit (dar‘u al-mafâsid muqaddam ala> jalb al-mașâlîh) and that lesser injuries should be prioritized between two injuries (fi al-da>rârain akhdhu akhaffîhîmâ).

It is clear that the teachings of Wāhîdiyat stress the importance of the internal components of religious life as well as the necessity of observing the outward ritual forms of Islam and of avoiding shirk khâfîy (hidden polytheism). The first six doctrines are closely related to managing one’s heart and intentions by emphasizing dhawqiyyat (mystical taste or sense), while the last two doctrines are concerned with daily activities which should also be fulfilled by Wāhîdiyat members. Practising the doctrines of Wāhîdiyat will not prevent them from being involved in social activities. Instead of encouraging passivity and withdrawal from worldly affairs, the followers of Wāhîdiyat are required to become involved in public life, not only by performing their daily tasks but also by spreading Wāhîdiyat to the community. In this sense, Wāhîdiyat appeals to Muslim activism, since the fulfillment of worldly duties is seen as an integral part of its followers’ progress in their spiritual journey.
In addition to Wāḥidiyat’s main teachings, Wāḥidiyat followers are also introduced to philosophical and speculative aspects of Sufi teachings (tasawwuf falsafiy) such as fana’ (annihilation), mukāṣṣafat, musyāḥadat (vision), ’ilm al-yaqīn (knowledge of certitude), ‘ain al-yaqīn (vision of certitude), ḥaqqa’l-yaqīn (the real certitude), and different stations in the Sufi path (maqāmāt) including shukr (gratitude), iḥlāṣ (sincerity), ṣabr (patience), riḍā (contentment), maḥābbat (love), and ḥusnu al-zann (to think well of God). These stations are inspired mostly by al-Ghazālī’s Iḥyā’ al-‘Ulūm al-Dīn (The Revival of the Religious Sciences) which has been widely used in many other traditional pesantren in Indonesia. However, not all the Sufi ideas maintained by al-Ghazālī are fully introduced to Wāḥidiyat followers, only those which are relevant to the teaching of Wāḥidiyat are taught to them.

4.5. The Ritual of Mujāhada in Wāḥidiyat: Spiritual Pilgrimage

Wāḥidiyat is a Majlis Dhikr group which focuses on the reciting of Ṣalawāt which is believed to be able to provide a shortcut for people seeking Gnosis of God (A., ma’rifat bi-Allah) and the purity of soul. For Wāḥidiyat to achieve wuṣūl (union) and ma’rifat bi-Allah is difficult for everyone, particularly without the guidance of a perfect master (A., murshid). Similarly, to find a perfect teacher (kāmil mukammil) is also not easy, particularly in this age. It is so difficult to attain wuṣūl and ma’rifat billah that some ‘ulama’ point out that only particular people who can do so. Nevertheless, Wāḥidiyat claims to offers the easiest way to achieve wuṣūl and ma’rifat bi-Allah, that is, by reciting Ṣalawāt Wāḥidiyat during the mujāhada ritual. Quoting the words of Muslim scholars in the book entitled Sa’ādat al-Dārayni, Kyai Abdul Latif Madjid explains:

The easiest way to achieve wuṣūl ma’rifat to Allah particularly for those who have continuously committed sin, is by reciting istighfār (the forgiveness prayer) and Ṣalāwa (exaltation) towards the Prophet of God.

The practices and ritual of Wāḥidiyat focus on the continual recitation of Ṣalawāt based on mujāhada. In Sufism, mujāhada, which originally meant striving, refers to an intense spiritual effort that may lead to levels of spiritual ecstasy. Meanwhile, in the case of Wāḥidiyat, mujāhada is conceived as a method of reciting Ṣalawāt Wāḥidiyat in accordance with the methods and ethics taught by the author of the Ṣalawāt, including the implementation of

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This book is the greatest work of al-Ghazālī both in size and in the importance of its content. It consists of four volumes. This book has been taught in Indonesian pesantren for centuries.
the doctrines of Waḥidiyat, the imagination of the Prophet’s presence, and the deep feeling of sinfulness towards God (Anonymous 1989). In other words, in Waḥidiyat, mujāḥada refers to an optimal effort to defeat passion (I., nafṣ; A., nafs) in order to establish the consciousness of God and His Prophet (ma’rifat bi-Allāh wa Rasūlihi or iman mushāhada) and to achieve wuṣūl to God.

It is strongly recommended that members of this group should follow the adab (courtesy) that imposed by the group before practising mujāḥada or reciting the Ṣalawāt. First, people should be purified either from hadas besar (major impurity)33 or hadas kecil (minor impurity).34 Second, they should face the direction of Ka’ba in Mecca (I., kiblat). Third, if people perform mujāḥada together (I., berjamaah), they should form a circle facing each other. Fourth, this practice should be based on the teaching of Waḥidiyat. Fifth, people should be inspired by the greatness of the Prophet by imagining that they sit in front of him. Sixth, people should feel full of sinful hoping for the God forgiveness and regretting their sinfulness. Seventh, people should be obedient to the Abdul Latif Madjid, the leader of the Ṣalawāt Waḥidiyat group. Eighth, people should be inspired by the meaning of the text of Ṣalawāt while reciting it. Ninth, people should not be in a rush when recite the Ṣalawāt. When women menstruate, they are allowed to join the ritual and they can recite everything in the text of the Ṣalawāt but they should not recite the opening chapter of the Qur’an, al-Fātiḥat (Anonymous 1425a:23).

During mujāḥada, the followers of Waḥidiyat group, in Ngoro, Jombang are urged to visualize their master (A., taṣawwur al-shaikh), Kyai Abdul Madjid Ma’ruf. In contrast, I could not find the followers of Waḥidiyat group in Kediri practise the visualization of their leader, Kyai Abdul Latif Madjid. This practice is very important to the Ngoro group, particularly to increase their love of the murshid (Yusuf 2003:61). This is partly because, although Kyai Abdul Madjid Ma’ruf has died, he is believed to be able to watch his followers as well as educate them spiritually. If the followers doubt the late founder’s ability to watch and educate them, they will be prevented from receiving his blessing. By visualizing the murshid, the followers become conscious of his presence, which will save them from nafs (passion) and increase their spiritual achievement. However, the ritual practices of Waḥidiyat do not determine the method for visualizing the murshid. Bruinessen (1992:85) points out that the visualization of the murshid is also practised by other international Sufi orders such as the Ni`matullā order in Iran, the Naqshabandiyah order, and the Shatariyah order.

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33 An impurity that requires a Muslim to carry out a full ritual ablation (A., ghusl), as for example after having a wet dream or sexual intercourse with one’s spouse.
34 An impurity that requires a Muslim to carry out a minor ritual ablation (A., wudū’), as for example after passing wind, urinating, or defecating.
Since mujāhada has become an important part of Wāḥidiyyat rituals, it should be practised by those who want to join and those who have become members of Wāḥidiyyat. It is recommended that the number of one’s mujāhada be increased when one has become a follower. This ritual practice of mujāhada is conducted in various ways. For example, those who are about to join Wāḥidiyyat have to practise mujāhada for forty days consecutively. According to my informant, this kind of mujāhada constitutes the initial part of the Wāḥidiyyat ritual. This can also be regarded as a dowry (mahr), a word used to refer to an obligatory payment given by a husband to his wife before marriage. Like mahr, the forty days of mujāhada is an obligation for new followers. If they cannot recite the whole of Ṣalawāt Wāḥidiyyat, they must read part of the text. This allows those who cannot read Arabic fluently, to become followers of Wāḥidiyyat. Unlike the ritual practice in a Sufi order (tarekat), to become a member of Wāḥidiyyat, the candidate does not undergo an initiation rite bay’at (a vow of allegiance) to his or her master.

Other rituals of mujāhada are conducted in Wāḥidiyyat on the basis of a set schedule, such as Mujāhada Yaumiyyat (daily), Mujāhada Uṣbū’iyyat (weekly) Mujāhada Shahriyyat (monthly, by the followers in each sub district, kecamatan), Mujāhada Rub’ al-Sanat (quarterly, by the followers in each regency, kabupaten), Mujāhada Nişf al-Sanat (half yearly, by all followers in one province), and Mujāhada Kubrā (the great Mujāhada). This last ritual is held twice a year at the centre of Wāḥidiyyat to commemorate the birth day of Wāḥidiyyat and the Isra’ Mi’rāj (the night journey and the ascension of the Prophet) (Anonymous 1989). Apart from these kinds of mujāhada, there are other kinds of mujāhada which are conducted for particular purposes such as Mujāhada Pertanian (Mujāhada for agricultural matters), Mujāhada Pengobatan (Mujāhada for healing) ’Mujāhada Kecerdasan (mujāhada for increasing cleverness), Mujāhada Keamanan (mujāhada for security purposes), Mujāhada Non-Stop (24 hours mujāhada, for improving remembrance of God and His Prophet), Mujāhada Pembangunan (mujāhada for the inauguration of a building) and Mujāhada Penyongsongan (mujāhada for the success of an event). Another type of mujāhada is conducted for particular events, such as a general election, the commemoration of the revelation of the Qur‘an (nuzūl al-Qur‘an), Indonesian independence, and new year (Anonymous 1996).

These different uses indicate that the reciting of Ṣalawāt Wāḥidiyyat through ritual mujāhada is like a panacea by which all problems faced by people can be resolved. For example, one informant mentioned that his old grandfather suffered from acute hepatitis. His doctor could not do anything to cure the ailment and asked the grandson to bring his grandfather home. The grandson then asked all the members of his family to practise mujāhada every night
by asking a blessing of Abdul Latif Madjid’s karamah. As a result, the health of his old grandfather gradually improved. There are many other stories about miracles of mujähada that have been experienced by the followers of Wāhidiyat. These stories have been collected and published by Pengalaman Rohani Team (Spiritual Experience Team) either in the form of a book or magazine articles (Rohani 2004). These different forms of mujähada are often used by Wāhidiyat preachers to attract new followers.

Among mujähada rituals conducted by members of Wāhidiyat is the Mujähada Kubrā, which is held twice annually. It is the most monumental event for all Wāhidiyat followers. Since it is held at the central office of Wāhidiyat in Pesantren Kedunglo where the tomb of the founder is located, it is to this mujähada that all followers including men, women, youth and children flock to seek blessing and illumination (A., barakat wa nadra), either from Kyai Abdul Madjid, the founder of Wāhidiyat or Abdul Latif Madjid. In order to seek blessing from the founder, the Wāhidiyat followers usually visit his tomb and perform mujähada there. The grave of the founder has become an important local pilgrimage site for his followers. Meanwhile, in order to seek barakah from Abdul Latif Madjid, they have to conduct a visitation (J., pisowanan). Pisowanan gives followers the opportunity to come and see the leader of Wāhidiyat. Visitation is usually held in the morning after the dawn prayer. Before a pisowanan starts, all followers should sit in a long line so that they have a chance to shake hands with the leader and kiss his hand. Very often during pisowanan they cry hysterically and faint after succeeding in kissing the hand of their leader. Since both the late Kyai Abdul Madjid Ma’ruf and Abdul Latif Madjid are deemed to be saints (wali), for Wāhidiyat followers visiting the tomb of Kyai Abdul Madjid Ma’ruf, and shaking and kissing the hand of Abdul Latif Madjid offer intimacy with them. They convey a kind of blessing. As Werbner has argued, since a saint is regarded by Sufi followers as having divine sanctity which can irradiate them, to touch anything which is related to the saint is like absorbing his spiritual power (Werbner 2003).

Mujähada Kubrā is a major event which involves followers from many regions throughout Indonesia and overseas as well. In order to avoid overcrowding, this event is divided into five sessions held over five days. The first session (Thursday evening) is for the preachers and board members of Wāhidiyat from all levels of the organization, the second session (Friday evening) is for followers who are mothers, the third session (Saturday evening) is for followers who are young, the fourth session (Sunday morning) is for children, and the fifth session (Monday evening) is for followers who are fathers. Each session consists of a lecture on Wāhidiyat, edicts (fatwa) and instructions (I., amanah) of the leader and the mujähada ritual. Although Mujähada Kubrā is divided
into five sessions, each of which should be followed by particular people, most followers from cities outside of Kediri often participate in all sessions of *Mujāhada Kubrā*, regardless of the sessions. Those who join the ritual consist of different ages and genders (Anonymous 1999b). The fact that women can participate in the *mujāhada* ritual confirms Howell’s observation that women are well represented in religious groups such as *tarekat* and are now active in the *Majlis Dhikr* groups (Howell et al 2001). This contrasts with previous times when the vast majority of those who joined *tarekat* were elderly people and men who had ‘abandoned their worldly interest’ (Dhofier 1999).

Plate 4.5: Female participants waiting for a pisowanan session

Plate 4.6: Female participants during a pisowanan session
Plate 4.7: Male participants at a Mujāhada Kubrā waiting for a pisowanan session

Plate 4.8: Male participants kissing their leader’s hand during pisowanan session
Plate 4.9: The participants at a Mujāhada Kubrā praying at the tomb of Kyai Abdul Madjid Ma’ruf (the founder of the Wāḥidiyat group)

Plate 4.10: Children crying during Mujāhada Kubrā ritual in Pesantren Kedunglo, Kediri.
The Wāhidīyat lecture during Mujāhada Kubrā is usually given by an appointed preacher. The aim of this lecture is to increase the followers’ understanding and strengthen their loyalty to Wāhidīyat. It is in this lecture that the preacher usually persuades the followers of the importance of reciting Ṣalawāt Wāhidīyat and mujāhada, telling of miraculous stories experienced by other followers. Only those who come early are able to sit near the stage to follow this lecture, others sit on mats outside the main location, where they can follow the lecture from a big video-link screen provided by the officials.

Unlike other Sufi orders which require their followers to have reached a certain age, in Wāhidīyat, children are allowed not only to participate in Mujāhada Kubrā ritual but also to become Wāhidīyat followers. Other Muslim groups object to this, arguing that the involvement of children in Sufi practice does not educate them since they are too young to experience and practise Sufi knowledge. As informed by Sodli, one of Muhammadiyah members compares the involvement of children in Sufism to asking a baby to eat hot chilli (Sodli 1990:28). In other words, it is argued that Sufi practices will harm the mental development of the children. In contrast, from Wāhidīyat’s point of view, this involvement of children in Wāhidīyat practices aims to introduce them to the awareness of God and his Prophet at an early stage of their lives, and as such, it is expected that this awareness will endure when they have grown up.
Plate 4.12: Female students crying during a prayer session in Mujāhada Kubrā ritual in Pesantren Kedunglo, Kediri
The reciting of Šalawāt Waḥidiyat during Mujāhada Kubrā is conducted in unison (I. berjamaah) led by a leader (I., imam). It is interesting to note here that there are no qualifications for becoming an imam in the Mujāhada Kuṭbā. Whether imam are men is not a big issue. Women can become imam for Mujāhada Kuṭbā, even though the participants of Mujāhada Kuṭbā are mostly male. Even adolescents and children can become imam as long as they can read the text of Šalawāt Waḥidiyat fluently. Followers are expected to weep as an expression of their deep repentance during the mujāhada ritual. The louder they weep, the deeper is their regret of their misdeeds. According to the teaching of Waḥidiyat, inability to weep during mujāhada ritual indicates that person suffers from ‘stubbornness’ (kerasnya hati) and this stubbornness is as a result of sins.

After reciting Šalawāt during mujāhada, the mujāhidīn (the participants of mujāhada) perform the īstighrāq ritual. According to Sufi teaching, this term refers to ‘the state of immersion in God’ as a result of dhikr’ (Trimingham 1971). In Waḥidiyat, the īstighrāq ritual is a part of the mujāhada ritual where the followers should be silent. During this time they must practise three kinds of īstighrāq. The first is īstighrāq waḥidiyyat, meaning that they have to concentrate and realize that everything in this world, including one’s life, is created by God. The second is īstighrāq bi haqīqal al-Muḥammadiyyat which means that everything that was created by God including oneself is as a result of the light of Muhammad (Nūr Muḥammad). The third kind of īstighrāq is īstighrāq ahadiyyat which refers to the state of immersion in God and the state of fana’ dhauqiyyat (Madjid 2000b:25-31). In his attempt to explain the meaning of īstighrāq ahadiyyat, Kyai Latif quoted the definition of maḥhabbat given by Junayd al-Bağdādī as follows:

…therefore those who love God (maḥhabbat) are those who melt themselves within God which is called fana’ not manuggaling kawula marang Gūsti (the union of slaves with God). As a result, all of their movements are in fact God’s movements…

At the end of reciting Šalawāt in the mujāhada ritual, all the participants are required to stand facing the four directions in turn while reciting loudly the word ‘fafirru ʿila Allah (Turn to God). This ritual is performed to call humankind from all over the world to return to the path of God. This ritual follows a ritual conducted by the prophet Abraham. It was reported that when he finished building the holy Kaʿbah, he then called humankind to perform pilgrimage (hajj) standing at the top of the hill Qubays and facing all four directions in turn.

After the mujāhada ritual finishes, the last part of each session in the Mujāhada Kuṭbā is edicts (fatwa) and instructions (amanah) presented by the leader of
Wāḥidiyat, Abdul Latif Madjid. The topic of the ḥudūdah is chosen by Abdul Latif Madjid himself in accordance with the audience and the participants of mujāhada. He often delivers a speech which touches the heart of the audiences, leading them to weep. He very often comes to the location of the mujāhada after all the other parts of the ceremony have been completed. He walks from his house to reach the stage, followed by a group of people including his pramu (male assistants), official male members of Wāḥidiyat, male security guards in semi-military uniform and one person holding a lamp at the front of the group, even though it is day time. This group is followed by Ibu Nyai (the kyai’s wife) and his mother who are followed by pramu wanita (female assistants) and female security guards. When this group of people marches to the location, all the mujāhada participants are asked to stand in order to show respect for their leader. Most of them are weeping and shouting when they see their leader walk to the stage. The topic of his ḥudūdah is not determined beforehand and as a result the audience does not know about the topic in advance.

Because Mujāhada Kubarā is a monumental event in Wāḥidiyat, most of other mujāhada are also conducted around this event. For example, Mujāhada Penyongsongan is held in the pesantren forty days before the Mujāhada Kubarā is held. This mujāhada is conducted to ask God for the success of the Mujāhada Kubarā ritual. Other mujāhada are also held during the Mujāhada Kubarā such as Mujāhada Keamanan (mujāhada for security), Mujāhada Non-Stop (to keep remembering God), and Mujāhada Keuangan (mujāhada for raising money). The latter is held in order that this Mujāhada Kubarā can raise funding not only for the success of the Mujāhada Kubarā, but also for the preaching of Wāḥidiyat. It is in this Mujāhada Kubarā that the followers of Wāḥidiyat have a direct chance to contribute to the struggle for awareness of God and the Prophet within Wāḥidiyat by putting some money into donation boxes (I., kotak amal). The places where these kinds of mujāhada are held are usually separated from the main hall of Mujāhada Kubarā and only those who are elected officially by the Wāḥidiyat board can participate in these mujāhada.

During Mujāhada Kubarā, the followers also have a chance to give a voluntary donation for the struggle of Wāḥidiyat by exchanging some money for a pack of sugar. The sugar, which is provided by the committee of Mujāhada Kubarā in the location, is believed to be efficacious for medical purposes. To use the sugar for medical purposes is very simple. One can add a teaspoon of sugar to water as a drink or mix sugar with food. The use of sugar as a means of healing (I., suwuk) is commonly practised in the local Sufi tradition. Other substances used for healing are water and salt. The sugar resembles normal sugar but it is provided by the committee after going through a process of special mujāhada, which is called Mujāhada Gula (obat) (Mujāhada for sugar medication). This mujāhada is conducted with particular prayers by individuals elected by the committee. It should be held for three consecutive days and nights without stopping.
Plate 4.13: The leader of Wāḥidiyat, Kyai Abdul Latif Madjid giving edicts (fatwa) in Mujāhada Kubrā.
Those who are involved in the *μουζαχάδα* are not allowed to talk during the ritual. The *μουζαχάδα* is divided into several phases, and each phase takes two hours and fifteen minutes. After finishing the *μουζαχάδα*, the people involved in the ritual have to blow on sugar that they have been provided three times.

For Wāḥidiyat followers the *Μουζαχάδα Κουβρά* held at the Wāḥidiyat centre in Kedunglo can be seen as a pilgrimage which involves a process of ‘spiritual renewal and a renewal of personhood through contact with a sacred highly structured and complex set of symbolic operations which bring about the desired transformation both in moral persona of a pilgrim, including his or her acquisition of the desired sacred substances to be taken back on the journey home, and of the community’ (Werbner 2003). The annual *Μουζαχάδα Κουβρά* is regarded as the ultimate ritual in Wāḥidiyat, functioning not only as spiritual renewal but also as a renewal of Wāḥidiyat identity. In this sense, *Μουζαχάδα Κουβρά* can be compared with the great pilgrimage to Mecca. It is in such pilgrimage that Muslims from quite separate social backgrounds gather. As observed by Gilsenan (1993:17) in the pilgrimage ‘the collective quest of pilgrims for blessing or knowledge was one that gave form and substance to the idea of the umma. These pilgrimages served as channels of information.’ After returning from the pilgrimage, Muslims will feel that they have been born again in this world as a new person.

### 4.6. The Strategy to Preaching Ṣalawāt Wāḥidiyat (Da’wah Wāḥidiyat) in Implementing Sufi Tolerance: The Role of Pesantren

As Howell points out, ‘the pesantren (Islamic boarding schools) have been both the loci of *tarekat* and important sources of recruitment for them, with former pupils returning later in life to their old pesantren, or to another in the pesantren network, to undertake more weighty spiritual regimes’ (Howell 2001:705). This view might be valid only in the case of some pesantren which provide either the basics of Islamic teachings or the teaching of *tarekat* or a Sufi order. However, as Howell (2001), Zulkifli (2002) and Dhofier (1982) argue, although most pesantren in Java do not have a particular *tarekat* branch, the life in most pesantren still involves the practice of intimate aspects of Sufism such as reciting of *dhikr* and *wirid*. This is valid if Sufism is conceived not merely as the practices of a Sufi order but as ascetic and devotional practices that do not need to be involved with mystical way. Therefore, many students (santri) in those pesantren who join in the performance of collective *dhikr* and perform a particular *wirid* (chanting religious litanies) may not be members of a Sufi order.
This might be well explained by another expression that ‘a follower of tarekat is also a Sufi, but a Sufi does not have to be a follower of tarekat’ (Zulkifli 2001). Pesantren have thus played an important role in the maintenance of Sufi practices from the early days of pesantren in Indonesia.

Despite the fact that Wahidiyat is not a Sufi group, it nevertheless teaches and practises Sufi teaching as practised by other Sufi orders. In order to develop its teachings, Wahidiyat realizes that pesantren are a strategic means to disseminate its teaching. Therefore, pesantren are used not merely to teach basic religious knowledge, the Qur’an, law and theology, to mould Wahidiyat ‘ulama’ (Muslim scholars) who are the heirs of the prophets (A., warاث al-anbiya’) but also to create Wahidiyat cadres active in every aspect of life. To be more specific, the education system in the pesantren strives to mould wali yang intelek, intelektual yang wali: ‘intellectual saints’ (wali or ārif who also master secular knowledge), and ‘saintly intellectuals’ (scholars of modern knowledge who also have achieved ma’rifat). A similar vision is used particularly by pesantren which adopt a secular system of education as well as salafi pesantren methods. Pesantren Tebuireng in Jombang, for example, aims to train its students to become ulama intelektuil and intelektuil ulama (Dhofier 1999).

To implement this vision, Pesantren Kedunglo offers two types of education. The first type is an educational system which is in cooperation with the Ministry of National Education (I., Departemen Pendidikan Nasional), and the Ministry of Religious Affairs (I., Departemen Agama) offering courses ranging from elementary level to university level (SD, SMP, SMU and Sekolah Tinggi Ekonomi Wahidiyat and Sekolah Tinggi Agama Islam). This system enables these various schools to receive educational subsidies from both the Ministry of National Education and the Ministry of Religious Affairs. The second type is a diniyah system which adopts pesantren methods. This system consists of several levels from Taman Pendidikan Al-Qur’an (TPA), Madrasah Ibtidaiyat (elementary school), through Madrasah Thanawiyyat (secondary), to Madrasah ‘Alleiyat (high school). The characteristics of the diniyah system can be clearly seen from the texts used in the pesantren. Most of the texts are classical Arabic texts (I., kitab kuning) which are also widely used in many other pesantren salaf (traditional pesantren) and include Islamic jurisprudence (fiqh), Arab grammar (Naḥw and Ṣaraf), theology (Tawḥīd), and the study of the Prophetic tradition (Ḥadīth), the knowledge of Ḩadīth (‘Ulūm al-Ḥadīth), Islamic history (Tārīkh), and Islamic ethics (Akhlaq). The texts are given to students in evening class in accordance with their level of study. In addition to the texts, other local subjects

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A Pesantren Salafi is a pesantren which still preserves the teaching of classical texts as essential education.
such as *kewahidiyahan* (*Wāhidiyat* lectures) and public speaking (I. *Praktek Khīṭābat* or *Pidato*) are taught at all levels of education in *Wāhidiyat*. As argued by Abdul Mujib, a teacher in the *pesantren*, these two subjects, followed by the practice of the mujahāda ritual, give a firm grounding for students to achieve *ma’rifat*, the ultimate stage of Sufi practice and mould a cadre of *Wāhidiyat* who can fulfil the proselytization of *Wāhidiyat*.36

Although the *pesantren* has adopted the *diniyah* system, there is no segregation between female and male students in the classroom. Both are treated equally in terms of their rights to have an access to education. They are often involved together in *pesantren* activities such as sports, and Boy- and Girl- Scouts. Segregation is applied within *pesantren* only in the mujahāda ritual, the five daily prayers, and the weekly *al-Ḥikam* instruction (*Pengajian Mingguan Kitab al-Ḥikam*). In contrast, the segregation of female and male students is strictly applied at other neighboring *pesantren* salaf such as *Pesantren Lirboyo*, *Pesantren Ploso*, and *Pesantren Jampes* for most of the students’ daily *pesantren* life.

In addition to the *pesantren*, another means used to cultivate the teachings of *Wāhidiyat* is through the establishment of a central organization. The use of this organization to spread the teaching of *Wāhidiyat* is considered important. This belief is inspired by the words of ‘Ālī ibn ‘Abī Ṭālib, ‘the truth (al-ḥaq) without organization will be defeated by the untruth (al-bāṭil) with organization.’ Therefore, since its inception, the founder of *Wāhidiyat* realized that the establishment of an organization was an important tool to facilitate the spread of his teachings. In the hands of his son, Kyai Abdul Latif Madjid, the management of the *Wāhidiyat* organization has been increasingly improved. According to a recent report, *Wāhidiyat* has established branches in seventeen provinces37 and over 125 regencies throughout Indonesia, and it has 300 cooperatives (*koperasi Wahidiyah*). Kyai Abdul Latif Madjid claims that *Wāhidiyat* also has several overseas agencies in Malaysia, Brunei, Singapore, Hong Kong, Thailand, Netherlands, England, Saudi Arabia, France, Peru, and Australia (Melbourne) (Madjid 2001:21-27). Nevertheless, the exact number of *Wāhidiyat* followers and their social background are unknown because no official record has been made by the official board of *Wāhidiyat*, nor are new followers officially registered.

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36 Interview with Abdul Mujib, Kediri, September, 2004.
37 These seventeen provinces are: East Java, Central Java, West Java, Lampung, North Sumatra, South Sumatra, Jambi, Riau, Bali, East Kalimantan, South Kalimantan, Central Kalimantan, West Kalimantan, Gorontalo, NTT, Papua (Merauke), and South Sulawesi. [Interview with Zainuddin, Kediri, September, 2004].
Rituals of Islamic Spirituality

Map. 4. The Map of Pesantren Kedunglo, Kediri

The structure of Wāḥidiyat’s organization follows the typical structure of other Islamic organizations, such as Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah. It consists of a central board office, representatives in provinces, regencies, sub-districts, and villages. The aims of this structure are to build strong ties among the followers, who cannot directly consult with the central board, and to help coordinate activities according to the level of the organizational structure. Since the structure of Wāḥidiyat involves a combination of organization and a foundation, the central board of Wāḥidiyat comprises the head of the foundation who is also the head of the central organization and the guardian of the Wāḥidiyat struggle (pengasuh perjuangan). It has a number of departments, including a department of regional affairs (departemen urusan wilayah/daerah), department of proselytization and development (departemen penyiaran dan pembinaan), department of women’s development (departemen pembina wanita), department of adolescent’s development (departemen pembina remaja), department of children’s development (departemen pembina anak-anak), department of finance (departemen keuangan), department of cooperative (departemen koperasi), department of education and culture (departemen pendidikan dan kebudayaan), and department of equipment (departemen perlengkapan). These departments
are headed by pramu who are appointed directly by the head of Waḥidiyat as pengasuh perjuangan (The guardian of the struggle). The leader of Waḥidiyat argues that the structure of Waḥidiyat is derived from his concept of ‘a state without land.’ In other words, he has established a structure which is similar to that of a state government in its function and purpose. Such a structure requires officials to show responsibility towards the followers. In turn, like the people of a nation, the followers should take responsibility for supporting the struggle within Waḥidiyat.38t

The highest authority and decision-making body in the Waḥidiyat is, therefore, in the hands of Kyai Abdul Latif Madjid as the guardian of the Waḥidiyat’s struggle and as the head of the foundation and organization. He is called Romo Yahi39 (the old kyai) among his followers. As Romo Yahi, for example, he can freely choose someone to be a pramu in a particular department, while at the same time he can replace one pramu with another if the pramu is regarded as an unsuccessful manager of his or her department. He also has the authority to set up new departments on the basis of the needs of the organization. Unlike other Islamic organizations in Indonesia such as Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah, Waḥidiyat does not have a board of advisors or a religious council which can control the head of the organization.

In order to support and run activities, the department of finance seeks and draws funding resources from many activities such as agriculture, cooperatives, printing, farming, stores, financial government assistance, as well as financial assistance from the followers. The financial assistance collected from the followers can be divided into three categories. The first category is income contribution (I., sumbangan pendapatan), that is, at least one percent of the followers’ income is taken for the organization’s funds every month. This can be taken from their daily income, monthly income or their occasional income. The second category is contributions taken from poll tax (I., zakat fitrah), wealth tax (A., zakat māl), and charitable gifts (A., sadaqat). The third category is income from donations which are given voluntarily by followers on a daily basis. These three categories of funding are provided by all followers who earn their own income. The officials encourage the followers to increase their donations (Anonymous 1424b:30-31).

38 Interview with Kyai Abdul Latif Madjid, Kediri, January 2005.
39 Romo Yahi is the highest title in the Waḥidiyat and given only to Abdul Latif Madjid as pengasuh perjuangan Waḥidiyat (the guardian of Waḥidiyat’s struggle). His pramu cannot use this title. They can only be called as kyai. In contrast, in many other pesantren salaf, kyai is the highest title given to the leader of pesantren.
The Head of Foundation and the Guardian of Wāḥidiyyat

Other Departments:
- The Dept. of Preaching and Development of Wāḥidiyyat.
- The Dept. of Women Development of Wāḥidiyyat.
- The Dept. of Youth Development Wāḥidiyyat.
- The Dept. of Children Development of Wāḥidiyyat.
- The Dept. of Cultural and Education Wāḥidiyyat.
- The Dept. of Treasury
- The Dept. of Cooperation.
- The Department of Equipment Wāḥidiyyat.

The Department of Territorial Affairs

The Secretary of the Organization

The Provincial Officials of Wāḥidiyyat

The Regency Officials of Wāḥidiyyat

The Sub-District Officials of Wāḥidiyyat

The Village Officials of Wāḥidiyyat

The same departments as above at the Provincial Level

The same departments as above at the Regency Level

The same departments as above at the Sub-District

The same departments as above in the Village

Figure 4.1 The Organizational Structure of Ṣalawāt Wāḥidiyyat.

Source: Interview with Kyai Zainuddin, Kediri November 2004
At one time, Wâhidîyat received financial aid from the government, even though with particular conditions, for example, that the aid should be free from any interest of government (at least, this notion was mentioned in the general program of the Wâhidîyat organization in 1998). In fact, government financial assistance is a big issue for pesantren particularly those categorized as traditional pesantren. As Pranowo observed, refusing to accept financial assistance from the government might be regarded as demonstrating a close-minded attitude. On the other hand, the refusal of the kyai leaders of pesantren to accept any governmental assistance for their pesantren can be described as part of ‘a manifestation of the never-ending endeavor to achieve the self-reliance, which is so essential to santri tradition’ (Pranowo 1991:39-55). Furthermore, the refusal of pesantren to accept government assistance can be said to inculcate the value of ikhlâs (sincerity) which is part of Sufi teaching. It also avoids any intervention from the government, which might lessen the independence of the pesantren. Currently, the head of Wâhidîyat does not want to receive any financial assistance from government. According to him, the reason is that no financial assistance from government can be free from corruption (I., pungutan liar). If Wâhidîyat receives this assistance, it might be considered to be involved in such corruption. As a result, instead of receiving government donations, Wâhidîyat has developed other resources.

According to informants, followers are not forced by the central department of finance to give alms and money to the central organization of Wâhidîyat. Nevertheless, the followers are strongly encouraged to give donations, poll tax (zakat fitrah), and wealth tax (A., zakat māl, I., zakat pendapatan) for the struggle of Wâhidîyat. The department argues that although it does not ask zakat and donation from the followers, it only represents the Wâhidîyat organization’s rights, which are in the hands of its followers. In order to implement this policy, the department has officially given detailed instructions to its representatives at all levels regarding the methods of collecting donations.

According to Islamic jurisprudence, there is no obligation for Muslims to give zakat pendapatan or zakat māl (wealth tax) to close neighbours. But, in the case of zakat fitrah, this should be distributed directly to the needy and the poor who live in the nearest place where the donors spend the first day of the month of Syawal. It is not to be given to an organization (Qardhawi 1995:411). To resolve this problem, the officials in Wâhidîyat, particularly the department of finance, regard themselves as mustâhîq, so the followers can give their zakat

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41 Mustâhîq refers to people who are eligible to receive zakat. The Qur’an describes eight groups of people who are able to receive zakat including the poor (miskîn), the needy (fâqîr), employees of zakat (âmil), those
fitrah to the department, which has representatives at all levels from provinces to villages (Anonymous 1423b). Of the eight groups of people who are eligible to receive zakat (mustaḥiq), the department defines itself as sabīl li-l-ḫair or fī sabīlīliḥah, rather than ʿāmil as commonly practised by other institutions. For this reason, the amount of money collected from zakat is used mainly to support the Wāḥidiyyah struggle, not for other purposes.

Another method to collect financial support from followers is through collection boxes provided to followers by the financial department of Wāḥidiyyah. This box should be put in front of followers’ houses. It is highly recommended that the followers put some money into the box everyday with pure intention (I., ikhlas), regardless of the amount. The box will be collected by Imam Jama’ī (the village leader of Wāḥidiyyah) on a weekly basis when the Mujaḥadat ‘Uṣbū’īyyah (weekly musāḥada) is held in the village. Fifteen percent of the money collected from either zakat or dana box (box donation) is taken to run the organization of Wāḥidiyyah in the village, while the rest is kept by the Imam Jama’ī Induk (the main village leader of Wāḥidiyyah). The Imam Jama’ī Induk is chosen from among the village leaders. The department of finance at sub-district level then collects the funds every month and passes them on to the department of finance at regency level. At the end of every month the funds should be given to the central department of finance after deducting the funds for the organization at the regency level (Anonymous 1423a:31-32).

The department of finance has an annual target of one hundred and twenty-seven million rupiah (AUD$ 18,142,86) from zakat fitrah, twenty seven million (AUD$ 3,857,14) from zakat mal and one hundred fifty million (AUD$ 21,428,57) from donations. However, this amount is just a target, and in fact the amount of money from those sources is frequently less than the target. This is because followers have different views of zakat, based on their own madhab (Islamic law school) back ground. This influences their acceptance of the obligation to pay zakat through Wāḥidiyyah. Furthermore, the various degrees of loyalty and submission of the followers to the leader affect the level of contribution of zakat and the proportion of donations from followers’ income (sūmbānān pendapatan) given to the Wāḥidiyyah (Anonymous 1424b).

According to one informant, the followers should give donations to the organization simply to express their gratitude, sacrifice and responsibility to help the organization in its efforts to bring Muslims to the consciousness of God and His Prophet. This is a hard task for the organization, which requires

who have just embraced Islam (mu’āllaf), a debtor (ghārim), freed slaves (riqāb), those who struggle in the cause of Allah (fī sabīlīliḥah) and wayfarers (Ibn sabīl).

42  SAUD 1= Rp 7000
not only time, organizational management but also funds. Therefore, followers need to give financial assistance to the organization not only for the sake of the organization but also for the benefit of the followers themselves, particularly to improve their closeness to God and His Prophet. In other words, in order to achieve ma’rifat bi-Allāh wa rasūlihi, the followers of Wāḥidiyyat should make an effort to use their ability, wealth, and knowledge to help the struggle of Wāḥidiyyat. All of these efforts should be directed to follow the guidance of Romo Yahi (the leader of Wāḥidiyyat). In this sense, sacrifice is strongly stressed within this group, and this has become a determining factor in measuring followers’ submission (A., taslim) to the leader of Wāḥidiyyat.

All Wāḥidiyyat followers have a responsibility to bring people regardless of their ethnic group, religious group or age, to the consciousness of God and His Prophet. In other words, they have a duty to spread the teaching of Wāḥidiyyat, including the Šalawāt Wāḥidiyyat, to other people including Muslims and non-Muslims. According to Slamet, a central Wāḥidiyyat official, spreading the teaching of Wāḥidiyyat to non-Muslims, is conducted without coercion. He added that, in many cases, they are interested in practising Wāḥidiyyat ritual after they face a difficult problem and they ask Wāḥidiyyat to solve it. In this case, Slamet pointed out that Wāḥidiyyat officials never asked them to convert to Islam.43 The opportunity to preach the teaching of Wāḥidiyyat and the Šalawāt is to be given by the founder not only to the official board members but also to the followers and other people. As a result, those who have received and practised Šalawāt Wāḥidiyyat can spread knowledge of the Šalawāt to others without asking for an ijaża (license) from the leader. With this feature, Wāḥidiyyat is, in effect, a missionary group which strongly urges its followers to spread the teachings of Wāḥidiyyat and the Šalawāt and to seek new followers. The missionary nature of Wāḥidiyyat was clearly reflected by Kyai Abdul Madjid Ma’ruf. For instance, he suggested to his followers on the 25th anniversary of Šalawāt Wāḥidiyyat that, ‘Within a month, every Wāḥidiyyat follower should recruit at least one new follower’ (Anonymous 1989:70).

In contrast, other Sufi orders, such as Qodiriyah, Naqshabandiyah and Tijaniyah, require bay’at and ijaża for their followers. Only particular disciples who have received ijaża from their master are able to seek new followers. In line with this, there are three types of ijaża. The first is the lowest one given to disciples to practise tarekat. The second ijaża gives authority to disciples, as the representatives of their master, to guide others in practising Sufism. The third one is the highest ijaża, which authorizes the holder as Sufi master to offer initiation to novices (Bruinessen 1992:87).

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43 Interview with Slamet, Kediri, September, 2004.
Despite the fact that all followers are responsible for spreading the teaching of Wāḥidiyyat and the Ṣalawāt, the Wāḥidiyyat organization has established a department of proselytization and development of Wāḥidiyyat which focuses on spreading the teaching of Wāḥidiyyat. This department is responsible for training Wāḥidiyyat male preachers (A. dāʾi), female preachers (A. dāʾiyyat) and cadres so that they can preach and offer true information concerning the teaching and the ritual of Wāḥidiyyat. One of the activities of this department is to give short courses and regular upgrading training for preachers, members of board of the organization, and followers at all levels. Such activities not only enhance members’ conceptual and practical understanding of Wāḥidiyyat teaching, but also prepare them to become skillful cadres who are able to fulfil organizational tasks.

According to the book entitled Bahan Up Grading Daʾi Wahidiyah Bagian B (Upgrading Materials for Wāḥidiyyat Preachers Part B, n.d.), the importance of spreading the teachings of Wāḥidiyyat can be compared with the duty to spread Islam (daʿwa Islāmiyyat) itself. The rationale of this notion is that the teaching of Wāḥidiyyat, in fact, contains an introduction to God and the Prophet which is also part of Islamic teachings. If that is the case, spreading Wāḥidiyyat to other people can be considered as the same obligation as spreading Islamic teachings. It is, therefore, claimed that the spreading of Wāḥidiyyat among other people is sanctioned by the Qur’anic verses and the Prophetic tradition. In turn, those who do not spread the teaching of Wāḥidiyyat can be regarded as violating Islamic teachings (Anonymous 1989:74). To support this argument, the following Islamic verses are quoted from the Qur’an and hadith:

And from among you there should be a party who invites to good and enjoins what is right and forbids the wrong, and these it is that shall be successful (3:104).

Those who are not concerned with Muslim affairs are not from their group (narrated by Ṭabrānī)

Surely those who conceal the clear proofs and the guidance that We revealed after We made it clear in the Book for people, those it is whom Allah shall curse, and those who curse shall curse them too (1:159).

The first verse cited here implies that the spreading of Wāḥidiyyat teaching is as obligatory as inviting others to be good, enjoining what is right and forbidding what is wrong (I., amar maʿrufnahi munkar). In contrast, the Prophetic sayings and the Qurʾan verses quoted here show that those who do not want to spread the teaching of Wāḥidiyyat can be likened not only to those who ignore other Muslims’ affairs but also to those who hide the clear proof and guidance that God has revealed. However, some people object to the obligation to spread
Wāhidiyat, particularly if it is justified by the texts from the Qur’an and hadith. They claim that the Qur’an and hadith text quoted here actually have a general meaning and do not therefore specifically refer to the spreading of Wāhidiyat.

As a Sufi missionary group, Wāhidiyat applies a strategy of preaching which draws its inspiration from the prophets’ preaching. The prophets of God were equipped with miracles (A., mu’jiza) by which they proved their truthfulness. Whereas others were incapable of doing the same, Kyai Abdul Latif Madjid told me that the oldest strategy for preaching Islam is based on miracles performed by the prophets for introducing God to the people (A., ummat). Those miracles were given to the prophets in order to respond to people’s needs. In line with this, the strategy of preaching in Wāhidiyat is intended to meet people’s needs, including all aspects of life such as the need to achieve ma’rifat bi-Allāh, quietness of heart, good health, and economic needs. Abdul Latif Madjid maintains that these are the main needs of human beings and they should be fulfilled by Wāhidiyat. Furthermore, he claims that Wāhidiyat has responded to all of these needs and has thus succeeded in attracting rural as well as urban followers regardless of their social group, age, political party and religious background. He put it this way:

All Praises are due to Allah. After practising Wāhidiyat, we have been imbued with capacities. We easily love God, we easily apply lillah and billah, and easily perform worship. Furthermore, owing to Salawāt Wāhidiyat’s blessing (I, berkah) and the Prophet’s mediation, according to our colleagues’ reports, all praises are due to Allāh, all of the people’s problems can be solved: their economic problems, health problems or whatever their problems are, if they pray seriously, God will answer their prayers giving them [a solution] from unpredictable ways and predictable ways (Madjid 1423b:9).

Other strategies and methods to preach and advertise Wāhidiyat include meeting people personally, explaining Wāhidiyat at meetings involving many groups of people, writing letters of dakwah, and spreading Wāhidiyat through newspapers, radio and television. Before applying these methods, all Wāhidiyat preachers should perform a special mujāhada to ask God for success in their efforts. It is also suggested that every follower of Wāhidiyat put such things as a Wāhidiyat calendar, the Wāhidiyat logo, the picture of Kyai Madjid Ma’ruf and Kyai Latif in their home and fly the Wāhidiyat flag wherever a ritual of mujāhada is scheduled to be held (Anonymous 1425c:10-14). This will make Wāhidiyat easily recognized.

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The preaching of Wāhidīyat as synonymous with the preaching of Islam does not prevent this group from being tolerant of other religious followers who wish to practise Ṣalawāt Wāhidīyat. This group allows members of other religions to practise the Ṣalawāt without requiring them to convert to Islam. Other Muslim groups might object to this practice but it can be regarded as part of Wāhidīyat strategy to spread the Ṣalawāt Wāhidīyat while demonstrating the tolerant nature of Sufism in general toward other religious faiths. In this sense, Abdul Latif Madjid argues that members of other religions are not compelled to convert to Islam by practising Ṣalawāt Wāhidīyat, but they are only asked to approach God. For him, the most important thing is that they want to recite Ṣalawāt Wāhidīyat. When asked whether their good deeds (I. amal saleh) will be accepted by God if they were not Muslim, he replies that one should distinguish between the good deeds and prayers (A. du’ā) in relation to God. Good deeds are a matter of fiqh (Islamic jurisprudence), while prayers (du’ā) or Ṣalawāt do not belong under fiqh rules. According to fiqh rules, good deeds (I., amal saleh) will only be accepted by God if they are performed by Muslims, not by other religious believers. However, since prayers are not under fiqh provisions, the prayers invoked by other religious followers can be granted by God, even though they are not Muslims. They may even be infidels (I., kafir). Abdul Latif Madjid gives the example of a Javanese man who did not perform ritual prayers or other religious acts but who came to a kyai to study the knowledge of invulnerability (I., ilmu kekebalan). After some years, the man was able to master the ilmu kekebalan and became an expert (I., jawara). This example, according to Abdul Latif Madjid, can be regarded as evidence that the man’s prayers were granted (A., ijabah) by God although he was not a committed Muslim. Kyai Abdul Latif Madjid, further argues that to become a Muslim is matter of divine guidance (I., hidayah). Since it is a matter of hidayah, people cannot compel other religious faiths to convert to Islam. For Abdul Latif, people’s willingness to recite and practise Ṣalawāt Wāhidīyat is also a result of guidance (I., hidayah) (Madjid 2001:25).

It is for this reason that after practising the forty days Mujāhada, seventy Balinese Hindu followers were also able to participate at the ritual of Mujāhada Kubrā in Pesantren Kedunglo (Madjid 1424:18-22). Kyai Abdul Latif describes Wāhidīyat’s tolerance of other religions as follows:

Wāhidīyat followers need not become Muslims. Wāhidīyat does not compel people, but we only ask people to approach Allah. It is not a problem if you are not Muslims, the most important thing is that you read the Ṣalawāt Wāhidīyat…recently a non-Muslim from Metro practised for fifteen days. Everything has a cause. He had a problem which made him upset. Then he met with a Wāhidīyat follower. The follower offered him Ṣalawāt Wāhidīyat to read. After fifteen days his problem could be solved, but he did not want to convert to Islam.'
The inclusiveness and tolerance of *Wahidiyat* is not a unique phenomenon among Sufi groups elsewhere. For instance, there have been studies showing the inclusiveness and tolerance of Sufi groups and practices in South Asia. Saheb observes the inclusiveness and tolerance shown by a Sufi group in Nagore, India. Both Muslim and Hindus celebrate the anniversary of the death of the Sufi saint Sahul Hameed Nagore Andavar, known as ‘urs or *Kanduri*, and attend his tomb (Saheb 1998). Saheb’s conclusion gains support from Werbner who concludes that most Sufi myths in South Asia contain a story of tolerance, inclusiveness and peace (Werbner 2003:26). Werbner further shows that the *shaikh* Zindapir, a Sufi master of the Naqshabandi order in Pakistan, for instance, is typical of Sufi saints in that he stresses the importance of inclusiveness and tolerance towards other religious faiths. As quoted by Werbner, the Sufi saint maintains that ‘the ‘true’ Islam does not discriminate between people of different creeds and faiths.’ The *shaikh* respects and treats other religious followers with generous hospitality because they are human beings and he does this for the love of God alone and no one else (Werbner, 2003:95). The successful history of Islamization in India, central Asia, Anatolia and Africa also shows that Sufi groups have played an important role in the process of the preaching of Islam since they have accommodated to the spiritual environment which has existed in those regions (Rahman 1979) and demonstrated flexibility in adaptation to incorporate ‘local religious customs and belief into their eclectic fold’ (Gilsenan, 1973).

### 4.7. Spiritual Experience and Spiritual Authority in *Wahidiyat*

Spiritual experience (I., *pengalaman rohani*) is inseparable from Sufi tradition. The term spiritual experience could also be translated as miracles (A. *karaamat*) experienced by a Sufi master or Sufi follower as a result of his closeness to God. Within the Sufi tradition, stories of miracles are well documented in Sufi hagiographical works that are responsible for the spreading of those miracles stories in Muslim societies. Most of these miracle stories tend to describe the extraordinary powers of saints that seem to surpass natural law (Schimmel 1975).

The main questions here are how the idea of spiritual experience (I., *pengalaman rohani*) is understood and what the role of this spiritual experience is among *Wahidiyat* followers. This section will discuss these questions by describing the role of the *Wahidiyat* spiritual leader and then analysing the stories of spiritual experience reported by the followers.
The fact that every Wāhidiyyah follower is able to be a leader (imam) in an mujāhada ritual does not necessarily mean that authority in Wāhidiyyah can be shared with others. Rather, the spiritual leader in Wāhidiyyah is Kyai Abdul Latif Madjid, who is the central leader of this Sufi group. All things to do with the group are centred on the leader. This includes not only organizational matters but also spiritual matters such as any pengalaman rohani experienced by his followers. In this sense, pengalaman rohani and unusual events that happen to the followers are perceived to be the result of the miraculous power (A. maziyyat) of Salawāt Wāhidiyyah and the miraculous intervention of their spiritual leader. These miracles thus prove his sacred quality. In other words, pengalaman rohani can be understood as what Ewing (1990:59) describes as a social phenomenon since it is believed that the spiritual experience has been directly brought about and its content shaped by the leader. In the case of Wāhidiyyah, those spiritual experiences can be achieved by the followers while awake, though they mostly occur in dreams. This fact has inevitably made the leader central to the devotion of his followers in seeking his barakah (blessing) and attaining spiritual experience.

Therefore, it is not surprising that beside the quietness of heart which can be achieved by practising Salawāt Wāhidiyyah, pengalaman rohani is also considered an important achievement. Furthermore, this is considered the highest achievement that most followers aspire to attain. For instance, commenting on a Wāhidiyyah follower who had published his experience of a vision of the Prophet in a magazine, an informant told me that he wanted to have the same spiritual experience. Although he had been practising Salawāt Wāhidiyyah for a long time, he had not yet attained the same experience. This notion is also found elsewhere, such as in Egypt and Morocco, where miracle and barakah are not only a source of individual and group satisfaction but also based on dreams in which one finds refuge (Gilsenan 1992:95).

Within Wāhidiyyah, those who have themselves attained and those who have known other people who have achieved a spiritual experience should report this to the official board of Wāhidiyyah. This official instruction is mentioned in a leaflet as follows: ‘write your experience or others’ experiences as a result of mujāhada and tell it to the official board’ (Anonymous 1989). A special team called The Spiritual Experience Team (Tim Pengalaman Rohani) has been set up to collect accounts of spiritual experiences from followers. In order to ensure the validity of these experiences, the team gives the followers a form which asks them to state that the pengalaman rohani they experienced really happened. After obtaining consent from them, the team then publishes the experience in a book or magazine. These accounts are similar to hagiographical Sufi stories. However, not all of the followers agree to share their spiritual experiences.
with the team. Some are reluctant to describe their experiences because they fear they are displaying *riyā’* (showing off), which is strongly opposed to Sufi teaching in general and the teaching of *Wāḥidiyat* in particular, since the latter emphasizes *ikhlās* (absolute sincerity). Moreover, in the Sufi tradition, any kind of worship followed by *riyā’* is considered not only as committing the greatest sin but also as meaningless and even dangerous. Some people also disagree with the publishing spiritual experiences because this may cause others who do not have such spiritual experiences to become jealous. On the other hand, others take the view that recounting spiritual experiences to the team only expresses a divine gift of grace (*A., taḥadduth bi al-ni’mat*).

In fact, the achievement of a spiritual experience or *karamah* is not the ultimate aim of *Wāḥidiyat* and other Sufi practices. Indeed, according to Sufi teaching, if disciples practise Sufi teachings just for the sake of gaining *karamah*, they will be hindered (*A., mahjūb*) in their search to be near God. Some Sufi theorists have even warned that *karamah* constitutes a temptation given by God in order to test His servant (W.Ernst 2003:71). Nevertheless, stories of spiritual experiences are familiar among *Wāḥidiyat* followers. This is partly because such stories are introduced deliberately to the followers, not only through official rituals such as *mujāhada* but also through the publication of the book entitled *Shalawat Wahidiyah dan Pengalaman Rohani* as well as through a certain section of the *Ahām* magazine which contains the stories of spiritual experience or *karamah* experienced by the followers. Like other hagiographical Sufi books, the book focuses on stories of the miraculous powers of the leader, as well as the peculiarities of *Ṣalawāt Wāḥidiyat*, and prophesy.

However, if we examine the stories of spiritual experience in the book, we find that the majority of stories feature the figure of the leader with his miraculous powers, most of which are experienced by the followers in a dream. Spiritual experiences after seeing the leader performing such miracles are seldom experienced while awake. The stories that followers tell can be divided into several themes. The first theme is to do with who is the *Ghauth* (the Help) of this age, and who is the real spiritual successor of the *Wāḥidiyat* leader after the death of Kyai Abdul Madjid Ma’ruf. Examples of stories with these themes are given below:

A day before the ritual of *Mujāhada Kubrā Rajab* 1424 H. was held, I visited Kyai Abdul Latif Madjid asking him to pray for me to be able to join my soul with the holy soul of the servant of God. After doing *mujāhada*, I slept and had a vision of meeting with four people with white robes. The oldest man among these four people asked me, ‘Who are you? He said to me, ‘I am the prophet Abraham, this person is the prophet Moses, and this person is the prophet Solomon.’ But, he did not introduce the fourth person. Then,
I asked him, ‘Why are all of you here, and not in paradise?’ He replied, ‘I and all the prophets are here because we follow and support the struggle of the Prophet Muhammad which is now given to the His Majesty Romo Kyai Abdul Latif Madjid.’ Abraham said, ‘He has a channel of Nur al’Azam (great light) which is directly linked to the Prophet Muhammad. …. ‘look at Kyai Abdul Latif Madjid whose light connects to the Prophet and spreads to the universe.’ I witnessed that at that time the light was really coming out towards the Prophet Muhammad. Abraham continued to say, ‘From now on, those who wish to wusul toward God and His Prophet without Kyai Abdul Latif Madjid will not succeed in their journey, and my companions do not mind and I keep supporting Kyai Latif Madjid.’

In the middle of 1998, I read a book on Sufism in the middle of the night. I fell asleep and had a dream of visiting Kyai Abdul Latif Madjid. He asked me to wait for him in the living room, while he went into his room. Then he came and saw me with two plates of rice. He asked me to have dinner. After having dinner he showed me a letter of decision (surat keputusan) written by the Prophet Muhammad. The letter mentioned that Kyai Latif is the successor of Kyai Madjid, the author of Salawat Wahidiyat. He let me read the letter. I was impressed with the beauty of the paper and the writing of the letter. Suddenly the room where we met was filled with a pile of books, and he said to me, ‘The letter from the Prophet has been given to me, yet why do people want to replace me, that is impossible…’

…One night, I had a dream that I was in a large garden. The garden was the most beautiful garden I had ever seen. I walked into the garden to enjoy some flowers planted near the bank of a river. While I enjoyed the beauty of the flowers, I was surprised that I heard a voice from the river water saying, ‘Kyai Abdul Latif Madjid is gauth hadha al-zaman (the Help of this age). Then, another voice said the same thing, but the voice was spoken by flowers and subsequently the stones, fish, ground, and birds said the same thing as the water and flowers did. One day after experiencing such dreams I came and saw Kyai Latif Madjid. While I was sitting, he asked me, ‘Have you had any spiritual experiences, Ocin?’ ‘Tell me’. ‘I have known it.’ It was strange that I could not tell him anything, I just cried loudly in front of him.

It is clear that these stories are told to give certainty to Wahidiyat followers, particularly, to define who is the successor to the Wahidiyat leadership after the demise of Kyai Abdul Madjid Ma’ruf. These stories also tell us that Kyai Abdul Latif Madjid is not only a valid leader but was also spiritually chosen by the Prophet Muhammad himself and the other prophets. Furthermore, during the period of internal conflict, these stories would have been effectively used by the proponents of Abdul Latif Madjid to convince other followers who were still in doubt about giving their allegiance to Abdul Latif Madjid rather than to another figure.
Other stories of spiritual experience relate the benefits and the miraculous power of reciting Ṣalawāt Wāḥidiyat and the curses which result from insulting Ṣalawāt Wāḥidiyat and the leader. Examples of these themes are as follows:

At first, I was reluctant to recite Ṣalawāt Wāḥidiyat because I was still a teenager and I studied in a university which is opposed to the teaching of Wāḥidiyat. As my father urged me to practise Ṣalawāt Wāḥidiyat, I began to practise the forty day mujāhada. At day seventeen, I had a dream that I had died and lay in a grave alone. Suddenly two angels came to torture me. When these two angels were about to torture me, there was a voice saying, ‘Do not torture my follower.’ Suddenly, there was a gentleman standing in front of me. The two angels paid respect to the gentleman by bending their head to him asking: ‘Oh the Prophet why do you forbid us to torture this body?’ The Prophet replied, ‘[because] he is already practicing Ṣalawāt Wāḥidiyat.’ Then I woke up.

…there is a leader of the people who is strongly opposed to Ṣalawāt Wāḥidiyat in my village. He does not believe in the existence of Ghauth. This person came to me and said to me: ‘the Ghauth does not exist. The Ghauth is a fictional name created by Abdul Latif Madjid from Kedunglo, who wants to be respected by people since he does not have any positions in other established Muslim organizations…So it is better for you to leave Wāḥidiyat and join other established organizations. Wāḥidiyat is guided by Satan.’ After several days I met with his wife who behaved like her husband. After this occurrence, the leader and his wife suffered from disease for 100 days and he died after that. The wife died several weeks after her husband. They even experienced a tragic and critical moment before they died. It seems to me that the husband and wife died because of God’s curse after they insulted Ṣalawāt Wāḥidiyat and Kyai Latif Madjid.

Kyai Arif Iskandari is a kyai or imam in my village mushalla (place for prayer). He is well known for his kesaktien (spiritual power). When we conducted a mujāhada ritual in the mushalla, he drove us out from the mushalla…We told this incident to the leader of the village, and because of this occurrence, the leader of village asked me and Kyai Arif to meet in the village office to discuss the incident. But, in the meeting, Pak Arif denied everything that he had done. As a result we were involved in a heated discussion with him. After this incident, Pak Arif suffered a serious illness which caused him to be sent to a hospital for a month at a high cost. From my point of view, this happened to him because of the miracle of Ṣalawāt Wāḥidiyat.

Like the previous stories, these stories are still related to the figure of the leader and the Ṣalawāt Wāḥidiyat. However, in these tales the leader of Wāḥidiyat
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and Șalawăt Wâhidiyat are described by the followers as agents who not only bring about goodness for those who surrender (A., taslim) themselves to the leader but also misfortune for those who oppose him.

Other stories are prophetic and involve the leader’s insight into things to come as well as into present circumstances. The following story by a female follower can be categorised as one such prophetic story:

At the beginning of Muharram month 1994, it was about 2.00 am, I woke up to perform night prayer (tahajjud) and ritual mujāhada. During mujāhada Kyai Abdul Latif Madjid came dressed in a suit. He asked me to sit down beside Mr. Karna Aji, and he sat in front of us as if he would marry us. He said to us: ‘I will give both of you a task.’ I and Mr. Karna were friends at university but we are in different departments. After experiencing the dream, I fell in love with him, but as woman I tried to hide the feeling. Finally, after some years Mr. Karna and I married. Then, Kyai Abdul Latif chose us as coordinators in the official board of Șalawăt Wâhidiyat. At that time, I just shed tears because I remembered the dream that I had experienced several years ago.

According to the dreamer, this experience proves that Abdul Latif Madjid is not only able to understand the destiny of every follower but is also able to communicate with his followers wherever they are (Rohani 2004:156-58).

Another theme of spiritual experience stories is the assistance and help given by the leader in both minor and major occurrences in his followers’ daily life. The example illustrates Abdul Latif Madjid’s intervention in a problem some followers were facing.

Several weeks after practising Șalawăt Wâhidiyat, I was working at a timber company. One day my company lost its motorcycle, which was kept in a warehouse. Because I worked at the warehouse, my boss was angry at me and at other workers who worked at the warehouse. He said to us: ‘If you cannot find the motorcycle, I will accuse you of stealing the motorcycle.’ In a state of confusion, I asked my friends to perform mujāhada after the midday prayers. We recited yā sayyidī yā rasūllallah for almost three hours. At the same time I focused my concentration (tawājjuh) towards Kyai Abdul Latif Madjid saying: ‘Romo Yahi please help us, if the motorcycle cannot be returned, we will be considered as thieves.’ I asked my friend to keep saying nida’, ‘yā sayyidī yā rasūllallah’, while I kept focusing my attention on Kyai Abdul Latif. At 19.00 pm the stolen motor was returned to the warehouse in which we worked.

My wife was about to give birth. I brought her to Dr. Sahono Hospital in Kudus. According to the medical specialist, the blood pressure of my wife
had reached 200. As a result, my wife was to be given special treatment by a medical specialist and she had to move to a specialist room... when she was moving to the specialist room, I asked her to perform *mujāhada*. When she entered the room, she saw *Kyai* Abdul Latif lying on a bed. When she was about to occupy the bed, *Kyai* Latif disappeared. After medical assistants put my wife on the bed, they began to prepare surgical instruments. Within a few minutes, before the surgical process could be conducted, my wife gave birth easily without surgery. All medical assistants were surprised to see this occurrence... I then thanked *Kyai* Latif for hearing his follower who was in trouble.

Another story which can be categorized according to this theme is the story of a student of Pesantren Kedunglo who met Abdul Latif Madjid in a dream. In his dream, he was visited by Abdul Latif Madjid who removed a dirty grass root from his heart (Rohani 2004:67). Another theme included in the spiritual experience book is a story about the miraculous power of *Kyai* Abdul Madjid Ma’ruf, the author of *Ṣalawāt Waḥidiyat*. Similar stories are often told about the current leader of *Waḥidiyat*. A tale with this theme is as follows:

After the fortieth day of *Kyai* Madjid’s death, I dreamed of attending a *mujāhada* ritual. At the location of *mujāhada* I was suddenly embraced by *Kyai* Madjid. He asked me to go to the bank of the Brantas. At the bank of the river he said to me, *‘Mujāhada Kubrā* will become divided into two groups. One group appears good outwardly, but actually it is inwardly dark. Another group appears not so good outwardly, but it should be good, because he [the leader of this group] just cleared a path for justice.*’ I asked him, *‘Who is that?’* He replied, *‘He is Gus Latif [Kyai Abdul Latif Madjid].* Suddenly *Kyai* Abdul Latif appeared in front of *Kyai* Madjid, and I paid homage to him, then I woke up.

These spiritual experiences can be seen either from the perspective of the *Waḥidiyat* followers or from the perspective of *Ṣalawāt Waḥidiyat* as an organization. From the followers’ perspective, spiritual experiences achieved through dreams are significant in their social world not merely because of the content of the spiritual experience, but also because of the interactions between the followers and others in particular situations. In this sense, the spiritual experience can serve as one of strategies to resolve a conflict that the followers face. For example, through the spiritual experience, which is believed as a truth since it is sent by God via Abdul Latif Madjid, the followers are able to recognize who is the real Ghauth is and the successor of the author of *Ṣalawāt Waḥidiyat*. Moreover, as Ewing (1990:60) observed, dreams or spiritual experiences can validate the relationship between a follower and a leader, either before or after he or she has met the leader. For instance, before becoming a member of *Ṣalawāt Waḥidiyat*, one might be just an ordinary person. After experiencing a dream of seeing a man with white robes who seems to be exactly the same as the man to
whom he speaks, a person is much more confident that the leader of Ṣalawāt Wāḥidiyat is the spiritual leader for whom he has been searching in his spiritual life. Alternatively, an encounter with the leader in a dream after a person has become a member of Wāḥidiyat, can result in enhancing his belief that he has been allowed by his leader to experience an ultimate experience which not all followers are able to have. This, in turn, can cause the follower to feel that he has undergone a fundamental change in his spiritual life. Furthermore, those spiritual experiences also reflect the follower’s wishes and goals. The followers may come to expect that the everyday world will be shaped by Abdul Latif Madjid as a Ghauth hādhā al zama’n, who can appear in person in a vision, and whose voice may be heard on every occasion.

From the perspective of a member of the official board of Ṣalawāt Wāḥidiyat, those spiritual experiences play a significant role in increasing and enhancing the spiritual authority and charisma of the leader and Ṣalawāt Wāḥidiyat among other Sufi groups. Strong charisma and spiritual authority are needed in order to increase the followers’ love (A., maḥabbat) towards their leader (Anonymous 1424a:38). This can then be used as a glue to build cohesion within the group. The role played by those spiritual experiences in Wāḥidiyat is similar to Webner’s (2003:84) and Gilsenan’s (1973:33) observations that the secondary legends surrounding a saint, such as the personal dreams of his disciples and their vision of the saint and his encounter with the Prophet, enhance his charisma and add further lustre to his reputation. In line with this, the spiritual experiences collected in a book as in Wāḥidiyat can also be used as a means to attract other followers to join with Wāḥidiyat. This strategy might have been accepted partly because other Sufi groups also offer a spiritual path which has the same aim as Wāḥidiyat, that is, to attain quietness of heart.