

Chapter VI: The Awakening of the Negligent: The *Dhikr al- Ghāfilīn* Group

Chapter V highlighted the important role of the *Ihsāniyyat* group in developing and spreading Islam among nominal Muslims (*abangan*) by means of cultural approaches. In doing so, the group has adopted the ideas of Sufi *dakwah* and Sufi tolerance, which have been practised since the introduction of Islam to the Indonesian Archipelago. This chapter will look at the role played by another group in developing and spreading Islamic values among Muslims, the *Dhikr al- Ghāfilīn*. In contrast to the previous chapter, this chapter will focus on the leader of the *Majlis Dhikr al-Ghāfilīn*, Gus Mik, whose reputation and charisma as a *wali* raised controversy among Muslims in Indonesia. Despite this, Gus Mik played an important role in introducing Islamic values to particular groups of people who have been characterized as *orang-orang malam*, a term used to indicate people such as prostitutes, nightclub singers and nightclub visitors.

6.1. The Foundation of the group

The composition of the religious litanies (*dhikr*, remembrance of God) used by the *Majlis Dhikr al- Ghāfilīn* was closely associated with three well known *kyai* in East Java, namely, the late *Kyai* Hamim Jazuli known as Gus Mik from *Pesantren Ploso Kediri*, East Java; the late *Kyai* Ahmad Siddiq (from Jember), who was a former chairman of the Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) religious board (*Ketua Syuriah*); and the late *Kyai* ‘Abd al-Hamid (from Pasuruan). Indonesian Muslims, particularly from NU, believe that these three *kyai* possessed extraordinary miracle power (*karamah*) and divine blessings (*barakah*).

According to *Kyai* Ahmad Siddiq, all of these *kyai* contributed to the composition of the *Dhikr al- Ghāfilīn*. He said:

In fact this formula [the *Dhikr al- Ghāfilīn*] belonged to *Kyai* ‘Abd al- Hamid and Gus Mik. I only wrote and compiled it. However, I wanted to disclose the secret so that all my children understood that this formula was the work of three persons namely myself, Gus Mik and *Kyai* ‘Abd al- Hamid. First of all I went to *Kyai* ‘Abd al- Hamid. He gave me *ijazah* (authority) to recite the *al-Fātiḥat* chapter a hundred times together with the *Asma’ul Husna* (The beautiful names of God). Then, I went to Gus Mik when he was in the Pak Marliyan’s house where we discussed the formula until 03.00 a.m. On that occasion, Gus Mik added to the formula by reciting *istighfāra* hundred times and *Ṣalawāt* three hundred times.

After asking permission from *Gus Mik*, *Kyai Ahmad Siddiq* recited the formula to *Kyai 'Abd al-Hamid*. During this meeting, *Kyai 'Abd al-Hamid* cried. According to *Kyai Ahmad Siddiq* the compilation process of this formula took place in the month of *Sha'ban* and was first practiced in the month of *Ramaḍān* 1972.

The founders of a Sufi group have often received *ilhām*, a spiritual order, or experience a visionary dream of the Prophet Muhammad before they established or introduced publicly their formulae (*aurad*). Thus, *Kyai Ahmad Siddiq* not only received consent from two respected *kyai* or *wali*, he also received consent from respected deceased *kyai* through his visionary dream to improve and expand the practice of the *Dhikr al-Ghāfilīn* litanies. He described his experience as follows:

I had a clear dream that after reciting the *Dhikr al- Ghāfilīn*, my late brother *Kyai Ahmad Qushairi Siddiq* was waiting for me at a harbour when I disembarked from a ship. But I did not watch my ship. Then, he asked me to walk along with his friends, *habaib* (Prophet's descendants). We walked together. It seemed that we walked in the city of Mecca. But he left me behind and I lost him. So, I asked his friend in Arabic: 'Do you know *Kyai Qushairi's* house?' then he replied: 'How can I not know him, when he always prays for you.' Then I found *Kyai Qushairi* in the al-Ḥaram Mosque in Mecca and he said to me, 'Certainly, when you lead the recitation of the *Dhikr al- Ghāfilīn*, I always pray for you at this Ka'bah (Siddiq n.d.:40).'

Based on the consent he received in this dream, *Kyai Ahmad Siddiq* was much more confident to practice this *dhikr* formulae. Moreover, he claimed that although he did not promote and advertise this formula to the public, it attracted a large number of followers to practice the ritual of the group.

Kyai Ahmad Siddiq did not publicly launch the formula but only disclosed it to a limited number of people in Jember. Similarly, *Kyai Saiful* maintained that *Gus Mik* did not launch the formula to the general public because at that time many Muslims practiced *dhikr* formula given by Sufi orders. In 1983, *Gus Mik* only practised the formula personally in Tulungagung (East Java) and established a group called the *Dhikr al-Layliyyat*. However, this group did not attract many followers. Three years later, when friction occurred in some *tarekat* (Sufi orders) in relation to the succession of their leaders, *Gus Mik* began to introduce the formula of *Dhikr al- Ghāfilīn* to the public after receiving consent from *Kyai Arwani*, one of the prominent *tarekat* leaders from Kudus, Central Java. It seems that *Gus Mik* sought an appropriate time to launch his new group.

In addition to the introduction of the *Dhikr al- Ghāfilīn*, Gus Mik also began to introduce *Khatm al-Qur'an*¹ (J., *khataman Qur'an*) to the public. Previously, Gus Mik held the *Khatm al-Qur'an*, a particular event involving the recitation of all the chapters of the Qur'an, on the anniversary of his father's death (A., *haul*) and at graduations (A., *imtiḥān*) in *Pesantren* Ploso. During this *haul*, the *Khatm al-Qur'an* not only included reciting the Qur'an (A., *bi al-naẓar*), but also memorizing all the chapters of the Qur'an. The former was intended for general participants, whereas the latter was particularly intended for memorizers (A., *hāfiẓ*) who were invited to the *haul*. Gus Mik called this event *semaan* (Javene word), a word which is derived from the Arabic word *sami'a* which means to listen or pay attention. Persons who listen are called *sāmiin* (listeners). People who came to the event were supposed to listen to the memorizers or reciters and correct them if they make any mistakes (Thoha 2003:266-67). The first *semaan* was held outside the *pesantren* in the house of Drs. Muhtadi, an Indonesian Bank Rakyat employee in Kediri, followed by the recitation of the *Dhikr al-Ghāfilīn*. Since then, the *semaan* ritual has been conducted together with the reciting of the *Dhikr al- Ghāfilīn*. This first *semaan* held outside the *pesantren* was attended by hundreds of people. Since then, other *semaan* have been held in various houses, not only in Kediri but also in many other cities in East Java and in other provinces. According to Abdul Qadir, one of senior leaders in the group, in 1990, a *semaan* was even held in the Yogyakarta palace to commemorate the fortieth day of the death of Hamengku Buwono IX.

Gus Mik named the *semaan* group *Jantiko* which stands for *Majlis Anti Koler* (anti loss group, I., *anti hancur*, *anti mogok*). *Kyai Saiful*, Gus Mik's close friend explained to me that it was expected that by giving such a name, those who joined the group would limit their suffering a loss of spirituality in this world and the world-to-come. This name was inspired by Gus Mik's conversation with a car mechanic, his close friend. One day, Gus Mik asked the mechanic whether an old car fuelled by kerosene that he had designed would break down. The mechanic replied: 'Obviously not Gus, because this car is *anti koler* (I., *anti hancur*, *anti mogok*).' Gus Mik then gave his group the name, *Majlis Anti Koler*. However, because of *Kyai Dahnan*'s suggestion, in 1989 the name was changed to *Mantab*, which means 'strong' and able to withstand a test (J., *tahan uji*) (El-Ahmad 1993). Abdul Qadir argued that the word *Mantab* stands for *Majlis Tapa Brata*, which means the place for remembering God, while *Kyai Saiful* argued that the word *Mantab* was taken from two Arabic words *man* and *tāba*, meaning a person who repents.²

1 This means the recitation of all chapters of the Qur'an by memorizers while the audiences listens to their recitation and makes correction if the memorizers make a mistake.

2 Interview with Abdul Qadir, Kediri, September, 2004.

The objective for establishing this *dhikr* group was based on Gus Mik's prediction that a great disaster would occur in the year 2000. This disaster was not related to natural disasters such as earthquakes, flooding or landslides, but to a decline in the quality of Muslims' spiritual life in connection with their *ibadah* to God. According to Gus Mik, because of the intensity of detrimental influences, Muslims would find it difficult to worship God sincerely (I., *ikhlas*). This disaster would affect all Muslims regardless of their social status, be they ordinary Muslims or '*ulāma*'. Gus Mik argued that no one would be safe from this disaster except those who had a strong spiritual basis as a result of their consistent (A., *istiqāmat*) religious practices. Furthermore, the people who would be saved from this disaster were those who always remembered God's saints by praying for them, because praying for them would open the door of God's blessing. Quoting a prominent Sufi, 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jaylānī, Gus Mik was convinced that people who remembered God's saints would obtain blessing from God. Therefore, by reciting the *Dhikr al- Ghāfilīn*, which includes praying for Muslim saints, people would have a strong basis to face the disaster.

Another objective of establishing the *semaan* group and using the *Dhikr al- Ghāfilīn* was to popularise (*membudayakan*) the recitation of the Qur'an and to start a movement of Qur'an recitation (I., *tadarus al-Qur'an*) in Indonesia. Kyai Saiful claimed that before this group was established, the memorization of the Qur'an was conducted only at particular events such as at the Qur'an recitation contests (I., *Musabaqah Tilawatil Qur'an*, MTQ) and other events in *pesantren*, which never attracted many participants. As argued by Kyai Saiful since the emergence of this group, it is not difficult to find such events in many cities in East Java and some other provinces on Java. The ritual is even held in many government offices (*pendopo kota*) in those cities, and is attended by many participants. For example, in the *semaan* held by this group on the anniversary of Gus Mik's death (*haul*), which I attended, over a thousand people, men and women, from several regions in Java flocked to the *semaan*. The venue of the *semaan* occupied almost one kilometre of the main road located in front of *Pesantren Al-Falah*, Ploso, Kediri. When Gus Mik was still alive, the ritual of reciting the Qur'an attracted many government officials and political party leaders and was supported by the introduction of the *Iqra'* recitation method nationally in 1992 and by the growing number of Qur'anic Kindergartens (I., *Taman Pendidikan al-Qur'an*) in Indonesia. This new use of recitation was regarded as a faster learning method than the traditional method (the *Baghdadi* method), enabling children less than five years old to read the chapters of the Qur'an with ease (Gade 2004:117).

Another goal in establishing the *Dhikr al- Ghāfilīn*, was to get people used to performing prayers collectively (I., *berjamaah*) and reciting prayers (I., *doa*)

or *dhikr* after performing communal prayers (I., *shalat berjamaah*), as well as to enliven the time particularly between *Maghrib* prayer and *Isha* prayer. All of these activities are included in the ritual of *semaan* and in the recitation of the *Dhikr al- Ghāfilīn*. Those who join the *semaan* definitely practise such activities. As mentioned by Abdul Qadir, one of the *imam* in this group, it was expected that the *sāmi'īn* (the participants in a *semaan*) should practise these activities when they return to their communities. According to Gus Mik, the goal of holding *semaan* was to obtain the blessing (I., *barakah*) contained in the Qur'an as well as to communicate with God. He believed that the words of the Qur'an contain blessings that can be obtained by those who recite and listen to them.

Gus Mik also mentioned that another objective in reciting the *Dhikr al- Ghāfilīn* was to help people not only to face their problems in this world but also to face the Day of Judgment (A., *yaum al-ḥisāb*), the day in the hereafter when all people's conduct will be judged. It is expected that God will give His love to those who recite the *Dhikr al- Ghāfilīn*. Gus Mik explained the objectives as follows:

Hopefully, the *Dhikr al- Ghāfilīn*, which might become [our] spiritual force, could be our support in facing occurrences on the Day of Judgment. This is an important thing to remember. When we find it difficult to manage our wives and families, to create beautiful lives and when the signs of calamity come, this means that we are strongly urged to strengthen our spirit so that so that God will give His love to us. That's it.³

The success of Gus Mik in spreading and developing his group has been supported by the network of alumnae of *Pesantren Al-Falah*, Ploso, Kediri who are spread throughout Java. Wherever Gus Mik conducted his *dhikr* ritual, these alumnae strongly supported him and his group. This fact is not surprising, because in *pesantren* tradition, *santri* of *pesantren* are still regarded as 'students' of their *pesantren*, even though they have graduated and returned to their community. Alumnae of *pesantren* have strong emotional attachment with their *pesantren*. With this status they have to respect their *kyai* and his family even though they have returned to their home and become *kyai* in their respective community. Gus Mik's position as the son of the founder of *Pesantren Ploso* deserved to receive support and respect from his father's students who have returned to their community.

³ Mugi-mugi termasuk *Dhikr al- Ghāfilīn* sing sampun dados ketahanan batiniyah, mangke dados penyangga kulo panjenengan wonten ing sidang-sidang yaumul hisab. Niku sing penting. Di tengah-tengah kulo panjenengan angel noto bojo, noto rumah tangga, sulitnya menciptakan sesuatu yang indah, tanda-tanda musibah badhe dugi katah, berarti kulo panjenengan dituntut nyusun ketahanan batiniyah, nyentuh duspundi supados Allah iku sayang, gati teng kulo panjenengan. Niku mawon.

6.2. The Ritual Practice of the Group

The ritual of this group focuses on the reciting of *dhikr*. In common with many other Sufi groups, *dhikr* for this group constitutes ‘a way or a rule of life’, which should be practised by its members to purify their soul (A., *nafs*) in order to approach God and be pious servants (I., *kehambaan yang tulus*). Gus Mik specifically said that the recitation of the *Dhikr al- Ghāfilīn* formulae can lead to tranquillity and the strengthening of the heart as well as being a safeguard against the horror of the world and the horror of the day of resurrection.

According to the guide book for the *Dhikr al- Ghāfilīn* (Anonymous n.d:2-30), this *dhikr* starts by seeking a means (A., *wasīlat*) through the recitation of *al-Fātiḥat*, hundred times. The merit of this recitation is conveyed to the spirit of the Prophet Muhammad, Abdul Qādir al-Jaylānī, Imam al-Ghazālī, Habib Abdillah ibn ‘Alwi al-Ḥaddād (the author of *Rātib al-Ḥaddād*) and closes with the prayer of *al-Fātiḥat*. Those figures are mentioned in the formulae because they were believed by Gus Mik to be figures who continuously recited *al-Fātiḥat* hundred times every day. The section then continues with the recitation of *Ayat Kursi* and *Asmāul Ḥusnā* (ninety names of God), followed by a short prayer repeated ten times in unison.

In the second section, then, the *al-Fātiḥat tawassul* is recited again three times, specifically, to be conveyed to the spirits of God’s previous prophets, particularly those who have received the title of ‘*Ulul Azmi* (those with firm resolution) such as Abraham, Moses, Jesus, Muhammad and Noah (46:34), and all the Angels of God. An exaltation known as *Ṣalawāt Muqarrabīn* is recited for those Angels who are regarded as the closest Angels to God, including Gabriel, Michael, Israfil, Azrael, the ‘*Arsh* Guardian Angels, and for all God’s Prophets. This *Ṣalawāt Muqarrabīn* continues with the recitation of *al-Fātiḥat* three times whose merit is conveyed to the Prophet Muhammad and his wives, children, descendants, companions, *ahl al-Badr* (those who died in the battle of *Badr*) from either the *Muhājirīn* (the Prophet’s companions from Mecca) or the *Anṣār* (the Prophet’s Companions from Medina), all the Prophet’s followers, martyrs (I., *shuhadā’*), ‘*ulamā’*’, all Muslim saints, all the pious, all Muslim authors, participants’ grandfathers, grandmothers, fathers, and mothers. The next procedure is to recite *al-Fātiḥat* specifically directed to the Prophet Muhammad as the source of intercession (*shafā’at*). This is continued by the reciting *istighfār* one hundred times.

Then follows the recitation of *al-Fātiḥat tawassul* for the Prophet Khidr, the Prophet’s grandsons, Ḥasan and Ḥusain, ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, and Faṭīmat, the Prophet’s daughter. The other people for whom *al-Fātiḥat* is recited include well

known Muslim Sufi, Prophetic tradition scholars, the founders of Sufi orders, of the four schools of Muslim Jurists, Muslim saints both male and female, and all Muslim authors, the Nine Saints of Java, Muslims saints of Madura and all the participants of the group. The reciting of *al-Fātiḥat* to these people is followed by reciting the exaltation to the Prophet of Muhammad three hundred times and *tahfīl* (the recitation of *lā ilāha illallah* phrase) hundred times. The *Dhikr al-Ghāfīlīn* closes with the recitation of the part of the *kasidah burdah* (odes) and poetic Arabic (A., *sha'ir*) prayers written by Gus Mik and Aḥmad ibn 'Umār ibn Samt. The names of all the persons mentioned in this formulae are as follows:

- The prophet Muhammad
- 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jailānī
- 'Abd Allah b. 'Alwī al-Ḥaddād
- Khidr
- Ḥasan b. Abi Ṭālib
- Ḥusain b. Abi Ṭālib
- Abū Ṭālib
- Fātimat
- Abd al-Qādir al-Jailānī
- Muḥammad Bahā al-Dīn al-Naqshabandī
- Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī
- His brother Aḥmad al-Ghazālī
- Abu Bakr al-Shiblī
- 'Abd Allah b. 'Alwī al-Ḥaddād
- Abu Yazīd Ṭaifūr b. 'Isā al-Buṣṭāmī
- Muḥammad al-Ḥanafī
- Yūsuf b. Ismā'īl al-Nabhānī
- Jalāl al-dīn al-Suyūṭī
- Abu Zakariyyā Yahyā b. Sharaf al-Nawāwī
- 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Sha'rānī
- 'Alī Nūr al-Dīn al-Shaunī
- Abu al-'Abbas Aḥmad b. 'Alī al-Būnī
- Ibrāhim b. Adham
- Ibrāhim al-Dasūqī
- Shihab al-Dīn Ahmad b. 'Umar al-Anṣārī al-Mursī
- Abī Sa'īd 'Abd al-Karīm al-Būṣīrī
- Abu al-Ḥasan al-Bakrī

- Abū ‘Abd Allah Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl al-Bukhārī
- Zain al-Dīn b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Malībārī al-Fannānī
- Tāj al-Dīn b. ‘Aṭā’ Allah al-Sakandarī
- Muḥammad b. Idrīs al-Shāfi‘ī
- Abu Ḥafṣ ‘Umar al-Suhrawardī
- Abu Madyan
- Ibn al-Mālik al-Andalusī
- Abu ‘Abd Allah Muḥammad b. Sulaiman al-Jāzūfī
- Muḥyi al-Dīn b. al-‘Arabī
- ‘Imrān b. Ḥuṣain
- ‘Abd al-Salām b. Mashīsh
- Abu al-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. ‘Abd Allah b. ‘Abd al-Jabbār al-Shādhifī
- Abū Maḥfūz Ma’rūf al-Karkhī
- Abu al-Ḥasan al-Sariy al-Saqfī
- Abu al-Qāsim al-Imām al-Junaid al-Baghdādī
- Abu al-Abbās Aḥmad al-Badāwī
- Ahmad b. Abi Ḥusain al-Rifā‘ī
- Al-Imām al-Ḥasan b. Abī al-Hasan Abī Sa‘īd al-Baṣrī
- Rābi‘at al-‘Adawiyyat
- ‘Ubaida binti Abī Kilāb
- Abū Sulaimān al-Dārainī
- ‘Abd al-Hārith b. Asad al-Muhāsibī
- Dhu al-Nūn al-Miṣrī
- Abu Zakariyyā Yahyā Mu‘adh al-Rāzī
- Abu Ṣāliḥ Ḥamdūn al-Qaṣṣār al-Naisābūrī
- Ḥusain b. Maṣūr al-Ḥallāj
- Jalāl al-Dīn al-Rūmī

Abū Ḥafṣ Sharaf al-Dīn ‘Umar b. al-Fāriḍ al-Ḥamawī al-Miṣrī

It can be seen clearly from the ritual of the *Dhikr al-Ghāfilīn* that it is dominated by the recitation of *al-Fātiḥat* during the *tawassul* sessions. This practice is closely linked to Gus Mik’s conviction that even though these people have died, they are still capable of hearing *al-Fātiḥat* conveyed to them by the living. As a result, God will give the merit of the recitation to them and, just like living persons, these deceased people will respond by praying for those who recite *al-Fātiḥat*.

It is interesting to note here that the individuals named include the founders of other respected Sufi orders such as ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Jaylānī (d. (Qādiriyyah order), Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. Abdillāh b. Abd al-Jabbār al-Syādhiḥī (d.1258) (Shādhiliyyah order), ‘Alī Muḥammad Bahā’ al-Dīn al-Naqshābandī (The Naqshabandiyah order), Ahmad b. Abī Ḥusain al-Rifā’iy (d.1178) (The Rifa’iyah order), Jalāl al-dīn al-Rūmī (The Maulawiyah order), Abu Madyān al-Tilmisānī (d.1197) (The Madyaniyya order) and Abu al-‘Abbās Ahmad al-Badāwiy (d.1276) (The Badawiyah order). Other names in the *tawassul* sessions are considered controversial Sufis, such as Ibn ‘Arabī and Ḥusain b. Maṣṣūr al-Ḥallāj, as well as the woman Sufi, Rabī’at al-‘Adāwiyat. Moreover, the *Dhikr al-Ghāfilīn* group also puts in the formulae the names of those who have been important in the Shiite tradition including ‘Alī b. Abi Ṭālib, Fāṭimat al-Zahrā’, and their sons, Ḥasan and the Martyr, Ḥusain. Indeed, the group characterizes these individuals as the youngest dwellers in Paradise.

It is interesting to examine why these names are included in the *tawassul* sessions. One informant told me that the *Dhikr al-Ghāfilīn* group names these figures merely because these people are believed to be *auliyā’* (The Saints of God) who can spiritually help people to approach God. In this respect, Gus Mik put it this way:

In the world to come (i., *akhirat*) we will follow those respected *ulama* as well as those whose names were written in *Dhikr al-Ghāfilīn* formula to whom we recited al-Fātiḥat (Ibad 2005:10).

This reason is similar to *Kyai* Ahmad Siddiq’s statement that those *wali* whose names are mentioned in the formulae have reached the highest station (A., *maqām*). Although the members of the *Dhikr al-Ghāfilīn* group cannot reach their *maqām*, at least these *wali* can help them in the world to come. *Kyai* Ahmad Siddiq’s son told me that his father argued that those named are like those who travel by a first class train, while the group members were like passengers in economy class. The first class passengers occupy the front car which is served with special meals, while the economy class passengers occupy the rear car. Although these economy class passengers are not being served with special meals, they will arrive at the same destination as the first class passengers.⁴

Another logical foundation underpinning the practice of praying to God for those people mentioned in the formulae relates to the following Sufi teaching: ‘You should be with Allah. If you cannot be with Him, you should be with

4 Interview with Gus Fahri, Kediri, January, 2005.

those who have been with Allah because these persons can bring you to be with Allah.’ According to Gus Mik, those who can bring someone to Allah might be alive or dead. In other words, Gus Mik believed those persons named in the formula could become a means to bring people nearer to God. This notion is relevant to the motto printed on the cover of *Dhikr al-Ghāfilīn* litany book which reads ‘this litany is intended for those who are keen to be gathered with Muslim saints and pious people.’⁵

It is strongly recommended that new members first recite the *dhikr* once a day for forty days consecutively. The formula should be recited for forty days because this is the minimal time necessary to show whether or not a Muslim’s good acts are able to be considered *istiqāmat* (steadfastness). In fact, for this group, the notion of forty days is taken from the Qur’anic teaching that after fasting for forty days consecutively, Moses received the Book from God. This practice is also based on the notion that good virtues can only be accepted by God if practised for forty days consecutively. In addition, forty days is also used by this group as a requirement for those who want to benefit from the formulae. For example, the leader of this group told me that one *kyai* practised the formulae for thirty eight days consecutively, but then missed the thirty ninth day. As a result, this *kyai* failed to gain any benefit; he therefore needed to restart the ritual from the first day.

To practise the ritual of the *Dhikr al-Ghāfilīn*, people can practise individually or together in a group led by a leader (A., *imām*) elected by the *Dhikr al-Ghāfilīn* leader. At an important event such as the anniversary of the founder of this group which I attended, this ritual was combined with a *semaan* event. At the event I attended, the *dhikr* formula was recited after the *Maghrib* prayer when the participants who were reciting from memory reached the final *juz* (section) of the the Qur’an. The reciting of the *dhikr* formula took almost one hour. There was no particular position or separation between the leader and the members during the ritual. However, when the ritual is held at the tombs of local saints in Kediri, all the members face these tombs, while the leader of the ritual faces the members. Unlike rituals held by Sufi orders, no specific ritual dress is worn by participants and the leader. At the ritual I attended no one displayed the hysterical behaviour as is commonly found in the rituals held by other Sufi orders as result of the heightened tension in the different sections of their formulae. When the reciting of the *dhikr* formulae was complete, it was followed by the recitation the rest of the Qur’an by memory, and the ritual closed with the *Isha*’ prayer.

5 بحاجن ملنن رحل اصل او ءاي لوالا عم رشحي نا

As for the *semaan* event that I attended, this event began after completing the dawn prayer and ended at the *Isha'* prayer. During this event, all chapters of the Qur'an were recited from memory by male memorizers (A., *hāfidhīn*) using a loud speaker. As usual they sat on a stage which was higher than the participants' seats so that the participants could observe them easily. All the female and male participants in the *semaan* directly faced the stage. The position for female and male participants was separated during this ritual. Those who attended the *semaan* had to follow and listen carefully to what the memorizers recited by looking at their own Qur'an provided by the host of the event. In this way, the participants were not only able to correct the recitation of the memorizers, but they were also able to gain the merit of the recitation even though they just followed and listened because, according to the Prophet, both those who recite the Qur'an from memory and those who listen to the reciting are able to obtain merit. The reciting of the Qur'an in the *semaan* was conducted continuously, and was only stopped for the performance of obligatory prayers. After noon prayer (I., *Shalat Dhuhur*), the memorizers and all the participants had lunch together, which was provided by the host of the event. For an important event such as the commemoration of the death of the founder, the host provides lunch for all participants. Previously, my informant told me, when *Gus Mik* (the founder) was alive, it was recommended that the memorizers and all participants fasted during this event.

At the rituals that I attended, the leader of this group often gave a very short religious message to the participants at the end of the ritual and the *semaan*. The topic of the message was usually based on the preference of the leader. The leader often talked about the spiritual experience or *karamah* of *Gus Mik*, the founder of the group. It is likely that this was to keep him in the collective memory of the participants. This is partly because after *Gus Mik* died, no one, including his children could replace his popularity as a *wali*. Nevertheless, many members of the group still believed that the charisma of *Gus Mik* should be inherited by one of his sons. This is shown by the fact that after the ritual, most of the participants wished to meet and seek *barakah* from *Gus Mik's* sons by kissing their hands. In order to do that, these participants sometimes stood for a long time waiting their turn to kiss the leader's hand. Before *Gus Mik's* sons led the ritual, some of his followers visited their home to ask for their *barakah* or to consult them about their problems.

In addition to holding the ritual on specific occasions like the anniversary of the death of particular Muslim saints and the founder, this group also conducted the ritual on a weekly basis and every *selapanan* (every five weeks) in a group. At the weekly event, the ritual was usually held at the household of the leader or at one of the tombs of Muslim Saints located in Kediri. The tombs which

provided a venue for the ritual included the tomb of *Setono Gedong*, the tomb of Muhammad Abdullah Umar (Sumber Dlingu, Kediri), the tomb of Ki Demang (Mbadal, Kediri), and the tomb of *Shaikh Ihsan Dahlan* (Jampes, Kediri). On the other hand, the major ritual held every five weeks (*selapanan*) was conducted at the Tomb of Saints (*Makam Auliya'*) at which *Gus Mik* was buried. The ritual held at his tomb could be attended by thousands of people, who travelled from all over Java to attend.

Gus Farih Fauzi, one of leaders of this group, told me that the first reason for holding the ritual at Muslim saints' tombs was to remember death. Secondly, it was to pray for all Muslims. Thirdly, it was to gain blessing (*barakah*) since it is recommended to visit the tombs of pious Muslims to gain their blessing and to emulate their virtues in fulfilling religious duties. The fourth reason was to fulfil the obligation to parents and fellow Muslims who need to be prayed for if they have died. Fifthly, the ritual could express one's respect to someone whom one has known and loved. Another was that the tombs of saints are efficacious places from which to offer prayer.⁶

In common with Sufi orders elsewhere, as in Pakistan and Egypt, the *Dhikr al-Ghāfilīn* group focuses its activities at the tomb of its founder. *Gus Mik's* tomb, called *Makam Auliya'* is located on three hectares of land in Tambak hamlet, Ngadi village, Ploso subdistrict, Kediri. This site was chosen by *Gus Mik* in 1990. Like other tombs of Muslim saints in Java, the *Makam Auliya'* consists of several mausoleums, a small mosque and is surrounded by kiosks which sell pamphlets and food (Fox 2002:161). *Gus Mik* expected that forty Muslim saints would be buried at that place, and he himself determined personages who would be given the privilege to rest in that place. It is said that previously there were only three tombs of Muslim saints on the site, including *Shaikh 'Abd al-Qādir Khairi* (allegedly from Iskandariah, Egypt), *Muhammad Ḥirmān*, and *Shaikh 'Abd Allah Ṣaliḥ* (allegedly from Istanbul, Turkey). According to *Abdul Wahid*, the custodian of the tomb (*juru kunci*), these graves were first founded in the 1830's by *Seno Atmojo*, one of *Pangeran Diponegoro's* soldiers. People who lived around the site believed these old tombs had *keramat*. The three personages buried in that place were believed to be the first preachers of Islam in the region. It is reported that *Gus Mik* often spent much of his time visiting and meditating at that site (Jawapos 1993). Currently, there are fifteen personages buried there, including *Gus Mik* and *Kyai Aḥmad Ṣiddīq*. In addition to the tombs of *Wali Sanga*, this site is well known as an object of veneration and visitation in Java.

It was not clear why *Gus Mik* had the idea to establish the *Makam Auliya'*. Only he knew the objective. Even one of his close companions never understood

6 Interview with *Gus Fahri*, Kediri, September, 2007.

why the *Makam Auliya* was established. One possible reason relates to the notion pointed out by Ibn Abī Hajala that ‘it is essential to bury the dead close to persons whose righteous and grace is assured and as far from the graves of the sinful as possible.’ This notion is based on several hadith in which the Prophet asked Muslims to bury their dead near to deceased righteous Muslims rather than sinful people because the dead can be hurt by bad neighbours. In other words, just as in life, being close to bad neighbours could be injurious for the dead, being close to good neighbours can benefit them. This explains why when many Muslim saints were near to death, they asked to be buried near to the graves of other saints in order to obtain some of the saints’ *barakah* (Taylor 1998:47-49). Therefore, *Gus Mik* might have thought that those righteous Muslims should be buried together with other righteous Muslims in one tomb in order to receive the other saints’ *barakah*.

After *Gus Mik* died, the question arose as to who would have the right to decide the next personages or Muslim saints (*wali*) to be buried at the site. *Gus Ali*, one of *Gus Mik*’s close companions, argued that only *Gus Mik* knew about this and should decide who would be buried at the site. The fact that *Gus Mik* had died did not hinder him from spiritually determining the personages to be buried at the site. *Gus Ali* believed that before *Gus Mik* died, he had already informed some other *wali* that they could be buried at the site. However, it is difficult to know whether or not anyone received this information from *Gus Mik*. In addition, *Gus Ali* mentioned that those who have been prioritised to be buried at the site are all memorisers (A., *ḥāfiẓ*) who have been actively involved in the *semaan*. This criterion might have partly been due to the fact his group did not have a *wali* like *Gus Mik* to determine who could be buried at the site. However, the decision to give the memorisers the privilege of being buried at the site also raised difficulties. The criteria to determine which memorisers should be buried there is not clear. In addition to asking for spiritual guidance (I., *petunjuk spiritual*) from *Gus Mik* to solve this problem, *Gus Ali* finally used another mechanism, that is, through discussion (*musyawarah*) involving many respected Muslim scholars, to decide who should be buried at the site.

6.3. *Gus Mik*: a Living Saint and Controversial *Kyai*

Gus Mik was born in Kediri in 1941 and died in 1993. He was born in the *Pesantren* community because his father, *Kyai Jazuli Usman* (1900-1976) was the founder of *Pesantren Ploso* which became one of the centres of Islamic studies in East Java. *Gus Mik* is an important figure for the *Dhikr al-Ghāfilīn*

and the *Semaan al-Qur'an*. Indeed, it is almost impossible to study the group without recognising the figure of *Gus Mik*. This section will look at the position of *Gus Mik*, both within his group and within an Indonesian Islamic context.

Gus Mik was frequently seen by people and the media as a controversial Islamic scholar (I., *kyai nyelench* and *nyentrik*). This controversy was triggered by the fact that *Gus Mik* was frequently seen in night clubs, brothels, pubs and casinos in Surabaya. It was reported that *Gus Mik* regularly spent his nights at the Elmi Hotel, Surabaya. At such places, he was also frequently seen drinking black beer (I., *bir hitam*) with pub singers and visitors (Muryadi 1992:63). Some people and 'ulamā' maintained that this was not suitable behaviour for an 'ulamā' like *Gus Mik* and not acceptable in Islamic law. As an 'ulamā', he should not visit such places and drink alcohol, which is prohibited by Islamic law. If the 'ulamā' visited such places, it could cause misbehaviour among people because they might follow his conduct.⁷

Kyai Zainuddin, one of *Gus Mik*'s brothers could not explain *Gus Mik*'s controversial behaviour. Since *Kyai Zainuddin* did not witness *Gus Mik*'s actions outside the *pesantren*, he and his family still regarded *Gus Mik* as a model of the *pesantren* family member. *Kyai Zainuddin* argued that because he did not witness *Gus Mik* drinking alcohol, he could not make any comments on the matter. All he could say about *Gus Mik* was that everything that he did was difficult for others to emulate. According to *Kyai Zainuddin*, the objective of *Gus Mik*'s actions was to glorify Islam. If the methods he used were different from other 'ulamā', this was part of his ability that could not be copied by others (Rahmat 1993).

To deal with this controversy, one of the charismatic 'ulamā', *Kyai al-Hamid*, argued that *Gus Mik*'s actions were part of his Islamic preaching (I., *dakwah*). However, the way *Gus Mik* chose to preach Islam was not like other 'ulamā', who usually preached Islam through sermons (I., *ceramah*) in mosques, *pesantren*, and *pengajian* groups (I., *majlis taklim*). In contrast, *Gus Mik* conducted his mission by preaching Islam in places such as night clubs, brothels, casinos and hotel pubs which are commonly considered immoral places (I., *dunia hitam* and *tempat maksiat*) (Hidayat 1993). In this regard, *Gus Mik* admitted that he did not have a particular *pesantren* but considered those places to be his real 'pesantren'. He described his mission as follows:

These places are my real *pesantren*. Most of my *jamaah* (followers) meet in those places. 90% of them have not said *asyhadu* yet (*belum asyhadu*), namely, those who always hang around at night with their psychological

7 Interview with *Kyai Saiful*, Kediri, November, 2004.

problems. They are not good people (I., *bukan orang baik-baik*). I have never involved other *kyai* in these places because they wear *surban* [*kyai's scarf*] (Muryadi 1992:63).

Kyai al-Hamid considered that, the mission of preaching Islam in such places was more difficult than preaching in other places because it often resulted in exclusion by other '*ulamā'*' and insults from people. *Kyai* Zainuddin, *Gus Mik's* brother, agreed that 'the night world of *Gus Mik* could not be reached by other *kyai*. I myself could not afford to carry out the mission as *Gus Mik* did.' Not all '*ulamā'*' have been given a power by God to conduct Islamic preaching mission in such places. *Gus Mik*, according to *Kyai* al-Hamid, was one of the '*ulamā'*' whom God chose to give his spiritual power to perform that mission. As a *Jawa Pos* journalist, Sholihin Hidayat wrote, at such places *Gus Mik* met with many people including artists, singers, military officials, government officials, gamblers and alcoholics. Because of *Gus Mik*, many of them refrained from drinking and gambling and started to pray five times a day (Hidayat 1993a). One of those people was Erna Jaelani, a singer from Surabaya. Before meeting with *Gus Mik*, she was a pub singer in Surabaya. She admitted that after meeting him she not only stopped singing in pubs but also avoided entering them. She then became a wedding stylist and opened a fashion shop in her carport (*Jawa Pos* 1993). Another famous rock singer from Bali who converted to Islam after meeting *Gus Mik* was Ayu Wedhayanti. She is now an active participant in every ritual of the *Dhikr al-Ghāfīlīn* and *semaan*.

One of *Gus Mik's* students explained to me that the reason why *Gus Mik* mostly spent his nights in pubs, bars, and karaoke places with other visitors, prostitutes, and singers was to pray that they could return to the straight path since no other '*ulamā'*' wanted to pray for those people. For example, one day *Gus Mik* asked *Gus Rofiq Siraj* to accompany him to brothels in Surabaya. *Gus Mik* and *Gus Rofiq Siraj* spent all night reciting *al-Fātiḥat* many times until morning. As usual, after reciting the *al-Fātiḥat*, *Gus Mik* was approached by a prostitute who wanted to repent. This story was also told in an interview held by a journalist from *Matra* magazine. When asked about his controversial activities in pubs, *Gus Mik* replied that he just enjoyed those places. In addition, he was excited to emulate what has been practised by another Muslim '*ulamā'*', Aḥmad Ibn Hanbal, when he entered places entertainment which were forbidden by Islamic law. According to *Gus Mik*, it was reported that when Ibnu Hambal entered such places, he always prayed for the people there. One of Ibnu Hambal's prayers was as follows:

O! Allah just as you have made these people have a party in this place, may these people also have a party in the world -to- come. Just as these people are happy in this place, I ask God to make these people happy in the world -to- come (*akhirat*).

Another reason why *Gus Mik* visited such places was to check whether or not his followers went there. When *Gus Mik* met any of his followers there, he claimed that although they were sitting in these places, they remained conscious of improving the recitation of *al-Fātiḥat* and remembering God. The sound of music did not prevent them from reciting *al-Fātiḥat*. *Gus Mik* was very proud of his students who were able to remember God and to draw close to Him not only in mosques but also in such places (Siregar 1992)

Gus Mik's willingness to hear and receive prostitutes, sinners and gamblers might have been inspired by the story of a prostitute and a virtuous person mentioned in the Sufi book, *al-Hikam*. Because of his intensive worship of God, the virtuous person was endowed with the power of miracles (I., *karamah*). It is said that one of his miracles was that wherever he walked in the desert, a cloud shaded him so that he was protected from the hot sun. One day, a prostitute came to him so that she could receive God's blessing. But the virtuous person refused the prostitute and asked her to go away. At that time, God said to the current prophet that He had forgiven any sins committed by the prostitute. God then withdrew the power of miracles he had given to the person and gave it to the prostitute.

Another interesting comment regarding *Gus Mik*'s behaviour was made by *Gus Ali Mashuri*, a senior *kyai* in East Java, who fully understood everything to do with *Gus Mik*. However, he never regarded *Gus Mik* as a saint (*wali*) because the title of *wali* can be known only by *Gus Mik* and God, and no one can give the title of *wali* to another. Based on this notion, *Gus Ali* argued that although *Gus Mik* committed acts considered by others as evils, he committed such acts without asking others to do so. Furthermore, *Gus Ali* pointed out that if God has given someone the highest spiritual position (*maqam*), this person would never be happy if other people praised him nor be sad if anyone insulted him. Praise and insults would not prevent such a person from obtaining God's blessing. *Gus Mik*, according to *Gus Ali*, was one of those people on whom God had bestowed with the highest *maqam*.⁸ This can be seen by the fact that although other '*ulamā*' regarded him as a 'beer *kyai*' and 'bar *kyai*' (I., *kyai bir* and *kyai bar*) who destroyed the image of Islam, *Gus Mik* never felt sad about this title and continued his mission of preaching Islam.

8 Interview with *Kyai Ali Mashuri*, Sidoarjo, Januari, 2005.



Plate 6.1: Gus Mik meeting with Ir. Akbar Tanjung, the former minister in Suharto era.
Source : Matra Magazine, October, 1992.

His son, Thābut, told me that *Gus Mik* preferred humiliation to praise, and always prayed for those who humiliated him.⁹ According to *Gus Ali Mashuri*, *Gus Mik* made himself an object of blame, while nevertheless believing that in the eyes of God he was considered good. In this sense, *Gus Mik* could be regarded as a Sufi who sought the glory of God through the gate of humbleness. This notion is relevant to something frequently taught by *Gus Mik*, that in order to obtain God's blessing, instead of showing off their good deeds to others, people should hide their virtues and keep them a secret between themselves and God. According to *Gus Ali*, this is the highest teaching of Sufism, which not all ordinary people are able to practise. For him, this teaching, was in fact, deeply rooted in the story of Moses and Khidr¹⁰ in the Qur'an. This story tells us that Khidr was allowed by God to do things which seemed to be evil and

9 Interview with Thabut, Kediri, November, 2004.

10 This prominent figure plays a part in many legend and stories. His name is Balya ibn Malkan. Al-Khidr is his epithet which means 'the green man.' According to Sufi tradition, he is regarded as saint. Every age has its Khidr. His immortality is emphasized in Islamic tradition (Gibb and Kramers 1953:232-35).

malicious in the eyes of lay people but had benefits later. Not every one can emulate Khidr and even the prophet of God, Moses, failed to understand what Khidr was doing.

Moreover, Gus Ali argued that what Gus Mik did could be compared with the teaching of the Malamatiyah Sufi group which required struggle to hide one's virtuous and pious actions. As result, this group only showed bad qualities and became an object of blame by others (Gibb 1996:223). In line with this, al-Ghazālī wrote that in order to get rid of the love of pride (A., *jāh*), which, according to him, is dangerous for Sufi in their efforts to approach God, they may commit deeds which result in their status falling in the eyes of others. However, al-Ghazālī argued that they are allowed only to commit deeds which are categorised as permissible (*mubāh*), not those categorised as forbidden. In doing so they can feel secure in their camouflage and they be satisfied with the reception of God (al-Ghazali 1973:281).

Gus Mik fully realized that other people would question his activities in bars and pubs and regard his activities as violating Islamic laws. Asked why as a Muslim he drank beer in bars, he replied that he knew nothing about alcohol and only knew about *mushkir*, a kind of beverage that can make people drunk. He claimed that no one had told him whether beer can be categorised as *mushkir*. Therefore, Gus Mik argued that he could not prohibit (*mengharamkan*) the drinking of beer, even though this kind of beverage was commonly considered an intoxicant (I., *memabukkan*). However, he asked people not to drink beer because it caused health problems and also because it was expensive and useless (A., *mubādhir*). Gus Mik was concerned about the social effect of drinking beer. He argued that instead of spending money buying something so useless, people should use the money for other purposes such as helping the poor. Gus Mik asked his followers not to drink, even though he himself did not stop drinking because he drunk the beer as a means to maintain friendships with other people.

Gus Mik's view of drinking alcohol can be clearly explained in the perspective of Islamic jurisprudence (A., *fiqh al-Islām*). All Muslim jurists mention that any drink which may cause drunkenness is prohibited. This notion is based on the Prophetic hadith, 'if it intoxicates in a large amount, it is forbidden even in a small amount' (*kullu mushkirin ḥarām qofīluhu wa kathīruhu*). However, according to Abū Ḥanīfat, although both *khamr* and *nabīdh* cause drunkenness, there is a distinction between them. *Khamr* is a kind of drink made from wine, while *nabīdh* is a kind of drink made from anything other than grapes. Abū Ḥanīfat argued that *khamr* (wine) was prohibited because of its essence, while *nabīdh* was not. Therefore, people are allowed to drink *nabīdh* as long as they do not get drunk on it (Qudamah n.d). Perhaps, based on Abū Ḥanīfat's view, Gus Mik categorised beer as *nabīdh* because it is not made from grapes.



Plate 6.2: Gus Mik with his followers in a pub in Surabaya.

Source: Matra Magazine, October, 1992.



Plate 6.3: Gus Mik chatting with Sultan Hameng Kubuwono X (The Ruler of Yogyakarta).

Source: Matra Magazine, October, 1992.

One of *Gus Mik*'s students maintained that because of his *karamah*, any beer that *Gus Mik* drank turned into spring water. Therefore, *Gus Mik* was never drunk although he consumed large amounts of beer. As regards gambling, an informant told me that while *Gus Mik* was often seen gambling with other gamblers, his purpose was to appeal to people to stop gambling. My informant was convinced that as result of his *karamah*, if *Gus Mik* gambled in particular places, these places would close and no gambling activities would be done there. This story was often told by his followers and it relates to the way *Gus Mik* appealed to other people to stop them from drinking and gambling.

Some of *Gus Mik* followers who accompanied him for many years found it difficult to judge what *Gus Mik* did. They believed that only God could understand *Gus Mik*'s conduct. Furthermore, *Gus Mik* never asked his followers to emulate his deeds. Therefore, one *kyai* whom I asked about *Gus Mik* preferred to think positively (A., *ḥusn al-zann*) rather than to think negatively (A., *sū' al-zann*) about what he did. In this respect, *ḥusn al-zann* is encouraged even if *Gus Mik* did conduct negative acts. On the other hand, if people think negatively about *Gus Mik*, when in fact his acts are positive, these people commit a sin because of this negative thinking.¹¹

It is clear that the responses given by people about *Gus Mik* were based on the idea of *khāriq al 'āda*, which is prevalent in the Sufi tradition. This term is given to those who can perform deeds that break the custom of God (I., *sunnatullah*). *Gus Mik*, for example, was believed by his followers to performing deeds which could be categorised as *khāriq al 'āda*, so no one should emulate him. In this sense, *Gus Mik* was considered by his followers to be a *wali* who possessed *karamah* which in the Sufi tradition is closely related the idea of *khāriq al 'āda*. In addition, the positive responses given to *Gus Mik* relied on *ḥusn al-zann*, according to which, every single act conducted by *Gus Mik* had the good purpose of spreading Islam (I., *syiar Islam*). His followers therefore believe that the success of *Gus Mik* in promoting the reciting of the Qur'an, *dhikr*, resolving people's problems and stopping people from gambling and drinking alcohol far outweigh *Gus Mik* habit of drinking and visiting bars.

6.4. *Gus Mik*: His *Karamah*

Among his followers, *Gus Mik* was believed to be a *wali* sent by God to bring people to the right path. To fulfil this mission his followers also believed *Gus Mik* had been endowed by God with an extraordinary power (J., *kekuatan*

11 Interview with *Kyai Idris*, November, Kediri, 2004.

linuwih) called *karamah*. As a *wali*, what he did during his lifetime had religious significance. He was always guided by God, either through visions or dreams. With this guidance, he may have committed minor trespasses but he immediately repented. Although Gus Mik never regarded himself as an ‘*Arif bi Allah*’ (‘one who has Gnosis of God’), his followers believed that he reached the state of *ma’rifat* so that he could be regarded as an ‘*Arif bi Allah*. With this title he deserved to be a spiritual teacher (A., *murshid*) of the *Dhikr al-Ghāfilīn* group and no one could succeed him after his death. One of his followers even considered he had the same *karamah*, as was possessed by ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Jailānī, the founder of the Qadiriyyah Sufi group.

Stories about Gus Mik’s *karamah* are told and circulate by word of mouth. In order to keep the collective memory of Gus Mik alive among his followers, these stories are often retold during the ritual of the *Dhikr al-Ghāfilīn* especially on the annual anniversary of his death (*haul*). Most of these stories about Gus Mik’s *karamah* deal specifically with his miraculous powers. They serve as an important model of exemplary piety for his followers. Moreover, these stories about Gus Mik’s *karamah* increase his followers’ spiritual beliefs about him. As result, this improves their spiritual focus (A., *tawajjuh*). Some examples of his *karamah* were told to me by his close friends as follows:

First karamah: Gus Mik showed his *karamah* when he was a teenager. Unlike his two brothers who spent their time studying hard in the *pesantren* and had a normal life typical of the sons of a *kyai*, Gus Mik spent his time outside the *pesantren* travelling (J., *keluyuran*) everywhere. He left his hair uncut. He was often found fishing alone on the bank of the River Brantas. One day he walked along the river up to the city of Surabaya. During his wanderings, many people witnessed him walking on the surface of the water. He himself never realized that he had such *karamah*.

Second karamah: His parents worried about Gus Mik’s behaviour which was so different to his two brothers. As a result, his parents asked many *kyai* to give advice and pray for Gus Mik so that he would stop being eccentric (I., *kenyelenehannya*) and live a normal life. However, many *kyai* were reluctant to give advice and pray for Gus Mik. One day his parents asked Gus Mik to come and visit the mourning family of *Kyai Romli*, the late leader of *Pesantren Darul Ulum* and the *Qadiriyyah wa Naqshabandiyah* Sufi group in Jombang. His parents hoped that during this visit, they could ask *kyai* who attended the burial ritual to pray for their son. Gus Mik refused to come with his family to the funeral of *Kyai Romli*. However, when his parents arrived at *Kyai Romli*’s, they found that Gus Mik had already arrived and was sitting at the side of *Kyai Romli*’s corpse.

Third karamah: My informant told me that *Gus Mik* could understand things to come (J., *weruh sandurungi winarak*) – these things would happen a week, month or year later. For example, *Gus Mik* told my informant that he would perform the pilgrimage (*hajj*) some years later. My informant thought it would not be possible to perform the *hajj*, as he did not have the financial ability to undertake the journey. However, few years later, his friends gave him enough money to pay the cost of the *hajj*. After his first *hajj*, *Gus Mik* told him that he would perform a second *hajj* four years later. One year before this second *hajj*, my informant dreamed that he met *Gus Mik* and another person. This person wished to perform *hajj* with *Gus Mik* and offered to pay all the costs of the journey (I., *Ongkos Naik Haji*, ONH). However, *Gus Mik* declined this offer and instead, gave this offer to my informant. *Gus Mik* asked my informant to pray and not to think about the cost of the *hajj*. One year after experiencing this dream, my informant undertook his second *hajj* because two people gave him the money to cover the cost. This kind of *karamah*, according to my informant, was similar to that of ‘Abd al-Qadir al-Jaylāni when he said in his *manaqib* that he knew everything that would happen in the upcoming weeks, months and years.

Fourth karamah: One day *Gus Mik* told my informant that he understood everything that would happen to my informant’s family for the next ten years. For example, *Gus Mik* forecast that my informant’s wife would give birth six years later. This forecast proved true when six years later my informant’s wife gave birth to her third child. *Gus Mik* also forecast that *KyaiAhmad Siddiq* would experience a trial for six years. After six years *KyaiAhmad Siddiq* succeeded in passing this trial and was nominated chairman of the National Board of Nahdlatul Ulama.

Fifth karamah: My informant believed that God endowed *Gus Mik* with one of His *kun* characteristics. *Kun* is an Arabic word which refers to an act of manifesting, existing or being. In the Qur’an, God commands the universe to be (*‘kun!’*) and it is (*fayakūn*). Someone who possesses this characteristic can predict that something will happen and it should happen. According to my informant, *Gus Mik* told him that he could make *KyaiṢalih*, who was poor, a rich man. Before getting married, *KyaiṢalih* was poor and pious person but after his married, he became a rich.

Sixth karamah: Abu Bakr Kalabadzi mentioned that it is widely believed among Sufi that a *wali* may possess various kinds of *karamah*, such as being able to walk on the surface of water, talk with animals and appear in two places at the same time (Kalabadzi 1985:79). *Gus Mik* is said by his followers to have had the ability to appear in three places at the same time. *Gus Ali Muhammad*, *Gus*

Farid, and Gus Muqarrabin said that when this group held *semaan* in Jember, Surabaya and Yogyakarta, Gus Mik appeared in all these three places at the same time. Because of this *karamah*, one of my informants rejected the claim that Gus Mik never performed a prayer during his life based on the fact that no one found him praying at prayer times. Since he could appear in three places at the same time, my informant pointed out that Gus Mik might not be praying at one place, but he might possibly be praying at another place.

Seventh karamah: One day Gus Mik wanted to visit Kyai Ahmad Shiddiq in Jember. At that time, Kyai Ahmad Siddiq was looking for citations from books, and Gus Mik brought a piece of paper with the citation texts that Kyai Ahmad Siddiq was looking for (Memorandum, 11/06/1993).

Eighth karamah: Gus Mik was believed to be capable of giving his followers solutions to problem. Adi Siswanto, a businessman from Sidoarjo, claimed that what Gus Mik ordered to him do when he had a difficult problem, contained a hidden meaning. Gus Mik gave him a solution which made him happy. This also happened to many other artists, businessmen, and government officials who sought advice and solutions from Gus Mik about their problems. An informant told of how his advice was always correct, even though it might at first have seemed puzzling. As an example, Oscar regretted not complying with Gus Mik's advice. If he had done so, his business would not have failed totally. He at first thought it was not possible to follow Gus Mik's advice.

Niinth karamah: One day my informant went out with Gus Mik to eat at a famous restaurant in Kediri. When waiters served Gus Mik with his favourite satay, Gus Mik told my informant that the waitress was not a virgin. On this occasion my informant believed that Gus Mik not only understood hidden things in the hearts of people but also recognised every sin that had been committed by others. In a similar story, Gus Mik and my informant attended a *Dhikr al Ghāfilīn* ritual in a *pesantren*, and sat in the front seats with other *kyai*. Among these *kyai*, there was one *kyai* who sat wordlessly in the corner. Gus Mik commented to my informant that this *kyai* was an extraordinary person because his heart always remembered death and God.

Tenth karamah: Kyai Farih Fauzi said that Gus Mik was absent from Friday prayer one day. A few hours later, Gus Mik arrived bringing a branch of fresh dates which had been taken from a date tree. This must have been taken from the holy land.

The moral message of these different Gus Mik's *karamah* is the same: Gus Mik's knowledge transcended place and time and penetrated the inner hearts of his

followers. However, his knowledge did not just signal his ability to foresee the future or to know what is in men's hearts wherever they are, it was also part of God's power and love, indicated by *Gus Mik's* power to become involved in a bad environments without committing any sin in such places.

The most significant evidence of his *karamah*, which could be seen after he died, was his ability to attract many people to the ritual of *Dhikr al-Ghāfilīn* and *semaan*. Although *Gus Mik* had died, the *semaan* and the *Dhikr al-Ghāfilīn* still continued to attract many participants. This ability was seen by his companions and followers as part of God's plan to send one of his servants to preserve the Qur'an from being forgotten. This initiative of *Gus Mik* to hold *semaan al-Qur'an* (memorizing the Qur'an) was often related to what God said in the Qur'an, 'Verily, We, it is We Who have sent down the *Dhikr* (i.e. the Qur'an) and surely We will guard it (from corruption)' (15:9). According to his companions, *Gus Mik* with his *karamah* was the preserver of the Qur'an itself. This notion is not difficult to understand. It was argued on the basis of the interpretation of the text of the Qur'anic verse in which God says *we* rather than *I*. According to common exegesis, when God uses *we* rather than *I*, it means that the process of His works involving humans. Therefore, when God says that *we* will preserve the Qur'an, this preservation involves humans. In this sense, *Gus Mik* was one whom God used to preserve the Qur'an.

6.5. *Gus Mik*: His Teachings

To describe and understand *Gus Mik's* teachings comprehensively is a difficult task. This is partly because he was neither a writer who expressed his thoughts systematically in a book nor a preacher who explained in detail the teachings of *tasawuf* in front of his followers. *Gus Mik* chose to practise these teachings rather than explain them in detail to his followers. This can be seen through his advice given to his followers after the ritual of the *Dhikr al-Ghāfilīn* was completed. *Kyai Saiful*, one of his close companions, told me that on such occasions, *Gus Mik* usually gave a short speech which took only five to ten minutes. Nevertheless, in this short time he could convey as the depths of *tasawuf*. For *Gus Mik*, the current concept of *dakwah* should stress giving an example in practice (A., *lisān al-hal*) rather than placing too much stress on sermons and lectures (Mantab n.d:8). Through his brief sermons, his followers could understand the moral and ethical ideas needed in their lives. For his followers, *Gus Mik's* advice was easy to remember, even though its content was not easy to practise. In addition to *tasawuf* teachings, the topics of his advice were very broad, touching on many aspects of life. Therefore, this section will examine his teachings and analyse them in the light of *tasawuf* teachings.

One of *Gus Mik*'s teachings emphasizes the importance of Muslims keeping their pious acts (I., *amal saleh*) secret from other people. He asked his followers to conceal their pious acts, even though these virtues were little things such as praying for their hosts before visiting them. This teaching is simple, but in the context of *tasawuf* teachings it is important since it is closely related to the essence of people's worship of their God. According to Islamic teachings, Muslims are required to worship God and perform good deeds sincerely (I., *ikhlas*). In other words, Muslims should worship and do good deeds to seek reward from God, and not for the sake of people's praise (A., *riyā'*). Based on this notion, all *ibadah* necessitates the purity of intention. As a result, if people perform good deeds, but have an intention other than seeking God's blessing, these good deeds will be meaningless in the eyes of God. In fact, what *Gus Mik* taught on this matter was strongly based on Sufi teachings. For example, Ibn 'Aṭāillah suggested to those who want to seek closeness to God:

'Bury your existence in the earth of obscurity, for whatever sprouts forth, without having first been buried, flowers imperfectly'¹²

After stressing the importance of pure intention and the hiding of virtuous deeds, *Gus Mik* asked his followers not to regard themselves as the purer and holier (I., *orang yang paling suci*) than others. *Gus Mik* pointed out that there are two kinds of people: First, people who feel that they are the most holy, clean, successful, and purest persons in the world, and secondly, people who feel that they are nothing. Instead of regarding themselves as very pure, *Gus Mik* asked people to inculcate a sense of worthlessness (I., *rasa penghambaan*) such as feeling guilty, humble, sinful, and full of weakness. With regard to this teaching *Gus Mik* said as follows:

We do not need to seek others' faults and despise people around us who have gone astray (I., *maksiat*) because we cannot be sure that we are better than they are (Mantab n.d:1).¹³

These feelings would increase people's humility and willingness to ask for God's forgiveness. However, *Gus Mik* admitted that imparting these feelings was difficult and needed continuous practice. He argued that this teaching was easy to explain but he himself found it difficult to practise. In this respect, *Gus Mik* always taught the following special prayer to his followers: 'Oh Lord! We have wronged ourselves, if you forgive us not and have not mercy on us; surely we are of the lost.'

12 هجئ انتن متيال نفدي مل أمم تدبن امف لومخل اضرال اى ف كدوچو نفدا

13 Kita tidak perlu mencari kesalahan orang lain dan membenci orang-orang di sekitar kita yang melakukan maksiat.

As regards this teaching, my informant explained to me that if God wants to make people pious, He will endow them with knowledge of their weaknesses. My informant further mentioned that according to a hadith, the luckiest person is he who is always busy looking at his own weaknesses so that he has no time to look at other people's weaknesses. According to my informant, people always look at others' weaknesses because they feel that they have none. *Gus Mik* pointed out as follows:

In my village, I lived with different people, the most important thing to do is to remember God, do not regard yourself as holier than others, do not pay attention and seek out others' fault, and have a good heart toward other people, these are the characteristics of the followers of the *Dhikr al-Ghāfilin*.¹⁴

This teaching is supported by the Qur'anic text which asks people not to regard themselves as pure. Moreover, this teaching was elaborated further by Ibn 'Aṭāillah who said in his book that sinful acts (*maksiat*) that make a person feel humble and ashamed are better than proper actions that give rise to pride (I., *takabbur*) and feelings of superiority.

In addition to hiding good acts, *Gus Mik* also stressed the importance of focusing people's minds on always remembering God in all conditions, places and times. As reported by my informant, *Gus Mik* said that 'When you engage with something, do not let this prevent you from remembering God and when you engage with someone, do not let them prevent you from remembering God.' This notion, according to my informant, was practised by *Gus Mik* himself so he could undergo *khalwa*, a silent situation enabling him to communicate with God and to draw near to Him, even if he was in a noisy place such as a bar.¹⁵

Another piece of *Gus Mik*'s advice told to me by his son, *Gus Sabut*, was that 'we should not make our neighbours jealous (A., *hasad*) of us.' According to his son, this advice contained deep Sufi moral teaching, although it was difficult to practice, particularly today.¹⁶ In *tasawuf* teachings, envy is regarded as the worst of spiritual diseases. Al-Ghazālī defines *ḥasadas* the feeling of hate towards the goodness of others and desire for the elimination of others' bounty (al-Ghazali 1973:185). Many Qur'anic texts and Prophetic traditions regarded *ḥasad* as a destructive force (A., *muhlikat*) which leads to the destruction of the good acts of envious people. Therefore, according to Qur'anic teachings, people

14 'Kulo teng kampong niku sareng tiyang katah, Sing penting imut teng Allah, mboten rumaos langkung suci ketimbang liyane, ora sempat melirik maksiati wong liyo, kaleh sinten-sinten nggadah manah ingkang sahe, ngih niku cirikhase pengamal Dzikr al-Ghāfilin.'

15 Interview with *Kyai Saiful*, Kediri, December, 2004.

16 Interview with *Kyai Saiful*, Kediri, December, 2004.

should seek refuge in God from envious people (*A., ḥāsīd*) and from jealousy itself (*al-Falaq:5*). However, asking for refuge is not enough; people should act to stop others from being jealous of them. According to *Gus Mik's* son, in order to avoid others' jealousy, people should share some of their bounty (*I., rizki*) with others. For him, this is an important way to overcome the social problems in Indonesia, where many people tend to become selfish and ignore their less fortunate neighbours.

In relation to his previous advice, *Gus Mik* tried to console his followers who happened to be experiencing calamity, misfortune, or poverty. *Gus Mik* pointed out that these people should thank God rather than complaining about their difficulties. This is because living in such conditions can increase one's awareness and remembrance of God. In contrast, if God determines that some should live in this world with happiness and wealth, this can make people easily forgetful of their God. *Gus Mik* not only advised his followers but he also practised what he advised. For example, when he suffered cancer he never complained about his illness to his companions. Instead of complaining to God, he always thanked God for his illness.

In supporting his followers who lived in poverty, *Gus Mik* said that every single person in this world is keen to be wealthy. In fact, however, those wealthy will become needy persons in the world-to-come. In contrast, those who are poor in this world and are patient with their poverty will become wealthy persons in the world-to-come. This notion was based on *Gus Mik's* belief in the Prophet's sayings that poor patient people will enter paradise five hundred years earlier than good rich people. *Gus Mik* said:

The poor who can stand suffering, smile, be joyful, and always grateful are much more respected than anyone else. The pious poor are more excellent than philanthropists who have spent ninety nine percent of their wealth for the sake of God.¹⁷

The point of his advice was that people should be patient in all conditions, both in comfort and in hardship, and should always praise God by saying *alhamdulillah* (all praise due to God) (*Mantab n.d:6*). The poor should not demonstrate their poverty to other people, but should try to be like the Prophet Muhammad who never complained about his poverty. *Gus Mik* suggested that instead of submitting to their own fate, the poor should earn a living and obtain

17 Manusia fakir yang tahan uji, yang mampu tertawa, mampu menjadi periang, batinnya mensyukuri, ini lebih terhormat dari siapa saja. Termasuk orang dermawan yang sembilan puluh sembilan persen hak miliknya dibuang karena Allah, masih unggul fakir yang sholeh.

everything by lawful means (I., *halal*) (Mantab n.d:4). On the other hand, *Gus Mik* also recommended that other people should respect the poor (Mantab n.d:39).

Gus Mik also taught his followers how to love God correctly. *Gus Mik* pointed out that loving God was similar to the concept of *taqwa*, that is, avoiding what God dislikes and practising what God has instructed. However, in the context of loving God, avoiding what God has forbidden should not be followed by the fear of His torment, and practising what God has asked should not be followed by expectation of His paradise. All of these acts, according to my informant, should be conducted only to obtain His consent (A., *riḍā*). On another occasion, *Gus Mik* stressed the importance of doing something which can cause God to give His love to his servants. This idea reminds us of the teaching of the Saint, *Rabīʿat al-ʿAdawiyyat*, who first introduced the idea of love in Sufi practice.

It is clear that the teachings that *Gus Mik* gave to his followers were deeply inspired by the teachings of prominent Sufi. Sometimes, he taught his followers about good conduct, positive attitudes, and morality taken from local tradition without making any religious reference, and presented this advice using their vernacular language. As a result, his followers who were mainly villagers easily understood this type of teaching.

6.6. The Group after *Gus Mik*

Kyai Saiful, senior *ʿulamāʾ* in the *Dhikr al-Ghāfilīn* group, told me that before *Gus Mik* passed away, he did not give any message of advice (I., *wasiat*) to his children about who should be his successor as the leader of the *Dhikr al-Ghāfilīn* group¹⁸. Instead of choosing his successor from one of his sons, *Gus Mik* said that all the members of this group (A., *samiʿīn*) and memorizers (A., *khuffāz*) involved in the group could be the next leaders. Several days before he died, one of his students asked him when he was critically sick in the hospital (*Rumah Sakit Budi Mulya*) in Surabaya, ‘Who will you choose as your successor to lead the group while you are being treated in this hospital?’ he replied, ‘Do you mean my successor after I die?’ Then the student did not dare to ask further (Hidayat 1993b). This situation without doubt confused *Gus Mik*’s followers. *Kyai Saiful* told me that although *Gus Mik* did not choose a successor, this does not necessarily mean that no one could succeed him as leader. *Kyai Saiful* believed that one of *Gus Mik*’s sons or his close friends had to become his successor. However, selecting the next leader of the group either from one of his

18 Interview with *Kyai Saiful*, Kediri, July 2005.

sons or his close friends was not an easy task for *Gus Mik*'s family. It was even more difficult to seek a leader who possessed the same charisma as *Gus Mik*. There were also questions regarding the mechanism of election; for example who might be chosen as the committee to conduct the election, which parties would be included within the election, and what would be the requirements needed to determine who would be candidates for *Gus Mik*'s position. Because of these difficulties, *Gus Mik*'s family and close friends have not yet decided who will succeed *Gus Mik*.

The absence of a sign from *Gus Mik* about his successor has given an opportunity to both his sons and the sons of *Kyai Ahmad Siddiq* to become involved in running and establishing their own *dhikr* groups. *Kyai Ahmad Siddiq*'s sons feel that since the group was established not only by *Gus Mik*, but also by their father and *Kyai al-Hamid*, they are also entitled to develop the group after *Gus Mik*. *Kyai Ahmad Siddiq* was an important figure in the establishment of the group. *Gus Mik* appointed him as a coordinator of the group for several years. *Gus Mik* took his position following *Kyai Ahmad Siddiq*'s death. Thus, *Kyai Ahmad Siddiq*'s role in developing the organisation of the group cannot be overlooked. His position as a leader of *Nahdlatul Ulama*, the largest Muslim organisation in Indonesia, attracted people from the *Nahdlatul Ulama* community to join the group.

During my fieldwork, eleven years after *Gus Mik* had died, all of his sons and several sons of *Kyai Ahmad Siddiq* were running their own groups (i.e., *jamaah*) which had similar names to the *Dhikr al-Ghāfilīn*. At that time, there were seven large groups of *Majlis Dhikr* and several small groups with the same name in the hands of different leaders including *Tajuddin Heru Cokro*, *Sabut Suwijan Pranoto Projo*, *Tijani Robert Saifunnawas*, *Orbar Sadewo Ahmad* (see the genealogy of *Gus Mik*'s family: Figure 6.1), *Gus Farih Fauzi*, *Farid Wajdi* (see the genealogy of *Kyai Ahmad Siddiq*'s family: Figure 6.2) and *Gus Ali* (*Gus Mik*'s close colleague). All of these groups had their own members and held similar *dhikr* rituals and *semaan al-Qur'an* regularly in cities in Indonesia. In some cases, three or four of these groups have been established in one city by different leaders.

These groups not only held most of their rituals at Muslim saints' graves or holy graves situated in those cities, but also shared the same ritual venues at these graves. For example, when I visited *Kyai Murshad*'s grave, one of famous pilgrimage sites in Kediri, I saw a schedule board next to the Mosque mentioning two groups, one under the leadership of *Gus Sabut* (*Gus Mik*'s son) and the other under *Gus Farih Fauzi* (*Kyai Ahmad Siddiq*'s son) who were using the same venue for their ritual practice on different days. Specific venues

for rituals usually become exclusive to particular groups and not to others. For example, the complex of Muslim saints' graves known as *Makam Auliya' Tambak* in Kediri, where *Gus Mik* and many others personages including *Kyai Ahmad Siddiq* are buried has become the special venue for all *Gus Mik*' sons but not for *Kyai Ahmad Siddiq*'s sons. In addition, each group holds their own activities to celebrate the anniversary of the group and the death of the founders. For example, in order to commemorate the anniversary of the death (I., *haul*) of *Gus Mik*, they celebrated on different days rather than on the same days. One group might hold their celebration one week after the date of *Gus Mik*'s death; others might celebrate his death one week later.

Commenting on the different leaders and groups, *Abdul Qadir* one of important figures in these groups, told me that having various group leaders with the same name is God's blessing to the *Dhikr al-Ghāfilīn* and to members. The situation gives people more options to join a particular group with a particular leader. In addition, previously, he added, the ritual of *dhikr* and *semaan* was held once a week. Because of these different leaders, the reciting of the formula and *semaan al-Qur'an* can now be held as many times as possible within a week. *Abdul Qadir* himself joined the group of one of *Gus Mik*'s sons because of his respect for *Gus Mik* as a *murshid* (leader) of the group.¹⁹

Even though all of the founders of the *Dhikr al-Ghāfilīn* have died, the current leaders of these groups claim that the *Dzikr al-Ghāfilīn* groups have continued to develop rapidly. They claim that these groups have established branches in most cities in Indonesia. However, the absence of charismatic figures such as *Gus Mik* and *Kyai Ahmad Siddiq* has led the current leaders to find ways to encourage their followers to remember those figures. This happens in many Sufi orders (*tarekat*) in Java, particularly when the founders or senior leaders of these groups have died and no one, including their own children, possesses the charismatic qualities that their fathers had. This is one reason why stories about the founder's *karamah* and religious advice are frequently told to the followers of the *Dhikr al-Ghāfilīn* on numerous occasions. In addition, some groups not only collect and publish the religious advice presented by *Gus Mik* but also print his picture so that he can be remembered by his followers. The formation of these groups under the same name following the death of the founders of the *Dhikr al-Ghāfilīn* has led to competing claims about which groups are more worthy of representing the founders to their followers. Some leaders have tried to identify their groups as distinctive and 'authentic' compared to others. For example, *Gus Sabut*, one of leaders of these groups, claimed that his father, *Gus Mik*, was not only the founder, a central leader (I., *Tokoh Sentral*), and spiritual master (A., *murshid*) of the group, but also the only one who created the formula of the *Dhikr al-Ghāfilīn* (I., *Pencipta Tunggal Dhikr al-Ghāfilīn*).

19 Interview with *Abdul Qadir*, Kediri, September, 2004.

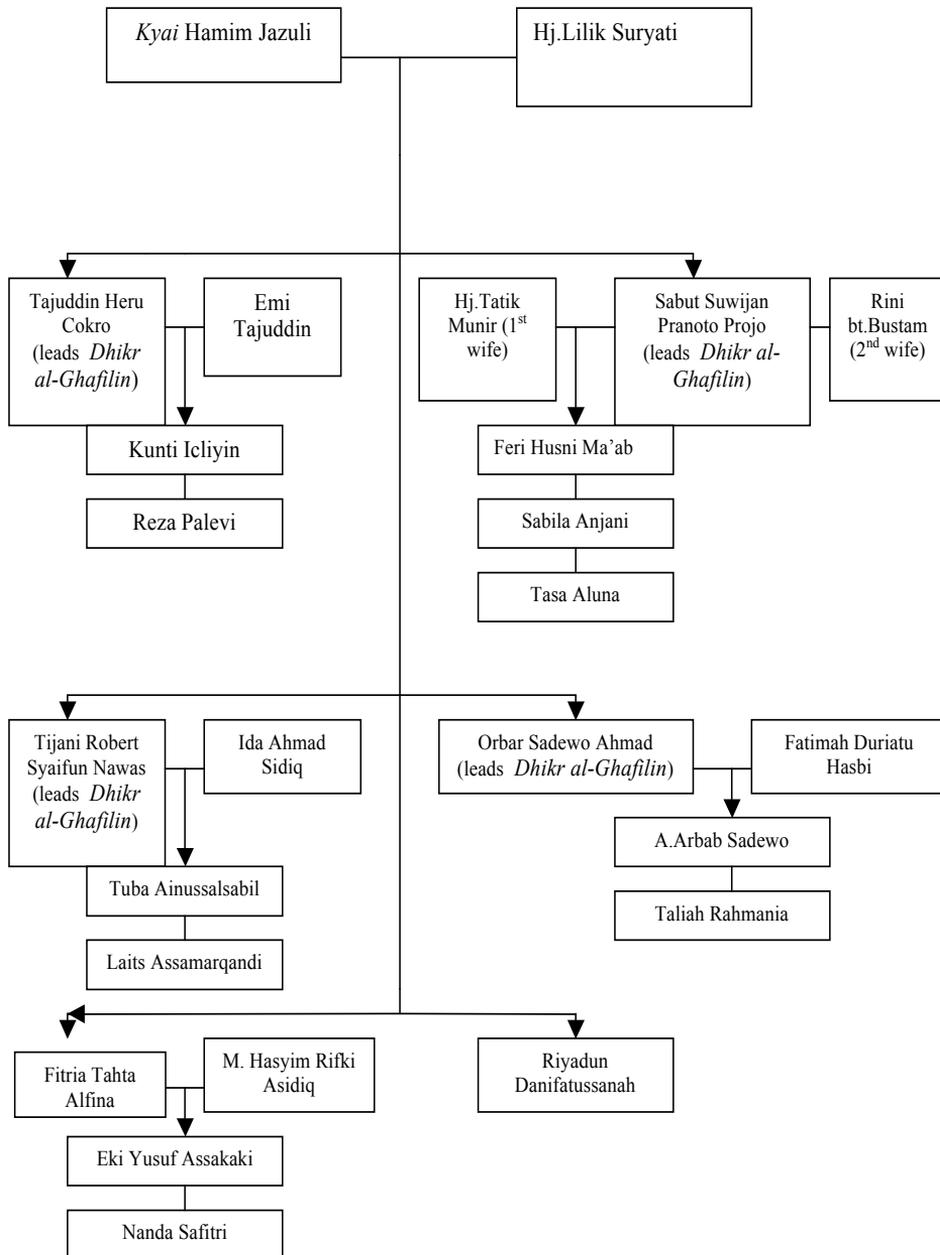


Figure 6.1. Kyai Hamim Jazuli's (Gus Mik's) Family.

Source : Biographi Kyai Djazuli Usman, n.d.

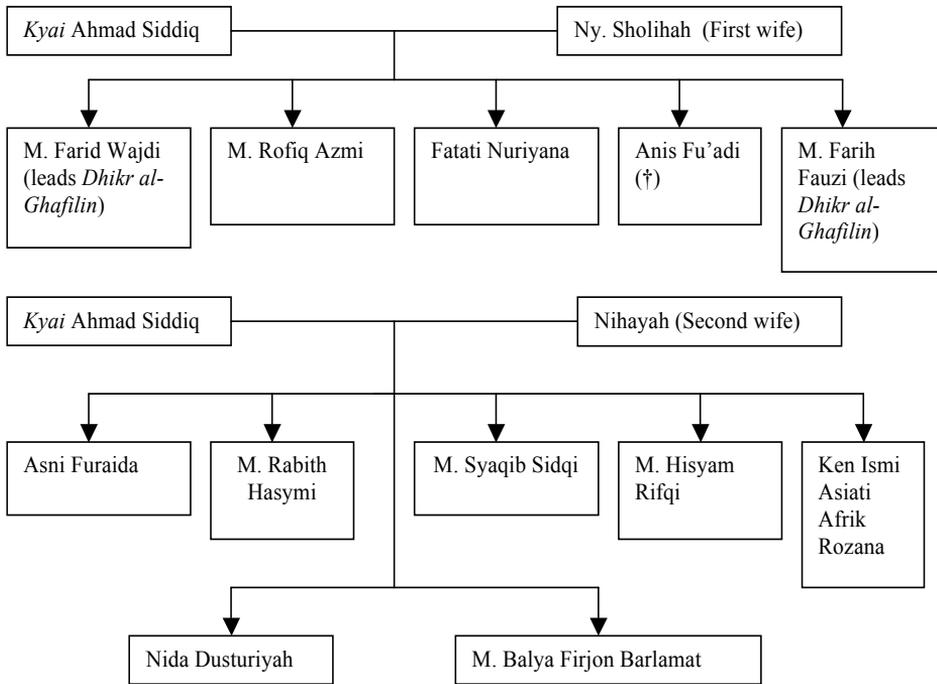


Figure 6.2. Kyai Ahmad Siddiq's Family.

Source: Interview with Gus Farih Fauzi

According to Sabut, other figures like *Kyai Ahmad Siddiq* were asked by *Gus Mik* to write the formula of *Dhikr al-Ghāfilīn* but were not founders of the group. By doing this, *Gus Sabut* probably wishes to convince his followers and others that his group and his brothers' groups are more authentic than other groups. He is also responding to *Gus Farih's* claim that the *Dhikr al-Ghāfilīn* was established not only by *Gus Mik* but also by *Kyai Ahmad Siddiq* and *Kyai 'Abd al-Ḥamid* who both contributed to its formula. *Gus Farih* told me that the formula was not created by *Gus Mik* alone but it was collected from one of prayers created by several prominent Muslim scholars and Sufi, and that *Kyai Ahmad Siddiq* was a compiler of those prayers. An example of claims made by these leaders can be seen clearly from a comparison of the covers of the manual published by their groups below:

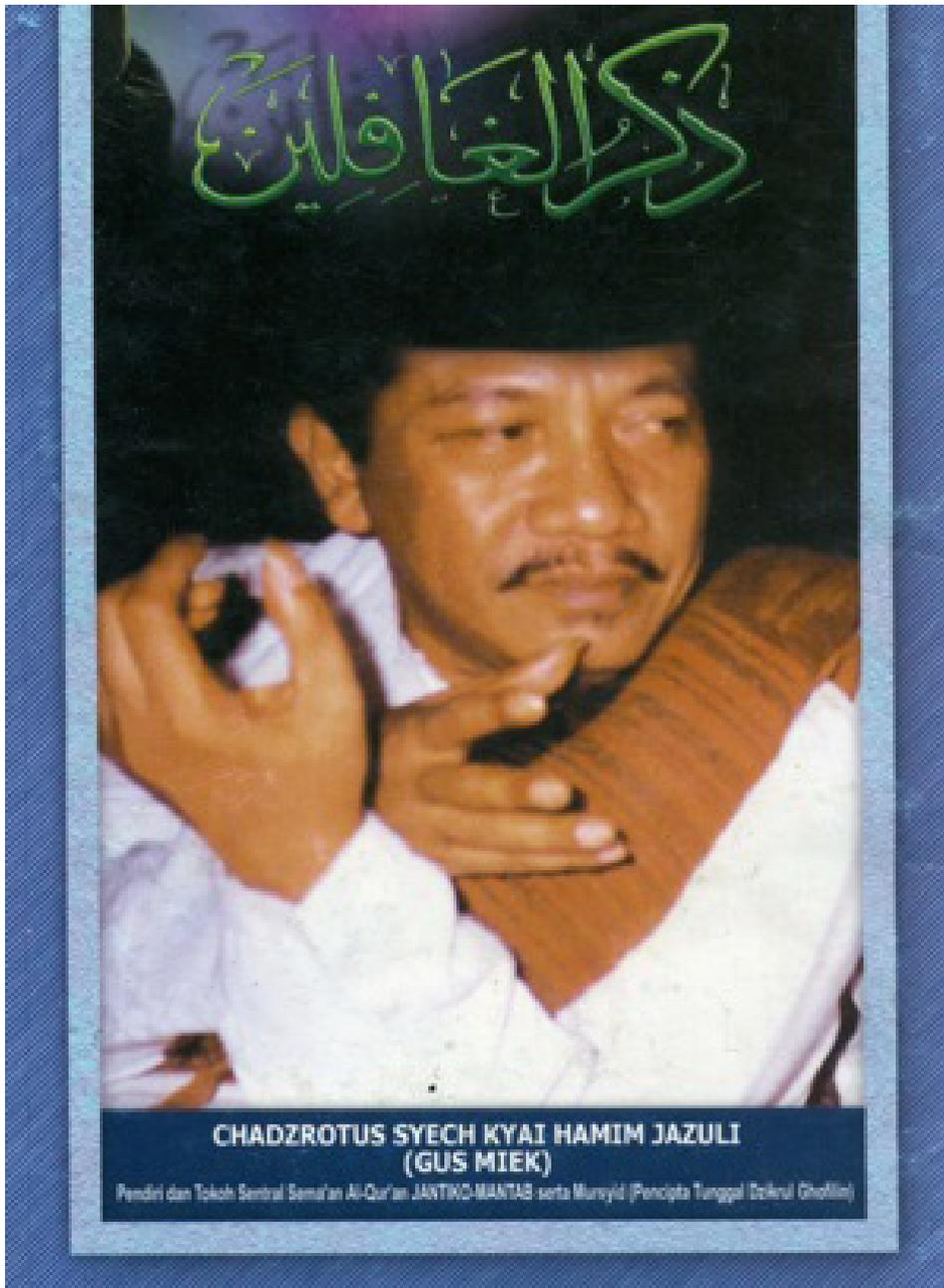


Plate 6.4: The front cover of the Dhikr al-Ghafīrīn book published by Gus Sabut Panoto Projo.

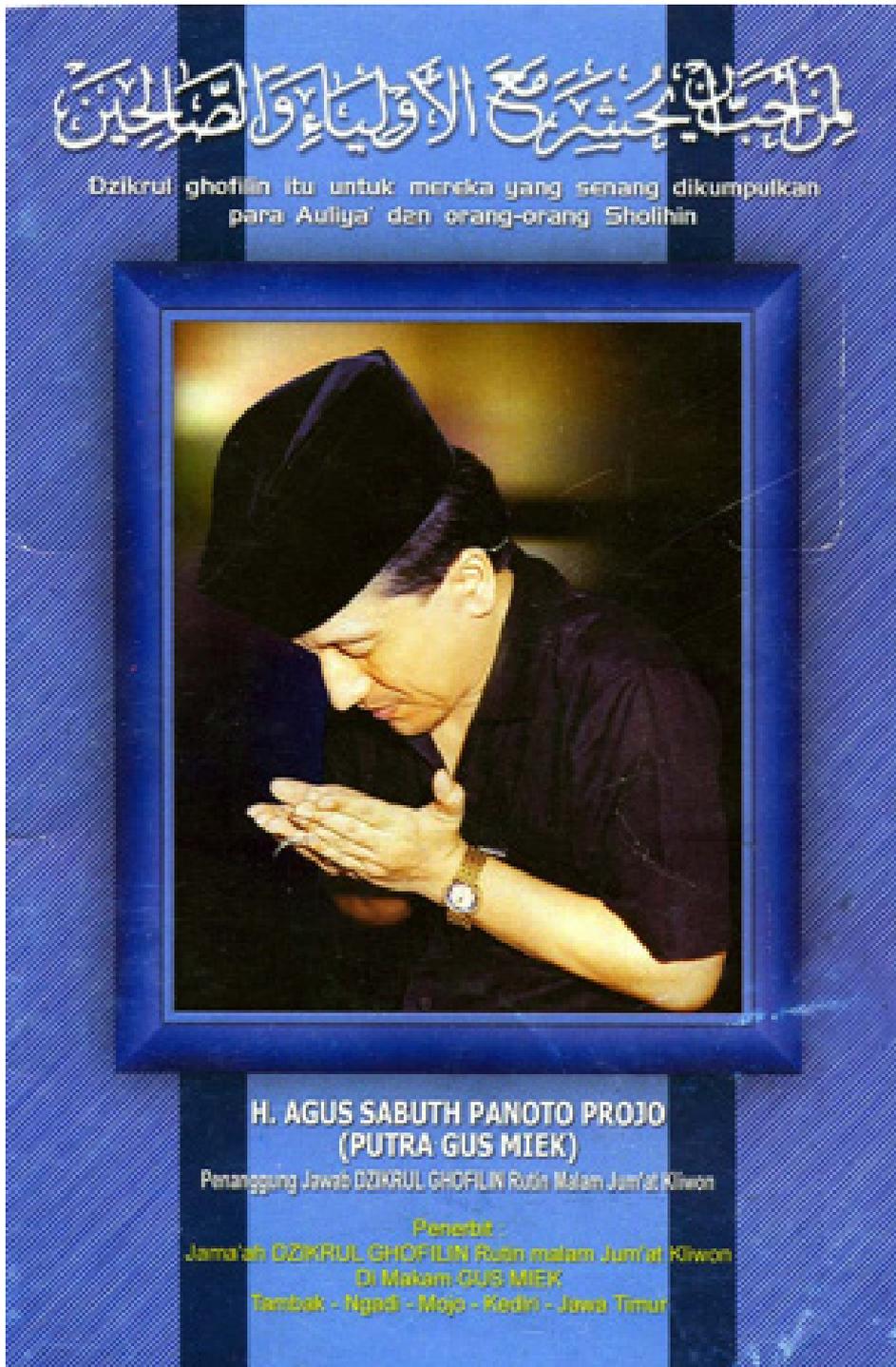


Plate 6.5: The back cover of the Dhikr al-Ghaffīlīn book published by Gus Sabuth Panoto Projo.

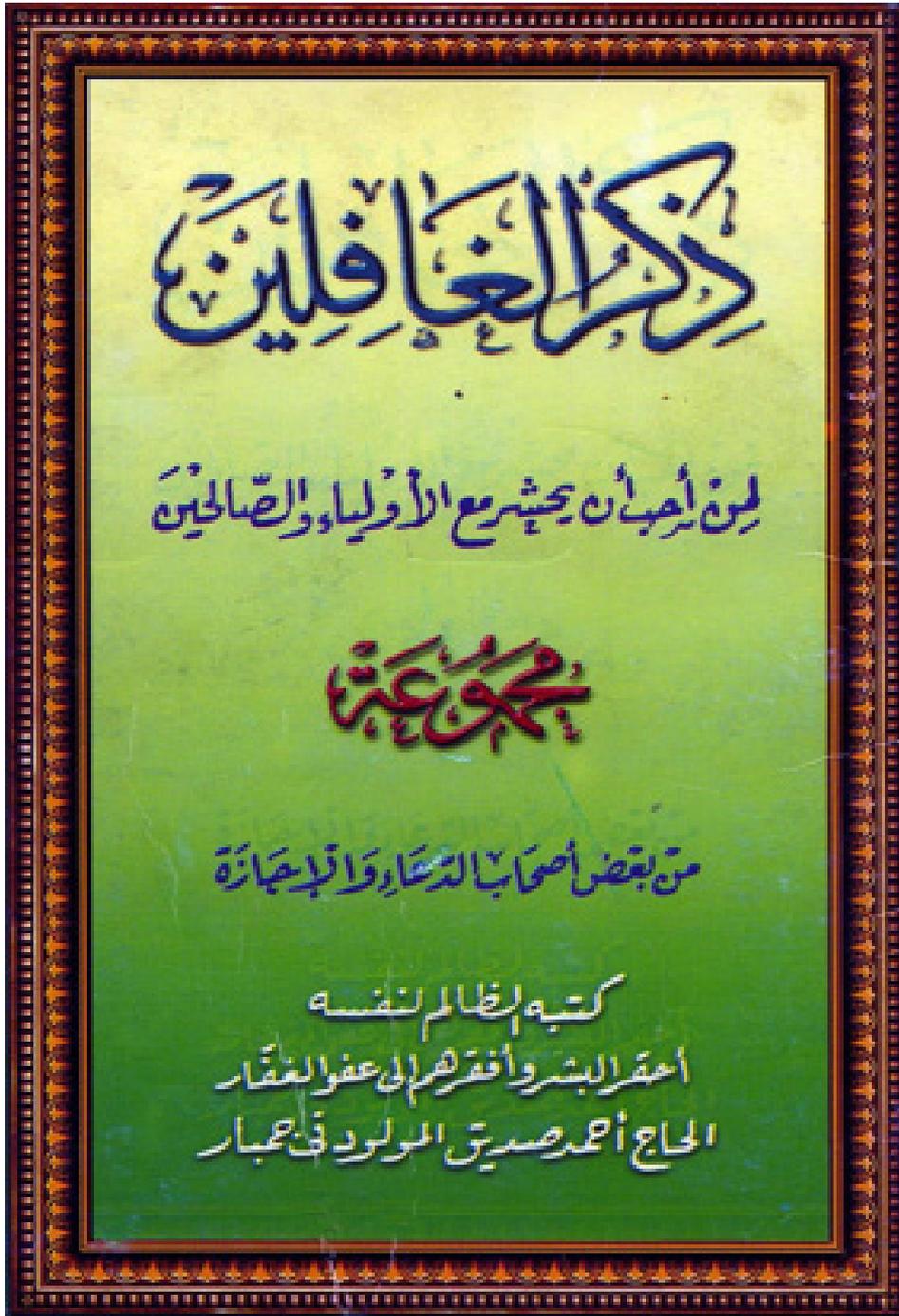


Plate 6.6: The front cover of the Dhikr al-Ghafflīn book published by Gus Farih Fauzi.

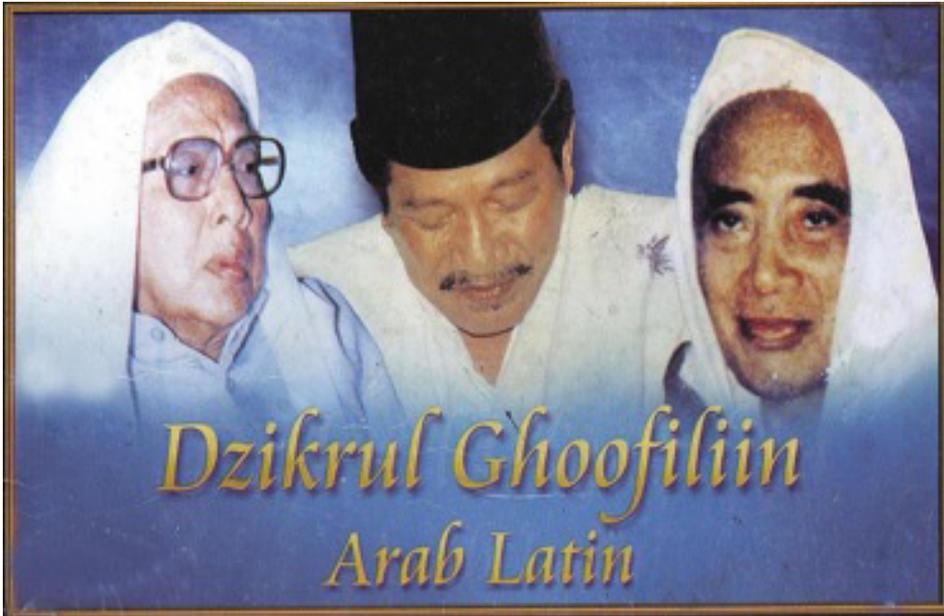


Plate 6.7: The back cover of the *Dhikr al-Ghaffīlīn* book published by Gus Farih Fauzi.

The front cover of the manual of *Dhikr al-Ghāfīlīn* (Plate 6.4) shows *Gus Mik* as the founder, *Tokoh Sentral* and *murshid* (the sole composer of the formula). In contrast, instead of putting the picture of his father, *Kyai Ahmad Siddiq*, on the front page or his own picture, *Gus Farih* puts the following long sentence indicating that his father was a compiler of the formula collected from one of the owners of these prayers with proper *ijāzat* (authorisation) (Plate 6.6):

The book was written by a person who is unjust to himself, the lowest human and who is the most in need of forgiveness from the Most-Forgiving, *Haji Ahmad Shiddiq*, born in Jember.²⁰

Both books cite the motto of the group, which is that group is intended for those who want to gather with the saints and pious people. Plate 6.6 notes that *Sabut Panoto Projo* (the son of *Gus Mik*) is the coordinator of the *Dhikr al-Ghāfīlīn* on Friday night *Kliwon* at *Gus Mik*'s grave. In contrast, Plate 6.8 has a picture of three founders. This is intended to show the public that *Dhikr al-Ghāfīlīn* was the creation of these three persons: *Kyai Ahamad Siddiq*, *Gus Mik*, and *Kyai al-Hamid*.

Like their predecessors, these various *dhikr* groups do not have the structure of other modern organizations, equipped with a deputy leader, secretary, treasurer

²⁰ *Majmū'atun min ba'di aṣḥābi al-du'āl wa al-ijāza* (it is collected from one of the owners of prayers and *ijāzat*). *Katabahū al-zālimu linafsihī Aḥqaru al-bashari wa Afqarahum ilā 'afwi al-Ghaffāri al-haj Ahmad Siddiq al-maulūdi fī Jimbāra*.

and registered membership. As a result, all the activities of these groups are controlled by the leaders of these groups. Some of these leaders even handle administrative matters personally. For example, during my fieldwork, a leader of one group sent a short message to invite me and my friends to one of the group's rituals. These groups do not even have an office to handle activities and administrative matters. In order to hold a major ritual event such as the commemoration of a founder's death, these groups usually form temporary committees. When these activities have completed their work, the leaders of the group then dismiss the committee.

The leaders of these groups do not have any particular method to obtain financial funding to support and run the activities of their groups. They rarely ask their members to give money and charity to them. However, they distribute donation boxes among their members during regular weekly or *selapanan* rituals. Money collected from these events will be used not only to operate these groups but also for the operating expenses at the particular places where these rituals are held, such as the electricity bill at a grave, for the custodian (I., *juru kunci*), and for cleaning fees. The leaders strongly encourage donations when the groups need funding for particular purposes. For example, when I was in the field, Gus Farih, a leader one of the groups, who held a regular ritual at the famous pilgrimage site of Mbah Wasil's tomb in the city centre of Kediri, needed to buy another sound system because the participants in the ritual was so numerous that the old sound system in the inner area of the tomb was not powerful enough to be heard by participants sitting outside the area. Therefore Gus Farih urged his *jamaah* to donate money to the group to buy a new sound system.

6.7. Conclusion

This chapter has examined that the role played by the late Gus Mik in developing and maintaining the continuity of the *Dhikr al-Ghāfilīn* group. Through his charisma and *karamah*, Gus Mik was able to practice *dakwah* in an unusual way, i.e. among those categorised as *orang malam*, nightclub visitors and gamblers. However, after his death, his *karamah* and charisma could not be passed on to his sons. None of his sons or other leaders of these groups are able to engage in this unusual practice of *dakwah*. As a result, the leaders of the current *Dhikr al-Ghāfilīn* groups confine their *dakwah* activities to people who engage in the ritual practices of these groups.