

Chapter 5: Daarut Tauhid as the *Bengkel Akhlaq* Religion and Morality

The phrase *Bengkel Akhlaq* (Workshop for Morality) might remind students of religions that medical practice is often an important feature of Islamic tradition. In Java, in particular, this may be associated with Pesantren Suryalaya in Tasikmalaya, West Java, where Islamic healing is practised (Munawar-Rahman and Ismail 1991, Nurol-Aen 1990, Zulkifli 1994). Horikoshi (1980) has also recorded an Islam-based medical tradition among Sundanese Muslims in Garut town, West Java, that is well-known as *Asrama*.

Suryalaya and *Asrama* practise a rather similar form of Islamic medicine. Suryalaya has, besides wide ranging educational institutions, a centre for the treatment of narcotic addicts and delinquent youths. The patients camp here and thus have no opportunity to think of anything except God (Zulkifli 1994:111). Su'dan (1991:75-77) describes that in the camp the patients perform *mandi taubat* (baths for repentance), obligatory *shalat* five times a day, a series of recommended *shalat* such as *sunnat tahajjud*, *sunnat tasbih*, and *sunnat witir* at night, *sunnat dhuha* in the morning and *sunnat rawatib* performed before and after obligatory *shalat*. They also have to perform Sufistic *dhikir* (remembrance of God), both *dhikir jahar* (loud *dhikir*) and *dhikir khafi* (*dhikir* in a very low tone). Given these practices, Suryalaya appears to be a clinic that involves the restoration of both physiological and religious order in the patient.

Daarut Tauhid shares one feature with this Islamic tradition, that is, the restoration of Islamic values in its followers as a means by which to create righteous Muslims. However, compared to Suryalaya, Daarut Tauhid's function as the workshop for morality is unique for several reasons. First, Daarut Tauhid does not practise physical healing such as the *mandi taubat* practised at Suryalaya. It practises, instead, psycho-religious healing in that it provides religious activities where Muslims suffering from immorality can indirectly "modify" their daily behaviour. Second, the "patients" at Daarut Tauhid are, as a result, more active than those at Islamic healing centres such as Suryalaya. They do not come to Daarut Tauhid to be cured as patients but to participate in religious practices that have the impact of psychological curing. The process of curing is thus, in a sense, an indirect one. Third, the object of the healing at Daarut Tauhid is the social and behavioural ills, some of which cannot be easily felt as an illness unless they are viewed from the Islamic point of view.¹ Here, Daarut Tauhid's conception of moral decadence is crucial and thus deserves particular attention.

5.1 Moral Decadence

Before describing how Daarut Tauhid runs its mission as the *Bengkel Akhlaq*, it is important to understand what Daarut Tauhidians perceive as moral decadence. There are two reasons for this. First, what is viewed by Daarut Tauhidians as morally decadent might not be so in the view of others. Second, it would be difficult to follow a process of healing without knowing the problem that it attempts to rectify.

Moral decadence, to people at Daarut Tauhid, is none other than the decline of religiosity and the social disorder it engenders. People of the world today tend to be less religious and are heavily preoccupied by worldly business. They show little or no awe and indebtedness to God, who provides all worldly delights and who created all beings other than Himself. According to Aa Gym, this tendency of men and women today is due to the fact that they are preoccupied by their carnal desires. This can be seen through their daily behaviour.

First, people today appear to have a lust for prestige, praise, appreciation, pomp, honour, self-esteem and the like. In gaining these, they tend to follow the evil instructions which cunningly use these personal interests as a weapon to drive human beings away from the right path of Islam. For the sake of honour and self-esteem, for example, people try to impress others by wearing the most expensive suits and driving the most luxurious cars. They never hesitate to spend any amount of money just to realise their aim of being appreciated and esteemed, without thinking of any risk to their *hisab* (accountability)² in the hereafter.

Aa Gym clarified that this by no means signifies that people are not allowed to look nice because, he argued, looking good is good and Allah loves everything good. Syeikh Abdul Qadir Jailani, a great Sufi and a traditional *ulama*, tended to look clean and impressive. But, at the same time, he was fully aware of his *hisab* in the hereafter. He thus differed from people nowadays who ignore this *hisab*. These latter, while giving only a little *shidqah* (charity) or perhaps none at all for the sake of the poor, spend a lot of money shopping for themselves in the highest quality supermarkets. They seem to be heartless. They come only rarely, if ever, to religious centres whereas they routinely go on distant and thus expensive trips. They, in short, tend to pay nearly all their attention to worldly and short-term enjoyment, ignoring moral and religious values.

The lust for self-esteem and prestige often also makes one over-react. When angry, for example, a person tends to over-react, showing others that he is in charge and in power. He might also trivialise and underestimate others just to assert his own reputation. This is, Aa Gym pointed out, just a means by which "Satan brings misfortune to human beings, in that human beings become *takabbur* (haughty). The key to overcoming this is *tawadhu'* (modesty) since honour generates not from *takabbur* but from *tawadhu'*." Aa Gym also asserted that "as

a matter of fact, people are resentful of one who is haughty, arrogant, and self-assertive by way of mentioning his superiority.”

Second, Daarut Tauhidians find that people of today tend also to give their passion free rein and enjoy their life to the fullest without thanking God, who provides the grace for all beings. People let their bodily senses relish all worldly things beyond the normal standard and without having any care for other beings. Indeed, Aa Gym realises that human bodily senses love to enjoy various things to the fullest. The sense of enjoying food, for instance, drives Muslims today to eat as many delicious things as possible, without any consideration of whether these things are *halal* or *haram* in accordance with Islamic teaching. In addition to this enjoyment of food, people also tend to use their mouths to talk too much. While talking too much, they often tell lies, gossip about others, sully the names of others, and talk about other matters that often engender inharmonious social relationships.

Similarly, in the view of Aa Gym, to satisfy the enjoyment of their ears people tend to love listening to music more than listening to *pengajian* or the melodious recitation of Holy Qur'an. Men's eyes greatly enjoy watching beautiful sights and pleasant views, without remembering Allah as the Creator of the universe that amazes them. The men's eyes particularly enjoy watching beautiful women, just for sexual satisfaction and thus often resulting in sexual abuse. Sexuality is also often the main interest of a young couple in love, with no thought of realising pure love in accordance with the religious guidance about love. In short, people nowadays, according to Aa Gym, tend to live a life that the Qur'an calls *mata' al-gurur* (goods and chattels of deception) (3:185).³

According to Aa Gym, enjoyment should be in moderation without any inclination towards excess. "Following one's passion in such enjoyment," Aa Gym said, "is like drinking sea water; the more one drinks the more thirsty one will be." To stop talking too much, according to Aa Gym's advice, one has to do *tadarrus* (recite, usually loudly) the holy Qur'an more often. To stop over eating, one is recommended by Islam to fast. Other Islamic teachings deal similarly with social disorders.

But, unfortunately, this social impact of Islam has been obscured by the third phenomenon of Muslims today. This, according to people at Daarut Tauhid, is that Muslims tend to be reluctant to carry out Islamic teachings. For example, they seem to find it difficult to perform *shalat*, particularly midnight *shalat*. They also feel it is difficult to go to the mosque, either to perform *shalat* or to attend public talks or any other gatherings. They also consider it hard to read the holy Qur'an, so that they are far away from its guidance. They find it difficult to give *shidqah* or, if they do, they often do it with the underlying motivation of *riya* (doing things just for fashion) in the hope of human valuation. For Daarut

Tauhidians, all this reluctance in applying Islamic teachings has been the chief factor that has caused current social ills to proliferate.

Further, they see that juvenile delinquency and overall social immorality today are primarily caused by the individual disorders of men and women. Their hearts and minds have been contaminated by the lust to gain the fullest enjoyment from living, which is often socially or personally detrimental. In this situation, *iri-dengki* (envy and hatred) is a commonly suffered ill. Aa Gym defined *iri-dengki* as a state when “one feels uncomfortable to see others achieve good luck and, conversely, one feels great happiness when they lose it or even suffer from bad luck.” Aa Gym maintains that envy is a psychological ill that often drives one to detrimental actions. He further identifies envy as “the basic character of *iblis* (devil, Satan). *Iblis* refused to perform *sujud* (prostration to pay homage) to Adam, when Allah asked him to, because *iblis* was very envious of the status given to Adam by Allah. One who easily becomes envious and spiteful has therefore adopted this basic character of *iblis*.”

In the view of Aa Gym, there are four main causes that can engender envy. The first is enmity or hatred. In this situation, one may easily feel disadvantaged by an opponent. Envy often easily arises here. Second is the personal interest in being the best. Aa Gym gave an example that “a person who has been wearing his most expensive clothes may be envious just because he sees a man wearing better-looking clothes. He may then feel defeated and hate the man just because of jealousy.” Third is personal ambition for leadership. This often drives one to hate others who have a good career as leader. “If he hears of a leader with a high reputation and who is greatly admired, he will be more and more envious, wishing to put him down,” Aa Gym explained. That is why, according to Aa Gym, the first group to enter hell will be “those envious *ulama* who are always ambitious to be leaders and always seeking popularity.” Fourth is that envy can be caused by other *akhlaq buruk* (bad character traits). One who is stingy, for example, might be jealous of someone who gains good luck as a result of his generosity.

Just like *iri-dengki*, there are many other social ills that are viewed by Daarut Tauhidians to be mushrooming among men and women today. Inferiority, anxiety, and overall uneasiness are now common feelings suffered by marginalised people. Arrogance, haughtiness, *riya* and *sum'ah*⁴ are common characteristics among the people of high social status. Both groups tend to abandon their religious ethics, ignoring the role of Allah in their lives. As a result, each group has been trapped into bad habits such as prejudice, stereotyping, *ghibah* (gossip), and searching for each other's humiliation. In short, people today are, in the view of Aa Gym and his followers, in severe moral crisis.

Aa Gym has been successful in convincing Muslims of this moral crisis. He convinces them through various religious talks at Daarut Tauhid and other Islamic gatherings, on radio programs, and through his writings in Daarut Tauhid's weekly newsletter. These become his forum by which he can effectively use his rhetorical ability to disseminate his views on moral decadence and its Islamic resolution.

Aa Gym believes that the key to this resolution is ordering the individual mind and heart. The grand target of Daarut Tauhid is thus to restore Islamic morality in the hearts and minds of people today.

5.2 *Qolbun Salim*: Qualities of Heart and Mind

Qolbun is an Arabic word for heart or mind, while *salim* is an Arabic term denoting healthy, sound, or good. *Qolbun salim* thus literally means healthy heart or sound mind.⁵ Daarut Tauhid's use of the phrase *qolbun salim* is said to be derived from verses of the Qur'an which read:

Yauma laa yanfa'u maalun	The Day whereon neither wealth
walaa banuun	nor sons will avail,
illaa man atallaaha	but only he [will prosper] that brings to Allah
bi qolbin saliim	a sound heart.
(26:88–89)	

Idz Jaa-a robbahuu	Behold, he [Abraham] approached his Lord
bi qolbin saliim	with a sound heart.
(37:84)	

The phrase *qolbun salim* is mentioned in the Qur'an twice in the two verses quoted above. By *qolbun salim* Aa Gym means a heart that is pure and unaffected by the moral ills that afflict others. It is a personal condition which is free from bad characteristics that are both personally and socially dangerous. Being pure, the *qolbun salim* is full of good characteristics and motivation in this world.

Daarut Tauhidians have been striving to achieve the quality of *qolbun salim* in two ways. The first is freeing their minds from any bad thoughts and characteristics and the other is adopting as high a degree of good character as they can. In terms of the former, Daarut Tauhidians free themselves from bad characteristics such as arrogance, inferiority, prejudice, *riya* (doing things just for fashion), *iri-dengki* (envy), and so on, which are all viewed as decadent.

Being free from such bad character traits, Muslims at Daarut Tauhid make every attempt to adopt high standards of personal qualities which are necessary to achieve a perfect heart, *qolbun salim*. The very basis for *qolbun salim* is a strong grasp of *tauhid* (the oneness of Allah). As there is only one God in which to

believe, Daarut Tauhidians totally rely on Him. A follower, echoing Aa Gym, said:

Allah is the absolute ruler of the universe. He is the only one who determines every single occurrence. Therefore, we rely totally on His power and make every effort to seek His guidance and help. Unless Allah guides and helps us, who else might be able to do so since He is the absolute power that rules our life.

Indeed, *tauhid* is the main aspect of Islam which is always asserted by Aa Gym on every occasion. Each time he starts his talk, for example, he always spends some time reminding his audience of this *tauhid*. The following prologue of a *pengajian* is an example:

Praise be to Allah, The only Being that blesses all other beings. Allah can not be seen by human eyes but can be easily recognised by *mata hati* (the mind's eye) which is full of the pure *iman* (faith). Allah is the most perfect essence. His knowledge covers all other kinds of knowledge. By His omniscience, he creates this wonderful universe with all things in it including humans. Humans and other beings are very weak without the power given by Allah the Absolute Power. He is very close to us, watching our every movement. And, surely, He is witnessing our gathering here now as a form of our devotion to Him.

Consequently, *tauhid* is always the main message of every Aa Gym talk at public *pengajian*, on radio, and elsewhere.⁶ Aa Gym insists that the oneness of God and the consequent reliance on Him alone has to be the basic conviction that is deeply inculcated in the mind and heart of every Muslim. Without this, it is said, the human mind and heart would remain full of bad thoughts that result in bad behaviour.

Based on this total conviction of the oneness of God, Muslims at Daarut Tauhid attribute all their good traits to the inspiration of Islam. Several main character traits are highly "promoted" at Daarut Tauhid. *Ikhlaash* (sincerity) is the *first* quality that is often brought to the fore. Men and women at Daarut Tauhid believe that *ikhlaash* has to colour their minds and hearts to gain the level of *qolbul salim*. The proper belief in *tauhid* must generate one's *ikhlaash* in living in the world. *Ikhlaash*, a follower explained, is actually "absolute reliance on and acting only for the sake of Allah." A Muslim's mind has thus to be independent from anything and anyone other than Allah. Muslims do something sincerely for the sake of Allah and similarly they refrain from doing certain things for the sake of Allah.

Aa Gym said that those *Mukhlisin* (sincere people) are the only group that Satan can not deceive. He referred to a verse of Qur'an in this regard:

Satan said: O my Lord! because You have put me in the wrong, I will make (wrong) fair-seeming to them on the earth and I will put them all in the wrong except the sincere servants among them (15:39–40)

Therefore, to Aa Gym, the most effective way to ward off Satan's attempts to deceive is to do everything with the underlying tone of *ikhlaash*, sincerely dedicated for the sake of Allah. He further elaborated:

Never do anything in the hope of others' admiration and appreciation because human admiration and appreciation are nothing compared to those which come from God. There is no point in expecting human acclamation since we know that human beings can praise only if Allah facilitates them to do so. If Allah does not allow one to praise us, we would lose a lot because while no one acclaims us Allah gives us nothing. What a pity! So, stop expecting human admiration. Do everything sincerely for the sake of Allah.⁷

The *second* quality that is believed by Daarut Tauhidians to construct *qolbun salim* is *tawadhu'* (modesty). If *takabbur* (to be haughty) is seen by Aa Gym as a source of degradation, *tawadhu'* is, on the contrary, a source of honour. "Honour is not generated from *takabbur* but from *tawadhu'*," he said. In this regard a follower said that to be modest is actually a hard job because humans naturally love to be praised and, unfortunately, they find being physically impressive is the best way to gain this praise. People forget, according to this follower, that demonstrating good manners, including being modest, is the most effective way to be honoured. Even so, he continued, a modest person is respectable not merely before humans but also, and this is the most important, before Allah. "What is the point of being honoured by humans but degraded by Allah?" he asked.

In a conversation on modesty, a *santri* said that Aa Gym often told the *santri* and the *jemaah* of Daarut Tauhid that forgiving one who had done one some wrong is a form of modesty which is highly recommended in Islam. In the Qur'an, he said, Allah insists many times that he promises to esteem greatly anyone who willingly forgives others' wrongdoings towards him. The *santri* then quoted a Hadith said to have been once told by Aa Gym:

The Prophet Muhammad said: "Wealth never decreases because of *shidqah* (charity). Allah will always bless with high esteem anyone who forgives others. As well, Allah guarantees that one who is modest for the sake of Allah will be a person worthy of deep esteem.

Indeed, Aa Gym himself said that "people are nauseated by haughty persons and they, instead, hold modest persons in high esteem."

The *third* personal quality that is often brought to the fore is *jujur* (honesty). A *qolbun salim* is a heart that is free from any lie and is, instead, full of honesty. Honesty is viewed by Daarut Tauhidians as the very key to good social and personal relationships. This is because humans, unlike God, cannot recognise the true intentions of others. Unless one is honest enough, one could tell a lie to others. One's honesty is thus extremely important to the establishment of good human relationships. A business affair, for instance, will never run well without each party's high quality of personal honesty. Indeed, honesty is universally a basic element of an individual's trustworthiness.

Fourth, *sabar* (patience) is also seen as an important character of *qolbun salim*. According to Aa Gym, *sabar*, together with *shalat*, is the way by which Allah guides Muslims. Here he referred to verses of the Holy Qur'an in which Allah says:

O you who believe, seek help with patient perseverance and prayer for Allah is with those who patiently persevere (2:153).

Be sure we shall test you with something of fear and hunger, some loss in goods, lives, and the fruits (of your toil), but give glad tidings to those who patiently persevere; who say, when afflicted with calamity, "To Allah we belong and to Him is our return" (2:155–156).

Patience is extremely important in facing the problems of life, and being patient in facing problems is highly rewarded by Allah. Therefore, in the view of Aa Gym, "patience is a form of *amal shaleh* (good deeds) that is very relevant to receiving Allah's guidance." Using analogy, Aa Gym said that a patient Muslim is like diamond in its resistance. He explained that when a diamond is hit by a stone, for example, it will resist and may even look more sparkling instead of being broken. Meanwhile, the stone which hit it might be smashed to pieces. Thus, a patient man will be resistant to any test and temptation of life.

Aa Gym further asserted the important role *sabar* should play in two situations. First, patience is undeniably crucial in facing life's problems. In this case, according to Aa Gym,

one has to learn patiently every *hikmah* (lesson) behind the problems faced. First, life's problems might be a warning from Allah either against one's immorality and sin or against one's greed in expecting more gifts of grace while never thanking Allah for what has already been given by Allah. Second, the problems might be a means by which Allah shields one from things that may bring misfortune. Finally, it might also be a chance for one to enjoy the help and patronage of Allah.

Sabar thus here seems to be both following reason and restraining oneself from sadness, desire, fear, anger and other emotional burdens.

Second, perfect patience is extremely helpful in *ikhtiar* (working hard). In making an effort, Aa Gym said, one should not depend on anyone other than Allah. If one employs anything or asks help from others, one has to intend it as a fulfilment of Allah's teaching to work hard, so that Allah is the only One to depend on. One's total reliance on Allah should make one confident and perseverant because of one's high conviction of Allah's presence and aid. Thus *sabar* does not at all mean passivity, as Geertz found among Javanese *priyayi* (1960:241), but active striving to do one's best in the way of Allah.

These are the main character traits that men and women at Daarut Tauhid have been trying to adopt as part of their effort to make their hearts sound and perfect (*qolbun salim*). There are of course other noble characteristics that they constantly attempt to adopt, and that are included in Aa Gym's message in every talk. Aa Gym also insists that the adoption of these good character traits has to be intended as a form of one's obedience to Allah's command. Without this intention of obedience, being a good person will not be rewarded as a good deed. Thus, according to a santri, *akhlak* (morality) has always to be related to *iman* (faith) as suggested by the following Hadith:

The most perfect of the faithful in faith is the most beautiful of them in character. I was sent [as a prophet] to complete the beautiful character traits.

A *qolbun salim* has to possess perfect faith which turns out to be the most beautiful character traits in one's behaviour. Aa Gym's chief orientation to ordering the heart and mind is made clearer through the tradition of *pengajian*, which is known as the *Taushiyah Penyejuk Hati*.

5.3 Taushiyah Penyejuk Hati

The tradition of *pengajian* is as common in Sundanese West Java as in other parts of Indonesia. Horikoshi (1976) noted that *pengajian* is part of the Islamic tradition in Garut. In Bandung this tradition is no less common. Though the term *pengajian* originally refers to any learning activity, religious or secular, it is now becoming more specific and refers to learning religious instructions in a social gathering (Horikoshi 1976:133) held at a mosque, *pesantren*, house, or any public building. Here tens, hundreds, or even thousands of Muslims listen to a religious talk delivered by a *kyai* or a *muballigh* (preacher).

At Daarut Tauhid such *pengajian* is known as *Taushiyah Penyejuk Hati* (Comforting Religious Advice). This term was deliberately chosen to reflect the primary target of Daarut Tauhid, that is the achievement of *qolbun salim*. By this *Taushiyah Penyejuk Hati* Daarut Tauhid aims to help those Muslims in attendance to achieve the quality of *qolbun salim*.

The *Taushiyah Penyejuk Hati* is held at Daarut Tauhid on a twice-weekly basis; on Sunday afternoons at 1.30 PM and on Thursday evenings at 7 PM. In addition, Aa Gym regularly gives *Taushiyah Penyejuk Hati* on two radio channels in Bandung. That is on 106.5 Antassalam FM on Mondays at 6.30 PM and on Medinatussalam FM on Thursdays at 9.30 PM.

The *Taushiyah Penyejuk Hati* that is held at Daarut Tauhid is, of course, distinguished by two features. First, it was the origin of the emergence of Daarut Tauhid itself. As noted earlier in Chapter Two, Pesantren Daarut Tauhid developed from a small group of *pengajian*. Second, the attendance of a large number of followers, which reflects this program's attractiveness, suggests that the *Taushiyah Penyejuk Hati* is more important than any other single activity. The followers find listening directly to the *Taushiyah Penyejuk Hati* at Daarut Tauhid more satisfactory than listening to it on the radio. Some followers told me that they came to Daarut Tauhid to attend the *Taushiyah Penyejuk Hati* after they had listened to it on the radio. A follower said that "Aa Gym's religious talk on the radio was very impressive, but listening to it directly here at Daarut Tauhid is to me more impressive." When asked why, he answered "I do not know." But he then explained that it may be because of the direct contact with Aa Gym and the large number of Muslims in attendance. He felt, he said, a spiritual satisfaction from seeing Aa Gym as a religious example of life. He also obtained a feeling of religious solidarity from getting together with other Muslims in such large numbers. Thus, to this follower and to others, gathering together on the occasion of *Taushiyah Penyejuk Hati* at Daarut Tauhid makes closer their relation to Aa Gym and to other Muslim brothers and sisters.⁸

Moreover, the *Taushiyah Penyejuk Hati* is more important than the Friday service given by Daarut Tauhid. There is no doubt that the Friday service is usually the most important event in the Muslim world. This is well-illustrated, for example, by Bowen (1993:296) who shows how "the Friday service in the Takengen [Aceh] mosque structures the week's activities for men and women living in nearby villages." However, the Friday service is less important at Daarut Tauhid. This is, I observed, for the main reason that Aa Gym is rarely present at Friday service time. He is usually invited to deliver Friday sermon at other mosques. (Daarut Tauhid itself usually invites other Muslims of learning to deliver the Friday sermon there.)

The presence of Aa Gym is profoundly important to the followers' attendance. It significantly determines the size of the audience. This was brought to my attention when Aa Gym was performing the *umrah* (the lesser pilgrimage) to Mecca from December the 19th 1994 to January the 4th 1995. In the absence of Aa Gym, the number of the followers attending the *Taushiyah Penyejuk Hati* decreased by more than half. The mosque was less than half filled. Many followers did not come although Daarut Tauhid had by then invited some

prominent *muballigh* (preachers) to replace Aa Gym during his absence. This certainly demonstrates the degree to which Aa Gym is important to his followers.⁹ This is why the *Taushiyah Penyejuk Hati*, which is delivered by Aa Gym personally, is more important an event than the Friday service at Daarut Tauhid, the sermon of which is not delivered by Aa Gym.

Although the *Taushiyah Penyejuk Hati* on Sundays formally begins at 1.30 PM, some of the audience come as early as 12 PM, which is the due time for performing *shalat dhuhur* (afternoon worship). Those who come this early usually perform *shalat dhuhur* together with the santri. Aa Gym acts as the *imam* of the *shalat* if he is available. The most frequent case finds Aa Gym most often fulfilling some invitation to preach outside Daarut Tauhid. Those who come later have commonly performed *shalat dhuhur* at home or at a neighbouring mosque. When entering the Daarut Tauhid's mosque, they commonly perform the optional *shalat* of two cycles, which is recommended by Islam to respect the mosque as a holy place and is thus called *shalat tahiyyatul masjid* (greeting the mosque).



Photograph 17 A few followers, who have come early for the *Taushiyah Penyejuk Hati*, recite the Qur'an or perform the optional *shalat*.

The audience arrives individually, in pairs, or in a group. They gradually fill the three storey mosque, men on the first floor and women on the second.¹⁰ As the second floor is narrower than the first and since women slightly outnumber the men, some women fill roughly a quarter of the first floor, on the right behind a piece of green fabric draped between the mosque's pillars. (This fabric is set as high as a sitting person during the *Taushiyah Penyejuk Hati* and as a standing person during *shalat*.) The audience seem to come as early as they can to claim

the closest possible position to the mimbar from which Aa Gym will deliver the *Taushiyah Penyejuk Hati*.

By about 1 PM, the mosque has usually been filled by the audience. Those who come after this time usually have to use the back part of the mosque, its stairs, or the yard and the street in front of the mosque. The santri appear busy ordering the audience in the mosque; asking them to fill any gaps to give room for those coming later. Outside the mosque, some santri roll out mats on which those who cannot come into the mosque can sit. Two santri are busy ordering traffic, since the narrow street in front of the mosque is crowded by the followers, other pedestrians, passing cars, pedicabs, and motorcycles. Other santri are busy managing the parking of the cars and motorcycles of the followers, since many of them come by their own transportation.

While waiting for the commencement of the *Taushiyah Penyejuk Hati* at 1.30 PM, the audience are recommended to do *tadarrus* (reciting Qur'an) individually. It is interesting the way this recommendation is done. Rather than an announcement through the loud speaker system, the organising santri simply distribute a huge number of the holy Qur'an, which are available at every corner of the mosque to the audience by passing them along from a person to another until each one gets a copy. This has been the tradition and without any explanation, each starts doing *tadarrus* of their own.



Photograph 18 Many followers come by motorbike or car.

About ten minutes before 1.30 PM, an organising santri asks the followers to stop *tadarrus*. The Qur'an are then passed back along to the corners of the mosque. This santri then calls on the followers to chant *al-Asma al-Husna*.¹¹

This *al-Asma al-Husna* is sung together with an impressive melody. The santri leads the chanting. They sing the long *al-Asma al-Husna* without any text. Therefore, the leading santri must sing it by heart. Some followers seem to sing it by heart, while others seem simply to follow. The massive chanting produces a thunderous yet melodious sound. (One would enjoy it as I did.)

The chanting of *al-Asma al-Husna* is not intended to be a mere song to fill the time of waiting. It is, a santri said, intended to intensify the faith of the followers in the *tauhid*. By chanting the *al-Asma al-Husna* the followers can remember Allah with these ninety-nine attributes of His superiority.

The chanting of the *al-Asma al-Husna*, stops precisely at 1.30 PM. Then a santri comes up to host the formal program. He begins by greeting the audience saying *as-salamu 'alaikum wa rahmatullahi wa barakatuh* (peace be to you and the mercy and blessing of Allah). Next he thanks Allah, praising Him and asserting His oneness and His absolute power, and he asks Allah to bless the Prophet Muhammad. Afterwards, he makes some announcements concerning the current activities of Daarut Tauhid. When finished, he invites a santri to chant some verses of the Qur'an. These verses are then translated into Indonesian by another santri.¹² After this brief opening ceremony, Aa Gym comes into the mosque and mounts the mimbar to give religious advice. (If Aa Gym comes late to the mosque, because he has been delivering a religious talk elsewhere, the waiting time would be spent singing *al-Asma al-Husna* together or reciting *tadarrus* individually.)

The following is an example of Aa Gym's speech on Sunday 11 December 1994. After opening remarks thanking and praising Allah for His continuous blessing upon humans and saying *sholawat* for the Prophet Muhammad, Aa Gym began his talk by saying

Men and women who do not know Allah well would depend heavily on humans or things other than Allah. They fear the creatures instead of fearing the Creator. They also hope for blessing from them not from Allah. As a result, many of those people live in misery. Do they not realise that everything depends on Allah? Though some one is willing to give you something, for example, he/she will not give you anything unless Allah allows him/her to do so. That is because verily it is Allah who determines our life. Note that all creatures *la haula wa la quwwata illa billahil 'aliyyil 'adziem* [have neither power nor energy unless they are given them by Allah, the High, the Inaccessible].

This prologue, again, demonstrates Aa Gym's insistence on the complete belief in *tauhid* and in the consequent superiority of Allah.

Aa Gym then went on to advise the audience of how much Allah loves His beloved Muslims. First of all, he reminded the audience of the fact that only a

few Muslims are aware of the truth that ultimate happiness is being beloved by Allah.

Of course one must be happy when given wealth, position, title, award, and the like. But, you know, these things are given by Allah to everyone, Muslim or not, pious or not. Therefore, one's achievement of those things does not indicate Allah's favour and love. We do not want, of course, to achieve this worldly enjoyment without Allah's favour and love. This is because we learn what Allah says in the Qur'an: *Inna akromakum 'indallahi atqokum* [Verily, the most honoured of you in the sight of Allah is he who is the most righteous of you].¹³

Aa Gym then mentioned some indications by which one can recognise Allah's favour. One of these indications is worth noting here.

Dear *sahabat* (friends), an indication of Allah's favour and love is the cleanliness of one's mind and heart. Allah will always make the mind and heart of His beloved Muslims free from any bad character and interests. When one's mind is very pure (*bening*), Allah will make it easy for one to grasp high knowledge that cannot be grasped by other people. In grasping knowledge, a Muslim with clean mind is like one who digs land to build a well. While digging, a spring (*mata air*) suddenly spouts out from the depth of the land. There would be a sudden flow of high knowledge that is blessed by Allah as a reward to the Muslim for having a clean mind. This sound mind is like a completely clean mirror without any spots on it. People will love to make this person a mirror that they can use as an example for living. On the contrary, one with a dirty mind is just like a dirty mirror; none would refer to him. Further, the clean mind is reflected through good manners, good language, good ways of looking, and other behaviour. It is also reflected through the outcome of ideas. Excellent ideas will only come from a sound mind while only crazy ideas would come from a dirty mind. It is like a teapot or bottle. If it is filled with tea, it will produce tea, if coffee coffee, if alcohol alcohol, and so forth. Thus, whether one is good or bad, the way one behaves depends on whether one's mind is good or bad.

Aa Gym's advice continues on in this vein throughout the *Taushiyah Penyejuk Hati*. This usually ends by the time of *shalat ashar* (afternoon worship).

It is interesting that Aa Gym, in the middle of his talk, often has very short breaks of about 30 seconds to a minute, during which he commands the audience to either do *istighfar* or recite *sholawat*. This kind of break is particularly frequent during question time, as Aa Gym needs some time to read the audience's questions before responding. During each break the members of the audience individually say *istighfar* or *sholawat* just as Aa Gym has commanded. These short breaks,

with what is done therein, are very significant in bringing the audience to a state of sadness, a situation that is “built” by Aa Gym for the following ritual.

5.4 Ritual Weeping: Nature and Structure

The most distinct feature of Pesantren Daarut Tauhid, not found at other Islamic centres, is the tradition of ritual weeping. This is a tradition in the sense that it is established as a custom. The *kyai* Aa Gym and his followers frequently cry during both individual and communal rituals.

People at Daarut Tauhid frequently cry during rituals but they are not possessed. Usually they cry in a sitting position, most often by covering their faces with both hands. They simply cry, their eyes glistening with tears or teardrops. They cry in a normal way and only rarely wail. I only once saw a follower wail copiously in a Sunday ritual, as if facing a beloved person’s death. This follower embraced Aa Gym emotionally, thanking Aa Gym for making him religiously conscious and begging Aa Gym to ask Allah’s forgiveness for all his sins in his life in the past. (This follower seemed to be a newcomer and this was perhaps why he cried excessively, being emotionally touched by the ritual for the first time.) After some time embracing Aa Gym, he sat back and remained crying with his head bent down. Note that in his weeping there was no sign of this follower being possessed.

The tradition of ritual weeping at Daarut Tauhid can be differentiated into communal and individual forms. The communal can be further divided into that which is regular and that which is irregular. The communal, regular tradition of ritual weeping is held twice weekly; following the *Taushiyah Penyejuk Hati* on Sundays and Thursdays. On these occasions, gatherings of no less than two thousand followers cry profusely. The communal, irregular tradition of ritual weeping takes place occasionally at Daarut Tauhid’s workshops. This tradition is best exemplified by the program of *16 jam Ibadah bersama di Daarut Tauhid*, described in Chapter Four.

The individual tradition of ritual weeping takes place particularly during meditative reflection. Men and women at Daarut Tauhid are used to reflecting late in the night following midnight *shalat*. This individual tradition of ritual weeping also takes place after every *shalat*, both obligatory and optional. It is really hard to find anyone who has performed *shalat* at Daarut Tauhid without crying afterwards.

The tradition of ritual weeping, which is communal and regularly observed on Sundays at Daarut Tauhid, is brought to the fore here to provide an illustration. The ritual begins with the performance of *Shalat Ashar* communally. Just before the *shalat* is commenced, Aa Gym, as the *imam*, says some words to remind the followers of how the *shalat* should be personally affective and thus effective. This is certainly a distinctive occurrence. It is true that, in modern Muslim

tradition, it is customary for the *imam* to say a few words. However, rather than reminding the followers of the supposed impact of the *shalat* performance, the *imam* simply commands the followers to perform the *shalat* in the correct order, such as straightening the line of followers. Thus, while other *imam* focus only on the exoteric form of the *shalat*, that is physical performance, Aa Gym leads his followers to the esoteric effect. This is part of Aa Gym's attempt to prepare the followers to exercise their feelings.

Then, during the *shalat* performance, Aa Gym tries to bring the followers into a state of sadness. This is done by the way he recites the Qur'anic verses and the prayers in the *shalat*. He recites them with an underlying tone of sadness. In *Shalat Ashar* (Afternoon Worship), as in other *shalat* that are performed during the daytime, these verses and prayers are recited in a soft and deep voice. Nevertheless, with the help of a good sound system, the followers can still hear Aa Gym's sad voice in the *shalat* recitations. Aa Gym's sad voice is heard more effectively in night *shalat*, such as *Shalat Isya* (After Sunset Worship) which is part of the Thursday ritual, because in these night *shalat* these verses and prayers are recited loudly.

This style of Aa Gym's performance of *shalat* makes the followers fall into this pensive and sad feeling. Many followers cry during their *shalat* performance. I could hear the sad tone of the followers next to me during the *shalat*. Tears can also be found on the faces of the followers after the performance of *shalat*. The performance of *shalat* with weeping is certainly an extremely rare experience. It is believed that highly devout Muslims may perform *shalat* with tears. Yet, in my experience, I have never seen a Muslim crying in *shalat* except at Daarut Tauhid. Moreover, the *shalat* with tears at Daarut Tauhid is not merely an individual phenomenon but a communal one.

When the *shalat* is completed, Aa Gym leads the followers to chant *wirid*. The *wirid* chanted here is, in fact, as simple as that commonly chanted by other Muslims. However, Aa Gym makes some modifications that assert his inclination to the *tauhid*. The following is an example of a *wirid* led by Aa Gym. First, Aa Gym, echoed by the followers, chanted *Surah al-Fatihah*, the first chapter of the Qur'an, once. Then he chanted

Allohu la ilaaha illaa anta	O Allah, there is no god but You
La ilaaha illaa hua	There is no god but Him
al-hayyu al-qoyyuum	the Living the Self-Subsisting

This part of the *wirid* is a modification of Aa Gym's and is less commonly practised after *shalat*. It clearly suggests the *tauhid*. He further chanted the last three chapters of the Qur'an; *Al-Ikhlās* (the Purity of Faith, Chapter 112), *Al-Falaq* (the Dawn, Chapter 113), and *An-Nas* (Mankind, Chapter 114). It should be

noted that these three chapters of the Qur'an are verses of *tauhid*. These chapters of the Qur'an teach Muslims to declare that Allah is the only God who is distinct from His creatures and to seek refuge only with Him. The *Al-Ikhlash*, for example, reads as follows:

Say: He is Allah, the One;
 Allah the Eternal, Absolute;
 He begetteth not, Nor is He begotten;
 And there is none like unto Him.

This chapter of the Qur'an can be thought of as the primary message of Islam because of its role in reaffirming the *tauhid* of Allah (Bowen 1993:99–100).¹⁴ And, indeed, Aa Gym recited this chapter, together with the following two chapters, to reaffirm his and his followers' belief in Allah as the only God in whom to believe and to whom worship is due.

Aa Gym's focus on *tauhid* can be seen further when the *wirid* continued

Hashbunallah	Sufficient unto us is Allah
wa ni'ma al-wakiel	He is the best Trustee
ni'ma al-maulaa wa ni'ma an-Nashier	The best Protector and the best Helper
Radhietu billahi rabba	I have chosen Allah as my only Lord
wa bi al-Islami diena	Islam as my religion
wa bi Muhammad an-nabiyya wa rasuula	Muhammad as my Prophet and messenger

Then Aa Gym chanted the commonly chanted phrases as follows:

<i>Subhanallah</i> [33 times]	Allah the Glorious
<i>Alhamdulillah</i> [33 times]	Praise be to Allah
<i>Allohu Akbar</i> [33 times]	Allah the Great

These three phrases are commonly chanted by Muslims 33 times after *shalat*. Aa Gym, however, seems to be more flexible in the number since he sometimes seems to chant the phrases less than 33 times. This suggests Aa Gym's inclination to follow his mood in doing optional rituals. [The *wirid* after *shalat* is not obligatory but optional in accord with all *madzhab* (schools of thought) in Islam.] After chanting these phrases 33 times, Aa Gym went on to utter

<i>La ilaaha illallaahu wahdah,</i>	There is no god but Allah Himself
<i>la syariika lah,</i>	He needs no partner
<i>lahu al-mulku</i>	To Him belongs the real kingdom

wa lahu al-hamdu	And to Him belong all praise
yuhyi wa yumiiitu	It is He who gives life and death
<i>wa hua 'ala qulli syai-in qadiir.</i>	And He has power over all things
La haula wa laa quwwata	Neither power nor energy [all Creatures possess]
<i>illaa bi allahi al-'aliyyi al-'adziim.</i>	But given by Allah the High the Inaccessible
<i>La ilaaha illa anta.</i>	There is no god but You, O Allah
Subhaanaka	You are the Most Holy
<i>innii kuntu min adz-dzalimiin.</i>	I confess I am one of those who do wrong

The concentration on the *tauhid* is clearly seen in these phrases of *wirid*. Then, Aa Gym summoned the followers to say *sholawat* and each of the followers said

Allohumma sholli 'ala Muhammad O Lord, bless the Prophet Muhammad
 wa 'ala aali sayyidina Muhammad And bless the family of the Prophet
 Muhammad

All these (sections of) *wirid* were uttered with an underlying tone of sadness. Aa Gym's voice during this *wirid* was a sad one, just like his voice during the *shalat* performance.

This version of *wirid* is just an example of a *wirid* performed at Daarut Tauhid after *shalat*. Aa Gym seems very flexible in this regard in that some parts of an utterance may sometimes not be uttered after *shalat*. The order is also flexible in respect of which phrase comes after which. Sometimes, during the *wirid*, Aa Gym inserts the following utterance of *istighfar*:

Astaghfirullaah al-'adziim [several times].

[I ask the forgiveness of Allah the Great.]

After the *wirid* is completed, Aa Gym then starts offering *do'a*. The *do'a* usually begins with a reflection focusing most often on death and sins. In other cases, the *do'a* and the reflection are done together, with the reflection in the middle of saying the *do'a*. Aa Gym himself, in offering the *do'a*, appears as though he is performing a self-reflection. He once told me that, in fact, when leading a communal *do'a*, "I simply talk to myself doing a sort of reflection on my life. I forswear and repent for my life's sins. I seek Allah's forgiveness for my mistakes and wrongs. I am, at the time, just trying to be aware of my sinful self as if I were offering the *do'a* on my own without any followers." Aa Gym then said that this was a way of doing something with *ikhlaash* (sincerity) in that he did it without expectation of personal benefit from his followers.

The *do'a* offered on January 29, 1995, was begun by a reflection on death as follows.

O Allah, I know it will not be long before I die but I am not sure whether I am ready to face it. I know that I will soon be wrapped by a shroud, placed in *lubang lahat* [niche in the wall of a grave for the corpse], and be covered with dirt, but I am not ready enough. I definitely know that death is absolutely certain. I will no doubt be separated from my parents, although we do not know whether I or my parents will die first. Death will certainly separate me from my wife and children. Our love will, at a certain time, be stopped by death. When I die, people I leave behind might be sad or otherwise be “happy,” laughing at my corpse.

I know You, O Allah, have told us that “Every soul shall have a taste of death [QS. 3:185]. I also know that *sakaratul maut* [mortal agony] is extremely painful. You, O Allah, give us the lesson of animals when being slaughtered. A sheep that is “sinless” shows, when being slaughtered, the painful state of its dying breath. A chicken, an animal that always makes *tashbih* [celebrating Allah’s glory]¹⁵ and commits no sin, flaps when being slaughtered, demonstrating that dying is extremely painful. Given this lesson, I learn that my mortal agony will be much more painful than the animals’ because I know I am sinful. Of course the more sinful one is, the more painful one’s mortal agony will be.

O Allah, by death I will be leaving everything I love. I will be buried in the depth of the soil, accompanied by none and nothing but a shroud. It might even be my beloved relatives who heap the dirt over my corpse. I know that when dead I will leave behind all wealth, titles, degrees, status, and everything which often not only turns my attention away from You and make me derelict in *shalat*, *zakat*, and other obligations, but also force me sometimes to oppress others. This wealth I leave behind might even be spent by my offspring in ways of life beyond Your favour.

O Allah, on the Day of Judgement, You might address us: “*Hai dungu* [O you the foolish], how come you maltreated yourselves in the world. You never let your head bow in prostration. What preoccupied your mind was none other than worldly affairs, things that you have left behind without any use you could gain today. You often used your hands to oppress others whereas you never gave them a hand. Your eyes were sinful in looking at that which I had condemned looking upon while they were never used to read the Qur’an. Your ears were full of the sound of music and coarse language while they were never employed to listen attentively to religious truth. And, while you appeared to be always arrogant, why did you never lower your forehead to do a prostration on a *sajadah* (worship rug)?”

O Allah, it is very likely that at that time I will weep and wail, regretting my worldly life. A life which was full of sins and evils and lacked good

deeds. I might also be punished earlier in the period of *barzakh* ¹⁶ because I know that punishment in the grave is certain. My body will be encased in the earth which hates a sinful corpse.

Aa Gym did this reflection firstly with a tone of sadness and later with crying and sobbing. The large number of followers, being completely involved in the reflection, followed Aa Gym as though they themselves said what Aa Gym was saying. They, who had been put into a sad state in the preceding *shalat*, cried easily as soon as Aa Gym began his reflective words. Tears trickled down their cheeks. Crying and sobbing could then be heard louder and louder as the reflection went on. While crying, many of the followers repeatedly called God by saying "O Allah, O Allah," or by mentioning God's Most Beautiful Names such as "O the Gracious, O the Powerful, O the Benefactor," etc. Some of them mumbled, saying, for instance, "Alas, I am unfortunate." Their behaviour, in short, showed total regret and repentance while at the same time hope for pardon and blessing from their God.

Then, when the followers had been made fully aware of their sinfulness, Aa Gym turned to offer the *do 'a*, a request raised to Allah.

O Allah, the only one who knows when we will die, remit all our sins and conceal all our mistakes. Please forgive our mistakes and errors, O the Most Indulgent. Pardon us, O God, for our ingratitude for all You have been giving. We truly apologise for our heedlessness in not helping those people badly in need.

O Allah, the Most Indulgent the Merciful, please pardon our parents. Save them from Hell. Bless them with happiness and prosperity. Guide them in their last days of life, O Allah the Guide. Make it a happy ending and take their lives away in a *husnul khatimah* ¹⁷ state. Give them reward for their good deeds. Bless them with comfort in *barzakh*. Take the Hell out of their *kubur* [resting places], O the Most Hearer Being.

Here, when parents were dealt with by Aa Gym, the followers cried louder and many even wept. While weeping, some called their parents saying "O Daddy! O Mummy!" They were certainly reminded by Aa Gym's words of their mistakes and faithlessness toward their parents. In the meantime, Aa Gym just kept on offering the *do 'a*, praying for other relatives as follows.

O Lord, save all our brothers and sisters from a harmful life both here and hereafter. Guide them. Bring into the straight path those brothers and sisters who go astray. Bring harmony to our families here in the world. And keep it so next in Your Paradise.

O Allah the Seer, please forgive the sins of our teachers, who have given us Your knowledge and guided us to the straight path. Pardon as well all people to whom we are indebted. Bless us with the capability to repay

the kindness of devout Muslims, Your servants. Please forgive the sins of anyone we ever hurt. And, similarly, please forgive other Muslims who ever hurt us.

O Allah the Very Loving, give us the ability to love and care so that we can love all Your beloved Muslims. At the same time, take away our oppressive characteristics so that we will not be cruelty against Your beloved Muslims.

O Allah who gives honour and strength, give us the best partner in life, a partner that You love and who loves You. Give men in attendance here the *shalihah* [virtuous] wives. Wives who will bring comfort to the family. Wives who are not lulled into and greedy for worldly pleasure. Wives who are worthy of being an example for the family and their descendants. Wives with beautiful character traits.

O Allah the Inaccessible, bless these Muslim women in attendance with the *shalih* (virtuous) husbands. Husbands who rely on and obey You. Husbands with the grace of benevolence, justice, and gentleness. Husbands who are willing to make a living that is *halal* (lawful) and *berkah* (fully blessed). Husbands who are worthy of being the pride and example for their family and descendants.

O Allah the Very Patient, bless with patience those Muslims to whom You have not yet given any partner for life. Empower them to look for one by the ways You favour.

O Allah the Dispenser of all good, entrust to us descendants who are *shalih* and *shalihah*. Allow our children to be good children who always pray to You for the welfare of their parents. Keep our children away from infidelity and indignity. Make their life in this world be useful and honourable. Make them leaders of devout Muslims who submit themselves to You.

Before finishing the *do 'a*, Aa Gym may often give his followers some time to offer *do 'a* individually for any request they want to make to Allah. They then prayed for their particular interests and Aa Gym prayed for himself. After some time, Aa Gym then raised his voice to continue leading the *do'a*.

O Allah who makes hearts fluctuate [muqallib al-qulub], let our minds be inclined to the truth. Make our hearts as hearts that are familiar with You, so that all we see in the world can make us learn more and more of Your majesty and glory. Make our minds always remember You, and our tongues always enjoy mentioning Your Beautiful Names. Make our ears love to listen to Your teachings. Make our hearts rely on and hope only for You. Let our hearts not fear other than You, not seek refuge

other than You. Make our hearts love to remember You. Hearts that love You so much. Hearts that look forward to seeing You.

There is no god but You, O the Most Attentive. You are the only One whom we can rely on. Your care for Your Creation is ceaseless. Please accept our prayers, O our Lord. Verily, it is only You who can fulfil our hopes and prayers. *Amien*, O Allah the Cherisher and Sustainer of the Worlds.

Here the ritual *do'a* ended. The followers kept sitting for a while, reciting *al-Fatihah*, the first Chapter of the Qur'an, just like Muslims usually do after offering their prayers. Shortly afterwards, they shake hands with each others, many asking others' pardon for their personal mistakes if any. Many of the followers rush to approach Aa Gym to shake his hand or to embrace him. Nearly all kiss Aa Gym's hand, hoping for his *baraka* and asking him to pray to Allah for their behalf.

Aa Gym's representation in this *do'a* ritual and its preceding reflection is interesting. During the reflection Aa Gym represented himself by using the pronoun 'I' in saying the reflective words, as seen above, in offering the *do'a* he represented himself and the followers by using the pronoun 'we' instead of 'I'. This representation is important for two reasons. First, the followers are not offended although Aa Gym mentioned sins they had committed. Note that a person might be offended if one pointed out his or her sins because he or she might be ashamed. This is often the case in other sermons/talks at which a listener might be offended by the preacher's words. Second, by representing himself in the reflection, Aa Gym could recall all the sins of his past life and could hence experience to the fullest religious consciousness. In this way, the reflection can be done well.

5.5 Ritual Weeping: Meaning and Function

This tradition of spiritual weeping has to be understood as an inseparable part of the very nature of Pesantren Daarut Tauhid as the *Bengkel Akhlaq*. This can clearly be seen by understanding the meaning and function of the weeping.

First of all, the ritual weeping provides awareness of life's sins. Men and women involved in the Daarut Tauhid's activities and rituals come to the consciousness that their life has been full of mistakes and wrong doings in dealing with other people, this universe, and God. They realise that they have been causing ecological damage, destroying social relations, and neglecting Allah's commands for living in this world. They are, in short, awakened to the fact that they have been trapped in moral degradation. They express this consciousness in the form of tears.

Secondly, the ritual weeping offers *taubat*, in the sense of repentance. Men and women at Daarut Tauhid, being fully conscious of their sinfulness, regret their sinful life, particularly in the past. They humbly confess this before Allah in the ritual, by way of weeping.

Finally, the ritual weeping at Daarut Tauhid constitutes the manifest form of a high-standard of *taqwa* (piety). Pious Muslims are said to weep easily, not only because of sinfulness--although they rarely commit sins--but also because of the high quality of their faith. A santri said that "the ritual weeping, for them [devout Muslims] is the manifestation of faith [*iman*], that resides [*bersemayam*] in their heart, their sound heart, and their total submission to Allah, the Creator." Therefore the more pious one is the more frequently one would weep. A pious Muslim whose heart is sound may weep as often during spiritual contemplations and religious rituals as in daily life. In exemplifying this, another santri said that a pious Muslim may weep when viewing beautiful sights of this universe just because he is amazed by Allah's glory in creating those sights. Similarly, he or she may weep when witnessing environmental damage and social disorder engendered by Allah's creatures because he is "embarrassed" before Him. In any circumstance, a pious Muslim is said to be touched with the deepest emotion in his relation to Allah. This finds its outlet in tears.

Given these meanings, the ritual weeping at Daarut Tauhid have many important functions. First, the ritual weeping function as a means of personal purification. Crying here is an expression of *istighfar*, that is asking forgiveness from Allah, the Very Indulgent, for life's sins. "One might do *istighfar* without tears," a santri said, "but doing it with tears is an earnest request for Allah's pardon."

In its function as a means of personal purification, ritual weeping is also an expression of *taubat nasuha* (true repentance and forswearing). *Taubat* is a further step of *istighfar* and is deeper since *taubat* implies a promise for the future. By *taubat* one is both purifying oneself from any sins committed in the past and forswearing to Allah not to commit any sin in the future. Declaring *taubat* with tears is, to people at Daarut Tauhid, true repentance and earnest forswearing. The *taubat* is thus made more powerful by tears.

At first glance, the functions of ritual weeping may seem similar to children's crying which makes their request to their parent more likely to be attended to. In response to this impression, a santri said that what makes the *taubat* powerful is not the tears *per se* but the personal quality that generates the tears. The weeping, he explained, has to be generated from the depth of a perfect heart that holds true faith firmly. There is thus no point in pretending to cry in a ritual in order to draw Allah's attention as is the case with children-to-parent requests. Indeed, according to Ibn Qayyim Al-Jauziyah (cf. As-Sinjari 1994:54), ritual weeping is, for devout Muslims, a means by which to reach Paradise. Al-Jauziyah bases this on the Hadith of the Prophet Muhammad who said:

No one sheds tears but Allah will save his body from the fire of Hell. If the tears trickle down a person's cheeks, his or her face will be saved from any degradation. If one out of a group of people cries, the whole group will be blessed by Allah. Only tears have unrestricted power. Verily, tears can extinguish the fire of Hell.

Using analogy, the Prophet Muhammad taught that the sincere tears of faithful Muslims can save them from Hell. It is this teaching of Islam that makes attractive and firm the tradition of ritual weeping at Daarut Tauhid.

Another function of ritual weeping is to intensify one's religiosity. Muslims at Daarut Tauhid believe that weeping can be viewed by Allah as a form of *amal shaleh* (good deed). This being so, weeping is thus rewarded by Allah. The more one weeps the more one is rewarded. The more one gains religious merits the more pious one, in turn, becomes. Ritual weeping can therefore make Muslims more and more devoutly religious.

The condition on this function of ritual weeping is that it has to be sincerely motivated by one's fear of Allah (As-Sinjari 1994:22-24, Azh-Zhahiry 1994:64-67). To fear Allah means to respect Him, obeying all His commands and avoiding all His prohibitions. In this regard, Muslims at Daarut Tauhid hold that tears would be in vain unless they otherwise reflect one's proper awe and respect of and one's loyalty and humility before Allah the Almighty (Azh-Zhahiry 1994:56). It is this kind of weeping that can effectively intensify one's religiosity.

Ritual weeping, with its all meanings and functions is of profound significance in increasing Daarut Tauhid's ability to attract followers. Indeed, weeping represents the very power of Daarut Tauhid to satisfy its followers. Daarut Tauhid's ability to make the followers weep is certainly a novel contribution to the development of Islam today, particularly among the youth.

ENDNOTES

¹ Daarut Tauhid's workshops for morality are thus more like church workshops and retreats for families and individuals, part of the Christian spiritual renewal that has flourished since the 1980s (Jensen 1989:94, 96).

² The word *hisab* evokes ideas of evaluating, counting, or measuring. *Hisab* in Islam is believed to be the "reckoning" that Allah will demand from all human beings on the Day of Judgement. Each will at the time be judged by way of accounting for their worldly actions. Those whose good deeds outnumber the bad will deserve paradise while the reverse will merit hell. This idea of rendering an account is actually comparable with that of Zoroastrian, Jewish, and Christian traditions.

³ This view of Muslims at Daarut Tauhid on moral decadence is shared by many devout Muslims throughout Indonesia. For them, this decadence is symbolised by the Western life-style of nominal Muslims as observable through their provocative dress and their involvement in nightclub entertainment, pornographic film screenings, etc. (Kipp and Rodgers 1987:20; Muzaffar 1986:10-11).

⁴ *Riya* denotes an intention to do something with the hope that others will see it and thus admire the doer. *Sum'ah* denotes actions performed in the hope that others will hear and thus praise the doer. Both connote the doer's arrogance. Whereas the outward actions which Islam requires must be done not only correctly but also with the correct intention, ie. not for fashion or to fit with a certain group. It must all be solely for the sake of Allah.

⁵ As noted in many commentaries on the Qur'an, the word *qolbun* (heart), in Arabic understanding, is taken to be not only the seat of feelings and affections but also that of intelligence and resulting action. Heart thus implies the whole character, including what is meant by 'mind' in English.

⁶ I have also noted in Chapter Two that this orientation towards *tauhid* was seen at the very beginning of Daarut Tauhid's development. Aa Gym's early gatherings, the embryo of Daarut Tauhid, were called *pengajian tauhid*.

⁷ All the discussion about *ikhlaash*, as understood by people at Daarut Tauhid, which is rooted in the Islamic scriptures, is just another datum that refutes Geertz's assertion that *ikhlaash* is the core value of the *priyayi* group, which Geertz characterises to be influenced by the Hindu-Buddhist tradition. See Nakamura (1984:72) for further elaboration of this Geertzian error.

⁸ Compare this to what Bowen (1993:296) found from the worshipping together among Muslims in Gayo. He suggests that worshipping together possibly brings to the fore one's relation to other people, produces aesthetical and emotional satisfaction, and embodies "certain ideas of religious communication and social relations."

⁹ It happened that on the first Sunday of Ramadhan (February 5, 1995) Aa Gym was absent, fulfilling invitations for some religious talks in Singapore. The followers had not been advised of his absence in order to maintain the level of attendance. (The officials at Daarut Tauhid had learned from the drastic decrease in attendance during Aa Gym's absence for the *umrah* the month before.) Truly it worked effectively. The mosque was fully filled half an hour before time. The followers came in huge numbers, more than the usual number because it was the first of Ramadhan. (Ramadhan is the holy month to Muslims. They are more likely to attend religious activities during Ramadhan than in other months.) Certainly, those who attended the congregation were annoyed when they were told that the preacher for that Sunday would not be Aa Gym but Drs. H. Buchori Muslim, a prominent preacher in Bandung. Some in attendance expressed their disappointment when we were having a brief conversation. One of them argued that the current preacher was less attractive than Aa Gym, both in terms of the topic chosen and in the way it was delivered.

¹⁰ The ground floor is used for the Daarut Tauhid's mini-market and is thus not part of the mosque.

¹¹ *Al-asma al-Husna* (the Most Beautiful Names) are the divine names of Allah. Muslims are taught by the Qur'an (7:179, for one) that to God belong the most Beautiful Names. A Hadith, transmitted by abu Hurairah, states: "to God belong 99 Names, a hundred less one; for He, the Odd Number likes (to be designated by these enumerated Names) one by one; whosoever knows the 99 Names will enter paradise." Muslims repeat these Names and meditate on them as an act of devotion. Chanting these names is known in the pesantren tradition as *dzikir istighothah*. And, according to the Sufi belief, remembering the names is a key to the secrets of life (Dhofier 1980a:183n).

¹² Chanting some verses of the Qur'an melodiously is a common part of Islamic ceremonial events in the Muslim tradition.

¹³ QS. 49:13.

¹⁴ Bowen shows the popularity of this chapter of the Qur'an among the Gayo people of Aceh. It is the first chapter that is memorised by heart by every Muslim born child. Like Bowen, Nakamura also notes the popularity of this chapter among Javanese for its beauty and strength (1984:72).

¹⁵ It is taught in the Qur'an that all nature, including animals, sings the praises of Allah. Mountains, hills, creeping things, and flying fowl, together with prophets, angels, and men of God, are said to celebrate the glory of Allah (34:10, 38:18-19). Even the 'thunder repeateth His praises' (13:13). Thus whatever is in the heavens and the earth celebrates the praises of Allah (27:44, 57:1, 16:48-50).

¹⁶ *Barzakh* is the place and time between death and the Last Judgement. The equivalent Indonesian term is *alam kubur* (lit. realm of the grave).

¹⁷ *Husnul khatimah* literally means good ending. One is said to be *husnul khatimah* if one passed away at the time when one was fully pious. Technically, this state of *husnul khatimah* may be marked by one's utterance, in the very last second of life, of the *kalimah tauhid* (tauhid phrase) that is *la ilaha illallah* (there is no god but Allah).