

The unseen saints of Islam: Sufi ritual and religious worldmaking in Java

Widodo, W.

Citation

Widodo, W. (2025, April 10). *The unseen saints of Islam: Sufi ritual and religious worldmaking in Java*. Retrieved from https://hdl.handle.net/1887/4211593

Version: Publisher's Version

License: License agreement concerning inclusion of doctoral thesis in

the Institutional Repository of the University of Leiden

Downloaded from: https://hdl.handle.net/1887/4211593

Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

The Unseen Saints of Islam

Sufi Ritual and Religious Worldmaking in Java

Copyright: ©2025 Wahyu Widodo Source of cover: the illustration of Kitab Wali Kutub in Cod. Or. 7581 (Courtesy of Leiden University Library), and the participants of the Walikutuban ritual forming a concentric circle (Depok, 1 May 2021) (Courtesy of Panata Dipantara YouTube channel). Printing: Ipskamp Printing, Enschede

The Unseen Saints of Islam: Sufi Ritual and Religious Worldmaking in Java

Proefschrift

ter verkrijging van
de graad van doctor aan de Universiteit Leiden,
op gezag van de rector magnificus prof. dr. ir. H. Bijl,
volgens besluit van het college voor promoties
te verdedigen op donderdag 10 april 2025
klokke 11.30 uur

door Wahyu Widodo Geboren te Ngawi, Indonesië in 1984

Prof. dr. Bernard Arps Dr. Aone van Engelenhoven Promotor Co-Promotor

Prof. dr. D.E.F Henley Promotiecommissie

Prof. dr. N.J.G Kaptein
Prof. dr. Martin van Bruinessen (Utrecht University)
Prof. dr. A. Effendi Kadarisman (Islamic University of Malang)

Dr. V.H. Meyer

Table of Contents

| Table of Contents | i |
|---|----------|
| List of Figures | V |
| List of Tables | ix |
| Acknowledgements | xi |
| Note on spelling | xiii |
| Abbreviations | XV |
| Glossary | xvii |
| Chapter 1 | |
| Introduction | 1 |
| 1.1. Theoretical Framework | 5 |
| 1.2. Organization of the Study | 7 |
| Chapter 2 | |
| Crystal-Clear Knowledge, Flawless Deeds | |
| (An Exiled Cleric and the Spiritual Genealogy of the Akmaliyyah | |
| Tarekat in Nineteenth-Century Colonial Java) | 11 |
| 2.1. Introduction | 11 |
| 2.2. Social and Political Settings | 12 |
| 2.3. Ranudikrama: From a Petty Aristocrat to a Leader of Tarekat | 13 |
| 2.4. The Provenance of Mas Malang Yuda's Manuscripts | 22 30 |
| 2.5. Seized Artefacts Kept in the Leiden University Library | 32 |
| 2.6. The Contents of the Notes of Mas Malang Yuda 2.7. Mas Malang Yuda's Spiritual Genealogy | 32 |
| 2.8. Conclusion | 37 |
| Chapter 3 | |
| A Body of Knowledge on How to Search for Certainty in | |
| Emptiness (The Principal Teachings of Akmaliyyah <i>Tarekat</i> | |
| in Nineteenth-Century Colonial Java) | 41 |
| 3.1. Introduction | 41 |
| 3.2. Tarekat and Its Teachings | 41 |
| 3.3. The Doctrine of the Unity of Being | 42 |
| 3.4. The Doctrine of the Seven Grades of Divine Self-Manifestation | 45 |
| 3.5. Key of the <i>dhikr</i> | 50 |
| 3.6. Didactic Principles | 53 |
| 3.7. Akmaliyyah Was a Composite Sufi Path | 56 |
| 3.8. Conclusion | 59 |
| Chapter 4 | |
| The Saints Guarding the Universe | |
| (Kitab Wali Kutub 'the Book of the Poles of the Saints' | |
| and the script of the <i>Walikutuban</i> ritual) | 61 |
| 4.1. Introduction | 61 |
| | |

| 4.2. The Sufi Saints' Hierarchy 4.3. The Devotional Texts of the Akmaliyyah Tarekat | 61 74 |
|--|------------|
| 4.4. The Book of the <i>Wali Kutub</i> | 75 |
| 4.4.1. The Wali Kutub | 77 |
| 4.4.2. The <i>Wali Kutub</i> , and the Regions where They Reside | 77 |
| 4.4.3. The Ways to Greet and Invite the <i>Wali Kutub</i> | 79 |
| 4.4.4. Various Applications in Invoking the <i>Wali Kutub</i> 4.4.5. Guidelines to Perform the Invoking of the <i>Wali Kutub</i> | 80 81 |
| 4.4.6. The Illustration | 82 |
| 4.5. The Ritual and Accumulating Radicalism | 85 |
| 4.6. Conclusion | 86 |
| Chapter 5 | |
| Soldiers of Dipanagara | |
| (Worldmaking Narratives and Political Loyalty in the Nahdhatul Ulama Religious Community) | 89 |
| 5.1. Introduction | 89 |
| 5.2. NU Suffers Sustained Attack and Creates Imagined Threats | 90 |
| 5.3. PKPNU: Making Militant Cadres, Shaping Close Order Formations | 94 |
| 5.3.1. Unfolding the Teachings of the NU | 95 |
| 5.3.2. Singing Islamic Marching Songs | 97 |
| 5.3.3. Performing Sufi Rituals | 100 |
| 5.4. Soldiers of Dipanagara: Figurae of the Past and Cultural Artefacts | 103 |
| 5.4.1. Sawo Kecik Trees | 105 |
| 5.4.2. Batik Wahyu Tumurun | 106 |
| 5.4.3. Walikutuban | 110 |
| 5.5. The <i>Walikutuban</i> and Political Loyalty | 112 |
| 5.6. Conclusion | 115 |
| Chapter 6 | |
| The Canonization of the Walikutuban (The Social and Political Construction of Authorized Dituel) | 117 |
| (The Social and Political Construction of Authorized Ritual) | 117 |
| 6.1. Introduction 6.2. <i>Walikutuban</i> as a Living Tradition | 117 117 |
| 6.3. Toward the Authorized Ritual | 126 |
| 6.3.1. Crafting Narratives on the Origins of the Ritual | 127 |
| 6.3.2. Integrating the Ritual with the PKPNU's Political Movement | 128 |
| 6.3.3. Providing the Script of the Ritual | 129 |
| 6.3.4. Justifying the Ritual through Islamic Legal Advice (<i>fatwās</i>) 6.3.5. Endorsement from the Charismatic Clerics | 130 |
| and Main Figures of the NU | 132 |
| 6.4. Conclusion | 133 |
| | |

Chapter 7

| Making Concentric Circles | |
|--|------------|
| (The Performative Aspects of the Walikutuban | |
| and the Expression of Worldview) | 135 |
| 7.1. Introduction | 135 |
| 7.2. Context and Participants | 135 |
| 7.3. The Art of Placing Participants | 141 148 |
| 7.4. The Art of Sounding the Text7.5. The Competences of the Participants | 152 |
| 7.6. The Expression of Worldview | 153 |
| 7.7. Conclusion | 155 |
| Chapter 8 | |
| Inscribing the Past, Performing the Present | |
| (Features, Feelings, and Religious Worldmaking) | 157 |
| 8.1. Introduction | 157 |
| 8.2. The <i>Wali Kutub</i> as Mediators | 158 |
| 8.3. The Ways to Communicate with the <i>Wali Kutub</i> | 159 |
| 8.4. The Choreography of the Ritual 8.5. Political Aspects of the Ritual | 160 161 |
| 8.6. Feeling the Presence of the <i>Wali Kutub</i> | 161 |
| 8.7. The Ritual and Religious Worldmaking | 163 |
| 8.8. Conclusion | 164 |
| Appendix I | 165 |
| Letter from the Notes of Mas Malang Yuda in Cod. Or. 7586 | 165 |
| Introduction | 165 |
| Text and Translation | 166 |
| Annotations and Commentary | 169 |
| Appendix II | 171 |
| Kitab Wali Kutub | 171 |
| Introduction | 172 |
| Text and Translation | 173 |
| Annotations and Commentary | 179 |
| Appendix III | 183 |
| The Script of Wirid Walikutuban | 183 |
| Introduction | 183 |
| Text | 184 |
| Annotations and Commentary | 186 |
| Bibliography | 197 |
| A. Select Manuscripts and Dutch Archival Sources Consulted | 197 |
| B. Author's Collection | 197 |
| C. Publications and Dissertations | 197 |

| Summary | 209 |
|------------------|-----|
| English | 209 |
| Samenvatting | 212 |
| Ringkasan | 216 |
| Curriculum Vitae | 221 |

List of Figures

| Figure 1 | |
|---|-----|
| The general chief of PKB, Muhaimin Iskandar, well known as Cak Imin, | |
| along with leaders of PKB, performed the Walikutuban. | 1 |
| Figure 2 | |
| The Illustration of the KWK in Cod. Or. 7581, fl. 6v | 3 |
| Figure 3 | |
| The Grave of Sheikh Makhdum Cahyana, 16 July 2023. | 14 |
| Figure 4 | |
| The Grave of Sheikh Makhdum <i>Wali Pĕrkasa</i> , 16 July 2023. | 14 |
| Figure 5 | |
| Pamingitan Wahyu Ratu, or <i>Srigati</i> in <i>Kĕtangga</i> forest, | |
| Ngawi, East Java, 2 July 2023. | 17 |
| Figure 6 | |
| Pilgrim performed purification ritual in <i>Kĕtangga</i> river, and another | |
| pilgrim meditated at Srigati sanctuary. 2 July 2023. | 18 |
| Figure 7 | |
| Shahadat Ratu Adil in Cod. Or. 7582. | 19 |
| Figure 8 | |
| A Circular Emblematic design of Mas Malang Yuda's followers | |
| in Cod. Or. 7582. | 21 |
| Figure 9 | |
| Sutawarsa on the cover of Cod. Or. 7578. | 23 |
| Figure 10 | |
| Měrtawikrama Rajawana Lor on the back cover of Cod. Or. 7583. | 24 |
| Figure 11 | |
| Colophon of Cod. Or. 7577. | 25 |
| Figure 12 | |
| The letter of assistant wadana in Cod. Or. 7585, | 27 |
| Figure 13 | |
| Snouck made notes on Mas Malang Yuda treatises in Cod. Or. 7473 | 31 |
| Figure 14 | 01 |
| Mas Malang's Spiritual Genealogy | 34 |
| Figure 15 | 0. |
| Soroging dikir in Cod. Or. 7576, fl. 127r. | 51 |
| Figure 16 | 51 |
| The Diagram of Didactic principles contain ascetics practices | |
| performed by the Akmaliyyah (Cod. Or. 7581, fl. 112r-113v). | 53 |
| Figure 17 | |
| The three diagrams of the Sufi Saints' Hierarchy in Cod. Or. 7025 | 65 |
| Figure 18 | 05 |
| The diagram of Sufi' Saints hierarchy in Cod. Or. 7025 | 66 |
| Figure 19 | 00 |
| The cover of Cod. Or. 7581. A pencil-written note at the top shows | |
| the provenance of the manuscripts from Banyumas. | 76 |
| Figure 20 | , 0 |
| The illustration of the <i>KWK</i> in Cod. Or. 7581. | 83 |
| The musication of the RWR in God. Of. / JOI. | 03 |

| Figure 21 | |
|---|-----|
| The result of the reading the Illustrations in the <i>KWK</i> | 84 |
| Figure 22 | |
| Kyai Mansur Jalatunda, a charismatic cleric from Jalatunda district Mojokerto, | |
| East Java, recited Qaṣīdah at-Tiryāq al-Mujarrāb bi al-Walīy al-Muqarrāb | |
| in a spiritual exercise session at midnight during the PKPNU training | |
| for regional-level instructors. | 101 |
| Figure 23 | |
| The Dipanagara Troop logo was designed by the PKPNU team. | 104 |
| Figure 24 | |
| Abdul Mun'im DZ and his team wearing the yellow-coloured Batik Wahyu | |
| Tumurun presenting sawo kecik trees to the participants of PIW (Pendidikan Instruktur Wilayah), wearing the blue-coloured | |
| Batik Wahyu Tumurun motif attire. | 105 |
| Figure 25 | 105 |
| Batik Wahyu Tumurun design which has been modified by the PKPNU team. | 109 |
| Figure 26 | 10) |
| Muhaimin Iskandar giving an opening speech before performing | |
| the Walikutuban | 115 |
| Figure 27 | |
| Illustration of the spreading of the <i>Walikutuban</i> performance. | 125 |
| Figure 28 | |
| A participant of the PKPNU touching and kissing the Indonesian and | |
| NU flags in an initiation ceremony (Malang, on 22 September 2019). | 137 |
| Figure 29 | |
| The participants of the PKPNU preparing to perform a Walikutuban | |
| ritual in a hall with all the electrical lights off | 400 |
| (Malang, 22 September 2019). | 138 |
| Figure 30 | |
| The participants of the PKPNU preparing to perform a <i>Walikutuban</i> in | 138 |
| a yard of a private university (Pasuruan, East Java, 3 April 2021). Figure 31 | 130 |
| The female participants of the PKPNU occupying the outer inner circle in | |
| the yard of a private university. (Pasuruan, East Java, 3 April 2021). | 140 |
| Figure 32 | 110 |
| The appearing of the spontaneous or voluntary participants which | |
| were marked by the ununiformed outfit and occupied | |
| the outer circle. (Pasuruan, East Java, 3 April 2021) | 140 |
| Figure 33 | |
| The participants of PIW forming a concentric circle (Depok, I May 2021). | 142 |
| Figure 34 | |
| The orientation of the participants' bodies to the leader in the center. | 142 |
| Figure 35 | |
| The participants orienting their bodies to the west. | 143 |
| Figure 36 | |
| The illustration of the moving and stasis of the participants. | 144 |
| Figure 37 | |
| The participants orienting their bodies to the south. | 145 |
| Figure 38 | |
| The participants orienting their gaze to the sky. | 145 |

| Figure 39 | |
|--|-----|
| The participants orienting their gaze to the earth. | 146 |
| Figure 40 | |
| The participants rotated their body in anti-clockwise direction. | 146 |
| Figure 41 | |
| All spatial arrangements in the Walikutuban | 147 |
| Figure 42 | |
| Comparison of the reconstructed choreography with current | |
| choreography of the Walikutuban. | 160 |

List of Tables

| Table 1 | |
|---|-----|
| The doctrine of the seven grades of divine self-manifestation in | |
| the Akmaliyyah <i>tarekat</i> . | 49 |
| Table 2 | |
| The titles given to Wali Sanga in Babad Jaka Tingkir. | 70 |
| Table 3 | |
| The Wali Kutub and their number and territory. | 78 |
| Table 4 | |
| The greetings for Wali Kutub in phonetic symbols. | 150 |
| Table 5 | |
| Greeting for the Wali Kutub in typographic conventions. | 151 |
| Table 6 | |
| Comparison of the names of the <i>Wali Kutub</i> in the past and the present. | 159 |

Acknowledgments

The ideas for my book, *The Unseen Saints of Islam*, began to fall into the place during my stay in Leiden to pursue my PhD from the autumn 2021 to the summer 2024. Since then, I received generous support from countless individuals and institutions. My profound gratitude goes to my supervisors, Bernard Arps and Aone van Engelenhoven, who have guided me to find the endless joy in my intellectual journey. Special thanks also go to Jochem van den Boogert for painstakingly scrutinising all my chapters and giving me honest-to-goodness feedback.

My gratitude also goes to Josephin Apriastuti Rahayu (Si Mbok) for opening my eyes to Mas Malang Yuda's letter and helping me to read it patiently; Nancy K. Florida for kindly allowing me to access part of *Babad Jaka Tingkir's* transliteration; and Wayan Jarrah Sastrawan for answering countless questions about proper English words and phrases to use.

I am particularly grateful to my interlocutors: Kyai Mun'im DZ and the PKPNU team: Kyai Adnan Anwar and the late Kyai Enceng Sobirin who allowed me to be involved in the PKPNU's social and political activism and the *Walikutuban*; Kyai Ahmad Zabidi Romly and his son, Gus Azmi, who welcomed me warmly in his *pĕsantren*, Girilaya, Yogyakarta, and recounted a story to me of *Walikutuban* in the era of Mbah Marzuqi Romly; "Dewan Syura of the NU" in Universitas Brawijaya (Faishal Aminudin, Fadhilah Putra, and Mokhamad Nur) who graciously permitted me to involve in the NU's activities in 2019 and beyond.

I am also thankful to my friends who helped me during my fieldwork: Ustadz Furqan Hidayat and Ustadz Labib Habiburohman who guided me in Pěkiringan, Purbalingga when I did fieldwork to observe the places and tombs which are mentioned in the Notes of Mas Malang Yuda; and Suwito who guided me in Srigati Alas Kětangga, Ngawi when I traced Mas Malang Yuda's spiritual wanderings.

My profound gratitude goes to the librarians at the Special Collection at Leiden University. Thanks to their kind assistance, I could touch Mas Malang Yuda's manuscripts and smell the musty papers from Java's past. I would like to express gratitude especially to Doris Jedamski, Marije Plomp, Arnoud Vrolijk, and the librarians at Radyapustaka museum, more specifically, Totok Kasmiran who helped to access *Kitab Usulbiyah*. I also would like to thank Wahyu Novianto who helped to trace Javanese Sufism manuscripts in Hardjanagara's collections at ISI, Surakarta.

I am deeply indebted to my academic father, A. Effendi Kadarisman, for his unflagging support that pushed me steadily on my academic journey, whose passion and dedication are contagious; my cousin, Levinda Hesty Suryawardhani, who dedicated countless hours to help me perfect my English

grammar, and my nephew, Anas Mahfudz Kurniawan and Januar Fajar who helped me to create the cover, the images depicting the formation of the *Walikutuban*, and the incredible images of *Walikutuban*.

My sincere thanks also go to my colleagues in Leiden, Malang, and beyond for sharpening my argument: Abimardha Kurniawan, Els Bogaerts, Mark van de Water, Aloysius Agung, Nur Ahmad. I am deeply indebted to Syahril Siddiq who provided me with tips and tricks to survive in Leiden during the 'formative period'. When I was far away from my family, these friends: A. Kusnanto, A. Swaningrum, I. A. Rum, R Suryadikara, kindly lent their shoulders to share their warmth and food. I am deeply indebted to them.

I am also very grateful to the dean of Fakultas Ilmu Budaya in Universitas Brawijaya, Hamamah, and the vice deans, who provided unstinting support; to my colleagues in the Pendidikan Bahasa dan Sastra Indonesia department, E Setiawan, M.S. Rizal, M. F. Rohman, D Ardhian, and others who have provided continuing support; and to the anonymous of Juynboll fellowships committee members who awarded me grants to finish this dissertation.

As blood is thicker than water, my deepest gratitude goes to my family: Abdul Halim Jazuli who supported me to boldly go wherever my passion took me; my family in Ngawi and Trenggalek, especially my *Mbok*, brothers, and sisters who supported my family while I stayed in Leiden. I express great thanks to Wahyu Sri Widayati. Every single word that I crafted in this dissertation was led by her prayers. I want to thank my sons, Wahyu Nur Muhammad, Wahyu Atisha Jayasila, Wahyu Abhidharma Jayamanggala, who have sent uplifting wishes through their cheerful faces. Without their willingness to take on these austerities (*prihatin*) while living far apart, it would have been unthinkable for me to undertake this PhD journey. *The Unseen Saints of Islam* is dedicated to my wife and sons.

Leiden-Malang, October 2024

Note on Spelling

I intended to make the source materials that I used to be accessible for non-specialist readers. To simplify reading, I have chosen to adopt the spellings commonly used by previous scholars or philologists for most Islamic terms and titles in Islamic societies and in the Java and Malay worlds. I also retained the spellings along with the explanations in the footnotes. My source materials fundamentally consist of two types of Javanese and Malay texts as well as spoken expressions, and ritual performances. The former is generally known and deals with how scripts in texts correspond in the Roman alphabet, commonly recognized as transliteration. Regarding its sounds and movements, I provide several symbols and typographic conventions that I adopted from previous scholars.

Transliteration and Translation

The spelling of Javanese words in Javanese and Malay texts follows the Javanese orthography standard and official Indonesian orthographic guidelines, whereas the Arabic words and phrases and formulaic expressions refers to the *International Journal of the Middle East Studies* transliteration system. Javanese expressions appearing within the English text are italicized, except for proper names and frequently used terms. For schwa (pěpět) sounds in Javanese, the symbol /ĕ/ has been used in order to distinguish it from /e/. In order to support my arguments, I have frequently quoted spoken or written statements by my interlocutors. When they are of more than minimal length, only an English translation is given in the main dissertation while the original Java and Malay texts are in the footnotes. All translations are my own unless indicated otherwise.

Dates

In the manuscripts that I studied, dates employ the Javanese calendar (*Anno Javanico*, AJ) and the Muslim calendar (*Anno Hegirae*, AH). If necessary, I provide the Gregorian calendar (*Anno Domini*, AD) next to the aforementioned dates.

Abbreviations

AD anno Domini AH anno Hegirae AJ anno Javanico

Ar Arabic

Aswaja ahl sunna wa al-jamā'a

b born

BIN Badan Intelijen Negara

c circa
Cod Codex
d death

FPI Front Pembela Islam

Jav Javanese

JATMAN Jam'iyah Ahli Tariqah al- Mu'tabarah An-

Nahdiyyah

fl folio

KWK Kitab Wali Kutub

K.H. Kyai Haji

LEKRA Lembaga Kebudayaan Rakyat

LP3ES Lembaga Penelitian, Pendidikan, dan

Penerangan Ekonomi dan Sosial

LUB Leiden University Library
LBM Lembaga Bahtsul Masail

MKNU Madrasah Kader Nahdhatul Ulama

MMI Majlis Mujahidin Indonesia

Mr. Ministerie van Koloniën

NGO Non-Government Organization

NKRI Negara Kesatuan Republik Indonesia

NU Nahdhatul Ulama

Or Orientalist

PBNU Pengurus Besar Nahdhatul Ulama

PDI-P Partai Demokrasi Indonesia- Perjuangan

Pl. Plural

PKB Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa PKI Partai Komunis Indonesia

PKPNU Pendidikan Kader Penggerak Nahdhatul

Ulama

verso

PIW Pendidikan Instruktur Wilayah

r recto Sg Singular

v

Glossary

'alam realm, world

Bai'a/bai'at the oath of allegiance ceremony

Běkěl village head

Bĕngkok rice-field assigned to the village heads,

or subdistrict heads as recompense for

their service

Děmang sub-district head

Dhikr remembrance, spiritual exercise

repeating formulas taken from Quran.

Figh Islamic Jurisprudence

Hizb a long invocation of spiritual devotion

Ijazah kubra the authorization program on massive

scale

Kyai title of reverence for a venerated

scholar or Islamic preachers.

Madhhab the school of thought within Islamic

jurisprudence in Sunni orthodoxy

Mahdī a messianic vision in Islam offering

justice and equity in the future

Majlis dhikr a ritual group

Martabat pĕpitu/tujuh the seven grades of divine self

manifestation

Mu'tabarah a canonical Sufi paths; Ghairu

mu'tabarah: an apocryphal Sufi paths

Pěrdikan tax-free status village that functioned to

maintain ancestral burial grounds of the pioneers of Islamization, or the body of

guarding villages.

Priyayi respected person, member of the upper

class

Pěsantren Islamic boarding school

Ratu Adil a messiah by claiming to be a righteous

king in the future

Rūh Idafī spirit of relations

Rūh/roh spirits

Shahada Islamic profession of faith, declaration

of profession of faith

Sheikh master, instructor, guru

Silsilah spiritual genealogy, or chain of

transmission

Qaṣīdah Arabic poems/songs

Tarekat Sufi paths
Wadana district head

Wahdat al-wujūd metaphysical doctrine of the unity of

being

Wali friends of God

Wali Kutub the Poles of the Saints

Walikutuban ritual invoking the Wali Kutub